

The Quest for Sustainable Development in the Context of Insecurity: Some Critical Reflections

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Abstract

This paper considers the possibility of realizing “peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development; providing access to justice for all and building effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels specifically in Africa”. This is goal 16 of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). As configured, peace, security and development are treated as integral subsets of sustainable development. The paper contends that this goal holds the key to the realization of other SDGs in the African context. In examining the achievability of this goal, the concept and essence of development in general and sustainable development in particular were examined. The paper argues that the well-being of a state and its people is the primary essence of development. Furthermore, development is considered as connoting a state’s capacity to provide enabling conditions such as peace and freedom that sustain general well-being. Development is also a characteristic of a state-system which cannot sustain itself in the absence of peace, security and democracy. The approach and method followed in the paper are largely qualitative and analytical. Data from documentary analysis were relied upon to develop a conceptual framework of peace, security, democracy and development. Findings show that the evolvement of sustainable development remains difficult in Africa because Africa’s development trajectory remains largely disconnected and disjointed. For Africa to achieve sustainable development goals (SDGs), serious peace and security challenges must be effectively addressed. Broad suggestions to ensure that well-articulated development paradigm in which peace, security, democracy and policy stability are strategically positioned, linked and integrated to the degree that they provide mutual support and reinforcement to one another are made.

1. Introduction

Since its formation after the World War II the United Nations (UN) has been instrumental to the maintenance of global peace and security and the promotion of international co-operation and development among states. This is quite remarkable in the context of an anarchic international system in which stability is chiefly reliant on rational choices and actions of state actors. The Intergovernmental Body approaches global peace and security from the perspective of continuous improvement on political, economic and social well-being of people across the world. The search for the fulfillment of this goal partly explains the adoption of the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as a global development strategy in 2000. The MDGs

ended in 2015 and report by the UN indicated that remarkable success, on aggregate terms, was achieved in all MDGs globally (UN Millennium Development Goals Report 2015). Although this paper is not intended to critique the UN report on the MDGs, it is self-evident that achievements made on the MGDs were not even in all regions and countries of the world. The African region is among those where the MDGs targets were not achieved and where more work still need to be done (UNDESA, 2010; UNDESA, 2015). The region is still characterized by endemic poverty and plagued by political, economic, social and environmental crises. Different forms of deprivation, discrimination and exclusion on the bases of ethnicity, religion and gender are still common and visible.

However, continued search for the well-being of people across the world informed the replacement of the MDGs with Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2016. The SDGs are intended to build upon the successes of the MDGs by incorporating lessons learnt from regions where failure was encountered. Therefore, unlike the MDGs, the SDGs comprises of 17 goals and 169 targets. Among these, one is the achievement of “peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development; providing access to justice for all and building effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels” by 2030. The imperativeness of this goal to the African region cannot be over stressed despite arguments regarding whether Africa really needs the SDGs or not. The import of the skepticism comes from the fact that externally imposed policies are never value neutral since they reflect embedded ideas and aspirations in Africa’s need for the SDGs can be seen from the context of insecurity, poor governance, endemic poverty, poor economic growth and underdevelopment in the age of globalization. While local and international forces have combined to bring about these challenges in Africa, the search for adequate strategies to confront them remains the preoccupation of African leaders and people. The SDGs although considered as externally imposed, serves as a guide to domestic policies geared towards political, economic, and social transformation of African states.

Against this background, this paper relies on documentary analyses to develop a conceptual framework of peace, security and development and address challenges to the attainment of goal 16 of the SDGs in the African context. It also makes some broad recommendations in the context of the search for strategies to achieve the SDGs, especially, a just, peaceful, inclusive and accountable society in Africa.

2. Conceptual Framework

The systemic approach stresses harmonious interrelations between society and politics and the interaction of all subsets of a nation-system (Jackson and Jackson 2003: 30, 31). In this regard, development emerges when subsets of peace, security, efficient democratic governance, and stability are strategically interacting and mutually reinforcing/supporting each other’s contributions in a continuous manner. These interactions happen at various levels perform different functions or roles, in diverse forms (Chojnicki, 2010).

To understand sustainable development, an understanding of development itself is necessary. In this regard, Rodney (1982) equates development with increased skills and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, external well-being, and societies’ capacity to regulate both internal and external relationships. The idea of development as ‘increased capability, and enhanced freedom’ has been further developed by Sen (1990); Sen (1999) and Nussbaum (2000). In line with the argument of these scholars, Chojnicki (2010)

considers development as a series of changes characterized by such properties as “irreversibility, spontaneity, and a monotonic character... structure and directionality...” Onyeaghalaji and Igberaese (2010) agree by further describing development as “a process that involves significant changes in diverse areas of human and social life- economic, political, institutional, and cultural”. From these conceptualizations, it is safe to submit that development entails observable significant positive structural changes in all aspects of a state and society over a sustainable period of time.

For development to be regarded as sustainable, observable structural changes must be seen as significant, irreversible, organized, directional, resilient and adaptable. The idea of resilience and adaptability entails interdependence of all strata of society as well as rational utilization of scarce natural resources. Sustainable development as employed here is such that is largely oriented towards meeting needs of African populations rather than the demands of global capitalist economy. It accepts the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) description of sustainable development as: “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED 1987, 43). Nevertheless broadens the concept to include less dependency of African states on the West for basic needs; sustained check against system of control and exploitation of African resources and simultaneous, promotion of equal partnership with other states and development agencies in an increasingly interdependent world. It equally implies sustained reduction of injustice and inequality within African societies. Furthermore, sustainable development in the African context is the recognition of the importance fragile ecosystem, culture, history, and local skills as well as a check against anthropogenic activities by local and global entities. By extension sustainable development in the African context basically entails working with local populations in identifying actual needs and crafting ways of addressing them and creating a balance between ecological, environmental, social, economic and political exigencies. Thus, sustainable development in the African context is not oriented towards excessive destruction of natural habitats through endless competition for access to non-renewable resources among transnationals operating on the continent. It is not solely the attracting of foreign direct investment (FD) and endless emphasis on GDP (Gross Domestic Product) growth. GDP as a measure of economic growth is illusionary because acclaimed phenomenal growths hard reflect on the lives of many of the African populace. Therefore, sustainable development in the African context emphasizes promotion of social justice, equitable distribution of societal goods and services and a discouragement of deep-rooted power of minority interest groups.

The idea of democracy is based on the fact that state authority is derived from popular participation in the electoral process. The idea of social inclusiveness is premised on pursuance of social policies that ensure social justice (Mkandawire 2012). Therefore, a just, peaceful, socially inclusive and democratic society with strong accountable institutions will enable the present generation meet their needs and will not compromise the needs of future generation if bequeathed. The reverse will however be the case if violent political conflicts, economic and social crises remain characteristic features of the African state.

3. Peace, Security, Policy Stability, Democracy and Sustainable Development

Of all human values, peace is considered the most important. Peace is central to socio-political organization and management. For this reason, nation-states pursue peace at all costs even though strategies often employed in doing this result in violent conflicts. For instance, forceful suppression of political dissidents as a means of ensuring or preserving peace, security, and stability often creates an atmosphere of fear, insecurity, and destruction. Peace as an integral component of sustainable development has two forms- absolute and relative peace. In the context of this paper, the concept of peace is employed in relative and not absolute terms. Absolute peace is utopic while relative peace is realistic. Absolute peace in theory presupposes the absence of all forms of conflict, disagreement, quarrel, misunderstanding and their causes thereof. Absolute peace is an ideal but unattainable socio-political state. It is unattainable because conflict is ubiquitous in all human relations (Sandberg 2016) and causes of conflict cannot be eliminated but managed. Absolute peace and violence are therefore a “continuum” of two extreme ends. Relative peace is first and foremost an acknowledgement of the existence of conflict in both manifest and latent forms in socio-political relations. It is determined by proximity or remoteness to a violent state as well as by the presence or absence of state capacity and capability for conflict resolution and management. Relative peace is achieved through management and prevention of manifest and latent conflicts from degenerating into worst case scenarios of violent disruptions. Absolute peace is a vision or an end while relative peace is a goal or a means to an end.

A more broadened conception of peace in the contemporary parlance challenges the dominant paradigm that limits the understanding of peace to absence of conflict, war or physical violence (Olowu 2016, Nick 2011). As posited by Galtung (2004), such a narrow-minded understanding yields negative and not positive peace. Critical security theorists (Ajdari and Asgharpour 2011, Bourne and Bulley 2011, Buzan 2001) argue for a more nuanced definition of peace in line with the human security paradigm. The protection of individuals from previously non-traditional threats such as poverty, inequalities and equitable distribution of resources conforms with the human security approach to peace. Arguing from a sustainable development dimension, Galtung (2004) conjures that rectifying unjust system through eradicating corruption, celebrating diversity, promotion of good governance and equitable distribution of resources brings positive peace.

A peaceful state however connotes the idea of a reasonable realization, within a socio-political space, a strong sense of inclusion and common practices among divergent groups. This sense of inclusion or belonging invariably implies the rejection of violence as a means of conflict resolution and the acceptance of commonly developed legal frameworks and institutions for such purposes. A peaceful state is not the absence of contradictions in inter-group relations and political governance but the absence or significantly decreased role of these contradictions in governance practices. For example, the movement of a state and society towards political, economic and cultural homogeneity implies insignificant role of ethno-cultural and religious differences in politics and governance of a state or society.

Thus, internally, a peaceful state connotes the institutionalization of the rule of law and quality democratic governance system and the presence of other necessary conditions which promote harmonious co-existence and co-operation among divergent socio-cultural groups in a state. These conditions include the existence and acceptance of a common value system that moderates expectations and behaviours. It also involves

timely detection and filling of gaps between citizens' expectations and state power, capacity and capability. The essence of peace is the promotion of social justice and of human capacity and development. Externally, peace within a socio-political space promotes harmonious co-existence of nation-states within a region and the strengthening of regional integration as a stepping stone towards eventual continental politico-economic unification.

A peaceful state is enhanced by quality democratic governance. This is generally a system of governance in which leaderships are answerable for their actions in the public domain to the led; who also indirectly participate in governance through competition and sometimes cooperation of elected representatives (Huntington 1991; Huntington, 1997: 6, 7). Good democratic system engenders a deep sense of freedom, inclusiveness, and respect for human dignity among divergent groups in a state. A good democratic governance system is one which creates enabling political, economic, social, and legal environment that ensures stability and equal participation of all citizens. Such a system is largely auto-centric and unteleguided by external forces in policy making and implementation and ensures accountability of state institutions. This system ought to have zero tolerance for corruption and in large part is developmental in character. It ensures management of national economies in ways that promote growth sustainability. The system is also mindful and respectful of citizens' rights and guarantees social inclusiveness.

Democratic governance systems create enabling social, economic, legal, and policy environments that empower citizens, unlocks creative capabilities, and allow for increase in the flow of economic activities and rational management of resources which contribute to security, peace, stability, economic growth and ultimately sustainable development. It is a system that ensures states guarantee security of citizens against natural and man-made crises such as famine. For example, a recent report by the UN indicates that the world faces the largest humanitarian crisis since 1945 with starvation and famine in Yemen, South Sudan, Somalia and northeastern Nigeria (BBC 2017). These conflict prone countries also exemplify absence or inefficient democratic governance which in large part resulted into insecurity and armed conflicts, destruction of economic infrastructure and death. As Sen (1999: 16) argues dictatorships "tend to lack the incentive to take timely preventative measures" against avertable humanitarian crises because they are neither answerable to the electorates nor any representative institution. Sen considers famine as "un-freedom" and links it to the absence of democracy. In democracy, he argues, leaderships are accountable to the electorates. Therefore, democratic leaderships "have strong incentives to undertake measures to avert famines and other such catastrophes". Famines and other catastrophes are generally threats and vulnerabilities which bring about insecurity in a state. African states are weak and vulnerable relative to powers commanded by other states in global politics. Therefore, prevention of threats and reduction of vulnerabilities in a state is generally considered as security in the military, political, economic, social and environmental senses (Buzan 1991).

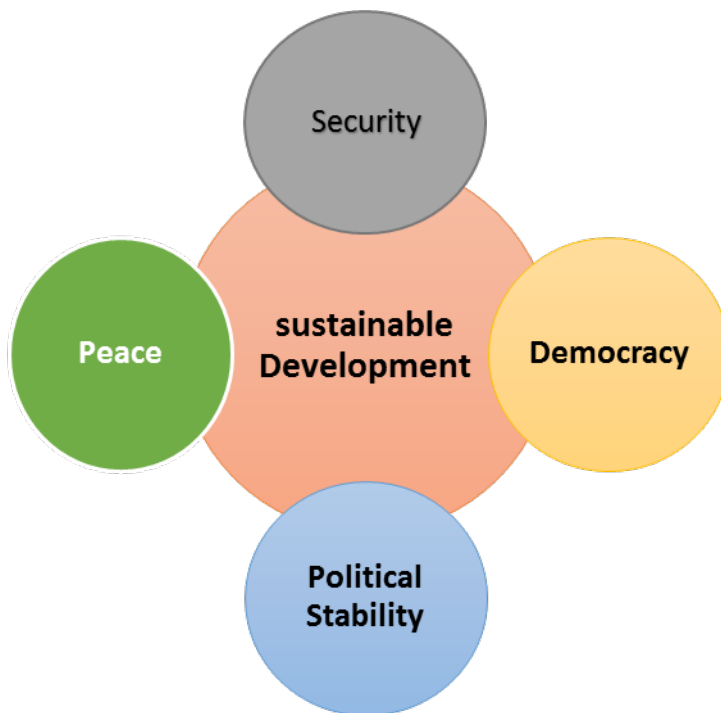
Security is a condition commonly associated with individuals and not necessarily the state (Rothchild 1995), generally, it is categorized into two levels- national and human security. National security concerns protection of territorial integrity and sovereignty of a state against internal and external threats and vulnerabilities. Threats are those identifiable, immediate, clearly visible and acknowledged dangers to a state's

territorial integrity and sovereignty (Buzan 1991). Vulnerability refers to those potential risks which do not necessarily require immediate policy response. However, left unchecked develop into threats (Buzan 1991). For instance, African economies are more vulnerable to the vagaries of international commodity prices, and trade policies, etc. These have the potential to weaken and destroy economies and result in economic, social and political disruptions with severe consequences for both national and human security on the continent. Human security by definition concerns the well-being of people, fundamental human rights and dignity; equality of access to state resources, basic necessities of life and participation in governance processes. According to the 1994 UNDP report, human security is “freedom from want”, and “freedom from fear. A just, peaceful and inclusive society as well as the evolvement of accountable leadership and institutions is only achievable in a more secure and efficient democratic governance system. Smooth operationalization of these sub-sets of sustainable development is enhanced by stable policy environment.

Policy is a declaration of intention: a clear, precise direction a state or region intends to follow on governance matters in the present, immediate or distant future. Policies are instruments for assessing or evaluating the performance of public institutions because they embody various dimensions of a state’s intentions. Development policies are therefore consciously and appropriately designed and well implemented to meet target objectives or goals. Frequent policy changes in all aspects of a state’s social, political and economic dimensions create uncertainty for actual and potential local and foreign investments. Policy inconsistency paralyzes economic activities and significantly decreases investment in all aspects of the economy. It impacts on social security provisions, industrialization and arguably quality of democratic governance. Realization of the objective of a just, peaceful, inclusive, and accountable society in Africa requires stable and appropriate policy mechanisms.

The argument regarding how sustainable development is unattainable in the absence of peace, democracy, security and stability is reflected in Figure 1.

Figure 1 Interdependence of Development, Peace, Security, Democracy and Policy Stability



Source: Author's Conceptualization

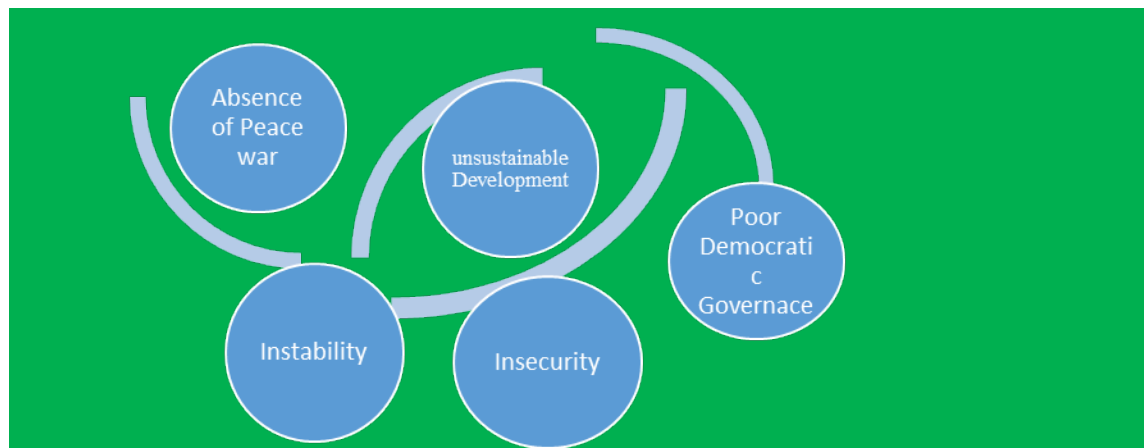
Figure 1: reasonably demonstrates that for development to take place and remain sustainable a well-articulated development paradigm is necessary. The facilitators or subsets of development such as peace, security, democracy and stable policy environment will have to be strategically positioned, linked and integrated to the degree that they provide mutual support and reinforcement to one another. Collectively, this does not seem to be the case in Africa. Africa's development paradigm appears largely disarticulated.

4. Africa in the Sustainable Development Discourse

Ake (1981) employed the term 'disarticulation' in discussing Africa's political economy. He describes disarticulation as a system that lacks 'backward and forward linkages' in creativity and innovation. Disarticulation as formulated and discussed by dependency theorists such as Amin (1974 and 1976) and Ake (1981) refers also to outward economic orientation of African economies. The concept draws attention to overstressing of export commodities and linkage to global neo-liberal economy with little or no consideration for the development of domestic market and infrastructure. Disarticulation further implies that there is little or no linkage or complementary interactions between different sectors of the African economy- extractive sector, manufacturing sector and the service sector. As a result, growth promoting multipliers are absent in African economies. Thus, growth in one sector produces little or no effect on growth in other sectors of the economic. The term is similarly employed here to describe absence of strategic interconnections of the subsets of peace and stability, efficient democratic governance and security in Africa's development paradigm. Peace, security, democracy and policy stability largely remain disintegrated, isolated, unrelated and unsupportive of one another as illustrated in Figure 2. Attention is not placed on strategic alignment of these

subsets of development. Thus, although economic growth may be witnessed, this does not often reflect on the existential experience of Africa's diverse population.

Figure 2: Disarticulated Development Paradigm



Source: Author's Conceptualization

With respect to the subsets of peace and security, several African states face varying degrees of political, economic, social and environmental insecurities. In the worst-case scenarios, millions of Africans, mostly women and children are killed, maimed, and displaced in places such as, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Burundi, Central African Republic, Sudan (Darfur) and the newest independent state of South Sudan. Beside death and destruction caused by war, Africa continues to experience violence orchestrated by international terrorist organizations such as Boko Haram (Nigeria), Movement for Oneness and Jihad (entire West Africa) and Ansa Dine (Mali), Al- Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), al-Shaabab (the failed of Somalia), Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS), Ansar al-Jihad (entire Maghreb) and Ansar al-Sharia (Tunisia).

Civil wars and terrorism remain potent threats to both national and human securities in the African context. The consequences of the absence of peace, security and democracy in Africa's development trajectory are huge warranting the region's various descriptions as "undeveloped", "less developed", "developing", "unproductive", "backward" and "hopeless". The unfortunate presence of endemic poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, high prevalence of communicable diseases, gross human rights abuses and wanton destruction of fragile eco-system appear to justify Africa's different unattractive appellations. These factors trigger a deep sense of social injustice, anger and willingness to resort to arms as a means of conflict resolution. They also explain the resort to extreme forms of religiosity or religious fundamentalism. Ironically, existing structures and mechanisms for addressing conflicts and achieving sustainable peace, security and democracy have been described as grossly inefficient and inadequate, hence efforts to develop alternative mechanisms. For peaceful, inclusive, and accountable societies to evolve in the African context, it is critically important that conflicts are resolved through efficient democratic governance system.

At present democratic governance in Africa presents a confusing general trend or pattern as a result of differential political climates, experiences, and socio-economic resources. Although African scholars are often

cautioned against making undue comparisons between African democracies and advanced Western democracies, it is important to note that such comparisons are sometimes necessary since, to a large extent, advanced Western democracies are the standard on which African democracies are consciously or unconsciously assessed. In other words, Africans consciously or unconsciously consider democracy as being reasonably able to be politically organized and governed as in Western countries. Therefore, comparisons are necessary in certain basic requirements of democracy such as respect for fundamental human rights of citizens, basic political institutions, conduct of free and fair elections, peaceful and orderly transition of power and the existence of the rule of law. These requirements do not necessarily involve elaborate technologies to achieve.

Instructively, since the 1990s regular elections as a basic requirement of democratic governance have become acceptable means of legitimating governments in Africa. This legitimating function presents three observable theoretical trends. First, in the ideal state, democratic solidification is taking root in few African states. Thus, regular free and fair elections and orderly transition of power are becoming cultural. Respect for the rule of law, integrity, independence and impartiality of democratic institutions, peaceful demonstrations and conflict resolution mechanisms through the Court of law and acceptance of electoral outcomes in good faith are clearly displayed. Multiparty systems exist, and constitutionalism or institutional leadership ensures that civil societies are vibrant and press freedoms are unrestricted. Few African countries such as South Africa, Mauritius, Cape Verde, Ghana, and Botswana are arguably evolving this system despite observable shortcomings.

Closely following the emerging ideal democratic state in Africa is the scenario in which observable rapid political changes or democratization appears to be taking place. Characteristic features of this state are adoption of new constitutions; multipartism; periodic elections, and reduction in the degree of electoral violence. The culture of peaceful resolution of electoral conflicts appears to be emerging, howbeit slowly. Electoral tribunals and courts hear cases of electoral malpractices and often dismiss elected officials on the bases of electoral frauds. Coalition formation among opposition parties resulting in electoral victories happen in some cases. However, to a reasonable degree, basic requirements of democracy such as the rule of law, impartiality and independence of democratic institutions such as the judiciary; and press freedom are less respected as in the emerging ideal democratic state. Thus, intimidations, arbitrary arrests, prosecutions and continued detentions of opposition political leaders despite Court rulings persists. In this democratic trend more works still need to be done with regard to re-organization of electoral procedures and widening of the political space; re-organization of the security sector to preclude state use of monopoly of technologies of violence to harass and intimidate the opposition.

In the third and worst-case scenario of democratic governance in Africa is the case in which democracy is used to camouflage despotism or personalization of power and to reinvent illiberality. This case is characterized by a shrinking political space as a result of increased national vote for ruling parties even in multiparty systems, flawed electoral management system and restricted press freedoms, tightly controlled state media and limited or denied access to justice for opposition parties. In this case, civil societies lack

vibrancy due to state authoritarianism. Constitutional term limits for elected officials are either removed or largely disrespected; elections marred by violence, intimidation, and arbitrary arrests and detentions. Many African countries fall under this category.

Unstable political environment is accompanied by policy instability and inappropriateness. In this regard, Adesina (2005) reasons, that Africa's development paradigms as represented by policies such as New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) are built around:

UN-based initiatives and bilateral initiatives: from the UN's New Agenda for development of Africa and the Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development; to multilateral efforts such as the World Bank led- strategic partnership for Africa and poverty Reduction Strategy Paper; and bilateral efforts such as Tokyo Agenda for Action; the US-African Growth Initiative; or the G8 Okinawa Declaration.

These initiatives, although good, do not comprehensively reflect Africa's hopes and aspirations of becoming, for example, an industrialized region. The policies as designed, seek sustainable development for Africa through the instrumentality of international trade. But the trade approach to development has failed to move Africa away from dependency on foreign capital and technologies. Development hardly reflects conscious, innovative, directional and irreversible structural changes in the economy. Albeit, development is mainly about measuring up with the West, as typified by physical edifices in African cities and the acquiring of, sometimes obsolete technologies. The region continues to serve as a primary producer of agricultural products which are exported to earn foreign exchange and as an importer of manufactured goods which cause balance of trade deficits. Often imported products do not reflect the actual needs of African populations. Debt burden, scarcity or limited foreign exchange and capital flows results in shortages of food, medical supplies and needed industrial equipment and spare parts for maintenance purposes. These factors limit national investment. Countries and financial institutions that purport to provide development assistance to the region take advantage of the region's predicaments. Thus, Africa is often used to create employment for citizens of other parts of the world through establishment and operations of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) and foreign funded projects.

Sustainable development, especially with respect to justice, peace, inclusiveness and accountability requires a well-articulated development paradigm in which peace, security, democracy and policy stability are strategically positioned, linked and integrated to the degree that they provide mutual support and reinforcement to one another is necessary. Some African states such as South Africa are taking measures to ensure the realization of the SDGs. Some of these efforts include observable effort at integrating or aligning national development plans with the SDGs; creation of broad-based partnerships across all sectors of societies in support of development goals. Others include communication, advocacy and engagement with civil society organizations, rural communities and the youth, as means of building inclusivity, transparency, relationships of trust, acceptance and ownership of development goals. There are also efforts towards building efficient data collecting system on all goals and constant monitoring and evaluation of development programmes. Some strategies are subsequently broadly discussed.

5. Towards Justice, Peace, Inclusiveness and Accountability in Africa

As already stated, civil wars and other forms of violent political conflicts undermine the well-being of African states and citizens and invariably reduce the prospects of achieving sustainable development. Injustice and exclusiveness create unfavorable environments for citizens to meaningfully engage in economic, political, and social activities that promote sustainable development. To achieve the SDGs, particularly a just, peaceful, inclusive and accountable society in Africa requires appropriate strategies on security, development policies and political governance.

Firstly, Africa's economic development policies must be appropriate, tailored towards addressing specific security needs- military, economic, social, political and environmental. In other words, these policies have to be largely auto-centric and not externally prescribed or transplanted in African states by major global powers through inter-governmental organizations and financial institutions. This is not to imply that current development policy initiatives are totally irrelevant to Africa, but to underscore the fact that they do not comprehensively address Africa's hopes and aspirations. To sustain economic activities and improve people's well-being, appropriate policies need to remain stable over a sustainable period of time. Such policies must not only encourage foreign investment, but also focus on African driven industrialization. This implies encouraging local talents- locally developed industries, African researchers and innovators through patronage and funding. Sangare (2005) agrees that what is needed is appropriate, coherent industrial policy. Adesina (2005) also sustains that "in the absence of a coherent policy and explicit industrial policy to move up the value chain, the demand for greater market access becomes a distraction". Moyo (2005: 107, 139) equally agrees by adding that Africa's development policy with a focus on industrialization needs be complemented by "land reform, integrated trans-sector rural production...rural infrastructure development, institutional reform and regional integration".

Over reliance on foreign investment and capital keeps African states at the mercy of industrialized and newly industrializing nations. Other means to promote economic growth and development must include strategies to prevent illicit resource outflows from Africa by criminal syndicates, government officials, and multinational companies. Between 1970 and 2008, Africa is said to have lost around \$850bn due to illicit financial flows (IFF). South Africa lost around \$81.8bn within this period; Nigeria lost \$217.7bn, and Egypt lost \$105.2bn. This trend is still continuing. Annually, the African region is said to lose about between \$50 and \$60bn (African Union and Economic Commission for Africa, 2014). This trend must be reversed if Africa hopes to achieve sustainable development goals by 2030. Stolen funds and resources are needed to improve the well-being and eventually end the cycle of endemic poverty on the continent.

Secondly, to achieve just peaceful, stable, inclusive and accountable societies in Africa, African states must focus on developing healthy homogeneous democratic culture. Initiatives such as African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) aim at achieving this objective. Although its implementation is flawed in many respects, it needs to be improved upon and strengthened. While vocal condemnation of undemocratic governance especially gross human rights abuses in Africa is important, Africans, through the mechanism of the AU must sustain political measures such as suspension of membership of countries where gross human right abuses

are reported by credible agencies such as Amnesty International. Leaders disrespecting tenure limits or changing the constitutions to perpetuate themselves in power must also be sanctioned. Homogeneity in political and governance culture will accelerate the chances of regional economic and political integration or unification while differential political culture (democracy and autocracy) will make this difficult or unattainable. Similarity in political and democratic governance practice will enhance political willingness to surrender sovereignty on the part of African leadership. It will also enhance acceptance and implementation of AU's principles on intervention in internal matters. At present Article 4(h) of the AU Constitutive Act allows for: "the right of the African union to intervene in a Member State pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity as well as a serious threat to legitimate order to restore peace and stability to the Member State of the Union upon the recommendation of the Peace and Security Council".

Thirdly, accurate diagnosis of Africa's political and security challenges is necessary. Many African states spend large percentage of GDP on arms as if in danger of external military threats. African states are less prone to external military threats by neighboring states although disputes such as water and boundary exist, it is less likely these disputes will result into inter-state wars in the immediate or foreseeable future. Such disputes are remote sources of threats for states involved. The main sources of security threats to Africa are international terrorism, domestic insurrection and environmental disasters. In recognition of this, the Solemn Declaration of the AU Assembly, adopted during the Celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the OAU/AU in 2013, reiterated the determination of African leaders:

To achieve the goal of a conflict-free Africa, to make peace a reality for all our people and to rid the continent of wars, civil conflicts, human rights violations, humanitarian disasters and violent conflicts and to prevent genocide. We pledge not to bequeath the burden of conflicts to the next generation of Africans and undertake to end all wars by 2020.

Pursuant to this goal, the African Union Peace and Security Council (AU PSC) Retreat was held in Lusaka, Zambia on 7 November 2016 on the theme: "Practical Steps to Silence the Guns in Africa by 2020". To be more realistic however, the pursuit of this goal needs the mobilization of sufficient resources, political will and implementable, realistic and time-bound practical plans. Comprehensive peace and security strategies must focus on building and enhancing capabilities of Africans in peacekeeping, peace enforcement and peace building roles. In addition, security is a complex or hydra-headed issue as insecurity in one region may beget insecurity in other regions. The Libyan crisis, for example, has created massive security and migration challenges for both Africa and Europe as war victims seek to cross the Mediterranean Sea into Europe. Limited human, financial, material and logistic resources to deal with complex security challenges require the strengthening of co-operation and co-ordination between Africa and institutions such as the UN and the European Union. The AU has a comprehensive peace and security architecture- a panel of the wise (POW), Continental Early Warning System (CEW), a Peace Fund (PF) and the African Standby Force (ASF). Practically, the AU has been involved in peacekeeping missions in Burundi (2003); Darfur (2005); Somalia

(2005), the Comoros (2008); Mali (2013) and Central African Republic (2013). The AU has also been vociferous in condemning military coups as well as adopted a policy of automatic, suspension of AU membership of countries where coups had occurred. The union has suspended countries such as the Central African Republic, Egypt, Guinea-Bissau, Madagascar, Mali, and Niger after military coups. Despite this, the AU's approach to security stability, crisis prevention and management is not sufficiently coherent. The ability of the union to deal with Zimbabwean political crisis in a sustainable manner demonstrated the weaknesses of its approach.

This experience shows that individual policies and capabilities are not sufficient to address complex security challenges. Therefore, strengthening of co-operation and co-ordination of policies with international partners is necessary and can enhance chances of success. Partnerships with international institutions and countries can enhance technical expertise and information sharing and support. For example, under the Trans-Sahara Counter Terrorism Initiative (TSTCI) the US provides training and equipment programme to enhance the capacity of the African states in the Sahel region to fight terrorism (Iroanya 2007: 63-75). The success of the campaign against Boko Haram terrorism in North-Eastern Nigeria was possible through international co-operation between the Lake Chad basin countries- Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Cameroon as well as France.

Fourthly, besides ratification of international legal frameworks on security matters such as the *OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism* (The Algiers Convention of 1999), and other relevant instruments relating to terrorism by member states, it is important to focus attention on certain dimensions of insecurity such as illicit proliferation of small arms and light weapons. Efforts to prevent this must be focused on the supply side of arms proliferation. It is known that arms illegally flow from outside Africa into the continent's conflict zones (Iroanya 2010; Jacobson and Daurora, 2014; Kinsella, 2014). This approach demands building and enhancement of capacity and capability in both human and technical intelligence in pursuant of the goal of providing a single African list of persons, groups and entities involved in illicit arms proliferation as well as terrorist acts under the aegis of the AU's PSC. The approach also calls for harmonization and streamlining of measures on military, police and borders controls, legislative and judicial measures and exchange of information at sub-regional and regional levels. Peace building efforts need to focus on developing reconciliation and social cohesion mechanisms in countries emerging from conflict while national initiatives such as the South African initiative on African Immediate Crisis Response Capacity (AICRC) can serve as the vanguard elements of an African Stand-by Force for preventive deployment and stability operations.

6. Conclusion

In the context of the search for achieving the SDGs in Africa by 2030, this paper has focused specifically on the possibility of realizing a “peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development; providing access to justice for all and building effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels”. This has involved an examination of the concepts of development, sustainable development, peace, security, efficient democratic governance and policy stability. Peace was considered not only as the absence of war but also the

institutionalization of the rule of law and mechanisms for conflict resolution, while security was seen as the safety or protection of the state and individuals from threats and vulnerability. Among enabling factors of development discussed are efficient democratic governance system and policy stability. An efficient democratic system was considered as a system which created an enabling political, economic and social environment which ensured stability and equal participation of all citizens. The concept of policy was used to refer to a declaration of intention- a clear, precise direction a state or region wants to go on governance matters in the future. Policy appropriateness and stability are necessary for achieving sustainable development. The central argument made in the paper is that to achieve a peaceful, accountable, inclusive and just societies in Africa, it is necessary to have a well-articulated development paradigm in which peace, security, democracy and policy stability are strategically positioned, linked and integrated to the degree that they provide mutual support and reinforcement to one another. The papers argued that at present, Africa's development paradigm are largely disarticulated and need to be corrected.

A well-articulated development paradigm will require a concerted effort geared towards resolving political conflicts, improving democratic governance, political inclusion and social cohesion mechanisms. This requires the institutionalization not personalization of leadership; strengthening of national and regional legislation; investment in people and equitable access and development of economic resources as well as military capacity to address the challenge of insecurity in Africa. This is particularly important considering the threats posed by religious extremism and international terrorism. Through co-operation and co-ordination on training, intelligence gathering and sharing with the international community, terrorism on the continent can be defeated. Africans require a more peaceful, inclusive and accountable institutions that promote justice for sustainable development to evolve. Efficient handling of aforementioned challenges will significantly enhance chances of realizing sustainable development goals in Africa by 2030.

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