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Right to Food Ethics

Theological Approaches of Asbjørn Eide

Jude Likori Omukaga

Africa | Church | Global Food Security | Asbjørn Eide
 Basic Rights | Just Distribution of Resources
 Charity | Commitment | Persistence of Paradigm
 To Get Enough to Eat | Undernourishment
 Starvation | Malnutrition | Hunger | Famine
 Food Aid | Christian Anthropology

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Jude Likori Omukaga

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACP	African Caribbean and Pacific Group of States
ADF	African Development Foundation
AIDS	Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome
ADER	Average Dietary Energy Requirement
ADES	Average Dietary Energy Supply
AMECEA	Association of Member Episcopal Conferences in Eastern Africa
APVC	Agricultural Product Value Chain
ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
ASARECA	Association for Strengthening Agricultural Research in Eastern and Central Africa
BARNESA	Banana Research Network for Eastern and Southern Africa
BMR	Basal Metabolic Rate
CAADP	Comprehensive African Agriculture Development Programme
CAFOD	Catholic Agency For Overseas Development
CARYM	Catholic Agricultural Rural Youth Movement
CEPGL	(Communauté Économique des Pays des Grand Lacs) Economic Community of the countries of the Great Lakes Region
CESCR	Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights
CGIAR	Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research
CIA	Central Investigations Agency

CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
DANIDA	Danish International Development Assistance
DES	Dietary Energy Supply
DNA	Deoxyribonucleic Acid
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DSIP	Development Strategy and Investment Plan
EAC	Eastern African Community
ECFA	Economic Commission For Africa
EMOP	Emergency Operations Programme
ENPAP	Equity, Non-discrimination, Participation, Accountability and Transparency
ERS	Economic Recovery Strategy
ESCR	Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations
FAD	Food Availability Decline
FIAN	Food First Information Network,
FIVIMS	Food Insecurity and Vulnerability Information and Mapping Systems
FSIT	Food Security Information Team
FSNS	Food Security and Nutrition Strategy
GC	General Comment
GDP	Gross domestic product
GLR	Great Lakes Region
GoK	Government of Kenya
GRD	Global Resources Dividend
HFS	Household Food Security
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries

HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IAWG	Inter-Agency Working Group
ICCPR	International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICGLR	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
ICN	International Conference on Nutrition
ICRA	International Centre for Research in Agricultural
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IEC	Information, Education and Communication
IFAD	International Fund for Africa Development
IFDC	International Finance and Development Corporation
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMBISA	Inter-Regional Meeting of Bishops of Southern Africa
INIBAP	International Network for the Improvement of Banana and Plantain
IPCC	Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change
IPGRI	International Plant Genetic Resources Institute
IPRA	International Peace Research Association
JPC	Justice and Peace Commission
KAPP	Kenya Agricultural Productivity Project
KARI	Kenya Agricultural Research Institute
LBW	Low-Birth Weight
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MINAGRI	Ministère de l'Agriculture (Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources)
M.I.T	Massachusetts Institute of Technology

MAFC	Ministry of Agriculture Food Security and Cooperatives
MHM	Mill Hill Missionaries
MISEREOR	The German Catholic Bishops' Organization for Development and Cooperation
MoA	Ministry of Agriculture
NAP	National Agriculture Policy
NAPA	National Adaptation Programme of Action
NARS	National Agricultural Research Systems
NASEP	National Agricultural Sector Extension Policy
NEMA	National Environmental Management Act
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
NFSNP	National Food Security and Nutrition Policy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NSE	Nairobi Stock Exchange
NSSF	National Social Security Fund
PAF	Poverty Action Fund
PEAP	Poverty Eradication Action Plan
PEM	Protein-Energy Malnutrition
PMA	Plan for Modernization of Agriculture
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PRAPE	Programme de Relance Agricole dans la Province de l'Equateur
PRAPO	Programme de Relance Agricole dans la Province Orientale
PRIO	Peace Research Institute Oslo
PRRO	Protracted Relief and Recovery Operations
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RNA	Ribonucleic Acid
SCIAF	Scottish Catholic International Aids Fund
SMA	Society of Missionaries for Africa

SOFI	State Of Food Insecurity
SPP	Strategic Pastoral Plan
SRA	Strategy for Revitalizing Agriculture
SRO-EA	Sub-regional Office of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
SCC	Small Christian Community
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UFNP	Uganda Food and Nutrition Policy
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
U.S.A.	United States of America
WANAHR	World Alliance for Nutrition and Human Rights
WFC	World Food Council
WFP	World Food Programme
WFS	World Food Summit
WHO	World Health Organization

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Motivation

Effects of poverty on the individual person and on society are easily noticeable. Lack of food, inappropriate shelter, scarce medical care, and poor education, have often motivated the struggle for decent living. In our own time, the public discourse on development at all levels essentially consists of analyses, discussions and proposal of the ways and means of confronting these effects. Goals of development are designed on the basis of eradicating poverty. A practical confrontation with the situation of life under the effects of poverty is a daily experience of the people and the Church's ministers especially in the developing countries. In Bungoma Catholic diocese, situated in the heart of rural area of Western Kenya, this experience is witnessed in the cries of the hungry families, in land and ownership disputes, in difficulty of securing education, and worse in the multiple ravages of disease, especially of HIV/AIDS. A struggle against these ills in society meets the Church's ministry in this region with a growing challenge to design better ways and means of fighting them. On routine planning of pastoral ministry, the diocesan administration identifies three approaches to this situation namely: catholic education, Justice and Peace Commission, and community based health care. While an approach motivated by the

missionary spirit of commitment to silent love and service of a neighbour in need dominates the Church's approach since the times of the missionaries, the persistence of these effects at an ever growing scale prompts our diocesan consideration of the option for further studies. This is motivated by the intention to train experts among the clergy who assist in guiding local efforts in fighting against poverty according to the teachings of the church through catholic education, social justice and community based health care ministry. Against this background, my bishop approached me, among other priests, to particularly consider further studies in the area of moral theology and education.

As a member of the local clergy, I not only grew up with the struggle against these effects in this locality, I also chose to serve society in the context of the missionary 'motto' of quiet service to the needy. But faced with the alternative of further studies, I began to consider a structured approach to the problems of society that not only address the here and now of my background, but that will also offer effective skills of dealing with this situation for the generations to come. This mindset dominated my studies in the masters programmes in the course of which my promoter introduced me to the works of the Norwegian human rights law expert, Asbjørn Eide, the former Director and presently senior fellow of the Norwegian Center for Human Rights at the University of Oslo. My initial general reading of his approach to human rights caught my attention not only as an overall modern paradigmatic concern in the fight against poverty and its effects, but above all by his inspiring methodological approach. His biographers identify in him a basic passion oriented towards active advocacy for the needy in society. But his profession as a lawyer restricts him to research, writing, workshops and symposia among other formal approaches to social issues, a disposition he seems to consider bearably disagreeable. Thus, "on the one hand, books rarely change the world, on the other, the gospel must

be spread.”¹ His involvement in the mission on human rights therefore reveal what his biographers have called the ‘unresolved dilemma’ of choosing between formal discussions, research and writing on the one hand, and activism and public action on the other hand. Although he trusts more the power of action over formal speeches and writing, he had to write to get his point to a wider audience.

This ‘unresolved dilemma,’ characterizes the Church’s ministry likewise: Should the Church spread the message of salvation through concrete active charitable service to the needy, or should it engage in formal diplomacy based on sound doctrine resulting from research effort, consultative symposia and workshops? Although doctrinal theories that fill volumes of research endeavours in the Church rarely effect concrete changes in society, the Church’s message nevertheless must be explained and rendered relevant through scholarly research, dialogue with circumstances. The message must be made acceptable in society in which the Church serves. Thus, the search for justice, peace, truth and rights must be pursued side by side with charitable service to the needy in society. This observation motivated this reflection not only to investigate the contribution of Asbjørn Eide in entrenching the human right to food as an international law in the service of eradicating hunger, but also to investigate the relevance of the Church’s teaching on human rights in the fight against society’s problems such as hunger and starvation. In the overall, the apparent dilemma presented by the reading on both the works of Asbjørn Eide and the Social Teaching of the Church, motivates this reflection to investigate the relationship between the Church’s pursuit of human rights in the context of hunger alleviation, and that of the civil society. The reflection then exploits the strengths of either side to build on the pursuit of human rights as the

¹ Torkel Opsahl and Jan Helgesen, " Asbjørn Eide: A Tribute," in *Broadening the Frontiers of Human Rights*, ed. Donna Gomien (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 8.

common grounds for collaboration in the fight against hunger between the Church and democratic states, as well as other stakeholders.

1.2 Research Hypothesis

The church ministry characterized by pro-active service of charity and advocacy for practical justice, is compatible with public action based on well researched information protected by legal frameworks of democratic governments. The human rights approach provides the instrument for balancing the legal exactitude and moral probity necessary in the structured fight of stakeholders against hunger. The church's rich anthropology and experts' opinion in research and law, can inspire well-guarded/insulated/definitive suggestions to stop hunger.

1.3 Research Questions

The question of hunger world-wide is a striking paradox: Why should the world that enjoys a radically advanced human civilization still face threats of disease and death from hunger and starvation? This paradox provokes three other related questions: Firstly, what exactly does hunger as a world problem consist in, and how does it come about? Secondly, the persistence of this paradox compels the question as to whether there have been attempts to its solution: What are these attempts, and why does hunger still persist? In the same regard, particular curiosity falls on the role of the Church: How does the Church interpret the persistence of hunger in the light of Christian theology and in the tradition of its social teaching? What hope does the Church's social teaching offer as a way forward? Thirdly, this paradox provokes society's general estimation of its ability and commitment to eradicate hunger especially from the point of view of the areas most affected: What more needs to be done to alleviate hunger? Can the regions most

affected summon potential to solve their hunger problems? The first of these three related question underlines the need to clarify the signification of the varied terminologies employed in the common public discourse on hunger as a problem in society. The second prompts investigation into the root causes of hunger, as well as in the various visible efforts made by society towards the eradication of hunger, while the third question strives at a proposal on society's most effective response possible with the focus on the most affected regions.

1.4 Research Methods

The main lay-out of the entire reflection is structured on the See-Judge-Act methodology. We have also employed various methods to accomplish our research endeavour in this reflection. They include: Deductive analytic method, empirical statistical, Historical critical analytic, comparative method, hermeneutical as well as the induction method. Their role in the various sections of the work is integrated in the general overview of the work detailed below.

1.5 General Overview

This reflection is presented in three chapters. Following the methodological preference of See, Judge and Act, chapter one exhausts the 'see' aspect in four sections. Section one explains the necessary basic definitions underlying the hunger narrative. From the standard statement of the meaning of hunger, this section employs a deductive analytic method to contextualize the concerns of the entire reflection within the realities of human subsistence seen in the light of nutrition science. Keen analysis of the definitions provided, yields the basic hypothesis of this work, namely, that the concern about the problem of hunger does not only involve the struggle to maintain the quantity, but

also the quality of the food requirement of human life. This hypothesis then sets the scope within which terminologies like malnutrition, under-nutrition, starvation and famine are understood and used throughout the reflection. Section two enhances the visibility of this background by means of statistics. The section employs a statistical method to introduce the hunger scourge as a world problem. It highlights its impact and immediately sets into place the machinery employed on international level to monitor the world's response to the problem, namely the World Food Summit, and the Millennium Development Goal on hunger. These two instruments are introduced to monitor the world's progress towards the projected goals. These goals are normative and can allow an analytic elasticity that is more reliable than the annual statistics that of course, change from year to year. In this way, the impact of hunger can be estimated statistically any time of the year both globally and regionally. By way of deduction, this enables us to focus on the Sub-Sahara region of Africa, and eventually on the GLR that is severely hit by the hunger problem. Section three and four conclude this chapter with an account of the causes and effects of hunger. They attest to the fact that hunger is based on factors generally attributable to human kind. The effects of hunger are a culmination of what can be 'seen' regarding concrete effects of hunger on human life.

Chapter two executes the 'judge' role of the analysis. In response to the situation of hunger exposed in chapter one, this chapter explores two major perspectives from which the problem of hunger has been approached, namely, the civil society perspective and the Church perspective. The three sections of this chapter were exhausted in a historical analytic and critical method. Section one samples five approaches which include: increase in food availability, the human rights, entitlements, distributive justice, and charity/food aid approaches. The section critically evaluates each of these approaches in their respective strengths and weaknesses. In the overall analysis, although

the entitlement approach captures and exhaustively describes the realities of hunger, and further analyses pertinent economic, social and political forces normally at play in a hunger situation, it fails to prescribe a structured proposal that addresses all the aspects it implies. It surrenders this to the situations that govern respective national capacities in this struggle. This in effect gives way to the human rights approach which proposes elaborate structures at all levels. Through the exhaustive analysis of the works of Asbjørn Eide on the human right to food, this section demonstrates the ability of this approach. It provides for particular national infrastructure as much as it does provide for regional and global instruments through which to enforce and safeguard access to adequate food for every individual. Generally, the human rights approach implies what is proposed but inadequately addressed by the other four approaches. On this ground, section one gives a detailed analysis of the strength of the human rights approach as demonstrated by the work of Asbjørn Eide on the human right to food. The section exposes the background of Asbjørn Eide's normative-activist methodology. It highlights both the struggle of Asbjørn Eide, among other scholars, to entrench the human right to food as an international law, and his creative practical proposal of the right to food matrix. These are the two aspects that form the basis for both scholarly diplomacy as well as public activism in advocating for every individual's right to food.

Section two presents the Church's view on the human rights approach. The specificity of the Church's strategy is exposed through the analysis of its historical understanding and experience of hunger. The effects of hunger are particularly regarded against the background of the elaborate doctrine on human anthropology influenced by Christian biblical message. Although the section presents the Church's inclination towards fraternal charity on the grounds of the identity of its own mission, it nevertheless, elaborates the history of the Church's emphasis

on the human rights approach with special attention to the right to food. The strength of the Church's discourse on human rights has been argued on the basis of its exhaustive anthropology and its experience in history. Section one and section two, therefore, compare the civil society perspective of the human rights approach with the Church's perspective. Section three offers a systematic criticism to the general discourse of the human rights paradigm. Considering the strengths of both the Church's, and secular society's approaches to human rights, this section proposes a new vision of the human rights discourse premised on the paradigm of 'solidarity.' While overemphasis of the normative-activist methodology of the secular human rights discourse threatens its practicality and leaves a gap between theory and practice, its thorough approach to research details of the problem and respect of law remains an asset in the fight against hunger. On the other hand, while the Church's overemphasis of fraternal charity encourages donor fatigue, and remains insufficient as a method against the overwhelming effects of hunger in society, its comprehensive understanding of human anthropology and advocacy for the concern for the individual victim is a necessary contribution to the fight against hunger. Section three builds on these strengths and employs a hermeneutical method to construct a model of 'solidarity,' constituted of the value of solidarity, collaboration and the normative-activist character. These aspects depict a model of 'solidarity' that metaphorically projects it beyond its ordinary meaning. In this proposal, the legal and charity paradigms that dominate the civil and Church approaches respectively, are merged into one superior 'solidarity' model that incorporates a checked balance between the two. In these hermeneutics, this section proposes that the human rights narrative must be carefully defined by the three aspects of 'solidarity' if it has to remain effective in addressing the problem of hunger now and in the future. Solidarity must be seen in terms that go beyond the simple togetherness. It must be deeply human, collaborative and enforceable.

Finally, chapter three wraps up the ‘action’ component of our main methodology and makes recommendations. This chapter focuses on a case study of the Great Lakes Region of Africa. By use of didactical hermeneutics, the reflection descends from a general universal level of the discussion on human rights to a localised particular situation in which the human rights approach is applied. The application of human rights approach largely presupposes food security, that is, the presence of food to all people at any time. Section one, two and three of this chapter highlight the different important components of food security in this region. Section one analyses in details the geographical endowments of the region and highlights a social interactive milieu within which the problem of hunger was assessed. It rounds up its investigation with an account of the size and distribution of the population in the region. The highlight in this analysis is the fact that although the socio-economic life leans towards the development of the urban centres inhabited by the rich elite, the GRL is largely a rural setting inhabited by poor peasants with meagre incomes. This poor rural population remains very vulnerable to the hunger scourge. Section two uses detailed updated statistics, tables and graphics to highlight the problem of hunger and under-nutrition and estimate its impact on the lives of people. By use of a deductive analytic method, this section first interprets these statistics in the background of the universal understanding of food security from which it deduces and analyses the components of food security namely, food supply, availability, access and utilization. Ultimately the section exposes the region to be among the world’s most hit by the scourge of hunger and famine.

Section three used the material drawn from various sources to classify food security measures into two categories namely, the increased food supply strategies and commercial agriculture strategies. On the basis of these facts, section three also employs a deductive analytic method to explore the practical issue of food security measures

pursued in the region. However, we also made use of the inductive method that tended to generalise the situation from particular cases. The section intensively uses information obtained from reports posted on various official websites of the six countries to make conclusions regarding food security measures pursued in the region. Some reports were detailed and exhaustive while some were general and vague. Some countries have thorough and ambitious measures in place, while others have very little and scanty information on food security measures. By use of the method of induction the information from the strong-strategy countries is used to arrive at general conclusions representing the whole region. The hope of regional economic cooperation among these countries suggests the weaker-strategy countries will borrow from the stronger-strategy countries, thus the tendency to draw general conclusions from particular cases. Coupled with the assortment of information obtained from various sources, the social, cultural, economic and political background of this region likewise, provide the basis for the proposal for improvement on the existing food security measures in the same section made in this section.

Section four employs a historical critical analytic method to expose the side of the players behind the struggle against hunger by analysing the role of the Church in the alleviation of hunger in this region. The food security measures pursued in the region have been sampled from the six countries of the region. But while the countries' pursuit of food security measures almost obviously imply legal and policy frameworks, special attention is given to other partners in the struggle against hunger whose structures do not provide explicit provisions of law. Against this background, the role of the Church is critically considered in order to structure the pursuit of human rights based almost entirely on humanistic arrangements and motivated not by the observance of the law, but by basic solidarity within the human family. Strict adherence to a well thought-out Strategic Pastoral Plan not only enhances society's

fight against hunger, but also facilitates the respect for human rights necessary in the fight against all effects of poverty. The whole chapter demonstrates that though the human rights approach remains the effective way of addressing the problem of hunger, food security remains basic to the pursuit of the human right to food and must be cautiously developed and sustained. Meanwhile, as the nation states of this region tighten legislation to uphold and protect the human right to food, partners in the struggle against hunger like NGOs, Churches and other Faith-based organizations should uphold relevant strategies in advancing their humanistic service to the victims of hunger. In the final analysis, respect for human rights will remain common among all stakeholders in the fight against hunger.

ANALYSING HUNGER DEFINITIONS, CURRENT STATUS, CAUSES AND EFFECTS

2.1 Introduction

As society engages in the search for the solution to the problem of the world hunger, the process attracts participants at various levels acting in different capacities and contexts. The general rhetoric and literature in use have likewise expanded the scope of concern. Under-nutrition, malnutrition, starvation, famine, over-nutrition among other expressions, have been used variously to refer to the problem of hunger. The wide coverage of the problem in the print and electronic media, massive response in seminars and workshops, fundraising and volunteer services, emergency relief food supplies and others, trigger a network of concerns in society that proportionately complicate the meaning of the terms used. Of equal concern is the issue of the scope or framework. Some experts observe that the generalised world rhetoric on hunger often overshadows its selective effects on the regions of the world consequently its devastating effects on regional level are downplayed. On the other hand, when the regions which are most affected by hunger are highlighted, the scourge is viewed as a distant reality out there affecting only a group of people. Thus, different regions of the world

focus rather exclusive attention to regional problems and miss out the general context of human solidarity. The ambiguity in the common use of the term ‘hunger,’ and the disequilibrium often implied between the universal and regional concerns on this problem in itself clouds the meaning of hunger as a world problem. While the former risks obscuring the core concerns of society on hunger, the latter is invoked in situations where a section of society wastes food while another starves to death. A comprehensive analysis of the meaning and scope of the hunger problem will not only allow a balanced highlight that will equally evoke a balanced human solidarity in responding to this problem, it will also give a basis to a clearer understanding of the causes and effects of hunger in society. This will indeed be the strength upon which to build a reasonable proposal for a satisfactory approach to the problem.

This first chapter shall engage in the structured analysis of the hunger phenomenon touching on the meaning, current status of the world under-nutrition, causes and effects of hunger. In the midst of ambiguous use of terms related to the problem, the first part, 2.2, presents the meaning and scope of the hunger as a world problem. Section 2.2.1 and after presents several scholarly definitions of the term ‘hunger.’ The next four sections analyze implications of the definitions observed and consequently, expose the possible signification of hunger relevant to human life. Section 2.3 highlights the implications of the definitions of hunger on human subsistence in general. Section 2.4 considers hunger and human nutrition in particular, section 2.5 analyses the aspects of the definition that highlight and distinguish malnutrition and under-nutrition, and section 2.6 then deduces the meaning of starvation and famine as the universalising attributes of the hunger problem. The thrust of this part is to clarify the various contexts within which the term is used in various significations, and above all to

establish under-nutrition as the most preferable term of all that captures vividly what is largely referred to as the hunger problem today.

The second part of this chapter presents and analyses the current status of the problem of hunger in the World. Section 2.2 presents the updated ‘Current Status of World Hunger.’ Section 2.3 analyses society’s resolve to reduce hunger through the World Food summit and the Millennium Development Goals initiatives. The targets set by these initiatives are then employed to closely scrutinize the progress towards the alleviation of hunger both on global and regional levels. The analysis shall intend to underline the inequalities that exist among the world’s regions and specifically underscore the precarious situation of the Sub-Sahara region of Africa in regard to under-nutrition. Part three considers the four causes of hunger: poverty, inadequate food supply, civil strife, and population growth. The section shall expose the complicated network of factors that sustain hunger spanning across the economic, social, cultural, political and religious domains. The section will carefully establish both natural or man-made and supernatural factors that underlie hunger causality. Finally, section four considers the effects of hunger first to the individual and then to society. In conclusion we shall observe the difficulty of arriving at a complete and definitive grasp of the hunger phenomenon owing to the complexity of the factors that sustain it in society.

2.2 The Meaning and Place of Hunger

2.2.1 Definitions of Hunger

In a detailed presentation of this subject in the *Encyclopaedia of Food Sciences and Nutrition*, J. Blundell and A. Gillett defined hunger as “a drive or state of motivation that impels animals (humans) to search

for food.”² Sara Millman and Robert Kates, defined hunger as “an inadequacy in individual dietary intake relative to the kind and quantity of food required for growth, for activity, and for the maintenance of good health.”³ In an elaborate treatment of the ‘politics of hunger,’ John Warnock emphasizes malnutrition, and in particular the aspect of under-nutrition. According to him hunger is the “persistence of malnutrition among those who are unable to get enough to eat.”⁴ Many other presentations analyzing the world food problem such as that of David Grigg⁵ and Thomas Poleman⁶ emphasize undernourishment that follows longer periods of hunger among people in different parts of the world. This, as well, is basically the context in which the United Nations understands the problem of hunger albeit with accent on nutrition. According to the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO) for example, hunger is more than having an empty stomach later to be filled rather, “it is not having enough food to meet daily nutritional requirements for days, weeks, even months.”⁷ The accent is clearly on nutrition. With this varied perspectives it is important to draw a synthesis that will set a link between the various pertinent issues raised by these definitions in order to set a unitary basis upon which the understanding of hunger as a problem shall eventually rest at least for annalistically purpose incumbent upon this presentation.

² J. Blundell and A. Gillett, "Hunger," in *Encyclopaedia of Food Sciences and Nutrition*, ed. Benjamin Caballero, Luiz C. Trugo, and Paul M. Finglas (New York: Academic Press, 2003), 3178.

³ Sara Millman and Robert W. Kates, "Toward Understanding Hunger," in *Hunger in History*, ed. Lucile F. Newman (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 3.

⁴ John W. Warnock, *The Politics of Hunger* (London: Methuen, 1987), 2.

⁵ David Grigg, *The World Food Problem* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 5.

⁶ Thomas T. Poleman, *World Hunger: Extent, Causes, and Cures* (New York: Department of Agricultural Economics, 1982), 5-6.

⁷ Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, *Counting the Hungry*

[http://www.wfp.org/aboutwfp/introduction/counting_the_hungry/infodiag_popup/infodiag_popup.html] (FAO, 2007, accessed 23 February 2007).

When put together, these considerations give rise to various important issues that emerge from the experience of hunger in society as shall be discussed in the following sections.

2.2.2 Hunger in Human Subsistence

A relationship between hunger and human food patterns reveals a dynamism that is very basic to human survival. This dynamism is generated between a desire for food (or feeling for hunger) and the consequent calming down of this desire separated by the act of eating. This desire, initially generated rapidly, progresses in an inverse proportion to the amount of food consumed, that is the more the food the lesser the hunger and vice versa. This culminates at the point when hunger is no more. The process repeats itself beginning again from the point of sudden and rapid desire for food (point of hunger). Experts identify the progress of this dynamism with the act of eating. Eating, according to Blundell and Billett, “changes both the pattern of physical sensations and the accompanying emotional feelings, replaces the unpleasant and aversive sensations by pleasant sensations, an aching stomach becomes relaxed, and the feeling of excitement and irritability is replaced by one of contentment.”⁸ It is in this context that the experts designate hunger as “a desire and a biological function.”⁹ As a desire, hunger represents a subjective experience or feeling that is associated with the urge to obtain and eat food. And as a biological function, hunger achieves a purpose namely, that nagging feeling, the presence of which serves to stimulate thoughts about food and eating, this feeling is useful and reminds us that the body needs food.¹⁰ Ultimately, the crucial

⁸ Blundell and Gillett, "Hunger," 3178.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Blundell and Gillett explain this dynamism further by the notions of satiety and satiation.

relationship between hunger and food is in the power of food to replace feelings of hunger and sustain the body once more without these feelings for a certain period of time. The feeling of hunger is an important component in determining what we eat, how much we eat, and when we eat. But as Blundell and Gillett note, this in turn must be seen in a context of social and physiological variables because eating patterns are maintained by certain enduring habits, attitudes, and opinions about the value and suitability of foods and overall liking for them.¹¹ This leads us to the question of nutrition, that is, the way the body uses food to live, to grow, to work, and to keep healthy.

2.2.3 Hunger and Human Nutrition

In the second observation of the definition, Millman and Kates emphasized the dietary concept that takes due regard of the quality (kind) and quantity of food eaten. They too note the biological function of food and give concrete examples of 'growth,' 'human activity' and 'good health.'¹² The attention does not simply rest with the eating of the food available, it is even more important that the food consumed contains requisite nutrients to sustain vital operations of our bodies and keep us healthy. From the point of view of the experts the general

Satiation is a process that develops during the course of eating and eventually brings periods of eating to an end. Satiety, on the other hand is the state of inhibition over further eating that follows the end of an eating episode and arises from the consequences of food ingestion. The presumption of the functional aspect of hunger, as noted in the definition, is that hunger is the feeling that reminds us to seek food. It follows therefore, that the consumption of food is the action that diminishes hunger and keeps it suppressed for a certain period of time. Satiation and satiety come to play when food consumption reduces hunger and inhibits further eating. The intensity of satiety, it is noted, can be measured by the duration of time elapsing until eating is recommenced, or by the amount consumed at the next meal. The strength of satiety is also measured by the duration of the suppression of hunger. As satiety weakens, so hunger is restored.

¹¹ Cf. Blundell and Gillett, "Hunger," 3178.

¹² Sara Millman and Robert W. Kates, "Toward Understanding Hunger," 3.

satiating power of food is achieved by certain properties of the food itself engaging with various physiological and biochemical mechanisms within the body that are concerned with the processing of food once it has been ingested. The ingestion of the right amount of food for the balance of the body's vital processes is the core concern of nutrition. It consists in a complete "dietary intake relative to the kind and quantity of food required for growth, for activity, and for the maintenance of good health."¹³ In the complex details of ingestion, the implied measurable amount of food consumed is ultimately determined by varied factors that differ from person to person. In the context of the analysis of hunger problem analysts admit the difficulty of establishing with certainty the right amount of food required to provide sufficient nutrients necessary to sustain the function of human bodies rather uniformly. Consequently, it becomes also difficult to estimate the effects of hunger in society. Thomas Poleman observes this difficulty thus:

A person's nutritional needs are a function of many things: age, sex, body size, activity patterns, health status, and individual make-up...Conceptually, knowing these variables, it should be possible to set minimum levels of intake for protein, energy, vitamins, and other nutrients sufficient to preclude overt deficiency disease in most of a population. As a practical matter it is not, and what were used as surrogates for such minimal criteria in the early food evaluations were the recommended allowances prepared as guidelines for dieticians and other nutritional workers. These allowances consciously err on the side of caution, both to incorporate a comfortable safety margin and to

¹³ Robert W. Kates and Sara Millman, "On Ending Hunger: The Lessons of History," in *Hunger in History*, ed. Lucile F. Newman (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 3.

ensure that the substantial variations in food needs among individuals will be covered.¹⁴

This is the complexity that surrounds human nutrition. The situation is further complicated by varied factors that control eating patterns. According to Blundell and Gillett, “eating patterns are maintained by certain enduring habits, attitudes, and opinions about the value and suitability of foods and overall liking for them. These factors, derived from the cultural ethos, largely determine the range of foods that will be consumed and sometimes the timing of consumption.”¹⁵

Hence, whereas eating food alone in the variety of its culturally determined habits may be a solution to the temporary physical sensations of hunger, it does not always guarantee balanced ingestion of appropriate and necessary nutrients. This leaves nutrition as a constant challenge to the health of human persons. What emerges from this observation is the link between hunger and consequent desire to eat food on one hand, and human health on the other hand. The question to be addressed is: how does our desire to eat food, prompted by hunger, address the needs of our health? Or how does the food we eat in response to hunger feeling address our needs for energy, bodily immunity against disease, sustain the operation of vital systems in the body and the general comfort of our physical appearance? The next section, tries to link our eating habits stimulated by hunger feelings, to our health in relation to nutrition. It will also establish that the impact of hunger is indeed malnutrition.

2.2.4 Malnutrition and Under-Nutrition

In the definition of hunger assessed above, John Warnock particularly highlights the malnutrition aspect of hunger and the food-

¹⁴ Poleman, "World Hunger: Extent, Causes, and Cures," 5.

¹⁵ Blundell and Gillett, "Hunger," 3179.

accessibility element. In his view, hunger is the consequence of inaccessibility of food especially among the poor. The analysis of the phenomenon of hunger and its relationship to the regulation of food intake reveals the important role it plays in the general maintenance of good health. The details of food digestion and ingestion, as Miriam Lowenberg points out, further reveal a processes “whereby the chemical constituents of food are rearranged within the body to form the chemical constituents that make up a human being.”¹⁶ In other words, food indeed constitutes a central position of the vital processes in the life of mankind. This marks the deepest level of relationship between hunger, food and human life. However, at this sensitive point, if the mechanisms underlying this drive are compromised for any reason, hunger can become difficult to control, and instead it becomes a big problem to humanity and society. This is the point that generates interest in the global discussions about hunger today. Manifestation of this unfortunate side of hunger has largely been referred to as malnutrition.

Malnutrition literally means ‘bad nutrition,’ an imbalance between the body’s supply of and demands for nutrition, and as such it is defined as “an impairment of health resulting from a deficiency, excess or imbalance of nutrients.”¹⁷ At this level of its meaning, malnutrition implies both over-nutrition and under-nutrition. The former is the excess consumption of nutrients and the effects that follow. The latter, sometimes referred to as primary malnutrition, is a result of an insufficient intake of essential nutrients because of inadequacy in food supply attributed to either ignorance or poverty.¹⁸ It is the latter aspect

¹⁶ Miriam E. Lowenberg and others, *Food & People* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1979), 146.

¹⁷ Cf. K. K. Sinha, “Malnutrition,” in *Encyclopedia of Food Sciences and Nutrition*, ed. Benjamin Caballero, Luiz C. Trugo, and Paul M. Finglas (New York: Academic Press, 2003), 1-2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 3660, 3666. Over nutrition occurs among persons who consume diets that are excessively high in calories, saturated fat cholesterol, and sugars that are also excessively refined. Where as excessive caloric intake leads to obesity,

of malnutrition that is often at the centre of the problem of hunger and is worth detailed emphasis. The notion of under-nutrition is implied almost in all the definitions observed above. To many, the term immediately connotes a set standard against which the sufficiency of human nutrition is measured. Millman and Kates for example speak of the 'kind and quantity required', and Warnock talks of having 'enough to eat.' The details of hunger understood as such can now be worked out and presented in figures, thanks to the precision of modern nutrition science. Furthermore, the reflection of hunger quantified in figures has been the common way the problem has been expressed in its history. Having established the implication of the measurable aspect of hunger, its relevance now becomes clearer in establishing the depth of the effects of hunger in society. The measurement of the body energy requirement has probably been the most helpful in this regard compared to the difficulty found in numerically estimating the protein and vitamin requirements.¹⁹ As a matter of fact, today most nutritionists concerned with the developing countries speak of protein-calorie (or protein-energy) malnutrition. This sees a shortage of energy as the prime problem and takes into account the fact that an apparent adequacy in protein can be reduced should a portion of it be metabolized to compensate for insufficient energy intake.²⁰ The expression 'shortage' of energy also implies some knowledge of a 'fullness' of the same, and this introduces the notion of a 'measure' or 'standard.' This is what establishes the

excess amount of saturated fats and cholesterol increase incidents of cardiovascular and cerebrovascular diseases, and excessive intake of salt may lead to hypertension.

¹⁹ Cf. Poleman, "World Hunger: Extent, Causes, and Cures," 5. "A person's nutritional needs are a function of many things: age, sex, body size, activity patterns, health status, and individual make-up. Conceptually, knowing these variables, it should be possible to set minimum levels of intake for protein, energy, vitamins, and other nutrients sufficient to preclude overt deficiency disease in most of the population. As a practical matter it is not."

²⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*, 6.

gravity of the problem of hunger at least in figures. Accordingly, scientific data analysts estimate an average daily body energy requirement of active man. The basic notion among analysts in this regard, is the notion of ‘basal metabolic rate’²¹ indicating the least amount of energy required to sustain vital operations of human body. Though the basal metabolic rate (BMR) is determined by many other variants, and therefore bound to differ accordingly from one person to another, experts generally agree that a normal adult uses 4-5 kJ (or around 1.5 Kcal) per minute or 6-7.5 MJ per day to maintain basal energy needs.”²²

However, human beings obviously need a calorific intake above the basal metabolic rate to go about their daily lives. The next level of the importance of the energy measurements therefore, is the practical level of human activity. Physical activity is the factor that most alters the total energy expenditure, sometimes more than doubling the basal metabolic rate. Here too, the amount of energy requirement depends on varying factors which differ from one individual to another. “Increased physical activity or body size, childhood, adolescence, pregnancy and lactation would increase energy needs, as would exposure to cold climate.”²³ But

²¹ Grigg, *The World Food Problem*, 5. BMR is the energy expenditure needed to maintain bodily functions and temperature. A human being who is at rest and performs no activities at all still needs energy for the brain, heart, lungs and other organs to function.

²² George F. Cahill, "Physiology of Acute Starvation in Man," in *Famine: Its Causes, Effects and Management*, ed. John R.K. Robson (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1981), 51. It is observed that “Individuals of the same size ... living in the same environment and with the same mode of life, have a similar energy requirement whatever their ethnic origin.” Cf. Rolando V. Garcia and José C. Escudero, *Drought and Man*, vol. 2 (New York: Pergamon, 1982), 13.

²³ George F. Cahill, "Physiology of Acute Starvation in Man," 51. See also a detailed data presentation of energy levels that takes into account all the differences about body energy requirements from person depending on sex, age, kind of work and so on. Michael C. Latham, *Human Nutrition in the Developing World*, Fao Food and Nutrition Series (FAO, 1997), 83-89, UN, *Basal Metabolic Rate in Man* [<http://www.fao.org/docrep/MEETING/004/M2845E/M2845E00.HTM>] (17 October 1981, accessed 20 May 2007).

on the average, experts estimate that a moderately busy man requires up-to around 2700 Kcal., woman, 2210 Kcal, child 112 Kcal.²⁴ FAO and WHO estimate protein requirement of 0.85 grams per Kilogram of body weight for male, 0.8g/kg for female; and 1.2 g/kg for a child at six years of age.²⁵ On micronutrients like minerals and vitamins, emphasis is laid on Iron and calcium, then Vitamins A, B2, C and D. Their measurements vary from person to person and also vary according to the objectives of the analysis.²⁶ Generally, these amounts estimate the standard measure necessary for ordinary survival of a human person. In the language of nutrition, tilting this balance on either side leads to 'bad feeding' technically referred to as 'malnutrition,' as seen above. Intakes that exceed the above standards risk the danger of overnutrition whereas intakes that fall below the standard soon lead to under-nutrition.

From the above observation, it is clearer that hunger in the common use of the term basically refers to under-nutrition. Though the term malnutrition is often employed to express the same reality, it carries with it the ambiguity that designates its effects on either sides of the 'bad feeding.' Under-nutrition specifically designates persistence of the lack or deficiency of basic requirements of body's health, particularly protein, vitamins, or minerals.²⁷ Nutritional deficiency is caused by

²⁴ Cf. Alan Davidson, *The Oxford Companion to Food* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 125. See also Latham, *Human Nutrition in the Developing World*, 49, 51, Poleman, "World Hunger: Extent, Causes, and Cures." Davidson estimates body energy requirement for an active man at 3600 Kcal. and sedentary man at 2600 Kcal, whereas for an active woman it is 2500 Kcal and the sedentary woman 2100 Kcal. Working out the averages would give 3100 Kcal. for a man and 2300 Kcal for a woman respectively. These figures are comparable to Poleman's estimate of 2700 Kcal for a "reference man" in the US, and the FAO estimates (1997) of 2210 Kcal for a woman.

²⁵ Latham, *Human Nutrition in the Developing World*, 98.

²⁶ Cf. *Ibid.*, 111. For a detailed estimation of important micronutrients and their function in the body, see also FAO, *Vitamin and Mineral Requirements in Human Nutrition*, 2nd ed. (Bangkok: FAO, 2004).

²⁷ Warnock, *The Politics of Hunger*, 1. Many analysts prefer to use this meaning in the analysis of the problem of hunger today in the world even when they use

multiple dietary factors that usually operate simultaneously bringing about an impaired nutritional status often accompanied by various diseases. On account of this, experts point out that nutritional rehabilitation of the malnourished individual is considerably complicated and consequently also complicates the overall problem of hunger.²⁸ To many analyses therefore, it is the effects of under-nutrition that best express the consequences of hunger in society today.²⁹

2.2.5 Starvation and Famine

The concept of hunger developed thus far,³⁰ largely remains a physico-psychological experience of an individual subject whose impact shall depend on the abilities of the individuals to make, avoid or

the term 'malnutrition.' For instance, John Warnock notes that "the concern of hunger is the persistence of malnutrition among those who are unable to get enough to eat." The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations also emphasizes this meaning. It views hunger as "not having enough food to meet daily nutritional requirements for days, weeks, even months." Cf. Warnock, *The Politics of Hunger*, 1-2, Grigg, *The World Food Problem*, 2, United Nations, *The Millennium Development Goals Report* [<http://www.un.org/Docs/summit2005/MDGBook.pdf>], 2005, (accessed 12 November 2006).

²⁸ Cf. Sinha, "Malnutrition," 3661.

²⁹ According to FAO and WHO, the most common serious nutritional problems especially in the developing countries include protein-energy deficiency malnutrition, vitamin A deficiency, iodine deficiency disorders and nutritional anaemia, mainly resulting from iron deficiency or iron losses. Energy deficiency results in marasmus, among others, a severe chronic under-nutrition in children and infants that leads to impaired brain and general growth, protein deficiency results in kwashiorkor, hair reddens and straightens, the body is typically swollen, the face is moonlike in shape, and skin rashes and ulcers occur. Deficiency in vitamin A, vitamin C, thiamine, riboflavin, pyridoxine, folic acid and vitamin B12 and iron particularly interfere with normal antibody formation, leading to the complications like blindness, rickets, scurvy, pellagra, beri-beri, endemic goitre and other diseases. Cf. Latham, *Human Nutrition in the Developing World*, 4, Warnock, *The Politics of Hunger*, 2-3, Grigg, *The World Food Problem*, 13.

³⁰ Cf. Kates and Millman, "On Ending Hunger: The Lessons of History." The definition of hunger by Kates and Millman has so far been the most complete and one most relied upon in the foregoing analysis.

postpone choices in relation to individual eating habits.³¹ In order to be able to assess the impact of the hunger phenomenon with reference to a community or society at large, it is important to clarify categories by which hunger becomes a society's concern. From the definitions above, David Grigg and Thomas Poleman particularly speak of undernourishment that follows 'longer periods of hunger.' This phrase introduces the aspect of duration to the meaning of hunger. In common rhetoric on hunger, starvation and famine are the appropriate terms often used to express the effects of hunger on society in time and place, beyond the individual subject.

2.2.5.1 Starvation

The genesis of hunger as a societal problem could be traced to the thin-lined difference between moderate under-nutrition and starvation. Keen distinction between these two highlights the significance of quantity, quality and duration in human subsistence and may be relied upon for the respective meanings of the two terms. While under-nutrition basically implies the scarce quality of the food eaten, starvation highlights an all-together worse situation of prolonged absence of any food material. Under-nutrition, as seen above, arises when some food is eaten but the resultant nutrition is insufficient to meet physiological and metabolic requirements. Starvation, on the other hand, implies that little or no food is eaten, and that such a situation persists for a considerable length of time. In many ways the effects of starvation and under-

³¹ Cf. E. M. Widdowson and A. Ashworth, "Famine, Starvation, and Fasting," in *Encyclopedia of Food Sciences and Nutrition*, ed. Benjamin Caballero, Luiz C. Trugo, and Paul M. Finglas (New York: Academic Press, 2003), 2246. Widdowson and Ashworth observe that some people fast even when they are healthy and there is plenty of food available. The reasons may be political such as in 'hunger strikes', religious such as in fasting (Ramadan) or psychiatric eating disorders such as *anorexia nervosa* and *Bulimia nervosa*. Understood as malnutrition, many point out that hunger "is not limited to those who are forced to exist on inadequate diets, it is also found among those who suffer from excessive consumption." Cf. Warnock, *The Politics of Hunger*, 1.

nutrition are said to be the same, but as, Widdowson and Ashworth note, the differences are those of degree due to priority in the order of time and duration. A starving or undernourished person loses weight but the organs and tissues lose weight at different rates. Thus, prolonged lack of food implied in starvation necessarily leads to under-nutrition but under-nutrition does not necessarily presuppose starvation.³² The aspect of duration highlighted by this difference is basic to the measurability or estimation of the levels of hunger. In many analyses, it facilitates statistical estimates of the hunger problem on the basis of which solutions to the problem may be advanced. Duration allows other important estimates such as daily, weekly, monthly calorie requirement. It further allows estimates of energies required to carry out certain piece of work over a period of time. One may therefore argue that starvation is, in fact, the aspect that articulates the implications of duration in the experience of hunger, malnutrition or under-nutrition.

2.2.5.2 Famine

Hunger is better expressed as famine when it results not only from prolonged absence of food, but also when its effects are felt over a given area. George W. Cox defines famine as “regional failure of food production or distribution systems, leading to sharply increased mortality due to starvation and associated disease...it is a chronic insufficiency of foods that meet minimal nutritional requirements, leading to suffering and to high mortality rates.”³³ Furthermore, Cox

³² Ibid., 2245. Some differences in effects have been noted by Widdowson and Ashworth at this detailed level. The resting metabolic rate per kilogram body weight is not greatly reduced in moderate under-nutrition, but in a starving person it ultimately falls as does the body temperature. Further, it is observed that the digestive tract functions normally in moderate nutrition provided there is no infection, but in a starving person diarrhea may become severe due to bacterial infection resulting in dehydration, which may be fatal.

³³ George W. Cox, "The Ecology of Famine: An Overview," in *Famine: Its Causes, Effects and Management*, ed. John R.K. Robson (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1981), 5.

characterizes famine as “epidemic malnutrition, chronic scarcity and endemic malnutrition.”³⁴ Mohiuddin Alamgir refers to famine in terms of a “community syndrome brought about by a disequilibrium situation, which occurs only when a number of exogenous forces combine to produce a shock of considerable magnitude under the pressure of which the existing institutions give in, at least temporarily.”³⁵

From these two definitions certain aspects which dominate the interpretation of the term hunger in its common use, emerge conspicuously. Firstly, the idea of community or group clearly projects the use of the term beyond an individual. There is also the emphasis on specific regional extension. As such the population affected by famine is usually pictured within a specific geographical extension. Thirdly, famine particularly designates high mortality. It is not the suffering and/or death of an individual alone, it often describes the suffering of many and many lost lives too. Then time duration is the specifying factor that generally designates the gravity of famine. It is also the factor that determines mortality levels. The longer the duration of famine, the higher the mortality. It is also clear from the two definitions that the notion of famine directly links hunger to food shortage and by implication, to the details of production, distribution, security and use of food in society. In the evolution of the hunger problem, this is the point where the notion of hunger assumes a dimension wider than the individual food requirement. These factors clearly locate the notion of hunger beyond the private individual desire for food.

The basis of this nuance in dimension is articulated more by the observation of Widdowson and Ashworth that during ‘hunger seasons’, common among communities that depend on subsistence farming,

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Mohiuddin Alamgir, "An Approach Towards a Theory of Famine," in *Famine: Its Causes, Effects and Management*, ed. John R.K. Robson (New York: Gordon and Breach, 1981), 20.

coping strategies such as the selling of non-essential items, exist to mitigate the adverse effects and insure survival. But in famine situations the usual coping strategies are insufficient. Thus “famines are characteristically accompanied by extreme measures that may disrupt future livelihoods such as selling animals, land, and other essential items.”³⁶ To this end, the concepts of starvation and famine, rather wider in extension, complete the picture of the scourge of hunger as a problem in society today. In the absence of these two notions hunger remains largely an individual problem. Thus the use of the two notions become important where the general impression depicting duration of hunger, its geographical location and the massive deaths caused are implied.

2.3 The Current Status of the World Hunger Problem

2.3.1 The World Hunger

The centrality of nutrition in human subsistence cannot be overemphasized. But as experts observe, “adequate nutrition depends primarily on overall food intake.”³⁷ When all is said and done, it is the lack of basic food requirements that subject people to the scourge of hunger. The world hunger problem therefore is, first and foremost, interpreted in terms of food shortage. Its analysis will always refer to the lack of access to food in one way or another. Kates and Millman consider three conditions that presuppose any such analysis: “Food shortage, where there is not enough food in a bounded region; food poverty, where there may be sufficient food but some households do not

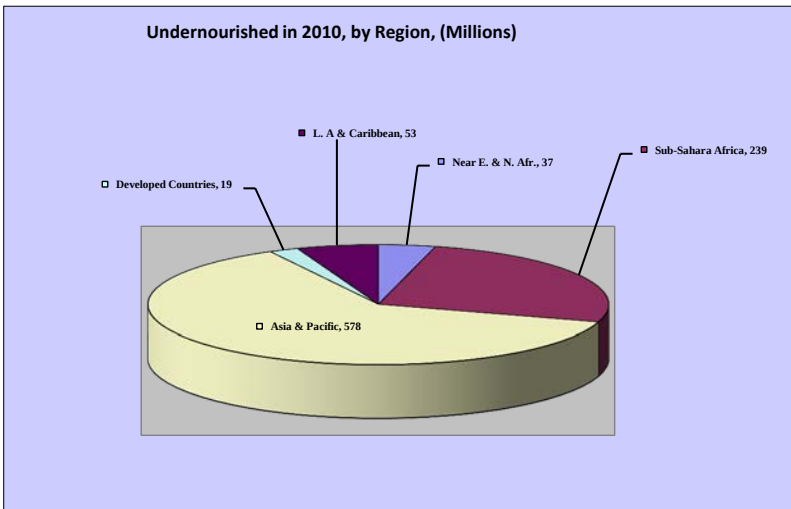
³⁶ Widdowson and Ashworth, “Famine, Starvation, and Fasting,” 2243.

³⁷ Mellor, Delgado, and Blackie, *Accelerating Food Production in Sub-Saharan Africa*, 39. See also John W. Mellor and Bruce F. Johnston, “The World Food Equation: Interrelationships among Development, Employment, and Food Consumption,” *Journal of Economic Literature* Vol. 22, no. 2 (June 1984): 531-574.

have sufficient means to obtain it, and food deprivation, where the household may have sufficient food, but good may be withheld from individuals, special nutritional needs may not be met or illness may prevent proper absorption.”³⁸ These conditions form the basis against which the problem of hunger is interpreted and responded to. In its recent update in this regard, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, FAO, estimates that a total of 925 million people were undernourished in 2010 compared with 1.023 billion in 2009.³⁹ Figure 0 below gives the distribution of this number among the different regions around the world.

Figure 0: Number of Undernourished Persons in the World, 2010

Source: FAO. 2011. "Hunger: Global Hunger Declining but Still



³⁸ Robert W. Kates and Sara Millman, "On Ending Hunger: The Lessons of History," in *Hunger in History*, ed. Lucile F. Newman (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 389.

³⁹ FAO. 2010. "Food Security Data and Definitions: Number of Undernourished Persons." <http://www.fao.org/economic/ess/ess-data/ess-fs/ess-fadata/en/#population>, (accessed 2 January 2011).

Unacceptably High." <http://www.fao.org/hunger/en/>, (accessed 18 January 2011).

According to this update, the developed region of the world houses 19 million undernourished persons. According to the World Food Organization, this figure only represented 2 percent of the undernourished population.⁴⁰ In this order, the remaining 98 percent live in the developing countries as of the year 2010. Asia and the Pacific region is home to 578 million hungry persons, nearly two thirds of the world's hungry people. Sub-Sahara Africa had 239 million while Latin America and the Caribbean house 53 million hungry people. The remaining 37 million live in the Near East and North African region. Despite the decline in the number of undernourished persons from 1.023 million in 2009 to 925 million in the year 2010, the first in 15 years, FAO report interprets this figure to be "unacceptably high."⁴¹ Due to the high food prices prompted by the competing demand for food grain from bio-fuel industry between 2006 and 2008, the decline of undernourishment was anticipated in the event that food prices improved. Nonetheless, when the economic situation improved in 2009-2010, the reduced number of the undernourished persons was still higher than the initial food and economic crisis of 2008-2009.⁴²

Apart from the statistics that point out the size of under-nutrition alone, the general population trends such as its size and growth rate, is still associated with the varying impact of hunger in the affected regions. The significance of the numbers above stands out clearer when undernourishment is also interpreted as a proportion of the total population and its distribution among the different regions of the world. How significant are these numbers to warrant the world's concern and

⁴⁰ Cf. WFP. 2010. "Hunger." <http://www.wfp.org/hunger/stats>, (accessed 12 January 2011).

⁴¹ FAO. 2011. "Hunger: Global Hunger Declining but Still Unacceptably High." <http://www.fao.org/hunger/en/>, (accessed 18 January 2011).

⁴² Ibid.

worry over undernourishment? According to the United Nations, “undernourishment refers to the condition of people whose dietary energy consumption is continuously below a minimum dietary energy requirement for maintaining a healthy life and carrying out a light physical activity.”⁴³ The section of people referred to in this understanding is better captured in terms of the whole, that is, with reference to the whole population. Table 1 below presents updated statistical data representing the numbers of the undernourished persons in relation to the population figures of various regions of the world before the food price crises of 2007-2009.

Table 1: Undernourishment 2005-2007

Region	Population (Mil.)	Undernourishment	
		Number (mil.)	Prevalence in total pop. (%)
World	6,559.3	847.5	13
Developed Region	1,275.6	12.3	-
Developing Region	5,283.7	835.2	16
L. A & Caribbean	556.1	47.1	8
South Asia	1,520.1	331.1	22
East Asia	1,402.1	139.5	10
Southeast Asia	555.5	76.1	14
Sub-Sahara Africa	729.6	201.2	28
Oceania	143.6	9.0	6

Source: FAO. 2010. "Food Security Data and Definitions: Population." <http://www.fao.org/economic/ess/ess-data/ess-fs/ess-fadata/en/>, (accessed 4 January 2011).

As the world's population hit the mark of 6.5 billion people by 2007, 13 percent of this population consisted of undernourished persons, numbering 847.5 million. The remaining five sixths of the world's

⁴³ FAO Statistical Division. 2008. "Number of Undernourished Persons." http://www.fao.org/es/ess/faostat/foodsecurity/index_en.htm (accessed 10 June 2008).

population live in the developing world of which 16 percent are undernourished. Some important observation can be made with regard to the levels of undernourishment in the different regions of the world. Numerically, South Asia region which contains over 1.52 billion of the world's population had over 331 million undernourished people by 2007.⁴⁴ East Asia and Sub-Sahara Africa which contained the second (1.4 billion) and third (729 million) highest regional populations in the world likewise posited the second and third highest number of undernourished person being 139 million and 201 million respectively. However, the case is different when one considers hunger prevalence. In this order, Sub-Sahara Africa registered the highest prevalence of hunger in the world throughout the period 2005-2007. While the highly populated South and East Asia experienced hunger prevalence of 22 and 10 percent respectively, Sub-Sahara Africa region posited 28 percent in the same period. In this same order, Southeast Asia whose population is only half that of East Asia, that is 555 million against 1.4 billion respectively, also posited a prevalence of 14 percent, which was higher than 10 percent of East Asia. Here, a pattern emerges in which regions with large population record a higher number of undernourished persons but lower prevalence, while those with lower numbers tend to record higher hunger prevalence. This pattern points at the possibility that the consideration of the numbers in the analysis of hunger problem does not necessarily imply its prevalence. Nevertheless, the world's 925 million hungry people by 2007 were generally concentrated in the developing countries, especially Asia and Africa.

⁴⁴ FAO. "Food Security Data and Definitions: Number of Undernourished Persons," (accessed 20 January 2011). According to the SOFI country group composition of the UN, South Asia comprises of the India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Nepal. East Asia comprises of China, Republic of Korea (North Korea), Democratic People's Republic of Korea (South Korea) and Mongolia. Southeast Asia includes: The Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Vietnam and Laos.

The period between the year 2008 and 2010, was characterized by great uncertainty regarding undernourishment especially among the poor countries.⁴⁵ Furthermore, a complete data depicting the situation of different regions of the world in this regard has not yet been obtained. Instead, table 2 below projects the problem of hunger, both in numbers and prevalence, towards the year 2030 in relation to the world population as of 2010. Undernourishment has been projected in the light of food availability and considered in the background of the world's population and its growth rate.

Table 2: Undernourishment in the world towards 2030

World/ Region	Population (millions), 2010	Growth rate projection (%) 2010- 2020	Per caput food availability (Kcal/day)		Undernourished			
					Numbers in millions		% of population	
			2015	2030	2015	2030	2015	2030
World	6,843	1.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Developing Reg.	5,671		2 846	2 983	610	443	11	6
S. S. Africa	864	2.2	2 360	2 543	205	183	23	15
L. A. & Carib.	588	1.1	2 983	3 136	40	25	6	4
Nr E. & N. Afr.	213		3 092	3 165	37	34	7	5
E. & S.E Asia	1,109.8	0.1	3 064	3 192	135	82	6	4
South Asia	636.2	1.3	2 700	2 901	195	119	12	6

Source: FAO Statistical Division. 2008. "Summary of World Food and Agricultural Statistics 2004." http://www.fao.org/es/ess/index_en.asp (accessed 6 June 2010), 9.14.

⁴⁵ Cf. FAO. 2008. "The State of Food Insecurity in the World: High Food Prices and Food Security - Threats and Opportunities." <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/011/i0291e/i0291e00.pdf>, (accessed 7 January 2011).

UN Population Division. 2009. "World Population Prospects: The 2008 Revision Population Data Base." <http://esa.un.org/UNPP/index.asp?panel=1>, (accessed 12 January 2011).

Three important trends can be noticed. In the first place, although the entire world population is set to increase over the next three decades, the population growth rate varies from region to region. It will remain higher in the countries already in the state of food insecurity. Sub-Saharan region of African will still witness the highest population growth rate of 2.2 at least over the next decade, it will remain above two units when all the other regions of the world will experience. At the time, this shall be the highest population growth rate in the world, exceeding all others by more than one percent. This is demonstrated by a considerably wide range difference it exhibits from the South Asia region which is the second in value with only 1.3 percent population growth rate in the same period.

Secondly, this will also affect the trend of undernourishment in the world. As from the year 2015, Sub-Saharan Africa will still remain the region with disproportionately high under-nutrition in terms of both the numbers and prevalence. With its faster population growth rate, the Sub-Saharan region of Africa will register as many as 205 million by 2015, and 183 million undernourished people by 2030. This number is, by far, the highest projection over and above any other single region in the world.⁴⁶ On this note experts predict that the Sub-Saharan region shall still have 23 percent of its population undernourished by 2015, and only slightly drop to 15 percent by 2030. No other single region is foreseen to posit even only a half of this levels of undernourishment. All regions

⁴⁶ Though numerically, Asia would still posit bigger numbers, but Africa will certainly maintain the highest population growth rate at the time. It is worth noting here that this is the time when the whole world looks forward to a reduced population. It is the time far beyond both the WFS and MDG targets intended for 2015 latest.

that will still experience a state of food insecurity are projected to have between 6-12 percent in 2015 and only between 4-6 percent undernourishment by 2030. Thirdly, the aspect of food-population balance still remains a challenge given the persistent high levels of the population growth rates in the developing regions shown on the table above. As the expert, John Pierce observes, "The balance between growth in population and food production has been a precarious one during the history of the human race. The recent dynamics of this balance are particularly complex and uneven, with the developed world achieving a consistently higher equilibrium between food supply and food demand than its developing counterpart."⁴⁷ In table 2 above, the aspect of per person food availability has been introduced in order to reinforce the assessment of impact resulting from the pressure of the population increases in the regions as well as the value of the response elicited. From the above data, it can be observed that the whole world faces a general increase in the amount of food available for each person each day.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ John T. Pierce, *The Food Resource* (London: Longman Group, 1990), 37.

⁴⁸ Cf. Pierce, *The Food Resource*, 40. Changes in the production of food and cereals per capita provide approximate indications of the balance between demographic trends and the growth of food output. The amount of food available per person is the lowest one can go in the effort of tracing the impact of under nutrition in the population. This factor not only allows one to estimate the number of people undernourished, but also helps to establish the substantial impact of undernourishment in the population. The per-person food availability is often worked out in terms of energy (Kcals.) content often provided by cereals. However, establishing only the tones of cereals available per person at any one time, as is the case here, does not establish the full information of undernourishment to individual persons, not even to the general population. As Pierce notes, "they do not provide any indication of the effective demand for food and ultimate consumption patterns." Nonetheless, it is important to give the details of this important component of nutrition as a basis of working out other important aspects like protein, minerals and vitamins. On the universal level, it is difficult to instantly avail the updated figures on population and hunger regularly and uniformly around the world that can satisfy various analyses undertaken by experts around the world. The per-person-food-availability element facilitates the working out of projections into a reasonable time in future

However, the projected trend of undernourishment in Sub-Saharan Africa is particularly noteworthy. As a consequence of having the most limited per person food availability of 2,360 Kcal per person per day in 2015, and only 2,543 Kcal per person per day by 2030 (all other regions will have an average of 3000 Kcal per person per day already by 2015), the region is projected to experience the highest levels of undernourishment in the world in the next three to five decades. The region is projected to record the highest number of undernourishment at 205 million persons in 2015 and only slightly fall to 183 million by 2030. All other regions will record between 37 million and 195 million by 2015 that will move down to between 25 million and 119 million in 2030. Prevalence of undernourishment will also be highest in Sub-Saharan Africa. It will be as high as 23 percent in 2015 and only slightly move down to 15 percent by 2030. Other regions will record an average of only 5 percent already by 2015 and project to record even lesser as they approach the year 2030. Thus, though undernourishment is projected to come down both in numbers and prevalence, the rate of decrease will be significantly low especially in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia.

In conclusion, it is crucial to note here that although undernourishment is generally set towards a reducing trend, while the per person food availability is generally set to increase across the world, the effects of the average annual population growth rates in these regions is cause for concern. The abnormally high population growth rate, standing at 2.2 percent throughout the period 2010-2020 in Sub-Saharan Africa, is part of the experience that will see Africa still positing

in which case it becomes relatively easy to estimate the situation of hunger in any year in the past or the future. See FAO, "Summary of World Food and Agricultural Statistics 2004," (accessed 6 June 2008), 8.3.

⁴⁸ Projections availed in both table 14 and 15 are a safeguard to this analysis where the latest figures both of the world population and of the world's undernourished are those of the year 2004.

very high numbers of hungry people by the years 2015, 2030 and beyond. The impact of such a high population growth rate for Africa is compounded by the observation from the data above that the continent shall have the least per person food availability in the world in the specified period. The marginal gains it is projected to experience in the per person food availability will be rendered almost insignificant by the abnormal population growth rate it shall experience at the same time. The suitable aggregate observation, thus, is a continent with the smallest amount of food with a sustained highest population growth rate in the world towards 2015, and the situation projected to grow worse by the year 2030. Generally, if the picture of the statistical projections presented here is anything to go by, hunger will still be a threat even in the next five decades.

2.3.2 The World's Response: The World Food Summit Targets and the Millennium Development Goal on World Hunger

In the lead up to the closing decade of the 20th Century, four serious events took place under the auspices of the United Nations that generally describe the world's current status regarding under-nutrition. A closer look at these factors reveals both the gains and the frustrations that have characterized the on-going struggle against hunger. One of these events is the consensus of the world leaders at the Rome World Food Summit (WFS) in 1996 where more than 180 nations, met to discuss ways of ending hunger.⁴⁹ Secondly, at the Millennium Summit in September 2000 the world leaders under the United Nations Organization adopted the UN Millennium Declaration, committing their nations to a new global partnership. They set out a series of time-bound targets with a

⁴⁹ Cf. FAO Corporate Document repository. 2006. "The State of Food Insecurity in the World 2006." <http://www.fao.org/docrep/009/a0750e/a0750e00.htm> (accessed 18 June 2008).

deadline of 2015 that constituted the world's Millennium Development Goals.⁵⁰ The second target of the first Millennium Development Goal specified hunger for special attention: to "halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger."⁵¹ The other two initiatives since then are the "Follow-up World Food Summit, 2002," and above all the commitment to realizing the right to food expressed in the Voluntary Guidelines adopted in 2004.⁵² The initiative of instrumentalizing the right to food has since then been pursued as one of the ways of ensuring adequate provision of food to all within the time frame set up in the previous respective targets. However, the first two of these initiatives are, particularly significant. They provide a structure that enables the United Nations to monitor and evaluate the progress made in the implementation of the specific targets that were set. This made possible the world's assessment of these targets in consequent

⁵⁰ UN Millennium Project. 2002. "Millennium Development Goals." <http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/> (accessed 19 June 2008). Generally, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are the world's time-bound and quantified targets for addressing extreme poverty in its many dimensions: income poverty, hunger, disease, lack of adequate shelter, and exclusion while promoting gender equality, education, and environmental sustainability. The world community also sees these to be the basic human rights, the rights of each person on the planet to health, education, shelter, and security. In a summery version the eight goals are: To Eradicate Extreme Hunger and Poverty, To Achieve Universal Primary Education, To Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women, To Reduce Child Mortality, To Improve Maternal Health, To Combat HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other diseases, To Ensure Environmental sustainability, And To Develop a Global partnership for Development. Since their adoption by all United Nations Member States in 2000, the Millennium Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals have become a universal framework for development and a means for developing countries and their development partners to work together in pursuit of a shared future for all.

⁵¹ Ibid., The two targets in the first goal 'To Eradicate Extreme Hunger and Poverty,' are: first, to halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than \$1 a day, and secondly, to halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger." Our attention here is on the second target.

⁵² Cf. Wenche Barth Eide and Uwe Kracht, *Food and Human Rights in Development*, vol. 1 (Antwerp: Intersentia, 2005), 106.

initiatives like that of the Follow-up World Food Summit: five years later in 2002.⁵³ In 1996, the World Food Summit approved a plan of action that established the target of halving the number of undernourished people by no later than 2015.⁵⁴ On the other hand, the second target of the first Millennium Development Goal was to halve, the proportion of the people who suffer from hunger between 1990 and 2015. While the World Food Summit proposed to consider and deal with the real concrete number of individual persons facing undernourishment, the Millennium Development Goals targeted only its prevalence obtainable by considering the general number of the undernourished in relations to the world's population. Regular monitoring of the implementation of both targets has provided the nearest estimates of the magnitude of the problem of undernourishment in the world today. The 'monitoring of action' allows continuous evaluation and estimates that update society on the state of the world's effort in addressing the hunger phenomenon.⁵⁵

⁵³ Cf. UN Millennium Project. 2008. "Millennium Development Goals." <http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/index.htm> (accessed 15 Oct. 2008). See also UN. 2007. "The Millennium Development Goals Report 2007." http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Resources/Static/Products/Progress2007/UNSD_MDG_Report_2007e.pdf (accessed June 2007).

⁵⁴ The 1996 world food summit plan of action outlined seven commitments that were to be undertaken in order to realize this goal. The first one was "To ensure an enabling political, social, and economic environment designed to create the best conditions for the eradication of poverty and for durable peace based on full and equal participation of women and men, which is most conducive to achieving sustainable food security for all." Cf. FAO, *The State of Food Security in the World 2006: Eradicating World Hunger-Taking Stock Ten Years after the World Food Summit* (Rome: United Nations, 2006), <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/009/a0750e/a0750e00.pdf>.

⁵⁵ William H. Meyers and Michael Rewald, "Successes and Failures in Achieving the Goals of the World Food Summit," in *Sustainable Food Security for All by 2020*, ed. Per Pinstrup-Andersen and Rajul Pandya-Lorch (Bonn, Germany: IPFRI, 2001), 22. According to William H. Meyers, these commitments remain relevant in reducing the number of undernourished and eventually achieving food security for all. The seven are: 1. To ensure an enabling political, social, and economic environment for food security. 2. To

Against this background, regular FAO annual reports on the ‘State of Food Insecurity in the World,’ provide reliable updates of the general world hunger monitoring process. Ten years after the WFS set its targets, FAO’s Committee on World Food Security reviewed progress and setbacks in hunger reduction since 1990-1992, the established baseline period.⁵⁶ The report reviewed the trends in hunger at the global, regional and sub-regional levels, and gave FAO’s comprehensive projections of undernourishment by 2015. It focused on the levels of undernourishment in each of the major developing regions and the transition countries.⁵⁷ With its focus on regions especially in the developing world, the committee’s report is captured in Figures 1 below giving general trends of undernourishment in the world from the 1970’s. From the information captured in figure 1, it is clear that the targets set by the World Food Summit and the Millennium Development Goals had substantially altered the trends of the world hunger over the previous fifteen years or so. From the base line set by the WFS and MDG initiatives, the period 1990-1992 ushered in generally a decreasing trend. However, the trend decreased at different rates. The decrease in the auspices of WFS is apparently the most drastic. The graph gradient

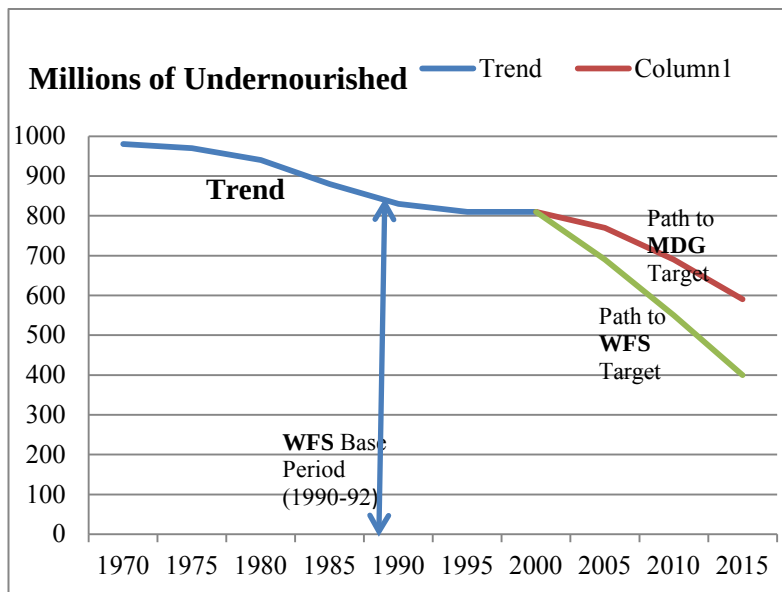
implement policies aimed at eradicating poverty and improving the physical and economic access to food by all. 3. To pursue sustainable food production and rural developments policies and practices in both high and low-potential areas. 4. To ensure that trade policies are conducive to fostering food security for all. 5. To prevent and forestall natural and human-induced disasters and to meet transitory and emergency food requirements. 6. To ask the public and private investments be allocated to foster human resource development, sustainable agricultural systems, and rural development in both high- and low-potential areas. 7. To implement these actions and monitor the whole plan of action.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ The regions analyzed are those in the developing world considered to be most affected by undernourishment or in the State of Food Insecurity (SOFI). They include Latin America and the Caribbean, Near East and North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and the Pacific, India and China. The transition countries are considered since they still comprise the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), which still contain majority of undernourished people.

interpreted in the context of the presumed projections towards the year 2015 is more ambitious with the WFS target than it is with the MDG target.

Figure 1: Number of Undernourished People in the Developing World



Source: FAO. *The State of Food Security in the World 2006: Eradicating World Hunger-Taking Stock Ten Years after the World Food Summit*. Rome: United Nations, 2006. <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/009/a0750e/a0750e00.pdf>. (Accessed 6 June 2008)

The picture portrayed by the graph on figure 1 above, indicates concrete numerical implication with the targets of both initiatives. From the graph, the ten years of close monitoring of the world hunger problem, witness a general drastic downward trend in the population of the undernourished. Indeed the report noted that by 2006, a smaller percentage of the population of developing countries was undernourished, that is 17 percent, compared to the 20 percent of the period 1990-1992. The number of undernourished people in the developing countries had declined by 3 million. In the period 1991-1992

the world recorded a total of around 823 million people undernourished in the developing countries. But in the period 2001-2003, this had fallen to 820 Million in the developing countries, 25 million in transition countries and 9 million in the industrialized countries, giving a total of 854 million hungry people.⁵⁸ While these figures reflected a positive response to the targets of the WFS, the percentage proportion targeted by the MDG was likewise a downward trend. There was a general reduction in the proportion of undernourished people in the developing countries by 3 percentage points – from 20 percent in 1990–1992 to 17 percent in 2001–2003. Experts attribute all this to the world's effort in setting the two respective set of targets.⁵⁹

As can be observed from Figure 1 above, despite a painfully slow global progress in hunger reduction over the previous decade, the projections of the FAO report of 2006 indicated acceleration in the future. The prevalence of hunger in the developing countries as a group was projected to drop by exactly half from the base rate (in 1990–1992) of 20.3 percent to 10.1 percent in 2015. If this happened, experts envisioned that the MDG hunger reduction target would be met. On the other hand, WFS target (reduce numbers by half) was seen to be more ambitious. Because of the continued growth of the world population witnessed since the implementation of this target took effect, very small decrease in the number of hungry people has nevertheless resulted in a reduction in the proportion of undernourished people in the developing countries by 3 percentage points as seen above. This means the proportions of hungry people in the developing countries will need to be cut by much more than half if the target is to be met. This has

⁵⁸ Cf. FAO, "Summary of World Food and Agricultural Statistics 2004," (accessed 6 June 2008).

⁵⁹ Ibid., see p. 8 of this FAO report, see also figure 4 below showing the proportion of undernourished people and the Millennium Development goal targets. See the percentages of the performance of the developing countries in the first column.

substantially hampered the realization of the WFS target. Thus, the progress has continued towards the first Millennium Development Goal (MDG 1) of halving the percentage of undernourished people by 2015. However, the report importantly observes that, “even if the MDG target were to be reached by 2015, the WFS target would still be far from being met. In order to attain the WFS target in the developing countries, the number of undernourished people must be reduced by 31 million per year between the period 2001-2003 and 2015.”⁶⁰

On the basis of this analytic projections, the committee’s finding after these ten years, was that the world was still confronted with the sad reality that virtually no progress had been made towards the set objective: to halve, by 2015, the number of undernourished people in the world from the 1990 level. Compared with the period 1990-1992, the number of undernourished people in the developing countries had declined by a meagre 3 million ten years later. Likewise, this reflected only a smaller percentage of the populations of these countries, that is, 17 to 20 percent, a number referred to by the Director General of FAO as, “a number within the bounds of statistical error.”⁶¹ Although general projections suggest progress in meeting the Millennium Development Goal on hunger reduction, it is observed that the same statistics also indicate the target could be missed all together: “some 582 million people could still be undernourished in 2015 versus 412 million if the WFS goal were to be met.” Experts attribute this to the discrepancy between what could (and should) be done, and what is actually being done for the millions of people suffering from hunger. Comparing these two, many will consider it “almost a natural reaction to dismiss the period since the WFS as a ‘lost decade.’” Lynn Brown of the World

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

Bank, Chairperson, IAWG-FIVIMS,⁶² was quoted in the following words over this situation. She said of the whole report:

As an active member of the food security community, I read this year's State of Food Insecurity in the World report with a sense of outrage. What makes the report even more disheartening is that, although in 1996 we made a commitment to halve the number of hungry people by 2015, in reality we went into reverse after the 1996 World Food Summit, with 233 million people added to the ranks of the hungry between 1995-97 and 2001- 03. This dismal performance all but wiped out the progress, which had removed 26 million hungry people from the ranks of the undernourished during the first half of the decade. The report rightly points out that we could have achieved so much more in hunger reduction than we did ... The findings in this report are all the more stark and all the more depressing given that, a few months ago, we learned there are now more obese people in the world than hungry people. There were some important successes in the 1990s, but overall our performance as food security practitioners has not been up to the task.⁶³

This, indeed, is a very desperate statement mentioned at the end of an exhaustive report from which many had anxiously expected a relieving upward trend in the world nutrition. This will become clearer when the focus is turned towards the individual regions affected. But before we focus on regional progress, we highlight a summary of

⁶² Cf. UN Office for the coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. 2002. "The Inter-Agency Working Group." <http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/iawg-Nairobi/> (accessed 1 August 2008). IAWG-FIVIMS stands for The Inter-Agency Working Group (IAWG) on Disaster Preparedness. It was established to provide a forum for Great Lakes Regional Organizations to enhance information exchange and regional coordination in order to respond to emergencies in a timely and cost efficient manner.

⁶³ Ibid.

progress worldwide in the light of updated statistical data in the next section.

2.3.3 Global Progress

Table 3 below gives an updated comparative picture of the achievement made in relation to both the WFS and MDG targets for each region of the developing world. The FAO report captured the situation in the world with the focus particularly on the poor countries in the state of food insecurity.

Table 3: Monitoring progress towards the WFS and the MDG targets

Region	Undernourishment									
	Number (Million)						Prevalence (% of pop)			
	1990-1992	1995-1997	2000-2002	2005-2007	2009	2010	1990-1992	1995-1997	2000-2002	2005-2007
World	843.4	787.5	833.0	847.5	1.02	925	16	14	14	13
Devlpd Region	16.7	19.4	17.0	12.3	15	19	-	-	-	-
Devlpng Region	826.6	768.1	816.0	835.2	-	-	20	17	17	16
L. A & Caribb.	54.3	53.3	50.7	47.1	53	53	12	11	10	8
South Asia	255.4	252.8	287.5	331.1	-	-	22	20	21	22
East Asia	2,156	149.8	142.2	139.5	-	-	18	12	10	10
Southeas t Asia	105.4	85.7	88.9	76.1	-	-	24	18	17	14
Asia & the Pacif.	587.9	498.1	531.8	554.5	642	578	20	16	16	16
Sub-Sahara Afr.	164.9	187.2	201.7	201.2	265	239	34	33	31	28
Nr East & N. Afr.	19.6	29.5	31.8	32.4	42	37	6	8	8	7

Source: FAO. 2010. "Food Security Data and Definitions: Number of Undernourished Persons." <http://www.fao.org/economic/ess/ess-data/ess-fs/ess-fadata/en/#population>, (accessed 2 January 2011).

UN Population Division. 2009. "World Population Prospects: Population Growth Rate." <http://esa.un.org/UNPP/index.asp?panel=2>, (accessed 16 January 2011).

The data in table 3 above avails a detailed account of both the WFS and MDG targets for each region. It summarizes lessons from the past experience in hunger reduction since the base period of reference, 1990-1992, and upon which it presents the world's current trends in the progress towards meeting the WFS and MDG targets as of the period 2008-2010. From the data above, the world generally saw an overall reduction of undernourishment from 843.4 million persons at the base period, to 787.5 million persons in the period 1995-1997. This represented a decrease of about 56 million persons. But since 1997, the world has experienced a steady rise in numbers of undernourished persons over the last one and a half decades. This rise reached its pick at the close of the decade in 2009 when the world registered a record of 1.02 billion on account of the economic crisis between 2006 to 2008,⁶⁴ accelerated by the sudden upsurge of food prices influenced by the demand for bio-fuels.⁶⁵ The fall in numbers of undernourished persons

⁶⁴ FAO. 2008. "Hunger on the Rise." <http://www.fao.org/newsroom/en/news/2008/1000923/index.html> (accessed 20 October 2008). FAO organized a High-Level Conference on World Food Security entitled: "The Challenges of Climate Change and Bio-energy" in Rome, from 3-5 June 2008. Consequently, on 18 September 2008, FAO issued a statement stating that the rising prices have plunged an additional 75 million people below the hunger threshold, bringing the estimated number of undernourished people worldwide to 923 million in 2007. The statement went on to observe that the high food prices have reversed the previously positive trend towards achieving the Millennium Development Goal of reducing by half the proportion of people suffering from hunger worldwide by 2015. Soaring food, fuel and fertilizer prices have exacerbated the problem. Food prices rose 52 percent between 2007 and 2008, and fertilizer prices have nearly doubled over the past year.

⁶⁵ Cf. FAO. 2008. "Climate Change, Energy and Food." <http://www.fao.org/foodclimate/hlc-home/en/> (accessed 20 June 2008). Technology has today been involved in transforming bioenergy, traditionally obtained by use of biomass, particularly the residues of agriculture and forestry, into bio-fuels now

experienced in the year 2010 has been ignored by experts who argue that it was indeed anticipated as the prices began to fall. Otherwise, the fall did not represent any effects compared to the situation before the rise in food prices in the period 2005-2007.⁶⁶ From the figures in the table above, 925 million of 2010 is still higher than 847.5 million of 2007. However, the overall hunger prevalence in the world has generally remained steady with very slow downward marginal trend from 1992 to the end of 2007. In the whole of this period of about fifteen years, hunger prevalence in the world went down by about 3 percent, from 16 percent in 1992 to 13 percent in 2007. Now let us look at the updated details in the regions.

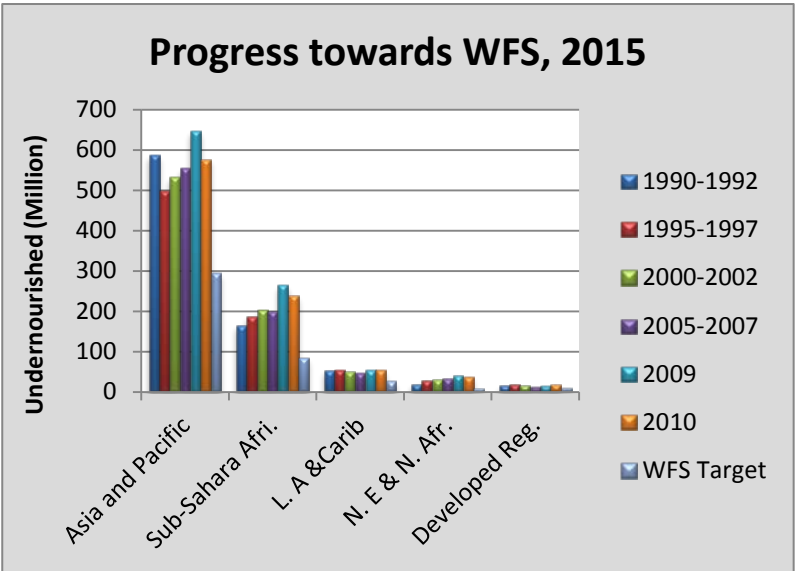
2.3.4 Regional Progress

The situation has been highlighted in each of the five regions with regard to the respective efforts put towards attaining the targets set in 1996 and 2000. The five regions under focus here include Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia and the Pacific, Near East and North Africa, and the Sub-Saharan Africa. Figure 2 and 3 below give a graphic presentation of the updated conditions of undernourishment in the world's regions with respect to WFS and MDG targets respectively.

obtainable by advanced technological processing of cash crops like sugarcane and corn. The latter is gaining prominence owing to its industrial and economic potential estimated to be part of the solutions to climate change, renewable energy source as well as providing income and employment opportunities for rural populations. This however, has ignited competition between food and energy security which of late has drastically affected, among others, the agricultural markets and food prices on the one hand, and rampant speculation on gasoline prices on the other hand. Development planners have been prompted to worn on the need for a careful balance between food and energy security, effects on rural development and others. The consensus so far, points at careful assessment of this balance on the local, national and international levels based on proper information and understanding.

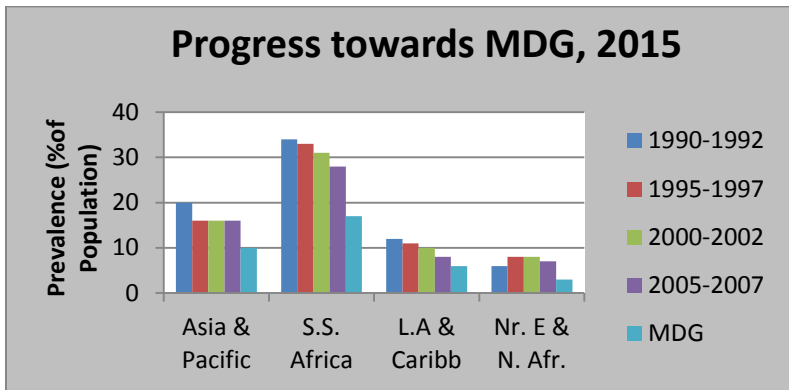
⁶⁶ FAO. "Hunger: Global Hunger Declining but Still Unacceptably High," (accessed 18 January 2011).

Figure 2: Number of Undernourished person per region since base period 1990-1992



Source: FAO. 2010. "Food Security Data and Definitions: Number of Undernourished Persons." <http://www.fao.org/economic/ess/ess-data/ess-fs/ess-fadata/en/#population>, (accessed 2 January 2011).

Figure 3: Undernourishment prevalence per region



Source: FAO. 2010. "Food Security Data and Definitions: Number of Undernourished Persons." <http://www.fao.org/economic/ess/ess-data/ess-fs/ess-fadata/en/#population>, (accessed 2 January 2011).

UN Population Division. 2009. "World Population Prospects: Population Growth Rate." <http://esa.un.org/UNPP/index.asp?panel=2>, (accessed 16 January 2011).

With regard to the WFS target, figure 2 demonstrates that all the regions in the state of food insecurity experienced an increase rather than a decrease in the numbers of the undernourished persons from period to period since 1997. The steepest rise was noticed in each region between 2007 and 2009. Asia and the Pacific witnessed an increase of about 86.5 million undernourished persons from 554.5 Million in 2007 to 642 million in 2009. Sub-Sahara Africa increased by 63.8 million, Near East and North African region increased by about 9.8 million persons, and the Latin America and the Caribbean region by 5.9 million. With regard the MDG on hunger prevalence, figure 3, all but the Near East and North Africa region, recorded decreases in undernourishment ranging between 1 to 3 percent differences, with signs that the margins of decrease would even be wider in the consequent periods leading to the year 2015. Progress was particularly significant in Asia and the Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean. However, the rate of this reduction was small and slow, posing the doubt in the minds of many observers as to whether the MDGs would be achieved on time.⁶⁷ For instance, despite this minimal decline in prevalence in Asia and the Pacific, the number of undernourished persons actually reverted to an increasing trend in this region over the later part of the decade.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Cf. FAO, "The State of Food Insecurity in the World 2006," (accessed 7 June 2008).

⁶⁸ Cf. FAO. 2006. "The State of Food Security in the World 2006: Eradicating World Hunger-Taking Stock Ten Years after the World Food Summit," United

Likewise, though such progress was notable in some sub-regions of the Latin America and the Caribbean regions, other sub-regions like Central America and Mexico the number of hungry people actually increased instead.⁶⁹ The details in other remaining regions too indicate signs of moving away from the target albeit in varying degrees. On the overall, it is notable that the Near East and North Africa region was the only region in the developing world where both the number and proportion of undernourished has risen steadily since 1990-92, albeit from a relatively low base.⁷⁰ What hope therefore, does the pursuit of both the WFS targets and the MDG hold in the fight against hunger? Table 4 below summarizes this analysis by highlighting the statistical implication of what remains to be done in order to fulfil the targets of both the WFS and MDGs by 2015.

Table 4: The Task ahead of 2015

Region		Undernourishment at Base Period 1990-1992		Target (1/2 of base value)		Latest level		Deficit to 2015	
		Numbers (Million)	Prev. % of pop.	Numbs. (WFS)	Prev. (MDG) %	2010	2005-2007 %	Numbs .	Pre v. %
1	World	843.4	16	421.7	8	925	13	503.6	5
2	L.A. & Caribb	54.3	12	27.1	6	53	8	26	2
3	Asia &	587.9	20	294	10	578	16	284	6

Nations. <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/009/a0750e/a0750e00.pdf>, <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/009/a0750e/a0750e00.pdf> (accessed 12 August 2009). See also FAO. "The State of Food Insecurity in the World: High Food Prices and Food Security - Threats and Opportunities," (accessed 9 October 2010).

⁶⁹ Cf. FAO. 2010. "Food Security Statistics by Country." <http://www.fao.org/economic/ess/food-security-statistics/food-security-statistics-by-country/en/>, (accessed 9 October 2010).

⁷⁰ FAO, "The State of Food Insecurity in the World 2006." The report illustrates this situation well by use of charts, tables and figures. See figures 3-8, on page 8-10.

	Pacific								
4	S.S. Africa	164.9	34	82.4	17	239	28	154	11
5	Nr. E & N. Afri.	19.6	6	9.8	3	37	7	27.2	4

Source: FAO

From the table, the task facing the world is daunting. The MDG will require a reduction of 503.6 million people and the WFS will require 5 percent prevalence in order to attain the targets of halving both the numbers and prevalence of undernourishment by 2015. This will only bring undernourishment down to the level of 421.7 million people and reduce prevalence to 8 percent worldwide as the respective targets of the two initiatives. The table goes on to show what each region needs to do in order to facilitate the world's dream towards development. Asia and the Pacific, for example, were projected to reduce the number of the hungry persons from 587.9 million in 1992 to at least 294 million by the close of 2015 as a WFS target. So far it has only brought it down to 578 million that is, by a mere difference of only 10 million for the last 18 years by the close of 2010. The question is what hope is there of reducing this undernourishment by a whole margin of 284 million persons in the next 4 years? The question can be asked of all the five regions in the state of food insecurity in the world. An anxious situation is expected in the Sub-Sahara region of Africa where the aggregate number of undernourished persons increased rather than decrease. While undernourishment in this region stood at 164.9 million persons in 1992, it had gone up by 74.1 million persons to 239 million persons by the end of 2010. This trend puts the region in a difficult position to strategise towards the world targets not only in undernourishment but in the wider question of development.

From the experts' analysis of the trends of undernourishment in 2006, the region of Sub-Saharan Africa had already emerged as the

worst affected by the hunger scourge and the general problem of undernourishment. The report's description of the region was vivid:

Sub-Saharan African accounts for 13 percent of the population and 25 percent of the undernourished people in the developing world. It is the developing region with the highest proportion – one-third – of people suffering from chronic hunger. In 14 countries in the region, 35 percent or more of the population were chronically undernourished in 2001–03. Between 1990–92 and 2001–03, the number of undernourished people increased from 169 million to 206 million, and only 15 of the 39 countries for which data are reported reduced the number of undernourished. At an annual rate of about 2.5 percent, the region's population has been rising more quickly than the number of hungry people, resulting in a reduction in the prevalence of undernourishment from 35 to 32 percent: it declined in 29 countries and increased in ten.⁷¹

Thus, the number of the undernourished has been increasing rather than reducing in this region. Although there had been major gains in several areas and despite the fact that the Goals remain achievable in most African nations, the report at the time noted that even the best governed countries on the continent had not been able to make sufficient progress in reducing extreme poverty in its many forms. On this, FAO report observed: "At the midway point between their adoption in 2000 and the 2015 target date for achieving the Millennium Development

⁷¹ FAO, "The State of Food Insecurity in the World 2006," (accessed 14 June 2008). Particular attention has recently been turned to the worsening of food insecurity in the Democratic Republic of Congo, where the number of undernourished people tripled, from 12 million to 36 million, and the prevalence rose from 31 to 72 percent of the population. The evident conclusion is that conflict is a major reason for lack of progress towards the WFS target in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Goals, Sub-Saharan Africa is not on track to achieve any of the Goals.”⁷² But four years later in its report at the close of 2010, FAO noted progress in some countries in the region that have already achieved the MDG. These include Nigeria, Ghana, Mali, Republic of Congo and Gabon. Others regarded being on track towards achieving MDG 1, include Cameroon, Benin, Burkina Faso, Togo, Chad, Ethiopia, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, and Sudan. The rest register insufficient progress or no progress at all, or in fact, deterioration.⁷³ This could be the unpredictable surprise of the success of the fight against hunger in the years to come.

From the regional point of view therefore, it is clear that the situation of under-nutrition in the world’s developing countries is as precarious as ever. The targets set up by the WFS and MDG initiatives clearly fall far below expectation in terms of the true progress achieved or expected for a decisive approach to the world hunger situation. As pointed out in FAO report of 2006, we reiterate three important points in conclusion. Firstly, the progress towards the WFS target, that is reduction of the numbers, is concentrated in too few sub-regions and generally in those with a prevalence of undernourishment below the average for the developing countries. Secondly, the global progress is largely determined by a few sub-regions with large populations, while too many others have seen virtually no progress or have even experienced setbacks. Thirdly, and most importantly, the number of hungry people has continued to increase in some regions in spite of a reduction in the prevalence of hunger. Consequently, there is need of accelerating the pace of global hunger reduction, it is essential to halt and reverse the

⁷² Ibid. The whole report singles further the three sub-regions of Central and East Africa as being in need of particular priority attention in the whole world.

⁷³ Cf. FAO. 2010. "2010 Progress on Millennium Development Goal 1 - Hunger Target."

http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/es/Hunger_Portal/MDG_Progress_per_country.pdf, (accessed 20 February 2011).

rising trend in numbers where it occurs and to broaden success in hunger reduction to other sub-regions. Finally, the report recommended that substantial acceleration of progress will be needed if the WFS Target is to be met.⁷⁴ But what does the whole report imply for the world's future in terms of its ability to feed its population?

2.4 The Cause of Hunger

2.4.1 Poverty

The above statistical distribution of the malnourished population doubtlessly also confirms the view of many today that hunger is so closely related to poverty. In the early human settlements, ability to secure food both in terms of quantity and quality mainly depended on the status one enjoyed in society. The Greek *polis* for example, was the centre for comparatively wealthy people, the poor remained cultivating the land.⁷⁵ This pattern has followed history down to our own time. It is often observed that the majority of the poor today especially in the developing countries, live in the rural areas with poor infrastructure, poor water and little or no electricity supply. This aggravates access to food supplies consequently, high incidence of hunger cases is concentrated in the rural areas.⁷⁶ On the basis of concrete facts, 'The Task Force' of the United Nations Millennium Project for example,

⁷⁴ Ibid. See especially p. 9-12 of the report.

⁷⁵ Cf. Lowenberg et al, *Food & People*, 26-27: "The city, or the polis, was a political and geographical centre. A rich civic life emerged in the polis to distinguish the Greeks from their neighbours." On the other hand, "the ancient Greek farmer's life was one of hard labour and want."

⁷⁶ Cf. FAO, *Monitoring Progress Towards the World Food Summit and Millennium Development Goals, The State of Food Insecurity in the World* (Rome: FAO, 2004), 28. See also FAO, *The State of Food Insecurity in the World: Eradicating World Hunger - Taking Stock Ten Years after the World Food Summit*, 28.

concluded that about half of the world's hungry people (50 percent) are from smallholder farming communities, another 20 percent are rural landless and about 10 percent live in communities whose livelihoods depend on herding, fishing or forest resources. Only the remaining 20 percent live in cities.⁷⁷ It is also pointed out that 60-80 percent of the people in developing countries live in rural areas whereas, on average, many of these countries invest only 5-10 percent of their budgets on agricultural development to boost local food supplies.⁷⁸ When assessed on a global level the consequence is in the observation that "Half the world, nearly three billion people, live on less than two dollars a day,"⁷⁹ "yet even this statistic fails to capture the humiliation, powerlessness and brutal hardship that is the daily lot of the world's poor."⁸⁰

⁷⁷ FAO, *Monitoring Progress Towards the World Food Summit and Millennium Development Goals*, 25. Both the UN's Millennium Development Goals and the Rome Declaration approved by heads of state and government at the World Food Summit pledge to reduce hunger by half by the year 2015. The United Nations Millennium Project established a special "Hunger Task Force" to promote immediate action towards achieving that goal. The task force includes experts on nutrition, agriculture, environmental sustainability, research, capacity building, business and communications, drawn from a wide range of public and private institutions. The Task Force has carried out research to identify more precisely who and where hungry people are.

⁷⁸ Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, *Counting the Hungry* (accessed 23 March 2007).

⁷⁹ Anup Shah, *Causes of Poverty* [<http://www.globalissues.org/TradeRelated/Facts.asp>] (24 November 2006, accessed 23 March 2007). This figure is based on purchasing power parity (PPP), which basically suggests that prices of goods in countries tend to equate under floating exchange rates and therefore people would be able to purchase the same quantity of goods in any country for a given sum of money. That is, the notion that a dollar should buy the same amount in all countries. Hence if a poor person in a poor country living on a dollar a day moved to the U.S. with no changes to their income, they would still be living on a dollar a day.

⁸⁰ United Nations, Message of the United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annan on the International Day for the Eradication of Poverty [<http://www.un.org/events/poverty2000/messages.htm>] (United Nations Publications, 2000, accessed 23 March 2007). See also Shah, *Causes of Poverty* (accessed 23 March 2007).

Taking this observation into account many, like Simon Arthur confirm that “people are hungry because they are poor.”⁸¹ The Task Force of the UN millennium project then goes on to expound the implications of affirmation thus: “The poor do not have enough money to buy food for their families, in turn they have no means to escape their poverty. Farmers often cannot afford the seed to plant crops that would feed their families, craftsmen lack the money to pay for tools to ply their trade. All are trapped in a cycle of poverty.”⁸² Experts at the same time constantly link poverty to other critical problems of ignorance and disease. These often combine to complete the circle of ignorance-disease-poverty-hunger.⁸³ Thus ignorance and disease may be considered together with poverty to provide a root cause of hunger in society. The combination of these three factors makes more understandable yet another observation which highlights poverty as a root cause of world hunger,

The vast majority of the world’s 852 million chronically undernourished people live in rural areas in the developing world. So do most of the 860 million illiterate adults and the 130 million children who do not go to school. The fact that hunger, illiteracy and lack of schooling affect many of the same areas and people is no coincidence. Nor does it merely reflect the fact that both hunger and lack of education are facets of extreme poverty. Hunger, malnutrition and food insecurity erode cognitive abilities and reduce school attendance. Conversely illiteracy and lack of

⁸¹ Arthur Simon, "The Basic Cause: Poverty," in *The Causes of World Hunger*, ed. William J. Byron (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), 16.

⁸² Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, *Counting the Hungry* (accessed 23 March 2007).

⁸³ FAO, "Human Nutrition in the Developing World." FAO also observes the role played by Ignorance and disease to perpetuating this cycle, “Poverty, ignorance and disease...still persist unchanged as a web of interacting factors which combine to create conditions in which malnutrition flourishes.”

education reduce earning capacity and contribute directly to hunger and poverty ... Lack of education reduces productivity and earning capacity and increases vulnerability to hunger and extreme poverty.⁸⁴

This observation creates an image of a vicious circle where poverty, hunger, ignorance and disease intertwine to perpetuate misery in society, revealing an aspect of hunger where it is at the same time a consequence and a cause of poverty.

Poverty as a cause of hunger is also often treated as an entitlement failure. Many analysts consider situations where certain groups may lose their access to food even in the presence of abundant food. According to them this is indeed the most common and rather serious cause of hunger that confines it mainly among the poor. "Entitlement refers simply to the access to food enjoyed by a household by virtue of its socially recognized right to control certain resources."⁸⁵ Amartya Sen expounds more on this view and notes that "the starving person who does not have the means to command food is suffering from an entitlement failure, and causal antecedents of this may lie in factors far away from food production as such."⁸⁶ Entitlements may be based on various resources including cash incomes, land ownership and various social security arrangements. Where all food is purchased, an adequate supply of cash ensures an adequate supply of food, if it is generally available. Likewise, subsistence farmers enjoy a conventionally accepted right to dispose of

⁸⁴ FAO, *Monitoring Progress Towards the World Food Summit and Millennium Development Goals*, 28. Research shows that a farmer with four years of elementary education is, on average, 8.7 percent more productive than a farmer with no education. When complementary inputs such as fertilizers, new seeds or farm machinery are available, the productivity increase rises to 13 percent.

⁸⁵ Sara Millman and Robert W. Kates, "Toward Understanding Hunger," in *Hunger in History*, ed. Lucile F. Newman (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 5.

⁸⁶ Amartya Sen, "Food Entitlement and Economic Chains," in *Hunger in History*, ed. Lucile F. Newman (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 375.

what they grow, while social security arrangements guarantee a minimal level of access to food.⁸⁷ The main argument behind causality by entitlements lies in the rights that people have to exercise command over food and other necessities. Once these rights are obstructed for whatever reason, respective groups will suffer from hunger whether or not food supplies are adequate. Hence, "equitably distributed, global (food) supplies are sufficient to feed all. The problem is that all within a country do not have equal access to existing supplies."⁸⁸

Generally, one may observe that poverty is indeed the most basic of the causes of hunger. It incapacitates all other possibilities of overcoming the hunger problem by creating dominant vicious circle of factors to which rural communities are most susceptible. It is also observable that in our own time, magnified effects of poverty that amount to persistent hunger are hardly believable in a society that has adequate means and knowledge at its disposal to fight its problems. This is the mood expressed by all the concerned parties regarding the world's attitude to the problem of hunger especially in relation to poverty. From the analysis above, this puzzle is aggravated by the recurrence in FAO reports, for example, showing that in fact hunger and malnutrition are the primary causes of poverty among the rural populations. Thus, the mutual causality between poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance remains a conspicuous vicious circle at the heart of human suffering today.

2.4.2 Inadequate Food Supply

2.4.2.1 Crop Failure

Human subsistence doubtlessly depends on human ability to manipulate the available resources to fit the prevailing dietary needs.

⁸⁷ Cf. Millman and Kates, "Toward Understanding Hunger," 5.

⁸⁸ Poleman, "World Hunger: Extent, Causes, and Cures," 11.

Over history, this has perhaps been more manifest in the evolution of food crop farming as the main source of human subsistence especially as demonstrated in the practice of agriculture around the world. While the success of agricultural produce on one hand aids reliable supply of food products, its failure on the other hand adversely affects people's nutrition and often leads to hunger. Agricultural practice as a means of human subsistence can be traced to earlier human settlements that followed the age of food gathering and hunting, or what historians refer to as the 'ice ages.' It marked the beginning of the 'Neolithic Revolution' where, instead of gathering, people gradually developed skills that helped them to master their environment in order to produce their food.⁸⁹ Since then, people have been keen in manipulating environmental factors to favour their subsistence in the best way possible. Though this process began gradually, it picked a different tempo in the years following the rediscovery of Mendel's factors of inheritance (the genes) in the early 20th century.⁹⁰ Plant cross breeding, later enhanced through genetic manipulation to improve yields in food crops, demonstrated people's effort to use their environmental endowments to sustain human life. Where agricultural produce is abundant and rich, people are healthy, productive and relatively peaceful compared to famine, malnutrition and disease that result from inadequate food supplies.

The success or failure of agriculture indeed touches the very core of human existence. The phrase: "we are what we eat," is frequently used to express the fact that the composition of our bodies largely depends on

⁸⁹ Lowenberg and others, *Food & People*, 12. Accordingly, Lowenberg and others observe that "the history of mankind is also an agrarian history."

⁹⁰ Cf. Anthony J.F Griffiths, William M. Gelbart, and Richard C. Lewontin, *Modern Genetic Analysis: Integrating Genes and Genoms* (New York: W.H Freeman, 2002), 3,246-256. In fact genetics as a science had its origin in the desire of plant and animal breeders for a clear understanding of the inheritance of characteristics of economic importance in the orchard, fields and flocks.

what we consume, creating a special bond between human body and the food it consumes.⁹¹ Among the experts, this is a complex process of ‘food changing into human body.’ Lowenberg describes it as “a process whereby the chemical constituents of food are rearranged within the body to form the chemical constituents that make up a human being.”⁹² This process creates a very special link between mankind’s life and the food he eats. Magnus Pyke further distinguishes three aspects of this process, which involve food ‘combustion’ for energy, bodybuilding and body repair.⁹³ Nutritionists thus, point out that food serves for growth, energy, and body repair, maintenance and protection. Food also provides enjoyment and stimulation. In general, nutritionists give a breakdown of chemical composition of a human body to contain water, protein, fats, minerals and carbohydrates in different proportions, whereas the physical body itself is divided into body cell mass (55 percent), extra cellular supporting tissue (30 percent) and body fat (15 percent).⁹⁴ Thus food “nourishes both the body and soul.”⁹⁵ As much as food makes up

⁹¹ Latham, *Human Nutrition in the Developing World*, 83.

⁹² Lowenberg and others, *Food & People*, 146. Nutritionists prefer the term “metabolism”, referring to “all the chemical processes carried out by the cells of the body. Chief among these processes is the oxidation (combustion or burning) of food to produce energy. See also Latham, *Human Nutrition in the Developing World*, 85.

⁹³ Cf. Magnus Pyke, *Success in Nutrition* (London: John Murray, 1975), 2-3. It was Antoine Lavoisier, the gifted French chemist who in 1785 first presented quantitative evidence to support his fundamental insight that ‘life is a chemical process (*la vie est une fonction chimique*). Referring to this great thought Magnus Pyke, distinguishes three aspects of life as a chemical process. The first is concerned with the fundamental process of ‘combustion’ by which life goes on with the energy which distinguishes a living creature (biological machine) from a non-living one. The second aspect involves the contribution of the chemical compounds which build up the body structure (DNA and RNA). The characteristic ‘brickwork’ of each individual structure is made up from the protein components of the food each creature eats, and its pattern is controlled by the DNA. Thirdly, is the vitamin contents solely responsible for body repair mechanism.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁹⁵ Latham, *Human Nutrition in the Developing World*, 83.

human person's body, and indeed sustains its vital operations, successful food crop agriculture remains an important source of food and of human subsistence in general.⁹⁶ Fruitful agricultural farming, mainly of food crop, can therefore be regarded as the primary source not only of food but also of the very subsistence of mankind. Its failure on the other hand, is a primary cause of hunger, malnutrition and starvation.

Where agriculture remains the primary source of food supply, the problem of hunger comes to prominence whenever the agricultural system fails to sustain people's food requirement. It is felt immediately especially among the rural communities which rely directly on the produce of their farms. At this point, stakeholders in society face the question: what makes agricultural produce fail? In other words, what incapacitates agriculture as a dependable shield against hunger? And how does this translate to hunger? While these questions inspire continued creativity in the search of ways and means of improving food crop yields, it is worth noting that crop failure occurs either through natural or man-made causes. Climate change followed by changes in plant and wild animal life, for example, constitute naturally generated movement and change in life situations that affect agricultural yield and alter human food patterns and, therefore, human situation of hunger. At the very beginning of the Agricultural age, these natural conditions accounted for mankind's interest in gradual mastery of environment. Lowenberg writes of this late 'ice age:'

In the temperate zone of Europe, forests invaded the large tracts of tundra and steppes. Further south, the forests withered from drought, and prairies gradually turned into deserts. At about this

⁹⁶ Ibid. The observation of those who closely study people's eating habits is often quick to mention also that no artificial replacement of the naturally (agriculturally) produced food could give the same wholesome satisfaction. Thus: "even if technology could produce a perfect diet in terms of content, such a diet could still lack for example, the aroma and flavour of a curry, or the stimulating taste of hot coffee."

time, some great rivers such as the Nile, the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Indus began to overflow their banks in an established pattern. When people began to adjust to the new conditions, the Mesolithic cultures were created. They now appear to have 'camped' more regularly than Ice Age people and they began the slow mastery of the environment.⁹⁷

This image suggests the earliest influence of natural forces on the life of humankind who had only but to adapt to these changes. This was done first, as some sort of survival-of-the-fittest fashion, then later in a deliberate scientific ingenuity which brought people to many discoveries in improvement of agriculture.⁹⁸ Even with the ability to adapt to natural changes mankind has not been spared the adverse effects of the extremes of nature. In human history this has come in the form of famines, floods, locusts, pestilence, earthquakes, and droughts. When any of these occurs, the immediate impact is felt in massive interruption of human settlement and food patterns. People are displaced, houses are destroyed plants are swept away. The consequence often is hunger, starvation and malnutrition the seriousness of which will depend on the ability of the community or country to respond and adjust to emergency disasters like these. Being natural in cause, these factors are beyond the control of mankind. They have been there and they shall continue to be manifested in nature. They elude man's planning for no one knows the magnitude or

⁹⁷ Miriam E. Lowenberg and others, *Food & People* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1979), 12.

⁹⁸ Poleman, "World Hunger: Extent, Causes, and Cures," 26. This also points at the enormous ability of man to adapt to the circumstance of the prevailing food pattern. Guided by facts of nutrition science, one among the latest developed sciences. The human body is remarkably adaptive to reduced levels of food intake. Controlled studies among adults have shown that if caloric intake is cut to 50 percent of normal, body weight will drop within a few months by about a quarter. Thereafter a reduced level of activity can be maintained for many months before additional weight loss sets in and the incidence of nutrition-related disease rises.

the duration until they strike. One of the recent reports of the World Food Programme of the United Nations indicates that 608 million people were affected by disasters between 2003-2006.⁹⁹ However, many cases of agricultural crop failure today are attributable to man's own failure. This shall be better treated by considering the breakdown in organization and management of food systems among different governments and organizations, and it is our next concern in this section.

2.4.2.2 Food System Breakdown

Starvation today is viewed not just as a function of food availability, but more as a function of entitlements. Beyond the implicit role of food supply, starvation presupposes instability in food distribution.¹⁰⁰ Situations of starvation therefore, bring to focus the factors that determine distribution of food between different sections of the community. The distribution networks that sustain food systems, on the other hand, imply efficient links between production, distribution and consumption of food which are a deliberate design of good legislation and policy.¹⁰¹ On the overall, this presumes good political will and collaboration between elected governments and other important stakeholders such as the Non-governmental Organizations and business communities. Food supply is reliable and hunger largely avoided as long as this system remains efficient. But hunger and starvation set in as soon as weaknesses show in the food supply-demand systems. The demand for food remains sensitive to any break-down in food systems which delay distribution or all together hinder access to food commodities.

⁹⁹ WFP, *Counting the Hungry* [http://www.wfp.org/aboutwfp/introduction/counting_the_hungry/infodiag_popup/infodiag_popup.html] (FAO, 2007, accessed 23 February 2007).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Amartya Sen, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 7.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Robert W. Kates and Sara Millman, "On Ending Hunger: The Lessons of History," in *Hunger in History*, ed. Lucile F. Newman (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 4.

Accordingly, the levels of starvation will depend on the cause and magnitude of the break down. Where cooperation and participation of the stakeholders are not well coordinated by sound government policies and regulations, and where general political will lacks, the results are poor transportation networks, disproportionately high transport costs, insufficient storage and other factors that facilitate food supply. Food system break-down remain looming and constrains access to food commodities leading to hunger and starvation. As observed before, “many developing countries depend on agriculture but too many governments promote urban development rather than farming communities. They fail to invest in key infrastructure like roads warehouses and energy.”¹⁰² In such situations, even the little food produced is never accessed by many people, effort to assist the hungry is rendered futile even when food supplies are available. In situations of famine that invite the intervention of the international community such as those where drought destroys farmland or where refugees flee war,¹⁰³ poor infrastructure further aggravates the problem and often even discourages the contributors

Beyond the role of policy and regulations in entrenching efficient food systems, the distribution mechanisms implied in the commerce of food exchange in a market system also demonstrate the sensitivity of food system breakdown. Imbalances in food supply, distribution, accessibility and availability in society today show better in the transaction of business and trade. Food exchange in the form of trade facilitates the acquisition of food for the people who are not in direct control of food productions. People who cannot produce their own food, have to buy the food commodity from those who produce it or those

¹⁰² WFP, *Counting the Hungry* (accessed 25 March 2007). This was the observation of the World Food Program report in relation to the nature of policy making in many developing countries.

¹⁰³ Cf. Ibid. In 2003 WFP responded to 110 emergencies in 70 countries. It delivered six million tones of food aid by air, land and sea.

who trade in it. In the light of comparative advantage, the haves, exchange with the have-nots in a buyer-seller relationship. In his account on the history of hunger for example, Lowenberg observes that on account of poor soil and poor farming activity, the Greek people, for example, are noted to have been the first to invent the use of coins. This was then used as a medium of exchange depending on the value agreed with their partners. In that way the Greeks managed to supplement their food supplies to their satisfaction. In fact, "Greek civilization arose because Greek farmers could produce more of certain foods, than they needed, so they could trade these for other foods that they did need."¹⁰⁴

Today, many people living in urban centres and cities, access their food only indirectly through food stores, supermarkets and other intermediary outlets. As a consequence, food exchange dynamics today play a determining role on the amount of food people consume.¹⁰⁵ People's eating habits rely more on the amount of money they are prepared to spend on the food they want.¹⁰⁶ In the complexity of modern business, the flow of food between its producers and buyers is facilitated by organized production, transportation and storage. It also involves processing, packaging and marketing. Food system breakdown implies a collapse of the networks involved in efficient exchange of food commodities such as distribution and imperfect completion among other. Unlike the distribution of foodstuffs in regulated policies, commercial distribution of food commodities implies a deliberate option of the entrepreneur to control supply through practices such as hoarding, auction or bargain. Thus, although the regional unavailability of food

¹⁰⁴ Lowenberg and others, *Food & People*, 26-27. The Greek farmers were never able to feed all the population. "They did, however, produce olive oil, wine, and wool, which could be used in addition to their pottery and jewellery to trade with the peoples around the Mediterranean and the Baltic Seas for foods that they needed such as Orr."

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 198.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Sen, "Poverty and Famine," 5.

and crop failure are basic causes of under-nutrition, it is observed that “poor practices in processing, marketing and storage can result in a serious reduction of the available food supply as well as losses in the nutritive values of foods consumed.”¹⁰⁷ The exaggerated extreme in storage includes cases where the privileged class, mainly the business community resorts to hoard an otherwise sufficient agricultural output for the purpose of making huge profit at the time of scarcity. Thus even with the rich harvest people still go hungry due to purely man made crisis.

2.4.2.3 Impaired Nutritional Status

Primarily malnutrition is the result of an insufficient intake of essential nutrients resulting from lack of food from any of the causes discussed above. The important point observed by K.K. Sinha in this regard is that some forms of malnutrition in individuals are not necessarily the result of a deficient dietary intake but are caused by what he calls ‘secondary’ or ‘conditioned’ nutritional deficiencies, that is, physiologic failure beyond the ingestion stage. Sinha identifies three causes of this failure: firstly, impaired digestion that largely results from gastrointestinal diseases with rapid emptying time, vomiting, and diarrhoea. Secondly, abnormal intermediate metabolism resulting from pancreatic and liver diseases that interfere with normal digestion and absorption of food nutrients, and thirdly, the increased nutrient requirement induced by rapid growth, closely spaced pregnancies, lactation, surgery, injuries, extensive burns and other febrile or metabolic diseases. These factors express an impaired nutritional status that arise even when material food is available and yet inflict consequences similar to those of full-blown hunger and starvation. This is a crucial factor to note in articulating the nuances that exist between the starvation that results directly from the lack of food (hunger) and

¹⁰⁷ Sinha, "Malnutrition," 3661.

that which is results from malnutrition even though food is available.¹⁰⁸ This is a situation of two people for example, where one has all food that he needs and the other has no food at all but both remain hungry and malnourished.

Considering the issue of insufficient nutrients further, it should not be forgotten that the cause might purely be a private decision of an individual to deprive the body of the necessary nutrients. As mentioned earlier some people fast even when they are healthy and there is plenty of food available. The reasons for fasting range from religious observances to social advocacy in politics, profession and in issues of solidarity on the lines of principles and value.¹⁰⁹ This is the practice in the so-called 'hunger strikes.' Though hunger strike is an alternative taken after deciding against an option unacceptable to ones, creed, values, or dignity, other decisions against the taking of sufficient nutrients are made without any apparent reason. They are decisions made to deny oneself nutrition on a private, often unreasonable basis such as fear of imaginary weight.¹¹⁰ These together give the view where hunger and malnutrition exist in society as a consequence of individual's choice ostensibly to express respective private dispositions in relation to food. Nonetheless they are as valid a cause of malnutrition and hunger as any other genuine experience and we treat them here as such.

Generally, the factors, which impede adequate food supply, precipitate three notable situations in hunger dynamics. Where

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ E. M. Widdowson and A. Ashworth, "Famine, Starvation, and Fasting," in *Encyclopaedia of Food Sciences and Nutrition*, ed. Benjamin Caballero, Luiz C. Trugo, and Paul M. Finglas (New York: Academic Press, 2003), 2246.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. Experts refer to this as *Anorexia nervosa*. This is a psychiatric eating disorder that tends to run in families and appears to be increasing in prevalence. The sufferers, usually adolescent girls and young women, are obsessed with the idea that they are too fat and that they must lose weight and remain very thin. Sometimes the desire for food overcomes them, they eat a great deal and then deliberately induce vomiting creating another complication referred to as Anorexia Bulimia.

inadequacy of food is caused by failure in agricultural crop farming, the result is a situation in which people are hungry due to stark absence of food and nutrition. Food system breakdown on the other hand precipitates a situation where food as such is available but remains inaccessible to many. The third situation is that in which food is both available and accessible but due to some physical health inability, one cannot assimilate the nutrients properly resulting in the same effects of under-nutrition. The fourth situation arises (though rarely) in cases where food is available, accessible, and can well be assimilated but individuals deliberately postpone or forfeit their desire for required balanced diet for private motives. The consequences however, remain the same representing full effects of under-nutrition depending on the duration. These four situations in hunger causality constitute a dynamism that complicates the hunger problem and are indeed the puzzle behind the ‘hunger mystery’ embodied in the main contemporary question: how does the world afford to house so many hungry and malnourished people yet it has the means and the knowledge to arrest hunger instantly? Why does hunger persist in a world of plenty? Furthermore, the pattern of this thinking revealing the attitude of people, relating their desire for food, and the availability of the food indeed permeates all other causes of hunger one may think of. The next such a cause is Civil Strife.

2.4.3 Civil Strife

2.4.3.1 Armed Conflict

The term ‘civil strife’ shall be used here to depict failures in governance and civil order in society resulting in various ills among which is hunger and malnutrition. In this section, they shall be looked into from two dimensions namely, armed conflict and policy failures in relation to the situation of hunger especially in the developing countries.

Human conflict is known to disrupt people's regular patterns of livelihood thus exposing them to unpredictable circumstances of great uncertainty and anxiety. The amount of damage largely depends on the scale and duration of the conflict. In the developing countries, this ranges from tribal or regional conflicts, to war between nations. Generally, the longer the conflict, the more the damage and the longer its effects shall last. The biggest brunt of this upheaval is more often felt as hunger and malnutrition among the population. Wars displace millions of people from their homes, war employs youthful manpower that would otherwise be directed to food production, in wars soldiers target the destruction of food and livestock, and even contaminate the water used by the opponents in order to starve them to submission. Worse still, lasting wars are often accompanied by looting and plunder of property, food reserves and any dependable reserve of wealth of the enemy. This becomes a survival tactic to soldiers who will have nothing to eat after longer periods of fighting.¹¹¹

The tactics and kinds of weapons known to be used in this region are particularly hostile to agricultural activity. Widdowson and Ashworth cite the use of land mines which kill and maim the victims, it also limits access to local markets and hamper food relief effort. Forced conscription of young men is noted to directly affect food production and food security in rural areas, while arms purchases divert the use of the already strained and meagre incomes.¹¹² Over and above the destructive effects to local communities, the brunt of the effects of war now bears so heavily on the efforts of the world community to reduce

¹¹¹ Cf. WFP, *Counting the Hungry* (accessed 22 May 2007). According to this WFP report, by 2002 the world had 19.8 million displaced persons. The United Nations uses the program to rehabilitate many young men forced to conscribe to war activity especially in Sierra Leone and Angola, through food rations. Often lack of food after months of war forces the soldiers to turn to looting for survival aggravating further the hunger problem among the masses.

¹¹² Widdowson and Ashworth, "Famine, Starvation, and Fasting," 2243.

global hunger and malnutrition. The conflicts occurring during 1990s in Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Eritrea, Liberia and Sierra Leone considerably hampered efforts to reduce hunger according to the projected targets. It was therefore considered “that conflict is a major reason for lack of progress towards the World Food Security target in Sub-Sahara Africa.”¹¹³ With this picture, every report about armed conflict, especially in Sub-Sahara Africa, deal a grievous blow to efforts to stem hunger, in fact it spirals the problem to unmanageable levels. But given that there is no apparent end to armed conflict in this region the consequence is anybody’s guess. But FAO report is candid:

Among the developing regions today, the greatest challenge is the one facing sub-Saharan Africa. It is the region with the highest prevalence of undernourishment, with one in three people deprived of access to sufficient food. Projections show that the prevalence of hunger in this region will decline by 2015 but the number of hungry people will not fall by then. Sub-Saharan Africa will be home to around 30 percent of the undernourished people in the developing world, compared with 20 percent in 1990-92.¹¹⁴

This statement was made in a comprehensive report that reviewed the progress towards the achievement of the World Food Summit targets set in 1996. Comparing the wider strides that other regions had made towards the Millennium targets, one may not avoid the disturbing reality, that war constitutes the most deliberate drawback, and perhaps the most conspicuous manmade hurdle, against the alleviation of hunger in this region. But why should the poor and hungry nations embrace war

¹¹³ FAO, *Eradicating World Hunger - Taking Stock Ten Years after the World Food Summit* (Rome, 2006), 23. “Particularly dramatic is the worsening of food insecurity in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where the number of undernourished people tripled, from 12 million to 36 million.”

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

and conflict in the face of an already devastating calamity? Failure in state policies, where priorities are set, has a hand behind this.

2.4.3.2 Policy Failure

Many developing countries rely on agriculture for development. In relation to the problem of hunger, agriculture is indeed the main hope. It addresses the immediate food needs of the people, "It remains the main source of employment and income and represents the engine of the rural economy."¹¹⁵ But, like all issues of development in any country, productive agriculture relies on government policies. Good government policies promote good approach to agriculture whose effects are immediately reflected not only in the amount of food supply available, but also in its equitable distribution among the hungry. Bad policies on the other hand discourage any productive agricultural practice. In his analysis on 'Trade and Hunger', Norman Faramelli, considers two primary mistakes in agricultural development theory and practice common among the developing nations all resulting from the emphasis that poor nations put on trade. The first mistake according to him is the common tendency among policy makers to ignore agricultural development, thus, "In many of the poorer nations, the Western style of development has been emulated with some disastrous results. In an effort to industrialize rapidly, some nations have placed their primary emphasis upon industrial development and have virtually ignored agricultural development."¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 22.

¹¹⁶ Norman Faramelli, "Trade Barriers to Development in Poor Nations," in *The Causes of World Hunger*, ed. William Byron (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), 106-107. Faramelli emphasizes the example of the 1979 Nobel Prize winner, Theodore Schultz, University of Chicago economist, who warned time and again against the type of development that ignores the agricultural sector and human resources. In their opinion the U.S. became an industrial power only after it developed massive agricultural capabilities.

The second mistake is the wrong kind of agricultural development. Here, “agriculture is heavily mechanized and food production proceeds in a manner that does not utilize the available human resources.”¹¹⁷ Faramelli observes that both types of development are based on the desire for foreign exchange, generated by trade, to stimulate agricultural and primarily industrial development. But in both cases, the increase of exports from the poorer to the richer nations results in unbalanced development. To many policy makers in these countries, export cropping sounds like a good idea but, in Faramelli’s opinion, “it usually works to keep poor people hungry.”¹¹⁸ Faramelli is not alone in this observation, the World Health Organization also cites bad policy making as a key reason for the spread of hunger and poverty. “Most developing countries depend on agriculture but too many governments promote urban development rather than forming communities. They fail to invest in key infrastructure like roads, warehouses and energy.”¹¹⁹ Perhaps it is Eugene Carson Blake that concretizes the situation more to even pinpoint the cash crops that carry the attention of these countries on the grounds of trade and business. He remarked: “Nations both small and poor also divert their limited resources and labour from producing food for their hungry. Instead they grow and export such things as sugar cane and carnations, bananas and coffee, to pay for the cost of supporting and equipping ever larger and more expensive armies, navies and air forces.”¹²⁰ In this remark, Carson goes beyond the agricultural background. He introduces the influence of wrong policies even on issues of security and defence.

Policy failure is manifested further in encouraging the arms race discussed above, hence doubling its effects in civil strife. According to

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 107.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 108.

¹¹⁹ WFP, *Counting the Hungry* (accessed 26 March 2007).

¹²⁰ Eugene Carson Blake, “The Arms Race,” in *The Causes of World Hunger*, ed. William Byron (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), 196.

Carson Blake, military and economic power has been used in history by the strong to exploit the weak. Insufficient power to resist the imaginary enemies is usually seen as a humbling loss to be avoided at all costs. The consequences include the unacceptable exaggeration of military expenditure. "Why do we need bombs to destroy an enemy five times over when we already have enough to do it twice?"¹²¹ Though the tragedy is doubled by the similar response in expenditure by the poorer nations, the reality reflects such strife resulting from policies that have been largely the cause of poverty and hunger in the developing countries. "The fact that in 1980 the nations of the world spent approximately four hundred and fifty billion dollars on arms is one of the most obvious causes of world hunger. The disturbing correlative fact is that an amount equal to less than five percent of that figure goes for development assistance."¹²²

2.4.4 Population Growth

For many years, the world development analysts have expressed their genuine concern that the world's population size and increase is its greatest problem and humanity's gravest threat. This concern is founded on a basic demographical principle that the ratio of the number of people to the amount of food available has an indisputable impact on human nutrition and so plays a crucial role in the analysis of the levels of hunger in society. In this case, the balance between the population and the available food supply determines the level of hunger. In his comprehensive address on the population question at Massachusetts

¹²¹ Blake, "The Arms Race," 197.

¹²² Ibid. For estimates and reference points, see the Brandt Commission Report, *North-South: A Program for Survival* (Cambridge: M.I.T Press, 1980), 14. For measures, definitions and international comparisons see Ruth Leger Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures* (Leesburg: Va. World Priorities, 1980), 20-33.

Institute of Technology in 1977, Robert S. McNamara expressed this concern thus: "It took mankind more than a million years to reach a population of one billion. But the second billion required only 120 years, the third billion 32 years and the fourth billion 15 years ... at the current global growth rate of about 2 percent the world's population will add a fifth billion in about 11 years."¹²³ At this rate, the world population expands faster than its resources and is feared to outstrip them in the near future. The problem of hunger has often depended on how the two are caused to interact.¹²⁴ In this analysis the concern over the relationship between the rapid increase in population and the available resource will be seen to assume three dimensions in history.¹²⁵ Here the three expressions of these dimensions are considered: The political dimension, social-moral dimension and nutritional-science dimension.

2.4.4.1 Political Dimension

The first dimension is that in which hunger was viewed against the background of the pressure that the rapidly growing population was seen to exert on the limited world resources. This position argues that population is the problem. "It treats population as an independent variable, then contends that if only one could deal with the population

¹²³ R. S. McNamara, Address on the Population Problem to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Washington: 1977), 5-6. See also J. Bryan Hehir, "Population and Poverty: Exploring the Relationship," in *The Causes of World Hunger*, ed. William Byron (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), 208.

¹²⁴ Cf. Latham, *Human Nutrition in the Developing World*, 37.

¹²⁵ Cf. Hehir, "Population and Poverty: Exploring the Relationship," 208-209. The evaluation of policy debate of population was summarized in the report of the U.N Fund for Population Activities in 1979. Bryan Hehir sees the changing population picture over the past three decades in three thematic frames: The fifties was the decade in which the 'population problem' was perceived and studied by demographers primarily as questions of morbidity and mortality. The rapid increase in population growth that became apparent in the decade of the sixties demanded and brought about a shift of emphasis to the fertility factor population growth. In the seventies the awareness of the need to regard population as an important and integral factor in the entire process of development increased and was given universal political recognition.

issue it would be possible to reduce poverty, hunger and perhaps even warfare.”¹²⁶ The main proponent of this view was the British political economist, Thomas Malthus. In the eighteenth century Malthus grimly speculated that population growth could soon outstrip food production and supply.¹²⁷ In his works *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, he focused on limits to population growth imposed by the natural environment. His basic assumption was that population is capable of growing geometrically whereas the means of subsistence only arithmetically. He concluded that the superior power of population to expand must in general tend to be kept in check by requirements of food and other necessities whose production cannot be increased so rapidly.¹²⁸ The necessary balance between population and the means of subsistence, according to Malthus, could be maintained either by the ‘preventive checks’ of fertility limitation or by the ‘positive checks’ of mortality, including famine, pestilence, warfare, and so on.¹²⁹ In this view, “hunger and other forms of human poverty and misery are an inevitable consequence of the pressure of population growth on limits of productive capacity.”¹³⁰

2.4.4.2 *The Social-Moral Dimension*

The social-moral dimension views hunger and all misery in society as a problem caused by classes in society where we find the rich and the poor. According to this position poverty is the problem. “If poverty can be addressed in depth, the population question will be cared for as a by-product.”¹³¹ As a matter of fact, population increase is the hope of

¹²⁶ Ibid., 210.

¹²⁷ Cf. Thomas Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798), On-Line [<http://www.ac.wvu.edu/~stephan/malthus/malthus.0.html>], (accessed 22 November 2006).

¹²⁸ Cf. Ibid.

¹²⁹ Kates and Millman, "On Ending Hunger: The Lessons of History," 8, Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, (accessed 22 March 2007).

¹³⁰ Kates and Millman, "On Ending Hunger: The Lessons of History," 8.

¹³¹ Hehir, "Population and Poverty: Exploring the Relationship," 208.

society in the face of technological innovations and in the responsibility of mankind to share the world's resources equitably. This position was mainly advocated by Karl Marx and Ester Boserup.¹³² Karl Marx became opposed to the Malthusian theory of population when he specifically considered it in the background of the capitalist mode of production at the time. He found the roots of hunger and other forms of human misery in relation to oppression and exploitation tied to the organization of production. Karl Marx considered four important factors in this discussion. In the first place, he identified what he thought was the problem at the time, secondly, he explained its cause and then he suggested a solution to this problem as well as the means for attaining this solution.¹³³ With regard to the identity of the problem, he held that poverty, unemployment, low wages, miserable living conditions, and persistent hunger exist due to rapid accumulation of capital by the rich and not because of population constraints. When the rich dominate the world's wealth, they created relative surplus of labour forming what he calls 'industrial reserve army.' This is the group condemned to suffering and seen to aggravate population demands, they constituted an extra population not matched by the 'available' resources otherwise enough only for the rich. As for the cause of the problem, hunger is generated, not by any inadequacy of production possibilities relative to consumption requirements for the population as a whole, but by the fact that the organization of production excludes some from full participation.¹³⁴ As a solution, "the balance between the population and the available resources lies in the demand of equitable distribution by the poor." As for the means with which to attain this, Karl Marx held that "peaceful negotiation of this problem was impracticable...a

¹³² Ibid. See also Ester Boserup, *Population and Technology*, vol. XI (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981).

¹³³ Kates and Millman, "On Ending Hunger: The Lessons of History," 8.

¹³⁴ Cf. Ibid.

massive, well-organized and violent revolution would in general be required, because the ruling class would not give up power without violence.”¹³⁵ With these arguments, Karl Marx opened a very new perspective which substantially altered the debate regarding the poor and the hungry in society. These arguments not only threatened to erase the significance of the Malthusian theory, but they also form the basis of the discussion of population as a cause of hunger today. Its preferred position is further affirmed by the attitude of many who are actively involved in this debate and who consider Malthusian idea an apparent failure. For example, FAO observed that “late in the eighteenth century, Thomas Malthus grimly speculated that population growth could soon outstrip food production and supply. Close to the end of the twentieth century this has not yet happened, but malnutrition is widespread.”¹³⁶

Perhaps the failure of Malthusian theory may well be attributed to the emergence of many factors that have expanded the scope of productivity of land and manpower in relation to mankind’s food requirement. Modern technology may be cited as the most important of the factors that have radically changed mankind’s productivity in relation to mankind’s situation of hunger and malnutrition. This is the joint that makes the contribution of Ester Boserup very relevant to this discussion. Esther Boserup sees population growth as a force favouring the adoption and diffusion of technological innovation.¹³⁷ In the face of a rapidly advancing technology especially in the area of food production Boserup foresees the need of intensive large-scale human labour to support a rapidly expanding technology. She envisioned the returns to the population’s investment on the new technology both in the long run

¹³⁵ Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy on-line, "Karl Marx" (accessed 12 June 2007).

¹³⁶ Latham, *Human Nutrition in the Developing World*, 37.

¹³⁷ Cf Kates and Millman, "On Ending Hunger: The Lessons of History," 8. See also. Ester Boserup, *Population and Technological Change : A Study of Long-Term Trends*, vol. XI (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1981).

and in the short run. It shall be a question of time, but eventually technology shall reward the population sufficiently regardless of its size. Thus, "While in the short run this technological 'progress' may only permit maintaining a larger population at a similar standard of living by virtue of hard work, in the long run it generates a momentum which, together with achievement of sufficient population density to support the infrastructure of transportation and communication essential for trade, yields real increases in per capita production."¹³⁸ With this view Boserup suggests two important issues to the debate of population increase in relation to the resource available for subsistence. One, is that an increased population facilitates the rapid advancement in technology necessary to cause change to productivity, and secondly, the increased population shall therefore, be a condition to the consequent rise in living standards in society today. Both of these factors, one may observe, express a reality so basic to socio-economic view of population increase in relation to the available resources, namely, that it is the number of the people available that determines the amounts of food to be consumed, then direct the factors of production accordingly, and not the other way round. Therefore, population increase is more of a resource to be tapped to improve life of mankind rather than constraint to increase human misery.¹³⁹

This demonstrates a shift of priority from controlling population growth to alleviation of poverty in society. What seems to be true in the new emphasis is that it directly depends on individual productivity. Thus, today there is call to increased attention to the productivity of an

¹³⁸ Kates and Millman, "On Ending Hunger: The Lessons of History," 8.

¹³⁹ Ibid. See also Ester Boserup and Nicholas Kaldor, *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth : The Economics of Agrarian Change under Population Pressure* (New York: Aldine, 1982), 53-55, Uma Lele, Steve W. Stone, and Ester Boserup, "Population Pressure, the Environment and Agricultural Intensification : Variations on the Boserup Hypothesis," in *MADIA discussion paper* ; 4 (Washington: World Bank, 1989).

individual than reducing the population as a strategy of eliminating hunger. The Director general of FAO, Jacques Diouf confirmed the prevalence of this attitude today thus: "It is no coincidence that more rapid advances have been made in poverty reduction as opposed to hunger alleviation...It is fair to say that the international community today pays more attention to hunger as an intrinsic and pressing development issue."¹⁴⁰ This goes a long way to acknowledge the abundance of food in society today and to emphasize its redistribution in order to spur development. The many people will know what amount of food they require and then employ the available resources, including scientific innovations in research and technology to produce what they need. This may be argued to be the principle at work in the effort of the United Nations in encouraging all governments towards the elimination of hunger by 2015 thus:

We have emphasized first and foremost that reducing hunger is no longer a question of means in the hands of the global community. The world is richer today than it was ten years ago. There is more food available and still more could be produced without excessive upward pressure on prices. The knowledge and resources to reduce hunger are there. What is lacking is sufficient political will to mobilize those resources to the benefit of the hungry.¹⁴¹

From this it is clear that the problem is no longer the lack of resource but how to employ them to mankind's full use. As projected by Boserup in her short term and long proposal, the difference between poverty, hunger and misery on one hand and riches and good health on the other hand, is now a question of time and political good will.

¹⁴⁰ FAO, *Eradicating World Hunger - Taking Stock Ten Years after the World Food Summit*, 6-7.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

The thoughts of Karl Marx and Esther Boserup, provide a strong argument against the general feeling about the negative effect of population growth that dominated world discussion for a long time. Furthermore, the consequent world debate on population and hunger mainly progressed along the dialectics established by these opposing arguments. This argument remains strong and basic to the debate of world population growth down to our own time. According to Bryan Hehir, the political-moral argument has actually structured the population debate leading to a consensus position on population already by the end of 1970.¹⁴² What however, remains indisputable is the basic claim of the proportionality that links population growth to the resources available. The ratio of the number of people to the amount of food available has an indisputable impact on nutrition. This is the point of concern in this paper better captured by the question; how does population increase perpetuate the problem of hunger in the world? In other words in what sense is population increase a cause to hunger and malnutrition in society today? The following section presents the third dimension of the answer to this question from the evidence of statistics marking the development of the problem.

2.4.4.3 Consensus Position

The 'consensus position,'¹⁴³ draws its argument first and foremost, from the evidence of statistics on the possible pressure of bigger population on the world's resources. Over and above the direct implications of the population, this position also brings to the fore and takes into account all other important concrete facts implied in the

¹⁴² Hehir, "Population and Poverty: Exploring the Relationship," 210.

¹⁴³ Ibid. The U.N. Population Conference at Bucharest in 1974 was catalytic force, which focused worldwide attention on the issue. By the end of the decade a consensus position had appeared on the nature of the population problem. For a description of the several positions in the debates, including the consensus position, Cf. M.S. Teitelbaum, "Population and Development: Is a Consensus Possible?" *Foreign Affairs*, no. 52 (1974): 742-60.

growth of the population. While acknowledging the existence of a population problem, this view goes further to consider the economic cultural and political changes that point to a more equitable distribution of wealth and resources with nations and among nations. The style of analysis of the consensus model according to Hehir, are exemplified in the message of Pope Paul VI for the U.N. Population Year in 1974, thus: "the true solutions to these problems – we would say the only solutions – will be those which take due account of all concrete factors taken together: the demands of social justice as well as respect for the divine laws governing life, the dignity of the human person as well as the freedom of peoples, the primary role of the family as well as the responsibility proper to married couples."¹⁴⁴ The basic structure of this position begins with the observation that where population growth rate has tended to be high, hunger incidence is as well higher, and where the population growth rate slows, hunger generally reduces. The world population growth is first of all, directly viewed against the background of the concrete (measurable) aspect of the misery of the world poverty, hunger/malnutrition and disease. Then on the basis of the available figures, the experts structure a comprehensive approach that targets to address all the aspects implied. This is the dimension that sustains the discussion of population and hunger today, situating the problem of hunger within the framework of nutrition and human development. FAO Director General Jacques Diouf concedes: "It is fair to say that the international community today pays more attention to hunger as an intrinsic and pressing development issue."¹⁴⁵

David Grig traces the practical threat of the rapid increase in population to the second *World Food Survey* of 1952. The population

¹⁴⁴ Hehir, "Population and Poverty: Exploring the Relationship," 215. See also Paul VI, "Message on the Population Year," *Origins*, no. 3 (1973), 671.

¹⁴⁵ FAO, *Eradicating World Hunger - Taking Stock Ten Years after the World Food Summit*, 7.

figures of the first census had become available. The rapidity of population growth, especially in the developing countries was then feared might prevent the elimination of hunger.¹⁴⁶ He observes that “throughout the 1950s and 1960s it came to be assumed that the major cause of hunger in the developing countries was population growth: quite simply the numbers in Africa, Asia and Latin America were growing faster than the capacity of agriculture to supply food.”¹⁴⁷ This reality is captured by statistical information presented in tables 5-7 below. Table 5 illustrates population distribution in major areas of the world. It gives a wider background view of the trend of population increase within the range of 400 years (1750-2150). Though the general trend demonstrates an upward movement in population, the figures confirm the highest leap in population growth (shaded area) around the world between the years 1950 and 1999. Table 6 shows the average rate of population increase in developed and developing countries, demonstrating remarkable difference between the two. The highlight here again falls within the years 1950-80 (in bold) when the developing countries particularly recorded the pick rate in population growth (2.3 percent). The contrast that demonstrates the point of our discussion here is presented in Table 7. The United Nations documents the rate of change in food output in different regions of the world. This is a reflection of the world’s capacity to feed its population. From these figures, it is clear that indeed the world lacked commensurate capacity to feed its population especially in the developing countries.

¹⁴⁶ Grigg, *The World Food Problem*, 54. See also FAO, *The Second World Food Survey* (Rome, 1952).

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

Table 5: *Population of the world and its major areas, 1750-2150*

Population size in (Millions)								
Major Area	Year							
	1750	1800	1850	1900	1950	1999	2050	2150
World	791	978	1262	1650	2521	5978	8909	9746
Africa	106	107	111	133	221	767	1766	2308
Asia	502	635	809	947	1402	3634	5268	5561
Europe	163	203	276	408	547	729	628	517
Latin America & Caribbean	16	24	38	74	167	511	809	912
Northern America	2	7	26	82	172	307	392	398
Oceania	2	2	2	6	13	30	46	51

Table 6: *Average rate of increase (percent per annum)*

	1750-99	1800-49	1850-99	1900-49	1950-80	1750-1980
Developed	0.4	0.7	1.0	0.8	1.0	0.75
Developing	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.9	2.3	0.7

Source: United Nations, *The World at Six Billion* [<http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/sixbillion/sixbilpart1.pdf>] (U.N, 1999, accessed 1 April 2009).

Table 7: *Food output, rate of change in food output per head, 1952-4 to 1980*

	1952-4 to 1959-61	1961-70	1971-80
Africa	-0.2	0.1	-1.2
Far East	-1.1	0.9	0.9
Latin America	0.3	0.8	1.2
Near East	0.8	0.3	0.6
Asian CPE		0.9	1.6
All Developing	0.7	0.7	1.0
All Developed	1.7	1.4	1.1
World	1.1	0.8	0.6

Source: United Nations, *The World at Six Billion* [<http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/sixbillion/sixbilpart1.pdf>] (U.N, 1999, accessed 1 April 2009).

The statistical representation of population facts was so improved that by the end of the 1970s, Hehir notes that, “there was also a generally agreed upon set of statistics to indicate where we had come from in terms of global population growth, where we are now and what may reasonably be expected for the future.”¹⁴⁸ David Grigg and Bryan Hehir based their observation on the first two World Food Surveys ostensibly used in the UN Population Conference at Bucharest in 1974.¹⁴⁹ Table 8 below shows the projections demonstrating the world population growth rate since the year 0. It provides in tabular and graphic form salient characteristics of past, current and future world population growth trends. Table 9 sets the population milestones accordingly. Through these figures, the UN establishes the concreteness of the world’s concern on the prevailing population growth rate and explains them thus: “It is estimated that 2000 years ago the population of the world was about 300 million. For a very long time the world population did not grow significantly, with periods of growth followed by periods of decline.”¹⁵⁰ It did not reach one billion until 1804. After that it took 123 years to reach 2 billion in 1927.

The report noted a change in tempo after 1900, with 2.5 billion in 1950, a 53 per cent increase in 50 years. The duration kept reducing till the latest billion people increased within a period of only 12 years (between 1987-1999). The growth rate soared up to more than two per cent. The highest rate of world population growth, 2.04 per cent, occurred in the late 1960s, while the largest annual increase to world population (86 million) took place in the late 1980s. It started in 1950,

¹⁴⁸ Hehir, "Population and Poverty: Exploring the Relationship," 208. For detailed historical world records on population projections based on progressive growth rates see the detailed report of the United Nations, 1999. "The World at Six Billion," <http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/sixbillion/sixbilpart1.pdf>, (accessed 1 April 2007).

¹⁴⁹ United Nations, *Report of the United Nations World Population Conference, Bucharest, 19-30 August, 1974* (Bucharest: United Nations, 1974).

¹⁵⁰ United Nations, *The World at Six Billion* (accessed 26 March 2009).

with reductions in mortality in the less developed regions, resulting in an estimated population of 6.1 billion in the year 2000, nearly two-and-a-half times the population in 1950. However, by the year 2000 the annual growth rate had come down to 1.31 per cent while the annual population increase stood at 78 million. The world population is then projected to cross the 9 billion mark in 2054, and eventually nearly stabilize at just above 10 billion after 2200.¹⁵¹

Table 8:

*World population,
year 0 to near stabilization*

Year	Population in Billions
0	0.3
1000	0.31
1800	0.98
1850	1.26
1900	1.65
1950	2.52
1970	3.70
1980	4.44
1999	5.98
2000	6.06
2020	7.5
2150	9.75
Near stabilization after 2200	Just above 10 Billion

Table 9:

*World population
milestone*

World Population reached:

1 billion in 1804
2 billion in 1927 (123 years later)
3 billion in 1960 (33 years later)
4 billion in 1974 (14 years later)
5 billion in 1987 (13 years later)
6 billion in 1999 (12 years later)

World Population may reach:

7 billion in 2013 (14 years later)
8 billion in 2028 (15 years later)
9 billion in 2054 (26 years later)
10 billion in 2183 (129 years later)

Source: United Nations, *The World at Six Billion* [<http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/sixbillion/sixbilpart1.pdf>] (U.N., 1999, accessed 1 April 2009).

¹⁵¹ Cf. Ibid. See also Latham, *Human Nutrition in the Developing World*, 37, Grigg, *The World Food Problem*, 54-56.

These figures legitimated the fear that accompanied the rapidly growing world population deemed a threat to the available food resources, and worse where these resources reflect a diminishing record.

Although at a certain point in time this view was true particularly in relation to some regions of the world like Sub-Sahara Africa, soon it was popular among many analysts on the basis of figures available that at the world level food production had kept up with population growth, and that world food supplies per capita were somewhat above the level of the 1930s or early 1950s.¹⁵² This view is captured in the statistical presentation of table 10 below.

Table 10: Food consumption growth versus population growth

Average annual rate of change (%)												
Sample Countries	1969-1971 to 1979-1981			1979-1981 to 1990-1992			1990-1992 to 1995-1997			1995-1997 to 2002-2004		
	Fo od per per son	Fo od	Popul ation	Fo od per per son	Fo od	Popul ation	Fo od Per Per son	Fo od	Popul ation	Fo od Per Per son	Fo od	Popul ation
Bolivia	0,6	3,0	2,4	- 0,1	2,4	2,4	0,3	1,5	1,1	0,2	1,6	1,4
Brazil	1,0	3,3	2,4	0,5	2,7	2,2	0,4	1,2	0,7	0,6	1,5	0,9
Burundi	- 0,4	1,3	1,6	- 0,7	2,6	3,2	- 1,1	- 0,5	0,6	- 0,2	1,0	1,2
China	1,6	3,4	1,8	1,5	3,1	1,6	0,7	1,2	0,5	0,1	0,7	0,6
Djibouti	0,0	7,2	7,3	0,6	0,6	5,1	1,1	1,9	0,8	1,2	3,0	1,8
Ghana	- 3,0	- 0,5	2,5	2,0	5,5	3,5	1,7	3,0	1,3	0,9	2,5	1,5
India	0,2	2,4	2,2	1,3	3,5	2,3	0,3	1,2	0,9	0,1	1,3	1,2
Ireland	0,3	1,7	1,4	0,1	0,5	0,4	- 0,1	0,2	0,3	0,2	1,0	0,8
Israel	0,0	2,6	2,6	0,8	2,9	2,1	0,1	1,8	1,6	0,4	2,0	1,6
Kenya	- 0,2	3,5	3,6	- 1,3	2,7	4,0	0,4	1,8	1,4	0,4	1,7	1,3

¹⁵² Grigg, *The World Food Problem*, 54.

Source: FAO, *Food Security Statistics*, http://www.fao.org/faostat/foodsecurity/index_en.htm See also http://www.fao.org/faostat/foodsecurity/Files/Food_Consumption_Population_Growth_en.xls, Statistics division June 2006, accessed 8 August 2009.

In analyzing the reality that emerges in such data, Grigg observes pertinent points regarding population growth as a cause of hunger. Firstly, owing to the fact of balanced growth between population and food output, it became common to attribute hunger in the developing countries to poverty, and efforts were made to measure the numbers without the resources to acquire enough food. Secondly, the conflicting views about the relationship of population to food supplies gave rise to opposing ideological views of the world: those who believe that inequality of income distribution is the only cause of hunger, generally ignored the consequences of population growth, whereas those who believe that poverty is solely a result of too rapid population growth tended to neglect the inequities of land tenure. Thirdly, Grigg points out a balance between these positions: "At any one time the existence of under-nutrition or malnutrition is surely due to poverty, to the lack of income, employment opportunities or sufficient land. But, over time, population growth is equally surely one cause of poverty."¹⁵³ In the fourth most important point here, Grigg notes that population increase not only increases the number of consumers of food, but also increases the number of producers of food.¹⁵⁴ Lastly, these data confirm that output has increased more rapidly in the developing regions.

It is clear therefore, that food production has not stagnated in the last 30 or 40 years. On the contrary it has increased at far greater rates than in the past. With this observation, this analysis confirms that the population debate is now situated more within the framework of development than as cause of hunger and poverty in society. "The third

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 55.

position, therefore, is a consensus position in two ways: first, it locates the population issue within the framework of development but it recognizes population as a distinct element in the development question, one which requires specific attention. Second, this developmentalist view of population has taken the commanding role in the population debate.”¹⁵⁵

2.4.4.4 Population and Human Nutrition

Having established, through statistical evidence that population issue belongs more to the framework of human development, analysts adopted a gradual shift from the previous emphasis on population growth rate and focused more on human nutrition.¹⁵⁶ This shift would facilitate proportionate emphasis on the equitable distribution of the already available food resource. The UN and its associated branches also shifted methodology to fit the new emphasis. It basically adopted the way of measuring the growth of world and regional food output constructed by FAO published for all countries since 1960s. However, owing to the difficulties encountered in preparing these indices, the UN specifically concentrates in establishing nutritional requirements for human health.¹⁵⁷ David Grigg underlines the reason for the choice of this

¹⁵⁵ Hehir, "Population and Poverty: Exploring the Relationship," 212.

¹⁵⁶ FAO, *Eradicating World Hunger - Taking Stock Ten Years after the World Food Summit*, 7.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Grigg, *The World Food Problem*, 79. David Grigg identifies two ways of estimating the growth in the volume of food output since 1950. The first, is the estimates of the area in arable land and in the major food crops collected and published by FAO both for major regions and individual countries. Cf. FAO, *Vitamin and Mineral Requirements in Human Nutrition*. Combined with estimates of crop yields, these can give some indication of changes in crop production. The second way, is to use the indices of Agricultural and food output constructed by FAO and made available to all countries. The latter is the most preferred now especially in its nutritional value. However, like many analysts, David Grigg, notes considerable problems in preparing these indices. First of all, many countries do not take agricultural censuses at regular intervals. Second, most agricultural censuses record the area in crops and sometimes the yield, but not the volume of output. Thirdly, in calculating output for a given

method: "Ideally all foods should be reduced to their calorific value, so that the growth of food output measures the amount of food available and allows an easy comparison with nutritional requirements."¹⁵⁸

The option of the UN on this is made clear in two of its very important undertakings leading to the setting and implementation of the millennium goals in the 1992. The first one, involves a consultative initiative jointly organized by FAO, WHO, and IAEA (the International Atomic Energy Agency) carried out in 1973, 1988 and in 1996. This resulted in expert consultation and publication intended to provide up-to-date knowledge and defining standards for micronutrient requirements. This "is a crucial step in understanding the public health significance of micronutrient malnutrition and identifying the most appropriate measures to prevent them."¹⁵⁹ The task of this expert consultation among others, was "to review the full range of vitamin and mineral requirements, including their role in normal human physiology and metabolism, and conditions of deficiency."¹⁶⁰

The second such initiative was the World Declaration on Nutrition produced by the FAO and WHO International Conference on Nutrition (ICN) held in Rome in 1992. "This important conference reviewed the current nutrition situation in the world and set the stage for markedly reducing these unacceptable conditions of humankind."¹⁶¹ With these

year it is important to estimate net output and to avoid double counting, which is difficult owing, among others, to the fact that not all food crops are used for human consumption. Oil seeds for example may be used for industrial purposes, and much of the cereal output is fed to the animals. The fourth problem is the quantification of very different commodities as total food output such as eggs, wine, olive oil and pineapples. These have first to be converted into comparable units of account. For further observation of the problem involved in indices measuring food output. See also Poleman, "World Hunger: Extent, Causes, and Cures," 4-7.

¹⁵⁸ Grigg, *The World Food Problem*, 79.

¹⁵⁹ FAO, *Vitamin and Mineral Requirements in Human Nutrition*, xiii.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, xiv.

¹⁶¹ Latham, *Human Nutrition in the Developing World*, 3.

words the report of the conference, clearly underlined the new and latest attention of the UN in its pursuit to eliminate hunger. It is no longer counting the population growth rate, but the quality of the food already available. The spirit, so to speak, of the new framework in the effort to eliminate hunger in the world, is captured in the declaration thus:

We recognize that globally there is enough food for all and that inequitable access is the main problem... We also declare our firm commitment to work together to ensure sustained nutritional well-being for all people in a peaceful, just and environmentally safe world ... We are especially distressed by the high prevalence and increasing numbers of malnourished children ... moreover, more than 2000 million people ... are deficient in one or more micronutrients; babies continue to be born mentally retarded as a result of iodine deficiency; children go blind and die of vitamin A deficiency, and enormous numbers of women and children are adversely affected by iron deficiency ... At the same time, chronic non-communicable disease related to excessive or unbalanced dietary intakes often lead to premature deaths in both developed and developing countries.¹⁶²

From this Declaration, one clearly sees the change of attitude, attention and emphasis. The general picture painted on the face of hunger today, is no longer on the basis of many-people-little-food debate, it has substantially changed to plenty food-not-shared concern from the experts who are ready to use figures and quantities to estimate the amount of selfish use of the bountiful food supplies that there is for the world population today. It can also be observed here that the approach has been widened from the limited scope of fear of population distribution in relation to arable farmland or quantity agricultural

¹⁶² Ibid.

produce, to a holistic consideration of pertinent factors of society such family, environment, justice, peace and above all, the centrality of the health of the human person over and above the surrounding poverty irrespective of race, colour or country. One may therefore say that this declaration vividly describes the core problem of hunger and malnutrition in society today that is, starvation and disease, on one hand, and on the other hand it likewise, outlines the framework of the approach towards its solution. The UN is on record in testing this approach through the setting of the eight millennium goals, the question many ask is, will it work and achieve all the goals within, or even beyond, the projected time frame?

This must all be seen in the background of the 'consensus position.' On the tenet of the consensus position, Bryan Hehir had observed "it is morally wrong and practically ineffective to isolate population as a single factor, seeking to reduce population growth without simultaneously making those political and economic changes which will achieve a more equitable distribution of wealth and resources within nations and among nations."¹⁶³ This lays the foundation for the UN's grand program on the eight millennium goals, most relevant of all is the very first one: to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger.¹⁶⁴ The program was launched in 1996 specifically inspired by the approach defined above. The prescription of the 'Hunger Task Force' established to promote the immediate achievement of the goals, is even more telling: "The Task Force includes experts on nutrition, agriculture,

¹⁶³ Cf. Hehir, "Population and Poverty: Exploring the Relationship," 209. See also Paul VI, "Message on the Population Year." In this context, one may say therefore, that the ICN declaration was indeed the confluence of the tenet of the consensus position and the message of Paul VI for the UN Population Year more than 20 year before.

¹⁶⁴ United Nations, *UN Millennium Development Goals*, <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/goals.html> (UN Web Service Section 2005 Accessed 22 July 2007).

environmental sustainability, research, capacity building, business and communications drawn from a wide range of public and private institutions. It is to identify more precisely who and where hungry people are.”¹⁶⁵

Consequent to these initiatives, and pursuant to the principle of emphasizing calorific value for comparison purposes, the UN regularly publishes data that still represent humanity’s deficiency and vulnerability in the face of hunger and malnutrition. FAO reports emphasize specific items that define the situation of hunger today and therefore focus on them as targets of statistical representation thus: “Protein-energy malnutrition (PEM), vitamin ‘A’ deficiency, iodine deficiency or iron losses, are the most common serious nutritional problems in almost all countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Near East.”¹⁶⁶ The data detailing these items mainly comes in two forms of representation. The first form focuses on protein-energy requirements, while the second focuses on micronutrient body requirements. Table 11 below demonstrates the average individual energy requirements and the safe levels of protein intake for different sexes at different ages. Table 12 shows the safe levels of common micronutrient intake in different sexes at different age groups. It is believed that nutrition that remains within these limits maintains an individual in steady health.¹⁶⁷ This standard then provides the basis on which countries, regions, communities and/or individual persons are judged to be hungry or not.

¹⁶⁵ FAO, *Monitoring Progress Towards the World Food Summit and Millennium Development Goals*, 23.

¹⁶⁶ Latham, *Human Nutrition in the Developing World*, 5.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Magnus Pyke, *Success in Nutrition* (London: John Murray, 1975), 171-175.

Table 11: Average individual dietary energy requirements and safe levels of intake for protein

Size and Age group	Weight (Kg)	Energy (Kcal/person/day)	Protein (g/person/day)	Fat (g/person/day)
Children				
6-12 Months	8.5	950	14	-
1-3 years	11.5	1,350	22	23-52
3-5 years	15.5	1,600	26	27-62
5-7 years	19.0	1,820	30	30-71
7-10 years	25.0	1,900	34	32-74
Boys				
10-12 Years	32.5	2,120	48	35-82
16-18	61.5	2,770	81	46-108
Girls				
10-12 Years	33.5	1,905	49	32-74
16-18 "	52.5	2,060	63	34-80
Active men				
18-60 years	63.0	2,895	55	48-113
Active Women				
Not pregnant	55.0	2,210	49	37-86
Pregnant	55.0	2,410	56	40-94
Lactating	55.0	2,710	69	45-105

Source: Michael C. Latham, *Human Nutrition in the Developing World*, FAO, Food and Nutrition Series (FAO, 1997), 458.

Table 12: Safe levels of intake for various micronutrients

Sex and Age group	Iodine (μ g)	Vitamin A (μ g retinal)	Riboflavin (mg)	Niacin (mg)	Vitamin C (mg)
Children					
6-12 Months	50	350	0.5	5.4	20
7-10 Years	120	400	1.3	14.5	20
Boys					
10-12 Years	150	500	1.6	17.2	20
16-18 Year	150	600	1.8	20.3	30
Girls					
10-12 years	150	500	1.4	15.5	20
16-18 years	150	600	1.6	15.2	30
Active Men					
18-60 years	150	600	1.8	19.8	30
Active Women					
Not pregnant	150	500	1.3	14.5	30
Preganant	175	600	1.5	16.8	30
Lactating	200	850	1.7	18.2	30

Source: Michael C. Latham, *Human Nutrition in the Developing World*, Fao Food and Nutrition Series (FAO, 1997), 458.

On the basis of the above standard measurements, table 13 below reflects the world's population that is both affected and at risk of various micronutrient malnutrition as of the year 1992. Table 14 reflects the general prevalence of chronic under-nutrition in the world. Table 15 is a projection of this problem of undernourishment in the developing world. It includes World Food Security targets, and Millennium Development Goals targets set by the United Nations in 1992 and 2000 respectively. All are focused to the year 2015 to begin with. The figures in this table reflect hunger in terms of malnutrition or to be specific, under-nutrition measured in terms of protein-energy requirement as well as micronutrient body requirements. It can be seen therefore, that the world can still talk about hunger, but in very different circumstances and meaning compared to what it was, say, in the 1960s. However, in projecting nutritional requirements, some nutritionists note that "the information determining precisely what a person requires is not always available, because the science of nutrition depends on the gradually increasing acquisition of knowledge, and is still very far from complete."¹⁶⁸ In this regard both the set standards of nutritional requirements of individuals, and the consequent projections made on the basis of these requirements, are not the whole truth about hunger problem or under-nutrition.

Table 13: Population at risk of and affected by micronutrient malnutrition

Region	Iodine Deficiency disorders (<i>Millions</i>)		Vitamin A Deficiency		Iron Deficiency or Anaemia
	At Risk	Affected (<i>Goitre</i>)	At Risk	Affected	
Africa	181	86	31	1.0	206
Americas	168	63	14	0.1	94

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 171.

South East Asia	486	176	123	1.7	616
Europe	141	97	-	-	27
Eastern Mediterranean	173	93	18	0.2	149
Western Pacific	423	141	42	0.1	1058
Total	1572	655	228	3.1	2150

Source: FAO, *Eradicating World Hunger - Taking Stock Ten Years after the World Food Summit*, Rome, 2006, 23.

Table 14: Prevalence of chronic under-nutrition in the world

Country Groups	Number of undernourished persons (millions)			Undernourishment in total population (%)		
	1995-1997	2001-2003 provisional	2002-2004 preliminary	1995-1997	2001-2003 provisional	2002-2004 preliminary
World		856.4	863.9		14	14
Developing World	798.7	822.4	832.3	18	17	17
Asia And Pacific	511.1	524.3	527.5	17	16	16
L. A. & Caribbean	54.7	52.6	52.3	11	10	10
Nr. E. & N. Africa	35.3	38.1	37.9	10	9	9
Sub-Saharan Afr.	197.5	207.4	214.6	36	32	33
Developed World		34.0	31.6		3	<2.5

Source: FAO, Food Security Statistics, http://www.fao.org/faostat/foodsecurity/index_en.htm, See also http://www.fao.org/faostat/foodsecurity/Files/PrevalenceUndernourishment_en.xls, Statistics division June 2006, accessed 8 August 2009.

Table 15: Projected undernourishment in the developing world

Region	Number of Undernourished People (millions)			Prevalence of Undernourishment (Percentage of populaion)		
	1990-92	2015	WFS target	1990-92	2015	MDG target
Developing Countries	823	582	415	20.3	10.1	10.2
Sub-Saharan Africa	170	179	85	35.7	21.1	17.9
Near East and North Africa	24	36	12	7.6	7.0	3.8

Latin America and the Caribbean	60	41	30	13.4	6.6	6.7
South Asia	291	203	146	25.9	12.1	13.0
East Asia	277	123	139	16.5	5.8	8.3

Source: FAO, *Eradicating World Hunger - Taking Stock Ten Years after the World Food Summit*. Rome, 2006, 23.

To conclude this section, it can be observed that the debate on the world population is itself very interesting and broad. It should be emphasized however, that the attention here was more drawn to population growth rate as cause of hunger especially in the developing countries. In this context it was important to establish both the shift witnessed in history of the debate on the world population, and the legitimacy of the claim of hunger and malnutrition as a world problem despite the shift. This part has therefore, demonstrated that although the world population growth rate dominated the world debate as a major cause of hunger and malnutrition, and even poverty, this view has long shifted due to the reality of sufficient world food supply. To arrive to this observation, three positions were adopted: the political position, social-moral and the consensus positions, presented the dynamism of the transition debate. They eventually led to the important observation which underscores the significance of this part of the thesis namely, that the debate on world hunger and malnutrition still rages on albeit with new emphases that have now involved detailed analysis of human nutrition. Hence the latest approach employed in implementing the millennium goal against hunger, considers not only the protein-energy aspect, but also other important nutrients like vitamins and minerals.

2.5 The Effects of Hunger

2.5.1 Effects on the Individual: The Problem of Under-nutrition

The problem of hunger unavoidably evolves from the existential reality of the individual person. Its effects are first perceived from the point of view of the physio-biological changes inflicted on the victims. The victim loses his capacities to self sustenance and gradually succumbs to the destructive snare of the hunger scourge. Thus on the individual level, the effects are concrete manifestation of human disfigurement. According to FAO and WHO, the most common serious nutritional problems, especially in the developing countries, include protein-energy deficiency malnutrition, vitamin A deficiency, iodine deficiency disorders and nutritional anaemia, mainly resulting from iron deficiency or iron losses.¹⁶⁹ Energy deficiency results in marasmus, among others, a severe chronic under-nutrition in children and infants. Children of undernourished mothers normally are born with less weight than is normal, and need more than normal nutrition. "The most serious effect of early marasmus is impaired growth, particularly brain growth. Marasmus in children results in a reduced number of brain cells and overall brain size."¹⁷⁰ Furthermore, "muscles waste, there is a loss of subcutaneous fat, the buttocks diminish, the skin is loose, and there are eye lesions and skin rashes. The child is weak, apathetic and tires very easily due to lack of calories."¹⁷¹

Protein deficiency results in kwashiorkor, common where the staple foods of the poor people are either starchy roots or plantains, where cereals are the staple but consumption is inadequate. In this case the

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Michael C. Latham, *Human Nutrition in the Developing World: FAO Food and Nutrition Series*, FAO Food and Nutrition (New York: FAO, 1997), 4.

¹⁷⁰ Warnock, *The Politics of Hunger*, 2-3.

¹⁷¹ David Grigg, *The World Food Problem* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 13.

body consumes the needed protein as energy, consequently, the hair reddens and straightens, the body is typically swollen, the face is moonlike in shape, and skin rashes and ulcers occur.¹⁷² Experts note that both marasmus and kwashiorkor can vary from the acute stage to mild retardation of growth.¹⁷³ The accent of the protein-energy malnutrition falls on its statistical record worldwide. For example, FAO and WHO estimate the number of underweight children resulting from protein-energy malnutrition alone in the world rose from 195 million in 1975 to about 200 million at the end of 1994.¹⁷⁴ Vitamins are generally good for proper body growth. They also assist the body in the formation of antibodies by which the body fights infectious diseases.¹⁷⁵ Deficiency in vitamin A, vitamin C, thiamine, riboflavin, pyridoxine, folic acid and vitamin B12 and iron particularly interfere with normal antibody formation, leading to the complications like blindness, rickets, scurvy, pellagra, beri-beri, endemic goitre and other diseases. The reduction of antibody formation is often linked to a proportionate decrease in resistance to infection common among those suffering from mild to moderate under-nutrition. Multiple diseases many of which are also infectious therefore, result from under-nutrition.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² Warnock, *The Politics of Hunger*, 3.

¹⁷³ Cf. Grigg, *The World Food Problem*, 13. But according to FAO and WHO, judging the degree of malnutrition only on the basis of weight for age had many disadvantages. Consequently they distinguish three categories of mild to moderate protein-energy malnutrition based on weight and height, namely; 'wasting', 'stunting', and then 'wasting and stunting.' 'Wasting' refers to acute current, short-duration malnutrition, where weight for age and weight for height are low but height for age is normal; 'Stunting' refers to the past chronic malnutrition where weight for age and height for age are low but weight for height is normal, and 'Wasting and stunting' refers to acute and chronic or current long-duration malnutrition, where weight for age, height for age and weight for height are all low. Cf. FAO, *Vitamin and Mineral Requirements in Human Nutrition*, 2nd Edition ed. (Bangkok: FAO, 2004), 131.

¹⁷⁴ Latham, *Human Nutrition in the Developing World*, 127.

¹⁷⁵ Warnock, *The Politics of Hunger*, 2-3.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

The quantification of energy, protein, vitamins and minerals thus considered, forms the background upon which the statistical nature of hunger in the world today poses great worry to society. In its ninth progress report on world hunger, 2008 (the latest since 1996), FAO estimated the number of chronically hungry people at 923 million around the world, representing an increase of 75 million from 850 million in 2003-2005.¹⁷⁷ But FAO's news release of June 2009 now estimates 1.02 billion people not to have enough to eat.¹⁷⁸ Other concerned institutions confirm that hunger and poverty now claim well over 25,000 lives every day, whereas hunger & malnutrition are the number one risk to global health killing more people than AIDS, malaria & TB combined.¹⁷⁹ Further to this, UNICEF report on *The State of the World's Children*, 2007, estimates 146 million –roughly one out of four children– in the developing countries are underweight and remain highly susceptible to both the physical and mental consequences implied. The same report estimates that 60 percent of the 10.9 million children that die in developing countries every year under the age of five die of malnutrition and hunger-related causes. Experts estimate this to imply on average one child dying every six seconds from malnutrition and related causes.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ FAO. 2008. "The State of Food Insecurity in the World: High Food Prices and Food Security - Threats and Opportunities," FAO. <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/011/i0291e/i0291e00.pdf>, (accessed 20 November 2009). FAO's undernourishment estimates for the period 1990-92 to 2003-2005 have been revised on the basis of new standards for human energy requirements established by the United Nations and 2006 revisions of UN population data.

¹⁷⁸ FAO Media Centre. 2009. "1.02 Billion People Hungry." <http://www.fao.org/news/story/en/item/20568/icode/>, (accessed 28 November 2009). See also World Food Programme. 2009. "Hunger Stats." <http://www.wfp.org/hunger/stats>, (accessed 28 November 2009).

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ UNICEF. 2009. "The State of the World's Children." <http://www.unicef.org/sowc/>, (accessed 29 November 2009). See also the details in UNICEF. 2009. "The State of the World's Children 2009." http://www.unicef.org/sowc09/docs/SOWC09_Table_2.pdf, (accessed 30 November 2009); Bread for the world

2.5.2 Effects on Society

2.5.2.1 Political Effects

The weight of the devastating effects of hunger goes beyond the individual. As an epidemic, famine or starvation which is often declared ‘national disaster,’ the effects of hunger are properly sociological. It assumes a social dimension and busts into a social problem with unbound networks, spreading out through the political, economic and cultural landscapes.¹⁸¹ The world politics are dominated by the manipulation of events related with hunger. In the developed nations’ involvement in humanitarian charities, ability to fundraise and advocacy for the hungry are some of the stakes that determine votes in many democracies.¹⁸² But perhaps the scenario is far more volatile in the developing, or so called poor nations. In some of these countries, votes are literally exchanged for food.¹⁸³ The ability of a politician often lies

Institute. 2006. "Bread for the World, Hunger Facts: International." <http://www.bread.org/learn/hunger-basics/hunger-facts-international.html>, (accessed 12 May 2009).

¹⁸¹ This may include religious, political, economic, cultural or demographical dimensions, each of which may employ its own categories to codify the problem.

¹⁸² Cf. Volker Rolf Berghahn, *Imperial Germany 1871-1918: Economy, Society, Culture and Politics* (Copyrighted material: www.Berghahnbooks.com: Berghahn Books, 2005), 200-202. Berghahn traces the influence of politicians on people from the very beginning of parliamentarization in the imperial Germany. Representative politics which had earlier been voluntary and rather uncompetitive, became competitive, professional and, with the emergence of parliamentary democracy, was sufficiently remunerated. This encouraged politicians to be tactical, they involved themselves in all activities that made them popular: critical ideologies, charities, religious affiliations or critical ideologies depending on what pleased people most. See also Margaret Anderson, *Practicing Democracy: Elections and Political Culture in Imperial Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 152-194.

¹⁸³ Cf. Bob Currie, *The Politics of Hunger in India: A Study of Democracy, Governance and Kalahandi's Poverty* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000). In the entire book, Bob Currie assesses and confirms the role of politics in the perpetuation of hunger even in democratic governments such as India. Public or

not only in his/her promise to arrest hunger and provide food for all the hungry, but in the promise to deal a final blow to the hitherto perennial problem. In recognizing the vast potential of their country which has never been tapped till their time, the politician promise to harness everything in their power to arrest the problem of hunger once and for all. But soon the same politicians lead the people in recognizing the power of natural calamities in declaring hunger situations as national disasters that can only be cured by international interventions. At this point they are powerless unless people elect them to the new term to allow them accomplish the projects they had began, which no one else can given the complexity involved.¹⁸⁴ Meanwhile, the new arrivals into the political landscape promise change of the status quo, and the vicious circle begins again.

Beyond national boundaries, the participation of the world's richer nations in contributing food aid to the needy countries, on one hand, and the ability of the poorer countries to attract adequate attention for their undernourished populations on the other hand, determines many other aspects of international political scenario. As this type of political vicious circle entrenches the grip of the hunger scourge in society, two serious concerns can be underlined. First, the perennial compromise of attention to the development of sound agricultural and food policies capable of addressing structural implications of hunger, left to happen to safeguard the interests of the political elite supported by the system. The second concern is the dehumanizing dependency of the victims on the potentially enriching enterprise of the few politicians. A life subjection to this situation is horrible in all its implication.

private interventions in combating this situation will have to be directed more towards the political class.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Bob Currie, *The Politics of Hunger in India: A Study of Democracy, Governance and Kalahandi's Poverty* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 264-271.

2.5.2.2 Economic Effects

The economic loss attributable to hunger cannot be gainsaid. Experts sample labour profile, gender factor, age and population distribution not to mention the direct effects on prices, income earnings and the overall living standards. Several expert reports associate productivity in any country particularly to the quality of its labour. Well trained, vigorous and competitive manpower is priority asset that comes before any other factor of production in estimating the capacity of any country to engage in consequential productivity especially in the agricultural sector.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, in many developing countries where agriculture still provides the largest economic sector, women have been associated with farm productivity. They engage in petty yet important duties of developing indigenous capacities for food security while their male counterparts look for 'better' jobs in urban centres most of which do not immediately support food security effort.¹⁸⁶ Age and population distribution are core determinants of 'wise' investments. Agricultural communities particularly rely on specific geographical and climatic suitability of their local habitation. Population in many of the affected countries larger populations seem to be concentrated in the lake basin areas and in rich well drained agricultural lands with specific altitudes served with reliable rainfall in the year.¹⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the age within which the population is active in production still remains important in

¹⁸⁵ Cf. ILO. 2009. "Database of International Labour Standards." <http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/english/convdisp1.htm>, (accessed 16 December 2009).

¹⁸⁶ Cf. FAO, "Women in African Food Production and Food Security," in *Food Policy*, ed. J. Price Gittinger, Joanne Leslie, and Caroline Hoisington (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 133-140. See also FAO Food and Nutrition Division. 1997. "Agriculture, Food and Nutrition for Africa," *A Resource Book for Teachers of Agriculture*, Publishing management group. <http://193.43.36.103/docrep/W0078e/w0078e00.htm#TopOfPage>, (accessed 2 August 2008).

¹⁸⁷ FAO. "The State of Food Security in the World 2006: Eradicating World Hunger-Taking Stock Ten Years after the World Food Summit," (accessed 20 February 2009).

making the best out of such conditions. Many countries balance productivity age with good education and training as well as a reasonable allowance for retirement.¹⁸⁸ The Balance between these factors contributes to a steady, robust and dependable labour in any country's productivity.

In a hunger situation however, these factors are thrown out of balance and quite often incurably. Hungry situation first strikes and incapacitates the requisite human labour. The dependable women labour in the rural agricultural communities is not only divided into multiple concerns for subsistence, but it is also drastically altered by malnourished, frail and weak labour force.¹⁸⁹ When the priority human factor is drastically affected, the entire livelihood is left to the financial power; only those with money will survive. At this point the economic factor of supply comes into play. A drastically reduced supply pushes up food prices and renders food inaccessible to many low income groups. Hunger will continue if not increased now on a vicious circle of lack of food-lack of energy-lack of money and lack-of food. Though this begins with an individual, it gradually spirals into a national and international economic crisis. On this ground experts estimate the hunger problem to be more costly compared to the cost of food itself.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ FAO. 2009. "Rural Households' Livelihood and Well-Being." <http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/ess/pages/rural/index.htm>, (accessed 16 December 2009). See also FAO. 2009. "News and Events," Statistics Division Home. <http://www.fao.org/economic/ess/en/>, (accessed 16 December 2009). Rural agricultural communities however, may not be very keen about age and so underage children are involved in child labour situations and senior retiring citizens keep working overtime.

¹⁸⁹ FAO. "Food and Nutrition Division," (accessed. 20 November 2009).

¹⁹⁰ Cf. FAO. 2008. "The State of Food Insecurity in the World: High Food Prices and Food Security - Threats and Opportunities," FAO. <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/011/i0291e/i0291e00.pdf>, (accessed 20 November 2009).

2.5.2.3 Cultural Effects

Beyond the political and economic effects of hunger, perhaps the most sensitive to human survival is its effects on people's culture. The phenomenon of hunger influences the way people respond to and promote or discourage certain habits, attitudes and values in society. People's respond to hunger therefore is fully expressed in the values they practice. Just as good habits, attitudes and values enhance social wellbeing, and their bad side retards social development, it is argued among experts that the bad habits and attitudes that result from the lessons of hunger exert significant impediment to a healthy social development. For man to fully realize the possibilities of his context and of his relationships to other people, he must be able to uphold helpful habits, attitudes and values that facilitate satisfactory approach to the problem of hunger. If this does not happen, man's general sensibility and thus his very life, is impoverished and reduced to flat and static pattern." Since this dynamism unfolds within a cultural milieu in which man interacts with the rest to realize himself and community life, threats to the anthropological structure of culture is a direct threat to the very goal of man's survival in the society. Sharman Apt Russell catalogues practical research findings presented by renowned anthropology experts that attest to the strong influence of the hunger experience on cultural attitudes and values. We shall here consider three of them.

The first is the findings of the anthropologist Allan Holmber related to reaction of people in circumstances of food shortages. In his experience among the Bantu and Bemba tribes of Rhodesia in the 1930s, Holmber noted among others, that the 'hungry season' was accompanied by listlessness, attitude to food sharing changed, people were less generous even to family members.¹⁹¹ Likewise, in the 1940s the

¹⁹¹ Sharman Apt Russell, *Hunger: An Unnatural History* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), 137.

nomadic, hunting and gathering Siriono Indians of Eastern Bolivia in the 1940s had a functional culture that had long suffered from food shortage.¹⁹² Holmberg observed in them a 'hunger frustration' that had evolved into a hasty preparation of food, and a lack of complex recipes. There were few routines, rituals, or courtesies around a meal. Instead, people stole off into the forest to eat or wolfed what they had. They were reluctant to share and had few food preferences except on a quantitative basis. They overate, they ate when they were not hungry, and they ate when they were sick. There was also excessive quarrelling over food, fantasies and dreams about food, and insults in terms of food.¹⁹³

A second example regards the experience of anthropologist Michael Young with the Kalauna people of Papua New Guinea in 1970s. His experience exposed a different picture: hunger as a catalyst not of harmful attitudes and values but of values that enhanced strong enduring character seen as admirable by society. The Kalauna people had plenty of food most of the time, but historically, they admired thinness and small tight stomachs and abhorred gluttony. They practiced denial, they would work on empty stomachs and practiced rituals that helped them to deny their need for and pleasure in food. They would reportedly prefer to have food rot in the garden or in storage rather than be consumed in gluttony in an observance of 'fighting with hunger.' This instilled in them disciplined attitude of restrained towards food and gluttonous eating. Inordinate and indiscriminate eating of much food was considered a curse.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Cf. Allan Homberg, *Nomads of the Long Bow: The Siriono of Eastern Bolivia* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution: Institute of Social anthropology, 1950). This is an interesting account on how hunger influences the formation of people's social mannerisms.

¹⁹³ Russell, *Hunger: An Unnatural History*, 138.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. See also Michael W. Young and Julia Clark, *An Anthropologist in Papua: The Photography of F.E Williams, 1922-1939* (Hind Marsh: Crawford House, 2001), 32-48. Michael Young observes that as a sorcerer walked through the vegetable gardens, chanting spells, spitting betel juice, and inspecting the

The third example highlights the experience of the expert Collin Turnbull. He visited the starving Ik people found in the Northern border of Kenya and Uganda between 1965-1966. He noted that the Ik were prevented from hunting in the nearby national park and forcibly confined to patches of infertile land. In order to adapt to long-term hunger Turnbull observed that these people had to abandon social relationships and institutions, even familial ones. Literally, it was everyone for him/her own self. Husbands did not share with wives or wives with husbands or parents with children, or children with parents. Cooperation became maladaptive. Only the strong, the selfish, and the predatory survived.¹⁹⁵ Many other examples abound where anthropological research has demonstrated the influence of the problems of hunger on people's culture on the one hand, and/or how people have borrowed from their experience of hunger to build on stronger values. Sometimes hunger has been preferred as a condition for the development of certain enduring characters preferred by some communities as helpful to the people. In this case the phenomenon of hunger goes beyond the presence or lack of food, it becomes a cultural resource responsible for certain mannerisms. Whichever the case, it is important to recognize the instrumentality of hunger in facilitating cultural habits, attitudes and values. Our concern here however, is focussed more on the destructive effects notwithstanding the possible positive influence. To many observers, this seems to give credibility to the claim that each cultural group has its own specified response mechanism shaped by the history of their hunger experience that sustains them in subsistence in the face of hunger.

crops, he did so with 'undesiring eyes,' indifferent to the bounty of the harvest. Later, the women who weeded the gardens would follow the sorcerer's example, their eyes also 'nondesiring, their bellies tight and contented, their hands restrained, so that, like model housewives, they will not be tempted to gather more than the minimum needed for the family meal.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 142.

Generally we can observe that the effects of hunger pose the greatest threat to the survival of the human person as an individual and as a member of the community. In a hunger situation, the victim's physical appearance is disfigured and wasted, his/her personality in society is proportionately lowered and his/her spiritual/psychological constitution is dented without possibility of full recovery thereafter. The individual human victim suffers indignity. The perils of the hunger victim never end here, the social ties constructed on the strength of habits, attitudes and values further incur rigorous reconstruction that tend to scare the victim into defencelessness. In the context of the examples used above, the victim tends to relax the binding force of social values and develops mannerisms that are detrimental to a healthy social environment. The political and economic powers that come to play in the atmosphere of lax observance of sound values or an all-together lack of such values, is often eschewed in favour of the powerful elite.

2.6 Conclusion

Our reflection in this chapter assessed the meaning of hunger, its current status, causes and effects of hunger in society. The term 'hunger' can stand for different realities of human subsistence depending on the context in which it is used. In our reflection under-nutrition or undernourishment, starvation and famine are preferably the most relevant designations of 'hunger.' Under-nutrition immediately designates the experience of inadequacy with regard to the physiological realities associated with the human nutrition. Starvation and famine imply the duration and the numbers involved in such experience. While under-nutrition is, strictly speaking, an experience of an individual, starvation and famine project this experience to a community or society at large and are more relevant in expressing the problems related to the hunger experience worldwide. The choice for any of these terms will

therefore depend on the subject matter. They may be used interchangeably in cases where both the individual victim and the community are the subject matter.

As regards our detailed statistical analysis of the current status of hunger in the world, our concluding data was significant. We can conclude that the problem of hunger has only gotten worse. Both the number and prevalence indicate a situation where more and more people are falling into the perils of hunger. By the end of 2010, 925 million people were undernourished around the world. About 80 percent of these people are found in the developing countries in Asia and Africa. Given the worrying population growth rate in these countries, especially in Africa, even the future does not promise any reprieve. According to the statistics, the world has to reduce the number of the undernourished person by 503.6 million to beat the MDG 1 target in the next five years, a task seen by many as an impossible dream. As the statistics paint a grim picture, the causes and effects of hunger in society come into an even sharper focus. Our finding in this chapter identifies poverty as a common factor in all incidents of hunger. Among the factors considered here as causing hunger, poverty can be identified as a factor common to all. Other factors precipitate hunger in so far as they impede the victim's ability to command food entitlement in one way or another. However, most of the causes of hunger mentioned are arguably avoidable, brought about by either omission or deliberate commission of acts that are known to necessarily precipitate hunger. The effects of these omissions and commissions are destructive not only to the individual victims, but also to society politically, economically and even culturally. Considering this difficulty, and the fact that stopping hunger has already been very expensive, the question is: Why can't society simply put a halt to the causes of hunger in the first place, Given that most causes are man-made? Nevertheless, the network of political, economic and cultural undertones implied in the story of hunger are often more than

meets the eye. Unless efforts are made to tirelessly interpret these factors and address them effectively in democratic governments, and unless people all over the world voluntarily engage in building social structures that shall address hunger as an initiative of solidarity, the complexity of the hunger phenomenon remains difficult to surmount.

JUDGING HUNGER: ASBJØRN EIDE AND CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING

3.1 Introduction

An important consideration that must be made in the face of an ever worsening situation of hunger is that the scope of its source is wide and complex. As a world problem, the source of hunger is poverty, inequality and injustice perpetuated through both the entrenched institutional agency and the individual reluctance to stop the evil. Attempts towards the problem have likewise been influenced by this background. Ending poverty is key to addressing all its effects such as lack of food, shelter and medical care. The persistence of hunger in particular however, not only highlights the continued suffering of the billions of people affected but also brings into focus the quality of the approaches that have been pursued so far. What hope do the varied approaches to the problem of hunger today herald for its victims? As doubts begin to emerge as to the capacity of any known approach to shoulder the problem of hunger, a growing tendency among experts points towards the need for collaboration among the known participants in this struggle. This Chapter revisits the capacity of the human rights approach towards this end.

Given the principles on which the human rights approach are founded and the history that has accompanied the use of the human rights tradition in different contexts, we shall highlight the pertinent merits of this approach. It has the capacity not only of bringing together in collaboration all the efforts invested in the fight against hunger, but also of creating responsive structures that will encourage further participation and that will address the problem in its diverse manifestations. This is argued out in three parts. The first part, 3.2, assesses the human rights capacity. Its first three sections highlight the contribution of the Norwegian human rights scholar, Asbjørn Eide to the right to food: His career and method in section 3.2.1, his research insights on food security as basis of human right to food in section 3.3.2, and his interpretation of international human rights system as he moved to entrench the human right to food in section 3.2.3. Section 2.1.4 critically assesses alternative approaches to hunger in four sub-sections: Increase in food production (3.2.4.1), entitlement approach (3.2.4.2), distributive justice approach (3.2.4.3) and the charity approach (3.2.4.4). The section then presents argument in favour of the human rights approach.

The second part (3.3) is a presentation of the understanding and basis of the human right to food in the tradition of the Church's social ministry. The discussion opens with the presentation of the Church's understanding of hunger in section 3.3.1. Sub-section 3.3.1.1, looks at it from the point of view of natural and moral causes. Sub-section 3.3.1.2, considers it from the points of view of the bible and tradition. Sub-sections 3.3.1.3, and 3.3.1.4, expound it from the Christian anthropological point of view, emphasizing the dignity of the human person and human person in-relation respectively. Section 3.3.2, then discusses the Church's three strategies against hunger including an exhaustive critique of these strategies: Fraternal charity discussed in sub-section 3.3.2.1, distributive justice in 3.3.2.2., and the human right

to food in sub-section 3.3.2.3. Sub-section 3.3.2.4 is a critical evaluation of these strategies. Finally, this chapter presents a critical and evaluative view of Asbjørn Eide's right to food approach in part 3.4. Sections 3.4.1 to 2.3.4 critically elaborate the weaknesses of this approach, while section 3.4.5, suggests the option of the value of global solidarity reviewed in three aspects: as a virtue inherent in all people, 3.4.5.1, as collaboration that draws from natural connectedness between persons, 3.4.5.2, and requiring normative value guarded by people themselves in democratic governments around the world, 3.4.5.3. Over and above the legal and political structures therefore, this second part of the chapter founds the human rights approach on reality beyond the social realm, and on a sound human anthropology the lack of which, we argue, often compromises the human rights approach among social anthropologists. In conclusion we observe that if the human rights approach is to remain both the confluence of the varied approaches discussed here, and a medium to the much needed collaborative effort of the partners in this venture, then the contributions of both civil and Church traditions remain key to the success of this approach in the fight against world hunger.

3.2 The Human Rights Approach of Asbjørn Eide to the Problem of Hunger

3.2.1 Background, Career and Methodology of Asbjørn Eide

3.2.1.1 Background and Career

Asbjørn Eide was born on 11 February 1933 at Voss in the West of Norway.¹⁹⁶ He began his secondary school education at the age of

¹⁹⁶ Torkel Opsahl and Jan Helgesen, "Asbjørn Eide: A Tribute," in *Broadening the Frontiers of Human Rights*, ed. Donna Gomien (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 1.

fourteen in 1947 and six years later, 1953, joined university education to study law where he graduated with a distinction in 1960. The colleagues of Asbjørn Eide visualize his career, responsibilities and interests in the service of human rights in two dimensions. On the one hand, he was involved fully in the service of this cause on the level of personal commitment to his work as a teacher through which, he managed to bear gradual influence to those close to him and to society through ideology. On the other hand, he championed this cause through building structures that would prove very helpful in the struggle reshaping the right to food.

In terms of his struggle as an individual, Asbjørn Eide's involvement began when, already as a student, he became the president of the National Union of Students in 1958, and started travelling the world, actively engaged in international student politics. In 1961, Asbjørn Eide was elected president of the Norwegian Students Association.¹⁹⁷ In the same year, he took up an appointment in the Department of Legislation of the Ministry of Justice, well known at the time, to produce top lawyers in, civil servants and judges in Norway.¹⁹⁸ Between 1962-1965, Asbjørn Eide was back at the Faculty of Law holding positions as a course teacher and research fellow between 1966-1970. He combined his postgraduate studies with many other activities at home and abroad, including periods in England and the USA. Preceding his appointments that come after 1961, Asbjørn Eide had married Wenche Barth in 1959, reported to be a forward looking student, who later pursued a remarkable career in the field of social nutrition science, and making

¹⁹⁷ Ibid. The most memorable performance of Asbjørn Eide whilst in this service is the speech he gave to the public upon the death of Dag Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General of the United Nations. This to many exposed a unique ability in Asbjørn Eide to give a public reflection that touches and moves many people. Dag Hammarskjöld perished in a plane crash on 18 September 1961 in the political crisis of the newly independent Congo. He was in command of the UN peacekeeping forces invited to restore peace to a situation that had deteriorated in the secession of the province of Katanga.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 2.

valuable contributions to the current debate on human rights. Though Asbjørn Eide did not have chance to produce a doctoral dissertation, his biographers attributed this largely to his busy schedule of meetings and journeys all round the world. He nonetheless received an *honoris causa* degree conferred by the University of Lund in 1991.

Asbjørn Eide spent considerable time creating structures that later proved to be a strong basis that held together the struggle for human rights. In 1970 he became the Director of Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), where he carried out fruitful research work on many intricate issues on human rights. He held this position from 1970 to 1986. His career at PRIO prepared him well for his later work and opened many ways for his international involvement in human rights. Probably the most notable among these openings came when he served as Secretary General of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) from 1971 to 1974. Immediately after, from 1974 to 1977, he was a member of the Norwegian delegation to the diplomatic conference on humanitarian law. The conference notably expanded the laws of armed conflict through the drafting of two protocols to the 1949 Geneva Conventions.¹⁹⁹ The years at PRIO also engendered his growing involvement in human rights matters. They crystallized as an aspect of the wider and more diffuse spectrum of subjects cultivated at PRIO.²⁰⁰ Having positioned himself so strategically as a complete proponent of the emerging concern for human rights approach to crucial economic,

¹⁹⁹ David P. Forsythe, "The 1974 Diplomatic Conference on Humanitarian Law," *The American Journal of International Law* Vol. 69, no. 1 (1975), 412-430. The 1974 Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation of Development of Inter-Humanitarian Law applicable in armed conflict was the first attempt to a full-fledged diplomatic conference in 25 years to create new laws for the protection of victims of war. It was also the first time in some 40 years that a diplomatic conference took up the question of restricting the use of conventional weapons, and it was the first time since World War I that an international Conference looked intensively at the question of methods of attack and had weighted their impact on the civilian population.

²⁰⁰ Opsahl and Helgesen, "Asbjørn Eide: A Tribute," 4.

social and cultural problems of the time, the first opportunity came when the Norwegian foreign minister asked Asbjørn Eide to make a study of the international human rights system and its relevance for foreign policy of Norway.²⁰¹ He in turn formed a focused team, which started an independent Norwegian Human Rights Project in 1978.²⁰² It is reported, “the project was not motivated by any nationalist sentiment. On the contrary, several international and regional impulses contributed to its development. The U.N.E.S.C.O World Conference on the Teaching of Human Rights, held in Vienna in September 1978 had encouraged such initiatives.”²⁰³

In the U.N.E.S.C.O Conference, Asbjørn Eide used his organizational and consultative skill to convince and enlist the support of other Nordic participants in lobbying for human rights establishment of some sort, college or institution. A joint effort among the Nordic experts soon came up with a detailed proposal to establish an independent institute, publicly funded for the purposes of information, education and research on human rights.²⁰⁴ The government of Norway

²⁰¹ Ibid. The study, NOU 1977: 23 is said to have been well received and even formed a basis for another more streamlined account, *Fattig, Ufri og mishandlet* (Poor, Unfree and Ill-treated, 1978).

²⁰² Ibid., 4. Asbjørn Eide enlisted the assistance of Jan Helgesen, and Torkel Opsahl in this primary assignment, with whom he formed a suitable team for the long-term assignment on human rights. Inviting the authorities’ support but not their supervision, the team established two bases: the Peace Research Institute, and the University of Oslo’s Institute of Public and International Law.

²⁰³ U.N.E.S.C.O, *Records of the General Conference* [<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001140/114032Eb.pdf>] (1978, accessed 18 May 2007). The General Conference, at its twenty-first session, invited the Director-General to submit a report to the General Conference, at its twenty-second session, on the implementation of this resolution, containing, if appropriate, the suggestions and recommendations for action, which might generally further the aims of the Plan for the Development of Human Rights Teaching and speed up its implementation.

²⁰⁴ Opsahl and Helgesen, "Asbjørn Eide: A Tribute," 5. The Nordic participants in the U.N.E.S.C.O conference in Vienna, September 1978, included Jens Faerkel (Denmark), Allan Rosas (Finland), Asbjørn Eide and Jan Helgesen (Norway). The Norwegian Human Rights Project then assisted by Love Kellber,

soon intervened and facilitated the formation of the Norwegian Institute of Human Rights fully recognized and serving the interests of the entire region.²⁰⁵ The institute under the directorship of Asbjørn Eide has in the meantime become a small centre of world's attention with regard to issues on human rights. At the institute, Asbjørn Eide's life example is conspicuous: "one can also observe his care and concern for others, his readiness to help those who are more helpless with anything from concepts to computers, his good working habits and tidy desk and office, as well as his fascination for new technology."²⁰⁶

From the presentation of Asbjørn Eide's educational and initial career background, certain inclinations emerge that are worth emphasis at this stage. First of all, it is notable that Asbjørn Eide already in his teenage had an experience of traveling away from his birthplace Voss to Jessheim, the interior of the eastern part of the country where he began his secondary school education in 1947. One may see this as a background to his ability later in life to travel around the world advocating for human rights. Secondly, in his school life Asbjørn Eide exhibited exceptional abilities in learning, adapting and integrating himself to other people's culture and language.²⁰⁷ Thirdly, a character that developed rather strongly alongside his study programs is his involvement with extra-curricular activities such as organizational and

the Swedish ambassador in Oslo (at the time also the Swedish member of the European Commission of Human Rights), convened a successful Nordic Human Rights conference at Sundvollen, Norway, in September 1979. An extensive network for cooperation was thus initiated. For a few years, its goal was the establishment of a common Nordic human rights institute. In 1983 the project was temporarily established in the building next Asbjørn Eide's office at PRIO.

²⁰⁵ Seven years later, these efforts translated into an institution. The Norwegian government and parliament eventually decided on the establishment of the Norwegian Institute of Human Rights in 1986 and operations began from 1987.

²⁰⁶ Opsahl and Helgesen, "Asbjørn Eide: A Tribute," 9.

²⁰⁷ Asbjørn did his military service in the Norwegian brigade stationed in Germany, where his colleagues noted his ability to learn and communicate in new languages.

political action. Fourthly, the academic excellence of Asbjørn Eide in the law profession prepared him to face challenges of decision making both on national and international assignments. Here, he not only exhibited command of his subject, he is also noted for his specific attraction to radical criticism.²⁰⁸ His speech abilities recognized by many who have worked with him further disposed him favourably among his colleagues and paved his way to important public appointments that no doubt enhanced his public image and character. These traits in Asbjørn Eide's behaviour doubtlessly demonstrate his interest in issues that touch daily experience of people and his own even when they did not form the mainstream concern of his official study programs. His earlier involvements depict Asbjørn Eide not only as a team leader, but also as an opinion leader whose ideological contributions remained crucial in all the ventures he undertook. It is largely due to this practical and ideological influence that many see in the person of Asbjørn Eide a mentor and, in fact, a formidable protagonist in championing the course of human rights up to an international level.

3.2.1.2 Method and Philosophy

Asbjørn Eide's method of approach to his struggles may be described as normative-activist. As a lawyer, he believes strongly in the relevance and power of norms to change the lives of people. Having been involved in many discussions of international level, many of which involving the United Nations in general, and having had a critical approach to law profession, Asbjørn Eide is not only known to be privy to important agreements and commitments incumbent upon the United Nations in upholding the rights of their citizens, he is also passionate about the honest and committed implementation of the same. In this regard Asbjørn Eide is known to prefer human rights policy to human rights law. The underlying philosophy in this approach is that states

²⁰⁸ Cf. Opsahl and Helgesen, "Asbjørn Eide: A Tribute," 9.

should enter into far more binding commitments than they are willing to do today. A harmonious future according to Asbjørn Eide totally depends upon the existence of norms and respect for them. This is the force behind his motivation to influence as much as he can the formulation, interpretation and implementation of the laid down legislations that safeguard human rights, including the right to food.²⁰⁹

Asbjørn Eide is noted to go an extra mile in practical involvements in meetings, workshops and discussion where his words have been seen to translate into peoples' lives. He finds it 'almost perverse' to see human rights as mainly a subject for academic exercises when criminal cruelty claims thousands of victims and starvation threatens millions. In his approach and method, the situation then does not call for study, but action, or at least strong reactions. His writings therefore reveal some form of unresolved dilemma of choosing between writing and spreading his message, "on the one hand, books rarely change the world, on the other, the gospel must be spread."²¹⁰ This general feeling about suffering in the world, especially among the poor, his passion about alleviating it, and his conviction that there is sufficient provision in the human rights charter, has led Asbjørn Eide to reject forcefully "those 'radical' approaches which claim that the system of the international protection of human rights is nothing but a codification of 'Western', 'capitalist' values. He denies any kind of relativism, any priority for traditional cultural values when conflicting with international human rights."²¹¹ According to him, the different Declarations on Human Rights from the

²⁰⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*, 8

²¹⁰ *Ibid.* But in a "burning world," many see him to have a vision of serving both as a fire-fighter and as an engineer constructing more new fire-proof buildings.

²¹¹ *Ibid.* This method and philosophy is at the core of Asbjørn Eide's world view. Viewing Asbjørn Eide alongside competing opinions of our time, Opsahl and Helgesen underscore the challenge; "As new states emerge, as new ideologies appear, the very universality is challenged. The future is at stake, both at the normative as well as at the practical level of implementation. Asbjørn Eide has taken his position, a very strong position, indeed."

past always found their legitimacy by claiming universal validity. This disposition makes Asbjørn Eide a fierce and motivated believer in universal ideals and has kindled in him a burning desire and vision of making human rights universal. Hitherto, Asbjørn Eide has developed his perspectives into truly global ones. He is in his heart deeply committed to the international protection of human rights. This major work goes deeply into a debate which is never going to be closed because, as Opsahl and Helgesen observe, “the subject of his analysis represents a link between the past and the future.”²¹²

3.2.1.3 *Background to the Human Rights Approach*

In order to situate the human rights approach, it is important to mention the place of the state institution. Before and during the two world wars, the state institution portrayed a visible instrument through which the despotic, stronger and totalitarian regimes imposed themselves upon the weaker and poorer ones. But with the founding of controversial theories of social contract of modern enlightenment in the 17th and 18th centuries,²¹³ the state also emerged as a locus that defined the social, economic and cultural perils or hazards facing individual citizens on the one hand, and/or the citizens’ progress on the other hand. After the Second World War however, experts trace an initiative by the UN Charter of 1945 that fronted a radical view that contained seeds for wide-ranging changes within the state system.²¹⁴ Inspired with the

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Thomas Nagel, “The Problem of Global Justice,” in *The Global Justice Reader*, ed. Thom Brooks (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 417-419. The Hobbesian theory of state, which entrenched the sovereign monarch with the duty ‘to protect the sovereignty of the people, was radically redefined by the United Nation’s initiative after the second World War. Compare Wenche Barth Eide and Uwe Kracht, *Food and Human Rights in Development*, vol. 1 (Antwerp: Intersentia, 2005), 4-6. See also UN Charter, Art. 1.3

²¹⁴ Cf. Eide and Kracht, 4. The UN Charter itself was based on a system of states as it had slowly emerged from the time of the treaty of Westphalia. With the peace Treaty between the Holy Roman Emperor and the King of France and

dream of making the State system universal, the UN was set up as a forum that sought not only to safeguard the territorial integrity and independence of all states, but also the international cooperation in solving problems of social, economic, cultural and humanitarian nature.²¹⁵ As the key instrument of globalization today, UN organization has facilitated remarkable human advancement in various domains. The most conspicuous being the humanitarian course on issues of poverty, health and nutrition. On issues of world hunger and nutrition, the UN contribution is not only interdisciplinary and comprehensive, it is also consistent and effective. Though experts are divided on the role of the nation-state in the advancement of globalization today, the UN humanitarian aid agency recognizes nationalistic sensitivities as much as it does recognize its instrumentality in building the international civil society. Among the experts, this seems to distinguish the human rights approach over and above the other approaches. Each member state facilitates systems of justice that regulate relations between the conditions of different classes of people and causes of inequality between them. But collectively the United Nations advance humanitarian duties which, though performed in collaboration with respective states, emphasize universal values shared within the universal human family.²¹⁶ These attributes come out clearly from the work of Asbjørn Eide on the human right to food. The following reflection highlights his exceptional input to the preparation of the human right to food that incorporates aspects pertinent to the struggle against world hunger.

their respective Allies, which brought the thirty years war in Europe to an end began the transformation of the political map in Europe.

²¹⁵ Ibid. See also UN Charter, Art. 1.3.

²¹⁶ Cf. Thomas Nagel, "The Problem of Global Justice," 419.

3.2.2 Food Security as the Basis of the Right to Food

3.2.2.1 *The Food Security Debate*

Increased attention to the implications and force of the right to food must be attributed to the two major debates that developed between 1950s and early 1980s. On the one hand was the debate that witnessed “a gradual change in focus from food production to food security,”²¹⁷ which emphasized sufficient food supplies adequately distributed to satisfy human needs. On the other hand, there was an increasing concern among scholars to broaden the understanding of human rights such that the economic, social and cultural rights remain at par with civil and political rights. Here a “gradual change took place in the human rights bodies, from a focus predominantly on civil and political rights to broader agenda including also economic, social and cultural rights, where the right to food is one core element.”²¹⁸ The consequence of the arguments that facilitated these two debates eventually prompted a shift of focus from food security to the right to food. The shift was premised on the thought that soon became clearer among scholars,²¹⁹ that the right to food should presuppose food security, and yet viewed in the light of the emerging facts on nutrition, it also became clearer that food security

²¹⁷ Wenche Barth Eide, "From Food Security to the Right to Food," in *Food and Human Rights in Development*, ed. Wenche Barth Eide and Uwe Kracht (Antwerpen: Intersentia, 2005), 68.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.* Wenche Bart Eide traces the origins and main stages in the conceptual and, to some extent, practical developments that contributed to pave the way for a logical link to the right to enjoy access to adequate food in terms of a human right to such food.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.* This thinking was mainly pursued from the point of view of development issues where findings of food security were immediately related to the prospects of development in various aspects including accessibility of food. Whereas a group of scholars adopted the rights approach, some did not want to associate the issues of rights to economic development issues for example. The progress in the argument of the former group strongly presupposed food security.

alone did not have all the necessary answers to address the problem of hunger.²²⁰ Let us consider the first argument.

Many scholars today argue rightly that the concept of Food Security provided a basis to the debate on the right to food.²²¹ This argument arose from the needs of the time, namely, that to effectively operationalize the technical aspects of the right to food, it would have to be closely linked to the discussion on food security. Wenche Bart Eide observes that the first attempts on the elaboration of the right to food were not clear in articulating the core concern of the rights approach to the problem of hunger. This could be attributed to the fact that in the early 1980s, the right to food, like other norms in the human rights system, was formulated at a very general level that did not take due consideration of the issue of food security.²²² However, the vision always remained that of operationalizing these norms in such a way that they bind the member States to the duty of providing the hungry needs of their citizens.²²³ Although the concept of 'food security' is diverse and bound to be understood differently depending on different contexts, "certain aspects of the food security debate have particularly nurtured the process to give content to the right to food in its more technical

²²⁰ Leonard Joy and Christina Wood, *Nutrition Planning: The State of the Art*, A Food Policy Special (Guildford: IPC science and technology press, 1978), 13-26. The agricultural economist, Leonard Joy and Nutrition expert, Philip Payne basically argued that malnutrition is not simply a problem of food availability, but is rather a function of poverty and deprivation. See also Arnold Pacey and Philip Payne, *Agricultural Development and Nutrition* (London: Hutchinson, 1985), 30-32, Philip Payne, Michael Lipton, and Richard Longhurst, *How Third World Rural Households Adapt to Dietary Energy Stress: The Evidence and the Issues*, Food Policy Review; 2 (Washington D.C., VI, 134, International food policy research institute, 1994).

²²¹ Cf. Eide, "From Food Security to the Right to Food," 67-98.

²²² See for example the detailed topical account of all the right-to-food related norms and provisions compiled by Katarina Tomasevski, *The Right to Food: Guide through Applicable International Law*, 50-168.

²²³ Cf. Asbjorn Eide and Wenche Bart Eide, eds., *Food as a Human Right* (Tokyo: The United Nations University, 1984), vii.

dimensions, that is, beyond what would be common to all human rights and especially economic, social and cultural rights.”²²⁴

Wenche Bart Eide cites various grounds that legitimize food security as the foundation for the enjoyment of the right to food. In the first place, the very definition of food security ²²⁵ points to what one should have right to under International Human Rights. It defeats the purpose of argument to advocate for a commodity that is not available. Secondly, the proponents of the rights-based approach to the problem of hunger themselves emphasize the relevance of food security as a contextual parameter in assessing and promoting the enjoyment of the right to food. The promotion of the right to food basically implies the availability of the food in question at least in the short run. In the long run, right to food may be promoted also as a prerequisite for obtaining food security in terms of stable and sustainable access to adequate food for all and always. Thirdly, it is widely believed that the technical, and most important, dimension of the right to food is better expressed in terms of food security than by any other factor found common to all human rights and especially economic, social and cultural rights. ²²⁶

These arguments first and foremost situate the right to food within the framework of food security. Continued research and findings about the relationship between these two eventually initiate a gradual movement away from only food security to full concern on right to food. This is the finding that is responsible with what we had earlier seen as gradual change concurrently experienced within the human rights bodies, from a focus predominantly on civil and political rights to a

²²⁴ Eide, "From Food Security to the Right to Food," 68.

²²⁵ Michael C Latham, "Human Nutrition in the Developing World," *FAO Food and Nutrition Series*, no. No. 29 (1997): 15. Food security is often defined as access by all people at all time to sufficient food required for a healthy and active life. It is now widely accepted that most of the under-nutrition in developing countries is due to inadequate intake of both protein and energy and that it is often associated with infectious diseases.

²²⁶ Cf. Eide, "From Food Security to the Right to Food," 69.

broader agenda including also economic, social and cultural rights, where the right to food is one core element. But is food security all that determines the strength of the right to food?

3.2.2.2 Shift from Food Security to the Right to Food

Scholars working with nutrition in the early 1980s and 1990s revealed three very important realities related to the world food security conditions. Firstly, there were glaring discrepancies between aggregate international and national food security data and the realities at the community and household level where human beings actually prepare and eat the food they have access to. Experts soon discovered that these realities are often way off the average consumption statistics typically presented.²²⁷ Secondly, the focus was usually on cereals disregarding that cereals form only a part of peoples' diet (sometimes not even constituting balanced diet). Thirdly, the information about the world food supply was usually expressed in tons of the major grains, typically wheat, rice or maize, ignoring other food items that are fundamental to food security in a nutritional and health perspective.²²⁸ Due to this underlying discrepancy, scholars noted growing evidence from research pointing to the failure of many programmes and projects aimed at increasing food production for the poor and marginalized.²²⁹ Hence, more focus was directed not just on food security, but also on its accessibility and nutritional quality.

The events that marked the shift from food security to the right to food involved serious research undertakings by various experts,

²²⁷ Cf. Thomas T. Poleman, "World Hunger: Extent, Causes, and Cures," *Cornell/International Agricultural Economics Study*, no. A.E Research 82-17 (1984), 5.

²²⁸ Eide, "From Food Security to the Right to Food," 70.

²²⁹ Ibid. While nutritionists, for example, had been mainly concerned with vulnerable groups such as children, pregnant and/or lactating women, vulnerability actually began to be viewed in a broader social and economic perspective.

important discussions and recommendations in the world food fora and the overall commitment by leaders of the various world food agencies to implement research finding that pointed towards the right to food. Wench Bart Eide observes the timely effort that tilted the balance towards the rights direction. According to her, the research of the experts Leonard Joy and Philip Payne initially demonstrated that “malnutrition is not simply a problem of food availability, but is rather a function of poverty and deprivation.”²³⁰ Their recommendation prioritized a reduction of the causes of deprivation that lead to malnutrition, and a methodology that will not only entrench the factor of nutrition in the world’s struggles in food supply, but that will also specify the vulnerable groups in the general debate. This is what constituted the core of their “functional classification approach,”²³¹ which indeed marked a break-through that greatly influenced the new structuring of the right to food. In fact it formed a basis of a consultant

²³⁰ Ibid., 71. Leonard Joy was an agricultural economist while Philip Payne was a nutrition expert. In their “functional classification approach,” the two basically argued that malnutrition is not simply a problem of food availability, but is rather a function of poverty and deprivation. Thus, while food supplies may need to be increased, the central thrust of food and nutrition planning must be the reduction of the causes of deprivation that lead to malnutrition. With this view, the two sought to entrench, not only the factor of nutrition, but also the need to specify the vulnerable in the general debate. The functional classification approach was indeed very significant in breaking the conceptual impasse and set the stage for a new kind of food and nutrition planning which were to capture the socially vulnerable groups. This finding has indeed been one of the driving forces behind the rights approach.

²³¹ Ibid., 71. The functional classification approach asked specific questions like: Who are the hungry? Where are they? And why are they hungry? The crucial input contributed by this methodology is that the understanding of the nutrition problem should go beyond the simple identification of known causes and clinical symptoms of nutritional deprivation. It should delineate the deeper, underlying levels of causality. Such classification relates nutrient-deficiency patterns to spatial, ecological, socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the nutritionally deficient population groups.

report presented to FAO in 1975.²³² The FAO at its 19th General Conference in 1977, responded to the request from its member states, that the organization should assess the possible impact on nutritional levels of large scale agricultural programmes aimed at increasing food production that it supported (FAO, 1978). Resolution 8/77 recommended two courses of action to the Director-General. Firstly, he should “review present FAO programmes to assess their impact on the nutritional status of the rural and urban poor”, and secondly, he should “advise the council on the overall medium- and longer-term programme of work of the organization relating to agriculture, food and nutrition, with emphasis on the integration of all social, technical, economic, institutional and structural aspect related to agricultural and rural development.”²³³

The strict implementation of these recommendations saw the emergence of the community-based approach that soon translated into what experts referred to as Household Food Security (HFS). The HFS approach expressed a very important research finding that, “though a human right is always held by an individual human being, the right-holder proper, it must be kept in mind that an individual normally draws on a wider household environment of his or her access to food and other necessities.”²³⁴ In other words, the individual’s right to food becomes a

²³² Cf. FAO, *Nutrition: Towards a New Strategy for Improving Nutrition* [<http://www.fao.org/docrep/meeting/007/G1760E/G1760E04.htm#ch4.3>] (1975, accessed 16 May 2007). The consultant report to FAO in 1975 was compiled and presented by the Ad Hoc Committee on Food and Nutrition Policies led by Professor Joy. The authors emphasized the need for revised methods for setting food-intake targets, as well as for identifying, designing, and appraising policies and programmes. The methodology would fully integrate nutrition concerns and objectives into development planning.

²³³ Eide, “From Food Security to the Right to Food,” 74. The community-based approach was significant in that it recognized the wisdom and information that can only be generated at the grassroots, as an important, if not indispensable, dimension towards assuring access to food.

²³⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*, 76.

sub-set within the right of the household to an adequate standard of living or livelihood. To conceptualize what it is that an individual has a right to in regard to food, it became necessary to analyze the Household Food Concept. This level of analysis would be the closest to the reality of the affected individual. To reach to this crucially determinative level however, it was methodologically necessary to visualize at least ideally, the relationship between rights-holders and duty-bearers. Thus, to be able to move from food security as a desirable state of affairs (the normative part), to the realization of the right to food by responsible and accountable actors, underpinned by legal measures, one required a clear vision of this relationship.²³⁵

Asbjørn Eide structured this relationship in a manner that spelt out distinctively different roles played by different parties at various levels in order to balance the rights equation. At the first seminar ever held on the right to food by the United Nations University in 1981, he had proposed a three-level framework within which the state would fulfil its obligation in implementing the right to food. The state would intervene at the level of respecting the right, protecting the right and finally at the level of fulfilling the right to food. This insight was brought together with the concept of the Household Food Security to structure the Right to Food Matrix. The vision of Asbjørn Eide embodied in the Right to Food Matrix was normative as much as it was instrumental in the implementation of the right to food. Thus:

Collecting, organizing and analyzing information according to the logic suggested in the Matrix could enable policy-makers and technical personnel to better comprehend the complexity of a system of state obligations taken together and to help them become aware of how and

²³⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*, 77.

where specific obligations, defined with regard to content and degree of state involvement, might fit into their situations.²³⁶

With this thorough vision, Asbjørn Eide presented a landmark formula projecting a comprehensive implementation roadmap for the right to food. Eide's presentation to the Sub-commission was a culmination of a serious study endeavour on the right to food that represented first effort of the UN to address in detail a specific economic, social and cultural Right. As a conclusive position, this first important study of the UN sub-commission of human rights underlined three crucial points in the life of the right to food approach; first of all the study sought to penetrate what the implications of respecting, protecting, and fulfilling the right to food would mean for the obligations of the states that are party to the relevant human rights instruments a particular right. Secondly, the study emphasized that the needs of individuals must be reconciled with national objectives. In the human rights context, the individual is first of all a subject and only secondarily an object of development. Thirdly, and most importantly in this transition, the study proposed Food Security as the framework of action by the State both in terms of development and for the legislative basis for the right to food.

²³⁶ Ibid. The Right to Food Matrix is a prospective practical tool that can be used systematically in national and local needs assessment, identification of specific obligations, policy gap analyses, and in the formulation of strategies and means. This was presented as the main instrument of analysis to the first study seriously undertaken by the UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Human Right. This sub-Commission was, in 2001, changed to UN Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights. Wenche Bart Eide identifies three important roles to be accomplished in any analytic situation by the Right to Food Matrix designed by Asbjørn Eide: The starting point would be to work out the context-specific meaning of each element or attribute of food security as defined at different levels. Secondly, to link it to the appropriate level of state involvement. Thirdly, to concretize the appropriate state obligations with the overall aim of progressive realization of the right to food.

The concerted efforts to highlight the shortcomings of defining food security in terms of national grain reserves for stable grain supplies at national level, was eventually acknowledged officially by Member States at the Eight Ministerial Conference of the World Food Council (WFC) in 1982 and at the 21st General Conference of FAO in 1983. The words of the Director General Edouard Saouma were definitive:

Up until recently, there was a tendency to attach too much importance to measures aimed at ensuring the availability of food supplies in the event of widespread bad harvests. That is the reason why, at the last session of the Committee on the World Food Security, I suggested a new approach, new principles and new methods ... According to the new concept the ultimate objective of world food security is to ensure that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to the basic foods they need, taking into account all those factors affecting the countries or individuals' ability to produce or buy enough for their requirements ... Three specific aims need to be pursued: ensure adequate production; maximize stability in the flow of supplies; secure access to these supplies for those who need them at the right time and in the right place.²³⁷

At this level, the debate incorporated in its analysis the household and individual level of the problem of hunger and malnutrition. With these emphases, Asbjørn Eide's Matrix approach was launched for the first time in UN Study presented in 1987.²³⁸ Thus, Asbjørn Eide was actively involved in the initial delineation of the right to food. He initiated strenuous studies that set a well-thought out framework for the

²³⁷ Ibid., 73. A document from the WFC on 'food entitlements' to its Ministerial Conference in 1982 pointed to the need to go beyond aggregate figures and the securing of grain reserves. There are groups of people, which may remain unaffected by progress in ensuring larger food supplies generally and which therefore may need special attention. This document formed the background to the 21st General Conference of FAO in 1983 (FAO, 1983a).

²³⁸ Ibid.

implementation of the right to food in any circumstance. Most importantly, he developed and pursued the concept and practice of the right to food in the context of food security within a household, the most elementary level where the impact of hunger and malnutrition is felt most. The specificity of his contribution finds expression in making the right to food a relevant international instrument against the problem of hunger in society today. As observed by Wenche Bart Eide, this tireless effort was a response whose time had come “when the need was first raised for operationalizing the technical aspects of the right to food”²³⁹ which did not appear well articulated in the existing human rights instruments. Having established the operational framework and therefore the genesis of the implementation of the right to food, the next important question is: what is the real content of this ‘new-found’ right as distinct from the other rights? The next paragraphs deal with this question.

3.2.2.3 The Adoption of the Right to Food

A series of World summits and Conferences were involved in the thorough process of discussing, refining and approving resolutions that eventually saw the technicalities of the right to food put into place. The efforts invested by the scholars into research work to establish the basis of the right to food eventually found its way into the world forum in the World Food Summit held in Rome in the year 1996. By this time, the number of the world’s hungry poor was estimated at 800 million people. Like the scholars of the time, the many world leaders who attended the World Summit in Rome observed that the world today had sufficient knowledge, tools and resources to overcome this unacceptable situation.²⁴⁰ They acknowledged likewise that what was lacking is the

²³⁹ Ibid., 69.

²⁴⁰ Cf. FAO, *Rome declaration on world food security*, <http://www.converge.org.nz/pirm/frames/food-s!f.htm>, accessed 25 May 2007.

political will to take decisive action and to allocate the necessary resources to intensify the fight against global hunger.²⁴¹ Describing this situation as ‘intolerable and unacceptable’, the world leaders took the first bold step in the direction of human rights and made a special request to the Human Rights Commission in an attempt to boldly face the reality of hunger problem. Mary Robinson, the President of the Human Rights Commission at the time, recounts the content of this request thus:

At the World Food Summit in 1996, a request was made to me in my capacity as High Commissioner for Human Rights to define more precisely the rights related to food in article 11 of the Covenant and to propose ways to implement and realize these rights as a means of achieving the commitments and objectives of the World Food Summit, taking into account the possibility of formulating voluntary guidelines for food security for all. It was to be done in consultation with relevant treaty bodies, and in collaboration with relevant specialized agencies and programmes of the United Nations system and appropriate intergovernmental mechanisms.²⁴²

The content of this request basically formed the framework within which research and further findings would proceed to eventually shape the enhanced structure of the right to food. Two major responses to this request were given. The first response came from a group of Non-governmental Organizations: FIAN International, WANAHR, and Jacques Maritain International which in 1997 drafted an International Code of Conduct on the Human Right to Adequate Food, based on UDHR, the ICESCR and the CRC.²⁴³ This code elaborated on a good

²⁴¹ Eide, *Food and Human Rights in Development*, xxiii.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, xix.

²⁴³ Eide and Kracht, "The Right to Adequate Food in Human Rights Instruments," 104. FIAN stands for the Food First Information Network,

number of principles and constituted a major input into the Expert Interpretation of the Right to Food by the UN Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (CESCR).²⁴⁴ Although these principles influenced the outcome of the consultation, they were not immediately adopted by the United Nations. Preference was instead given to a further major response which involved a series of expert consultations organized by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. The first two held in Geneva and Rome in 1997 and 1998 respectively, largely focused on the content of the Right to Adequate Food. At the third consultation, hosted by the German government in Bonn in 2001, emphasized implementation aspect based on General Comment No.12.²⁴⁵ Asbjørn Eide's contribution definitely played an important role in these consultations given his position and role in the commission of Human Rights, and taking into account the effort he had put into preparing for this situation.

The elaborate contributions made by these two responses provided important input for the widely recognized Expert Interpretation of the Right to Food by the UN Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (CESCR), referred to as General Comment Number 12

WANAHR stands for the World Alliance for Nutrition and Human Rights whereas Jacques Maritain International is an International Centre of Studies and Research. UDHR stands for Universal Declaration of Human Rights, ICESCR, is International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, CRC, is Convention on the Rights of the Child.

²⁴⁴ Cf. Ibid. The International Code of Conduct drafted by FIAN and WANAHR/Jacques Maritain, elaborated on the normative content of the Right to Food, defined obligations of State at national levels, spells out responsibilities of International organizations as well as the Civil Society actors and delineates certain regulatory activities alongside economic enterprises and other actors.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 104,105. Under International Human Rights System, General Comments are expert interpretations of human rights Treaties or Covenants issued by the respective supervising treaty bodies. They incorporate country-level experience made with human rights implementation as evidence through the obligatory State parties reporting to these bodies and other sources of information.

(GC12).²⁴⁶ After extensive and rather exhaustive consultation, “the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights adopted, in 1999, its path-breaking General Comment No.12 on the right to adequate food, the nature of state obligations to meet that right, and detailed recommendations on the elaboration of strategies to implement it.”²⁴⁷ Mary Robinson points “on the seminal report made by Asbjørn Eide for the UN Sub-Commission on the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights back in the 1980s,”²⁴⁸ as the main source of these consultation, leading to this landmark development in the history of the right to food. In the Declaration adopted at the World Food Summit held in Rome in June 2002,²⁴⁹ three major developments were advanced: the international community reaffirmed “the right of everyone to have access to safe food and nutrition, the summit recommended the elaboration of voluntary guidelines for states on the realization of the right to food, and the endorsement of the views of prominent ethicists that market globalization must be matched by responsible and responsive governance through institutions capable of ensuring the enjoyment of human rights, including the right to adequate food and to be free from hunger, to everyone.”²⁵⁰ Finally, an Intergovernmental Working Group was established to elaborate, with the full participation

²⁴⁶ Cf. United Nations, *The Right to Adequate Food (Art.11): 12/05/99. E/C.12/1999/5. (General Comments)* [<http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/0/3d02758c707031d58025677f003b73b9?Opendocument>] (Economic and Social Council, 12 May 1999, accessed 16 May 2007).

²⁴⁷ Eide, “From Food Security to the Right to Food,” xix.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Mary Robinson, “Foreword,” in *Food and Human Rights in Development*, ed. Wenche Bath Eide and Uwe Kracht (Oxford: Intersentia, 2005), xxiii.

²⁵⁰ FAO, *World Food Summit Five Years Later* [<http://www.fao.org/worldfoodsummit/english/newsroom/news/8580-en.html>] (11-13 June 2002, accessed 16 May 2007).

of all stakeholders, a set of 'Voluntary Guidelines on the Right to Adequate Food' in the Context of National Food Security.²⁵¹

A historical achievement was reached on 23 September 2004 in Rome when the FAO Committee on World Food Security (CFS) adopted "Voluntary Guidelines recommended by the World Food Summit in 2002, to Support the Progressive Realization of the Right to Adequate Food in the Context of National Food Security," later formally endorsed by the FAO Council at its 127th session from 22-27 November 2004.²⁵² These guidelines "represent the first attempt by governments to interpret an economic right and to recommend action to be undertaken for its realization."²⁵³ To many analysts, the guidelines constituted a powerful tool that outlined possible measures to ensure the right to food. They are valuable support for states in their efforts to elaborate and implement the strategies on the right to food spelled out in the General Comment 12. According to Mary Robinson, these guidelines were a general breakthrough that will give new energy to efforts to achieve the UN Millennium Goal of halving the proportion of people who suffer from hunger by 2015.²⁵⁴ Two distinct achievements can be associated with this struggle at this stage, namely, the clear definition of the right to food and its reliance on the Human Rights instruments already established in the UN documents, especially the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Ultimately, the normative content of the Right to Adequate Food was established by General Comment 12 (3).

The right to adequate food is realized when every man, woman and child alone or in a community with others, have physical and

²⁵¹ Hartwig de Haen, "Foreword," in *Food and Human Rights in Development*, ed. Wenche Bart Eide and Uwe Kracht (Oxford: Intersentia, 2005).

²⁵² Cf. FAO, *Fao Council Adopts Right to Food Guidelines* [<http://www.fao.org/newsroom/en/news/2004/51653/index.html>] (2004, accessed 16 May 2007).

²⁵³ Haen, "Foreword," xxiv.

²⁵⁴ Robinson, "Foreword," xx.

economic access at all times to adequate food or means for its procurement. The core content of the Right to Adequate Food implies the availability of food in quantity and quality sufficient to satisfy the dietary needs of individuals free from adverse substances, and acceptable within a given culture, (and) the accessibility of such food in ways that are sustainable and that do not interfere with the enjoyment of other human rights.²⁵⁵

Three aspects emerge from this definition that clearly designates the line of thought of Asbjørn Eide that is exhibited in the history of the development of the right to food. Firstly, the emphasis on the household individuals: Man, woman and child, expressed a basic conviction of Asbjørn Eide to envisage an outreach that articulates the level of hunger where it is felt by the individual. Secondly, the attention given to food security as the basis of the right to food and, thirdly, the accessibility factor of the food in question. It is not enough that food is available, but above all, it should be accessible to those in need. It is important to note here that the normative aspect of the right to food lies, not in “handing free food to everyone,”²⁵⁶ but in the fact that the governments as key duty-bearers should be obligated to fulfil the demands of this right. Interpreting this motive in Asbjørn Eide’s work, Mary Robinson poses the question: “What does that right mean in practice? Essentially, the right to food obligates governments to ensure that adequate food is available and accessible, both physically and economically, to everyone within their territory.”²⁵⁷ The designated purpose of Asbjørn Eide’s

²⁵⁵ Eide and Kracht, “The Right to Adequate Food in Human Rights Instruments: Legal Norms and Interpretations,” 104. See also GC 12 (3). Under International Human Rights System, General Comments are expert interpretations of human rights Treaties or Covenants issued by the respective supervising treaty bodies. They incorporate country-level experience made with human rights implementation as evidence through the obligatory State parties reporting to these bodies and other sources of information.

²⁵⁶ Robinson, “Foreword,” xx.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

Right to Food Matrix is here perfectly taken care of, that is, delineating the three levels of the state intervention in the implementation of this right, as well as guiding the participation of other participants too.²⁵⁸ This also perfectly fits into his biographer's words: "He believes strongly in the relevance and power of norms ... The message is, however, that states should enter into far more sophisticated commitments than they are willing to do today. A harmonious future is totally dependent upon the existence of norms and respect for them."²⁵⁹

3.2.3 The Notion of the Right to Food in the International Human Rights System

This section shall present the right-to-food-related standards adopted so far by the United Nations beginning with the UDHR. Though the focus shall be on the right to food, the analysis shall not lose sight of the key tenets of the UN with regard to interrelatedness and indivisibility of all norms in the Charter.²⁶⁰ Hence, it shall be presumed that whatever is

²⁵⁸ Eide, "From Food Security to the Right to Food," 77. At the first seminar ever held on the right to food by the United Nations University in 1981, Asbjørn Eide had proposed a three-level framework within which the state would fulfil its obligation in implementing the right to food. The state would intervene at the level of respecting the right, protecting the right and finally at the level of fulfilling the right to food. Later Wenche Bart Eide identified three important roles to be accomplished in any analytic situation by the Right to Food Matrix designed by Asbjørn Eide: The starting point would be to work out the context-specific meaning of each element or attribute of food security as defined at different levels. Secondly, to link it to the appropriate level of state involvement. Thirdly, to concretize the appropriate state obligations with the overall aim of progressive realization of the right to food.

²⁵⁹ Donna Gomien, *Broadening the Frontiers of Human Rights* (New York: Scandinavian University Press, 1993), 8-9.

²⁶⁰ Cf. Asbjørn Eide, *Right to Adequate Food as a Human Right*, Human Rights Study Series (Geneva: UN Center for Human Rights, 1989), 10 (40). See also United Nations, *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Handbook for National Human Rights Institutions*, Professional Training Series No. 12 (Geneva: United Nations Publications, 2005), 3.

true of all the norms treated here is as well true with the right to food in particular.

3.2.3.1 Norms Related to the Right to Food

Different scholars assemble in different depths the norms they feel relate to the right to food depending on intentions of the analysis.²⁶¹ Philip Alston traces all the right-to-food-related norms back to five important instruments. He cites five articles in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948:

Article 3,

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 22,

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 25,

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

²⁶¹ See for example the whole analysis of Katarina Tomasevski, *The Right to Food: Guide through Applicable International Law* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1987).

2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 28,

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29,

1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.
2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.
3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.²⁶²

Geneva Conventions III and IV of 1949 and their two Protocols of 1977 also provide relevant norms on the right to food. Convention III relates to the treatment of prisoners of war. Article 20 of this convention

²⁶² Philip Alston, "International Law and the Right to Food," in *Food as a Human Right*, ed. Asbjørn Eide et al., (Tokyo: United Nations University, 1984), 164-65. See the electronic text in the English version on the official website of the office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, The United Nations, *The Charter of the United Nations* [<http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/>] (1945, accessed 12 May 2007).

assigns duty to the detaining power to supply prisoners of war with sufficient food and potable water, and article 26 emphasizes quantity, quality and variety in food for the nutritional health of prisoners.²⁶³ Geneva Convention IV relates to the protection of civilian persons in time of war. Its article 15 includes food supply in the agreement between parties in conflict. Whereas, article 36 lists food among the conditions to be satisfied for party departures.²⁶⁴ Article 54 (3) (b), and article 69 of Protocol I, then article 5 (1) (b) of Protocol II are a reinforcement of the previous two Conventions on issues relating to war. The next important instrument is the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ESCR), adopted in 1966. Three articles are specifically relevant:

Article 1

All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

Article 6

The state parties to the present Covenant recognize the right to work, which includes the right of everyone to the opportunity to gain his living by work which he freely chooses or accepts, and will take appropriate steps to safeguard this right.

The steps to be taken by a state party to the present Covenant to achieve the full realization of this right shall include technical and vocational guidance and training programmes, policies and techniques to achieve steady economic, social and cultural development and full and productive employment under

²⁶³ Cf. Tomasevski, *The Right to Food: Guide through Applicable International Law*, 8.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

conditions safeguarding fundamental political and economic freedoms to the individual.

Article 11

The state parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The state parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing to this effect the essential importance of international co-operation based on free consent.

The state parties to the present covenant, recognizing the fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger, shall take, individually and through international co-operation, the measures, including specific programmes, which are needed:

- a. To improve methods of production, conservation and distribution of food by making full use of technical and scientific knowledge, by disseminating knowledge of the principles of nutrition and by developing or reforming agrarian systems in such a way as to achieve the most efficient development and utilization of natural resources.
- b. Taking into account the problems of both food-importing and food-exporting countries, to ensure an equitable distribution of world food supplies in relation to need.

While Article 1 and 6 remain relevant to the right to food, Article 11 of this covenant is regarded as a single most comprehensive norm among all and it forms the core analysis of the right to food in the entire document. It is the analysis of this article (see below) that defines the right to food in a manner most consistent with the demands of the problem of hunger today, and render it most operational as a solution to

this problem. Another important instrument is the Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition adopted by the World Food Conference and endorsed by the General Assembly in 1974.

Article 1 states:

Every man, woman and child has the inalienable right to be free from hunger and malnutrition in order to develop fully and maintain their physical and mental faculties. Society today already possesses sufficient resources, organizational ability and technology and hence the competence to achieve this objective. Accordingly, the eradication of hunger is a common objective of all the countries of the international community, especially of the developed countries and others in a position to help.²⁶⁵

The above provisions generally set the scope within which the right to food is treated in the international instruments of human rights. All of them enjoy the same force; each applies to all individuals on the basis of equality and without discrimination.²⁶⁶ For the purpose of maintaining

²⁶⁵ United Nations, *Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition* [<http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/69.htm>] (UN, 16 November 1974, accessed 14 May 2007). On the basis of the principle of indivisibility and coherence, some scholars have criticized this right and consider it of less consequence to the provisions on the right to food. While the Declaration does proclaim the right to be free from hunger and malnutrition, it does not refer specifically either to article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or to the Covenant. There is, thus, no stated intention of elaborating upon or interpreting the previous relevant provisions, which likewise cannot constitute an authoritative interpretation of the norm. See especially Alston, "International Law and the Right to Food," 168.

²⁶⁶ United Nations, *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Handbook for National Human Rights Institutions*, 4. The indivisibility and interdependence of all human rights, civil, cultural, economic, political and social, are fundamental tenets of international human rights law, repeatedly reaffirmed, perhaps most notably at the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights. The indivisible and interdependent nature of all human rights means that all apply to all individuals on the basis of equality and without discrimination, that they create specific governmental obligations that they are justiciable and that they can and should be claimed.

its focus, however, this presentation shall now particularly highlight the right to food provision in the ESCR covenant. But before the presentation of a detailed interpretation of the provision of the right to food, the following subsection looks into the merits of the ESCR.

3.2.3.2 Importance of Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights

From the above general view, one may say that the right to food is thus well embedded within the whole system of human rights. However, it takes experts considerable efforts to expose the interconnectedness that binds these instruments one to the other. In the final analysis the link between human rights should translate, not only into their enjoyment by the rightful subjects, but also into a practicable relationship between the subjects and the duty holders.²⁶⁷ This indeed requires the work of experts. But many agree that the network of relationships in society is often organized along economic, social or cultural bonds. A key that opens these bonds therefore must also be able to expose the intricate interconnectedness between rights. This is precisely where the strength and importance of the ESCR lies. It facilitates the interpretation of human rights system, especially the right to food, most effectively. Asbjørn Eide identifies dynamism within the human rights system that explains and holds together this balance. This dynamism, which essentially consists of the interrelationship between freedom and demands, is what eventually defines the relationship between the state and the individuals in terms of rights and the corresponding obligations.²⁶⁸ While freedom sets limits to the exercise

²⁶⁷ Cf. Asbjørn Eide, "The International Human Rights System," in *Food as a Human Right*, ed. Asbjørn Eide et al., (Tokyo: United Nations University, 1984), 153-154. According to Asbjørn Eide, the subjects or the beneficiaries of human rights are individuals or groups of individuals. The duty holders are those obligated to facilitate the enjoyment of the rights by the subjects. Under the international human rights system, these are mainly the states.

²⁶⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*, 153. Freedom concerns the integrity of the individual from state power. It encompasses freedom from arbitrary detention or other deprivation of

of state authority, demands require action by the state, which, as Asbjørn Eide notes, “necessitates the existence of state administration machinery equipped for this task.”²⁶⁹ This dynamism ultimately begets the corresponding obligations of the states to facilitate the implementation of human rights.

However, the crucial question that situates the concerns for the right to food and its importance is: how can the obligations of the state be made operative in a way that assures the optimum balance between freedoms and satisfactions of demands? This is the question of operationalizing the right to food in the context of rights of individuals and the obligations of the state. This is indeed the core concern of human rights experts like Asbjørn Eide in the latest developments in the right to food.²⁷⁰ In the opinion of many, the closest the human rights system has ever come in its effort to address this balance, against complex political, economic and social issues of the day, is in the formulation and adoption of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. In the view of Asbjørn Eide, this covenant goes a long way in addressing the obligations of the international community in operationalizing the right to food. Impediments encountered by many developing countries in implementing the right to food are today known to come in some coercive forms of economic, social and cultural situations whose complexities prevail upon any state’s ability to implement its citizens’ rights and in the meantime obstruct this effort. In this way, “a state is unable, even given the

personal liberty, freedom from any forms of cruel and inhuman treatment, and above all freedom from being deprived of one’s life. It also entails the freedom to act in certain ways, while respecting limitations as expressed in the international instruments. Demands are an individual’s claim on state authority to be protected against violation by other individuals or groups or demand for the state to assist in ensuring the satisfaction of certain recognized needs of the individuals or groups concerned.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Eide, *Food and Human Rights in Development*, 3-40.

necessary will, fully to realize human rights.”²⁷¹ To address this situation, experts see a way out in the adoption of what Asbjørn Eide calls, ‘third generation rights,’ such as the right to development, to peace, and above all the right of peoples’ self-determination and to permanent sovereignty over natural resources.²⁷² This too is the strength of the Economic, Social and Cultural rights.

Secondly, it follows then that the structuring and interpreting of the right to food in article 11 of ESCR, itself exhibits further the strength of this right. In article 11, this covenant stipulates the right to food, in a way that has proven rather clearer compared to the way it is expressed in other instruments in the human rights system. Consequently, experts give pre-eminence to article 11 of ESCR over and above many other international right-to-food norms. Philip Alston points out four other reasons why this is so: First of all, the provision represents a codification of the earlier norm contained in the UDHR.²⁷³ A basis for this is article 28 of UDHR, in which it is stated: “Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.”²⁷⁴ This quality of elaborating upon, and interpreting the already existing provisions, is laudable in the structure of article 11 of ESCR.²⁷⁵ The second reason is that the content

²⁷¹ Eide, "The International Human Rights System," 159. For example, a requirement to impose strict internal discipline of any sort, may not allow a state to facilitate the realization of freedom of action of individual citizens. A State may also find itself unable, due to the present unjust international economic order, to fulfil the rights of its citizens to an adequate standard of living. In other words, “the structure of international society may be such that there are severe limitations for some states in the possibility fully to comply with human rights.” This may then be used as a reasonable justification for violating basic integrity rights of the individual.

²⁷² Ibid., 160.

²⁷³ Alston, "International Law and the Right to Food," 165.

²⁷⁴ United Nations, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* [<http://www.unhchr.ch/udhr/lang/eng.htm>] (1948, accessed 14 May 2007).

²⁷⁵ Cf. Alston, "International Law and the Right to Food," 168. Philip Alston finds fault with the Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and

of this covenant was significantly shaped by FAO in order to articulate a definitive approach to the problem of hunger and malnutrition. Thirdly, it immediately attracted the response of many states,²⁷⁶ indicating its practical reliability. Lastly, it is noted that the experts have already established a mechanism under the covenant to monitor compliance of member-states to their obligations including those relating to the right to food.²⁷⁷ With this comprehensive picture, “economic rights have been shown to be enforceable in the context of domestic law provided only that their component parts are formulated in a sufficiently precise and detailed manner.”²⁷⁸ This, according to the Human Rights Commission is the secret of “the economic rights which have been proclaimed in the international Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.”²⁷⁹

Asbjørn Eide further understands the importance of the ESCR in its intended global context. He considers this in the context of the historical significance and development of the United Nations. He traces a pattern where a few nations came together,²⁸⁰ first of all to universalize their

malnutrition adopted by the World Food Conference and endorsed by the General Assembly in 1974, precisely due to its inability to correlate, elaborate or interpret the previous provisions. Its silence is easily construed as lack of cohesiveness rendering it weak in the enforcement of the right to food.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 170. It was reported that by 1982, already 74 states had formerly accepted the obligation in international law to take steps to achieve progressively the full realization of the right.

²⁷⁷ Cf. Ibid.

²⁷⁸ United Nations, *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Handbook for National Human Rights Institutions*, 11.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Cf. Asbjørn Eide, “The Importance of Economic and Social Rights in the Age of Economic Globalisation,” in *Food and Human Rights in Development*, ed. Wenche Barth Eide and Uwe Kracht (Antwerpen: Intersentia, 2005), 4. The UN Charter adopted in 1945 is based on the system of states as it had slowly emerged from the time of the treaty of Westphalia, 1648, a peace treaty between the Holy Roman Emperor and the King of France and their respective allies that brought the thirty years war in Europe to an end and began the transformation of the political map in Europe. The UN Charter then “contained the seeds for wide-ranging changes within the state system.” Firstly, it implied an aim to make the state system universal rather than being restricted mainly to Europe, the

state systems for common economic, social and cultural benefit through the principle of self-determination of peoples in preference to the previous individual state restrictions. Secondly, to merge efforts in safeguarding the integrity of all states both big and small.²⁸¹ As the UN moved beyond to UDHR to adopt the International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights (CPR), and ESCR, in 1966, states gave more attention to the former at the expense of the latter, an equally essential part of the Human Rights package. Implementation of ESCR was made even more difficult by what Asbjørn Eide calls, 'neo-liberal' version of co-operate globalization prevailing in 1980s. Observing the failure of this trend, "now in disarray as a result of growing opposition to the direction it has taken,"²⁸² Asbjørn Eide, reemphasized the importance of a

Americas and a few Asian states, through application of the principle of self-determination of peoples. Secondly, the Charter sought to safeguard the integrity of all states, also the small and weak, by outlawing the use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any state. Thirdly, the UN Charter established new kinds of responsibilities for all states. Asbjørn Eide builds on the objectives of the UN constructed against this background. Thus a continuation of a school of thought contemporary to the establishment of the UN Charter.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 4. Having exposed the initial intentions of the UN to comprehensively uphold the integrity of its member states and uplifting the welfare of their citizens, Asbjørn Eide presents a dozier regarding the rise and fall of neo-liberal version of cooperate globalization through inter-state cooperation, and through the new world economic order. Though clearly envisaged to be an important role of the UN, world events of the 20th century posed insurmountable challenges to this approach. First of all, there were the conflicts between the East and the West, the North and the South fueled by the hard feelings and suspicions generated by colonialism and the post-colonial era. This was coupled by the emergence of the international debt crisis and failure of liberal market economies that dominated the new world economic order. These have opened a wide gap between the present world order and the UN original intentions to globalization. Asbjørn Eide faults the major actors in a process that tried to globalize the market for failing to respect and ensure economic and social rights including the right to food and the fundamental right to be free from hunger. This is the point where Asbjørn Eide advocates and influences a turn towards rights system approach to globalization in an attempt to give globalization a human face and content.

comprehensive approach to human rights if its intended universal appeal is to be achieved. The comprehensive approach indeed involved the inclusion of the ESCR. “Only when all these are addressed can the potential benefits of globalization be more equally shared and the process given a more human face and content.”²⁸³ Asbjørn Eide emphasizes the historical implications of interdependence and interrelatedness of the elements of the UDHR package:

It was through their broad coverage that they could aspire to ensure the intended combination of individual freedom and integration in society. The rights listed were responses to historically known forms of oppression and neglect of conditions of indignity. While a major concern was to prevent in the future such enormous brutality as that perpetrated by Nazi and fascist states and the terror of Stalin, the concerns with social justice through a joint responsibility for equal opportunity and adequate safety nets was also an equally important concern.²⁸⁴

The achievement made by the UDHR in this direction, according to Asbjørn Eide, is precisely in establishing Economic, Social and Cultural Rights side by side with the Civil and Political Rights.²⁸⁵ Thus, the

²⁸³ Ibid., 4-5.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 5. The political upheavals and emergence of the totalitarian regimes in Europe had been caused by the social and economic chaos resulting from the great economic depression in the 1930s and the lack of adequate economic and social policies to address that chaos. In his ‘State of the Union Address’ to the US Congress in 1944, president Roosevelt captured this situation thus: “a basic essential to peace is a decent standard of living for all individual men and women and children in all Nations. Freedom from fear is eternally linked with freedom from want ... We have come to a clear realization of the fact that true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence. ‘Necessitous men are not free men.’ People who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made ... In our day these economic truths have become accepted as self-evident. We have accepted, so to speak, a second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all regardless of station, race, or creed.”

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 7.

adoption of the two international covenants introduced a force that, not only creates the balance between the documents, but that also imprints an indelible mark of indivisibility that binds them together as a homogeneous system. An interpretation of the article 11 of the ESCR now follows to demonstrate the scope of meaning of the right to food so far present in the international instruments of the human rights.

*3.2.3.3 Interpretation of the Right to Food Norm, ESCR
Article 11*

The primary focus in the analysis of the right to food, is article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights which proclaims the right to adequate food as well as the right to be free from hunger. The Covenant states as follows:

The state parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The states parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing to this effect the essential importance of international co-operation based on free consent.

The state parties to the present covenant, recognizing the fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger, shall take, individually and through international co-operation, the measures, including specific programmes, which are needed,

- a. To improve methods of production, conservation and distribution of food by making full use of technical and scientific knowledge, by disseminating knowledge of the principles of nutrition and by developing or reforming agrarian systems in such a way as to achieve the most efficient development and utilization of natural resources,

- b. Taking into account the problems of both food-importing and food-exporting countries, to ensure an equitable distribution of world food supplies in relation to need.²⁸⁶

An interpretation of this article may take any direction depending on the intentions of the analysis adopted. The international law point of view identifies four important elements in interpreting any norm of international human rights law: the content, the subjects or beneficiaries; the object or duty-holders and the mechanism to promote compliance.²⁸⁷ With regard to its content, the two norms contained in article 11 are preferably referred to by the name used in the first norm, that is, "Right to Adequate Food." It is argued that this "facilitates the adoption of a maximalist approach ... In terms of quantity, the notion of adequacy implies enough food to facilitate a normal, active existence rather than a minimum calorific package which does no more than prevent death by starvation."²⁸⁸ The second part of the article (11 2a) highlights the national and international dimensions of the right to food. Nationally, the article enforces food production, food conservation and distribution. It also opens possibilities of making full use of technical and scientific knowledge, disseminate knowledge of the principles of nutrition and developing or reforming of agrarian systems on the international level. Article 11 2b particularly requires that measures be taken to ensure an equitable distribution of world food supplies.²⁸⁹

The beneficiaries of the Right to Food are the individuals referred to in the article by the phrase 'the right of everyone ... for himself and his

²⁸⁶ United Nations, *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* [http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/a_cescr.htm] (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 16 December 1966, accessed 14 May 2007). See also Alston, "International Law and the Right to Food," 164-170.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 168.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 167.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.* See also United Nations, *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (accessed 22 May 2007).

family.’ To what exactly the individual is entitled in practical terms will depend on the circumstances of the individual and his or her geographical location at a given time. Experts in this analysis, emphasize the need to develop a set of relevant legal norms at the national level which reflect and seek to satisfy the international legal obligation of states to promote the realization of the right of everyone to adequate food.²⁹⁰ The article imposes duties upon states to act ‘through international co-operation. This is interpreted to implicitly accord the right to food to certain states. The implied states then must be seen to act in conjunction with others to implement the right. To this extent states are implicit beneficiaries of the right to food.²⁹¹ Furthermore, in practical terms, the article provides that the obligation of states to ensure an equitable distribution of world food supplies in relation to need can only be operationalized on an inter-state basis. Thus, the principle subject of the right to food, at least according to this analysis, is an individual in so far as he or she belongs to an organized society with structured public authorities, the state.²⁹²

Duty-holders of the Right to Food are three-fold, the state, the individual and the international community. The obligations of the state

²⁹⁰ Eide, "The Importance of Economic and Social Rights in the Age of Economic Globalization," 8. While human rights are proclaimed to be universal, their degree of enjoyment depends on the laws and policies of the state in which the person lives. The purpose behind making human rights a part of international law is to make sure that in the absence of a global government, each state fulfils its responsibility to ensure the universal human rights to its own inhabitants. Experts on this analysis emphasize the need to develop, at the national level, a set of relevant legal norms, which reflect and seek to satisfy the states' international legal obligation to promote the realization of the right of everyone to adequate food. See also Alston, "International Law and the Right to Food," 168-169.

²⁹¹ Alston, "International Law and the Right to Food," 169.

²⁹² Cf. Eide, "The International Human Rights System," 152-153. The notion of human rights is intimately linked to the notion of the 'State'. "Only in the context of an organized society with public authorities does the notion of 'human right' make sense. Thus 'human rights' refers to norms concerning the relationship between individuals or group of individuals and the State."

include to respect, protect and fulfil human rights.²⁹³ The state implements these both domestically and externally. Domestically, the state has to strive to meet the steps included in, but not limited to, those specified in article 11 2 (a). This provision obliges a state party to ensure that its own people are not in any case deprived of its own means of subsistence, which, according to Philip Alston, “must be interpreted to include food.”²⁹⁴ Interpreters therefore recommend a keen linkage of this duty to administrative structures of the state.²⁹⁵ On the external level, this norm obliges party states through international cooperation, economic or technical, to take maximum steps to progressively achieve full realization of the right to food (article 2 (1)), and “to ensure an equitable distribution of world food supplies in relation to need” taking into account the problems of both food importing and food exporting countries, (article 11 (2) b).²⁹⁶

Individual obligations are given minimal attention in the international human rights debate, thus many analysts still attribute most of the part of this obligation to the state. Philip Alston for example, argues that “the states parties to the covenant are not only entitled, but are required, to give careful consideration to measures designed to promote the observance, on the part of individuals, of their relevant

²⁹³ Ibid., 154. The obligation to respect requires from the state and thereby all its organs and agents, to abstain from doing anything that violates the integrity of the individual or infringes on his or her freedom beyond what is permitted in the human right system. The obligation to protect requires the state to take necessary measures to prevent other individuals or groups from violating the integrity, freedom of action or other human rights of the individual. The obligation to fulfil “requires the state to take measures necessary to ensure possibilities for everyone within their jurisdiction to obtain satisfaction of those needs which have found expression in the human rights system.”

²⁹⁴ Alston, "International Law and the Right to Food," 171.

²⁹⁵ Ibid. Steps required to be taken include the adoption of some type of legislative, executive or/and administrative measures oriented specifically towards realization of the right in question.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 172.

duties with respect to the right to food.”²⁹⁷ This article is often interpreted in the light of article 29 (2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which recognizes the legitimate competence of the state to impose duties on the individuals.²⁹⁸ Asbjørn Eide notes thus: “Duties can be imposed on individuals in order to ensure a satisfactory protection or fulfilment of the rights of the others.”²⁹⁹ Interpreters also take recourse to the preamble of both of the Covenants which are rather specific to the individual, both state: “The individual, having duties to other individuals and to the community to which he belongs, is under a responsibility to strive for the promotion and observance of the rights recognized in the present Covenant.”³⁰⁰ In this sense, individual obligations involve as a minimum, the duty not to over consume and not to waste food.³⁰¹

The international community on its part has the obligation to cooperate with state parties, as stated in the Covenant, article 11 (2), and it has an obligation to the individual mainly in the context of article 28 of the UDHR which states: “Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.” This attention is usually warranted in situations where the state is seen to fail, even given the necessary

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ United Nations, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (accessed 12 May 2007). Article 29 (2) states: “In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.”

²⁹⁹ Ibid., 154-155. However, the extent of the limitations that can be imposed will always be open to debate in which the guidelines in the provision from article 29 must be taken into account. In practical circumstances, the duties and limitations imposed must not go beyond what is justly required in a democratic society.

³⁰⁰ Cf. United Nations, *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (accessed 16 May 2007).

³⁰¹ Alston, “International Law and the Right to Food,” 163.

good intention, to meet its overbearing obligation to its citizens. It is in this context that the international community comes in with instruments like what scholars today refer to as 'third generation rights', which include right to development, peace, peoples' self-determination and to permanent sovereignty over natural resources.³⁰² The practical question however, is: How can the international community successfully fulfil its obligations in another state and for its people? This is certainly an important question to be addressed within the movement towards the right to food. Asbjørn Eide interprets this implication in the covenant under consideration with a three-fold suggestion: By regulating relations between states to ensure that one country's activities do not endanger rights of individuals in the other country, by adopting international policies of cooperation for the realization of human rights worldwide, and by establishing and maintaining international machineries by which to implement these policies.³⁰³

It can therefore be observed that the right to food provision provided for by the ESCR covenant is fairly elaborate and broad-based. "Taken as it is, it is sufficient to enable a determination in some cases that particular acts or omissions to act are either in conformity or in conflict with the norm."³⁰⁴ Therefore sufficient compliance to the food needs of the people in any State party. However, experts point out weaknesses

³⁰² Ibid. There is sufficient evidence today of cases where many states, especially in the developing world, have been 'made' or 'rendered' incapable of competently handling their obligations due to pressure from outside for one reason or the other. Examples that come to focus here include the infamous Structural Adjustments Programmes imposed by the World Bank to the poor economies, coercive influence to allocate meager resources to military expenditure for example, induced by powers in the business of arms, *et cetera*. See also Asbjørn Eide's analysis of the failure of globalization through inter-state cooperation, especially in the example of Bretton Woods Institutions, Eide, "The Importance of Economic and Social Rights in the Age of Economic Globalisation," 8-22.

³⁰³ Eide, "The International Human Rights System," 160.

³⁰⁴ Alston, "International Law and the Right to Food," 168.

that still call for further efforts in order to fully operationalize the right to food rather effectively. Philip Alston for example notes the failure to constantly update, interpret and reinforce this right to food over the years and thus weakening its force to effectively address the problem of hunger. This, according to him, is evident in the recent legislations, especially the formulation of the Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition, and in the apparent lack of relevant organs charged with supervisory duties to offer credible jurisprudence that could shed light on the norm of the right to food according to its demands of the time.³⁰⁵ Consequently, though the norm is clearly enunciated, a number of experts projected that no amount of strict legal construction or interpretation of the subsidiary norms will suffice to produce a clear and widely acceptable framework within which the right to food could be effectively operationalized. Alston proposed “a covenant spelling out the normative implications of the right to food as a prerequisite to effective action by states and by the international community towards operationalization of the right to food.”³⁰⁶ It is in this context of inadequacy that a group of experts began

³⁰⁵ Cf. United Nations, *Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition* (accessed 14 May 2007). Article 11 of UDEHM states in part: “All States should strive to the utmost to readjust, where appropriate, their agricultural policies to give priority to food production, recognizing, in this connection the interrelationship between the world food problem and international trade. In the determination of attitudes towards farm support programmes for domestic food production, developed countries should take into account, as far as possible, the interest of the food-exporting developing countries, in order to avoid detrimental effect on their exports...” This Declaration was adopted by the World Food Conference and endorsed by the General Assembly in 1974. However, while the Declaration proclaims the “right to be free from hunger and malnutrition,” it does not refer specifically either to article 25 of the UDHR or to the Covenant. There is thus no stated intention of elaborating upon or interpreting the relevant provisions of the Covenant and so the content of the Declaration cannot be taken to constitute an authoritative interpretation of the norm. See also Alston, “International Law and the Right to Food,” 168.

³⁰⁶ Alston, “International Law and the Right to Food,” 174.

serious work, in seminars, symposia, research and meetings to expose relevant interpretation of the right to food and open more ways of operationalizing the right to food. The historical process, the theoretical exposition and practical basis of the right to food, leading to its conceptualization in meaning and definition, is the concern that defines the struggle of Asbjørn Eide for the right to food. However, as he sets out for this struggle, the presupposition should be that food supply is the first priority.

3.2.4 Alternative Approaches

3.2.4.1 The Expanded Food Production for Food Security Policy Enforcement

The food equation that relied largely on food supply and population growth advocated by the Malthusian principles on population of the late eighteenth century began to bear relevance in the period that followed the world wars. Given that till the 1950s the yearly increases in food production were largely due to expansion of the area cultivated, the world food output soon after the 1950s experienced a drastic reduction for many reasons, owing especially to the sudden slow-down in growth of the world cropland. The combination of slowing cropland expansion and continuing population growth had led to sharp reduction in the area of cropland per person.³⁰⁷ Towards the 1960s, the world populations

³⁰⁷ Cf. United Nations, *Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition*. Expansion of cropland results either from pushing back the frontiers of settlement or from irrigation projects drainage projects, clearing forests or ploughing grassland. On the other hand, cropland is largely lost to urbanization, industrialization, village expansion. Another factor in the world cropland equation is the low productivity of the newly cultivated area. Increasing use of fertilizer and other inputs is offset by declining quality of cropland. In 1950, one quarter of a hectare of grain was harvested per person worldwide. By 1984 this had sank to 0.15 hectare per person. See Lester R. Brown p. 89: Growth in world cropland slowed markedly during the 1950s. It

grew fast and agricultural produce reportedly dwindled.³⁰⁸ For planning purposes, experts assumed that by the end of the century virtually all growth in world food production will have to come from increasing land productivity.³⁰⁹ In response to this situation, history records a surge in the interest in the problem of hunger that finally culminated in the famous world Food Congress of 1974.³¹⁰ By this time, the already dwindling world food situation was exacerbated by the immediate threats of famine in the Indian sub-continent and the African Sahel, coupled with a reduction of world grain reserves (the lowest in 25 years), and corresponding increases in food prices.³¹¹ These factors shocked the international community into a mood of serious concern and reappraisal, and experts consider the 1974 WFC to represent a benchmark in thinking about the global food system.³¹²

fell below 0.3 percent in 1970s and experts projected a further drop to 0.2 percent in 1980s and 0.15 percent in 1990s. See also Urban and Vollrath, 1984.

³⁰⁸ John W. Mellor and Bruce F. Johnston, "The World Food Equation: Interrelations among Development, Employment, and Food Consumption," in *Food Policy: Integrating Supply, Distribution and Consumption*, ed. J. Price Gittinger, Joanne Leslie, and Caroline Hoisington (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 35-36.

³⁰⁹ Lester R. Brown, "Food Growth Slowdown: Danger Signal for the Future," in *Food Policy: Integrating Supply, Distribution and Consumption*, ed. J. Price Gittinger, Joanne Leslie, and Caroline Hoisington (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 92.

³¹⁰ Ibid. For example, the creation of the World Food Programme of 1961 was aimed at exploring the methods of using the surplus of food production of the more developed countries to aid economic development in less developed countries and to combat hunger and malnutrition. In 1963, an important World Food Congress in Washington DC drew world attention to the problem of hunger and malnutrition and called on all governments together with international organizations to take up the challenge of eliminating hunger as priority. The congress passed numerous recommendations to overcome the technical educational and economic constraints facing agricultural development around the world.

³¹¹ Cf. Amartya Sen, "Food Entitlement and Economic Chains," in *Hunger in History*, ed. Lucile F. Newman (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 378.

³¹² Walter P. Falcon and others, "The World Food and Hunger Problem: Changing Perspectives and Possibilities, 1974-84," in *Food Policy: Integrating*

The dominant understanding of hunger then was simply the lack of sufficient food products. Thus, “the emphasis on increased agricultural production and international agreements formed the basic tenets of food security thinking in 1974.”³¹³ Availability of technical means and all the necessary resources were redirected to prioritize increased production. Experts discussed food security concerns largely in terms of increasing domestic food production and creating international reserves stocks. Efforts and hopes were placed in establishing an international grain reserve and in meeting multilateral food aid targets. This constituted the famous supply-oriented concept of food security.³¹⁴ Two aspects of food security were emphasized, namely: that of ensuring adequacy of food surplus in terms of quantity, quality and variety of food, and that of optimizing stability in the flow of surplus.³¹⁵ Nutritionists advanced the food-based measures in addressing concrete situations of under-nutrition. A demonstrable situation involves the effort of the world nutritionists to combat especially micronutrient deficiency diseases effectively and in a sustainable manner. Over and above the traditional health based approaches focusing on supplementation,³¹⁶ the International Conference on Nutrition (ICN) recommended a coherent strategy making a real commitment to the use of sustainable food- and agriculture-based action to ensure access to food and increased food consumption for the groups at risk. In this endeavour, the strategy of

Supply, Distribution, and Consumption, ed. J. Price Gittinger, Joanne Leslie, and Caroline Hoisington (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 15.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 16. The reports show that after a slow start in 1975, cereals production and reserves recovered substantially. At the end of 1970s, surpluses reached record levels and the real market prices for cereals were the lowest in 30 years.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

³¹⁵ Cf. FAO Food and Nutrition Division, *Agriculture, Food and Nutrition for Africa* (Rome: FAO, 1997).

³¹⁶ That is, capsule and pill distribution. In developing countries activities implemented to reduce micro-nutrient deficiency disorders e.g., vitamin A deficiency, corneal scales, corneal ulcers, night blindness etc. have mainly consisted of traditional health-based approaches focussing on supplementation.

choice to prevent and combat micronutrients malnutrition should be based on either direct promotion of the production and consumption of micro-nutrient-rich foods, or indirectly through food fortification and nutrition education.³¹⁷ The conference saw this as the only effective and sustainable solution compared to supplementation, for example. The important fact to note in this development is that although the food-based approach to micro-nutrient deficiencies includes concern over health measures, marketing, research and trade/commerce, the emphasis is on agricultural production and educational training.³¹⁸ The expansion of agricultural production dominated national policies with regard to both the problem of food and the problem of hunger. By 1995, FAO report that an estimated 69% of the economically active population in sub-Saharan Africa relied on agriculture. Most developing countries strived to achieve improved farming technologies, essential farm inputs such as fertilizers and highbred seeds, finance credit to farmers and good markets for farm produce.³¹⁹ Agricultural policy in many African countries therefore, revolved around increasing productivity and income growth for small holders.³²⁰

Although expansion in food production still remains a key factor in food security policy and crucial in the struggle against hunger,

³¹⁷ Food fortification involves the addition of essential nutrients to food where deficiencies cannot be corrected through growing or purchasing fresh and high quality nutritious foods (fruits, vegetables, meet, and fish) or in emergency situations.

³¹⁸ Cf. FAO Food and Nutrition Division, *Agriculture, Food and Nutrition for Africa*, Chapter 3, and chapter 8 box 69.

³¹⁹ J. Price Gittinger, Joanne Leslie, and Carline Hoisington, eds., *Food Policy: Integrating Supply, Distribution, and Consumption* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 103.

³²⁰ In Kenya, for example, 80% of the population lives in rural areas and derive its livelihood directly or indirectly from agriculture. Agriculture accounts for about 25% of the GDP and employs 75% of the national labour force. See KARI. 2006. "Future Agricultures: Agricultural Policy in Kenya, Issues and Processes." http://www.future-agricultures.org/pdf/%20files/Ag_policy_Kenya.pdf, (accessed 5 April 2010).

concentrating on agricultural expansion for the sake of food supplies alone is arguably not sufficient and sometimes even dangerous. Efforts of expansion dominated by technology such as the emerging green revolution, encountered pertinent social and institutional issues that had been overlooked. It generally encouraged fluctuations in production, bypassed the low-income producers living in poor and ecologically difficult areas and women as agricultural producers, or made them even poorer.³²¹ Furthermore, an observation is made of circumstances under which agricultural projects can have nutritionally negative effects.³²² The anticlimax of this trend underlined situations where starvation still thrived even amidst plenty food production,³²³ and forms the background of the entitlement approach to the problem of hunger.

3.2.4.2 Entitlement Approach

The entitlement approach to starvation and famines centres on property rights and in particular the ownership of food as an economic commodity to begin with. According to Amartya Sen, this approach “concentrates on the ability of people to command food through the legal means available in the society.”³²⁴ Given its attention to the economic forces at play in situations of famine, this approach is

³²¹ Per Pinstrup-Andersen and Peter B.R. Hazell, "The Impact of the Green Revolution and Prospects for the Future," in *Food Policy: Integrating Supply, Distribution, and Consumption*, ed. J. Price Gittinger, Joanne Leslie, and Caroline Hoisington (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 106-118.

³²² Shlomo Reutlinger, "Food Security and Poverty in Developing Countries," in *Food Policy*, ed. J. Price Gittinger, Joanne Leslie, and Caroline Hoisington (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 153-164.

³²³ Cf. Sen, "Food Entitlement and Economic Chains," 378. Citing the example of Bengal 1943, Ethiopia 1973, and Bangladesh 1974, Amartya highlights the fact that production alone can mislead in the determination of hunger and famine. It is indeed true that famine follows production failure but history attests to situations where famine still occurs even without decline of production.

³²⁴ Amartya Sen, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 45.

traceable to the core principles that defined the United Nations declaration on the New International Economic Order (NIEO) of 1974.³²⁵ The new order targeted to eliminate, among others, the widening gap between the rich and the poor countries to ensure a steady economic and social development and advance peace and justice among nations. In view of the vulnerability of the developing countries to external economic impulses responded to in the second point of the declaration, the entitlement issue was strongly implied in its fourth point of the declaration when it asserted

Full permanent sovereignty of every State over its natural resources and all economic activities. In order to safeguard these resources, each State is entitled to exercise effective control over them and their exploitation with means suitable to its own situation, including the right to nationalization or transfer of ownership to its nationals, this right being an expression of the full permanent sovereignty of the State. No State may be subjected to economic, political or any other type of coercion to prevent the free and full exercise of this inalienable right.³²⁶

The issues of self-determination, sovereignty, equity, partnership and cooperation spelt out in the other five declarations largely circumvent the issue of ownership stated above. This very consciousness in the new order was also at the core of the suggestion for African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programmes that designated an economic approach proper to the capacity and endowment of the African continent in the place of Structural Adjustment Programme

³²⁵ Cf. United Nation: NGO Committee on Education. May 1974. "Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order ". <http://www.un-documents.net/s6r3201.htm>, (accessed 5 May 2011).

³²⁶ *Ibid.* See the declaration statement point number 2 and 4e.

always thought to have been a foreign imposition.³²⁷ But perhaps the recent most definitive content of entitlement approach in regard to property ownership was presented in the 1999 report of UNDP entitled: 'Globalization with a human face.' In its fifth chapter, 'Reinventing global governance – for humanity and equity,' this report did not only explore the world's resources in relation to the entitlements of poor nations and their poor individual citizens, it above all refocused on "putting human concerns and rights at the centre of global governance."³²⁸ The entitlements approach to the problem of poverty and famine offers an alternative that covers the questions that hitherto have escaped the explanation of the usual Food Availability Decline (FAD) approach. At its inception the difficult questions that faced experts comprised of the wonder on how starvation could develop in the face of abundance or without factual decline in food availability. In cases where starvation would even be accompanied by a fall in food supply, FAD approach would not show why some groups had to starve while others could feed themselves. The entitlements approach was therefore basically an alternative explanation for famine and starvation through the analysis of poverty in society even as it gave general guidance to the efforts of the fight against hunger.³²⁹ Its focus is on the

³²⁷ Cf. A.S.K.B Asante, *African Development: Adebayo Adedeji's Alternative Strategies* (London: Hans Zell, 1991). See also the Abridged Version. 1991. "African Alternative Framework: To Structural Adjustment Programs for Socio-Economic Recovery and Transformation." <http://apic.igc.org/african-initiatives/aafall.htm>, (accessed 9 May 2011).

³²⁸ Cf. UNDP. 1999. "Human Development Report: Globalization with a Human Face." http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_1999_EN.pdf, (accessed 28 April 2010).

³²⁹ Cf. Sen, Poverty and Famines, 39-44. The thrust of Amartya Sen's theory of famine and starvation lay in demonstrating causation of starvation in general and famine in particular. While these phenomena had always been attributed to the Food Availability Defecency, Amartya Sen's theory explained poverty and entitlements to be the root causes of starvation and famine. Accordingly, solutions for famine and starvation are to be sought in eliminating poverty and improving entitlements.

economic value of food as a commodity that can be acquired by anyone on the basis of the market forces of supply and demand, facilitated by economic systems of distribution. Thus, the core concerns of the entitlement approach to starvation is to explore what people can command under the legal and policy provisions of a given circumstance, assess the food factor in this ownership bundle and then work out for either food security or insecurity. It immediately implies the ownership of food facilitated by an entitlement relationship between the person and the food commodity.³³⁰ This is the point in the assessment of this approach where the work of the leading welfare economist, Amartya Sen becomes very necessary.

In his first detailed analysis of the entitlement approach, Sen first explores the entitlement systems within which starvation occurs.³³¹ He exposes these systems through the use of the concepts of endowments or ownership, exchange entitlement, and the exchange entitlement mapping³³². A peasant's endowments, for example, may consist of his land, labour power and a few other resources. In a market economy a person can exchange what he owns for another collection of commodities to best satisfy his specific need either through trade (exchange with others) or through production (exchange with nature).

³³⁰ Amartya Sen, "Poverty and Entitlements," in *Food Policy: Integrating Supply, Distribution, and Consumption*, ed. J. Price Gittinger, Joanne Leslie, and Caroline Hoisington (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 1.

³³¹ Sen, *Poverty and Famines*, 45-51.

³³² *Ibid.*, 1-8. Ownership or entitlement here encompasses endowments as distinct from a persons commodity bundle. While endowments designate individual items a person owns (or simple ownership bundle), commodity bundles designate a set of alternative bundles/combination of goods and services that satisfy a specific desire such as hunger as desire for food. Exchange entitlement mapping is a function used to specify the exchange entitlement set of alternative commodity bundles respectively for each endowment bundle. The relationship defines the possibilities that would be open to him corresponding to each ownership situation.

This is the person's exchange entitlement.³³³ Entitlement relation connects one set of ownerships to another through certain rules of legitimacy in a given society. In a private ownership market economy, Sen identifies four entitlement relations that are commonly considered legitimate. The first one is trade-based entitlement where one is entitled to own what one obtains by trading something one owns with a willing party. The second one is the production-based entitlement where one is entitled to own what one gets by arranging production using one's owned resources, or resources hired from willing parties meeting the agreed conditions of trade. Own-labour entitlement constitutes a third entitlement relation where one is entitled to one's own labour power, and thus to the trade-based and production-based entitlements related to one's labour power. The fourth common relation is the inheritance and transfer entitlement. Here, a person is entitled to own what is willingly given to him/her by another who legitimately owns it, sometimes to take effect after the latter's death. Thus, starting from endowments, the peasant, for example, can produce a commodity bundle in any proportion that satisfies his particular need, or by selling his labour power he can get a wage and with that buy commodities including food, or again he can grow some cash crops and sell them to buy food and other commodities. There are many other possibilities.³³⁴ The matter of

³³³ Ibid., 4. Among the influences that determine a person's exchange entitlement, given his ownership bundle, including labour power, are: 1. Whether he can find an employment and if so for how long and at what wage rate, 2. What he can earn by selling his non-labour assets, and how much it costs him to buy whatever he may wish to buy, 3. What he can produce with his won labour power and resources (or resource services) he can buy and manage, 4. The cost of purchasing resources (or resource services) and the value of the products he can sell, 5. The social security benefits he is entitled to and the taxes, etc, he may pay.

³³⁴ Ibid., 45-46. The ownership commodity bundle can be assigned to an individual like in the case of residents of old people's homes, or mental hospitals. But in an economy with private ownership and exchange in the form of trade (exchange with others) and production (Exchange with nature) a

investigation in the approach is: Whether and how starvation relates to food supply. The analysis of these three entitlement systems in the entitlement approach explains the basis of a person's ability to command food commodity in any circumstance.

In time of starvation, entitlement approach looks into all the commodity bundles and how these bundles can be translated to food in one entitlement relation or the other. Even though a general decline in food supply may indeed cause a person to be exposed to hunger,³³⁵ the immediate reason for starvation will be the decline in his exchange entitlement. A person can be plunged into starvation if his endowment collapses into the starvation set, either through a fall in the endowment bundle or through an unfavourable shift in the exchange entitlement mapping.³³⁶ He will be exposed to starvation if, for the ownership that he actually has, the exchange entitlement set does not contain any feasible bundle that includes enough food. His ability to command food, indeed any commodity he wishes to acquire or retain, depends on the

person's commodity bundle is measured by his/her endowments and his/her exchange entitlement mapping.

³³⁵ A rise in food prices definitely generates an unfavourable impact on the person's exchange entitlements. For example, given the same total food supply, other groups becoming richer and buying more food can lead to a rise in food prices causing a worsening of exchange entitlement. Or some economic change may affect his employment possibilities. Similarly, his wage can fall behind prices, or the price of necessary resources for production he engages in can go up relatively.

³³⁶ Amartya Sen, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 3, 4, 48-55. A person's minimum food requirement is satisfied by a given set of commodity bundles. A person will be forced to starve because of unfavourable entitlement relations if and only if he is not entitled to any member of the set of commodity bundles that constitutes the minimum requirement given his endowment and his exchange entitlement mapping. With the function of exchange entitlement mapping, it is possible to identify those ownership bundles that must lead to starvation in the absence of non-entitlement transfers such as charity. This is the starvation set. It consists of those endowment bundles such that the exchange entitlements sets corresponding to them contain no bundles satisfying his minimum food requirement.

entitlement relations that govern possession and use in that society. It depends on what he owns, what exchange possibilities are offered to him, what is given to him freely and what is taken away from him.³³⁷ Thus, in understanding general poverty or regular starvation, or outburst of famines and hunger, it is necessary to look at both ownership patterns and exchange entitlements and the forces that lie behind them. This requires careful consideration of the nature of modes of production and the structure of economic classes as well as their interrelations. This framework of the entitlements approach can be used to address general poverty, or regular starvation, or outburst of hunger and famine.³³⁸

In his later work, Amartya Sen employs the entitlement approach framework to suggest concrete steps through which the approach could be instrumental in the fight against hunger.³³⁹ In the first place, he upholds this approach as a comprehensive economic instrument in the anti-hunger crusade. Hunger and famine must be perceived beyond just the reflection of food production as such, rather as economic phenomena to be seen in the dynamic of the production, distribution and utilization of the food commodity. In formulating an approach to hunger, Amartya Sen links these three aspects together in a chain relationship connecting producers to markets, markets to purchasers and, purchasers to consumers. In order to understand and tackle hunger therefore, two things must be done: Firstly, one must examine the person's 'entitlements' to food commodities. This takes into account the person's

³³⁷ For example, a barber owns his labour power and some specialized skill neither of which he can eat and he has to sell his hair-dressing service to earn an income to buy food. His entitlement to food may collapse even without any change in food availability if for any reason the demand for hair dressing collapses and if he fails to find another job or any social security benefit.

³³⁸ See, for example, M. Tiwari, "Chronic Poverty and Entitlement Theory," *Third World Quarterly* 28 (1) (2007), 171-191.

³³⁹ Cf. Sen, "Poverty and Entitlement," 198-204. See also Amartya Sen, "Food Entitlement and Economic Chains," in *Hunger in History*, ed. Lucile F. Newman et al. (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 374-386.

endowment position, that is, the goods and services exchangeable for food, and the person's exchange opportunities, that is, the rate at which a person can exchange what he/she owns for food.³⁴⁰ Secondly, one must then focus on the dysfunctioning of the various links in the food chain. With regard to the former, the starving person who does not have the means to command food is suffering from entitlement failure, thus, on the inadequacy of means to purchase rather than on the limitations of production opportunities.³⁴¹ The functioning or dysfunctioning of this food chain then ultimately suggests the levels of hunger and famine. The solution as well lies in rectifying the dysfunctioning of these chains rather than merely in expanded food production.³⁴² In this exercise, entitlement approach takes due regard of other types of rights such as the right to work, right to employment benefits like social security provisions, and also take note of legal, political and economic institutional structure that determines a person's entitlements. The consequence of functional food chains is a competitive market economy that generates adequate circulation of the food commodity sustained by demand and supply. The demand part in his argument generates the 'pull,' and 'response' that stabilizes the availability of food. The important nuance of the approach is its emphasis that this demand is examined and also determined by the person's 'entitlements' to food and the related commodities.

The second suggestion involves a critical reassessment of production priorities. Production alone can mislead in the determination of hunger and famine.³⁴³ A proper assessment of the circumstances of famine and hunger should include a closer look at the entitlements of different occupation groups and how they moved over time. Actual command

³⁴⁰ Sen, "Food Entitlement and Economic Chains," 377-378.

³⁴¹ Sen, *Poverty and Famines*, 48-50.

³⁴² Sen, "Food Entitlement and Economic Chains," 374-375.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, 377.

over food that different sections of the population can exercise depends on a set of legal and economic factors including those governing ownership, production, and exchange, involving different parts of the food-chain.³⁴⁴ It is therefore possible for some groups, such as a particular occupation group of landless rural labourers, pastoralists, fishermen, to have a sharply reduced food entitlement, even when the overall availability of food in the economy is unaffected or increasing. For example, a decline in the price of animal products *vis-à-vis*. cheaper calories in the form of food grains, or a reduction in the price of fish *vis-à-vis*. the price of staple food, may adversely affect the pastoralists and fishermen, respectively. Changes in employment, wages, prices, etc, can all take a major and decisive part in the initiation and intensification of famines. Ultimately, the distribution of food is a major factor that differentiates the effects of production and entitlements in combating hunger/famine. Thirdly, Sen employs the entitlement approach framework to consider the issue of famine relief in terms of cash distribution in preference to the distribution of free food relief. In line with the effort to strengthen the entitlements of the victims, cash distribution takes the form of payment of cash wages for work. If the dispossessed find temporary employment and a cash wage, their ability to command food in the market is radically enhanced. In this situation, mobility of food commodities does not need to rely on set up government communication structures but conveniently move in response to the enhanced demands.³⁴⁵ Cash relief, *inter alia*, prevents

³⁴⁴ Victim groups may be affected by loss of agricultural employment as a result of floods during the planting and transplanting seasons, or by general inflationary pressure in the economy leading to a decline in real wages or sharply rising food prices following the month of floods.

³⁴⁵ Ability to command food (cash relief) implies the victim's 'pull' and the supplier's 'response.' If a person starves because of loss of employment, and therefore absence of means of buying food, then that is failure originating from the 'pull,' side. If the person's ability to command food collapses because of an absence of supply or due to the 'connering' of the market by some manipulative

‘food counter-movement’ by which food moves out of the famine stricken regions to more prosperous land which often have greater purchasing power. Food can easily be attracted away through the market mechanism from the famine regions to non-famine areas.³⁴⁶

The fourth consideration centred on policy guideline that prioritizes prevention through product diversification. In making policies regarding the prevention of famine, Sen urges a recognition and therefore distinction between food production as source of income and entitlement, and food production as source of supply of the food commodity. The former is particularly relevant to policy making.³⁴⁷ While the expansion of food production indeed plays a role in enhancing the entitlements of the deprived, its decline on the other hand leads to entitlement deterioration resulting from loss of employment opportunities. Now policy decisions regarding economic expansion must depend on a careful calculation of relative benefits, which cannot be achieved simply on the basis of plans to undo prevailing production trends, even if these trends are responsible for the present state of affair. Thus, policy decisions have to be based on assessing the present circumstances and the anticipated future ones, rather than taking the

traders, then this is a failure arising on the ‘response’ side. Given that, ‘pull failure’ has tended to be dominant in the genesis of the collapse of entitlements of the famine victim in most famines, cash relief has the effect of pulling food into the famine-affected regions in response to the enhanced market demand..

³⁴⁶ Providing relief in form of subsidiary employment is immediate and convenient, it is less disruptive for work and living. Direct food distribution is not only ineffective and inefficient, but also involves the movement of the victims to the distribution centres and to relief camps. It can provide the ability to command food without directly giving food to the victim. Cash relief also stimulates other parts of the food-chain to respond to increased demand consequent to greater purchasing power of the victim. It is therefore known to regenerate the infrastructure of trade and transport in the economy.

³⁴⁷ Sen, "Food Entitlement and Economic Chains," 382. Note the importance of dissonance between the availability view and the entitlement view: An undue reliance on the availability view has frequently been a contributory factor in the development of a famine, making the relevant authorities smug about the food situation.

simple form of trying to reverse the decline from past achievements. Entitlement analysis, focusing on different parts of the chain relations, point directly to the necessity of considering seriously the case for greater diversification of the production structure.³⁴⁸ Any or all of these four different proposals can be instrumental in the fight against hunger.

However, entitlement approach tends to rely too much on well set up structures based on sound policies and responsive administration. Amartya Sen cautions on the need to go beyond the economic structures. Firstly, given that entitlement is practically a claim to make over what one believes is one's own, one should be able to look beyond the market system. Other rights such as the right to work or the right to unemployment benefits among others have to be considered in understanding entitlements over food which a person can enjoy. Furthermore, entitlement analysis of hunger, in general, must take note of the institutional structure: legal, political, economic, that determines a person's entitlements.³⁴⁹ Secondly, over and above the efficiency of the market structure in the economy in question, many different policy instruments need to be considered, for example, on importation of food from abroad, introduction of rationing and control or of speculation, taxing of incomes of non-victims to give the victims a better competitive edge in the market. To rely on market efficiency alone would mean that

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 382-384. According to Amartya Sen, alleged magic-solutions of the problem of African hunger typified by remarks such as 'put all resources in agriculture' or 'raise agricultural and food prices to boost production incentives,' may deliver substantially less than they promise. The factor common to most famines especially in Africa, is the region's vulnerability to fluctuations of the weather and the climate. Food crisis in Africa relates to factors like climate deterioration which have to be countered only in the long run. Chances are that food production will remain vulnerable to fluctuations in some parts of Africa. In this view, it is a mistake to rely on that source of uncertain source of income and entitlements. With this argument, other types of production are also considered, including industrial expansion from which more benefits with greater certainty may be derivable in the present circumstances.

³⁴⁹ Sen, *Poverty and Famines*, 46.

if the markets are distorted, the expansion of demand will not lead to a 'response,' it may only attract back the government involvement with all its shortfalls. Thus, as an entitlement failure, hunger makes it necessary to consider other means of changing the operation of the dysfunctional food chains beyond the mere availability of food. But all presume careful planning and policy action. Thirdly, Amartya Sen acknowledges that some area of policy action go well beyond purely economic reasoning. For example, division of food in a family setting is based on the purchases made on behalf of the family as a whole. Often the greater share of men *vis-à-vis* women reflects traditional sense of what is legitimate and what is right. While this notions of legitimacy do not have the sanction of law enforced by the state, their grip on the actual distribution within the family may well be very strong indeed, enforced by convention and social pressure.

Other criticisms have been levelled against the consistent attempt of the entitlement approach to associate the struggle against hunger with the established structures of the state governance alone. The theory of entitlements, so to speak, focuses on "the ability of people to command food through the legal means available in society, including the use of production possibilities, trade opportunities, entitlements *vis-à-vis* the state, and other means of acquiring food."³⁵⁰ In the interpretation of Asbjørn Eide, this observation confirms the implications of the entitlement approach that famine failures are always human-made, at least by passivity. This precipitates the common scenario of lack of a will to intervene through public measures, and failures of governmental or international intervention when entitlements fail. Citing the famous Irish famine of 1845-1849, Asbjørn Eide faults the detached and rather

³⁵⁰ Asbjørn Eide, "Freedom from Hunger as a Basic Human Right: Principles and Implementation," in *Ethics, Hunger and Globalization: In Search of Appropriate Policies*, ed. Per Pinstrup-Andersen and Peter Sandøe (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007), 95. Cf. Sen, *Poverty and Famines*, 45.

distant involvement of government in the social wellbeing of people as capable of facilitating famine situations that should never have occurred in the first place. The direct cause of the Irish famine was the ‘potato blight’ saga. “The high officials and politicians responsible for Ireland were fervent believers in non-interference by Government, and the behaviour of the British authorities only becomes explicable when their fanatic belief in private enterprise and their suspicions of any action which might be considered government intervention are borne in mind.”³⁵¹ According to Asbjørn Eide, “the governmental inaction in the economic dynamics, coupled with marginal and misplaced effort to give some relief, caused 1 million people to die from starvation and related illnesses, nearly 2 million emigrated, a large proportion of them to the USA.”³⁵² In our time where neo-liberalism is harking back to the laissez-faire of the nineteenth century, Asbjørn Eide insists for the need of public action. In a strong advocacy for his normative-activist approach to social well-fare, Asbjørn Eide observes, “Public action is essential for the prevention of hunger, but this requires recognition of the role of the State as a key actor in redressing negative developments in demand capacity.”³⁵³ Secondly, Asbjørn Eide recognizes Amartya Sen’s famous thesis that large-scale famines do not occur when there are functioning democratic governments in place in self-governing countries.³⁵⁴ First of all, although Asbjørn Eide lauds the role of state governments in the struggle against hunger, it is certainly not because the introduction of self-determination and democracy by itself leads to more food production, but because responsive governments can ensure that food is made accessible to all, provided appropriate public action is

³⁵¹ Cf. Cecil Woodham-Smith, *The Great Hunger Ireland 1845-1849* (London: The Penguin Group, 1991), 54.

³⁵² Eide, “Freedom from Hunger as a Basic Human Right,” 95.

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Cf. Amartya Sen, *The Idea of Justice* (London: The Penguin Group, 2009), 338-348.

taken. Citing the important work of the Indian scholar, Dan Banik,³⁵⁵ Asbjørn Eide insists that the significance of formal democracy, though important, is not in itself a sufficient guarantee against chronic hunger. "The reason why democracy can have this effect is through freedom of speech and active news media and their impact on political decision-making: Governments cannot remain passive when large-scale famines occur."³⁵⁶

Lastly, the recent work of another Indian expert, Meera Tiwari, dealt a heavy blow on the core of entitlements argument, namely, the significance of poverty analysis and the presumptions of increased entitlements in Amartya Sen's entitlement approach. The role of poverty in famine situations is indeed the starting point of the entire approach, while the exchange entitlements and the function of exchange entitlement mapping provides the dynamic that allows investigation into the complicated network of entitlements relations. To fault these two aspects in the entitlement approach questions the relevance of its impact in the struggle against hunger. From the very entitlements analysis, a person is deemed to be living in poverty if his exchange entitlement does not fulfil his basic needs requirement (considering poverty as a deprivation of the means to fulfil basic needs for food, shelter, water and clothing), in context terminology, when all he has is what Amartya Sen refers to as 'the starvation set.'³⁵⁷ Tiwari reasons out that those living below the poverty line are then conceptualized in terms of the inability

³⁵⁵ Cf. Dan Banik, *Democracy, Drought and Starvation in India: Testing Sen in Theory and Practice* (Oslo: University of Oslo, 2002), 433. See also Dan Banik, *Starvation and India's Democracy* (London: Routledge, 2008), 12-43. Through a detailed examination of poverty, drought, and malnutrition in Kalanhandi and Purulia in India, and the governmental response, Dan Banik concluded that while democracy in India has indeed been able to avert massive famine through public action, the Indian democracy has not been able to prevent the health and nutritional status of large sections of the population.

³⁵⁶ Eide, "Freedom from Hunger as a Basic Human Right," 96.

³⁵⁷ Sen, *Poverty and Famines*, 47.

to exchange their ownership situation for the basic needs set. Individuals or households could even experience deprivation and inability to fulfil their basic needs for longer durations or even throughout life. Inferring from a detailed long-term research finding, Meera Tiwari observed that “the exchange entitlement of such individuals and households will always be such that, one; it does not satisfy their basic needs, and two; their ownership bundle and endowment will stay unaltered and they will belong to the persistent poverty or chronic poverty group.”³⁵⁸ On this background Tiwari constructs the concept of the ‘chronic poverty group’.³⁵⁹

But imagining that the opportunity to escape this poverty vicious circle would still come to those whose endowments change so as to satisfy their basic needs, or so as to afford a commodity bundle, Tiwari went on to demonstrate another insight. He closely examined the factors that change a person’s exchange entitlement and ownership bundle in the rural set up such as employment profiles and the money value of the person’s non-labour assets among others. These helped him, so to speak, to explore adequately all the entitlement relations possible and acceptable in the circumstance, cf. Sen 2. He examined these changes, often brought in by government policies, side by side with the corresponding changes in the demand of non-labour assets over a period of three decades (1971-1991). But after a thorough examination of these important factors, Meera Tiwari observes that when the market is examined in terms of the factors that influence the exchange entitlement of households, the combined exchange entitlement of these rural households does not necessarily respond to the changes in the faces of demand and supply. Singling out the example of literacy as an

³⁵⁸ Meera Tiwari, "Chronic Poverty and Entitlement Theory," *Third World Quarterly* 28, no. No. 1 (2007): 174-176. Those whose endowment changes such that it does satisfy their basic needs escape the poverty group.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*: 175.

important component of the endowment capable of bringing about such a change, Tiwari's study of detailed statistics revealed that changes in the literacy levels and the employment possibilities in the important sectors considered show that there is a mismatch between the increase in the supply of rural literate labour and demand for their services.³⁶⁰

3.2.4.3 The Distributive Justice Approach

A distributive justice approach sees hunger more as part of the effects of the prevalence of severe and extensive poverty in the world sustained by radical inequality among the nations. Through international surveys and reports (cf. UNDP Human Development Reports). The proponents of this approach highlight the impact of these inequalities and on this basis make proposals in which they argue for equitable distribution of the world's wealth among all people, and ultimately the empowerment of the poor to afford and manage their own food requirement. Despite the efforts made towards progress in alleviating suffering in society, various expert reports still highlight the impact of poverty in the world and attest to the fact that the extent of world poverty has increasingly been alarming. Recent World Bank Report estimates at least 80% of humanity lives on less than \$10 a day, and 95 percent of developing country population live on less than 10 dollars a day.³⁶¹ According to the UN Millennium Development Goals, 2009,

³⁶⁰ Ibid.: 177.

³⁶¹ Martin Ravallion, Shaohua Chen, and Prem Sangraula. 2008. "Dollar a Day Revisited: Policy Research Working Paper 4620, the World Bank Development Research Group." http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSCContentServer/IW3P/IB/2008/09/02/000158349_20080902095754/Rendered/PDF/wps4620.pdf, (accessed 28 April 2010). The trends of the new figures from the World Bank confirm concerns that poverty has not been reduced by as much as was hoped since 1982. Using the 2005 population numbers, this is equivalent to just under 79.7 percent of world population without including populations living on less than 10 dollars a day from industrialized nations. The new poverty line used in this calculation is 1.25 dollars a day as compared with 1 dollar a day used for many years before. But experts argue that the 1 dollar a day used then would be 1.45 dollars a day now if just inflation was accounted for.

major advances in the fight against extreme poverty from 1990 to 2005, for example, are likely to have stalled. During that period, the number of people living on less than \$1.25 a day decreased from 1.8 billion to 1.4 billion. In 2009, an estimated 55 million to 90 million had been projected to be living in extreme poverty than anticipated before the crisis.³⁶² Since the WFS and MDG of 1996 and 2000 respectively, trends of both poverty and inequality remain, and are projected to be, all the more disturbing. "While poverty and malnutrition are stagnant, global inequality...is escalating dramatically."³⁶³ This trend has certainly not decelerated since the end of the colonial era 40 years ago. Regionally, the vulnerable and low-growth economies of the Sub-Saharan African and Southern Asia, for example, project a further increase both in the number of the poor and the poverty rate.³⁶⁴ On individual levels, while the poorest 40 percent of the world's population accounts for only 5 percent of global income, the richest 20 percent accounts for three-quarters of the world's income.³⁶⁵ The UNDP report of 1999 on Human Development indicated that "The world's 200 richest people more than doubled their net worth in the four years to 1998 to more than 1 trillion dollars. The assets of the top three billionaires are more than the combined GNP of all least developed countries and their 600 million people."³⁶⁶ A detailed report of 2006 still emphasized that

³⁶² United Nations. 2009. "The Millennium Development Goals Report, 2009." http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Resources/Static/Products/Progress2009/MDG_Report_2009_En.pdf, (accessed 17 May 2010).

³⁶³ Cf. UNDP Report, 1999.

³⁶⁴ UNDP, "Beyond Scarcity: Power, Poverty and the Global Water Crisis," (accessed 20 May 2010).

³⁶⁵ Cf. Global Issues. 2010. "Poverty Facts and Statistics." <http://www.globalissues.org/article/26/poverty-facts-and-stats#fact3>, (accessed 28 April 2010). See also UNDP. 2007. "Human Development Report." <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2007-2008/>, (accessed 28 April 2010).

³⁶⁶ UNDP. 1999. "Human Development Report." <http://hdr.undp.org/en/report/global/hdr1999/>, (accessed 28 April 2010).

poverty, power and inequality are at the heart of the problem rather than a crisis of scarcity.³⁶⁷

The net consequence is that millions of people have continued to be added to the bracket of those living below the international poverty line. The number of chronically hungry people in the world rose by 75 million in 2007 to reach 923 million mainly as a result of high food prices. In the year 2010, the World Food Programme estimates 1.02 billion undernourished people meaning that one in every six people does not get enough food to be healthy.³⁶⁸ In as much as such high figures continue to frame the debate about hunger the world over, the damage caused by poor maternal nutrition and health extends far beyond millions of the people who suffer and die each year. This damage is sustained by the stubborn vicious cycle of hunger and poverty. According to the experts, malnourished mothers are far more likely to give birth to low-birth weight babies (LBW). So are women whose own growth was stunted by malnutrition during childhood. These low-birth weight babies suffer significantly higher rates of malnutrition and are also far more likely to suffer stunted physical and cognitive growth during childhood, of reduced working capacity and earnings as adults and, if female, of giving birth to LBW babies themselves. This greatly increases their own risk of dying during childbirth or giving birth to another generation of low-birth weight babies, and so the cycle of suffering continues.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁷ UNDP. 2006. "Beyond Scarcity: Power, Poverty and the Global Water Crisis," *Human Development Report*. <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2006/>, (accessed 23 September 2010).

³⁶⁸ World Food Programme. 2010. "Hunger." <http://www.wfp.org/hunger>, (accessed 20 May 2010).

³⁶⁹ FAO. 2005. "Improving Maternal Health and Breaking the Cycle of Poverty, Hunger and Malnutrition," *The State of Food Insecurity in the World*, <http://www.fao.org/docrep/008/a0200e/a0200e00.htm>. <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/008/a0200e/a0200e.pdf>, (accessed 24 September 2010). See also FAO. 2004. "The Human Costs of Hunger: Millions of Lives Destroyed by Death and Disability," *The State of Food Insecurity in the World*,

In this background, the statistics of the impact of poverty on the tender lives of the world's infants remains shocking. According to the recent UNICEF report summery on maternal and newborn health between the year 2000 and 2007, 25% of the world's infants under the age of five suffer low-birth weight, 11% wasted, and 28% stunted. The world's regions with higher poverty index posit even higher nutrition and health indicators. Likewise their under-five infant mortality remains very high. The worst hit in the period specified was South Asia with 45% low birth-weight, 18% wasting while 38% stunted. Its corresponding mortality rate stood at 78. The sub-Saharan Africa posited 28% low birth-weight, 7% wasted and 40% stunting; its under-five infant mortality rate remained at 148 per 1000 live births.³⁷⁰ In terms of numbers, the UNICEF reports estimates that 10.9 million children under five die in developing countries each year. under nutrition contributes to the deaths of about 5.6 million children of this age every year, i.e. one out of every four children under five – or 146 million children in the developing world – is underweight for his or her age, and at increased risk of an early death.³⁷¹ Over and above the

<http://www.fao.org/docrep/007/y5650e/y5650e00.htm>.

http://www.fao.org/docrep/007/y5650e/y5650e03.htm#P26_3460, (accessed 24 September 2010).

³⁷⁰ UNICEF. 2009. "Statistical Tables: Nutrition," *The State of the World's Children: Maternal and Newborn Health*, <http://www.unicef.org/sowc09/>. <http://www.unicef.org/sowc09/docs/SOWC09-FullReport-EN.pdf>, (accessed 26 September 2010).

³⁷¹ UNICEF. 2007. "The State of the World's Children," <http://www.unicef.org/rightsite/sowc/>.

http://www.unicef.org/rightsite/sowc/pdfs/SOWC_Spec%20Ed_CRC_Main%20Report_EN_090409.pdf, (accessed 24 September 2010). Cf. FAO. 2008. "Technical Annex," *The State of Food Insecurity in the World*, <http://www.fao.org/docrep/011/i0291e/i0291e00.htm>.

<ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/011/i0291e/i0291e05.pdf>, (accessed 24 September 2010). See especially the information in Table 2 p. 50-53 of this report. The situation continues to worry a lot more when the Great Lakes Region of Africa is considered. According to these report, the countries of this region rank among the top on the list of higher mortality rate on account of the hunger related

hunger related diseases, experts estimate that one-third of all human deaths are due to poverty-related causes, such as starvation, diarrhoea, pneumonia, tuberculosis, malaria, measles, and prenatal conditions, all of which could be prevented or cured cheaply through food, safe drinking water, vaccinations, rehydration packs, or medicines.³⁷²

The proponents of global justice largely agree that whilst the world has grown richer in the recent decades, its riches are not shared out equitably among all the people. The consequence is witnessed in a situation where the gap of disparity among people is fast widening in all directions, but most deplorably in the framework of human subsistence, as one ethicist, Lou Marinoff, observed: "Our globalizing civilization is witnessing unprecedented disparities represented by excessive wealth and massive starvation."³⁷³ Experts assessing the trends of food production on the global level likewise observe that "Hunger has increased as the world has grown richer and produced more food than ever in the last decade."³⁷⁴ A distributive justice approach generally

problems. Rwanda ranks the world's 9th in under-five infant mortality rate of 186 surveys conducted between 1987 and 1998, leading to the WFS targets against hunger, FAO reports consistently per 1000 live births. 23% of its infants under 5yrs were low birth-weight babies, 4% wasted, and 45% stunted. The common indicators of health and sanitary conditions include measurement of children's height and weight, nutritional indicators such as wasted, stunted or underweight and the health indicators such as life expectancy at birth, the mortality rate for children under five and the percentage of the population with access to adequate sanitation. The occurrence of high levels of all these indicators together obviously indicates severe health and nutritional problems. Conversely, when all indicators are low, the situation is much more benign. And, indeed, the performance of individual countries bears this out. Cf. FAO. 1999. "The State of Food Insecurity in the World." <http://www.fao.org/docrep/007/x3114e/x3114e00.htm>, (accessed 24 September 2010). See especially the statistics on Table 2 page 30.

³⁷² Cf. World Food Programme. 2010. "Hunger." <http://www.wfp.org/hunger>, (accessed 20 May 2010).

³⁷³ Lou Marinoff and Peter Sandoe, "Ethics, Globalization, and Hunger: An Ethicist's Perspective," in *Ethics, Hunger and Globalization: In Search of Appropriate Policies*, ed. Per Pinstrup-Andersen (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007).

³⁷⁴ FAO, (accessed 20 May 2010).

pursues the view that the solution to the world's malnourishment like other effects of inequality, rests solely in arresting the rampant poverty in the world. Its proponents argue that the world resources are sufficient for its population but decisive, appropriate and bold moral actions have not been taken against this situation. Or as Thomas Pogge would argue, society has failed to observe its moral challenge to help persons in acute distress.³⁷⁵ But perhaps the dynamism of the proposal of the distributive justice approach in the search of the solution to this problem is better discernible from the thought of Thomas Nagel. In support of Thomas Hobbes claim about the relationship between justice and sovereignty, Nagel observes that all conceptions of justice depend on the coordinated conduct of large numbers of people which cannot be achieved without law backed up by a monopoly of force. In expounding his preference for this position he further distinguishes humanitarian duties from justice in view of the minimal concern we owe to fellow human beings threatened with starvation and other ills facing people in dire poverty. While humanitarian duties hold in virtue of the absolute rather than the relative level of need of the people we are in a position to help, justice is concerned with the relations between the conditions of different classes of people and the causes of inequality between them. In this background, Nagel raises a question the exposes the core concern of the distributive justice approach: How can society respond to world inequality in general from the point of view of justice and injustice rather than humanity alone?³⁷⁶

The responses to this question among the proponents of distributive justice approach exhibit two trains of thought distinguished by the divergent views on what one thinks could be behind the widening gap between the poor and the rich. One view attributes this disparity to individual moral responsibility towards the suffering other, while the

³⁷⁵ Pogge, "Eradicating Systemic Poverty," 440.

³⁷⁶ Nagel, "The Problem of Global Justice," 417, 419.

other view attributes this to institutional entrenchment of repressive structures of inequalities. The individual version puts blame on the reluctance of individual persons or nation-states to take bold and decisive actions towards the alleviation of the suffering of the poor. By virtue of ordinary moral disposition, Leif Wenar argues that many people are accustomed to, and familiar with ordinary moral obligation to help the distant others. But despite this common knowledge very little is done in practice to take bold steps to stop the suffering of others.³⁷⁷ After assessing the amounts of money the richer nations invest on their priorities, some of which remain controversial, Peter Singer observes that it is not beyond the capacity of the rich individuals and richer nations to give enough assistance to reduce any further suffering. The negligence of the affluent nations towards situations like that around the world cannot be justified.³⁷⁸ Consequently, the proponents of this individual version advocate a stricter commitment to the basic operational moral principles.³⁷⁹ They recommend both critical theorizing on the situation of suffering, and practical proposals of concrete courses of action to be pursued straight away.³⁸⁰ Peter Singer for example invokes a clear moral principle from which every moral person should feel guilty for doing nothing to stop such a situation thus:

If it is in our power to prevent something bad from happening without thereby sacrificing anything of comparable moral importance, that is, without causing anything else comparably bad to happen, or doing something that is wrong in itself, or failing to promote some moral good, comparable in significance

³⁷⁷ Leif Wenar, "What We Owe to Distant Others," in *Global Justice Reader*, ed. Thom Brooks (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 400-409.

³⁷⁸ Cf. Peter Singer, "Famine, Affluence, and Morality," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, no. 1:3 (1972): 229-243.

³⁷⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*, 394.

³⁸⁰ Wenar, "What We Owe to Distant Others," 409.

to the bad thing we can prevent, then we ought morally to do it.³⁸¹

It is therefore an outright repudiation of the moral duty, if not all together immoral, to remain indifferent to the plight of the distant suffering other.

The institutional view comes out clearly in thoughts of Thomas Pogge and Andrew Kuper. Both proponents attribute the distressful situation of inequality and injustice to three factors: Firstly, the effects of shared social institutional order shaped by the better-offs and imposed on the worse-offs. Secondly, the uncompensated exclusion from the use of natural resources in an arrangement where the better-offs enjoy significant advantages in the use of the single natural resources base from whose benefits the worse-off are largely, and without compensation, excluded. Thirdly, the effects of a common and violent history where the social starting position of the worse-off and the better-off have emerged from a single historical process that was pervaded by massive grievous wrongs.³⁸² In this background this view opines that the individual or private initiatives towards solving hunger were not ideal and remain inadequate, it is bound to fail only in a short run.³⁸³ The proposals for the solution in this view are motivated by the conviction that "there are feasible institutional alternatives under which poor countries would fare much better. As such, the perpetuation of the status quo amounts to the coercive imposition of an unjust order on poor countries by the affluent ones."³⁸⁴ Consequently, Thomas Pogge

³⁸¹ Peter Singer, "Famine, Affluence, and Morality," in *The Global Justice Reader*, ed. Thom Brooks (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 390.

³⁸² Cf. Pogge, "Eradicating Systemic Poverty," 441-444.

³⁸³ Cf. Andrew Kuper, "More Than Charity: Cosmopolitan Alternatives to the Singer Solution," *Ethics and International Affairs*, no. 16 (2002): 201.

³⁸⁴ Thomas W. Pogge, *World Poverty and Human Rights: Cosmopolitan Responsibilities and Reforms* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), 201. For the details of the distinctiveness of the institutional approach to social injustice, see also Lisa L. Fuller, "Poverty Relief, Global Institutions, and the Problem of

proposes what many consider as the highlight of the institutional approach against inequalities aimed at ending poverty and its effects in society such as hunger. He recommended a Global Resources Dividend (GRD), a form of fund obtained from a levy imposed on the States as a result of the use/sale of the natural resources in their territory. The proceeds from GRD are to be redistributed among the world's poor to ensure that all human beings can meet their own basic needs with dignity. The proposal is motivated by a sense of equitable distribution of global resources. This motivation is implemented by sharing the use of the proceeds that accrue from the global resources equitably between those who make extensive use of the planet's resources and those who involuntarily use very little. The proposal effectively recognizes the fact that the global poor own an inalienable stake in all limited natural resources. Its implementation therefore entitles all holders of the dividend to a share in the economic value of the resources in question. In the final analysis, Pogge envisages that "the deal is not merely to improve nutrition, medical care and sanitary conditions of the poor, but also to make it possible that they can themselves effectively defend and realize their basic interest."³⁸⁵

While we here distinguish between individual and institutional moral responsibility, this same distinction can be traced to Thomas Nagel's analysis of the problem of global justice. He talks of cosmopolitan and political conceptions of justice. Although Nagel's concern is the establishment of sovereignty prior to legitimacy of any justice system,³⁸⁶ his distinction captures well the spectrum of the discussion on moral

Compliance," in *The Global Justice Reader*, ed. Thom Brooks (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 455.

³⁸⁵ Cf. Pogge, "Eradicating Systemic Poverty," 439, 448.

³⁸⁶ Nagel, "The Problem of Global Justice," 416-437. Thomas Nagel investigates the possibility of global socio-economic justice. In prioritizing sovereignty over legitimacy, he argues that political institutions need to be first established and then we should shape these institutions in a way that would best facilitate global distributive justice.

responsibility relevant to distributive justice. According to him, the cosmopolitan conception highlights the demand of justice derived from an equal concern or a duty of fairness that we owe in principle to all our fellow human beings. This is true first with individuals but also with State institutions which are instruments for the fulfilment of that duty. The political conception on the other hand understands justice specifically as a political value without necessarily being linked with a comprehensive moral system. In this conception:

Sovereign states are not merely instruments for realizing the preinstitutional value of justice among human beings. Instead, their existence is precisely what gives the value of justice its application, by putting the fellow citizens of a sovereign state into a relation that they do not have with the rest of humanity, an institutional relations which must then be evaluated by the special standards of fairness and equality that fill out the content of justice.³⁸⁷

Thus, while the proponents of the individual view of moral responsibility on issues of distributive justice like Peter Singer and Leif Wenar, among others, espouse the cosmopolitan conception of moral responsibility on issues of distributive justice, their counter parts in the institutional view like Thomas Pogge and Andrew Kupper clearly espouse global distributive justice from a political perspective in the sense elaborated by Thomas Nagel.

Critics of this approach however point out its failure to give attention to the holistic picture of inequality and injustice. It concentrates on the division between the rich and the poor and therefore the givers and the receivers. It remains silent about the inequalities arising from sex, culture or religion and so fails to specify concrete incidents in which injustice is manifested and therefore to be addressed. For example, the

³⁸⁷ Ibid., 420.

achievement of gender justice in society has been central in the entire food security discourse especially in the developing world. Expert surveys confirm that while women in most of these countries form a formidable labour force and a backbone of household food security, many cultures still treat them as inferior and they are denied opportunity to participate in decision making. The returns earned from their labour are often skewed in favour of men as the 'heads' of the family. The issue of gender equality and other cultural delineation of class differences cannot simply be blamed on the better-offs, and cannot be fully addressed by a generalized system whose attention is as wide as the global village as it is in the GRD proposal. As Martha Nussbaum observes, "women figure in the argument as people who are often unable to enjoy the fruits of a nation's general prosperity," but the proposal fails to tell us how deprived people are doing.³⁸⁸

The second argument is offered by the known critics of global distributive justice. Thomas Nagel leads this criticism with the argument that fails to see the viability of global distributive justice without a global political sovereignty. In support of the Thomas Hobbes' concept of justice, Thomas Nagel argues that justice as a property of the relations among human beings requires government as an enabling condition, it cannot be achieved except within a state. Unlike the case of moral law, the collective self-interest embodied in a State cannot be realized by the independent motivation of self-interested individuals unless each of them has the assurance that others will conform if he does. Nagel pursues this argument through cosmopolitan and political conceptions of justice but ultimately submits that either of these conceptions of global justice would require global sovereignty. Nagel's argument is that there be global institutions first before they can be used for good meanwhile,

³⁸⁸ Martha C. Nussbaum, "Capabilities as Fundamental Entitlements: Sen and Social Justice," in *The Global Justice Reader*, ed. Thom Brooks (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), 602.

“the path from anarchy to justice must go through injustice.”³⁸⁹ Hence, proposals that prioritize general moral law alone or isolated individual government institutions as are espoused in the proposal for distributive justice is bound to fail. Lisa L. Fuller highlights the nuance of the difficulty of implementing or enforcing a global initiative such as proposed in distributive justice approach. In response particularly to Pogge’s Global Resource Dividend proposal, Fuller challenges the possibility that such initiative is viable at all and views it largely as idealistic and unrealistic. Instead, she prefers a rather non-ideal theory, firstly, because it can admit a non-universal situation, that is, that not everyone will comply with whatever scheme is put in place. Secondly, that even if it is possible for people to comply, they often will not, but above all, that non-ideal theory asks what we ought to do for the worse-off and hence her support for NGO aid alternative which is less prone to compliance problems which afflict the institutional view.³⁹⁰

Third criticism involves the observation that the approach tends to underestimate the moral value of individual freedom and State or institutional motivations for self-determination. Furthermore, it downplays the significance of the possible reward of the hard work invested by individuals to earn their wealth. The fact that this approach, especially in its individualist version, espouses the primacy of moral obligation towards the needy, undisputedly points towards the freedom of the individual conscience to decide voluntarily to act in favour of the needy. The right to private property and freedom to use it according to the priorities of the proper owner, including investing it for a higher gain, cannot be overlooked even as society calls for the attention of the rich to contribute towards the alleviation of poverty. The guidelines regarding mandatory moral priorities recommended in this approach,

³⁸⁹ Cf. Nagel, "The Problem of Global Justice," 418.

³⁹⁰ Cf. Fuller, "Poverty and the Problem of Compliance," 459, 461.

like contributing towards the needy as a primary duty,³⁹¹ risk to be misconstrued as a coercive initiative. The distributive justice approach seems to generally downplay very essential moral elements necessary in the resolve to fight hunger, namely: the freedom of the individual person in prioritizing moral decisions. But the recognition of this element often motivates preference for the charity approach which recognizes, among other things, the voluntary individual motivation towards the alleviation of the suffering neighbour. The next section shall therefore highlight the key elements of the charity approach.

3.2.4.4 The Charity Approach

The charity approach brings into focus the ability native to every human person to help those in need, to offer what is 'mine' to the other, but having first given to the other what pertains to him/her in justice.³⁹² It recognizes and advocates for individual freedom and voluntary motivation towards the needs of the other.³⁹³ With regard to the critical question as to what morality requires of us in the world of poverty and inequality, the charity approach is attentive to the effects of our actions both on those who are better off and on those who are worse off, since our actions will have to be justified by both.³⁹⁴ But most importantly charitable donation prioritizes the desire of justifiability in first recognizing the capability in the receiver to assess the reasons why they have to live their lives in different ways, and that they are capable of guiding their actions by their assessments of these reasons.³⁹⁵ This

³⁹¹ Singer, "Famine, Affluence, and Morality," 390-391.

³⁹² Benedict XVI. 2009. "*Caritas in Veritate*." No. 6.

³⁹³ Paul VI, "*Populorum Progressio*," in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis (A.A.S.)* (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1967), No. 47. It is not just a question of eliminating hunger and reducing poverty. It is not just a question of fighting wretched conditions, though this is an urgent and necessary task. It involves building a human community where men can live truly human lives.

³⁹⁴ Wenar, "What we Owe to Distant Others," 397-398.

³⁹⁵ Ibid, 398. See also T. M. Scanlon, *What We Owe to Each Other* (London: Harvard University Press, 1998), 153-158.

orientation, may be argued, endears the charity approach to both the individual and institutional perspectives of addressing inequalities. Thus, the moral question of giving to the distant needy is made basically a question of individual person's dignity and integrity. The emphasis is on moral motivation rather than just on the moral requirement for social welfare.

Although every man/woman is born to seek self-fulfilment, the charity approach goes beyond the individual.³⁹⁶ It embraces solidarity of humanity as one family, an international civil society. The call to charity is universal, and involves the effort to build a humane world community, based on mutuality among nations. Alongside the faith organizations, the charity approach is largely embraced by Non-governmental organizations,³⁹⁷ International Aid Agencies of the United Nations, and other private humanitarian organizations.³⁹⁸ The intricacies of the principles that sustain the fraternity of the human family likewise ultimately sustain international humanitarian concerns, today governed by international humanitarian law whose plausibility is still traceable to the principle of unity in diversity.³⁹⁹ What comes out of the concern is a

³⁹⁶ Paul VI, "*Populorum Progressio*," No. 15, 17.

³⁹⁷ Cf. Fuller, "Poverty and the Problem of Compliance," 457, 459. Lissa Fuller, in defence of NGOs against the accusation that they are private and non-ideal, argued that NGO Aid agencies are seen more as part of the international civil society and not 'privately run charities that exist outside the political realm.' Kai Nielsen, "Ideal and Non-Ideal Theory: How Should We Approach Questions of Global Justice?," *International Journal of Applied Philosophy* no. 2 (1985): 35.

³⁹⁸ Cf. Bread for the World. 2010. "Links to Other Anti-Hunger and Poverty Organizations." <http://www.bread.org/learn/links.html>, (accessed 12 May 2010). See especially the global outlook of Action Against Hunger, African Development Foundation (ADF) and Centre for Global Development.

³⁹⁹ For the elaboration of the ethical principle of Unity in Diversity as a basis of the international humanitarian law, see Brian D. Lepard, *Rethinking Humanitarian Intervention* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 35, 48-50. For the animated discussion on the principles of legitimate humanitarian intervention see Nicholas J. Wheeler, *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1-52. And Uwe Kracht, "Human Rights and Humanitarian Action:

structure that recognizes both the individual and institution but which must be protected and advanced for the common interest of all. However, this can only be done with the cooperation of state structures and the international community. The human rights approach, as elaborated in the right to food example, provides for ample infrastructure necessary to anchor all these important aspects in the process. The challenge will then remain on the governments whose sovereignty remains key to the struggle against hunger.

3.2.5 Concluding remarks

The dream and aspirations of many nations after the second world war was captured in the UN Charter of 1945, the UDHR of 1948, and most importantly, by the covenant on the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Consistent with this dream, the human right to food expert, Asbjørn Eide, captured the heart of the world's concern in eradicating hunger in his effort to research on, construct and instrumentalize the right to food as an international legal instrument to promote and protect food security. But owing to the crucial role played by poverty in the continued prevalence of hunger, other approaches have been proposed side by side with the human rights approach. Challenging the human rights approach is the catalogue of four other approaches, namely: the increase of food productivity, entitlements, distributive justice, and the charity approaches. These approaches have been gathered from various scattered theories on poverty alleviation and moral reasoning aimed at motivating concern for the worse off in society. While all the five approaches basically recognize inequality, injustice and poverty to be the basis of common suffering of people, their prescriptions radically

The Right to Food in Armed Conflict," in *Human Rights and Criminal Justice for the Downtrodden: Essays in Honour of Asbjørn Eide*, ed. Morten Bergsmo (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2003), 263-265.

differ both in content and form. However, each approach makes its own proportionate contribution which cannot be ignored both at the level of theory and practice. While expanded food production remains the ground upon which all attempts against hunger stand, the network of political, economic, cultural and even religious interests complicates the process. The expanded food production will not only require an efficient and equitable distribution machinery to reach the needy population, it will also require that the population is economically empowered to facilitate the flow of food on demand. However, economic empowerment which only reflects a return proportionate to every person's investment effort or, at least the nature of jobs available, shall never yield equal economic capacities to command the food that everybody requires. The resultant imbalances necessarily attract donations for relief fund or in charity for some time. In the long run, donor fatigue will always necessitate a gap through which hunger will continue to claim lives, and may only respond to enforceable obligations recognized either as individual or state duties.

The general logic of the order in which the five approaches have been discussed reveals that all seem to fall short of legitimate, instrumental structures to facilitate the enforcement of the respective proposals. In our opinion, the motivation, preparation, adoption and instrumentalization of the right to food as championed by the Norwegian human rights lawyer, Asbjørn Eide, structure the social machinery necessary to address the shortcomings. It addresses the individual moral and civil duties and entitlements as well as the obligations of the state and the international community. As long as the struggle against hunger involves deliberate moral duty of every individual as well as the commitment from the side of the state to fulfil its roles, the governance of every nation-state plays key role in determining the ultimate answer to the problem of hunger. The eradication of hunger may no longer require dominant prescriptions but a collaborative effort among partners.

The human rights approach encompasses the infrastructure necessary for the alleviation of hunger. It envisages the creation of enduring structures that facilitate both the concrete ways and means of dealing with hunger here and now, and the on-going responsiveness to the problem in its different faces as it comes. This ultimately is determined by the means at the disposal of the nation-state. The rest shall be a call to partnership among states in the spirit of solidarity of the human family or the international civil society.

3.3 The Church's Social Teaching on Hunger and The Right to Food

3.3.1 The Church's Understanding of the Hunger Phenomenon

3.3.1.1 Hunger: Caused by Natural or Moral Evil?

3.3.1.1.1 Natural, Physical, Ontic Evil

Hunger is food deprivation. Its effects on human life are an outright manifestation of the reality of evil imbedded in the life of society. A Christian reflection on this reality would pose questions such as: How should the world understand and regard hunger evil? Does it fit into traditional Christian understanding of natural or a moral evil? What is the significance of this understanding to the struggle against hunger? Since the time of Augustine of Hippo, the Christian tradition has reflected on the problem of the evil through the investigation of its nature and its origin.⁴⁰⁰ The failure of either Monism or Dualism to offer consistent solutions to the question of evil in the Christian tradition,⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰⁰ John Hick, *Evil and the God of Love* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 65.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 21. Monism is the philosophical view that the universe forms an ultimate harmonious unity. It suggests that evil is only apparent and would be recognized as good if we could but see it in its full cosmic context, "all partial evil, universal good." Dualism on the other hand rejects this final harmony. Good and evil are utterly and irreconcilably opposed to one another. Their

has endeared Christian tradition to Augustine's long cherished doctrine of privatio boni as an explanation of the nature of evil. In the defence of privatio boni, Augustine's main line of thought insists on the goodness of the entire creation as the work of the all-good, all-powerful and all-knowing God of love. Whatever evil may be, it neither comes from God nor detracts in any way from His role and majestic sovereignty. There is no level of being in the immensely variegated hierarchical creation, however humble, which is evil as such.⁴⁰² However, because creation lacks the immutability of its creature, it is capable of being corrupted. Accordingly evil is essentially the malfunctioning of something that in itself is good. "All creation is good and yet everything other than God Himself is made out of nothing, and is accordingly mutable and capable of being corrupted. Evil is precisely this corruption of a mutable

duality can be overcome only by one destroying the other. These two present consistent solutions possible and have provided recurring poles of thought that have propelled the see-saw attention to the history of the question of evil. However, neither of them is compatible with the basic claims of Christian theology. For example, absolute monotheism of the Christian faith entails an ultimate monism: If God is God and if God is good, there cannot be any co-equal contrary reality and therefore, evil must in the end be subject to God's sovereignty and must exist by a permission flowing from His purpose for creation. This monistic view contains an undeniable truth neglecting of which would be to forfeit the fundamental Christian belief in the reality of God as the sole creator and ultimate ruler of all things. But it may so strongly emphasize the divine sovereignty that evil is no longer recognized as being genuinely evil and as utterly inimical to God's will and purpose. On the other hand, dualism emphasizes the wickedness of sin and the dread reality of suffering that we make ourselves according to evil an independent status over against the creator Himself. Under the pressure of the problem of evil we may therefore abandon a fundamental religious insight of the lordship of the sole and sovereign God.

⁴⁰² Cf. Marcus Dods, "The City of God," in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. Philip Schaff (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1871), 10.11. According to Augustine, the created universe is an immensely abundant and variegated realm of forms of existence each having its appropriate place in the hierarchy of being. To some he communicated a more ample, to others a more limited existence and thus arranged the natures of being in ranks: the qualitatively fuller and richer a creature's nature the higher it stands in the scale. But there is no level of being however humble which is as such evil.

good.”⁴⁰³ When such malfunctioning occurs, it cannot be said to exist as a separate entity. On the contrary, it is the absence of proper being in a creature, a negative, a lack, a loss, a privation.⁴⁰⁴ Left on this level, the privatio boni theory is metaphysical, it underpins the truth of the Christian revelation, namely, that evil has not been created by God and thus its status within His universe is secondary and parasitic rather than primary and essential.⁴⁰⁵

But as an element of human experience based on empirical fact, evil is positive and powerful.⁴⁰⁶ It is not merely the absence of something else, but a reality with its own distinctive and often terrifying quality and power. To this effect, theological investigations were inspired by the distinction made by Thomas Aquinas between malum physicum and the malum morale, representing the natural/physical/premoral evil as distinct from moral evil.⁴⁰⁷ While Physical or natural evil dominated the

⁴⁰³ Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 49.

⁴⁰⁴ Dods, “City of God,” XI. 9. Everything that exists then is good but many things are now less good than they were when they first came forth from the creator’s hands. They have fallen away from their original state and have for freighted a proportion of the worth with which they were endowed by God. This decrease in the goodness or corruption of the nature of some entity means that the thing in question has, to that extent, become evil.

⁴⁰⁵ John Hick, *Evil and the God of Love* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 60-64.

⁴⁰⁶ R. Jolivet, “Evil,” in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Catholic University of America The Editorial Staff (New York: Catholic University of America, 1967), 665. Material things can lack the integrity that is proper to their natures. For example, in speaking of non-living things, we sometimes say, they are ‘altered’ such as ‘bad wine’ meaning wine that has turned sour or has been diluted. But the evil, properly speaking, is not in such things however altered or imperfect in their own order, they are what they are by virtue of natural laws. Many cases where we speak of evil today is where the quality of evil is not attributed to physical disintegration as such, but only in so far as it impinges upon the realm of the personal or at least the sphere of animal life.

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II-II, q.64, art.7.

arguments regarding the nature of evil, moral evil provided an argument for the origin or source of evil.

Physical evil refers to that which originates independently of human actions such as in earthquakes, storms, tsunamis, droughts, tornadoes among others. It affects a nature or an essence of either corporeal or even spiritual objects whose integrity it alters.⁴⁰⁸ However, the revisionist theologians led by Louis Janssens and others like Richard McCormick Joseph Fuchs, and Bruno Schuller introduced the term 'ontic evil' in order to avoid the connotations of 'physical evil.'⁴⁰⁹ The latter immediately designates a corporeal meaning and lends eminence to the 'material' reality' at the expense of the spiritual realities involved in the meaning of evil.⁴¹⁰ Like natural or physical evil, 'ontic evil' is

⁴⁰⁸ Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 59-62. To a certain extent, the privative account functions as an empirical description of 'natural evil.' What we call evil in nature can often be regarded as consisting in corruption or perversion or disintegration of something which, apart from such disruption, is good. For example, the process of rotting in tomato can be brought without strain within the description of evil as a loss of 'measure, form and/or order.' Volcanic eruptions, droughts, tornadoes, hurricanes and planetary collisions can perhaps likewise be regarded as breakdowns in some imagined ideal of nature. In such cases the evil state of affairs can plausibly be seen as the collapse of a good state of affairs, and as tending towards non-existence, at least in the relative sense of the dissolution of a previously established arrangement of life or matter.

⁴⁰⁹ The equivocation of the term 'ontic evil' to refer to 'negative value' or 'disvalue, and its presumed equivalents: physical evil, natural evil, premoral evil has been the subject of protracted debate among proportionalist thinkers in theology. See for example the criticism in Paul M. Quay, "The Disvalue of 'Ontic Evil'," *Theological Studies*, no. 46 (1985): 262-286. And John Hill, "The Debate between McCormick and Frankena," *Irish Theological Quarterly*, no. 49 (1982): 21-33.

⁴¹⁰ Charles Journet, *The Meaning of Evil*, trans. Michael Barry (New York: P.J. Kenedy & Sons, 1961), 50-57. Many authors upheld the later distinction made by Thomas Aquinas between *malum physicum* and the *malum morale*. They represented it simply as the natural/physical/premoral evil as distinct from moral evil have, and the realization of its analogical signification, that is , of its proportional applicability to different levels of reality without losing any of its accuracy, makes possible a division of evil, that is to say a general classification of the forms under which it presents itself. He then goes on to classify evil into three forms on the basis of the diversity and divisions of the general forms of

“any lack of a perfection at which we aim, any lack of fulfilment which frustrates our natural urges and makes us suffer. It is essentially the natural consequence of our limitation.”⁴¹¹ The nature of evil not only involves the purely ‘material’ privations, but also refers to even spiritual realities such as death, pain, sickness, fatigue, psychoses, neuroses, ignorance and so on. Because we are human beings, Louis Janssens observes the desire in all of us to govern our actions. ‘Natural’ or ‘physical’ evil’ should embrace “any lack of a perfection of fulfilment which frustrates our natural urges and makes us suffer.”⁴¹² Thus, the term ‘ontic evil’ expresses the holistic picture of the nature of evil without restricting it only to natural physical calamities like earthquakes. Likewise, the term avoids the ambiguity of the term ‘natural evil’ for even ‘moral evil’ (*malum morale*), is ‘natural’ yet, for the purposes of analysis, it is employed to explain the origin or source of evil as distinct from the nature of evil.

With this background, when evil is spoken of in reference to the suffering experienced in natural phenomena, it does not cohere in physical realities like earthquakes, floods or tsunamis as such (which after all flow from natural laws), rather it lies in the suffering, often great and terrible that accidentally follow in the wake of such phenomena. In this view “natural evil properly consists in unwelcome experiences brought upon sentient creatures, human or subhuman, by

being, namely: the natural or physical world, the world of freedom, and the world of Grace. These formed the basis of the two forms of evil in man, natural/physical, and moral evil. Beyond this, his analysis of evil highlights the sovereignty of the supernatural world.

⁴¹¹ Louis Janssens, "Ontic Evil and Moral Evil," *Louvain Studies* IV, no. 2 (1972): 133-138. For analytic purposes, natural/physical evil is distinguished from moral evil on the basis that the former explains the nature of evil while the latter explains the source or origin of evil. Given that even moral evil is ‘natural’ analysts avoid mixing the two frames of reference by the use of the term ‘ontic evil’ in the first frame of reference.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*: 133-134.

causes other than man himself.”⁴¹³ Although we have cases where the privatio boni account can explain physical reality in an observable manner such as in a rotten tomato, the consequential quality of evil is not attributed to physical disintegration as such, but only in so far as it impinges upon the realm of the personal or at least the sphere of animal life. In this sense we do not regard a volcanic eruption or the earthquake or the natural decay of vegetation in virgin jungle to be evil as such. We regard it as evil only if it causes harm on humans or at least to sentient life. “It is in fact not the loss of ‘measure, form, and order’ per se that is evil, but only this considered as a course of pain and suffering.” But, as experts point out, the resulting pain and suffering which make us stigmatize their cause as evil are positive, they are emphatic and genuinely intrusive realities of experience.⁴¹⁴ The term ‘ontic evil’ articulates better this holistic comprehension. As Louis Janssens puts it, “it is essentially the natural consequence of our limitation. Our limitation itself is not an evil ... but because we are thinking, willing, feeling and acting beings, we can be painfully hampered by the limits of our possibilities in a plurality of realities that are both aids and handicaps.”⁴¹⁵ In other words, ontic evil is always present in our concrete activity. The immediate question therefore is: How does this privation or corruption come from? This necessitates the second inquiry on the source of evil: the free-will defence in the Christian tradition on evil facilitates an elaborate explanation of moral evil.

3.3.1.1.2 *Moral Evil*

In contrast to the natural/physical evil, moral evil is one we human beings originate. As Hick notes, from our human position, unaided by faith, the good is that which we welcome and the bad that which we

⁴¹³ Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 19.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 59-62.

⁴¹⁵ Janssens: "Ontic Evil and Moral Evil," 134.

would shun. But with the 'eyes of faith' theology expounds the good and the bad in terms of the divine purpose for the created world: Whatever tends to promote the attainment of that purpose will be good, and whatever tends to thwart it will be bad. The full and irreversible fulfilment of that plan would be the complete good sought by God in His activity in relation to His creation. Any final and irreversible frustration of that plan would constitute irredeemable and ultimate badness. The will with its power of obeying or disobeying the norms of moral conscience and the divine law is understood to be the immediate subject of evil. Though the power of the will to choose and execute evil is native, Christian tradition is keen to employ the 'privative' approach in order to secure the ultimate goodness of all creation, especially man made in the image and likeness of God.⁴¹⁶ Thus, moral evil is a privation of rectitude required by the natural law, a privation affecting a free will which through its own fault lacks the perfection it ought to have.⁴¹⁷ Moral evil results from the voluntary activity of an agent who, in depriving himself of a perfection to which he is obliged by nature, inflicts upon himself a self-mutilation.⁴¹⁸ Accordingly, Augustine taught that evil willing is a self-originating act, and is as such not explicable in terms of causes that are distinguishable from the agent him/herself. Thus the origin of evil lies for ever hidden within the mystery of finite

⁴¹⁶ Dods, "City of God," XII.7. Here Augustine expounds the privative conception of evil in the light of the doctrine of 'deficient causation: The evil will has no positive or 'efficient' cause but only a 'deficient causation.' There is a cause of evil willing but only a negative cause, a mysterious kind of non-cause that cannot be discovered. To seek to discover the causes of these defections (not efficient but deficient) is as if someone sought to seek darkness or hear silence, yet both of this are known by us. The former, only by means of the eye and the latter only by the ear. Not by their positive actuality but by their want of it. Thus: "Let no one, then, seek to know from me what I know that I do not know unless he perhaps wishes to learn to be ignorant of that of which all we know is that it cannot be known."

⁴¹⁷ Brian Davies and Richard Regan, *De Malo* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 2:1-2.

⁴¹⁸ Cf. Jolivet, "Evil," 667. See also Davies and Regan, *De malo*, 1.3.

freedom for: “what cause of willing can there be which is prior to willing?”⁴¹⁹ Augustine’s line of thought recognized that God created everything that is good, and that free creatures by inexplicably perverse misuse of their God-given freedom, fell from grace, and that from this fall have proceeded all other evils that we know. “There is no external force pushing or pulling the soul when it abandons Him to whom it ought to cleave as its end, and becomes a kind of end to itself. Yet there is a motive within the sinner which leads him astray, there is pride which is the beginning of sin.”⁴²⁰ Accordingly, the Christian comprehension of hunger and all the suffering associated with it as a manifestation of evil comprises of these two important aspects. As a natural evil our suffering, in whichever form, is beyond human causality. It is contingent upon forces of nature that, though appear cruel to sentient life, nonetheless serve a purposefulness of nature whose overall goal is wider than that of humans and animals. In so far as hunger is a manifestation of suffering, it necessarily implies forces beyond human control. As a moral evil hunger reflects weaknesses in society over which mankind is directly responsible.

In as much as these two concepts (nature and source of evil) capture the scope of the Christian understanding of suffering in society, the cause of hunger as a manifestation of such suffering today is better understood from the general context of God’s creation and its purpose. Creation is made from and for God. When the overall purpose of creation is perverted, and God is substituted, creation faces complete annihilation, for it was made out of nothing. From the point of view particularly of *creatio ex nihilo*, theologians expound an *extra deum* doctrine that envisages a withdrawal by God into Himself that freed

⁴¹⁹ Augustine, *On Free Will*, III, 27:49

⁴²⁰ Cf. Dods, “City of God,” XII. 1. Ecclesiasticus 10:13, reads: “Since the first stage of pride is sin, whoever clings to it will pour forth filth. This is why the Lord inflicts unexpected punishments on such people, utterly destroying them.”

space into which God acted creatively. Jürgen Moltmann thought on this is such that God makes room for His creation by withdrawing his presence. This withdrawal originates a nihil which represents the partial negation of the divine Being. The space which comes into being and is set free by God's self-limitation is a literally God-forsaken space, it is God-forsakenness, hell, absolute death. It is then against the threat of this that He maintains His creation in life. This is clearly Jürgen Moltmann's version of the concept of the divine zimzum in Hebrew Mythology elaborating on self-limitation of God.⁴²¹ Expounding on the same concept, Richard L. Fern observes that the divine zimzum is "a condition for the extension of divine love outside the internal dynamic of God's eternal reality. It is only from within this opening that finite creatures can engage the love of God ... One who is like us, yet radically Other."⁴²² From Jürgen Moltmann's line of thought, the nihil in all its expression, evil (natural or moral), sin, suffering and others, only acquire their menacing character through the self-isolation of created beings. In other words without God its creator, creation is helpless under the forces that sustain it.⁴²³ Though theological reflection immediately identifies God as the true source of creation as well as the true finality towards whom the entire creation should tend, ordinary philosophy points towards ultimate causality of suffering that goes beyond the empirical moral/social evil. In this wider context, the insurmountable threats of the reality of physical evil are at least perceived even if they may not be immediately clearer to many.

⁴²¹ Cf. Filomena Maria Pereira, *Lilith: The Age of Forever* (Texas: Ide House, 1998), 87-89. Maria Pereira uses the character 'Lilith' to navigate the landscape of Hebrew mythology as developed in Biblical, Talmudic, Midrash and Kabbalistic sources. Her detailed exposition of the cosmic realities of creation on three realms of heaven, earth and the underworld, clearly expose the religious significance of the divine Zimzum.

⁴²² Richard L. Fern, *Nature, God and Humanity: Envisioning an Ethics of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 148.

⁴²³ Jürgen Moltmann, *God in Creation* (London: SCM Press, 1985), 89-109.

Left on itself, however, this self-creation of evil ex-nihilo is vulnerable and exposed to error. But read in the hermeneutics of the theology of creation, the significance of both natural and moral evil is in the Christian doctrine of 'creatio ex-nihilo.' The fitting fulfilment of this is the sacrifice of Christ for the suffering of the world at his passion, death and resurrection, and in the founding of the new community of faith. The life of the new community of faith is a course in the training of the life of virtue poured out by the presence of the Spirit of God: the spirit of love, forgiveness and reconciliation. Hence the call for solidarity of the human family to live virtue over and above merely human law.⁴²⁴

3.3.1.2 *Experience of Hunger: Biblical and Traditional*

3.3.1.2.1 *Biblical*

The Old Testament *ra'abh* or *re'abhon* is what translates into 'hunger' and 'famine, while the New Testament *'limos*' means primarily 'failure,' or 'want of food.'⁴²⁵ Thus general reality of the hunger experience was therefore rendered as 'hunger,' 'famine,' 'failure' or 'want of food,' depending on the circumstances. But in general, "famine or hunger is used to express varying degrees of general condition of scarcity of food."⁴²⁶ To the communities that especially depended on agricultural production the occurrence of hunger in any of the four forms was generally blamed on local irregularities of the rainfall, prolonged drought, destructive hail storms, ravages of insects and/or by enemies.

⁴²⁴ Rebecca Todd Peters, "Economic Justice Requires More Than the Kindness of Strangers," in *Global Neighbours: Christian Faith and Moral Obligation in Today's Economy*, ed. Douglas A. Hicks and Mark Valeri (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008).

⁴²⁵ W.L. Walter. 2010. "Famine." <http://www.internationalstandardbible.com/F/famine.html>, (accessed 6 July 2010).

⁴²⁶ George Arthur Buttrick, "Famine," in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. R.B.Y. Scott (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), 241.

The suffering consequent to this occurrence was great and memorable, it often resulted in starvation and massive deaths of people and animals. The use and experience of hunger as understood in any of these forms defined three important aspects of the religious understanding of both the Old and New Testament communities. Firstly, due to the involvement of supernatural forces beyond the control of man, famine and hunger were lived as an experience of God's 'justice.' God released supernatural forces to punish those who go against His wishes through suffering, while rewarding the upright with good health and abundant providence. In early life of the people of Israel, the occurrence of destructive pestilences, floods, drought among other 'natural' disasters that precipitated hunger was often understood to descend upon the entire community for turning against God.⁴²⁷ Sometimes famine would also follow a systematic, sometimes predicted, siege against the nations of Israel (2Kgs. 6:24, 7:3, and 25:2ff.). At the time of the kings in Israel, hunger featured among the results of the sins of the king. Hunger struck when the king went astray and led the people in a manner not pleasing to God.⁴²⁸ In the New Testament, the Spirit discerns people's failure and

⁴²⁷ For example, against those who resisted his mission of prophesy, Jeremiah had this message: "Therefore thus says the Lord to the men of Anathoth, who seek your life, and say: You shall not prophesy in the name of the Lord, and you shall not die in our hand. Therefore thus says the Lord of hosts: Behold I will visit upon them: their young men shall die by the word, their sons and their daughters shall die by famine." (Jer. 1:21-22). Whilst castigating the people for profaning sacred places of worship, Ezekiel prophesied thus: "Therefore as I live, says the Lord God: Because you have violated my sanctuary with all your offences, and with all your abominations: I will also break you in pieces, and my eye shall not spare, and I will not have any pity. A third part of you shall die with the pestilence, and shall be consumed with famine in the midst of you: and a third part of you shall fall by the sword round about you: and a third part of you will I scatter into every wind, and I will draw out a sword after them." (Eze. 5:11-21).

⁴²⁸ There was famine in the days of David for three year successively. When David consulted the oracle of the Lord, he was told that this was due to the sin of Saul and his bloody house, because he slew the Gabaonites (2 Sam. 21:1). God plagued Israel because of David's sin in 1Chron. 21:1-20.

accordingly predicts famine, not only as a punishment of the people but in an enlarged understanding, in a manner that expressed that the Lord comes and reigns. Those in whose hearts the Lord reigns in love, nothing, including the fears suffering of famine and hunger would separate them from the love of Christ, God's definitive love to His beloved.⁴²⁹

Secondly, famine and hunger impressed upon the individual and the community awareness the call for repentance. The punishment sent to the people due to their sin against their God, at the same time doubles as a call for people to abandon their sin. A genuine repentance yields God's response in forgiveness and blessings. Thirdly, the notion of hunger gradually implied a strict and continuous sensitivity to the will of God in the life of the individual or the community. Beyond its extraneous imports of punishment or demand for repentance, it involved voluntary abstinence or fasting from food in a manner that facilitated commitment to doing the will of God. Against this background, the experience of fasting in the bible becomes an exercise of common vigilance in the service of Yahweh, the God of the tribe.⁴³⁰ On an individual form Moses, for example, pleads for his people through fasting (Ex. 34:38). This understanding founded the prophetic message that insisted that fasting must be an expression of comprehensive, radical turning of man towards God and his commandment particularly to love of one's neighbour, otherwise it is without value. Jesus public ministry in the New Testament begins with forty-days fast in the desert, interpreted by experts as Mathew's and Luke's designation of Jesus work as that of a

⁴²⁹ Cf. Acts 11:27, 12:1, 16:25, Math. 3:3, Mark 13:5-8, Luke, 4:24, Rom. 8:31.

⁴³⁰ Marcellino Zalba, "Famine," in *Sacramentum Mundi: An Encyclopedia of Theology*, ed. Karl Rahner, Juan Alfaro, and others (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969), 334. See also Ex. 34:28, Judges 20:26, 1Kings 19:8, Isaiah 58:3, Esther 4: 1-3.

prophet.⁴³¹ The following extract from the prophet Joel comes closest to summarizing these three aspects:

They shall enter into the city ... At their presence the earth has trembled ... And the Lord has uttered his voice before the face of his army: for his armies are exceedingly great ... Now, therefore, says the Lord. Be converted to me with all your heart, in fasting, and in weeping, and mourning. And rend your hearts and not your garments and turn to the Lord your God: for he is gracious and merciful, patient and rich in mercy, and ready to repent of the evil ... Blow the trumpet in Sion, sanctify a fast ... Between the porch and the altar the priests, the Lord's ministers, shall weep, and shall say: Spare, O Lord, spare your people: And the Lord answered, and said to his people: Behold I will send you corn, and wine, and oil, and you shall be filled with them: and I will no more make you a reproach among the nations.⁴³²

People's sin invites the wrath of destruction or punishment, then a call to repentance responded to in penance and fasting. God's mercy then restores the community and promises good to those who remain steadfast. A promise of abundance in terms of food is made to those who remain steadfast in the path of God. The promise of security then shall depend on the people's steadfast vigilance in keeping to God's plan. Thus, biblical regard of hunger, especially in its aspect of fasting remained important in influencing the ethical aspect of the Christian religion that not only stops with the individual abstinence, but that also builds the Christian attitude towards the entire life of virtue and prayer as routine practice in their (Christian) relation with God.

⁴³¹ Ibid. See also Exodus 34:28, 1 Kings 19:8.

⁴³² Cf. Joel 1:11-19, 2:9-20.

Tradition 3.3.1.2.2

Christian experience of the hunger phenomenon also builds around these three biblical perspectives. Firstly, hunger was experienced as unwarranted suffering resulting from natural calamity. Secondly, it formed the centre of the Christian tradition of fasting which doubles the religious aspect of penance as well as the ethical aspect of strict abstinence as a voluntary entrenchment of food for a higher good. Hunger was seen as a supernatural or natural intervention in history that subjected man to a suffering either innocently without warranting, or as a punitive measure meted upon humanity for going against the will of God. This harsh phenomenon brought pain and suffering that disposed man as a helpless victim. It consequently portrayed mankind's weakness and vulnerability for which He deserved sympathy either in the form of forgiveness from the creator (penance) or in the form of charitable attention from the other members of society. Although this suffering often passed for some form of punishment for disobeying God, some calamities obviously inflicted pain and suffering innocently without provocation. In this case, the victims deserved charitable attention from society and hope of salvation from the creator. Christian tradition has responded with sympathy and solidarity with the victims. Christian tradition has a long history of practice that has taken care of the poor and the hungry. Based on Christ's prophecy of the last judgment in Mathews 25: 34, the Catholic Catechism exhorts all the faithful towards the corporal works of mercy which consist in feeding the hungry, sheltering the homeless, clothing the naked, visiting the sick and imprisoned, and burying the dead.⁴³³ Secondly, giving alms to the poor

⁴³³ Geoffrey Chapman, *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (London: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1994), 523, No. 2447. Cf. Mathew 25:1-46. "Then the King will say to those at his right hand, 'Come, O blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; for I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed me, I was naked and you clothed me, I was sick and you visited

is likewise exhorted as the chief witness to fraternal charity. "He who has two coats, let him share with him who has none and he who has food must do likewise."⁴³⁴ Thirdly, the Catechism exhorts that the presence of those who hunger because they lack bread opens up profound meaning to the Christian prayer: "give us this day our daily bread."⁴³⁵ Christians pray sincerely to exercise responsibility toward their brethren, both in their personal behaviour and their solidarity within the human family. The experience of hunger remains on-going in the life of every Christian following a pattern in which one who helps today may, in fact, be a victim tomorrow in one way or another. On the basis of human finitude, this attitude forms the basis of permanent solidarity of the human family where everyone remains in need of the other in one way or the other.

Hunger experience lived in the form of fasting either for penance/prayer or for strict abstinence, perhaps received even a more rigorous observance and attracted the most elaborate treatment from the early Church Fathers through the medieval and scholastic periods. As penance or prayer, fasting implied a consciousness of disobedience to God's will that generated a desire to turn back to God. The Christian

me, I was in prison and you came to me.' Then the righteous will answer him, 'Lord, when did we see thee hungry and feed thee, or thirsty and give thee drink?' And the king will answer them, 'Truly, I say to you, as you did it to one of the least of my brethren, you did it to me.'"

The works of mercy are generally charitable actions by which the faithful come to the aid of the neighbour in spiritual and/or bodily necessities. Instructing, advising, consoling and comforting are spiritual works of mercy, as are forgiving and bearing wrongs patiently. See Isaiah. 58:6-7, Heb. 13:3.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., 525, No. 2463. If a brother or sister is ill-clad and in lack of daily food, and one of you says to them, 'Go in peace, be warmed and filled,' without giving them the things needed for the body, what does it profit? See also James 2:15-16; cf. 1Jn 3:17. For: how can we not recognize Lazarus, the hungry beggar in the parable (Luke 3:11, 17:19-3), in the multitude of human beings without bread, a roof or a place to stay? How can we fail to hear Jesus: 'As you did it not to one of the least of these, you did it not to me'" (Mt 25:45)?

⁴³⁵ Ibid., 602, No. 2831. This petition of the Lord's prayer cannot be isolated from the parables of the poor man Lazarus (Luke 16:19-31), and of the Last Judgement, (Mathew 25:31-46).

faithful who observed this practice seemed to understand their hunger experience not simply as a tragedy caused by distant malevolent forces, but conceded it as a punishment for which penance was called for. The victims would then react through voluntary abstinence or fasting. In strict abstinence, fasting involved on-going consciousness of mankind's natural disposition to concupiscence, lust and gluttony, a disposition of sin against which man had to remain vigilant in strict ethical practice of virtue especially the virtue of temperance in abstinence. Against this ethico-religious background, the church has over centuries expounded an elaborate doctrine on fasting and abstinence as modes of expressing and living the virtue of temperance.

The Church's experience in fasting is accompanied by a historical understanding, common in primitive as well as in advanced societies, that "while food provides strength for the spirit by giving physical strength, man disturbs and destroys the inner order of the spirit and body if he fails to control the amount he eats and drinks."⁴³⁶ Among the early Church Fathers, Tertullian's reflection on hunger captured much of the church's experience on hunger at the time. Considering the Montanists' uncontrollable appetites for marriage or as he calls it, their 'voluptuousness,' Tertullian discounted their lustful behaviour on the grounds of its similarity to gluttony. The psychic effects of these two are so united and concrete without possibility of disjoining them. But all originate from gluttony as the 'vice of the belly,' thus: "Through love of eating, love of impurity finds passage."⁴³⁷ Accordingly, this mentality gives basis to the tradition of fasting. Failure to contain gluttony is weakness, while ability to control it through fasting was fortitude that marks out the followers of Christ. He writes; "Adam ... no longer being capable of the things which were the Spirit's, yielded more readily to his

⁴³⁶ Zalba, "Famine," 334.

⁴³⁷ New Advent. 2010. "Church Fathers on Fasting," Tertullian. <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0408.htm>, (accessed 20 November 2010).

belly than to God, heeded the meat rather than the mandate, and sold salvation for his gullet! He ate, in short, and perished; saved (as he would) else (have been), if he had preferred to fast from one little tree.”⁴³⁸ In this reflection, Tertullian clearly condemns gluttony as inordinate love of eating and drinking. He traces its roots to the disobedience human beings against God. He identifies the allure to food with the strongest desires of the flesh that should be fought and overcome. In his discourse, hunger unfolds within the categories of abstinence and fasting as opposed to the vices of lust and gluttony.

Augustine of Hippo confronted the question of hunger in his reflections on fasting where he advocates vigilance against bodily lusts and the allures to live according to the demands of the flesh.⁴³⁹ He emphasized the love of the neighbour rather than abstinence for its own sake. Thus: “It makes no difference whatever to virtue, what or how much food a man takes, so long as he does it with due regard for the people among whom he lives, for his own person, and for the requirements of his health: but it matters how readily and uncomplainingly he does without food when bound by duty or necessity to abstain.”⁴⁴⁰ Thomas Aquinas pursued this thought further and treated abstinence as a virtue not only from the point of view of bodily lust but also from of view of gluttony. He writes: “the saints abstain from meat

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

⁴³⁹ Cf. New Advent. 2010. "Church Fathers on Continence," Augustine on Hippo. <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1308.htm>, (accessed 20 November 2010).

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. Augustine QQ. Evang. II, Q. 11. See also Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II-II, q.146, art. 1, Obj. 2. Thomas Aquinas confirms the words of Augustine in which abstinence is addressed as a virtue. In his explanation as to whether abstinence is a virtue rather than regulation of food based on mankind's medical reality, Thomas Aquinas quotes Augustine QQ. Evang. II, Q. 11, to distinguish two contexts of food regulation related to the hunger phenomenon. The regulation of food, in the point of quantity and quality, belongs to the art of medicine as regards the health of the body; but in the point of internal affections with regard to the good of reason, it belongs to abstinence. It is in this second context that Thomas Aquinas quotes Augustine.

and drink, not that any creature of God is evil, but merely in order to chastise the body ... the body is chastised by means of abstinence, not only against the allurements of lust, but also against those of gluttony: since by abstaining man gains strength for overcoming the onslaughts of gluttony, which increase in force the more he yields to them.”⁴⁴¹ But beyond the thought of Augustine, Thomas Aquinas presented a clearer account of the Christian experience of, and attitude towards hunger seen from the point of view of Christian virtue of abstinence. He distinguished between the medical/dietary and the affective significance of food regulation, but emphasized the latter as the basis of abstinence as virtue, the internal affection with regard to the good of reason. As a moral virtue, abstinence maintains the good of reason against the onslaught of the passions of the pleasure of food.⁴⁴² Given that food is necessary to man who needs it for the maintenance of life which he desires above all other things, abstinence determines the mean value of self-respect with regard to food.⁴⁴³ Fasting on the other hand is the concrete regulation of food, the act of abstinence.⁴⁴⁴ Thomas Aquinas designates threefold purpose for the practice of fasting: First, in order to bridle the lusts of the flesh. Secondly, we have recourse to fasting in order that the mind may arise more freely to the contemplation of

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., art. 2, Obj.2. Question on whether abstinence is a special virtue.

⁴⁴² Ibid., II-II, q.146, art.2. The medical significance of food regulation comprises of the balance between quality and quantity of food as it affects the health of the body.

⁴⁴³ Understood as general retrenchment of food, abstinence was treated as a special virtue that maintained the good of reason against the onslaught of the passions enkindled by the pleasure of eating. “The pleasures of the table are of a nature to withdraw man from the good of reason, both because they are so great, and because food is necessary to man who needs it for the maintenance of life, which he desires above all other things.” Cf. Ibid. Although it was Thomas Aquinas who eventually articulated the clear implications of the virtue of abstinence in relation to fasting, earlier church fathers had insisted on the virtue of temperance in face of good food. This was often captured in meditation on gluttony and lust.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., q.147 art. 2.

heavenly things. Fasting cleanses the soul, raises the mind, subjects one's flesh to the spirit, renders the heart contrite and humble, scatters the clouds of concupiscence, quenches the ire of lust, and kindles the true light of chastity.⁴⁴⁵ Understood as such, abstinence takes position among other virtues in scripture. Thus: "Join with your faith virtue, and with virtue knowledge, and with knowledge abstinence." (2 Peter 1:5-6). According to Thomas Aquinas, abstinence by its very name denotes retrenchment of food. But he distinguishes absolute retrenchment of food from the retrenchment of food regulated by reason. Retrenchment of food absolutely is something indifferent, its neither a virtue nor a virtuous act. But abstinence regulated by reason signifies either a virtuous habit or a virtuous act. Thomas' interpretation of Peter's words "to join abstinence with knowledge," is in the second meaning of abstinence, that is, as virtuous habit or a virtuous act. In this sense abstaining from food means "a man should act with due regard for those among whom he lives, for his own person, and for the requirement of health."⁴⁴⁶ As an act of virtue whose concern was the good of reason, the focus of fasting in the church's experience was on the love of the neighbour more than on the individual health motive. The theological value of fasting was therefore inspired by Christ's teaching. It begins from the fact that mankind must, through fasting, dispose him/herself (even materially) to allowing his/her neighbour to share his/her property in spite of the just claims of self-love. The church for years regarded fasting as the unconditional demand of love following the example of Christ and his identification with his neighbour.⁴⁴⁷ By itself, abstinence does not pertain to the kingdom of God, for "food, of course, cannot bring us in touch with God: We lose nothing if we refuse to eat, we gain

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., Art.1. See also 2 Corinthians 6:5-6, Daniel 10, Joel 2:12.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., q.146, art. 1.

⁴⁴⁷ Zalba, "Famine," 334. See Mt. 25:35-40.

nothing if we eat it.”⁴⁴⁸ But the spiritual value of either of these decisions belongs to the kingdom of God in so far as they are done reasonably through faith and love of God.⁴⁴⁹

Through canon law, church enforces this ethico-religious value as abstinence and fasting. The laws of abstinence require abstinence from meat and soup made of meat as an obligatory practice by all Christians who have attained seven years of age. The laws of fasting allow only one full meal each day of all the days the subject decides and/or the days of obligation especially during lent. Fasting is obligatory between twenty-one and sixty years of age.⁴⁵⁰ In this church’s practice, emphasis is laid on the love of neighbour. Abstinence and fasting should be animated by the desire of solidarity with those who are in need. The individual either contributes material assistance resulting from the exercise or participates in this experience through abstinence and fasting. Beyond the individual, “nations who enjoy economic plenty have a duty of self denial, combined with an active proof of love towards our brothers who are tormented by poverty and hunger.”⁴⁵¹

3.3.1.3 *Christian Anthropology: Focusing on the Dignity of the Human Person*

The problem of hunger unavoidably evolves from the existential reality of the individual person. Its effects are first perceived from the point of view of the physio-biological changes inflicted on the victims.

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. 1 Corinthians 8:8.

⁴⁴⁹ Aquinas, *S.T. II-II*, q.147. See particularly the response to Obj. 1.

⁴⁵⁰ Collins Liturgical Publications, *The Code of Canon Law* (London: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1983), Nos. 1250-1254. See also the commentary of the quoted codes, Angel Marzoa, Jorge Miras, and Rafael Rodriguez-Ocana, eds., *Exegetical Commentary on the Code of Canon Law*, vol. III/2 (Montreal: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2004), 1906-1912.

⁴⁵¹ Paul VI, “*Paenitemini*: Apostolic Constitution on Fast and Abstinence,” A.A.S., no. 58 (17 February 1966): 177-198. See also A.J. Maclean, “Fasting (Christian),” in *Encyclopaedia for Religion and Ethics* (New York: Adamant Media corporation, 2006), 765-771. J.T. McNeill, *The Celtic Penitentials and Their Influence on Continental Christianity* (Paris: Protat Brothers, 1923).

The victim loses his/her capacities to self sustenance and gradually succumbs to the destructive snare of the hunger scourge. Thus on the individual level, the effects are a concrete manifestation of human disfigurement. According to FAO and WHO, the most common serious nutritional problems, especially in the developing countries, include protein-energy deficiency malnutrition, vitamin A deficiency, iodine deficiency disorders and nutritional anaemia, mainly resulting from iron deficiency or iron loss.⁴⁵² The physical effects of these deficiencies on the individual person are drastic and devastating. Energy deficiency, for example, results in marasmus, among others, a severe chronic under-nutrition in children and infants. Children of undernourished mothers normally are born with less weight than normal, and need more than normal nutrition. "The most serious effect of early marasmus is impaired growth, particularly brain growth. Marasmus in children results in a reduced number of brain cells and overall brain size."⁴⁵³ Furthermore, "muscles waste, there is a loss of subcutaneous fat, the buttocks diminish, the skin is loose, and there are eye lesions and skin rashes. The child is weak, apathetic and tires very easily due to lack of calories."⁴⁵⁴ The impact of this is compounded by the fact that it affects the most tender yet very decisive age in the development of the human person. This is not to mention other equally devastating or even worse effects from protein, vitamin and mineral deficiencies.⁴⁵⁵

Within the Christian traditional anthropology, the impact of hunger on human life (see chapter one) is better assessed through the theological hermeneutic of human dignity and integrity. From its creation narratives, the Christian point of departure is the *Imago Dei*

⁴⁵² Cf. Michael C. Latham, *Human Nutrition in the Developing World: FAO Food and Nutrition Series*, FAO Food and Nutrition (New York: FAO, 1997), 4.

⁴⁵³ Warnock, *The Politics of Hunger*, 2-3.

⁴⁵⁴ David Grigg, *The World Food Problem* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 13.

⁴⁵⁵ Warnock, *The Politics of Hunger*, 2-3.

conception. According to Jürgen Moltmann, creation in God's image presupposes an 'archetype' in God, a pattern on which human beings are modelled and of which they are the copy, the sensible counterpart. God puts Himself in a particular relationship to human beings, a relationship in which human beings become his image and his glory on earth. As His image, human beings represent God on earth. Thus, the nature of human beings springs from their relationship with God. Secondly, this creation of God's image on earth is followed by the commission to rule over the animals, and by the charge to 'subdue the earth.' (Gen.1: 28-29). With this commission the Creator transfers to human beings the preservation and continuation of the earthly side of creation. Human beings become the authors of the further history of the earth.⁴⁵⁶ In the Christian tradition, this basic biblical text has not only been legitimized in the science of psychology backed by philosophy over the years, but also in the common realities of human behaviour. Scholastic theology elevated the human soul beyond other soul-capacities on the basis of the intellect. This specifying intellection is often designated as the human mind.⁴⁵⁷ At the level of the human mind, Christian anthropology acknowledges the intellect, ordered towards the truth, and the free will, ordered towards

⁴⁵⁶ Moltmann, *God in Creation*, 222-224.

⁴⁵⁷ McInerney, *St. Thomas Aquinas*, 39, 41, 43. In the light of the Aristotelian hylemorphic theory, Scholastic theology employed the soul-body categories to expound on a human anthropology that has been helpful in interpreting the bible on this matter. Although the soul-body categories were used to expound the change-unity reality in all living beings (as compared to matter-form relationship in inanimate beings), the human soul was propelled beyond the other soul-capacities on the basis of the intellect. From the Aristotelian background, the soul designated both generic and specific extensions. The scholastic approach of Thomas Aquinas accepted this but took a step further to categorize the capacities of the soul into three levels: the vegetative, the sensitive and the intellectual. This order depicted a telescoping arrangement where the consequent level contained an additional character that projected it above the one below. This arrangement propelled the human soul beyond the other capacities and depicted intelligence as the highest level of the soul of a living thing.

the good, as the essential analytical categories that represent important operations proper to the human soul such as understanding, feeling and desire to do something.⁴⁵⁸ The human person is thus an integrated unity of body and soul.⁴⁵⁹ On the one hand, humans are not reducible to the matter of which our bodies are composed for we have spiritual souls that live on even after we die. On the other hand, we humans are not reducible to our souls. Rather, the soul is the “form” of the body: it is not a complete nature in itself but the principle that makes one’s body be a living human body.⁴⁶⁰

Christian anthropology has developed in history through biblical and philosophical interpretations of the concrete life situations of people in different circumstances. The ultimate understanding brings out both the tangible material aspect of the human reality as well as the transcendental spiritual reality. On the physical level, observation reveals the ability of moral judgment from which follows the experience of either goodness, compassion and love on the one hand, or of violence, hatred and oppression on the other hand, prompting a desire and choice for the good. There is also the prevalence of evil which, though believed to emanate from the wrongly ordered operation of the human will, shows in concrete ways in unpleasant and painful experiences that inflict suffering upon mankind. On the spiritual level, observation reveals mankind’s unquenchable desire and yearning for God, coupled with the desire to endure in a lasting joy and happiness. It is good that mankind

⁴⁵⁸ Daniel Westberg, *Right Practical Reason* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 51-52, 54-56.

⁴⁵⁹ McInerney, *St. Thomas Aquinas*, 39. The use of the body and soul resulted from scholastic application of hylemorphism to explain the reality of change in physical objects. As products of natural change, physical things are made up of primary matter and substantial form. In this natural change, while the subject matter becomes such and such, the subject does not come to be as such or without qualification. In the final analysis, the subject of change is presupposed by it and survives it.

⁴⁶⁰ Westberg, *Right Practical Reason*, 43-50.

experiences joy in God, it is even better that mankind ascertains how much of this joy can be experienced in a life time and beyond. This anxiety prompts attention to the centrality of the saving work of Jesus Christ in the life of the faithful. The faithful engage in prayer, piety, and charity as a response to contemplating the message of Jesus Christ.⁴⁶¹ These observations highlight the structure of the human existential reality that goes beyond corporeality. It embraces the tangible, corporeal aspects of humanity as well as the intangible, spiritual aspect. It is only the combined consideration of these two that is capable of expressing the reality that is mankind.

To consider human dignity and integrity is to spell out the comprehension of the special character in man that secures him/her irreplaceable moral value. Guided by the traditional doctrine of the Church, the Second Vatican Council recognized a two-fold consideration of the spiritual abilities in mankind that inhabit the material body to complete the dignity image that a person carries, namely: The dignity of the mind, truth and wisdom, and the dignity of the moral conscience.⁴⁶² In *Gaudium et Spes*, the church teaches that beyond embodiment, mankind exercises judgment and employs talent, with intellect man engages in the search for the truth. The intellectual nature is perfected by wisdom. With wisdom man gently engages the mind to a quest and a love for what is true and good. Furthermore, mankind exercises an extraordinary ability of self motion. "Within the heart a person is summoned to love good and avoid evil."⁴⁶³ At the

⁴⁶¹ Gillian T. W. Ahlgren, *The Human Person and the Church* (New York: Orbis Books, 1999), 54-56. See also Reinhold Niebuhr, *Man's Nature and His Communities: Essay on the Dynamics and Enigmas of Man's Personal and Social Existence* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965).

⁴⁶² Vatican II Council, "*Gaudium et Spes*: Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (Second Vatican Council, 1965)," in *Catholic Social Thought*, ed. David O'Brien and Thomas Shannon (New York: Maryknoll, 2006), 174-175.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*, No.15,16.

crucial moment of decision man follows his/her heart's command: do this, shun that. To obey this law of God is the very dignity of man. According to it he/she is responsible, and by it he will be judged. The conscience is thus the most secret core and sanctuary of man.⁴⁶⁴

This formulation of Christian theological anthropology has dominated the debate on both personalism and humanism originating various schools of thoughts that have emphasized various aspects of this subject. Although the personalist tradition may be traced back to Plato's philosophy,⁴⁶⁵ Augustine has been referred to as the first personalist on the strength of his description of the person as a unity of mental life and will. This provided the basis for Boethius' famous pioneer definition of a person as "the individual substance of a rational nature."⁴⁶⁶ Since then the debate on personhood has highlighted and sustained the Christian definition and redefinition of what should constitute the dignity or integrity of the human person within the framework of the Imago Dei doctrine. Thomas Aquinas outlined the five characteristics of the definition of the person to consist of substance (excluding accidents), completeness (in nature), existent in itself, individuality (excluding the universal), and consisting of rational nature.⁴⁶⁷ Along the same tradition, Louis Janssen's expounded on five characteristics of person as

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 174.

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. Johan De Tavernier, "Historical Roots of Personalism: From Renouvier's *Le Personnalisme*, Mounier's *Manifeste Au Service Du Personnalisme* and Maritain's *Humanisme Intégral* to Janssens' *Personne Et Société*," *Ethical Perspectives* 16, no. 3 (2009): 362. The personalist tradition's debt to Plato consists of: The superiority of thought to sense, the objectivity of the ideal, the speculative significance of self-activity, the shadowy and unsubstantial character of matter, various arguments from the existence of God and the immortality of the soul. Significant for personalism is Plato's presentation of the logical, the ideal, and the self-active as the true being.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ Frederick C. Copleston, *Religions and the One: Philosophies, East and West* (London: Search Press, 1982), 175.

intentionality, subjectivity, interiority, uniqueness and historicity.⁴⁶⁸ These reflections basically elaborated on the scope of both the material and the spiritual/transcendental aspects that constitute the complete picture of the integrity of the human person expounded on in the Imago Dei doctrine.

But perhaps the reflection of the theological ethicist, Stanely Rudman, on the concept of person offers the latest summery on the dignity of the human person that originates from the doctrines of Imago Dei and culminates on the relational-communicative image of the triune God.⁴⁶⁹ His point was that the complete picture of the integrity and

⁴⁶⁸ Cf. Louis Janssens, "Personalist Morals," *Louvain Studies* V. III, no. 1 (1970): 5-15. See also Dolores L. Christie, *Adequately Considered: an American Perspective on Louis Janssens' 'Personalist Morals'* (Louvain: Peeters Press, 1990), 1-22, 26-100. And Joseph A. Selling, ed., *Personalist Morals: Essays in Honour of Professor Louis Janssens*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologogicarum Lovaniensium (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1988), 1-7.

⁴⁶⁹ Stanley Rudman, *Concept of Person and Christian Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1-10, 75-102. Over and above the wasteful preoccupation of theologians with the historical and linguistic jargon surrounding the meaning of 'person,' and the inadequacy of the moral and rational criteria for 'person' insisted on by moral philosophers, Rudman appeals to the biblical *imago Dei* for a holistic understanding of 'person.' In his plea for a theological ethical contribution that reflects on God as a person, Rudman highlights the risk of understanding 'human being' simply as a biological category. According to him, both the 'person' and 'human being,' contested as independently distinct by the various moral philosophers, should be considered also as representing value within a religious/theological context. Overemphasis of rational and moral criteria in the understanding of 'person' among moral philosophers has led to a logical distinction between the understanding of 'person' and 'human being' that has contrasted, separated and even pitted these two in opposition to one another. This distinction has, with time, facilitated a polarization between these two concepts that precipitates individualistic humanism. But, as Rudman observes, such a distinction ignores two fundamental points of the discussion: It neglects the overall context in which discussion about personhood and being human are set, and secondly, it often neglects the idea that 'human being' is not simply a biological category, but may also represents a term of value within a religious/theological context. Above all, this polarization has led to the failure to understand a theological ethic which supports an ethic of personhood without devaluing human being or setting personhood and human being in opposition.

dignity of the human person is clearer, not in philosophical moral and rational categories, but in religious/theological reflection of a God perceived as a person. The Imago Dei doctrine not only provides theological hermeneutics within which such conception can be pursued, it also provides the basis for a link between the human and divine (transcendental) attributes in a 'person' that complete and dispose the 'person' off as a true 'human being.' Being critical to the individualistic motivations implied in philosophical distinctions between 'person' and 'human being, Rudman endorses theological anthropologies constructed within the framework of Imago Dei as constructed out of human experience with the help of revelation. It is not possible to bypass this process in favour of a single revealed theological anthropology. Thus: "the concept of the person with its absolute and ontological content was born historically from the endeavour of the church to give ontological expression to this faith in the triune God ... if God does not exist, the person does not exist ... the person both as a concept and as a living reality, is purely the product of patristic thought."⁴⁷⁰ Imago dei helps Christian theology to indicate the nature of divine personhood and to be able to relate this to human personhood. For Rudman, the integrity of human personhood is importantly related to relationships and communication between people as well as individual rationality and purpose.

3.3.1.4 *Christian Anthropology: Focusing on the Person-in-Relation*

The Imago Dei theology of creation extends to include the social aspect of man as a special creature of God, an aspect without which the narrative of creation of man remains incomplete. Jürgen Moltmann considers two dimensions of the creation narrative that highlight this

⁴⁷⁰ J. Zizioulas, *Being as Communion* (Darton: Longman & Todd, 1985), 36, 43. See the whole of chapter one for detailed reading on 'Being as Communion.'

aspect. Firstly, Genesis 1:26, explicitly depicts the creation of human beings as the final work of creation which begins with a solemn introduction in which a special resolve on God's part is announced: "Let us make ... So God created." Secondly, this likeness to God is seen in sexual differentiation and community of human beings. In interpreting these two realities in Genesis, Moltmann creatively observes the crucial shifts in the use of the grammatical number in the singular and in the plural.⁴⁷¹ In the first case, "whereas the self-resolving God is a plural in the singular, his image on earth – the human being is apparently supposed to be a singular in the plural. In the second case, the one God, who is differentiated in himself and is at one with himself, then finds his correspondence in a community of human beings, female and male, who unite with one another and are one."⁴⁷² The deliberate shift from singular to plural brings out the fact that to be human means being sexually differentiated and sharing a common humanity. Therefore, likeness to God cannot be lived in isolation. It can be lived only in human community, the person and community are two sides of one and the same life process. The biblical story of creation therefore, designates humankind as a social being from the very outset. Consequently, we can only relate to ourselves if, and to the extent in which, other people relate to us. The isolated individual and the solitary subject are deficient modes of being human, because they fall short of the likeness to God.⁴⁷³ The 'image of God' means designation to a common, shared humanity, and the early biblical depiction of God in Trinitarian relationship is interpreted by scholars as the source of the meaning of 'person.' As

⁴⁷¹ Cf. Moltmann, *God in Creation*, 217-218. Let us make human beings –an image that is like us.' That is to say, the image of God (singular) is supposed to correspond to the 'internal' plural of God, and yet be a single image. God (singular) created the human being (singular), as man and woman (plural) he created them (plural). Here the human plural is supposed to correspond to the divine singular.

⁴⁷² Ibid., 222-223.

⁴⁷³ Ibid., 223.

Stanley Rudman observes: Support for an understanding of God as person, has traditionally been found both in terms of Trinitarian relationships and in terms of the creation of humanity in the divine image.⁴⁷⁴ While Jürgen Moltmann observes that in the triune God, this conception indeed constitutes the eternal life of the Father, the Son and the Spirit, and among human beings determines the temporal life of women and men, parents and children.⁴⁷⁵

This communal orientation of Christian anthropology found a refinement in scholastic theology especially in the thought of Thomas Aquinas. His highlight on the distinction between theoretical and practical use of the mind, clarify the identity of the human person.⁴⁷⁶ The consequent theory of practical reason underlined the basis of humankind's ability of self movement and the ultimate reflection of God's image in man. Practical reason, as it were, becomes the ultimate prerogative that designates the connection between reasoning and action, giving an account of integration of desire, calculation, perception and

⁴⁷⁴ Rudman, "Person' in Christian Perspective" 121.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 94, 97-98. Consequently, Jürgen Moltmann understands the trinity as the Christian development of the Old Testament monotheism. Is there a specifically Christian doctrine of creation? What can Christian faith add to the interpretation of the Old Testament tradition about creation? Moltmann's answer is in the Trinitarian doctrine of Creation. The Christian understanding develops Old Testament monotheism in a Trinitarian sense: The Father created heaven and earth through the Son in the Spirit. The Christian doctrine of creation takes its impress from the revelation of Christ and the experience of the Spirit. The One who sends the Son and the Spirit is the Creator – the Father. The One who gathers the world under his liberating Lordship, and redeems it, is the Word of creation – the Son. The One who give life to the world and allows it to participate in God's eternal life is the creative Energy – the Spirit. The Father is the creating origin of creation, the Son its shaping origin, and the Spirit its life-giving origin. See also Rudman, *'person' in Christian Perspective*, 171-189.

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. Daniel Westberg, *Right Practical Reason* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 51-52, 54-56. Thomas' explanation of the role of the intellect and free will in designating the human person, in itself established the core elements of theological anthropology but was ultimately about the individual. But the designation of the individual's basic native ability to reach out to the other may well be traced to practical reason as distinct from intellectual reason.

decision effectively describing the point that connects the operation of the soul and the body as one human person, a self moving agent.⁴⁷⁷ Ultimately, the mutual influence of the intellect (theoretical and practical) and the free will not only highlight the interaction between the soul and body, but also designate self movement and propels the human person towards self activity in a manner that specifically differentiates the human person as the image of God.⁴⁷⁸ In the light of the *Imago Dei*, this conception designates the source of the native ability to reach out to the other.

This prioritization of practical reason plays an important role in Christian basic moral understanding of the human person as an ‘actor.’⁴⁷⁹ Beyond the consequent emphasis on the individual moral act of the person, modern philosophy of enlightenment focused on the transcendental perspective of the human person.⁴⁸⁰ It advocated a ‘turn

⁴⁷⁷ Cf. Westberg, *Right Practical Reason*, 30. In the analytic context of matter and form, this defines a genuine change where the subject/the body becomes such-and-such but the subject itself does not come to be as such or without qualifications. See also McNerny, *St. Thomas Aquinas*, 41.

⁴⁷⁸ Cf. Aquinas, *ST*, I- II, prologue. Thomas Aquinas introduces his work on human acts thus: “now that we have treated of the exemplar, **that is**, God, and of those things which came forth from the power of God in accordance with His will; it remains for us to treat of His image, **that is**, man, inasmuch as he too is the principle of his actions, as having free-will and control of his actions.”

⁴⁷⁹ Aquinas, *ST*, I-II, q. 8, art. 1. As distinct from *Actus Hominis*, *Actus Humanus* is will-driven. From the point of view of the acting subject, a behavioural event is considered moral only if it exhibits elements of freedom and intention, and proceeds properly only from a human agent, the person. Thus: “Human events that flow from freedom and intentionality are uniquely perpetuated by the human ‘person,’ a term that describes not a mere object or being but an active, existential phenomenon.” See also Selling, “The Human Person,” 95-96.

⁴⁸⁰ Timothy E. O’Connell, “The Moral Person: Moral Anthropology and the Virtues,” in *A Call to Fidelity*, ed. James J. Walter, Timothy E. O’Connell, and Thomas A. Shannon (Washington D.C: Georgetown University Press, 2002), 19. Though this ‘actor’ model resonates well with the medieval philosophical anthropology, and indeed provided an admirably nuanced source of the moral picture of the human person, experts observe a marked development beyond this view.

to the interior' movement which, even as it supported concrete categorical action, brought to focus the transcendental aspects of human action.⁴⁸¹ With this view, experts envisaged a moral life that depicted human decision making as a process of executing activity that not only identifies a moral subject, but that also basically defines the moral agent as a subject.⁴⁸² These aspects came to the fore in the fundamental option debate. The view also features in the recent focus on the ethics of virtue and, even more forcefully, in the current debate on the relationality-responsibility model.⁴⁸³ Its Christian nuances were even strongly expressed in the personalist moral methodology of Louis Janssens.⁴⁸⁴ These schools of thought argued for the 'person as subject' that is within and beneath the 'person as agent.'⁴⁸⁵ In a critical scrutiny of human

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., 20.

⁴⁸² Charles E. Curran, *The Catholic Moral Tradition Today: A Synthesis* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1999), 60.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 77-83.

⁴⁸⁴ Christie, *Adequately Considered*, 59-63. According to Dolores L. Christie, Janssens' moral methodology is personalist because first it is rooted in the conscious, free, responsible human person, who functions as a moral subject. The person anchors Janssens' moral methodology as its primary value thereby serving as morality's existential goal. From an existential perspective we can say that the human person lies at the starting point, the horizon, and the terminus of morality. Janssens' personalism illustrates a delicate balance between and among the various elements in the human relational system. The human person never stands or functions alone but is always held in the tension of certain basic relationships. He/she interacts in a manner appropriate to his or her being-with the persons and things in the system. In this interaction self-fulfillment is achieved. Janssens' personalism is also distinguished as 'Christian' different from the types that concentrate either on the human person unrelated to a higher value or on the person as a function of the state. Instead Janssens demonstrates his grasp of the essential connection between the existence of the human person and a relationship with God. See also Janssens, "Personalist Morals," 5-15. Louis Janssens, "Conjugal Love and Responsible Parenthood," *Louvain Studies* 1, no. 2 (1967): 147-260. Louis Janssens, "Morale Conjugale Et Progestogènes," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses (ETL)* 39 (1963): 787-826.

⁴⁸⁵ O'Connell, "The Moral Person," 20. See also Karl Rahner, *Theological Investigations*, God, Christ, Mary and Grace, vol. I (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1974), 352-355, and Curran's conception of the 'stance.' Charles E.

moral decision making, Karl Rahner, for example, envisaged a 'fundamental option' that is both shaped by individual action and at the same time undergirds that action as being the person's self-definition. He saw it as "a transcendental inner act whereby, in the midst of making fully engaged particular 'categorical' actions, a person may embrace a self-definition and assume a radical moral identity."⁴⁸⁶ This same dynamism animates the current revision of the place of virtue in human morality.⁴⁸⁷ A consistent scrutiny of these so called transcendental theologies pointed at the reality that specifies the integrity of a person as an individual moral subject. However, many experts argue well that this contribution still falls short of articulating comprehensive identity and significance of the person.⁴⁸⁸ Instead, experts considered a gradual turn towards a moral methodology able to see the morality of actions not merely in terms of the nature and purposes of individual faculties or substances, but rather in relation to other beings as persons.⁴⁸⁹ It is this

Curran, *The Catholic Moral Tradition Today: A Synthesis* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1999), 97.

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. *Ibid.*, 30-337. See also Karl Rahner, *Theological Investigations: Concerning Vatican Council II*, vol. VI (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1969), 236-239.

⁴⁸⁷ Curran, *The Catholic Moral Tradition Today*, 113. See also O'Connell, "The Moral Person," 22. Virtues, though described as gifts of God having God as their immediate object, basically modify the fundamental orientation of the person which includes in an implicit way the fundamental relationships. Consequently, virtue as a moral habit may grow, while the individual likewise develops a 'character' that, so to speak, defines the individual's identity. In this view, actions occur not only as a response to behavioural alternatives but also as expressions of personal identity. The person exists within the action, initiates action, and is shaped by action and has the capacity to cultivate virtue as an individual subject. For detailed discussion of the relationship between development in virtue and formation of the individual character, see Stanley Hauerwas, *Character and the Christian Life: A Study in Theological Ethics* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press 1989).

⁴⁸⁸ Curran, *The Catholic Moral Tradition Today*, 95, 98, 112.

⁴⁸⁹ Cf. Charles E. Curran, *A New Look at Christian Morality* (London: Sheed and Word, 1969), 244.

effort that saw the emergence of the responsibility and relationality motif in a definitive identification of the human person.

Understood from the perspective of human activity, the relationality-responsibility model asserts that beyond the subjective self, human acts are performed objectively in view of the end, in view as to whether they are good or bad, meritorious or even according as to whether they are right or wrong.⁴⁹⁰ This dimension of human activity projects the person beyond the self and towards relationships. It is better described by the circumstances in which the person first realizes the self in activity as a subject, but also truly reaches out to the other self, key among which is the very end and goal of a person's existence. This has the effect that the human person is not static or some ontological repository of a determined nature. It also implies that the rightness or wrongness of human behaviour is never determined on the basis of a single, isolated component of a behavioural event, rather on the basis of several, interrelated components which, together, render a description of an event sufficient to demonstrate its relevance to moral analysis. An adequate and integral understanding of the human person, therefore, recognizes that person is always person-in-relation. Thus:

‘Person’ constitutes a concept, a working hypothesis constructed through the consensus of an interpretative community. As a concept, neither is it reducible to a single individual, person is always person-in-community, nor can it be adequately described without considering the multi-dimensionality of being human ...

⁴⁹⁰ Cf. Aquinas, *ST*, I-II, q7, art.2, Obj.2. See especially Niebuhr's responsibility model, H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Responsible Self: An Essay in Christian Moral Philosophy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 61. For an in-depth and systematic study of responsibility as encompassing much more than the ethical model, see William Schweiker, *Responsibility and Christian Ethics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

The human person stands in relation to everything, one could even say to the 'totality of reality.'⁴⁹¹

This relational quality not only completes the subjective significance of the person, but also necessitates and confirms the very morality of the individual's behaviour. The morality of the human act is therefore as complex as the relationships at the individual's disposal. Though multi-dimensionality here does not necessarily mean that every single individual is open to each and every possible relationship, it does imply that 'the person,' is open to the totality of reality on every level. Persons are determined by these relationships, but their freedom and creativity are limited by the realities which the multiple relationships practically impinge on the morality of the person. Though persons are not totally determined by these relationships, their freedom and creativity are limited by the realities of relationships.⁴⁹²

Beyond the individual, mankind's capacity for self movement is moulded and nurtured in a community setting. Decisions taken by man in a community set up develop a network of habits, attitudes and values that open up the horizons for mankind's own development and self fulfilment. Mankind would never be thought of better outside an interactive set up. Within this framework, the Church's social teaching since the early times, construct a community concept specific to its doctrine. As such the Church is properly referred to as a "community of faith, hope and charity," founded by Christ and "through which He

⁴⁹¹ Selling, "The Human Person," 97.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, 97-108. In qualification of his view that the human person relates to the 'totality of reality,' over and above the emphasis on the individual subject, Joseph Selling analyzed in detail the aspects that constitute an adequate consideration of the moral person: Human person, adequately considered, stands in relation to the whole of reality, to the material world, to other persons, to history, to cultural groups, becomes conscious of interiority (as a subject), corporeality and of his/her proper uniqueness.

communicated truth and grace to all.”⁴⁹³ This community has the duty to build itself, or rather, “to serve the Spirit of Christ, who vivifies it, in the building up of the body.” This community identity at the same time confers upon the Church the mission to incorporate others into the body of Christ through the brotherly dialogue demanded by the very social nature of the human person. Since brotherly dialogue demands a mutual respect for the full spiritual dignity of the person, “Christian revelation contributes greatly to the promotion of this communion between persons, and at the same time leads us to a deeper understanding of the laws of social life which the Creator has written into man's moral and spiritual nature.”⁴⁹⁴ This view attributes the social order to God Himself. As such it is a universal call open to all. “God, who has fatherly concern for everyone, has willed that all men should constitute one family and treat one another in a spirit of brotherhood. For having been created in the image of God, who “from one man has created the whole human race and made them live all over the face of the earth” (Acts 17:26), all men are called to one and the same goal, namely God Himself.”⁴⁹⁵ Nonetheless, the Church remains aware of its own identity as a community from where the universal call begins. Because “Christ, the one Mediator, established and continually sustains here on earth His holy Church, the community of faith, hope and charity, as an entity with visible delineation.”⁴⁹⁶ The image that emerges is the church’s duty to build herself as a community, as well as to build up society in general as a place suitable for habitation of dignified human persons.

In conclusion, we observe that the reflection presented in this section has exhaustively analyzed the source and the scope of the church’s understanding of the concept of the dignity and the integrity of the

⁴⁹³ Vatican II Council, *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church* (Vatican: 1965), *LG*, No. 8.

⁴⁹⁴ Vatican II Council, *Gaudium et Spes*, No. 23

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 24.

⁴⁹⁶ Vatican II Council, *Lumen Gentium*, No. 8.

human person and its ramifications in society. This reflection has likewise highlighted the relevant pursuits that have exposed the depth of the church's regard for the value and the place of the human person in society. It is the background that motivates and sustains the church's concerns as an agent of God's salvation to mankind. The church's lasting reverence for, and service to, the human dignity thus conceived is summarized in the words of the second Vatican Council in *Gaudium et Spes*:

In our times a special obligation binds us to make ourselves the neighbour of absolutely every person, and of actively helping him when he comes across our path, whether he be an old person abandoned by all ... or a hungry person who disturbs our conscience by recalling the voice of the lord: "As long as you did it for one of these, the least of my brethren, you did it for me." Furthermore, whatever is opposed to life itself ... whatever insults human dignity such as subhuman living condition ... All these things are infamies indeed ... They poison human society ... moreover, they are a supreme dishonour to the creator.⁴⁹⁷

The church's mission to the hungry is not only a voluntary corporal act of mercy, it defines the very core of its concern for the wellbeing of society.

3.3.3 The Church's Strategies against World Hunger

3.3.3.1 Fraternal Charity: Food Aid

The church's reaction to the problem of hunger is influenced by its New and Old Testament heritage and by its understanding of its own mission in the world today. As hunger inflicted by natural calamity or by social injustice, the Church regards hunger as an unwarranted

⁴⁹⁷ Vatican II Council, *Gaudium et Spes*, No. 27.

deprivation of food and, therefore, as a social evil. This elicits fraternal feelings of charity from the church community, and motivates the church's insistence on donations in charity for the hungry. On the individual level, the charity approach brings into focus the ability of every human person to help those in need, to offer what is 'mine' to the other.⁴⁹⁸ For the Christian faithful, "love of neighbour, grounded in the love of God is ... a responsibility for each individual member of the faithful."⁴⁹⁹ On a communal level, and in fidelity to the apostolic teaching (Acts 2:42), the church strives to ensure that "within the community of believers there can never be room for a poverty that denies anyone what is needed for a dignified life."⁵⁰⁰ Over and above the duty of prayer and ministry of the word primarily entrusted to the apostles of the early church, the identity and ministry of the church has been defined by its attention to disparity in society. In *Deus Caritas Est*, Pope Benedict reaffirmed the inseparability of the three-fold duties of the church and reemphasized that for the church, "charity is not a kind of welfare activity which could equally well be left to others, but is a

⁴⁹⁸ Benedict XVI. 2009. *Caritas in Veritate*, No. 6. In addressing modern issues of justice and peace in society, Benedict XVI renewed the vigour of the significance of *caritas* in his encyclical *Caritas in Veritate*. In its introductory description, *Caritas* is envisaged as an extraordinary force attributable to God, the Eternal Love and Absolute Truth, which leads people to opt for courageous and generous engagement in the field of justice and peace. All people feel the interior impulse to love authentically: love and truth never abandon them completely, because these are the vocation planted by God in the heart and mind of every human person. When practiced in truth, charity is indeed the principal driving force behind the authentic development of every person and of all humanity.

⁴⁹⁹ Benedict XVI, "*Deus Caritas Est*," No.20.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid. In the *Koinonia* of the early Christian community believers held all things in common and among them there was no longer distinction between rich and poor. Cf. Acts 2:42, 4:32-37. Although this radical form of material communion could not be preserved, its essential core remained, that is, there can never be room for a poverty that denies anyone what is needed for a life in dignity.

part of her nature, an indispensable expression of her very being.”⁵⁰¹ Although several objections have been raised against the church’s charitable activity, the church insists on charity as an *opus proprium*, “a task agreeable to her, in which she does not cooperate collaterally, but act as a subject with direct responsibility, doing what corresponds to her nature.”⁵⁰² The church recognizes that in society there shall always be disadvantaged people, victims of forces beyond their control. Like in the biblical story of the good Samaritan, the Church’s response to such victims is instant: compassion and love.⁵⁰³

On this ground, the church’s *Caritas International* operates in 165 countries and makes the biggest network of Catholic charities in the

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., No.21,25. See also Congregation for Bishops, "Directory for the Pastoral Ministry of Bishops" *Apostolorum Successores*, no. 194 (2004): 213. At the inception of the Christian church, its nature emerged in three-fold responsibility: proclaiming the word of God (*Kerygma-martyria*), celebrating the sacraments (*leitourgia*), and exercising the ministry of charity (*diakonia*). The Apostles reserved to themselves the principal duty of proclaiming the word of God. They nonetheless designated a group of seven deacons to distribute food to the widows, a task they considered as equally important. This group was not to carry out a purely mechanical work of distribution: they were to be men “full of the Spirit and of wisdom” Act 6:1-6. The social service they were meant to provide was absolutely concrete yet at the same time a spiritual service, a truly spiritual office which carried out an essential responsibility of the Church, namely a well-ordered love of neighbour. With the formation of *diaconia*, the ministry of charity exercised in a communitarian orderly way became part of the fundamental structure of the Church.

⁵⁰² Benedict XVI, *Deus Caritas Est*, No. 26, 29.

⁵⁰³ U.S Catholic Bishops, "Economic Justice for All," in *Catholic Social Thought: The Documentary Heritage*, ed. David J. O'Brien and Thomas A. Shannon (New York: Maryknoll, 1986), 588-589. When asked what was the greatest commandment, Jesus quoted the age-old affirmation of faith that God alone is One and to be loved with the whole heart, mind, and soul (Dt. 6:4-5), and immediately added: “you shall love your neighbour as yourself,” (Lv. 19:18, Mk. 12:28-34). This dual command of love that is at the basis of all Christian morality is illustrated in the Gospel of Luke by the parable of a Samaritan who interrupts his journey to come to the aid of a dying man, Lk. 10:29-37. Unlike the other wayfarers who look on the man and pass by, the Samaritan, “moved with compassion at the sight,” he stops, tends the wounded man, and takes him to a place of safety. In this parable compassion is the bridge between mere seeing and action, love is made real through effective action.

world. Through its member families such as CRS, CAFOD and Cordaid among others, *Caritas* spends a huge sums of money in charity annually, all inspired by Christian faith and Catholic Social Teaching.⁵⁰⁴ *Caritas International* and its member families respond to multi-faceted humanitarian emergencies around the globe resulting mainly from natural calamities such as earthquakes, typhoons, floods and landslides, cyclones, and droughts. In some cases like in the Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Gaza Strip, lack of security leads to brutal terrorism and violent threats.⁵⁰⁵ Although the nature of the response is broad, covering basic health services, trauma counselling, educational needs, protection services and temporary shelter, the largest concern constitutes interventions on hunger-related emergencies. It is served in diverse interventions. For example, according to its report of 2009, the organization helped Kenya, among other countries affected by a combination of late rains, poor harvest, surge in global food prices and political violence, through arrangements such as cash and food for work projects, high breed planting seeds, school feeding programmes, food rations and others.⁵⁰⁶ In general the church related charities under Caritas International spend millions of dollars around the world annually in charity contributions towards the alleviation of world hunger. Whether the church is represented in a larger international, regional or national level, or indeed through small group initiative, charity has defined the church's struggle against poverty and hunger.

⁵⁰⁴ Caritas International. 2009. "Annual Report." <http://www.caritas.org/upload/ar/-ar-eng-lo-res.pdf>, (accessed 1 August 2010). According to this report, *Caritas* spent over 3 million Euros in charity emergency services in the year 2009 alone.

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.

3.3.3.2 Just Distribution of Food Resources

On the basis of its background, biblical and tradition, the church is familiar with the causes of hunger that go beyond the control of mankind, and preside over natural evil. But the church never loses sight of the moral evil that is responsible for the rampant social injustice and severe inequalities behind the hunger scourge.⁵⁰⁷ Over and above its struggle to reach the poor and the hungry in charity, the church also engages in aggressive pursuit for justice and equity in society.⁵⁰⁸ From the biblical “fill the earth and subdue it,” the church upholds universal destination of created goods.⁵⁰⁹ The earth was created to provide every person, and indeed to all creation, with the necessities of life. By his intelligent activity, man has to complete and perfect creation to his own advantage.⁵¹⁰ Accordingly, justice accords every person what is his/hers by natural disposition.⁵¹¹

The Church develops this strategy first by its careful concern for the common good in society and its attention to justice. “To love someone is to desire that person’s good and to take effective steps to secure it.”⁵¹² But beyond the individual, we seek the ‘common good’ for the sake of the people who belong to the social community and who can really and effectively pursue their good within it. Justice prompts us to give to other what is ‘his/hers,’ what is due to him or her by reason of his/her

⁵⁰⁷ Paul VI. 1967. “*Populorum Progressio*,” No.8.

⁵⁰⁸ Helder Camara, *Church and Colonialism* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1969), 131-135. Though aware of the Church’s limitation to provide answers to situations of injustice and inequalities in the Northeastern part of Brazil, Cardinal Helder Camara advocated for active involvement in exposing the situations of injustice, providing detailed statistics and championed insistence to the authorities to give attention to the plight of the poor and hungry workers subjected to inhuman working conditions

⁵⁰⁹ Vatican Council II, “*Gaudium Et Spes*,” No. 69.

⁵¹⁰ Paul VI. 1967. “*Populorum Progressio*,” No.22.

⁵¹¹ Aquinas, S.T., II-II, q.58, art.1.

⁵¹² Benedict XVI, *Caritas in Veritate*, No. 7.

being. Accordingly, the church's social doctrine insists that, "I cannot 'give' what is mine to the other, without first giving him what pertains to him in justice. If we love others with charity, then first of all we are just towards them."⁵¹³ Against this background, justice is a primary step to the Church's practice of charity, for charity demands justice, that is, recognition and respect for the legitimate rights of individuals and peoples.

The Church's sensitivity to social injustice and inequalities that underlie the problem of hunger was concretized particularly in the Second Vatican Council. The Council Fathers proposed that an organism of the universal Church be set up in order that the justice and love of Christ toward the poor might be developed everywhere. The role of such an organism would be to stimulate the Catholic community to promote international social justice with special regard to the most needy regions.⁵¹⁴ Consequently, Pope Paul VI established the Pontifical Commission "*Justitia et Pax*."⁵¹⁵ Structured as a consultative body consisting of pastors, experts and special appointees, the Council fulfils its universal mandate with and through Episcopal conferences and their regional groupings available in every region and country. The Council's objective, among others, is to promote justice, peace and the respect of human dignity (human rights) in the world, in the light of the Gospel

⁵¹³ Ibid., No. 6.

⁵¹⁴ Vatican II Council, "*Gaudium et Spes*," No. 83, 90. Causes of discord among men are more than only injustice and excessive economic inequalities. Other causes of discord have their source in the desire to dominate and in contempt for persons. If we look for deeper causes, we find then in human envy, distrust, pride, and other egoistical passions. Consequently, the world is constantly beset by strife and violence between men, even when no war is being waged. These same evils are present in the relations between various nations. In order to overcome or forestall them and to keep violence once unleashed within limits, it is absolutely necessary for countries to organize international bodies and to work for and foster peace.

⁵¹⁵ Paul VI, *Catholicam Christi Ecclesiam*, Motu Proprio (1967). In June 1988, John Paul II changed its name from Commission to Pontifical Council and reconfirmed the general lines of its work.

and of the social teaching of the Church. In view of alleviating hunger, the council employs its strength at all levels to influence social and economic policy, legislation and governance in promoting justice. Writing on *Economic Justice for all*, the US Episcopal Conference, for example, observed that "The fundamental test of an economy is its ability to meet the essential human needs of this generation and future generations in an equitable fashion ... No aspect of this concern is more pressing than the nation's food system. We are concerned that this food system may be in jeopardy as increasing numbers of farm bankruptcies and foreclosures result in increased concentration of land ownership."⁵¹⁶ Such interventions are a strategy the Church pursues at various levels to champion for justice worldwide. In Africa, AMECEA region established offices in its member countries through which the church engages in constant dialogue with the parliamentarians in order to strengthen representative politics and enhance the church's contribution on constitutional and legislative issues.⁵¹⁷ Following this regional initiative, the Commission of Justice and Peace in Kenya established a parliamentary liaison programme to monitor and ensure participation of citizens in parliament in the absence of official opposition. The initiative allows the church and the poor people to participate and influence the process of justice from its roots, that is, at legislation.⁵¹⁸ The church develops its strategy of justice from its concern for the individual and

⁵¹⁶ U.S Catholic Bishops, "Economic Justice for All," 627.

⁵¹⁷ A.M.E.C.E.A Secretariat. 2008. "Proceedings of the 16th. A.M.E.C.E.A Plenary Assembly: Reconciliation through Justice and Peace." <http://www.amecea.org/gaba.html>, (accessed 3 August 2010). The Plenary Assembly served the purpose of renewing and refocusing the commitment of the Church leadership in the Region to be more vigilant and proactive in bringing about reconciliation through justice and peace which is prominent among the challenges of evangelization that the Church faces in the Region.

⁵¹⁸ The Kenya Catholic Secretariat. 2008. "CJ&PC: Parliamentary Liaison Programme." <http://www.kec.or.ke/subsubsection.asp?ID=74>, (accessed 3 August 2010).

common good, but above all from the solidarity that binds the human family together.

3.3.3.3 Catholic Social Teaching on the Right to Food

Justice prompts us to give the other what is ‘his or her’ due by reason of his/her being or acting. In other words, justice recognizes and respects the value of the individual with whom we relate justly.⁵¹⁹ To address the question of the individual’s intrinsic worth adequately in social relations, the church upholds human rights as a strategy against inequality and injustice. On the level of the church community, witness to justice demands that the church itself remains just. To demand justice for others should reflect the mode of acting, of possessions, and of life style found within the church herself. “Anyone who ventures to speak to people about justice must first be just in their sight.”⁵²⁰ To effectively achieve this, the church must preserve human rights. “No one should be deprived of his ordinary rights because he is associated with the church in one way or another.”⁵²¹ On the level of civil society, the church first affirms that the whole reason for the existence of civil authorities is the realization of the common good, but in our time the common good is chiefly guaranteed when personal rights and duties are maintained.⁵²² On one hand, individual citizens are obliged to make their specific contributions to the common good. On the other hand, the very nature of the common good requires that all members of the State be entitled to share in it although in different ways according to each one’s tasks, merits and circumstances.⁵²³ The common good therefore requires that civil authorities first create conducive situation in which individual citizens exercise their rights easily, and secondly coordinate social

⁵¹⁹ Benedict XVI, *Caritas in Veritate*, No. 6.

⁵²⁰ Synod of Bishops. 1971. “*Iustitia in Mundo*,” No. 40.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, No. 41.

⁵²² John XXIII, “*Pacem in Terris*,” No. 54, 60.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, No. 53, 56.

relations in such fashion that the exercise of one person's rights does not threaten others in the exercise of their own rights nor hinder them in the fulfilment of their duties.⁵²⁴

Thus, the church's preference for human rights strategy highlights the place and value of every individual in society. Her doctrine on human rights therefore underlines her basic tenets on human anthropology. In *Pacem in Terris* and *Gaudium et Spes*, the church exalts reason and the freedom of individual conscience as the basis of the universal relevance of the human rights.⁵²⁵ Thus, "every basic human right draws its authoritative force from the natural law, which confers it and attaches to it its respective duty."⁵²⁶ For example, "the Church recognizes everyone's right to suitable freedom of expression and thought. This includes the right of everyone to be heard in a spirit of dialogue which preserves a legitimate diversity within the Church."⁵²⁷ The consequent attention to specific rights, including the right to food, respects the implied priority pattern.⁵²⁸ The most notable feature in the church's treatment of the right to food is the designation of this right in relation to others in the church's order of priority. In the encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, we read:

Man has a right to live. He has a right to bodily integrity and to the means necessary for the proper development of life particularly food, clothing, shelter, medical care, rest and finally the necessary social services. In consequence, he has the right to be looked after in ill health, disability, widowhood, old age,

⁵²⁴ Ibid., No.62, 63.

⁵²⁵ Cf. Vatican II Council, *Gaudium et Spes*, No. 16.

⁵²⁶ John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris*, No. 30.

⁵²⁷ Synod of Bishops, "*Iustitia in Mundo*," No. 44.

⁵²⁸ John Paul II, *Centesimus Annus*, No. 47.

enforced unemployment or whenever, through no fault of his own, he is deprived of the means of livelihood.⁵²⁹

In this order, the right of man to live takes priority attention and emphasis. Second, comes the right to bodily integrity and finally, the right to the means necessary for the proper development of life which include food. One may argue that the right to food as means necessary for the proper development of life of mankind in the church's social teaching comes in the service of man's life and dignity.

Another context within which the Church considers the right to food is in its discussion on man's work and economic activity. Mankind's work, the church argues, is a necessary consequence of the demands of mankind's dignity. In the words of Pope Pius XII: "Nature imposes work upon man as a duty, and man has the corresponding natural right to demand that the work he does shall provide him with the means of livelihood for himself and his children. Such is nature's categorical imperative for the preservation of man."⁵³⁰ A right to engage in an economic activity flows from personal dignity, and a choice to undertake this activity warrants a just remuneration. The amount received, according to the church, "must be sufficient, in proportion to available funds, to allow an individual person, and his family a standard of living consistent with human dignity."⁵³¹ This is by and large understood to advocate for adequate provision of food and sustenance to individuals at a homestead level. But as observed earlier, individual's dignity takes priority.

In the encyclical *Centesimus Annus*, Pope John Paul II observed the crucial issue regarding state's authority and democratic order in the imminent fall of communism and other totalitarian regimes.⁵³² He called

⁵²⁹ Ibid., No. 26.

⁵³⁰ Pius XII, "Broadcast Message," *Pentecost*, AAS, no. 33 (1941), 201.

⁵³¹ John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris*, No.20.

⁵³² John Paul II, *Centesimus Annus* (1991), No. 47.

upon the world community to give explicit recognition to human rights in order to build democracy on an authentic and solid foundation. "Among the most important of these rights are right to life ... the right to share in the work which makes wise use of the earth's material resources and to retrieve from that work the means to support oneself and one's dependants."⁵³³ Again, support of oneself and one's family basically refer to the right to food considered at the basic level of individuals in the household. A very important remark is made here that introduces another perspective all together to the church's view of the right to food, namely, that "in a certain sense, the source and synthesis of these rights is religious freedom, understood as the right to live in the truth of one's faith and in conformity with one's transcendent dignity as a person."⁵³⁴ In many respects, this may be interpreted to subject the right to food to the higher right to religious freedom. This becomes clearer when one critically assess and takes into account the circumstances of the famous declaration on Religious Freedom, *Dignitatis humanae* vis-à-vis *Centesimus annus*. In *Centesimus Annus*, John Paul II discussed the Human Rights in what appeared to be his endorsement of democratic structures of governance around the world.⁵³⁵ But as it emerges from his commentators, this was only "a sort of pragmatic endorsement of the democratic system, and not one that is convinced the majority always knows best."⁵³⁶ His reservation is

⁵³³ Ibid.

⁵³⁴ Ibid.

⁵³⁵ John Paul II, "Centesimus Annus," in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (A.A.S.) (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1991), No.46. John Paul II's endorsement of democracy is clear in his words: "the Church values the democratic system inasmuch as it ensures the participation of citizens in making political choices, guarantees to the governed the possibility both of electing and holding accountable those who govern them, and of replacing them through peaceful means when appropriate."

⁵³⁶ Daniel Finn, "Centesimus Annus," in *Modern Catholic Social Teaching*, ed. Kenneth R. Himes et al. (Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press, 2005), 450.

betrayed, for example, when, at observing the prevalence of abortion in many democratic nations, he notes that democracies “seem at times to have lost the ability to make decisions aimed at the common good.”⁵³⁷ This is the reservation that lends credibility to the superiority of the right to religious freedom over and above the rights whose implementation relies on the world democracies such as the right to food. But the discussion on the declaration on Religious Freedom, *Dignitatis Humanae*, though controversial and explosive,⁵³⁸ stamped authority on the church’s priority order. The declaration satisfactorily explored both the theological and scriptural roots of the religious freedom and established beyond doubt that this right is rooted in human dignity. But with particular regard to religious freedom, Leslie Griffin observes, “this doctrine of freedom is rooted in divine revelation, and for this reason Christians are bound to respect it all the more conscientiously.”⁵³⁹

Beyond individual state authorities, the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium et Spes*, analyses the right to food from the role it plays in distinguishing the individual human person from the network of human interdependence in society today. The individual plays a crucial role in entrenching mutual respect between communities and eventually respect for the entire human family. This has equally exposed a growing awareness on the exalted dignity proper

⁵³⁷ Cf. John Paul II, *Centesimus Annus* (1991), No. 47.

⁵³⁸ Leslie Griffin, “*Dignitatis Humanae*,” in *Modern Catholic Social Teaching: Commentaries & Interpretations*, ed. Kenneth R. Himes et al. (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2005), 244. Being the only conciliar document formally addressed to the world at large on the topic of intense secular as well as religious interest, affirmed that religious freedom is the right of every human person. Experts note that this teaching marked a dramatic change from the Church’s earlier position that non-Catholics do not possess a public right to worship because “error has no rights.”

⁵³⁹ Ibid. See also Joy Dolan, *In Search of American Catholicism: A History of Religion and Culture in Tension* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 107-108.

to the human person. This then was the frame which the church viewed the universal and inviolable rights and duties of the human person. Therefore, "there must be made available to all men everything necessary for leading a life truly human such as food, clothing, shelter ... Hence, the social order and its development must invariably work to the benefit of the human person."⁵⁴⁰ Thus, despite recognizing the signs in society today to draw closer to forge a humanity united towards a common destiny, and therefore building mutual concerns among peoples, the church still accords individual dignity of the human person its own place. This is articulated by decent life, provided for by the respect for the right to basic necessities like food, clothing and shelter. These must therefore be provided for.

Finally, the church has been consistent with its emphasis on food security over and above the right to food in its approach to the problem of hunger. Taking its approach to the hunger problem from the poverty point of view, the church advocates for the increased supply and accessibility to food by the poor in an effort to forge towards food security.⁵⁴¹ In his message to the Director General of FAO, at the World Food Day of 2006, Pope Benedict XVI decried the sidelining of the human factor in the international action to combat hunger. He instead reemphasized the centrality of man's dignity by advocating involvement of the local communities in the choices and decisions of improving food supply. Though the pope recognizes that "the right to have enough to eat

⁵⁴⁰ Vatican II Council, *Gaudium et Spes*, No. 26. *Gaudium et Spes* describes the common good as the sum of those conditions of social life which allow social groups and their individual members relatively thorough and ready access to their own fulfilment.

⁵⁴¹ Vatican Council II, "*Gaudium Et Spes*, No. 71, 72. The Church remains critical of the people or communities that leave chunks of land lie idle while some people starve. On her part, the Church advocates alternative allocation of such land in order to utilize it for food security

is fundamental and inalienable for every person and for their family,”⁵⁴² he also emphasizes self-motivated equitable sharing of resources, which expresses a true solidarity rooted in a knowledge of and appreciation for the dignity of every human person. This can be seen to be consistent with the church’s tenet that:

Man’s personal dignity requires besides that he enjoys freedom and is able to make up his own mind when he acts. In his association with his fellows, therefore, there is every reason why his recognition of rights, observance of duties, and many-sided collaboration with other people, should be primarily a matter of his own personal decision ... Each man should act on his own initiative, conviction, and sense of responsibility, not under the constant pressure of external coercion or enticement. There is nothing human about a society that is welded together by force.⁵⁴³

On this basis the church goes on to participate in socio-economic activities that articulate its tenet around the world.⁵⁴⁴ This being the latest expressed view of the church on the right to food, one sees clearly the orientation of the church’s social doctrine more towards food security whilst upholding the right to food.

⁵⁴² Benedict XVI, *Message to Mr. Jacques Diouf on the Occasion of World Food Day; 19 October 2006* [http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/justpeace/documents/rc_pc_justpeace_doc_20061104_fao-event_en.html] (Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, accessed 1 May 2007). On the point of food security, the Catholic Church has enjoyed a collaborative relationship with both FAO and WFO in advocating for consistent effort in expanding agricultural production and availing the food to those who cannot afford it. See also Benedict XVI, "Message for the 2007 World Food Day," in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis (A.A.S.)* (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2007), 933-935.

⁵⁴³ John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris*, No. 34.

⁵⁴⁴ Cf. Benedict XVI, *Message to Mr. Jacques Diouf on the Occasion of World Food Day; 19 October 2006*. The pope here lists the practical examples of charitable works that the church carries on throughout the world.

The dynamism of charity, justice and right completes the church's role in the world of witnessing to the truth of the gospel of Christ's love. It defines both the church's basic understanding of social structure as well as the church's strategy in its approach to social problems, particularly that of world poverty and hunger. According to Pope John XXIII, "A civic society is to be considered well-ordered, beneficial and respectful of human dignity, if it is grounded on the truth." Pope Benedict clarifies that the truth about the love of Christ in society first demands justice, that is; recognition and respect for the legitimate rights of individuals and peoples.⁵⁴⁵ While the individual rights are the bare minimum requirement in the building of a just society,⁵⁴⁶ charity transcends justice and completes it in the logic of giving and forgiving.⁵⁴⁷ The church's involvement in social problems such as hunger is motivated by her basic understanding that the building of a just society is promoted not merely by relationships of rights and duties, but to an even greater and more fundamental extent by relationships of gratuitousness, mercy and communion. Thus, while right legitimizes one's own individual worth and justice gives the other what is his/her

⁵⁴⁵ Benedict XVI., "*Caritas in Veritate*," No.5.

⁵⁴⁶ Aquinas, *S.T. II-II*, q.57.art.1. Right provides the norm that determines the measure of justice. According to Thomas Aquinas, justice is said to direct man in his relations with others because it denotes a kind of equality. But equality is spoken of one thing in reference to some other. For example, man's work is said to be just when it is related in a balanced way to another figure, e.g the payment of the wage due for a service rendered. All justice thus is dispensed according to the norm provided by the right under reference. According to Thomas Aquinas, equality (or norm) is appropriated by nature itself, as when a man gives so much that he may receive equal value in return. In this sense, we talk of 'natural right.' 'It can also be appropriated by agreement or by common consent, in this case, a man considers himself satisfied when he receives so much. An agreement is either private or public. Private agreement is confirmed between individuals but in public agreement the whole community agrees that something be appropriated to some person, or when the prince placed over the people acts on its stead. This appropriation by agreement or common consent constitutes 'positive right.'

⁵⁴⁷ Cf. Benedict XVI., "*Caritas in Veritate*," No.6. See also John Paul II, *Message for the 2002 World Day of Peace*: AAS 94 (2002), 132-140.

own by right, charity is one's self gift to the other. Charity overrides both justice and right. The church's choice of her strategy is therefore not arbitrary but based on its fundamental understanding of the person, society and its own redemptive mission to both.⁵⁴⁸

3.3.3.4 *Critical View of the Church's Strategies against Hunger*

Despite the Church's elaborate tradition of service to the hungry outlined in the discussion above, critics point out weaknesses associated with the Church's mainstream approach of charity in relation to its traditional role on the issues of human rights and social justice. Weakness in the Church's approach to charity, justice and rights have come up strongly in various discussions: Firstly, in its endless appeal to voluntarism that generates what has been called quietism, or indeed 'passive injustice,' that have only led to donor fatigue with a fear of lose of interest in serving the needs of the poor and the hungry. Secondly, there has been fear among experts that the Church is not clear and steadfast in its regard for the significance and role of charity as compared to the role of justice and rights in her service to the needs of society. This has been seen to be responsible of the confusion at the level of the implementation of its principles on the practical level. Thirdly, some concerned experts have noted a recent deliberate attempt to focus emphasis on charity, love and solidarity over and above the Church's cherished role in agitating for social justice and human rights. The consequences have seen the Church's quiet withdrawal from the forefront position on issues of social justice in a manner often interpreted to favour the perpetrators of injustices in society. Fourthly, the Church's reception of human rights approach since the incorporation of the use of the 'rights language' for the first time in John XXIII's encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, has been and continues to be suspicious.

⁵⁴⁸ John XXIII, "*Pacem in Terris*," No.35. See also Benedict XVI, *Caritas in Veritate*, No. 6

Many experience the impact of this suspicion in the reluctance of the Church to explicitly support the course of human rights in some cases. Fifthly, the Church's own record on issues of justice and human rights have come into focus with growing discontent among observers as to whether the Church institutions uphold the Church's own teaching on these issues with fidelity. The discontent includes the issue of unjustifiable poor remuneration of Church workers and disregard of individual rights even among the clergy and the religious men and women in different difficult circumstance. The question has always been whether or not the Church is committed to her own teaching about human dignity, rights and justice.

As regards the first criticism, the Church approach to hunger especially on the regional level in the developing countries is primarily a beg-give enterprise. While the clergy and the religious intensify almsgiving and fund raising campaigns on behalf of the hungry, the officials on matters of justice, often comprising of lay experts, struggle with proposals for emergency funds and food donations from 'partners abroad.' At the end of this 'mission' little is asked about the genesis of the problem in the first place. The Church remains silent as it fears to wade into the unfamiliar waters of corruption in respective elected governments. In the meantime, the begging process is infiltrated by the proceeds from the very suspect deals wrapped in the name of 'good will,' 'corporate social responsibility' and other 'kind' expressions. In reaction to insistence of the charity approach in these circumstances, some critics argue that charity is old fashioned.⁵⁴⁹ It was embraced by the church as key to social mission in earlier era when the church attempted to inspire goods works among its members. This was dominantly the missionary era. Missionaries, religious men and women were sent out to plead on behalf of those desperately in need. They would build orphanages/destitute children's homes, built boarding

⁵⁴⁹ Cf. Thomas Massaro, *Living Justice: Catholic Social Teaching in Action* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 2000), 15-21.

schools for the children of the poor, centres for the handicapped and took care of the widows.⁵⁵⁰ The most the church would do was to appeal to the private consciences of the richer individuals with the means to assist the less fortunate. As Thomas Massaro observes, “according to that approach, charity was an unsystematic, episodic and largely personal issue.”⁵⁵¹ As the Church confronts an ever widening gap between the rich and the poor, increasing injustice and inequality resulting into untold suffering of the masses from oppressive social, economic and political regimes. As the Church adjusts to face the challenges of post-modern era of multicultural ideologies, globalization and the environmental agenda not to mention the impulses of post-modern slavery manifested in the shadows of migration crisis and human trafficking, many argue that its duty for social justice is more urgent.⁵⁵² The church should turn more attention to the underlying structures that breed injustice, speak of the demands of justice, and advocate changes on the local, national and international levels.⁵⁵³

As regards the second and third criticisms, that is, the clarity of the significance and role of social justice in the social ministry of the Church in relation to the Church’s growing bias towards charity, the recent publications of Johan Verstraeten and Stephen Pope are significant.

Johan Verstraeten considered this tendency in the encyclical *Centesimus Annus* (CA) and in the *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church* (CSDC). Although the careful use of communitarian language in considering the role of work in the creation of private property exonerates the new and explicit positive attitude of CA with

⁵⁵⁰ Cf. Edward Waren Capen, *Sociological Progress in Mission Land* (London: General Books, 2010), 17-40.

⁵⁵¹ Massaro, *Living Justice*, 16.

⁵⁵² Cf. Jean-Yves Calvez, "Is the Social Role of the Church Changing?" in *Catholic Social Thought and the New World Order*, ed. Oliver F. Williams and John W. Houck (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1993), 73-79.

⁵⁵³ Massaro, *Living Justice*, 19.

regard to capitalism, free market and profit, its condemnation of the *social-assistance state* betrayed its deep-seated sympathy with the neo-liberal agenda. In the encyclical John Paul II argued that a person's work is "naturally interrelated with the work of others."⁵⁵⁴ To this extent, the excesses of liberal agenda of economic ownership are limited by the common good. However, the encyclical's criticism of *social assistance state* in preference to active charity and volunteer work is highly problematic and according to Verstraeten, this constitutes an exclusive discourse on charity or solidarity defined as "social love" over and above the pursuit of social justice.⁵⁵⁵ In his opinion, this easily lends credence to the neo-liberal agenda. His fear is that this may in fact be an ultimate victory of the neo-liberal agenda on Catholic social teaching with a real potential to make the poor again the objects of paternalistic benevolence and no longer the carriers of inherent rights that must be protected by the state and the civil society.⁵⁵⁶

The *Compendium* extends the criticism of the *social assistance state* to the whole of the welfare state like when it observes that "solidarity without subsidiarity can easily degenerate into the welfare state."⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁴ John Paul II, "*Centesimus Annus*," in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis (A.A.S)* (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1991), No. 31.

⁵⁵⁵ Johan Verstraeten, "A Ringing Endorsement of Capitalism? The Influence of the Neo-Liberal Agenda on Official Catholic Social Teaching," in *Applied Ethics in a World Church*, ed. Linda Hogan (New York: Maryknoll, 2008), 58-60. In the some *social-assistance states* or welfare states, not even the most essential forms of a health care system or of social protection are realized. To oppose state intervention in crucial social services like health and education stalks the common vicious circles of injustices in society. Moreover, the description of the *social assistance state* is alien to its reality. In countries like Belgium or Germany, the social assistance state is the historical result of precisely free self-organization on the level of the civil society, and even in its actual form it combines state intervention with the contribution of healthcare insurance organizations based on a plurality of religious and ideological convictions such as Catholic health care insurances and unions.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁵⁵⁷ Cf. Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church* (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2005), No. 351.

Furthermore, in its fourth chapter, the confusion in the treatment of justice as ‘principle,’ or ‘value,’ or ‘criterion,’ renders it difficult to ascertain its value and role as distinguished from other ‘values’ such as love, truth and freedom. The treatment of justice merely as one among the Catholic ‘principles’ or ‘values’ diminishes its regard as opposed to the traditional reference of justice as a virtue.⁵⁵⁸ Moreover, the limited reference to ‘social justice’ in the text on justice clearly designates the *Compendium*’s inattention or outright relegation of social justice. (Compare for example, the extensive treatment of ‘social justice’ in *Quadragesimo anno* as a key concept linked to the common good.⁵⁵⁹ Consequently, Verstraeten decries the *Compendium*’s estranged ecclesiological vision that strangely sounds out of tune with both the consensus position of experts and the spirit of the post-Vatican II era.⁵⁶⁰

Stephen Pope traces this shift from justice to charity further in the recent first encyclical of Benedict XVI, *Deus Caritas Est*. He points this out in the encyclical’s attempt to separate justice from charity as distinct domains of State and the Church respectively, and its obvious option for the charity over and justice. The encyclical insists that the two spheres are distinct realities which nevertheless remain always interrelated. Thus, “The formation of just structures is not directly the duty of the Church, but belongs to the world of politics, the sphere of the autonomous use of reason.”⁵⁶¹ This is arguably a clear attempt on separating love from justice with the obvious preference of the former over the latter as the Church’s priority, giving an insufficient appreciation to the importance of justice in its own right and obscuring

⁵⁵⁸ Verstraeten, "A Ringing Endorsement of Capitalism?" 57-62. See John Paul II. 1991. "*Centesimus Annus*," No. 49. See also Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendium*, Chapt.4.

⁵⁵⁹ Verstraeten, "A Ringing Endorsement of Capitalism?" 59-60.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 60-61.

⁵⁶¹ Cf. Benedict XVI, "*Deus Caritas Est*," in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, March 2006), No. 28, 29.

its value as a necessary condition of the former.⁵⁶² Stephen Pope who insists on the role of the church in advancing social justice through concrete involvement in practical issues of life,⁵⁶³ regrets that the Church's prioritization of charity over and against justice risks reinforcing complacency, or what he calls 'passive injustice' in the face of rampant injustice in society. He cites such failure of love and charity to remedy the situation of child abuse in the US, as a demonstration of the limitedness of love and charity which must therefore be directed and corrected by justice. His argument is that "love and charity are not only limited in their moral scope but also have to be directed and corrected by justice."⁵⁶⁴ Accordingly, these events underscore the responsibility of the church to give more, rather than less, attention to the demands of justice.

However, a critical review of the views of Johan Verstraeten and Stephen Pope reveals a tendency to tilt the balance in favour of social justice. For example, Verstraeten's view that overemphasis of charity beckons a "shift from a genuine concern for justice and the real needs of the people to a discourse on individual voluntarism" or, as in quoting Robert Nozick he observes: "from each as they choose to each as they are chosen," and that "this 'shift' would make the poor again the objects of paternalistic benevolence,"⁵⁶⁵ may be viewed by some critics as an attempt to effectively reduce Christian charity to mere 'paternalistic

⁵⁶² Stephen J. Pope, "Benedict XVI's *Deus Caritas Est*: An Ethical Analysis," in *Applied Ethics in the World Church*, ed. Linda Hogan (New York: Maryknoll, 2008), 271.

⁵⁶³ Cf. Benedict XVI, "*Deus Caritas Est*, No. 28. The role of State politics in building a just society need not imply 'quietism or irresponsible otherworldliness.' The church has a role of promoting justice through its pedagogical, moral and pastoral resources. It has a responsibility to form consciences and to train citizens in virtue, to promote reasoned debate in the public square, and to insist that political communities respect natural law, the common good, and human dignity.

⁵⁶⁴ Pope, "Benedict XVI's *Deus Caritas Est*," 277.

⁵⁶⁵ Verstraeten, "A Ringing endorsement of Capitalism?" 63.

benevolence' or 'individual voluntarism' empty of any conscious core value that defines the character of Christian behaviour. But in the final analysis he underscores his concern in his observation that "it has always been one of the great challenges of the official Catholic social teaching to find a dynamic balance between three equivalent moral principles: love, justice and solidarity."⁵⁶⁶ Likewise, Stephen Pope's preference for social justice is explicit. According to him, social justice is not only primary in healthy relations, its value is a necessary condition of Christian charity. Furthermore, the failure of the church to live according to the demands of charity as its central calling proves "the fact that love and charity are not only limited in their moral scope, but also have to be directed and corrected by justice."⁵⁶⁷ Moreover, according to him, "Justice without love can be heartless, but love without justice can be radically irresponsible."⁵⁶⁸ While this may be misconstrued for an attempt to superimpose social justice over and above Christian charity, Stephen Pope's concern is to articulate the rightful role of the Church in society. Thus: "The Church has responsibility to form consciences and to train citizens in virtue, to promote reasoned debate in the public square, and to insist that political communities respect natural law, the common good, and human dignity."⁵⁶⁹

Nevertheless, the main line of their argument is a plea to uphold the principles of justice, love and solidarity in a strict balance in the Church's approach to social issues like poverty and hunger. Coincidentally, this may be argued, has in fact been the Church's traditional position all along. In the practice of love, charity does the important work of meeting the immediate needs of suffering people,

⁵⁶⁶ Cf. Johan Verstraeten, "Justice Subordinated to Love? The Changing Agenda of Catholic Social Teaching since *Populorum Progressio*," *Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium*, no. 217 (2008): 390.

⁵⁶⁷ Pope, "Benedict XVI's *Deus Caritas Est*," 277.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid., 274.

while social justice dares ask the troubling questions of inequality in society and facilitates their answers. To elevate the role of charity over and above social justice weakens considerably the Church's influence against social inequality. Whenever this balance suffers the practical question arises: should the church only intervene in the emergency cases of hunger as an urgent duty to save lives with immediate emergency relief food in charity, or should it also engage in the teaching and defense of basic tenets that safeguard food security in the first place? The Church's disposition is revealed in the responses such as that of the famous Brazilian Bishop, Helder Camara when, under such circumstances, he observed: "If I feed the hungry, they call me a saint. But if I ask why the poor are hungry, they call me a communist."⁵⁷⁰ It is the same mistake that stagnated the struggle for justice in Haiti in the early 1990s. When the Jesuits intensified advocacy for respect of equal dignity of all as children of God through awareness of peoples' rights as citizens, the government's reaction was to take away a Jesuit Seminary and gave it over to Mother Teresa's Missionaries of Charity as a house for the dying. Social justice was forbidden, but charity was fine.⁵⁷¹

Although charity as the practice of love enjoys eminence as a theological virtue in the life of the Church as compared with the moral virtue of justice from the points of view of both scripture and catechetical tradition,⁵⁷² the social teaching of the church has always

⁵⁷⁰ Helder Camara, *Church and Colonialism* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1969), 163.

⁵⁷¹ Cf. Ronald Stanley, O.P., Personal memoirs, 2008.

⁵⁷² Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, I, II, Q.61, 62. Traditionally, the Catechism distinguishes between the four Cardinal or Moral Virtues: Prudence, Justice, Temperance and Fortitude. They are called moral because they govern our action, order our passions and guide our conduct according to faith and reason. They are called Cardinal/principle because they are hinges on which all moral virtues depend. The Cardinal or Moral virtues are natural, because they can be achieved through human effort aided by grace. On the other hand, theological virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity are supernatural virtues that come only from God. They cannot be achieved through human effort. They are

regarded the principles of charity and justice as complementary aspects in the service of social justice to fight injustices and inequalities.⁵⁷³ Nevertheless, in the face of obvert tag between social justice on one hand, and Christian charity on the other hand, two issues are crucial in an attempt to reinstall this balance for a definitive influence of the Church in the service of society, namely: context reinterpretation of the term 'social justice' and strict clarity on the age-long debate on the State-Church relationship. Michael Novak, who first attributes recurrent misunderstanding of the balance between justice and charity to "some vague and woolly usages of the term" 'social justice,' suggests some 'rescue' of the term. According to him, in order to remain consistent with the development of doctrine in a manner also relevant to democratic societies, and in order to free the term from ambiguities and misunderstandings, 'social justice' must be understood in the background of Christian virtue.⁵⁷⁴ Consequently, he sees it as "a personal virtue concerned with improving the institutional structures of the *civitas*, in line with the responsibilities of free persons in modern societies. It is a virtue especially necessary for lay persons in the modern world, since it requires them to work with others cooperatively and freely for aims shared in common."⁵⁷⁵

infused into the soul by sanctifying grace and adapt our human faculties for participation in the divine nature.

⁵⁷³ Paul VI, "*Populorum progressio*," No. 44, 49.

⁵⁷⁴ Michael Novak, "Liberty and Social Justice: Rescuing a Virtue," in *Catholic Social Thought and the New World Order*, ed. Oliver F. Williams and John W. Houck (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 269, 272-276.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 269-270. Michael Novak makes reference to Cardinal Newman's criteria for the development of doctrine that the capacity of an idea slowly to align itself with other solid teachings, and to shed new light on old perplexities elsewhere in the system, is a clear sign of a true development. Accordingly, the use of justice as virtue, fertilizes several lines of thought that connect with other teachings of the Church, notably on religious and civic liberty in democratic societies, and on the Christian idea of liberty in general.

As regards the famed Church-State relationship, the contribution of Thomas Massaro is significant. In his commentary on Tertulian's question: "What has Jerusalem to say to Athens?" Thomas Massaro recognizes a necessary collaboration between the Church and the State. In his view, the division between religious and political office makes good sense, it allows both fields to benefit from the specialized knowledge of those who concentrate on one human endeavour. Thus, "Setting up clear lines of demarcation allows both religious and political leaders to fulfill appropriate roles and carve out proper spheres of legitimate authority."⁵⁷⁶ But this separation of functions, he argues, is not the final word on the relationship between our spiritual and our political lives. "Just as mayors sometimes need to consult with priests and prophets seek to bend the ears of kings, dialogue between the spiritual and the temporal worlds benefits each sphere and is necessary for the well-being of both church and state."⁵⁷⁷ Thus, the way society organizes its political life is never completely isolated from its deepest spiritual values though the two remain reasonably distinct. In my opinion, although various enunciations both recently and in the past have provoked criticisms to the effect that they portray a leaning to one side or the other in the divide between social justice and Christian charity, there has always been a line of thought that has linked the church's social doctrine over the years. There is no doubt that the extreme statements or their interpretation out of context, truly affect the practical influence of the church in society for the better or for worse. What remains of utmost importance in the apparent division of social justice as a political enterprise and Christian charity as a spiritual-ecclesiastical practice is keen interpretation that respects the above two backgrounds, namely: The Christian perspective of social justice that respects a working relationship between the political and ecclesiastical

⁵⁷⁶ Massaro, *Living Justice*, 27.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 29-31.

spheres. With this caution, a brief look into the development of the Church's use of the term 'social justice only reveals the underlying doctrinal principal of consistency.

In the first place, although the pre Vatican II teaching, especially in Pius XI's encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, often considered the *locus classicus* of the term 'social justice, and *Mater et Magistra*, a mill stone in catholic 'socialization,' laid down the structure of social justice as a worthy enterprise for Catholics, its effort to realign the term with work, constrained its use to the service of the common good. But in so far as the communitarian aspect of work is emphasized, justice was all along more meaningful as a virtue.⁵⁷⁸ To this extent, it was bound to be interpreted with respect to Christian charity in the service not only of the common good, but towards the perfection intended by God. This is clear for example when Pius XI observed that:

not every distribution among human beings of property and wealth is of a character to attain either completely or to a satisfactory degree of perfection the end which God intends. Therefore, the riches that economic-social developments constantly increase ought to be so distributed among individual persons and classes ... that the common good of all society will be kept inviolate. By this law of social justice, one class is forbidden to exclude the other from sharing in the benefits. Hence the class of the wealthy violates this law no less, when, as if free from care on account of its wealth, it thinks it the right order of things for it to get everything and the worker nothing, than does the non-owning working class when, angered deeply at

⁵⁷⁸ Cf. Verstraeten, "A Ringing Endorsement of Capitalism?" 59-61. In his criticism on the Compendium's ambiguous use of the terms 'principles,' 'values,' and 'virtues,' Verstraeten considered these distinctions problematic on the ground that in classical Catholic ethics, justice and love are interpreted as virtues and not values.

outraged justice and too ready to assert wrongly the one right it is conscious of.⁵⁷⁹

The special character of social justice implied here is attributable to its role more as a virtue in the lives of people where the Christian understanding of justice is clearly “deeper than that of men.”⁵⁸⁰ Although work stands out as the standard for social justice on the basis of entitlements, the subjection of the accrued private property to the common good⁵⁸¹ requires the practice of justice that goes beyond mere equity, or what Amartya Sen would call the right of economic ownership.⁵⁸² *Mater et Magistra* navigates around this dynamism by defining social justice in terms of both the individual and social dimensions of work, both of which remain strictly subject to the common good.⁵⁸³ “If the social and individual character of work be overlooked, it can be neither justly valued nor equitably recompensed. In determining wages, therefore, justice demands that account be taken not only of the needs of the individual workers and their families, but also of the financial state of the business concern for which they work and of the economic welfare of the whole people.”⁵⁸⁴ This ability to go beyond the demand of individual right of ownership to embrace the common good to Christians is more the operation of justice as a virtue

⁵⁷⁹ Pius XI, “*Quadragesimo Anno*,” in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis (A.A.S)* (Vatican: 1931), No. 57.

⁵⁸⁰ Cardinal Roger Etchegaray, Berthouzoz and Papini, in *Ethique, économie et développement*, 262.

⁵⁸¹ Cf. John XXIII, “*Mater Et Magistra*,” in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis (A.A.S)* (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1961), No. 113. In this reference, John XXIII clearly observes that it is not enough to assert that the right to own private property and the means of production is inherent in human nature. We must also insist on the extension of this right in practice to all classes of citizens.

⁵⁸² Amartya Sen, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 46.

⁵⁸³ Cf. Pius XI, *Mater et Magistra*, No. 149.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 33.

than, say, legal or distributive justice.⁵⁸⁵ John XXIII summed it up thus: "Human society ... demands that men be guided by justice, respect the rights of others and do their duty. It demands, too, that they be animated by such love as will make them feel the needs of others as their own, and induce them to share their goods with others, and to strive in the world to make all men alike heirs to the noblest of intellectual and spiritual values."⁵⁸⁶

At the second Vatican Council, however, it became clearer that the Church insisted on distinguishing the contexts of social justice and Christian charity. Though the two were carried out by the same people and always related with one another, their distinction helped to clarify the roles of the Church from the roles of political governments. This became clearer when the Vatican II council in *Gaudium et Spes* clearly stated that "there be a correct notion of the relationship between the political community and the Church, and a clear distinction between the tasks which Christians undertake, individually or as a group, on their own responsibility as citizens guided by the dictates of a Christian conscience, and the activities which, in union with their pastors, they carry out in the name of the Church."⁵⁸⁷ The Church's participation in the struggle for social justice is inspired by love not simply for the sake of equality in society, but for eternal salvation. Thus, the Church "founded on the love of the Redeemer, contributes towards the reign of justice and charity within the borders of a nation and between nations."⁵⁸⁸ Since this observation, the post conciliar documents remained keen to observe the balance both in the social principles of

⁵⁸⁵ Cf. Novak, "Liberty and Social Justice," 270.

⁵⁸⁶ John XXIII, "*Pacem in Terris*," No. 35.

⁵⁸⁷ Vatican Council II, "*Gaudium Et Spes*," in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis (A.A.S)* (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1965), No. 76.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid.

love, justice and solidarity as the expression of Christian virtue,⁵⁸⁹ and the attention to determine the situation or circumstance within which they were practiced, State politics or church ministry. In *Populorum progressio*, for example, the three principles of love, justice and solidarity are presented as equivalent but carefully distinguished from one another.⁵⁹⁰ But it was the synod of Bishops' observation in *Iustitia in Mundo* in 1971 that spelled out the scope of this distinction. Seeking to assert this mutuality between charity and justice in the service of society, the synod observed that "Christian love of neighbour and justice cannot be separated. For love implies an absolute demand for justice, namely recognition of the dignity and rights of one's neighbor. Justice attains its inner fullness only in love."⁵⁹¹ Although Benedict XVI seems to have overemphasized the details of the distinction between social justice pursued by political governments, from the Church's special calling to charity, his distinctions could be read in the context of collaboration between two distinct institutions. Thus, the two "are distinct yet always interrelated."⁵⁹² As a moral virtue, Benedict argues, justice is a problem of practical reason. "But if reason is to be exercised properly, it must undergo constant purification, since it can never be

⁵⁸⁹ Cf. Verstraeten, "Justice Subordinated to Love?" 400-401. See also Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church*, No. 283.

⁵⁹⁰ Cf. Paul VI, "*Populorum Progressio*," in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis (A.A.S.)*, ed. Libreria Editrice Vaticana (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1967), Nos. 44, 61, 66. In the encyclical, solidarity and love are defined in voluntaristic terms: they are considered from the perspective of the free decision of a person or a group with regards to the poor. Solidarity is described as the aid that the richer nations must give to developing nations. Universal charity is defined as the effort to build a more humane world community, where all can give and receive. On the other hand, justice is defined in structural terms as the rectification of trade relations between strong and weak nations. See also Verstraeten, "Justice Subordinated to Love?" 390.

⁵⁹¹ Synod of Bishops. 1971. "*Iustitia in Mundo*." <http://www.shc.edu/theolibrary/resources/synodjw.htm>, (accessed 2 August 2010). No. 34.

⁵⁹² Benedict XVI, "*Deus Caritas Est*," No. 28.

completely free of the danger of a certain ethical blindness caused by the dazzling effect of power and special interests.” The emphasis here appears consistent with the traditional regard for virtue as the motive for Christian pursuit of social justice. In conclusion it can be observed that as long as social justice is understood in the background of Christian virtue, it will respect the necessary collaboration between the political and ecclesial institutions whose distinct contribution to society complement rather than exclude each other. Where particular teaching introduces issues that are explicitly wide off-the-mark with regard to consensus traditional positions, “the wisdom of the Catholic social thought as a living social tradition will lead to the necessary corrections,”⁵⁹³ being made in the spirit of the worlds of Cardinal Etchegaray: “The Church offers simply a meeting with the Risen Christ, with Him who both generates and fulfils a hunger for justice that is deeper than that of men.”⁵⁹⁴

Lastly, we observe the Church’s own attitude towards human rights which is argued to still impact rather negatively on her respect and practice of human rights as pointed out in the fourth and fifth criticisms above. This criticism is largely connected with the immediate and later reception of the rights language used by John XXIII in the encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, just before and after the Second Vatican Council. From history, the rights language in the church circles suffered unsavory taste since enlightenment culminating in the French Revolution. Its use in the church remained suspect after Pius IX anathemized tenets of the movements thought to be dangerous at the time, negating either the place of god or the Church in society through the encyclical ‘Syllabus of Errors’ in 1864.⁵⁹⁵ The rejection of key tenet on which the entire secular

⁵⁹³ Verstraeten, “A Ringing Endorsement of Capitalism?” 63.

⁵⁹⁴ Etchegaray, in *Ethique, économie et développement* 262.

⁵⁹⁵ Drew Christiansen, “Commentary on *Pacem in Terris*,” in *Modern Catholic Social Teaching*, ed. Kenneth R. Himes, Lisa Sowle Cahill, et al (Washington D.C: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 224.

society's human rights tradition built on, was particularly significant, namely: that "Human reason, without any reference whatsoever to God, is the sole arbiter of truth and falsehood, and of good and evil; it is law to itself, and suffices, by its natural force, to secure the welfare of men and of nations."⁵⁹⁶ Furthermore, that "The Church is not a true and perfect society, entirely free- nor is she endowed with proper and perpetual rights of her own, conferred upon her by her Divine Founder; but it appertains to the civil power to define what are the rights of the Church, and the limits within which she may exercise those rights." And that "The immunity of the Church and of ecclesiastical persons derived its origin from civil law."⁵⁹⁷

This definitive position against schools of thought supportive of human rights did not prepare a greater part of the Church to the 'rights talk' of Pope John XXIII and later popularized by post-Vatican II teachings. Instead the rights talk, published first in *Pacem in Terris*, was received quite reluctantly with suspicion by sections of the Church. As Drew Christiansen points out, the encyclical's sympathy to Enlightenment and political liberalism generated more suspicion than excitement.⁵⁹⁸ Furthermore, the encyclical's recourse to rights language itself constituted an intellectual challenge. While its teaching affirms individual rights, its emphasis was 'communitarian,' where human being are viewed as persons with claims on one another and whose full

⁵⁹⁶ Pius IX. 1864. "Syllabus of Errors." <http://www.dailycatholic.org/syllabus.htm>, (accessed 18 September 2010). No. 3. Stephen Buckle allows us a glimpse into the origin of the theory of human rights that first distanced God and religion in the debate on Natural law. See Stephen Buckle, "Natural Law," in *A Companion to Ethics*, ed. Peter Singer (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 166-168.

⁵⁹⁷ Pius IX. "Syllabus of Errors." Nos. 19, 30. The Church identified errors, mostly of modernism, and liberalism that were condemned by the Church as anathema. Its propositions were attached to the Encyclical *Quanta Cura*. See Pius IX. 1864. "*Quanta Cura*: Condemning Current Errors." <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius09/p9quanta.htm>, (accessed 18 September 2010).

⁵⁹⁸ Christiansen, "Commentary on *Pacem in Terris*," 226, 236.

flourishing takes place in community.⁵⁹⁹ Secondly, the rights teaching espoused a priority order among rights that focused its attention to human life, its integrity, and to culture and religion.⁶⁰⁰ The civil, political and economic rights come only after, and sometimes in submission to the priority rights.⁶⁰¹ The attempt by John Paul II to affirm the indivisibility and interconnection of all human rights not only risked branding his thoughts pro-liberal among catholics, it also faced fierce attacks from both Marxist socialists and authoritarian capitalists alike.⁶⁰² The argument is that any attempt to lamp together on the same level, the fulfillment of basic needs espoused by economic right, with

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid. Oliver F. Williams, "Catholic Social Teaching: A Communitarian Democratic Capitalism for the New World Order " in *Catholic Social Thought and the New World Order*, ed. Oliver F. Williams and John W. Houch (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 5-21.

⁶⁰⁰ John XXIII, "*Pacem in Terris*" No. 11-14, 15-27.

⁶⁰¹ Paul VI, "*Populorum progressio*," No. 23. Interpreting the Church Fathers' teaching on the need to share with the poor, Paul VI quotes the words of St. Ambrose: "You are not making a gift of what is yours to the poor man, but you are giving him back what is his. You have been appropriating things that are meant to be for the common use of everyone. The earth belongs to everyone, not to the rich." According to him, these words indicate that the right to private property is not absolute and unconditional. No one may appropriate surplus goods solely for his own private use when others lack the bare necessities of life. In short, the right of private property may never be exercised to the detriment of the common good.

⁶⁰² Cf. Speeches of John Paul II, 1980:74. In this speech addressed to the United Nations general Assembly, John Paul II affirmed his vision of the Catholic social thought that links the basic economic rights of all persons (to food, shelter, work, health care, social security, etc), with the civil and political rights at the foundation of the democracies of the West (freedom of speech, belief, assembly, association, habeas corpus, due process, etc). He effectively called for economic and political structures which will guarantee both bread and freedom to all person. Thus: "All these human rights taken together are in keeping with the substance of the dignity of the human being, understood in his entirety, not as reduced to one dimension only." This according to David Hollenbach, describes the Catholic Church's social ethical perspective which has often been called a 'third way,' a mediating approach between liberal capitalism and Marxist socialism. This third way has had several forms and has gone by a number of names since the time of Leo XIII: solidarism, corporatism, or Christian democracy.

the protection of fundamental freedoms espoused by political rights, and enhancement of the relational bonds of human community espoused by civil rights represents a moralistic approach to social policy that attempts to deduce a description of the way the world works from the way one would like it to be.⁶⁰³ This is dismissed by the Church's critics as 'an abstraction' or 'a utopian vision which portrays an organic model of society in which economic justice and political liberty are harmonized. "They fail to recognize the genuine conflicts which exist in societies and refuse to make the hard choices which have to be made in the formation of public policy." ⁶⁰⁴As a result, the Church has in most cases maintained an overall cautious if not reluctant attitude towards other rights, especially the political and civil rights.

These prejudices have not only resulted in the Church's overt suspicion towards human rights movements resulting in failure to cooperate in critical situations of need, but have also tended to compromise the Church hierarchy's relationship with its employees, not to mention the growing disquiet of the alleged abuse of human rights in the houses of formation and communities of the clergy and the religious men and women. In their assessment of the plight of Internally Displaced Person (IDPs) in Kenya, Lynnete Mukhongo and Cathrine Buteyo, for example, decried the "virtual absence of actors addressing the root cause of internal displacement."⁶⁰⁵ This in their view has "left glaring assistance and protection needs unfulfilled." This followed their high regard for the Church as one among the most privileged institutions in the country whose potential both to advocate for the rights of IDPs

⁶⁰³ Cf. David Hollenbach, "Both Bread and Freedom: The Interconnection of Economic and Political Rights in Recent Catholic Thought," in *Human Rights and the Global Mission of the Church*, ed. Boston Theological Institute (Cambridge: 1985), 31-34.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid., 32.

⁶⁰⁵ Lynnete Lusike Mukhongo and Cathryne Buteyo, "Human Rights Violation of the Internally Displaced Persons (Idps)," *African Ecclesial Review (AFER)* 52, 53, no. No. 4 & No. 1 (2011): 31.

and to practically champion reconciliation and resettlement appears 'swallowed up.'⁶⁰⁶ Furthermore, it is no longer uncommon to hear allegations of unjust payments and poor working conditions of Church workers on one hand against the intrigues of disproportionate comfort and alleged abuse of individual rights in the convents and formation houses of the religious men and women, and among the clergy. Begona Innara touches on this subject in her call for the religious men and women to practice justice, peace and integrity.⁶⁰⁷ She decried the rampant tendency to enjoy the comfort of the convent and lose sight of the glaring harsh realities of life of the suffering lot of the poor, the sick, refugees, the displaced victims and wars and violence around them. In her wake-up call, she maintains that the promotion of justice and peace cannot be just a 'task', but must spring forth from an experience and an internal conviction "Those working in this ministry need to live the spirituality of justice and peace in their daily lives. A commitment to justice, peace and integrity can be realized at the community, congregational or provincial level."⁶⁰⁸

In conclusion, it is observable that despite the age-old wealth of values, teachings and experience that accompanies the Church's tradition, the Church still faces real challenges in her involvement in the service of the needy in society. The success and influence of the Church in guiding society towards equity, justice and solidarity of love will depend on visionary leadership capable of deeper discernment of and dialogue with the currents of the post-modern society. As regards the problem of hunger in view of people's entitlement to decent living, the legal experts opinion and research acumen is indispensable as will be shown in the next section.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid.: 32-35.

⁶⁰⁷ Cf. Begona Innara, "Religious Formation in the Light of Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation," *African Ecclesial Review (AFER)* 45, no. 1 (2003): 72-84, 81

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid., 81.

3.4 A Critical and Evaluative View of Eide's Right to Food Approach and The Catholic Social Teaching's Solutions for Hunger

3.4.1 Background

The human rights approach to the problem of hunger as pursued in this analysis considers both the civil society effort backed by the legal framework of the United Nations, as is elaborately demonstrated in the work of the expert Asbjørn Eide, and the socio-religious narrative advanced in the social teaching of the Church. As we focus the gains made by these two important traditions, it is equally pertinent to critically highlight the general weaknesses of each approach. A critique of these two traditions shall not only highlight the possible reasons behind the ineffectiveness of the human rights approach despite being society's preference, but will also expose their mutual strengths that could be exploited for an even stronger approach the human rights (to food). But before the critique, it is worthwhile clarifying the concerns of the two traditions.

The human rights theory owes much to the age long debate on natural law doctrine. At a certain point in time of the history of this debate, scholars emphasized the capacity of right reason over and above the theistic tendencies in the doctrine. In its new emphasis, the popular version of the human rights theory today relies more on the capacity of right reason where a body of certain basic claims (rights) actually constitute a law, in reference to the person who claims them.⁶⁰⁹ Such

⁶⁰⁹ Cf. Stephen Buckle, "Natural Law," in *A Companion to Ethics*, ed. Peter Singer (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991), 166-168. Earlier version of natural law had a stronger theistic tendency where God, the creator of all, guided His creation to its intended end. In both ancient and medieval accounts, it was held that the law of nature was, in some sense, implanted in us by God. However, along history, boosted by Thomas Aquinas' distinction between natural and eternal law, it was also held that this law was the law of our nature and consisted in the capacity of (right) reason. Belief in God was not necessarily an essential

claims are considered a ‘moral quality’ of a person and enable the person to do something lawfully. Since it makes moral action possible, this ‘moral quality’ at the same time was understood as a moral power or capacity that ascribed the individual an independent moral significance recognized by law.⁶¹⁰ The commitment to obey this law was more binding than the struggle to know its source. Among moral philosophers there was considerable agreement about the human capacity to discern right and wrong but less about the source of the right or the wrong or even reality, of a sufficient reason to act accordingly.⁶¹¹ From this background, basic human claims first found expression from the ideal conceptions of political philosophers like Thomas Hobbes, Jean Jacques Rousseau and John Locke.⁶¹² They would then only be fully recognized

part of the doctrine. Early modern law also tended to be very general in its conclusions and so not always very helpful as a guide on issues that required urgent practical redress. This apparent ‘black spots’ of the natural law theory provided the basis for the secular theory of human rights. In the political turmoil and disputes of the 17th century among European nations, general doubt had been cast on the ability of natural law as a guide of the practical life of society. At this time, international relations were approached with moral scepticism, and were considered to have a greater capacity for harm. It was believed that there are no moral rules to govern the conduct of conflict between nations, or in the even stronger view that ‘reasons of state’ override ordinary moral considerations. Moral scepticism at this time did not concern much the conduct of individual lives. The Dutch lawyer, Hugo Grotius, also known as the father of modern natural law, focused on the secular version of natural law and hoped to provide a moral framework for nations that could thereby serve to secure peace. In his major work, *On the Law of War and Peace* (published in 1625, in the middle of the Thirty years’ war), Grotius not only documented general principles that should govern such enquiry, he also adjudicated in detail on the common sources of dispute that led nations into conflict. His hope was to provide a moral framework for nations that could thereby serve to secure peace. His principles provided the basis of modern natural law. Grotius’s most distinctive contribution, however, was to translate natural law into a modern theory of human rights.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid., 167.

⁶¹¹ Ibid.

⁶¹² John Rawls, *Lectures on the History of Political Philosophy* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 23-138, 191-229. According to Thomas Hobbes (1558-1651), the ‘state of nature’ grants each person a right

as human rights when they are adopted by authoritative bodies of society in positive statements of norms or principles. Thus, positive law was the practical expression of what was an only ideal conception into recognized and respected human rights.⁶¹³ In this tradition, positive law

or license to everything in the world, this would lead to ‘war of all against all,’ (*bellum omnium contra omnes*), leading to lives that are solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short. To escape this state of war, men in the state of nature accede to a ‘social contract’ and establish a civil society. Society then is a population beneath a sovereign authority to whom all individuals in that society cede their natural rights for the sake of protection. Consequently, Hobbes advocated an authoritarian monarchy. Any abuses of power by this authority are to be accepted as the price of peace. The sovereign must control civil, military, judicial and ecclesiastical powers. John Locke (1632-1689) believed that human nature is characterized by reason and tolerance. The state of nature is a state of perfect freedom and equality, but this nature allowed men to be selfish. In a natural state all people were equal and independent, and everyone had a natural right to defend his “life, health, liberty, or possessions.” But the sole right to defend in the state of nature was not enough so people established a civil society to resolve conflicts in a civil way with help from government in a state of society. Accordingly, Locke advocated a liberal democracy, advocating governmental separation of powers recommending revolution as obligatory in some circumstances. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), believed that man is naturally good, but the effects of social institutions bear bad influence on man and can make man bad. “Man was born free, and he is everywhere in chains. One man thinks himself the master of others, but remains more of a slave than they.” The state of nature was a primitive condition without law or morality. As society developed, man becomes prone to be in frequent competition with his fellow men while also becoming increasingly dependent on them. This double pressure threatens both his survival and his freedom in a state of nature that only comprised of primitive conditions without law or morality. But in a social contract, human beings leave this condition for the benefits and necessity of cooperation. By joining together into civil society through the social contract and abandoning their claims of natural right, individuals can both preserve themselves and remain free. This is because submission to the authority of the general will of the people as a whole guarantees individuals against being subordinated to the wills of others and also ensures that they obey the social contract themselves because they are, collectively, the authors of the law. Consequently Rousseau advocated liberal republicanism. Social contract theories were instrumental at the declaration of independence that established the present status of many nations as states. They still appear in the works of distinguished political theorists and philosophers like John Rawls.

⁶¹³ Asbjørn Eide, *The Right to Adequate Food as a Human Right* (New York: United Nations, 1989), 13.

is the practical expression of human rights. In other words, human rights are practical acts rather than a speculation of ideals. Positive law gives them their rightful practical meaning. At international level, "the process of transformation from ideals to positive law started with the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948."⁶¹⁴ According to Stephen Buckle, the transition from natural law theory to human rights theory introduced by Hugo Grotius,⁶¹⁵ also implied a change of understanding of morality. "Whereas morality had previously been more commonly understood as the cluster of obligations generated by the patterns of interdependence of human social life, it would subsequently be understood as the result of voluntary transactions between independent moral agents, with the further implication of the moral significance of the separateness of persons."⁶¹⁶ The success of this conception however, can only be gauged by considering the predominance of the contract theories of political legitimacy, which presuppose it.⁶¹⁷ In this context also, what distantly binds people to the state in right and duty is the implied social contract. The law thus, becomes the only tool that keeps the relationship between the two.⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁴ Ibid. The process of transformation from ideals to positive law is still going on at two levels: Internationally, human rights are gradually given more substance by way of concretization of the obligations of States. Nationally, the requirements of the international human rights system are gradually being implemented in national law and administration. See also Danilo Turk, "Reflections on Human Rights, Sovereignty of States and the Principle of Non-Intervention," in *Human Rights and Criminal Justice for the Downtrodden: Essays in Honour of Asbjørn Eide*, ed. Morten Bergsmo (Leiden: Marinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2003), 754-756.

⁶¹⁵ Buckle, "Natural Law," 166-167.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid., 168.

⁶¹⁷ Cf. Brenda Almond, "Rights," in *A Companion to Ethics*, ed. Peter Singer (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 163-164.

⁶¹⁸ Rawls, *Lectures on the History of Political Philosophy*, 62-67, 115-116, 194-202. The starting point of most of the social contract theories is the "state of nature" where an individual's action are bound only by his or her personal power constrained by conscience, and outside resistance. From this common starting point, the various proponents of social contract theory attempt to

Asbjørn Eide's approach in the formulation of the right to food as an international legal instrument, developed from within the United Nations' understanding. From the 1980s Asbjørn Eide led other experts through a lengthy study, research and discussion aimed at improving and updating the meaning of this right as found in the UDHR documents. The efforts culminated in the operational definition of the right to food set out in the General Comment 12 in 2003. In interpreting this provision, Asbjørn Eide employs the prevailing pattern that elaborated on four items: the content, the beneficiaries, the duty-holders and the mechanisms to promote compliance. Furthermore, the normative-activist methodology he employs in advancing the right to food, embraces the entire scope of modern civil society approach to issues of human rights. It espouses formal ideological legalism in interpreting and formulating technicalities involved, as well as practically encouraging advocacy for the right to food. Asbjørn Eide's work deliberately inclines towards a specific orientation, that is, positive law position. In summary, this is a legalistic approach to the human rights issue that has its own history, methodology and expert proponents.

This conception of rights is rather different from the traditional moral perspective. An ethical reflection given by Brenda Almond, sheds light to this difference. She first of all confirms that 'rights' belong to a tradition of ethical reasoning, which goes back to antiquity. In this

explain, in different ways, why it is in an individual's rational self-interest to voluntarily give up the freedom one has in the state of nature in order to obtain the benefits of political order. Thomas Hobbes (1651), John Locke (1689) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1762) were the most famous philosophers of contractarianism, but they drew quite different conclusions from this starting-point. Hobbes advocated an authoritarian monarchy, Locke advocated a liberal monarch, while Rousseau advocated liberal republicanism. Their work provided theoretical groundwork of constitutional monarchy, liberal democracy and republicanism. Social contract theories were instrumental at the declaration of independence that established the present status of many nations as states. They still appear in the works of distinguished political theorists and philosophers like John Rawls.

tradition, the term has legal overtones and “the roots of the conception of human rights lie in the doctrine of natural law.”⁶¹⁹ The practical ethical discussions of ‘rights,’ therefore, involve the debate on human rights whose justification is essentially ethical.⁶²⁰ Although the civil society has likewise made effort to enshrine the ‘rights’ in law, seeking “to convert their justification into a matter of fact and practice,”⁶²¹ its perspective is widely different from the traditional moral/ethical perspective within which ‘rights’ have been discussed over the centuries. As Andrew Clapham observes, “when governments, activists, or United Nations documents refer to ‘human rights’ today they are almost certainly referring to the human rights recognized in international and national law rather than rights in a moral or philosophical sense.”⁶²² It is against this background that we consider some loopholes and weaknesses of both the normative-activist and moral-ethical versions and then explore their mutual strengths in order to recommend a viable way forward.

3.4.2 The Centrality of the Nation-State Compromises Responsibility

A weakness often cited in the secular version of human rights approach is its tendency to overemphasize the state institution over and above the individual person. The historical circumstances surrounding

⁶¹⁹ Cf. Almond, "Rights," 22. See also Buckle, "Natural Law," 166-168.

⁶²⁰ This tradition, by and large, forms the basis of the Church's social teaching on human rights. Its tenets espouse natural law doctrine in its original version holding that the law of nature was, in some sense, implanted in us by God, and are constructed around a social anthropology that prioritizes a common good beneficial to the entire universal human family. Cf. John XXIII, *On Establishing Universal Peace in Truth, Justice, Charity and Liberty, (Pacem in Terris)* (1963), No.98.

⁶²¹ Almond, "Rights," 22.

⁶²² Andrew Clapham, *Human Rights: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 23.

the secular human rights theory accord the State institution conspicuous centrality. It is the primary locus within which human rights are defined, interpreted, implemented and evaluated. At the level of interpretation, the duty-holders of the right to food are the state, the individual and the international community, but the state plays the key role of respecting, protecting and fulfilling human rights including the right to food.⁶²³ Both individual and international obligations are given comparatively minimal attention. In fact it is the State that designs measures to promote observance, on the part of individuals, of their relevant duties with respect to the right to food.⁶²⁴ This is often interpreted in the light of article 29 (2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which recognizes the legitimate competence of the State to impose duties on the individuals.⁶²⁵ At ratification level, a right to food for example, became effective only when member-state representatives of the United Nations append their signatures in agreement with the rest. Though human rights carry a universal character on the strength of their moral authority, once ratified the right to food, like any other right, benefits

⁶²³ Eide, "The Right to Adequate Food as A Human Right," 154. The obligation to respect the right to food requires the state and thereby all its organs and agents, to abstain from doing anything that violates the integrity of the individual or infringes on his or her freedom beyond what is permitted in the human right system. The obligation to protect requires the state to take necessary measures to prevent other individuals or groups from violating the integrity, freedom of action or other human rights of the individual. The obligation to fulfil requires the state to take measures necessary to ensure possibilities for everyone within their jurisdiction to obtain satisfaction of those needs which have found expression in the human rights system.

⁶²⁴ Philip Alston, "International Law and the Right to Food," 171, 172.

⁶²⁵ UN. 1948. "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights." <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html#ap>, (accessed 25 March 2009). Article 29 (2) states: "In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society." See also Eide, "The International Human Rights System," 154-155.

individuals only in so far as the state is willing to pass the benefit. As Asbjørn Eide observes “Only in the context of an organized society with public authorities does the notion of ‘human rights’ make sense.”⁶²⁶ In view of the state’s centrality, successful establishment of any right implies an elaborate bureaucracy. The need to be thorough with the set-up machinery and structures many a time compromises the significance of the victim at the centre of the entire struggle. This, no doubt, contributes significantly to the gap noticeable today between the ideal expert theories and the practical implementation of the human rights.⁶²⁷

The critical ethical issue at stake here is three-fold. First of all, experts observe the logical distance between the state and the people that follow the very conception of the state institution as envisaged in the legal version of rights. As observed above, the persuasion of the

⁶²⁶ Asbjørn Eide, "The International Human Rights System," in *Food as a Human Right*, ed. Asbjørn Eide et al. (Tokyo: The United Nations University, 1984), 153.

⁶²⁷ The church’s teaching set out especially in the apostolic letter *Octogesima Adveniens*, and the encyclicals *Redemptor Hominis*, and *Centesimus Annus*, and has consistently developed a view on this discrepancy that identifies weaknesses of the normative-activist approach whilst upholding its traditional missionary approach of love. In his apostolic letter, *Octogesima Adveniens* (1971, No. 23), Paul VI observed that despite the progress made through statements of human rights and variously seeking approval of the same by the United Nations, various forms of discrimination continually reappear on the base: ethnic, cultures, religions and others. Eight years later, 1979, John Paul II, in his encyclical *Redemptor Hominis* (No. 17), lamented the unfortunate gap between the ‘letter’ and the ‘spirit’ of the human rights. This was responsible for “a century of great calamities, where people have provided many injustices and sufferings for themselves.” The encyclical cites the proliferation of concentration camps, violence, torture, terrorism and various forms of discrimination. In *Centesimus Annus* (1991), the same Pope observed the prevailing of democratic ideals over and above the communist totalitarianism. But contrary to the expectation of many, rights are still not respected exposing particularly the sad scandal of abortion, and the different aspects of crisis within democracies themselves, which seem to have lost the ability to make decisions in favour of the common good. The church’s position on this discrepancy argues that legislation alone is not sufficient for setting up true relationships of justice and equity among peoples, see also *Octogesima Adveniens*, No. 23.

predominant contract theory and the law become the only tools relied upon to foster relationship between the state and the people with the likelihood that the voluntary moral engagement is compromised. Consequently, the ties that bind the individual to the state remain loose and vulnerable lacking in coherence required for effective practical national outcomes. Unavoidably, experts opine that the relationship between the state and the citizen shall appear rather distant and impersonal in the absence of a strong moral discourse.⁶²⁸ According to Brenda Almond, the situation is even more difficult with the universal human rights which are claimed both as moral rights and also aspired to as legal rights.⁶²⁹ The net effect is the gradual widening of a gap between the citizens and the state, effectively reducing the state's moral authority to manage efficient and responsive relations necessary for the implementation of the right to food. Secondly, the loose and detached relationship considerably diminishes the idea of responsibility. Who among the state and its citizens takes the direct responsibility to stem the problem of hunger in any country? Stephen Buckle identifies two most distinctive features of the 'modernized' natural law version: "its secularism and its individualist theory of rights, are vulnerable at the same point, thus making the question of obligation perhaps the most persistent problem in this tradition."⁶³⁰ In this version of the state, experts argue that one's obligation to perform certain duties is at the same time one's right. But given the individual's moral command over his/her own claims (rights), one can suspend any right, and therefore any duty, by choice, one can renege it whenever one finds it convenient. If

⁶²⁸ Almond, "Rights," 261.

⁶²⁹ Ibid. Brenda Almond distinguishes between three broad categories of rights: the universal human rights, specific legal rights, and specific moral rights. Whereas the last two are clear cut distinct as either legal or moral, the first category, held by human rights advocates, are claimed both as moral and legal at the same time.

⁶³⁰ Cf. Ibid., 168.

everybody freely adopts this attitude the consequences are definitely injurious to a society whose well being depends so much on benevolent exchange of duties and rights between individuals and on individual commitment to the common goal of the state. It is also clear in the analysis of Asbjørn Eide that the state itself is excusable in its duty to implement and safeguard the human right to food. It can claim undue pressure from external forces or it can impose unmanageable duties to its citizens in the face of a crisis.⁶³¹ Both of these are possibilities at the disposal of the state to excuse itself from responsibility in fulfilling its duty to implement the right to food. In the situation of hunger, these openly allow for a number of other deaths of malnourished children, pregnant and lactating mothers as well as in a famine emergency.

According to the experts, where the understanding of responsibility is ambiguous such as precipitated by the legalistic version, the pursuit of the human right to food will tend to emphasize the pragmatic utilitarian aspect of enjoyment of the food available probably at the expense of basic human social values that last and build mankind's welfare and dignity.⁶³² In consequence, experts envisage the inclination of this approach towards secular positivist utilitarianism. Within this mindset, it is argued that the sense of obligation is compromised. The effects soon reflect in society's relaxed participation in food security initiatives.⁶³³ It is noteworthy that Asbjørn Eide launched his search for right-to-food law from the point of view of food security. This rightly presupposes

⁶³¹ Eide, "The International Human Rights System," 154-155. However, the extent of the limitations that can be imposed will always be open to debate though the guidelines in the provision from article 29 must be taken into account. In practical circumstances, the duties and limitations imposed must not go beyond what is justly required in a democratic society.

⁶³² Cf. Robert E. Goodin, "Utility and the Good," in *A Companion to Ethics*, ed. Peter Singer (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 242-245.

⁶³³ Note that Asbjørn Eide's struggle is motivated by, and departs from the fact of food security, that is, from a presumption of abundance. All that lacks is to enjoy what has been produced and is available. It avoids the details of producing and distributing the food.

both availability and accessibility of food supplies. But the simple acknowledgement of this as necessary does not necessarily put requisite emphasis on the other side of the struggle involved in food security, for example, the details involved in the production of food, the harsh weather conditions, the transportation hustles and other difficulties. Nor does the rights approach ensure proper legal or policy anchorage of provisions for improved agricultural production of food especially in the poor countries where the problem of hunger bites most. This comes clearly in the framing of the right to food itself emphasizing that this right does not imply being given food by the state.⁶³⁴ Asbjørn Eide's thoughts on the right to food operate within the frame of reference criticized here. The same criticism may be directed to his human right approach to the issues of hunger.⁶³⁵ The question of obligation cannot be ignored in the search for a solution to the problem of hunger today. Facing the scourge of hunger and malnutrition, any careful search for solution would aim at securing structures and values that are able to effectively address the problem of hunger and malnutrition as it occurs in different times and circumstances. Prescribing complete solutions triggered simply by an invocation of one's right to food would imply a deep-seated utilitarian attitude with its implications as seen above.

⁶³⁴ Robinson, "Forward," xxiii.

⁶³⁵ Cf. Asbjørn Eide, "The Importance of Economic and Social Rights in the Age of Economic Globalisation," in *Food and Human Rights in Development*, ed. Wenche Barth Eide and Uwe Kracht (Oxford: Intersentia, 2005), 4. The conception of the State institution in the works of Asbjørn Eide no doubt shares in many aspects the core of the thought of Hugo Grotius. The changes envisaged by the UN Charter implied, among others, an aim to make the state system universal rather than being restricted mainly to Europe, the Americas and a few Asian states, through application of the principle of self-determination of peoples. Secondly, the Charter sought to safeguard the integrity of all states, also the small and weak, by outlawing the use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any state. Thirdly, the UN Charter established new kinds of responsibilities for all states. Asbjørn Eide builds on the objectives of the UN and continues a school of thought contemporary to the establishment of the UN Charter.

Thirdly, the idea of ownership of the right to food, and therefore the legitimacy of the claim to the said food consequently remains vague following the disproportionate centrality of the State in the struggle, and the explicit failure to be definite about responsibility. It also constitutes a crucial moral dilemma in the human rights approach to a humanitarian situation under consideration. This may be attributed to the implicit radical departure from the traditional moral understanding of rights. The right to food set out in the General Comment 12 in 2003 reads:

The right to adequate food is realized when every man, woman and child alone or in a community with others, have physical and economic access at all times to adequate food or means for its procurement. The core content of the Right to Adequate Food implies the availability of food in quantity and quality sufficient to satisfy the dietary needs of individuals free from adverse substances, and acceptable within a given culture, (and) the accessibility of such food in ways that are sustainable and that do not interfere with the enjoyment of other human rights.⁶³⁶

Analyzing the meaning of this right in the legal categories of content, beneficiaries, duty-holders and the mechanisms to promote compliance, the right to food benefits the individual only in so far as he or she belongs to a structured state. It does not explicitly identify the immediate beneficiary of the right to food between the state and the individual. It could be either of them, or none of them, or in fact both of

⁶³⁶ Wenche Barth Eide and Uwe Kracht, "The Right to Adequate Food in Human Rights Instruments: Legal Norms and Interpretation," in *Food and Human Rights in Development*, ed. Wenche Barth Eide and Uwe Kracht (Antwerpen: Intersentia, 2005), 104. Under International Human Rights System, General Comments are expert interpretations of human rights Treaties or Covenants issued by the respective supervising treaty bodies. They incorporate country-level experience made with human rights implementation as evidence through the obligatory State Parties reporting to these bodies and other sources of information.

them.⁶³⁷ Furthermore, the normative aspect of this particular right does not immediately secure the benefit of the individual in the sense of “handing free food to everyone”, rather it identifies the state as the key duty-bearer obligated to fulfil the demands of this right.⁶³⁸ Owing to the economic realities of our time where food is a commodity that can be hoarded depending on conditions of demand and supply, deliberate food scarcity could come as a result of a corrupt state machinery or business minded stewards of the very right to food. The consequence is reflected in a continued under-nutrition even when food is in plenty.⁶³⁹

The identity of the genuine subject of human rights is lost in the intricacy of formulation and implementation of the laws. The answer as to who the legitimate owner of the right to food is, may only be reasoned out as a probable dilemma between the state and the individual citizens. The failure of this approach to adequately consider the human person as its central concern may be feared to either slow down or all together impede the implementation of the right to food. Moralists today emphasize a phenomenological approach to understanding the meaning of the human person adequately considered in all its dimensions and ramifications.⁶⁴⁰ Given that the right to food is bound to be implemented in the limitations of anthropological setting of the human person, this approach, whose justification is essentially ethical, is feared to encounter impediments at the implementation level.⁶⁴¹ Then there is the crucial ethical issue of inner conviction or intention that precedes all human acts/duties and consequent rights. The implied balance between rights and duties in the ordinary moral discussion on the subject requires

⁶³⁷ Cf. Alston., "International Law and the Right to Food," 166.

⁶³⁸ Cf. Robinson, "Forward," xx.

⁶³⁹ Sen, "Food Entitlement and Economic Chains," 374-376.

⁶⁴⁰ Cf. Joseph Selling, "The Human Person," 95-109. Human person adequately considered exhibits special relation to the whole reality, material world, cultural groups, history, other people, the self, corporeality and above all, manifests individual uniqueness that forms the centre of his/her moral considerability.

⁶⁴¹ Cf. Eide, "The International Human Rights System," 158.

motivated activity that proceeds from good intention for the common good. In the event of uncertainty with regard to the rightful owner of the right to food, the implementation of the same is compromised. In the words of Pope Paul VI: "If beyond the legal rules, there is no deeper feeling of respect for and service to others, then even equality before the law can serve as an alibi for flagrant discrimination, continued exploitation and actual contempt."⁶⁴² The implicit ethical dilemma in this analysis, therefore, is in the unclear ownership of the right to food.

3.4.3 Short Falls in Methodology and Enforcement Hurdles

3.4.3.1 Normative-Activist Method

The issue of enforcement of the human right to food remains perhaps the biggest hurdle on the way of the human rights approach. This is one of the difficulties that cut across both the civil and religio-social perspectives. The history of the struggle for human rights by both the church and civil society records massive non-compliance by the member-states even after a right is promulgated as such. While this calls into question the methodologies employed by these traditions whose record in the support of human rights has a long history, the complexity of the scope and structure presupposed by the approach remains at the centre stage. Regarding methodologies pursued in this initiative, the question has often been that of relevance: how do the methods employed in this venture connect to the reality of the society they serve? In his active involvement in formulating the right to food as an international rights law, Asbjørn Eide embraces both practical and theoretical strategies in a blend that structures his normative-activist methodology. This methodology enables Asbjørn Eide to influence the effectiveness of the right to food both ideologically by interpreting and formulating legal

⁶⁴² Paul VI, "*Octogesima Adveniens*," in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1971), No.23.

technicalities involved, as well as practically encouraging advocacy for the right to food. While this so-called normative-activist methodology remains appropriate in most circumstances, the interpretation of the ideal and the attitude generated among different people vary from place to place. In his analysis of the persistent dissent of cultural anthropologists to the human rights movement, Andrew Clapham admits: "Respect for others, the protection of human dignity, equality, self-determination, and tolerance of others' beliefs can arguably be discerned in many cultures, traditions, and religious ... the reality is that the correct balance between the liberty of the individual and the needs of the community will vary depending on the context."⁶⁴³

This implies massive efforts to be invested in reinterpreting the laws, adapting them to specific circumstances and updating the relevance of the international law in question on a regular basis. In many countries, this exercise is difficult to come by if not outright impossible. Philip Alston for example, notes the failure to constantly update, interpret and reinforce this right to food over the years thus weakening its force to effectively address the problem of hunger. This, according to him, is evident in the recent legislations including the formulation of the Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition in 1974,⁶⁴⁴ and in the apparent lack of relevant organs which offer credible jurisprudence that could shed light on the norm of the right to food according to its various contexts. Consequently, though the norm is

⁶⁴³ Clapham, *Human Rights*, 66. However, Clapham quips that such an admission is not a negation of the idea of 'universal' human rights. The same fundamental human rights exists everywhere, but concrete questions regarding respect for individual rights in individual cases will yield different answers depending on the context. Briefly stated, the underlying idea that the dignity or moral worth of a person should be respected can be found in the values adopted by various peoples, religions, and civilizations.

⁶⁴⁴ Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. 16 November 1974. "Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition ". <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/malnutrition.htm>, (accessed 23 November 2010).

clearly enunciated, a number of experts project that no amount of strict legal construction or interpretation of the subsidiary norms will suffice to produce a clear and widely acceptable framework within which the right to food could be effectively operationalized.⁶⁴⁵

3.4.3.2. *The Limits of the Human Rights Approach*

The limitations of the human rights approach indeed affect its instrumentality in effecting the desired goals in the alleviation of hunger. This consideration questions the capacity of the approach in the fight against hunger: To what extent can the human rights approach facilitate the eradication of hunger? Danilo Turk captured better the technical reason behind the difficulty of implementing the human rights law. Like the UN Charter, the existential motivation of the UDHR was to prevent recurrence of war and large-scale human suffering. This led to the belief that human rights are universal and implementable through international co-operation. But experts observe that the Declaration itself is not a legal instrument. Its power is in its moral strength rather than in its legal enforceability.⁶⁴⁶ According to Danilo Turk, the legal character of the human rights gradually became a strength that added to their authority and influenced the legislative processes within states. Accordingly, the embodiment of human rights in legal norms brings with it all the problems involved in the interpretation and implementation of law. Coupled with the technical hurdles that mar the interpretation of the human rights laws,⁶⁴⁷ their implementation takes place within a complex

⁶⁴⁵ Alston, "International Law and the Right to Food," 174.

⁶⁴⁶ Turk, "Reflections on Human Rights," 754-755.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid. All legal norms, including human rights norms, have three essential dimensions: descriptive, prescriptive and constitutional. Each legal norm contains a description of the real life situation it intends to address, a prescription regarding the desired or prohibited behaviour and, finally, an identification of the norm's position in the hierarchy of legal norms. According to Danilo Turk, human rights norms in general are powerful in their content as basic constitutional norms. Many among them require as means of their implementation further specific norms of more detailed descriptive and

socio-political context of a sovereign state and often involves conflicting claims.

As it has been argued, the state institution remains the locus of the movement of human rights and other matters of social justice. Thomas Nagel, like many ethicists, points out that "the kind of all-encompassing collective practice or institution that is capable of being just in the primary sense can exist only under sovereign government. It is only the operation of such a system that one can judge to be just or unjust."⁶⁴⁸ However, the doctrine of non-interference in domestic affairs of individual states has in the entire 20th century been seen as foreclosure of meaningful human rights foreign policy.⁶⁴⁹ The considerations of the Universal Declarations of Human Rights still remain fairly low in the priority list of foreign policies of many States. Many nations remain non committal in discussing issues bordering on human rights of the citizens of other nations exhaustively. The fact that the concern for human rights is a global one, would therefore require definitive centralized authority that determines the rules and a centralized monopoly of the power of enforcement.⁶⁵⁰ In the absence of such an authority the enforcement of these rights will remain elusive. As a result, non-governmental organizations will continue to pile reports and propose legal framework but still lack pressure to ensure that these rights are realized in practice.⁶⁵¹

prescriptive content. The process of implementation of such norms embodying human rights requires further legal elaboration, both on the descriptive and prescriptive side. That elaboration takes place through further (international and national) legislation and jurisprudence. This outline indicates the importance of the legal system for the implementation of human rights, and current legal systems are predominantly national. There is need of an equally furnished system on an international level although the importance of international law-making and jurisprudence continues to grow.

⁶⁴⁸ Nagel, "The Problem of Global Justice," 418.

⁶⁴⁹ Clapham, *Human Rights*, 57.

⁶⁵⁰ Nagel, "The Problem of Global Justice," 418.

⁶⁵¹ Clapham, *Human Rights*, 57.

While in the legal approach this mainly refers to the structures of policy and law, in the church this alludes more to the fatigue associated to voluntarism. The religious version is vulnerably susceptible to voluntary fatigue. The repetition involved in volunteer contribution to relief funds or contributions in kind easily generates fatigue among contributors. Natural disasters in form of floods, tsunamis and earthquakes among others, come without notice and displace or claim unprecedented number of people. In every incident, the casualties, the costs and the amount of relief service is unknown. This all demands that people adjust rapidly and voluntarily. This is worsened by the thought that voluntarism be replaced by a legal or at least moral obligation. Every time an individual is requested to contribute, a second thought is to wish that every capable person is obligated to contribute, and perhaps contribute the same amount as everybody else. The disposition is such as observed by Peter Singer, namely, that if everyone in circumstances like mine were to give 5 dollars, I would have no obligation to give more than 5 dollars. In voluntarism, it is more or less certain that not everyone in circumstances like mine will give 5 dollars. While the total sum would have been substantial with the legal obligation, it remains uncertain and scarce in voluntary charity.⁶⁵² This thought burdens the contributor with the threat of ever contributing more than he had to if

⁶⁵² Peter Singer, "Famine, Affluence, and Morality," 389-390. However, Peter Singer goes on to disprove of this presumption by expounding on the condition presupposed in such thinking. The argument would convince us, unless we notice that it is based on a hypothetical premise, although the conclusion is not state hypothetically. It would be sound if the conclusion were like this: if everyone in circumstances like mine were to give 5 dollars, I would have no obligation to give more than 5 dollars. If the conclusion were so stated, however, it would be obvious that the argument has no bearing on a situation in which it is not the case that everyone else gives 5 dollars. This, of course, is the actual situation. It is more or less certain that not everyone in circumstances like mine will give 5 dollars. So there will not be enough to provide the needed food, shelter, and medical care. Therefore by giving more than 5 dollars I will prevent more suffering than I would if I gave just 5 dollars.

everybody else contributed. Thus voluntarism constantly faces the challenges of legalism and vice versa.⁶⁵³ The apparent preference of the opportunities of legal justice has been cited as a ground of voluntary fatigue. Charitable activities are therefore criticised as tending towards compromising justice. Pope Benedict XVI captured this criticism in these words:

The poor do not need charity but justice. Works of charity, almsgiving, are in effect a way for the rich to shirk their obligation to work for justice and a means of soothing their consciences, while preserving their own status and robbing the poor of their rights. Instead of contributing through individual works of charity to maintaining the status quo, we need to build a just social order in which all receive their share of the world's goods and no longer have to depend on charity.⁶⁵⁴

Although there are still acts which are charitable, it is wrong not to give in cases of glaring inequality and poverty resulting in painful suffering like hunger, starvation and famine. According to Peter Singer, "where people starve, everyone has duty to stop the suffering. We cannot thank people for 'being charitable' where it is first their duty to stop the suffering. Charity has the tendency of thanking people for their 'generosity' where they ought to give as a duty."⁶⁵⁵ In conclusion, it can be observed that the wider scope and structure that the human rights approach envisages renders it difficult to ensure the enforcement. The imperative to come to the aid of another human person who has human dignity like the rest but who has been unfairly disadvantaged under the scourge of hunger is not only a moral, it is also a legal concern. Hence,

⁶⁵³ Ibid., 389.

⁶⁵⁴ Benedict XVI, *Deus Caritas Est*, No.26. Since the nineteenth century, an objection has been raised to the Church's charitable activity claiming that the poor do not need charity but justice.

⁶⁵⁵ Singer, "Famine, Affluence, and Morality," 390-392.

while society addresses the pain of moral or legal omission, attempts to enforce its effort meet a series of impediments that negatively affect the struggle against hunger.

3.4.4 Skewed Understanding of the Nature and Source of Hunger

The legal-positivist view that focuses on the state, as noted above, legitimizes the interactions between citizens largely on the basis of rights and duties protected by law. Within the scope of such a structured social order, all relations between the conditions of different classes of people, and the causes of inequality between them is governed by justice.⁶⁵⁶ Consequently, the parting point of most of the analyses and even proposed solutions against the problems such as poverty, hunger and healthcare initiated and accomplished within such a social arrangement is dominantly the moral evil in which the main culprit is the deliberate or inadvertent human weakness. Blame is heavily apportioned to society's insensitivity to its problems. The sole originator and perpetrator of all the suffering in severe poverty through injustice and inequality in society is seen to be humankind. Likewise the solution lies in the cooperation of humankind. Writing on the constant poverty, a cyclone disaster and civil war that hit Bengal endangering the lives of more than 9 million people in the early 1970s, Peter Singer observed: "The decisions and action of human beings can prevent this kind of suffering. Unfortunately, human beings have not made the necessary decisions, for example, people dying around the world from lack of food, shelter, and medical care."⁶⁵⁷

This view is also reflected from other perspectives. In his article, 'What We Owe to Distant Others,' Leif Wenar, who through contractual

⁶⁵⁶ Cf. Nagel, "The Problem of Global Justice," 419. See also Aquinas, *S.T.*, II-II, q.57, 58.

⁶⁵⁷ Singer, "Famine, Affluence, and Morality," 387.

theory, manages to demonstrate a common moral disposition among all people to come to the help of those in need, faults human weakness in renegeing on this commitment from time to time. He goes on to argue that more work must be done on issues of aid effectiveness, including greater transparency from our national governments regarding international poverty alleviation initiatives. To eradicate severe poverty and the widening gap of inequality, Thomas Pogge put forward a solution of the global resources dividend:

Everyone, including the global poor, own a stake in the earth's limited resources ... Affluent states therefore should pay a global resources dividend: a small tax on the natural resources they use, resources that are shared by all. The proceeds will go to alleviating global poverty, providing a major improvement in conditions amongst the global poor without requiring great sacrifice amongst affluent states. The dividend is both morally required and practically feasible.⁶⁵⁸

Though the struggle for the global distributive justice is the hallmark narrative in the eradication of injustice, inequality and their effects, the single thought of the absence of global political institutions on which to anchor this struggle is the basis of profound doubt among some scholars that the world will ever eradicate this vice. According to Thomas Nagel, for example, the nation-state is the primary locus of political legitimacy and the pursuit of justice, "global justice will only become a reality after there are first global institutions."⁶⁵⁹ In the absence of a global equivalent of the nation-state - global sovereignty - global justice remains a distant dream, meanwhile injustice and inequality will ravage society. Thus, as long as the global hunger problem remains the effect of poverty resulting from social injustice, its interpretation and any effort

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid., 385.

⁶⁵⁹ Nagel, "The Problem of Global Justice," 416.

towards solution shall largely imply moral evil. It originates from humankind and its eradication also requires humankind's cooperation. This is the central thesis of the human rights approach the global gains of which heavily rely on the nation-state institution. The presumption is clear that hunger is a man-made problem. However, this position wholly compromises the reality of natural evil.

On 12 January 2010 at 16:53, the people of Haiti experienced an earthquake of magnitude 7.0 Mw. This earthquake struck the country, levelling buildings, cutting off communications and claiming many lives. Those left alive were to struggle with appalling injuries, starvation, strained medical care, difficult rescue mission and hopelessness.⁶⁶⁰ Like all the poor countries in the developing world, Haiti, with a population of ten Million has struggled with the hunger problem for a long time. According to food security statistics of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the country had struggled to bring down the prevalence of undernourishment from 63% of the total population in 1990-1992 to 53% in 2000-2002. The actual number of undernourished persons in those two periods also fell from 4.6 million to 3.8 million respectively. But this prevalence was reversed to a trend which rose steadily to 58% by 2004-2006, with the actual number of the

⁶⁶⁰ Cf. *The Washington Post*. AP "Haiti raises earthquake toll to 230,000". 10 February 2010. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/02/09/AR2010020904447.html>. Retrieved 30 April 2010. See also "Haiti will not die, President Rene Preval insists". BBC News. 12 February 2010. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/8511997.stm>. Retrieved 12 February 2010. The Haitian Government reported that an estimated 230,000 people had died, 300,000 had been injured and 1.3 million made homeless. They also estimated that 250,000 residences and 30,000 commercial buildings had collapsed or were severely damaged. As of 14th Jan, the UN World Food Programme (WFP) estimated that 3 million people needed assistance. Feeding those left homeless by the earthquake became one of the most pressing concerns facing aid groups. WFP mobilized food and set up a place to bring in water purification tablets. The high-energy biscuits particularly provided meals for a half million people.

undernourished remaining at 3.8 million⁶⁶¹ This situation results due to the increase either in population or in numbers of those who are hunger. In this case the former is true. To this earthquake disaster, many countries responded to appeals for humanitarian aid pledging funds and dispatching rescue and medical teams, engineers and support personnel.⁶⁶²

However, vital infrastructure necessary to respond to the disaster was destroyed or severely damaged. Communication systems, air, land, and sea transport facilities, hospitals, and electrical networks were seriously damaged and rendered unusable for immediate rescue operations.⁶⁶³ Confusion over who was in charge, air traffic congestion, and problems with prioritization of flights further complicated early relief work.⁶⁶⁴ This not only hindered the ability to determine the full extent of damage and destruction, commensurate relief aid was likewise difficult to estimate. Although experts in modern science can access plausible

⁶⁶¹ Jennifer Ward Barber, *The Atlantic*, "Food for Haiti," Jan. 2010, <http://www.theatlantic.com/food/archive/2010/01/food-for-haiti/33535/> (accessed 20 June 2010). See also Jennifer Ward Barber, *The Atlantic*, "Food for Haiti," Jan. 2010, <http://www.theatlantic.com/food/archive/2010/01/food-for-haiti/33535/> (accessed 20 June 2010).

⁶⁶² Convoy of Hope for example, which had worked in this impoverished country for several years and were feeding about 11, 000 children each day, established an emergency command centre just outside the city of Port-au-Prince where food, water and supplies were distributed to victims of the earthquake. The FEED Foundation gave unrestricted funding to WFP for the situation in Haiti. Its executive director, Ellen Gustafson, committed its funds particularly to providing daily meals to the 450, 000 children in its school food programs FEED committed all its profits between January to June 2010 from sales of its reusable organic cotton bags to feeding school children in Haiti. Cf. Jennifer Ward Barber, *The Atlantic*, "Food for Haiti," Jan. 2010, <http://www.theatlantic.com/food/archive/2010/01/food-for-haiti/33535/> (accessed 20 June 2010).

⁶⁶³ *Ibid.* Logistics became the main challenge. According to Parmelee, "even if you fly food in you have to get it to people who need it. A lot of humanitarian organizations are on the ground and can help us distribute these goods." Huge cracks in the road and rubble from landslides, she added, have made food delivery especially difficult.

⁶⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

explanation of the reality behind the earthquake phenomena, thanks to the theory of plate tectonics,⁶⁶⁵ the Haiti case, though predictable, was and still is never avoidable.⁶⁶⁶ It is a natural disaster with the capacity

⁶⁶⁵ Cf. U.S Geological Survey, http://earthquake.usgs.gov/learn/topics/plate_tectonics/rift_man.php, (accessed 29 July 2010). The Plate tectonics tells us that the Earth's rigid outer shell (lithosphere) is broken into a mosaic of oceanic and continental plates which can slide over the plastic asthenosphere, which is the uppermost layer of the mantle. The plates are in constant motion. Where they interact, along their margins, important geological processes take place, such as the formation of mountain belts, earthquakes, and volcanoes. The plates are in constant motion. Where they interact, along their margins, important geological processes take place, such as the formation of mountain belts, earthquakes, and volcanoes. Thus, the cycle of earthquakes continues because plates motions continue. The key to plate tectonics theory was the discovery that the earth's magnetic field has reversed its polarity 170 times in the last 80 million years. As new basaltic material is squeezed up into the mid-ocean cracks and solidifies, it is magnetized according to the polarity of the Earth's magnetic field. If the field reverses its polarity, the strip of new material is magnetized in an opposite sense. As the oceanic floor continues to spread, the new strips of rock are carried away on either side like a conveyer belt. Using these magnetic strips as evidence of movement, it became obvious to scientists that the Earth's surface consisted of a mosaic of crustal plates that were continually jostling one another. If the Earth was not to be blown up like a balloon by the continual influx of new volcanic material at the ocean ridges, then old crust must be destroyed at the same rate as plates collide. The required balance occurs when plates collide, and one plate is forced under the other to be consumed deep in the mantle.

⁶⁶⁶ Cf. U.S. Geological Survey. 2010. "Earthquake Hazard Programme: 2/23/10-Usgs Updates Assessment of Earthquake Hazard and Safety in Haiti and the Caribbean."

<http://earthquake.usgs.gov/earthquakes/eqinthenews/2010/us2010rja6/#summary>, (accessed 20 June 2010). In the Haiti case, the Caribbean tectonic plate is known to shift eastwards by about 20 millimetres (0.79 in) per year in relation to the North American plate. According to the experts, this plate boundary is dominated by left-lateral strike slip motion and compression, and accommodates about 20mm/year slip, with the Caribbean plate moving eastward with respect to the North American plate. In the explanation of the experts, the strike-slip fault system in the region has two branches in Haiti, the Septentrional-Oriente fault in the north and the Enriquillo-Plaintain Garden fault in the south; both its location and focal mechanism suggest that the January 2010 quake was caused by a rupture of the Enriquillo-Plaintain Garden fault, which had been locked for 250 years, gathering stress. According to the Cooperative Institute for Research in Environmental Science, University of Colorado, the rupture was roughly 65 kilometres (40 mi) long with a mean slip of 1.8 metres (5.9 ft). Preliminary analysis of the slip distribution found amplitudes of up to about 4 metres (13 ft)

not only to aggravate hunger situation, but also to render impossible any potential human action that can be summoned to reverse the situation.⁶⁶⁷

In most natural disasters of this magnitude: cyclones, typhoons, floods, landslides, droughts or tsunamis, three pertinent issues come to the fore. Firstly, that human causality was minimal, if not absent, in the entire incident. Secondly, that despite the floods of relief humanitarian assistance of all sorts, mobility and therefore physical accessibility to relief food was simply rendered impossible, and deaths from hunger were unstoppable. Thirdly, there is no appropriate explanation of the ultimate/remote causality behind this occurrence nor can there be prescribed any remedy to prevent such an occurrence in future. Many victims died of hunger despite the availability of food. Many people contributed and were willing to undertake whatever it will take to prevent hunger deaths, but this could not happen.

Such disasters typically dominate cases of emergency relief services today and occupy the largest expenditure vote-heads of many humanitarian initiatives. In most of the UN Secretary General annual reports, assistance on regions and countries affected by natural disasters by far outstrips man-made emergencies in war and conflict situations.⁶⁶⁸

using ground motion records from all over the world. See Cooperative Institute for Research in Environmental Science: University of Colorado. 2010. "Haiti Earthquake." <http://cires.colorado.edu/~bilham/Haiti%20Earthquake.html>, (accessed 20 August 2010).

⁶⁶⁷ Cf. USGS Office of Communication. 2010. "Updates Assessment of Earthquake Hazard and Safety in Haiti and the Caribbean." <http://www.usgs.gov/newsroom/article.asp?ID=2413>, (accessed 20 June 2010). Based on techniques developed for earthquake hazard assessments in the US, experts still point at a possibility of even a larger earthquake on the faults involved here (Enriquillo fault) in the future. Their estimates indicate a probability range of 5 percent to 15 percent, less than one chance in six, for an earthquake of magnitude 7 on the Enriquillo fault near Port-au-Prince during the next 50 years.

⁶⁶⁸ Cf. For example United Nations. 1999. "Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization: Delivering Humanitarian Services," *General Assembly Official Records Fifty-fourth Session Supplement No. 1 (A/54/1)* <http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/Report99/services.htm>, (accessed 27 August 2010).

On its part, the Church's *Caritas International*, for example, spends an average of 2 million Euros annually on activities such as food, shelter, medicine, compassion and education among other mainly among the populations struck by natural disasters as compared to those for which mankind is responsible.⁶⁶⁹ Hunger and relevant causes of untold suffering today worldwide are in fact largely the effects of natural disaster that is, brought about by forces beyond the control of mankind. Where therefore does the question of injustice, inequality or moral inactivity feature in such a situation which nonetheless abets perhaps the highest incidents of hunger deaths? Though the biggest concern of the humanitarian services of the United Nations today consists in responding to such disasters all over the world, the legal version of the human rights approach is largely silent about the significance of the causality of natural disaster in regard to the world hunger problem.

2.4.5 The Right to Food and the Option for Global Solidarity against World Hunger: Towards a Universal Moral-Ethical Paradigm

The understanding of the place and role of the state institution in modern civilization remains crucial in the human rights movement. Before and after the two World Wars, the state institution portrayed a visible instrument through which the despotic, stronger and totalitarian regimes imposed themselves upon the weaker and poorer ones. But with the founding of controversial theories of social contract of modern enlightenment in the 17th and 18th centuries,⁶⁷⁰ the state also emerged as

⁶⁶⁹ Caritas International, 2009. "Annual Report," (accessed 1 August 2010).

⁶⁷⁰ Nagel, "The Problem of Global Justice," 417-419. The Hobbesian theory of state, which entrenched the sovereign monarch with the duty to protect the sovereignty of the people, was radically redefined by the United Nation's initiative after the Second World War. Compare Wenche Barth Eide and Uwe

a locus that defined the social, economic and cultural perils, hazards or progress to the individual citizens. After the Second World War, the United Nations initiative was a radical review of the previous Westphalia agreement and League of Nations initiative.⁶⁷¹ The UN Charter of 1945 contained the seeds for wide-ranging changes within the state system. Asbjørn Eide observes: “Inspired with the dream of making the state system universal, the UN was set up as a forum that sought not only to safeguard the territorial integrity and independence of all states, but also the international cooperation in solving problems of social, economic, cultural and humanitarian nature.”⁶⁷² The UN charter, the UDHR and other consequent international legal instruments enforced and safeguarded this effort and heralded consistent efforts among the world’s nations to come together to confront society’s problems without boundaries.⁶⁷³

As the world embarked on the dream of the United Nations Charter and the promulgation of its international instruments like the UDHR and the consequent relevant covenants, the Catholic Church no less than the governments of the world soon acknowledged the emerging spirit of cooperation and association among people and nations. In his encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, Pope John XXIII not only acknowledged this trend, but also guided the church to interpret its benefits to humanity at that point in time and in years ahead:

Kracht, *Food and Human Rights in Development*, vol. 1 (Antwerpen: Intersentia, 2005), 4-6.

⁶⁷¹ Cf. Eide and Kracht, *Food and Human Rights in Development*, 4.

⁶⁷² Ibid. See also Art. 1.3 of the UN Charter. Compare the Hobbesian theory of state and the UN concept in its Charter and UDHR.

⁶⁷³ As the key instrument of globalization today, UN organization has facilitated remarkable human advancement in various domains. The most conspicuous being the humanitarian course on issues of poverty, health and nutrition. On issues of world hunger and nutrition, the UN contribution is not only impeccable but also interdisciplinary and comprehensive.

Today the exchange of goods and ideas, travel from one country to another have greatly increased ... the close relations of individuals, families, intermediate associations belonging to different countries have become vastly more frequent and conferences between heads of States are held at shorter intervals ... the interdependence of national economies has grown deeper ... the social progress, order, security and peace of each country are necessarily connected with the social progress, order, security and peace of all other countries.⁶⁷⁴

Cognizant of the fact that in the prevailing circumstances, no individual country could rightly seek its own interests and develop in isolation from the rest, this kind of cooperation was soon to be seen from the perspective of humanity's common good which, though rooted in every person's very nature, also concerns the entire human family. The relationship he envisioned between the essential nature of the common good and the function of the public authorities recognizes the role of governmental institutions in bringing to fulfilment the demands of the common good by ways and methods suitably adapted to various contingencies.⁶⁷⁵ In his encyclical *Pacem in Terris*, John XXIII envisioned an innovative understanding of human solidarity that captured the 'sign of the time' where society exhibited exemplary awareness of the bond of interdependence between peoples found at every level. But the struggle to advance this new found relationship one level higher was articulated in the call to 'solidarity' by Paul VI. In *Populorum Progressio*, he definitively used 'solidarity' to express the necessary response of all people of good will to the prevailing situation.⁶⁷⁶

⁶⁷⁴ John XXIII., "*Pacem in Terris*," No.130.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid., Nos. 131,132,136.

⁶⁷⁶ Paul VI, "*Populorum Progressio*," No 43. Development of the individual necessarily entails a joint effort for the development of the human race as a

To both the church and the civil society, the prevailing spirit of cooperation was better understood as the emerging 'solidarity' of the human family in the struggle against its problems. Human solidarity implied that all political authority exists to fulfil the common good of the whole human family. 'Solidarity,' so to speak, formed the common goal of both the public authorities and the church at the time. In the spirit of the United Nations Charter, 'solidarity' reflected upon the reality of interdependence among nations and people of the modern world. But in Pope Paul VI's vision, solidarity goes beyond acknowledging the fact of interdependence. It shapes the response we should have to interdependence. It is a virtue and not simply a feeling of vague compassion. It is "a firm and persevering determination to commit oneself to the common good."⁶⁷⁷ The future turn of events in full support of the human rights approach in all its effectiveness from both traditions may therefore heavily rely on the understanding of 'human solidarity.' Owing to the crucial role of the human rights approach to society's problems, the horizons of human solidarity need to be widened beyond mere moral principles spelled out in rules and regulations or simple legal provisions, the acknowledgement of interdependence and 'vague compassion.' It should evoke a firm and persevering determination to commit oneself to build a common life in the service the common good. From the limited consideration of what appeared as a simple moral social principle, the implications of solidarity have expanded with time. John XXIII observed that the concept has become difficult yet demands immediate solution.⁶⁷⁸ To

whole. At Bombay we said: "Man must meet man, nation must meet nation, as brothers and sisters, as children of God. In this mutual understanding and friendship, in this sacred communion, we must also begin to work together to build the common future of the human race."

⁶⁷⁷ Kenneth R. Himes, *Responses to 101 Questions on Catholic Social Teaching* (New York: Paulist Press, 1998), 38. See also John Paul II, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, No.38.

⁶⁷⁸ Cf. John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris*, No.133, 134.

fight the discrepancies between theoretical drafts and actual implementation of human rights today, the concept of ‘solidarity’ must be re-assessed. In line with the development of this concept in and outside the church, and in the light of the critical remarks made above to both the legal and moral traditions, we propose three constituent aspects that must be observed and advanced in the pursuit of the human rights approach in the service of human needs.

2.4.5.1 Advancement of Solidarity as a Virtue Inherent in Every Human Person

The consideration of solidarity in the discourse of human rights is bound to highlight the place of the individual person in the pursuit of human rights. In his historical account of the development of human rights, Andrew Clapham points out early initiatives to redeem the image of the individual from the tyranny of the state that culminated in the prioritization of the minority rights, workers rights and the beginning of the struggle against slave trade at the peace treaty of Versailles in 1919.⁶⁷⁹ Coupled with the restructuring of the state institution by the UN Charter, the world’s attention had turned towards securing peace and security not only for the disadvantaged smaller states but also for individual persons. But the re-instalment of the state as the centre of

⁶⁷⁹ Clapham, *Human Rights*, 24-25. In 1915, in the context of World War I, Sir Francis Younghusband set up an organization called the Fight for Rights movement, one of its declared aims was ‘to impress upon the country that we are fighting for something more than our won defence, that we are fighting the battle of all humanity and to preserve Human Rights for generations to come’. In his 1918 address to the congress, President Wilson spoke of his desire ‘to create a world dedicated to justice and fair dealing’ His ideas were expanded in a proposed ‘Fourteen points’ which formed the basis of the Versailles Peace Treaty in 1919. Here, the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization was established. The League was supposed to preserve international peace and security through the collective action of its member states against any state that resorted to war or the threat of war. Three developments are relevant: the minority treaties, the development of international worker’ rights, and the work on the abolition of slavery.

attention in the advancement of the human rights movement, traceable back to the promulgation of the UDHR, has considerably obscured the place of the individual person. There is need to salvage the image of the human person by enriching the human rights discourse with an appropriate anthropology. Against this background, solidarity of the human family implies a life of virtue, especially the virtue of justice, which shapes the response we have to the demands of interdependence by evoking within us a desire to build the bonds of common life. Elevated to this level, solidarity is pursued as a “firm and persevering determination to commit oneself to the common good,”⁶⁸⁰ As a virtue solidarity shapes our character from which then flows our action. In this sense, solidarity presupposes personal integrity and is more consistent with the demand of the human rights claims. Human integrity, the basis of all human claims, implies conformity between one’s personal character and behaviour.

Experts today relate success in the efforts against social problems like hunger first and foremost to individual dispositions that follow decisions and concrete actions in which they engage on a day-to-day basis. In her plea for value-oriented economics, Rebecca Todd Peters underscore the importance of moral character formation in, above all, the crucial issue of economic justice. Though at its heart, economic justice is an issue of systemic transformation, it primarily begins from the simple daily moral decisions that individuals make as consumers.⁶⁸¹

⁶⁸⁰ John Paul II, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, No. 38.

⁶⁸¹ Rebecca Todd Peters, “Economic Justice Requires More Than the Kindness of Strangers,” in *Global Neighbours: Christian Faith and Moral Obligation in Today’s Economy*, ed. Douglas A. Hicks and Mark Valeri (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2008), 87-91. Every day of our lives we are forced to make dozens of moral decisions that impact the health and well-being of our neighbours, many of whom we do not know and can never know. Each of the decisions we make: when purchasing items in supermarkets, the means of transport we take, among others, is important and, in fact, morally significant, because they can build up our local economies, reduce our environmental footprint and contribute to our own health and well-being in the process. Or they

Therefore, while it is important to incorporate values in descriptive and normative economic models, the individual moral behaviour require equal, if not more, attention. According to Rebecca Peters, this allows for the creation of an economic system that self-consciously acknowledges its moral framework.⁶⁸² This accounts for economic, environmental and technological issues as well as for humanitarian concerns like food, shelter and healthcare. To the extent that individual moral disposition facilitates the respect of human rights, the social doctrine of the church acknowledges the virtue of solidarity to be grounded on a holistic human anthropology that respects the individual, culture and nationhood. Based on a holistic anthropology reflective of a true image and destiny of man, the understanding of ‘human solidarity’ will reflect a life process governed by human values that go beyond the letter of law. It shall reflect the ‘life of society’ and refine motivation of development. In recommending solidarity, Pope Paul VI asserted that complete development of man is simultaneous to the development of all humanity. Consequently, “in all action taken against social evils, the bottom line must always be how the measures taken to address global poverty affect the human person.”⁶⁸³ The actions must be motivated by commitment to the universal destination of created goods, and must result in more equality, less discrimination, less social, economic and

can build up the profit margins of corporations, create more waste and pollution in our world, and contribute to our participation in the problem of obesity in our country.

⁶⁸² Ibid., 91. Traditional economic theory holds that economics is a ‘science’ and thus is ‘value-free.’ This position allows economists and business people to make decisions that they claim are simply ‘rational and ‘efficient’ from a practical viewpoint which they claim exist outside of values and moral concerns. In Rebecca Peters’ observation, economic models and theories are human creations based on assumptions and priorities that do reflect particular moral concerns and agendas and, as such, do exhibit and support particular, often unacknowledged, value systems. Thus, it is important to incorporate values in descriptive and normative economic models because this allows for the creation of an economic system that self-consciously acknowledges its moral framework.

⁶⁸³ Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, No. 43.

political oppression. At the same time those actions must contribute to the flowering of what is best and deepest in human beings, that which goes beyond the purely economic or material, that is the spiritual side of the human person and community. Development has to focus on social matters as much as it does on the economic ones. Against this background Pope Paul VI insists on solidarity to the extent that the richer nations, blocs of nations, as well as individuals, must be concerned about the poor ones and engage in practice such as giving direct aid, establishing fairer trade relations, and seeing to it that no one is left behind as development advances.⁶⁸⁴

2.4.5.2 The 'Collaboration' Metaphor as the Basis of Solidarity

The struggle of the human rights movement must also unfold through a well-ordered human society where human beings live with others and work for one another's welfare. The human rights approach to the social problem of hunger receives attention on the basis of both its structural and moral strength. Structurally, the human rights movement anchors and supports both policy and legal frameworks that advance the welfare of the people. Morally, the human rights approach wields the capacity to consolidate and utilize the universal values shared by people of every cultural background. These two qualities dispose this approach not only to reawaken and instrumentalize the possible initiatives in the struggle against hunger, but also to bring them these initiatives together in their varied forms for a common purpose. Collaboration highlights the core character of human social anthropology that legitimizes solidarity at a level deeper than simply interdependence. It is, so to speak, the means to operationalize solidarity in society. In its proposal and support for the human rights approach, the church's social teaching expounds on an elaborate social anthropology within which it envisages the exercise

⁶⁸⁴ Ibid., No. 44.

of duties and rights to unfold. The consequent network of exchange of rights and duties is constructed at various levels: At the level between two individuals, that of the individual to the State, the State to State level, and at the level of the State to the international community.⁶⁸⁵ Two key factors are instrumental in the building of a lasting network that facilitates the exchange of rights and duties between peoples and institutions, namely: mutuality and the common good. By virtue of their social nature, human beings are meant to live with others and to work for one another's welfare. This entails not only the observance of their mutual rights and duties, but also demands active and generous contribution of each individual to the establishment of a civic order within which this exchange unfolds.

Collaboration captures the heart of solidarity, it builds the basis upon which the anthropology of solidarity of the human family is structured. On the individual level, collaboration fulfils the usual mutuality between individual duties and rights. In the vision of *Pacem in Terris*, the society of humans must not only be organized but must also provide itself with abundant resources. According to Pope John XXIII, this requires that human beings observe and recognize their mutual rights and duties, it also requires that "they collaborate in the many enterprises that modern civilization either allows or encourages or even demands."⁶⁸⁶ This form of mutuality is the first manifestation of collaboration in society. But this mutuality has also to extend and define an individual's relationship to the state. At this level, the priority is the common good. Pope John XXIII insists that the very nature of the common good requires that all members of the state, including the various human ethnic groups, be entitled to share in it, "although in different ways according to each one's tasks, merits and circumstances."⁶⁸⁷ Since the common good

⁶⁸⁵ John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris*, No. 9, 30,55,80,98.

⁶⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 31-34.

⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 56,98,100

touches the whole person, the needs both of one's body and one's soul, its implementation must respect the hierarchy of values as well as the material and the spiritual welfare of the citizens. It is the role of every civil authority to promote the common good of all without preference,⁶⁸⁸ and thereby to regulate mutuality between the individual or groups of individuals with the state. Thus, relationships, either between individuals or/and between individual and the state, all exalt the individual's worth.

At the level of state to state relationship, the encyclical asserts that "the same natural law, which governs relations between individual human beings, serves also to regulate the relations of nations with one another."⁶⁸⁹ Consequently, both relationships are governed by the norms of truth and justice.⁶⁹⁰ Here, relationships between states is likened and elevated to that between humans. This is the key metaphor for the deeper reality in which the mutual relations among nations draw from energetic union of mind, heart and resources and which can be effected at various levels by mutual cooperation: economic, social, political, educational, public health and sports spheres.⁶⁹¹ This nature and level of relationship between states can only be understood in the context of 'active solidarity' built on the basic concept of mutual collaboration between human beings. This concept also best describes the relationships between states at the inception of the human rights movement. By all practical purposes, the emerging relationships were meant to be deeper than it appeared at the time, thus, the special appropriation of 'solidarity' by the church documents of the time. In this background, Kenneth Himes articulates the difference that makes 'solidarity' emerge as more relevant to society than simple interdependence:

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid., No. 56, 57.

⁶⁸⁹ Ibid., No. 80

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid., No. 86,91.

⁶⁹¹ Ibid., No. 91.

Solidarity is more than what is commonly meant by the word interdependence. The fact that we are linked to one another in a variety of ways is interdependence. But individuals may acknowledge this fact while being resentful or indifferent toward it, even as they take advantage of the others with whom they are interconnected. Interdependence does not rule out domination or exploitation ... Solidarity shapes the character of a person so that mere recognition of interdependence is transformed into a commitment to the common good. It is solidarity that enables people to devote themselves to the good of all and of each individual because we are all really responsible for all.⁶⁹²

The common good of any state which safeguards these values, therefore, necessary projects itself towards the common good of the entire human family. The significance of the State institution and its government is interpreted against this background. Accordingly, “the civil authority exists, not to confine its people within the boundaries of their nation, but rather to protect, above all else, the common good of that particular civil society, which certainly cannot be divorced from the common good of the entire human family.”⁶⁹³ In the words of the encyclical: “The universal common good requires that in every nation friendly relations be fostered in all fields between the citizens and their intermediate societies.”⁶⁹⁴ Collaboration therefore articulates the social anthropology behind solidarity between nations. On the strength of the human value behind it, collaborative solidarity restrains any civil society from pursuing any interest that harms others. On the contrary, it destines the international community towards joining their plans and forces whenever the efforts of an individual government cannot achieve its

⁶⁹² Himes, *Responses to 101 Questions on Catholic Social Teaching*, 38-39.

⁶⁹³ John XXIII, *Pacem in Terris*, No. 98.

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 100.

desired goals.⁶⁹⁵ To this end *Populorum progressio* associated solidarity with response of all people of good will to the needs of human development on the basis of shared nature, origin and destiny and in so far as their response conforms to reason.⁶⁹⁶

3.4.5.3 *The Normative-Activist Aspect*

Lastly, sufficient efforts should consistently be invested in creating and instrumentalizing a structure upon which to reasonably anchor the entire initiative of the human right to food. This will constitute especially the efforts of research and technical experts. The experts' contribution must necessarily borrow from and engage the normative-activist methodological approach. It will involve the promotion of continuous formulation, interpretation and implementation of laid down national and international legislation on human rights on one hand, and the practical involvements in meetings, workshops and discussions on the other hand.⁶⁹⁷ Over and above the important agreements and commitments incumbent upon the world community and its respective nations in upholding the rights of their citizens, there is equally a need of passionate and honest commitment to the implementation of these goals according to the nations' respective abilities. The humanitarian achievements of the human rights approach to social problems hitherto are remarkable and significant. This is attributed not only to the effectiveness of legal instruments employed in both regional and global levels, but also to the activist campaigns of non-governmental civil organizations. Hence, as the governments are obligated to structure their

⁶⁹⁵ Ibid., No. 99.

⁶⁹⁶ Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, No. 17.

⁶⁹⁷ Alston, "International Law and the Right to Food," 174. Philip Alston suggests that new international human rights be subjected, like wine, to a 'quality control' by the UN General Assembly. The relevant UN resolution adopted in 1986, suggested five conditions to which international human rights instruments should conform. Among these is the requirement that a right be of fundamental character and derive from the inherent dignity and worth of the human person. See also Clapham, *Human rights*, 24.

respective legal and policy systems for advancement of the human right to food, for example, pressure must be sustained by the civil societies in all possible ways to compel their governments to abide by their political electoral promises to protect the basic human rights.⁶⁹⁸ The international legislation consequent to the UN Charter such as UDHR and a host of Covenants domesticated by indigenous constitutions of the member states of the United Nations surely provide the backbone to the advancement of human rights. Yet continued civic education and active participation in bringing leaders to account for their records in respecting human rights must be a continuous effort.

This is a strong characteristic that stands out in the approach of all renowned forces in the human rights activism. For example, although the articles, reports and general writings of Asbjørn Eide are known to be well organized, clear and focused, multifaceted, full of insights of scholarly debates, exerts also observe that he goes the extra mile in practical involvements in meetings, workshops, discussion and others where his words have been seen to translate into peoples' lives.⁶⁹⁹ As the church contemplated ways and means of approaching the mixed fortunes of the early 60s before the Second Vatican Council, the humanist vision of influential thinkers like Jacques Maritain, became a highly influential lens for renewing and deepening the church's self-understanding. Jacques Maritain defended integral humanism which soon played an important role in redefining the church's position in its involvement in human rights.⁷⁰⁰ As Johan De Tavernier observes:

⁶⁹⁸ Ibid., 8. This is the method and philosophy that is at the core of Asbjørn Eide's world view. The dual approach of Asbjørn Eide that embraces critical thinking and passionately advocates for practical implementation of policies may be the best placed option in addressing the persistent problems of the world today such as hunger and poverty.

⁶⁹⁹ Opsahl and Helgesen, "Asbjørn Eide," 1-10.

⁷⁰⁰ Cf. Jacques Maritain, *Humanisme Intégral: Problèmes Temporel Et Spirituels D'une Nouvelle Chrétienté* (Paris: Fernande Aubier, 1936). Or Jacques Maritain, *True Humanism* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938).

“Maritain is more explicit on the Christian face of the new humanism, while simultaneously refuting any kind of person-centred humanism.”⁷⁰¹ This humanism grounded in a profound respect for the human person and his or her culture provides solid criteria for analysis of social, economic and political realities. Allan Figueroa observes: Though this relied on the research and writings of thinkers like Louis-Joseph Lebreton, and Jacques Maritain, the work of social activism carried out in Catholic Action movements, and the works of activists like Joseph (Cardinal) Cardijn upon Pope Paul VI’s generation is undeniable.⁷⁰² In conclusion, it may be observed that the human rights movement should therefore strive to meet the demands of the three important aspects, namely: the aspect of solidarity as virtue, the ‘collaboration metaphor,’ and the normative-activist aspect in its bid to close the persistent gap and build human solidarity as its core objective. Solidarity shall inspire collaboration in the human rights movement irrespective of religions, ideology, race or culture. It shall be a basis and guarantee of dignity, equality, fairness, justice and rights. The normative-activist method brings out the requisite research expertise and almost impatient passion for action in the face of criminal cruelty of injustice and the threats of starvation, while the fight against social evil require global fraternal solidarity of the human family. The narrative on the global fraternal

⁷⁰¹ De Tavernier: “Historical Roots of Personalism,” 375.

⁷⁰² Cf. Allan Figueroa Deck, “Commentary on *Populorum Progressio* (on the Development of Peoples),” in *Modern Catholic Social Teaching: Commentaries & Interpretations*, ed. Kenneth R. Himes, Lisa Sowle Cahill, and et al (Washington D.C: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 296-299. See also Joseph Cardin, Cardinal, *Laymen into Action*. Translation by Anne Heggie. (London: Chapman, 1964). Cardijn was a revered Flemish priest who followed a lifelong vocation of struggle to link his Christian faith with the life situation of his time. To him, this meant becoming actively involved with the reality of the workers, the condition of their work, and their material needs. For decades Cardijn’s Young Christian Workers inspired the lower socio-economic class in many catholic countries, especially in Europe and Latin America.

solidarity of the human family must accompany the international legal instruments. Legislation alone is not sufficient.

3.5 Conclusion

This second chapter constitutes the core of this work. In it, we have engaged in exhaustive analysis that highlighted different perspectives of the human rights approach to the problem of hunger. Firstly, we considered in detail the work of Asbjørn Eide as the thorough basis through which we assessed the strength of the legal perspective of the human rights approach. The real strength of the human rights approach was only established after an analysis of four other approaches that have been preferred in different circumstances, namely, through expanded productivity, economic entitlement, concrete measures towards global distributive justice, and then through the world-known charity or food aid approaches. The force of the human rights approach prevailed on the platform of its ability not only to anchor policy and legal infrastructure within respective national socio-political systems with the advantage of both respective governments and global enforceability, but more so on its fluid moral-ethical capacity to bring together in partnership all relevant forces concerned with the hunger pandemic. To this extent the human rights approach provides what no other single approach can provide on its own, namely: a possible harmony of all relevant initiatives necessary in the fight against hunger and adaptability to socio-political disparities that nonetheless remain attentive to native cultural and legislative nuances.

Secondly, we considered the circumstance and the doctrine that surrounds the social teaching of the Catholic Church on the right to food. The contribution of the church's understanding and experience of the evil of hunger, vis à vis the elaborate human and social anthropological milieu, provided a moral-ethical narrative through

which we built a criticism of the human rights approach and exposed the perennially experienced gap between the right to food law and its enforcement at implementation. The understanding and experience of hunger in the church's perspective grounded on the biblical message and her testimony of tradition, houses an elaborate human and social anthropological milieu within which its human rights discourse unfolds. In our finding, this is not only the strength upon which the church tradition has effectively drawn over the centuries, it is also a vital contribution that the church institution can give to society's struggle against the evil of suffering today. However, it also emerged that not all was as smooth as one would want to portray of the Church and her social teaching. But our discussion projected the option for virtue ethics as a suitable background within which the Church approaches the important social principles of justice, charity and solidarity as equally crucial in social ministry.

The third section then sheltered our critical appreciation of the entire human rights approach to the problem of world hunger. Its strength lay in exposing the clear difference between the tradition, content and goal of the legal and the moral perspectives of the approach. It is after the difference was clearly evident that we discovered the common understanding that was behind both the church's teaching and the civil society's struggle for human rights. The two institutions shared both the vision and the goal in their endeavour to serve humanity. Our critical appreciation then emerged with a metaphorical signification of the concept of 'solidarity' and recommended it as a major guide in appreciating the human rights approach if it has to remain focused on the purpose for which it is pursued. Taking account of the genuine and practically felt effects of this approach, and considering currents development in the area of economics, anthropology, legislation, religion and culture, we recommended three aspects as a guide to this endeavour now and in the future. These included the advancement of

solidarity as a virtue native in every human person, the advancement of the 'collaboration' metaphor as the basis of relationships in solidarity between peoples and States, and the anchoring of the normative-activist methodology through which to advance and safeguard rights as international legal instruments.

Apart from the role of exposing the weakness of the legal approach of the human rights, the church's moral-ethical narrative provided a key, so to speak, with which we unravelled and exposed our concern in the entire discussion. Through it, we discovered that today natural disasters dominate the causes of hunger and suffering around the world. Over and above the usual perception that poverty and its stinging effects such as hunger thrive only because of the man-made causes such as social inequalities and civil strife, an equal or even stronger effort should be invested in understanding and combating the complicated effects of natural disaster. In the opinion of this analysis, the issues surrounding natural disasters, or so to speak, natural evil, shall require more of the moral-ethical component of the human rights discourse channelled through religion, culture and general good will among people. Thus, approaches grounded on human virtue in the exercise of the social principles of justice, fraternal love and solidarity among people still remain very necessary in the struggle against social evils such as hunger. Nevertheless, simplistic moralising of the intricate forces at play in the rampant social injustice today still includes the risk of quietism, voluntaristic fatigue and indifference in the face of the hunger pandemic. The detailed discussion of the weaknesses of the Church's strategies of charity, justice and rights, plays a wake-up call to aim at a prudent balance of the social principles employed at the service of society. On the other hand, despite the importance of faultless drafts and interpretation of the law, and the tenacious implementation of the same, in the overall effort to operationalize the human right to food, legislation alone is not sufficient for setting up true relationships of justice and

equity in society, less so in the circumstances of natural disaster. In the words of Pope Paul VI: “If beyond legal rules, there is really no deeper feeling or respect for and service to others, then even equality before the law can serve as an alibi for flagrant discrimination, continued exploitation and actual contempt.”⁷⁰³ Consequently, society remains under serious obligation to build social structures and institutions that are not only positive-law sensitive, but that also crop holistic human character in dignity and integrity with adequate focus on the anthropology of man-in-relations. In our time these institutions include churches and faith organizations, non-governmental organizations, charitable associations and solidarity groups. As legal and policy experts continue with the struggle of shaping human rights law into policy frameworks of various regions and countries, and as they continue their research to enhance the enforcement and monitoring compliance to human rights, civil society has the duty to work on the moral-ethical force of this approach. This has the chance of creating unity of purpose among partners in the struggle against hunger on the basis of solidarity of the human fraternity across borders. This aspect shall also inform and enhance the suitable activism necessary in addressing disparities in various systems of justice, economics, culture, religion and even politics. A proper understanding of the human persons and his/her needs in society shall therefore precede both the theory and practice of the human rights.

⁷⁰³ Paul VI, *Octogesima Adveniens*, No. 23. According to the church’s social teaching without a renewed education in solidarity, an overemphasis of equality can give rise to an individualism in which each one claims his own rights without wishing to be answerable for the common good.

ACTING FOR FOOD SECURITY CASE STUDY OF THE GREAT LAKES REGION AND THE ROLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

4.1 Introduction

The data analysis of the world hunger situation presented above exposed the glaring inequalities that exist between the world's regions in this regard. The Sub-Saharan region of Africa in particular prevailed as the most affected of all. There are many factors that bring this situation about and dispose this continental region as one in most need of closest attention. This chapter shall focus attention on the African continent. It shall particularly consider the Great Lakes Region of Sub-Sahara (Eastern) Africa in an attempt to expose all the relevant factors implied in such a disproportionate hunger situation. The six countries of this region in Africa share geographical features and climatic conditions that distinguish their environment as very favourable for activities conducive for human habitation. This has been attributed to the influence of about eight Lakes considered 'Great' on account of their special characteristics and their contribution to a unique environmental potential. This chapter shall investigate and expose the dynamics of hunger *vis-à-vis* the food security situation in this region. Special attention shall be accorded to

the underlying paradox where a region that boasts among the world's best environmental assets equally houses the most undernourished population in the world. The investigation is motivated by the question as to whether the fight against hunger in this region touches on the core concerns of the region and the world at large: Why should the world do so poorly where it has explicit potential to do the best in the fight against hunger? The spotlight shall fall on the food security measures pursued in this region and the partners involved in this pursuit. The reflection in this chapter shall unfold in four parts. The first part (4.2) is a thorough exposition of the uniqueness of the GLR. This shall include the geographical background presented in section 4.2.1, common climatic conditions in section 4.2.2, brief history of the region in 4.2.3, the socio-economic background in 4.2.4, and lastly, section 4.2.5, highlights the common social problems in the region. Part 4.3, highlights the whole question of food security and insecurity in the GLR. In its first section, 4.3.1, it deals with food insecurity by exposing facts on hunger and under-nutrition. Facts on food security are dealt with in the second section, 4.3.2. Section 4.3.3 highlights the consequences of the impact of food insecurity. Part 4.4, discusses the food security measures undertaken in the region. The discussion unfolds in four sections: Section 4.4.1, situates the discussion within the regional and global agenda of development envisaged by the United Nation Organization. Sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.3 highlight food security measures under the strategies of increased food supply and agricultural development for trade respectively. Section 4.4.4 offers a critique of the food security strategies in the region in the light of the impulses of external trade. Section 4.4.5, discusses seven proposals argued to be necessary and suitable in improving the food security measures in this region. These include: Education and training (4.4.5.1), adaptation and sustainability (4.4.5.2), adoption of scientific research and technology (4.4.5.3), sound natural resource management (4.4.4.4), social security interventions to

protect the vulnerable poor (4.4.5.5), advancement of effective policy and legal frameworks (4.4.5.6), and regional cooperation and collaboration (4.4.5.7).

The fourth part analyses in detail the role of the Catholic Church in the alleviation of hunger in the GLR. The part analyses the basis of the Church's involvement in issues of hunger in the first section (4.5.1). Then it considers the concrete activities that the Church carries out in the service of the hungry (4.5.1). Section 4.5.3, highlights the limitations of the Church's ministry for the hungry. Finally, the fourth section (4.5.4), discusses the proposal for a strategic pastoral plan (SPP) that suggests basic structures that would common purpose among the dioceses. The proposal first summarises the background against which such a plan is necessary (4.5.3.1). It then proposes four strategic components that render the Church's ministry effective and relevance. These include: Strategic direction or road-man of planning activity (4.5.4.2), strategic planning procedure (4.5.4.3), strategic institutions and the respective strategic interventions (4.5.4.4). Lastly, it considers strategic leadership and methodology appropriate for the Church's ministry in the GLR (4.5.4.5).

The conclusion of this reflection observes that although the GLR is well endowed with natural resources sufficient to sustain its population, the social, economic and political networks that exist in the region suggest a complex relationship between the people and their endowed environment. The struggle against hunger is therefore not simply a question of subduing the environmental endowments for the benefit of mankind, but also involves tactful and patient dealing with people and the structures they create in society. In the final analysis, hunger must as well be dealt with through structures well established and managed.

4.2 The Background to the Great Lakes Region of Africa

4.2.1 The Geographical Background

Geographically, the Great Lakes Region comprises of six countries found in the Eastern part of Africa, namely: Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and the D.R. Congo.⁷⁰⁴ The name is associated with the unique environmental features enhanced by the presence of the eight rather extraordinary lakes it hosts. Over history, these lakes have been considered to rank as “Great Lakes,” on account of the significance of their size, depth and ecological features. The eight lakes demonstrated on the map in figure 4 below include: Lake Turkana on Kenya’s northern border with Sudan, Lakes Albert and Edward on the western border of Uganda to the DR Congo, Lake Kivu and Tanganyika on the respective western border of Rwanda and Tanzania with the DR Congo, Lake Malawi in Tanzania’s southern border with Malawi, and lake Victoria which joins the three East African countries of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.

Figure 4: The Great Lakes Region



⁷⁰⁴ Cf. CIA Country Analysis. 2004. "The Great Lakes Region: Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda." <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/eafrica.html>, (accessed April 2004). This is indeed the sense in which the ‘Great Lakes Region’ shall be referred to throughout this analysis.

Source: Map Centre: East Africa. 1997. "General Map of the Great Lakes." http://www.reliefweb.int/mapc/afr_east/gl_reg/blr_c.html, (accessed 27 October 2008)

These lakes comprise some of the largest and ecologically diverse freshwater systems on the planet.⁷⁰⁵ Their presence in the heart of Africa bears considerable influence on population distribution as well as economic activities in the east and central parts of Africa. The nature and significance of the land gradients, altitudes and elevations as well as the unique drainage basins are among the dominant characteristics of the Great Lakes. Lake Victoria, located between Uganda to the west and Tanzania and Kenya to the east, ranks as the second-largest fresh-water lake in the world after Lake Superior in the U.S.A. While Lake Tanganyika, located on the border between the Democratic Republic of Congo and Tanzania, ranks as one of the deepest lakes in the world. In addition to the unique features that experts have long associated with these lakes, each inspires its own eco-system, exhibit unique dependence on rainfall and proximity to the equator with unique land elevations.⁷⁰⁶ This is the quality with which they fit into the general geographical ambit of the African tropics.

The lakes all twist down the two arms of the Great Rift Valley of East and Central Africa, playing more to the influence of tectonic and volcanic activity. The combined influence gives the region specific drainage capability that exhibit a variety of ecosystems with significant biodiversity. Consequently, the experts observe that the region's relief remains moderate and the highlands are relatively cool with abundant rainfall.⁷⁰⁷ Major drainage basins include those of the rivers Congo-

⁷⁰⁵ PBS. 2008. "The Great Lakes Region." http://www.pbs.org/wnet/africa/explore/greatlakes/greatlakes_overview_lo.html, (accessed 21 April 2008).

⁷⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁰⁷ Cf. United Nations Environmental Programme. 1997. "Environmental Aspects of the African Great Lakes Region." <http://na.unep.net/greatlakes/index.php3>, (accessed 24 October 2008).

Zaire, Nile and Zambezi which drain into the Atlantic Ocean, Mediterranean Sea and Indian Ocean, respectively. The environmental aspect of the Great Lakes Region also includes the general feature of the African tropics. Forests are dominant in the lowlands of the Congo-Zaire basin, while grasslands and savannahs are most common in the southern and eastern highlands. The special environmental uniqueness exposed by the analysis of the influence of the Great Lakes, has warranted some of the countries in East and Central Africa, the name 'the Great Lakes Region of Africa.' In its wider sense, this influence extends to all the physical boundaries of the East African countries of Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Congo. In its narrow sense, the title is usually used to refer to the area lying between northern Lake Tanganyika, western Lake Victoria, and lakes Kivu, Edward and Albert. This covers the whole geographical area of Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania, but only the north-eastern DR Congo and north-western part of Kenya (see Figure 9 above).

4.2.2 Common Climatic Conditions

The Great Lakes Region lies well within the tropics and enjoys tropical climate throughout the year. Its climate is influenced by the characteristic tropical geographical features of the equatorial forest, the savannah and the arid and semi-arid lands and, in a special way, by the unique features of the Great Lakes which dominate and describe the general climate of this region. The equatorial rain-forest on one extreme and the semi-arid land on the other extreme are separated by the extensive savannah grassland between them. The equatorial lands are the great rain-forest regions of the globe. They include huge areas which are still uninhabited and so far not developed. The equatorial lowlands, in their virgin state, are clothed in dense and luxuriant forest vegetation

constantly watered by the torrential convectional rain falls.⁷⁰⁸ With the equatorial land features, the climate remains remarkably constant with the temperatures ranging between 21 and 32 degrees Celsius, leaving the daily mean temperatures to hover around 27 degrees Celsius for a long period of the year. The arid/semi-arid lands, on the other hand, consist largely of the desert environment which is essentially hostile with the extremes of heat and cold, dust, isolation and searing winds, as well as the overriding necessity of ensuring a supply of usable water.⁷⁰⁹

These two rather extreme geographical features are linked by the tropical savannah grasslands. They extend over vast areas of Africa, northern Australia and Latin America. Within the physical boundaries of the six countries that make up the Great Lakes Region of Africa, the savannah lands are the main geographical feature that determines the difference between the equatorial rain-forest from the semi-arid land.⁷¹⁰ Although the boundaries are not clearly defined, experts have employed various methods to classify the effects of the savannah tropical grasslands on the Great Lakes Region. One preferable approach derives from the tropical significance of the imaginary equatorial line.⁷¹¹ This

⁷⁰⁸ Cf. J.H. Lowry, *World Population and Food Supply*, Third ed. (London: Edward Arnold, 1986), 29.

⁷⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 43-44.

⁷¹⁰ Bede Nwoye Okigbo, "Major Farming Systems of the Lowland Savannah of Sub-Saharan Africa and the Potential for Improvement," in *Moist Savannas of Africa: Potentials and Constraints for Crop Production*, ed. B.T. Kang et al. (Cotonou: International Institute of Tropical Agriculture, 1994), 49. Broadly speaking, the savannah lands lie between the equatorial rain-forests on the one side and the hot desert on the other. Within Africa, the savannah and the associated grasslands are estimated to occupy about 12.3 million square kilometres which amount to 42.3% of the area of the African continent. North of the equator, the savannah covers the area approximated to be about 450-800 km in width (from north to south) and about 5,600 Km in length (east to west). Experts estimate this area to cover about 38 different countries.

⁷¹¹ Cf. A.O. Isichei and I.O. Akobundu, "Vegetation as a Resource: Characterization and Management in the Moist Savannas of Africa," in *Moist Savannas of Africa*, ed. B.T. Kang et al. (Cotonou: International Institute of Tropical Agriculture, 1994), 33. One approach links the distribution of the

line runs right across East and Central Africa, dividing the region into two almost equal parts across Kenya and the Democratic Republic of Congo. To the North of the equator, the poorer savannah climatic conditions intensify and the natural vegetation of the savannah lands gradually degenerates into the thorn scrub towards the margins of the arid/semi-arid lands.⁷¹² But south of the equator, the natural vegetation of the equatorial rain forest increases in luxuriance with an increasing proportion of trees towards the fringe of the African rain forest. A greater part of the region receives heavy torrential conventional rainfall well distributed throughout the year on the influence of its equatorial climate.⁷¹³ With these variations, the vast savannah grass lands of the Great Lakes Region is well situated between the poor arid or semi-arid lands mostly found in northern parts of Tanzania and the north and north-eastern parts of Kenya on the one hand, and the rich soils of the African rain-forest of the Congo. These variations reflect differences in total mean annual rainfall and in the length of the rainy season in different specific areas of the Great Lakes Region.⁷¹⁴ The extensive influence of the savannah lands climate is very significant in defining

savannah grassland in Africa to altitude. In this scheme, an imaginary line drawn across Africa from Angola to Western Ethiopia divides the continent into a 'low' western Africa where most of the land is between 150 and 600m above sea level, and a 'high' eastern and southern Africa (including the Great Lakes Region), which mostly rises to 1000 m higher above sea level. With this scheme, a hierarchical system of variables is used: first is the climate defined by the length of rainy season and the precipitation/evapotranspiration ratio. This is followed by topography and soil, then by the physiognomic and structural features of the vegetation, and finally by the taxonomic features. Thus, experts are able to scheme the vast savannah grasslands into transition savannah, Guinea savannah, Sudan savannah and Sahel short grassland. But while this approach remains generally helpful in classifying the vast savannah land across Africa, experts have largely preferred the tropical significance of the equatorial line to classify the savannah lands within the physical boundaries of the six countries that make up the Great Lakes Region of Africa.

⁷¹² Okigbo, "Farming Systems of Sub-Saharan Africa," 49.

⁷¹³ Lowry, *World Population and Food Supply*, 29-30.

⁷¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 38.

the overall climatic conditions of the Great Lakes Region. Experts observe that this vegetation has structural and functional characteristics that enable it to exhibit seasonal rhythms of growth and productivity.⁷¹⁵ It brings into this region the three fairly distinct seasons. The relatively wet and cool (or the winter) season, is experienced between April and July. The hot and wet season is experienced between August and October, while the hot and relatively dry (or the summer) season sets in from November to March.

The distinctiveness of the three climatic influences, however, implies diverse climatic constraints. The deluging rains of the equatorial influence, for example, cause leaching the long term consequence of which is the virtually worthless laterite soil, markedly lacking in humus.⁷¹⁶ On the other hand, though the savannah brings in the three marked seasons every year, its characteristic rainfall is largely confined to one period of the year, and is known to be notoriously variable, both in total and in duration. Thus, "Nearly 88 percent of the area of East Africa has a single-season precipitation pattern. The rest has what experts refer to as bimodal pattern, with typically four wet months and eight dry months."⁷¹⁷ With these generally extreme positions, the savannah land climate has a double negative effect on the soil: downward leaching and thick saline encrustation, both of which result in inferior soil utterly infertile and difficult to manage.⁷¹⁸ The consequence

⁷¹⁵ Isichei and Akobundu, "Vegetation as a Resource," 31-33.

⁷¹⁶ Lowry, *World Population and Food Supply*, 29.

⁷¹⁷ John W. Mellor, Christopher L. Delgado, and Malcolm J. Blackie, eds., *Accelerating Food Production in Sub-Saharan Africa* (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 78-79.

⁷¹⁸ Lowry, *World Population and Food Supply*, 38. In the Great Lakes Regions, downward leaching is associated with the characteristic savannah land violent convection rainstorms of the hot, wet season. Downpours are particularly heavy at the beginning of each rainy season, i.e. when the topsoil is parched and dry, and less able to withstand erosion. This seasonal alternation of what is described as sluicing and desiccation, leads to the formation of lateritic soils, composed almost entirely of iron and aluminium hydroxide, the valuable plant nutrients

is often heavy, grey and black soils, almost impossible to work on when dry, difficult to manage when wet, and in the case of encrustation, prone to water logging. Impervious lateritic crusts inhibit exploitations of large well-watered areas of central and south-eastern Tanzania, for example. The valley bottom areas of the Great Lakes Region are often used for dry season grazing. But in the parts of Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi, under substantial population pressure, soils are built into beds and planted with vegetable crops. The overriding necessity of usable water and irrigation, in the arid lands, further brings the problems of salination and water logging which afflict irrigated farmland from time to time.⁷¹⁹

It is in the context of the typical difficulties of the tropical climate that the uniqueness of the great lake feature come to bear. The imposing presence of the highlands attributed to the presence of the Great Lakes effect a sub-tropical climate despite being right on the equator. Consequently, "the moist savannah zones that are lowlands, or at medium altitude, are restricted to small areas in coastal parts of Kenya and parts of Tanzania."⁷²⁰ This bears great influence to livelihood in this region and adds to the peculiarity of the region. For example, tropical diseases of humans and livestock, such as trypanosomiasis, are known to be less prevalent in this climatic condition. Hence, cattle and other susceptible animals thrive. This composition in climate further enables this tropical area of the developing countries to harvest up to two or three time a year. Generally, temperatures and day lengths in the tropics

having been removed in solution. The consequence is pure laterite soils which are utterly infertile. On the other hand, saline encrustation occurs with constant evaporation. Throughout the drought season soil moisture is constantly lost into the atmosphere by evaporation. As the water evaporates, however, all dissolved salts are left behind at the ground surface. Long continued accumulation of these deposits leads to the formation of a solid, infertile, saline encrustation several feet thick, sometimes referred to as a hard-pan. These two aspects generally lead to low quality savannah grasslands of the Great Lakes Region.

⁷¹⁹ Ibid., 44.

⁷²⁰ Okigbo, "Farming Systems of Sub-Saharan Africa," 58.

are known to be more favourable to the growth of crops than conditions in temperate developed countries and best-case yields are, therefore, often higher in the tropics than in highly productive areas of temperate zones. Hence, experts often speak of the ‘moist savannahs of Eastern Africa.’ This is to underscore the fact that the Great Lakes Region enjoys the best blend of the equatorial and savannah land climate largely due to the influence of the Great Lakes.⁷²¹ The wetter areas of moist savannah vegetation, that is, towards the southern Congolian evergreen forest and woodlands, receive up to between 1200 mm and 1500 mm of rain,⁷²² while the drier savannahs, that is towards the arid and semi-arid areas of Tanzania and Kenya, receive a total annual rainfall of between 250 and 1000 mm.⁷²³ However, the average yield of almost all crops grown in tropical regions is significantly lower than in developed countries. Experts attribute this to the general inability of the poor farmers and government departments in developing countries to deal with problems such as poor quality seed, salty or otherwise recalcitrant soil, environmental stresses such as drought and heat, pests and diseases, lack of fertilizers, short-term management of farm land, and inadequate control of water.⁷²⁴ These constitute the greatest setback to the

⁷²¹ Cf. Ibid. In comparing the moist savannah zone of West Africa with those in East and Southern Africa, Okigbo observed the peculiarity of the Great Lakes Region as the main differentiating factor thus: “the main difference ... is the presence of a large area of highlands east of a line drawn from north-western Ethiopia to Luanda in Angola. The highlands in parts of Africa have rendered local climatic conditions more sub-tropical than tropical.”

⁷²² Ibid., 51-52.

⁷²³ Lowry, *World Population and Food Supply*, 38.

⁷²⁴ The Nuffield Council on Bioethics, 2003. “Genetically Modified Crops: The Use of Genetically Modified Crops in Developing Countries.” http://www.nuffieldbioethics.org/fileLibrary/pdf/GM_Crops_Discussion_Paper_2004.pdf, (accessed 26 April 2006). See Nos. 3.23 - 3.25. One of the main reasons for this pattern is that regulators in developing countries often opt for a highly conservative precautionary approach when deciding about the use of a new GM crop. Unresolved concerns about the safety of GM crops for human consumption and for the environment (see paragraphs 4.28-4.47), together with

agricultural activity in the tropical regions of Africa, including the Great Lakes Region. Considering the major role agriculture plays in the life of the people in this region, these setbacks too are identified as the genesis of many problems including hunger, disease and poverty.⁷²⁵

4.2.3 Brief Historical Background

The social economic background of the Great Lakes Region reflects the history of the peoples' migrations, eventual settlement and the adoption of iron tools and gradual technology in agriculture as a means of subsistence. Early migration patterns dating as far back as 2000 BC. left this region with four main groups of settlers of black African origin, namely: the Bantu, the Nilotics, Cushites and the Nilohamites.⁷²⁶ With the exception of Rwanda and Burundi where only two groups inhabit (the Tutsi representing Nilotics and the Hutu from Bantu), the other countries contain a blend of tribes whose origin is traced back to these four main groups. Like in all the history of human settlement, such migrations have significantly determined the patterns of subsistence in the Great Lakes Region.⁷²⁷ The Bantu group, whose migration pattern

possible restrictions arising from international trade policies (see paragraphs 5.43-5.50) have been influential in this respect.

⁷²⁵ Ibid.

⁷²⁶ Cf. Library of Congress, 2007. "Country Profiles: Kenya." <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles.html> (accessed 2 November 2008). With the aid of modern archaeology, experts identify the Great Lakes Region as possible home to the earliest man on the planet earth. For example, while working in the Rift Valley region in the 1930s, Mary and Louis Leakey unearthed fossils of several species of proto-humans dating to as many as 20 million years ago. Furthermore, recent findings near Kenya's Lake Turkana indicate that hominids lived in the area 2.6 million years ago. Nevertheless, ancestors of modern Kenya's population began arriving in the region around 2000 BC, when Cushitic-speaking pastoralists migrated southwards of the Ethiopia highlands. Between 500 BC and AD 500, Nilotic speakers arrived along with Bantu-speaking peoples, who now make up three-quarters of Kenya's population.

⁷²⁷ Cf. Wortman and Cummings, *To Feed This World*, 38. In assessing the genesis of agricultural revolution in the evolution of mankind's social life,

dispersed them along the Congo rain forest, are noted to have adopted farming methods that better suited to the moist savannah lands. This involved the clearing of the bushes and, by use of earlier technology of iron tools, prepared limited family fields for the planting of food crops, especially the oil palm and yams.⁷²⁸ On the other hand, the Nilotic tribes practiced both the planting of cereals and herding for subsistence.⁷²⁹ The African communities settled in well organized families, clans, tribes and even kingdoms. In other countries related tribes moved to form strong kingdoms like the Buganda, Kitara (later Bunyoro and Toro), and Karagwa kingdoms in Uganda, and the Kongo kingdom in the DR Congo.⁷³⁰ But in other countries, individual tribes like the Masai and Kikuyu in Kenya, and the Banyamwezi in Tanzania, spread around the desirable regions without elaborate kingdoms save for stronger family,

Wortman and Cummings observed this point: "Wherever man settled, there emerged systems of 'traditional' farming suited to the ecological conditions of particular localities. All of these farming systems had one set of factors in common: The farmer had at his disposal his land, the climate, his seed, his own labour, his domestic animals, and the knowledge and wisdom accumulated during the generations of subsistence by his ancestors."

⁷²⁸ Cf. The Library of Congress. 2007. "Country Studies: DR Congo-Human Origins." <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/zrtoc.html>, (accessed 2 November 2008).

⁷²⁹ Ibid. Cereal cultivation, hunting and herding were much better adapted to conditions in the savannahs than the oil palm and yam farming that the Bantu speakers had brought from western Africa and hence, spread rapidly, especially in the southern grasslands. The failure of oil palm and yams earlier on facilitated the emergence of cereal cultivation, hunting and herding as the main agricultural methods of subsistence. These, likewise, formed the basic agricultural practice that guided earlier migrations and settlements in the extensive plateaus and the well rain-served highlands of the Great Lakes Region.

⁷³⁰ BBC World Service. 2007. "The Story of Africa." http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/specials/1624_story_of_africa/page44.shtml (accessed 2 November 2008).

By the 15th century AD, what was known only as the small Iron Age communities, found along the River Congo had grown in wealth and size to form a loose federation centred on one kingdom, led by a king or Manikongo. At its height, Kongo was the biggest state in western and central Africa. It stretched from the Atlantic in the west to the Kwango River in the east, encompassing what today is northern Angola, part of DR Kongo and part of Congo Brazzaville.

clan and tribal ties. Whichever social order these groups assumed, subsistence and the related social progress advanced according to the set of laws and the customs protected by family elders or the powerful kings.⁷³¹ Though settlement in this region generally dates back to as early as 500 BC, this order took shape gradually in the atmosphere of wars, diseases and harsh climatic conditions and only appeared elaborate in the late middle ages.

In early periods of settlement, religion, politics, education, economics, or medicine were all pursued in the light of respective community laws and customs. Meanwhile, life situations taught native Africans collaborative efforts and specialization where individual members of the family made specific contributions to the welfare of the community. The resultant division of responsibilities was performed with utmost respect for sexes.⁷³² It later became the basis of the African communities' economic life and remains very crucial in the whole debate about the participation of women in agricultural food production in this region today.⁷³³

⁷³¹ Like the *Laibon* of the Masai or powerful kings like the *Mukama* of Buganda and *Manikongo* of the Kongo.

⁷³² While young boys and girls remained closer to their mothers and fathers respectively in careful process of learning by observation, the young adults served in specified duties like herding, family defence, food gathering, firewood collection or emissaries in the communication of important messages. The fathers of the family would strictly command the outdoor duties while the mothers would control and direct the indoor or homestead duties.

⁷³³ Cf. Jennie Dey, *Women in Food Production and Food Security in Africa*, Women in Agriculture 3 (Rome: FAO, 1985), 10-12. In advocating for women as beneficiaries of food development policies and programmes today, Jennie Dey acknowledges that in the Sub-Saharan countries men and women have separate but complementary roles and responsibilities for agricultural production, processing, storage and marketing, and for the purchase of additional food and other household necessities. Nonetheless, this should not deny the opportunity to be targeted beneficiaries on the pretext of homogeneity of the African household units in which the male are seen as household heads who control all labour, assets and income and make all major decisions on social and economic matters. See also the emphasis of FAO on women's contribution to family nutrition as food producers. FAO, "Women in African Food

Because of the population density, rich soils, viability of economic activity as well as the records of agricultural surplus in the region, an orderly structure of governance was made visible in the Great Lakes Region earlier than it was in many other regions in Africa. The region was organized into a number of small states. The most powerful of these monarchies were Rwanda, Burundi, Buganda, and Bunyoro. This as is cited as one of the factors that attracted colonial powers into the region. From the historical point of view therefore, the Great Lakes Region hosted some of the earliest organized communities who lived in a potentially productive region capable of competitive cultural, political and economic activity in Africa south of the Sahara.

The advent of colonialism in the 19th century was heralded by the European explorers who discovered and desired to settle in the fertile arable chunks of land in the hinterland of East and Central Africa.⁷³⁴ At the Conference of Berlin held in 1884-1885, the European powers set up the definite physical boundaries for the Great Lakes Region. Kenya and Uganda fell to the British, Tanzania to the Germans, Rwanda and Burundi to the French, while Congo was shared between the French and the Belgians.⁷³⁵ The colonial rule destabilized almost the whole of the land tenure system known in this region before. In Kenya and Uganda, for example, the British opened the fertile Highlands to white settlers. Extensive tracts of the best lands were taken from Africans and reserved for the white settlers who gained control, practiced large scale farming of cash crops like coffee, tea, and soon sought political power to protect their rapidly growing welfare.⁷³⁶ Winston Churchill, who passed through

Production and Food Security," in *Food Policy*, ed. J. Price Gittinger, Joanne Leslie, and Caroline Hoisington (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 133-135.

⁷³⁴ The Library of Congress. 2007. "Country Studies," (accessed 2 November 2008).

⁷³⁵ Ibid.

⁷³⁶ Cf. The Library of Congress. 2007. "Country Studies: Uganda-the Colonial Era." <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/ugtoc.html>, (accessed 3 November 2008). The

the East African protectorate in 1907 when he was British under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, captured this situation thus:

Every white man in Nairobi is a politician, and most of them are leaders of parties. One would scarcely believe it possible that a centre so new should be able to develop so many divergent and conflicting interests, or that a community so small should be able to give to each such vigorous and even vehement expression. There are already in miniature all the elements of keen political and racial discord, all the materials for hot and acrimonious debate. The white man versus the black, the Indian versus both, the settler as against the planter, the town contrasted with the country, the official class against the unofficial, the coast and the highlands, the railway administration and the protectorate generally, the king's African rifles and the East African Protectorate police, all these different points of view, naturally arising, honestly adopted, tenaciously held, and not yet reconciled into any harmonious general conception, confront the visitor in perplexing disarray.⁷³⁷

Africans offered gradual resistance that eventually assumed a full-blown struggle for independence. Meanwhile, the European influence had taken root through Western education, Christian religion, Western agricultural technology, economic life, and social interaction in general. So to speak, the foreign concepts of development and underdevelopment, poverty and riches, civilization and backwardness,

taking away of land from the native East Africans however, depended most on the strength of their respective governments. Governments under powerful Kings like the kingdoms of the present Uganda, offered resistance that was only overcome by intense bargain and agreements. The governments led by simple Chiefs like Kenya and Tanzania on the other hand, were easily taken away.

⁷³⁷ E. Huxley, *White Man's Country*, vol. 2 (London: Chatto and Windus, 1935), 1:212. See also Philip W. Porter, *Food and Development in the Semi-Arid Zone of East Africa* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1984), 45-46.

hunger and nutrition, paganism and religiosity, slowly became the parameters by which native African people were rated by their colonial masters. While their superior masters took all the positive attributes of progress, the native Africans embodied the detestable inferior culture that had to be abandoned by all means to set them 'free' to struggle to catch up from the underdog position. In the early 1960s, the six countries of the Great Lakes Region attained independence. In the context of the native African communities, socio-economic significance meant regaining the original order in which each family struggled to fend adequately for its members and the community. But this was no longer to be due to the influence especially of Western education and the Christian religion. Native religion was to be shunned as a form of paganism and traditional education as expression of backwardness. On the political level, traditional chieftaincies were abandoned for liberal party politics. Economically, community subsistence was replaced by market gardening or employment salaries for individual subsistence. The Western money economy gradually replaced the local barter trade. Individual struggle for subsistence through employment in the farms of the white settlers replaced communal sharing of harvest. The process had therefore begun where the native African was gradually extracted from his/her original life struggles and placed on to the 'wheel of development,' whose limits still remain far beyond the skies as the African still remains 'underdeveloped.'

4.2.4 Population Size and Distribution

The revised UN data on the world population prospects of 2008 estimates the population of all the six countries in the GLR at over 206.3 Million people.⁷³⁸ The conducive features of this region provide a

⁷³⁸ Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat. 2009. "World Population Prospects: 2008 Revision,"

powerful lure for humans and heavily influence their distribution, socialization and development. Table 16 below summarizes the demographical background typical to the GLR. It highlights the population, its distribution and density as well as its growth rate.

Table 16: Population size and distribution in the GLR, 2010

Country	Population ('000)			Pop. Distribution ('000)			Density (pop. Per Sq. Km.)	Growth Rate (%)
	Male	Female	Total	Rural	Urban	Urban % of total		
Burundi	4,179	4,340	8,519	7,582	937	11	306	2.9
DRC	33,620	34,208	67,828	43,940	23,887	35	29	2.8
Kenya	20,431	20,432	40,863	31,799	9,064	22	70	2.6
Rwanda	4,981	5,296	10,277	8,340	1,938	18	390	2.7
Uganda	16,932	16,864	33,796	29,303	4,493	13	140	3.3
Tanzania	22,466	22,574	45,040	33,157	11,883	26.4	48	2.9
Total	102,609	103,714	206,323	154,121	52,202			

Source: Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat. 2009. "World Population Prospects: 2008 Revision," UNdata. http://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp2008/tab-sorting_population.htm, (accessed 5 January 2011).

From the Table above, it is worth noting that the number of female in all the countries by the year 2010 was more than that of male except in Uganda. This accumulates to a substantial size in the entire region designating women's potential in the development of the region and in alleviation of hunger. With regard to distribution, the population that

lives in the rural areas outnumbers the urban population by a wide margin in all the countries.

When the population of 206.3 million of the whole region is considered, less than one quarter, that is 52.2 million, live in the urban areas. While the 154.1 million that live in the rural areas are more than half of the entire population. Thus, the urban populations are still significantly small. When we link the distribution of male and female to either rural or urban areas, the demographics confirm the observation that the female mainly inhabit the rural areas as the urban population is dominated by their male counterparts. In terms of population density, the region supports one of the densest rural populations in the continent sometimes known to stretch to a population of up to 500 people per sq km.⁷³⁹ Although population density in this region reflects more of the rural situation than the situation in urban centres, the influence of the Great Lakes on population distribution complicates the significance of population density in this region. Due to the special influence of the Great Lakes, the population densities are noted to be high along the shores of the Great Lakes. The shores of Lake Victoria for example, are noted for the massive populations it carries on the sides of the three countries of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania which share its shores.⁷⁴⁰ This implies that even the regions along the shores of the Great Lakes largely remain under rural settings with bigger populations compared to the urban centres that carry comparatively smaller populations. For example, the highest population densities are registered in Rwanda: 390 persons per square kilometre, Burundi: 306 persons per square kilometre

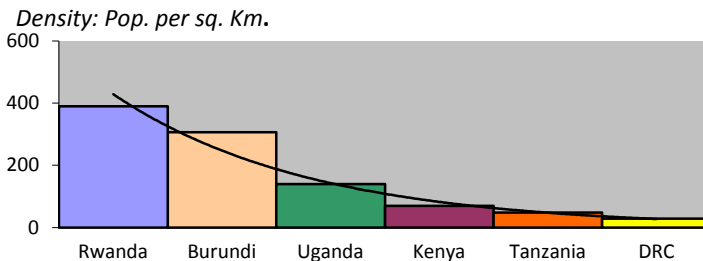
⁷³⁹ International Network for the Improvement of Banana and Plantain. 2006. "Banana-Food in Eastern and Southern Africa." <http://www.inibap.org/index.php?page=19->barnesa->secure> (accessed 02 May 2006).

⁷⁴⁰ Okoth-Ogendo and Oucho, "Population Growth and Agricultural Change in Kenya?" 188. The Lake Victoria Basin cluster constitutes Kenya's largest population region as shown by this study of population growth and agricultural change in Kisii district of Nyanza province in south-western Kenya.

and Uganda: 140 persons per square kilometre. Coincidentally, these are also the countries with the highest proportionate rural population. Out of Rwanda's 10.2 million people, 8.3 million live in rural areas. Out of Burundi's 8.5 million people, 7.5 live in rural areas, and out of 33.7 million people in Uganda, 29.3 live in rural areas.

More importantly, these are also the countries that are closest to the Great Lakes. Their proximity to the Great Lakes distinguishes them, so to speak, as 'rural countries' with exceptionally high population densities. Thereafter, the population spreads out thinly towards the countryside. It is therefore reasonable to observe that the distribution of the population in the countries of this region is highly concentrated as one gets closer to the shore line of the Great Lakes, the closer a country is to the Great Lakes, the higher the density of its population. But as one moves away from the shores of the Great Lakes, the populations get thinner and sparsely distributed. In this category are the DR Congo, Tanzania and Kenya with population densities of 29, 48 and 70 persons per square kilometre respectively. Much of the hinterland of these countries lies far from the shore line of the Great Lakes. Figure 5 below is a graphical signification of the influence of the Great Lakes on both the distribution and density of the population in this region of Africa. The densities increase or decrease exponentially depending on whether one approaches or moves away from the shoreline of the Great Lakes.

Figure 5: Population density in relations to proximity to the Great Lakes



Source: Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat. 2009. "World Population Prospects: 2008 Revision," UNdata. http://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp2008/tab-sorting_population.htm, (accessed 5 January 2011).

The resultant picture of population distribution and density plays a major role in defining the socio-economic situation in this region. Thus, the social and economic progress of each country here is arguably proportionate to the influence of the Great Lakes in terms of the population distribution patterns. In this perspective future progress of the region cannot be divorced from the population growth rate. According to the United Nations revised data on the world population prospect tabulated in Table 16 above, all the countries of the GLR posit growth rates above 2.5 percent as of the year 2010. Uganda posits the highest population growth rate of 3.3 percent, while Kenya posits the smallest population growth rate of 2.3 percent. These are among the highest growth rates in the world still seen in 2010.⁷⁴¹ According to experts, this phenomenon is still a case of concern as the world struggles to close the gap of undernourishment by 2015.⁷⁴² Table 17 below highlights implications of this pattern by projecting key aspects of the population to the year 2015 and 2030.

Table 17: Population Projections to the years 2015 and 2030

Country	Population ('000)		Growth Rate (%)		Density (Pop. Sq. Km.)	
	2015	2030	2010-2015	2025-2030	2015	2030
Burundi	9,413	11,936	2	1.35	338	429
DRC	77,419	108,594	2.7	2.03	33	46
Kenya	46,433	63,199	2.6	1.9	80	109

⁷⁴¹ Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat. (accessed 5 January 2011).

⁷⁴² Cf. FAO. 2009. "Technical Annex," *The State of Food Insecurity*, <http://www.fao.org/docrep/011/i0291e/i0291e00.htm>. <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/011/i0291e/i0291e05.pdf>, (accessed 9 October 2010).

Rwanda	11,743	16,104	2.7	1.9	446	611
Uganda	39,710	60,819	3.2	2.6	165	252
Tanzania	51,109	75,498	2.9	2.3	55	80
Total	235,827	336,150				

Source: Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat. 2009. "World Population Prospects: 2008 Revision," UNdata. http://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp2008/tab-sorting_population.htm, (accessed 5 January 2011).

From the statistics above, the region's population is set to increase by more than one half, from 206.3 million in 2010 to 336.2 million by 2015. By then its growth rate will still be above 1.5 percent. The densities too will have increased substantially. Uganda for example, being closest to the Great Lakes, will see its population density increase from 140 to 252 persons per square kilometre, that is, by a margin of almost one half in less than two decades. For a region already under the burden of hunger and starvation, these projections remain indeed a cause of worry. From the statistics above, the population co-efficient in the struggle against hunger turns spotlight to the capacity of this region to feed its population. Will the effects of the Great Lakes known to influence the population size and distribution likewise facilitate eradication of hunger? More light will be shade on this question in the next section that discusses food security, ways of improving it and sustainability. But before this, we shall first consider the socio-economic economic background that results from the population pattern discussed so far.

4.2.5 Socio-Economic Background

Culture and socialization among the people of the GLR, facilitated by distinct population distribution patterns, play a crucial role in defining the economics of this region. Economic activity often emerges from people's common struggle for subsistence largely in a traditional rural set-up. It took shape in the form of individual effort exercised

within community etiquette and governed by traditional customs whose priority was often the common good. However, the factor of the population distribution into urban and rural areas also makes possible a modernized economic structure that draws from business communities, employed people and established farmers that sustain the urban population. The distribution of the population into the urban and rural set-ups as well as in advantaged agricultural areas also facilitate the presence of different incomes groups. Ultimately, recurrent patterns of activity emerge that not only situate individuals' or groups' contributions to the community's economic welfare in general, but that also define subsistence efforts on the basic level. In the effort to estimate people's productivity in relation to food consumption, experts have established specific gender mannerisms associated with the Great Lakes Region. For example, a rapid rural appraisal carried out in the Luapula Valley showed that women tend to dominate subsistence farming activities and are therefore extremely important in maintaining the household food security in terms of staple foods.⁷⁴³ Men, on the other hand, are the main providers of cash income from fishing, sawing, charcoal cutting, casual labour, etc. Income is vital to household food security, as cash is needed to purchase essentials such as salt, oil and relish foods that are not home produced or bartered. As men are the providers of income, their food preferences are paramount in determining what the family eats or does not eat. The women also

⁷⁴³ Cf. FAO, "Summary of World Food and Agricultural Statistics 2004," (accessed 6 June 2008). In the 2005 FAO report giving a summary of World Food and Agricultural statistics, experts estimated the number of female in agricultural labour force to stand at 48% of total agricultural labour force in the Sub-Saharan region of Africa in 2004. Africa as a continental group posited up to 48%, the highest compared to Asia and Oceania the next in the list which posited 45% each. All other regions in the developing countries range between 16% and 35% of female agriculture labour force. See figures in table 2.3 and 2.4 of this report.

generate some income, but considerably less than men, given their overriding responsibilities for subsistence agriculture.⁷⁴⁴

When the issue of nutrition is considered on a level wider than the family set up, class differences determined by sizes of incomes emerge. Though community life was cherished, economic class differences were also noticeable in the traditional African cultural set up. The power status of a tribal chief's household, for example, often enjoyed proportionate abundance and lavishness. This would also be common among large families with huge tracks of land to cultivate, or with small-holder business-oriented families. A wealth-ranking exercise carried out by FAO, showed that only the poor groups experience shortages of food during the year.⁷⁴⁵ The wealthier groups were seen to be able to secure their food needs throughout the year. Characteristics of the poor groups show clearly why they have difficulties: they have, on average, smaller farms; the number of people per household tends to be less, possibly indicating a shortage of labour and, very importantly, they have few if any alternative sources of income, in contrast to the wealthier groups which have invested capital and diversified their activities to include several sources of income. The poor groups also contain a high proportion of women-headed households and also elderly people, some of whom are responsible for the care of their grandchildren. Women in the focus groups also ascribed poverty to social factors, such as men neglecting their families by not giving them sufficient income, by not helping with agricultural activities or because of beer drinking problems. The limiting constraint for poor households is labour, particularly of women, who are responsible for planting, weeding and harvesting. In women-headed households, women on their own have to undertake all the work including the land clearing and preparation. It is therefore not surprising that little or no time is left for other activities.

⁷⁴⁴ Cf. FAO. *Agriculture, Food and Nutrition for Africa*, 54.

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid.

In respect to the social structure visible in the Great Lakes Region however, it is observed that “no household is self-sufficient in any of these items, and households will be dependent to some extent on either barter or purchase.”⁷⁴⁶ This implies a certain amount of interaction between individual households and/or between both the rich and poorer groups. This interaction, on the other hand, is what builds the network of the community life in the region. It forms the ultimate social pattern held together by cultural taboos, habits and values. A relationship thus created further articulates the peculiarities of this region and consolidates the identity of its people. In such a consideration, cultural habits, attitudes and preferences emerge that eventually expose people’s generalised feeding patterns that go beyond individual households or only groups of the rich and the poor. This in turn is reflected in people’s health and in the general progress of the region. These attitudes constitute the behaviour patterns that provide basic indicators in the assessment of the levels of hunger and starvation in the region. However, the gradual entrance of foreign settlers, particularly from Europe, slowly opened this region and increased its contact with the rest of the world. This impacted on the economic, social and cultural life. Consequently, the Great Lakes Region becomes known for its diverse life styles characterized by different patterns of subsistence.

The economic activity that results from this pattern of social interaction is largely dependent upon the population distribution pattern described above. The population of the inhabitants found along the shores of the lakes and around the lake and river basins engage small scale peasant farming and in fishing activities. But as population thins out towards the main land and as the rainfall decreases, the communities concentrate more on peasant farming and in pastoral activities. The common factor of the diverse life styles witnessed here hinges on

⁷⁴⁶ Ibid.

general agricultural practice which provides the basis for both subsistence and economic life, small-scale business activity is go on.⁷⁴⁷ Subsistence farming is sustained through the shifting cultivation method traditionally practiced by indigenous people. The thick rain-forests and the savannah are cleared and traditional staple food crops such potatoes, wheat, finger millet, sorghum, maize, bananas, cowpeas and cassava, among others, are planted depending on the altitude.⁷⁴⁸ But crops like coffee and tea are grown on plantations with comparatively modern agricultural technology.⁷⁴⁹ This is soon replaced by pastoral activities in the plain and arid or semi arid areas of the region where livestock counts almost for everything people have for subsistence. Nonetheless,

⁷⁴⁷ Cf. Jonathan Barker, ed., *The Politics of Agriculture in Tropical Africa*, Sage Series on African Modernization and Development, vol. 9 (London: Sage Publications, 1984), 14. Jonathan Barker, a renowned scholar on local politics and rural change in Africa, captured this as follows: "For the countries of tropical Africa it is impossible to imagine a durable improving trend in the basic standard of living without consistent growth in agricultural production ... A majority of the population of the region grow a large part of the food they eat, for them, increase or decline in the production of crops grown for local use is immediately registered in levels of consumption and nutrition. Agriculture also supplies a growing home market in town and cities and among rural workers, traders, artisans, and specialized farmers who do not grow their own food." On specific concerns about agricultural development in Africa, see also Mohamed S. Halfani and Jonathan Barker, "Agribusiness and Agrarian Change," in *The Politics of Agriculture in Tropical Africa*, ed. Jonathan Barker (London: Sage Publications, 1984), 35-64, and Linda Freeman, "CIDA and Agriculture in East and Central Africa," in *The Politics of Agriculture in Tropical Africa*, ed. Jonathan Barker (London: Sage Publications, 1984), 99-126.

⁷⁴⁸ Lowry, *World Population and Food Supply*, 30. Agricultural production in the Great Lakes Region is achieved by three methods depending on the altitude: cultivation, plantation and padi-rice. Shift cultivation is practiced in altitudes as high as between 1250-2000m (wet and cool), and as low as below 1250 (warmer with variable rainfall), plantation cropping is practiced on medium altitude areas. Plantation coffee grows at 1000 -1500m altitude while tea grows from as low as 100m to as high as 2200m altitude. Padi-rice cultivation flourishes best on swampy ground, but requires high temperatures, abundant moisture and sunshine. In the Great Lakes Region, it is employed in the valley bottoms for dry season vegetable, banana, rice, and sugarcane among others. See also Okigbo, "Farming Systems of Sub-Saharan Africa," 60.

⁷⁴⁹ Lowry, *World Population and Food Supply*, 30.

livestock pastoralism succeeds mainly in non-tsetse infested areas. The livestock comprises of poultry, cattle (beef and dairy), goats, sheep, camels, donkeys and pigs.⁷⁵⁰ Apart from conventional livestock, other animal species increasing in importance include bees, guinea fowls, ostriches and crocodiles. Every country in the GLR blends this demographic pattern albeit in different proportions. However, despite these visible geographical distinctions, the overall natural endowments of this region generally remain conducive for subsistence activities depending on people's ability to pursue any of these activities no matter their location in relation to the Great Lakes.⁷⁵¹ Thus, while fishing is the main activity along the lakes, farm agriculture of both food crops and livestock still do well. Likewise, a controlled and developed use of water in irrigation, dams and ponds, crop farming as well as fish harvesting is possible even in areas distant from the lakes.⁷⁵² On the overall, life styles are governed by the common economic activities which include: subsistence farming, fishing, livestock pastoral activity and small scale business. In the face of hunger and many other social problems, subsistence and economic life often combined to provide a household

⁷⁵⁰ Ibid., No. 4.2.1. In Kenya for example, about 90% of households own livestock (GoK, 2003), which play a key role in providing food security, income, employment creation, traction and nutrient re-cycling. Apart from their economic and nutritional value livestock also play an important socio-cultural role in bonding communities as dowry, gifts and sacrifices in ceremonies. Kenya provides a variation in livestock distribution, sixty percent of all the livestock in the country are found in the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs) under extensive production systems, while 40% are found in high rainfall areas under intensive production systems whose main feature is the dairy enterprise.

⁷⁵¹ Bede Nwoye Okigbo, "Major Farming Systems of the Lowland Savanna of Sub-Saharan Africa and the Potential for Improvement," in *Moist Savannas of Africa: Potentials and Constraints for Crop Production*, ed. B.T. Kang et al. (Cotonou: International Institute of Tropical Agriculture, 1994), 52-53.

⁷⁵² Philip W. Porter, *Food and Development in the Semi-Arid Zone of East Africa* (New York: Syracuse University, 1984), 58.

food security⁷⁵³ that determines people's ability to survive in the face of hunger.

4.3 Hunger and Food Security

4.3.1 Hunger and Under-nutrition

The value of the physical features found in the GLR, and the equilibrium of the sociological interactive life of the inhabitants of this region described above, lies, among other indicators, in the region's capacity to sustain human life. This section gives a break-down of undernourishment in the region. The region's ability to respond to the hunger needs of its population is considered within the framework of the World Food Summit targets, and the Millennium Development goals. Table 18 below gives the recent figures on under-nutrition and its proportion in relation to the region's population.⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁵³ Taking into account the respective life styles and resource of livelihood, household food security defines the ability of each family to provide adequate subsistence to its members. Cf. Kenya Agricultural Research Institute. 2006. "Food Crops Research ". http://www.kari.org/Food_crops/Default.htm (accessed 2 May 2006).

⁷⁵⁴ Cf. FAO. 2010. "Food Security Statistics by Country." <http://www.fao.org/economic/ess/food-security-statistics/food-security-statistics-by-country/en/>, (accessed 9 October 2010). Due to the difficulty of obtaining the latest figures of undernourishment in all the six countries uniformly, this analysis considers the latest comprehensive figures of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations data revised in 2008. Since the period 2005-2007 provides such updated figures on hunger and under-nutrition, we have used the figures of the same period on population for the sake of uniform analysis. On this account, the purpose of this analysis is to demonstrate the reaction of the GLR to the world initiatives to stem hunger in its own background influenced by the unique features of the Great Lakes. It will then establish the trend common in this region in this regard and draw conclusions helpful for our general assessment of the human rights approach to the problem of hunger. The analysis is therefore not a historical update of the hunger situation in this region pegged on the latest figures on hunger in all the countries.

Table 18: Number and proportion of undernourished persons in the Great Lakes Region of Africa: 2005-2007

Country	Population (million)	Undernourished (million)	Proportion %
Burundi	7.6	4.7	66
DRC	60.8	41.9	31
Kenya	36.8	11.9	44
Rwanda	9.2	3.1	33
Uganda	29.7	6.1	19
Tanzania	40.1	13.7	74
Total	184.2	81.4	44

Source: FAO: Food Security Statistics, by country <http://www.fao.org/economic/ess/food-security-statistics/food-security-statistics-by-country/en/> (accessed 20 January 2011).

From the above data, the GLR as a whole posited an average of 184.2 million people in the period 2005-2007. Around 81.4 million of this population was undernourished. This accounts for around 44 per cent of the region's population suffering from the scourge of hunger in the period under consideration. The highest proportion of undernourishment was recorded in Tanzania: 74 per cent of its population at the time, Burundi: 66 per cent, and Kenya: 44 per cent. At the time, the proportions of under-nutrition in the countries of the GLR were among the highest in the world.⁷⁵⁵ When the figures in the Table above are interpreted within the context of the region, a pattern emerges once more that suggests the influence of the Great Lakes. The size of the undernourished population in the six countries of the GLR appears to be influenced by the country's proximity to the shore-line of the Great Lakes: The countries in which greater part of the hinterland lies farther from the shores of the Great Lakes, exhibit higher proportion of

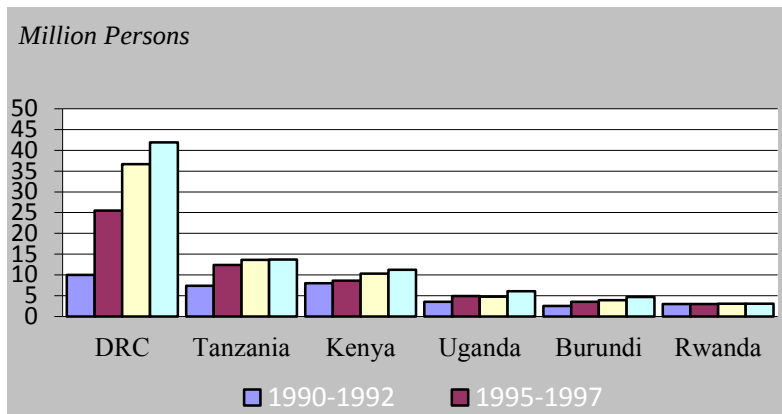
⁷⁵⁵ FAO. 2008. "Towards the Summit Commitments: Small Holder Agriculture for Poverty Reduction," *The State of Food Insecurity in the World*. <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/011/i0291e/i0291e00.pdf>, (accessed 1 October 2010).

undernourishment. According to this pattern, Tanzania and Burundi record the highest percentage of undernourished persons at 74 and 66 per cent respectively. The opposite is true with the countries whose hinterlands remain closer to the shores of the Great Lakes. In this list, Uganda posits only 19 percent, relatively the smallest size of the undernourished persons in the region. It lies in the middle of four Great Lakes, that is, lake Victoria, lake Kyoga, lake Albert and lake Edward.⁷⁵⁶

Globally, this situation of food insecurity in the GLR is monitored against the World Food Summit and the Millennium Development goals. Through these parameters, this analysis traces the progress in the region's response to the problem of hunger since the base period of 1990-1992. In the background of the World Food Summit approved plan of action, 1996, to halve the number of undernourished people by 2015,⁷⁵⁷ figure 6 below shows four consecutive periods from which the trend of undernourishment has been recorded, that is 1990-1992, 1995-1997, 2002-2004, and 2005-2007.

⁷⁵⁶ Cf. The Library of Congress. 1990. "Country Studies," *CIA World Factbook*. http://www.photius.com/countries/uganda/geography/uganda_geography_lakes_and_rivers.html, (accessed 7 July 2008). Lake Victoria dominates the south-eastern corner of the nation, with almost one-half of its 10,200-square-kilometer area lying inside Ugandan territory. It is the second largest inland freshwater lake in the world (after Lake Superior). Lake Kyoga and the surrounding basin dominate central Uganda. Extensions of Lake Kyoga include Lake Kwana, Lake Bugondo, and Lake Opet. Along the border with Congo, Lake Albert, Lake Edward, and Lake George occupy troughs in the western Rift Valley.

⁷⁵⁷ The 1996 world food summit plan of action outlined seven commitments that were to be undertaken in order to realize this goal. The first one was "To ensure an enabling political, social, and economic environment designed to create the best conditions for the eradication of poverty and for durable peace based on full and equal participation of women and men, which is most conducive to achieving sustainable food security for all." Cf. FAO, *The State of Food Security in the World 2006: Eradicating World Hunger-Taking Stock Ten Years after the World Food Summit* (Rome: United Nations, 2006), <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/009/a0750e/a0750e00.pdf>.

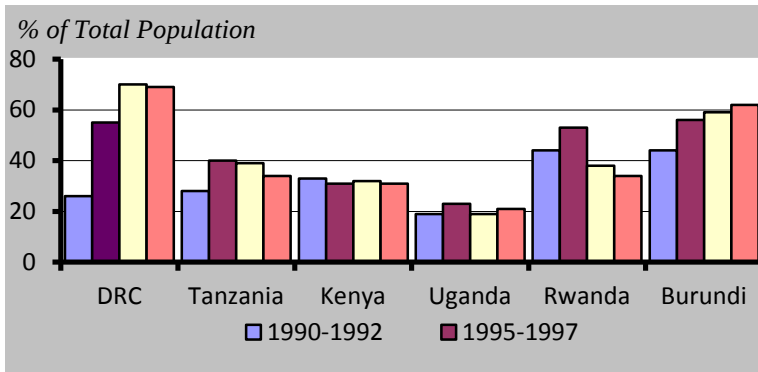
Figure 6: Number of undernourished persons per country

Source: FAO. 2010. "Food Security Statistics by Country." <http://www.fao.org/economic/ess/food-security-statistics/food-security-statistics-by-country/en/>, (accessed 9 October 2010).

From the above figure, two factors stand out conspicuously. Firstly, with the exception of Uganda, in the 2000-2002 period, all the other countries basically witnessed an increasing trend of the number of undernourished persons albeit in reducing proportions over the four periods considered here. The D.R. Congo exhibited an exceptionally dangerous situation. It not only recorded the highest number of undernourished persons, but that over all the four periods this number has grown by leaps from around 10 million people in 1990-1992, to end up with about 42 million people in the period 2005-2007. Secondly, an interesting comparison could be drawn between this dominant pattern and one that emerges in Rwanda. The country witnessed a 'stable' situation of undernourishment, recording the lowest number in the region over all the four periods considered. This designated a static situation of hunger where a constant figure of more than 3 million persons remain within the bracket of under-nutrition for almost two decades running, between 1990 through 2007. This trend can signify either the lack of initiative to sustain the fight against hunger or the

‘neutralizing’ effects of a population growth rate that is either at par with, or outstrips, any gains made towards food security. Both the observation of steady increase in the number of the undernourished population and of a ‘static’ undernourishment situation, expose the region as vulnerable to the hunger scourge. The consideration of the hunger levels in terms of the increases in population implies proportionality of the undernourished population to the whole population in each country. Accordingly, it implies hunger prevalence, and prompts the analysis of the progress monitored on the basis of the Millennium Development Goals that is, targeting the prevalence of hunger considering the proportionality of the number of the undernourished to total population in each country. Figure 7 below sketches the image of hunger in the GLR within the framework of prevalence as measured against the MDG.⁷⁵⁸

Figure 7: Proportion of the undernourished in the countries of the GLR



⁷⁵⁸ Cf. UN Millennium Project. 2008. "Millennium Development Goals." <http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/index.htm>, (accessed 15 Oct. 2008). See also UN. 2007. "The Millennium Development Goals Report 2007." http://mdgs.un.org/unsd/mdg/Resources/Static/Products/Progress2007/UNSD_MDG_Report_2007e.pdf, (accessed June 2007).

Source: FAO Statistical Division. 2008. "Summary of World Food and Agricultural Statistics 2004." http://www.fao.org/es/ess/index_en.asp (accessed 6 June 2008).

According to the figures above, the prevalence of undernourishment in this region generally remained as high as between 25 and 70 percent throughout the four periods under consideration. The general pattern indicated initial sharp rise of hunger prevalence in the first two periods under consideration, but indicated a fall in the other two periods. But the increase in prevalence experienced in the period 1995-1997 was particularly phenomenal in all the five countries. A land mark pattern emerged in the records of Kenya and Burundi. While prevalence of hunger in Kenya remained steady at around 32 percent throughout the four periods, Burundi posited already higher hunger prevalence to begin the base period, 1990-1992, with about 45 per cent prevalence. In spite of this fragile food insecurity, the country went further to register steady increase in hunger prevalence, rising from the margin of 45 per cent to over 60 per cent within the four periods. These two examples summarized a situation where hunger prevalence also is either steady or enduring, or increases by a worrying trend whose end is not immediately in sight. Generally, the region which initially recorded very high prevalence of undernourishment had begun to experience the opposite trend when the UN set its targets to reduce both the numbers (WFS – 1996) and prevalence (MDG – 2000).

According to the parameters set by both the WFS and the MDG, three important trends can be deduced. The first observation is that the region largely made considerable attempts to progress towards the MDG target that is, reducing the proportion of the undernourished. However, it remained far wide off the mark with regard to the WFS target which was to reduce the number of the undernourished altogether. Secondly, the steady situation of hunger that seems to endure over longer periods without changing, suggests the possibility that the population growth

rate in this region steadily cancels the gains made in the fight against hunger. From the analysis of the population of this region above, the projections regarding the population growth rate, distribution and density already showed cause for concern. The population growth rate is high and is projected to reduce only very slowly over longer periods of time. The population density, especially along the lake basins, already indicates a genuine concern. Thirdly, the situation of hunger seems to outstrip the region's ability to produce enough food for its inhabitants, in which case both the numbers of the undernourished persons and prevalence of hunger keep rising. This puts the capabilities of the GLR to question and directly focuses on the food security measures pursued in this region. Although the general picture of this analysis of a period ending in 2007 already depicted a sad situation, high food prices recorded worldwide in the year 2007-2008 made the situation worse in the Sub-Sahara region of Africa. The GLR had its share of abnormal increase in both the number and prevalence of undernourishment. According to experts, these food price increases "exacerbated the situation for many countries already in need of emergency interventions and food assistance due to other factors such as severe weather and conflict."⁷⁵⁹ With this trend, the world initiative set by the World Food summit to reduce the numbers by half by the year 2015 still remains a distant dream in this region.

4.3.2 Food Security Status

Hunger and all its implications are basically a lack of ability to lay claim over the food one requires in order to live. In other words it is to lack 'food security,' or to be 'food insecure.' It is an individual's

⁷⁵⁹ FAO. 2008. "The State of Food Insecurity in the World: High Food Prices and Food Security - Threats and Opportunities." <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/011/i0291e/i0291e00.pdf>, (accessed 7 January 2011).

predicament as much as it is societal, precipitated by the lack of resources or means to produce or acquire food. The flip side of the hunger reality is 'food security,' viewed by experts basically as the "access by all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life." According to Shlomo Reutlinger, the essential elements of this definition are the availability of food and the ability to acquire or access it.⁷⁶⁰ Being the predicament of both the individual and society, Hans W. Singer, observes that food security discussion often unfolds on two levels, namely the micro- and the macro level. "The micro aspects relate to the way in which households cope with food insecurity and the way in which food is distributed within and between households. The macro aspects relate to general economic forces which may generate poverty and food insecurity and to measures to be taken at this general macro-economic level."⁷⁶¹ To highlight the micro-aspects of food security, we consider the supply in terms of agricultural production, the availability, access and utilization of food commodities as the primary indication of the status of the region's food security. For the analysis of food supply, table 19 below presents a net per-person food production index number of each of the countries in the GLR assessed over four periods. The data first give a general picture of the per-person food production indices as the primary micro-aspect of food supply and as a basic food security indicator in the region. The performance of these countries over the four periods is compared with that of other countries sampled randomly from other parts of the world in order to assess how the issue of food supply in this region compares with that of other countries. Does the capacity

⁷⁶⁰ Shlomo Reutlinger, "Food Security and Poverty in Developing Countries," in *Food Policy*, ed. J. Price Gittinger, Joanne Leslie, and Caroline Hoisington (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 205-206.

⁷⁶¹ Hans W. Singer, "A Global View of Food Security," in *Food Security and Innovations: Successes and Lessons Learned*, ed. Franz Heidhues and Andrea Fadani (New York: Peter Lang, 1997), 3.

for food production on an individual level in this region match such capacities in other food secure countries?

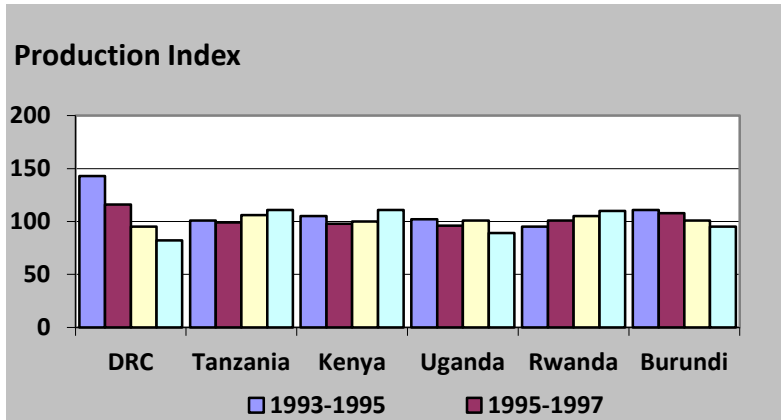
Table 19: The net per-person food production index numbers in the great Lakes Region (base-period 1999-2001)

Country	Production index number			
	1993-1995	1995-1997	2000-2002	2005-2007
The Countries of the Great Lakes Region				
Tanzania	101	99	106	111
DRC	143	116	95	82
Burundi	111	108	101	95
Uganda	102	96	101	89
Rwanda	95	101	105	110
Kenya	105	98	100	111
Comparison with sample countries				
Ghana	86	92	103	113
South Africa	95	95	102	103
U.S.A	95	98	99	101
U.K	107	107	98	95
Germany	91	93	99	96
India	94	96	97	103

Source: FAO, Food Security Statistics, 2010: Net per-person Production Index Number, base-period 1999-2001 <http://www.fao.org/economic/ess/food-security-statistics/en/>, (accessed 20 January 2011).

Figure 8 and 9 below represent the graphic impression of the trends of per capita food production that result from the data on the above table. While Figure 8 represents these trends in the countries of GLR, Figure 9 allows a comparative glimpse into the rather food securer countries sampled from various regions of the world.

Figure 8: Net per-person food production Index Number for the Countries in the GLR, base-period 1999-2001



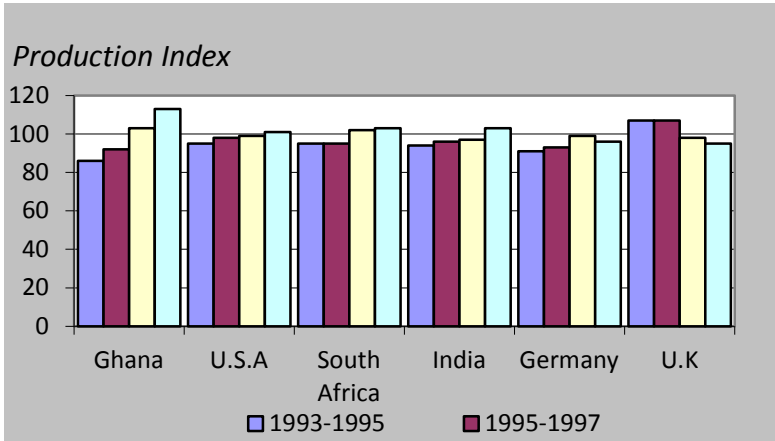
Source: FAO. 2010. "Statistical Yearbook 2009-2010." <http://www.fao.org/economic/ess/publications-studies/statistical-yearbook/fao-statistical-yearbook-2009/b-agricultural-production/en/>, (12 February 2011).

Two important factors can be observed from the data above. Firstly, the figures representing per-person production in this region remain well within the size, and sometimes even higher than those found in other food secure countries. On this basis, production in Rwanda throughout the periods under reference for example, compares much better than all the six very well established food securer countries like Ghana,⁷⁶² India or even the U.S.A and the U.K. On micro-level therefore, production in the GLR can be said to match the trends common in other production groups around the world, at least in terms of the per capita food production. However, the second important observation becomes clearer

⁷⁶² FAO. "Towards the Summit Commitments: Small Holder Agriculture for Poverty Reduction," (accessed. 1 October 2010). In the 2008 revised estimates of the FAO report monitoring undernourishment in the world, Experts identify Ghana in West Africa as being the only country to have reached both the WFS and MDG targets. Key to Ghana's success has been robust growth, both in the economy at large and in the agriculture sector in particular.

in Figure 9 namely, that the indices of production in the GLR showed an overall gradual decline of per-person production towards the end of the last decade. On the contrary, all the six countries sampled in comparison with the GLR, largely indicate increases, albeit on a gradual gradient as shown in Figure 9 below.

Figure 9: Net per-person food production Index Number for other sample countries, (base-period 1999-2001)



Source: FAO. 2010. "Statistical Yearbook 2009-2010." <http://www.fao.org/economic/ess/publications-studies/statistical-yearbook/fao-statistical-yearbook-2009/b-agricultural-production/en/>, (20 January 2011).

From the above information, it can be observed that even though the region is fairly comparable with other parts of the world on the micro-level production, and even when countries like Tanzania, Kenya and Rwanda show minimal increases, the visible trends on per-person production in all the countries exhibit a gradually decreasing value. The trends that began on a downward slope about two decades ago continue to exhibit a worrying scenario as this decade closes. Seen in the background of the trends on the population growth rate and density with its implication on subsistence in this region, there is sufficient reason to

worry about the region's future in food security. The falling indices may again imply either slowing down of productivity in the region, or a faster population growth rate that is not matched by production capacity. The apparent hermeneutical junction at this point requires a careful interpretation and cautious use of the factors of production as the region awakens to the demands of sound food security measures.⁷⁶³ The relevance of this interpretation to the analysis of the production capacity of the GLR may be formulated in form of a question: Is micro-level production in this region a factor attributable to the special endowment of the region or on the organization of production factors by the people who inhabit the region? Why should a region, otherwise rated suitable for subsistence activities, at the same time exhibit dangerous trends in food security for now and the future? At this point it is important to distinguish the per-person contribution implied in a micro-level production, on one hand, and the exploitable capacity of the region to sustain subsistence on the other hand. The natural endowment of the GLR in itself, as explained above, is not the only factor that determines the region's productivity. In other words, the failure of the region to meet the food needs of the people at any time is not all attributable to the region's natural endowment. The analysis of data presented in the table above estimates the contribution of the individual persons inhabiting the region as an important micro-aspect of food security in the region.

The availability, access and utilization of the food commodities necessary for the health of the inhabitants of this region complete the primary indications of the status of the region's food security. People's access to sufficient food at all times can be estimated not only by the availability of the food produced, but also by estimating the utilization

⁷⁶³ At this juncture, the demand for food can inspire a tendency to increase supply without much regard on the implications of this to the environment for example. The immediate challenge is strike the balance between food demand and cautious food security measures that do not result in environmental hazards. This is largely a question of interpreting the signs of the time.

of the food products. While the former aspect highlights quantity, the latter implies quality nutrition which reflects in the health of people. Table 20 below gives the summary of food security status in the GLR in the period 2007-2009 with the latest estimates of the statistical value of food production, food availability, access, and utilization. The value of food production, in US\$, has been captured for the year 2006 and 2009 to highlight the levels of progress recorded over three years albeit minimally. Availability has been estimated in terms of Average Dietary Energy Supply (ADES) (and consumed, last column) measured against the background of the Average Dietary Energy required of an averagely active person. People's ability to access the available food has been estimated in terms of their per capita income share of the Gross National Income.

Table 20: Summary of the Current Food Security Status in the GLR, 2007-2009

Countries	Food Production Gross food production in comparison with the base period 1999- 2001 (1000 IS)		Availability Dietary Energy (Kcal/person/day) 2004-2006		Access		Utilization DES per capita Kcal/day FAO 2009
	2006	2009	Average Dietary Energy Requirement (ADER)	Average Dietary Energy Supply (DES)	GNI per capita (US\$) UNICEF 2007	Inequality in access to food and to income (FAO) %	
1. Burundi	669,410	672,929	2,140	1,630	110	41.7	1,630
2. DRC	2,696,945	2,719,638	2,170	1,510	140	15.7	1,500
3. Kenya	4,343,524	4,136,957	2,190	2,060	680	51.8	2,040
4. Rwanda	1,392,564	1,443,286	2,130	1,940	320	46.8	1,940
5. Tanzania	4,460,105	4,474,380	2,160	2,000	400	34.6	2,010
6. Uganda	4,553,155	4,800,927	2,110	2,370	340	45.7	2,380

Source: FAO. 2010. "Food Security Statistics by Country." <http://www.fao.org/economic/ess/food-security-statistics/food-security-statistics-by-country/en/>, (accessed 9 October 2010).

FAO. 2009. "Technical Annex," *The State of Food Insecurity*, <http://www.fao.org/docrep/011/i0291e/i0291e00.htm>.

<ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/011/i0291e/i0291e05.pdf>, (accessed 9 October 2010).

UNICEF. 2009. "Maternal and Newborn Health," *The State of the World's Children*, <http://www.unicef.org/sowc09/index.php>. <http://www.unicef.org/sowc09/docs/SOWC09-FullReport-EN.pdf>, (accessed 11 October 2010).

On the analytic level, it is observable here that the value of the food produced in the countries of the GLR records progress towards the close of this decade. Availability however, reveals considerable deficits. With the exception of Uganda, the Average Dietary Energy Supply and consumption in all other countries in the region does not meet the average healthy standards. The DRC records the widest deficit of about 660 Kcal per person per day. At this point it is important to note the fact that increase in general food production does not necessary reflect food availability. While general food production gives the quantity, availability implies more of nutritional value actually required by the body. Various factors may be responsible for food availability deficiency such as scarcity of nutrition, variation in body energy requirement, poor distribution, low incomes not able to afford nutritious food and many others. Food accessibility in the GLR exposes further vulnerability. Despite the low per capita income shares of people here, inequalities observable in people's access to food and/or income is glaring, owing to varied factors such as distribution, corruption, nepotism among others. In Burundi for example, the gross food production of the equivalent of 672,929 \$ translates only to 1,630 Kcal per person per day out of the expected average of 2,140 Kcal per person per day, leaving an average short fall of about 510 Kcal for every person every day. But even accessing this, obviously deficient level of energy,

still depends on the gross per capita national income. In 2009, the income at the disposal of every person in Burundi was only an average of 110 US \$. While those who earned this much afforded to consume an average of 1,630 Kcal each every day, still 41% of the population had unequal share of the countries income, and most likely deficient food entitlement. This analysis could be done with all the other countries of the GLR and more or less the same pattern obtained.

The pattern that emerges conspicuously here reveals an unstable and unreliable nutrition reflected concretely in the health of the people in this region. Taking together the visible effects of the pattern of food availability and access in the GLR, an important dynamism in food security initiatives emerges. The impact of the food produced on people's lives is first gauged by the amount actually available in form of nutritional value to each individual person. However, the amount available is not necessarily what each person can access. To access food to the point of 'food security,' depends either on one's domestic production of food commodities, or on one's opportunity to earn adequate income to purchase food.⁷⁶⁴ In the GLR, it is also observed that a considerable population still engages in communal labour. Food crops are planted and harvested from communal land and food shared between the members of a clan. Thus food is shared without strict individual ownership. But even in this circumstance one does not get food simply because it is available. It will still depend on how one relates with his/her neighbour or with the clan and the tribe. The net result is that food security initiatives not only depend on the amount of food produced, but seriously imply distributing food equitably to the people and empowering each person to access the food in circulation. In the GLR, the necessary indicators point to a rather precarious situation which must be targeted in any food security initiative in the region. To

⁷⁶⁴ Cf. Reutlinger, "Food Security and Poverty," 207.

this effect, struggle towards food security must seriously involve focus on income entitlements probably more than direct consumable foodstuffs. Other than meeting the immediate nutritional requirements, high incomes are exchangeable for other necessary health requirements that complement nutrition.⁷⁶⁵ Ultimately food security is about providing hungry people with opportunities to earn adequate incomes and to assure an abundant food supply from domestic production or imports. The common stand among experts today is that food insecurity is mainly caused by a lack of purchasing power.⁷⁶⁶ The next section will consider the macro-aspect of food security in the GLR but before that, the following sub-section is a brief account of the impact of under-nutrition identified with this region.

4.3.3 Impact of Under-nutrition

In considering the impact of this situation on the population, experts particularly focus on child health. Table 21 and 22 below introduce important indicators of the status of general health in so far as it relates to food security initiatives, and nutrition status of the children under the age of five. Against the background of food availability and access, the details of health and nutrition are captured under the common nutrition status indicators such as low birth weight, wasting and stunting.⁷⁶⁷

⁷⁶⁵ Amartya Sen, "Poverty and Entitlements," in *Food Policy: Integrating Supply, Distribution, and Consumption*, ed. J. Price Gittinger, Joanne Leslie, and Caroline Hoisington (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 198-200.

⁷⁶⁶ Cf. Amartya Sen, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 45-47.

⁷⁶⁷ Cf. FAO. 1999. "The State of Food Insecurity in the World." <http://www.fao.org/docrep/007/x3114e/x3114e00.htm>, (accessed 24 September 2010). In addition to measurements of children's height and weight, other indicators of health and sanitary conditions can help identify and respond to nutritional problems. In FAO reports, the nutritional status is often considered by analysing the percentage of the children under five years of age who suffer

Table 21 highlights the nutritional value of the common foodstuffs, and conditions of sanitation, (column 3 and 4). The percentage share of carbohydrates, proteins and fats given in this data, estimate the quality of the food available and the value of accessing it. The condition of health (access to adequate sanitation and child mortality rate) allows one a glimpse into the circumstances that surround and motivate food security initiatives in this region. The nutrition status, captured by the three indicators: low birth weight, wasting, and stunting, is then gauged in the background of people's access to food and adequate sanitation.

Table 21: Food Availability, Health conditions and Nutritional status in the GLR, 2000-2007

Country	Food availability and composition				Health Condition		Nutrition Status of Under 5s suffering (% of pop., 2000-2007)		
	DES/Kcal/person/day FAO 2008	% Diet Comp Share in DES, 2004-2006			Access to adequate sanitation % of pop. '06	Under 5 mortality	Low birth weight (% of pop)	Wasting	Stunted
		Carbs.	Prots.	Fat					
1. Burundi	1,630	83.6	10.7	5.7	41	180	39	7	53
2. Kenya	2,060	69	11.3	19.7	42	121	20	6	30
3. Rwanda	1,940	81.6	9.2	9.2	23	181	23	4	45
4. Tanzania	2,010	75.3	9.6	15.1	33	116	22	3	38
5. Uganda	2,380	72	9.6	18.5	33	130	20	5	32
6. DRC	1,510	80.2	6.1	13.7	31	161	31	13	38

from low birth weight, wasted or stunted. The indicators of health conditions are life expectancy at birth, the mortality rate for children under five and the percentage of the population with access to adequate sanitation.

Sources: FAO. 1999. "Nutritional Status and Vulnerability: Wellbeing of Young Children," *The State of Food Insecurity in the World* ⁷⁶⁸

From the data on table 21 above, the region records relatively higher percentages of incidence of all three indicators, depicting poor nutrition. The region records very low nutrition in a circumstance of relatively poor and scarce sanitation. Only a smaller percentage of the population in each country can access adequate sanitation. Poor sanitation in its turn facilitates hunger related diseases that aggravates the situation. This explains, in part, why the countries of this region record the highest mortality rates in the world. According to the recent UNICEF report, all the six countries in the GLR occupy the bracket of the first thirty countries in the world with the highest infant mortality. Not surprisingly, this bracket is dominated by the Sub-Sahara African countries.⁷⁶⁹ Citing poor nutrition as the dominant cause of this high mortality rates found in the GLR, especially among the infants, Table 22 below tabulates the rank of each of the countries here in the entire world in this regard.

⁷⁶⁸ <http://www.fao.org/docrep/007/x3114e/x3114e00.htm>. <http://www.fao.org/docrep/007/x3114e/x3114e00.htm>, (accessed 11 October 2010). See Nutritional status and Vulnerability: Well being of young children, p. 11-14.

FAO. 2008. "Towards the Summit Commitments: Small Holder Agriculture for Poverty Reduction," *The State of Food Insecurity in the World*. <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/011/i0291e/i0291e00.pdf>, (accessed 1 October 2010). Table 2, p.50.

FAO. 2009. "The State of Food and Agriculture: Livestock in the Balance," <http://www.fao.org/docrep/012/i0680e/i0680e00.htm>.

<http://www.fao.org/docrep/012/i0680e/i0680e.pdf>, (accessed 9 October 2010). Table 2, p.52.

⁷⁶⁹ UNICEF. 2009. "Maternal and Newborn Health," *The State of the World's Children*, <http://www.unicef.org/sowc09/index.php>. <http://www.unicef.org/sowc09/docs/SOWC09-FullReport-EN.pdf>, (accessed 11 October 2010).

Table 22: *Nutritional Status of Children under Fiver, 2000-2007*

Country/Region/ World	% under Fives (2000-2007) suffering from			Mortality Rate	
	Low birth weight NCHS/WHO	Wasting NCHS/WHO	Stunting (average) NCHS/WHO	Rate	Rank in the world
World	25	11	28	68	
1. Burundi	39	7	53	180	10
2. Kenya	20	6	30	121	26
3. Rwanda	23	4	45	181	9
4. Tanzania	22	3	38	116	29
5. Uganda	20	5	32	130	21
6. DRC	31	13	38	161	15
7. Sub-Saraha A.	28	9	38	148	
8. Eastern Afri.	28	7	40	123	
9. South Asia	45	18	38	78	
10. East A&Pacif	14	-	16	27	

Source: UNICEF. 2009. "Maternal and Newborn Health," *The State of the World's Children*, <http://www.unicef.org/sowc09/index.php>. <http://www.unicef.org/sowc09/docs/SOWC09-FullReport-EN.pdf>, (accessed 11 October 2010). See Table 2, p. 120-122

Over and above the high infant mortality, the effects of poor nutrition reflected in the low birth weight, wasting or stunting on the life of those who escape earlier death is even worse. According to the experts, "LBW babies face increased risk of dying in infancy, of stunted physical and cognitive growth during childhood, of reduced working capacity and earnings as adults and, if female, of giving birth to LBW babies themselves."⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁷⁰ FAO. 2004. "The Human Cost of Hunger: Millions of Lives Destroyed by Death and Disability," *The State of Food Insecurity in the World*, <http://www.fao.org/docrep/007/y5650e/y5650e00.htm>. http://www.fao.org/docrep/007/y5650e/y5650e03.htm#P26_3460, (accessed 14 October 2010). Every year, more than 20 million low birth weight (LBW) babies are born in the developing world. Compared with normal babies, experts estimate that the risk of neonatal death is four times higher for infants who weigh less than 2.5 kilograms at birth and 18 times higher for those who weigh less than 2.0 kilograms. LBW babies also suffer significantly higher rates of malnutrition and stunting later in childhood and as adults. Stunting, like LBW, has been linked to increased illness and death, and to reduced cognitive ability and school attendance in childhood. Experts also link it to lower productivity

4.4 Food Security Measures in the Great Lakes Region

4.4.1 Food Security and the Regional-Global Development Agenda

The macro-aspect of food security guides the food security measures pursued in the countries of this region. As one reads through the various official reports, policy and strategy plans posted on various official, professional or institutional websites, it becomes clear that food security strategies in the GLR are laid down in line with the overall national and regional development plans, and guided by overall global development agenda. All the countries in the region have pegged their food security undertaking within their respective strategic plans on development.⁷⁷¹

Apart from the drive towards national development, there is reported progress on regional development too. Regional development in turn is largely influenced by the global development agenda within the framework of the Millennium Development Goals. The visible structures that have defined the Great Lakes Region in as an economic, social and political community include: The New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), the Inter Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR), the Eastern African Community (EAC), and the

and lifetime earnings in adults. When stunting occurs during the first five years of life, the damage to physical and cognitive development is usually irreversible. The costs in blighted health and opportunities extend not only throughout the victim's lifetime, but also on to the next generation, as malnourished mothers give birth to LBW babies. Maternal stunting is one of the strongest predictors for giving birth to a low birth-weight infant, along with underweight and low weight gain during pregnancy.

⁷⁷¹ Cf. Maputo 4th. Summit of ACP Heads of State and Government, Mozambique. 2004. "Maputo Declaration: Together Shaping Our Future." http://www.acpsec.org/summits/maputo/maputo_declaration_en.html, (accessed 21 September 2010).

Economic Community of Great Lakes Region (CEPGL).⁷⁷² The crucial economic issues of the region, for example, are linked to the global forum through the Sub-regional Office of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, for Eastern Africa (SRO-EA).⁷⁷³ Thus, food security measures are worked out in consistence with the overall development agenda of every country, all of which are motivated by the wider global development trends.

In Burundi, the National Agricultural strategy of 2008 which provides a basis for formulating and implementing programmes and projects that can rehabilitate and modernize the agricultural sector is based on The Burundi National Programme on Food Security (PNSA, 2009-2015). The implementation of this programme largely depends on the cooperation of the country's partners in development. According to the sub-regional office of the economic commission for Africa, Burundi as a nation will contribute 40 per cent of the costs of this programme while its development partners will contribute 60 percent. Furthermore, Burundi has developed a working document on a Comprehensive African Agriculture Development Programme, (CAADP), planned for a period of 6 years, 2010-2015, to coincide with the presumed completion of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This programme has been factored in the country's development agenda through the Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRSP), the National Agricultural Strategy, Sector Policy as well as the National Program of Food Security. It aims at consolidating the gains of other agricultural development projects. The first five years of its implementation will be devoted to outreach to

⁷⁷² The Abriviation CEPGL stand for Communauté Économique des Pays des Grand Lacs, the French version of the Economic Community of Great Lakes Region.

⁷⁷³ A. Mukhebi, S. Mbogo, and K. Matungulu (Consultants). 2010. "An Overview of the Food Security Situation in Eastern Africa," Sub-Regional Office for Eastern Africa. http://www.uneca.org/eca_programmes/srdc/ea/meetings/srcm2010/Food%20Security%20OVERVIEW.pdf, (accessed 17 September 2010).

partners, policy makers, communities and beneficiaries of the administrative authorities.⁷⁷⁴

The food security measures in Rwanda, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) follow quite the same arrangement. Rwanda's strategy for strengthening its food and nutrition security is worked out within the framework of the poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP) process. Although its recent agricultural policy is articulated through various documents, particularly the National Agriculture Policy, NAP. Policy implementation is consolidated and carried out by the overall Strategic Plan for Agricultural Transformation in Rwanda developed in response to the need for an updated strategy for agriculture. Phase II of this programme is the current food security strategy for Rwanda for the period of four years, 2009-2012. Uganda, likewise, has detailed strategies within a development policy agenda with several action plans being implemented to address poverty, hunger and malnutrition. Plans specific to meeting food security targets such as the Plan for Modernization of Agriculture (PMA), 2000, and The Uganda Food and Nutrition Policy (UFNP), 2003, are implemented side by side with development plans such as Poverty Eradication Plan (PEAP), 1997, and the current Development Strategy and Investment Plan (DSIP), 2010-15.⁷⁷⁵ Ultimately, the aggregated policies and strategies singly and collectively address various dimensions of the food and nutrition security problem in concert with regional initiatives such as IGAD and the Maputo Declaration,⁷⁷⁶ and the subsequent

⁷⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁵ Cf. The Republic of Uganda. 2004. "Uganda Food and Nutrition Strategy and Investment Plan," Ministry of Agriculture Animal Industry and Fisheries. http://www.fao.org/righttofood/inaction/countrylist/Uganda/FoodandNutritionStrategy_Uganda.pdf, (accessed 17 October 2010).

⁷⁷⁶ 4th. Summit, "Maputo Declaration: Together Shaping Our Future," (accessed 21 September 2010). The heads of State and Government of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States, meeting at the 4th Summit in Maputo, Republic of Mozambique, on 23 and 24 June 2004 made a declaration

Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Plan (CAADP).⁷⁷⁷

In DRC the spirit of collaboration with partners in development spurs the food security initiatives. The country's Master Plan for Agricultural Development, 1990, 2003, presents a coherent policy for agricultural and rural development involving state structures, NGOs, traders, peasant producers, the different socio-professional groups, and the consumers and donors' community. Agriculture still remains the sector which

committing themselves to forge a common front in addressing a wide range of issues affecting them with regard to peace, security and sustainable development. Articles 12 and 25 of this summit were particularly important. In its 12th article, this summit emphasized urgent need of the global community to address the issues of poverty and underdevelopment if any sustained and lasting peace and stability was to be achieved. They recognized the importance of the MDGs for sustained and predictable global economic growth. Accordingly, they committed themselves individually and collectively to undertake all necessary measures to ensure their realization. In article 25, the summit re-echoed the fundamental importance of agricultural development for economic growth. Since agriculture is the main source of livelihood for the populations in ACP countries, the participants noted too that poverty eradication and the elimination of hunger hinged upon agriculture development. Hence they committed themselves to strengthening the development of agriculture and related value added activities, rural development and food security at national and regional levels, pledging to support all relevant regional and global programmes towards this goal.

⁷⁷⁷ The New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD). 2003. "The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP)." <http://www.nepad-caadp.net/about-caadp.php>, (accessed 21 September 2010). CAADP is the agricultural programme of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which in turn is a programme of the African Union (AU). Established by the AU assembly in 2003, CAADP focuses on improving food security, nutrition, and increasing incomes in Africa's largely farming based economies. It aims to do this by raising agricultural productivity by at least 6% per year and increasing public investment in agriculture to 10% of the national budgets per year. CAADP is entirely African-led and African-owned and represents African leaders' collective vision for agriculture in Africa. Essentially, CAADP brings together diverse key players - at the continental, regional and national levels - to improve co-ordination, to share knowledge, successes and failures, to encourage one another, and to promote joint and separate efforts to achieve the CAADP goals. This ambitious and comprehensive vision for agricultural reform in Africa aims for an average annual growth rate of 6 percent in agriculture by 2015.

offers the best perspectives for sustained economic growth which benefits the majority of the population.⁷⁷⁸ Thus to develop agriculture is imperative not only for subsistence but also for the country's development.

An interesting nuance is noticeable in the food security measures undertaken in Kenya and Tanzania. The general pattern of food security through collaboration for development notwithstanding, Kenya has highlighted a nuanced attention towards scientific research on agricultural improvement, while Tanzania emphasized concern for environmental issues. In Kenya where the strengthening of the agricultural sector is a prerequisite condition for achieving economic recovery and growth, various initiatives have been lined up to meet the goal of food security. These include the Economic Recovery Strategy 2003 to 2007 (ERS), and, above all, the exhaustive Government document that defines its vision for transforming the agricultural sector into a more commercially oriented and competitive sector, that is, The Strategy for Revitalization of Agriculture (SRA), 2004-2014. Nevertheless, all these initiatives have been aligned to the Government of Kenya's new overall development framework, the Kenya Vision 2030. But the factoring of food security measures amongst other development initiatives in Kenya has not only corroborated the country's effort in developing a focus on food security, it has also induced quality and more focused research activities directed towards

⁷⁷⁸ According to the information on the website of International Fund for Africa Development (IFADAFRICA), the Ministry of Agriculture in the DRC has been collaborating for the past 5 years with the International Fund for Agriculture Development (IFAD) to facilitate the implementation of two on-going rural development and food security related projects. PRAPE (*Programme de relance agricole dans la Province de l'Equateur*) and PRAPO (*Programme de relance agricole dans la province orientale*) with a third project in an advanced designing stage for Maniema Province. Cf. IFADAfrica. 2010. "Programme de relance agricole dans la province le l'equateur." <http://www.fidafrique.net/rubrique176.html>, (accessed 20 Novembre 2010).

food security. The Kenya Agricultural Research Institute, KARI, the country's premier agricultural research asset, adopted what it called the Agricultural Product Value Chain (APVC) approach to agricultural research for development in order to fast-track food security in concert with the goals set for the country's vision 2030.⁷⁷⁹ The adoption of this approach to research requires KARI to shift focus from commodities to differentiated agricultural products including increased value-addition to commodities within the rural areas, as well as development and promotion of new products that fit the demands of the target market.⁷⁸⁰ KARI's unique response to the issues raised in the situational analysis brought about by the changes in the government policies and strategies constitutes its latest approach to the food security issue not only in Kenya but in the whole of the Great Lakes Region.

Tanzania largely interprets its fluctuating situation of food security in the context of the prevailing environmental challenges, especially the impacts of climate change on the agricultural sector.⁷⁸¹ Thus, the various policies drafted to address food security give an equal, if not

⁷⁷⁹ KARI. 2010. "Strategic Plan 2009-2014," (accessed 13 September 2010).

⁷⁸⁰ Ibid. The APVC concept describes the full range of activities required to bring a product or service from conception through the full range of products, involving a combination of physical transformation and inputs of various producer services, delivery to final consumers and disposal after use. The value perspective is used to derive strategies for commercialization and to foster pro-poor growth in the agro-food sector. Building on market opportunities, the APVC approach targets the growth potential directly. The approach borrows instruments from various concepts of economic promotion and provides a framework for analyzing institutional, technical and social constraints. Accordingly, APVC approach assesses and summarizes the economic value and relevance of each of its thematic areas of concern. It, likewise, takes note of the shortcomings and challenges facing each area. It is in the light of these challenges, and within this methodological approach that the strategic plan identifies and prescribes projected solution.

⁷⁸¹ Cf. A. Mukhebi, S. Mbogo, and K. Matungulu (Consultants). 2010. "An Overview of the Food Security Situation in Eastern Africa," Sub-Regional Office for Eastern Africa. http://www.uneca.org/eca_programmes/srdc/ea/meetings/srcm2010/Food%20Security%20OVERVIEW.pdf, (accessed 17 September 2010).

more, attention to environmental issues. The country's National Adaptation Programme of Action (NAPA), 2005, ranked agriculture at the top of its list in proportion to its dependence upon foreseeable climate change effects. In its planning for food security, the country seems to cautiously estimate that the potential vulnerability of the environment resulting from unchecked intensification of agricultural activity may expose people to the dangers equal to, or even more than those in the problem of hunger.⁷⁸² This core concern is not only spread out to all the country's strategies relevant to its struggle for food strategy, it is also enforced by an elaborate legislation on environment. For example the National Environmental Management Act (EMA, 2004), requires every government sector to establish a Sector Environmental Section/Unit to oversee compliance with EMA 2004 requirements in the implementation of the sector's activities.⁷⁸³

4.4.2 Increased Food Supply Strategies

The general reading of the various documents detailing national food security strategies exposes four general areas considered in all the countries of this region, namely: expansion of good farm land and/or diversification of farming systems, good land preparation coupled with access to farm inputs, application of right variety, training and advocacy, and reduction of pre- and post-harvest losses. Expansion of good farm land and/or diversification of farming systems are pursued depending on the availability of land and the country's capacity to undertake the challenge of diversifying its food production. Otherwise, increase in

⁷⁸² Ibid.

⁷⁸³ Cf. The United Republic of Tanzania. 2006. "Follow-up of the Implementation of the World Food Summit Plan of Action," Ministry of Agriculture Food Security and Cooperatives. http://www.fao.org/righttofood/inaction/countrylist/Tanzania/FollowUpoftheimplementationofWFS_2002.pdf, (accessed 17 October 2010).

food production may only involve the intensification of the use of the land already available. Kenya and Rwanda represent the case in mind. In its strategic plan 2008-2012, the Kenyan Ministry of Agriculture points out that the country's land remain under-exploited both in potential areas as well as in the arid and semi-arid areas. Much of the available crop land too remains underutilized with small holders utilizing only 60% of the crop land for agricultural production. Thus, development of land is factored among priorities to be pursued in increasing food production. Expansion of land use involves particularly the transformation of the arid and semi-arid lands (ASAL) where the government plans to develop irrigation schemes, water ponds, pans and dams and promote farm irrigation systems in order to increase the country's production capacity. In other countries it also involves the development of marshland.⁷⁸⁴

In the countries where the land resource is scarce due to topography, population pressure, soil erosion and poor fertility,⁷⁸⁵ the governments

⁷⁸⁴ Ibid. Out of 165,000 hectares of marshlands in Tanzania for example, 93,754 hectares have been cultivated, that is 57% of the total marshy surface area). However, as of the year 2006, only 11,000 hectares were developed so that they can be cultivated throughout the year. Other parts of the marshlands are cultivated without any technical study by peasants grouped into organizations or by cooperative groups supported by local or foreign non-governmental organizations.

⁷⁸⁵ Republic of Rwanda. 2009. "Strategic Plan for the Transformation of Agriculture in Rwanda: Phase II," Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources. http://gafspfund.org/gafsp/sites/gafspfund.org/files/Documents/Rwanda_StrategicPlan.pdf, (accessed 17 October 2010). The Republic of Rwanda is an example to cite. Owing to its position in the Great Lakes Region, Rwanda enjoys a favourable altitude, climate and rainfall regime for agriculture, in addition to a heritage of fertile soils in some zones. The hilly topography, with many steep slopes, has been conducive to depleting this heritage through rapid runoff of surface water and soil erosion. The heavy population pressure on the land, further pushes farming onto the steeper slopes, soil erosion rates remains high. The history of intensive cultivation without adding fertilizers has depleted soil nutrients to a significant degree. Consequently, the soil remains with low natural fertility and a low nutrient retention capacity.

strategize more on intensifying food production with the available land. Strategies include increasing fertilizer and firm input, and diversifying farming systems. In Rwanda, for example, the hilly topography, with many steep slopes, has been conducive to rapid runoff of surface water and soil erosion. The heavy population pressure on the land, further pushes farming onto the steeper slopes, soil erosion rates remains high and the soil remains with low natural fertility and a low nutrient retention capacity. Like Kenya and Uganda where use of firm inputs is common, increased attention to the use of fertilizers and other firm inputs is now a priority in Rwanda and in the entire region.⁷⁸⁶ Intensifying food production in this region has also implied strategies like good land preparation, and application of the right food variety and husbandry that is: planting, weeding, fertilizer, pest and diseases control.⁷⁸⁷

Limited room for the expansion of farm land also beckons diversification of farming systems. Burundi, Rwanda and the DRC have strongly factored diversification into their food security strategies in the practices such as the introduction of crop diversity, increasing family livestock holding, progressive and radical terracing, seed multiplication to encourage production for the market, and development of agro forestry varieties to check characteristic soil erosion.⁷⁸⁸ But the

⁷⁸⁶ Ibid. Rwandan agriculture is characterized by a very low level of input use. Fertilizer consumption per cultivated hectare remained in the neighbourhood of 4kg till recently. Fertilizer imports were liberalized in 1999 and private companies began to be more interested in this sector. Since then, the government has encouraged a progressive use of fertilizers in addressing food security especially in response to impoverished soil in many areas of the county. See Valerie Kelly, Edson Mpyisi, Anastase Murakezi and David Neven, "Fertilizer Consumption in Rwanda: Past Trends, Future Potential, and Determinants," paper presented in the Fertilizer Use and Marketing Policy Workshop, MINAGRI, Kigali, 22-23 February 2001, p. 15; and data from the IFDC.

⁷⁸⁷ Republic of Kenya. 2010. "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," Ministry of Agriculture. http://www.kilimo.go.ke/kilimo_docs/pdf/strategic_plan_08-12.pdf, (accessed 14 September 2010).

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid.

approach is elaborately developed in Uganda. Its Food and Nutrition Strategy and Investment Plan, targets diversification of farming systems through a combination of various approaches coordinated by the various ministries and groups of experts ranging from optimal use of land, water development to technological innovation. The Plan focuses the government to the objective of diversifying food supply “through agro-ecological zonal farming systems based on comparative advantage analysis.”⁷⁸⁹ The strategy focuses on promoting food production based on the potential of each zone in order to streamline the production of varieties of improved high-breed yields such as fleshed potatoes with high vitamin A content. The target is to meet specific deficiencies in selected areas depending on the adaptable approaches and food varieties. This will be complemented by selection and popularization of indigenous crops (vegetables, fruits, herbs, bush foods) for both home consumption and commercial production and processing. According to the National Plan, the emphasis will be on increasing productivity (by at least 50% of the current levels by the end of the first year) and a diversifying production base by promoting foods that are both high yielding, highly nutritious (such as back yard gardening of fruits and vegetables), income-enhancing or cost-reducing and have both domestic and regional/international markets.⁷⁹⁰

Farmers in the region also incur pre- and post-harvest losses caused by pests and lack of appropriate food storage facilities. All the countries

⁷⁸⁹ The Republic of Uganda. 2004. "Uganda Food and Nutrition Strategy and Investment Plan," Ministry of Agriculture Animal Industry and Fisheries. http://www.fao.org/righttofood/inaction/countrylist/Uganda/FoodandNutritionStrategy_Uganda.pdf, (accessed 17 October 2010). See particularly Strategy No. 3. High on the Agenda is the plan for post-war Northern Uganda. For the semi arid Karamoja, south-western and montane zones, through the re-introduction of animal traction, mechanization and supply of improved planting materials/breeds), and the dry lands in lower parts of central and eastern Uganda, through irrigation and crop/livestock diversification.

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid.

in the region are therefore keen to include measures to reduce this danger in the region's food security initiatives. Governments often pursue this objective through training and dissemination of appropriate pre- and post-harvest technologies that reduce both quantitative and qualitative losses. They also adopt strict food safety and quality regulations for market compliance to stem the related anomalies such as the aflatoxin contamination of the maize grain suffered in Kenya recently in 2009 and 2010.⁷⁹¹ This effort will be coupled by enhanced surveillance and control of migratory pests in the region. A case study in this regard is the strategy pursued by the United Republic of Tanzania. In the follow-up initiative on the implementation of the World Food Summit Plan of Action, Tanzania established two approaches that are of particular relevance in the region: one approach was pursued by the Food Security Information Team (FSIT), while the other was carried out through the Ministry of Agriculture Food Security and Cooperatives (MAFC). FSIT conducts Rapid Vulnerability Assessments in the country, while MAFC monitors the availability and adequacy of food supplies and reserve stocks in the county.⁷⁹² FSIT accomplishes three important roles: It identifies the lowest geographical areas or administrative levels, it establishes a clear understanding of the general

⁷⁹¹Cf. Republic of Kenya, "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," (accessed 14 September 2010). In Kenya, the Ministry of Agriculture in collaboration with the Ministry of Health strategize in training farmers in post-harvest management particularly of maize grain to avoid aflatoxin contamination.

⁷⁹² The United Republic of Tanzania. 2006. "Follow-up of the Implementation of the World Food Summit Plan of Action," Ministry of Agriculture Food Security and Cooperatives. http://www.fao.org/righttofood/inaction/countrylist/Tanzania/FollowUpoftheimplementationofWFS_2002.pdf, (accessed 17 October 2010). FSIT is composed of members from Government Departments, International Agencies, and NGOs but coordinated from the Disaster Management Department in the office of the Prime Minister, and the National Food Security Division in the Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Cooperatives. It was instituted (2000) in order to harmonize different assessment methodologies among various stakeholders. Its formation is commended as having built confidence on the outcome of the assessments among stakeholders.

food security situation, and it advises the government on necessary actions to be taken on short, medium and long term. In other words, FSIT establishes a realistic magnitude of the characteristics of household food security situation such as the pre- and/or post-harvest loss, before it recommends appropriate interventions. MAFC then intervenes through the National Food Security Division, in conjunction with the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Marketing, to facilitate improved food processing, preservation and storage technologies so as to add value to agricultural food crops and reduce post-harvest losses. Though the operational capacity of this initiative is still limited, the strategy is well founded and extends through the entire scope of the country's food security concerns, among them also, pre- and post-harvest losses.⁷⁹³

A closer scrutiny of the various descriptions of food security strategies in this region, further reveals the strategy of personnel training, advocacy and education. According to the projections of the Kenyan Ministry of Agriculture, efficient and effective agricultural extension system that facilitates the projected strategies in food security requires the support of highly qualified and contemporary agricultural system. This presupposes training of personal in different relevant skills. The strategies for personnel training, advocacy and education are focussed on agricultural extension and on issues of nutrition. In Kenya, the National Agricultural Sector Extension Policy (NASEP),⁷⁹⁴ spells

⁷⁹³ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁴ The National Extension Task Force. 2007. "National Agricultural Sector Extension Policy Implementation Framework (NASEP)," <http://www.kapp.go.ke/kappdoc/policy/080115extensionpolicyframework.pdf>, (accessed 23 September 2010). The Agricultural Sector Ministries spearheaded by Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries Development, and the Ministry of Cooperative Development and Marketing jointly coordinated stakeholder efforts in the preparation of the National Agricultural Sector Extension Policy (NASEP) in 2005. The formulation of extension-specific policies is all done in recognition of the role of a well-functioning extension service for the agricultural sector performance and its contribution to economic growth and poverty reduction as outlined in the Strategy for Revitalizing

out modalities for effective agricultural extension management and organization not only by the governments but in a pluralistic system where both public and private service providers are active participants.⁷⁹⁵ Furthermore, the Ministry of Agriculture in Kenya identifies the reform and support of agricultural extension system for advisory and technology transfer services. On specific food security and nutrition programmes, the ministry engages experts drawn from the various research institutes in the country. From KARI for example, experts target priority thematic areas that are vital for food security such as increasing the availability of seed for orphan crops, water harvesting, increasing the application of high quality inputs of fertilizer and seed by small-scale farmers. In its Strategy Plan 2009-2014, with a more scientifically improved Agricultural Product Value Chain Approach

Agriculture (SRA). The Agriculture Sector Ministries initiated efforts to obtain views from the general public on the best approaches for implementing the policy. NASEP will therefore be the basis of the reforms the Ministry will implement to strengthen its extension service delivery system and also encourage private sector participation in extension services delivery. It will in particular, empower farmer organizations and communities to provide these services at grassroots level. The Ministry will continue to provide capacity building, empowerment and technical back up to the extension service and will strengthen institutional linkages and greater collaboration between research, extension services, and farmers. Agricultural research institutions will be strengthened through improvement of human and financial capacities.

⁷⁹⁵ Cf. International Centre for Development Oriented Research in Agricultural (ICRA), 2010. "Building National Capacity for Integrated Agricultural Research for Development (Iar4d) in Kenya." <http://www.icra-edu.org/page.cfm?pageid=partnerkenya>, (accessed 23 September 2010). In 2004, the Kenyan government launched its 2004-2014 Strategy for Revitalising Agriculture (SRA), which has the objective "to provide a policy and institutional environment that is conducive to increasing agricultural productivity, promoting investments, encouraging private sector involvement in agricultural enterprises and agribusiness".

To operationalize this strategy, the government, with support from the World Bank, initiated the Kenya Agricultural Productivity Project (KAPP), a multi-sectoral and multi-institutional project with the long-term objective of increasing agricultural productivity and contributing to the SRA through four components: policy and institutional reforms, extension system reform, research system reform and farmer/client empowerment.

(APVCA), KARI factored in an elaborate attention to crop research thematic area. In its projections, crops thematic area of research will be expected to contribute to the attainment of the overall institutional purpose through generating and promoting crops knowledge, information and technologies that respond to clients' demand and opportunities. This purpose is projected to be delivered through technologies and innovations for demand-driven crops product value chains, markets and marketing strategies for crops product value chains, and through policy options for enhancing demand-driven crops product value chains.⁷⁹⁶ On issues regarding nutrition, Uganda joins Kenya in the strategy of advocacy, education and communication. Owing to its consideration of inadequate nutrition knowledge and awareness among the general public about good nutrition, the strategy guides food security initiatives towards advocacy for proper nutrition. It encourages awareness campaigns using a multimedia approach to reach the public and enhance informed decision making and behaviour change for healthy lifestyles.

In Kenya, advocacy for awareness is factored in the country's Food Security and Nutrition Strategy (FSNS) which outlines ways and means of implementing the National Food and Security and Nutrition Policy.⁷⁹⁷ The strategy identifies nutrition as one of the four priority

⁷⁹⁶ Cf. KARI. 2010. "Strategic Plan 2009-2014," (accessed 13 September 2010), No. 4.1.

⁷⁹⁷ Republic of Kenya. 2008. "Food Security and Nutrition Strategy: 2nd Draft." http://www.fao.org/righttofood/inaction/countrylist/Kenya/Kenya_FSNS_finaldraft.pdf, (accessed 1 October 2010). See No. 3.6.

The current Food Security and Nutrition Strategy (FSNS) framework is in line with the new National Food Security and Nutrition Policy (NFSNP). This policy identifies food security as a basic human right. The framework takes the view that the right to food includes not only sufficient numbers of calories but the right to nutritious foods that guarantee health, growth and development throughout a person's lifecycle. Its framework for action to achieve food and nutrition security sets the overall goal as that of ensuring that all Kenyans throughout their lifecycle enjoy at all times safe food in sufficient quantity and quality to satisfy their nutritional needs for optimal health. Consequently, the

areas of food security initiatives which should be promoted.⁷⁹⁸ Priority nutrition issues are identified and made known to individuals, families and communities through public service delivery points such as shopping centres, health centres and administrative centres. In its projection, “a mechanism should be put in place to regulate the dissemination of nutrition messages to ensure that they are harmonized and are appropriate for the various target groups... The objective is to improve knowledge, skills and change attitude of the population for enhanced nutrition and healthy lifestyles.”⁷⁹⁹ In Uganda, although

policy consolidates relevant sector policies and strategies, initiatives and planning documents, including the Economic Recovery Strategy (ERS), Strategy for Revitalizing Agriculture (SRA) and Vision 2030. This Strategy Paper therefore, integrates the major goals, policies and actions related to food security and nutrition into a cohesive whole, and provides a mechanism through which the government will facilitate in a comprehensive and coordinated manner the implementation of strategic actions for food security and nutrition. The main goals of the FSNS are: 1) to ensure that all Kenyans have the means to access affordable, nutritious and personally acceptable foods; 2) to guarantee a sustainable, safe and high quality food supply; and 3) to promote food consumption patterns that maximize health and minimize disease. The first goal will be addressed by programmes on improved household resource/input productivity, improved national food availability, and improved food access. The second goal will be addressed by improved food safety and quality control program. The third goal will be addressed through improved nutrition in public institutions and among consumers, improved food and nutrition in schools, improved food nutrition in crisis and emergency, and improved food and nutrition information.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid. The new Food Security and Nutrition Policy provides an overarching framework covering all the four dimensions of food security—availability, accessibility, stability and meeting nutritional requirements. It also addresses the synergy linking food security and nutrition with poverty reduction. Deriving from the overall goal are four broad objectives: 1) to achieve good nutrition for optimum health of all Kenyans; 2) to increase the quantity and quality of food available, accessible and affordable to all Kenyans at all times; 3) to protect vulnerable populations using innovative and cost-effective safety nets and emergency relief programmes linked to long-term development; and 4) to develop implementation arrangements that help to achieve the objective of the policy.

⁷⁹⁹ Ibid. The strategy then outlines several strategic interventions among which is to develop and implement a national nutrition communication/advocacy strategy, to develop and disseminate a nutrition advocacy for use at all level and

appropriate food and nutrition issues are adequately covered in primary and secondary school syllabi, lack of practical content and inadequate human resource capacity facilitate widespread lack of knowledge on food and nutrition issues. The government therefore undertakes to provide information and develop skills to promote proper food and nutrition practices in both rural and urban communities. Its specific objective, among others, is to develop Information, Education and Communication (IEC) materials on food and nutrition adapted to local conditions based on a nutrition communication strategy.⁸⁰⁰

4.4.3 Agricultural Development for Market and Trade Strategies

The motivation behind the efforts to improve productivity and increase food crop yields is to transform agriculture into a sustainable economic resource. The countries target at making the agricultural sector commercially oriented and competitive, capable of attracting private investment and providing higher incomes and employment. Experts working out for agricultural development pursue their goal from the point of view of poverty alleviation and economic empowerment that will improve people's purchasing power to afford and purchase foodstuffs whilst improving their economic status. The strategies in all the countries in the Great Lakes Region have factored food security programmes to the overall goal of improving agriculture for economic progress of the poor people especially in the rural areas. Hunger is interpreted basically from the point of view of development, and food security plans are interwoven with and realizable through the overall plans for development. In the food security policy plans, this pattern is

to support the development and dissemination of information, education and communication (IEC) materials on appropriate diets and lifestyles.

⁸⁰⁰ The Republic of Uganda. 2003. "Uganda Food and Nutrition Policy," http://www.fao.org/righttofood/inaction/countrylist/Uganda/Uganda_foodandnutritionpolicy.pdf, (accessed 17 September 2010).

ordered from the level of the international community to local, regional and national levels. Pillar 2 objective of the NEPAD initiative, CAADP, captures the general commitment in this regard. The dynamic involves raising the capacities of private entrepreneurs (including commercial and small-holder farmers) to meet the increasingly complex quality and logistic requirements of markets, focusing on selected agricultural commodities that offer the potential to raise rural (on- and off-farm) incomes.⁸⁰¹ With this pattern, agriculture is tailored to deliver not only on the development of individual countries, but also on regional and global development commitments such as the achievement of the first Millennium Development Goal (MDG 1) on poverty and hunger.⁸⁰² In its role of championing food security advocacy among the poor nations, FAO insists on its twin-track approach in ensuring that the poor and the vulnerable have access to the food they need. But the recent FAO report considers the economic vulnerability of the small-holder farmers where the experts observe that increasing food production is a necessary but not a sufficient condition to address food insecurity especially in the context of high food prices. In order to ensure that increased food production enhances food security, developing countries must be able to exploit their potential to increase agricultural production and productivity through an increased investment in agriculture and rural development by both national governments and international development partners.⁸⁰³ This strategy re-emphasized in regional initiatives such as the Maputo convention, CAADP and IGAD, is the

⁸⁰¹ Cf. NEPAD. "The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP)," (accessed 21 September 2010).

⁸⁰² Cf. KARI. 2010. "Strategic Plan 2009-2014," (accessed 13 September 2010).

⁸⁰³ FAO. 2008. "Towards the Summit Commitments: Small Holder Agriculture for Poverty Reduction," *The State of Food Insecurity in the World*. <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/011/i0291e/i0291e00.pdf>, (accessed 1 October 2010).

major motivation for food security strategies in the Great Lakes Region.⁸⁰⁴

On the national level, the structure of the policy statements are largely adapted to this pattern. In Kenya, for example, National Food Security and Nutrition Policy (NFSNP) is formulated within the context of the international conventions, ratified by the country, and the overall national development strategy (ERS), whose key objective is to ensure food security in order to reduce the incidence of malnutrition. The ERS is supported by the SRA. The initiatives to revive the economy and revitalize agriculture are in line with the declaration of the World Food Summit (WFS) of 1996, the United Nations (UN) Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Program (CAADP) of the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) of 2002. The country's Food Security and Nutrition Strategy Paper therefore, integrates the major goals, policies and actions related to food security and nutrition into a cohesive whole, and provides a mechanism through which the government will facilitate in a comprehensive and coordinated manner the implementation of strategic actions for food security and nutrition. Several strategies are being pursued to boost the food security situation in this regard. We have discussed them here under three titles. The first one is access to credit facility by the poor rural small-holder farmers. The region's countries seem to have been consistent with the plan to create access to credit. Lack of credit facility, especially to the small holder farmers in the rural areas, reduces timely access to and use of appropriate inputs. To the region where people rely more on the natural climatic seasons, such deficiency only facilitates continued food insecurity. Steady access to in-put credit ensures timely and successful

⁸⁰⁴ Cf. 4th. Summit, "Maputo Declaration: Together Shaping Our Future," (accessed 21 September 2010).

cash-crop value chains.⁸⁰⁵ Through Agricultural Sector Programme Support in Kenya, for example, the Government of Denmark (DANIDA) gives support to the agricultural sector in Kenya where it contributes towards raising incomes of small-holder farmers and agro-based micro and small-enterprises in the targeted semi-arid districts.⁸⁰⁶ The second strategy regards the attention to the development of value added products in response to the common low level market products. The region is engaged in exploring possibilities of promoting value added agricultural products. These products would be promoted, for example, through rural agro-processing and fine-tuning of the legal and policy frameworks of trade in to provide adequately for licenses, product standards, and packaging among others.

The third strategy is the access to regional and international markets. Through the programmes factored in the operations of the ministries of agriculture, the region strategizes on expanding access for agricultural products both in the traditional and emerging markets. Taking advantage of the developed information technology, the ministries have factored in plans to collate, process and disseminate information on the domestic and export markets through agricultural shows, trade exhibitions and fairs. This also implies substantial attention given to develop the marketing infrastructure. In Kenya, for example, this is aimed at rural market facilities, but also expanded to the global trade information networks promoted through the country's foreign missions to different countries.⁸⁰⁷ The agriculture ministries in the region have prioritized cross border agricultural trade facilitated by the formation of the East African Community. Market access has doubtlessly exposed the region's

⁸⁰⁵ Cf. FAO. "Towards the Summit Commitments: Small Holder Agriculture for Poverty Reduction," (accessed 20 September 2010).

⁸⁰⁶ Mukhebi, "An Overview of the Food Security Situation in Eastern Africa," (accessed 17 September 2010).

⁸⁰⁷ Republic of Kenya. "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," (accessed 14 September 2010).

strategy to develop and maintain rural roads and cross-country highways, as well as telecommunication networks to open up the markets.

The fourth common strategy with regard to economic empowerment is the promotion of fair trade in agricultural commodities. The region promotes regional and international agricultural trade. It pursues programmes that originate from, and promote both multilateral and bilateral cross border trade negotiations and cross border business with the objective of expanding and diversifying agricultural markets and products. Higher standards of food safety and the quality of the product is the hallmark of the success of this strategy.⁸⁰⁸ Ministries and relevant institutions therefore, coordinate the quality and safety standards to be competitive in regional markets like Common Markets for East and Southern Africa (COMESA). On the international level, this strategy addresses food security in order to promote commercial agriculture, explore new markets and increase export volumes. Agribusiness policies already operative in some of the countries, target to establish regional agribusiness development centres that shall promote farming as a business and will also serve as the basis of commercialization of small scale agriculture. In line with both regional and international projections for the rural small scale farmers, the centres will focus on training, consultation, demonstration on the applicability of recommended technologies and providing skills on value addition to various commodities. These centres are, so to speak, the basic link between the remote rural areas with the rest of the world. According to the Ministry of Agriculture in Kenya, “The centres are expected to mature to business

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid. Kenyan farmers export semi-processed, low value products which account for 91 percent of the total agriculture related exports. Value addition in agriculture determines competitiveness of Kenya in the world market, the limited ability to add value to agricultural produce, coupled with high production costs makes Kenyan agricultural exports less competitive in the global market.

development service centres for handling of all forms of businesses advisory planning services.”⁸⁰⁹

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, is the strategy to regional economic cooperation. The Great Lakes Region of Africa comprises of various regional initiatives towards the development of the region. These include the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR), the Eastern African Community (EAC), and the Economic Community of Great Lakes Region (CEPGL). Motivated by the larger regional initiatives such as NEPAD’s CAADP, and the Maputo Convention, the GRL consolidates its potential in food security around such powerful visions as the one spelt out by the ICGLR, namely: “To jointly promote a prosperous, integrated economic space, to improve the standard of living of its populations, and to contribute to the development of the Region, by implementing the Programme of Action for Economic Development and Regional Integration.”⁸¹⁰ The Regional Action Program of the promotion of Economic Development and Regional Integration comprises three sub-programs. Prominent among these is the Food Security Project.⁸¹¹ It is therefore the effort of every

⁸⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁸¹⁰ International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR). 2010. "Economic Development and Regional Integration," <http://www.icglr.org/home.html>, <http://www.icglr.org/development.php>, (accessed 5 October 2010).

⁸¹¹ International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR). 2006. "Regional Project on Food Security, Project No.3.1.3," *Regional Programme of Action for Economic Development and Regional Integration*, <http://www.icglr.org/development.php>, <http://www.icglr.org/key-documents/economic-development/Regional/Project%203.1.3.%20Regional%20Project%20on%20Food%20Security.pdf>, (accessed 5 October 2010). In general, this Action Program comprises four sub-programs and fifteen priority projects. The sub-programs are: Cooperation for poverty reduction, Establishment of a Region Support Mechanism for Micro-Finance Institutions, Food Security Project, and Trans-Border Development Basins.

country in the Great Lakes Region to integrate the Food Security programme into their respective development strategic plans not only for their respective food security interests, but also in the interest of the global and regional development.

Another perspective of this strategy involves the region's projections to enhance institutional efficiency and effectiveness in implementation and service delivery. The overriding motivation of this strategy is to coordinate the various important stakeholders in order to avoid duplication of efforts whilst engaging them in the best way possible to make their contribution to the main economic sector. Besides the main political organizations like NEPAD, IGAD, ICGLR and EAC, there are many NGOs, Faith-based Organizations and Churches that are actively involved in suggesting and implementing sound food security strategies for the poor people living in the rural areas. Although this perspective is reflected in various policy and strategy documents across the six countries, the projections of the Ministry of Agriculture in Kenya serve an elaborate case study. In its strategic plan 2008-2012, the Ministry pursues four objectives to deliver on this strategy. The first involves strengthening partnership between the private and the public sector. The target of the various strategic plans, like the Kenya Vision 2030, is to engage the private sector as a catalyst for growth and gradually reduce the government involvement in various aspects. Although some countries do not yet have any policy or legal framework that supports and facilitates this initiative, the region recognizes that a number of activities could best be implemented in partnership with other stakeholders. The responsible ministries create conducive environment for private investment, support farmer organizations, and suggest incentives such as subsidies or tax exemptions for the agricultural equipment.

Secondly, the strategy is to develop and sustain a well trained human resource. Impact on regional economic, social and political integration

doubtlessly comes with special skills of experts especially where this integration has to be further tailored to conducive food security situation. Moreover, successful implementation of the objectives will depend on committed, motivated and well coordinated staff as well as on adequate tools and budget support. Governments therefore set aside substantial resources to train experts in various technical areas, sometimes with the help of their development partners. A specific work ethics, would demand ability in teamwork, professional approach to service delivery, effective communication and strong inter-personal relations, and a professionalism free from the corruption of the national civil service. The region's work force requires the recognition of, and desire for a joint effort of the region to champion food security in its development agenda.⁸¹² The region aims to foster and institutionalize a positive organizational culture in order to be effective in its joint effort for food security and development.

Thirdly, the region has strategized on gender issues. The social, economic and political position of women in the region has over the years been pathetic despite the leading role they play in the core activities of subsistence. The prejudices of traditional practices in the region have disposed women vulnerably against unfortunate conditions such as HIV/AIDS, poverty, hunger and nutrition. This situation of women is common in all the countries of this region, yet on matters of development, women play the same key roles visible in around the region. Governments now have factored the gender issue strongly into every aspect of development as a special strategy also against food insecurity. The Ministries of Agriculture work with institutions that promote gender equity and welfares in society in order to incorporate gender concerns in agricultural development and to enhance equity between men and women in agricultural production and marketing.

⁸¹² Republic of Kenya. "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," (accessed 14 September 2010).

Fourthly, the region has strategized access to information and the use of ICT-based tools to enable access to an integrated source of agricultural information. Information generation and dissemination on all aspects of agriculture are perhaps the most necessary tool for the regional approach to development and more so for nutrition and food security. Convenience and speedy access to information will be important both for timely availability of the required food material in the region, as well as updates on supply-demand food chain from the farm to the market. Relevant institutions now envision “e-Agriculture.” That will entail the development of essential ICT infrastructure and information delivery mechanisms. These governments now work on ICT strategy implementation in conjunction with respective training facilities at Universities, research institutions and special ICT centres.⁸¹³

4.4.4 Critical View of Agricultural Industrialization in the Light of Recent ‘Rush’ for Land in The Developing Countries

From the foregoing discussion, three points stand out clearly with regard to the trends in food security measures in the Great Lakes Region of Africa. These include the concern to expand both the land area for an expanded production of food or large-scale farming, industrialization of agricultural produce for increased incomes, and the challenge to adopt and adapt technology and science in the food production sector for improved and sustained food production. While the consideration of these factors spells out a promise for reliable food security in the region, they must be considered against the background of other interesting developments in recent years which pose even greater challenges in the fight against hunger. These include the recent rush by multinational companies to acquire land for food production leading to production and business systems suited to large-scale production of bio-fuels for profit

⁸¹³ Ibid.

rather than serving the interests of the local people.⁸¹⁴ Secondly, the distortions in international markets where attention is still given to multinational companies to trade not only with harvest from large-scale farms, but also in food industry involved in the import of poultry, maize and sugar at cheaper prices. This is coupled by the systematic exclusion of the local poor people from the export business of local food products like fish, tobacco, coffee and tea has arguably left the local people more impoverished and more malnourished.⁸¹⁵ Thirdly, the pressure exerted upon the developing countries to accept Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs) almost as a condition for technology transfer in the sector of agriculture.⁸¹⁶ The general question that arises from these incidents remains at the core of food security strategies in the GLR: Does the expansivist approach in promoting large-scale food production and agricultural industrialization really give answer to the problem of hunger? Perhaps the issue of selling land to multinationals is more urgent for consideration. At the centre of this development is the suspicious role of countries like China, India, Brazil and the ex-Soviet block, that is, Russia and Ukraine in their rush to buy and invest in agricultural land of the countries in Africa.⁸¹⁷

In 2009 a study focus on Africa sponsored by FAO, IFAD and IIED revealed Chinese land acquisition in Africa where the completed deals show an average 50000 hectares, "where deals have been concluded and

⁸¹⁴ Cf. Friends of the Earth International. September 2010. "Africa: Up for Grabs - the Scale and Impact of Land Grabbing for Biofuels." <http://www.foei.org/en/resources/publications/pdfs/2010/africa-up-for-grabs>, (accessed 17 May 2011).

⁸¹⁵ Cf. IPS. 2008. "Why Food Import Surges Are an Issue at the WTO." <http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=41502>, (accessed 15 May 2011).

⁸¹⁶ Cf. T. Cottier, "Genetic Engineering, Trade and Human Rights," in *Biotechnologies and International Human Rights*, ed. Francesco Francioni (Oxford: HART Publishing, 2007).

⁸¹⁷ Cf. Pritam Singh. 2009. "Africa's Land and Resources Face a New Threat," RLS Conference: The Global Crisis and Africa - Struggles for Alternatives. http://www.rosalux.co.za/wp-content/files_mf/africaslandresourcespsingh.pdf, (accessed 15 May 2011).

project implemented.”⁸¹⁸ In the same year, IFPRI as part of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR), published a report based on the news in the media disclosing the chunks of land already taken over by Chinese private developers and the Middle East countries from the poor African countries and the Philippines.⁸¹⁹ According to this report, Saudi Arabia requested to buy a total of 500,000 hectares of land in Tanzania, while other deals had already been sealed allowing Qatar to buy 40,000 hectare of land from Kenya. Jordan and South Korea had already bought 690,000 hectares and 25000 hectares of land respectively from Sudan. According to Pritam Singh’s findings, China was reported to have acquired as much land as 2.8 Million hectares from Congo for a bio-fuel palm oil plantation in 2007.⁸²⁰ In total, Joachim Von Braun, Director general o IFPRI, estimated land worth between US\$20 billion and US\$30 in Africa and Asia in the previous three years.⁸²¹ While most of these reports were initially not backed by tangible proven facts, the launching of Debora Brautigam’s finding in, the *Dragon for Africa*, provided the details of the impact of China’s involvement in the buying of chunks of land in Africa amidst the curiosity of IFPRI among other members of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research.⁸²² In this book, she details a long history of China’s involvement in African, partly explaining the ease with which its deals in African are a rapid

⁸¹⁸ Lorenzo Cotula and others. 2009. "Land Grab or Development Opportunity? Agricultural Investment and Agricultural Land Deals in Africa." <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/011/ak241e/ak241e.pdf>, (accessed 15 May 2011).

⁸¹⁹ Cf. Singh, “Africa’s Land and Resources Face a New Threat,” (accessed 15 May 2011). Pritam Singh made reference to IFPRI media report that released in 2009.

⁸²⁰ Ibid.

⁸²¹ IFPRI. 2009. “‘Land Grabbing’ by Foreign Investors in Developing Countries: Risks and Opportunities.” <http://www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/bp013all.pdf>, (accessed 11 May 2011).

⁸²² Debora Brautigam, *The Dragon’s Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 162-184.

success. Ironically, a World bank report on 'land grabbing' expected by the stakeholders to have been published by April 2010, was supposedly released only in September on rumors of the Bank's complicity in this exercise through its Investment Advisory Service.⁸²³ However, when the report was finally released in September 2010, "it documented a dramatic increase of investor interest in agricultural land since the 2008 food price spike, with reported farmland deals amounting to 45 million hectares in 2009 alone."⁸²⁴ Although the report highlighted glaring discrepancies and abuse of the earlier recommendation for sell of land to parties ready to develop it for the benefit of the local people, it went ahead to sanction the sale of farm land as a viable economic venture in the developing countries. In general the report carried the World bank's summery endorsement of the practice of nations selling vast agricultural lands to foreign investors, and highlighted a number of cases where large-scale investments in land were successful. However, to other observers, the outcome was widely beside the objective of addressing hunger and raising the incomes of the poor people in developing countries.⁸²⁵

⁸²³ Cf. Betton Wood Project. 2010. "World Bank Work on Land Supports a 'New Form of Colonialism'." <http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/art-566367>, (accessed 16 May 2011). Though recognizing that enforcement of existing frameworks is limited, the principles document suggests that any guidelines or standards developed from these principles should be independently monitored, relying for implementation on investors' concern for their reputation, and an undefined role for governments and civil society. The coalition of concerned NGOs warns that 'land grabbing' violates the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

⁸²⁴ Cf. World Bank. 2011. "Rising Global Interest in Farmland." http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTARD/Resources/ESW_Sept7_final_final.pdf, (accessed 17 May 2011).

⁸²⁵ Cf. Betton Wood Project. 2010. "World Bank Admits 'Land Grab' Risks, Proceeds Anyway." <http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/art-566651>, (accessed 16 May 2011).

The World Bank's involvement in the whole affair complicates this strategy beyond recognition. Through research and what was considered sound policy in employing the land resource to boost food security as well as incomes among the poor, the World Bank report endorsed the enterprise of land buying from the developing countries which cannot adequately utilise their land resource. Although some claims have been advanced that this was done in open disregard of advice from African experts,⁸²⁶ the food security strategies adopted especially in the Great Lakes Region of Africa leave no doubt that there is overwhelming shift towards large scale farming tailored towards the improvements of poor people incomes. But the outcome of the World Banks' experience on 'Rising Global Interest in Farmland,' sounds a warning that should be taken seriously even as the poor countries rush to 'develop' agriculture both for food security and economic purpose. To many partners in the fight against hunger, large-scale expansionist strategies of industrial agriculture do not necessarily improve food security. On the contrary, these measures demonstrate more potential to exploit the very poor people it was intended to help in the first place. NGO GRAIN, for example, cautioned that "the principles would not improve food security, and instead aim to distract from the fact that today's global food crisis, marked by more than one billion people going hungry each day, will not be solved by large scale industrial agriculture, which virtually all of these land acquisitions aim to promote."⁸²⁷

⁸²⁶ Cf. Friends of the Earth International. 2010. "World Bank Land Grab Report Comment: Bio-fuels Cause Land Grabs ". <http://www.foei.org/en/media/archive/2010/world-bank-land-grab-report-comment-biofuels-cause-land-grabs>, (accessed 17 May 2011).

⁸²⁷ Cf. Against the Grain. 2010. "World Bank on Land Grabbing: Beyond the Smoke and Mirrors." http://www.grain.org/articles_files/atg-27-en.pdf, (accessed 17 May 2011). From the point of view of the critics, contrary to its widely expected 'large opportunities' and success, the report emphasizes the exploitative nature of many investments, finding that investors have targeted countries with weak land governance, enabling them to gain land essentially for free and in neglect of local rights. Land deals between investors and

4.4.5 Proposals for Improvement: Towards a More Sustainable Food Security Model for the Great Lakes Region

4.4.5.1 Education and Training of Personnel in the Public Service

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that the choice of food security strategies for some parts of the GLR requires specialized attention. The traditional food deficit areas of the central corridor, and parts of the northern areas of Tanzania (Republic of Tanzania, 2006), the ASAL in the North and North Eastern parts of Kenya (Republic of Kenya, 2008-2012), and most of the agricultural land of Rwanda (Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources, 2009), generate as much interest as they do generate agricultural challenges with regard to production of food. These parts of the region exhibit characteristics of what experts classify as ‘secondary regions.’⁸²⁸ According to Bruce M.

governments occurred in secrecy, marginalising affected communities and farmers from the consultation phases and consequently leading to the eviction of people from their land without proper compensation. The investors did not create the number of jobs they promised, they failed to effectively invest in purchased land and the deals exacerbated existing problems of gender discrimination.

⁸²⁸ Bruce M. Koppel, "Food Policy Options for Secondary Regions: A Framework for Applied Research," in *Food Policy: Integrating Supply, Distribution, and Consumption*, ed. J. Price Gittinger, Joanne Leslie, and Caroline Hoisington (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 141-147. Secondary regions are most often associated with substantial amounts of arable land classified as “marginal.” The criteria include measures based on land use, soil capability, opportunity cost, ecological degradation, market system performance, accessibility, geographic location and urban functions. Each of these criteria is sensitive to assumptions about the technology and levels of production needed. In agro-economic terms, ‘marginal’ refers to limited land capability and the levels of technology and management needed to compensate for soil deficiencies and climatic liabilities. In the GLR for example, ‘marginal’ can also mean that a region is not well integrated into a larger political and economic system. An area may be marginal in geographic terms because of limited accessibility. Land is marginal according to a specific criterion such as soil capability, ecological degradation and accessibility. But instead of the term

Koppel, agricultural function in the secondary regions is more complex because production is based on diversified ecosystems: drainage properties are problematic, top soil very thin, water and weather erosion are often advanced, micronutrient composition is often seriously deficient, and soil compaction is advanced. In these situations, tillage practices and cropping choices can be crucial. Once the topsoil is lost, or once significant changes take place in the soil like hardening of some tropical soils from exposure to the sun, or depletion of minerals, maintaining production can be expensive, if not impossible. Stability and resilience often depend on carefully developed and continuing adaptations to difficult conditions. Progress of agriculture in such regions requires specialized attention to the development of secondary crop.⁸²⁹ These environments are not significantly modified in comparison, for example, with the modification of natural ecosystems for wet rice culture. Devising improved production schemes without resorting to high-input technologies will be particularly difficult. But if reducing variability in agricultural environments through physical modifications is not feasible, increasing productivity in a manner consistent with ecosystem stability and resilience will require fresh research strategies. The success of the schemes adopted in these conditions requires very high skills in technological research. The potential for the development of the so called secondary crops though necessary in the GLR, will be difficult to achieve because of the limited

‘marginal,’ the term ‘secondary’ is more useful for referring to areas that combine mixes of agro-economic, institutional, and spatial marginality. The motivation for developing the food systems in secondary regions comes when major food requirements can be met through basic grain production and cereal imports. A strategy then emerges that uses the mineral resources and possibilities for export agriculture in marginal areas as a basis for generating foreign exchange. In these circumstances, there is no single optimum level of species or genetic diversity in agricultural systems. Farming systems depend upon controlled and highly diverse environments and preferably on green revolution for ‘secondary crops.’

⁸²⁹ Ibid.

technological research backup.⁸³⁰ This consideration shows the importance of human resource development in the entire spectrum of scientific research and technological innovation in agriculture in the GLR. Nevertheless, this is only but an example of the crucial areas whose approach requires, as a priority, keen attention to education and training. This is not to mention the demands of installing modern strategic ICT, the challenges of handling economic cooperation, and routine updating of effective labour force.

The highlights in food security strategies also touch well elaborated policies and strategy papers on specialized services of agricultural economics such as credit and finance, food supply economics, distribution and consumption. The well articulated policies, elaborate legal frameworks, and thorough implementation strategy papers touching on all these areas not only require competent interpretation, they also require coordination. Adequately trained personnel are required on two levels: one, on the level of implementation itself, the region requires experts properly trained in the various areas of competence, to translate paperwork into practical results of significance to food security initiative. Two, on the level of management, the region requires experts who not only coordinate the diverse implementation strategies, but who also plan, project and value the relevance of the strategies underway and who are capable of recommending improvements, adaptation and innovations in order to keep the strategies on focus and effective. As we shall see below, the question of corruption

⁸³⁰ Ibid., 144. The motivation for developing the food systems in secondary regions comes when major food requirements cannot be met through basic grain production and cereal imports. A strategy then emerges that uses the mineral resources and possibilities for export agriculture in marginal areas as a basis for generating foreign exchange. Agricultural production and food distribution strategies in secondary regions are often oriented more toward the consumption and foreign exchange requirements of large urban centres and primary regions than to the equity or sustainable growth objectives that one might wish to set for secondary regions.

in the GLR, nepotism and mediocrity compromises quality at the risk of losing the fight against hunger. Where there is thorough paper work, implementation is lost to incompetent service of the personnel not adequately trained to handle professional service. Furthermore, innovations in the agricultural sector are diverse and get complicated with time. Investment in education and training is not only necessary, it also measures the capacity of the region to seriously undertake the strategies against food insecurity in the region. The current developments in the region towards economic cooperation have raised the expectations and have set even higher standards to be met in both the private and public service of the region. Education and training will earn the region the fruit of preparedness. Expert labour force will keep the region focused on the problem of food insecurity in all its aspects. Furthermore, it will offer a better alternative against a corrupt public service that has been common place in this region.

4.4.5.2. Adaptation and Sustainability

Despite the effort to set up effective food security strategies in the region, the crucial question still to be answered is whether or not these strategies are sustainable. But the discussion of sustainability against the background of the GLR where agriculture is an economic activity and a food security strategy, necessarily implies due attention to the issues relating to the environment. The subsistence of the poor population of small-scale/subsistence farmers in the GLR relies on daily use of the available natural resources such as soil, forests, semi-arid rangelands, water and biodiversity of a wide range of plants and animals, both domesticated and wild. Farmers look out for these as the source of all food related activities such as farming and fishing, fuel and fodder. As experts observe, “their lives are interwoven with the surrounding environment in ways that make them both particularly valuable as custodians of environmental resources and particularly vulnerable to

environmental degradation.”⁸³¹ In the absence of cautious attention paid to the environment, environmental degradation and climate change are a necessary consequence of the agricultural practice in the region. Pressures of subsistence in famine coupled with poor environmental conservation skills may lead the population to turn against the very resources upon which they depend. Keen consideration of the prevailing situation of environment therefore is a necessary step towards sustainability.

Currently, the reality of climate change has highlighted the dangers careless agriculture poses for the environment and the consequent effects of environmental abuse on food productivity, directly impacting on the levels of hunger in the world. Global warming has the potential of wiping out the important gains society makes in food security.⁸³² In highlighting the obvious nexus between climate change, food security, soil fertility and hunger, Pedro Sanchez mentions the danger of grain sterility. This condition is common in all the major cereal crops. It is necessitated by thermal stress and additional maximum temperature. According to his projections, “for every degree centigrade increase in maximum temperature, there will be a 16 percent decrease in grain yield due to grain sterility.”⁸³³ Reading this against the background of the predictions of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC),

⁸³¹ FAO. 2005. "Towards Summit Commitments: Improving Environmental Sustainability and Food Security by Empowering the Rural Poor," *The State of Food Insecurity in the World*. <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/008/a0200e/a0200e.pdf>, (accessed 2 October 2010).

⁸³² Cf. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). 2008. "Land Use, Land Use Change and Forestry." http://www.ipcc.ch/ipccreports/sres/land_use/index.php?idp=14, (accessed 25 February 2011).

⁸³³ Pedro Sanchez, "Turning up the Heat: How Will Agriculture Weather Global Climate Change?" in *Sustainable Food Security for all by 2020*, ed. IFPRI (Bonn: IFPRI, 2002), 116. In this occasion, Pedro Sanchez, by then the Director General of the International Centre for Research in Agro-forestry, was introducing the talk of experts in climate change and approaches to food security in an international conference proceedings on sustainable food security.

Sanchez concludes that this translates into a decrease in world food production of between 5 to 6 percent by 2020, and 11 to 46 percent by 2050. Thus, the effects of global warming on food production is no longer a distant guess, the struggle among experts rather is whether mitigation and consequent reversal of these effects is the only way out of the danger impending upon the hungry poor. The view of Martin L. Parry, interprets the effects of climate change within the framework of agricultural sustainability. In his key note address to an international conference on sustainable food security, in Bonn, 2001, Parry highlighted the effects of weather change where the already moist areas of the world will get wetter, while semi arid areas will tend to get drier due to a combination of increased evapotranspiration and reduced rainfall. Broadly speaking, his view is that as time progresses and climate warms, the semi arid regions of Africa will likely become more arid prompting a drastic drop in agricultural yields. While this will imply definitive adverse effects on the overall hunger situation in the world,⁸³⁴ Martin Parry introduces a different life-line for sustainability

⁸³⁴ Ibid., 118-120. Sanchez projected agricultural yield changes (cereal production in million metric tons) to the years 2020, 2050 and 2080 using a global cereal production model, and a global cereal prices model to ask questions about their effect on food supply. How much do changes in cereal production and changes in cereal prices affect our ability to meet anticipated growth of food demand? And how do they affect those at risk of hunger, i.e., those having insufficient income or ability to buy or to grow enough food? In his projection, global production of the world's staple foods will increase from 2.3 billion to about 4 billion metric tons annually by the 2080s. But the shortfall between demand and supply that is caused by climate change is about 400 to 600 million metric tons by the 2080s, and the shortfall increases over time. When this figures are read against the background of Africa, characterized by poverty and hunger and food insecurity, and feared to experience greater warming effects, it is probable that climate change will have an overall negative effect on yield, with some marked reductions in particular areas, leading to likely increases of hunger. According to Pedro Sanchez, this effect is on top of any effects that a non climate audience would think of. Making assumptions about income and demand for food, these food models allow us to estimate the effect of that expected climate-change-driven shortfall on cereal prices.

in agriculture. According to him, mitigating the effects of climate change alone will not solve the problem. Thus, “stabilization or mitigation does not have a major effect, except that very high levels of stabilization would be very expensive. Therefore, we need to look at a future where adaptation and mitigation in the context of sustainable development probably offers some solution.”⁸³⁵ The new life-line, so to speak, is a careful blend between adaptation and mitigation in so far as they serve the goal of sustainability. But how does sustainability accommodate the reality of adaptation and mitigation in the context of food security in the GLR?

The work of two experts presented in two relevant circumstances, show that sustainability is a consequence of a careful adaptation of ordinary strategies, most of which are already under way in the GLR, as opposed to complicated exotic innovations. In his contribution to agro-ecological approaches to food security, Jules Pretty captured the concept of sustainability in three important aspects:

It is a type of agriculture that makes the best use of nature’s goods and services, integrating agro-ecological processes into food production and at the same time minimizing the negative side effects on environment and on health. In other words it makes the best use of natural capital. Second, it makes the best use of human capital, building on the skills and knowledge and ingenuity of farmers and communities. And third, of course, is

⁸³⁵ *Ibid.*, 122. Accordingly, Martin L. Parry suggested possible paths: The first is technology, for example crop breeding for climate change, whether by genetic modification or more traditional methods. Secondly, management of farmland, for example by using water more efficiently. Thirdly, institutions that encourage change rather than fossilize change. Many adaptations can be win-win solutions because, by adapting to drought now, in areas that may become more drought-prone in the future, we meet the present challenge and the future challenge.

social capital, which involves people's capacities to work together to solve common problems.⁸³⁶

In Jules Pretty's line of thought, agriculture, more than any other economic sector, exhibits circularity. It affects the very assets on which it relies for its success for the better or for the worse, for the better in the sense that these assets are renewable, and for the worse in the sense that these resourceful assets are exhaustible. According to him, sustainable agriculture is one that improves on the renewable assets. Thus, in order to adapt resource assets to sustainability, Jules Pretty emphasizes asset renewability, any renewable resource asset could be utilized well at the service of sustainability. However, the questions as to which assets are renewable, how to renew them, and to what extent or for how long these assets will remain renewable are controversial questions that fuel disagreements among experts. While the optimistic view holds that all natural resources sooner or later can be renewed or substituted, pessimistic view on this matter insists that no natural resources can be substituted. And yet there are experts who hypothesize that some natural resources can be substituted, but that certain critical natural resources must be preserved to facilitate the functioning of the ecosystems.⁸³⁷ This last view was given prominent attention in the work of Klint Jensen whose presentation we consider here as the second important contribution in clarifying sustainability as a consequence of a careful adaptation of ordinary strategies.

Klint Jensen did not only present the complementary role of natural and renewable resources in sustainability, most importantly, he

⁸³⁶ Jules Pretty and others, "Complementary Technologies, One Goal: Approaches to Sustainable Food Production," in *Sustainable Food Security for all by 2020*, ed. International Food Policy Research Institute (Bonn: IFPRI, 2002), 125.

⁸³⁷ Cf. K. Klint Jensen, "Food Production and Sustainability," in *Ethical Futures: Bioscience and Food Horizons*, ed. Kate Millar, Pru Hobson West, and Brigitte Nerlich (Nottingham: Wageningen Academic Publishers, 2009), 219.

legitimized this complementarity as a logical requirement of the concept of sustainability.⁸³⁸ Drawing from the history of the concept of sustainability in the forestry and fishery industry, he points out the constraint that the resource stock in question should be kept non-decreasing over time. The simple prescription was to keep the harvest rate per year within some area smaller than, or equal to, the natural regeneration rate per year for the resource within the area. However, farm production is different. It is an open system whose operation also relies on its surroundings. In the farm context, sustainability involves making the farm self-sufficient in terms of energy, nutrients and other flows of matter, or at least minimizing the input from the surroundings as well as the loss to the surroundings of energy and matter. After exhaustive comparative analysis between the two major approaches to sustainability, namely: the social or bottom-up, and economic or top-bottom approaches, Klint Jensen gives a preference to the latter.⁸³⁹ The top-down approach originates its pursuit in economics with the suggestion that the present generation's need-satisfaction should, as its starting point, not compromise the need-satisfaction of future generations. The approach presumes that sustainability is some form of

⁸³⁸ His work on 'Food Production and Sustainability,' was presented to an international conference organized by the European Society for Agriculture and Food Ethics, EurSafe, Nottingham, 2009.

⁸³⁹ K. Klint Jensen highlights the complexity of the concept of sustainability regarding issues of development. He identifies two major approaches to sustainability: the bottom-up or social approach, usually identified with the work of Paul Thompson who looked at sustainability as 'functional integrity,' and the top-down approach associated with the Brundtland Commission also referred to as the economic approach to sustainability. The first line of research takes its departure from sustaining a system over time and infers prescriptions from this requirement. If a farm is to sustain its production over time, minimizing the exchange of matter and energy with the surroundings is not likely to be sufficient. Roughly, the farm also needs to be sustainable in a social sense. Hence it takes the form of uncovering the expectations of all stakeholders who have an influence on the farm's survival over time. In Paul Thompson's words, this is 'sustainability as functional integrity.'

just distribution of need-satisfaction or welfare between, as well as within, generations. Its prescription to keep the stock on renewable resources non-decreasing over time, recognizes the fact that many resources are non-renewable. If they are to be used at all, it is impossible to keep the stock non-decreasing over time.⁸⁴⁰ Ethically speaking, this line of research implies that the sustainability of any activity should be measured by its contribution to the goal of justice within and between generations. In this argument, the requirement of justice legitimizes sustainability more than does the narrow requirement of mitigating or even reversing the dangers facing one resource asset such as the case of climate change.

However, the object of justice as fronted by the top-down approach remains indeterminate.⁸⁴¹ In deciding about the strategy we believe to be sustainable, we are faced with a decision shrouded in uncertainty.⁸⁴² Against this background, Klint Jensen suggests a sharpening of this

⁸⁴⁰ In this approach, the economists argue that substitution between different types of capital is possible. A reduced stock of exhaustible resources can be compensated for by an increase in renewable resources, or by increasing efficiency in the use of resources through technological development. If we take substitution and technological development into account in order to make more general prescriptions, it is necessary to look at the value of resources, that is, their potential to generate welfare or satisfy needs, rather than simply the stock. Hence, economic analyses move from the simple prescription of keeping a single renewable natural resource stock non-decreasing over time to the more general prescription of keeping the level of welfare non-decreasing over time. To this extent, the economic perspective is top-down because it starts by determining sustainability as a goal at a global level, and then compares the contribution of different activities to this goal.

⁸⁴¹ The economic option of the possibility of substitution between different kinds of capital, invites various scenarios: Should we believe in the optimistic view that all natural resources sooner or later can be substituted with man-made capital? Or should we believe in the pessimistic view that no natural resources can be substituted? Or should we share the assumption that some natural resources can be substituted, but that certain critical natural resources must be preserved in order for ecosystems to function?

⁸⁴² Cf. the different views on the possibilities of substitution between different kinds of capital namely, the optimistic view, the pessimistic and the dual assumption that presents both.

approach where the concern for future generations should concentrate on the poor. A minimal requirement of justice should inspire the understanding that “development is only sustainable if it involves food security for all at all times.”⁸⁴³ The precise concern of justice for the poor identifies the relevance of sustainability of food security measures in the GLR, and the prescription of sustainability from this position can well be argued to be target concern necessary for all food security initiatives in the region. Klint Jensen underscores the relevance of sustainability in the following words:

What is relevant for the sharpened goal of sustainability is particularly the management of natural resources in the widest sense, on which the poor will be dependent for food. The productivity of these resources should be safeguarded and possibly be increased when they are handed over to future generations also dependent on them for food security ... However, equitable sharing of costs is very important. Hence, if future use of natural resources in some area is threatened by some praxis, the local community should be paid compensation in order to protect the endangered resources ... other livelihoods for the involved people might be the best solution.⁸⁴⁴

The thrust of the concern of both Jules Pretty and Klint Jensen in the understanding of sustainability clearly lies on resource management and creative substitution between different types of capital in society's food security initiatives. Emphasis rests on the distinction between renewable and non-renewable resources, and the wisdom of knowing when, how and what to introduce in the practice of agriculture. This also consists of knowing the proportion of the new economic and technological factors to be introduced to facilitate sustainability. A sustainable agriculture

⁸⁴³ Jensen, "Food Production and Sustainability," 220.

⁸⁴⁴ Ibid.

therefore improves these renewable assets at least to the extent that, “a reduced stock of exhaustible resources can be compensated for by an increase in renewable resources.”⁸⁴⁵ It can also be done to the extent that efficiency is achieved through either substitution or increase of assets through technological development in the public goods such as the carbon sequestration, flood protection, landscape quality and biodiversity.⁸⁴⁶ With this background, sustainability in the GLR can be considered in two main areas, namely, natural resource management as well as in scientific research and technology. Thus, the context within which sustainability should be sought in the GLR is clearer, namely: the management of natural resources on which the poor will depend for food. This exercise not only includes renewability of resource assets, but also the challenge to blend ways and means of substituting and/or increasing non-renewable resource assets. In the initiative towards sustainability, these two areas have then to stand the test of adaptability, that is, the convenience with which they can be applied within a given context such as the GLR. While renewability favours more the natural resources, substitution or increase of non-renewable resources shall rely more on technological innovation. The scope of sustainability widens in every context, and includes in agro-ecological strategies such as management of farm land, conventional breeding and crop management methods, as well as biotechnology approaches such as genetic modification.⁸⁴⁷ While agro-ecology and conventional methods are a suitable approach to non-renewable natural resource assets, biotechnology is a preferential approach to renewable assets. The next two sections therefore consider the development of scientific research

⁸⁴⁵ Pretty and others, “Complementary Technologies,” 125. e.g., agriculture relies upon a good soil, but also produces a good soil.

⁸⁴⁶ Jensen, “Food Production and Sustainability,” 218. See particularly Jensen’s distinction between the social and the economic points of view.

⁸⁴⁷ Martin Parry, “Keynote,” in *Sustainable Food Security for all by 2020*, ed. IFPRI (Bonn: IFPRI, 2001), 122-135.

and technology according to how the two facilitate and foster sustainability, and natural resource management in the GLR.

4.4.5.3 Adoption of Scientific Research and Technology

In the view of experts, exhaustible or non-renewable resources include energy soil nutrients. Moreover, "certain practices might irretrievably compromise water or other resources if they are left unchecked because too many people are dependent on them."⁸⁴⁸ Crop production in the GLR is traditionally concentrated in the high rainfall areas. Agricultural farming is therefore restricted to specific regions and depends on the rainfall patterns of the regions. The practice strains soil nutrient replenishment and poses serious environmental conservation problem. Furthermore, due to the decreasing arable land holdings caused by population pressure in such areas, agricultural activities have been pushed into the semi-arid lands while too little has been done in this region to exploit its irrigation potential.⁸⁴⁹ Any food security strategy considered against this background cannot pass the test of time without due caution to environmental degradation. This is a typical case of fast eroding stock of resource assets. Apart from loss of soil through erosion, less water retention capacity due to soil texture and topography, and serious destabilization of biodiversity, the region's soil is depleted of fertilizer and remains agriculturally poor. Furthermore, the threat faced from crop diseases, pests and weeds reduces reliability in agriculture significantly. Management of such conditions for consequential crop production require integrated approaches that are both crop and agro-ecology specific, affordable and environment friendly. Above all, this background motivates the development of crop varieties that efficiently utilize the available natural resources, varieties that have high water-and nutrient-use efficiency. In the view of experts, the answer is nothing

⁸⁴⁸ Ibid., 220.

⁸⁴⁹ Cf. KARI. "Strategic Plan 2009-2014," (accessed 13 September 2010).

short of innovative technology grounded on sound scientific research and elaborate policy frameworks. But despite the elaborate paper work in policy and legal statements, as well as consistent calls from the region's experts to intensify the use of science and technology,⁸⁵⁰ the use of technology is still insignificant. Yet it is argued that the adoption of technology strategy in this region shall not only harness and develop the indigenous strategies already in place, but, most importantly, will also render them readily available for use and sustainable. Thus, the life-line of sustainability of exhaustible resources is technological innovation. Experts still cite breeding for climate change, engineering virus resistant, drought tolerance, fungus and insect resistance, health preserving breeds, that is, the use of plants to make edible vaccines or simply to use plants such as marijuana to produce vaccines that we can

⁸⁵⁰ Cf. Robert Paarlberg, *Starved for Science: How Biotechnology Is Being Kept out of Africa* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 111-178. During the East African Science Reporting Workshop for journalists at the International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI) in Nairobi, Africa Agricultural Technology Foundation (AATF) Executive Director, Dr. Daniel Mataruka warned that Africa will not develop if its national governments and citizens cannot modernize agriculture for sustainable food production. In his presentation: "Overcoming challenges in the African Agricultural Sector: What chance for technology?" he observed that the continent must change her food production policies, Dr. Mataruka reaffirmed that the new technologies like biotechnology are key to food security and nutrition. Despite the emergence of advanced agricultural technologies, notably modern biotechnology, Africa with over 200 million starving people, is still watching as Asia, Latin America and the West are riding on the top. This is sad in circumstances where food productivity is low and poverty high due to insufficient application of science into farming. But perhaps the political science expert, Prof. Robert Paarlberg was even more emphatic in his observation that people in Africa are poor because their labour as farmers has not yet been improved by science, including modern biotechnology. In his book; *Starved for Science: How Biotechnology Is Being Kept Out of Africa*, Paarlberg reveals that "only 4 per cent of Africa's farmland is irrigated, less than 30 per cent is planted to improved seeds, while average fertilizer in use is only 9kg per hectare, compared to 117 kg per hectare in the industrial world." See Paarlberg, 111-178.

harvest and have in edible form to safeguard manpower labour resource.⁸⁵¹

Every country in the GLR identifies the use of technology, science and research not simply as one among the many strategies, but indeed as a crucial imperative for improved approach to food security. The research efforts made in KARI in Kenya are an example of technological innovation appropriate for sustainable agriculture. The thematic focus of KARI on its crop research, targets the generation and promotion of crop knowledge and technologies that respond to clients' demands and opportunities. This objective is pursued through technologies and innovations for demand-driven crops product value chains.⁸⁵² Strategies involving reduction of pests, improvement of seeds, among others, necessarily imply the application of contemporary science and technology. Institutions of research in this region have been taxed with the duty to provide new technologies for improved varieties, agronomic packages, and sustainable land use systems. Priority frontiers factored to champion these strategies doubtlessly include biotechnology, genomics, modelling and ICT. These remain the tools for greater agricultural development and food security in all the countries of the region.⁸⁵³ The success of this strategy will be a big step towards sustainability.

The economic potential of this region and its place in the larger network of global operations in research, business and trade is a guarantee to sustainability of technology driven food security strategies. The regional initiatives for food security such as pursued by NEPAD,

⁸⁵¹ Jennifer Thomson, "Biotechnological Approaches," in *Sustainable Food Security for All by 2020*, ed. IFPRI (Bonn: IFPRI, 2001), 133.

⁸⁵² KARI. "Strategic Plan 2009-2014," (accessed 13 September 2010). Erosion of genetic biodiversity and low adoption of improved crop varieties and associated technologies have impacted negatively on efforts to address issues on food security and wealth creation.

⁸⁵³ Cf. Republic of Kenya. "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," (accessed 14 September 2010).

IGAD, Economic Commission For Africa (ECFA), have largely influenced both agricultural policy structure and practice in the countries of this region. Given that most of these initiatives insist on the role of science and technology, the countries have all prioritized the use of technology in improving food crop output. NEPAD initiative of CAADP, for example, has considered various options for immediate increase of food supply. Conspicuous among these is the option to accelerate the transfer and adoption of technologies for the improvement of varieties both in food crops as well as in livestock farming.⁸⁵⁴ The new technologies are to facilitate increase and distribution of new varieties of food staples particularly drought-resistant, long-duration crops such as cassava and sweet potatoes, as well as to overcome livestock constraints such as feed quality and availability. Furthermore, technical support is necessary for farmers in the setting up and managing of small animal production enterprises.⁸⁵⁵

Beyond the economic interests, the international community invests a lot of effort in supporting research activities in the developing world, including the GLR. The research initiative in the area of indigenous food crops such as the banana and sweet potatoes is the basis for advancement of technological research in crop farming in this region. The research activity is organized and coordinated on the national level,

⁸⁵⁴ Cf. Mukhebi, "An Overview of the Food Security Situation in Eastern Africa," (accessed 17 September 2010). See also Republic of Burundi. 2006. "Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper." http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPRS1/Resources/Burundi_PRSP%28Sept-2006%29.pdf, (accessed 1 October 2010). This document with its priorities continues to be the basis of planning for increased food production in the region. Burundi for example, has developed a draft CAADP document planned for a period of 6 years (2010-2015) to coincide with the presumed completion of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This program is integrated with the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), the National Agricultural Strategy, Sector Policy and the National Program of Food Security and aims to consolidate the gains of other agricultural development projects.

⁸⁵⁵ NEPAD, "The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme," (accessed 21 September 2010).

helped by the regional and international level. Its network binds nations and regions together in a commitment to food security that goes beyond the possibilities of any individual country. The three broad objectives for banana crop research, for example, to improve the relevance, quality and cost-effectiveness of agricultural research; to establish and support regional mechanisms in order to reinforce and improve research collaboration among the National Agricultural Research Systems; and to improve the delivery of new appropriate information and technology.⁸⁵⁶ This is first carried out by respective national agricultural research systems (NARS). For example, the KARI Institute in Kenya, carries out its research activities through its 50 branches spread throughout the country covering all the varied climatic conditions that range between the altitude of 1700m (Kabete) - to 2550 (Molo), mean annual rainfall of between 548mm (Kiboko) – to 2089mm (Kisii).⁸⁵⁷

On regional level, such respective national agricultural research systems (NARS) are further joined in an Association for Strengthening Agricultural Research in Eastern and Central Africa (ASARECA). This association carries out all its research on banana crop through the Banana Research Network for Eastern and Southern Africa (BARNESA) in order to avoid duplication and focuses consistent effort to the common problem of hunger and nutrition.⁸⁵⁸ This regional effort

⁸⁵⁶ Cf. Biodiversity International. 2010. "Banana and Plantain Section of Biodiversity International." <http://bananas.biodiversityinternational.org/en/what-we-do-mainmenu-27.html>, (accessed 8 December 2010).

⁸⁵⁷ KARI. 2010. "Adaptive Research Programme: Strengthening Kenya's Food Security & Income." <http://www.kari.org/index.php?q=content/adaptive-research-programme>, (accessed 8 December 2010).

⁸⁵⁸ Cf. Eldad Karamura and E. Frison. 1998. "Banana Production System in Eastern and Southern Africa," INIBAP. http://musalit.inibap.org/pdf/IN000031_en.pdf, (accessed 20 November 2010). Due to the growing problems of poor soil fertility, pests and diseases, production in Eastern and Southern Africa has steadily declined since the 1980s, putting at risk the livelihoods of over 20 million people for whom the crop is the staple food. By the 1990s, it had become clear that the rate of decline was so alarming that urgent action was required to stop and reverse production trends. At a meeting in Kampala, Uganda, in

eventually sought a global representation and obtained support from International Network for the Improvement of Banana and Plantain (INIBAP).⁸⁵⁹ On a global level the International Plant Genetic Resources Institute (IPGRI), supported by the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR),⁸⁶⁰ adopted the INIBAP in 1994, to be at its disposal for the purposes of networking and organize research effort globally.⁸⁶¹ Eventually the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations entrusted INIBAP the duty to conserve the world research diversity with regard to the banana plant for the benefit of present and future generations of the international community.⁸⁶² It is noted that "every day accessions are shipped from the INIBAP gene bank to users, who may be researchers developing improved varieties, or extension workers wishing to introduce alternative varieties to farmers. All material is carefully checked to

October 1994, it was agreed that cooperation between national research programmes would have important advantages, including sharing scarce resources, raising the critical mass for effective research and reducing overlap in work programmes. This led to the creation of the 'Banana Research Network for Eastern and Southern Africa' (BARNESA) as a framework for cooperation. At its July 1995 meeting, the Committee of Directors of ASARECA (Association for Strengthening Agricultural Research in Eastern and Central Africa) approved the inclusion of BARNESA as an ASARECA network. The Committee of Directors also ranked the banana plant 4th out of the 19 crop research priorities identified for the region.

⁸⁵⁹ Ibid. In 1996, the BARNESA Steering Committee requested INIBAP's help to provide coordination and mobilize support for banana research in the region. As a result, INIBAP has taken on the role of a network coordinator and secretariat to BARNESA.

⁸⁶⁰ Cf. CGIAR. 2010. "CGIAR in Action." <http://www.cgiar.org/>, (accessed 8 December 2010).

⁸⁶¹ Ibid.

⁸⁶² Cf. Ibid. See also Anne Vezina, Suzanne Sharrock, and Emile Frison, "An International Treaty Vital for Future Food Security," in *INIBAP Annual Report 2002*, ed. INIBAP (Montpellier: 2003, 2). Also available on-line: Anne Vezina, Suzanne Sharrock, and Emile Frison. 2003. "An International Treaty Vital for Future Food Security." http://bananas.biodiversityinternational.org/files/files/pdf/publications/focusen_treaty.pdf, (accessed 8 December 2010).

ensure that it is healthy before being distributed and state-of-the-art techniques are used at all stages.”⁸⁶³ This is just but to mention the attention given to the banana crop. If such arrangement is made in the research activities involving the major food crops in the region, the chances are that their production will be more sustainable.

4.4.5.4 Natural Resource Management

Effective management of natural resources therefore is one of the answers to the question of sustainability. The question experts try to answer is: How can natural resources be used in supporting agricultural activities for a sustained food production? Experts identify core renewable natural resource assets as soils, water and biodiversity.⁸⁶⁴ If the dynamics of sustainability as observed above are followed successfully and duly adapted, agricultural yield is sure to increase in any circumstance. The enlarged scope presumed by adaptability accommodates any scale of efforts towards progress and makes it possible to increase total food production substantially even for small farms. On the very local level, sustainability of these resources based on agro-ecology as well as on conventional methods can be promoted by intensifying patches like home gardens with raised beds, fish ponds or with dairy cows, soils can be improved soils through the use of legumes, green manures, agro-forestry, and zero-tillage, and by making better use of water through water harvesting, irrigation scheduling, and functional biodiversity, use of green-manure, in-row and zero tillage.⁸⁶⁵ Jules Pretty mentions two crucial point on sustainability, namely: to build people’s knowledge and their capacity to work together as a social and human capital, and to work for the political conditions for improved

⁸⁶³ Karamura, “Banana Production System in Eastern and Southern Africa,” (Accessed 20 November 2010).

⁸⁶⁴ Pretty and others, "Complementary Technologies," 125.

⁸⁶⁵ Ibid., 126-127.

sustainability of agriculture.⁸⁶⁶ In the GLR, sustainable agriculture implies adequate care of the already existing rich natural resources: soil, water and biodiversity, and careful adaptation of technology and economic resources.

Developing sustainability from this point of view sheds light on the humble efforts both possible and already underway in the countries of the GLR. Though some countries developed environmental policies independently of the main agricultural goals to address food security, some had specifically factored environmental conservation alongside all initiatives of food security. As an example, Tanzania's strategy warrants attention. In Tanzania, the fluctuating food production is largely attributed to the unprecedented "climate change." Agriculture here is primarily rain-fed, a situation that makes the country particularly vulnerable to climate change.⁸⁶⁷ Accordingly, its adaptation programme of action (NAPAP), 2005, ranked agriculture at the top of the list of sectors for which the dependent population is most vulnerable to foreseeable climate change.⁸⁶⁸ Unreliable rainfall has inevitably prompted intensification of agriculture in wetlands and riversides. Consequently, the country has formulated context-specific policies, legislations and strategies geared towards addressing its environmental

⁸⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁷ Mukhebi, "An Overview of the Food Security Situation in Eastern Africa," (accessed 17 September 2010).

⁸⁶⁸ Ibid. An analysis of climate trends and food production in Tanzania reveals that climate change has not only resulted in a decline in crop production and productivity, but it has also led to (i) increased incidences of some harmful plant species (e.g. such weeds as *Striga*) and vermin, such as the mole rats; and (ii) an increase in the prevalence of insect pests/crop pests (e.g. *Prostephanus truncatus*, and *Bemisia tabacci*) and diseases which, in turn, have caused increased demand for pesticides and herbicides. Other negative effects related to climate change in Tanzania include droughts, floods, strong winds and low soil fertility. Available studies indicate that some of the previous highly productive areas in Tanzania, which are found in both the southern and northern highlands, are likely to continue to experience sporadic dry spells with significant decreases in average rainfall.

challenges, including the impacts of climate change on the agricultural sector as a master strategy against the fluctuating situation of food security. The National Environmental Management Act (NEMA, 2004), for instance, requires every sector to establish a Sector Environmental Section/Unit to oversee compliance with EMA 2004 requirements in the implementation of the sector's activities.⁸⁶⁹ In the other countries which have adopted this strategy, the goal has largely been to conserve environment for sustainable land use in the overall effort to increase food output. The visible food security strategies include the improvement of soil and water management. The Ministry of Agriculture in Kenya for example, gives advice to farmers on water harvesting, storage and protection of river banks, catchments and wet lands. Secondly, the initiative to increase forest cover has been intensifying from one country to another with notable initiatives in Uganda, Rwanda and Kenya. Policies are advanced that encourage farmers to practice appropriate agro-forestry in an effort to both use and conserve the environment.⁸⁷⁰ Although most of these efforts are under way in the GLR, sustainability has to follow the pattern established by experts and tested by experience. It has to secure its relevance to social welfare. In Jensen's words, it should meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs and should be measured by its contribution to the goal of justice within and between generations.⁸⁷¹

⁸⁶⁹ Ibid. Relevant policies include: the Agricultural and Livestock Policy (1997), National Food Security Policy (1997), National Environmental Policy (1997), the National Livestock Policy (2006), National Water Policy of 2002 and the National Land Policy (1995). Relevant legislations include the Plant Protection Act (1997), the Protection of New Plant Varieties (Plant Breeders Rights) Act (2002), Land and Village Land Acts (1999), the Forest Act (2002), Water Resources Management Act (2009).

⁸⁷⁰ Republic of Kenya. "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," (accessed 14 September 2010).

⁸⁷¹ Jensen, "Food Production and Sustainability," 218, 219, 220.

4.4.5.5 Social Security Intervention

In the light of the MDG1 on poverty and hunger, food security strategies in the GLR have strongly focused on poverty alleviation. Development in agriculture in the region has therefore largely targeted increased incomes. The overall objective of the Food and Nutrition Policy (UFNP) in Uganda, for example, is to facilitate coordinated interventions that focus on food security, improved nutrition and increased income.⁸⁷² The countries in the region have various strategies in place towards this goal. Kenya aims to promote an innovative, commercially-oriented, and modern agricultural sector.⁸⁷³ This is to be achieved through strengthening the linkages from production to value addition and improving market access for smallholders.⁸⁷⁴ And through access to client-suited and packaged credit to finance procurement of input and capital investments in areas such as value addition technologies, irrigation infrastructure and general farm development.⁸⁷⁵ Rwanda focuses on fully liberalizing marketing of agricultural inputs and outputs and on processing livestock and fisheries products, and development of non-traditional crops.⁸⁷⁶ Uganda, with the most buoyant food security status in the region but with less capacity in the production of cash crops such as tea coffee, cotton and tobacco, concentrates on external food trade. It focuses on food storage facilities for surplus food,

⁸⁷² The Republic of Uganda. 2003. "Uganda Food and Nutrition Policy," (accessed 17 September 2010).

⁸⁷³ Cf. Government of Kenya. 2007. "Kenya Vision 2030: A Globally Competitive and Prosperous Kenya," (accessed 13 September 2010).

⁸⁷⁴ Republic of Kenya. "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," (accessed 14 September 2010). Access to agricultural market is determined by a well developed market infrastructure, availability of accurate and reliable market information, a well organized market development strategy, support to value addition and an aggressive pursuit of favourable bilateral and multilateral agreements.

⁸⁷⁵ Republic of Kenya. "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," (accessed 14 September 2010).

⁸⁷⁶ Republic of Rwanda. 2009. "Strategic Plan for the Transformation of Agriculture in Rwanda: Phase II," (accessed 17 October 2010).

and on diversifying food exports in order to broaden its foreign exchange base.⁸⁷⁷ For sustainability, a country like Kenya even plans to establish Agribusiness Development Centres as regional focal points for promotion of farming as a business. These will also serve as the basis for long-term commercialization of small-scale agriculture.⁸⁷⁸ The objective is to increase jobs, provide income for farmers and boost farmer's purchasing capacities that prepare them to face the challenges of hunger. Where these strategies go beyond the individual farmer's income, and are consolidated as part of national earning like the case of Uganda, they boost the national expenditure base for social security services or indeed subsidize government expenditure on hunger reduction. This is consistent with both the regional and global development agenda for the developing countries. The vision of the NEPAD initiative on the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), almost entirely underscores commercialization of agriculture for increased income to alleviate poverty.⁸⁷⁹ And so do the FAO reports in their estimates and

⁸⁷⁷ Uganda. "Uganda Food and Nutrition Strategy and Investment Plan," (accessed 17 October 2010). The use of traditional household food processing and preservation methods such as sun drying, fire drying, salting, fermenting, smoking, roasting and grinding, is on the decline. On the other hand, industrial methods are gradually replacing traditional ones. There are several mills and cottage industries in the country processing maize, wheat, sorghum, millet, cassava, groundnuts and simsim. There are also a number of large-scale commercial plants processing sugar, wheat, tea and maize. Rice de-hullers are becoming common, in line with the expansion of rice production and consumption, while legume and oil crops are processed into oil, food and animal feeds.

⁸⁷⁸ Republic of Kenya. "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," (accessed 14 September 2010).

⁸⁷⁹ NEPAD, "The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme" (accessed 21 September 2010). Five points describe NEPAD's general vision for the four pillars under which its work in Africa falls. These are: 1. Dynamic agricultural markets within countries and between regions in Africa; 2. Farmers taking part in the market economy and enjoying good access to markets so that Africa, capitalising on its comparative and competitive advantages, becomes a net exporter of agricultural products; 3. A more equitable distribution of wealth

recommendation of small-holder agriculture for poverty reduction.⁸⁸⁰ In the recent report of the World Bank, its chief economist, Justine Yifu Lin summed it up forcefully: "Unless governments in developing countries and aid agencies take concrete steps to increase investment in rural infrastructure, agricultural research and development, and agricultural extension services, it is possible that global agricultural productivity growth will slow. Higher food prices would follow and many countries that are now self-sufficient in food would become large net importers of food."⁸⁸¹

This clearly begs the explanation of economic entitlements among peasant farmers and their role in alleviation of hunger. The argument is to increase the base of individual economic commodity bundles, and avail a wider scope for the individual exchange entitlement mapping, that is, to increase the alternatives one has at one's disposal to exchange one's endowment (what one owns) for what one desires most, in this case, food. Exchange entitlement depends on production opportunities as well as on possibilities of trade in resources and food commodities. In the GLR, commercializing agriculture is the surest way of increasing such opportunities. In Rwanda for example, while the government has taken long to develop a definite food security strategy, it has a comprehensive strategic plan for the transformation of agriculture in

for rural populations - in terms of higher real incomes and relative wealth. Rural populations will have more equitable access to land, physical and financial resources, and knowledge, information and technology for sustainable development; 4. Africa as a strategic player in agricultural science and technology, meeting the growing needs and demands of African agriculture; and 5. Environmentally sound agricultural production and a culture of sustainable management of natural resources as a result of better knowledge, more information and the application of technology. All the five points are rather more descriptive of the economic objective.

⁸⁸⁰ Cf. FAO. "Towards the Summit Commitments," (accessed 20 October 2010).

⁸⁸¹ Justin Yifu Lin. 2009. "Global Economic Prospects," World Bank. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTGEP2009/Resources/10363_WebPDF-w47.pdf, (accessed 7 November 2010).

which also subsists its only reliable food security approach so far.⁸⁸² Two factors are crucial in the entitlement approach to starvation and famine, namely: the person's endowments, and exchange entitlement mapping. While the person's endowments define particular commodity bundle assigned to the individual in a given situation, exchange entitlement mapping transforms a person's endowments into a set of alternative economic (and non-economic) commodities.⁸⁸³ This is the function used by entitlement approach to estimate the power of the individual to command the food commodity. As Amartya Sen observes "for example, a peasant has his land, labour power, and a few other resources, which together make up his endowment. Starting from that endowment he can produce a bundle of food that will be his. Or by selling his labour power, he can get a wage and with that buy commodities, including food."⁸⁸⁴ In short, the entitlement approach considers the general ability of people to command food through the legal means available in their circumstance. In terms of production, exchange entitlement mapping depends on production opportunities as well as trade possibilities of resources and products.⁸⁸⁵ However, instead of relying on the entitlement approach to fight poverty and hunger, some experts have argued out cases that have proven the contrary.

Meera Tiwari demonstrated that, in fact, the entitlement approach framework supports and sometimes aggravates chronic poverty in the

⁸⁸² Cf. Patrick Vinc and others. July 2009. "Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis and Nutrition Survey," Rwanda. [http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2009.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/SKEA-7XUFTP-full_report.pdf/\\$File/full_report.pdf](http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2009.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/SKEA-7XUFTP-full_report.pdf/$File/full_report.pdf), (accessed 12 November 2010).

⁸⁸³ Cf. Sen, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*, 45-51.

⁸⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁸⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 45-46.

Indian rural sector.⁸⁸⁶ Having logically established the role of entitlements in the unending poverty in rural farming communities, Tiwari went on to demonstrate that the increase in the factors that usually contribute to changing a person's exchange entitlement and ownership bundle in the rural labour market such as quality employment profiles, increase of land size and area, and ownership of livestock, do not necessarily facilitate a corresponding change in the overall ownership bundle. His finding was that when the market is examined in terms of the factors that influence the exchange entitlement of households, brought in mostly through government policies, the combined exchange entitlement of these rural households does not necessarily respond to the changes in the faces of demand and supply.⁸⁸⁷ For example, literacy is an important component of the endowment of an individual, since it can influence his/her employability and hence the exchange entitlement of the individual. Positive changes in literacy levels are expected to improve a person's exchange entitlement through better paid skilled jobs in industry, services and agriculture, but a close study of changes in rural literacy levels conducted by Meera Tiwari over the period 1971, 1981, 1991, revealed an interesting scenario: Although there was significant increase in the literacy rates in the period under consideration, rising from 23.9 % in 1971 to 42% in 1991, data on the distribution of working population in the rural industry and service sectors in the same period (1971-1991)

⁸⁸⁶ Meera Tiwari, "Chronic Poverty and Entitlement Theory," *Third World Quarterly* 28, no. No. 1 (2007): 174, 176-186.

⁸⁸⁷ *Ibid.* Some of the factors that may influence a person's exchange entitlements include: the employment profile, the money value of the person's non-labour assets, the value of return on the person's output, the cost of purchasing resources and the social and economic benefits the person can't get. Data on each of these variables in the rural market are examined to discover how changes in them have affected the entitlement of rural households.

show that the employment possibilities in these sectors grew only very slowly.⁸⁸⁸

Given the importance of literacy in both industry and services, the noted changes in literacy levels and employment possibilities in these sectors, showed a mismatch between the increase in the supply of rural literate labour and the demand for their services. Focussing on how changes in the rural market structure affect the exchange entitlements of rural households, Tiwari showed this untold side of the entitlement approach even with the other factors such as the increase in size and area of land ownership, pricing policy involving high proportions of government subsidies intended to keep both input and output prices low, rural development benefits.⁸⁸⁹ It is clear from this example, that government intervention in alleviating poverty and eliminating hunger may be well intended and carefully drafted on policy papers but their implementation, no matter how thorough, does not necessarily produce automatic effects. When there is an effect at all, it is never sure to be proportionate to the expectation. This partly explains why hunger persists in the GLR while governments' plans and policies are drafted annually.

In the light of these weaknesses we propose special attention towards social security systems adapted to individual needs in society.⁸⁹⁰ Governments should be able to construct a hunger/poverty sensitive social security system that addresses specific food needs of every

⁸⁸⁸ Ibid., 177.

⁸⁸⁹ Ibid., 179-185.

⁸⁹⁰ Sen, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*, 6-7. Exchange entitlements depend not merely on market exchanges but also on those exchanges that the state provides as a part of its social security programme. They are part of a person's exchange entitlements, and are conditioned by the absence of other exchanges that a person might undertake. The social security provisions are essentially supplement of the processes of market exchange and production, and the two types of opportunities together determine a person's exchange entitlements in a private ownership market economy with social security provisions.

individual in a household. Generalized policies aimed at addressing hunger only from a general point of view like care of environment, education and training, communication and technology, as they are common in the strategy plans of the countries of this region, can no longer be counted upon for effectiveness. Through the use of its social machinery, complemented by the participation of the private agencies like the churches and the NGOs, governments should be able to establish the data base of those who deserve hunger/poverty allowance to meet their specific food needs. The numbers should be updated annually and provided for in national budgets. Those proven not deserving, should be shown how to strictly employ the agricultural resources at their disposal, boosted by appropriate credit facility,⁸⁹¹ how to meet their food needs and improve their incomes. But once established and classified as deserving, the claim of such individuals becomes a constitutional right to food, protected by law. In other words the right to food should be enforceable on the individual level with a specific focus on the dignity and integrity of the individual citizens. As we shall see below, the rights approach to hunger can effectively facilitate such specialized attention and focus. The backing of the international community in the implementation of such initiative will then be immediate, effective and focused, in line with the international human rights infrastructure.

Poverty alleviation is now the mainstream strategy in agricultural development, especially in the developing countries like all those in the GLR. While this strategy finds much favour in rhetoric and appears glossy, and indeed meaningful in proposals and conference proceedings, the stark reality reveals the difficulty to achieve this in the region where

⁸⁹¹ Cf. Republic of Kenya. "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," (accessed 14 September 2010). An appropriate credit package suitable to small scale producers gives them access to inputs such as fertilizers, agrochemicals and seed, capital investment such irrigation infrastructure, value addition technology, compliance with food safety regulation and general farm development.

incomes are still below poverty line. With due consideration of this context, the two sides of our proposal deserve emphasis. As regards the social protection intervention programmes that target vulnerable individuals and households, it is crucial that poverty alleviation is tackled on the micro level. Despite the fact that the region is now opening up to cooperation among its countries, there is need to give due attention to individual peasant farmers in smaller farms or group of farmers. With the economic strength of the region, a larger market and consequent collective bargain may then uplift the economy, raise incomes as well as the standards of living in respective countries of the region. A social security structure that supports and protects the individual vulnerable poor farmers from adverse market completion employs measures such as access to the market, equal business opportunities, fair trade and individual interests, to advance social welfare economics. It cushions peasant farmers in adverse economic situations as fallback position in times of adversity.⁸⁹² These have been distant realities never enjoyed by people, be it as individuals, countries, or even as a region.

With regard to the access to credit facility, the choice should be appropriate to the economic needs of the people and specific to the situation of the GLR. Despite several schemes of loans and credit to farmers in banks, farmers associations and credit finance institutions both national and global, the conditions tied to these facilities are often not favourable to small scale farmers.⁸⁹³ There should be a provision in the region's food security initiatives that lobby support for appropriate

⁸⁹² Cf. Amartya Sen, *Commodities and Capabilities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3, 6-16. Amartya Sen's reflection distinguishes between two ways of seeing a person's interests and their fulfilment, namely, 'well being' and 'advantage.' Well-being is concerned with a person's achievement: how 'well' is his/her 'being?' 'Advantage' refers to the real opportunities that the person has, especially compared with others.

⁸⁹³ Cf. Thompson, "Biotechnological Approaches," 134.

credit arrangements adapted to the farming activities in the region with a focus on the individual people's economic welfare.⁸⁹⁴ Putting together the social security arrangement and the credit facility provision is a strategy that will, first and foremost, highlight concern for the individual persons on the household level. Secondly, the measure will not only strengthen the farmer's economic position, it will also prepare the poor peasant small-scale farmers in this region to cope with the competitive global market. Credit financing also touches on loans, grants and financial aid from the richer nations to the poorer nations. As the poorest rural households rely on agricultural production for a significant share of their income, the need to increase food production should not only be seen in the context of the current supply and demand "imbalances" FAO experts underscore the centrality of smallholders in the pursuit of agricultural development. To them, the failure to include smallholders in future strategies will result in further marginalization, increased rural poverty and rising migration of the rural poor to urban areas. Thus:

Increasing agricultural productivity is closely related to reducing rural poverty. It follows that increasing food production and productivity should go beyond the objective of reducing prices in global markets – providing an opportunity for reducing rural poverty and hunger. Realizing the potential of food and agricultural production to reduce poverty and hunger depends largely on the degree to which smallholder farmers, representing 90 percent of the rural poor, are able to participate in productive and remunerative farming and off-farm activities.⁸⁹⁵

⁸⁹⁴Cf. Republic of Kenya. 2010. "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," Ministry of Agriculture, (accessed 14 September 2010).

⁸⁹⁵ FAO. "Towards the Summit Commitments," (accessed 2 October 2010). According to this FAO report, 2008, about two-thirds of the 3 billion rural people in the world live off the income generated by farmers managing some 500 million small farms of less than 2 hectares each. Hence, efforts to boost

This is an initiative that targets the poorest people who suffer hunger in the rural areas of the GLR characterized by small scale agricultural farming. The needs of such people in any country of this region requires a specialized response.

4.4.5.6 Advancement of Effective Policy and Legal Frameworks

Policy and legal frameworks not only outline the concerns of the country with regard to food security, they also safeguard the focus and the implementation process of these strategies. The strict requirement of proper interpretation of these frameworks at implementation level relies on careful drafting in the first place. Elaborate policies identify the objectives, define goals, and clarify visions. Above all, they specify appropriate ways and means for implementing the preferred strategies. The resulting clarity of intention and strategic focus should be accompanied by the safeguards of law and regulations that guide national interests for the common good. All the countries of this region have elaborate drafts of policy and legislation that capture renewed and comprehensive visions on development, where food security strategies feature conspicuously as an important component of development.⁸⁹⁶ The elaborate formal character of these documents no doubt reflects both the global aspirations on development as well as recommendable expert qualities suited to such important national guideline on food

agricultural production must focus largely on increasing smallholder productivity.

⁸⁹⁶ Cf. Government of Kenya. 2007. "Kenya Vision 2030: A Globally Competitive and Prosperous Kenya." http://www.safaricomfoundation.org/fileadmin/template/main/downloads/Kenya_VISION_2030-final_report-October_2007.pdf, (accessed 13 September 2010). See also Uganda, "Uganda Food and Nutrition Strategy and Investment Plan," (accessed 17 October 2010). And Republic of Rwanda "Strategic Plan for the Transformation of Agriculture in Rwanda: Phase II," (accessed 17 October 2010).

security.⁸⁹⁷ However, the disparity between the elaborate theoretical paper work and the practical implementation of what they propose in relation to the needs of people in the region puts to question the relevance and effectiveness of these documents. The context question here is: Who takes responsibility in case of failure to achieve the goals projected, and what are the reasons for such failures? Various reasons explain why policy and law are not very effective in the Great Lakes Region.⁸⁹⁸ Experts have cited the effects of nepotism, tribalism, cronyism which have not only compromised quality service, training and professionalism, but have also negatively affected the implementation of the proposals in these documents.⁸⁹⁹

The drafters of the Kenya Vision 2030 site an example facilitated by these vices. The contribution of agriculture to the economy of Kenya in 2001-2005 stood at around 65% of the total exports, accounting for over 24% of the GDP, the country's budgetary allocation for agricultural development in the same period remained under 2% of the GDP. This allocation is disproportionately meagre considering the role of

⁸⁹⁷ Cf. Edward Schuh, "The Changing Context of Food and Agricultural," in *Food Policy: Integrating Supply, Distribution, and Consumption*, ed. J. Price Gittinger, Joanne Leslie, and Caroline Hoisington (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987). According to Edward Schuh, food and agricultural development policy today is carried out in a completely different world compared to a decade ago. In the past, sectoral approaches were appropriate. Today, the food and agricultural sector can be understood only in the context of the larger economy, both national and international. After World War II, the world has witnessed an evolution of an international food and agricultural system built on international trade and supported by a rapidly evolving institutional infrastructure. The key to this evolving system is an international trade structure that enables consumers to tap suppliers of food and agricultural products in almost any part of the world. Virtually all countries now engage in trade of agricultural products of one kind or another, either as exporters or as importers, and thus are bound together in a common system. As a result, domestic and international policies are inseparable in today's world.

⁸⁹⁸ Yoweri K. Museveni, *What Is Africa's Problem* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 71-76.

⁸⁹⁹ Peter Anasi, *Corruption in Africa: The Kenyan Experience* (Victoria: Trafford Publishing, 2004), 179-186.

agricultural sector in the development of the country. The concern is that at the level of implementation, even this meagre allocation is still spent in serving suspect interests. For example, in the expenditure pattern of the 3.1 billion allocated to KARI for agricultural research and development in the year 2005, only 20% (0.62 bil.) was spent for research activities from which only 12% (74,400,000) was actually spent on research and development of food crops. The remaining 80% (2,5 bil.), was paid out to support staffs often employed on the basis of political alignment, tribe or cronyism. This reflects the remuneration of a staff profile where the science experts and the technical researchers of the institute represent only 15% and 23% respectively. The support staff represented the remaining 61%. Thus, despite the glaring disproportion in distribution the GDP for the country's development, corruption has been key to failure of progress in any planning.⁹⁰⁰ This could be further sampled out in every sector.

The recent report of Transparency International particularly samples Burundi, Kenya and Rwanda and ranks them among the most corrupt countries not only in the region but even in the overall international ranking where Burundi with the Corruption Perception Index of 1.9, ranks No. 158 out of the 180 corrupt nations. Kenya follows with CPI of 2.1 ranks 147 overall, while Rwanda with CPI ranks 102 overall.⁹⁰¹ In Burundi, the report cites the struggle to rebuild the infrastructure destroyed in the years of civil strife soon faced challenges from the

⁹⁰⁰ Government of Kenya, "Kenya Vision 2030," (accessed 13 September 2010). Against this background KARI projected a reorganization of funding of agricultural research and development to put more resources into research activities rather than into overheads and salaries of non-research staff. Cf. KARI, 2010.

⁹⁰¹ Transparency International. 2009. "Global Corruption Report," Africa and the Middle East. http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr/gcr_2009#dnld, (accessed 10 November 2010).

corruption in the construction industry.⁹⁰² The blame is laid on the shortcomings in the law of public contracting and the immoral behaviour of some in power. In Rwanda the sudden loss of deposits of the poor rural farmers in the cooperatives created to boost their Micro Finance situation, was blamed on nepotism and inexperience. The Micro Finance Institutions were run by people with no experience in the credit business. Nepotism was practiced whereby family members were granted credits without providing guarantees. In addition, poor oversight allowed managers to become involved in financial embezzlement. In Kenya, the report documents a series of corrupt dealings in which billions of the National Social Security Fund (NSSF), of the poor desperate retired workers were lost in dubious investments. The fund lost colossal sums of money by investing it in deals with corrupt house construction companies, suspect stock exchange business, and in deposits made in politically correct banks.⁹⁰³ According to the report, what ails Kenya's financial sector is poor sectoral and corporate governance, resulting in weaknesses that make pensioners, creditors, employees and depositors extremely vulnerable. Although the report

⁹⁰² Ibid. The most telling example of embezzlement and bribery concerns the reconstruction of the main road between Bujumbura and Rumonge. Emugeco, on the face of it an unqualified Rwandan company, was awarded the contract for rebuilding the road. The persons responsible for procurement contracts at the time were also linked with CNDD-FDD, the ruling party at the time. Meanwhile, the corrupt individuals were suspected and are being held to account. While Burundi is struggling to recover from its years of war and to rebuild its infrastructure, shortcomings in the law of public contracting and the immoral behaviour of some in power are undermining these efforts.

⁹⁰³ Ibid. In 1993, the Fund lost about 13 billion to Mugoya Construction Company under clear arrangements of corruption. In 2003, it lost another 256 Million Ksh. following the collapse of Euro Bank, and in 2008, the Fund lost Ksh. 1.4 billion in dubious operations of Discount Security Ltd., stock broker with the Nairobi Stock Exchange (NSE). BBC News, 27 February 2003. NSSF contributors' money was invested in Euro bank through Shah Munge and Partners stockbrokers. Munge was one of the directors of the Euro bank at the time. Munge has since been acquitted of charges relating to the case. Cf. Daily Nation, Kenya, 19 September 2008.

sites poor policy guideline in financial sector oversight, base sector culture and overbearing political and executive corruption, the mentioned weaknesses can all be traced to weaker legislation and unethical civil service. The region still lacks effective laws that criminalize and punish economic sabotage in crimes such as money laundering, drug trade, illegal dealing with arms. The laws that guide the licensing of financial institutions are grossly inadequate in protecting customers and depositors in banking, pension, insurance, securities and foreign exchange institutions. The politics of the day keep the status quo, or as Michela Wrong puts it: “Everything depends on the boss,”⁹⁰⁴ and the country’s meagre resources are squandered at the expense of progress towards poverty alleviation.

These examples show some of the huddles faced in implementing development plans within which food security strategies are conceptualized. The effects compromise the quality of policy drafts in various ways: nepotism compromises the quality of policy drafts. The hiring of relatives and friends or political cronies replaces professional procedure of employing experts. In this scenario, the policy drafts jeopardize quality inputs of the experts or quality expert drafts are abandoned in favour of political decisions tailored to favour those in positions of influence regardless of the outcome. Furthermore, the money allocated for important projects is misdirected to other use or squandered altogether. Above all, the weak legislation further becomes an excuse for misappropriation of funds where no one takes responsibility for the lack of progress despite continuous planning, policy making and legislation. The first proposal in this discussion towards appropriate policy and legal frameworks is to improve the quality of policy drafts. Policy statements should now incorporate strategies adapted to food needs of the entire region. The development

⁹⁰⁴ Michela Wrong, *It's Our Turn to Eat: The Story of a Kenyan Whistle Blower* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2009), 168.

plans drafted in all the countries to anchor strategies against hunger, require clear interpretation in elaborate policies that identify the objectives, define goals, and clarify visions. The recommended plans for the region should also specify strategies to be pursued in order to deliver creative innovations especially in the area of technological adaptations and economic security in agricultural research and development. This clarity of intention and strategic focus should be accompanied by appropriate legislation that guides both national and regional interests for the common good of the inhabitants in the region. Secondly, this discussion prioritizes the need of strict legislation that governs the code of conduct for hiring, executing, and supervising this service to society of implementing the strategies. In the circumstances of lack of respect for law and order in any pursuit, implementation is selective, innovation is stifled and, ultimately, policy and strategies remain in blue prints as hunger continues to ravage the poor of society. But what constitutes a strict and effective legislation? The answer is our core proposal to the countries of the GLR, namely: the pursuit of the human rights approach to legislation.

The right to food should be entrenched as individual person's constitutional rights in all the countries. As human rights concern, such laws are implementable beyond national boundaries. They shall be guided and protected by both national and regional (and even global) legal instruments adapted to the normative-activist methodological approach as properly associated with the pursuits of human rights. Thus, where smooth implementation of reasonable laws is sabotaged by any interference, society is empowered by law to claim through advocacy and public action for the constitutional right of every individual. Given the importance of the law and order in all governments here, partial enforcement and compromised systems can only be checked by constitutional bill of rights that guarantees the individual right to food. So far, only two out of the six countries have fully entrenched the

human right to food into their constitutions. Uganda ratified the I.C.E.S.C.R in 1987 and recognizes the importance of food and nutrition in the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda. The National Objectives and Directive Principle of State Policy in the Constitution provides that the State shall: Take appropriate steps to encourage people to grow and store adequate food; establish national food reserves; and encourage and promote proper nutrition through mass education and other appropriate means in order to build a healthy state.⁹⁰⁵ Kenya enacted the new constitution on 27 August 2010 of its elaborate bill of rights, Article 43 (1) (c) states: "Every person has the right to be free from hunger, and to have adequate food of acceptable quality." Though the other four countries still have weaker legislation in this regard, the atmosphere of democratic governance is operational in all the countries in the region. This discussion recommends the entrenchment of the bill of rights in the constitutions of all the countries in the GLR. The participation of non-governmental organizations, faith-based organizations, churches and other civic organizations can then facilitate continuous awareness of the human rights where the right to food is among the necessary minimum. The solidarity of peoples implied by the human rights approach also inspires partnership in the pursuit of the right to food rendered possible in areas such as policing agencies, prosecution in cases of aggression, and collaboration at implementation. Both private and public national and regional (international) agencies can easily fit into human rights-based enforcement arrangement. Human

⁹⁰⁵ The Republic of Uganda, "Uganda Food and Nutrition Policy," (accessed 17 September 2010). In 1999, following requests at the 1996 World Food Summit, the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights formulated General Comment No. 12 to give a better definition of the rights relating to food in Article 11 of the I.C.E.S.C.R and to identify principal important issues in relation to the right to food. General Comment No. 12 elaborates on the meaning and content of the right to adequate food and identifies the obligations of states and the international community in the implementation of the right to food at the national and international levels.

rights advocacy in democratic governments and the cooperation of civil society through NGOs, faith organizations and churches within systems well regulated by law is an opportune option recommendable to the GLR. Hence, while it is obvious that every country in the GLR has drafts of policy plans and strategies, as well as legislation with regard to food policy, this area of the struggle needs improvement on a regular basis. Likewise, commitment to the implementation of what has been proposed for pursuit remains a big challenge in this region, not to mention the continuous innovations, changes of focus and rising expectations of society today on their governments.

4.4.5.7 Regional Cooperation and Collaboration

Regional cooperation is no doubt the future of the GLR, given the already existing initiatives and those still under way towards at least economic commonality. The question is no longer whether or not the region should strive towards collaboration and unity, but rather on the priorities that will fast-track integration. This discussion has considered at length the fact that food security is no longer simply an issue of self-sustenance or self-sufficiency, but rather an issue of the development of peoples as individuals, nations, regions and eventually as a global community. Against this background, three points emerge clearly: Firstly, as Edward Schuh observed, “today, the food and agricultural sector can be understood only in the context of the larger economy, both national and international ... as a result, domestic and international policies are inseparable in today’s world.”⁹⁰⁶ Efforts to pursue this strategy are evident in the development plans of all the countries of the GLR,⁹⁰⁷ and in the regional structures of development such as

⁹⁰⁶ Schuh, “The Changing Context of Food and Agricultural Development Policy,” 72, 73.

⁹⁰⁷ See particularly Government of Kenya, “Kenya Vision 2030,” (accessed 14 September 2010), Uganda, “Food and Nutrition Strategy and Investment Plan,” Rwanda, “Strategic Plan for Agriculture Transformation,” (accessed 17 September 2010).

NEPAD's CAADP, COMESA, and the EAC initiative. Secondly, the human rights approach to the problem of hunger is in itself a core issue of development today. The UN declaration on the Right to Development defines development as "a process of constant improvement of well-being of all individuals in a society."⁹⁰⁸ Interpreting this in the background of welfare economists like Amartya Sen, Arjun Sengupta argues that individual well-being comprises of the freedoms of individuals to be and to do what they want to be and what they want to do.⁹⁰⁹ Development in this sense becomes expansion of freedoms which international law recognizes as human rights. Accordingly, "development can then be seen as a process of realization of these human rights. When that process of development itself can be claimed and is recognized as a human right, we have the right to development."⁹¹⁰ What every society admits today is that all its members should have access to adequate food in order to survive and to function well as they contribute actively to the process of development in their circumstance.⁹¹¹ The third consideration of the centrality of the universal concept of development is present in the regional initiatives already existing in the GLR. The Great Lakes Region of Africa comprises of various regional initiatives that have constantly come together to forge effort towards the development of the region. The most relevant are the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region

⁹⁰⁸ UN General Assembly. December 1986. "41/128 Declaration on the Human Right to Development," United Nations. <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/41/a41r128.htm>, (accessed 13 November 2010). See particularly the preamble and Article 1.

⁹⁰⁹ Amartya Sen, "What Is the Point of a Development Strategy," in *Development Strategy and Management of the Market Economy*, ed. Edmond Malinvaud et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 36.

⁹¹⁰ Arjun Sengupta, "The Right to Food in the Perspective of the Right to Development," in *Food and Human Rights in Development*, ed. Wenche Barth Eide and Uwe Kracht (Antwerpen: Intersentia, 2007), 110,112.

⁹¹¹ Cf. The Republic of Uganda. 2004. "Uganda Food and Nutrition Strategy and Investment Plan," (accessed 17 October 2010).

(ICGLR), the Eastern African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of Great Lakes Region (CEPGL), and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). Apart from this main political-economic orientations in the cooperation initiative, mention must be made of the many NGOs, faith-based organizations and churches that exist in this region and are actively involved in suggesting and implementing sound food security strategies for the poor people living in the rural areas.⁹¹² Their concerns are neither political nor explicitly economic but rather a deep regard for the humanitarian conditions in education, health, poverty, hunger and nutrition besides being organized custodians of value, culture and religion.

These two perspectives facilitate development in its diverse dimensions, and project it beyond national boundaries. Through the relevant ministries and training institutions, some governments in this region have plans that target regional cooperation. Such plans include the strategy to develop and sustain a well trained human resource tuned to a specific work ethic, ability in teamwork, professional approach to service delivery,⁹¹³ effective communication and strong inter-personal relations, a professionalism free from the corruption of the national civil service. This is in the bid to foster and institutionalize positive organizational culture of service delivery adapted to regional development. There are also the gender issues that seek to enhance equity between men and women in agricultural production and marketing in the approach of other regional challenges like HIV/AIDS,

⁹¹² Republic of Kenya. "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," (accessed 14 September 2010). The target of the various strategic plans, like the Kenya Vision 2030, is to engage the private sector as a catalyst for growth and to gradually reduce the government involvement in various aspects. Although some countries do not yet have any policy or legal framework that supports and facilitates this initiative, the region recognizes that a number of activities could best be implemented in partnership with other stakeholders.

⁹¹³ Ibid.

poverty, hunger and nutrition,⁹¹⁴ and the advancement of ICT-based tools to enable access to an integrated source of agricultural information. This is necessary for the convenient and speedy access to information as well as updates on supply-demand food chain from the farm to the market.⁹¹⁵ Most importantly, the governments have made efforts to strengthen partnership between the private and the public sector where the private sector is engaged as a catalyst for growth and gradually reduce the government involvement in various aspects. The countries of the region recognize that a number of activities could best be implemented in partnership with other stakeholders. The responsible ministries create conducive environment for private investment, support farmer organizations, and suggest incentives such as subsidies or tax exemptions for the agricultural equipment.

To this extent, the Great Lakes Region of Africa is in itself an expression of the common features that unite the people around a common purpose in the development of the region's self identity and determination. National efforts in education and research, social well-being in economics and culture, exploration and equitable use of natural resource endowments, the initiatives in food security and nutrition, and the overall national security to guard peaceful co-habitation are among factors that define the legitimacy of political governance in each country. Any efforts to put these endowments at the disposal of the development of people across the borders only enhances the opportunities of well-being in the region. Strategic cooperation and collaboration between governments in the region facilitates the pooling of efforts and resources necessary to ensure maximum self-determination. On the basis of the political economic cooperation visible

⁹¹⁴ Cf. The Republic of Uganda. 2004. "Uganda Food and Nutrition Strategy and Investment Plan," (accessed 17 October 2010).

⁹¹⁵ Ibid. Republic of Kenya. "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," (accessed 14 September 2010).

in this region, the approach to the issues of food security is driven by the global development agenda, particularly as underlined in the Millennium Development Goal 1 on poverty and hunger. It is re-emphasized on regional level as one spelt out by the ICGLR, namely: "To jointly promote a prosperous, integrated economic space, to improve the standard of living of its populations, and to contribute to the development of the Region, by implementing the Program of Action for Economic Development and Regional Integration."⁹¹⁶ The common effort, therefore, of the countries in this region to advance both a regional and a global approach to food security is a requirement of the development agenda to which all of them subscribe. The option to promote both regional and international cooperation therefore is obvious and necessary. Accordingly, regional cooperation cannot be gainsaid; it can only be improved and fast-tracked.

Although the structures of cooperation are visible in the region's politico-economic landscape and unity of purpose on development manifest in the policy plans and strategies of all the countries in the region, there is conspicuous overemphasis on the political-economic aspects of development. This skewed understanding not only fails to demonstrate the comprehension of modern holistic understanding of development, it also risks missing the focus of development all together. The consequence is perhaps increased wealth that does not bear any impact on the lives of the people. But the three considerations at the core of development cooperation highlighted above provide the general framework within which cooperation should be pursued in the GLR. The

⁹¹⁶ (ICGLR). "Economic Development and Regional Integration," (accessed 5 October 2010). The Regional Action Programme of the promotion of Economic Development and Regional Integration comprises three sub-programs. Prominent among these is the Food Security Project. In general this Action Programme comprises three sub-programs and fifteen priority projects. The sub-programs are: Cooperation for poverty reduction, Establishment of a Region Support Mechanism for Micro-Finance Institutions, Food Security Project, and Trans-Border Development Basins.

recommendation of this discussion is to pursue collaboration that will facilitate a holistic development of the persons in society. The requirement is cooperation and partnerships not only among the nation states, but also among NGOs, Faith-based organizations, among them the established churches. While the economic cooperation advances wealth creation for the material wellbeing of the entire region and its inhabitants, solidarity among civil organization and governments shall advance values, culture and religion. In the final analysis, collaboration among the interested parties facilitates a holistic development through contributing to the economic, social, and cultural aspirations of the individuals and society.

This is the basis upon which the development of the region should be advanced, governed, shared, maintained and protected. While mutual respect defines the working relationship between the partners, the target is always the integrity of the individual person. This is closer to Arjun Sengupta's description of the rights-based development where human rights are both the objective of social organization and the means by which the objective is achieved. To qualify development as a human right, Sengupta argues that it must appeal to high moral standards, the goals must refer to fundamental norms and standards of achievement accepted by a society. To him, this implies that the means of development must conform to the human rights principle such as equity, non-discrimination, participation, accountability and transparency (ENPAP).⁹¹⁷ Although sufficient independence should be allowed in the operation, joint ventures of collaboration and partnership in resolving social problems such as HIV/AIDS, hunger, poverty and health is mandatory in the new spirit of development. It shall then depend on the respective governments to draft appropriate policies that address the various aspects of development and define the rules of engagement for

⁹¹⁷ Sengupta, "The Right to Food in the Perspective of the Right to Development," 110.

other partners in order to fast-track cooperation in the right direction. This proposal envisions the pursuit of food security within the framework of development motivated by a true commitment to advance the welfare and interest of every person in society. Cooperation between the countries of this region becomes the necessary means of maximizing the economic advantage of the natural resources and the public goods of the region. Collaboration shall then be pursued for the purposes not simply of developing economic power, but of reaching out beyond national boundaries to as many poor people as there are in the GLR. Economic power will be the inevitable consequence of empowering every person with the resource necessary for decent life accruing from the shared common public goods of the region.

4.4.4 Critical View of Agriculture Industrialization in the Light of Recent 'Rush' for Land in the Developing Countries

From the foregoing discussion, three points stand out clearly with regard to the trends in food security measures in the Great Lakes Region of Africa. These include the concern to expand both the land area for an expanded production of food or large-scale farming, industrialization of agricultural produce for increased incomes, and the challenge to adopt and adapt technology and science in the food production sector for improved and sustained food production. While the consideration of these factors spells out a promise for reliable food security in the region, they must be considered against the background of other interesting developments in recent years which pose even greater challenges in the fight against hunger. These include the recent rush by multinational companies to acquire land for food production leading to production and business systems suited to large-scale production of bio-fuels for profit

rather than serving the interests of the local people.⁹¹⁸ Secondly, the distortions in international markets where attention is still given to multinational companies to trade not only with harvest from large-scale farms, but also in food industry involved in the import of poultry, maize and sugar at cheaper prices. This is coupled by the systematic exclusion of the local poor people from the export business of local food products like fish, tobacco, coffee and tea has arguably left the local people more impoverished and more malnourished.⁹¹⁹ Thirdly, the pressure exerted upon the developing countries to accept Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs) almost as a condition for technology transfer in the sector of agriculture.⁹²⁰ The general question that arises from these incidents remains at the core of food security strategies in the GLR: Does the expansivist approach in promoting large-scale food production and agricultural industrialization really give answer to the problem of hunger? Perhaps the issue of selling land to multinationals is more urgent for consideration. At the centre of this development is the suspicious role of countries like China, India, Brazil and the ex-Soviet block, that is, Russia and Ukraine in their rush to buy and invest in agricultural land of the countries in Africa.⁹²¹

In 2009 a study focus on Africa sponsored by FAO, IFAD and IIED revealed Chinese land acquisition in Africa where the completed deals

⁹¹⁸ Cf. Friends of the Earth International. September 2010. "Africa: Up for Grabs - the Scale and Impact of Land Grabbing for Biofuels." <http://www.foei.org/en/resources/publications/pdfs/2010/africa-up-for-grabs>, (accessed 17 May 2011).

⁹¹⁹ Cf. IPS. 2008. "Why Food Import Surges Are an Issue at the WTO." <http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=41502>, (accessed 15 May 2011).

⁹²⁰ Cf. T. Cottier, "Genetic Engineering, Trade and Human Rights," in *Biotechnologies and International Human Rights*, ed. Francesco Francioni (Oxford: HART Publishing, 2007).

⁹²¹ Cf. Pritam Singh. 2009. "Africa's Land and Resources Face a New Threat," RLS Conference: The Global Crisis and Africa - Struggles for Alternatives. http://www.rosalux.co.za/wp-content/files_mf/africaslandresourcespsingh.pdf, (accessed 15 May 2011).

show an average 50000 hectares, “where deals have been concluded and project implemented.”⁹²² In the same year, IFPRI as part of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR), published a report based on the news in the media disclosing the chunks of land already taken over by Chinese private developers and the Middle East countries from the poor African countries and the Philipines.⁹²³ According to this report, Saudi Arabia requested to buy a total of 500,000 hectares of land in Tanzania, while other deals had already been sealed allowing Qatar to buy 40,000 hectare of land from Kenya. Jordan and South Korea had already bought 690,0000 hectares and 25000 hectares of land respectively from Sudan. According to Pritam Singh’s findings, China was reported to have acquired as much land as 2.8 Million hectares from Congo for a bio-fuel palm oil plantation in 2007.⁹²⁴ In total, Joachim Von Braun, Director general o IFPRI, estimated land worth between US\$20 billion and US\$30 in Africa and Asia in the previous three years.⁹²⁵ While most of these reports were initially not backed by tangible proven facts, the launching of Debora Brautigam’s finding in, the *Dragon for Africa*, provided the details of the impact of China’s involvement in the buying of chunks of land in Africa amidst the curiosity of IFPRI among other members of the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research.⁹²⁶ In this book, she details a long history of China’s involvement in African,

⁹²² Lorenzo Cotula and others. 2009. "Land Grab or Development Opportunity? Agricultural Investment and Agricultural Land Deals in Africa." <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/011/ak241e/ak241e.pdf>, (accessed 15 May 2011).

⁹²³ Cf. Singh, “Africa’s Land and Resources Face a New Threat,” (accessed 15 May 2011). Pritam Singh made reference to IFPRI media report that released in 2009.

⁹²⁴ Ibid.

⁹²⁵ IFPRI. 2009. “‘Land Grabbing’ by Foreign Investors in Developing Countries: Risks and Opportunities.” <http://www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/bp013all.pdf>, (accessed 11 May 2011).

⁹²⁶ Debora Brautigam, *The Dragon’s Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 162-184.

partly explaining the ease with which its deals in African are a rapid success. Ironically, a World bank report on 'land grabbing' expected by the stakeholders to have been published by April 2010, was supposedly released only in September on rumors of the Bank's complicity in this exercise through its Investment Advisory Service.⁹²⁷ However, when the report was finally released in September 2010, "it documented a dramatic increase of investor interest in agricultural land since the 2008 food price spike, with reported farmland deals amounting to 45 million hectares in 2009 alone."⁹²⁸ Although the report highlighted glaring discrepancies and abuse of the earlier recommendation for sell of land to parties ready to develop it for the benefit of the local people, it went ahead to sanction the sale of farm land as a viable economic venture in the developing countries. In general the report carried the World bank's summery endorsement of the practice of nations selling vast agricultural lands to foreign investors, and highlighted a number of cases where large-scale investments in land were successful. However, to other observers, the outcome was widely beside the objective of addressing hunger and raising the incomes of the poor people in developing countries.⁹²⁹

⁹²⁷ Cf. Betton Wood Project. 2010. "World Bank Work on Land Supports a 'New Form of Colonialism'." <http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/art-566367>, (accessed 16 May 2011). Though recognizing that enforcement of existing frameworks is limited, the principles document suggests that any guidelines or standards developed from these principles should be independently monitored, relying for implementation on investors' concern for their reputation, and an undefined role for governments and civil society. The coalition of concerned NGOs warns that 'land grabbing' violates the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

⁹²⁸ Cf. World Bank. 2011. "Rising Global Interest in Farmland." http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTARD/Resources/ESW_Sept7_final_final.pdf, (accessed 17 May 2011).

⁹²⁹ Cf. Betton Wood Project. 2010. "World Bank Admits 'Land Grab' Risks, Proceeds Anyway." <http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/art-566651>, (accessed 16 May 2011).

The World Bank's involvement in the whole affair complicates this strategy beyond recognition. Through research and what was considered sound policy in employing the land resource to boost food security as well as incomes among the poor, the World Bank report endorsed the enterprise of land buying from the developing countries which cannot adequately utilise their land resource. Although some claims have been advanced that this was done in open disregard of advice from African experts,⁹³⁰ the food security strategies adopted especially in the Great Lakes Region of Africa leave no doubt that there is overwhelming shift towards large scale farming tailored towards the improvements of poor people incomes. But the outcome of the World Banks' experience on 'Rising Global Interest in Farmland,' sounds a warning that should be taken seriously even as the poor countries rush to 'develop' agriculture both for food security and economic purpose. To many partners in the fight against hunger, large-scale expansionist strategies of industrial agriculture do not necessarily improve food security. On the contrary, these measures demonstrate more potential to exploit the very poor people it was intended to help in the first place. NGO GRAIN, for example, cautioned that "the principles would not improve food security, and instead aim to distract from the fact that today's global food crisis, marked by more than one billion people going hungry each day, will not be solved by large scale industrial agriculture, which virtually all of these land acquisitions aim to promote."⁹³¹

⁹³⁰ Cf. Friends of the Earth International. 2010. "World Bank Land Grab Report Comment: Bio-fuels Cause Land Grabs ". <http://www.foei.org/en/media/archive/2010/world-bank-land-grab-report-comment-biofuels-cause-land-grabs>, (accessed 17 May 2011).

⁹³¹ Cf. Against the Grain. 2010. "World Bank on Land Grabbing: Beyond the Smoke and Mirrors." http://www.grain.org/articles_files/atg-27-en.pdf, (accessed 17 May 2011). From the point of view of the critics, contrary to its widely expected 'large opportunities' and success, the report emphasizes the exploitative nature of many investments, finding that investors have targeted countries with weak land governance, enabling them to gain land essentially for free and in neglect of local rights. Land deals between investors and

4.4.5 Proposals for Improvement: Towards a More Sustainable Food Security Model for the Great Lakes Region

4.4.5.1 Education and Training of Personnel in the Public

Service

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that the choice of food security strategies for some parts of the GLR requires specialized attention. The traditional food deficit areas of the central corridor, and parts of the northern areas of Tanzania (Republic of Tanzania, 2006), the ASAL in the North and North Eastern parts of Kenya (Republic of Kenya, 2008-2012), and most of the agricultural land of Rwanda (Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources, 2009), generate as much interest as they do generate agricultural challenges with regard to production of food. These parts of the region exhibit characteristics of what experts classify as ‘secondary regions.’⁹³² According to Bruce M.

governments occurred in secrecy, marginalising affected communities and farmers from the consultation phases and consequently leading to the eviction of people from their land without proper compensation. The investors did not create the number of jobs they promised, they failed to effectively invest in purchased land and the deals exacerbated existing problems of gender discrimination.

⁹³² Bruce M. Koppel, "Food Policy Options for Secondary Regions: A Framework for Applied Research," in *Food Policy: Integrating Supply, Distribution, and Consumption*, ed. J. Price Gittinger, Joanne Leslie, and Caroline Hoisington (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 141-147. Secondary regions are most often associated with substantial amounts of arable land classified as “marginal.” The criteria include measures based on land use, soil capability, opportunity cost, ecological degradation, market system performance, accessibility, geographic location and urban functions. Each of these criteria is sensitive to assumptions about the technology and levels of production needed. In agro-economic terms, ‘marginal’ refers to limited land capability and the levels of technology and management needed to compensate for soil deficiencies and climatic liabilities. In the GLR for example, ‘marginal’ can also mean that a region is not well integrated into a larger political and economic system. An area may be marginal in geographic terms because of limited accessibility. Land is marginal according to a specific criterion such as soil capability, ecological degradation and accessibility. But instead of the term

Koppel, agricultural function in the secondary regions is more complex because production is based on diversified ecosystems: drainage properties are problematic, top soil very thin, water and weather erosion are often advanced, micronutrient composition is often seriously deficient, and soil compaction is advanced. In these situations, tillage practices and cropping choices can be crucial. Once the topsoil is lost, or once significant changes take place in the soil like hardening of some tropical soils from exposure to the sun, or depletion of minerals, maintaining production can be expensive, if not impossible. Stability and resilience often depend on carefully developed and continuing adaptations to difficult conditions. Progress of agriculture in such regions requires specialized attention to the development of secondary crop.⁹³³ These environments are not significantly modified in comparison, for example, with the modification of natural ecosystems for wet rice culture. Devising improved production schemes without resorting to high-input technologies will be particularly difficult. But if reducing variability in agricultural environments through physical modifications is not feasible, increasing productivity in a manner consistent with ecosystem stability and resilience will require fresh research strategies. The success of the schemes adopted in these conditions requires very high skills in technological research. The potential for the development of the so called secondary crops though necessary in the GLR, will be difficult to achieve because of the limited

‘marginal,’ the term ‘secondary’ is more useful for referring to areas that combine mixes of agro-economic, institutional, and spatial marginality. The motivation for developing the food systems in secondary regions comes when major food requirements can be met through basic grain production and cereal imports. A strategy then emerges that uses the mineral resources and possibilities for export agriculture in marginal areas as a basis for generating foreign exchange. In these circumstances, there is no single optimum level of species or genetic diversity in agricultural systems. Farming systems depend upon controlled and highly diverse environments and preferably on green revolution for ‘secondary crops.’

⁹³³ Ibid.

technological research backup.⁹³⁴ This consideration shows the importance of human resource development in the entire spectrum of scientific research and technological innovation in agriculture in the GLR. Nevertheless, this is only but an example of the crucial areas whose approach requires, as a priority, keen attention to education and training. This is not to mention the demands of installing modern strategic ICT, the challenges of handling economic cooperation, and routine updating of effective labour force.

The highlights in food security strategies also touch well elaborated policies and strategy papers on specialized services of agricultural economics such as credit and finance, food supply economics, distribution and consumption. The well articulated policies, elaborate legal frameworks, and thorough implementation strategy papers touching on all these areas not only require competent interpretation, they also require coordination. Adequately trained personnel are required on two levels: one, on the level of implementation itself, the region requires experts properly trained in the various areas of competence, to translate paperwork into practical results of significance to food security initiative. Two, on the level of management, the region requires experts who not only coordinate the diverse implementation strategies, but who also plan, project and value the relevance of the strategies underway and who are capable of recommending improvements, adaptation and innovations in order to keep the strategies on focus and effective. As we shall see below, the question of corruption

⁹³⁴ Ibid., 144. The motivation for developing the food systems in secondary regions comes when major food requirements cannot be met through basic grain production and cereal imports. A strategy then emerges that uses the mineral resources and possibilities for export agriculture in marginal areas as a basis for generating foreign exchange. Agricultural production and food distribution strategies in secondary regions are often oriented more toward the consumption and foreign exchange requirements of large urban centres and primary regions than to the equity or sustainable growth objectives that one might wish to set for secondary regions.

in the GLR, nepotism and mediocrity compromises quality at the risk of losing the fight against hunger. Where there is thorough paper work, implementation is lost to incompetent service of the personnel not adequately trained to handle professional service. Furthermore, innovations in the agricultural sector are diverse and get complicated with time. Investment in education and training is not only necessary, it also measures the capacity of the region to seriously undertake the strategies against food insecurity in the region. The current developments in the region towards economic cooperation have raised the expectations and have set even higher standards to be met in both the private and public service of the region. Education and training will earn the region the fruit of preparedness. Expert labour force will keep the region focused on the problem of food insecurity in all its aspects. Furthermore, it will offer a better alternative against a corrupt public service that has been common place in this region.

4.4.5.2 Adaptation and Sustainability

Despite the effort to set up effective food security strategies in the region, the crucial question still to be answered is whether or not these strategies are sustainable. But the discussion of sustainability against the background of the GLR where agriculture is an economic activity and a food security strategy, necessarily implies due attention to the issues relating to the environment. The subsistence of the poor population of small-scale/subsistence farmers in the GLR relies on daily use of the available natural resources such as soil, forests, semi-arid rangelands, water and biodiversity of a wide range of plants and animals, both domesticated and wild. Farmers look out for these as the source of all food related activities such as farming and fishing, fuel and fodder. As experts observe, “their lives are interwoven with the surrounding environment in ways that make them both particularly valuable as custodians of environmental resources and particularly vulnerable to

environmental degradation.”⁹³⁵ In the absence of cautious attention paid to the environment, environmental degradation and climate change are a necessary consequence of the agricultural practice in the region. Pressures of subsistence in famine coupled with poor environmental conservation skills may lead the population to turn against the very resources upon which they depend. Keen consideration of the prevailing situation of environment therefore is a necessary step towards sustainability.

Currently, the reality of climate change has highlighted the dangers careless agriculture poses for the environment and the consequent effects of environmental abuse on food productivity, directly impacting on the levels of hunger in the world. Global warming has the potential of wiping out the important gains society makes in food security.⁹³⁶ In highlighting the obvious nexus between climate change, food security, soil fertility and hunger, Pedro Sanchez mentions the danger of grain sterility. This condition is common in all the major cereal crops. It is necessitated by thermal stress and additional maximum temperature. According to his projections, “for every degree centigrade increase in maximum temperature, there will be a 16 percent decrease in grain yield due to grain sterility.”⁹³⁷ Reading this against the background of the predictions of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC),

⁹³⁵ FAO. 2005. "Towards Summit Commitments: Improving Environmental Sustainability and Food Security by Empowering the Rural Poor," *The State of Food Insecurity in the World*. <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/008/a0200e/a0200e.pdf>, (accessed 2 October 2010).

⁹³⁶ Cf. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). 2008. "Land Use, Land Use Change and Forestry." http://www.ipcc.ch/ipccreports/sres/land_use/index.php?idp=14, (accessed 25 February 2011).

⁹³⁷ Pedro Sanchez, "Turning up the Heat: How Will Agriculture Weather Global Climate Change?" in *Sustainable Food Security for all by 2020*, ed. IFPRI (Bonn: IFPRI, 2002), 116. In this occasion, Pedro Sanchez, by then the Director General of the International Centre for Research in Agro-forestry, was introducing the talk of experts in climate change and approaches to food security in an international conference proceedings on sustainable food security.

Sanchez concludes that this translates into a decrease in world food production of between 5 to 6 percent by 2020, and 11 to 46 percent by 2050. Thus, the effects of global warming on food production is no longer a distant guess, the struggle among experts rather is whether mitigation and consequent reversal of these effects is the only way out of the danger impending upon the hungry poor. The view of Martin L. Parry, interprets the effects of climate change within the framework of agricultural sustainability. In his key note address to an international conference on sustainable food security, in Bonn, 2001, Parry highlighted the effects of weather change where the already moist areas of the world will get wetter, while semi arid areas will tend to get drier due to a combination of increased evapotranspiration and reduced rainfall. Broadly speaking, his view is that as time progresses and climate warms, the semi arid regions of Africa will likely become more arid prompting a drastic drop in agricultural yields. While this will imply definitive adverse effects on the overall hunger situation in the world,⁹³⁸ Martin Parry introduces a different life-line for sustainability

⁹³⁸ Ibid., 118-120. Sanchez projected agricultural yield changes (cereal production in million metric tons) to the years 2020, 2050 and 2080 using a global cereal production model, and a global cereal prices model to ask questions about their effect on food supply. How much do changes in cereal production and changes in cereal prices affect our ability to meet anticipated growth of food demand? And how do they affect those at risk of hunger, i.e., those having insufficient income or ability to buy or to grow enough food? In his projection, global production of the world's staple foods will increase from 2.3 billion to about 4 billion metric tons annually by the 2080s. But the shortfall between demand and supply that is caused by climate change is about 400 to 600 million metric tons by the 2080s, and the shortfall increases over time. When this figures are read against the background of Africa, characterized by poverty and hunger and food insecurity, and feared to experience greater warming effects, it is probable that climate change will have an overall negative effect on yield, with some marked reductions in particular areas, leading to likely increases of hunger. According to Pedro Sanchez, this effect is on top of any effects that a non climate audience would think of. Making assumptions about income and demand for food, these food models allow us to estimate the effect of that expected climate-change-driven shortfall on cereal prices.

in agriculture. According to him, mitigating the effects of climate change alone will not solve the problem. Thus, “stabilization or mitigation does not have a major effect, except that very high levels of stabilization would be very expensive. Therefore, we need to look at a future where adaptation and mitigation in the context of sustainable development probably offers some solution.”⁹³⁹ The new life-line, so to speak, is a careful blend between adaptation and mitigation in so far as they serve the goal of sustainability. But how does sustainability accommodate the reality of adaptation and mitigation in the context of food security in the GLR?

The work of two experts presented in two relevant circumstances, show that sustainability is a consequence of a careful adaptation of ordinary strategies, most of which are already under way in the GLR, as opposed to complicated exotic innovations. In his contribution to agro-ecological approaches to food security, Jules Pretty captured the concept of sustainability in three important aspects:

It is a type of agriculture that makes the best use of nature’s goods and services, integrating agro-ecological processes into food production and at the same time minimizing the negative side effects on environment and on health. In other words it makes the best use of natural capital. Second, it makes the best use of human capital, building on the skills and knowledge and ingenuity of farmers and communities. And third, of course, is

⁹³⁹ Ibid., 122. Accordingly, Martin L. Parry suggested possible paths: The first is technology, for example crop breeding for climate change, whether by genetic modification or more traditional methods. Secondly, management of farmland, for example by using water more efficiently. Thirdly, institutions that encourage change rather than fossilize change. Many adaptations can be win-win solutions because, by adapting to drought now, in areas that may become more drought-prone in the future, we meet the present challenge and the future challenge.

social capital, which involves people's capacities to work together to solve common problems.⁹⁴⁰

In Jules Pretty's line of thought, agriculture, more than any other economic sector, exhibits circularity. It affects the very assets on which it relies for its success for the better or for the worse, for the better in the sense that these assets are renewable, and for the worse in the sense that these resourceful assets are exhaustible. According to him, sustainable agriculture is one that improves on the renewable assets. Thus, in order to adapt resource assets to sustainability, Jules Pretty emphasizes asset renewability, any renewable resource asset could be utilized well at the service of sustainability. However, the questions as to which assets are renewable, how to renew them, and to what extent or for how long these assets will remain renewable are controversial questions that fuel disagreements among experts. While the optimistic view holds that all natural resources sooner or later can be renewed or substituted, pessimistic view on this matter insists that no natural resources can be substituted. And yet there are experts who hypothesize that some natural resources can be substituted, but that certain critical natural resources must be preserved to facilitate the functioning of the ecosystems.⁹⁴¹ This last view was given prominent attention in the work of Klint Jensen whose presentation we consider here as the second important contribution in clarifying sustainability as a consequence of a careful adaptation of ordinary strategies.

Klint Jensen did not only present the complementary role of natural and renewable resources in sustainability, most importantly, he

⁹⁴⁰ Jules Pretty and others, "Complementary Technologies, One Goal: Approaches to Sustainable Food Production," in *Sustainable Food Security for all by 2020*, ed. International Food Policy Research Institute (Bonn: IFPRI, 2002), 125.

⁹⁴¹ Cf. K. Klint Jensen, "Food Production and Sustainability," in *Ethical Futures: Bioscience and Food Horizons*, ed. Kate Millar, Pru Hobson West, and Brigitte Nerlich (Nottingham: Wageningen Academic Publishers, 2009), 219.

legitimized this complementarity as a logical requirement of the concept of sustainability.⁹⁴² Drawing from the history of the concept of sustainability in the forestry and fishery industry, he points out the constraint that the resource stock in question should be kept non-decreasing over time. The simple prescription was to keep the harvest rate per year within some area smaller than, or equal to, the natural regeneration rate per year for the resource within the area. However, farm production is different. It is an open system whose operation also relies on its surroundings. In the farm context, sustainability involves making the farm self-sufficient in terms of energy, nutrients and other flows of matter, or at least minimizing the input from the surroundings as well as the loss to the surroundings of energy and matter. After exhaustive comparative analysis between the two major approaches to sustainability, namely: the social or bottom-up, and economic or top-bottom approaches, Klint Jensen gives a preference to the latter.⁹⁴³ The top-down approach originates its pursuit in economics with the suggestion that the present generation's need-satisfaction should, as its starting point, not compromise the need-satisfaction of future generations. The approach presumes that sustainability is some form of

⁹⁴² His work on 'Food Production and Sustainability,' was presented to an international conference organized by the European Society for Agriculture and Food Ethics, EurSafe, Nottingham, 2009.

⁹⁴³ K. Klint Jensen highlights the complexity of the concept of sustainability regarding issues of development. He identifies two major approaches to sustainability: the bottom-up or social approach, usually identified with the work of Paul Thompson who looked at sustainability as 'functional integrity,' and the top-down approach associated with the Brundtland Commission also referred to as the economic approach to sustainability. The first line of research takes its departure from sustaining a system over time and infers prescriptions from this requirement. If a farm is to sustain its production over time, minimizing the exchange of matter and energy with the surroundings is not likely to be sufficient. Roughly, the farm also needs to be sustainable in a social sense. Hence it takes the form of uncovering the expectations of all stakeholders who have an influence on the farm's survival over time. In Paul Thompson's words, this is 'sustainability as functional integrity.'

just distribution of need-satisfaction or welfare between, as well as within, generations. Its prescription to keep the stock on renewable resources non-decreasing over time, recognizes the fact that many resources are non-renewable. If they are to be used at all, it is impossible to keep the stock non-decreasing over time.⁹⁴⁴ Ethically speaking, this line of research implies that the sustainability of any activity should be measured by its contribution to the goal of justice within and between generations. In this argument, the requirement of justice legitimizes sustainability more than does the narrow requirement of mitigating or even reversing the dangers facing one resource asset such as the case of climate change.

However, the object of justice as fronted by the top-down approach remains indeterminate.⁹⁴⁵ In deciding about the strategy we believe to be sustainable, we are faced with a decision shrouded in uncertainty.⁹⁴⁶ Against this background, Klint Jensen suggests a sharpening of this

⁹⁴⁴ In this approach, the economists argue that substitution between different types of capital is possible. A reduced stock of exhaustible resources can be compensated for by an increase in renewable resources, or by increasing efficiency in the use of resources through technological development. If we take substitution and technological development into account in order to make more general prescriptions, it is necessary to look at the value of resources, that is, their potential to generate welfare or satisfy needs, rather than simply the stock. Hence, economic analyses move from the simple prescription of keeping a single renewable natural resource stock non-decreasing over time to the more general prescription of keeping the level of welfare non-decreasing over time. To this extent, the economic perspective is top-down because it starts by determining sustainability as a goal at a global level, and then compares the contribution of different activities to this goal.

⁹⁴⁵ The economic option of the possibility of substitution between different kinds of capital, invites various scenarios: Should we believe in the optimistic view that all natural resources sooner or later can be substituted with man-made capital? Or should we believe in the pessimistic view that no natural resources can be substituted? Or should we share the assumption that some natural resources can be substituted, but that certain critical natural resources must be preserved in order for ecosystems to function?

⁹⁴⁶ Cf. the different views on the possibilities of substitution between different kinds of capital namely, the optimistic view, the pessimistic and the dual assumption that presents both.

approach where the concern for future generations should concentrate on the poor. A minimal requirement of justice should inspire the understanding that “development is only sustainable if it involves food security for all at all times.”⁹⁴⁷ The precise concern of justice for the poor identifies the relevance of sustainability of food security measures in the GLR, and the prescription of sustainability from this position can well be argued to be target concern necessary for all food security initiatives in the region. Klint Jensen underscores the relevance of sustainability in the following words:

What is relevant for the sharpened goal of sustainability is particularly the management of natural resources in the widest sense, on which the poor will be dependent for food. The productivity of these resources should be safeguarded and possibly be increased when they are handed over to future generations also dependent on them for food security ... However, equitable sharing of costs is very important. Hence, if future use of natural resources in some area is threatened by some praxis, the local community should be paid compensation in order to protect the endangered resources ... other livelihoods for the involved people might be the best solution.⁹⁴⁸

The thrust of the concern of both Jules Pretty and Klint Jensen in the understanding of sustainability clearly lies on resource management and creative substitution between different types of capital in society's food security initiatives. Emphasis rests on the distinction between renewable and non-renewable resources, and the wisdom of knowing when, how and what to introduce in the practice of agriculture. This also consists of knowing the proportion of the new economic and technological factors to be introduced to facilitate sustainability. A sustainable agriculture

⁹⁴⁷ Jensen, "Food Production and Sustainability," 220.

⁹⁴⁸ Ibid.

therefore improves these renewable assets at least to the extent that, “a reduced stock of exhaustible resources can be compensated for by an increase in renewable resources.”⁹⁴⁹ It can also be done to the extent that efficiency is achieved through either substitution or increase of assets through technological development in the public goods such as the carbon sequestration, flood protection, landscape quality and biodiversity.⁹⁵⁰ With this background, sustainability in the GLR can be considered in two main areas, namely, natural resource management as well as in scientific research and technology. Thus, the context within which sustainability should be sought in the GLR is clearer, namely: the management of natural resources on which the poor will depend for food. This exercise not only includes renewability of resource assets, but also the challenge to blend ways and means of substituting and/or increasing non-renewable resource assets. In the initiative towards sustainability, these two areas have then to stand the test of adaptability, that is, the convenience with which they can be applied within a given context such as the GLR. While renewability favours more the natural resources, substitution or increase of non-renewable resources shall rely more on technological innovation. The scope of sustainability widens in every context, and includes in agro-ecological strategies such as management of farm land, conventional breeding and crop management methods, as well as biotechnology approaches such as genetic modification.⁹⁵¹ While agro-ecology and conventional methods are a suitable approach to non-renewable natural resource assets, biotechnology is a preferential approach to renewable assets. The next two sections therefore consider the development of scientific research

⁹⁴⁹ Pretty and others, "Complementary Technologies," 125. e.g., agriculture relies upon a good soil, but also produces a good soil.

⁹⁵⁰ Jensen, "Food Production and Sustainability," 218. See particularly Jensen's distinction between the social and the economic points of view.

⁹⁵¹ Martin Parry, "Keynote," in *Sustainable Food Security for all by 2020*, ed. IFPRI (Bonn: IFPRI, 2001), 122-135.

and technology according to how the two facilitate and foster sustainability, and natural resource management in the GLR.

4.4.5.3 Adoption of Scientific Research and Technology

In the view of experts, exhaustible or non-renewable resources include energy soil nutrients. Moreover, "certain practices might irretrievably compromise water or other resources if they are left unchecked because too many people are dependent on them."⁹⁵² Crop production in the GLR is traditionally concentrated in the high rainfall areas. Agricultural farming is therefore restricted to specific regions and depends on the rainfall patterns of the regions. The practice strains soil nutrient replenishment and poses serious environmental conservation problem. Furthermore, due to the decreasing arable land holdings caused by population pressure in such areas, agricultural activities have been pushed into the semi-arid lands while too little has been done in this region to exploit its irrigation potential.⁹⁵³ Any food security strategy considered against this background cannot pass the test of time without due caution to environmental degradation. This is a typical case of fast eroding stock of resource assets. Apart from loss of soil through erosion, less water retention capacity due to soil texture and topography, and serious destabilization of biodiversity, the region's soil is depleted of fertilizer and remains agriculturally poor. Furthermore, the threat faced from crop diseases, pests and weeds reduces reliability in agriculture significantly. Management of such conditions for consequential crop production require integrated approaches that are both crop and agro-ecology specific, affordable and environment friendly. Above all, this background motivates the development of crop varieties that efficiently utilize the available natural resources, varieties that have high water-and nutrient-use efficiency. In the view of experts, the answer is nothing

⁹⁵² Ibid., 220.

⁹⁵³ Cf. KARI. "Strategic Plan 2009-2014," (accessed 13 September 2010).

short of innovative technology grounded on sound scientific research and elaborate policy frameworks. But despite the elaborate paper work in policy and legal statements, as well as consistent calls from the region's experts to intensify the use of science and technology,⁹⁵⁴ the use of technology is still insignificant. Yet it is argued that the adoption of technology strategy in this region shall not only harness and develop the indigenous strategies already in place, but, most importantly, will also render them readily available for use and sustainable. Thus, the life-line of sustainability of exhaustible resources is technological innovation. Experts still cite breeding for climate change, engineering virus resistant, drought tolerance, fungus and insect resistance, health preserving breeds, that is, the use of plants to make edible vaccines or simply to use plants such as marijuana to produce vaccines that we can

⁹⁵⁴ Cf. Robert Paarlberg, *Starved for Science: How Biotechnology Is Being Kept out of Africa* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 111-178. During the East African Science Reporting Workshop for journalists at the International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI) in Nairobi, Africa Agricultural Technology Foundation (AATF) Executive Director, Dr. Daniel Mataruka warned that Africa will not develop if its national governments and citizens cannot modernize agriculture for sustainable food production. In his presentation: "Overcoming challenges in the African Agricultural Sector: What chance for technology?" he observed that the continent must change her food production policies, Dr. Mataruka reaffirmed that the new technologies like biotechnology are key to food security and nutrition. Despite the emergence of advanced agricultural technologies, notably modern biotechnology, Africa with over 200 million starving people, is still watching as Asia, Latin America and the West are riding on the top. This is sad in circumstances where food productivity is low and poverty high due to insufficient application of science into farming. But perhaps the political science expert, Prof. Robert Paarlberg was even more emphatic in his observation that people in Africa are poor because their labour as farmers has not yet been improved by science, including modern biotechnology. In his book; *Starved for Science: How Biotechnology Is Being Kept Out of Africa*, Paarlberg reveals that "only 4 per cent of Africa's farmland is irrigated, less than 30 per cent is planted to improved seeds, while average fertilizer in use is only 9kg per hectare, compared to 117 kg per hectare in the industrial world." See Paarlberg, 111-178.

harvest and have in edible form to safeguard manpower labour resource.⁹⁵⁵

Every country in the GLR identifies the use of technology, science and research not simply as one among the many strategies, but indeed as a crucial imperative for improved approach to food security. The research efforts made in KARI in Kenya are an example of technological innovation appropriate for sustainable agriculture. The thematic focus of KARI on its crop research, targets the generation and promotion of crop knowledge and technologies that respond to clients' demands and opportunities. This objective is pursued through technologies and innovations for demand-driven crops product value chains.⁹⁵⁶ Strategies involving reduction of pests, improvement of seeds, among others, necessarily imply the application of contemporary science and technology. Institutions of research in this region have been taxed with the duty to provide new technologies for improved varieties, agronomic packages, and sustainable land use systems. Priority frontiers factored to champion these strategies doubtlessly include biotechnology, genomics, modelling and ICT. These remain the tools for greater agricultural development and food security in all the countries of the region.⁹⁵⁷ The success of this strategy will be a big step towards sustainability.

The economic potential of this region and its place in the larger network of global operations in research, business and trade is a guarantee to sustainability of technology driven food security strategies. The regional initiatives for food security such as pursued by NEPAD,

⁹⁵⁵ Jennifer Thomson, "Biotechnological Approaches," in *Sustainable Food Security for All by 2020*, ed. IFPRI (Bonn: IFPRI, 2001), 133.

⁹⁵⁶ KARI. "Strategic Plan 2009-2014," (accessed 13 September 2010). Erosion of genetic biodiversity and low adoption of improved crop varieties and associated technologies have impacted negatively on efforts to address issues on food security and wealth creation.

⁹⁵⁷ Cf. Republic of Kenya. "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," (accessed 14 September 2010).

IGAD, Economic Commission For Africa (ECFA), have largely influenced both agricultural policy structure and practice in the countries of this region. Given that most of these initiatives insist on the role of science and technology, the countries have all prioritized the use of technology in improving food crop output. NEPAD initiative of CAADP, for example, has considered various options for immediate increase of food supply. Conspicuous among these is the option to accelerate the transfer and adoption of technologies for the improvement of varieties both in food crops as well as in livestock farming.⁹⁵⁸ The new technologies are to facilitate increase and distribution of new varieties of food staples particularly drought-resistant, long-duration crops such as cassava and sweet potatoes, as well as to overcome livestock constraints such as feed quality and availability. Furthermore, technical support is necessary for farmers in the setting up and managing of small animal production enterprises.⁹⁵⁹

Beyond the economic interests, the international community invests a lot of effort in supporting research activities in the developing world, including the GLR. The research initiative in the area of indigenous food crops such as the banana and sweet potatoes is the basis for advancement of technological research in crop farming in this region. The research activity is organized and coordinated on the national level,

⁹⁵⁸ Cf. Mukhebi, "An Overview of the Food Security Situation in Eastern Africa," (accessed 17 September 2010). See also Republic of Burundi. 2006. "Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper." http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPRS1/Resources/Burundi_PRSP%28Sept-2006%29.pdf, (accessed 1 October 2010). This document with its priorities continues to be the basis of planning for increased food production in the region. Burundi for example, has developed a draft CAADP document planned for a period of 6 years (2010-2015) to coincide with the presumed completion of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This program is integrated with the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), the National Agricultural Strategy, Sector Policy and the National Program of Food Security and aims to consolidate the gains of other agricultural development projects.

⁹⁵⁹ NEPAD, "The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme," (accessed 21 September 2010).

helped by the regional and international level. Its network binds nations and regions together in a commitment to food security that goes beyond the possibilities of any individual country. The three broad objectives for banana crop research, for example, to improve the relevance, quality and cost-effectiveness of agricultural research; to establish and support regional mechanisms in order to reinforce and improve research collaboration among the National Agricultural Research Systems; and to improve the delivery of new appropriate information and technology.⁹⁶⁰ This is first carried out by respective national agricultural research systems (NARS). For example, the KARI Institute in Kenya, carries out its research activities through its 50 branches spread throughout the country covering all the varied climatic conditions that range between the altitude of 1700m (Kabete) - to 2550 (Molo), mean annual rainfall of between 548mm (Kiboko) – to 2089mm (Kisii).⁹⁶¹

On regional level, such respective national agricultural research systems (NARS) are further joined in an Association for Strengthening Agricultural Research in Eastern and Central Africa (ASARECA). This association carries out all its research on banana crop through the Banana Research Network for Eastern and Southern Africa (BARNESA) in order to avoid duplication and focuses consistent effort to the common problem of hunger and nutrition.⁹⁶² This regional effort

⁹⁶⁰ Cf. Biodiversity International. 2010. "Banana and Plantain Section of Biodiversity International." <http://bananas.biodiversityinternational.org/en/what-we-do-mainmenu-27.html>, (accessed 8 December 2010).

⁹⁶¹ KARI. 2010. "Adaptive Research Programme: Strengthening Kenya's Food Security & Income." <http://www.kari.org/index.php?q=content/adaptive-research-programme>, (accessed 8 December 2010).

⁹⁶² Cf. Eldad Karamura and E. Frison. 1998. "Banana Production System in Eastern and Southern Africa," INIBAP. http://musalit.inibap.org/pdf/IN000031_en.pdf, (accessed 20 November 2010). Due to the growing problems of poor soil fertility, pests and diseases, production in Eastern and Southern Africa has steadily declined since the 1980s, putting at risk the livelihoods of over 20 million people for whom the crop is the staple food. By the 1990s, it had become clear that the rate of decline was so alarming that urgent action was required to stop and reverse production trends. At a meeting in Kampala, Uganda, in

eventually sought a global representation and obtained support from International Network for the Improvement of Banana and Plantain (INIBAP).⁹⁶³ On a global level the International Plant Genetic Resources Institute (IPGRI), supported by the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR),⁹⁶⁴ adopted the INIBAP in 1994, to be at its disposal for the purposes of networking and organize research effort globally.⁹⁶⁵ Eventually the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations entrusted INIBAP the duty to conserve the world research diversity with regard to the banana plant for the benefit of present and future generations of the international community.⁹⁶⁶ It is noted that "every day accessions are shipped from the INIBAP gene bank to users, who may be researchers developing improved varieties, or extension workers wishing to introduce alternative varieties to farmers. All material is carefully checked to

October 1994, it was agreed that cooperation between national research programmes would have important advantages, including sharing scarce resources, raising the critical mass for effective research and reducing overlap in work programmes. This led to the creation of the 'Banana Research Network for Eastern and Southern Africa' (BARNESA) as a framework for cooperation. At its July 1995 meeting, the Committee of Directors of ASARECA (Association for Strengthening Agricultural Research in Eastern and Central Africa) approved the inclusion of BARNESA as an ASARECA network. The Committee of Directors also ranked the banana plant 4th out of the 19 crop research priorities identified for the region.

⁹⁶³ Ibid. In 1996, the BARNESA Steering Committee requested INIBAP's help to provide coordination and mobilize support for banana research in the region. As a result, INIBAP has taken on the role of a network coordinator and secretariat to BARNESA.

⁹⁶⁴ Cf. CGIAR. 2010. "CGIAR in Action." <http://www.cgiar.org/>, (accessed 8 December 2010).

⁹⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶⁶ Cf. Ibid. See also Anne Vezina, Suzanne Sharrock, and Emile Frison, "An International Treaty Vital for Future Food Security," in *INIBAP Annual Report 2002*, ed. INIBAP (Montpellier: 2003, 2). Also available on-line: Anne Vezina, Suzanne Sharrock, and Emile Frison. 2003. "An International Treaty Vital for Future Food Security." http://bananas.biodiversityinternational.org/files/files/pdf/publications/focusen_treaty.pdf, (accessed 8 December 2010).

ensure that it is healthy before being distributed and state-of-the-art techniques are used at all stages.”⁹⁶⁷ This is just but to mention the attention given to the banana crop. If such arrangement is made in the research activities involving the major food crops in the region, the chances are that their production will be more sustainable.

4.4.5.4 Natural Resource Management

Effective management of natural resources therefore is one of the answers to the question of sustainability. The question experts try to answer is: How can natural resources be used in supporting agricultural activities for a sustained food production? Experts identify core renewable natural resource assets as soils, water and biodiversity.⁹⁶⁸ If the dynamics of sustainability as observed above are followed successfully and duly adapted, agricultural yield is sure to increase in any circumstance. The enlarged scope presumed by adaptability accommodates any scale of efforts towards progress and makes it possible to increase total food production substantially even for small farms. On the very local level, sustainability of these resources based on agro-ecology as well as on conventional methods can be promoted by intensifying patches like home gardens with raised beds, fish ponds or with dairy cows, soils can be improved soils through the use of legumes, green manures, agro-forestry, and zero-tillage, and by making better use of water through water harvesting, irrigation scheduling, and functional biodiversity, use of green-manure, in-row and zero tillage.⁹⁶⁹ Jules Pretty mentions two crucial point on sustainability, namely: to build people’s knowledge and their capacity to work together as a social and human capital, and to work for the political conditions for improved

⁹⁶⁷ Karamura, “Banana Production System in Eastern and Southern Africa,” (Accessed 20 November 2010).

⁹⁶⁸ Pretty and others, "Complementary Technologies," 125.

⁹⁶⁹ Ibid., 126-127.

sustainability of agriculture.⁹⁷⁰ In the GLR, sustainable agriculture implies adequate care of the already existing rich natural resources: soil, water and biodiversity, and careful adaptation of technology and economic resources.

Developing sustainability from this point of view sheds light on the humble efforts both possible and already underway in the countries of the GLR. Though some countries developed environmental policies independently of the main agricultural goals to address food security, some had specifically factored environmental conservation alongside all initiatives of food security. As an example, Tanzania's strategy warrants attention. In Tanzania, the fluctuating food production is largely attributed to the unprecedented "climate change." Agriculture here is primarily rain-fed, a situation that makes the country particularly vulnerable to climate change.⁹⁷¹ Accordingly, its adaptation programme of action (NAPAP), 2005, ranked agriculture at the top of the list of sectors for which the dependent population is most vulnerable to foreseeable climate change.⁹⁷² Unreliable rainfall has inevitably prompted intensification of agriculture in wetlands and riversides. Consequently, the country has formulated context-specific policies, legislations and strategies geared towards addressing its environmental

⁹⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁹⁷¹ Mukhebi, "An Overview of the Food Security Situation in Eastern Africa," (accessed 17 September 2010).

⁹⁷² Ibid. An analysis of climate trends and food production in Tanzania reveals that climate change has not only resulted in a decline in crop production and productivity, but it has also led to (i) increased incidences of some harmful plant species (e.g. such weeds as *Striga*) and vermin, such as the mole rats; and (ii) an increase in the prevalence of insect pests/crop pests (e.g. *Prostephanus truncatus*, and *Bemisia tabacci*) and diseases which, in turn, have caused increased demand for pesticides and herbicides. Other negative effects related to climate change in Tanzania include droughts, floods, strong winds and low soil fertility. Available studies indicate that some of the previous highly productive areas in Tanzania, which are found in both the southern and northern highlands, are likely to continue to experience sporadic dry spells with significant decreases in average rainfall.

challenges, including the impacts of climate change on the agricultural sector as a master strategy against the fluctuating situation of food security. The National Environmental Management Act (NEMA, 2004), for instance, requires every sector to establish a Sector Environmental Section/Unit to oversee compliance with EMA 2004 requirements in the implementation of the sector's activities.⁹⁷³ In the other countries which have adopted this strategy, the goal has largely been to conserve environment for sustainable land use in the overall effort to increase food output. The visible food security strategies include the improvement of soil and water management. The Ministry of Agriculture in Kenya for example, gives advice to farmers on water harvesting, storage and protection of river banks, catchments and wet lands. Secondly, the initiative to increase forest cover has been intensifying from one country to another with notable initiatives in Uganda, Rwanda and Kenya. Policies are advanced that encourage farmers to practice appropriate agro-forestry in an effort to both use and conserve the environment.⁹⁷⁴ Although most of these efforts are under way in the GLR, sustainability has to follow the pattern established by experts and tested by experience. It has to secure its relevance to social welfare. In Jensen's words, it should meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs and should be measured by its contribution to the goal of justice within and between generations.⁹⁷⁵

⁹⁷³ Ibid. Relevant policies include: the Agricultural and Livestock Policy (1997), National Food Security Policy (1997), National Environmental Policy (1997), the National Livestock Policy (2006), National Water Policy of 2002 and the National Land Policy (1995). Relevant legislations include the Plant Protection Act (1997), the Protection of New Plant Varieties (Plant Breeders Rights) Act (2002), Land and Village Land Acts (1999), the Forest Act (2002), Water Resources Management Act (2009).

⁹⁷⁴ Republic of Kenya. "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," (accessed 14 September 2010).

⁹⁷⁵ Jensen, "Food Production and Sustainability," 218, 219, 220.

4.4.5.5 Social Security Intervention

In the light of the MDG1 on poverty and hunger, food security strategies in the GLR have strongly focused on poverty alleviation. Development in agriculture in the region has therefore largely targeted increased incomes. The overall objective of the Food and Nutrition Policy (UFNP) in Uganda, for example, is to facilitate coordinated interventions that focus on food security, improved nutrition and increased income.⁹⁷⁶ The countries in the region have various strategies in place towards this goal. Kenya aims to promote an innovative, commercially-oriented, and modern agricultural sector.⁹⁷⁷ This is to be achieved through strengthening the linkages from production to value addition and improving market access for smallholders.⁹⁷⁸ And through access to client-suited and packaged credit to finance procurement of input and capital investments in areas such as value addition technologies, irrigation infrastructure and general farm development.⁹⁷⁹ Rwanda focuses on fully liberalizing marketing of agricultural inputs and outputs and on processing livestock and fisheries products, and development of non-traditional crops.⁹⁸⁰ Uganda, with the most buoyant food security status in the region but with less capacity in the production of cash crops such as tea coffee, cotton and tobacco, concentrates on external food trade. It focuses on food storage facilities for surplus food,

⁹⁷⁶ The Republic of Uganda. 2003. "Uganda Food and Nutrition Policy," (accessed 17 September 2010).

⁹⁷⁷ Cf. Government of Kenya. 2007. "Kenya Vision 2030: A Globally Competitive and Prosperous Kenya," (accessed 13 September 2010).

⁹⁷⁸ Republic of Kenya. "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," (accessed 14 September 2010). Access to agricultural market is determined by a well developed market infrastructure, availability of accurate and reliable market information, a well organized market development strategy, support to value addition and an aggressive pursuit of favourable bilateral and multilateral agreements.

⁹⁷⁹ Republic of Kenya. "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," (accessed 14 September 2010).

⁹⁸⁰ Republic of Rwanda. 2009. "Strategic Plan for the Transformation of Agriculture in Rwanda: Phase II," (accessed 17 October 2010).

and on diversifying food exports in order to broaden its foreign exchange base.⁹⁸¹ For sustainability, a country like Kenya even plans to establish Agribusiness Development Centres as regional focal points for promotion of farming as a business. These will also serve as the basis for long-term commercialization of small-scale agriculture.⁹⁸² The objective is to increase jobs, provide income for farmers and boost farmer's purchasing capacities that prepare them to face the challenges of hunger. Where these strategies go beyond the individual farmer's income, and are consolidated as part of national earning like the case of Uganda, they boost the national expenditure base for social security services or indeed subsidize government expenditure on hunger reduction. This is consistent with both the regional and global development agenda for the developing countries. The vision of the NEPAD initiative on the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), almost entirely underscores commercialization of agriculture for increased income to alleviate poverty.⁹⁸³ And so do the FAO reports in their estimates and

⁹⁸¹ Uganda. "Uganda Food and Nutrition Strategy and Investment Plan," (accessed 17 October 2010). The use of traditional household food processing and preservation methods such as sun drying, fire drying, salting, fermenting, smoking, roasting and grinding, is on the decline. On the other hand, industrial methods are gradually replacing traditional ones. There are several mills and cottage industries in the country processing maize, wheat, sorghum, millet, cassava, groundnuts and simsim. There are also a number of large-scale commercial plants processing sugar, wheat, tea and maize. Rice de-hullers are becoming common, in line with the expansion of rice production and consumption, while legume and oil crops are processed into oil, food and animal feeds.

⁹⁸² Republic of Kenya. "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," (accessed 14 September 2010).

⁹⁸³ NEPAD, "The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme" (accessed 21 September 2010). Five points describe NEPAD's general vision for the four pillars under which its work in Africa falls. These are: 1. Dynamic agricultural markets within countries and between regions in Africa; 2. Farmers taking part in the market economy and enjoying good access to markets so that Africa, capitalising on its comparative and competitive advantages, becomes a net exporter of agricultural products; 3. A more equitable distribution of wealth

recommendation of small-holder agriculture for poverty reduction.⁹⁸⁴ In the recent report of the World Bank, its chief economist, Justine Yifu Lin summed it up forcefully: "Unless governments in developing countries and aid agencies take concrete steps to increase investment in rural infrastructure, agricultural research and development, and agricultural extension services, it is possible that global agricultural productivity growth will slow. Higher food prices would follow and many countries that are now self-sufficient in food would become large net importers of food."⁹⁸⁵

This clearly begs the explanation of economic entitlements among peasant farmers and their role in alleviation of hunger. The argument is to increase the base of individual economic commodity bundles, and avail a wider scope for the individual exchange entitlement mapping, that is, to increase the alternatives one has at one's disposal to exchange one's endowment (what one owns) for what one desires most, in this case, food. Exchange entitlement depends on production opportunities as well as on possibilities of trade in resources and food commodities. In the GLR, commercializing agriculture is the surest way of increasing such opportunities. In Rwanda for example, while the government has taken long to develop a definite food security strategy, it has a comprehensive strategic plan for the transformation of agriculture in

for rural populations - in terms of higher real incomes and relative wealth. Rural populations will have more equitable access to land, physical and financial resources, and knowledge, information and technology for sustainable development; 4. Africa as a strategic player in agricultural science and technology, meeting the growing needs and demands of African agriculture; and 5. Environmentally sound agricultural production and a culture of sustainable management of natural resources as a result of better knowledge, more information and the application of technology. All the five points are rather more descriptive of the economic objective.

⁹⁸⁴ Cf. FAO. "Towards the Summit Commitments," (accessed 20 October 2010).

⁹⁸⁵ Justin Yifu Lin. 2009. "Global Economic Prospects," World Bank. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTGEP2009/Resources/10363_WebPDF-w47.pdf, (accessed 7 November 2010).

which also subsists its only reliable food security approach so far.⁹⁸⁶ Two factors are crucial in the entitlement approach to starvation and famine, namely: the person's endowments, and exchange entitlement mapping. While the person's endowments define particular commodity bundle assigned to the individual in a given situation, exchange entitlement mapping transforms a person's endowments into a set of alternative economic (and non-economic) commodities.⁹⁸⁷ This is the function used by entitlement approach to estimate the power of the individual to command the food commodity. As Amartya Sen observes "for example, a peasant has his land, labour power, and a few other resources, which together make up his endowment. Starting from that endowment he can produce a bundle of food that will be his. Or by selling his labour power, he can get a wage and with that buy commodities, including food."⁹⁸⁸ In short, the entitlement approach considers the general ability of people to command food through the legal means available in their circumstance. In terms of production, exchange entitlement mapping depends on production opportunities as well as trade possibilities of resources and products.⁹⁸⁹ However, instead of relying on the entitlement approach to fight poverty and hunger, some experts have argued out cases that have proven the contrary.

Meera Tiwari demonstrated that, in fact, the entitlement approach framework supports and sometimes aggravates chronic poverty in the

⁹⁸⁶ Cf. Patrick Vinc and others. July 2009. "Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis and Nutrition Survey," Rwanda. [http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2009.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/SKEA-7XUFTP-full_report.pdf/\\$File/full_report.pdf](http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/RWFiles2009.nsf/FilesByRWDocUnidFilename/SKEA-7XUFTP-full_report.pdf/$File/full_report.pdf), (accessed 12 November 2010).

⁹⁸⁷ Cf. Sen, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*, 45-51.

⁹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 45-46.

Indian rural sector.⁹⁹⁰ Having logically established the role of entitlements in the unending poverty in rural farming communities, Tiwari went on to demonstrate that the increase in the factors that usually contribute to changing a person's exchange entitlement and ownership bundle in the rural labour market such as quality employment profiles, increase of land size and area, and ownership of livestock, do not necessarily facilitate a corresponding change in the overall ownership bundle. His finding was that when the market is examined in terms of the factors that influence the exchange entitlement of households, brought in mostly through government policies, the combined exchange entitlement of these rural households does not necessarily respond to the changes in the faces of demand and supply.⁹⁹¹ For example, literacy is an important component of the endowment of an individual, since it can influence his/her employability and hence the exchange entitlement of the individual. Positive changes in literacy levels are expected to improve a person's exchange entitlement through better paid skilled jobs in industry, services and agriculture, but a close study of changes in rural literacy levels conducted by Meera Tiwari over the period 1971, 1981, 1991, revealed an interesting scenario: Although there was significant increase in the literacy rates in the period under consideration, rising from 23.9 % in 1971 to 42% in 1991, data on the distribution of working population in the rural industry and service sectors in the same period (1971-1991)

⁹⁹⁰ Meera Tiwari, "Chronic Poverty and Entitlement Theory," *Third World Quarterly* 28, no. No. 1 (2007): 174, 176-186.

⁹⁹¹ *Ibid.* Some of the factors that may influence a person's exchange entitlements include: the employment profile, the money value of the person's non-labour assets, the value of return on the person's output, the cost of purchasing resources and the social and economic benefits the person can't get. Data on each of these variables in the rural market are examined to discover how changes in them have affected the entitlement of rural households.

show that the employment possibilities in these sectors grew only very slowly.⁹⁹²

Given the importance of literacy in both industry and services, the noted changes in literacy levels and employment possibilities in these sectors, showed a mismatch between the increase in the supply of rural literate labour and the demand for their services. Focussing on how changes in the rural market structure affect the exchange entitlements of rural households, Tiwari showed this untold side of the entitlement approach even with the other factors such as the increase in size and area of land ownership, pricing policy involving high proportions of government subsidies intended to keep both input and output prices low, rural development benefits.⁹⁹³ It is clear from this example, that government intervention in alleviating poverty and eliminating hunger may be well intended and carefully drafted on policy papers but their implementation, no matter how thorough, does not necessarily produce automatic effects. When there is an effect at all, it is never sure to be proportionate to the expectation. This partly explains why hunger persists in the GLR while governments' plans and policies are drafted annually.

In the light of these weaknesses we propose special attention towards social security systems adapted to individual needs in society.⁹⁹⁴ Governments should be able to construct a hunger/poverty sensitive social security system that addresses specific food needs of every

⁹⁹² Ibid., 177.

⁹⁹³ Ibid., 179-185.

⁹⁹⁴ Sen, *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*, 6-7. Exchange entitlements depend not merely on market exchanges but also on those exchanges that the state provides as a part of its social security programme. They are part of a person's exchange entitlements, and are conditioned by the absence of other exchanges that a person might undertake. The social security provisions are essentially supplement of the processes of market exchange and production, and the two types of opportunities together determine a person's exchange entitlements in a private ownership market economy with social security provisions.

individual in a household. Generalized policies aimed at addressing hunger only from a general point of view like care of environment, education and training, communication and technology, as they are common in the strategy plans of the countries of this region, can no longer be counted upon for effectiveness. Through the use of its social machinery, complemented by the participation of the private agencies like the churches and the NGOs, governments should be able to establish the data base of those who deserve hunger/poverty allowance to meet their specific food needs. The numbers should be updated annually and provided for in national budgets. Those proven not deserving, should be shown how to strictly employ the agricultural resources at their disposal, boosted by appropriate credit facility,⁹⁹⁵ how to meet their food needs and improve their incomes. But once established and classified as deserving, the claim of such individuals becomes a constitutional right to food, protected by law. In other words the right to food should be enforceable on the individual level with a specific focus on the dignity and integrity of the individual citizens. As we shall see below, the rights approach to hunger can effectively facilitate such specialized attention and focus. The backing of the international community in the implementation of such initiative will then be immediate, effective and focused, in line with the international human rights infrastructure.

Poverty alleviation is now the mainstream strategy in agricultural development, especially in the developing countries like all those in the GLR. While this strategy finds much favour in rhetoric and appears glossy, and indeed meaningful in proposals and conference proceedings, the stark reality reveals the difficulty to achieve this in the region where

⁹⁹⁵ Cf. Republic of Kenya. "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," (accessed 14 September 2010). An appropriate credit package suitable to small scale producers gives them access to inputs such as fertilizers, agrochemicals and seed, capital investment such irrigation infrastructure, value addition technology, compliance with food safety regulation and general farm development.

incomes are still below poverty line. With due consideration of this context, the two sides of our proposal deserve emphasis. As regards the social protection intervention programmes that target vulnerable individuals and households, it is crucial that poverty alleviation is tackled on the micro level. Despite the fact that the region is now opening up to cooperation among its countries, there is need to give due attention to individual peasant farmers in smaller farms or group of farmers. With the economic strength of the region, a larger market and consequent collective bargain may then uplift the economy, raise incomes as well as the standards of living in respective countries of the region. A social security structure that supports and protects the individual vulnerable poor farmers from adverse market completion employs measures such as access to the market, equal business opportunities, fair trade and individual interests, to advance social welfare economics. It cushions peasant farmers in adverse economic situations as fallback position in times of adversity.⁹⁹⁶ These have been distant realities never enjoyed by people, be it as individuals, countries, or even as a region.

With regard to the access to credit facility, the choice should be appropriate to the economic needs of the people and specific to the situation of the GLR. Despite several schemes of loans and credit to farmers in banks, farmers associations and credit finance institutions both national and global, the conditions tied to these facilities are often not favourable to small scale farmers.⁹⁹⁷ There should be a provision in the region's food security initiatives that lobby support for appropriate

⁹⁹⁶ Cf. Amartya Sen, *Commodities and Capabilities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3, 6-16. Amartya Sen's reflection distinguishes between two ways of seeing a person's interests and their fulfilment, namely, 'well being' and 'advantage.' Well-being is concerned with a person's achievement: how 'well' is his/her 'being?' 'Advantage' refers to the real opportunities that the person has, especially compared with others.

⁹⁹⁷ Cf. Thompson, "Biotechnological Approaches," 134.

credit arrangements adapted to the farming activities in the region with a focus on the individual people's economic welfare.⁹⁹⁸ Putting together the social security arrangement and the credit facility provision is a strategy that will, first and foremost, highlight concern for the individual persons on the household level. Secondly, the measure will not only strengthen the farmer's economic position, it will also prepare the poor peasant small-scale farmers in this region to cope with the competitive global market. Credit financing also touches on loans, grants and financial aid from the richer nations to the poorer nations. As the poorest rural households rely on agricultural production for a significant share of their income, the need to increase food production should not only be seen in the context of the current supply and demand "imbalances" FAO experts underscore the centrality of smallholders in the pursuit of agricultural development. To them, the failure to include smallholders in future strategies will result in further marginalization, increased rural poverty and rising migration of the rural poor to urban areas. Thus:

Increasing agricultural productivity is closely related to reducing rural poverty. It follows that increasing food production and productivity should go beyond the objective of reducing prices in global markets – providing an opportunity for reducing rural poverty and hunger. Realizing the potential of food and agricultural production to reduce poverty and hunger depends largely on the degree to which smallholder farmers, representing 90 percent of the rural poor, are able to participate in productive and remunerative farming and off-farm activities.⁹⁹⁹

⁹⁹⁸Cf. Republic of Kenya. 2010. "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," Ministry of Agriculture, (accessed 14 September 2010).

⁹⁹⁹ FAO. "Towards the Summit Commitments," (accessed 2 October 2010). According to this FAO report, 2008, about two-thirds of the 3 billion rural people in the world live off the income generated by farmers managing some 500 million small farms of less than 2 hectares each. Hence, efforts to boost

This is an initiative that targets the poorest people who suffer hunger in the rural areas of the GLR characterized by small scale agricultural farming. The needs of such people in any country of this region requires a specialized response.

4.4.5.6 Advancement of Effective Policy and Legal Frameworks

Policy and legal frameworks not only outline the concerns of the country with regard to food security, they also safeguard the focus and the implementation process of these strategies. The strict requirement of proper interpretation of these frameworks at implementation level relies on careful drafting in the first place. Elaborate policies identify the objectives, define goals, and clarify visions. Above all, they specify appropriate ways and means for implementing the preferred strategies. The resulting clarity of intention and strategic focus should be accompanied by the safeguards of law and regulations that guide national interests for the common good. All the countries of this region have elaborate drafts of policy and legislation that capture renewed and comprehensive visions on development, where food security strategies feature conspicuously as an important component of development.¹⁰⁰⁰ The elaborate formal character of these documents no doubt reflects both the global aspirations on development as well as recommendable expert qualities suited to such important national guideline on food

agricultural production must focus largely on increasing smallholder productivity.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Cf. Government of Kenya. 2007. "Kenya Vision 2030: A Globally Competitive and Prosperous Kenya." http://www.safaricomfoundation.org/fileadmin/template/main/downloads/Kenya_VISION_2030-final_report-October_2007.pdf, (accessed 13 September 2010). See also Uganda, "Uganda Food and Nutrition Strategy and Investment Plan," (accessed 17 October 2010). And Republic of Rwanda "Strategic Plan for the Transformation of Agriculture in Rwanda: Phase II," (accessed 17 October 2010).

security.¹⁰⁰¹ However, the disparity between the elaborate theoretical paper work and the practical implementation of what they propose in relation to the needs of people in the region puts to question the relevance and effectiveness of these documents. The context question here is: Who takes responsibility in case of failure to achieve the goals projected, and what are the reasons for such failures? Various reasons explain why policy and law are not very effective in the Great Lakes Region.¹⁰⁰² Experts have cited the effects of nepotism, tribalism, cronyism which have not only compromised quality service, training and professionalism, but have also negatively affected the implementation of the proposals in these documents.¹⁰⁰³

The drafters of the Kenya Vision 2030 site an example facilitated by these vices. The contribution of agriculture to the economy of Kenya in 2001-2005 stood at around 65% of the total exports, accounting for over 24% of the GDP, the country's budgetary allocation for agricultural development in the same period remained under 2% of the GDP. This allocation is disproportionately meagre considering the role of

¹⁰⁰¹ Cf. Edward Schuh, "The Changing Context of Food and Agricultural," in *Food Policy: Integrating Supply, Distribution, and Consumption*, ed. J. Price Gittinger, Joanne Leslie, and Caroline Hoisington (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987). According to Edward Schuh, food and agricultural development policy today is carried out in a completely different world compared to a decade ago. In the past, sectoral approaches were appropriate. Today, the food and agricultural sector can be understood only in the context of the larger economy, both national and international. After World War II, the world has witnessed an evolution of an international food and agricultural system built on international trade and supported by a rapidly evolving institutional infrastructure. The key to this evolving system is an international trade structure that enables consumers to tap suppliers of food and agricultural products in almost any part of the world. Virtually all countries now engage in trade of agricultural products of one kind or another, either as exporters or as importers, and thus are bound together in a common system. As a result, domestic and international policies are inseparable in today's world.

¹⁰⁰² Yoweri K. Museveni, *What Is Africa's Problem* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 71-76.

¹⁰⁰³ Peter Anasi, *Corruption in Africa: The Kenyan Experience* (Victoria: Trafford Publishing, 2004), 179-186.

agricultural sector in the development of the country. The concern is that at the level of implementation, even this meagre allocation is still spent in serving suspect interests. For example, in the expenditure pattern of the 3.1 billion allocated to KARI for agricultural research and development in the year 2005, only 20% (0.62 bil.) was spent for research activities from which only 12% (74,400,000) was actually spent on research and development of food crops. The remaining 80% (2.5 bil.), was paid out to support staffs often employed on the basis of political alignment, tribe or cronyism. This reflects the remuneration of a staff profile where the science experts and the technical researchers of the institute represent only 15% and 23% respectively. The support staff represented the remaining 61%. Thus, despite the glaring disproportion in distribution the GDP for the country's development, corruption has been key to failure of progress in any planning.¹⁰⁰⁴ This could be further sampled out in every sector.

The recent report of Transparency International particularly samples Burundi, Kenya and Rwanda and ranks them among the most corrupt countries not only in the region but even in the overall international ranking where Burundi with the Corruption Perception Index of 1.9, ranks No. 158 out of the 180 corrupt nations. Kenya follows with CPI of 2.1 ranks 147 overall, while Rwanda with CPI ranks 102 overall.¹⁰⁰⁵ In Burundi, the report cites the struggle to rebuild the infrastructure destroyed in the years of civil strife soon faced challenges from the

¹⁰⁰⁴ Government of Kenya, "Kenya Vision 2030," (accessed 13 September 2010). Against this background KARI projected a reorganization of funding of agricultural research and development to put more resources into research activities rather than into overheads and salaries of non-research staff. Cf. KARI, 2010.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Transparency International. 2009. "Global Corruption Report," Africa and the Middle East. http://www.transparency.org/publications/gcr/gcr_2009#dnld, (accessed 10 November 2010).

corruption in the construction industry.¹⁰⁰⁶ The blame is laid on the shortcomings in the law of public contracting and the immoral behaviour of some in power. In Rwanda the sudden loss of deposits of the poor rural farmers in the cooperatives created to boost their Micro Finance situation, was blamed on nepotism and inexperience. The Micro Finance Institutions were run by people with no experience in the credit business. Nepotism was practiced whereby family members were granted credits without providing guarantees. In addition, poor oversight allowed managers to become involved in financial embezzlement. In Kenya, the report documents a series of corrupt dealings in which billions of the National Social Security Fund (NSSF), of the poor desperate retired workers were lost in dubious investments. The fund lost colossal sums of money by investing it in deals with corrupt house construction companies, suspect stock exchange business, and in deposits made in politically correct banks.¹⁰⁰⁷ According to the report, what ails Kenya's financial sector is poor sectoral and corporate governance, resulting in weaknesses that make pensioners, creditors, employees and depositors extremely vulnerable. Although the report

¹⁰⁰⁶ Ibid. The most telling example of embezzlement and bribery concerns the reconstruction of the main road between Bujumbura and Rumonge. Emugeco, on the face of it an unqualified Rwandan company, was awarded the contract for rebuilding the road. The persons responsible for procurement contracts at the time were also linked with CNDD-FDD, the ruling party at the time. Meanwhile, the corrupt individuals were suspected and are being held to account. While Burundi is struggling to recover from its years of war and to rebuild its infrastructure, shortcomings in the law of public contracting and the immoral behaviour of some in power are undermining these efforts.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Ibid. In 1993, the Fund lost about 13 billion to Mugoya Construction Company under clear arrangements of corruption. In 2003, it lost another 256 Million Ksh. following the collapse of Euro Bank, and in 2008, the Fund lost Ksh. 1.4 billion in dubious operations of Discount Security Ltd., stock broker with the Nairobi Stock Exchange (NSE). BBC News, 27 February 2003. NSSF contributors' money was invested in Euro bank through Shah Munge and Partners stockbrokers. Munge was one of the directors of the Euro bank at the time. Munge has since been acquitted of charges relating to the case. Cf. Daily Nation, Kenya, 19 September 2008.

sites poor policy guideline in financial sector oversight, base sector culture and overbearing political and executive corruption, the mentioned weaknesses can all be traced to weaker legislation and unethical civil service. The region still lacks effective laws that criminalize and punish economic sabotage in crimes such as money laundering, drug trade, illegal dealing with arms. The laws that guide the licensing of financial institutions are grossly inadequate in protecting customers and depositors in banking, pension, insurance, securities and foreign exchange institutions. The politics of the day keep the status quo, or as Michela Wrong puts it: “Everything depends on the boss,”¹⁰⁰⁸ and the country’s meagre resources are squandered at the expense of progress towards poverty alleviation.

These examples show some of the huddles faced in implementing development plans within which food security strategies are conceptualized. The effects compromise the quality of policy drafts in various ways: nepotism compromises the quality of policy drafts. The hiring of relatives and friends or political cronies replaces professional procedure of employing experts. In this scenario, the policy drafts jeopardize quality inputs of the experts or quality expert drafts are abandoned in favour of political decisions tailored to favour those in positions of influence regardless of the outcome. Furthermore, the money allocated for important projects is misdirected to other use or squandered altogether. Above all, the weak legislation further becomes an excuse for misappropriation of funds where no one takes responsibility for the lack of progress despite continuous planning, policy making and legislation. The first proposal in this discussion towards appropriate policy and legal frameworks is to improve the quality of policy drafts. Policy statements should now incorporate strategies adapted to food needs of the entire region. The development

¹⁰⁰⁸ Michela Wrong, *It's Our Turn to Eat: The Story of a Kenyan Whistle Blower* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2009), 168.

plans drafted in all the countries to anchor strategies against hunger, require clear interpretation in elaborate policies that identify the objectives, define goals, and clarify visions. The recommended plans for the region should also specify strategies to be pursued in order to deliver creative innovations especially in the area of technological adaptations and economic security in agricultural research and development. This clarity of intention and strategic focus should be accompanied by appropriate legislation that guides both national and regional interests for the common good of the inhabitants in the region. Secondly, this discussion prioritizes the need of strict legislation that governs the code of conduct for hiring, executing, and supervising this service to society of implementing the strategies. In the circumstances of lack of respect for law and order in any pursuit, implementation is selective, innovation is stifled and, ultimately, policy and strategies remain in blue prints as hunger continues to ravage the poor of society. But what constitutes a strict and effective legislation? The answer is our core proposal to the countries of the GLR, namely: the pursuit of the human rights approach to legislation.

The right to food should be entrenched as individual person's constitutional rights in all the countries. As human rights concern, such laws are implementable beyond national boundaries. They shall be guided and protected by both national and regional (and even global) legal instruments adapted to the normative-activist methodological approach as properly associated with the pursuits of human rights. Thus, where smooth implementation of reasonable laws is sabotaged by any interference, society is empowered by law to claim through advocacy and public action for the constitutional right of every individual. Given the importance of the law and order in all governments here, partial enforcement and compromised systems can only be checked by constitutional bill of rights that guarantees the individual right to food. So far, only two out of the six countries have fully entrenched the

human right to food into their constitutions. Uganda ratified the I.C.E.S.C.R in 1987 and recognizes the importance of food and nutrition in the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda. The National Objectives and Directive Principle of State Policy in the Constitution provides that the State shall: Take appropriate steps to encourage people to grow and store adequate food; establish national food reserves; and encourage and promote proper nutrition through mass education and other appropriate means in order to build a healthy state.¹⁰⁰⁹ Kenya enacted the new constitution on 27 August 2010 of its elaborate bill of rights, Article 43 (1) (c) states: "Every person has the right to be free from hunger, and to have adequate food of acceptable quality." Though the other four countries still have weaker legislation in this regard, the atmosphere of democratic governance is operational in all the countries in the region. This discussion recommends the entrenchment of the bill of rights in the constitutions of all the countries in the GLR. The participation of non-governmental organizations, faith-based organizations, churches and other civic organizations can then facilitate continuous awareness of the human rights where the right to food is among the necessary minimum. The solidarity of peoples implied by the human rights approach also inspires partnership in the pursuit of the right to food rendered possible in areas such as policing agencies, prosecution in cases of aggression, and collaboration at implementation. Both private and public national and regional (international) agencies can easily fit into human rights-based enforcement arrangement. Human

¹⁰⁰⁹ The Republic of Uganda, "Uganda Food and Nutrition Policy," (accessed 17 September 2010). In 1999, following requests at the 1996 World Food Summit, the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights formulated General Comment No. 12 to give a better definition of the rights relating to food in Article 11 of the I.C.E.S.C.R and to identify principal important issues in relation to the right to food. General Comment No. 12 elaborates on the meaning and content of the right to adequate food and identifies the obligations of states and the international community in the implementation of the right to food at the national and international levels.

rights advocacy in democratic governments and the cooperation of civil society through NGOs, faith organizations and churches within systems well regulated by law is an opportune option recommendable to the GLR. Hence, while it is obvious that every country in the GLR has drafts of policy plans and strategies, as well as legislation with regard to food policy, this area of the struggle needs improvement on a regular basis. Likewise, commitment to the implementation of what has been proposed for pursuit remains a big challenge in this region, not to mention the continuous innovations, changes of focus and rising expectations of society today on their governments.

4.4.5.7 Regional Cooperation and Collaboration

Regional cooperation is no doubt the future of the GLR, given the already existing initiatives and those still under way towards at least economic commonality. The question is no longer whether or not the region should strive towards collaboration and unity, but rather on the priorities that will fast-track integration. This discussion has considered at length the fact that food security is no longer simply an issue of self-sustenance or self-sufficiency, but rather an issue of the development of peoples as individuals, nations, regions and eventually as a global community. Against this background, three points emerge clearly: Firstly, as Edward Schuh observed, “today, the food and agricultural sector can be understood only in the context of the larger economy, both national and international ... as a result, domestic and international policies are inseparable in today’s world.”¹⁰¹⁰ Efforts to pursue this strategy are evident in the development plans of all the countries of the GLR,¹⁰¹¹ and in the regional structures of development such as

¹⁰¹⁰ Schuh, “The Changing Context of Food and Agricultural Development Policy,” 72, 73.

¹⁰¹¹ See particularly Government of Kenya, “Kenya Vision 2030,” (accessed 14 September 2010), Uganda, “Food and Nutrition Strategy and Investment Plan,” Rwanda, “Strategic Plan for Agriculture Transformation,” (accessed 17 September 2010).

NEPAD's CAADP, COMESA, and the EAC initiative. Secondly, the human rights approach to the problem of hunger is in itself a core issue of development today. The UN declaration on the Right to Development defines development as "a process of constant improvement of well-being of all individuals in a society."¹⁰¹² Interpreting this in the background of welfare economists like Amartya Sen, Arjun Sengupta argues that individual well-being comprises of the freedoms of individuals to be and to do what they want to be and what they want to do.¹⁰¹³ Development in this sense becomes expansion of freedoms which international law recognizes as human rights. Accordingly, "development can then be seen as a process of realization of these human rights. When that process of development itself can be claimed and is recognized as a human right, we have the right to development."¹⁰¹⁴ What every society admits today is that all its members should have access to adequate food in order to survive and to function well as they contribute actively to the process of development in their circumstance.¹⁰¹⁵ The third consideration of the centrality of the universal concept of development is present in the regional initiatives already existing in the GLR. The Great Lakes Region of Africa comprises of various regional initiatives that have constantly come together to forge effort towards the development of the region. The most relevant are the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region

¹⁰¹² UN General Assembly. December 1986. "41/128 Declaration on the Human Right to Development," United Nations. <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/41/a41r128.htm>, (accessed 13 November 2010). See particularly the preamble and Article 1.

¹⁰¹³ Amartya Sen, "What Is the Point of a Development Strategy," in *Development Strategy and Management of the Market Economy*, ed. Edmond Malinvaud et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 36.

¹⁰¹⁴ Arjun Sengupta, "The Right to Food in the Perspective of the Right to Development," in *Food and Human Rights in Development*, ed. Wenche Barth Eide and Uwe Kracht (Antwerpen: Intersentia, 2007), 110,112.

¹⁰¹⁵ Cf. The Republic of Uganda. 2004. "Uganda Food and Nutrition Strategy and Investment Plan," (accessed 17 October 2010).

(ICGLR), the Eastern African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of Great Lakes Region (CEPGL), and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). Apart from this main political-economic orientations in the cooperation initiative, mention must be made of the many NGOs, faith-based organizations and churches that exist in this region and are actively involved in suggesting and implementing sound food security strategies for the poor people living in the rural areas.¹⁰¹⁶ Their concerns are neither political nor explicitly economic but rather a deep regard for the humanitarian conditions in education, health, poverty, hunger and nutrition besides being organized custodians of value, culture and religion.

These two perspectives facilitate development in its diverse dimensions, and project it beyond national boundaries. Through the relevant ministries and training institutions, some governments in this region have plans that target regional cooperation. Such plans include the strategy to develop and sustain a well trained human resource tuned to a specific work ethic, ability in teamwork, professional approach to service delivery,¹⁰¹⁷ effective communication and strong inter-personal relations, a professionalism free from the corruption of the national civil service. This is in the bid to foster and institutionalize positive organizational culture of service delivery adapted to regional development. There are also the gender issues that seek to enhance equity between men and women in agricultural production and marketing in the approach of other regional challenges like HIV/AIDS,

¹⁰¹⁶ Republic of Kenya. "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," (accessed 14 September 2010). The target of the various strategic plans, like the Kenya Vision 2030, is to engage the private sector as a catalyst for growth and to gradually reduce the government involvement in various aspects. Although some countries do not yet have any policy or legal framework that supports and facilitates this initiative, the region recognizes that a number of activities could best be implemented in partnership with other stakeholders.

¹⁰¹⁷ Ibid.

poverty, hunger and nutrition,¹⁰¹⁸ and the advancement of ICT-based tools to enable access to an integrated source of agricultural information. This is necessary for the convenient and speedy access to information as well as updates on supply-demand food chain from the farm to the market.¹⁰¹⁹ Most importantly, the governments have made efforts to strengthen partnership between the private and the public sector where the private sector is engaged as a catalyst for growth and gradually reduce the government involvement in various aspects. The countries of the region recognize that a number of activities could best be implemented in partnership with other stakeholders. The responsible ministries create conducive environment for private investment, support farmer organizations, and suggest incentives such as subsidies or tax exemptions for the agricultural equipment.

To this extent, the Great Lakes Region of Africa is in itself an expression of the common features that unite the people around a common purpose in the development of the region's self identity and determination. National efforts in education and research, social well-being in economics and culture, exploration and equitable use of natural resource endowments, the initiatives in food security and nutrition, and the overall national security to guard peaceful co-habitation are among factors that define the legitimacy of political governance in each country. Any efforts to put these endowments at the disposal of the development of people across the borders only enhances the opportunities of well-being in the region. Strategic cooperation and collaboration between governments in the region facilitates the pooling of efforts and resources necessary to ensure maximum self-determination. On the basis of the political economic cooperation visible

¹⁰¹⁸ Cf. The Republic of Uganda. 2004. "Uganda Food and Nutrition Strategy and Investment Plan," (accessed 17 October 2010).

¹⁰¹⁹ Ibid. Republic of Kenya. "Strategic Plan 2008-2012," (accessed 14 September 2010).

in this region, the approach to the issues of food security is driven by the global development agenda, particularly as underlined in the Millennium Development Goal 1 on poverty and hunger. It is re-emphasized on regional level as one spelt out by the ICGLR, namely: "To jointly promote a prosperous, integrated economic space, to improve the standard of living of its populations, and to contribute to the development of the Region, by implementing the Program of Action for Economic Development and Regional Integration."¹⁰²⁰ The common effort, therefore, of the countries in this region to advance both a regional and a global approach to food security is a requirement of the development agenda to which all of them subscribe. The option to promote both regional and international cooperation therefore is obvious and necessary. Accordingly, regional cooperation cannot be gainsaid; it can only be improved and fast-tracked.

Although the structures of cooperation are visible in the region's politico-economic landscape and unity of purpose on development manifest in the policy plans and strategies of all the countries in the region, there is conspicuous overemphasis on the political-economic aspects of development. This skewed understanding not only fails to demonstrate the comprehension of modern holistic understanding of development, it also risks missing the focus of development all together. The consequence is perhaps increased wealth that does not bear any impact on the lives of the people. But the three considerations at the core of development cooperation highlighted above provide the general framework within which cooperation should be pursued in the GLR. The

¹⁰²⁰ (ICGLR). "Economic Development and Regional Integration," (accessed 5 October 2010). The Regional Action Programme of the promotion of Economic Development and Regional Integration comprises three sub-programs. Prominent among these is the Food Security Project. In general this Action Programme comprises three sub-programs and fifteen priority projects. The sub-programs are: Cooperation for poverty reduction, Establishment of a Region Support Mechanism for Micro-Finance Institutions, Food Security Project, and Trans-Border Development Basins.

recommendation of this discussion is to pursue collaboration that will facilitate a holistic development of the persons in society. The requirement is cooperation and partnerships not only among the nation states, but also among NGOs, Faith-based organizations, among them the established churches. While the economic cooperation advances wealth creation for the material wellbeing of the entire region and its inhabitants, solidarity among civil organization and governments shall advance values, culture and religion. In the final analysis, collaboration among the interested parties facilitates a holistic development through contributing to the economic, social, and cultural aspirations of the individuals and society.

This is the basis upon which the development of the region should be advanced, governed, shared, maintained and protected. While mutual respect defines the working relationship between the partners, the target is always the integrity of the individual person. This is closer to Arjun Sengupta's description of the rights-based development where human rights are both the objective of social organization and the means by which the objective is achieved. To qualify development as a human right, Sengupta argues that it must appeal to high moral standards, the goals must refer to fundamental norms and standards of achievement accepted by a society. To him, this implies that the means of development must conform to the human rights principle such as equity, non-discrimination, participation, accountability and transparency (ENPAP).¹⁰²¹ Although sufficient independence should be allowed in the operation, joint ventures of collaboration and partnership in resolving social problems such as HIV/AIDS, hunger, poverty and health is mandatory in the new spirit of development. It shall then depend on the respective governments to draft appropriate policies that address the various aspects of development and define the rules of

¹⁰²¹ Sengupta, "The Right to Food in the Perspective of the Right to Development," 110.

engagement for other partners in order to fast-track cooperation in the right direction. This proposal envisions the pursuit of food security within the framework of development motivated by a true commitment to advance the welfare and interest of every person in society. Cooperation between the countries of this region becomes the necessary means of maximizing the economic advantage of the natural resources and the public goods of the region. Collaboration shall then be pursued for the purposes not simply of developing economic power, but of reaching out beyond national boundaries to as many poor people as there are in the GLR. Economic power will be the inevitable consequence of empowering every person with the resource necessary for decent life accruing from the shared common public goods of the region.

4.5 The Role of the Catholic Church in the Alleviation of Hunger

4.5.1 The Local Church and the Responsibility to the Hungry

4.5.1.1. Church Leadership Consciousness and Challenges after Independence

The post independence experience of the countries of the GLR generated anxiety in the Church as much as it did in the societies of this region. Its impact on the Church coincided with a renewed ecclesiology and new challenges that emerged from the Second Vatican Council. The spirit of independence in the early 1960s inspired courage among the local political heroes to assume power and take over leadership in the countries of this region: Democratic Republic of Congo, June 1960, Tanzania, December 1961 (Union with Zanzibar 1964); Rwanda, July 1962, Burundi, July 1962, Uganda, October 1962, and Kenya, December 1963. In the Church, leadership transition from the expatriate missionary bishops to the local bishops was not only unavoidable, it also excited profound emotion and deep feelings among the Church leaders who

needed more time to understand the radical innovations that emerged from the Second Vatican Council.¹⁰²² The anxiety of the local clergy to take on its impending new role in leadership became clear, while the credibility of the powers of the new leadership hung on a balance. In the spirit of 'Africanization,' the Church soon took the centre stage as independent political leadership assumed unequivocal control of the reins of power. But the cloud of the evils of post-independence also became clearer, characterized by the biased redistribution of land, and the distribution of national resources skewed along the lines of tribe and regionalism, among other ills of the time.¹⁰²³

In the Church, Joseph Cardinal Malula, archbishop of Kinshasa, DR Congo, summed up this entire project of 'Africanization' in a concise formula: "In the past, foreign missionaries christianized Africa. Today, Africans are Africanizing Christianity."¹⁰²⁴ The project was inspired also by the speeches of Pope Paul VI during his visit to Uganda in 1969, a country in the GLR. In his address to the Parliament of Uganda in Kampala on 1st August, Paul VI observed that "the Peoples of Africa have themselves assumed the responsibility for their own destiny ... Moreover, in the question of colonialism and neo-colonialism, still a burning question in Africa, ... it is clear that the interested peoples have the right to aspire to their own legitimate autonomy."¹⁰²⁵ And

¹⁰²² Read for example the effects of the abrogation of the juridical system of entrustment – the *ius commissionis* – and its replacement with '*Mandatum*.' Cf. A.A.S., *Iudicium Systema Commissionis ... Abrogatur Quoad Dioceses Territoriorum Missionum*, vol. LXI (Vatican: 1969). Competent interpretation of this document in the context of the events of the Church in AMECEA region at the time was a timely exercise. See Philip Sulumeti, "The Juridical System of 'Mandatum'," *African Ecclesial Review* XV, no. 4 (1973): 316-328.

¹⁰²³ Cf. Ajuma Oginga Odinga, *Not yet Uhuru: The Autobiography of Oginga Odinga* (London: Hill and Wang, 1969), 15-27.

¹⁰²⁴ Card. J. Malula, "The Church at the Hour of Africanization," *African Ecclesial Review* XVI, no. 4 (1974): 367.

¹⁰²⁵ Paul VI. 1969. "Journey to Uganda: Address of Paul VI to the Parliament of Uganda." http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/speeches/1969/august/doc

challenging the members of the Catholic Action Movement towards zeal and creativity in their collaboration with the hierarchy, Paul VI observed thus: "Africa must neglect the centuries-old experience of many well established movements in other parts of the world, and, in the ranks of those movements, the African voice must be heard, and listened to with respect."¹⁰²⁶

Facing this challenge as a pioneer figurehead, Cardinal Joseph Malula of Congo called for creativity among the African leaders, and the cultivation of new attitudes especially among the foreign missionaries. Thus: "This is a difficult task ... It will take us years ... It is an undertaking which will necessitate the mobilisation of all our intellectual energies, of all our African creativity." As for the foreign missionaries, "they will be asked to work in different conditions and with new dispositions of humility and selflessness ... They will be asked to accept interiorly the authority of blacks, and accept also in practice that blacks command them, because it is the blacks who are now taking over the supervision of the affairs of the African Church."¹⁰²⁷ The effects of the changes after the Second Vatican Council soon began to impact the local church leadership even with regard to prevailing changes in canon law. At the request of the local Episcopal Conference, Bishop Philip Sulumeti of Kenya issued a detailed critical article analytic of a change that had just been effected in the landscape of canon law relating to the government of mission lands. The juridical system of entrustment, the *ius commissionis*, had been abrogated and replaced by the new juridical system called '*Mandatum*.' The exhaustive interpretation of these two

uments/hf_p-vi_spe_19690801_parlamento-uganda_en.html, (accessed 10 December 2010).

¹⁰²⁶ Paul VI. August 1969. "Journey to Uganda: Address of Paul VI to the Members of the Catholic Action and Other Catholic Associations of Uganda." http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/speeches/1969/august/documents/hf_p-vi_spe_19690801_azione-cattolica_en.html, (accessed 10 December 2010).

¹⁰²⁷ Malula, "The the Church at the Hour of Africanization," 367-368.

canonical concepts, clarified the church's new position regarding the powers of governance of the ordinaries of the newly erected local particular churches in relation to the previous ecclesiastical missionary circumscriptions.¹⁰²⁸ Among the effects of this change, the fundamental consequence relevant to the anxiety of the young church then was the declaration of a special form of collaboration of the Missionary Institute with and under the Bishop in a missionary diocese. The Institute no longer occupied the principal part as it did before. "The effect of this change is that the residential bishop becomes the spearhead of the missionary activity in his diocese: he promotes, directs, and coordinates it."¹⁰²⁹ Though the discussion exalted the canonical powers and authority of the local bishop to make his own choices in running the diocese, the analysis preferred continued collaboration of the bishop and missionary congregations to build the local church.

These observations of the church leaders were only but a glimpse into the underlying determination laced with the anxiety that elicited protracted discussions in various study gatherings organized for the purpose. As the civil society struggled with the new challenges of leading independent nations, so did the church struggle with the implications of leading the young 'African' churches after the Council. Although the universal Church has a long history of partnership with political governments in its active service to the needs of society, the common history shared between the Church and the States of the GLR is uniquely significant in the understanding of the Church's involvement in social issues. As Joseph Blomjous observes, "There exists a clear and

¹⁰²⁸ Cf. Bishop Philip Sulumeti, "The Juridical System of 'Mandatum'," *African Ecclesial Review* XV, no. 4 (1973): 316-339.

¹⁰²⁹ *Ibid.*, 319. Previously, the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith was responsible for many mission territories. Although some of the territories were entrusted to the secular clergy (Australia and New Zealand), many more remained without the sacred hierarchy. According to the article quoted here, the small number of the mission territories under the hierarchy explained why there was no sufficient legislation for the mission territories.

quite natural parallelism between the characteristics of African States in the process of nation building and the characteristics of the local Church.”¹⁰³⁰ The genesis of the local Church’s desire for autonomy in terms of self-governance may be traced to the struggle for political independence. The two institutions in this region sought for both economic and ideological self-reliance. As the State sought national cultural identity, the local Church struggled with the crisis of ecclesial identity. But their struggle likewise bound them to the pursuit of unity, albeit in different contexts: the States pursued national unity, while the Church remained committed to the universal ecclesial unity.¹⁰³¹ But the service to the people in their various needs at independence (disease, hunger, poverty and ignorance), was a common denominator between the Church and the State.

4.5.1.2 *The Local Church Upholds Its Identity*

As the Church leaders in the GLR became more and more aware of the challenges that faced them in their time, it became important that the identity and mission of the Church were redefined. While the concept of universality and unity of the Church were to be preserved in all circumstances at all times, there was an equal need to articulate regional peculiarities that characterized the Church’s mission in the region. The efforts to clarify and balance this tension, preoccupied the Church leaders in the last four decades or so. The history of the account of the leaders’ struggle to balance these two key aspects of the Church, reveals their conception of the Church’s identity and mission at the time.

By 1960s, the ordinaries of the five countries drawn from the East and Central Africa: Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Malawi and Zambia had contemplated the idea of a common approach of issues in the Church

¹⁰³⁰ Joseph Blomjous, "Pastoral Planning for the Local Church in Eastern Africa," *African Ecclesial Review* 44, no. 1&2 (2002): 18-22.

¹⁰³¹ *Ibid.*, 24-32.

ministry. Under the instrumentality of the Rt. Rev. Joseph M. Blomjous, the Bishop of the diocese of Mwanza from 1950 to 1965, the Church in Tanzania first undertook the challenge to initiate talks that would culminate in cooperation.¹⁰³² Peter Lwaminda documents the developments that led to the formation of the AMECEA region from the first meeting of the Ordinaries of Tanganyika (Tanzania) in 1960, to the Inter-territorial Episcopal Board of Eastern Africa (ITEBEA) in 1961, and later to the Association of Member Episcopal Conferences in Eastern Africa (AMECEA) in 1964. Three issues stand out from this account that designate the motivation for forging unity in the Church within the regional. The first one is the advisability and possibility of joint meetings with hierarchies of neighbouring territories for the purpose of encouraging a common policy on problems that several of the territories of Eastern Africa shared equally. This became clear from the very first meeting of the Ordinaries of Tanganyika in 1960, who initiated arrangements for the Inter-territorial Episcopal Conference.¹⁰³³ Secondly, at the first Inter-territorial Episcopal Meeting in 1961, there was an overriding consensus among the forty seven Bishops in attendance, on the need for a forum for exchange of views, carry out projects of common interests and seek solutions to common problems. The closing remarks of His Eminence Laurean Cardinal Rugambwa exulted the strength of a united Church: "It is only by a common policy that the Bishops can hope to make their influence felt, overcome the many obstacles strewn in the Church's path and triumph over the

¹⁰³² Peter Lwaminda, "The Local Church with a Human Face," in *Spearhead*, ed. Agatha Radoli (Eldoret: AMECEA Gaba Publications, 1996), 69. Bishop Joseph M. Blomjous saw the previous apostolic vicariate of Mwanza (1920-1953) become a full diocese and later (1987) promoted to a Metropolitan Archdiocese in 1987. He was known to be the brain behind the whole project of regional collaboration in the Church and had travelled to all the five countries to meet and confer with the Ordinaries about the idea.

¹⁰³³ Ibid., 68.

difficulties the Church in the region is facing.”¹⁰³⁴ Thirdly, as the ITEBEA Bishops met in Rome to consider the formation of a suitable Association for the region in 1964, they shared an overwhelming desire to strategise for the future that projected the image of an indigenous Church in independent African states with a pluralistic society. The Church had to identify fields for cooperation between the hierarchies as well as the special interests deserving attention in the development of society.¹⁰³⁵ This would later be in line with the Decree on The Pastoral Office of Bishops in the Church, which encouraged Bishops in-charge of particular Churches “to pool their resources and their inspirations in order to promote both the common good and the good of individual Churches ... so that the growth of religion and the maintenance of discipline in the various Churches may increasingly be more effectively provided for in accordance with the needs of the time.”¹⁰³⁶ These three landmarks in the development of the regional Church captured the vision that the leaders had about the identity and role of the Church. The participants in this crucial time of transition were later referred to as ‘bridge builders:’

These bridges would cross from missionary work in colonial times to evangelisation within the context of an Independent Africa. They would cross into an atmosphere of evangelisation and missionary work that recognises the ‘signs of the times.’ They would lead to forming a truly Local Church, which, by virtue of Christ's presence, the complete reality of His Church is verified in every Christian community ... These bridges also bring back to the Church in Europe, America, Latin America and

¹⁰³⁴ Ibid., 71. The remarks of His Eminence Laurean Cardinal Rugambwa were made at the closing of the first Inter-territorial Episcopal Meeting held in Dar-es-Salaam, 17-26 July 1961.

¹⁰³⁵ Ibid., 75.

¹⁰³⁶ Cf. Paul VI, “*Christus Dominus*,” No. 36.

the Oceania some of the freshness and wider vision of Christianity which they receive through contact with us.¹⁰³⁷

From this observation, one notices the twin-concern for the local as well as the universal Church. The vision of the Church leaders remained clear about the identity of Church they wanted. But how would history delivery this dream?

4.5.1.3. *The Church's Pastoral Strategy: The Small Christian Communities*

Upon the establishment of AMECEA permanent office in 1964, and the approval of the Association by the Holy See in 1968, its objectives were made clear, among which was "to help study problems of common interest to the Church in Africa and to suggest possible solutions and coordinated action."¹⁰³⁸ Since 1968, the Bishops have identified and set up departments and institutions that would enable the Church to carry out the essential services to society.¹⁰³⁹ These structures were deemed necessary in the service of the objectives for which AMECEA was set. However, in the light of the major developments in the region and in

¹⁰³⁷ Raphael S. Bp Ndingi Mwana'a Nzeki, "Implementing AMECEA Pastoral Priority," *African Ecclesial Review* 21, no. 5 (1979): 286.

¹⁰³⁸ Cf. The Statutes of AMECEA expressing the principal objectives of the Association were: 1. to maintain liaison among its members, 2. To promote intercommunication and cooperation between local churches in East Africa, 3. To study ways and means of promoting the apostolate in the light of official documents and according to the needs of the Church in East Africa, 4. To help study problems of common interest to the Church in Africa and to suggest possible solutions and coordinated actions, 5. To help further the dynamic presence of the Church in the integral development of the peoples of Eastern Africa, 6. To render service to its members in their collaborative efforts to meet the needs of the people of God, and 7. To mandate and set terms of reference for projects and institutions agreed upon by the members, (See Statutes Art. 2).

¹⁰³⁹ Lwaminda, "The Local Church with a Human Face," 72-73. The objectives of AMECEA were to be implemented through seven departments and three institutions. The departments included: Social communications, research, documentation service, religious education, family-in-community catechesis, publications and the department of the apostolate to nomads.

society in general after independence of many nations in the region and after the Second Vatican council, the idea of identity, relative local autonomy and institutional economic as well as ideological self-reliance was the burning issue that overshadowed every other concern.¹⁰⁴⁰ In the consequent series of Plenary Meetings, the Bishops articulated their vision for the Church they needed.¹⁰⁴¹ In the Study session of the Plenary Assembly held in Nairobi in 1973, the emerging realities of the African Church were discussed at length and priorities set regarding the church's undertaking in meeting the demands of the time. In this Assembly, the Bishops identified the SCCs as key to the entire mission of evangelization in the region, it would not only unlock the question of identity and autonomy, but it would also be an instrument through which the Church would render effective service to the needs of society.¹⁰⁴²

A follow-up to this conference was crucial. In the Study session of the Plenary Assembly held in Nairobi in July 1976, radical suggestions on how to 'Africanize' the church were made. The concept and objectives of the SCC were inspired by the ecclesiological vision of the bishops of the region at the time. In the reflection given to bishops' plenary of 1976 crucial in the formation of SCC, Bishop Patrick Kalilombe singled out 'localization' of the church as a defining ecclesiological framework of the Church's mission at the time. "It is the intention of the Church in AMECEA countries that, after so many years of evangelization, it should finally become a really incarnated, local

¹⁰⁴⁰ Cf. AMECEA, "Planning for the Church in Eastern Africa in the 1980s," in *AMECEA Plenary Conference*, ed. African Ecclesiastical Review (Nairobi: Gaba Publications, 14-21 December 1973), 18-34.

¹⁰⁴¹ Lwaminda, "The Local Church with a Human Face," 73. The AMECEA Bishops come together every three years to discuss their common problems, study their needs and look into projects that might be too big for individual Member Episcopal Conferences. Each Plenary Assembly has two parts: the Business and the Study sessions. During the Study session, a particular theme is studied, at the end of which a Message is issued to the clergy, religious and laity of the AMECEA countries.

¹⁰⁴² AMECEA, "Planning for the Church in Eastern Africa in the 1980s," 42-51.

Church ...The Church should now move beyond the missionary stage and become really local, just as our countries have stopped being colonies and are now developing into autonomous nations.”¹⁰⁴³ The universality of the Church was understood within this framework as a unity in diversity. “While the Church of Christ is universal, it is a communion of small local Christian churches, communities of Christians rooted in their own society.”¹⁰⁴⁴ Thus, the Church becomes incarnated or authentically localized in the measure in which the living and running of Church life is actively and consciously assumed by the local Christians. In his input in the same forum, Brian Hearne emphasized the *communio-ecclesiology* guided and steered to evangelize by the Holy Spirit from within. “Essentially, the ‘ecclesia’ is the gathering together of the people, by the effective word of God, a word that transcends both human experience and human hopes.”¹⁰⁴⁵ Both the life and administration of the Christian community should envision God’s promise of the Holy Spirit to His Church, a Spirit who would steer the Church towards communion and witness at all levels in any place. The conclusions of this conference reflected the decision of the participants that effectively defined the Church’s place and role in society and development of the Great Lakes Region. Thus:

The systematic formation of Small Christian Communities should be the key pastoral priority in the key pastoral priority in

¹⁰⁴³ Bishop Patrick Kalilombe, "An Overall View on Building Christian Communities," in *AMECEA Triennial Study Conference*, ed. AFER (Nairobi: AMECEA Pastoral Institute, 1976), 262. In the thinking of the Church in the AMECEA countries, building Christian Communities is the most effective way of rendering the Church in these countries self-ministering, self-propagating and self-supporting ... The conviction is that when the church in a country thus becomes self-reliant, it stops being a missionary, dependent or merely ‘transplanted’ Church, and becomes a mature, truly local or ‘incarnated’ Church.

¹⁰⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 264.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Brian Hearne, "Theological Reflections on the Objectives of Christian Community," *African Ecclesial Review* 18, no. 5 (1976): 276-277.

the years to come within Eastern Africa. All Pastoral action of the local Christian community must, to be effective, follow certain guidelines, have certain continuity and submit to certain rules or norms. It cannot be merely a personal activity, but must be the activity of the Church, and its methods depend on the Bishop who is the chief pastor of the local Church.¹⁰⁴⁶

This observation summarized the church's vision for the region. Above all, it outlined the catch-words that defined its engagement in social development for the years ahead: Search for self-reliance (institutional, economic and ideological), ecclesial identity, unity, and its involvement in the secular sphere.¹⁰⁴⁷ It emphasized its responsibility as 'the conscience of society.'¹⁰⁴⁸ Through the Commission for Justice and Peace, the Church would actively engage in the search for social justice at all levels, local community, parish, diocesan, national and international, with the determination to secure the region's future through the enactments of good laws that serve the interest of the common good of the people.¹⁰⁴⁹ The Assembly then mandated each diocese in the region to draw up a plan for the implementation of the policy declaring SCCs a priority means of renewing the Church in Eastern Africa.¹⁰⁵⁰

¹⁰⁴⁶ AMECEA, "Building Christian Communities," in *AMECEA Plenary Conference*, ed. AMECEA (St. Thomas Aquinas Seminary, Nairobi: Gaba Publications, 1976), 250.

¹⁰⁴⁷ AMECEA, "Planning for the Church in Eastern Africa in the 1980s," 38-42.

¹⁰⁴⁸ AMECEA, "Building Christian Communities," 251. Among the objectives of the Christian community enumerated in this reference, the sixth objective spells out the church's resolve to pursue the work of integral human development as the most effective way of enabling the poor and the deprived to improve their lives. The church had to take her responsibility as 'the conscience of society' more seriously. The political and social consciousness of both the Christian community and of individual Christians needed to be fostered.

¹⁰⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵⁰ AMECEA, "Building Christian Communities," 250.

By participating in the life of the Church at this most local level, Christians would foster the gradual and steady maturing of the young church. The sense of responsibility would grow as the faithful discover the meaning of a truly African expression of the Christian faith, "Living together as a fraternal community, united in the one Holy Spirit, listening together to God's word, and celebrating together the sacrament of unity, the Eucharist."¹⁰⁵¹ In effect, the bishops had resolved "to establish a local church with a human face concretized in Small Christian Communities."¹⁰⁵² As the understanding of the role and place of SCC developed, its holistic relevance emerged. In the Plenary Assembly of 1979, Bishop Raphael Ndingi developed the relevance of the communion aspect in the governance of the Church in the SCC. Bound by the Eucharistic communion of love, a SCC reflects the Church as an Institution of brotherhood, of communication and of dialogue. This quality not only legitimizes the SCC as a structure of the Church, but also fosters participation of every member in the life of faith. Accordingly, the SCC is a group of the people of God small enough to be manageable in life and work.¹⁰⁵³

4.5.1.4 Advocacy for Self-Reliance

The strategy of Small Christian Communities, so to speak, was inspired by the ecclesiology of 'localization,' or 'Africanization.' As Bishop Patrick Kalilombe put it, "the conviction is that when the church in a country thus becomes self-reliant, it stops being missionary, dependent or merely 'transplanted' Church."¹⁰⁵⁴ This was a clear

¹⁰⁵¹ Lwaminda, "The Local Church with a Human Face," 81.

¹⁰⁵² AMECEA, "Planning for the Church in Eastern Africa in the 1980s," 9-10, 32-42.

¹⁰⁵³ Ndingi Mwana'a Nzeki, "Implementing AMECEA's Pastoral Priority," 291.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Kalilombe, "An Overall view on Building Christian Communities," 262, 263. Often when people talk about 'localizing', 'Africanising,' etc, they refer to the fact of indigenous people taking over posts of responsibility from foreigners. But the localization of the Church that we refer to here is more than the mere

expression of the local Church's wish to move beyond the missionary state and become really local. By this term, the Church in AMECEA countries expressed its intention to finally become a really incarnated, local Church after so many years of evangelisation.¹⁰⁵⁵ The basic slogan that captured this mindset in the public sphere was 'self-reliance.' In the young Churches of Africa at the time, 'self-reliance' was not only a slogan but one of the programmes regarded essential in the process of 'localisation.' In his presentation to the inaugural AMECEA plenary master plan for the Church in Eastern African, in Nairobi, December 1973, Bishop Blomjous envisaged self-reliance to be realised at the institutional, economic and 'ideological' levels. According to him, institutional self-reliance implied rapid africanization of all the 'cadres' of the local church, that is, not only of the hierarchy, but also of all other positions of official and visible leadership.¹⁰⁵⁶ It implies that foreign missionaries in leading position had to be replaced by indigenous personnel as soon as possible. It also implied that the mission strategy at the national and local level, the method of evangelization, the relations with the government and so on, must be determined first of all by the local Church authorities. On this very same level, local churches also sought their own African forms of local ecclesiastical structures, discipline and so on. Economic self-reliance implied the local Church's ability to financially support its own needs. The whole life of the local

charge-over of personnel. The real point at stake is whether or not it is on the local people and local conditions that the running of the Church really depends. Are the local conditions of life, the local needs and problems, and the local possibilities really influencing and determining how the Church exists and is being run in that place? Who formulates the Church policies? Who is finally responsible for selecting the appropriate ways and means of executing those policies? And who sets the pace of this execution? If it is still largely people from outside the locality, then the Church is not yet really localized.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Ibid., 263. Following this idea of mission, the Bishops of Africa and Madagascar, present at the 1974 Roman Synod, considered as being completely out-of-date, the so-called theology of adaptation. In its stead, they adopted the theology of Incarnation.

¹⁰⁵⁶ AMECEA, "Planning for the Church in Eastern Africa in the 1980s," 39-40.

Church had to be attuned to the economic possibilities of the African countries and not to the standards of life, structures and institutions of Western origin and type. The consequent financial autonomy radically redefined the local Church's attitude towards ecclesiastical foreign aid: "it is considered as a temporary necessary evil and as a form of ecclesiastical distributive justice to which they have a right."¹⁰⁵⁷ Even to this extent the local Church wished to retain the right to determine the ease of using ecclesiastical foreign aid. Ideological self-reliance expressed the determination of the African Churches to take the lead in all Church-oriented surveys, research and planning. The local Church had begun to resent the attitude that expatriate missionaries were still necessary as specialists in various religious fields, while the African clergy and religious would do only the ordinary work. Over the years, the Church in Africa invested efforts in research, study symposia and seminar and workshop resolutions focussed on self-reliance as a sure way of fulfilling its initial dream about its mission for its people. Pastoral institutional approaches, economic poverty, and ideological visions became common subjects of discussion and resulted in regular copious recommendations. A few of these are worth mentioning here.

In July 2001, the bishops of Southern Africa gathered in Chishawasha, Harare, to reflect and analyse poverty in Southern Africa so as "to develop pastoral principles to enable the Bishops' Conferences and Dioceses of the region to plan and act locally with communities to overcome poverty."¹⁰⁵⁸ Reflecting on the Church's work to overcome poverty, the bishops observed that "economic Justice and full human development are essential parts of the church's mission of evangelisation ... We believe that any effort for poverty eradication must

¹⁰⁵⁷ Ibid., 40.

¹⁰⁵⁸ IMBISA, "The Church Works to Overcome Poverty in Southern Africa: A Pastoral Document for Poverty Eradication," in *VI Plenary Assembly of Bishops* (Chishawasha, Harare: IMBISA, 2001).

include the participation of the poor themselves”¹⁰⁵⁹ One month later, in August 2001, the Catholic Bishops of Kenya issued a Pastoral Letter *On Self-Reliance*.¹⁰⁶⁰ Having assessed the deteriorating economic situation in the country at the time, highlighting the collapse of vital cash crop farming in the agricultural sector, the bishops elaborately reiterated the strategies of a self-reliant church:

A time has come for us to prepare for a Kenyan-run church. This will be attained through full participation and involvement of the laity in all pastoral and social economic projects in the Church, right from the family and the Small Christian Communities ... Time is now for the local church to look for help, that is, financial and human resources from within. For the African Church to be authentic it has to focus on a self-propagating, self-governing and self-supporting strategy ... Experience has taught us that political liberation is deeply inter-linked with economic empowerment.¹⁰⁶¹

¹⁰⁵⁹ Ibid., 3.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Cf. Nicholas Maro, "Development and Self-Reliance," *African Ecclesial Review* 19, no. 6 (1977): 334, 342. Self-reliance was a big concern of the church of post-colonial missionary era in the early 1970s. It was discussed in various plenary meetings of various Episcopal Conferences in Africa but largely remained an elusive concept. According to Nicholas Maro in this article, the Church's concern for the wider world community is concretely expressed in its interest in development. This involvement in development must not be seen in isolation from that of the other institutions of society. But acknowledging that development is an elusive goal, he observes that man's choice is always for the easier road which, in this case, includes reluctance to disturb the status quo. However, if a New Community in Christ is to become a reality, we must be prepared to work towards a radical change, even as Christ was a revolutionary for all time.

¹⁰⁶¹ AMECEA, "On Self-Reliance: 'Be Strong, Be Courageous, All That Hope in the Lord'," *AMECEA Documentation Service*, no. 542 (August 2001), 2. See the famous quotation of Franklinton Roosevelt on the key role of economics in mankind's struggle of emancipation in Asbjørn Eide, "The Importance of Economic and Social Rights in the Age of Economic Globalisation," in *Food and Human Rights in Development*, ed. Wenche Barth Eide and Uwe Kracht

The Small Christian Communities are still in the spotlight as an appropriate strategy.¹⁰⁶² One year later, the Uganda Episcopal Conference re-emphasized the urgency of poverty alleviation through international debt relief. Though the problem of hunger and starvation is comparatively less of a threat in Uganda, the church attributes the prevalence of social evil to rampant poverty in the country. The Conference, in response, identified various challenges. These include dialogue and participation, networking and advocacy, partnership and education. Pushing the question of poverty further, the message of the Religious Superior's Conference of Kenya in 2006, critically considered the effects of poverty in the lives of people as manifested in the perennial problem of hunger and starvation in the country. The members of this Conference stated:

Concentrating on food availability in a country like Kenya does neither identify the real causes of chronic hunger nor famine. Increasing Kenya's agricultural productivity alone will, therefore, not solve the problem. Instead, an examination of the social relationships that identifies different groups of people with command and 'entitlements' over food is more effective and points at the heart of the matter ... A Kenya element in the

(Antwerpen: Intersentia, 2005), 5-6. See Franklinton D. Roosevelt, *Address by Franklinton Delano Roosevelt, President of the United States*, The Annual Convention of the Teamsters Union (Washington D.C.: 23 September 1944).

¹⁰⁶² AMECEA, "On Self-Reliance," 3. The Small Christian Communities have helped the Church to grow spiritually, socially and economically. To the AMECEA bishops, political independence without increasing self-reliance is meaningless. See AMECEA, "Planning for the Church in Eastern Africa in the 1980s," in *AMECEA Plenary Conference*, ed. African Ecclesiastical Review (Nairobi: Gaba Publications, 1973). See particularly the position paper presented by Bishop Patrick Kalilombe, "Overall View on Building Christian Communities," in *AMECEA Triennial Study Conference*, ed. AFER (Nairobi: AMECEA Pastoral Institute, 1976), 261-275.

prevention of famine is the protection and creation of livelihoods which can in principle be achieved through public action.¹⁰⁶³

Veiled in this observation, with regard to the problem of hunger as the most visible effect of poverty Kenya, is the challenge to self-reliance in its three qualifications: Institutional, economic, and ideological. How does this region face the challenges of self-reliance? The institution of leadership itself, both national and ecclesial, is on focus here. In all these observations, the Church's involvement in the needs of society is either to actively make a contribution to alleviate social problems, or at least to passively point out to the governments what the Church thinks could be the right way forward. Either way, the Church's mission to the poor and the needy in society is implied. A closer reading of all these observations reveals about four recommendations being pursued by the Church in her effort to keep focus on her agenda towards self-reliance, namely: active participation of all the faithful in all communities, attention to capacity building, and commitment to networking and dialogue with the like-minds in society. Thus, in her vision towards self-reliance the Church discusses, recommends and implements resolutions that have been instrumental in its service to society via the strategy of Small Christian Community apostolate.¹⁰⁶⁴ For her mission therefore, the church leadership in this region envisions a self-reliant Church, capable of engaging freely and actively in collaboration with the like-minded strategic partners including the democratically elected governments to serve the needy in society. Self-reliance plays the key motivation.

¹⁰⁶³ Religious Conference of Kenya, "Message," *Il Portale Della Congregazione Per L'Evangelizzazione Dei Popoli* (February 2006).

¹⁰⁶⁴ AMECEA, "Debt Relief and Poverty Eradication in Uganda," *AMECEA Documentation Service*, no. 549 (2002): 3-4.

4.5.2 Church Activities in the Service of the Hungry

4.5.2.1 Justice and Peace Initiatives and Lenten Campaigns

The Church's common approach to the issue of hunger in this region is two-fold: Firstly, the spontaneous voluntary contributions of Christian faithful given in response to an emergency call over cases of hunger and starvation. The Christian faithful respond to the common cases where a neighbour, an individual or a community, or a parish and sometimes even a neighbouring diocese, lacks food and suffers from abrupt effects of hunger and starvation. Those who have a contribution to make are encouraged to make their contribution either in organized groups, or proceed to make donations as individuals, depending on whether the cases of hunger are known and reachable. In cases of distant victims, donations would be sent through community leaders, a special team delegated by parish pastoral councils, or on the diocesan level, by a delegated diocesan team. The second approach common in the local Church is an organized drive for food stuffs and other forms of assistance collected from the Christian faithful during the period of Lent. This is an initiative organized under the Catholic peace and Justice commission (CJPC) present almost in every Catholic diocese.

During the very Lenten period, the church exposes areas that need society's attention regarding the general demands of justice and peaceful coexistence, including the urgent cases of hunger and starvation. It educates the faithful on the specific issues of current concern, and then encourages them to respond to these issues according to their respective capacities. Where the response involves the government or other relevant partners, the CJPC advocates for their redress by the relevant authorities. Otherwise, the faithful are encouraged to make specific contributions like foodstuffs, clothing, money and other charities in the atmosphere of conscious prayer and reflection. The proceeds of this initiative done throughout the Lenten period of about 3 months every

year are then forwarded to the hungry people identified in each community, parish or diocese.¹⁰⁶⁵ Though the drive is general and invites any kind of donation at the community and parish level, it is preferably limited to monetary form from diocesan level. From here, a certain amount of the proceeds is forwarded to the secretariat of the Episcopal Conference. The total amount collected is finally forwarded to the universal Church office in Rome for the purposes of charity to the international community. This procedure is repeated every year but with different proceeds. These concerns go on as a matter of routine pastoral ministry. In the dioceses where the commission is active, its activities are well integrated within the church's ministry.¹⁰⁶⁶ However, this rather traditional routine approach serves the charity needs that are urgent, localised and envisaged in a short run. Short notices of small-scale emergency interventions are responded to through local diocesan offices of the CJPC. However, the CJPC in every diocese also works within a network of the same initiative from the Catholic community of faithful throughout the world. Notices of large-scale emergencies in hunger and starvation are made through the diocesan CJPC, the local church communities make appeals to the established Catholic charity organization such as Caritas International, Catholic Relief Services among others. In this way, victims of floods, earthquakes, tsunamis and other catastrophes get the Church's attention through its network of the justice and peace initiatives. This nature of response to the needs of the

¹⁰⁶⁵ Cf. Peace and Justice Commission. 2010. "Lent Message from the Peace and Justice Commission, Kenya," *Catholic Information Service for Africa*. <http://www.cisnewsafrica.org/index.php>, (accessed 11 December 2010). In countries of acute hunger problem in the GLR, like Kenya, Burundi and Rwanda, the topic on hunger tops the list of the concerns not only at Lenten Campaigns almost every year. See also Scottish Catholic International Aids Fund (SCIAF). 2010. "The Justice and Peace Commission of Rwanda." http://www.sciaf.org.uk/where_we_work/africa/rwanda/projects_in_rwanda/the_justice_peace_commission_of_rwanda, (accessed 11 December 2010).

¹⁰⁶⁶ Cf. Scottish Catholic International Aids Fund (SCIAF), "The Justice and Peace Commission of Rwanda," (accessed 11 December 2010).

hungry projects the concern of the Church beyond the capacity of Justice and Peace Commissions to embrace group initiatives that approach the same problems in a different perspective in different dioceses. Such groups include the youth groups, gender development groups, and localised micro-economic cooperatives whose sensitivity to the plight of the poor and the hungry is consolidated as a group of individuals who share a specified vision. Their desire to channel their attention through group interests is supported by the Church organizations often coordinated under the auspices of CJPC or development offices present in every Catholic diocese. This approach warrants a separate treatment in the following sub-section.

4.5.2.2 Solidarity Group Initiatives

Justice and Peace Commission itself is present in many dioceses in the GLR as a solidarity group involved in voluntary church service to society in various ways. In many cases its service is done in partnership with the stakeholders of like-interests. Part of this group's initiatives in Kenya, for example, is to cooperate with the government and other NGOs in programmes aimed at alleviating hunger and starvation in the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands. Kitui area in Eastern part of Kenya is considered a zone within Arid and Semi-Arid Land (ASAL) constantly hit by prolonged draughts, hunger and starvation. Since 2009, the Catholic diocese of Kitui, through its Justice and Peace Commission, is the lead agency working in partnership with the government and the World Food Programme on an Emergency Operations Programme (EMOP) and Protracted Relief and Recovery Operations (PRRO). The programme facilitates access to food for the most vulnerable group in famine hit areas, dubbed 'Food for Assets Programme.'¹⁰⁶⁷ The Justice

¹⁰⁶⁷ Kitui Catholic Diocese. 2010. "Development Programme." <http://www.dioceseofkitui.org/gpage.html>, (accessed 12 December 2010). The current number of beneficiaries in the food for Assets programme is 178,200 people out of the target of 297,000 beneficiaries. To each household, a full

and Peace Commission members in this diocese assist to identify and serve the hungry people with the donations from the government and other food aid agencies.

In Rwanda, the Justice and Peace Commission in all the nine dioceses works with the Scottish Catholic International Aids Fund (SCIAF) in conjunction with the government and other strategic partners to strengthen peace education, food security, and HIV/AIDS prevention nationally.¹⁰⁶⁸ In its same capacity as a solidarity group, almost all the dioceses in Tanzania, and indeed in the AMECEA region, and in the six countries in the GLR, also work very closely with the German Catholic Aid agency, MISEREOR, to fight hunger and disease. Through their development offices and the Justice and Peace Commissions, the dioceses work in partnership with MISEREOR to foster vocational training, small enterprise promotion and water supply and sanitation. The fight against poverty and hunger is focussed on rural and gender development and on the participation of the very poor people in the rural areas in the fight against hunger.¹⁰⁶⁹

basket from EMOP would constitute: *cereals (corn, sometimes rice); pulses (split or un-split peas or green peas); vegetable oil and salt*. With its collaborators, the diocese has been able to put up 20 green houses for people living with HIV/AIDS and distribute 135 water tanks to needy schools. The collaborators intend to put up green houses hence out of the 90 support groups they hope about 45% will have some form of income generating activity by the end of April.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Scottish Catholic International Aids Fund (SCIAF), "The Justice and Peace Commission of Rwanda," (accessed 11 December 2010).

¹⁰⁶⁹ Pedro Moraza and Irene Knoke, eds., *Experiences and Reflections with Partner Organisations in Five African Countries: Cameroon, DR Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Tanzania*, ed. MISEREOR, Das Hilfswerk (Aachen: Institute SUDWIND, 2005), 4-18. The German Catholic Bishops' Organization for Development and Cooperation, MISEREOR, was founded in 1958 as an agency "against hunger and disease in the world." It is a campaign, a "movement" in Germany, everywhere on the lookout for partners, friends and "fellow activists" in the fight against poverty. In its capacity as the overseas development agency of the Catholic Church in Germany, it offers to cooperate in a spirit of partnership with all people of goodwill to promote development, fight worldwide poverty, liberate people from injustice, exercise solidarity with the

In a very difficult circumstance of continued civil war, HIV/AIDS, poverty and hunger, Gulu Archdiocese in northern Uganda advances the fight against hunger through the Catholic Agricultural Rural Youth Movement (CARYM).¹⁰⁷⁰ The movement focuses on the development of rural areas through agriculture as the main source of people's livelihood in rural Uganda. It facilitates among the young people the appreciation for work which respects basic human values that promote the dignity of the human person. The movement has a strong national link through the National Youth Apostolate Office of the Uganda Episcopal Conference, and is also linked to the International Movement of Catholic Agricultural and Rural Youth (IMCARY). This is among the unique initiatives of the church to use food security strategy to inculcate helpful values among the youth in society, increase incomes among the poor, as well as boosting food production in the fight against hunger.

poor and the persecuted, and help create "One World". The Organization is mandated by the Catholic Church in Germany to fight the causes of hardship and misery as manifested chiefly in countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the forms of hunger, disease, poverty and other forms of human suffering, thus enabling the people affected to lead a life of human dignity and to promote justice, freedom, reconciliation and peace in the world. MISEREOR receives donations from German Catholics, chiefly through the MISEREOR annual Lenten Campaign, as well as a large number of donations from German society as a whole, and funds allocated from German diocesan budgets through the Association of German Dioceses. The development cooperation activities of the German Catholic Church are also supported from public funds of the Federal Republic of Germany, and the European Union. MISEREOR is also a member of CIDSE, an alliance of 15 Catholic development organisations from Europe and North America. For a detailed analysis of the involvement of MISEREOR and the church in the countries of the GLR, see MISEREOR. 2010. "Africa and the Middle East," The German Catholic Bishops' Organization for Development and Cooperation. <http://www.misereor.org/regional/africa-and-the-middle-east.html>, (accessed 12 December 2010).

¹⁰⁷⁰ BOSCO Uganda. 2010. "Proposal for Organic Farming in the Archdiocese of Gulu." <http://www.bosco-uganda.wikispaces.net/Proposal+for+Organic+Farming+in+the+Archdiocese+of+Gulu>, (accessed 12 December 2010).

The movement promotes the spirit of cooperation and hard work among rural people as a means to uplift living standards.¹⁰⁷¹

4.5.2.3 *Education and Health Care*

In many parts of the GLR, the hunger problem is associated to the lack of appropriate knowledge on basic nutrition and basic agricultural skills, and people's ignorance about their rightful entitlements from the governments. This vincible ignorance mainly shows up in the multiple health problems manifested through hunger related diseases and, above all, in the grave situation of HIV/AIDS. Living with HIV requires a healthy and balanced nutrition on a regular and permanent basis. Consequently, many dioceses have adopted ways and means of educating the people and arming them with basic subsistence skills that help in the fight against hunger on a primary level of community life. The same approach has also been important in reducing the impact of the known hunger related diseases like kwashiorkor, marasmus and above all, the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Working within the provision of the Uganda government policy framework on food and nutrition,¹⁰⁷² the Church in Uganda collaborated with the government to sensitize people on appropriate nutrition in the fight against all hunger related diseases and in a special way, the HIV/ADS pandemic. The known case in mind is the example of the Kamwokya Christian Caring Community

¹⁰⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷² The Republic of Uganda. 2003. "Uganda Food and Nutrition Policy." http://www.fao.org/righttofood/inaction/countrylist/Uganda/Uganda_foodandnutritionpolicy.pdf, (accessed 17 September 2010). According to this food and nutrition policy, the key specific objectives of the government include to ensure that nutrition education and training is incorporated in formal and informal training in order to improve the knowledge and attitudes for behavioural change of communities in food and nutrition-related matters, and to ensure food and income security at all levels for improving the nutrition of the population. To realize these goals, the government identified collaboration with local and international Non-Governmental Organization and the private sector including churches and other faith-based organizations.

(KCCC).¹⁰⁷³ Utilizing the integrated and holistic approach to AIDS recommended by the local Church in the entire AMECEA region,¹⁰⁷⁴ Kamwokya Community Development Programmes provide treatment, care and psychosocial support to individuals and households affected by the epidemic. Most importantly, the programme “also sensitively facilitates the marginalized ... to engage in long-term processes that enable them to have a voice, share experiences, discuss about factors influencing the spread of HIV, and learn about effective ways of tapping available environmental opportunities to overcome poverty, prevent HIV/AIDS and other factors that negatively impact livelihoods.”¹⁰⁷⁵

¹⁰⁷³ Cf. Kamwokya Christian Caring Community. 2007. "KCCC SCIAF Annual Report 2006." <http://www.kamccc.org/>, (accessed 13 January 2011). Kamwokya Christian Caring Community (KCCC) is a faith and community-based Non-Governmental Organization established in 1987 by the Small Basic Christian Communities (locally known as Bubondos), with the support of Sr. Dr. Miriam Duggan and other Franciscan Missionary Sisters for Africa.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Cf. AMECEA, "AMECEA 15th Plenary: Responding to the Challenges of HIV/AIDS within the AMECEA Region," *African Ecclesial Review* 47-48, no. 4-1 (2005/2006): 403. Among the important resolutions of the 15th AMECEA Plenary in Kampala, 2005, was to encourage all the Conferences to collaborate with the Governments and other organizations at national level in order to develop an integrated holistic approach in the fight against HIV/AIDS.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Cf. Peter K. Byansi, "Kamwokya Christian Caring Community: A Place for Education for Life," *African Ecclesial Review* 47-48, no. 4-1 (2005/2006): 311-313. This article elaborates a case study of the success of the Small Christian Community strategy in approaching social issues. At its inception, the SCC was seen as a pastoral strategy for spearheading the deepening of Christianity, fostering fellowship, promoting education and formation of people in a given way of life, which is in line with the Catholic Church's teaching. The implementation of this strategy was slow and varied from diocese to diocese, and from parish to parish. In Kamwokya Parish, Kampala District in Uganda, Small Christian Communities were only established August 1987, by Fr. Tony Darragh who had been trained in initiating 'community ministries.' Despite the late start, the SCCs have become instrumental in mitigating the impact of AIDS in Kamwokya District and Uganda as a whole. SCC members formed KCCC to provide care and support to those infected and affected by HIV/AIDS. Through its Primary Health Care Programme, the KCCC undertakes prevention through immunization of children under five years HIV testing and counselling, community education and sensitization on hygiene, sanitation, prevention and control of malaria, mental illnesses, tuberculosis and sexually transmitted

Though Primary Health Care Programme is the main focus, other important programmes are carried out. Two of the programmes are of particular relevance to this discussion, namely: The Gender and Social Welfare Programme and the Food and Nutritional Support Programme.¹⁰⁷⁶ The objectives of the former include, among others, the provision of loans for income-generating opportunities and empowers individuals and households affected by poverty and AIDS with business management skills which enable them to overcome poverty. They are then able to meet their day-to-day expenses for food, rent, electricity and water bills. In addition, it facilitates free talk among the beneficiaries about gender issues that impede effective family and community development.

The Food and Nutritional Support Programme meets the needs particularly of orphans and vulnerable children (OVC), those in medication and/or those living in AIDS affected households. The individuals afflicted by AIDS, TB and mental illness require food if they are to adhere to treatment regimens. However, prolonged periods of sickness make people lose their usual ways of livelihood and reduces their incomes considerably, making it difficult to afford food. In the programme, food is provided through CRS under the USAID 'Food for Peace Project,' and by the World Food Programme through 'Feed the

infections. The programme investigates these diseases for proper diagnosis and treatment.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Ibid., 313-320. KCCC utilizes the integrated and holistic approach to AIDS and community development by pursuing both short- and long-term programmes that address all aspects of life in the community. In the overall, the Community pursues nine programmes. Apart from the Primary Health Care Programme, Gender and Social Welfare Programme, and the Food and Nutritional Support Programme, the others are: Motivation and Personal Development Skills Programme, Child Welfare and Development Programme, Vocational Skills Training and Development Programme, Pastoral Care and Support Programme, Functional Adult Literacy Programme and Mental Health Programme. These are coordinated in a way that appropriate human capacities are nurtured and developed whilst ignorance, poverty, hunger and disease in society is confronted at the individual, household, community and society levels.

Children' which also assists the clients to adhere to treatment regimens.¹⁰⁷⁷ Given the role of women in feeding for, and providing the much needed balanced diet to the affected family members, the programme serves the best example of collaborative effort between the Church and the government in the approach to under-nutrition. Although the case of Kamwokya Christian Care Community is a conspicuous example in the region, this approach to the problem of hunger and its impact on people's health forms a land mark of the Church's mission of service to the power and the hungry in the GLR. Education, sensitization and empowerment of vulnerable groups is developed from the individual level to a wider societal perspective where the Church perceives her mission as service to the whole society.

Beyond the routine micro-aspect of service to communities, the dioceses address specific problems at different levels depending on a particular need in a particular diocese or country. The church does identify areas for special attention. Nakuru diocese in Kenya, for example, run special joint agricultural training ventures in collaboration with the government. The Baraka Agricultural College in Nakuru diocese runs certificate and diploma programmes on Agricultural and Rural Development as "an appropriate development strategy in response to the economic, social and environmental and political realities in Eastern Africa."¹⁰⁷⁸ The college is a collaborative effort between the Church, the government and other Non-Governmental Organizations. MISEREOR in Germany particularly helps the college in running its crucial programmes adapted to the needs of the region. The college is situated right at the centre of the Rift Valley, another special feature that defines the uniqueness of the GLR. It utilizes the unique agricultural potential of the region to impart middle-level knowledge and skills to its

¹⁰⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Baraka Agricultural College. 2010. "About Baraka." <http://www.sustainableag.org/index.html>, (accessed 12 December 2010).

trainees. The training targets farm extension officers who engage in instructing farmers on appropriate skills in crop husbandry, proper utilization of rain seasons, profitable farming methods and some basic agricultural investment skills. Appropriate technological skills are also taught in the college to meet the rising demand for such skills in areas such as food storage, organic farming among others. The graduates of the college are drawn from different parts of the country and the whole region, and return to assist farmers in planning and implementing affordable food security measures suited to their respective backgrounds.

The Church's services are adapted to the needs of the people, their potential and capacity in a given region. The micro-aspects of the Church's service tend to concentrate on hardship situations 'HIV/AIDS zones', and the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) in North Eastern Kenya, Northern Uganda and some areas of Central Tanzania. But the macro-aspect that involves training and demonstration farming activities as well as organized investments of farmers' cooperatives and the like, spread over the region depending on the ability of the individual diocese. No matter the involvement, and at whatever level, the mission of the Church appears consistent, its method and vision often the same targeting the individual person as much as society as a whole, though the circumstances of implementation slightly differ from one diocese to another. Considering the Church's challenge in this perspective, the Uganda Episcopal Conference summarized the understanding of the Church's vision in the following words:

This awareness starts first in the education of the family and the grass root communities. The families and grass root communities are also the places where the poor cease to be an anonymous sociological category and are encountered and recognised first and foremost as human persons made in the image of God. It is in the closely knit relationships of these natural social entities that

the poor find the support and energy for the unfolding and development of their human potential. We recognize as challenges that our approach in education, in the provision of social services and in social development initiatives needs to maintain this most basic evidence in clear light.¹⁰⁷⁹

Other initiatives of the church include organizing and facilitating continuous seminars and workshops to the local communities. Thus, communities are conscientised on different ways of improving their harvests, alerted or warned of the impending droughts, floods or pests, or instructed on innovations facilitated by NGOs or government ministries.¹⁰⁸⁰ The Church also has a mission of advocacy. Over and above its role in animating and inspiring active participation of all people in working off the impact of hunger, it is the Church's mission "to advocate (speak out) for, and defend those who have no voice in society. Through its Justice and Peace Commission, the Church persists in its 'reminder' message to those invested with economic, social, cultural and political power and for all member of the human family towards solidarity in the fight against poverty, hunger and disease."¹⁰⁸¹

4.5.3 The Limitations of the Church in Serving the Hungry

4.5.3.1 Lack of a Common Approach

Diocesan administrations are wholly autonomous and yet the diocesan bishops, the ultimate authorities in the dioceses, work in communion with the Episcopal Conferences as well as the universal

¹⁰⁷⁹ AMECEA, "Debt Relief and Poverty Eradication in Uganda," *AMECEA Documentation Service*, no. 549 (2002): 3.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Cf. Moraza and Knoke, *Experiences and Reflections with Partner Organizations in Five African Countries*, 4-18.

¹⁰⁸¹ Cf. Michael Czerny and Robert J. Vitillo, "The Church's Role and Approaches in HIV/AIDS Advocacy," *African Ecclesial Review* 47-48, no. 4-1 (2005/2006): 275.

churches through the universal college of bishops united under the Bishop of Rome.¹⁰⁸² A critical observation on the bishops' performance of their office of teaching, sanctifying and governing the church, reveals a difference in attention and approach given to the issues regarding the teaching and sanctifying offices, as compared to those regarding their governing office. The local bishops face the double duty of addressing the elaborate issues of doctrine and sanctification on the one hand and the burning issues of the development of their faith communities on the other hand. The teaching office, considered conspicuous among the duties of bishops, and the sanctifying office in which they are considered to enjoy the fullness of the sacrament of the holy orders,¹⁰⁸³ are strictly emphasized, supervised and sometimes even reprimanded.¹⁰⁸⁴ There is a general tendency among the bishops to be cautious and united in expounding, upholding and supervising the doctrine of the church. There is an equal attention given to scandalous actions inimical to the sanctifying office of the church. In these two roles, diocesan administrations under the bishops tend to be careful to maintain conformity. Consultations and constraint are upheld, depicting the unity of the church rather conspicuously. Fear of unpleasant consequences often accompanies the practice of these two offices, leading to visible harmony in the operations of the church.

But a different scenario is observed with regard to the office of governance, in which the bishop is regarded as 'father' or 'good shepherd.'¹⁰⁸⁵ In this aspect the bishops remain the ultimate authorities, wielding unbridled powers, often accountable to no body on the issues regarding progress and development of their local churches. Despite elaborate guidelines from various church documents their approaches

¹⁰⁸² Cf. Sulumeti, "The Juridical System of *Mandatum*," 316-329.

¹⁰⁸³ Cf. Paul VI, "*Christus Dominus*," Nos. 12, 15.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Code of Canon Law, c. 405 par. 2.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Paul VI, "*Christus Dominus*," No. 16.

remain as diverse as the number of dioceses in a country or region. Development issues are approached in the manner which conveniences the local bishop most. While the circumstances of development are understandably unique in each diocese, radical differences in approach of social issues threaten collaboration not only within the church, but also with the church's strategic partners. This situation defines the difficulty the church faces in approaching social issues on three perspectives. Firstly, it becomes difficult for both the national and regional Church to forge a joint front in tackling social problems effectively, thus neglecting their common mission to do so. Despite the attempt of Episcopal conferences to draft elaborate strategy plans on social issues like health, education, peace initiatives, youth employment, women empowerment and general economic development, the success of implementing such attempts will entirely depend on the motivations of a single bishop. Quite often the success is insignificant and of little social impact. Secondly, the autonomy of bishops in planning their diocesan approaches has sometimes led to wasteful duplicity of efforts in rolling out projects that are similar within the country or the region. The same projects are never fully utilised since the next diocese is busy with its own plans and arrangement in developing the same services for its own people. Things would be different if institutions or experts offering certain services were made fully utilized even by other dioceses. Thirdly, the situation prejudices certain dioceses in the struggle against certain complicated social issues especially regarding peace, justice, rights and economic life. These are areas that require expert advice and high level consultation among institutions both public and private. Whether or not such expertise is available in a diocese largely depends on the bishop's disposition to dialogue and consultation. Bishops' absolute position on many matters of the dioceses often

prejudices attitudes towards dialogue and sows distrust among the potential partners.¹⁰⁸⁶

4.5.3.2 *Poor Church-State Relationship*

There is no doubt that the church's involvement in social issues necessary implies consultations and, in other cases, partnership with other strategic partners. Since the missionary era in the countries of the Great Lakes Region, the church has played an important role in the development of education, health services and charity to the poor and the hungry people. However, after independence, the church's involvement in these issues was specified and regulated by the laws of the countries. History attests to the fact that where this relationship is guided by law, partnership between the church and the state is achievable to the benefit of the poor voiceless masses in society. In Uganda, the country's new Constitution of 1995, recognized the special place of food and nutrition. The National Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy in the Constitution provides that the State shall: "Take appropriate steps to encourage people to grow and store adequate food, establish national food reserves; and encourage and promote proper nutrition through mass education and other appropriate means in order to build a healthy state."¹⁰⁸⁷ Since then, Uganda has followed the commitments and resolutions of the international conferences on the right to food. Most importantly, the country's policy strategy, accommodates "collaborating with line ministries and

¹⁰⁸⁶ Ibid., No. 13. Since it is the mission of the Church to converse with the human society in which it lives, it is especially the duty of bishops to promote dialogue with people and nations. These conversations on salvation ought to be noted for clarity of speech as well as humility and mildness in order that at all times truth may be joined to charity and understanding with love. Likewise they should be noted for due prudence joined with trust, which fosters friendship and thus is capable of bringing about a union of minds.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Cf. Republic of Uganda. 1995. "The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1995." http://www.ugandaembassy.com/Constitution_of_Uganda.pdf, (accessed 13 December 2010).

government departments, local and international Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) and the private sector in the implementation of the policy.”¹⁰⁸⁸ In turn, the Church in this country acknowledges this arrangement and attributes the country’s success in the fight against hunger to the success of the governments’ initiatives in partnerships.¹⁰⁸⁹ In Kenya, the new Constitution enacted recently, entrenches the right to food in its bill of rights. Article 43, 1c, on economic and social rights reads: “Every person has the right to be free from hunger, and to have adequate food of acceptable quality.”¹⁰⁹⁰ Furthermore, the roles of strategic partners like the Church, faith-based organization and other civic organizations are conspicuously considered in most of the food security strategies published in various strategic plans.¹⁰⁹¹ It is easier to call a government to account for the cases of starvation where the law protects the claim than where the law does not exist at all. It will then be a matter of effective structures of justice in these countries, and active

¹⁰⁸⁸ The Republic of Uganda. 2003. "Uganda Food and Nutrition Policy." http://www.fao.org/righttofood/inaction/countrylist/Uganda/Uganda_foodandnutritionpolicy.pdf, (accessed 17 September 2010). See Objective No. 2.4.13.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Cf. AMECEA, "Debt Relief and Poverty Eradication in Uganda," *AMECEA Documentation Service*, no. 549 (2002): 2. The church in Uganda identified the burden of international debt as a strong factor hindering emancipation of the poor and development. But the strong spirit of collaboration between the church, faith-based organizations, alongside civil society has yielded a strategy of debt remission based on the initiatives of the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC), their corollary bilateral forgiveness, and the national Poverty Reduction Strategic Papers. The Church observes that Uganda is one of the first countries to have benefited from the HIPC. The country has also formulated a Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), and established a Poverty Action Fund (PAF) that served as a model for other poor countries. The formulation of the Plan involved civil society and all partners. The church saluted the degree of openness that characterized the formulation of the PEAP in Uganda.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Cf. The Republic of Kenya. 2010. "The Proposed Constitution of Kenya: 6th. May 2010." <http://www.nation.co.ke/blob/view/-/913208/data/157983/-/18do0kz/-/published+draft.pdf>, (accessed 13 December 2010).

¹⁰⁹¹ Cf. KARI. 2010. "Strategic Plan 2009-2014." http://www.kari.org/fileadmin/publications/Strategic_Plans/strategy_2009-14.pdf, (accessed 13 September 2010).

advocacy for the right to food before the struggle against hunger could be considered to be well on course.

Where and when relationship between the church and the government is only presumed and left to the prevailing atmosphere and initiative of the two, governments have been known to renege on or even contradict their earlier promises depending on the political gain or risk associated to the particular issue at stake. Generally, a cordial relationship between these two institutions flourishes when the interests of both of them are conveniently safeguarded. The State often cooperates when it stands to gain from the Church's involvement, or at least when the Church is supportive of the policies of a particular political regime. On the other hand the Church remains supportive of the government policies, and sometimes even advocates and popularises them when it stands to benefit, say, from certain tax exemptions, and voluntary state monetary contributions to some church projects. But the relationship is ignored when, for example, the Church becomes critical of government policies, or when it challenges certain political establishments on evils such as corruption, tribalism or suspect political agenda. Consequently, the church faces a double challenge in its mission to society: First of all, the Church is challenged to influence legislation such that the laws of the countries protect its involvement. Here, the church relies on civic education that leads to the election of good leaders through whom it can make or create relevant laws to protect its involvement in partnership with the state. Or it relies on democratically protected right to freedom of speech that supports its advocacy for good governance and its call for the government's attention to assist the poor and the hungry. Since the government legislates on any of these issues, and, ultimately decides the role the church can play in any of them, the church's participation remains largely controlled by the government in place.

The second challenge involves the spirit to work together when there are deep differences involving key convictions that motivate either side in the partnership. For example, the Church has been uncompromising regarding moral issues like abortion, euthanasia, and abuse of drugs as a way of solving problems that face people. In some cases, the government has adopted policies that are opposed to those attitudes of the church in approaching these issues of sex education, end of life policies and weak legislation that avoids prosecuting people who deal with hard drug business (often influential people in the government). Where such a clash of principle is encountered, the relationship between the two deteriorates due to the interests at stake. Such a relationship generates deep suspicion on either side, trust is lost and partnership is dented for some time. Such circumstances of suspicion also put to question the credibility of the methods often pursued in the noble service of social welfare. For example, even though governments often claim to pursue social welfare through respect of human rights, their commitment remains questionable given the rampant abuse of human rights in the GLR. The church in particular has often suspected this approach and considered it to serve selfish individualistic interests of the political class.¹⁰⁹² The inability of the church to directly influence legislation and policy of the countries in this region, coupled with incidents of deep differences in principle regarding important social values that characterizes relationship between the Church and the State, constitute the unpredictable relationship between these two institutions. Sometimes these differences play out openly at the expense of important service to the vulnerable members of society suffering from hunger, health conditions and poor education. Thus, the government's cooperation remains crucial to the Church's ministry in the service to the hungry and in the general fight against hunger.

¹⁰⁹² Peace and Justice Commission, 2010. "Lent Message from the Justice and Peace Commission, Kenya," (accessed 11 December 2010).

4.5.3.3 *Lack of Sustained Funding*

The projects initiated by the churches to serve the society are largely sourced from the donations made by the faithful in form of church offerings and tithes, public fund raising activities such as ‘harambee’ in Kenya, donations from other parts of the church around the world, usually other (richer) dioceses and parishes, from non-governmental organization and foundations such as MISEREOR, SCIAF, CAFOD, and established charities in the world either from individual families or charitable organizations. Locally sourced funds are usually spent in running the administrative structures. Many dioceses in this region report huge deficits in covering their own operational overheads. This means that extra financial obligations implied in extraordinary undertaking in society require assistance from abroad. The church in this region has established networks of partnership with friends abroad that has enabled them to make appreciable contribution towards the alleviation of hunger.¹⁰⁹³ Among notable International Aid organizations that work closely with the church are MISEREOR, SCIAF, CAFOD, CORDAID and others. These organizations fund the church hunger fight at various levels. Individual dioceses engage in bilateral arrangement with several other partners locally and abroad to make their contributions in fighting hunger in different ways, for example, through improving agriculture, food storage, farm inputs or directly providing foodstuffs to the starving people. The partnership often involves a certain percentage as a local contribution which mainly covers the running costs of the operations, while the donor fund covers main costs of the projects in long term involvements answering to the needs of society.

However, the extent to which the church intervenes in these projects is largely determined by the funds at its disposal. As these funds are

¹⁰⁹³ Cf. Scottish Catholic International Aids Fund (SCIAF), “The Justice and Peace Commission of Rwanda,” (accessed 11 December 2010).

donations given in charity, the Church faces three limitations in its effort. Being a charity, it comes in amounts given and not in the amounts requested for. Secondly, most charities are sent in when they are available to the donor and not necessarily when the Church wants it. Thus, there is likelihood that the Church is powerless in an emergency of acute food shortages that demands immediate intervention in an emergency relief. Thirdly, charitable donations made by friendly organizations are never guaranteed. They will be sent when, and only, if they are available. The pattern of their supply is irregular and uncertain. Consequently, the Church faces the difficulty of planning for such intervention. Where planning the activity is possible, it still remains difficult to guarantee sustainable regularity of the undertaking. The Church's commitment in many relationships with its donors includes the promise to pursue sustainability such that when the donors terminate their contribution, the local Church can continue on its own. But this does not seem to work consistently in many dioceses due to high poverty levels in many dioceses of this region. This situation, coupled with rampant unaccountability and poor documentation, has led to the termination of most of the Church's projects sometimes deemed necessary in the fight against hunger. Due to these limitations, the Church will seem to avoid long term projects in its pursuits, and concentrates in supporting charitable at times of emergencies.

4.5.3.4 lack of Expert Training and Documentation

Perhaps the greatest handicap that prevails at all levels of the church's administrative organs is the failure to document the appraisal of their involvement in the work of poverty alleviation and fight against hunger. Many administrations appear to presume that charitable involvements are self explanatory as they are transitory. Charitable donations to the hungry are often treated as a private involvement for which no record is necessary. Some dioceses advice the faithful to do

this privately to the people affected, while some put together the necessary foodstuffs and distribute them randomly according to the needs of the time. Thus, many services to the hungry are privately handled. Administrations do not seem to see why a voluntary issue, often motivated by private piety, should be subjected to records and documentation. The documentation of the history of the church's involvement in the fight against hunger would imply an elaborate process of identifying and defining the details of the problem of the people, planning and identifying resources, ways and means of implementation and finally evaluation and appraisal of the entire involvement. The Kenya Episcopal Conference captured what would pass for a relevant guideline in this regard:

Since the Church is you and me, the family of God, all have to be involved right from the start in the projects we undertake, by determining, planning, defining, implementing and evaluating the work. If donor funds are solicited for specific projects, the details must be drawn up in a professional manner, by spelling out the specific aims, the benefits of the same to the people, level of involvement of the people and local contribution of the community.¹⁰⁹⁴

Against this background, documentation would entail an elaborate paper trail containing the details of the problem, suggestions on methods of approach, implementation time framework, and assignment of duties, critical appraisal of the undertaking, and then evaluative statements regarding the proportion of success compared to the expectations at the beginning of the undertaking. There would then be a general statement estimating the worth of the church's contribution as compared with what the situation demanded in the first place. This would then be tracked to

¹⁰⁹⁴ Cf. AMECEA, "On Self-Reliance: 'Be Strong, Be Courageous, All That Hope in the Lord'," *AMECEA Documentation Service*, no. 542 (August 2001): 3.

various levels of the church's administration and the details recorded and kept for future reference. Such documentation would then be instrumental for follow-ups that determine the church's next involvement from time to time. This would also allow the Church to assess and estimate her efforts in advance. The bottom line would be that the church's involvement would be quantifiable and recommended for what it is or depending on its documented evaluation.¹⁰⁹⁵

The Church's general documentation seems to serve a priority order which, in some places, relegates social service, like the attention to the poor and the hungry, to insignificance, while in some cases ignoring it all together. Documentation exercise in the church operations seems to give priority to core pastoral activities such as the administrations of sacraments and routine management issues at different levels. The other specialized areas of service to society such as health services, education, and justice and peace departments seem to operate independently without strict obligation to document the history of the Church's involvement in any standard management pattern. Though most of these operational units can quantify the significance of what they are doing, they are hard pressed to answer specific questions like: What prompted their reaction in the first place? How much has been done? How much is left to be done? What are the goals and objectives of their undertaking, who supervises their work, and are the goals on track? The answers to these questions would not only demonstrate the attention given to the details of the Church's ministry, they would also guide both the Church and its partners towards more effective collaboration. Some dioceses have the appropriate arrangements in place, exhibiting order and purposefulness, but owing to the autonomy of diocesan administrations, other dioceses are under no obligation to repeat the pattern. This radically interrupts the link that identifies the church's unity of purpose

¹⁰⁹⁵ Cf. J. Leferink S.M.A., "The Need for Effective Structures," *African Ecclesial Review* XIII, no. 3 (1971), 260-263.

either because of the radical difference in the approaches employed or because of the absence of concern in other dioceses. The specific questions would guide the track record of the Church's conscious and sustained approach to a never-ending problem of hunger. It would also help the Church, first of all, to form an opinion about their partnership with the governments, and most importantly, to assess the approaches they employ and therefore be in position to offer a sound advice in time of famine. In this way the advice given would not only be appropriate, but would also expose the quality and the focus of their experience in the service of the poor and the hungry. The differences are fuelled by many of the problems we have seen above. Over and above the Church's fear to engage experts, owing to financial inability to sustain such experts, the Church heavily relies on voluntary participation of its members in issues of charity. On the parish, diocesan and national levels, voluntarism is the norm even among the people officially appointed to handle offices under which concern for the hungry falls. But when all is said and done, the autonomous diocesan administrations are run by a management style convenient to the bishop of the diocese.

4.5.4 A Proposal for a Strategic Pastoral Plan (S.P.P.)

4.5.4.1 Introduction

The above historical account of the Church's involvement in pertinent social issues in the GLR, its strategy over the years, as well as its ideological slogan have inspired its continued service to society. However, the weaknesses and limitations the Church faces in its ministry invite equal, if not more, opposite currents. The region has continued to experience ever increasing impact of social evil: hunger, civil war, poverty, disease, not to mention spiritual strife in areas of justice, truth, rights, reconciliation and peace. Furthermore, the dreams envisaged at post-independence seem to have crumbled over the years.

The fruits of the pastoral strategy of the SCC are yet to be made fully visible, their members are still divided into the haves and the have-nots. More of the children and women die of hunger-related diseases and never see old age, with almost a double mortality rate. Self-independence has remained a distant dream, today the Church is more dependent on its Western counterparts than ever before. As the Church moves towards celebrating its fifty years of regional existence under 'localised' leadership striving for self-reliance, many questions: to what extent has it achieved its dream of 'Africanization' through self-reliance in terms of serving the needs of its own poor and hungry members? Have the scenario and ideas changed? What slogan will inspire it in the 21st century? How will the Church retain its position as key partner in serving society? These questions bring several factors into focus for the Church's attention: The imperative to fight hunger, the gains of the various food security measures undertaken in the GLR, and the new developments in the landscape of local ecclesiology, the postmodern milieu, as well as the current trends in the public social discourse. The following proposal of a Strategic Pastoral Plan consolidates the Church's potential in the light of the current problems facing the GLR, and highlights the strategic value of this potential as a means through which the Church can exert influence on social welfare in the years to come. Our plan shall unfold in five sections. The first section contains the highlights of the social milieu and sets the scope of the Plan. The next four sections discuss the details of the proposed strategies: Strategic direction, strategic planning procedure, strategic leadership and methodology. But first, we explore the basis for this proposal.

4.5.4.2 The Basis of a Strategic Pastoral Plan

In the reflections of Bishop Joseph Blomjous on this subject, "all pastoral planning is based on the constant and realistic confrontation between the demands of the Gospel Message and of the salvific mission

of the Church ... is also based on the data provided by the analysis of the continuously changing situation of the Church itself, the human society and the milieu in which the Church lives based on its apostolic concern.”¹⁰⁹⁶ The significance of planning in God’s revealed message in Scripture is inexhaustible. From the creation story through the election theme, reinforced by the eschatology discourse enkindled by the mystery of incarnation, planning is the hallmark of the message of salvation in scripture. It suffices our reflection here to remember the words of Jeremiah: “For surely I know the plans I have for you, says the Lord, plan for your welfare and not to harm, to give you a future with hope.” (Jer. 29:11). This reflection, among many in scripture, attests to Bishop Blomjous’ assertion that “the Church, by its very nature, is oriented towards ‘future thinking,’ and this future is not simply inner-worldly, but stretches beyond the limits of human history into the eternity of God Himself.”¹⁰⁹⁷ The nature and mission of the Church, no doubt, depend on its ability to sustain society’s hope for the salvation, already here but yet to come. Perhaps there is no other institution better placed to propagate the message of confidence in the future than the Church. This observation renders planning inevitable at every level of the Church’s mission. The circumstance of the Church’s mission in the GLR is tone between currents of turmoil in the civil society, laced with real threats to the Church’s own identity. The genocide in Rwanda and Burundi dominated the 90s. From the year 2000 on, the rebel activities raged on in Northern Uganda, the Darfur area of Sudan, and Kivu area of the DR Congo, not to mention the post election violence in Kenya in the close of the decade, 2007-2008. The issue of HIV/AIDS, hunger and

¹⁰⁹⁶ Joseph Blomjous, "Pastoral Planning for the Local Church in Eastern Africa," *African Ecclesial Review* 44, no. 1&2 (2002): 22. See also Joseph Blomjous, "Planning for the Church in Eastern Africa in the 1980s: Position Papers, Introduction to the Study Themes," *African Ecclesial Review* XVI, no. 1&2 (1973): 18-50.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Blomjous, "Pastoral Planning for the Local Church in Eastern Africa," 20.

starvation, Internally Displaced People (IDP), crowned with deterioration of education and health standards even in the Church's own institutions are part of the social ills that bedevil this region on a superlative level. This is happening at a time when the sacramental life of the faithful, as well as Church's overall mission to evangelize modern society, faces various challenges from various perspectives.

On the political level, while the ills fought against at independence, such as segregation, oppression, power domination, ignorance, poverty, hunger and disease, have only but multiplied, the vision for independence, autonomy, self-reliance and unity (national or ecclesiastical), has literally faded in the horizon. Over forty years later, Bishop Patrick Kalilombe, for example, who vigorously defended the desire for autonomy at independence, acknowledges the reality of defeat and bows to the pressure of 'africanized poverty.' "While there might be a few cases in Eastern Africa where the churches depend primarily on their own communities for existence and fulfillment of mission, most churches in the AMECEA region continue to expect help from outside, even for the very basics of their existence. Why is this so? The reason is obvious: our countries have become desperately poor and hence, dependent."¹⁰⁹⁸ Africa is even more pledged by tribalism that fends war, animosity and corruption in its leadership. It still faces a stiff challenge to nationalism and cultural identity for the sake of unity, while the Church has grappled over the years with the reality of universality and

¹⁰⁹⁸ Patrick. A. Kalilombe, "A Call to Self-Reliance," *African Ecclesial Review* 44, no. 1&2 (2002): 3, 4. In this article, Bishop Kalilombe defends the view that in the fateful thirty years, between the 1960s and the 1990s, government and administration deteriorated in many African countries as military or despotic rulers took over. Most of them were not only ill-equipped for national development, but were often instrumental in entrenching systems of inefficiency, corruption, nepotism, misuse or outright embezzlement of public resources, terrorism and disregard of human rights. These vices still bedevil our nations.

ecclesial unity *vis-à-vis* its clarion call for self-reliance without clear success.

On the global scene, civil society lives in a global village built on the revolution of information and communications technology (ICT) in computer science and electronic technology, globalised economics and stiff competition in business, education, modernized health care and rapid advancements in micro-biology (in medicine and food technology). Science and technology are basting the known horizons in many fields. Within the churches and faith movements, the threats of indifference to religious faith are more real today. The community of the global village is increasingly multi-cultural where many religious beliefs co-exist, ecumenism and inter-religious dialogue that require new forms of openness and dialogue. Public discourse is dominated by awareness of individual human rights, and is guarded by law in democratic governments in the region. In the face of this complicated scenario the question is: How can the Church sustain the confidence of society in the hope for a better future? In order to weave through this apparently complicated social landscape, the Church cannot avoid continuous and careful planning for its ministry in order to remain buoyant and relevant. But while, there is no doubt that the Church does plan its work, the quality of the planning exercise as well as the commitment to fulfil the demands of planning, determine the relevance of the Church's ministry.¹⁰⁹⁹

4.5.4.2 Strategic Direction and Road Map of the Pastoral Plan

Despite the resolve of the church leaders in the GLR over the years to adopt SCC as its pastoral priority, in their mission to 'Africanize' the Church, the ideas remain much as a dream almost forty years later. The

¹⁰⁹⁹ Cf. Diana MacCallum, "Participatory Planning and Means-Ends Rationality: A Translation Problem," *Planning Theory & Practice* 9, no. 3 (2008): 326-330.

amount of confusion, indifference and even doubt have undermined these ideas. In the mid seventies, Paul Crowley highlighted the dilemma of effective service to the Church. At that time, the Church experienced acute shortage of vocations and personnel.¹¹⁰⁰ Later voices would be heard of apathy and lack of motivation even among the clergy and the religious in the Church to embrace communion and mix freely with the lay people in the context of a church as a family.¹¹⁰¹ Lack of unanimity has coasted the Church its own dream. It is therefore upon the leaders to underline the road-map or a strategic direction behind which all the faithful may rally and move forward to one definitive and purposeful direction and perhaps at the same pace.

¹¹⁰⁰ Cf. Paul Crowley MHM, "Christian Community and Ministry," *African Ecclesial Review* 19, no. 4 (1977): 201-208. This article decried the prevailing dilemma that had arisen mainly due to lack of ordained local ministers. This, according to him, would make it impossible for the Church in Africa to provide Christian communities with a minimum of pastoral service. Critical of the priestly training and the clerical image of the ordained ministry, Crowley proposed two complementary forms of the ordained ministry: one whose ministers are ordained to fulfil the larger needs of the parish, and the diocese, the other whose members are chosen by the Christian community and are ordained to meet their Eucharistic requirements.

¹¹⁰¹ Cf. Edmund Van Huet, "Religious and the AMECEA Pastoral Priority," *African Ecclesial Review* 25, no. 6 (1983): 369-371. This article expressed the initial confusion implied in the understanding of the meaning and place of the Small Christian Community. The religious priests and nuns could not immediately interpret the relevance of SCCs in the context of their own respective religious charisms already lived in a community of the religious. The article reveals the initial reluctance and the tendency to ignore the call to develop SCCs. The situation was better captured by the rejoinder later expressed in the article written by Kamugisha. Thus, "In fact, real communication and dialogue between religious communities/individuals, priests and laity is often a difficult matter. In dealing with the laity, to cite one example, many priests and religious simply do not know what to do when there is a demand for dialogue, discussion, participation and co-responsibility. Priests are used to making decisions and to being in charge, but they do not know how to enter into dialogue with a group. They often suffer from a "teacher-complex", and they feel that they have to provide answers for everyone. Their way of conduct is usually one-way traffic

See David Kamugisha, "The AMECEA Pastoral Priority and Its Implementation," *African Ecclesial Review* 24, no. 3 (1982): 138.

Experts cite vision, motivation, the mission and goals as the main pillars that define a strategic trajectory in progress. Insistence on the meaningfulness and relevance of these pillars holds the key to focused planning and progress in the service of society. With regard to the strategic vision, it is important to reemphasize that the vision of the Church as people of God was incarnated in the model of SCC seen as a family (of the People) of God which had been emphasized now and again by the bishops in this region.¹¹⁰² The model of the Church as a Family of God emphasized in *Ecclesia in Africa*, 1994, and reasserted in the Second Special Assembly for Africa of the Synod of Bishop, 2009.¹¹⁰³ This vision has to be put into practice in the GLR to revive the Church's effort to serve not only the members of its faithful, but also other people in need of help irrespective of their religion, nationality, tribe or political affiliation.

The second pillar regards the popular 'slogan,' or 'motto,' or the strategic motivation that spurs the Church in its mission. The move towards 'Africanization' or 'localization' that precipitated a clarion call for self-reliance has obviously been passed by time.¹¹⁰⁴ The Bishops that championed this move at post-independence have either retired or still serve acknowledging defeat under the reality of globalization.¹¹⁰⁵ The effects of globalization have enriched society with both the thesis and antithesis of global unity: while parts of the world remain rich, others

¹¹⁰² Raphael S. Ndingi Mwana'a Nzeki, "Implementing AMECEA's Pastoral Priority," *African Ecclesial Review* 21, no. 5 (1979): 288-289.

¹¹⁰³ Cf. Synod of Bishop. 2009. "The Church in Africa in the Service of Reconciliation, Justice and Peace." http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/synod/documents/rc_synod_doc_20090319_instrlabor-africa_en.html, (accessed 13 January 2010).

¹¹⁰⁴ Cf. Card. J. Malula, "The Church at the Hour of Africanization," *African Ecclesial Review* XVI, no. 4 (1974): 365.

¹¹⁰⁵ Cf. Bishop Patrick Kalilombe, "An Overall View on Building Christian Communities," in *AMECEA Triennial Study Conference*, ed. AFER (St. Thomas Aquinas Seminary, Nairobi: AMECEA Pastoral Institute (Gaba), 1976), 261-265. Compare Kalilombe, "A Call to Self-Reliance," 2-8.

have grown poorer. Society's struggles towards the equilibrium position will define the history of the coming generations. The Church cannot but join in this struggle albeit with a defined mission. This reflection proposes two important slogans that should motivate the Church's mission in this context, namely: the call towards solidarity of the human family in preference to 'africanization,' and ecumenical dialogue that will exploit and harness the effects of the Church's vision and mission stated above, in preference to self-reliance.¹¹⁰⁶ The Church can no longer afford to keep happing on the tired note of self-reliance, instead it should acknowledge its weaknesses from which it stands to benefit from the strengths of its partners in dialogue on various social concerns including the concern for the hunger, while it consolidates its strengths with which it can help the weaknesses of the same partner. This is the current dynamism that governs human socialization in the 21st century. Solidarity of the human family facilitated by ecumenical dialogue in a multicultural milieu of a post-modern society, holds the key to the Church's motivation in its ministry towards the future. The Church's approach to its ministry will, in this case, also require appropriate alteration in order to be relevant.

The third important strategic pillar is the mission and goal of the Church. Mission and Goal: According to the document *Ad Gentes*, the Church is "divinely sent to the nations of the world to be unto them a 'universal sacrament of salvation'... urgently called upon to save and renew every creature, that all things may be restored in Christ and all men may constitute one family in Him and one people of God ... sent by Christ to reveal and to communicate the love of God to all men and

¹¹⁰⁶ Cf. Synod of Bishop. "The Church in Africa in the Service of Reconciliation, Justice and Peace," No. 87, 93, 99. The Second Special Assembly for Africa, revisited the issue of the Church as a Family, and the place of ecumenical dialogue as key instruments at the disposal of the Church in Africa for its mission for Justice, Peace and Reconciliation.

nations.”¹¹⁰⁷ Thus, the mission or mandate of the Church in the GLR is: To proclaim the Good News (Christ) of salvation to all nations and peoples. Its goal is two-fold: To effect a renewal of the entire creation through the power of the Love of God, and gather the human race together as one family in God. These three pillars that guide the path of the mission of the Church in this region and beyond, need to remain clearer in the minds of the leaders at all levels of the Church’s institutions. A clear vision, mission and goal, facilitated with a constant and genuine motivation, focuses the Church’s effort in the service of society. The success of the planning activity and its procedure, discussed below, is in the thorough and passionate understanding of these key pillars.

4.5.4.3 *Strategic Planning Procedure*

Planning church activities serves the process in which the spiritual values and tradition are employed to meet emerging needs of the community.¹¹⁰⁸ According to Alice Mann, “Strategic planning is a structured conversation about what a group of people believe God calls them to be or to do. The goal of the planning process is to structure the conversation people need in order to shape agreement and enthusiasm to pursue what they believe God calls them to be or to do.”¹¹⁰⁹ At this point, planning involves the transition of the ideology, dreams and convictions into solutions of life problems. Individual participation not only contributes to the final plan action, it is also shaped by, as much as it shapes, the ideas of the others. The result lies not only in solving the problems in society, but also in personal growth concerning faith understanding and conviction. It instils in a more practical way the message of love between the faithful, in other words, planning church

¹¹⁰⁷ Paul VI, “*Ad Gentes*,” No. 1, 10.

¹¹⁰⁸ Cf. Mary Holvorson, “Planning,” *Clergy Journal* 80, no. 7 (2004), 28-29.

¹¹⁰⁹ Alice Mann, “Strategic Planning as Spiritual Practice,” *Clergy Journal* 81, no. 7 (2005): 6.

activities is, ultimately, an experience of faith. This is what will determine the outcome of the planning process, as well as compliance and cooperation at the implementation level. Experts thus observe that "The step from planning process to product is not only the most crucial and determining factor of the planner's task, it is above all an ideological event in which particular interests are fixed as general ones. This sets the terms for subsequent debate and action and ultimately causes those interests to become embedded in the relations of ruling that organize the experience of others."¹¹¹⁰ Accordingly, the outcome of the planning activity and the cooperation at the implementations depend on the nature of consultation adopted at the planning procedure.

The planning procedure is indeed the defining moment of the Church's influence on the people. The ministry of the Church is actualized in the procedures of the plans it executes on routine basis. It imprints a transforming legacy in the hearts of the people while it articulates the charisms of the personalities behind church leadership. The skills of the planner will influence and determine the direction of the entire process and the consequent action plan of the organization. Strategic planning gives the power that determines the force of implementation. The success or failure of an undertaking depends on the skills of planning manifested at the procedure. Skills of a planner may consist in identifying felt needs, designing strategies to address them and recommending ways and means to implement them. It may also consist in a range of methods for involving, listening to and negotiating with the people from outside the immediate institutional environment.¹¹¹¹ Either of these could be undertaken by an individual or a group of people in the manner most appropriate to them. Many institutions however, consider both of these aspects and have come up with a popular model known as consultative planning. This model involves extensive consultation: at the

¹¹¹⁰ MacCallum, "Participatory Planning," 325-326.

¹¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 325.

assessment level, it is about setting of objective and strategies as well as in the implementation process. In the Church, no less, the bishops are to "set up, insofar as possible, a pastoral council, in which clergy, Religious, and Laity may have a part."¹¹¹²

The centre of the planning procedure consists of setting the objectives on the basis of the felt needs of the community. For performance management, experts identify the 'SMART' or 'DUMB' methods for setting objectives.¹¹¹³ With either method, the objectives of the Church's involvement can only be constructed through an honest analysis of its own Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats (SWOT analysis). In the overall, three important factors need to be taken into account when setting these objectives. Firstly, the objectives must reflect the vision, mission and goals of the Church that go beyond the aims of human society.¹¹¹⁴ This means planning in the Church must be

¹¹¹² Paul VI, "*Christus Dominus*," No. 30.

¹¹¹³ Cf. Carlo Giupponi, Jacopo Crimi, and Jaroslav Mysiak, "Participatory Approach in Decision Making Processes for Water Resources Management in the Mediterranean Basin," (Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei Working Papers. Working Paper 7, 2006). S.M.A.R.T refers to the acronym that describes the key characteristics of meaningful objectives, which are Specific (concrete, detailed, well defined), Measureable (numbers, quantity, comparison), Achievable (feasible, actionable), Realistic (considering resources) and Time-Bound (a defined time line). On a simpler level, 'SMART' is replaced by the less common 'DUMB' for Doable, Understandable, Manageable and Beneficial. The most daring business professionals and education planners go ahead to interpret 'DUMB' for Dreamy, Unrealistic, Motivating and Bold. This latest interpretation seems to capture the dream of many risk takers in business, many also argue this could be suitable to pastoral ministry planners. See also Roger Bauer. 2010. "Smart Goals Are out Dumb Goals Are In." <http://www.evancarmichael.com/Marketing/1160/SMART-Goals-are-out-DUMB-Goals-are-in.html>, (accessed 16 January 2011).

¹¹¹⁴ Cf. Blomjous, "Pastoral Planning for the Local Church in Eastern Africa," 24. In human planning, the choice of the objective is usually dominated by the fundamental aim of human society, the realization of the common good. In a similar way, all pastoral planning in the Church is geared towards the accomplishment of the Church's salvific mission. This mission of salvation of the Church is not only for the visible members nor for the external glorification of the Church only, but for the glory of God and the salvation of all humankind.

explained in the simplest terms possible and made clear to the leaders and all participants in order to accommodate the understanding and participation of each and every member of the faithful. Secondly, the objectives must single out the most important aspects of society's life as suggested by the ordinary flow of events in current social issues. Some of these aspects will be urgent and require immediate attention, while others will be recurrent and take prolonged attention. This will require that the Church's objectives are divided into either short-term or long-term.¹¹¹⁵ Thirdly, the objectives must articulate the intra-ecclesial dynamism of the Church's structure that not only distinguish between the hierarchical, religious and lay ministry, but that also distinguishes the local Church from the Universal Church and, nevertheless, binds these two aspects of the Church together into a formidable and visible unity. The identified objectives may indeed be general. They could be further focused by specifying thematic strategies. Strategic themes articulate and focus efforts to specialized needs identified by certain objectives at planning. While the objectives describe the concern of the Church over certain felt needs, strategic themes break down these felt needs to detailed levels that warrant specific and effective attention. They facilitate feasibility or render objectives easily achievable. Through these themes, the Church strategizes and implements the various aspects of its core mission and conveys its message to society on a specific level. Considering the scope or the Church's mission discussed so far, this plan proposes seven such themes for the Church in the GLR:

- Spirituality and Liturgy: To addresses all the spiritual aspects of the Church's ministry

Any particular objective of a pastoral plan is legitimate only in the context of this general vision.

¹¹¹⁵ Ibid., 19.

- Catholic Justice & Peace Commission: To address issues of rights, justice, truth and peace (reconciliation)
- Community Based Health Care and prevention: To address basic community health issues
- Education: cater for educational activities (catechism, schools, seminaries, priestly on-going formation, family life)
- Gender/Youth ministry: To promote youth and gender development
- Social Communications, Research & Documentation: Enhance means of evangelization

When the nature and the scope of the objectives of the Church's ministry are clearer, the Church can then identify the appropriate means and resources at its disposal through which it can address the various objectives it identifies. Strategic Institutions below are the potential means at the disposal of the Church.

4.5.4.4 Strategic Institutions: Interventions at Various Structure Levels

The Church's commonly known pastoral institutions include the parish, the diocese and the Episcopal conference, the regional assemblies of Episcopal Conferences joined to the universal Synod of Bishops under the Bishop of Rome.¹¹¹⁶ With the provision of the Pastoral council and the Lay Apostolate Council,¹¹¹⁷ under the overall supervision of the office of the propagation of faith in Rome,¹¹¹⁸ these structures provide a sufficiently broad scope of the postoration providing a "means for a working interacting between priests, religious and lay people, between organizations and societies, between groups of different

¹¹¹⁶ Cf. Paul VI. " *Christus Dominus*," No. 11.

¹¹¹⁷ Cf. Paul VI, " *Apostolicam Actuositatem*," No. 26.

¹¹¹⁸ Paul VI. "Decree on the Mission Activity of the Church," No. 29.

religious interests, between social and professional classes.”¹¹¹⁹ The adaptation specific to the AMECEA region is the inclusion of the SCC.¹¹²⁰ Despite some misgivings regarding the role and place of SCC over the years, the vision of the Church in this region was that it be an integral part where the universal Church of God first manifests itself as a family of brotherhood.¹¹²¹ The institutional strategy proper to the AMECEA region would therefore begin with SCC as its basic institutional unit, then the parish, diocese and the Episcopal Conference. The SCC may no longer be seen simply as an appendix whose role remains anonymous in the mainstream planning activities in the Church, but rather as a constitutive level of the Church’s presence among God’s people. Accordingly, this reflection proposes the following scheme to mark specific levels of intervention planning and implementing the mission of the Church in the region.

The actual planning begins in the SCC. Here the planners identify the felt needs of people through cordial and deep sharing between individuals facilitated in the atmosphere of prayer, openness and loving

¹¹¹⁹ Cf. Leferink, "The Need for Effective Structures," 256-263. On the basis of the developments in the Second Vatican Council as reflected in the decrees on the Bishop’s Pastoral Office; *Christus Dominus*, and the decree on the Lay Apostolate; *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, enlightened by their exhaustive interpretation guide in *Motu Proprio Ecclesiae Sanctae*, J. Leferink highlighted the structures of service of the church in relation to the needs of the church in this region.

¹¹²⁰ Paul VI. "Journey to Uganda: Address of Paul VI to the Parliament of Uganda," (accessed. 10 December 2010). The complication and the specificity of the situation in the Great Lakes Region would be addressed by the creativity of the local church in adapting the guidelines of the universal church to their circumstance. Pointing at *Populorum Progressio* as such a guide, Paul VI said: "Neither colonialism nor neo-colonialism is its theme, but aid and impulse to the African people, that they may be able to express, in their proper genius and by their own strength, those political, social, economic and cultural structures which are proportionate to their needs, and coordinated with international society and modern civilization."

¹¹²¹ Ndingi Mwana'a Nzeki: "Implementing AMECEA's Pastoral Priorities," 288.

concern for the neighbour.¹¹²² This is the level at which individual persons, guided by the Christian spiritual and moral values, are helped to reflect upon their individual role in upholding the message of salvation through various ways of service to the neighbour. At this level everybody is an actor, everybody can give or contribute something and everybody can gain in one way or another from the Christian fellowship advocated in the organization of the SCC. At this level genuine felt needs of the Church are established. This is also the first level of implementation of any church project depending on what the Community identified as its needs. Defined offices of the diocesan leadership structure should first be coordinated and rendered visible in the SCC.

The second level of planning occurs in the Parish Pastoral Council (P.P.C.). It consists of setting up the objectives on the basis of the felt needs identified in the SCCs, and on the basis of the pastoral themes identified by the diocesan administration. At this level, these objectives are to be distributed into the various themes such as Justice and Peace for implementation by the PCC or any Thematic Committee established for the purpose. At the parish level, leaders are well instructed on the motivation, vision, mission, and goals of the diocese. In a consultative atmosphere, the exercise of setting objectives would maintain keen attention on this road-map. At the parish level, therefore, continuous education, seminars, workshop and consultations is to be conducted to educate the faithful not only on faith and doctrine issues, but also on current developments in society and how to strategize the Church's approach to these issues.

¹¹²² Cf. Catholic Biblical Federation. 1969. "The Lumko 'Seven Step' Method," Lumko Institute. http://www.c-b-f.org/start.php?CONTID=11_01_02_00&LANG=en, (accessed 5 February 2011). The seven steps of SCC prayer meeting.

At a diocesan level, planning shall involve project proposals, the definition and assignment of duties to competent office holders, and the identification of the projects to be pursued, and a suggested time-frame for the implementation of the identified projects. Assignment of duties should take due regard of qualification of the clergy, the religious and the experts among the lay people. It should reflect gender sensitivity and seek balance between the elderly and the youthful generation. The leadership should equally reflect sensitivity to issues of tribe where many tribes exist in a diocese. Planning here would also identify the partners with whom to cooperate in order to pursue selected projects. The leadership shall identify the financial sources. It shall propose ways and means of raising funds and distribute roles of fund raising to people and regions of the diocese depending on their known potential and capacity. It is at the diocesan level that the previous plans are evaluated and documented in accordance to the experience of the diocese at implementing these plans for future reference. While diocesan office holders may be involved in the actual contribution at implementation level, such as teaching and instructing, their role is mainly coordinative, supervisory and evaluative. They ensure that the programme progresses according to the plan agreed on by all, and coordinate various expert and talented people to secure their contribution.

The departments at the level of the diocese replicate the same departments at the national level in the Secretariat of the Episcopal Conference. At this level, the departments are supervised by the bishop members of the Episcopal Conference to ensure compliance of the departments with the motivation, vision, mission and goals of the Church in the whole country. If this planning arrangement is supervised, executed, and evaluated accordingly, there is likelihood that the Church will exhibit unity of purpose and become ever more effective and relevant in serving the needs of society. There are other projects that are planned in the dioceses which require extra strategic institutions than the

traditional ones that feature in the planning procedures discussed above. Such projects include formation and training of church personnel, attention to healthcare, and the training of experts in specialized areas such as farming and others. Planning at diocesan and national levels may establish and sustain these institutions as schools, colleges, universities and seminaries, hospitals. The target of the planning activities at these two levels is to keep these institutions on course in serving the objectives and goals for which they were established. The strategy should be reviewed regularly and only changed to improve their effectiveness. In the GLR, the learning facilities such as the Centre for Social Justice and Peace and its outreach programmes in the regional Catholic University of Eastern Africa (CUEA), provide such a strategy. Their effectiveness in the service of the region's needs demonstrates the focus of the regional Church in strategizing its services to meet the needs of society.

4.5.4.5 Strategic Leadership and Methodology

The SCCs are bound to exhibit the first visible leadership structure of the Church. These are the SCC executives that shall lead the planning activity in the community. At the parish level, there is to be a Parish Pastoral Council (PPC) charged with the duties of administration and management of the parish pastoral programmes. It consists of the Pastor in-charge, the leadership executives, and the representatives of every SCC. The PCC may create Thematic Committees (TC) to handle specialized areas of the pastoral ministry like the Committee for Justice and Peace, for youth ministry and others, established according to the pastoral needs and the arrangements of the diocesan administration. The diocesan leadership is to be organized by the diocesan bishop in a manner that serves the circumstances best. However, in order to appear consistent with our proposal for leadership in the parish and at SCC level, we recommend a Diocesan Pastoral Council. This should consist of the diocesan executive secretary and the heads of departments. What

is proposed as TC in the parish and at SCC levels, translate into the official diocesan departments established to serve the felt needs of society in the areas proposed from the fruit of consultative planning. Strategic leadership will require coherence to enhance unity of purpose. It is therefore important that the leaders that serve the structures of the Church have a thorough understanding of the motivation, vision, mission and goals of the Church's ministry in the diocese and in the region.

A Bishop's power of governance makes him the prime designer and coordinator of the pastoral ministry in the diocese. This position facilitates the unity of the Church as one family of the people of god and demonstrates selfless service in the community.¹¹²³ Accordingly, this ministry is exercised in the model of father and pastor. They stand in the midst of their people as those who serve as good shepherds and true fathers that inspire love and communion.¹¹²⁴ Here, harmony and unity facilitated by a service of love stand out as the immediate goals of the coordinating role of a bishop. Consultative planning therefore, suits more the structured relationship between the bishop and his flock. However, the idea is not simply to consult and listen to the so called stake holders to rubber stamp what the boss has already decided on as everybody feels good thereafter. Neither is it an exercise of demonstrating unwavering support to the boss by the subjects who resolve to stand by their boss at all costs. Nor should it ever be mistaken for the virtue of obedience whose purpose is well served at implementation. It is rather an intimate moment of vision sharing, discernment of spirit and persuasion inspired by genuine love of a neighbour, respect for every individual, and the desire to build the community and society.¹¹²⁵ Here no one stands to lose and no one gains.

¹¹²³ Paul VI. " *Christus Dominus*," No. 17.

¹¹²⁴ Ibid., No. 16.

¹¹²⁵ Leferink, "The Need for Effective Structures," 258-259.

The shared vision of what God wants the Church at a given place to be and to do prevails. In the Church, the vision is to grow together as the family of the people of God. The vision and the motivation of the Church in Africa in the current circumstances was captured vividly in the working document (*Instrumentum Laboris*) for the Second Special Assembly for Africa in 2009. This prevailing view on leadership helps us to envisage the region's expectation for strategic leadership. The *Instrumentum Laboris* made the following proposition regarding the appointment into positions of leadership among the clergy and religious:

In order to foster or re-establish justice and peace in the Church, some feel that bishops ought to appoint priests and religious using objective criteria and not ethnic ones. The Church-Family of God is called upon to establish meditation groups at various levels. Sometimes difficulties in dialogue exist between the bishop, his presbyterate or other groups of his people. In cases where this or that member is responsible and at fault, competent authority must restore trust and mend the fabric of the Church-Family.¹¹²⁶

According to this observation, the vision of the Church is clear. It envisages a Family of the People of God. The motivation to drive the Church towards its vision is explicitly the possibility of dialogue for peace, justice and reconciliation, as recommended in this discussion. Four aspects stand out in this observation that should be considered in order to enhance strategic leadership in the Church in AMECEA Region: The first aspect regards the criteria for appointments into positions of service in the Church. Despite its hard stand on governments at times, the Church too is not spared from the influence of nepotism, cronyism, clericalism favouritism and other standards based

¹¹²⁶ Synod of Bishop, "The Church in Africa in the Service of Reconciliation, Justice and Peace," No. 109

on personalised feeling on office bearers. This is multiple disasters if the appointments involve formators in the Seminaries, teachers and lecturers in learning institutions or other specialized offices. But the Church's guidance is clear for the clergy and religious: they are supposed to undergo the recommended training where they should be equipped with necessary knowledge and skills for the basic ministry.¹¹²⁷ However, the Church has to create room for the clergy and the religious who are willing to deepen and specialise in specific areas of service.¹¹²⁸ In the final analysis, it is to the trained and qualified experts, whether clergy, religious or lay, that service of specialised areas is entrusted.¹¹²⁹ In the entire training however, strategic leadership demands thorough knowledge of the mission and vision of the Church, and proper motivation towards the service of the goal and objectives of the Church. In this regard, seminary training comes into sharp focus. Is the quality of the training offered to the local clergy worth the test of time?

The second aspect that emerges in the above observation is the need not just of trained leaders but of leaders whose training responds to specialised felt need. In the current situation of Africa, the call is for specialized training in ecumenical dialogue tailored towards the search for justice, peace and reconciliation. This special call responds to the felt need of the Church both in the short-run and in the long-run. While the basic training may remain to cater for the ordinary traditional pattern of the pastoral ministry, specialised training requires responsive training systems regularly updated, and a certain level of net-working with other public and private institutions. Since issues of justice, peace and reconciliation are a priority in Africa today, especially in the GLR, one would expect that the local Church would give due attention to the issue

¹¹²⁷ Paul VI. 1965. "*Optatam Totius*," Nos. 19, 20.

¹¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹¹²⁹ Paul VI. "Decree on the Mission Activity of the Church," No. 40.

of appropriate training to the clergy, the religious and the laity in this regard.

Thirdly, the aspect of suspicion between groups within the Church: the clergy against the religious, or both against the lay communities, is a direct consequence of dangerous non-strategic leadership. The situation is worse when open segregation is practiced along the line of tribe, clan or regionalism. On the contrary, strategic leadership in the Church strives for harmony among people and engage spiritual values to foster unity. This is precisely because strategic leadership involves regular participatory planning that requires the attention and cooperation of all members of the various groups. To a strategic leader, planning is not simply a duty one is trained in, but a spiritual exercise as well. According to the expert Alice Mann, "Having set apart a special time and place for slowed-down conversation, planning leaders have an opportunity to recover and refresh particular religious practices that have become tired or neglected."¹¹³⁰

The fourth and most important aspect highlighted for strategic attention is the issue of method in the approach of the social issues of our time. The *Instrumentum Laboris* for the Second Special Assembly for Africa summarized what could be seen as a motivation for

¹¹³⁰ Mann: "Strategic Planning as Spiritual Practice," 6. Alice Mann, an ordained Episcopal priest, serves as a Senior Consultant, teacher, writer, researcher and counsellor, (Alban Institute VA, U.S.A). She recognizes with esteem the spiritual exercise practiced in the African Small Christian Communities. Using the African example, she recounts that in a church where people usually encounter scripture in a liturgical or didactic mode, planning leaders might instead begin each session with 'African Bible Study' in which the same passage is read three times, each time by a different voice. After each of the three readings, people are asked to reflect in silence on a different question, such as, 'What word or phrase jumped out at you from the passage?' Participants then are asked to share their responses. This 'oral tradition' approach to biblical reflection according to her activates the ears and engages participants more personally with the passage and with each other. By the end of such an exercise, the holy conversation has already begun.

methodological approach. Looking at some critical places in the life of African society, the document observed:

In recent years, some hopeful signs of a growing civic consciousness have appeared in the socio-political sphere. Activity towards a more civic society is increasingly seen in the struggle for human rights. In this regard, some men and women politicians are in earnest pursuit of a renaissance on the continent. Here and there, movements seeking an intra-African resolution to conflicts attest that some politicians in Africa are keenly aware of their responsibility to educate their people politically and to guide their nations towards a life of peace and prosperity.¹¹³¹

This was an observation that followed a wider and deeper consideration of the trends that designate the signs of the time in the social, economic and political context in Africa. The remark unequivocally identified the human rights approach to social issues as an appropriate. But as a strategy in the operations of the Church, there is need for a careful discernment with regard to the rightful role of this approach in order to avoid the risk of losing the Church's identity, or compromising the mission and vision of the Church amidst other partners. In this regard our proposal for the content of the human rights methodology elsewhere in this chapter becomes crucial. The human rights approach must embrace the three aspects of human solidarity, namely: respect for virtue of humanity, enhancement of collaboration, and instrumentalization of the normative-activist methodology. The Church's role should clearly involve and advance attention to the aspect of human virtue that enriches the narrative of human dignity with the implications of Christian anthropology.

¹¹³¹ Synod of Bishop. "The Church in Africa in the Service of Reconciliation, Justice and Peace," No. 22.

In conclusion, it can be observed that within the Great Lakes Region, the Catholic Church is known for its structured approach to social issues and especially for the unwavering compliance of the faithful to the hierarchical leadership structure. The teaching and opinion of the church on public issues bears enormous influence on both the individual and the social conscience. While this advantage facilitates the influence of the church in this region, the challenges and huddles facing the church in its ministry require preparedness. Engagement in education, on justice, peace and rights, require expert involvement. A genuinely facilitated participation and collaboration, coupled with a partnership that facilitates solidarity can no longer absorb edicts and commands from authoritative top-down leadership where one person speaks and the rest follow. Rather it requires the tactful and strategic art of dialogue between people and partners of equal dignity. As the Uganda Episcopal Conference pointed out, the imperative towards dialogue “entails a relationship between persons that have the skills and full knowledge of issues discussed. Too often we find ourselves lacking in these human and other resources and skills.”¹¹³² The Strategic Pastoral Plan proposed here carefully situates the church within the demands of dialogue with partners necessary for a joint fight against hunger. It clarifies and consolidates the Church’s approach to social issues. It also exposes the capacity the Church has at its disposal to engage in an efficacious service to society in areas of need. Most importantly, the SPP reassures governments and other prospective partners of the Church’s capacity and readiness to participate in the struggle against hunger. Though government strategic plans for food security such as that of Uganda, Rwanda and Kenya consider and regard the Church’s participation positively and even slot the church among their strategic partners, quite often both the government and the church are left guessing as to how the

¹¹³² AMECEA, “Debt Relief and Poverty Eradication in Uganda,” 3.

church will fulfil the mandate assigned to it. The SPP proposed here clarifies, the when, what, where and the how of the church's ability to intervene as a strategic partner. The need for a unifying SPP in the GLR is all the more reason for this proposal. On the issues of poverty and hunger, the church can no longer afford to fight in isolation, nor can it ignore its immense role to facilitate liberation in society. All it requires is commitment to the strategic value of the structures already existent in its operations, and that this strategic value is captured in a consistent SPP.

The governing principle in the implementation of a SPP is the unity of purpose in the church's mission and the consolidation of the church's effort for an effective involvement in the service of society. To ensure that the church is on course in this undertaking, regular evaluation is necessary. This too requires a standard and similar background against which the church's progress can be gauged. But due to differences in the circumstances of service, variation in the demands of partners engaged, and with due consideration of the different capacities of different dioceses, the model SPP could be altered to fit the circumstances. However, the governing principles need not to be altered lest it radically alters the core concerns of the church's mission as a whole.

4.6 Conclusion

The reflection in four sections of this chapter has largely been motivated by the question: Why should the world do so poorly where it has the explicit potential to do the best in the fight against hunger? Section one immediately exposes this paradox within a specific context: While the analysis on the geographical features and climatic conditions of the GLR revealed circumstances regarded conducive for almost any subsistence activity, the socio-economic background gradually introduced the intricate social networks in which hunger thrives. The

population size and distribution into rural and urban areas, underlined the conditions that polarize society here between the poor and the rich, the food secure and those insecure resulting into the sad situation expressed by the statistics.

The reflection in section two and section three explored into the food security situation in the GLR. Section two highlighted the facts on food security and the impacts of food insecurity. Section three considered the concrete measures pursued in the countries of the region to ensure food security. It also proposed other necessary measures in improving the food security status in the region. Three factors are worth highlighting. Firstly, the region's ability to produce for its population is above average. Productivity in the region is fairly comparable with other regions. However, factors such as population growth rate, food distribution policies, social, economic and political networks in the region cloud the supply and availability of food products and hamper individual access to the food produced. Ultimately, food equilibrium in region tilts more on food insecurity, the poor population in the rural areas remain vulnerable for the traps of hunger and starvation. The impact of the tilted equilibrium largely falls on the children under the age of five years and the mothers burdened with labour for subsistence and the demands of child bearing.

Secondly, it is clear that producing food is not all that makes up a sound food security situation. Other factors too play an equal, if not bigger, role in ensuring sound food security conditions. The most conspicuous of these factors is the issue of individual entitlements. When individuals are economically empowered to afford the food they need, access to food is easier. It is therefore, remarkable to note that the region has actively begun to carefully integrate its food security strategies into economic life-lines of business and trade. The gradual transformation of agriculture from small-scale subsistence to large-scale

economic activity for the alleviation of poverty is perhaps more crucial in this region.

Thirdly, food production remains essential, and must be stepped up. However, the region's vulnerability to the effects of climate change, facilitated by extensive agricultural farming activities, call for a careful approach to farming. In the region's effort to improve its food security situation, special attention should be given to adaptation and sustainability. Sustainability should be sought through prudent management of natural resources on which the poor depend for food. This could be achieved through renewability of resource assets or through prudently substituting and/or increasing the non-renewable resource assets. It is incumbent upon experts and policy makers to guide society in choosing the most appropriate and convenient means suited to the needs and capacity of the region. In other words, the preferred ways and means of sustainability should stand the test of adaptability. Otherwise, the food security measures adopted must pass the test of sustainability.

The last section sampled out the church as a crucial strategic partner in the fight against hunger in the GLR. Given the influence of the social, economic and political factors on the hunger situation, the Church example not only gives a clear picture of organizing society and creating structures that guide it towards welfare and the common good. It above all, underlines the need for, and the place of, conscious and careful planning for service to society. As a social structure, operating independently of political, economic and socio-cultural influences, the Church provides a fair test for the choice of strategy and methodology with which to address the problem of hunger. However, the limitations and failures of the Church institutions also demand careful planning. Its influence will bear fruit if it adheres to strict planning through relevant strategies and methodology. The proposal for the SPP therefore punctuates a strategy that arises from a clear vision, realistic motivation

and a mission focused onto set goals. The compatibility of the human rights approach with the Church's overall ministry planned from this background needs to be strengthened. Thus, if the countries in the GLR have to benefit from the natural endowment of their region, respect for, and pursuit of, human rights is the beginning of any involvement. The human rights approach provides a common ground with the potential to facilitate a joint effort against hunger.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

5.1 The Research Findings

In our general conclusion, we now highlight not only the crucial findings of our research undertaking on the hunger pandemic *vis à vis* our preferred human rights approach, we also project reasons for hope but not without pointing out areas for closer attention. Our first finding regards the use of the term ‘hunger.’ Two significations capture ‘hunger’ as a problem in society today. The term ‘under-nutrition’ emerged as appropriate in expressing the problem of hunger as a consequence of food deprivation. This term associates the hunger rhetoric with the role of nutrition science in the face of starvation and other hunger related sicknesses and highlights the damage hunger inflicts to individual victims. ‘Hunger’ as famine however, expresses the magnitude of the damage that goes beyond the individual victim. This damage affects the political, cultural and economic aspects of life in society. At this level hunger crosses regional and generational boundaries and poses a threat to the development of both the present and future generations worldwide. Thus, we arrived at a wider issue of famine through the semantic details of nutrition science in so far as it holds the key to the psycho-physiological reality of human subsistence. We not only hold this basis to be crucial in the understanding of the hunger pandemic as

contrasted to purely economic, political or cultural paradigms that shift with time and place, we also propose it to be the correct bearing upon which the hunger compass should rest before any food security take-off. We project that this will shift attention from the problematic statistical spreadsheets muddled by the economic, political and cultural undercurrents towards the precision of nutrition science. We envisage that the more nutrition science exposes the previous mysteries about human diet, the lighter the burden shall be for experts and the nearer the focus in the fight against hunger. As we enter the second decade of the third millennium, nutrition science deserves priority position in the fight against hunger.

Our second finding turned the spotlight onto the statistics on undernourishment in the world today. Three important trends emerge that seem to complicate the fight against hunger. Firstly, reading the hunger statistics in their usual economic background, we noted that the volatility of hunger situation in the world is more sensitive to the factors that disrupt the food supply-demand equilibrium in favour of demand and aggravate food scarcity, than to the recovery process that reinstalls adequate food supply. The food price speculation of 2007-2009, immediately strained the world food supply systems and pushed undernourishment up from 847.5 million to 1.02 billion persons. This represented an increase of more than 172.5 million persons within a period of two years. For the previous ten years, the world had tried but failed to reduce the number of the undernourished persons by even only a half of this figure (the only significant attempt towards reduction yielded a figure of 65.9 million when the world witnessed a fall of undernourishment from 843.5 million in 1992 to 784.5 million by 1997. Furthermore, when the food prices stabilized within the following year, 2010, undernourishment only fell by 95 million persons, way below the margin of its increase a year before. Our next observation as regards statistics, reveal the daunting, almost insurmountable, task that lies

ahead of the struggle against hunger. The two parameters adopted by the United Nations to measure and monitor progress namely, the counting of the numbers of the undernourished persons, and the prevalence in the percentage of the world's population, reveal a very hopeless situation in the fight against hunger in the near future. With regard to the WFS target, the world expected to reduce undernourishment from 843.4 million in 1991 to at least 421.7 by 2015. By the close of 2010, the number had instead increased to 925 million. Thus, in the last fifteen years the world has experienced an increase of about 81.6 million persons into the bracket of undernourishment. As the year 2015 draws closer, it is clear that the world will not achieve the target it set in the WFS of 1996. On the side of the MDG however, hunger prevalence went down from 16 percent in 1992 to 13 percent by 2007, representing a reduction of 3 percent. But if it took the world ten years to achieve the reduction of only 3 percent, it is practically unlikely that it will achieve the 5 percent required to meet the target in the remaining four years. All in all, the struggle with figures only ties the analysts to the statistical targets of 421.7 million WSF target and 6 percent MDG target by 2015, what about eradicating hunger to the level of zero?

From the point of view of the entire world, these figures paint a sad picture on the global struggle against hunger. But on the regional of individual country level, FAO reports progress where 18 countries worldwide have already achieved the MDG 1 and 26 others are reportedly on track towards achieving this goal. The rest of the countries in the developing world have so far shown insufficient progress, others have shown no progress at all, while in other countries the situation of under-nutrition has in fact deteriorated. Our research findings demonstrate that so far, the entire picture suggests a hopeless future in the fight against hunger. In as much as this reading of figures reveals the negative impact of the economic factors in the whole struggle, it highlights another area that deserves the attention of policy makers and

planners, namely: that hiccups in food supply should be avoided in the first place. Rushing back in a belated effort does not necessarily reinstall the collapsed food supply systems let alone taking the fight to the next level. This, at the same time situates the role of statistics in planning. For its meaning, planning implies preparedness, and preparedness requires planning. As our work demonstrated in various discussions, planning means everything in the fight against hunger, and statistics are indispensable in this regard. Even as the world rages in the search for the solutions for the hunger problem, what became of the planners and national policy makers in the countries in constant state of food insecurity?

However, our third observation in this regard questions the legitimacy of statistics as reliable indicators of the real situation of hunger in the world. At the end of the exhaustive assessment of the progress made in 2006, ten years after the WFS, the observation of experts on the available statistics on the situation in the Sub-Sahara region of Africa at time, for example, was stringent: “At the midway point between their adoption in 2000 and the 2015 target date for achieving the Millennium Development Goals, Sub-Saharan Africa is not on track to achieve any of the Goals.” According to the report at the time, although there had been major gains in several areas and despite the fact that the Goals remain achievable in most African nations, statistics showed that even the best governed countries on the continent had not been able to make sufficient progress in reducing extreme poverty in its many forms, and more so in the situation of hunger. But barely four years later, in 2010, five countries from the region had been confirmed to have met the MDG I, the highest number of countries posited by any one region in the developing world. How would this be possible within five years when not even one had been possible in the previous ten years? Let alone the hazards faced in the region within the same period aggravated by statistics on HIV/AIDS, population growth

rate and poverty indices. This observation may confirm the doubt many would have in trusting the reliability of statistics. At the same time, the observation prompts a rethinking about the best way of estimating the perils associated with the scourge of hunger in the world.

Our third finding concerned the complex causality of the hunger phenomenon in society. When all is said and done, hunger persists in society due to poverty. Both man-made and supernatural factors are capable of precipitating hunger situations, but the impact of the resultant hunger eventually depends not just on the availability of food but, above all, on people's ability to command food in given circumstances. To the extent that accessibility to food is the ultimate solution to the problem of hunger, our reflection tends to emphasize man-made poverty-oriented causes of hunger such as injustice, economic inequality and political strife and instability. Consequently, our proposals for solutions have likewise highlighted man-made temporal solutions such as equitable distribution of public goods, improvement of economic entitlements and advocacy of human rights. However, a closer look on many reports on hunger around the world, expose the often unspoken role played by supernatural forces such as the recent case of the earthquake in Haiti. Although human agencies like state governments, humanitarian networks or justice systems may take blame of inefficiency, the incidents of earthquakes, tsunamis, landslides, droughts, floods or tornadoes play a greater role in sustaining circumstances of hunger around the world than is ever exposed in public debate on hunger. Our finding is that religious narratives such as the Christian biblical narrative on ontic evil, still play crucial role in interpreting forces in nature that go beyond the immediate temporal human capacity. Through the plate tectonic theories, earthquakes for example are predictable yet unavoidable. But their consequences in massive destruction and deaths, hunger, transport break-downs and devastating economic interruption must not only be explained but also appreciated as unavoidable reality

humanity must accept. With the concept of ontic evil, Christian theology projects suffering beyond the physical reality of earthquakes and others phenomena otherwise considered necessary in holding nature in balance. Suffering at this level, consists in unwelcome experiences brought on sentient creatures, human or subhuman, by causes other than man himself. The solution to such suffering does not entirely rely on human effort. They presuppose a supernatural cause and therefore a supernatural solution. Nevertheless, this consideration should not blind planners to the fact that natural forces should be considered at the planning level of food security. Given the random nature of catastrophe and the fact that tsunamis, tornadoes and floods and landslides today dominate incidents of famine, a fight against hunger today should, of necessity, include an empirical data-based research analysis of the natural causes of hunger as compared to man-made causes of hunger particularly in the developing countries.

Fourthly, the assessment of the initiatives undertaken by various stakeholders in society, yielded five ways through which society tackles the problem of hunger. These included charity donations or food aid to victims of famine, advocacy for distributive justice, increase food production to keep the pace of population growth, improving people's entitlements, and protection of individual's right to food. Although these approaches could be employed in any combination depending on the circumstances, after extensive comparison between these approaches, the human rights approach prevailed over the others on the platform of universal instrumentality: It has the capacity to consolidate efforts of stakeholders around the shared values and concerns, and it can be enforced both on the global and regional levels according to the prevailing provisions of respective regional or national socio-political systems. However, entitlement approach arguably provides technical facilities of food acquisition that remain indispensable even to the human rights approach. As attention in the poor regions of the world like

the GLR focus on agricultural development for alleviation of poverty as well as elimination of hunger, entitlement approach too is inevitable. But it should be noted that these two approaches are both limited by the legal provision that exist and are operational in any country. In many developing countries where respect for law is not popular, welfare state or social-assistance state policies should be given serious considerations. In the spirit of the New International Economic Order declaration of 1974, social security arrangement for both the poor individuals and the poor countries guarantee humanistic egalitarian principles that cushion the poor whose survival cannot be guaranteed under the law. The little impact of the follow-up to this declaration specified in what was called the 'African Alternative Framework to the Structural Adjustment Programme' in 1989, may again be attributed to the dominantly economic reasons it espoused. But when the Human Development Programme of the United Nations further specified "Development with Human Face," in 1999, a more humanistic approach to social problems emerged still receives approval in many developing countries. In our view, the provisions for social security guarantee a fall-back position in the pursuit of the right to food. The limitations imposed to entitlements-rights approaches by legislative weaknesses should be approached through the alternatives such as social security arrangements in welfare states.

The choice of the human rights approach implied comparison between the civil society approach to human rights and the Church's teaching on human rights. While civil society insists that all rights must be respected on an equal basis, the Church cherishes a priority order where the right to life takes priority attention. As a consequence, the civil society gives an exclusive attention to the construction, entrenchment and interpretation of the human right to food, while the Church sees the right to food as coming only in the service of the right to life. This difference, among others, has the potential of entrenching

extreme positions that precipitates loopholes that reduces the impact of the human rights approach. To forestall this tendency we employed the stronger points of the civil society's methodology as well as the rich history of the Church's experience and understanding of hunger to re-interpret the value of solidarity. Consequently, our reflection considered human rights narrative that incorporates elements of the value of solidarity and collaboration but at the same time uphold the normative-activist aspect that accords all right the same force of law for implementation.

Our final finding paid closer attention to the practical realities of fighting against hunger in the given milieu of the GRL of Africa. Our study of the food security measure in this region revealed an overall trend that integrates food security measures into the region's plans for development. In view of the region's vulnerability to forces of poverty and hunger, the food security initiatives in all the countries in the region are integrated into the region's overall development plan. The food security measures pursued in the region reflect a gradual shift of emphasis from agricultural production solely for subsistence purposes to business-oriented production for the market. The increased income is envisaged to increase people's command for food. In the final analysis, the important food security components of adequate food supply, availability, access and proper utilization will be secured not only by structures that respect human rights, but also by the region's initiative to pursue sound natural resource management, adopt suitable scientific research and technology, and transform agricultural production from serving only immediate subsistence needs to commercially-oriented agriculture. It is only those endowed with sound exchange entitlements, especially in form of income that can command the food that they need to survive even in a food secure environment. To wind up, our way forward in the struggle against hunger is two-fold: On the one hand the social, economic and political networks in society need to keep the

human rights approach relevant and inclusive by upholding the three aspects of solidarity, collaboration and normativity. This must be accompanied by consistent attention to food security measures that are adaptable to, and sustainable within, the circumstances of the developing countries where agriculture defines both development and subsistence. Thus, the holistic human rights approach must be advanced side by side with the relevant food security measures that guarantee food availability, accessibility and utilization.

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Right to Food Ethics

Theological Approaches of Asbjørn Eide



Jude Likori Omukaga

The author is a renowned expert in food security strategies in the African Great Lakes Region. He was awarded a PhD by the Faculty of Theology of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgium). Jude Likori Omukaga is currently living in Port Victoria (Kenya) where he works as Lecturer at the University of Kabianga and a Parish Assistant at the St. Nicholas Parish.

The question of hunger world-wide is a striking paradox: Why should the world that enjoys a radically advanced human civilization still face threats of disease and death from hunger and starvation? This paradox provokes three other related questions: Firstly, what exactly does hunger as a world problem consist in, and how does it come about? Secondly, the persistence of this paradox compels the question as to whether there have been attempts to its solution: What are these attempts, and why does hunger still persist? In the same regard, particular curiosity falls on the role of the Church: How does the Church interpret the persistence of hunger in the light of Christian theology and in the tradition of its social teaching? What hope does the Church's social teaching offer as a way forward? Thirdly, this paradox provokes society's general estimation of its ability and commitment to eradicate hunger especially from the point of view of the areas most affected: What more needs to be done to alleviate hunger?