



Human Security and Development in Africa

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ABSTRACT

The paper attempts to situate Human Security and Development as the outcome of good governance in Africa. In doing this, we employed the Human Security Approach as an Analytical Framework to interrogate Development in the African continent. In our contemporary world system where, through the effect of globalization, awareness has been created on the role of good leadership in fast tracking peace, Security and Development, the impact of lack of credible governance in Africa has led to political schism, war, poverty, hunger, a corollary of which is the phenomenon of refugeeism for which the continent has become notorious within the world community. In this context, only a political leadership committed to sustainable democratic norms, economic and social development can guarantee peace Security and Development in Africa. In the light of the above, the paper recognizes the correlation between good governance, human security. In view of the foregoing, the paper recommends for the continent, a leadership that understands the connection between good governance and Human Security as a Sine qua-non for Development. In terms of Methodology Secondary data were explored for the analysis of this paper based on the case study.

INTRODUCTION

It is ironic that the African continent endowed with abundant natural resources and conducive climatic conditions suitable for all-season agriculture that can guarantee food sufficiency, now depends on western countries for financial, technological and even food assistance. Japan, for instance, is not as richly endowed in terms of natural resources as Africa, but, a lot of African countries depend on her for financial and technological aid.

This parlous condition of Africa portrays a grim state of affairs which when compared with other regions of the world present what **Wordu (2004) citing Adedeji and Cyril** describes as a "basket case characterized by perennial famine, recurrent economic crises, dictatorship, blatant violation of human and citizen rights, environmental degradation and regional and localized conflicts perpetuated by inept political leaders and crafty warlords".



Several Scholars, institutions and organizations have bemoaned Africa's developmental paradox and pondered over a dangerous situation wherein:

No African State is economically large enough to construct a modern economic alone... Africa as a whole has the resources for industrialization but it is split among fifty three territories. Africa as a whole could provide market to support large scale industrial complexes, yet no single state or sub-regional economic union can do so (Queen and Fieldman 1968:2).

The above opinion on Africa has been attributed to the preponderance of recurring conflicts generated by the overbearing nature of African State. Scholars such as Mazru (1977:107), Wordu (2004) Etang (2000) have traced this spectre to the problem of colonialism and state formation in Africa. African State had encounters with European colonialism and Imperialism. This began from the era of mercantile trade, through the period of slave trade and subsequently colonialism. During this period, the various peoples that make up the continent became victims of conquest through violence unleashed by these European plunderers. Conflicts and violence became the order of interaction between the Europeans and the native Africans. This historical antecedence subsequently fostered a culture of conflict and violence that have unarguably affected the psychic of the African and his development efforts even after colonialism.

Thus current leaders of the African continent, worried by state of affairs, have been involved in persistent search for enduring alternatives to conflict and violence. Thus they have tried to establish viable institutional arrangements that can guarantee peace and development in the continent. Hence the African Union This policy renaissance on Africa could be said to be in response to prescriptions by multi-lateral development donors who have prescribed policy reforms for the continent including the designing and adoption of a framework of localized incentives constituting streamlined conditionalities in order for the continent to benefit from globalization. According to Wordu (2004), some of these frameworks are clearly listed in the World Bank, World Trade Organization (WTO), International monetary Fund documents and programmes (IMF Bulletin 2001 - 2002), and the United States of America (USA) policy on Africa promoted under the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). Most of these documents outlined the obstacles bedeviling the African economy and how they can be resolved. Among the listed issues are:

- (a) Lack of viable political and economic system
- (b) General lack of capacity for policy, economic and financial management
- (c) Escalation of violent conflicts, and
- (d) Lack of political and institutional structures for conflict management; as well as lack of capacity for post conflict reconstruction and peace building and reconciliation.

This paper attempts to explore the various mechanisms the leadership of the African continent has employed in the quest for development and seek to establish the nexus between security and development. Emphasis here would be laid on the connection between human security and development.

Concept Clarification i) Security

According to AkpuruAja (2009:34), security is a common concept of many minds, but only well known to few. He further says



feeling of internal and external vigilance and freedom from fear of losing life, property, liberty and core values.

ii) Human security

As with many social phenomena, human security does not have definition that carries universal appeal. Notwithstanding, Thomas in Ezirim, Onuoha&Nwogu (2014) defines human security as a condition of existence in which basic material needs, are met and in which human dignity, including meaningful participation in the life of the community, can be realized. Human security from this perspective, according to Ezirim, Onuoha&Nwogu (2014) has both qualitative and quantitative aspects. At one level it is about the fulfillment of basic material needs, and at another level it is about the achievement of human dignity, which incorporates human autonomy, control over one's life and unhindered participation in the life of the community.

For Herbert (2001), human security is safety of persons or people from both violent and non-violent threats. It is a condition or state of being characterized by freedom from pervasive threats to people's right, their safety, or even their lives. According to Herbert, human security does not supplant national security. He posits that the human security perspective does not assert that national security is an end itself, but rather a means to an end. This implies that it is a means of ensuring security of people and their entireties — belongings. In this sense therefore, national security and human security are mutually reinforcing and supportive.

Steward (2004), notes that Human Security and development are deeply interconnected. According to him, Human security forms an important part of people's wellbeing and is therefore an objective of development. Lack of human security has adverse consequences on economic growth and development.



Though the idea of human security has gained prominence recently, its study is not new. According to Thomas (1993), previous studies and policy formations did not specifically recognize it, but the United Nation Development Programme (1994:22) did so as it posited that;

For too long, security has been equated with threats to a country's borders. For too long nations have sought to protect their security. For most people today, a feeling of a insecurity arises more from worries about daily life than from area of cataclysmic world event. For many of them, security symbolized protection from the honest of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards. The UNDP (1994:22) Report captive seven division of the human security concept to include; economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, Ezirim, Onuoha&Nwogu (2014) notes that the report emphasize two main aspects of human security, viz: safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression; and protection from sudden corruption in the pattern of daily life, whether jobs, in homes or communities.

The conceptualization of security from the human security perspective, Ezirim, Onuoha&Nwogu (2014) opines is a paradigmatic shift from other security thinking, which privileges the protection of state power over an approach that accounts for the complex, social and economic relations of the citizens. Following from this, human security could be further defined as freedom from actual and potential threats to human life that may arise either as a result of human actions or inactions, or from natural disasters such as floods, earthquake, famine, drought, disease and other natural calamitous events resulting in deaths,



human suffering or material damage. The emphasis on human security derives from three fundamental convictions, mainly (i) the sanctity and inviolability of human life; (ii) the universality and dignity of human rights; (iii) and the existential imperatives of the value for individual safety in a world full of multifarious threats. Human security therefore is hinged on three basic human instincts of self-preservation, self-extension and self-fulfillment.

The above could only be fulfilled in a safe and secure environment where policies, law and order are geared towards good governance; - governance that recognizes the inviolability and sanctity of human life as well as unfettered access to health, education, good nutrition clean and safe environment.

According to Bajpai (2000), 'human in-security is the combination of threats, associated with war, genocides and displacement of population. It therefore means that human security is simply. The absence of the above listed inhuman environmental or existential ills'. This means freedom from violence or threat of it. Although the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is reputed to be first to draw global attention to the idea of human security in its 1994 Human Development Report (HDR) where human security is identified to encapsulate everything that constitutes freedom from want and freedom from fear, African Sources of the concept and legendary as it is a number of indigenous roots.

As noted by Hutchful (2009), a number of African political philosopher and discourses have in various ways stressed the primacy of basic human needs and the need for a redistributive ethos, specifically rejecting the acquisition of military power as the object of state policy. These include a number of African Independence leaders such as Nyererer African socialism, Nkruma'sconsciencism; Senghor's Negritude, and Kaunda's humanism. Among all, it was only Nkrumah that seem to favour a strong national and continental military force possibly as a tool to deter or contain neocolonialism.



The ideas of these leaders in our opinion coincide with what we would refer to as human security. It is so, in our opinion, to the extent that they stressed non-military, as well as social components, such as good health, food security, spiritual and psychological wellbeing, access to essential community service, protection from natural calamities, as well violence, crime and a lot more.

Recently or even currently, a lot of African discourse on security had followed the 1991 conference on security, stability, development and co-operation in Africa (CSSDCA) in what was tagged the Kampala document. This formed the nucleus of the current AU African Union security policy document recognized in 1999 first by the OAU leaders and adopted as African defence policy document which now forms an integral part of the AUs Common African Defence and Security Policy (CADSP) adopted in sir-lybia on 28th February, 2004.

Kofi Annan, one time UN Secretary General identified human security as cardinal in his Millennium summit in September 2000. He advised member states of the United Nations that security should be thought of less in terms of defending territory and more in terms of protecting people (the development Agenda) and freedom from fear (the security Agenda) as security is a precondition for lasting peace and fundamental to the achievement of the millennium development goals and full development of human capacities, (Mbagwu 2015)

HUMAN SECURITY APPROACH AS AN ANALYTICAL STATEMENT TO ADDRESS SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT

We employ the World Bank Report (2015) titled; "Voice of the poor" as a basis for the human security approach in the framework of analysis for this study. This approach based on the

perspective of the poor in the security development policy debate made a significant contribution to strengthen the idea of human security. The report was the result of over 60,000 (sixty thousand) men and women interviewed on the concern for their daily lives; priorities, insecurity across the developing world.

The report showed that a top priority for the poor people is the need for the following;

- (i) Stability of income/financial security:** i.e. a stable and steady income.
- (ii) Predictability of one's daily life:** Some people are even more concerned about the predictability of life than financial security.
- (iii) Protection from crime:** Feeling protected from lack of law and order, increased crime.
- (iv) Psychological security:** Emotional security, psychological sense of belonging to a social group.

The policy implication of this perspective is that traditional security emphasizes the use of military means for reducing the risk of war and prevailing, if deterrence fails. On the other hand human security advocates, while not ruling out the use of force, has focused on non-coercive approaches. The approaches by the proponent of human security include; preventive diplomacy and conflict management to addressing the root cause(s) of conflict by building state capacity and promoting equitable economic development (Alao 2015:324).

Hussien, Gmsci, and Wanjiru in Alao (2015:324-325) have noted that; human security is a critical component of the global political and development agenda. Two ideas lie at its heart; firstly, the protection of the individual is a strategic concern for national as well as international security; secondly, security



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The human security approach further contends that any attempts to address security-related matters need to be done in consultation and collaboration with various stakeholders and actors who may more frequently have different interest as well as views which could include governments, non-governmental organizations, local, national and internal bodies. (Alao 2015:334-5).

Cilliers cited in Mbagwu (2015) argue that within the African context, the following five additions are required to complete the transition from a simple focus on national, personal and community security to human security: (1) the development of an efficient administrative bureaucracy to manage the state along rational-legal, as opposed to patrimonial or personalizes; (ii) the rise of an independent commercial class to increase the resource base of the state and diffuse power; (iii) dividing the sources of patronage between politics and economic; (iv) the transformation of subjects into citizens through the process of nationalism as an ideology of the state; and (v) the introduction of democracy that institutionalizes the transfer of sovereignty from ruler to people.



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Development

Todaro (1981:70) says development, in its essence must represent the entire gamut of change in which an entire social system, tuned to the diverse needs and desires of individuals groups within that system moves away from a condition of life widely perceived as unsatisfactory and toward a situation or condition of life widely regarded as materially and spiritually better.

Okowa (2008) explains Todaro's standpoint on development from three core values, viz: life sustenance, self esteem, and freedom from servitude. Okowa explains each of the above thus: - life sustenance is where development requires the increasing ability of a society to provide the basic material needs of her people. According to him, this may be equated with economic development. The second core value which he lists as self esteem, i.e. sense of worth and self respect, ensures that a person or group in society is not being used as tool by others. According to him, this aspect of development may be equated with social development. Third core development value which is freedom from servitude, Todaro conceives of development in terms of emancipation from alienation of material conditions of life and freedom from social servitude of men and women to nature, ignorance, other men and women, misery, institution's and dogmatic beliefs (Okowa 2008.)

Ibeanu (2011), sees development simply as a process of improving the conditions in which human beings live. Employing Rodney's (1972) definition, he believes development can be interpreted from three dimension: first is providing man's understanding of the laws of nature (science); second, applying this understanding to the creation of tools and other implements that improve man's working conditions and living environment



(technology); and third, equitable organization of work and rewards (social relations of production).

Ibeanu see also this phenomenon as "a process of progressively eliminating conditions that alienate labour in society". These conditions he lists as a complex of interplay of the natural and biophysical which could be, according to him, environmental scarcity, ecosystem failure - climate change and social, including the interplay of human/ environment. This could be the organization of work where such issues are access to the productive resources and reward distribution such as workers' pay. (Ibeanu 2011).

Also, relying on the dependency approach in development discourse Omagile, Umor E.S. (2004:26) opines that in line with dependency theorist prescription development must include the history and culture of a concerned group (people). Development should not be measured only in economic terms but with social indices such as life expectancy, literacy, infant motility, education, quality of infrastructure, environmental safety measures and security among others

CONFLICT AND AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

Although each conflict may have its own unique character, some generalizations could be adduced. Citing the Economist of January, 2004:8 Adetula, posits that a study of the world's civil wars since the 1960s shows that the most important risk factors were poverty, low economic growth and high dependency on natural resources. According to him, this theory largely explains Africa's incessant conflicts. Development in Africa is regularly threatened by the persistence of poverty, this in turn create insecurity with respect to decent livelihood and human survival. Poverty has not only reduced the ability of people to lead productive lives but also aggravated identity conflict along ethnic, communal, religions and perhaps, regional lines. In Nigeria for example poverty could be said to have increased divisive tendencies in the relationship between what is indigenes and non-indigenes in nearly all parts of the country. In fact, the citizenship and settler question has degenerated to a point of wanton destruction of lives and property of people. This spectre spreads all over Africa, in Nigeria, Cote'd. voir, Sudan, Kenya, Somalia etc. The manipulation of identity based issues by the elites in Africa has the tendency to cause disaffection and suspicious among the improvised population in Africa. The result, according to Adetula(2006), has always been identify based conflicts that usually leave the people more impoverished and vulnerable.

Adetola corroborates Nzogola' - Ntalaja's view point to bring home the point thus; social identities are not natural phenomena. They are historical constructed and may therefore change as a result of social and political transformations. Consequently, in themselves identities do not cause conflict. A group or an individual's identity is not a matter of particular concern in situations of relative calm and security. Solidarity with one's identity is best mobilized when the group faces threat, real or imagined to its interest, or its very existence as a group. This is why there is an increase in identity based conflict during periods of economic and political crisis. The ease with which Warlords can recruit young men and boys to their armed bands in Africa today is undoubtedly a function of the large number of school leavers and unemployed Youth with nothing to do and no hope for the future. Likewise, the high incidence of intercontinental violence is due to growing competition over scarce resources and the persistence of poverty. These are poverty and



insecurity determined, and their persistence can only frustrate the African integration and development processes (Ntalaja 2002).

Alao (2015:100) interrogating the implications of the widespread proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Africa observed the view that:

"The proliferations of small arms and light weapons and the phenomenon of mercenaries pose complex challenges to west African, involving security, humanitarian and development dimensions. The upsurge in infra-state conflicts and violence has created a staggering demand for small arms, rebel groups, mercenaries, uncontrolled police and militia in the entire sub-region and the continent at large".

Epelle (2011) observes that the problem of environmental degradation and despoliation, youth restiveness, hostage taking and, kidnapping of oil workers, military men as well as civilians and institutional violence as prevalent in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, in addition to an admixture of a lackadaisical efforts of the state act solving these problems have given rise to grave security concerns in the region. This has affected productivity in all factors of human endeavour as well as present psychological and health problems in the area. This scenario is identifiable in many other parts of the Nigeria Federation i.e. the North Eastern part of the country where the terrorist group "Koko Harram" is holding sway, the situation is the same in a sizeable portion of the West Africa sub-region as well as the east and central Africa including the horn. All these present a daunting challenge to human security in the continent and the implication for development is more imagined than said.

THE 21ST CENTURY APPROACH TO MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN AFRICA

Various groups and organizations, particularly donor agencies and nations alike are in the search of a new security paradigm. This become necessary especially since after some catalmistic events

that have caused the world at large so much losses in terms of human and economic waste through armed conflicts. Since after the world wars, particularly World War II, and the 9/11 attack on the twin towers in the United States and the spread of conflicts in various places especially in Africa other developing nation, concerned citizens scholars as well as organizations have begun to tanker on a paradigm shift in security thinking. The shift has become necessary in view of the apparent ineptitude of the Westphalia conception of security especially in the developing nations. The Westphalian Model seems to emphasize militarism as the basis of state security. As noted by Hutchful (2015) "the overwhelming emphasis on military dimensions of security was magnified by the cold war and was symptomatic of a fragmented approach that privileged certain conceptions of security and the agencies that executed them over others. This approach largely ignored or underplayed economic, environmental and other sources of threat and invasion. This encouraged tension between various dimensions of security".

In an interview with the New African magazine, General Romeo Dollarize of the Canadian army seems to corroborate this paradigm shift both in conflict resolution mechanism and security thinking when he said that:-

the global village is deteriorating at a rapid pace, and in the children of the world, the result is rage. It is the rage I felt in crowds of ordinary civilians in Rwanda, and it is the rage that resulted in September 11. Human beings who have no rights, no security, no future, no hope and no means to survive are a desperate group who will do desperate things to take what they believe they need and deserve.



On the issue of public for prolonged peace building, he also noted as follow:

"Public support is maintained by government getting out of the sand bite scenario and media scrums and starting to articulate the complexity and ambiguity of conflict, and the fact that if we don't go to countries and help them stabilize, the stuff spreads.

We are not isolated anymore. The rage of countries that are hurting or under economic duress will in turn spread. And so we can be caught up even at home as we see with violent extrimission in Isis. The aim is to go where the conflicts are and to prevent them from happening, assist them in transiting from solution to reconciliation.

The essence of the future is trying to push the use of kinetic fore back, and the ability to participate multi disciplinarily, with different agencies and capabilities, into innovative solutions. We need a new fundamental conceptual base to the establishment of peace and security, and in fact to move into a realm of prevention versus simply the resolution of conflicts. Then what we sued is a bevy of statement and what we are stick with is gaggle of politicians who just don't have the depth, risk taking flexibility, or even the humility, let alone the ideas to take on these complex and ambiguous problems. (New African magazine, May 2017,p31-33)

Nigeria's National Defence policy as published in 2006 for instance, says "Nigeria's natural endowments and accomplishments in politics and other areas have placed her in a leadership position in Africa. This impresses on her a lot of responsibilities and challenges. There is therefore, a need for thorough assessment of her interest to determine which of them requires unilateral or collective action".

To do this, the document sees "National interests as derived from shared values, which according to the document, could be" broadly described as territorial, political, economic, scientific and socio-cultural. Specifically, the interest is the protection of her territory and the wellbeing of her citizenry, democracy and good governance with protection of our values. Technological development, human dignity, domestic and regional peace as well as culture, also ensuring the stability of government, strengthening the domestic economy and participation in the global economic system. The document notes that the protection of these interests is not always a military prerogative, but requires the combined efforts of the whole nation".

A cursory look at the above shows a shift of emphasis from the traditional militarized nation of security to a civilized and current security thinking i.e. human security as it emphasizes military defence of only 'its territory' in a democratic atmosphere of relative human security and human rights, devoid of preventable diseases, illiteracy, unemployment, hunger, poverty and civil strife. (NDP 2006:13-14).

Although the intention of the Nigerian government in its defencepolicy is commendable, as it satisfies, a lot of the guidelines for human security, its implementation remains to be seen, as good governance is yet a far cry in the country, judging from the level of poverty, hunger, diseases, misery, unemployment, agitations of various types by different groups in addition to militant groups and militant gangs operating in different parts of the country.

Hutchful (2009) says the Human Security concept "address principally the relationship between states and their citizens rather than the relationship between states". It attempts to shift the focus on the protection of states and regimes to the protection of individuals and communities. In the process human



security has stretched security, both horizontally i.e. beyond merely military objectives and vertically, it include not just states but regional and international structures as well as local and individual actors.

For Hutchfull, the west phalian nation of security has never become embedded in Africa due to certain reasons. In the west phalli conception, security protects the state instead of individual or regime. According to him, the colonial state not being an `organic' state, never evolved and so cannot be for the purpose of protecting citizens, therefore, post-colonial state has, as in another aspects of the socio-economic and political structures, also inherited and sustained this logic. He argues that "African Armed forces have always been configured primarily for internal security rather than external defence. This in his opinion has reflected the fact that major causes of destabilization have been internal rather than external, emanating from poor governance, weak state capability, porous and illogical borders, ethnic and social strife, economic shocks and poverty".

It is our opinion that a constellation of these negative social, economic and even political phenomena impact very negatively heavy on human security in the African state.

The above scenarios weaken the capacity of the military who is not only ill trained and ill equipped but also structurally disconnected from the political and socio-economic environment. They therefore lack the capacity to respond even to the most unorganized insurgent group. An example is the case of Sierra Leon in the 1990s. This state of affairs exposes the citizen who in actual fact were to be protected by the state, at least going by the prescriptions of the contractarian theorists, to the vagaries of instable regimes and the resultant weak or failed states that are usually identified with poor governance.

This may account for Hutchful's thesis that *"the fragility of Africa's governance and security also explains why human security would emerge as perhaps the most prominent security concept from the debris of the cold war on the continent"* (Hutchful2009).

AFRICAN LEADERSHIP AND THE ISSUES OF SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE CONTINENT

Having explored the concepts of security, human security and development, it may be necessary to discuss how these have played out in the governance of the African State.

Moetetsi Mbeki of South Africa has pointed out that "...they don't care what the colour of your skin is, what they are interested in is the content of your character and of course, your intellectual capability. And no, I don't believe that Africa gets the leaders it deserves. Remember most people in Africa are peasants, which means they are vulnerable to the state. And the state in Africa was created by the Colonial system to terrorize the peasants. And the post-colonial masters who inherited the state use this system to terrorize the weak and fragmented rural communities..." (Moeletsi Mbeki 2012). The above excerpts reveal the nature of leadership in Africa.

Looking at the exposition of the concepts of security, human security and development, we find that these phenomena cannot thrive in a vacuum, but rather in a system of interrelationships of organizations, especially the state. In Africa, the state is the megaphone of the voice of the people and so whatever it blares out represents the voice of the people. It follows therefore, that the state must represent the people effectively and efficiently.

Unfortunately, however, the state in Africa still bearing the toga of its historical existence sings tones that are hardly in accord with the lyrics of the people's desired music.

The leadership of Africa has relied on ethnicity to survive and perpetuate their stay in office. This reliance on ethnic belonging pitches the various groups against one another; acrimony, dissent and resentment begin to set in among the various groups, these groups could be tribal or ethnic, and/or religious as it is mostly so in Africa.



The reliance on such primordial values by African leadership engenders crisis in the society as groups become suspicious of each other become the order of social existence. The political process in this kind of environment only present a catalyst for cataclysmic events that characterize more often the Africa political system. The result is violence during elections, election rigging as there is no generally accepted candidate based on principles that would ensure good governance.

There are always feelings of marginalization among the various ethnic and/or religious groups in any one African State. These lead to one crisis or the other that snowballs into various levels of violence or even ethnic wars. Such conflagrations engender, misery, poverty, hunger, ignorance, diseases and deaths.

Such scenarios as above in African States create two communities, that of opulence and squalor. These relate with antagonism against each other.

There is therefore, no peace, not peace of the graveyard, but peace that encourages dialogue, understanding, easy resolution of differences and reconciliation when necessary. Under this kind of atmosphere, the people hardly participate in governance as they have no opportunity to put in place representatives of their convictions. Representation is therefore, foisted on them. Their views are not heard, they lack any amenities that would better their lives, no investments, no manufacturing, agricultural practices, if any, are at the subsistence level. The feelings of marginalization metamorphose into ethnic agitations for separate existence as in the Sudans and elsewhere in Africa.

These agitations and clannishness gives birth to militarization/ militancy of the youth who form large cohorts and the concomitant readiness for hire by conscienceless political leaders. Response by state use of force that may precipitate a major crises resulting in displacement of large populations as internally displaced people (IDP) as world records have shown that this trend is characteristic of the African political and governance space.

These conditions for sure, heightens security concerns, especially human security. The government in Africa, therefore, runs budgets that are rich in defence expenditure than education, health, environmental protection, research and industrial establishment.

The meaning of democracy is as decided by the ruling group and so the issue of development here lacks universal appeal.

There is hardly any move to develop under an insecure atmosphere created by the inept leadership in Africa.

RECOMMENDATION

Having gone through the above exposé, we posit that the panacea to development in Africa is security. In other words, we say that a nexus exists between security and development. Here, we mean development that affects the people of Africa. Government in Africa should therefore lay more emphasis in human security, even if, national defence is to be put on an important pedestal.

It is possible to do above only when the participatory democratic , space widens to include citizens not subjects, there is respect for law and order; there is a reduction in the spoils system which encourages the politics of patronage with the resultant high level of corruption that has become characteristic of the average African State. Governments in Africa should encourage Budgets for people's welfare, such as health services, education, employment, provision of social services including food security, safe and clean drinking water as well as clean environment as these characterize good governance.



CONCLUSION

"The debates over security in the post-cold war period have reached an impasse, with a resulting crisis of security paradigms. The core of the debates centres on those who favour traditional, military or state-centric security, and proponents of human security and the security of individuals and groups. Following 9/11, the debates re-emerged between those who stressed coercive or primarily military response to terrorism, and those who placed emphasis on addressing its structural roots in poverty, marginalization and injustice, and feared that the "so called war on terrorism" would sideline human related (problems) issues. Now it is widely accepted that this polarization between state or national and human security is not only misconceived, but dangerous in practice. Strong and responsive states are absolutely essential for state as well as human security. Hence, it may not be an accident that democratic states are also militarily strong states. Far from being distinct or in tension, state and human security are two sides of the same coin, their deficits are rooted in the same dilemma, such as underdevelopment and institutional weakness, and revolve around fundamentally similar solutions.

The December 2004 report of the UN Secretary General's High level panel on threats, challenges and change makes this point with admirable clarity casting development as the key to both state and human security, and thus the cornerstone of its new security consensus.

In describing how to meet the challenges of conflict, prevention, we began with development, because, it is the indispensable foundation for a collective security system that takes prevention seriously. It serves multiple functions. It helps state prevent or reverse the erosion of state capacity, which is crucial for meeting almost every class of threat. And it is part of long term strategy for preventing civil war and for addressing the environment in which both terrorism and organized crime flourish.

Importantly, comprehensive security is not only desirable, but also feasible. The key accomplishment of the democratic state has been the ability to fuse state security and the everyday concerns of its citizens for personal security. This involves linking three distinct levels of security.

- i) National security - control over coercion and military force
- ii) Political security - respect for human rights and rules of law
- iii) Social security - provision of an economic safety net

Human security seeks to synthesize all three levels of security. In this respect, however, the realization of human security in Africa must address a historic dilemma. Hutchful (2009).

In view of our exposition on security, development and human security and the further review of current perspectives on security, we find that there is a tilt from the traditional notions and perspectives of security to a new dimension of the phenomenon - human security. We posit that human development is the current concern of the security and development literature because the human being is the harbinger of development from whatever perspective one views it. The level of development however, depends on the amount of or stage of development of the human being in terms of the level technological development. The more technologically developed the human race is, the more there is likely to be development in whatever face of human endeavour. This is where we find a more technologically advanced or developed world and a less developed or developing world.

In order to develop technologically and otherwise however, the human being (race) needs to be secure in all ramifications, including psychological, and physical wellbeing, i.e. the human being must have food security, be some of the safe environment free from threats of all kinds including man-made and natural disasters, wars, access to good healthcare, education including conducive living. Safe and clean water as well as pollution free air.



All these could only be guaranteed by a state run with a lot of responsibility for the citizen - good governance. It is our submission therefore, that a nexus exists between human security and development and the only guarantor of this nexus is good governance.

It is our conclusion that, to the extent that African leaders, rely not who on the traditional motions of the phenomenon regime security to the exclusion of human security and for which reasons they constantly face internal threats and even crises and for which they have challenges of instability in governance, to that extent there would be lack of human security and development in the content.

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