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Earth Foundation**



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...The Ecological Think Tank

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Nnimmo Bassey

Director, Health of Mother
Earth Foundation

Home Run

Welcome to the 40th edition of Eco-Instigator. This edition marks our 10th year as an organisation! It has been an exciting run because you have been a part of it all. Through these 10 years of advocating for environmental justice and food sovereignty in Nigeria and Africa at large, we have had you as partners, comrades in the struggle, participants in our events, our frontline communities, our hosts, contributors to our publications, and more.

We remind you with the first article that we do all that we do 'for justice and equity'. We push for these, using different strategies and tactics, and through varied fora including the Niger Delta Alternatives Convergence (NDAC).

Bringing the gender dimension into the environmental and climate justice discourse remains vital to the struggle. And it is devious to have so-called nature conservation strategies that are disconnected from indigenous communities who in reality are the best earth defenders.

Also in this edition, see the many colours of HOMEF as team members use different expressions to paint pictures of their HOMEF experience as they celebrate both their time in the organisation and our 10th year anniversary.

We never fail to extend the stretch of your imagination with literary pieces. This time, a poem and short story.

Comrades in the struggle sent in goodwill messages in commemoration of our 10 years anniversary. We received the messages with deep gratitude. It gives us the energy needed for the years ahead.

We have recommended some books, one of which is Politics of Turbulent Waters, a book of selected articles from past editions of Eco-Instigator.

Do enjoy the edition and remember to drop us a line or share feedback, stories, articles, poems or photos at editor@homef.org.

Until Victory!



for Justice & Dignity

by Nnimmo Bassey

Nigeria has just had its general elections and by 29 May 2023 new persons will step into the saddle of political leadership. The nature of the country's political system is one where the major political parties are indistinguishable in terms of programmes and organising ideas. Thus, it is a major duty of the citizens to make clear demands on the system and to ensure that each of the leaders are held to account based on their promises, declarations, and the constitution.

The Niger Delta Alternatives Convergence (NDAC) is a forum for the fusion of voices on the multi-layered socio-ecological crisis confronting the region. It is hoped that the NDAC, held on 25 April 2023, is not a hand wringing exercise garnished with a long list of regrets. It ought to be an agenda setting convergence, and that agenda must include both what we expect of our political leaders and what we must do as citizens on the back of whose votes they have ridden into power.

Socio-ecological issues hardly take the forefront in political discussions in Nigeria. We had to push this to the front burner with a different kind of presidential Town Hall that HOMEF co-hosted on 7 February 2023 at the University of Abuja. Four presidential candidates participated and brought discussions about the environment to the spotlight, highlighting why our environment must no longer be brushed aside in policy circles in Nigeria and Africa.

The challenges of the Niger Delta are well known and have been catalogued in the Willink Commission Report of 1958. Also on record are the activities of various agencies set up by government, with some exhibiting poor focus on solving the problems but gaining a dubious reputation for being cesspit of corruption. Such agencies include the Niger Delta Development Board (1960), the Oil Minerals Areas Producing Development Commission (1992), Niger Delta Development Commission (2000) and the Ministry of Niger Delta Affairs (2008).

The key outcome of NDAC 2022 was the Niger Delta Manifesto for Socio-Ecological Justice. The manifesto outlined eight (8) key demands that remain germane even as the outgoing governments did not appear to hear the call of the peoples of the region. The Manifesto is examined in the 2023 convergence as a reminder, and to both reinforce and convey the core demands of the peoples of the Niger Delta.

Core demands laid out in the Manifesto include: immediate comprehensive audit of the entire Niger Delta covering health, livelihoods, social and economic impacts of crude oil and gas extraction; re-mediation and restoration of impacted territories and reparations for damages suffered as well as; a clear policy framework for divestment of international oil companies from the oil fields and communities they have exploited for more than six decades.

Other key demands are: comprehensive management of issues related to artisanal refining of crude oil, stoppage of all forms of oil theft, and holding accomplices to account; legislators to ensure the review of the Petroleum Industry Act so as to eliminate the criminalisation of communities and vestiges of colonial authorities given to oil companies to determine who the host communities are and by so doing rig the arrangement for developmental supports for the communities.

Still among the major demands is that the earmarking of 30 per cent of NNPC profit for exploration of oil in so-called frontier field be deleted from the Act and a definite deadline to end routine gas flaring be set. Also part of the main things demanded is the immediate review of the NDDC Act and the release of the forensic audit ordered by

the outgoing government.

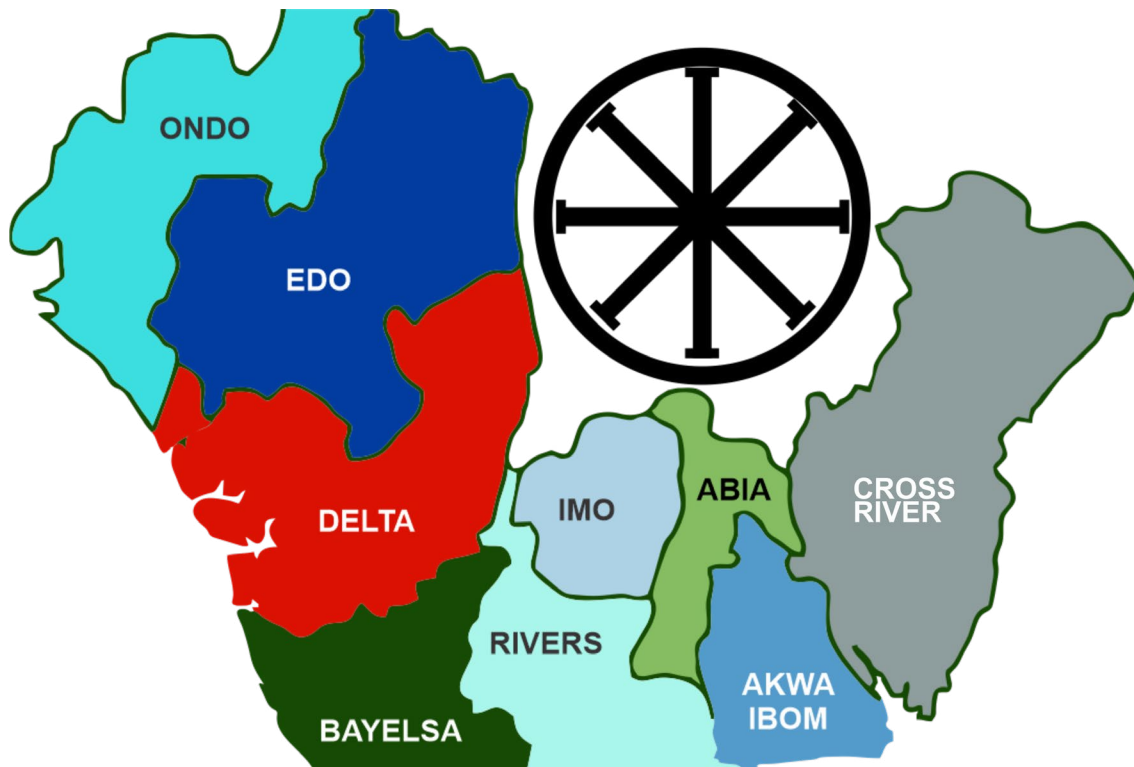
There is demand for the administration of the 13 percent derivation fund to be redesigned for transparency, inclusiveness, and in fairness to impacted communities. Another demand is urgent responses to climate change impacts including the setting up of mechanisms for emergency response to floods, shoreline protection, restoration of mangrove forests, halting of deforestation and proper urban and rural planning. The demand for adequate protection of the coastal communities and continental shelf for the security of maritime transportation as well as fishing activities by the Niger Delta peoples is equally crystal in the Manifesto

Other items that must be on the top burners of incoming governments include a comprehensive energy transition plan that ensures popular ownership and control of such clean energy systems.

Politicians should have zero tolerance for uncompleted and abandoned projects. The drive to embark on so-called legacy projects must be halted. The region will remain a basket case if new players in governments refuse to complete projects commenced by their predecessors but instead chase after projects that may not address the critical socio-ecological and economic needs of the people. Completion of projects started by previous administrations should be a cardinal principle.

Finally, I recommend that the Nigerian government should take steps to recognize ecocide as a crime and ensure the prosecution of offenders going forward. Ecocide, in simple terms, is the *destruction of one's home*, the Earth. Any person or entity engaged in activities that lead to large scale and long terms or irreversible destruction of our home, the Earth, should be held to account as an incentive for others to be of good environmental behaviour.

We must regain our dignity as a people. We must rebuild our devastated region. We can do it. And the time to do this is now.



NDAC SETS AGENDA FOR SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION

On 25 April 2023, frontline civil society organisations, socio-cultural groups, academics, traditional rulers and individuals drawn from the Niger Delta states of Abia, Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo, Imo, Ondo and Rivers converged at Port Harcourt in Rivers State to set agenda for the new political leadership that would be sworn-in May 29, 2023.

The agenda included both what the people of the region expect of the political leaders and what they must do as citizens. The Convergence discussed what the Niger Delta people must do to immediately regain their dignity and rebuild their devastated region.

The Convergence was chaired by His Royal Majesty, Suana Baridam and had a keynote address tagged "Looking Back and Thinking

Forward: Imperatives of a New Niger Delta Agenda" by Professor Sofiri Joab-Peterside. There was a panel discussion to thoroughly examine the issues facing the region, the opportunities and strategies for the way forward.

Observations

The oil majors in the Niger Delta, rather than act in context of global operational standards, have commenced implementation of Divestment Policy due to what they termed "Hostile Operational Environment and associated Huge Operational Cost". This position is misleading.

More worrisome is the fact that the current Divestment process is shrouded in secrecy as it usually excludes members of the host communities. Consequently associated



with Divestment, is the International Oil Companies' (IOCs) abandonment of problematic relationships developed with oil bearing communities.

Although Nigeria has started exporting liquefied natural gas to Europe and other parts of the world, environmentalists are sceptical about when gas flaring will stop. This is as a result of the controversies arising from persistent shifting of the targeted period to stop the over 60 years of prolonged gas flaring in the region.

Despite the disbursement of huge resources over the years from ecological funds and other derivative funds, projects linked to

these are either nonexistent or uncompleted.

The craze for legacy projects has over the years led to unprecedented abandonment of projects in the Niger Delta which is at the expense of the common patrimony.

The Nigerian Government has consistently shown little seriousness in prosecuting those who destroy the environment despite availability of relevant laws.

Niger Delta communities have, through the years, engaged relevant authorities and stakeholders yet results have not been commensurate with the engagements.

The region commends moves towards



energy transition but notes that the current plan does not appear to accommodate their aspirations.

Resolutions

Transnational oil companies must stop pursuing Divestment as a problem derived from a hostile business environment and see it as a consequence of rampaging International Capitalism.

The region needs to urgently jettison the mainstream view and approach the conversation of Divestment as an offshoot of Neo-liberalism and a means of abandoning subsisting social responsibilities of IOCs to the Host Communities.

There is an urgent need for Divestment to incorporate prevailing environmental issues such as: What happens to the legacy of oil pollution that is yet to be properly cleaned up? Should legal liability for historic/

generational liability still remain with IOCs?

Government must compel Divesting IOCs to fulfil all outstanding Memorandum of Understanding (MoUs) and Global Memorandum of Understanding (GMOUs) obligations to communities and their environment before handing over assets to Domestic Oil Companies (DOCs).

Niger Delta Communities must move from talks and immediately take actions like serious peaceful demonstrations to drive home the Divestment issues.

Contemporary global Decarbonisation Policy

makes fossil fuels unattractive. The people of Niger Delta must, as a sacred duty, assert themselves in the politics and economics of Divestment. This requires that they interpose themselves and forge alliances with civil society groups, Federal Government, international organisations and professional bodies like Nigeria Medical Association (NMA) to provide empirical evidence of the health impact of fossil related activities.

There is great need to interrogate the current energy transition plan, localize and drive the process. Thus, the incoming governments must design a comprehensive energy transition plan that ensures popular ownership and management of such clean energy systems.

It is time for Niger Delta communities to demand accountability on how the ecological funds, 13 percent derivation and 3 percent NDDC funds are utilised.

Politicians should have zero tolerance for uncompleted and abandoned projects. The drive to embark on so-called legacy projects that may not address the critical socio-ecological and economic needs of the people must be halted. Completion of projects started by previous administrations should be a cardinal principle.

The Nigerian government should take steps to recognize ecocide as a crime and ensure the prosecution of offenders going forward. Ecocide in simple terms is the destruction of the Earth. Any person or entity engaged in activities that lead to large scale and long term or irreversible destruction of our home, the Earth, should be held to account as an incentive for others to be of good environmental behaviour.

Niger Delta must build collective fronts of relevance and work to appeal to the prevailing political interest, thus, adequately engage the system and also utilize international institutions as backbone.

The Niger Delta Manifesto must be translated into all languages of the region for the people at the grassroots to fully engage with it.

There is urgent need for the development of a regional strategic engagement and advocacy plan geared towards achieving the objectives set in the Niger Delta Manifesto.



CLIMATE CRISES AND GENDER JUSTICE STRUGGLE

by Magdalene Idiang

As a woman, to be born and bred in Africa means you are at the forefront of the climate crisis.

While climate breakdown is global and affects every human being on earth, its impacts are disproportionately felt by women in the continent of Africa. Women are the subsistence farmers of the world and the impact of climate change on farming is alarming.

Women form the bulk of small-holder farmers in Africa and produce 80 percent of the food people consume. They are highly economically dependent on access to fertile land which is jeopardised by climate change. Women have been found to have limited access to power (especially political power) and finance as well as limited understanding of their rights and the possibilities for action against climate change and the exacerbating factors. These, put together, make women more vulnerable to climate change impacts.

Women, from time past, have been more dependent on communal natural resources than men and as a result have been more affected by their privatization. They have also shown to be very committed to the defence of these resources.

Farming in the current climate chaos is increasingly becoming less feasible for women. This state is pushing women further to the margins of society but there is also the problem of rising food shortage and price hike which African communities have to battle.

“ Women, from time past, have been more dependent on communal natural resources than men and as a result have been more affected by their privatization”

The livelihood of women is just one area impacted by climate change—the impact is spread across all spheres of women’s existence. Emem Okon of Kebetkache Women Development & Resource Centre, at the opening session of the 6th Edition of the Niger Delta Women Day of Action for Environmental Justice, said *“Oil pollution have caused severe fertility issues among women in the Niger Delta, women experience early menopause and these are causing problems because when a woman does not have a child they are traumatized by both families and the society.”*

The 2022 Africa Climate and Gender Review shows that African women are fourteen times more likely to die or be severely impacted during a climate disaster. Already, in today’s world, women make up 80 percent of climate refugees. As refugees, women are exposed to a whole lot of harm. While women’s struggle for climate justice continues to gather momentum as grassroots mobilisations are ongoing, women are making moves to safeguard their livelihoods against all odds.

In Nigeria, Ghana, Liberia, Kenya and across other countries in Africa, in the face of rising food prices and land unavailability, women are mobilizing, buying plots of land and planting variety of crops—corn, beans,

cassava, okra, waterleaf, cassava, etc.— along roadsides, in parks, around riverbanks and so on, to keep their families alive. In the Niger Delta, women are engaging in the activity of replanting trees in degraded mangrove forests, and coming together to fight loggers. In opposition to oil firms, drilling operations, the building of dams, and the privatization of water, women are organising and setting up blockades. Nigerian women are developing systemic coordination and solidarity with other women and men, across the continent, who are fighting the same battle against the commodification of nature brought about by structures of capitalism.

The 2023 celebration of International Women’s Day presented yet another opportunity for women to get their voices heard and for the world to recognise the role of women in the environmental justice struggle. It is time for concerned stakeholders across Africa and the international community to join forces with African women to demand for environmental and climate justice if a successful response to the climate crisis is to be attained.

CLIMATE JUSTICE

BY JAYE GASKIA

**JUST TRANSITION, AND THE
URGENCY OF CONSEQUENTIAL
CLIMATE ACTION (PART 1)**



ADERONKE IGE AT COP27 BY Babawole Obayanju

It should be obvious that without climate change, and its increasingly deleterious effect and impacts, there would not have been any need for climate justice, just transition, or any climate action at all.

The drive for climate justice, just transition, and climate action should then be within the context of the causes and drivers of climate change, the rising frequency of climate change events, and the intensifying nature of the consequent devastating effects.

What, therefore, is climate change?

These are the changes that are occurring in the climate system as a result of global warming, that is, the rise in average global temperatures over time. This rise in average global temperatures have been more rapid in recent times and are attributed to human activities and the burning of fossil fuels.

Fossil fuels is the primary source of energy powering the capitalist socioeconomic system; it is central to the politics of the capitalist system. The use of fossil fuels, some other industrial and agricultural practices, and deforestation produce and increase greenhouse gases (primarily carbon dioxide and methane) in the earth's atmosphere. These greenhouse gases which are emitted into the atmosphere stop heat from escaping the earth by trapping it in the atmosphere. The larger the amount of these gases in the atmosphere, the larger the amount of heat that is trapped, and consequently, the higher the rise in rate of average global temperatures, thus, causing global warming. This is the cause of the changes in the earth's climate system.

The impact of these changes in the climate system are many and are becoming more and more devastating and deadly. The impacts include extreme weather events, such as intense storms and droughts; more frequent and intense heatwaves, wildfires; and rapid desertification. Biodiversity is also being drastically affected, with species loss and species relocation happening in impacted mountain, coral reefs and arctic ecosystems, among others.

Other impacts are increased scarcity of water and food, flooding, heat, increased economic and livelihoods systems loss, diseases, as well as increased tensions and conflicts. These are some of the direct threats posed to humanity and life on earth in general by climate change. It is important for us to restate the fact that the primary drivers of climate change are human activities and use of fossil fuel as the primary source of energy. Implicit in this understanding is the fact that changes to human activities and ending the use of fossil fuels are decisive forms of action to prevent further global warming and reverse climate change.

However, from the foregoing, it is important to identify and underscore the systemic drivers of the current nature and character of human activities, and fossil fuel use. At the heart of climate change are certain twin processes or mechanisms. The first is the rabid nature and character of the processes of exploitation of environmental {natural} resources. Examples are, the extractive processes in oil and gas, industrial scale logging, solid minerals mining, among others. Second is the ruthless process of exploitation of human labour in the course of the

“Fossil fuels is the primary source of energy powering the capitalist socioeconomic system; it is central to the politics of the capitalist system”.

destructive exploitation of these environmental resources.

The twin processes are central to the operation of capitalism and the capitalist mode of production as well as to the capitalist relations of production. Hence, the concern here is the way and manner of producing, distributing, exchanging and consuming the goods and services required for sustaining society and human civilization. Also of equal concern are the relationships entered into between and among human beings and between human beings and nature, in the production, distribution, exchange and consumption of these goods and services required for the sustenance and development of human civilisation.

Both processes of exploitation of environmental resources, and of exploitation of human labour in order to achieve the former are undertaken to extract not just value but surplus value. The two, are fundamental to the running of the capitalist economy as we know it. It then follows that, if we must put a stop to global warming—and we must, if we are to have any chance of surviving as a specie—we must also put an end to fossil fuel use, embrace renewable energy, and more importantly, put an end to the exploitation of natural resources and of human labour.

WW

Climate justice and just transition are two sides of the same coin. They are about responding to climate change and addressing its causes and impact while seeking to mitigate current impact and prevent future impact. They may be referred to as a twin phenomenon, neither of which can be achieved without addressing the other.

As twin phenomena and two sides of the same coin, they derive from the twin processes at the heart of the capitalist system responsible for global warming (the exploitation of natural resources and of human labour).

So, what is climate justice? What is just transition? And what is the nexus between them?

Before delving into these concepts, it is pertinent to first explain my use of the phenomenon of exploitation, which I contrast to utilisation.

Exploitation is an inherently and intensely unfriendly, aggressive, and profit driven processes. It is undertaken all for the sake of producing and increasing profits. That is why it places profits above people. That is why it is inherently unjust and with an inbuilt tendency to engender and increase inequality. This is why regardless of the scale and scope of wealth that the capitalist economy is potentially capable of generating, as a system, it is incapable of engendering equitable access to and distribution of wealth. As such, its natural inclination and tendency is to produce and extend, over and over again, social injustice and social inequality.

Utilisation, on the other hand, is indicative of a collaborative system of cooperation where resources and human labour are utilised for the good of the society. It connotes a system in which deliberate and intentional mechanisms and efforts are put in place and made to ensure principles of inclusion, equity, equality and fairness. These principles come to play in the contribution of each member of the society to the production processes leading to the generation of the commonwealth. They also apply to the allocation of benefits from the commonwealth to each member of the society, on the basis of their needs. This differentiation between exploitation and utilisation shows the contrast between a capitalist and a socialist mode of, and relations of production.

** Part two of this article will be published in the September edition of the Eco-Instigator*

[Jaye Gaskia is a public affairs Analyst and political commentator]

Eras of Flood

by A. S. Afereno

Go!
Pick up your untiring gong
Go tell the world!
That Noah's beautiful story
Was never a myth
Before our very eyes we now see

Go!
Cry them a million tears
Feed it into their ears
Those rulers in the capital
Whose silence now cause us
pains
Every season it rains

Go!
Go down to the mountains of
Etsako
And to the river banks of Makoko
Paddle up to the walls of Mbiama
And to the shores of Joinkrama
Nothing more but overflowing
tears

Go!
Unlike Jonah
Go and pass the message
without grumbles

To the lords of the ministries
And to the keepers of the
parastatals
That all we worked for is in the
deep of the waters

Go!
Tell those whom we sent to the
capital
That the King's palace is now
under water
Our farms now traditional
swimming pools
Farming now a mockery for fools
Cassava, Yam, Potato all gone
never to return

Go!
One last time please go
Tell them it is coming again
Maybe this time with no mercy
History, Culture and Heritage lost
While some gain at another's
cost
The eras of deadly flood
Now litters on the floor our dear
blood

ENTRENCHING INJUSTICES WITH SHADY STRATEGIES

by Otobong Inieke

For far too long, indigenous and self-sufficient communities have been victim to the injustices of capitalism and the greed of neo-colonizers. From endangered nations in South America to vulnerable communities across the entire African states, the constant drive for endless profit and economic domination has not only destroyed precious resources in the environment, but also sustainable ways of living. Take, for example, the Osun River in Nigeria, a UNESCO world heritage site, carrying much spiritual value in Yoruba culture has also been contaminated with toxic chemicals as a result of gold mining. This has damaged century old practices like fishing, prayer ceremonies and other cultural activities.

It is disheartening that so-called 'conservation' industry are involved in the exploitation of communities, on the pretext of preserving or restoring nature. The irony lies in the fact that many initiatives supposedly intended to preserve or restore nature are funded by the same corporate interests that enable environmental degradation.

Many national parks and protected area status are imposed on people living within areas of concern; with little or no consultation, communities are destabilized as a means of maintaining the so-called pristine conditions of the park, area, or reserve. Local hunting is criminalized as poaching while foreigners are encouraged through tourism to participate in trophy hunting. Logging and resource extraction companies are given incentives to operate, and in many situations, whole communities suffer violence and face expulsion.

The Kahuzi-Biega National Park in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is home to unique flora and fauna, and serves as a premium avenue to tourism. Organisations like Birdlife International and The Wildlife Conservation Society have identified the Kahuzi-Biega tropical forest region as exceptionally diverse. The region is *protected* by the DRC government and managed by Congolese Institute for Nature Conservation (ICCN).

Image by Sjith Devanagari on unsplash

The French news service, RFI (Radio France Internationale), reports that over just a three-year period, natives of the indigenous Batwa communities living in the region have suffered violent human rights abuses ranging from terror tactics, sexual violence, to murder. The environmental rights group, Survival International, produced a report documenting violence against the Baka and Bayaka people of the Congo Basin—a region where large conservation organisations like the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) are the dominant players.

The Wyss Foundation, in collaboration with National Geographic launched the '30X30 Campaign for Nature' which is an initiative gathering a "\$1.5 billion investment to help communities, Indigenous Peoples, and nations conserve 30% of the planet in its natural state by 2030". This is an effort, led by Non-Government Organisations (NGOs), to convince governments of the world to each conserve 30% of their territory. On paper, the initiative reads like a net-positive for societies of the world. In practice, it comes with many unwanted or unexpected outcomes, with the most vulnerable people and societies bearing the heavy consequences.

Survival International argues that the 30X30 Campaign for Nature would be a major land grab around the world and thousands of indigenous communities will be the victims. As a matter of fact, the so-called 'protected areas' are usually militarized and cordoned off resulting to originally self-sufficient rural communities losing their sources of livelihood. The High Ambition Coalition (HAC) for Nature and People, an intergovernmental group made up of over a hundred countries, is currently leading the push for protected 30% of the earth's land and ocean by 2030.

The coalition is headed by the United Kingdom, France, and Costa Rica. It is at the forefront of convincing governments of the world to adopt the pledge committing 30% of their territory to the 'global deal for nature and people'. It is important to note that in the creation of protected areas, the conservation industry calls for investment costing roughly between \$722-967billion each year, for the next 10 years, if biodiversity decline is to be reversed by 2030, according to the Financing Nature

Report by the Paulson Institute.

Further estimate from the report suggests that the 'biodiversity financing gap' stands at an average of \$711billion per year. States governments, having influence over domestic budgets and tax policies, are hence, expected to invest more in 'green finance'—simply being loan programmes targeted towards environmental protection. For countries of the global south, this would mean taking on more debt.

With so many contradictions in play, there needs to be a multi-point change in the narrative. There is great need for conservation initiatives that are supportive of nature and her life-supporting systems as well as inclusive of the rural and indigenous communities who are, in essence, the greatest stewards of nature. Industrialized societies in North America for instance, have not developed any techniques of controlling forest fires that are more effective than the ancient ways of the indigenous nations of that continent.

It is important to highlight the perspectives of rural communities in environmental protection efforts. Rural communities know best how to balance economic activities with sustainable interactions with nature. At higher policy levels, environmental protection or conservation efforts do not deal with climate issues directly. The policies rarely focus on the highest sources of carbon emission which is overwhelmingly the industrialized societies of the global north and their extractive industry. Efforts towards environmental protection must not be driven by capitalist motives or the commodification of nature because these are the same motivations that brought on the destruction of nature and indigenous peoples in the first place. These are the same practices that inspired colonial expansion and suppression of indigenous rights in order to secure access to natural resources.

In essence, *shaddy solutions will not solve environmental injustice.*

[Otobong Inieke is an independent researcher based in Rivers State, Nigeria]

EARTH DAY 2023: INVESTING IN LIFE

Health of Mother Earth Foundation (HOMEF) continuously calls for the protection of the Earth for the benefit of all beings—humans and the other-than-humans. Protecting the Earth is investing in life.


The theme of the 2023 International Mother Earth Day, *Invest in our Planet*, is a call for action requiring responsible use of Nature's gifts with a clear understanding of the interdependence of species. It is a call for investments in life. Such investments go beyond finance and require the recognition that human activities such as pollution, deforestation and over consumption have dire consequences on the quality of life. According to the director of HOMEF, Nnimmo Bassey, "It is important to mention that the investment we are speaking about should not be about mere financial investment because the Earth is not a stock exchange. The investment calls for a reflection on our relationship with Mother Earth and with each other. Our investment should be towards playing our role of trusteeship as children of the Earth".

Stressing the kind of investment sought, Nnimmo Bassey, avows, "Calling for investment in our planet out-rules investment in more extraction of fossil fuels, mining of coal, or continuous gas flaring." He asserts that "The investment should be one that conserves our environment." To achieve

**" It is a call for investments in life...
...Beyond finance and require the recognition that human activities such as pollution, deforestation and over consumption have dire consequences on the quality of life".**

this much needed investment, Bassey states that "It is time to reflect on what can be done to make the planet more habitable not only for humans but for other beings."

HOMEF's Project Lead on Fossil Politics, Stephen Oduware, states that "the investment would be useless if we commodify nature and exchange it for money." According to him, "We have watched communities suffer from pollution, and grossly damaged environments. It is time for world leaders to sit up and ensure that the Earth does not burn as a result of the quest for negative economic investments



that ignore ecological realities."

Magdalene Idiang, an eco-feminist, regrets the huge investments in false climate solutions. According to her, "World leaders and financial institutions who seem to be betting on promoting Net Zero, Carbon Offset, and other false climate solutions that do not support life on the planet should begin to direct their investment to real climate solutions that would stop ecocide and protect the rights of Mother Earth".

Stressing the issue of the right kind of investment, Cadmus Atake-Enade, HOMEf's project lead for Community and Culture, states, "There is an urgent need for us to re-invest in the planet through harnessing local knowledge rooted in our rich cultures so as to come up with real solutions to climate change. We must also encourage agroecological practices and moral values that make the planet more habitable."

All must contribute to saving the Earth by putting an end to the dependence on non-renewable resources like fossil fuels and work collectively towards maintaining a healthy environment. The peoples of the Earth have the shared responsibility of creating awareness of the environmental issues that the planet suffers and promoting solutions that lead to a sustainable future.

All critical stakeholders must channel their resources and attention to ensuring that the planet is made habitable for all.



SNAPSHOTS OF HOMEF IN A DECADE



HOMEF is dedicated to sharing knowledge with, and learning from, community persons, including fishers, on environmental monitoring and advocacy with participants ranging between 30 and over 100 per training session. HOMEF's engagement in movement building in partnership with other groups. This has led to the birthing of formidable networks such as the FishNet Alliance, GMO-Free Nigeria and networks of eco-defenders.

In the area of publications, the think tank continues to hold sway with regular editions of its quarterly magazine, the Eco-Instigator; 12 sizzling reports including that from the Market Shelf Survey which exposes the presence of food products with GMOs in the Nigerian market; 19 training materials used for engagement at the grassroots and upwards; and 12 penetrative books including 2 of fiction.





A DREAM CAME ALIVE

by Babawale Obayanju

"I will like to retire from my position as executive director of ERA, to start working from HOME. I would like to take on research on issues that pertain to the environment I have worked in over these years. I want to pass down my experiences to the next generation, open up spaces for learning and to make sure there are people to carry on this work...." These were the words (rephrased) shared with me informally by the present director of HOMEF, Nnimmo Bassey, about twelve years ago.

It gladdens my heart to see the manifestation of this dream more than 10 years after.

This gladness began when I first saw the registration of the name 'Health of Mother Earth– Foundation' with the Corporate Affairs Commission. In my head I said in Pidgin English *"eish! This one no bi, I bin wan, I bin wan ...na reality now o"*.

Looking back today, I am super happy I was invited to be a part of this vision.

HOMEF thereafter, went on to organise her first Sustainability Academy with a bang! The much respected Pablo Solon launched the dream with learnings from his wealth of knowledge alongside Nnimmo Bassey, moving from Lagos, to Abuja and then climaxing that session in Benin City. This was indeed a great start for an organisation less than one year at that time.

Many young ones have been trained and many are still being trained on ecological, climate, and environmental justice issues through various platforms formed by HOMEF – the School of Ecology and Sustain-Ability Academy, Learning from the Wise, to mention a few. Partnerships with organisations like Right Livelihood College have given rise to a Nigerian campus of the college at the University of Port Harcourt. This has opened up opportunities for young people to carry out research in various fields of





environmental scholarship.

Knowledge exchange for HOME F goes beyond just spoken words at conferences or workshops or schools to the publishing of different kinds of books, blog posts, an excellent website, and about 40 quarterly Eco-Instigator produced in the last 10 years. This is a HOOOGEEE (huge) feat for which I must commend HOME F and ask that it be intensified.

Community folks have been empowered by the regular community dialogues and workshops hosted by HOME F. The knowledge embedded in our communities has been tapped and shared with folks from around the world, showcasing the wealth

of knowledge possessed by indigenous community peoples.

HOME F has teamed up with several groups across the world today, to seek climate justice, food sovereignty, and ecological justice. The struggle for climate justice for the peoples of Africa has gone steps further, strengthening climate and environmental justice movements.

I think this will be a good time to appreciate the likes of Zaid Shopeju, Funmi Oyatogun, Shehu Akowe, Ruth Esekhiogbe, Olatunji Buhari, Olatundun Dotun Davids, and Cadmus Atake Enade who volunteered and joined forces with Nnimmo Bassey to run HOME F in the early days of the organisation. The team today has grown from 5 volunteers and one core staff member to over 15 staff members and hundreds of volunteers spread across the globe.

I know this ten years is the start of a journey, and there remains more ground to cover in the days, weeks, months, and years ahead. Do not be left out, join this ecological think tank train today.

Babawale Obayanju, is a member of the Board of Trustees of HOME F, a climate justice campaigner and communicator with ERA/ FoENigeria and FoEAfrica





THE TRANSFORMED LIFE

by Cadmus Atake-Enade

Working in HOMEf, the ecological think tank, for the past 10 years has been life transforming and incredibly interesting. Securing this job was a dream come true because environment advocacy had been my life style as a student and the job was the platform that I dreamt of.

My experience in HOMEf has thought me to be prepared at all times such that I am able to carry out assigned task within a short time frame. I have the opportunity of continuously learning from seasoned

environmental professionals both at local and international levels. I have learned so much concerning the impacts of the extractive sector on the lives and livelihoods of community people. This gave me a whole new level of awareness and increased my zeal to stand for the people's right to live in a safe and serene environment devoid of pollution, degradation, and climate crisis caused mostly by the activities of extractive corporations.

Learning more about areas like Ogoni in Rivers State and other areas in the Niger Delta that have been ravaged by extractive activities, I have seen the nonchalant attitude of the Nigerian Government and the Multinational Companies operating in the region. Visiting impacted communities like Goi and Bodo communities in Gokana Local Government Area of Rivers State, Ibeno, in Akwa Ibom, Nembe, Akassa, Lasukugbene in Bayelsa State has given me a whole new perspective about the sufferings and starvation of people in the Niger Delta—the sufferings are not self-inflicted but are extractive sector-engineered. Trips to the impacted communities have also broadened my horizon about the peculiarities of various geographical locations, cultures, and peoples. I have gained knowledge on how various communities are surmounting their environmental challenges.

HOMEF's dialogues, conversations, learning from the wise, field visits, conferences /seminars and workshop organised for youths, students, community people, CSOs and the general public, have broadened my understanding concerning the various dimensions of the pressing environmental issues in Nigeria.

HOMEF is working to ensure that the environment and all that dwells therein are living sustainably and in harmony with nature.

[Cadmus Atake-Enade leads the Community and Culture work track in HOMEf]



TEN YEARS OF PHENOMENAL GROWTH

by Dotun Davids Olatundun

I have been with HOMEF since inception, but I officially joined in March 2014. Throughout the years, I have witnessed HOMEF grow and expand in team strength and its reach. The growth has been phenomenal for the organisation, myself and all who were part of the HOMEF team in its earlier years and in this present time. It is really impossible not to become better with the kind of environment that HOMEF provides.

One of the things that interests me most in HOMEF is the team playing ability; the staff interact as people raised from the same background. The love displayed by each personality in the organisation baffles me. Also, the rate at which people around us—funders, partners, community people—appreciate our works really interests me.

Working in HOMEF increased my ability to multitask yet deliver optimally on each task.

Am happy that HOMEF is 10 years already; having 10 years of great accomplishments is no mean feat. It is a great milestone. There are some older organisations that have not come close to attaining the heights that HOMEF has reached. And it's not because we are a perfect organisation. I have always believed that because we advocate for the protection of the Earth, people and livelihoods, and encourage good relations with Nature, God is on our side. I am confident that God will always guide and keep all of us who are in the struggle for environmental justice and food sovereignty.

My wishes for HOMEF at 10 is for it to continue waxing strong, making more audible impact in the environmental justice struggle. I wish HOMEF many more years.

[Olatundun Dotun-Davids is the Administrative Manager at HOMEF]



HOMEF, MY HIGHER LEARNING INSTITUTION

by Shehu Akowe

Health of Mother Earth Foundation (HOMEF) is a higher learning institution and a global environmental justice campaign organisation. In the past nine years, I have gathered an ocean of experience on environmental justice campaign and myriad issues covering food systems, renewable energy, and the extractive sector, all from working with Health of Mother Earth Foundation.

Programmes and knowledge shared in HOMEF have always been inspiring, educating and left me desiring for more. All events are tailored towards solving series of challenges. The Organisation has positively impacted many lives including mine. The culture of wellbeing practiced in HOMEF makes me feel at home.

I pen this experience with a heart filled with gratitude for the opportunity to learn, relearn and upgraded in knowledge. I am thankful to the Ecological Think Tank and the

management for a life changing experience. I pledge to continue flying the green flag for a safe and habitable future for the present and unborn generations.

Long live HOMEF, management and the team.

Happy 10th Year Anniversary!!!

[Shehu Akowe is Project Officer under the Fossil Politics work track at HOMEF]



HOMEF TEAM TO THE RESCUE: A Win-win Experience

by Elvis Omorogbe

I joined HOMEF in October 2, 2017. The journey was not that exciting in the first six months of my work with HOMEF.

I had no prior experience working with an NGO. I had to make reasonable adjustments and that was challenging. But with the help of colleagues, I was able to move pass that stage. All through the years, till the present time, it has been a win-win situation working with the HOMEF team, especially the finance team. It's been about working together to achieve the organisation's set goals. This is what I find most appealing. Whenever one is down, you can be rest assured that there is someone in the team that will lift you up.

What has kept me going over the years in HOMEF is the spirit of team work. And for that I remain grateful.



This team spirit has made it considerably easy for me to carry out my job description as a finance officer in HOMEF. From the preparation of financial reports, resolving of financial disputes raised by project funders, assisting in the preparation of budgets to managing records, invoices/receipts and reconciling financial transactions, it has been a whole lot of learning and sharing experience.

Happy 10-year anniversary to us.

[Elvis Omorogbe is Finance Officer at HOMEF]



MY SIX YEARS IN HEALTH OF MOTHER EARTH FOUNDATION

by Joyce Brown

My time in HOMEF so far has been rewarding. For me, it has been an experience of steady growth, intellectually, socially and otherwise. As an ecological think tank, HOMEF is a space where learning is inevitable. There have been times when learning was uncomfortable and work overwhelming, but overall, I have had a great and exciting experience.

In HOMEF, individuals are saddled with responsibilities that require critical thinking, research and communication at different levels. HOMEF is such a space that encourages self-motivation and development of expertise for the various work tracks. This has enabled me find my niche and contribute effectively our organisational goals.

I resumed work in HOMEF on 6 February 2017 as a project assistant on the Hunger Politics work track. Within that time and now, I have gone from the position of project assistant to project officer to programmes manager and now director of programmes. My current roles include general coordination of projects; preparation of proposals, project and annual reports; programme implementation; maintaining relationship with donors and allies etc.

Over the years, the Hunger Politics Desk has led the resistance against the entrenchment of GMOs in Nigeria and strongly advocated for people-centred, seed and biosecurity laws, and promoted public awareness and government support for Agroecology—a farming system that assures food sovereignty



Policies; Factsheet on GM Bt Cowpea; Documentary on Agroecology and Climate Change; Review of the National Biosafety Management Agency Act; Farmers Dialogue Guide etc. The outcomes include amongst others, increased public awareness on GMOs and their implications, on Agroecology and its relevance for food sovereignty and; significant influence on government decisions/policies on food and biosafety.



HOMEF encourages team work and networking both within the organisation and outside with local, national and international actors. One of our core mandates is to foster movements for the recovery of dignity and memory, justice in our food systems, and for environmental justice. I represent HOMEF in networks including the Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa (as member of the board of directors and coordinator of the youth forum); the GMO-Free Nigeria Alliance (as membership coordinator) and; the Alliance of Action on Pesticides in Nigeria (as coordinator). These roles have built and continue to enhance my capacity in leadership, networking, programme implementation and so on.



I am thankful to the Executive Director of HOMEF, Nnimmo Bassey, for his guidance and confidence in my abilities, and to the board of HOMEF for fostering an enabling environment for growth and all round development for the staff.

HOMEF, indeed, is reputable for advancing environmental and climate justice in Nigeria and Africa at large.

Hearty congratulations to the entire team on this occasion of our 10 years anniversary!

We look forward to more decades of increasing ecological knowledge, propagating re-source democracy and supporting wholesome socio-ecologically cohesive communities where people live in solidarity and dignity.

[Joyce Brown is the Director of Programmes at HOMEF]

and climate resilience.

Our work tools have included dialogues with food system actors, particularly local farmers; trainings and conferences; rallies, media engagements and; litigation and research (including participatory action research and consumer surveys).

Outputs from the desk include reports on market shelves survey (2018/2019); reports on the State of Biosafety in Nigeria, Promoting Agroecology for Climate Resilient Agriculture, and Nigerian Food



SIX YEARS OF TRANSFORMATION

by Stephen Oduware

the scales to drop off your eyes such that you're able to see the world as it is (without makeups)—and provide the platform action.

I joined the organisation on the 3rd of July 2017 as Project Officer under the Sustain-Ability Academy work track. After about three years, I became Project Lead, Alliance and Networking. About three years later, I became Programme Manager, overseeing the Fossil Politics work track—one of the cardinal thematic areas of HOMEF.

In my early days with HOMEF, there were times I felt like quitting due to fear of being unable to match the intellectual capacity of the organisation. But, here I am, six years in HOMEF and still counting, growing with the organisation and contributing to its achievements.

HOMEF is an equal-opportunity space for learning, contributing and achieving. It has motivated me to take up responsibilities and challenges I had thought were impossible to surmount. HOMEF keeps grooming me for leadership. Working with colleagues, the space has turned us into a family. Together we learn, relearn and unlearn whilst pursuing our mission and vision. –Together, we examine the roots of exploitation of resources, peoples and nations as well as work with movements for the recovery of memory, dignity, and harmonious living with Mother Earth.

I can sum up my experience with/in HOMEF as one that has been and remains a journey of transformation into a force against capitalism and neo-colonial stranglehold in Nigeria and Africa at large.

On this 10th anniversary I would say, Victory is Near!

[Stephen Oduware is Programme Manager – Fossil Politics at HOMEF]



Health of Mother Earth Foundation (HOMEF) has had tremendous impacts on my everyday life – from the way I perceive the world to the way I engage with it. I have learned to see beyond what is shown, see beyond displayed emotions and hear unspoken intentions.

More so, I have understood the power relations that is at play in the global space and the seemingly palatable carrot that gravitates the “least powerful” to the unending conquest and exploitation of the “most powerful”.

HOMEF will reset your mind—shake



IKIKE: MY HOMEF EXPERIENCE AND DREAM

by Mfoniso Antia

Health of Mother Earth Foundation (HOMEF) is 10 years old. Wow! What a time to pause and reflect on the journey so far! I have served here in five out of those beautiful 10 years. Oh, maybe it could be recorded as six years of service, if the first one year of my volunteer engagement is to be counted. I sent in my request to join the team of HOMEF volunteers in January 2017 and got accepted around the first week of February of the same year.

After one year of volunteering, there was an opening for me to join the team in February 2018 as a project assistant. My first major role for a few months was to serve as Nnimmo Bassey's Executive Assistant while also familiarizing myself with the different work tracks. Those first few months set the precedent for what would be my trail today. I have, within these years, served as a Project Officer, Project Lead and now currently a Programmes Manager overseeing the Ikike Work Track.

Beyond being the umbrella name for our learning spaces, Ikike, as I named my work track in HOMEF in 2019, means more to me (story for some other time). Ikike now embodies the platform that has so far enabled me to do, become and express some of the things I envisioned as an undergraduate in the department of Animal and Environmental Biology, University of Port Harcourt.

As a graduate of an environment related discipline and having worked this far with a reputable environmental organisation like HOMEF, I have come to realize that there is



so much knowledge gap between what is being fed to the students of environmental disciplines and the realities on ground. HOMEF, through its different learning spaces, has attempted to bridge this gap by providing spaces for the interrogation of concepts/ ideas, and for the generation and sharing of knowledge and research.

The experience I've gathered from leading the

Ikike Work Track has been nothing short of electrifying. It has been a journey of learning, unlearning and relearning. The Work Track has helped me to grow in my understanding of the environmental advocacy space, of the people, especially at the grassroots and most importantly, of the policies and politics governing the drive, move, position and aspirations of every stakeholder in the space. It has widened my scope and perspectives of prevailing issues, strengthened my resolve to stand and advocate for justice while being bold to question and resist injustice. These are experiences I wish I had or was exposed to earlier as a student in an environment-centered discipline.

As I have mentioned earlier, the Ikike is a bit personal for me. So help me God, with the re-sources at my disposal, I intend to put everything I can, for the length of time that I will be here, towards bridging the knowledge gap between the academia, policy makers, grassroots people and those at the forefront of the pursuit of climate and environmental justice. I am looking forward to a time when the outcome of our learning spaces (with our array of reputable and knowledgeable instigators) will influence the review of higher institutions and secondary schools' curricula for environmental disciplines and subjects respectively.

In my five years with HOMEF, I have had the honour of working with a great team, the privilege of being held by the hand with a daily push for improvement and the rarest opportunity of standing on the shoulders of a very tall but down-to-earth man, one we call the living ancestor, Nnimmo Bassey – who I will forever be grateful to. It has been a decade of knowledge generation and sharing, fighting for justice and the protection of mother earth, and standing in solidarity with the people—a decade of progress that I am super proud to have contributed to.

In solidarity, Happy 10th anniversary HOMEF!

[Mfoniso Antia is Programmes Manager overseeing the Ikike Work Track at HOMEF]

My Journey So Far With HOMEF

by Kelechi Etuokei

My journey with Health of Mother Earth Foundation (HOMEF) began in the year 2019 when I got recruited as a finance officer. I would say the interview process was seamless. This sort of gave me a good idea of the kind of people that run the organisation and that I would finally work with.

I was excited.

So far, I can see and appreciate my growth both in my job roles and in my relationship with the world and people in it. My job roles have been to ensure the accuracy of financial documents, compile financial reports for individual projects, prepare and analyse accounting records/financial statements.

I have received quality trainings in addition to the accounting skills I already had. This has made my job less daunting. And I have moved to the level of finance lead.

On a lighter note, HOMEF has really brought me out of my shell. I find myself excited at the prospect of taking part in several (work) activities and socialising.

This has enabled me build good relationship with the team and impacted my work positively.



I'm grateful for a lot of things—my family and friends, my bosses and colleagues who have been there and kept me strong—all the lessons I've learned, even the challenges and struggles I've had.

Thank you HOMEF and Happy 10 years Birthday.

[Kelechi Etuokei is Finance lead at Health of Mother Earth Foundation]

10 Years of Challenging Environmental Injustices

by Magdalene Idiang

Health of Mother Earth Foundation has exposed me to the glaring environmental injustices produced by capitalism.

As a member of the HOMEF team, I have been opportune to be part of various environmental/climate justice campaigns and activities. These events have taken me to some of the most beautiful places as well as the most devastated, especially in the Niger Delta region which has become like a waste land, with people having a low life expectancy of about 41 years.

Working with HOMEF has not only opened my eyes, but has also expanded my thoughts, sparked a fire and prompted new ways of thinking in me. Working under the guidance and supervision of Nnimmo Bassey, my ambition became to see disadvantaged, exploited, and local communities standing strong, facing large fossil businesses, and demanding justice and by so doing, taking back their stakes on their own resources and their management.

These resources have been, for the past decades, the exclusive reserve of multinational corporations and the political elites.

I have been fortunate to receive guidance from a great environmental hero like Nnimmo Bassey and many others like him from different parts of the world. I am also truly inspired by how we, the HOMEF



Team, serve the greater good and how we grow together.

I appreciate how kind and supportive we are to each other.

Happy 10th anniversary, HOMEF.

[Magdalene Idiang is Project Officer overseeing the Gender and Evaluation work tracks in HOMEF]

THE THING IN THE PIPELINE

by Dieworimene Koikoibo

You didn't always know what the pipeline running across your community really carried in it.

You had thought it carried free uniforms, books, breakfast and lunch for students. But right now, standing inside the kitchen of the Master's camp, hands folded over your blue apron as you look on half-dazzled and half-worried by the activity on the camp ground, you know it's something different that's in the pipeline.

You are staring at your so-called comrades—the Avtomat Kalashnikova-wielding men in white singlets and shorts—their heads, arms, waists and legs festooned with black, red, white or yellow *ebuluku* ('bullet-proof' bunting) as they dance to a medley of war songs, chants and ululations punctuated by sporadic gunshots in the air.

They circle the sturdy cotton tree which stands in the middle of the camp ground, in a frenzy.

"Alagba fiyeee...!"

Ogidi fiye o..!

Toru-yanrin...!"

(Let the gun speak!

Let the machete speak!

Let the river stir!)

"Esinmene-gha—?"



"Esingha!"

(Are we afraid?
We are not afraid!)

"Asawana—!"


"Wana—!"

As with the songs and guns, your thoughts are blasting. You're thinking if at some point you will also dance among these fierce-looking, gun-wielding men who move like angry *nemuyou* (madmen).

At present, you serve as a common Camp Boss. What if it comes to bearing arms like them? What if the Master himself asks that you join the "operations"? Can you say "no" after all that the Master has done for you and your family? Ah!

Soon your thoughts grow louder than the frenzy-medley. Though your eyes stay on the campground, your mind is paddling gently down the river of memory to before you knew what the pipeline in your community really carried. A time when you, too, had danced—a different kind of dance though.

One morning in the Assembly hall of C.S.S. Akuama, several years before your




uncle, Commander Zimor, recruited you into the Master's Liberation Force to serve as a Camp Boss, you and your classmates had shouted in excitement upon a special announcement by the principal, Mr. Aburu. You all jumped up and down to catch the sweet words off the watery mouth of the big-bellied man like they were low-hanging mangoes.

"Free uniforms and notebooks and breakfast and lunch!" Mr. Aburu had repeated that part of the announcement for emphasis, and the dancing intensified. Your tiny palms hit the desks, and your feet tapped the scarred cement floor in a riotous rhythm.

To be fair, Mr. Aburu had only restated to the students what the Commissioner of Education had said on radio the previous

day: that the government was going to provide all the secondary schools in the State with free new school uniforms, writing materials as well as breakfast and lunch every school day. You had also keenly listened to the Commissioner's broadcast on your father's radio that fateful evening. So when the Principal confirmed it on Friday morning, you couldn't help but display your *awilo-logomba* moves.

The following day, Saturday, you had rushed to the pocket-friendly community market, and with your little savings from *okpoku* (clams) diving, bought an *okrika* apron—the very blue one—in preparation for the Commissioner's free breakfast and lunch. That what one actually needed for dining was not an apron but a napkin had easily flown over your small head in your haste.



Anyway, you aren't one to leave everything to chance. After all, "Faith without work is dead", the Chapel Prefect had said several times during devotions in morning Assembly.

Every school day, you and the other schoolboys ran to school in your old uniforms. If your right hands supported your beltless shorts, the left clutched your worn, nearly used-up notebooks. No matter, you ran with your heads held high in a cloud of hope. At school, you showed-off your apron at every opportunity, so much so that they began calling you Apron in place of Aaron, your surname. Although you objected at first, the name stuck to your skin like wet linen.

During Assembly, one of the boys would raise a hand to ask, "Sir, what about the food and the notebooks and the uniforms you and the Commissioner promised?" To this, your big-bellied Principal always replied, "It's in the pipeline; it's coming."

And so on. But it wasn't too long before the truth about the pipelines spilled. By the time you got to Junior Secondary Three, it had dawned on you that if there was any good in the pipeline it was not coming to your wretched community secondary school. It was headed to Nobby Terminal and from there, to the international market, where it got sold for huge profits. And that it was greedy-guts like the Commissioner who squandered the proceeds.

Your hopes for the goodies became broken like the walls of your school building. What was delivered to the community instead came unceremoniously: the degradation of farmlands and fishing sites by incessant oil spills. Even then, whenever you saw Mr. Aburu and asked about the goodies

the Commissioner had promised, the big-bellied man's reply was the same: "It's in the pipeline."

Although you no longer danced to it in excitement, you laughed—a laughter that didn't ring true because, like a chicken who has seen that a wild bird has been killed and is being plucked, your head had developed an ache that prevents you from laughing hard.

"Oil pipelines bring destruction, war, and death," you sigh as your mind paddles back at the camp, back to the frenzy-medley. You don't find any of it funny or ideal. But the Master is convinced, as are you, painfully, that the government people and oil companies are deaf to words of mouth. Maybe, they'll finally listen if the machetes and guns speak, and the river stirs. For now, you turn to tend to the kitchen as the singing continues:

"Ogbaseri ooo,

Ogbaseri nama-ama kpo ba-sinte, indi-ama kpo ba-sinte

fimi-wodeintei o—ikinyan sori ooo—ehh

fimi-wodeintei o—ikinyan seri ooo—ehh"

(Ogbaseri has killed all the animals in the animal kingdom

Ogbaseri has killed all the fish in the fish kingdom

So war canoe, go to him

We are tired of dying

War canoe, go to him).

*Note: *This dirge was culled from an Izon moonlight tale about Ogbaseri, a greedy hunter.*

["Jasper" Dieworimene Koikoibo is an Attorney and an environmentalist with love for Art. He is part of HOMEf's legal team. He writes by the riverside: <https://thewaterplace.medium.com>]



MY HOMEF EXPERIENCE

by Efosa Efe Ehioghiren

HOMEF is a family unit, it's an organisation that believes in togetherness, unity and excellence. Staff and management relate as a family, work in unison and support each other. The team spirit displayed is second to none. HOMEF is a nuclear family, where staff are given the necessary tools, opportunity and space to bring out the hidden potentials in them for maximum productivity.

As a think tank for advocacy rooted in solidarity, and in the building and protection of human and collective dignity, HOMEF has afforded me the opportunity to experience total healing of territories—healing in the mind, body, soul, health, etc.

Thanks to HOMEF for providing the space.
Happy 10th Year Anniversary!

[Efosa Efe Ehioghiren is Internal Auditor at HOMEF]

A WALK INTO MY VISION AND THE JOURNEY INTO REALITY

by Ogechi Okanya
Cookey

I walked into my vision the day I applied to be part of the HOMEF team and upon recruitment, I began a journey into reality. Yes. HOMEF takes you on a journey into reality; you see the world as it is. You come face to face with the sad realities of people who shouldn't be going through the ordeals they endure. And you know, you tell yourself, that something needs to be done. Whatever it is that needs to be taken, must start now. But again, there's just so much needing tackling that you learn to calm your nerves and try to reflect on what your contributions to the struggle for environmental/climate justice and food sovereignty should really be—for you a member of a formidable team and as one with a vision.

Yes, you have your roles prescribed to you on your appointment letter. But there's more to it because the roles soon sync with your passion and your vision. Your duties that you discharge become personal. So my experience in HOMEF is beyond tasks accomplishment. I'm actually living and working a vision that's so in sync with the organisation's. The line(s) between your life and the daily work tasks kind of blur. That's if the lines ever existed. It's hard to tell at this point whether this is a good or bad experience. What's important is how I feel about it. It feels great!

So for every tasks, you want to give your all because the process,



outputs and outcomes matter greatly. In my job roles as a publications lead, I find myself reading every line, but most importantly reading above, below and in between the lines, putting myself in the writers head and heart. Because at the end of the day, what HOMEF wants is for the intended meaning, the writer is trying to pass across, to be communicated to the readers—to advance a struggle based on good knowledge and great understanding. That’s what I want too.

HOMEF gets your brain working and your heart feeling when your body wants to sit back and fold its hands. It’s an impossibility to fold your hands in HOMEF. You’ll be the one telling yourself “the struggle, not just the tasks, needs me” and your body will have to get up.

I think the environment, and every single day, I have ‘problems’ most of which I think only research can help create the path to the enduring solutions. And wow how HOMEF

is shaping my research and other aspects of my life cannot be explained in this piece. The time will come for such talks.

My stay in the environmental and climate justice struggle is a life-long thing. And it is all thanks to HOMEF; thanks to the man, Rev. Nnimmo Bassey, who took a stand with Nature and has continued leading people to take that stand.

With Nature I solidly stand!
Happy 10th Year Anniversary to the ecological think tank, Health of Mother Earth Foundations.
More decades of grace for the struggle!

[Ogechi Okanya Cooley is Research and Publications Lead at HOMEF]



EQUIPPED FOR THE STRUGGLE

by Kome Odhomor

In my less than two years work experience with HOMEf, I am ready to stand with other communicators and environmentalists to defend the rights of nature. In August 2021 when I first joined HOMEf, I had little or no idea how the development world functions. Coming from a nearly entirely different field of play, it wasn't completely easy navigating through. But with the right coaching and my willingness to learn, unlearn, relearn, it became easy for me to carry out my responsibilities as the Media/Communications Lead for HOMEf.

The last two years has been life transforming and interesting for me. It has offered me the space for broadening my knowledge as a communicator in the environment domain. Working with HOMEf, is a dream come through for me. I have always wanted to work in a merit-driven organisation advocating for a better cause—HOMEf is one.

I have had my high and low moments though. There are times when the pressure is just too much. Thinking on what HOMEf is aiming for—promoting the good life (Eti-Uwem), wellbeing, environmental and climate justice,

livelihoods justice for the grassroots and peoples of the world and food sovereignty—the pressure soon gives way for the pleasure I derive from contributing my quota. And with much delight, I turn every challenge into a new learning opportunity.

My work here entails, proper documentation of events and activities through photos and videos, media relations (press releases and news tracking) and becoming the behind the scene image of HOMEf. I have learned to work under pressure, with little or no supervision and to deliver effectively to the growth of the organisation. I have experienced growth for myself and for the organisation through the work that I do in HOMEf.

One key take home for me is, the ability to work as a team.

I desire to remain in this space and continue in the struggle for the future generation to have a better place to live in.

[Kome Odhomor is Media/Communications Lead at HOMEf]

MY JOURNEY THROUGH THE SCHOOL CALLED HOMEF

by Stanley Godspower Egholo

.HOMEF, to me, is not only an organisation but also a school that has birthed a family of conscious minds. A family, led by a conscious father, Rev. Nnimmo Bassey. Of course, “like father like children” as it is often depicted in our local parlance.

I’ve spent barely two years in HOMEF but it seems like I’ve been here from birth. My contact with HOMEF is quite an interesting one. I had been a student activist a few years back and always craved for an activist kind of organisation. It was my passion to be in the struggle for an egalitarian, equitable, just and dignified society. I soon found an organisation that pursued the same. It was a few months after collecting my Bachelors certificate from the University of Benin, having had my graduation delayed for almost four years, that I was called to resume work at HOMEF. So on the 4th of October 2021, I resumed duty as an Executive Assistant to the Director and as a Translator.

In HOMEF, I saw a typical example of an organisation that carries the true baton of struggle for a just, equitable and dignified society. HOMEF has given me a platform to practice my field of study—translation and interpretation—both within and outside Nigeria. HOMEF’s Ikike, Fossil and Hunger Politics work tracks have given me great insights into key issues in environmental justice struggle, food sovereignty, anti-fossil fuel campaigns, and historical background of community issues connected to environmental degradation and exploitation and so on. What I have learnt in HOMEF thus far, is what some persons may spend years and even pay a huge sum to learn in the university.

So, the space is a rare privilege given to me by Rev. Nnimmo Bassey and the entire HOMEF family. Ten years of standing with oppressed people in Nigeria, Africa and beyond is no mean feat and is worthy of commendation and celebration. I pray for more success and greater achievements in the years to come. Indeed, it has been an amazing ride. I have gained considerable measure of experience even in my short stay here. I hope to learn more.

[Stanley Godspower Egholo is responsible for Translation and Interpretation in HOMEF]





EXPERIENCING HOMEF AS A YOUTH

by Ukpono Bassey

Warm greetings from the Youth Desk and TYEN (The Young Environmentalists Network)!

It is an honour to be part of an organisation that recognizes the immense potential of youth and offers us a space to learn, lead, and make a tangible difference in the world.

In a world where the voices of young people are often drowned or disregarded, HOMEF has emerged as a shining beacon of hope. Through unwavering commitment, HOMEF has created a platform that not only amplifies our voices but also nurtures our growth and empowers us to become agents of change. This inclusive and supportive environment has given us the confidence to challenge the status quo, ask critical questions, and actively participate in shaping a sustainable future.

As a young environmentalist, I personally extend my heartfelt appreciation to each member of the HOMEF team. Your dedication, guidance, and mentorship have played a pivotal role in shaping my understanding of environmental issues and fostered my sense of responsibility towards our planet. You have not only imparted knowledge but also instilled in me the value of collaboration and teamwork.

One of the most valuable lessons I have learned here in HOMEF is the power of unity. Together, we have witnessed how collective action can bring about transformative change. From organising impactful campaigns to raising awareness about pressing environmental concerns, we have stood shoulder to shoulder, proving that we are stronger when we work as a team. This sense of camaraderie and shared purpose has ignited a fire within, allowing us to persist in the struggle for a better world, not just for ourselves, but for future generations.

As we look towards the future, I stand here with unwavering commitment, ready to continue in the shared journey towards a healthier planet. HOMEF has become a home for us, young people; a sanctuary where we can dream, create, and contribute to building a world that cherishes and protects Mother Earth.

Together, let us march forward—driven by our passion and united in our resolve—to create a sustainable and equitable world for all.

Happy 10th anniversary, HOMEF!

[Ukpono Bassey is in charge of the Youth Desk and TYEN (The Young Environmentalists Network) at HOMEF]



FROM CIVIL ENGINEERING TO CLIMATE JUSTICE ADVOCATE: MY HOMEF EXPERIENCE

by OduduAbasi Asuquo

I never imagined that I would end up working for an environmental justice organisation. As a civil engineering undergrad, my interest was in the designing and building of infrastructure that would improve the lives of people in my community. But when I learned about the devastating impacts of climate change on our planet, I began to wonder what would happen to me if the planet as I knew it was destroyed. This piqued my interest in the environment.

After graduation, I practiced civil engineering in one of the top civil engineering consultancy companies in Nigeria. There, I didn't get the job fulfilment I craved because as young girl from the Niger Delta, I was constantly coming face to face with the issues of climate change and environmental degradation. Things came to a head when I lost my mother to cancer, a disease that is linked to the pollution prevalent in the environment.

I made up my mind not to sit anymore on the fence. That's when I joined HOMEF. At first, I felt like a fish out of water. I had spent five years studying concrete and steel, and suddenly I was learning about ecosystems and biodiversity. But as I dove deeper into the work, I realized that my engineering background was an asset. I realised that different works of life are much more interconnected than we acknowledge and there is a lot of engineering in the environment.



Working with Health of Mother Earth Foundation has afforded me the opportunity to see from the communities' point of view the impacts of climate change. I can relate with the farmers as I see them struggling to grow crops because the seasons are becoming more unpredictable and the lands are hugely polluted. The rivers, which were once a reliable source of water and a major source of livelihood, are now polluted and exacerbate flooding as they overflow their banks. The communities are now much more vulnerable to climate change-induced disasters, like floods and landslides, which are becoming more frequent and severe.

HOMEF has made me realise that as an engineer, I was only proffering a temporary solution to the issues while what actually needs to be done is to tackle and address the root causes of climate change and work towards climate justice for all. This is what I do now—advocate for and alongside affected communities and push for policies that would address the climate crisis.

In less than one year I can attest to many rewarding experiences. One that stands out, is my experience at the United Nations Climate Change Conference of Parties, COP27, in Egypt. I was part of a delegation of youth advocates, from around the world, calling for urgent action on the climate crisis.

We spoke with policymakers, attended side events, and even participated in a protest to demand climate justice.

Being part of the delegation was a transformative experience. I met passionate young people from all over the world who were working towards a common goal. We shared stories of our struggles and successes, and we inspired each other to keep fighting for a better future. I left the conference feeling more motivated than ever to continue my work as a climate justice advocate.

Looking back and looking forward, as I continue to work for HOMEF, I many a times forget what I studied as I now advocate for systemic change that will address the root causes of climate change. I am opportune to participate in and host conferences across the globe, meet with policymakers, and collaborate with other organisations to push for a more just and sustainable world. I realize that my journey from civil engineering to climate justice advocacy is one I will never regret making.

[OduduAbasi Asuquo is Project Assistant - Oilwatch Africa Desk]



pushed me beyond the limits I had unconsciously set for myself. I scaled through those tasks because I got the needed support, at every crossroad, from colleagues and management.

My heart was filled with joy the day I was fully welcomed into the team. This proved to me that I had something of value to offer and no better place to grow that seed of value into a forest than the environment HOMEF provides.

As a graduate of environmental studies, the work we do at HOMEF gives my formal education a clearer and practical picture. It has been a bumpy ride, but the bumps have greatly increased my capacity, strengthened my resilience and sharpened my soft skills.

Every day in the field, we get to see and understand how much work still needs to be done to bring about healing, restoration and rejuvenation of not only our physical environment but also the cultural aspect as well as communal living.

I hope that as the journey progresses, I am able to contribute my best at all times to ensure our set goals per time are achieved both at organisational level and individual level, especially in terms of career growth.

Happy 10th year anniversary to us!

[Ojeanelo Gift Esele is Administrative Officer (Logistics) at HOMEF]

THE MIND SHIFT EXPERIENCE

by Ojeanelo Gift Esele

For a decade, HOMEF, an advocate of environmental justice and the rights of people to a better living, has transformed the minds of not only the communities it engages, but also the human resources it works with to bring about the mind shift.

Since I joined HOMEF, it has been a daily dose of experiential learning for me. From my time as an industrial student attachee at the organisation, I was handed tasks that



CELEBRATING HOMEF AT 10

by Jasper D. Koikoibo

It's been a completely different kind of experience so far working with HOMEF. Here, you recognize the world for what it is—dark, hostile, manipulative and dismal but having incredible potential for light, justice and harmony—and you get to contribute to its overall good, no matter how minimal.

As an attorney and climate/environmental justice advocate with HOMEF, my roles have included reviewing laws and regulations, collaborating with other lawyers, and working with indigenous peoples who have faced ecological exploitation, to seek justice. These activities have vastly expanded my knowledge of the environmental, energy, and biosafety legal spaces in not only Nigeria, but also several

other countries, especially, those on the African continent. As a writer, being able to share my writings through the Eco-Instigator and other publications by HOMEF is also an experience I don't take for granted.

Similarly, during different mind-empowering virtual and in-person events, HOMEF has given me the opportunity to share and gain knowledge from the old, young, fishers, farmers, revolutionaries, technocrats, and so on. This is in addition to the lovely moments enjoyed with coworkers and partners—makes up for the low moments.

Congratulations to HOMEF for her impactful 10 years of uniting the hoi polloi around ecological issues, giving voice to the voiceless, championing the rights of nature and advancing environmental justice in Africa.

[Jasper D. Koikoibo, Esq. is Legal Officer at HOMEF]

A PLACE TO UNLEARN, LEARN AND RELEARN

by Harrison Oluabunwa

It's been seven months since I joined this esteemed think tank with blazing records. Working with Health of Mother Earth Foundation (HOMEF) has broadened my knowledge on environmental justice, food sovereignty and lots more. HOMEF is a place you unlearn, learn and relearn. I have had the opportunity of learning quite a lot with regards to financial practices and principles.

Activities on the pesticide desk which I oversee, have been an eye opener for me. I have come to understand better the negative effects that usage of highly hazardous pesticides have on the body and the need for agroecological practice.

[Harrison Oluabunwa is Assistant Project/Finance Officer at HOMEF]



AN AMAZING RIDE WITH HOMEF

by Arekpitan Ikhenao

My experience with HOMEF has been nothing short of amazing. I discovered HOMEF at a time when I was just beginning to understand Nigeria's environmental issues. I had encountered a Niger Delta documentary which sparked a lot of anger in me. It also triggered my curiosity. My pursuit of knowledge and understanding drove me to HOMEF. I attended HOMEF's webinars and an in-person event, specifically a School of Ecology session in 2021. I was soon engaged as an intern and later came fully into the team as a Project Assistant.

HOMEF is a "hot pot" of everything important. I like how multifaceted it is. It's focused on knowledge generation, community building,

advocacy, documentation and much more. Being with HOMEF has helped me to be multipronged in my approach to the pursuit of environmental justice. I feel better equipped to contribute because I know about the polycrisis and the intersectionality of our many problems, and how only holistic solutions will make a difference.

Being part of the HOMEF team has really given me the space to grow, learn and contribute to the struggle for environmental justice and food sovereignty in a meaningful way. The organisation is affirming in nature and I've enjoyed being mentored by Dr. Nnimmo Bassey and a host of other colleagues. I look forward to being a part of what HOMEF will do in the next decades.

Happy 10th year anniversary HOMEF!

[Arekpitan Ikhenade is a Project Assistant responsible for HOMEF's Social Media space]

LET'S
FIGHT
FOR
OUR
FUTURE



TEN YEARS OF GREATNESS

It is indeed an honour for me, to be granted this opportunity to provide a few remarks on this historical and epoch making occasion!

Ten years of greatness deserves a big celebration!!! An organisation no matter how well designed, is only as good as the people who work in it! Congratulations on Ten Successful Years! Celebrating a ten-year milestone is a big achievement in itself! It's a celebration for all who have been a part of the organisation through all those years. Your hard work and commitment to the struggle are truly inspiring. Your contributions have been invaluable!

I would be remiss if I don't give a BIG SHOUT out to the founder and brain behind HOMEF, Comrade Nnimmo Bassey a.k.a. Living Ancestor!, for his able and dynamic leadership, and for bringing together a constellation of vibrant young men and women to the ecological think tank. The diversity and nation-wide spread of comrades that form the HOMEF team is commendable! In HOMEF you get to meet and work with Mfoniso from South-South, Ogenekome from the Niger Delta, Shehu from the North Central, Kelechi from South-East, Olatundun from the Western part of Nigeria and Nasreen from the Northern part of Nigeria. The list goes on! This is to remind you, the entire HOMEF team, that you have come a long way! You have been a key part of HOMEF's success story and your contributions have continued to inspire us!

On your anniversary, we celebrate this rich and blended diversity and all of the great things you have accomplished and look forward to all that's to come. Yes! Yes!! Yes!!! Your unwavering dedication, innovation, and teamwork have played a critical role in HOMEF's continued success and stay at the TOP!

I will continue to wish and pray for HOMEF's continued success, and I want to thank you for allowing me to be a part of your story.

A big thank you to HOMEF, the leadership and team, for all you are doing. Your activities embody community spirit and ownership in its purest form. Your victories and accomplishments are an inspiration to us. *Keep Up the Good Work!*

Here's to a very Happy 10th Anniversary!!

*Goodwill message from **Mariann Bassey Orovwuje**, Deputy Executive Director, Environmental Rights Action/Friends of the Earth Nigeria and Coordinator Food Sovereignty Program Friends of the Earth Nigeria*

WOW! HERE WE ARE 10 YEARS AFTER

Wow! How time flies. So fast! Ten years! When Rev. Nnimmo Bassey handed over, after serving as the executive director of Environmental Rights Action (ERA), it was heart-breaking. But what do we do? Here we are 10 years after. He handing over the mantle of ERA's leadership certainly wasn't as a result of tiredness or the need to rest. Actually, HOMEF came on board as a think tank organisation and has done pretty well.

HOMEF is as the big tree under which young NGOs take shelter, within this short period of time. And this is because of the CEO who quickly comes to mind when we talk about environmental activism in Nigeria today—we cannot think of any other person than him. We all are his foot soldiers or disciples and we are happy that he's still with us in the struggle.

We need to celebrate this landmark. 10 years! And by the time it gets to 15 and 20 years, I think if we are still around, it will be a thing of joy to look forward to.

Yes, we are happy, HOMEF is another organisation that we look up to.

*Goodwill Message from **Morris Alagoa**,
Environmental Rights Action (ERA)*



YOU DESERVE A PAT ON THE BACK

HOMEF is led by Rev. Nnimmo Bassey. He is an Architect, a seasoned Architect, a humble man, dogged man, who has remained in the shadows of ensuring that we have a better environment. He's been in the Environmental Movement for decades.

It is good to know that HOMEF is 10 years old. And when you do a thing consistently, constantly, deliberately for a particular purpose and you've done that undeterred for 10 years, you deserve a pat on the back.

So I am hailing everyone in HOMEF. I am hailing Rev. Nnimmo Bassey and his Team for staying true to the course for which HOMEF was established.

I wish you more decades ahead and let HOMEF outlive everyone of us.

*Goodwill message from His Royal Highness, **King Buabaraye Dakolo**, the Ibenanaowei of the Ekpetiama Kingdom in Bayelsa State.*

BETTER TIMES, GREATER OPPORTUNITIES

I wish HOMEF better times, greater opportunities for doing the work that it has always done—these change making responsibilities.

I am so glad to be associated with HOMEF. So, I am wishing you well, I am wishing everyone that is associated with you well, that the years that follow will be much better years in terms of what you want to achieve, in terms of what you do.

I am specifically wishing the Executive Director of HOMEF, greater vigour for the mission and the work that HOMEF is out to pursue.

I am wishing you better times.

Goodwill Message from **Prof. Fidelis Allen**, University of Port Harcourt

HOMEF IS LIKE AN ELEPHANT

HOMEF is 10 years and I join other Human Rights Campaigners, International and National Organisations to wish them a happy anniversary. HOMEF is like an elephant. You cannot describe an elephant except based on the part you are looking at. So I can only talk about HOMEF from the angle of what the organisation has done for Ogoni where I come from and for a few Niger Delta Communities that I know about.

I can boldly say that the Ogoni struggle after Ken Saro-Wiwa would have been dead if we did not cross path with Rev. Nnimmo Bassey. I say that everyday because we live in a world where people are overwhelmed with so much crisis, difficulties, hunger and they think about what they will eat only. But this man keeps thinking about the environment and its health. That's the inspiration we keep drawing from him and that's what has kept us on our feet.

Twenty-seven (27) years after the death of Ken Saro-Wiwa, people are surprised that, ah! the oil is still under the soil. It is because of the work of Health of Mother Earth Foundation and several other initiatives—they keep evolving, bringing in new ways of conserving and preserving the environment.

So, we are glad to associate with Health of Mother Earth Foundation. We wish them well and wish them greater heights because we are also on a flight with them. The more heights they gain, the higher we also go.

So, happy birthday HOMEF.



Goodwill Message from **Celestine Akpobare**, National Coordinator, Ogoni Solidarity Forum



A FANTASTIC AND EXCITING JOURNEY

HOMEf at 10. It's been a fantastic and exciting journey.

In 10 years, HOMEf has become the deepest and most clear ecological think tank focused on environment, climate change and livelihood issues.

In 10 years HOMEf has had a tremendous niche and has become a teacher of some sought, policy expert, key adviser to civil society organisations and a groomer of activists. Here is to 10 years of profound and excellent activism.

Here is to 10 years of being a think tank.
Here is to 10 years of tremendous progress.
Here is to the next 10 years of even greater achievements and heights.
Happy Anniversary HOMEf!
Happy 10th year Anniversary!

*Goodwill Message from **Ken Henshaw**,
Executive Director, We The People*

UPCOMING ACTIVITIES

- HOMEf 10th Year Anniversary Celebration and Conference on Advancing Environmental Justice
- Learning from the Wise
- Sustainability Academy: Justice in a Just Transition
- School of Ecology on Marine Protected Areas



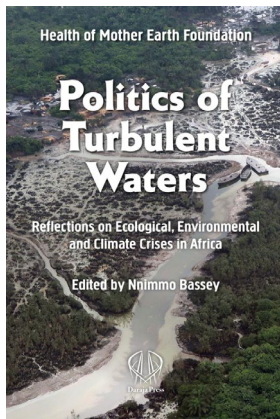
Volunteers Needed!

If you will like to join our team of volunteers.

**Kindly visit
www.homef.org/volunteer**

Stay in touch by visiting our website and social media pages for updates on our programmes.

BOOKS YOU SHOULD READ



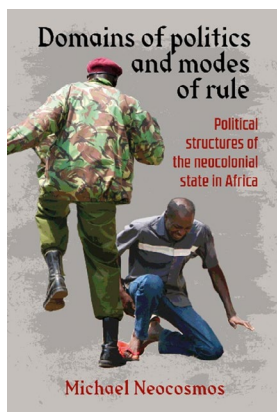
Politics of Turbulent Waters: Reflections on Ecological, Environmental and Climate Crises in Africa,

Edited by Nnimmo Bassey and published by Daraja Press

Politics of Turbulent Waters is published to mark the tenth anniversary of the Health of Mother Earth Foundation (HOMEF). The title is taken from one of editor Nnimmo Bassey's articles from *The Eco-instigator*, HOMEF's quarterly magazine. **Politics of Turbulent Waters** is a compendium of selected articles from the 36 issues of *The Eco-instigator* published from 2013 to 2022.

For ten years HOMEF has been on the front line of the struggle for environmental justice, climate justice and food sovereignty in Africa and around the globe. It has been a decade of nonstop probing of the exploitation of resources, peoples and nations

The book crystallizes the dire condition of Africa and its waters and the power imbalance together with the spatial disposition that plunged the continent into the calamitous environmental situation it faces. It speaks of the politics of economic development and market fundamentalism that avows to maintain the status quo in terms of destructive exploitation of Africa's marine and other natural resources.



Domains of Politics and Modes of Rule: Political Structures of the Neocolonial State in Africa,

By Michael Neocosmos

This is a brief attempt to orient the study of the neocolonial state in Africa through an assessment of the manner in which it rules its people. It is argued that the state produces different modes of rule by deploying different politics over different parts of the population. In this manner, it can combine a genuinely democratic rule in the image of the West over some while subjecting the majority to colonial forms of domination. Imported political subjectivities from the West and its obsession with human rights discourse are reserved largely for a sphere of civil society in which the right to have rights is conferred upon citizens.

In the domains of uncivil society and 'traditional' society, the right to rights is not observed by the state; so different subjectivities, regularly including violence, govern the manner political problems and solutions are addressed both by the state and by people. In consequence, distinct political subjectivities prevail in the conceptualization of popular resistance in all three domains, and it becomes difficult to rally such different concerns and conceptions within an overall anti-neocolonial struggle.



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our books and other publications for free at:
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