

EMERGENCY WITHOUT HUNGER IN CAMEROON BY 2035?



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Advocacy for the Full realization of the right
to food for all in Cameroon

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RELUFA

Table of content

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.....	3
CHAPTER I : COUNTRY OF ABUNDANCE AND SCARCITY : THE RIGHT TO FOOD IN CAMEROON BETWEEN LEGAL RECOGNITION AND IMPERFECT IMPLEMENTATION	6
Section I : The legal framework guaranteeing the right to food in Cameroon.....	7
I. Cameroon's international commitments on the right to food	7
A. International texts binding on Cameroon.....	7
B. The obligations under international commitments.....	8
II. The domestic legal framework on the right to food in Cameroon	10
A. The normative framework	10
B. The institutional framework	11
Section II : The implementation of the right to food in Cameroon: current status and challenges	14
I. Food security and food sovereignty at risk.....	14
II. Land tenure and the right to food	15
III. The existence of marginalized and vulnerable groups	17
CHAPTER II : URGENT NEED FOR A NATIONAL STRATEGY FOR THE REALIZATION OF THE RIGHT TO FOOD IN CAMEROON	18
Section I : Improving the legal and judicial framework	18
I. The development and adoption of a framework law on the right to food in Cameroon	18
II. Coherence of sector laws.....	19
III. Ensure better protection of the right to food.....	20
Section II : Need to establish an appropriate operational and institutional framework.....	21
CHAPTER III : CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	24

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Established and approved with more urgency than most other human rights, the right to food was officially recognized as a human right in 1948, when the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Since then, this fundamental right or aspects of it, have been incorporated into several binding or non-binding international instruments, including the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

According to Olivier De Schutter, UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food from 2008 to 2014, *"the right to food is not primarily the right to be fed in an emergency. It is the right requiring that the necessary legal frameworks and strategies be put in place for all for the realization of the right to adequate food as a human right recognized in international law."*¹ This definition by Prof. De Schutter highlighting the legal and policy frameworks for the realization of this right is complemented by that of his predecessor in the same post, who stresses the requirement for the realization of this right in consideration of the cultural aspirations of each individual. According to Jean Ziegler, *the right to food is "the right to have regular, permanent and free access to quantitative and qualitative adequate and sufficient food either directly or by purchase, corresponding to the cultural traditions of the people to which the consumer belongs, and which ensures a mental and physical, individual and collective life, free of fear, fulfilling and dignified"*².

Technically, the right to food has been defined by the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR), which is the most competent agency in this regard on the protection of human rights in the UN system. This Committee believes that *"the right to adequate food is realized when every man, woman and child, alone or in community with others, has physical and economic access at all times to adequate food or means for its procurement"*³. Simply put, the right to food means the right for everyone to have food which is quantitatively sufficient and qualitatively adequate to be nutritionally decent so as not to suffer from hunger or malnutrition.

The right to food therefore has two main components: the availability of food and access to food. First, food which is culturally acceptable and in sufficient quantity and quality to satisfy the dietary needs of individual, must be available to everyone, that is to say, it must be obtained either directly from the land or other natural resources, or through adequate systems of distribution. Second, every person should have access, physically and economically, to food. "Physically" means that everyone, including physically vulnerable individuals, such as infants and young children, the elderly, the disabled, the terminally ill, persons with persistent medical problems and the mentally ill, should have access to adequate and sufficient food. "Economically" this means the expenses of a person, household or community to ensure an adequate diet should

¹ Olivier De Schutter, *Fighting Hunger through the right to food : Progress at the national level in Africa, Latin America and south asia Information note n°1*, available at http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Food/BN1_SRRTF_RtFframework_FRENCH.pdf consulted, 23 september 2014.

² E/CN.4/2001/53, Paragraph 14. http://www.droitshumains.org/alimentation/pdf/fevr_01.pdf consulted 20 september 2014.

³ United Nations, Committee on ESCR « *The right to sufficient food (art.11)* », General Observation n°12, 12 may 1999, §6.

not jeopardize the enjoyment of other human rights, such as health, housing, education, etc. According to the former Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, "the term feeding includes not only solid food, but also the nutritional aspects of potable water. »

The right to adequate food and the fundamental right to be free from hunger were reaffirmed at the World Food Summit of 1996, which called upon States parties to seek better ways to implement the rights in connection with food and encouraged countries that had not yet ratified the Covenant to do so. Five years after, the World Food Summit established an intergovernmental working group with a mandate to draft a set of Voluntary Guidelines to Support the Progressive Realization of the Right to Adequate Food in the Context of National Food Security. The Council of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) adopted the Guidelines by consensus in 2004. These Guidelines recommend constitutional and legislative action as well as the establishment of coordinated institutional settings to address cross-cutting dimensions of the right to food.

Twenty years after the adoption of the guidelines, it seems pertinent to question their real impact and progress made in the implementation and realization of the right to food in the world. Eradicating hunger is explicitly stated in the objective set by the World Food Summit of halving the number of people suffering from malnutrition before 2015, as agreed at the Millennium Summit. Unfortunately, today this goal is far from being achieved; nearly a billion people still suffer from hunger and malnutrition around the world.

While the amount of food available on the planet today is more than enough to feed the entire world population, 852 million people remain undernourished because they do not have access to sufficient productive resources (mainly land, water, seeds, but also fisheries) or sufficient income to enable them to provide themselves and their families, a dignified life and freedom from hunger. This is closely linked with the unequal terms of North-South trade.

True to its role in the fight against hunger and social injustice, RELUFA, the Network for the Fight against Hunger in Cameroon seek revisit the situation of the right to food in Cameroon to through this document and explore ways and means through which the country can improve as it aspires to become an emerging country by 2035. This document is not a study, in the sense that it was not subject to field data collection or investigation for this purpose, however, it is based on reasonably credible reports and reliable evidence from the field. The report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to food at the end of his visit in Cameroon from 16 to 23 July 2012, and the report of September 2011 on the overall analysis of food security and vulnerability published by the World Food Programme (WFP) and the FAO were extensively consulted. This was combined with RELUFA experience working on community grain banks in the far north region of Cameroon for the past 8 years.

The methodology used is guided by the advocacy campaign RELUFA has engaged and is based largely on that recommended by the FAO for the development of a legislative framework on the right to food. It is indeed necessary before starting to draft appropriate laws to study the institutional environment of the country in which to place the adoption and implementation of the future framework law on the right to food; review international commitments of the country, its institutions and its right; make a general assessment of the degree of realization of the right to food in the country ... this is the agenda and purpose of this document which is intended as a working tool to start a discussion on the development and improvement of the normative,

institutional and operational arrangements necessary for the full realization of the right to food in Cameroon.

CHAPTER I : COUNTRY OF ABUNDANCE AND SCARCITY : THE RIGHT TO FOOD IN CAMEROON BETWEEN LEGAL RECOGNITION AND IMPERFECT IMPLEMENTATION

A Central African country located on the Gulf of Guinea, Cameroon is ranked according to its Gross Domestic Product (GDP), as the eighth largest economy in sub-Saharan Africa. Despite its great potential for economic and agricultural development, its growth lags behind that of other similar countries. Cameroon also suffers from cereal deficit resulting in the import of about 25% of grain consumed. This is happening despite Cameroon's huge potential, including the geographic and climatic diversity favorable for food and cash crops, a stable political and social situation, natural resources (oil, forest, and unexploited iron, bauxite, natural gas and cobalt). The country thus has significant agricultural potential and developing its agriculture could feed its people and even meet sub regional demand. Another great potential of Cameroon is the availability of arable land estimated at 7.2 million hectares, but of which only 1.8 million hectares are actually cultivated. The irrigation potential is estimated at 240,000 hectares but less than 33 000 hectares are currently irrigated according to estimates from the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MINADER).

However, the country is struggling to use these potentials for growth, and reduce poverty and hunger. The lack of investment in critical infrastructure, an unfavorable business climate and low integration in regional trade hamper economic activity. As highlighted by the Special Rapporteur on the right to food, despite the adoption of a series of measures aimed at reducing poverty, Cameroon has made little progress towards the elimination of poverty and hunger over the past decade, and it will not be able to achieve this Millennium development goal. However, Cameroon has made some progress in reaching two of the Millennium Development Goals: universal primary education and gender equality⁴. The proportion of the population living below the poverty line remained virtually stable (around 40%) since 2001 while food insecurity has only slightly diminished.

It is in this specific context, that the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP, 2003-2007) and then the Growth and Employment Strategy Paper (GESP, 2010) were adopted respectively to reduce poverty in the country and boost growth so as to achieve the status of emerging country by 2035. The right to food has become an important component in the strategy of the country after the 2008 hunger strike. This widespread strike led the country to redefine its agricultural and rural development policies. Besides this, the revival of interest in natural resources exploitation and additional revenues to be generated invites for more attention to be focused on how the country is using the maximum available resources to implement economic, social and cultural rights. The situation of food insecurity in the country calls for particular attention since the right to food is also an important human right.

⁴ World Bank, Time for the lion to wake up? An Economic Update on Cameroun, January 2011

Section I : The legal framework guaranteeing the right to food in Cameroon

Cameroon is party to a number of conventions that guarantee the right to food which have also been proclaimed in its domestic legal order by a number of instruments. This of course is the source of many obligations.

I. Cameroon's international commitments on the right to food

These commitments originate from international agreements to which Cameroon is a party. Being a country of monistic tradition⁵, Cameroon is directly bound by international treaties to which it is party, the provisions of which fall directly into its legal system without the need for any process of internalization ranking above national legislations. This means that any citizen can directly invoke them before the judge who is bound by it even if there is any contrary legislative provision.

A. INTERNATIONAL TEXTS BINDING ON CAMEROON

The first universal instrument which establishes the right to food is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 10 December 1948. According to its Article 25, *"Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and wellbeing of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, and housing, medical and necessary social services."* Although the Declaration is not an international convention as defined by international law, the normative and binding nature of its provisions is widely accepted by States to the point of being considered as an emanation of customary international law that binds all states of the world. The UDHR has effectively become the standard of evaluation to determine the extent to which international standards of human rights are respected and applied by states. It is the largest and most influential of all the declarations of the United Nations. It is a source of inspiration extensively cited in several instruments and measures undertaken by the United Nations, international organizations, governments and individuals.

The first real conventional instrument recognizing the right to food is the UN Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) to which Cameroon became a party on June 27 1984. The Covenant recognizes in Article 11 *"the right to everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food (...) and to the continuous improvement of living conditions "but also" the fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger "*. It is therefore incumbent on States parties, including Cameroon, to adopt the necessary measures to achieve these targets. Protection of the right to food offered by the Universal Declaration of 1948 and the 1966 Covenant is universal and no one can, at least in principle, be deprived of it for any reason whatsoever. Besides these general instruments, the UN has guaranteed the right to food to specific categories in international instruments to which Cameroon is a party. These include women (Article 12 of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women adopted December 18, 1979) and children (Articles 24 and 27 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child on 20 November 1989).

At the regional level, the African Charter on human and People's Rights (1981) does not expressly

⁵ All international treaties and conventions signed by Cameroon are placed above the constitution in the hierarchy of norms.

recognize the right to food. It has been suggested that the protection of the right to food in Africa passes through that which everybody enjoys the best physical and mental health that can be attained by virtue of article 16 of the charter⁶. But it is our point of view from an extensive interpretation of the right to food. However, the protection of the right to food in Africa remains possible given that the African Commission on Human and People's rights, a regional organ charged with the supervision of the of the implementation of the 1981 charter by African states is inspired by international law on human and people's rights notably the provisions of the United Nations charter, the universal declaration of human rights, provisions of other instruments adopted by the United Nations and by other African states in the domain of human and people's rights including provisions of other instruments adopted within the specialized institutions of the United Nations who are parties to the current charter »⁷. The commission took a position on the violation of the right to food by a state in a case opposing the Nigerian government to the Ogoni people victim of oil exploitation in its territory it has been occupying for generations⁸.

B. THE OBLIGATIONS UNDER INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS

The State of Cameroon should promote the right to food. The burden is on the state to create conditions for the realization of the right to food of all persons within its territory depends. Under Article 2 of the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights of 1966, the primary obligation of the State is to act, by all appropriate means and to the maximum of its available resources, with a view to provide progressively and as soon as possible the full realization of the right to food. Understandably, the right to food is progressive because the implementation of mechanisms and measures favorable for it has a high cost and the state can act only in proportion to the available resources. However, the state is compelled to provide at least "*the minimum essential level required for the individual to be free from hunger*". According to the Committee on Economic Social and Cultural Rights, "*a State party in which, for example, many people lack the basics, be it food, primary health care, housing and education, is a State which, is failing to fulfill its obligations according to the covenant.*"⁹ The state may, however, be in a situation that does not allow it to effectively realize the right to food because of budgetary constraints. In this case, it must demonstrate that every effort has been made to fill at least, and within available resources, minimum obligations.¹⁰

⁶ Christophe GOLAY, Melik ÖZDEN, *op. cit.*, p.13

⁷ Article 60.1 of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights 1981

⁸ African Commission on Human and People's Rights, *The Social and Economic Rights Action Center and Center for Economic and Social Rights v. Nigeria (2001)*. Available at : <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/africa/comcases/155-96b.html>

⁹ Committee on economic, social and cultural rights , General Observation n°3, The nature of the obligations of state parties (*art. 2, par. 1, covenant*), Par. 10

¹⁰ General Observation n°12 cited, Par. 17.

The right to food subjects Cameroon to three types of obligations: the obligation to respect, protect and implement.

The obligation to respect is a negative obligation or abstention. It means that the state should in no case take measures that would seek to interfere with the right to food of people or groups of people. Any measure to deny the right to food to people for example because of their political, ethnic or religious opinion is in principle prohibited. Similarly, the state should not take steps that undermine the right to food of indigenous populations without providing alternatives. The state should also not suspend safety nets for the most disadvantaged that would hinder their access to food. Under the terms of the CESC, the obligation to respect the right to food imposes "*to refrain from taking measures which have the effect of depriving anyone of access to food.*" This negative obligation requires no financial commitment from the state and its implementation is immediate. In the case known as the Ogoni people, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights has condemned the Nigerian State due to oil activities of the national company that contaminated the land of the Community as well as brutal repression against its members. It concludes that the rights of Ogoni people were violated by the destruction of their source of food by the Government.¹¹ Similarly, in the case of legal consequences of the construction of a wall in the Palestinian territories¹², the violation of the right to be free from hunger result from government action that hinder access to agricultural production and livelihoods of Palestinians due to the construction of the wall.

Beyond mere abstention, Cameroon needs to protect its people against the violation of their fundamental rights by other persons or entities. General Comment No. 12 states that the right to food requires the state "*to ensure that enterprises or individuals do not deprive individuals of their access to adequate food.*" This obligation requires the State to effectively, control the actions of individuals. Legislation should prevent such violations, sanction and introduce effective remedies. The case of the Ogoni People quoted above has resulted in the conviction of Nigeria, which did not prevent private oil companies to pollute the food sources of the people. The obligation to protect therefore requires the State of Cameroon to ensure that the actions of individuals or private companies do not interfere with people's access to food. For example, the state must ensure that entrepreneurs do not create artificial shortages so as to raise prices of food commodities, making access financially difficult for the poor. The State must also ensure that companies do not pollute with toxic waste agricultural land or water sources. So through the obligation to protect the right to food, governments have a duty to control the activities of companies that are likely to make the accessibility and availability of food difficult for the people.

Finally, the obligation to fulfill or implement is a positive duty or action. It means that the government should take all measures to ensure people's access to resources necessary for their feeding. The obligation to fulfill requires more complex positive obligations for Cameroon. It requires improvement in people's access to food and even measures to distribute food to people

¹¹ CADHP, 13 octobre 2001, Social and Economic Rights Action Center, Center for Economic and Social Rights c. Nigeria, § 66.

¹² ICJ, Consultative opinion 9 july 2004, legal consequences of the construction of a wall in the Palestinian territories

that find it impossible to access. These obligations are both the progressive implementation of national policies and immediate interventions. Examples can be agrarian reforms, policies aimed at ensuring a minimum wage or policies to distribute agricultural inputs to the farmers. But if a person, for any reason beyond his control, is unable to enjoy their right to food, governments have a duty to assist the latter in giving him/her food. This is particularly true for victims of natural calamities, refugees or vulnerable people such as the disable.

II. The domestic legal framework on the right to food in Cameroon

This legal framework is based on a set of texts that bring together diverse administrations.

A. THE NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK

The General Comment 12 of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights as well as the Guidelines on the Right to Food strongly urges States to develop a legal framework as an essential approach to food security based on rights. In Cameroon, such a framework is almost nonexistent between implicit and incidental recognition by the constitution and the lack of a legislation specifically devoted to the development of this right.

As noted by the former UN Special Rapporteur Olivier De Schutter, a right to food provided in the constitution is the most solid foundation possible, since all laws must be in accordance with constitutional provisions. A right to food inscribed in the constitution means that this right cannot be easily removed, giving it greater permanence than ordinary legislation. Therefore, the inclusion of the right to food in the Constitution does not only have a symbolic value. It accords all branches of government the obligation to take steps to respect and protect the right to food and make it effective by adopting the necessary laws, and implementing policies and programs aimed at achieving the progressive right to food. At the same time, constitutional recognition is an important step in providing individuals with the means to realize their right to food since they can rely on the right to food recognized in the constitution to require policies and laws specific to create an enabling environment for the realization of their right to food.

Cameroon's Constitution makes no explicit mention of the right to food. We can nevertheless see an implicit recognition in the Preamble which is an integral part of the constitution as stated in Article 65. The preamble affirms the attachment of the people of Cameroon to "*fundamental freedoms enshrined in the universal Declaration of Human Rights, the UN Charter, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and all international conventions relating thereto duly ratified*". This preamble also refers to the right to development and the commitment to develop the country's natural resources to improve the welfare of all citizens without discrimination. It recognizes the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living, in particular to allow access to adequate food, in terms similar to those of Article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Article . 25). It also asserts the primacy of international treaties on national legislation (art. 45). These provisions, according to Professor Olivier de Schutter, should in principle allow Cameroonian courts to guarantee the right to food, drawing particularly on the interpretation given to the said Covenant by the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the interpretation of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights.

Apart from this incident and implicit recognition of the right to food, Cameroon has no clear legislative and regulatory framework clarifying and developing such a right. This has a negative impact on the enjoyment of the right, at least in a domestic legal system marked by a lack of knowledge by the majority of citizens of the international commitments of the state.

B. THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

There are no institutions in Cameroon that are specifically dedicated to the realization of the right to food. We can nevertheless highlight the institutions that are responsible for the implementation of public policies in related fields or related to the right to food. Besides the two ministries primarily concerned with the right to food in Cameroon, other government departments and progressive civil society organizations are playing an important role.

- The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MINADER).

MINADER is the government ministry responsible for the development, implementation and evaluation of government policy in the areas of agriculture and rural development. Among the stated objectives, MINADER aims *«to ensure national food security.»* To do this, the ministry develops programs and projects to enhance agricultural production capacity at the national level.¹³ MINADER has a number of structures that accompany it in the implementation of its policy.¹⁴ One of them is the Cameroon Grain Board created by Presidential Decree No. 75/440 of 21 of June 1975 and reorganized by Decree No. 89/1806 of 12 December 1989. The mission of the grain board is to collect grains from producers during harvest time, store and sell them at affordable and stable prices during the lean period. It is also responsible for establishing and implementing the national seed program in Cameroon.¹⁵

However, despite the existence of this ministry and its supporting structures, food security, still remains a distant goal for Cameroon. Certainly efforts are being made to address the problem but the expected results are not forthcoming. The government of Cameroon itself in its reference framework for government action for 2010-2020, has made observation about *"sick agriculture sector, now structurally incapable of feeding the population of Cameroon"*. It lists as some of the factors: aging rural population; difficult access to land; poor access to inputs (fertilizers, improved seeds, etc.); difficulties of access to modern farming techniques and other innovations in agricultural research; difficult access to credit; insufficient support to the development of the rural sector (roads, storage facilities, slaughterhouses, etc.) infrastructure; difficulties in marketing production.¹⁶

¹³ For projects and programs at MINADER, consult : <http://www.minader.cm/fr/grands-projets.html>

¹⁴ <http://www.minader.cm/fr/organisme-sous-tutelle.html>

¹⁵ Christiane TOBITH NZENGUE, *le droit à l'alimentation au Cameroun* in *Cahier africain des droits de l'Homme n°10 : Droits économiques et sociaux au Cameroun*, PUCAC, Yaoundé, p. 250

¹⁶ Document de Stratégie pour la Croissance et l'Emploi (DSCE), par. 191.

The government insists on the urgent need to modernize production in order to achieve food security for the population. Some solutions are proposed: to make accessible and available factors of production including land, water and agricultural inputs; promote access to technological innovations, particularly through strengthening of research / extension linkage; and develop the competitiveness of production chains.

- **The Ministry of Livestock, Fisheries and Animal Industries (MINEPIA).**

MINEPIA is primarily responsible for the development, implementation and evaluation of the state policy in the field of Livestock, Fisheries and Animal Industries. MINEPIA has various structures under its auspices, including the Animal Production and Development Corporation, Mission for the Development of Artisanal Marine Fisheries and the National Veterinary Laboratory. This last structure is the cornerstone of the government's strategy for health protection because it ensures the supply of animal vaccines in Cameroon and even to neighboring countries. The weaknesses of the government's strategy for agriculture are the same for livestock and fisheries. In its growth and employment strategy, the government plans: to promote improved short cycle livestock (poultry farming, pig farming, small ruminants, etc.) but also facilitate and encourage the establishment of medium and large sizes ranches for cattle, thereby having an intensive export live stock sector capable of attracting foreign currency. In the fisheries sector, the strategy calls for the development of marine and inland fisheries and commercial aquaculture.

Despite the willingness of governments to stimulate greater animal and fish production, the efforts so far have not produced satisfactory results. Due to low domestic production to supply the local market, prices of consumer products, including meat and fish, are still too high compared to the average income of the population.

- **Other ministries involved in the right to food in Cameroon.**

These, ministries through their actions, play an incidental role in the realization of the right to food in Cameroon:

- **The Ministry of Health:** to control the quality of food;
- **The Ministry of Transport** is involved in strategies for movement of food from imports or from within;
- **The Ministry of Finance** manages the customs that have a direct impact on imports and the cost of products on the market;
- **The Ministry of Commerce** is involved in controlling the prices of food in the markets;
- **The Ministry of State Property and Land Tenure deals** with matters related to the acquisition of land for agricultural and crop production;
- **The Ministry of Social Affairs,** supports disadvantaged segment of the population etc.

In a context where the coherence and coordination of government action is not always assured as

acknowledged by the Cameroon Head of State in his address to the nation on December 31, 2013 the multiplicity of actors and the absence of a real focal point undoubtedly dilutes the efforts and is a handicap for the realization of the right to food in Cameroon.

This lack of coordination is reinforced by the timid presence of civil society in the realization of this right. Civil society includes all stakeholders, associations, movements or non-governmental organizations whose action is based on the general or collective interest. These organizations play an important role in promoting human rights in general, through the varied range of their methods of action (advocacy, lobbying, advocacy, information, etc.). In terms of the right to food in particular, the action of civil society according to the Food and Agriculture Organization must aim to empower the owners of the rights to increase their ability to claim and to assert them, and secondly to promote accountability of the holders.¹⁷ In the terms of the FAO, "*a true and meaningful participation of civil society in the planning, implementation and monitoring of public policies generate better results.*"¹⁸ The work of civil society for the realization of the right to food can follow infinite paths ranging from advocacy to more concrete actions such as the provision of food in a crisis situation.

In Cameroon, however, there are few organizations actively involved in the defense and promotion of cultural, economic and social rights in general and the right to food in particular. The action of Cameroon Initiative for Sustainable Development (COMINSUD), a local civil society organization based in Bamenda can be lauded. COMINSUD issued an alternative report on the right to food during the examination of the second and third periodic reports of Cameroon before the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in 2008.¹⁹ As part of its report on human rights in Cameroon in 2010, Cameroonian Network of Human Rights Organizations (RECODH) also made a brief analysis of the state of the right to food in Cameroon.²⁰ The same organization is also interested in the status of the right to food in the sites of major development projects (Lom-Pangar, Mobilong, etc.)²¹. The community grain banks of the Network for the Fight against Hunger (RELUFA) in the Far North of Cameroon since 2006 for victims of recurrent food crises is a step in support for the realization of the right to food in Cameroon. Although not extensive, these initiatives illustrate the interest of some civil society organizations in the right to food in Cameroon. However, these initiatives are far from sufficient, and it would be useful because of the complementarities and

¹⁷ FAO, *Quels sont les différents acteurs impliqués dans le droit à l'alimentation*, Manuel pratique sur le droit à l'alimentation n°9, Rome, 2014, p.14

¹⁸ <http://www.fao.org/righttofood/our-work/partnering-with-civil-society/fr/>

¹⁹ COMINSUD, *The Right to adequate food in Cameroon*, disponible à l'adresse http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CESCR/Shared%20Documents/CMR/INT_CESCR_NGO_CMR_47_8399_E.pdf

²⁰ RECODH, *Rapport sur l'état des droits de l'homme au Cameroun 2010*, available at : http://www.recodh.org/rapport_final_2010_recodh.pdf (Voir pp. 43-46).

²¹ RECODH, *Respect des droits de l'homme sur les sites des grands projets au Cameroun: le cas de Lom Pangar, Mbalam, Nkamuna et Mobilong. - Rapport d'observation*, disponible à l'adresse http://www.recodh.org/Rapport_edh_RECODH_lom_pangar_FR.pdf (Voir pp. 55-63)

interdependence of human rights, that Cameroonian civil society organizations show the same interest for the defense and promotion of economic, social and cultural rights as civil and political rights which are receiving a lot of attention.

Section II : The implementation of the right to food in Cameroon: current status and challenges

The 2009 Growth and Employment Strategy Paper (GESP) for Cameroon aims at increasing the yields and farmland by 30% from 2005 levels. The strategy has two main axes. The first component seeks to promote the development of large agro industries by attracting foreign investors. A second component includes a large number of initiatives and programs to modernize family farming by encouraging the consolidation of farmers in cooperatives or community groups and supporting their access to agricultural inputs. If we can appreciate government initiatives, it should be noted that we are still far from the objective there are many shortcomings and inconsistencies.

I. Food security and food sovereignty at risk

“Food sovereignty”, a term introduced worldwide by Via Campesina peasant movement in 1996 at the World Food Summit in Rome. It is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced with sustainable methods, including the right to define their own food and agriculture systems. Food sovereignty is a form of autonomy and food self-sufficiency. It is linked to the idea of providing a group of individuals with the means to produce enough food for them and for trade. But for Food security, it is characterized by the fact that *all people, at all times, have physical and socioeconomic access to safe and nutritious food in sufficient quantity to meet physiological needs, responding to their food preferences and allowing them to lead an active and healthy life...*”²². Thus, through this definition, food security appears rather as a target, a political concept based on needs-oriented programs to be developed while the right to food appears as a legal concept.

According to the results of the analysis on food security in Cameroon conducted in 2011 by Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Food Programme which we have consulted extensively for this paper, 20.2% of households in rural areas have unsatisfactory food consumption; their food consumption is poor. Households do not get enough nutritious food to enable them to lead an active and healthy life. Animal protein, dairy, fruits and legumes are almost absent from their diet. Approximately 16.3% had borderline food consumption. These households consume mostly grains, roots and tubers, and about once a week some protein, vegetables, legumes and fruits. In the north, fruits are absent from the diet.

²² Flore DEL CORSO, Dominique PATUREL, *Droit à l'alimentation*, available at : http://www1.montpellier.inra.fr/aidealimentaire/images/Droit_a_l'alimentation/Le_droit_%C3%A0_l'alimentation_notions_g%C3%A9n%C3%A9rales.pdf date of consultation 10 septembre 2014.

In all rural areas, about one million people, or 9.6% of households, are food insecure (2.2% moderate and 7.4% severe). This national average hides a wide diversity between regions and particularly high levels in the north region. In the Far North and the North, respectively 17.9% and 15.4% of households are food insecure. During the lean season, these rates are certainly higher. Approximately 615,000 people are food insecure in these highly populated regions. In Douala, about 173,000 people are food insecure compared to about 86 000 in Yaounde and 77 000 in other regional capitals.

Cameroon has resorted to imports mainly of wheat and rice but also fish, milk and oil to feed its people, its food production does not allow it to cover all the food needs of its population. Despite the increase in production, the local rice supply does not meet the national demand. Cameroon has spent FCFA 550 billion for food imports in 2009, seven times more than in 1994. Rice import ranks first with expenses amounting to 96,617 billion CFA francs in 2010. Rice production is insufficient to meet domestic demand and about 364,000 tons of rice had to be imported in 2010 with consumption amounting to about 400 000 tonnes.

However, the trend since 2007 is to reduce the quantities imported. This is due to the efforts for the revival of agricultural production by SEMRY and the UNVDA, and isolated upland rice producers in the Nde and Menoua divisions in the West and parts of the Southern Region.

With the development strategy for the rural sector in 2005 and the measures taken following the rise in food prices in 2008, the government has set up an ambitious agricultural expansion program. This policy might be starting to bear some fruits since food production is starting to increase. According to agricultural statistics in the analysis cited above the production of food products increased by 5% in 2009

Compared to 2008, maize production was up by 19.1%, paddy rice by 11%, cassava 2%, potato by 1.7% and plantain 2%. Production targets set by the government for 2010 were exceeded especially for rice, maize, roots and tubers. On the contrary, with the exception of cocoa, the production of major crops is stagnant or declining.

II. Land tenure and the right to food

The realization of the right to food is based on the security of many other rights including access to land. Large scale land acquisition, in addition to the violation of property rights (fundamental rights guaranteed by numerous international instruments), is a violation of the obligation to protect of the State to protect the right to food. Upon close analysis, land tenure in Cameroon does not seem to be commensurate with the right to food.

By considering only registration or obtaining a land title as the sole mode of land ownership, the Cameroonian legislator has de facto placed many native and indigenous communities in complete legal uncertainty regarding their land rights, despite the fact that they have occupied their land for generations. Any unregistered land falls in the national domain and is managed by the State which may carry out transactions on such lands. The case of the "Herakles Farms" project in Cameroon is quite telling. The state initially granted a concession of 73,000 hectares of land to the American company for an oil palm plantation project for a ridiculous land rent. But in this vast land,

local communities faced the threat of being deprived of their main source of food and / or income for their livelihood if the project went on as planned. This is clearly a breach of the obligation to respect and protect the right to food of these communities. Through intense campaigning by civil society organizations, the project was scaled down from 73. 000 to 19.000 hectares even though local communities are still not happy with the project.

Although the state has scaled down the size of the project and increased the land rents of the lease with the company concerned, There is reason for concern in the current context of the increased rush of agro industries seeking land. Continued land grabbing by multinational companies would violate the right to food of the local communities. As noted in the report of the UN special Rapporteur on the right to food during his visit to Cameroon in 2012, indigenous peoples are those who could pay the highest price for the economic development projects and large-scale land acquisitions in Cameroon.²³

The legal framework for land tenure in Cameroon has several shortcomings. Local communities practicing shifting agriculture, hunting and gathering for subsistence are not adequately protected. Section 14 of Ordinance No. 74-1 of 16 July 1974 on land tenure in Cameroon provides those lands which do not belong to the public or private domain of the State or other public law entities and which are not registered, fall within the national domain the state. This land can be ceded by the state, including by grant or lease. However, if land that is subject to customary occupation and is actually used is protected in principle, this is not the case with land considered "free of any effective occupation", including whether the land is used for hunting or gathering of the communities living around it. This explains why the indigenous people including the Mbororos, Bakas/Bagylis/Bakolas in Cameroon are regularly victims of the shrinking spaces on which they depend for their livelihoods as a result of large scale land acquisitions. This is in violation of the Declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples and the right to Food.

The rules established by Article 12 of Ordinance No. 74-1 and Law No. 85-09 of 4 July 1985 on expropriation for public purposes and compensation arrangements, respectively, provide that no expropriation will occur unless it is for the general interest and therefore subject to compensation of the occupants. However, expropriation sometimes takes place without compensation if the occupants did not register the land in question. In addition, Ordinance No. 74-2 of 6 July 1974 on land tenure brings back to the state domain the clause that the state can give a long lease to private investors for as long as 99 years, land expropriated from local communities for the general interest (Article 10, para. 3). This may negate the requirement that expropriation can only be for the general interest.

Finally, the conditions under which concessions are granted by different ministries in Cameroon will be a source of major difficulties in the future. Concessions are given to agro-industrial plantations and mining explorations, without an established land registry to avoid overlapping permits for different user rights on the same space. This is a source of legal uncertainty. In years to come as Oliver De Schutter rightly notes, Cameroon may be exposed to claims for compensation from investors if there are competing claims to land user rights by different investors.

²³ Report of the special rapporteur on the right to food during his visit to Cameroon A/HRC/22/50/Add.2, 2012, par. 15 à 19.

III. The existence of marginalized and vulnerable groups

In addition to food insecurity concerns that face the Cameroonian population, there are groups whose right to food is particularly precarious and whose situation is particularly worrying. Prison inmates live on food that is far from satisfactory: Men are entitled to a single daily ration (which is not always balanced) and women receive at regular intervals food they prepare themselves. This is a flagrant violation of international regulations, in particular paragraph 1 of Article 20 of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners which states that "*Every prisoner shall receive from the administration at the usual hours good quality food, well prepared and served with sufficient nutrition to maintain health and strength.*" The prisoner, even if punished, should be treated with dignity and in a non-degrading manner. This implies that the State of Cameroon must provide sufficient and adequate food to inmate who should not have to rely on external contributions from family members to eat properly. The government's argument that budgetary constraints prohibit the effective assumption of this responsibility is ineffective, as the Committee on Human Rights had clearly pointed out to Cameroon in the *Albert Womah Mukong versus Cameroon* that Article 20 of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners should always be observed, "even if economic or budgetary considerations may make it difficult to meet these obligations."²⁴

The second group threatened in the enjoyment of the right to food is the indigenous forest peoples Bagyelis/ Bakola/ Baka/ Bedzan and the Mbororo pastoralists and Kirdi mountain communities. These people suffer from a lack of recognition of their special status by the Cameroonian authorities, despite numerous observations by international monitoring bodies, including the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights. These people, particularly the forest people designated pejoratively "pygmy", are directly dependent on the forests for food and do not practice agriculture that would enable them to show proof of the use of a specific area. The consequence is that their rights, including the right to food, are rarely taken into account in the process of expropriation for public purposes or for the distribution of forest royalties

A relative haven of peace in a conflict prone central African region, Cameroon is home to many refugees from conflict ridden neighboring countries. The UNHCR estimates approximately 110,000 refugees in Cameroon in 2014. The refugee population is unfortunately particularly affected by malnutrition and food insecurity. It is therefore appropriate that the Government should seek international cooperation to support its efforts in the development of a true national strategy for the realization of the right to food.

²⁴ Communication no 458/1991, CCPR/C/51/D/48/1991 (1994), par. 9.3.

CHAPTER II : URGENT NEED FOR A NATIONAL STRATEGY FOR THE REALIZATION OF THE RIGHT TO FOOD IN CAMEROON

The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights has emphasized the need for States to work to "adopt a national strategy to ensure food and nutrition security for all, taking into account the principles of human rights that define the objectives, and formulate policies and corresponding benchmarks."²⁵ Guideline 3 of the Guidelines on the Right to Food provides useful guidance on how Cameroon could adopt a national strategy based on human rights for the realization of the right to adequate food. Such a national strategy should include the creation of appropriate institutional mechanisms, to include: i) identify, at the earliest possible stage, the obstacles that threaten the right to adequate food, by satisfactory control systems; ii) improve the coordination between the different ministries and between the national and sub-national levels of government; iii) improve accountability, with clear allocation of responsibilities, and setting specific deadlines for the implementation of aspects of the right to food, which require gradual implementation; iv) ensuring adequate participation, particularly of the segment of the population most affected by food insecurity; and finally v) to pay particular attention to the need to improve the situation of the most vulnerable groups in society, particularly girls and women, whose specific needs must be taken into account.

Section I : Improving the legal and judicial framework

It is imperative to develop and adopt a framework law on the right to food which will permit better implementation of the right to food and its defense.

I. The development and adoption of a framework law on the right to food in Cameroon

One of the principal recommendations of the UN Special Rapporteur on the right to food after visiting Cameroon in 2012 was the development and adoption of a legal framework on the right to food. He finds it fundamental to, "adopt a framework law on the right to food including the components of a framework law on agriculture, but not necessarily limiting to it so as to lay down the appropriate legislative and institutional framework to advance in the progressive realization of the right to food."

The term framework law refers to a legislative technique used to treat cross-cutting issues and facilitate a consistent, coordinated and comprehensive handling of these issues. It sets out general principles and obligations, but relies on implementing legislation and competent authorities to define the specific measures. This technique is not new in Cameroon since it has already been used in the context of environmental protection. Thus, a framework law on food could be used as reference, the main instrument of a national strategy for realizing the right to food. FAO also encourages states to adopt framework legislation on the right to food. The initiative for such a law can emanate from governments but also other stakeholders such as civil society organizations. The widest possible participation in the development of a text on the right to food is desirable.

²⁵ General Observation n°12, §21.

The establishment of a framework law can contribute significantly to the realization of the right to food, in many ways:

- a) ensuring that government agencies can be held accountable if they fail to meet their obligations under the framework law;
- b) ensuring that the right to food will be at the center of national development strategies, which countries can then refer to in their dialogue with donors willing to provide international assistance;
- c) strengthening the position of countries on trade and investment negotiations and pointing out to their partner's their obligations vis-à-vis their citizens.

In principle, a national framework law on the right to food is the translation in to the national context of the provisions of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, as it can give a precise definition of the scope and the content of this human right, set out obligations for public authorities and the private sector, establish the necessary institutional mechanisms and provide a legal basis for subsidiary legislation and other measures to be taken by the competent authorities. Thus, a framework law facilitates and governs the implementation of the right to food at the national level.

Such a law in Cameroon should:

- a) Provide specific audit institutions responsible for continually assessing the progress made in realizing the right to food in the country, and
- b) Recognize the defense of the right to food or provide other appeal mechanisms to independent bodies. The recognition of the right to food in the national legislation makes it operational at the national level since the victims of the breach can invoke the law to demand accountability and redress. This facilitates not only its appropriation by victims of violations but also by institutional stakeholders concerned.

According to the proposal made by FAO, a framework law on the right to food can be structured as follows:

- General provisions: preamble, title and objectives, scope, definitions, principles;
- Substantive provisions: the right to adequate food, obligation of non-discrimination, obligations of the state, policy coherence, emergencies;
- Implementing provisions: information, education and awareness, the competent national authority, control system, participation of civil society, supervision, enforcement, funding, appeal mechanisms

Designed to cover all the relevant fields and enshrine the right to food, the framework law will be the standard reference for issues related to food at the national level. Therefore, their status in the hierarchy of instruments having the force of law will have a major impact on its interpretation and application, due to its interactions with sector laws that impact on the right to food.

II. Coherence of sector laws

This is to ensure consistency of the legal framework by harmonizing the provisions of the framework law on food with laws governing specific sectors and affecting the right to food.

As recommended by the FAO, the full realization of the right to food at the national level requires not only action on the factors that determine the overall food security in a country (ensuring the

availability and accessibility of food and plan response to shortages, emergencies and problems of distribution), but also action to advance the enjoyment of other human rights. These rights include those related to land and property, health, education and work, and those related to participation in decision making, freedom of association, expression and information, as well as the elimination of inequalities and improving living conditions. The consideration of these interactions can help the government with limited resources to set priorities and allow everyone to contribute to the promotion of the right to food and other human rights.

Sector laws are important for the progressive realization of the right to food since this right is dependent on many factors and actors. Legislation on access to and management of land and natural resources can partly determine if people in rural areas are able to produce food for themselves and to use the surplus to feed urban dwellers. Trade legislation and agreements also affect the availability of food and the ability of farmers to cope with the competition. The labor code has an impact on the ability of workers to earn enough to buy the food they need, hence the need for social protection that supports the purchase of food.

III. Ensure better protection of the right to food

This is primarily legal protection and before national mechanisms to protect human rights. Parallel to the fundamental principle of the rule of law, and an integral part of it, access to justice is crucial to ensure the respect of the right to food. Under international law on human rights, access to Justice includes the right to "effective remedy" for persons who have suffered human rights violations.

While the legal defense of economic, social and cultural rights has for a long time been subject to controversy, several authors have shown that these positions were unfounded. The concept of justiciability generally refers to the ability of an individual to apply to a court or other independent authority to present a claim of violation of their human rights (right to food, for example.), and obtain effective redress if the court finds that the violation is proven. It is widely recognized today that the internal protection of human rights cannot be fully achieved without the judiciary, which is the guarantor of last resort.

Unfortunately, as noted aptly by Professor Olivier de Schutter at the end of his visit to the country, apart from the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, it appears that courts and tribunals in Cameroon do not lean on international treaties on human rights that the Republic of Cameroon has ratified. Better information of the members of the bar council on these opportunities, as well as continuing education programs for members of the judiciary offered by the National School of Magistracy could enable progress in this area.

If the State of Cameroon does not honor any of its obligations to respect, protect or fulfill the right to food, all those who are victims should have access to a judicial control mechanism to claim their right. All victims of violations of the right to food are entitled to adequate compensation and / or guarantees of non-repetition. A person or group that has been arbitrarily expelled from the land which is the source of their livelihood, or deprived access to traditional fishing area, a person or group whose water source used for irrigation has been polluted by the State or by a company, person or group left with no means of access to adequate food on his own, or without local, national or international help, has to file a complaint and obtain redress and compensation for the

violation of the right to food. In fact, the means to claim the realization of the right to food and the chances of redress or compensation will depend largely on information and control mechanisms available at the national, regional and international levels. Hence the importance and the major role that civil society organization can play in sensitizing, educating and training the population on their rights and the correlative obligations of the state, and encouraging or helping them in claiming their rights and introducing litigations.

The National Commission for Human Rights and Freedoms (NCHRF) whose mission is to work for the promotion and protection of human rights has an important role to play including the support of the right to food and the monitoring of programs and policies that have an impact on the right to food and generally on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. For instance, it could follow Brazil's example by setting up special mechanisms, including the appointment of national rapporteurs whose mandates are along the lines of the Special Rapporteurs of the United Nations which could allow them to travel around the country to monitor the achievement of the right to food and make proposals for the improvement of the situations encountered on the field.

Section II : Need to establish an appropriate operational and institutional framework

This follows naturally from the framework law which should instigate the reforms: the establishment of an institution responsible for coordinating all agencies involved in implementation of the right to food and the application of strong public policies. It is imperative to create national institutions to monitor and assess the situation in the country in terms of the right to food. According to Directive number 5 on the right to food, states should "*assess the mandate and performance of public institutions and as appropriate, establish, reform or improve their organization's value and structure to help realize ... the right to food ...*". Following the example of many countries such as Brazil, India and Nepal, Cameroon should establish an institution to coordinate and ensure the consistency of national policy for realizing the right to food.

In Malawi, for example, the draft law on the right to food, which was launched at the initiative of civil society organizations, establishes a National Council on Food Security, composed of representatives of civil society, associations of agric entrepreneurs, university, private sector and six ministries and the Malawian Human Rights Commission. The Council is an advisory body on issues related to food security, reporting directly to the President and Parliament. It is responsible for conducting impact studies concerning the right to food and to make recommendations for the harmonization of public policies that affect the right to food.

In all cases, the realization of the right to food is impossible without an interdisciplinary collaboration between different sectors, institutions and actors, both public and private that can affect the availability, accessibility and adequacy of food in a given country. The coordination mechanism can be a single central agency (National Agency on the right to food) that consists of several specialized bodies (legislative bodies, technical implementation, advisory bodies).

The National Agency on the right to food can take two main forms: it can either be attached to an existing ministry or be an autonomous authority placed at the highest level of government.

However, it is much better to create an independent national agency with a rank equivalent to that of a ministry or transform an existing structure into such an institution (attached to the Prime Ministry) so as to have a good overview of the actions of various ministries and departments and the need to secure the cooperation of all public and private stakeholders concerned. This upper hierarchical position and the fact that the agency is charged exclusively to fulfill the right to food will facilitate the systematic examination of this right or its components in the framework of decision-making on economic, financial, social, political, agricultural, commercial policies or otherwise. In addition, it would give the realization of the right to food effective coordination and more visibility on the political agenda.

The primary mission of the agency is to advise the Government on all national activities related to the right to food and coordinate these activities. This means ensuring coordination among the other agencies and actors whose actions have an impact on the realization of the right to food. It should also require the agency to periodically review the national policy on the right to food to ensure it is based on updated data. In other words, this policy must be based on all relevant information available and on the degree of realization of the right to food in the country and meet the real needs and demands of the people at a given moment. The National Agency may also be charged with giving advice on the harmonization of relevant sector policies. In this circumstance, the agency will ensure that the right to food and all its components are systematically taken into account in the decision-making on economic, social, budgetary, agricultural and commercial policies. The agency would be empowered to request and collect data from various public and private actors. Current and accurate information is essential for decision-making because the quality of decisions depends on the quality of that information. For it to contribute to the implementation of the framework law on the realization of the right to food in general, it is necessary that the information obtained is assembled and distributed widely within the government (in all levels) and communicated to other authorities, such as parliament, civil society and the press.

The agency for the right to food can also act as a mediator to resolve differences and disputes arising from certain policies that may conflict (land use or biological resources, institutional responsibilities, etc.). The recommendations of the operating ministries and other public bodies should be based on data and information received from the agency to monitor progress of the implementation of the right to food. Given the complexity of relation between this right and the necessary resources and the diversity of ways in which we seek to give effect to it, we should also require the agency to set benchmarks to measure progress in the implementation of the framework law and realization the right to food. The full realization of the right to food requires time and resources. The National Agency must have the skills necessary to prioritize and ensure that financial resources are allocated accordingly and used wisely.

Another important function of the National Agency for the right to food will be the formulation of proposals for changes in laws, regulations or policies relevant to the realization of this right and their presentation to the relevant minister. Similarly, it should be empowered to recommend to the government and other official bodies the adoption or amendment of various policies on the right to food or one of its components (accessibility, availability and adequate nature of the food).

On their part, organizations receiving such proposals should be required to act on them within a predetermined time or justify in writing the steps they have taken or their inaction in responding to

the recommendations of the national agency and this obligation must also be established by a framework law or the implementing regulations. The National Agency for the right to food should report regularly to Parliament through a progress report on the implementation of the right to food and the implementation of the framework law. This report should include an assessment of the operation and effectiveness of the institution to inform parliamentarians of the constraints. This would contribute to the accountability of members of the coordination mechanism. As this report will focus on the areas that most affect the realization of the right to food in the country, the national agency could be the appropriate institution to review and comment on the international organizations for the protection of human rights relating to the performance of the state in realizing the right to food at the national level. It could also be asked to submit to Parliament a report on these observations.

CHAPTER III : CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The state being the principal guarantor of the right to food, it holds the obligation to implement the right to food. So the recommendations of this paper are addressed to the state. However, we cannot ignore the role and importance of other actors such as civil society organizations in the full realization of this right. Many of the recommendations presented here are inspired from the FAO, WFP and the UN Special Rapporteur on the right to food after his visit to Cameroon.

Following this paper, we recommend:

To the Government and public authorities:

- Engage action to enable a clear and explicit constitutional recognition of the right to food as a fundamental principle of the Nation;
- Initiate a discussion leading to the adoption of a framework law on food in Cameroon. This text would harmonize all legislative or policy actions for realizing the right to food. The participation of civil society and international organizations is desirable in this task;
- Develop a national strategy on food with clear targets and identifiable monitoring mechanisms;
- Establish processes of administrative and judicial remedies available to persons for the violation of their right to food. These would include training of graduates of the National School of Administration and Magistracy (ENAM) and junior lawyers on the justiciability of Economic Social and Cultural Rights and judicial mechanisms for national, regional and international protection;
- Strengthen the care of vulnerable people by taking in to account their plight
- Improve legal protection of indigenous communities against forced eviction from their land and recognizing their land rights ;
- Create an enabling environment for dialogue with civil society on issues related to the right to food.

To Civil Society organizations:

- Disseminate information of public interest and defend the right to food: inform all stakeholders on the essence of the right to food, advocacy for ratification of international instruments relating to the right to food and their incorporation into internal legislation and policies of the State;
- Participate in the development of policies and programs to implement the right to food and revision of laws relating thereto;
- Monitor control of access to judicial, quasi-judicial and administrative remedies;
- Monitor the implementation of the right to food and produce periodic assessment reports: These reports may be defended in international forums during the examination of state reports notably the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights which always holds a forum for CSOs to present their alternative reports;
- Organize social and political mobilization and advocacy on the right to food;
- Monitor state actions on the right to food.

