



Prof Samuel Olalere Amusan

Topic:

**FEEDING THE PEOPLE, UPLIFTING THE CONTINENT:
NIGERIA AND SOUTH AFRICA IN THE STRUGGLE
FOR FOOD SECURITY IN AFRICA**

DATE:

15 November 2019

TIME:

17h30

VENUE:

North-West University, Mafikeng,
Lecture Room A1-G45

Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika South African National Anthem

Nkosi sikelel' Afrika
Maluphakanyisw' uphondo lwayo,
Yizwa imithandazo,
yethu,
Nkosi sikelela,
thina,
Iusapho lwayo.

Morena boloka setjhaba sa heso,
O fedise dintwa la matshwenyeh
O se boloke (Ntate)
O se boloke
setjhaba sa
heso,
Setjhaba sa
South Afrika
- South Afrika.

Uit die blou van onse hemel,
Uit die diepte van ons see,
Oor ons ewige gebergtes,
Waar die kranse antwoord gee,

Sounds to call to come together,
And united we shall stand,
Let us live and strive for freedom,
In South Africa our land...

North-West University Anthem

Bokone Bophirima
Re kaêlê Morêna
Ka wêna re ka êma
Ra tshwarana

(Tswana chorus)
Ao, Morêna
O re gôgê
Leseding re gôrôgê

Waar die wilgers welig spruit,
Doringboom sy skadu sprei,
Soos ons groei in kundigheid
Mag U ons lei

(Afrikaanse koor)
Seën ons, o Heer
Lei met U hand
Laat U seën rus oor ons land

Three strong streams united flow
Africa stands proud and tall
As we learn, we trust, we know
God is in control

(English chorus)
Bless us, oh Lord
Guide us with grace
May North-West be blessed always

Bless us, oh Lord
Seën ons, o Heer
O re tshegofatse
Morena
Seën ons
Bless us, oh Lord



PROGRAMME

Academic Procession

North West University Anthem

Scripture Reading and Prayer

Pastor Okpovire Oduaran, Redeem Christian Church of God

Word of welcome and Purpose of the Inaugural Lecture

Professor Pamela Maseko

Executive Dean, Faculty of Humanities

Acknowledgement of Guests and Introduction of the Speaker

Professor Mpho Chaka

Deputy Dean (Teaching & Learning), Faculty of Humanities

Inaugural Lecture

by

Professor Samuel Olalere Amusan

"Feeding the People, uplifting the continent: Nigeria and South Africa in the struggle for food security in Africa"

Presentation of Certificate and Congratulations

Professor Marilyn Boitumelo Setlالتها

Deputy Vice-Chancellor: Community Engagement and Mafikeng Campus Operations

Announcements and Vote of Thanks

Dr Aaron Tshidzumba

Deputy Dean (Community Engagement and Stakeholder Relations), Faculty of Humanities

Grace

Pastor Okpovire Oduaran, Redeem Christian Church of God

South African National Anthem

Academic Procession

AN INAUGURAL LECTURE

BY

LERE AMUSAN (DLITT ET PHIL)

**BSc. (Hons, International Relations, Ile-Ife); MSc. (International Relations, Ile-Ife);
Certificate in Human Rights (University of Pretoria, Pretoria); Certificate in
Indigenous Peoples' Rights (University of Pretoria, Pretoria); Certificate in American
Foreign Policy (University of Delaware, Newark, USA);
DLitt et Phil (UNISA)**

**(Professor of International Relations & Programme Chair, Political Studies and
International Relations)
North-West University, South Africa**

Friday, 15 November 2019

Bio Sketch Professor Lere Amusan

Professor Lere Amusan was born on 6 January 1966 in the south western part of Nigeria. This was before Nigeria experienced the military coup of 15 January 1966, which brought an end to the democratic system of government of a true federalism, creating room for each of the regions formed thereafter, to develop at their own pace. It may be of interest to you to know that the western region, where I come from, was the most developed out of the three regions in the country. Lere attended primary and secondary schools in Ile-Ogbo before being admitted into the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife. Lere received his BSc. and MSc. in International Relations in 1990 and 1992 respectively. Professor Amusan's interest in political economy of Africa started from his undergraduate level when he wrote his research project on North-South Relations: An Assessment of EEC-ACP Relations in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Honours degree in International Relations. At Master's level, Lere submitted a dissertation titled "Debt Conversion Strategy in Nigeria: An Assessment".

By the time Professor Amusan applied for Doctor of Letter and Philosophy (*DLitt et Phil*) at the University of South Africa (UNISA), relationship between Nigeria and South Africa had taken a nosedive, which called for academic interrogation. This led him to interrogate the reasons why the two ordained hegemonies in the continent were at loggerhead. Thus, his doctoral thesis focused on South Africa as an Object of Nigerian Foreign Policy between 1960 and 1999. Having completed a PhD in International Politics from UNISA, Professor Amusan was invited by his former lecturer, Professor Sola Akinrinade, to start a new department of Political Science and International Relations at the newly created Osun State University, Nigeria in 2007. He was also appointed as Head of Department, a post he held for three years. After five years with the University, he was appointed as a Professor of International Relations by the North West University 9in January 2013).

His research areas focus on food security, climate change, gender politics and theories of international relations. Of recent, Professor Amusan's main area of focus is food security and food sovereignty with special focus on Africa. His contribution to the body of knowledge is the need for Nigeria and South Africa to abandon unfounded hegemonic ambition inspired by developed states for total division of the continent, through divide and rule tactics that was been in place before the colonisation of Africa. Professor Lere Amusan has over 100 publications in local and international peer-reviewed journals, chapters in books and monographs. He has two books awaiting publication. It is instructive to know that Professor Amusan has attended over 40 conferences where he delivered papers. It is worth noting that all his papers presented have been published either as chapters in books or in accredited journals.

Professor Amusan received an award in 2012 as the outstanding scholar of the year in the college of Management and Social Sciences, Osun State University. In 2014 and 2016, he received an award as an outstanding researcher in the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences. This attracted some financial reward. Also in 2016, he won a grant to interrogate the impact of climate change on food security from the Food Security and Safety Niche area. Professor Amusan is a member of South Africa's BRICS Think Thank. In his bid to further his research on food security, he organised a panel on Hydro-politics and Food Politics with emphasis on Africa at the 77th Annual Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA) held in Chicago in 2019.

In recognition of his contributions in academics, Professor Amusan was one of the 18 participants selected for the global level programme to study in the United States Institute as part of the US Department of States product on America's Foreign Policy. He spent six weeks in the USA in 2019. Lere is a reviewer for many accredited journals such as the Journal of Herbal Medicine, Africa Review, Regional and Federal Studies, South African Journal of Botany, Africa Today, *Politeia*, Indian Quarterly, Journal of Asian and African Studies, among others. He is a member of many professional associations such as the South African Association of Public Administration and Management (SAAPAM), International Political Science Association (IPSA), South African Association of Political Science (SAAPS), Nigerian Political Science Association and Nigerian Society of International Affairs, among others.

In addition to his academic journey, Professor Lere Amusan is married to a lovely sister, friend, mother and wife, Mrs Kemi Alarape and they are blessed with five children: Tola Amusan, Bimpe Amusan, Sola Amusan, Rola Amusan and Dola Amusan. He is currently the Head of Political Studies and International Relations and Subject Chair in the School of Government Studies.

The Vice Chancellor

The Deputy Vice Chancellor, Campus Operations, Mafikeng

The Deputy Vice Chancellor, Research and Innovation

The Deputy Vice Chancellor, Teaching and Learning

The Registrar & Other Principal Officers

Dean and Deputy Deans of the Faculty of Humanities & other Faculties

Respected Fellow Professors

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Academic & Non-Academic Colleagues

**Beloved Students
Distinguished Guests
Ladies and Gentlemen**

Feeding the people, uplifting the Continent: Nigeria and South Africa in the struggle for food security in Africa

Introduction: Random jotting on Nigeria-South Africa relations

Madam Deputy Vice Chancellor (DVC), I am very grateful for the opportunity given to me to present my inaugural lecture on this podium today. In line with global practice, an inaugural lecture is considered to be the nadir of academic journey, as it confirms a full professor on me. Not only this, this is an opportunity where I am to tell this august listeners my journey so far in academia. I am aware that my topic is an explosive one that many people will not like to talk about because of its sensitivity; more so, recent developments on the African Continent. Far away from political development, my intention is to continue with my area of focus, which is food security and food sovereignty in Africa in the age of climate change, in the era of globalisation and in the epoch of effective capturing of Africa by the North. My focus today is to interrogate how Nigeria and South Africa have been failing the rest of Africa in the area of food insecurity.

Relations between Nigeria and South Africa are best described as ‘frenemies’ (Allison, 2012). This is a relationship of cooperation, competition and conflict (Amusan, 2006a; Amusan & van Wyk, 2011). This relationship will remain as long as developed states are having their field days in playing one against the other. The West knows that if the two states should come together today, Africa will not remain the same again in the form of economic development and specifically in the actualisation of food security and sovereignty. Food sovereignty is a situation where a state hardly depends on others to feed its people. Many instances occur where the two states are always at logger heads due to diplomacy of deceit from the global North and their controlled international financial institutions. This is an attempt to perpetuate Africa’s development of Europe and America as captioned by *New African* of October 2005. As will be demonstrated in this lecture, with conflict between Nigeria and South Africa, the capturing will be total to the detriment of the continent’s sustainable development.

Some of the issues that caused misunderstanding between the two states are as follows; disagreement over the permanent seat of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC); area of sphere of influence; unwritten African Union (AU) scribe/commissioner; and economic dominance and unemployment problems that, sometimes, snowball to series of attacks in South Africa. All these are, sometimes, externally inspired. The question of UNSC seat came to the fore when the West realised that the two states were in harmony on issues of development of the Continent. The sphere of influence crisis was due to lack of understanding between the two states. This led to the prolonging of the Ivorian crisis that eventually removed Koudou Laurent Gbagbo from power; a crisis that saw Paris as the frontrunner in a bid to secure a total grip of francophone states in Africa. While South Africa sees Africa as her centre piece of State foreign policy, the same applies to Nigeria. Congruency in both states’ foreign policy, if managed to the advantage of the Continent, will promote food sovereignty and security. This is a position that the western world will not like to take place to protect their economic empire. Introduction of Green Revolution that brings about genetic engineering and genetically modified foods and animals are not only draining the economic resources of the continent, but

also comes with various ailments that were unknown in Africa before (**Amusan**, 2018c; **Amusan & Olawuyi**, 2019).

Multinational corporations and questionable Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are the agents of food insecurity in Africa due to their activities in the Continent in a guise to ensure sustainable development as enshrined in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) aimed at a hunger free society, alleviation or eradication of poverty, gender equality and access to natural resources of states. As discussed elsewhere (**Amusan**, 2018b, 2018e, 2018g, 2017, 2013a; **Amusan & Ajibola**, 2019; **Amusan & Olutola**, 2017), the activities of MNCs are only to look after the interest of shareholders as against stakeholders. This explains the acquisition of Monsanto by Bayer in 2017. This is a complex scenario because Monsanto produces insecticides, herbicides, terminator seeds and other farm inputs that are contributing to a different diseases such as cancer and low immunity that aggravate other ailments. Bayer, a pharmaceutical company, with doubtful ethical consideration, as the case of its roles in the Second World War and its focus on production of a series of drugs such as antibiotics used to fatten animals and chicken, brought about total capture of the poor in Africa, who may not have access to medical insurance (**Amusan**, 2019c).

This lecture interrogates the interests and business of students of international relations in the subject of food and its security, reflects on the political economy of food politics and policy in Africa with emphasis on Nigeria and South Africa, and examines different approaches I have dabbled into in my journey on this intellectual path. It is observed that as long as the West continues to play games of hide-and-seek, Africa will remain the hewers of wood and drawers of water. It is concluded that Nigeria and South Africa have the responsibility to come together to co-lead/pilot the missions to rescue the Continent from the jaws of sub/neo-imperialists that pretend as if they were contributing to its development. MTN challenges in Nigeria may not be too far from western inspired crisis between the two states as if Chevron, Shell and Agip oils are not doing worst to under-develop Nigeria. America's Halliburton, which involved Dick Cheney (America former Vice President) corrupt charges in Nigeria could not see the light of the day because it involved Washington. This is important to inspire, devise and popularise required policy thinking, strategies and commitments to build and attain Africa of our dream, which is, among other things, characterised by food security and sovereignty.

Why Political Studies and International Relations in food security?

Madam DVC, in my adventure into the politics of food, I usually encountered questions such as what concerns international relations with food issues, which are within the area of influence of natural sciences with special focus on Agricultural Science, Biology, Chemistry, Human Geography and Engineering. My answer to this is adapted from the work of Woodrow Wilson, Professor of International Relations, John C. Garnett (1984: ix-x) who states as follows:

I have not hesitated to dabble in philosophical areas where cleverer men than I have feared to tread. I know that I have been operating at the very edge – perhaps, my critics will say, beyond the edge – of my academic competence. My defence is that the field of international politics is parasitic on so many academic disciplines that professional competence in all of them is impossible. A reasonable acquaintance with the relevant aspects of the underpinning disciplines of Economics, History, Law, Philosophy, Political Science (Biology, Chemistry, Agricultural Science, Geography, Development Studies, Indigenous Knowledge Studies, Tourism, Physics, Medicine and Pharmacy), etc., is the best that a student of International Politics can hope for. And so, I hope that

specialists colleagues in those areas into which I have so recklessly blundered, will forgive my ignorance.

Based on the above quotation, madam DVC, I am of the opinion that International Relations is a discipline that straddles other areas, at tangential levels, but blow up to make some sense on many occasions. On other occasions, specialists in other disciplines listed above may see our works as wore that hardly stands the test of their specialisation. This brings about food issues to the fore because of its importance for sustainable development in any society. Hence, the United Nations Organisation (UNO) laid much emphasis on peaceful co-existence as the basis of its formation, after the World War II. The Economic and Social Council, one of the organs of the UN, focuses on economic development, which other organs, mostly the General Assembly (UNGA) and the Security Council (UNSC), note that food may be an engine of global stability and instability. The Arab Spring episode is still fresh in our memories, which led to regime changes in the Middle East and the Maghreb Region. Oceanography may lay claim to the study of blue economy, at the same time, it hinges on politics of food security and food sovereignty¹ as this sector of economic development cannot be understood if issues of fishing and the involvement of multinational fishing companies are not put on table and the law of the sea that demarcates the limit of littoral states in exploring and exploiting the resources of the oceans. All these, for instance, hinge on multilateral and bilateral diplomacy; an area that politicians and diplomats are very active in.

The organic links between food science and politics were extensively examined and debated in a Faculty lecture I delivered at the Federal University, Oye-Ekiti, Nigeria in May 2019 (**Amusan**, 2019a). One may further find solution to this question in the works of some social scientists such as Philip Lymberry and Isabel Oakeshott (2014), Anne Barnhill, Mark Budolfson and Tyler Dogget (2018), Haroon Akram-Lodhi (2012) and Fred Pearce (2012). Politicians are the root of political instability and stability in their states, depending on whether they create an enabling environment or not, with emphasis on food to feed the nation and uplifting the family. Identity politics, lack of respect of relevant international law such as the rights of indigenous peoples to their land and resources sometimes bringing crises that undermine farming practices as experienced in the Niger Delta of Nigeria, North Eastern Nigeria, South Sudan, Mali, the Cassamance in Senegal, among others (**Amusan**, 2014c; **Amusan & Ajibola**, 2019; **Amusan & Ejoke**, 2017; Dersso, 2010; LaMonica & Omotola, 2014; Omotola, 2010; Sapignoli, 2016). At the African Union (AU) Declaration of Agenda 2063, in its Aspiration 1 that calls for a prosperous Africa Based on Inclusive Growth and Sustainable Development, issues of agricultural development and the likely inputs of women towards food security are well discussed. It is the responsibility of political scientists and International Relations experts to bring it to the notice of the state, how relevant it is to address international treaties entered into that hinge on development. They should also see that oversight functions of sub-committees on agriculture in parliaments are working towards forcing the executive to support indigenous peoples with special focus on indigenous women who have been condemned to the wretched of the earth due to activities of multinational corporations (MNCs) and their hosts and home states in the form of neoregulation (**Amusan**, 2018e; Otero, 2018). This is what embedded liberalism calls as against calling for private individuals and MNCs to produce for the teeming population of the Continent. As variously

¹ Popularly known as Nyeleni Declaration, named after a woman, Nyeleni who farmed and was able to feed her peoples well. Food sovereignty is the ability to feed a community in a sustainable way, a social relation free of oppression and inequality between men and women, peoples, racial groups, social and economic classes and generations with effective control of means of production outside market and corporations dictates. For more information on this, see Alonso-Fradejas *et al.* 2015.

discussed in **Amusan** (2018d, 2018b, 2019c), these bodies only think of profit as against fairness, ethics and justice in their host states.

Madam DVC, ladies and gentlemen, government is known for its authoritative allocation of values. This brings about establishment of various Departments/Ministries to oversee development in some critical areas such as food security, water affairs and marine sectors. The need for this is to fulfil the basic demands of social contract between the state and its subjects. Of paramount importance is the need for coming together of states to address commons such as climate change that led to the establishment of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), and the UN Convention on Climate Change (UNCCC) to address the negative impacts of climate variability as it affects food and cash crops, and artisanal fishing (Abate & Warner, 2013; **Amusan** & Odimegwu, 2015; **Amusan** & Olutola, 2015; Carter, 2001). Without government intervention in food security, I doubt if there is any state in the international system that will survive economically and politically. In the United States of America (US) and the European Union (EU), the arch-supporters of ultra-capitalism, governments are still supporting food security through agricultural subsidies. This is not only against the tenets of neo-liberalism; it also distorts the perfect functioning of free markets (**Amusan**, 2016a, 2018a). This implies that government involvement in food production, processing and consumption policies are germane for sustainable development.

Politics of food aid, investment and trade come to mind when one begins to interrogate issues such as large-scale farming in Africa, politics of humanitarian food aid after a major disaster such as post-war stability and the interplay of *El Nina* and *El-Nino*, which may result in droughts. The implications of these, among others, are overreliance on technologically developed states to feed the Continent's population with conditions attached; usually to the detriment of food security and sovereignty as called for by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Flooding experienced in Cameroon and Nigeria in 2013, brought about shortage of food in the two states with special reference to flooding of the Benue River. Invasion of foreign insects that were hardly known in some parts of Africa, such as Fall Armyworms, ravaged many cereal crops (**Amusan** & Olawuyi, 2018). Other states such as South Africa, Malawi, Zimbabwe and others within the Southern African Development Community (SADC), experienced armyworms, which forced their governments to support farmers in eradicating these insects. There should be policy in place crafted by government to get involved in food security. Also, of note is the need to seek for food aid to make up for short-term shortage in affected states. All these are based on international relations that is an embodiment of give and take, which may be to the disadvantage of recipient states.

Allocation of land to foreign farmers, multinational influence on what to produce and how much to sell farm produce are all under political influence. Monsanto (now Bayer from 2017), which has one of the largest GM seed producers and other farm inputs supplier at the global level, is not only terrorising state governments in what to produce, the consortium also influences government decisions through its powerful lobby strategies as discussed elsewhere (**Amusan**, 2018e; Björkman & Niemelä, 2015). On food trade, in 2015, South Africa, a member of 40 sub-Saharan African states, which benefited from the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), was threatened to be excluded from the arrangement if Pretoria failed to import Chicken from America (Tshabalala, 2015).² Being a developing state in the global south, South Africa was forced to import chicken from America despite existing understanding to focus on Brazilian chicken as a member of BRICS with the aim of south-south promotion; also, chicken from Brazil is cheaper and of high quality compared to chicken

² Out of 40 sub-Saharan states in Africa, South Africa tops the list in terms of benefit as a member of AGOA. It provided 62,000 jobs of which 50% of these are in the automobile industry. Other items Pretoria export to Washington are wine, citrus fruits and tree nuts. <https://qz.com/394335/the-united-states-is-bullying-south-africa-into-buying-its-cheap-unwanted-chicken/>. Accessed 16 March 2019.

from America. Not only that, America calls for free market at the global level. Washington embarked on dumping, an aspect that WTO would not promote. South Africa, estimated to have over 27% unemployment rate in September 2019, is likely to increase because it is projected that for every 10,000 tons of poultry imported, the State loses a thousand jobs. Of the 120,000 people employed in the poultry value chain business before the imposition of American chicken, it is anticipated that more people will lose their jobs as the dumping strategies of the US will kill the industry the more (Kriel, 2016).

Against this background, there is no way politics will not come to play in any human endeavour as long as a state system continues to be the basis of relations among nations. This explains why every department/ministry has a unit for international relations or external affairs. The relationship between the Department of Agriculture (DoA) and the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), the United Nations Conference of Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and WTO always centres on issues of nutrition and food security. Therefore, politics is about human sustainability, which is about eradication of poverty, hunger and creation of employment opportunities, where rural-dwellers and women have roles to play. The next area of focus is to look into how extra-African forces influence food from production to consumption in the Continent. Africa is a Continent that was condemned and tagged as 'heart of darkness' from the time of Joseph Conrad (2002). This will be looked into after my theoretical journey in the discourse of food politics is interrogated.

My theoretical journey so far in the study of food politics

Madam DVC, as indicated above, the study of food politics, through International Relations, faces several challenges with emphasis on dabbling into so many disciplines that I may not be able to claim competence in. The same applies to the study of relevant and appropriate theoretical positions in the study of the discipline and specifically, the issue of food politics. This position is well captured in the 20th Century by Young (1972: 180), when he experienced a challenge with the word theory. He sees it as used so imprecisely and indiscriminately by social scientists that it is in danger of losing any meaningful content. The same challenge that theory has in social sciences cannot be too far from my adventure in coming up with a series of theories. One may not be able to point to a theory as sanctified in the study of International Relations. This is to confirm as previously alluded, that rather than to talk of a general theory, as it applies in physical sciences, the same is not applicable in social sciences. Hence, we talk of partial theories because human interaction and behaviour may not be the same due to some variables. These are variables, which among others, are cultural, religious, environmental and upbringing, among others. I ventured, on many occasions, recklessly on theories that were not in tune with the African situation. The reason for doing this were to test the availability of general theory but failed to capture my argument in many instances. To this, I ventured into the complex interdependence theory (**Amusan**, 2009; **Amusan & Olutola**, 2016; **Amusan & van Wyk**, 2011) where we examined relations between Nigeria and South Africa as an organic one. With van Wyk (2011), the position we took was that the relationship between the two countries will remain conflictual, competitive and cooperative as alluded to in my doctoral thesis (**Amusan**, 2006a). Despite the crisis that one may describe as hegemonic rivalry, which always erupts between the two states, some pockets of cooperation have been registered, for instance, when Obasanjo and Mbeki were presidents of Nigeria and South Africa respectively. In a paper developed with Olutola (2016), my doctoral student, complex interdependence was also employed to examine the concept of climate change in Southern Africa and its effects on other areas such as food security, clean environment and general sustainable development. In this paper, the complex interdependence was unravelled through globalisation and

technological development. The paper focused on how international financial institutions, with emphasis on the Bank and the Fund, are employing double standards to create a clean global community. By extension, the two major international financial institutions trying to promote large-scale farming, that is not environmentally compatible with food security and sovereignty.

Green theory is another theory that I employed in my academic movement. Many papers were developed based on environmental theories with special focus on green environment. The paper, jointly developed, mentioned above (**Amusan & Olutola, 2016**), captured Garnett's (1984) accretion on partial theories in international relations. We observed that the complex interdependence theory, as developed by Keohane and Nye (1987) may not capture the crisis of climate change without a brief journey into the issue of green theory. Thus, there is a need to preserve our environment and to go green in the food value chain so as to achieve SDGs with special focus on those that hinge on food security, a clean environment, women and youth empowerment and access to water. My contribution to food security, poverty alleviation, and employment opportunities through responsible farming are well captured in book chapters and journal articles both as sole author (**Amusan, 2019a, 2019b, 2018b, 2014, 2013a, 2011a, 2009**) and joint author (**Amusan & Olawuyi, 2019, Okorie, Mphambukeli & Amusan, 2019; Amusan & Olawuyi, 2018; Amusan & Olutola, 2017**). Green theory in these works point to a need to encourage organic food production and consumption. Large-scale farming is discouraged as it is the source of factory farming that received academic interrogation in some of my works as discussed below.

Madam DVC, an additional theory that I employed, either as sole author or joint authorship, is constructivism. This is a theory that calls for environmental sensitivity as against one-size-fits-all approach of traditional theories, such as liberal, idealist and realist theses in the study of international relations. Constructivism, as a theoretical instrument in my academic adventure, shares many variables of embedded liberalism as pushed forward by many students of International Relations (**Amusan, 2019a, 2018c, 2018d; Amusan & Olawuyi, 2019; Barnett, 2017; Fierke, 2016; Keohane & Nye, 1986; Ruggie, 2010, 1997**). These theories accommodate adjustment of liberal and neo-liberal theories in order to include the plights of the late comers to the international system and developing states. Third world states, with special focus on Africa, were not available as active participants in International Relations during the formative years of international laws and the arrangement of international economic relations. As argued by many scholars of International Political Economy (Bayne & Woolcock, 2011; Bond, 2006; Onimode, 2000; Otero, 2018; Ravenhill, 2017; Southall & Melber, 2009), these theories give room for amendment in order to accommodate environmental variables that may not be global in nature. Thus, bending rules is allowed in (social) constructivism and embedded liberalism. For instance, the imposition of some World Trade Organisation (WTO) rules, such as sanitary and phytosanitary clauses by developed states when nations want to protect industries that are critical for their survival (**Amusan, 2018i; Ehrlich, 2018**). Agricultural subsidy, a common feature among developed states of the EU and America may also be application to Africa, when states want to protect commodities they have comparative advantage on. This takes my journey in the academic field to anti-large-scale land acquisitions and the need to encourage small and medium-scale farming that are organic and sustainable in line with SDGs (**Amusan, 2018c, 2018d**). The theories also address agro-terrorism or what some students of anti-GMO refer to as bioterrorism (**Amusan, 2017; Amusan & Setlaleto, 2017; Crisp, 2010; Snodgrass, 2013**)

Another theory that is common in my work is feminism. I identified different types of feminist theory such as radical, liberal and African. For the interest of the Africa situation, I was comfortable with African feminism because of its embedded and constructive attributes

(Amusan, 2014b, 2013b; Amusan, Adeyeye & Oyewole, 2019; Amusan & Ngoh, 2016; Amusan & Olutola, 2017; Amusan & Saka, 2018). Africa's variant of feminism is conscious of its environment, where roles are allocated to women for the sustainable development of the environment. As a good manager of resources, women in Africa are seen as agents of food security and preservation of seeds for the next planting season. They also work in unity for the development of their communities. Due of their attachment to their villages, allocation of resources in rural areas such as boreholes, health centres and other amenities are within their areas of specialisation. This theory is anti-masculinity, which relegates women to the "other room". My journey in this theory is inspired by the works of some students of feminism (Cohn, 2013; Collins, 2000; Elson, 1991; Enloe, 2004, 1990). Their positions are more than relegating women to cooks and only a helper to men. Their contributions to development in food security chain is a confirmation that they are people worth recognising in the society. Their community roles are likened to the responsibilities of bees towards human survival.

Madam DVC, other theories that have been employed include the hegemonic theory, which has been used to examine the place and role of Nigeria and South Africa in the quest for development and security in the Continent (Amusan, 2006; Amusan and Oyewole, 2017). This is important to the focus of this lecture on the roles, prospects and challenges of these countries in the struggle for food security and sovereignty/regionalism in Africa. In addition to constructivism and complex interdependency, I have also utilised the dependency theory to deconstruct and assess the challenges of global capitalism, ultraliberalism, neo-colonialism and neo-imperialism. This is relevant to understand some of the challenges of "minimum state" preached and overseen by Western powers, and its implications for food security and sovereignty in Africa (Amusan, 2018a; Amusan and Oyewole, 2012). Based on this journey, this lecture will now focus on Nigeria and South Africa as sleeping giants that ought to exploit their potentials for the development of Africa as a Continent.

Nigeria and South Africa: The two ingrates in the Continent?

Madam DVC, ladies and gentlemen, Pa S. G. Elton, a Briton avers that "Africa is like a gun, Nigeria is like a trigger and South Africa is like a barrel". Now that South Africa is free, there is a need to partner with Nigeria, "when that happens, Africa will arise and lead the world in many ways".

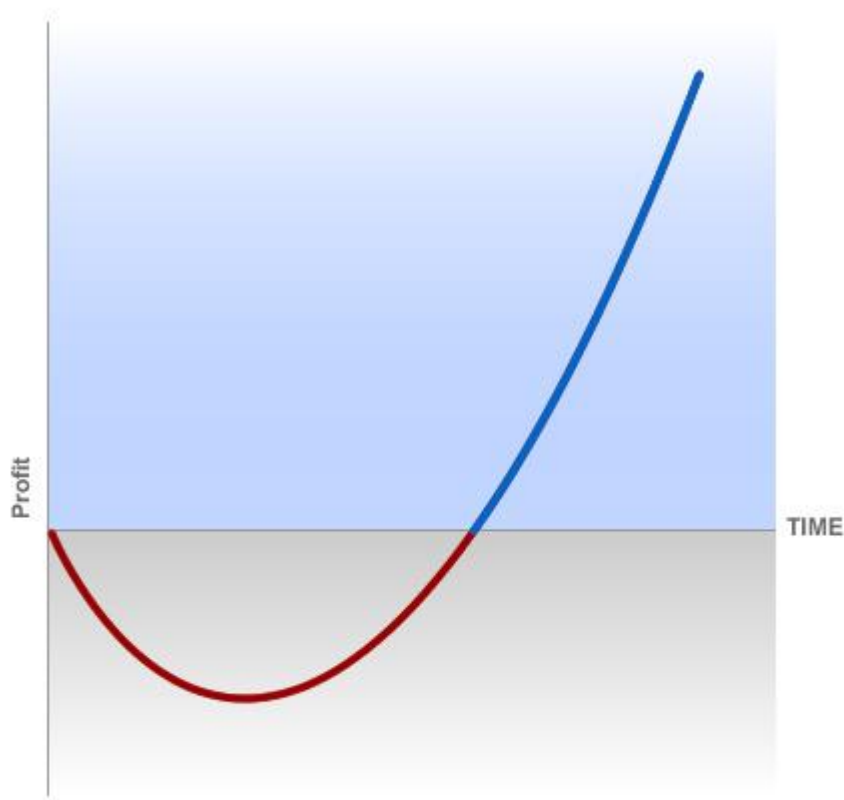


Figure 1: Africa is like a gun, Nigeria is its trigger and South Africa is the barrel

Rather than the two states to appreciating a need to come together for development of the Continent, unfounded rivalry and conflict are the order of the day. This began with the issue of the UN Security Council seat, used by permanent members to further divide the two countries. As I have indicated elsewhere (Amusan, 2006b), there is no need, at this stage, to lobby for a permanent seat, considering the fact that it is always a source of competition between the two states. The two countries need to focus on food security with more emphasis on food sovereignty, so that the use of aid politics to capture the Continent further with conditions of SAP, that hardly make AU states better off since 1985, when international financial institutions (the Bank and the Fund) imposed one-size-fits all liberalisation on the Continent. Another political strategy used by the West to divide the two states further is the issue of ranking. Due to ARV and the position of South Africa, under Thabo Mbeki, multinational pharmaceutical companies (MPCs), from America, lobbied its home state to discourage the importation of generic ARV from China and India. This was as a result of the acclaimed cost of development of the drugs that they would like to recoup before getting returns in the form of profit from their investment as shown in the diagram below.

A pharmaceutical company's sunk costs that have to be recovered. The red part curve indicates research and development of drugs period, which are negative because it costs a fortune to embark on this. The blue part is when the MNCs started to reap the cost of development of drugs.

Figure 2: MNCs' Investment and Profit Making Graph.



Sources: By the author

The West and Nigeria-South Africa relations

Madam DVC, through the government of the USA, Rwanda and Tanzania were approached to use their diplomatic channels to reach out to South Africa, otherwise, the state would be removed as the only hegemon in Africa. A few months after this, a bogus was released from Nigeria, when Abuja was considered as the most economically developed country in Africa (Amusan, 2015a). Through political manipulation, the West continue to aggravate unhealthy relationships between Nigeria and South Africa. This has been achieved through different means such as media manipulations within and outside Africa. There is diplomatic coup against the two states by promising the two of one thing that ends up in zero-sum-game. The post of UNSC is an example. The same UNSC was used to underdevelop Africa the more through Resolutions 1970 and 1973, which Nigeria voted for in favour of America's ambition; eventually, Libya's implosion as discussed elsewhere (Amusan, 2013b).

Another means of manipulating the two states in order not to embark on shared hegemonic power in the Continent is global conflict between food security and food sovereignty. This is achieved through a ruse through multilateral approach to ending hunger, malnutrition and poverty (Shanbacher, 2010). Food security is an attempt to globalise the food supply chain in a capitalist way. This was introduced immediately after World War II and intensified in the early period of decolonisation of Africa in the 1960s. It was concretised through IMF, the World Bank and WTO, where privatisation of public corporations and the opening of economic

markets to the dictate of demand and supply. The market-based food supply is not only skewed in favour of developed states, it cements poverty and hunger in Africa, thus fostering political and economic instability in the Continent. The African Development Bank (AfDB), which should be the last resort for Africa, in term of food security and food sovereignty, is being hijacked by the Western world, therefore, its neoliberal perspectives towards the food crisis in the Continent is of no solution to Africa's demands. Nigeria and South Africa, that ought to address this through control of the African inspired ban, could not come up with an African solution to an African problem regarding this situation (**Amusan & Oyewole, 2017**). The voting powers of AfDB explain why Africa may not be in charge of its destiny. Non-African states³ control 40% of the voting power as of 19 June 2019 as shown below.

Table 1:

Rank	Country	Voting powers (% of Total)
	World	100: 000
1	Nigeria	9.120
2	United States	6.472
3	Japan	5.364
4	Egypt	5.499
5	South Africa	4.938
6	Algeria	4.147
7	Germany	4.061
8	Canada	3.750
9	France	3.668
10	Cote d'Ivoire	3.689
11	Libya	2.268
12	Morocco	3.510
13	Italy	2.370
14	Ghana	2.115
15	Zimbabwe	1.827
16	United Kingdom	1.753
17	Ethiopia	1.559
18	Sweden	1.535
19	Switzerland	1.432
20	Kenya	1.421

Source: <https://www.afdb.org/en/documents/document/investor-presentation-june-2019-109982>. Accessed, 19 September 2019

Though Nigeria made a move by setting up the Nigeria Trust Fund in 1976, with US\$80 million, which increased to US\$253 million in 2012, with the aim of extending the fund to other African states, the outstanding issue is the power of extra-African states. The problem associated with AfDB is very complex and makes it impossible for Africa to focus on her major problem, through the institutional financing of agriculture. When fund is allocated to member states, it should agree with developed states that control 40% of the votes. Also worth considering is the influence of France on Francophone African states. France is noted for her

³ Non African states are Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Korea, Kuwait, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom, United States and United Arab Emirates.

food dumping strategy in its former colonies. For instance, Beninoises hardly consume parboiled rice as against the common white rice, but the State is the main recipient of the item with the aim of smuggling it to Nigeria. This explains partly why Nigeria has had to violate every existing treaty, protocol and convention entered into by closing its borders against coterminous states. If there is a way to stop smuggling food to many African states from Europe, millions of farmers will be saved, and creation of employment will be ensured.

The case of the election of head of the institution is instructive when Nigeria vied for the post twice but lost to Rwanda's Donald Kaberuka. Maghreb states are members but are culturally, religiously and economically aligned to the Middle East, and only considered Africans due to their geographical location. This implies that Egypt, a strong member with 5.499 voting right may be directed by America to vote in a certain way against the position of AU. At least, the Camp David Accord of 1979 is still fresh in the minds of students of Africa's international relations (Daigle, 2019).

America and other European states may not support the election of any candidate to the post of president of AfDB if such candidate did not receive Western post graduate qualification in the United States or Europe. Donald Kaberuka was a product of the Universities of East Anglia and Glasgow in the UK. Akinwumi Adesina, the current president of the institution, is a product of Purdue University, USA. He was Vice President of Policy and Partnership of the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA). AGRA is a pro-GMO institution sponsored by the Belinda and Bill Gates Foundation (BBGF) and Rockefeller Foundation as discussed elsewhere (Amusan, 2019a). As trusted and tested supporters of bio-fortification, and as the only means of food security and nutrition and representative of Rockefeller Foundation in southern Africa between 1998 and 2008, Adesina was fully prepared for the post that Nigeria was previously denied.⁴ His election to the post was not without colonial coloration since his nomination came from Ghana and seconded by Uganda (Thomas, 2015). Instead of Nigeria and South Africa to embark on strategic cooperation to rescue the continental bank from the jaws of the imperialists, they continue to romanticise the same. This is what is currently affecting food sovereignty in Africa.

The 15th CAADP Partnership Platform (CAADP PP) met under the theme "Enhancing Trade and Market Access for Accelerated Agriculture Transformation between 11-14 June 2019 in Kenya in order to achieve economic and food security outcomes in the Continent. The Conference communique called for implementation of African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA) for intra-African trade that will challenge the WTO cumbersome and unfair trade. It was to address WTO clauses such as sanitary and phytosanitary imperialist cog in ensuring mobilisation and aligned to finance, production, processing, storage and transportation of strategic agriculture, livestock, fisheries and natural resources commodities to feed both into the intra-African trade and trans-continental markets.

The two states signed a series of bilateral agreements in the fields of arts and culture, education, agriculture, science and technology, defence, trade and investment, health, tourism, mining, policing, immigration, taxation, environment and energy. Considering the fact that South Africa is technologically superior to other sub-Saharan states, there is a need to enter into military cooperation to address issues of Islamist terrorism (such as Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, Al-Shabab, Boko Haram) and low key separatist movements in the continent (Amusan, Adeyeye & Oyewole, 2019; Amusan & Ejoke, 2017; Amusan & Oyewole, 2014, 2015). Another area worth cooperating in the age of the Forth Industrial Revolution (4IR) is

⁴ <https://www.afdb.org/en/about-us/organisational-structure/the-president/biography>. Accessed 19 September 2019.

the need to embark on intelligence system that will protect the continent against developed states. This is to avoid what applied to Germany when America, one of Washington's allies in Europe, spied on Berlin despite their economic, political and military cooperation (**Amusan & Mchunu, 2015**). South Africa is active in the areas of hospitality (Protea) retail (Shoprite, Multichoice) telecommunication, banking (Stanbic Bank, SAA), Sasol and Bon Hotel tourism, construction, agriculture and energy (South Africa Yearbook, 2017/18). When security of people is assured, food production will also increase. The north-eastern part of Nigeria, initially known as sources of fish and food crops farming, is currently desolated due to insecurity posed by Boko Haram activities.

Madam DVC, Nigeria initially failed to sign AfCFTA because of concerns that many states outside the Continent will dump their products to neighbouring states, such as Togo, Niger, Cameroon and Benin Republic, meant for the Nigerian market. Nigeria called for emphasis on the rule of origin as a condition to enter into AfCFTA because relevant technology to monitor dumping is not available. With a population of 12 million, Benin Republic is the 5th world importer of rice from Asia, only to dump the same on Nigeria's market. In 2018, Cotonou imported \$996 million worth of rice and 98.2% of the importation ended up in Nigeria. This could have led to the recent closing of borders against its coterminous states under a joint-border security exercise code named 'Ex-Swift Response' to secure the country's land and maritime borders against illicit smuggling and for security of the country. Some also believe that the rationale behind Nigeria's protectionism bid is to protect employment, and small and medium-scale industries against relatively advanced ones from Kenya, South Africa and Maghreb states (Games, 2019). This thinking is against what I pushed forward elsewhere regarding the need to have a United States of Africa (**Amusan, 2010a; Olaopa & Amusan, 2018**). There is also a need for Nigeria to diversify its economy such as the relatively diverse South Africa⁵ The services sector is on the increase in the age of 4IR, with special focus on banking and telecommunications, at the same time, food production should be encouraged as overreliance on food importation is a sign of lack of food sovereignty with all the lapses entrenched thereof.

Another area where Nigeria and South Africa are not doing well for the development of Africa, in general, is the provision of food. This time, with the formation of the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). Initially, some students of integration, economic development, international relations and political science were of the view that the programme was home-grown as against imposed economic blueprint. It was later discovered that Olusegun Obasanjo (former President of Nigeria) and Thabo Mbeki (former President of South Africa), were tricked to promote another Washington Consensus agenda from the back-door. As an economic arm of the AU, NEPAD was expected to address issues of food security as against food sovereignty in the Continent. This is a strategy to allow foreign direct investment (FDI) to play major roles in food production. As discussed variously in my works, production of food in Africa, a Continent that is perceived to have the most suitable arable land for food production, in currently one that imports most of its food. Also, of importance is the production of food, not for consumption, but as an alternative to fossil fuel in the form of biofuel. Due to the need for more protein in Asia, the Middle East (ME) and Europe and because of the increase in the standard of living, there is need for animal feed in factory farms. With the growing need to produce for food for human consumption, such feed is converted into inputs for animal production.

⁵ According to Stats SA 2019, only 0,1 South Africans are engaged in sales of farming products and services. For Nigeria, there is no data on off-farm activities (Stat SA, 2019: 12).

Unfortunately, both states have not realised that the West is only using them as a pawn for their economic and political advantage. The earlier Abuja and Pretoria realise this, the better for the development of the continent. There is a positive development between the two states because of the official visit that undertaken by the President of Nigeria, Mohammed Buhari, to South Africa between 3 and 5 October 2019. If Nigeria was to follow its previous foreign policy system, Buhari would not have embarked on an official visit to South Africa as was the case during Abacha's regime. The visit would have been cancelled at the eleventh hour (Amusan, 2018j, 2015b, 2006a). The Bi-national commission established in 1999 was elevated to head as against deputy president level. The 9th Bi-national Commission, at head of state level, was a watershed in diplomatic development between the two states. South Africa has more bilateral agreements with Nigeria than any other nation on earth. We must not allow miscreants and criminals on both sides to hinder it, because if our national relationship fails, Africa will fail".⁶ The 9th Bi-national called for a consular unit where issues of people-to-people would be discussed together with early warning signals to nip any crisis from the bud. Thirty-two bilateral agreements were signed ranging from mining, defence, agriculture, transport, tourism to immigration issues. Of significance is the introduction of a ten-year visa for businessmen, academics and frequent travellers. This gesture should be introduced to the rest of Africa if the two states truly have the interest of the Continent at heart. These are pivotal states in the Continent. According to Ramaphosa, the Pretoria trade relations with Nigeria account for 64% of the total trade in the ECOWAS sub-region.

From Mandela to Ramaphosa, South African leaders realised the need for the two states to work together for the development of the Continent. The same applies to Nigeria from Abdulsalami Abubakar, Nigeria's military ruler to Buhari; they did not see how development and food security could be enhanced without cooperation between the two states. Thabo Mbeki's "I am an African" implies that Africa should be the centre piece of his foreign policy as against serving the interest of the West. The same applies to Nigeria from the formative years of the defunct OAU, though the two states did not get it right in the formation of NEPAD, with the basis of development focusing on neo liberal approach to economic and food security of the continent. This is an indication that the existing *status quo* ought to be maintained of north-south relations of unequal exchange (Amusan, 2018a, 2018d, 2018e, 2014a). There is need for a paradigm shift where ACP-EU, AGOA, Afro-Japanese, China-Africa and Franco-Africa relations be negotiated in the commonwealth interest as against the interest of a few political and economic elite in the Continent. Problems associated with these could have explained why Nigeria felt that the signing of AfCFTA may not be of importance for food and other developmental needs of Africa due to lack of the rule of origin in the agreement.

Nigeria signed AfCFTA in July 2019, during the AU summit in Niamey, Niger. Initially, the State feared promotion of extra Africa agenda through promotion of deindustrialisation of the Continent as this could encourage cheap food and other manufactured products from EU and China, free access to the Continent (Krige, 2019). AfCFTRA is envisaged to create 1.2 billion consumers market with \$2.2 trillion worth of financial trade relations. As of 27 July 2019, states that ratified the agreement, in excess of 5, as requested before the agreement, could be in operation. The Niamey summit is a watershed in many respects as this will further the Agenda 2063 of the AU and restricting NEPAD, which is rechristened as the African Union Development Agency (AUDA). South Africa is among the first group of states that signed AfCFTRA to facilitate the dream of the founding fathers of OAU, while Nigeria, the acclaimed

⁶<https://www.nairaland.com/5401100/lived-south-africa-almost-20>
Accessed 12 September 2019.

economic juggernaut of the Continent, considered twin principles of fair and equitable practices in the deal to avoid smuggling and dumping among other challenges of the free trade area (FTA). With regard to Nigeria, that eventually signed the agreement, the practicality of it will be in two phases: the first stage calls for 90% of goods produced in the Continent to be tariff free, considering the rule of origin with emphasis on how to deal with intellectual property rights, competition and the protocol on trade in services, settlement of disputes and investment protection. Accordingly, 7% will be subjected to gradual tariff reduction between 5-10 years while least developed member states may be up to 13 years. The remaining 3% is subject to non-negotiation that are not tariff adjustment (Kapuya, 2019). One of the immediate challenges of AfCFTA is the exclusion of food items such as fish, poultry products, pork, mutton, wheat, maize seeds from the 90% free tariff and considered as sensitive food products. The implication of this with emphasis on South Africa is that the Southern Africa Customs Union (SACU) needs to embark on another bilateral negotiation with states such as Nigeria, Egypt, Morocco and Algeria, placing these under the sensitive 7% of products to be considered as another hurdle that could not be able to see the light of day on time, considering the political atmosphere between South Africa and the rest of Africa in recent times (Amusan & Mchunu, 2018; Ogunnubi & Amusan, 2018).

Provided Africa, as a Continent, speaks with one voice void of Western tutelage that hardly contributes to the development of the Continent, Africa may remain the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the North. As indicated from the first contact with the Northern Hemisphere, till date, there is no appreciable development that one can point at that engineers food sovereignty and security in Africa. As pointed out by many students, both dead and alive, of political economy and food politics (Ake, 1981, 1982, 1996; Amusan, 2016a, 2018a; Bond, 2003, 2006; Burgis, 2015; Onimode, 2000; Otero, 2018, Pearce, 2012), every attempt to ensure food security and self-sufficiency at the local level are always frustrated by imposed foreign systems of food security. This received academic interrogation by Ake (1996) who examined the suffocation of the 1967 Arusha Declaration that brought about the *Ujama* (which means family head) programme. *Ujama*'s ambition, under Julius Mwalimu Nyerere, was to ensure organic food production produced by Tanzanians, through rural development as against production of what Africa does not consume and consumption of what they hardly produced. Though the approach brought about a militant policy within the ruling party to ensure food security, it was asphyxiated by petit-bourgeois elements within the system who, at best, represented certain foreign looting machines (Burgis, 2015).

The AU's Agenda 2063 Vision 6 calls for Women and Youth development through participation in inclusive growth sustainable development. The Agenda calls for food security through mechanised farming, access to water, sanitation, electricity, anti-retroviral drugs, childhood education in the age of globalisation, where everything is un-African, based on the principle of *Ubuntu* and communalism. How possible are these when land grabbing is ongoing on a daily basis without any solution in sight? The AU should come up with an African home-grown approach to development of tin food security. In doing this, and as discussed below, organic food production will resolve many problems associated with health challenges due to inorganic food consumption.

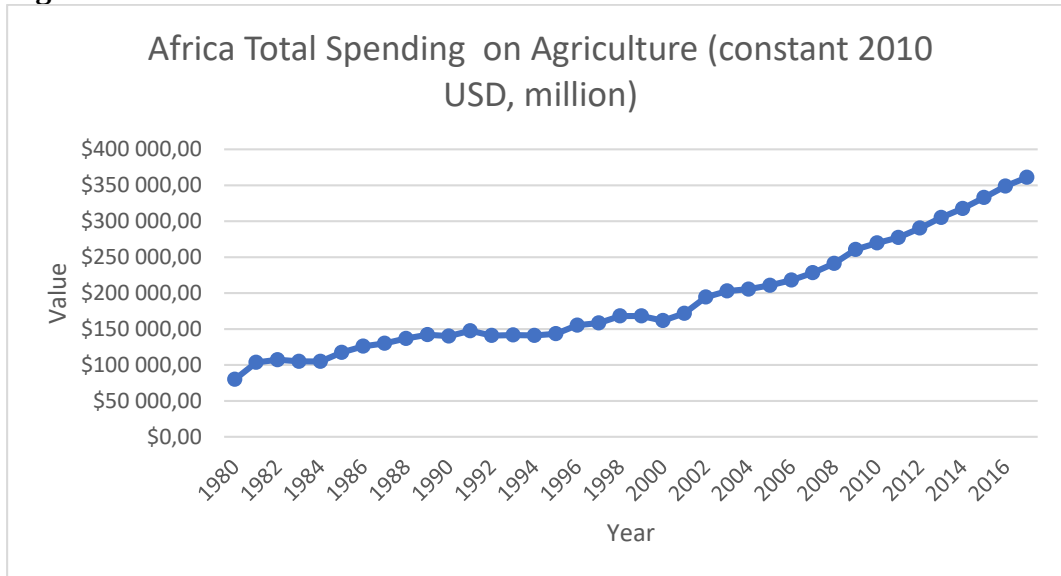
Madam DVC, ladies and gentlemen, in 2006, I called for shared hegemonic power between Nigeria and South Africa, for general stability of the Continent. Since Africa is unwritten and divided into five, Chad (Central Africa), Kenya (East Africa), and Egypt (North Africa) should provide public goods to member states while Abuja and Pretoria serve as coordinators. In line with the theory, there is need for hegemons to provide public goods when satellite states are in

economic and political instability. As pushed forward by Lakes (1993: 462), such leader/s should be able to provide “a market for distress goods, producing a steady, if not counter-cyclical flow of capital, maintaining a rediscount mechanism for providing liquidity when the monetary system is frozen in panic, managing the structure of foreign exchange rates, and providing a degree of coordination of domestic monetary policies”. There is need for the two states to co-exist as equal partners. Though there are some challenges associated with the theory, hegemonic stability could not hold some variables constant due to the dynamic nature of technology. Hence, communication, transportation, political arrangements, economic, military and cultural exchanges are fluid in nature, which determine the power oscillation at the global level. At least, France and Germany are two states that share hegemonic power in the EU. The same applies to US and Canada, to some extent. This should be a departure from unipolarity that is not sustainable, a dummy that the West is always trying to sell to Nigeria and South Africa.

There are several opportunities, home grown development plans that may come up between the two states without much Western involvement. In the area of mining, though, sometimes antithetical to food security may be developed by South Africa as one of the giants, at the global level in the mining industry. Sasol, due to its technological development and a positive track record in America, Canada, Mozambique and the rest of Africa, the company should be allowed to rejuvenate the country’s ailing oil industry in partnership with Dangote Refinery that will soon commence operations. Chemical fertilizers, though not in line with my position regarding food security, may be handled by the chemical section of the company that will serve as a source of foreign exchange for Nigeria. The Eleme petrochemical company is in a comma and needs economic, void of political consideration, to wake it up from its slumber. Iscor, the steel giant and Denel (a military hardware company) should come to terms with Africa’s development. With the support of the African Development Bank (AfDB), rail business contracted to China should be revisited, as Transnet may do better than what the country is getting from sub-imperialistic Beijing.

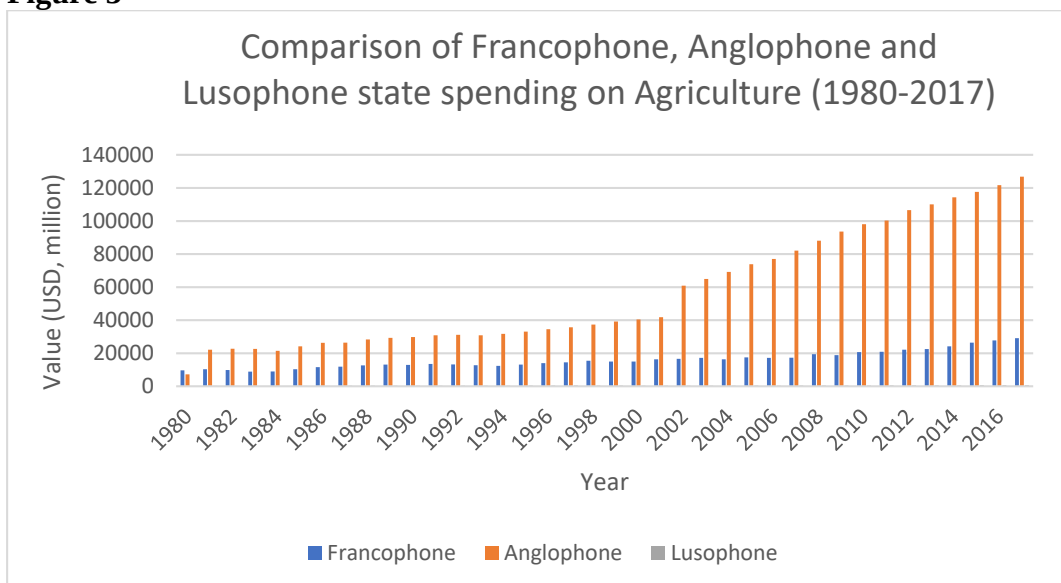
Madam DVC, in terms of food security, the two countries should lead in the form of food for all in the Continent in line with AU’s Agenda 2063, SDGs 2030 and many more declarations that call for zero hunger in the Africa, that the Continent is a signatory to. With regard to food security, as I discussed severally (**Amusan**, 2018b, 2018c), there is need for Africa to design a way on how to feed its population as against relying on extra-African states to feed the Continent. Importation of food is daily draining foreign exchange that should have been used for other developmental needs. South Africa and Nigeria need to come together to address this issue, not only with regard to securing food security, but also food sovereignty, and for the Continent to embark on food production for the people and export excess to other parts of the world that may not be able to produce certain foods due to climatic factors and their geographical location. For instance, there is need for Central and West Africa to import grapes and apples from Southern Africa as against sourcing the same from Europe and America, where dumping strategy is ongoing unabated. This is rampant in francophone states and export of excess to Lusophone and Anglophones states. Figure 2 shows that an increase in the amount of fund committed to agriculture does not translate to improvement in food security and sovereignty. Large parts of the fund go to outsourcing, recurrent expenditure and others shared among politicians and civil servants. Figure 3 shows an increase in spending by Anglophone countries on agriculture is not *sine qua non* to food surplus, rather, compared to Figure 2, majority of the fund ends up in private pockets and importation of inappropriate technology such as fertilizers, insecticides and herbicides as discussed in this lecture.

Figure 2



Source: Extract from Wold Development Indicator, 2018

Figure 3



Source: Extract from Wold Development Indicator, 2018

For the Continent to promote intra-African trade in food, there is need to embark on brotherhood that is common among African states. This time, it should not be a kind of brotherhood that promotes authoritative government as was the case between Nigeria and South Africa, when majority of African states supported Abacha's illegal government that had no respect for human rights (**Amusan**, 2002). The reason why India is economically viable compared to most Africa states is because Indians patronise their people while Africans prefer to patronise European and American goods as a sign of opulence. Made in Africa and patronise the same will bring about backward and forward linkages that the Continent has been denied from the time of political independence.

Nigeria's population and its human capital are enough to achieve Africa's dream. In West Africa, Nigeria remains a pivotal power or what some classify as a hegemon at the sub-regional level. In terms of population, the country is a veritable market for food produced and other

commodities in the Continent. The country is also blessed with human capital. This could be furthered by creating an enabling environment in the form of capacity building, which South Africa is very good at. Though there are a series of training that South Africans are conducting in Nigeria and, sometimes, take people from Nigeria to receive training in South Africa, this should receive greater intensification for the dream of Africa. For South Africa, due to the system of political arrangement that was in place in the country since the arrival of whites, the history of the country is different from what Nigeria experienced from the colonial lords. There is no contestation that the two states were colonised by Britain, the apartheid system that was in place brought about superior technology to the country because the Caucasians did not think of the end of apartheid so soon. To control migration of Caucasians from South Africa to Holland, Britain, Germany, France and partly from Portugal, appropriate technology was transferred to Pretoria. This was when the apartheid governments gave an impression that communism should be curtailed at all cost. This diplomacy later paid off for the Pretoria government in the post-apartheid majority rule. The wine industry in the Cape, car manufacturing companies in the state and processing of agricultural products need to be encouraged as against what was negotiated, but unwritten agreements, during the negotiations that led to majority rule, that the state will be a mining enclave; as against its comparative advantage in food production and manufacturing industry in Africa (Amusan, 2018g; Mbeki, 2009).

Comprehensive Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP): Nigeria and South Africa failed Africa again

Madam DVC, in 2003, the African Union (AU) met in the city of Maputo, where the issue of food security without food sovereignty was extensively discussed. Member states came up with the Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP). This is a framework aimed at transforming the agriculture sector to ensure economic growth, source of poverty alleviation, and ensuring food and nutrition security in the Continent. The Declaration is known as the Maputo Declaration on Agriculture and Food Security. Among other objectives of the Declaration, is to achieve, at least, 6% annual growth in food production by every member state. To achieve this, there was commitment that 10% of states' annual budgets should be for the agricultural sector. From the 10% budget allocation, there was an agreement that 1% of this should be for research and innovation in food security-related issues. CAADP was renewed by the AU Assembly in 2009. By 2014, there was another fundamental commitment by AU states in Malabo, the capital city of Equatorial Guinea, through the adoption of the Malabo Declaration on Accelerated Agricultural Growth and Transformation for Shared Prosperity and Improved Livelihoods. The Malabo Declaration went further to broaden objectives of the Maputo Declaration in a bid to ensure food security in the continent as:

- Upholding the CAADP principles and values;
- Enhancing investment in agriculture;
- Ending hunger and halving poverty by 2025;
- Boosting intra-African agricultural trade;
- Enhancing resilience to climate variability; and
- Strengthening mutual accountability for actions and results by conducting a Biennial Review (BR) of progress made in achieving the commitments.

From the above objectives to be achieved by member states, one may start interrogating each of them and realise that the Continent and its international organisation (AU) are far from realising these objectives. In upholding the 2003 CAADP objectives, the data below shows that



AU is too far from food security because food sovereignty that ought to be the cornerstone of the Continent is unfortunately missing.

The scorecard below identifies states that achieved the objectives of food security based on the Regional Strategic Analysis and Knowledge Support System (ReSAKSS) 2018 evaluation. From the Table, South Africa was able to achieve 4.1 as against 3.4 for Nigeria.

Table 2: 2017 Africa Agriculture Transformation Scorecard from selected Countries based on the Malabo Declaration. Note that any state that scores a minimum of 3.9 out of 10, is on track; those below 3.9 are not on track.

SN	Country	Scorecard
1	Rwanda	6.1
2	Mali	5.6
3	Morocco	5.5
4	Ethiopia	5.3
5	Mauritius	5.0
6	Togo	4.9
7	Malawi	4.9
8	Mauritania	4.8
9	Kenya	4.8
10	Burundi	4.7
11	Cabo Verde	4.6
12	Uganda	4.4
13	Botswana	4.4
14	Benin	4.3
15	Burkina Faso	4.2
16	Mozambique	4.1
17	Namibia	4.1
18	South Africa	4.1
19	Seychelles	4.0
20	Swaziland	4.0
21	Ghana	3.9
22	Senegal	3.8
23	Lesotho	3.7
24	Equatorial Guinea	3.6
25	Zambia	3.6
26	Côte D'Ivoire	3.5
27	Niger	3.5
28	Nigeria	3.4
29	Egypt	3.4
30	Guinea	3.3
31	Djibouti	3.2
32	Zimbabwe	3.2
33	Tanzania	3.1
34	Madagascar	3.1
35	Gambia	3.1
36	Gabon	2.9
37	Congo	2.8
38	DRC	2.4
39	Chad	2.2
40	Cameroon	2.1
41	Angola	2.1
42	Sudan	1.9
43	Tunisia	1.7
44	Liberia	0.9

Source: African Union Commission, 2018 and ReSAKSS, 2018

http://www.agrodep.org/sites/default/files/CAADP%20Policy%20Support%20Report%202017-18_web_0.pdf. Accessed, 23 September 2019.

Table 3: Bogus Africa rising: Six of the world's fastest-growing economies are in Africa

Country	Growth rate above 6%
Ghana	8.8
South Sudan	8.8
Rwanda	7.8
Ethiopia	7.7
Ivory Coast	7.5
Senegal	6.8

Source: International Monetary Fund. <https://weetracker.com/2019/01/21/sub-saharan-africa-among-worlds-fastest-growing-economies-in-2019-imf/>. Accessed 3 October 2019.

Tables 2 and 3 show how much states abide by the prescription of the IMF and the World Bank. Since the Bill Gates and Rockefeller Foundations are able to penetrate these states, they are rated as the best in terms of food production. A critical examination of their agricultural production, many of them focus on the colonial system of production of cash crops that will not serve the immediate interest of Africans.

Table 4: Agricultural Research and Development in Africa

No	Countries	Spending on agricultural research		Agricultural researchers FTE	
		(US\$ million 2012)	As a share of AgGDP	Total	Share of PhD qualified researchers (% of total)
Ten highest agriculture spenders in Africa					
1	Morocco	442	0.49	556.3	40
2	South Africa	274.4	2.78	811.3	51.3
3	Nigeria	209.6	0.22	2975.5	23.7 ^a
4	Egypt	144.7	0.44	8419.7	67.6
5	Kenya	105.8	0.79	1178.5	35.9
6	Tunisia	97.1	0.64	541.6	61.8
7	Ghana	91.3	0.99	575	40.8
8	Uganda	50.4	0.97	477.9	34.1
9	Côte d'Ivoire	39.7	0.53	253.2	71.3
10	Algeria	38.3	0.21	593.4	23
Ten lowest agricultural spenders in Africa					
1	Guinea Bissau	0.1	0.01	9	Na
2	Gabon	0.8	0.11	48.8	22.1
3	Eritrea	1.1	0.3	116.8	10.8
4	Cabo Verde	1.4	0.95	22.3	11.2
5	Lesotho	1.3	0.94	45.6	12.1
6	Gambia	1.7	0.8	60.4	13.1
7	Central African Republic	1.9	0.16	134	14
8	Guinea	2.9	0.3	258.7	15.3
9	Togo	3.1	0.17	125.1	36.7

10	Madagascar	3.4	0.13	204.8	46.3
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Note: AgGDP = agricultural gross domestic product. FTE = full time equivalent. a = data includes only government agencies. na = not available

Source: Amusan and Oyewole (2019) Precision Agriculture

Tables 2 and 3 above show some appreciable improvement in food production in some states in Africa. It is instructive to know that states that scored very high are those that have adopted GE as a means of food and animal production. At the same time, they are the ones that follow the Bank's prescription of land grabbing to encourage large-scale farming to the disadvantage of small and medium farming that provides food security and sovereignty in many African states (Amusan, 2018b). Table 3 above also speaks to Table 2. States that are considered to be on the rise are those that are Washington Consensus compliant. Such approach subjects Africa to perpetual underdevelopment. Senegal is considered to be on the rise because of its arable land that is up for grab, the same applies to Ivory Coast. The land and the whole economy are under the control of Paris. Ghana is not left behind due to the fossil fuel discovered at commercial value, coupled with large-scale farming that is on the rise in the country. Rwanda and South Sudan are equally not immune of being captured.

Based on the ReSAKSS data computed from FAO (2018) and the World Bank (2018), between 2008 and 2017, only 13 states (Congo Republic, Kenya, Algeria, Equatorial Guinea, Chad, Togo, Rwanda, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Gabon, Sudan, Sao Tome and Principe and Cameroon in this order) were able to maintain above 6% growth rate. Four states (Mali, Angola, Guinea and Sierra Leone) achieved 6% within the same time. The rest of the AU failed to get to 6%. Between 2017 and 2018, Nigeria was less than 4% while South Africa was in the negative within the time under consideration (Makombe, Tefera & Benin, 2018: 172). At the same time, 2008-2017, only three states (Malawi, Mali and Ethiopia) were able to spend more than 10% of their annual budget on agriculture; while three other states (Burkina Faso, Madagascar and Senegal) were on 10%. The rest of the states were below, Nigeria was in the region of 4% and South Africa had less than 3% (Makombe *et al.*, 2018: 175). There is no precise data regarding the 1% of the 10% allocated for agriculture to be spent on research and development (R&D) in

Africa. What is known in Africa is that some states that embarked on research regarding agriculture end up working for MNCs as the case of Hoodia plant in Southern Africa that was sold by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) to a British MNCs, Phytopharm. When Phytopharm could not further research on how Hoodia serves as hunger suppressant, it was later sold to Unilever, another MNCs (Amusan, 2017: 104). What this translates into is that any research carried out in Africa, that does not receive the blessing of MNCs and their home states, usually America and EU, would end up in a trash bin; or the best that could happen to such outcome is bio-prospecting, where such findings will be pirated by developed states and patented considering the cumbersome stages in patenting politics (Amusan, 2017). This was the case in Kenya when a US biotech company, Genencor, patented and genetically modified an organism found in Kenya's Rift Valley eventually used as a fabric softener "and for its ability to 'eat indigo dye from jeans'". This generated multi-millions dollars for the company without prior informed consent (PIC), despite its geographical indications (GIs) and access to sharing and benefit (ASB), as dictated by relevant international laws such as Nagoya Declaration, Convention on biodiversity (CBD) (Walters, 2011).

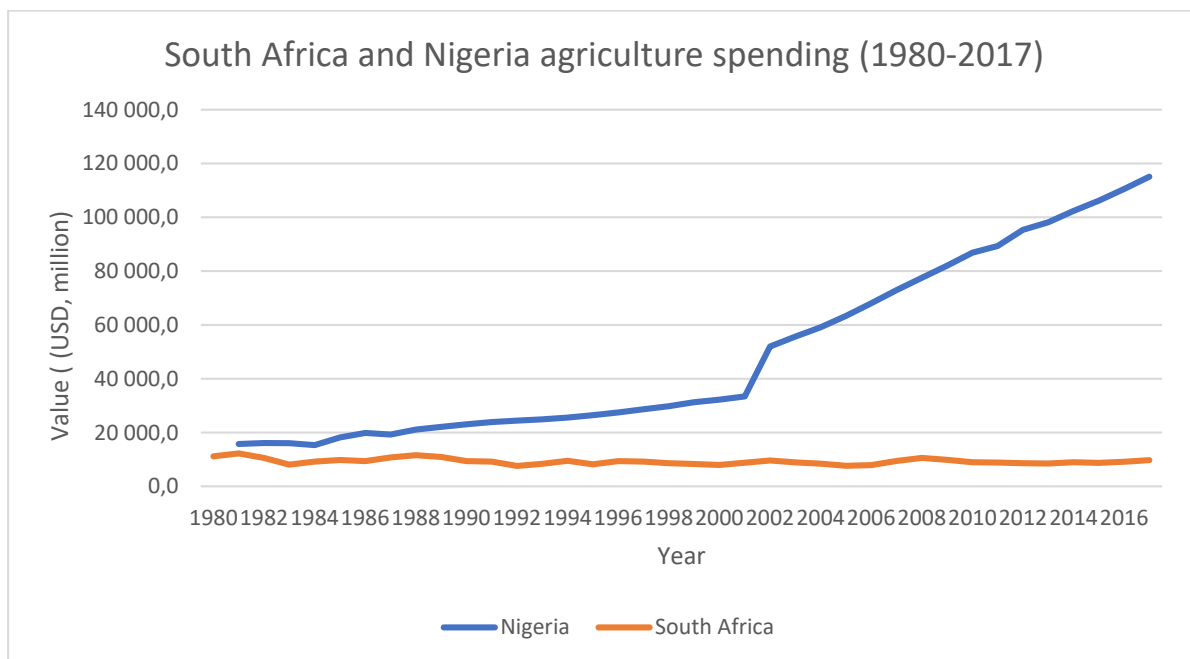
Based on the above Tables, Nigeria and South Africa were unable to lead the rest of Africa in food security and food sovereignty because of their poor performance in commitment to the agricultural sector. This may not be too far from some exogenous factors such as the dictates of international financial institutions that call governments to focus on traditional security of states as against human security (economic development). The neo-liberal theory focuses on unseen forces of demand and supply controlled by the private sector. South Africa's cross-road situation regarding land is an issue that remains unresolved. The large-scale farming that dominates food production in the country does not encourage the African National Congress (ANC) led government to commit resources on food production. Focus on small and medium-scales farming system has not been yielding the expected results because of the unwillingness of blacks to embark on farming due to their lack of experience in the sector. The rural poor that have been tilling the land, do not have access to government support. The issue of land is more of political than economic consideration. The South African Constitution of 1996, as amended, stipulates in Chapter Two of the right to property that land may not be taken away from people, except for public interest. This clause continues to generate arguments between blacks and whites. It also contributes to lack of land by majority of blacks to produce their own food, at least, through backyard farming to alleviate hunger and poverty (**Amusan, 2018g**). Though section 27(1)(b) of the Constitution goes further to call for food security, this has remained a mirage in the country. Notably, 7.5% of South Africans were involved in agriculture as of 2017, of which about 76.9% were involved in food production "in an attempt to secure additional sources of food" (**Amusan, 2018g: 225**).

As indicated during the time of land grab in Zimbabwe, by blacks, the land taken away from the whites went to politically-connected people, who turned out to be telephonic farmers as alluded to in one of my works (**Amusan, 2011c**). The same is applicable in South Africa as many of those who have benefited from land redistribution, so far, are members of the ruling party who do not have any experience in farming.

From Nigeria's perspective, much of the budget allocated to agriculture serves as an avenue to enrich the political and economic elites in the state. Those who are into farming, hardly have access to a basic enabling environment. Politicisation of who gets what, when and how depends whether one belongs to the ruling party at the national or state level. Retired army generals, top government officials and politicians share any incentive on farming among themselves. Since the accounting system in farming is hard to regulate by government, embarking on farming by politicians in Nigeria and South Africa has become a way to prove how they could defend their ill-gotten wealth from corruption.

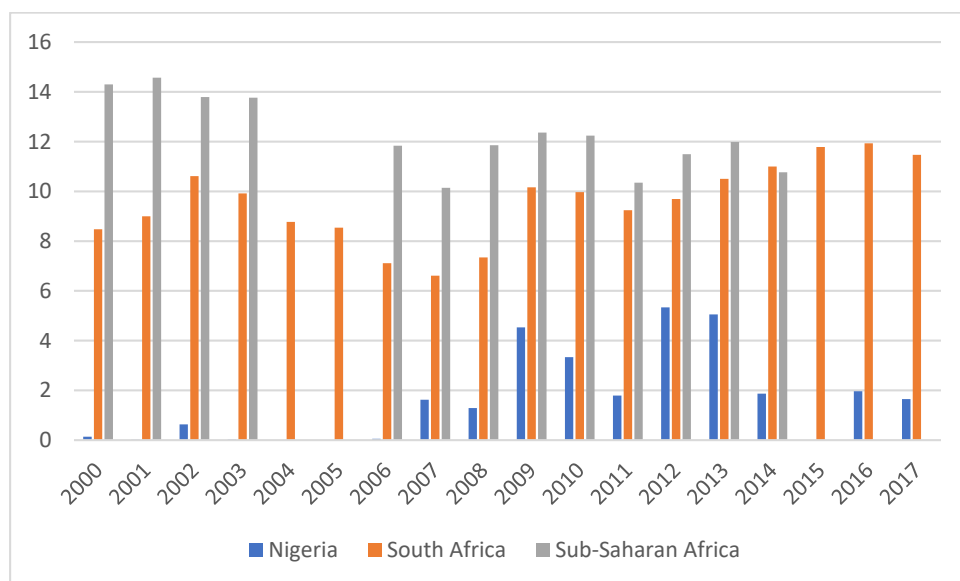
To achieve the CAADP Malabo Declaration of 2014, by ending hunger and halving poverty by 2025, seems ambitious in the era of globalisation, where corruption is most felt in government establishments for patronage purposes. As long as large-scale farming is the focus of CAADP, rural communities will continue to lose their lands to foreign organisations and those that are not interested in farming, but hold title deeds for speculative purposes as practised in South Africa. For food sovereignty to receive its proper place in Africa, rural-dwellers should have a role to play in the form of food production. Evidence abound that small and medium-scale farmers are the main producers of food consumed in urban centres. This is rampant in West, Central and East Africa. The situation in Southern Africa is complex because of the type of colonialism and apartheid system introduced in the sub-region.

Figure 4:



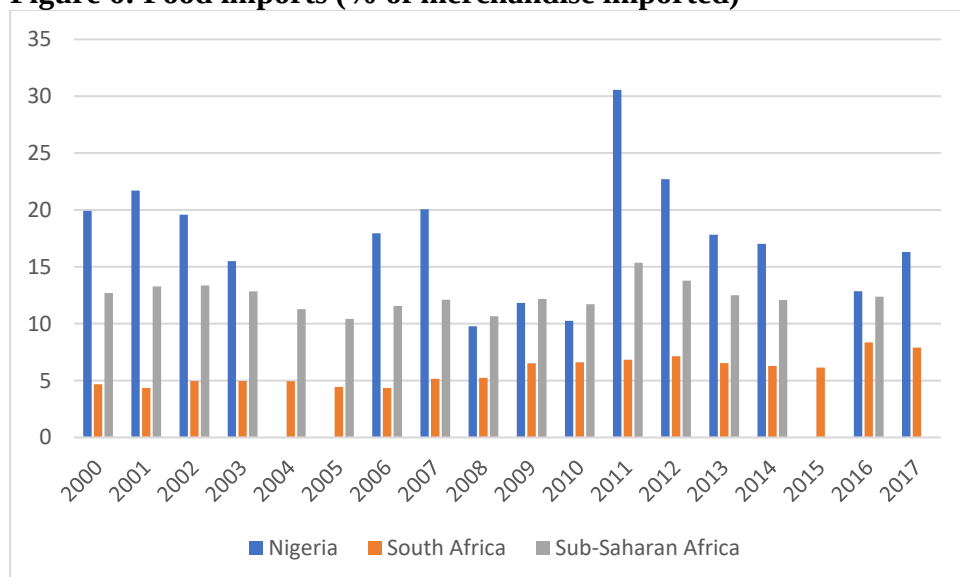
Source: Extract from Wold Development Indicator, 2018

Figure 5: Food exports (% of merchandise exported)



Source: Extract from Wold Development Indicator, 2018.

Figure 6: Food imports (% of merchandise imported)



Source: World Bank Development Indicator, 2018

Madam DVC, Figures 4 to 6 shows that there is need to appreciate Nigeria's increase in spending with regard to agriculture. The question that begs for an answer is who benefits from government support for farmers? Loans and subsidies are only accessible by large-scale private individual farmers. These are retired military generals who are not so keen on food production, but pretend as if their income was from farming. Many of them hardly pay back the loan because of their political connections. In South Africa, government's lukewarm attitude towards agriculture is historical and hinges on the land question and who benefits from the loans and subsidies that government may introduce to farmers.

Madam DVC, if food sovereignty is not realised in any state, issues of mercy killing and thanksgiving will be the order of the day. This is a scenario where states depend on humanitarian food relief not only during emergencies such as cyclones Idai and Kenneth that caused untold suffering and hardship in Mozambique, Malawi, Zimbabwe and South Africa, but a permanent hand due to misplacement of priorities caused mostly by globalisation of cash crops. Foreign aid is a foreign raid with a series of conditions that will leave recipients worse off at the end (Amusan, 2019a). In most cases, food relief comes in the form of dumping to discourage states from food sovereignty as the case of chicken politics, between South Africa and America, when Pretoria was threatened with exclusion from AGOA. This marked the beginning of killing poultry business in the country. The spill over effects of this are many, such as laying off of workers in the business when farmers are unable to break-even any longer; imposition of deadly unhealthy factory farming fed with anti-biotics (Lymberry & Oakeshott, 2014); excessive demand of chicken that ought to create employment no longer allowed because of globalisation that the USA has failed to follow based on demand and supply tenets. Instead, America believes that more may be imported from Washington. For instance, Ted McKinney, the US under-secretary in the Department of Agriculture called for further quota in poultry supply to South Africa as he observed that the demand in the country exceeded what could be produced by local farmers. Instead of McKinney to call for empowerment of South African farmers to meet local demands, in the guise of free trade and AGOA, he averred that more chicken be imported from America (Botha, 2019).

Considering the explanation provided above regarding business empowerment in the Continent, both Nigeria and South Africa have been captured by MNCs and questionable NGOs in the Continent. Investment in agriculture as requested by CAADP, is to create sustainable development through women and youth involvement in the agricultural sector. It is noted that Bill Gates' visit to any state in Africa is a confirmation of imposition of inorganic agriculture where agribusiness in line with the West will be imposed on such state. Notably, South Africa is considered the 10th GMO agriculture producer in the world. This has not been encouraged in some of its neighbouring states such as Zimbabwe (Amusan, 2018c), despite that, the country's overreliance on South Africa for food security is not immune of GM products. Discussion on investment in agriculture fails to address the whole food value chain that is not in control of Africans. Available literature suggest that inputs producers and MNCs, are the ones that benefit more in agriculture as against farmers and consumers. CAADP and NEPAD are agents of neo-liberal food security that benefit a few as it perpetuates land and water grab in Africa.

Land and water grab in Africa: Any roles for Nigeria and South Africa?

Madam DVC, exposing Africa to globalisation is not what started in the 21st Century. This has been ongoing since the first visit of European explorers before the introduction of slave trade. For the development of Europe and Americas, there was a need to ship people of Africa to Europe through a journey of no return. A visit to Elmina Castle and Badagry in Ghana and Nigeria respectively will attest to how Africa developed Europe and America. The Industrial Revolution of the 17th Century made no sense in promoting slave trading, this led to free slaves and colonisation and the curse of Berlin crawled into underdevelopment of Africa (Adebajo, 2010; Amusan, 2018f). The Continent was carved based on the economic exploitation of the Africa. Africans were forced to produce what they did not eat and eat what they could not produce. In Francophone Africa, the situation took another dimension, with emphasis on DR Congo, where people would be hanged, maimed or forced to work in plantations of the Leopold

Senghor estate, a country that was turned to a private property of the King, as shown in the picture below.

Figure 7: Father stares at the hand and foot of his five-year-old, severed as a punishment for failing to make the daily rubber quota, Belgian Congo, 1904



Source: <https://rarehistoricalphotos.com/father-hand-belgian-congo-1904/>. Accessed 23 September 2019.

Figure 8: Africans as the root of Africa's underdevelopment: Gendarmerie/military forces were required to provide the hand of their victims as proof when they shot and killed someone to show that the munitions were not used for hunting when rubber quota was not met.



Source: <https://rarehistoricalphotos.com/father-hand-belgian-congo-1904/>. Accessed, 23 September 2019

Figure 9: Reading the Bible while hanging a child for the sin of the father not to make a daily quota of rubber



Source: <https://za.pinterest.com/pin/284078688978833936/?autologin=true&nic=1>. Accessed, 23 September 2019

Colonialism brought untold hardship on Africa as the Berlin curse keeps on hunting the Continent till date. Kingdoms and Empires were destroyed through questionable demarcation and delimitation of boundaries without taking into account history, religion, culture and

languages of the people. This brought about changes in economic patterns and food production/unproduction of Africans and their culture eventually lost (**Amusan**, 2018f). This further challenged food security in the Continent. As Ake (1981) averred, cash crops were promoted, and marketing boards set up to encourage production of this as against food crops. This development further promoted GMO cash crops with all its health challenges for the people of Africa. In some cases, cash crops is good for balance of payment of state provided it is not controlled by MNCs. Mauritius' Omnicane company is using latest technology to produce refined sugar for export to Europe. The company has gone to Ghana and Kenya to acquire land for sugarcane plantation, which will enhance Africa's development by Africans (Ackbarally, 2014, 61)

In 1960, 17 states received their political independence out of which 14 were Francophone states. Forests were cleared and savannah also turned to cash crops enclave in exchange for indigenous food crops, which Africans love most. This is the process that has been nurtured from 1960s till date, despite the need for the Continent to find a means of food security and food sovereignty. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have come and gone; the new era of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) was launched in 2000 with the aim of sustaining whatever the Continent was unable to achieve during MDGs. The question that always comes to mind is the possibility of sustaining what one does not have. Issues of hunger, unemployment, food and nutrition are still hunting an average African due to the imposed Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), that is capped with the World Trade Organisation (WTO) of unequal treatment and unequal exchange (Amusan, 2018i). Many attempts to cow the Continent were mooted by various international organisations. The European Union (EU) came with the Lome Convention and Cotonou Agreement, where issues of food security were extensively discussed, but without human rights issues of second and third generations, which call for social and economic rights. The right to food and water remains a mirage in more than 70% of African states. AGOA, Japan-Africa, China-Africa, UK-Africa, and Francophone States are yet to come up with a solution to food insecurity and sovereignty in Africa.

According to Christian (2019), on 21 January, the IMF listed countries in Africa in order of economic growth as follows: Ethiopia; Rwanda; Ghana; Ivory Coast; Senegal; Benin Republic; Kenya; Uganda; and Burkina Faso. This categorisation is imperialistic in nature as such development is based on the degree of subscription to the openness of state to exploitation through the Bank and Fund prescriptions. The release opined that Tanzania might replace Guinea based on the degree of pro-Bank land grab system (*The Oakland Institute*, 2019). As of today, part of Kenya and Tanzania's millions of acres of land are being sold to Ortello Business Corporation from the United Arab Emirates and the indigenous Maasai evicted from their ancestral land. Attempts to move close to the sold land by indigenous people is always met brutality by government who deploy paramilitary forces. The area called *Serengeti* National Park, is extra-territory for UAE (Pearce, 2012: 211).

The rise of middle-income groups in Europe, America, Asia and the Middle East further promoted land and water grabs in Africa as mentioned above. Since people of higher income need more protein through meat and fish consumption, there is a need to provide for this from another continent that is easy to prey on, which is Africa. A continent that was regarded as forgotten, passed for a dead zone, a disease enclave and that any positive thing hardly comes from, suddenly, became the most fertile enclave, a place that has most fallow land that is up for grab for MNCs, private individuals and public utilities from the rest of the world (**Amusan**, 2018b; **Amusan & Setlalentoa**, 2017). The Table below shows the reasons why Africa's land should be exploited and taken for the production of food, feed and biofuel for the rest of the world after exploitation of its fossil fuel has reached peak.

Table 5: Hungry for land: Global distribution of agricultural land

	Agric. land (1000s ha)	No. of farms (1000s)	No. of small farms (1000s)	Small farms as % of all farms	Agric land in the hands of small farmers (1000s ha)	% of agric land in the hands of small farmers	Average size of small farms (ha)
Asia-Pacific	1,990,228	447,614	420,348	93.9%	689,737	34.7%	1.6
China	521,775	200,555	200,160	99.8%	370,000	70.9%	1.8
India	179,759	138,348	127,605	92.2%	71,152	39.6%	0.6
Africa	1,242,624	94,591	84,757	89.6%	182,766	14.7%	2.2
L.America & Caribbean	894,314	22,333	17,894	80.1%	172,686	19.3%	9.7
N.America	478,436	2,410	1,850	76.8%	125,102	26.1%	67.6
Europe	474,552	42,013	37,182	88.5%	82,337	17.4%	2.2
Total	5,080,154	608,962	562,031	92.3%	1,252,628	24.7%	2.2

Sources: FAOSTAT (<http://faostat3.fao.org/faostat-gateway/go/to/home?E>). Accessed, 23 September 2019

Table 6: Hungry for land: Land distribution in Nigeria, South Africa & Africa

Country	Agric. land (1000s ha)	No. of farms (1000s)	Criteria for small farms	No. of small farms (1000s)	Small farms as % of all farms	Agric. land in the hands of small farmers (1000s ha)	% of agric. land in the hands of small farmers
Nigeria	76,200	16,217	<2 ha	14,594	90.0	21,891	28.7%
South Africa	99,640	1,333		1,292	96.9	14,946	15.0%
Africa	1,242,624	94,591		84,757	89.6	182,766	14.7%

Sources: FAOSTAT (<http://faostat3.fao.org/faostat-gateway/go/to/home?E>). Accessed, 23 September 2019

Tables 5 and 6 show that Africa has more arable land than most continents in the world. Pacific-Asia, which has more land than Africa may not be available for grabbing because of political stability and good governance, coupled with extensive agriculture in states such as Australia and New Zealand. Though South Africa has more land available for farming than Nigeria, large-scale farming in the country does not make land available for small-scale farmers that are good at organic food production. While 28.7% of the land is in the hands of small-scale farmers in South Africa, it is only 15% who are mostly in rural former Homelands of infertile land (Amusan, 2018g). With the new policy from the Bank that requires land auctioning to pave

the way for privatisation and commercialisation of land in Africa, Nigeria and South Africa may be considered as fertile enclaves to go for private use in line with the new initiatives discussed below. South Africa has more land for food production and is contending with land redistribution that is toxic with politics. From Nigeria's perspective, the issue of land tenure system where families hold on to their land, though state/provincial governments are in control at official level, small-scale farming is predominant with 14.6 million in farming activities while 1.3 million are available for farming in South Africa. The remaining land is in the hands of large-scale farmers, who only produce for export, feeding and biofuel. GE seeds and associated lapses discussed severally in this lecture, aggravate food insecurity in poor rural communities. The use of chemical fertilizers, herbicides, insecticides are not only causing a series of health hazards, but also diminish land and water quality for consumption (**Amusan, 2018b, 2018c**).

While large-scale farmers have access to basic infrastructural amenities such as refrigerators to preserve their perishable items in South Africa, the case is not the same in Nigeria due to power failure (Hlomendlini, 2019). This is a major challenge for many small-scale farmers as they could not compete with factory farmers who produced in large quantities and supply the same to retail outlets such as Shorprite, Pick' n Pay and Checkers, among others with high returns. The inconsistent position of the South African government on the issue of land continues to hunt sustainable development in the country. As alluded by Ramaphosa in 2019, when he called for nationalisation of land under local, provincial and national governments, releasing land to poor potential farmers could be an option to arrest poverty and food insecurity in the country. However, this has turned into a political instrument, only employed during electioneering campaigns to will the votes of poor people in rural areas. Smallholders farmers in South Africa are the lowest food producers in the Continent due to lack of an enabling environment and government's misallocation/misplaced priorities on resources (Hlomendlini, 2019: 12). In a situation where government releases land to the poor rural-dwellers, the issue of access to financial support is going to be another problem. Agricultural development banks only give financial support to large-scale farmers partly because of their collateral and politically connected individuals who hardly embark on farming for sustainable development. In Nigeria, retired army generals became farmers with little or no knowledge of farming, only to serve as cover up for their illicit wealth. In South Africa, many politically connected to the ruling parties in their controlled provinces, are also into farming because of what I refer to 'telephonic farmers' (**Amusan, 2011c**).

Some parcels of lands are still lying fallow in many parts of Africa with special focus on Southern Africa due to absent landlords, who are into speculative business. This is rampant in Ghana, Senegal, DRC, South Africa and Nigeria. To have global support of this approach to access to land, is the Bank's promotion of a new land indicator in the Enabling Business of Agriculture (EBA). This is a means of promoting large-scale land acquisitions and expansion of agribusiness with the support of states governments that create an enabling environment for this through the neo-regulation approach to food security that is not sustainable in the long-run. In an effort to achieve this, the US, UK and BBGF are in the fore front of this development. They maintain that to achieve sustainable food security, there should be a way to commodify land. This is what is ongoing in many African states for them to qualify for loans from international financial institutions, including the AfDB. Therefore, African governments are now "formalising private property rights, easing the sale and lease of land for commercial use, systematising the sale of public land by auction to the highest bidder, and improving procedures for expropriation" (*The Oakland Institute, 2019*).

As usual, fillips for any state that subscribes to this self-immolation is based on how religious a state sticks to this dictate. The same will also determine the amount of foreign aid and investment that will go to such a state. This is nothing but a state capture or what some describe as recolonisation of Africa by the former colonialists and those who were not opportune to colonise then. When this is total, Africa would be encouraged to produce what they do not consume and, instead, consume what they do not produce. The principle of putting land to best use called for by the Bank, is to make it available to foreign private, MNCs and public utilities of other states. This is against the call by Cyril Ramaphosa to make land available to South Africans to produce organic foods that are nutritious for sustainable development of the people. The position of the Bank forgets about culture and social implications of land to rural-dwellers who rely on their land with serious attachment to their ancestral land with religious connotations. Dispossession of rural-dwellers of their land is tantamount to further squalor, malnutrition, mass unemployment, eviction, genocide, extinction of traditional food and biodiversity disequilibrium, food insecurity at the national level, deforestation, water grabbing and hidden hunger at best (Amusan, 2018e; Otero, 2018).

In recent times, issues of land and water grabbing have been receiving some solutions. These are the concept of land and water being sacred and belonging to the unborn, the living and the death. This is the belief of Africans. Activities of anti-land and water grab NGOs in Africa with special focus on a series of green movements⁷ at the national and international levels, have increased the level of political culture and political socialisation due to the longevity of democracy in the Continent. This brings about party opposition and intra-party politics that do expose dubious agreements entered into by various governments and traditional leaders in the Continent. Lastly, is the legal battles at different courts of law to rescue land and water from MNCs, private investors and political elites in affected states (Amusan, 2018, 2011b; Gagne, 2019; Saka & Amusan, 2018). In the guise of public interest, some land and water were cornered by government for development purposes only to realise at a later stage that the same was meant for sale or lease to private investors. The issue of land deals between Kwara State government and the Nupe tribe in the northern part of the state is instructive. It was gathered that without Free, prior and informed consent (FPIC), the then governor of the state, Bukola Saraki, invited some white Zimbabwean farmers to settle in the ancestral land of traditional organic rice growers, which led to the displacement of people, who considered the place as their home. Due to the involvement of many NGOs in the country, compensation was later paid out to the youth in the form of buying motor bikes (*okada*) for them, a business that is not sustainable. Old people were forced to move to other communities, causing a crisis of *we* and *them* between settlers and indigenes. Some female youth ended up in cities as house helpers, a job that mortgaged their future, while others turned out to be prostitutes with implications on HIV/AIDS and the cost to the society in general.

Regarding water grab, this is a challenge that many African states are contending with. In South Africa, the Departments of Agriculture, Forestry and Water Affairs are at logger heads with White farmers on inland water. While large-scale white farmers claim ownership of the water for food production, government claims that such inland water and dams should be regarded as public goods meant for people within such communities. The same applies in Nigeria as Buhari's government, under the 8th National Assembly, introduced Inland Water Ways Bill, but was rejected. Under the 9th National Assembly, the same government, realising that the Senate and House of Representatives were under the effective control of the Executive arm of government, tried to reintroduce the same Bill. If the government succeeds in this bid, it in an

7



indication that inland waterways would be taken away from state government and be in the control of national governments for the ulterior motive of benefiting certain ethnic groups⁸ in the country (Ochayi, 2019). The Bill is also to control streams, rivers, water ways and their banks to some kilometres. The implication is multifarious. It will impact negatively on the World Bank-sponsored FADAMA (an approach that ensures all-year round food production next to river and stream banks) projects that promotes food security and food sovereignty in communities where such farming system is practised. Also, it was rumoured that taking away these banks from communities that called the place home, was a direct contraction of the country's signed human rights of indigenous peoples, who rely on the resources of the rivers, streams and lakes for their livelihood. This move is against the existing River Basin Authorities set up by the military government to exploit inland water resources. If this could be passed through an Act of Parliament, the next move is to conquer littoral communities of the Atlantic Ocean further that will relegate the Niger Delta, Lagos and other communities that share borders with the Atlantic Ocean an appendage of the Abuja government with negative implications of food availability, accessibility and affordability in a guise to protect the interest of herders.

The Blue economy is another area that the two states continue to disappoint the Continent. The Continent, as in other areas, is blessed with oceans, seas, rivers and lakes. If well managed outside the involvement of developed and some emerging states outside the continent, Africa will be developed because it is blessed with two important oceans (Atlantic and Indian). Other Oceans (Pacific, Arctic and Antarctica) were overexploited and the next areas of call are the oceans that border African states. Out of 54 sovereign states in Africa, 38 of them are coastal and island nations, which translates to 14 million km² of exclusive economic zones (EEZ). A coastline of 47,000 km is also in the hands of African states. What these attributes translate into is that if well managed, Africa will be a paradise in the world in term of fishery and aquatic food security. This time, nutritious food from rivers, oceans and streams should be exploited by Africans for the development of Africa. The excess production may be sold to the international market. This is against the unsustainable soulless capitalistic system of the economy that has been in place since the nadir of the Industrial Revolution of the 17th Century (**Amusan**, 2018a). The Blue economy, the most important aspect of development in the turn of the 21st Century, is receiving much attention in Africa with special focus on littoral nations. Proper management of this will enhance the expansion of fisheries, aquaculture, tourism, transportation and a means to reduce poverty and unemployment in the land. In line with SDGs 1, 2, 5, 10, 13, 14 and 17, the Continent will rescue itself from the common attributes of developing indices as always captured by the Western world in the media as a Continent that may not experience political and economic stability (**Amusan**, 2018h; 2013a). This has not been achieved through more than 12 million Africans involved in the value chain of the fishing industry in Africa, which translates into more than US\$24 billion (an estimate of 1.26% of the Continent's GDP (Rustomjee, 2018).

Identifying the importance of the Blue economy in Africa, one may conclude that 2014 is regarded as the year that the Continent woke up from its slumber as many initiatives were put in place to exploit resources of the oceans, seas, rivers and the lakes that the Continent is blessed with. 2014 experienced the endorsement of the 2050 Africa Integrated Maritime Strategy (AIMS) (2050 AIM Strategy) with the aim of harnessing the EEZ resources for the general development of the Continent that have been passed for a forgotten and black enclave

⁸ The Fulani project of total control of the resources of the country was smelled to be the reasons for this so as to let herders have access to water and green grass for their cattle.

for a long time. In 2014, the Agenda 2063 was put in place with the aim of economic development of Africa, and with emphasis on the Blue economy as a major contributor to continental transformation and growth (African Union, 2014). In the same year (2014), South Africa, one of the hegemony in Africa, launched **Operation Phakisa** in order to achieve the 2030 National Development Plan (NDP). Phakisa means “hurry up” in Sesotho language; this is an urgent strategy to ensure sustainable development through job creation, economic development and security of the state.⁹

The bedrocks of the operation are as follows:

- Marine transportation and manufacturing;
- Food security and food sovereignty;
- Mining within Pretoria’s EEZ;
- Provision of large, medium and small-scales Blue economy, hence access to employment opportunities; and
- Ensuring security of the State.

As much as South Africa is trying to ensure the functionality of NDP 2030, problems associated with large-scale fishing and the neglect of artisanal farming could not be identified by the government. Pretoria’s agenda for improved revenue collection, which is associated with large-scale fishing, is a major problem. Operation Phakisa, in line with government’s policy, is to improve fish production from the current 4,000 to 20,000 tons annually over the medium-term. This, according to the government policy, is to create 2,500 direct jobs and 15,000 indirectly through value chain by 2020. The Operation, as much as it ensures sustainable development, plays minimal roles in empowering the poor, women and the youth who should be encouraged to embark on environmentally fishing activities in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Artisanal that should contribute to forward and backward employment opportunities are left out, instead, government prefers to issue licences to multinational trawlers that always embark on illegal, unreported and unregulated (IUU) fishing in the continental shelves of Africa. Does it mean that hurry up is a means for MNCs to further exploit the resources of Africa’s Oceans, Lakes, Rivers and Streams?

In general, challenges confronting Africa’s Blue economy are many. Though the United Nations in 2016 identified Africa’s ocean, lakes and rivers as the new frontier of the African Renaissance, to what extent can we say that the continent can translate this to meaningful sustainable development in line with Goal 14 of the SDGs? For the purpose of this lecture, I will look into the main cogs in the wheel of development in states that share borders with oceans, which are generic. South Africa, for instance, that has 1.5 million km² of EEZ size compared with its 1.2 million km², 3,900 kilometres of coastline, 20 different departments and institutions in the marine environment, 50 national acts regulating marine governance and 4 coastal provinces with their separate socio-economic goals, is unable to manage the resources in a sustainable way.¹⁰ This is a nation that is an example for the rest of Africa when it comes to the issue of human security regarding the Blue economy. Nigeria, another state in the Continent that should be able to manage its ocean, lakes and river resources, is littered with corruption in the sector.

Not too far from this, among other salient challenges that the littoral states are contending with, is lack of relevant technology to monitor fishing activities of multinational fishing trawlers (Amusan, 2018h). Because of this, trawlers that are registered in Africa brings about IUU

⁹ <https://www.operationphakisa.gov.za/Pages/Home.aspx>. Accessed, 4 October 2019.

¹⁰ <https://cer.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/OP-MPSG-Final-Lab-Report.pdf>. Accessed, 4 October 2019.

fishing in African waters due to the corruption of political leaders and bureaucrats who always sign agreements in secrecy with foreign states to fish in the Continent's waters. This is one of the main challenges when dealing with China. This is despite Beijing's acclaim to be a partner in economic development of the South. Overexploitation of resources of the Oceans is a *sine qua non* to social, economic and human crises that Africa is contending with in recent times. It is estimated that about US\$1.3 billion is lost annually to IUU. Lack of management experience in the Blue economy is another problem associated with food security and sovereignty through marine and exploitation of rivers. Sierra Leone is said to lose US\$29 million annually to corrupt practices and lack of relevant equipment to monitor activities of foreign trawlers. Law enforcement agents to monitor harmful fishing are not on the ground due to the absence of the latest technology to do that. Reports abound where law enforcement agents machinate with multinational fishing companies to embark on IUU.

With 25% of Africans living within 100 kilometres of the two coasts, the influence of climate change and rise in ocean levels are the main challenge to communities bordering these international waters. Many small communities were submerged and indigenous peoples living very close to the Indian and Atlantic Oceans are experiencing problems associated with climate change (**Amusan**, 2013a, 2009). Mauritius, Sao Tome en Principe, the Seychelles, Cape Verde, Comoros and Madagascar are the states that Nigeria and South Africa should empower in terms of the Blue economy, due to their relative advantage in the marine economy compared with other littoral states. South Africa's International Maritime Institute should be a gateway for the rest of the Continent to get trained in the Blue economy as the state is relatively developed than other African states in marine technology. Another area that the two states need to come to the aid of the Continent is coastal patrol. Though South Africa is patrolling Mozambique's border against piracy and general human security in the Indian Ocean, Nigeria's Navy, in a bid to maintain food security and stability in the Gulf of Guinea (GoG), recorded some degree of achievements both near and far (**Amusan**, 2016b; **Oyewole**, 2016). As the attribute of a hegemon, there is a need to provide for public goods and create a passage for a distressed economy in secondary/satellite states (**Amusan**, 2006), Nigeria and South Africa, in guise of their national interest, have failed to promote the economic development of Africa in general. Technology to monitor, control and survey (MCS) of EEZ need to be developed so as to curtail IUU of other states from Europe, America and Asia. Since the policy of China, a presumed friend of Africa is to exploit resources of the Continent from mineral resources to the policy of Distance Water Fishing empowered with fuel and insurance subsidies, artisanal fishers in the fishing regions of Africa are no more available for achieving SDGs 1, 2, 5 and 14 (**Thomas**, 2018). There is a need for the two states to embark on security concerns of the whole Continent through joint patrol of the EEZ of member states to avoid IUU and plastic dumping (one of the most dangerous to aquatics). Plastic dumping should be addressed to avoid extinction of many fish species. Seabirds, turtles, fish, oysters and mussels feeding on plastic debris usually clogging their digestive systems and causing death with untold crises of ecosystem destabilisation, food security challenges and nutrition crisis. Communities in littoral states tend experience relatively good health conditions compared to hinterland communities since they have access to wild fish as part of their food. Fish is rich in "omega-3 fatty acids, which plays an important role in children's brain development...fish is rich in essential micronutrients, including vitamin A, calcium, iron and zinc" (**USAID**, 2016). The interplay between El-Nino and El-Nina are the major problems that affect the standard of living of communities in littoral states in Africa. This is prevalent when one considers that indigenous peoples are contending with climate variability trauma and government's lack of respect of their rights in line with international law on indigenous and tribal peoples.

Indigenous peoples, organic food production and environmental protection

Madam DVC, ladies and gentlemen, the economic, specifically financial responsibilities entrenched in the need to abide by the series of legal instruments that protect indigenous peoples in Africa, is not given attention by almost all African states. According to relevant conventions, treaties, declarations and laws that protect the rights of indigenous peoples, such as access to their natural resources, rights to practice their religion and stick to their culture, among others, almost every state in Africa ignores these for the interests of political and economic elites within the Continent on the one hand, and to satisfy foreign interests on the other. It is proved beyond doubt that indigenous peoples are the custodian of the African culture and organic foods that are nutritious in achieving SDGs, AU Agenda 2063 and objectives of sub-regional organisations on food and nutrition (Kalafatic, nd). Instruments, such as the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention 169 and many more, are of the same position regarding issues of right to self-determination, FPIC, land rights and right to religion and cultures, among others. Also, the Convention of Biological Diversity (CBD) that brought about Cartagena and Nagoya Protocols, is to protect flora and fauna for the benefit of Indigenous Peoples; it is instructive to know that America, as of today, has not signed this for economic imperialism. As discussed under the plights of the Khois and Sans in Southern Africa, where these two indigenous peoples were forced to move away from their ancestral land, despite their rights to leave where they buried their dead relations, is a violation of human rights and, by implication, violation of access to their traditional food and ways of lives (Amusan, 2017, 2014a).

There is a direct link between climate change and indigenous peoples' food security. This is documented by Goodhart (2016: 343) who opines as follows:

Indigenous peoples are among those already experiencing negative impacts of climate change that include loss of food security, rise in sea levels and coastal erosion, desertification, deforestation, intensification and frequency of 'natural disasters, unprecedented species extinction, and the spread of vector-borne diseases.

This position was also alluded to in a paper I jointly developed with Jegede (2014). We did not only focus on the impacts of climate change, but also reiterated (Amusan, 2009) that this eventually led to forced migration, coupled with the neo-regulation position of the governments of South Africa and Nigeria regarding economic the interest of MNCs as is the case in the Niger Delta of Nigeria, when the Ijaws and other minorities in the area classified as indigenous peoples, are on a daily basis, faced with forceful eviction and destruction of their farms to pave the way for oil multinationals to continue the exploitation of fossil fuels in the area (Amusan, 2010b, 2010c). The place of indigenous peoples in the era of climate change is more traumatising because the impacts of climate variability continues to affect their livelihood in a negative way (Tlhompho, 2015). Not only that, they did not have adaptation and mitigation strategies to crop failures, and could not understand why their animals and plants failed to thrive due to failure of rainfall at particular times of planting and harvesting. The Pygmies of Congo, Cameroon and Central Africa, the Maasai of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, Basarwa, the Sans, the Khois and many others, are faced with another threat of globalisation. This time, mining activities on their land that always leads to eviction of these people without government consideration of their attachment to their ancestral land is a grave violation of their rights. For those of us who watched a movie titled, *gods must be crazy*, will appreciate the impact of colonialism, apartheid and globalisation on the peoples of Africa. Mining in Africa, though it comes with foreign exchange, is an agent of food insecurity and eviction, which benefits a few politically connected and MNCs is an area that both Nigeria and South Africa need to address. It is because of the crises that the two states are engaging in unfounded hegemonic power that

is affecting the rest of the Continent, hence development remains a mirage in Africa (Bohlund, 2019).

In South Africa, because of the discovery of shale oil in the Karoo region of the Northern Cape, Shell Petroleum is putting pressure on the Energy Department to evict people from the area so as to allow hydraulic fracking. The impacts of this on food and water security is not only going to affect already stressed water areas, but also ground water will be polluted, all to the detriment of the irrigation system that could have contributed to food sovereignty and security in the region.

Access to education based on the indigenous culture and rights to their language is another problem that indigenous and tribal peoples are daily facing as their culture and languages are deliberately phasing out in many African states. The case of Touaregs in Mali and Berbers in Libya are instructive as they do not have equal rights with the majority and other ethnic groups in their respective states. Denied access to education in their language is a passport to food insecurity in the long-run despite Article 17(1&3) of the African Charter that continentally addresses the plights of indigenous peoples (**Amusan**, 2013b). South Africa is considered to be a state in Africa with almost a perfect constitution and free judiciary, recognition of the Khois and Sans is more of political without concrete government responsibilities to promote their cultures, religion and access to their resources. Cases of genocide, forceful eviction and crises of stealing their technology are prevalent in the region. As I discussed elsewhere (**Amusan**, 2019c, 2017, 2014), plants and animals that are of medicinal values and have been used for millennial, are stolen in the form of biopiracy. Bio-prospecting of genetic materials from Africa and registering the same as part of intellectual property that may be sold to big companies or licence the same as the case of Rooibos tea (**Amusan**, 2014a; Crisp, 2010).

Unfortunately, international financial institutions that should work towards stated mandates of economic and social development of member states, failed in this direction to enhance food security. The World Bank, in its recent bid to privatise the commons in developing areas, through unholy alliance with the US, the UK and Belinda and Bill Gates Foundation, aim at globalising land for biofortification of food (*The Oakland Institute*, 2019), as mentioned above, is instructive. In the south-east of Cameroon, the Baka people, considered to be indigenous peoples, are facing a series of human rights abuses such as beating, humiliation and nakedness, forcing them to crawl and destroy their camps and possession by eco-guards patrolling protected conservative zones in the Central Africa state. Ironically, the same family, from Queen Elizabeth, is in control of some forests in central Africa. Princes Harry and William are Ambassadors for United for Wildlife, which is in partnership with Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF); while Prince Charles is the President of WWF UK. How possible can an outsider know how to look after one's property than the rightful owners? This explains the futility of foreign conservationists who are of the view that they are available to preserve Africa's forests for sustainable development. From available development in the Continent, activities of these questionable conservationists are to further exploit the forest and turn the same to game lodges for touristic attractions from Europe and other developed states. The same applies to the neighbouring state of Botswana, where Basarwa/Bushmen were stripped off their land in the guise of conservation (**Amusan**, 2014a, Corry, 2015; Sapignoli, 2016). Indigenous women and youth are the most vulnerable peoples when it comes to the issue of food security as discussed below.

The place of women in food security and food sovereignty in Africa

Madam DVC, it is assumed that women constitute more than half of small holders farmers globally. They are said to contribute to more than 70% of Africa's food. It is said (Sishuba, 2019: 14) that if enabling environments, as accorded to men are equally given to women, their food production will be increased by between 20-30% and reduce hunger by 17% in the Continent. From available statistics, more than 66% of agricultural land is used for perennial crops such as Cocoa, Rubber and Coffee, among others, which are dominated by men as against women who are in charge of food production for the teeming population of the Continent (Willer & Lernoud, 2019). This connotes that the colonial arrangement, as discussed above, is the main focus of men while food production, which determines economic sovereignty of a state, receives little attention by the main custodian of land, that is, men in the case of Africa.

I have published on the roles of women regarding food security, and my submission on this issue is that women are the hope of food security in the Continent. There are several associations formed by women in rural areas to ensure food security, knowing that men are highly mobile and firstly think of themselves unlike women who always maintain the home front irrespective of conditions they find themselves (**Amusan**, 2014b, **Amusan & Olutola**, 2017; Omotola, 2014). Some of my positions are, among others, that men, through their involvement in MNCs, tend to pollute the environment as the case of the Niger Delta in Nigeria, the Vaal River in the Vaal Region of South Africa and large-scale farming that attracts the use of synthetic fertilisers without precision of the agriculture system (**Amusan & Oyewole**, 2019). During rainfall, some of these fertilisers find their way into streams, rivers and oceans, coupled with plastics that have invaded continental shelves of littoral states of Africa (**Amusan**, Okorie & Mampukeli, 2019). These are the challenges for women who rely on fishing and small-scale farming to take care of their families, sell the excess to their neighbours and send some to urban centres. With the impacts of climate change (**Amusan & Olutola**, 2015), women continue to face a plethora of challenges in food production, an enterprise that they are very good at. Despite all the challenges associated with climate change, culture, religion and lack of collateral, which they are contending with, their roles in food security is invaluable (**Amusan & Ngoh**, 2016).

Madam DVC, in an attempt to embark on corporate social responsibilities (CSRs), MNCs are at at the plight of women, through empowerment schemes in some cases, but not out of altruistic as discussed elsewhere (**Amusan**, 2015a). For example, Vodacom in South Africa, through its programme, Vodacom Foundation's Women Farmers Programme, in partnership with UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, and the South African Women in Farming (SAWIF), women in rural South Africa have started to know about precision agriculture. With Vodacom's involvement in digital training of women and eventual registration of the same on Vodacom's Connected Farmers' app., this connects them directly to the market as against middle men/women who usually take their profit after they could have paid for all inputs that lead to their production. With this in place, it is envisaged that SDGs, 1, 2 and 5 will be addressed as discussed elsewhere (**Amusan**, 2019b). Despite all the above positive roles of women in food security, gender-based inequality and violence constitute a cog to their inability to contribute meaningfully to food and nutrition security in the Continent.

Gender-based violence and food insecurity in Africa: Beating and killing of women as if they were not equal partners to men and boys is a worrisome issue that the Continent is contending with. Culturally, religiously and conscious efforts of men to relegate women to the background is severally documented in my journey regarding the issue of food insecurity in

the Continent. Nigeria and South Africa are on the lead when it comes to women and girls' violence (**Amusan & Ejoke, 2017**). In the month of September 2019, while South Africa observed anti-gender violence, two women were killed by men for reasons that were not tenable in the court of law. According to Stats SA (September, 2019), there was a report that not less than 11,000 women were raped in the Platinum belt of the North West Province. The implications of this in food security are multifarious in a society where women are the bread winners in the family predominantly. They are prominent in the food value chain because absent fathers in the country is very high compared to other countries in the Continent. Those who are involved in food production may be psychologically traumatised to the detriment of their productivity. Many may commit suicide as they may not likely cope with the trauma because talking about such incidence may be seen as a taboo in some societies. Many women, because of mal-treatment by men, would go to the extreme through venturing into terrorism only to satisfy themselves through revenge against men whom they perceive as the cause of their misery in the society (**Amusan, Adeyeye & Oyewole, 2019**). This is coupled with the neo-liberal feminism theory that hardly sees women as a special breed that needs to be taken care of. Rather, they see them to compete with men in a free range, a competition that is always in favour of men.

The negative attitudes of men to the home front brings about urban agriculture that is dominated by women so as to supplement whatever they received from their monthly paid jobs. It is instructive to note that these women embark on organic food production for the family and part with some to neighbours. In many suburbs of South Africa, vertical farming is springing up due to lack of space and the love to produce within the family in the age of SAP that needs extra income to make ends meet. Rapid in rural-urban movement gingers vertical farming¹¹ as much land is not available in sub-urban and urban areas where migrants can embark on their loved farming as practised in the rural areas. Many of them would embark on animal rearing and edible crops. This gardening approach to food production for immediate family is referred to as 'victory gardens' and embarked on, mostly by women (Paarlberg, 2013: 180). In the era of the negative effects of climate change in Africa, vertical farming and urban farming in general may make the environment green as a form of climate mitigation with a leave taken from the practise in Kibera, Kenya (Gallaher, 2017). It is also a means of ensuring food quality, as against the agribusiness inspired quantity food with various health and employment challenges that many African states are contending with as a result of large scale farming (**Amusan, 2019a, 2018b; Amusan & Olawuyi, 2019**). In many parts of Africa, this approach is not a new development. In Nigeria and South Africa, it is an ongoing development. For South Africa, urban agriculture is relatively new due to the past political history and the nature of houses that were built for blacks. In Nigeria, the awareness of this farming system came in the 1970s when the failed Green Revolution was introduced because of its distributional and environmental consequences (**Amusan & Setlalentoa, 2017**).

Madam DVC, despite the foregoing, women are commonly found in urban agriculture, they are, on a daily basis, faced with a series of challenges that curtail their efforts to augment their food security. They are the object of a series of human rights violation as mentioned above. This is an important area that Nigeria and South Africa should focus on, rather, they focus on issues that are not of core interest to the Continent, through unhealthy competition for hegemonic power.

¹¹ Vertical farming is gaining grounds in South Africa, many states in Africa may not, at this stage, embark on this because it is high capital and energy costs. This is an approach where urban agriculture is indoor in vertical greenhouses. For more information on this, see Paarlberg, 2013).

The impacts of climate change, among others, serves as breeding of restless youth in the Continent. In northern Mozambique, where South Africa's Sasol chemical and fossil fuels activities are ongoing, some pockets of instability are on the rise. This is because of displacement of farmers from their land to pave the way for oil and gas drilling. Not only that, women are facing challenges of climate change, the youth, who dominate the population of the Continent, are also directly affected. In this case, many young people end up in joining militant groups such as jihadist or Islamists movements. From available information, many youth who joined these groups, in many parts of Africa, are not out of religious conviction, but because of food insecurity they are contending with (Amusan, 2013b; Harsch, 2018). As discussed elsewhere (Amusan, 2013b), I looked into the organic relationship between food insecurity and the youth turning into mercenaries so as to cater for their families due to droughts caused by climate change dominating the Sahel region of Africa. One may also link this to poor governance and ethnic dominance of one group over the others, coupled with weather unpredictability for farmers. An example is the case of Burkina Faso, where the Fulanis and Peulh are in the minority in the county, thus, they hardly receive government support because they are nomads who may be described as indigenous peoples in their country. Water and grazing land needed for their animals is the focus of government since they have little or no voice in government. Their movement around the Sahel without considering the colonial boundaries to as far as Nigeria and accommodated by Nigeria as a hegemon, is dated to the 1970s as discussed by late general Joe Garba (1987). Cultural irredentism and affinity among the Fulanis in Africa could have inspired Bauchi State governor to call for their support in Nigeria since they are Africans and classified as indigenous peoples as Maasai in East Africa. Can one see this as a hegemon attribute by allowing people without documentation to stay in the country because of cultural irredentism that hardly observes the nitty-gritty of boundary demarcation in line with colonial arrangements (Amusan, 2018f)? To feed the people and uplift the Continent, the agro-ecological approach to farming is key to meaningful sustainable development as discussed below.

Feeding the people and uplifting the Continent through the agro-ecological approach

Madam DVC, based on Ibrahim Thiaw's (Sectary General of the UN's Special Adviser for the Sahel) conception, sub-Saharan Africa has advantage of 65% of the total population of youth that can transform the economy of the Sahel. He asserted that if an enabling environment could be placed in order, Sahel littoral states such as Nigeria, Mauritania, Cameroon, Guinea, The Gambia, according to the UN list (Harsch, 2018: 24), could serve as food security corridor for the rest of the Continent and export the remaining to Europe and America. What is yet to be seen is how Africa can ensure agro-ecological development and achieve Agenda 2063, SDGs 2030 and satisfy the social contract between governed and governor, where food and water security are part of the *raison d'être* of state formation. In November 2018, during the Fourth Africa Organic Agriculture Conference in Dakar, Senegal, the communique issued was to ensure achieving CAADP and preserving traditional knowledge in food production through preservation of indigenous seeds that are sustainable. This regenerative agriculture, a farming and grazing practice that enhances biodiversity, reverse climate change by rebuilding soil organic matter and restoring degraded soil biodiversity, resulting in both carbon drawdown and improving the water cycle, is the only approach that can ensure sustainability in food security. It is an approach to farming that heals the planet and ensures human health as against



unsustainable large-scale western approach to food security that is of health hazard to the planet and humans. According to Regeneration International,¹² it is a practice that:

- (i) contributes to generating/building soils and soil fertility and health;
- (ii) increases water percolation, water retention, and clean and safe water runoff;
- (iii) increases biodiversity and ecosystem health and resiliency; and
- (iv) inverts carbon emissions of current agriculture to one of remarkably significant carbon sequestration thereby, cleansing the atmosphere of legacy levels of CO₂.

There is not a contestation on the issue of organic food as the most sustainable approach to the commonwealth of a nation, this time, the commonwealth of the African Continent. Corporate investment in food production is being criticised as an agent of land degradation, soil depletion, pollution of ground water and a means to take small-scale farmers out of business (Amusan, 2018b, 2018d, 2018e). Not only to take them out of business, it is a source of unemployment and hunger, the two basic themes that SDGs are trying to address based on Goals one and two. It is known that small-scale farmers are producing to feed themselves and their immediate families on nutritious food with health implications. The excess is always for those who are in urban areas who embark on other sectors of economic development. From available data, it is known that food produced by small-scale farmers are the ones available for the teeming population of the Continent (Amusan, 2018b, 2018c). This approach to sustainable food security gained currency in 2013 when the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) came up with 320 pages that adored the agro-ecological system of farming. UNCTAD, a pro-developing states institution, is of the view that organic farming of the agro-ecological system is a “paradigm shift towards mosaics of sustainable, regenerative production systems” (Wan, 2015: 19). This also received support when in Mali, March 2015, groups of civil societies averred that the system was the only means of the future of food sovereignty and security as industrial/factory farming is always subsidised as it is the practice of developed states. The approach combines local and scientific knowledge so as to cope with challenges of climate change, water scarcity and market volatility, among others. The system accommodates mixed cropping that is not encouraged in industrial farming. It promotes mixed cropping as an avenue to arrest the use of synthetic fertilizers and promote leguminous crops that fertilise soils through fixing nitrogens from the air. Animal rearing in the same farm is on a rotational basis and promotes compost manure. With developments in technology, from Africa’s perspective, the push-pull technology, as adopted in Mereb Leke District of the Tigray Region of Northern Ethiopia, is worth borrowing leave from. This technology is a mixed farming method that controls striga weeds and insect pests such as stemborer moths. Growing maize, sorghum with flowing plants like Desmodium repel pests and planting elephant grass pull the pests.

In her contribution to the application of the agro-ecological approach to food security, as I indicated severally in my research output, Rebecca Nelson (2010: 109) is of the view that the best approach to pest management and improving farmers’ income as well as averting health challenges of pesticides in mono-cropping farming is to have “access to well-adapted, pest-resistant crop varieties and facilitate their agro-ecological intensification.

There is a need for an Abalimi Beze-khaya Association in Cape Town with 5000 members that provide support, equipment and guarantee markets for small-scale farmers, who embark on

¹² <https://regenerationinternational.org/2017/02/24/what-is-regenerative-agriculture/>. Accessed 28 September 2019

organic farming through agro-ecological technique of mulching, cover-cropping and composting (Wan, 2015). In an attempt to maintain a balanced ecosystem, some states in Africa refused to subscribe to what Nigeria, of recent, and South Africa, adopted at the policy level of GMO food production. Despite the adverse effects of El Nino weather pattern impacts in southern Africa in 2018, that led to droughts and flooding, that brought about 54% reduction in maize harvest in Zimbabwe, Harare refused to accept GMO seeds as the option for food security due to the long-term health hazard effects.¹³ Unlike South Africa and Botswana, that officially welcome GMOs, Harare was of the view that attempts to officially introduce it may bring about more health challenges in the long-run, coupled with negative environmental impacts of the same. This is the position of the Zimbabwean Minister of Lands, Agriculture, Water, Climate and Rural Resettlement, Perrance Shiri. To ensure stability in food security, there is a need to start small and grow big in the long-run.

Start small and grow big is the option: Rabbit business as an option. This is another means of food security when some people are addicted to red meat as a way of showing opulence in the Continent. This is a business that is attracting attention in China. About 1.2 billion rabbits are yearly slaughtered for consumption in the country; this brought about importation of the same from South Africa and many other African states by the Beijing government. The capital start-up is less than R35,000 and its gestation period is 90 days when it reaches 3.5 kg weight. In Egypt and Sudan, it is considered to be a traditional food and the Middle East is in dire need of it because it is considered to be *halal* food. Therefore, China and the Arab world are targeting places that may import up to 80% of this animal. Also, of a good target are eateries in West Africa with special focus on Nigeria (Caboz, 2019). This is an animal with lower calorie with high protein compared to beef, lamb, chicken, fish and pork. Due to relatively low knowledge about its nutritious value, it could be found in some selected places such as gourmet restaurants and wildlife butcheries. Rural women and the youth can be encouraged with small grants from government with proper monitoring to develop this business that is always overlooked, for instance.

The official position of the Pretoria government in opting for importation of wheat because it is said to be cheaper to import as against production is not only anti-Africa's development, but a way to promote European and America's economy that is highly subsidised (South Africa Year Book, 2017/18). The need to import poultry and red meat is another means of economic disarticulation as these products can be fully developed based on the technology of the country. The Agricultural Research Council (ARC) is yearly coming up with improved yields but should focus on alternatives to GMO as discussed variously in some of my publications (Amusan, 2018b, 2018d). A breakthrough with the development of *Joybells 2018*, a species of grapes that was launched in February 2018, in Berlin, implies that South Africa should lead the Continent in the field of food security. West and Central Africa rely on Southern Africa for temperate farm products, if this is managed without political rancour, the Continent will be a paradise and a place to take seriously by the global system (Aebischer, 2018). In partnership with South Africa's Table Grape (Sati), this product that is seedless may promote economic development of the country if properly managed and not pirated through MNCs and their research institutes as Rooibos' case (Amusan, 2014a).

¹³ <https://www.organicwithoutboundaries.bio/2019/08/29/zimbabwean-government-gmo-stance/>. Accessed, 11 September 2019.

The Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery (DAFF), like its counterpart in Nigeria, the Ministry of Agriculture, is spending more on administration as against research as stipulated in the Maputo Declaration. At least, 1% of the 10% of annual budget of member states should be for R&D. Support for small holder farmers continues to be a mirage, at best, only politically connected large-scale farmers are benefiting from micro-agricultural financial institutions of South Africa as it applies in Nigeria. The issue worth asking here is if those that benefit from such loans are actually using the same for food and nutrition promotion? The Fadama programme initiative in Nigeria is meant to facilitate rural development and provision of infrastructure for small holder farmers so as to ensure food sovereignty in the country. The practicality of this is too far from reality as government officials that are in charge of this programme, are, at best, using the fund from the World Bank to enrich themselves and use the same to score cheap political acceptance. The introduction of Ilima/Letsema project with the aim of giving grants to small holder farmers is yet to bear expected fruits. Based on government policy, it is expected that the R1.7 billion allocated to finance this project is to create 60, 000 employments, promote food security and food sovereignty, and promote the Blue economy through Operation Phakisa as discussed above. What is common to both States, Nigeria and South Africa, is lack of political will and, in some cases, lack of capable hands to execute government policies due to high levels of corruption and political consideration in the authoritative allocation of values.

There is no contestation that women and girls are the future of food sovereignty and security in Africa. Despite the establishment of Chapter Nine in the 1996 Constitution of South Africa, as amended, women are not adequately represented in decisions that lead to the production of food; mostly, women in rural areas are the main producers of what people consume in urban centres. Going by the history of the state, women have been active in food production when majority of men were in the bush during the liberation struggle. Those who were in the productive sector were, at best, in the mining sector or working in farms owned by whites with monthly payment that was not sustainable. Nigeria and South Africa should look for means to embark on capacity building in the food value chain as against embarking on services that are not geared towards addressing unemployment in the Continent. This could be done through agro-ecology that will accommodate more people into food production in an organic way. Human resources training is the only solution to Africa's problem as captured in some joint works published a few months ago (Amusan & Ajibola, 2019). If this is not in place, the Continent will be an appendage of the West *ad infinitum* through unsustainable factory farming.

Factory farming as an unsustainable approach to food security and sovereignty

Madam DVC, it has been proved beyond reasonable doubt that factory farming is not sustainable and depends on subsidies from government. This explains why bounty harvest in the West is not without cost. Land degradation, mono-cropping, salinity, river and groundwater pollution, and environmental pollution that breeds a series of sicknesses such as tuberculosis, asthma, type 2 diabetes and many more as discussed elsewhere (Amusan, 2019a; Amusan & Setlalto, 2017). Though there is a saying that in the era of food insecurity¹⁴ with the expected global population of 10 billion by 2050, more food needs to get produced to meet the

¹⁴ A saying that there is food insecurity is contested because the issue of food scarcity is long disabused based on Amartya Sen's position on this. He was of the view that food distribution is lopsided as the North has more than what they can consume, which leads to waste. For more information on this, see Amusan and Olawuyi, 2019.



world demand, issues worth looking into are the politics of quality versus quantity that the capitalist world does not care much about (Amusan & Olawuyi, 2019). From another perspective, production of quantity as against quality so as to protect the interest of organic linkage between agribusinesses and pharmaceutical companies, remotely, the interest of shareholders as antithetical to the stakeholders' concerns (Amusan, 2015a; Bieler & Morton, 2018). This is as a result of the politics of merger and acquisition (M&A) that is being consolidated through the World Trade Organisation of exploitative system in the 21st Century; an approach that neither the West nor the South is comfortable with (Wilkinson, 2014).¹⁵

Overexposure to pesticides is a challenge to the health condition of farm workers, pesticides residues affect consumers and imperil markets (Nelson, 2010: 111). In some of my works (Amusan, 2018b, 2018d, 2018g, 2014), I have detailed how large-scale farming and MNCs are agents of underdevelopment in Africa because the Green Revolution imposed on the rest of the world, turned out to be a source of intra-regional inequality because states and regions that import the new technology for GM food production, will have upper hands over the rest. There is what one may classify as the dependency syndrome as chemical fertilisers and pesticides will be imported that will eventually put bees, the major source of food, to the tune of more than 70% of food (Lymberry & Oakeshott, 2014; Otero, 2018; Paarlberg, 2013). It is also a source of extinction of indigenous food, overreliance on limited high-yield varieties (HYVs) of seeds and food. Despite the introduction of the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA), malnutrition, hunger and starvation are still very much in our midst with special focus on rural areas. The introduction of GM foods is a source of hidden hunger, mercy killing and the uncalled-for thanksgiving in Africa.

Hidden hunger, mercy killing and thanksgiving

Madam DVC, as I discussed above, the aim of large-scale farming is not to uplift the Continent and feed the people. Rather, it always looks after profits and remotely, the profit of agribusiness multinational companies with emphasis on chemical fertilisers, pesticides, insecticides, a series of hormones to fatten animals for profit motives as against nutritious foods. It is evident that more than 48% of Africans are feeding on cereals and root crops that lack basic micronutrients such as iron, iodine, vitamin A, calcium and other inputs that are inimical to the health of consumers. In an attempt to promote inorganic food production and consumption, fortified food as a means to address hidden hunger is introduced to the globe. In doing this, the quantity of food is more focused on as against quality food as discussed elsewhere (Amusan & Olawuyi, 2019). The use of hazardous substances is common in Africa. These are the chemicals that have been banned in Europe and America but find their ways to Africa because of corruption of government officials and lack of knowledge regarding the use of these chemicals. Carbofuran, is one of the most toxic carbamate pesticides marketed as Furadan, which is a pesticide sprayed on maize, rice, potatoes, soybeans and other crops. Inhaling this chemical or contact with the skin leads to weakness, sweating, nausea and vomiting. This is a chemical that plants absorb through roots and distribute to other parts of the plant. The chemical is manufactured in America by FMC (Food Machinery Corporation) Corporation and Curater. The chemical is

¹⁵ Why the South is not at home with the present arrangement as being a continuation of Trans-Atlantic exploitation, the West want more concession with special focus on China's accused technology theft from America and the composition of WTO's dispute arbitrates body, Dispute Settlement Body. For more information on this, see *The Straits Times*. 2019. "Trump Threatens to Pull US from WTO 'If we Have to'". 14 August. <https://www.straitstimes.com/world/united-states/trump-threatens-to-pull-us-from-wto-if-we-have-to>. Accessed, 11 September 2019. Also see Chrysoloras & Bravo, 2018.

banned in Canada, USA and EU, but in Kenya, for instance, it is allowed, and purchased over-the-counter. Granular form of this chemical killed millions of birds and other insects when fed on it. It led to the death of lions in Kenya (SA Energy Fusion, 2010). Botswana, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa and Uganda are some of the countries in Africa that are applying carbamate pesticides to control insects against their crops (**Amusan**, 2019a; Ogada, 2014). In extreme cases, it causes cancer, one of the major attributes of GM food that Africa is contending with.

Politics of patenting is another cog in the wheel of food security and sovereignty in Africa. Due to the question of intellectual property rules, farmers may not preserve seeds from GE plants and replant it in the next season. This amounts to jail term for some people in the Americas. For now, because the issue of large-scale farming is not working in Africa, small farm holders are now enjoying some privileges that may lead them to jail ordinarily if GM seeds companies want to follow the rules. What I am suspecting is that through AGRA, when farmers are already hooked with quantity harvest against organic seeds they are currently planting, the law will be applicable with the support of government through neo-regulation and intelligence staff that will be employed to spy on farmers as is the case in the USA.

Promoting GM seeds and animals will be, in the short run, a form of thanksgiving as they will be lower in the price of food, but at what cost in the long run? Diseases such as cancer, allergies, deformed children at birth and many more are the end product of large-scale farming as inorganic fertilisers are the source of bounty harvest, but cause ailments. The use of pesticides and herbicides are another sources of health challenges in Africa. Injection of animals by factory farmers, though not so popular in many African states at this stage, but with the World Bank approach to food security as against sovereignty, many states will almost expend their annual budget on health challenges, a system that is being projected by multinational pharmaceutical companies (MPCs). This explains partially why acquisition of Monsanto by Bayer comes to mind (**Amusan**, 2019c). As we know, Bayer's roles in the WWI and WWII are enough to identify the company as a source of destruction.

Humanitarian aid in the form of food distribution in time of emergency, as was the case during Cyclones Idai and Kenneth, in the Eastern part of Africa by developed states, was perceived as a good gesture, as if the same donors are not the agent of dirty investments that are the agents of climate change (**Amusan** 2010b). There is a lot of literature that confirms how much Africa is affected by this inappropriate technology for the development of the Continent. Vanishing territories, neutralisation of civilisation in littoral communities of states that share borders with the Atlantic and Indian Oceans are well documented (**Amusan**, 2009, 2013a, 2018g; **Amusan & Jegede**, 2014). Relief aids that come to Africa are the sources of underdevelopment and vitiating food sovereignty from the Continent. Another way of doing this is to embark on dumping so as to protect farmers through controversial agricultural subsidies that EU and America are good at despite their contradictory pledge to increase food production in Africa. Nigeria and South Africa, as they claim to be hegemony in the Continent, are yet to come up with practical solutions to arrest this plight. Rather, they are always at loggerheads for supremacy in the Continent; a political move that they do not need at this stage. They should have embarked on the principle of *give unto thee the kingdom of economic liberation through food sovereignty, and all other things will be given unto thee*.

Conclusion and recommendations

Madam DVC, ladies and gentlemen, complimenting is a must for the two states in the form of shared hegemonic power in the Continent. Though geographically apart unlike Germany and France, and US and Canada, the two states, indirectly were good friends during the liberation war period. ANC and Pan-Africanist then saw Nigeria as their second home. Lagos' commitment towards anti-apartheid struggle accorded Nigeria a frontline status. From Pan-Africanists' perspective, between 1999 and 2019, they saw a need for the two states to come together for the development of the Continent mostly when it comes to food security and food sovereignty.

Both of us need a heart-to-heart talk inspired by the spirit of brotherhood and sisterhood as Africans with a shared destiny, so that we surface(sic) home truths as a prerequisite to clear up any irritants that may be currently serving as a wedge between us: Kgalema Motlanthe, 2012 at the Bi-national Commission meeting in Cape Town.

Nigeria and South Africa, each the dominant military and economic power in its own region, should be to the AU what the France-Germany partnership has been to the European Union... Economically, Nigeria needed to diversify its economy away from its excessive dependence on oil and both countries had agreed that South Africa could help with that. This was through co-operation, especially in agro-business, communications and mining, where South Africa was strong – and Nigeria has vast untapped minerals. Anything the two countries could do to help boost each other's economies would be helpful both to themselves and the Continent- Peter Fabricious 2019.

We must become leading producers in the types of consumer products a growing middle class demands, and in the complex industrial products that are needed for core industries like mining, construction and agriculture: Cyril Ramaphosa, 3 October 2019, address during the Nigeria-South Africa Business Forum, Tshwane, South Africa.

President Buhari and I both firmly believe that the prosperity and stability of our two nations, and all other countries on the Continent, requires that South Africa and Nigeria have strong relations at an economic, trade, social, political, diplomatic and people-to-people level: Ramaphosa, October 2019.

Hence, there is a need to move above the reality on the ground as captured by Simon Allison's *frenemies* that:

South Africa and Nigeria make a good show of playing nice. Our diplomats shake hands and smile for the cameras, our governments say all the right things, and neither country acknowledges what they think is really at stake: Africa's future and the chance to dominate it: Simon Allison 24 May 2012.

Any state that depends on humanitarian assistance to feed her citizens, is not worth being called a state under a government. Climatic conditions in Africa are enough to cater for the needs of the projected 2.5 billion people by 2050 provided what can be produced in the Mediterranean, equatorial, savannah to the Sahara Desert areas can be technologically and economically maintained, that is, free of unwarranted political interference of corrupt political elites who are at best described as veranda boys and girls in the Continent.

Nigeria should not always remind South Africa about her roles in neutralising apartheid because it was part of the state's foreign policy at the time, which brought about the country being a member of the frontline states. What is needed at this moment is to focus on the Continent's common enemies that always want diplomatic face-off between the two states as alluded above. The interest of the West may not be protected once the two giants are in good terms.

Knowing that the Maghreb union is geographically part of Africa, but economically, culturally, religiously, their hearts and minds are focussed on the development of the Arab world. Nigeria and South Africa, as trigger and barrel of a gun, should learn how to work together as complimentary states before the Continent can properly function to achieve continental targets.

Coming together of the two states tends to benefit the Continent through sustainable agricultural development such as:

Provision of a varieties of affordable, quality food with a high micronutrient density. This can be achieved provided organic farming is promoted. As discussed above, the main idea behind factory farming is to protect the interests of shareholders in pharmaceutical companies, multinational agribusiness, large-scale farmers and, by extension, promotion of unworkable capitalistic agenda through farming. Not too far from this, is the need to encourage production of food locally through adjustment to local culture and conditions. In this wise, there is a need to encourage the culture of indigenous peoples in Africa who are the custodians of the environment and the best mitigation and adaptation caretakers on the Continent. These are the same people who are continuously the object of victimisation, eviction, and every abuse due to the need to promote the agenda of the West and a few political cum economic elite in the Continent.

Income and employment opportunities abound in a situation where there are conscious efforts to encourage small-scale and entrepreneurial farming in Africa. Nigeria and South Africa can take a lead through their hegemonic power at their sub-regional level; doing this will facilitate the same in central and eastern parts of Africa. It is noted that rural areas that accommodate teeming populations are the abode of poverty, though these are the same places where urban areas rely on for their food security, but continue to wallow in abject poverty due to globalisation of land for a few MNCs, local private individuals and public utilities from the Middle East and Asia.

There is a need to encourage sustainable methods of farming as against destructive approaches of factory farming. This will avoid the negative results for the environment, society and health. It will also conserve natural resources for unborn generations. Women have been seen to be agents of sustainable development because they know their environment better than men. In taking any decision that will bring about development, there is a need to allow them to occupy the driver's seat regarding food security. They know where the shoes pinch the most in the form of allocation of infrastructural amenities such as citing of boreholes, health centres, schools and other social amenities that will enhance development. It is when women are healthy that they can contribute meaningfully to the development of the Continent. In this case, an enabling environment such as gender equality and access to factors of production will go a long way.

Nigeria and South Africa should move well above the Western notion of sovereignty, development and political relations. There is a need to employ an embedded liberal approach as I alluded severally in my works between 2006 till date. This will enhance total departure

from barren theories that hardly ensure sustainable development in Africa. The question of one-size-fits-all to the crises of food availability, accessibility and affordability calls for healthy food production so as to avoid hidden hunger that SAP, GE and GMO are promoting.

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That is my submission, I, therefore, profess.

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