




Chapter One

Security–Development Nexus in Africa: An Argument

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Introduction

The year 2023 marked the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the predecessor of the African Union (AU), which succeeded the former in 2002. While the OAU’s defining characteristics were decolonisation, self-determination and freedom for the people of Africa in the first ten years of its existence (founded in 1963), the objective swiftly shifted towards the quest for sustainable development as the decolonisation wave became “self-replicatory”. Thus, since the mid-1970s, the continent’s agenda has been dominated by industrialisation and development-related aspirations to uplift the living standard for the people of Africa. For instance, the Monrovia Declaration (1979), the Lagos Plan of Action (1980), the Abuja Treaty (1991), the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (2002) and the AU Agenda 2063 (2015), to name the most notable ones, all have one significant defining aspiration in common, an integrated, economically developed and self-sufficient Africa. For decades, the idea has been to decolonise the African economies through regional economic integration (Adedjeji, 1983).

Needless to say, the African continent’s challenges go beyond economic development, especially with the natural hazards that are recurring at an unprecedented frequency

and intensity of late and the resurgence of military coups and unconstitutional changes of government over the past years. A peaceful and stable political and social climate has been shown to be a prerequisite for sustainable socio-economic development. This is why the 2030 agenda for sustainable development, United Nation (UN) Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16, seeks to: “Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development.” (UN, 2015:28). Furthermore, Aspiration 4 of the AU’s Agenda 2063 calls for a peaceful and secure continent. Thus, within the context of this volume, the particular focus on some of these issues in no way minimises the significance and urgency of others.

Security-Development Nexus in a Historical Context

While the history of African societies and people did not commence with colonial conquest, the colonisation of Africa by European powers was a watershed moment in the continent’s history. So historically significant in many senses and far-reaching in terms of implications, including the security and development of the people of the conquered territories. Its impact is still being felt to date despite the physical occupation and colonial administrations ending over half a century ago in most African countries. For instance, the successive apartheid governments of South Africa created and maintained homelands to marginalise the African majority, with these areas and dwellings were largely neglected with minimal service provision. Decades later, South Africa is regarded as one of the most unequal societies in the world by international organisations like the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The usurpation of Africans’ natural right to self-determination and self-government meant that their agency to ensure security and development was wrested from them. Indeed, one of the key features of colonial rule in Africa was the prevalence of insecurity and the absence of development. As is often the case with many systems predicated on gross injustice, the colonial dispensation buckled under the pressures of the liberation struggle led by African nationalists, so the system was dispelled from the continent. Africans had reclaimed the right

to determine their development trajectory and influence their fate, unencumbered by hateful colonial rule. As mentioned, security and development matters assumed the back seat during colonialism. Unsurprisingly, security and development issues became preponderant in the discourses unfolding within corridors of political power in Africa.

Many colonially created African states were weak, poorly institutionalised, and unable to guarantee security for their citizens (Lodge, 2008; Forrest, 1988). The institutions of accountability for those in power were barely functional, by design. In fact, these states were used as instruments to oppress and brutalise their people in service of the nefarious political agendas of the colonial powers. This is aptly put by Makumbe in Chapter Seven. The author highlights this, arguing, in essence, that much as in the case of the colonial governments who were the source of insecurity and underdevelopment of citizens, multi-termism and decades-long ruling were detrimental and citizens welcomed military coups in Zimbabwe and Guinea as they thought it was the only viable method to put an end to multi-termism and end the decades-long ruling of Robert Mugabe (Mackintosh, 2017) and Alpha Conde 2021, respectively. The chapter details how the constitutional processes have been manipulated to enable some leaders to serve multiple terms as presidents.

Accordingly, the continuing state-building process on the continent ought to entail a dismantling of this character in the African state so that it becomes a leading actor in providing security to the people, including the more recently embraced idea of human security, which encumbers the state with a responsibility to ensure the development of its people. It is generally accepted that a state that cannot provide security to its citizens or people living within its borders is correspondingly unable to guarantee its development. Similarly, a state that fails to ensure the development of the people also cannot see to their security. The foregoing clearly alludes to a mutual-dependent relationship between the concepts of development and security, whereby the two are prerequisite conditions that must exist simultaneously at any given time. The majority of the African

states are still challenged insofar as the responsibility to ascertain that these conditions are created (Buur, Jensen & Stepputat, 2007). Present-day Africa continues to be riddled with a myriad of security and development challenges that hinder the attainment of SDGs and the African Union's Agenda 2063.

Whither Regional Integration, Security and Development in Africa

Post-independence Africa has looked to regional integration to address security and development issues. While the regional integration efforts in the continent pre-date independence in the sense that it was used to propel the decolonisation wave across Africa, regional integration has been somewhat fully consolidated in the post-independence era. As shown by the chapters in this volume, this nexus between security and development is a very important one, given that one fundamentally affects the other. At a basic level, the “security-development nexus” thesis is predicated on the understanding that the absence of security has implications for development and *vice versa*.

African solidarity, expressed through regional integration and cooperation, has been deployed to attain development objectives and eradicate colonial domination in the continent (Mkandawire, 2014). A case in point is the then Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), which was mainly established to counter apartheid South Africa's destabilisation policy in Southern Africa. As noted by Mlambo in Chapter Five, in the wake of independence in the continent, “regional integration was looked to primarily for political reasons and later as a development strategy to rise to the challenges of smaller markets and being landlocked, to benefit from economies of scale.”

Africa has the highest number of least-developed countries in the world. It is replete with many modern challenges affecting humanity, such as environmental degradation, climatic deterioration, food insecurity, human

displacement, and forced migration (Ahenkan & Osei-Kojo, 2014). These challenges gave rise to efforts to counter them, as governments, individually and collectively, expend their energies to address climate change, conflicts, and industrial development, among others. These problems and issues have a bearing on Africa's attainment of the AU Agenda 2063 and UN SDGs aspirations. Furthermore, conflict-related security threats still pose security issues to development in the continent. This is a result of its long-lasting economic and social devastations, as we have seen in countries like South Sudan, Ethiopia, Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), to mention a few.

Through the Agenda 2063, the African continent has vowed to preserve peace, security and stability to build a prosperous continent with inclusive growth and sustainable development. In fact, understanding this correlation between security and development, SDG 16 seeks to promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development. This means it is no longer a debate whether there is a relationship between security and development (direct or indirect), but rather how developing countries navigate complexities brought about by this in pursuit of their development and security aspirations. What progress, if any, has Africa or African countries made in addressing the aforementioned? This is an important and timely question, as it has been nearly ten years since the African countries adopted and endorsed the Agenda 2063 and SDGs by the African countries. This book is composed of chapters that delve into the subject of the development-security nexus as it applies to African states and societies, looking at and dissecting the different themes that have relevance to the attainment of security and development.

Chapter Outline

This volume comprises sixteen chapters, divided into four thematic parts: regional integration, political instability, peace and security, and food security. This thematic breakdown's relevance is not only based on the pressing issues that the continent is facing and most grappled with in the literature but

also very central in the context of the Agenda 2063 and SDGs. Hence, the authors touch on different aspects of the Agenda 2063 and SDGs aspirations, from infrastructural development and climate change impact mitigation to military coups, peace and stability and intra-Africa trade. As diverse as this volume is, time and scope could not permit it to touch on every aspect of Agenda 2063 and SDGs.

In the next chapter, Mareli Hugo, Johannes Bhanye and Ruvimbo Shayamunda examine the impact of transport infrastructure on sustainable economic development in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region. The authors note the significance of an adequate (cross-border) infrastructure to a successful regional integration process, especially since it could facilitate a smooth flow of goods and services. While the authors acknowledge that the regional countries have come a long way in their infrastructural development over the past two decades or so, they contend that several challenges that the region faces in this aspect, like inadequate funding and poor road conditions, undermine the prospects of achieving the region's integration objectives. This is because higher transport costs due to inadequate transportation infrastructure disrupt the free flow of goods and services, thus limiting intra-regional trade. The authors recommend ramping up investments in the transportation infrastructure and improved maintenance.

In Chapter Three, Tebello Putsoane, Ruvimbo Hazel Shayamunda, Johannes Bhanye, and Abraham Matamanda grapple with the importance of holistic planning and adaptive approaches in improving responses to climate-induced disasters in Southern Africa. The chapter reveals that climate change has increased the frequency and severity of regional disasters, making adopting strategies to mitigate the negative impacts imperative. The chapter argues that holistic planning and adaptive systems are necessary to develop more effective responses to climate-induced disasters at a regional level. This approach involves integrating disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation into development planning processes, incorporating local knowledge and participation,

and promoting flexible and adaptive strategies that respond to changing conditions and uncertainties. The authors argue that this new (proactive) approach is vital because the region's current approach to disaster management is more reactive and not proactive. Thus, it needs to be revised in favour of the holistic and adaptive approach, enabling decision-makers to understand climate-induced disasters and develop effective strategies to reduce their risk and impact.

In Chapter Four, Makinde Mayowa Babatunde and Fayomi Oluyemi tackle how the securitisation of migration by some African countries affects the AU's efforts to promote the free movement of people across the continent. The chapter argues that the increasing classification of migrants as security threats makes it harder for the AU to develop a more efficient migration policy framework for the continent. The authors argue that while there are issues such as unstable security environments due to threats posed by terrorist organisations, like Al Shabab in the Horn and Eastern Africa and Boko Haram in West Africa, none of these risks are substantial enough to support the possibility of excluding legitimate African travellers from entering certain countries. In contrast, the benefits of the free movement of people across the continent outweigh the risks to national security.

Chapter Five, by Daniel Mlambo, examines SADC's regional integration trajectory since the organisation's 1992 transformation. The author focuses on the organisation's operational mandate, assessing the encountered challenges and prospects, arguing that while the SADC has made some noticeable efforts in the quest to integrate the region, several challenges have undermined progress over the three decades of its existence. These include lower levels of development and lack of political will, in particular, to implement the regional agreements at the national level. The author notes that these challenges will persist unless the integration project goes, and is understood, beyond heads of state to include civil society, the private sector and the people at large.

In Chapter Six, Collin Olebogeng Mongale and Boikanyo Collins Nkwatle interrogate the issue of military coups in

the West African region and the Sahel as impediments to the realisation of the AU's Agenda 2063, in particular, Aspirations 3 and 4, which seek to ensure good governance, democracy, respect for human rights, justice, and the rule of law, and a peaceful and secure Africa, respectively. The chapter argues that while the causes of these unconstitutional changes of government are understandable issues, such as poor governance and rampant corruption, the AU should, however, intervene and provide assistance in addressing the root causes and be fair in dealing with the challenges across the board, without applying double standards.

Daglou Makumbe, in Chapter Seven, draws a link between presidential multi-termism and military coups in Africa. Through the cases of Zimbabwe and Guinea, the author demonstrates that the people are increasingly tolerant and embracing coups when deployed to remove leaders who are reluctant to leave office even after electoral defeats. The author argues that unconstitutional change of governments derails the countries' development prospects, given that investors flee and are weary of an unstable political climate. Chapter Eight, by Johannes Bhanye and Ruvimbo Shayamunda, examines the securitisation of migration in Africa, focusing on this phenomenon's historical context, theoretical perspectives, and practical implications. The chapter provides diverse and nuanced insights into the implications of migration securitisation in the continent through case-study analysis. The chapter argues for a more holistic and human-rights-based approach to migration governance in Africa instead of seeing migrants as security threats.

In Chapter Nine, Aaram Gwiza, Vain Jarbandhan, Moira Tambaoga and Noah Ariel Mutongoreni examine the nexus between peace, human security and development in Africa in the post-colonial era, arguing that underdevelopment contributes to the absence of peace in the continent. They point out that most African countries have elevated levels of poverty, which have led to debates on the security-development nexus and a general reflection on the collaboration between governments and non-governmental actors like development agencies and private

actors broadly aimed at addressing the problem. Moreover, they contend that civil wars and other forms of violent conflicts have positioned the continent for a forlorn future. Collectively, these challenges and problems negatively impact African states' pursuit of SDGs and Agenda 2063, and the authors argue that these states are unlikely to realise the objectives and goals of the two development visions.

Torque Mude examines the dynamics of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA)'s developmental approach from the vantage point of peacebuilding to determine how it can advance peace and security in Africa. The focus of his chapter (Chapter Ten) was informed by the fact that the problems of peace, security and development are more prevalent in Africa than elsewhere. While the AfCFTA is mainly a development and economic integration instrument, it also envisages a peaceful Africa; this implies that the AU assumes security, peace and development to be connected, a position from which this book proceeds. They argue that setting up a single market covering 1.3 billion Africans not only boosts intra-Africa trade but also lays the foundation for peace, security and development. The chapter asserts that apart from being an economic development and integration blueprint, the AfCFTA has a pivotal bearing on Africa's peace, security and development.

In Chapter Eleven, Kyle Bester zooms in on the topical subject of cybersecurity from the perspective of securitisation theory. Bester examines cybersecurity in the context of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), focusing in particular on the efforts or lack thereof of the SANDF to tackle the ever-increasing cybersecurity threats in Africa. The pervasive nature of cyber threats poses a significant security challenge to governments, organisations and individual users. As such, cybersecurity has implications for national security, not only in South Africa but also in other countries in Africa and beyond. Problematically, the SANDF is silent on cybersecurity; Bester believes this need not be the case considering the salience of cybersecurity threats in the modern era. The military officers of SANDF constitute the basic units of the organisation, and the chapter sought to gather and assess the views of

SANDEF officers on the question of cybersecurity. These views were aggregated and analysed using securitisation theory as a theoretical framework.

Chapter Twelve, authored by Ruvimbo Shayamunda and Johannes Bhanye, discusses and analyses the problem of land conflicts, or conflicts caused by land disputes, to establish how this affects security, peace and development in Africa. They define land conflicts as disputes or struggles over land ownership, use, and control between individuals, communities, or groups. Historical factors causing and fuelling these disputes include past injustices, unequal access to land, conflicting land use practices, population growth, urbanisation, and environmental degradation. Importantly, the chapter examines how land conflicts in Africa affect peacebuilding and sustainable development on the continent. This examination has led to the (central) argument that land conflicts are a major obstacle to achieving sustainable development in Africa and that an all-encompassing approach is requisite to tackle the underlying causes of land conflicts. Hunger, even starvation, is a phenomenon that afflicts most parts of Africa, especially in urban areas or cities where there is severe scarcity of agricultural land. The idea of food security has increasingly gained prominence in discourses aimed at reflecting on how to address hunger in Africa.

In Chapter Thirteen, Leemisa Simon Matoane, Abraham Rajab Matamanda, Johannes Bhanye and Ruvimbo Shayamunda explore the subject of food security in Africa's urban areas. The authors attribute the problem of food insecurity in Africa's cities to various factors, including climate change, civil wars, the COVID-19 pandemic, and disjointed food value chain systems. Therefore, land use planning in urban areas is crucial to addressing the issue of food security in Africa, which will likely ensure that adequate land is allocated for food production, which may, in turn, result in improvement in the production of food in urban areas.

In Chapter Fourteen, Mthabiseng Ngwamba, Sinenhlanha Cele, and Mandla Mubecua look at small-scale farming and

its contribution to well-being in South Africa. Access to water for irrigation purposes for small-scale farmers is a perennial challenge in South Africa, where smallholder farmers struggle to secure water rights for their farms. The authors argue that, notwithstanding the governance of water through the policies and institutional support of small-scale farmers, South African small-scale farmers still face challenges in accessing water for irrigation. The problem is particularly acute in poor rural areas across the country. This has left small-scale farmers heavily reliant on rainfall to irrigate or water their crops. Relying on rainfall reduces the risk of food product contamination but leaves room for water shortages because of inconsistent weather patterns. Furthermore, the ever-increasing and frequent problem of climate change has disrupted rainfall patterns and made the problem of scarcity of water for irrigation purposes even worse. The authors view water governance and water accessibility as pivotal to the sustenance of small-scale farming.

In Chapter Fifteen, Kennedy Mabuku delves into the theme of food security as an aspect of Agenda 2063, focusing on Sub-Saharan Africa. The chapter proceeds from the perspective that food security continues to be troubling and challenging in the region. There has been limited exploration of its key dimensions, including availability, accessibility, stability, and utilisation. Considering that food security is viewed as an elusive ideal at the current juncture, the authors sought to investigate the obstacles that impede the attainment of food security in the region, which include poor harvests, limited access to agricultural loans, human-wildlife conflicts impacting food availability, and inadequate road infrastructure affecting food accessibility.

In Chapter Sixteen, Knowledge Mwonozora and Gift Mwonozora examine the intersection between humans and wildlife, focusing on Zimbabwe. This is interpreted as having implications on human security in that the encounter with wild animals may pose a risk to the physical security of the people involved. Equally, the encroachment of humans upon land that has been erstwhile reserved for animals creates a survival problem for wild animals. Zimbabwe is renowned for

its majestic wildlife, and the preservation of this is crucial to the country and its future. For several years, many countries in Africa and elsewhere have recorded high numbers of human mortalities and injuries owing to wildlife attacks. Due to climate change characterised by high temperatures, incessant drought and drying up of water holes, most wild animals are migrating or encroaching upon human settlements throughout most parts of Zimbabwe. Indeed, instances of conflict between humans and wildlife in some towns like Kariba and Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe have increased. The authors analyse how animal mobility has contributed to increased human-wildlife conflict (HWC) in Zimbabwe's Kariba and Victoria Falls regions.

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