

Sustainable Development Goal Sixteen (16): a Panacea for Sustainable Development and Peace in Africa

¹John Kalama &

²Love O. Arugu

^{1&2}Department of Political
Science, Federal University
Otuoke, Bayelsa State, Nigeria

Abstract

The study examined sustainable development goal (SDG) sixteen (16) as a panacea for sustainable development and peace in Africa. It is argued that no society can develop without peace, strong political institutions and effective criminal justice system hence, this paper adopted the descriptive method while data was sourced from secondary sources (textbooks, published journals, the international news media, the internet etc). The basic human needs (BHN) theory was applied in the study in order to explain the relevance of sustainable development goal sixteen (16) as it affects the enthronement of sustainable development and peace in Africa. However, findings from the study revealed that most African states are yet to have a free, open, transparent and an all inclusive democratic government where the rights of citizens are guaranteed and protected by the state and its institutions. The study also observed that the culture of sit-tight leadership and the fraudulent review and amendments of national constitutions by desperate African leaders remains a challenge to the African continent and the African Union hence, the conflict and violence in the continent. Nevertheless, aggressive socio-economic and political reforms coupled with other policy measures will help to eradicate, hunger, poverty, disease and all forms of conflict from the African continent. In the same vein, adequate sanctions should be meted out to desperate and corrupt African leaders and citizens who violate the laws of their countries. Thus, the African Union (AU), International Criminal Court (ICC) and other international agencies and organizations should be alive to their responsibilities.

Keywords:

Sustainable,
Development, Goal
16, Peace, African
Union, and Africa

Corresponding Author:

John Kalama

Background to the Study

Pre-independence African states and leaders like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Sekou Toure of Guinea, Mousa Dadis Camara also of Guinea Jomo Keryatta of Kenya etc advocated for a peaceful and United Africa based on equity, freedom and justice for African citizens irrespective of race, religion and political boundaries. This development no doubt led to the formation of the organization of African Unity (OAU) now African Union (AU) by 53 African states in 1963. However, post-independence Africa witness a dramatic change of events which scholars have attributed to colonial and neo-colonial interference in the internal affairs of African states. By 1965, the situation degenerated as greed, inordinate ambition and the desire to remain in power led to several military coups in Africa hence, politics in Africa witnessed several political assassinations, socio-political and economic conflicts which slowed down the pace of development and economic growth in Africa.

Citing Ihonvbere (1994) Pongri (2008) captured the mood of post-independence Africa when he argued that post independence African leaders has by their actions deviated from the ideals and philosophy of pan Africanism. In his words:

Not only is Africa very far from unity on any front, it is today the most marginalized, the most oppressed, the most exploited, the most poverty-stricken, the most debt-ridden, the most unstable, and the most denigrated continent in the world. Africa has more than half of the world's refugees, and it is the least industrialized of all the developing regions. Thus, we are not just disunited; we also have nothing to show for our abundant resources. Oppression, criminal human rights abuses, the lack of opportunities, discrimination on the basis of ethnic, racial, regional and religious considerations, ruthless exploitation of the already impoverished continent... The result is instability and a tendency towards either civil conflict or war (Ihonvbere, 1994:1). In the light of the above, this paper “sustainable development goal sixteen (16): A panacea for sustainable development and peace in Africa” is an attempt to address the root causes of political instability, rivalry, conflict and breach of peace in Africa.

Theoretical and Conceptual Analysis

This aspect of the study examined the views of scholars and literature relevant to the study. While lamenting the current level of Africa's underdevelopment Pongri (2008) stated that politics in post-independence Africa has become centred on the short-term winning of state resources, and gaining access to the levers of power. According to him, little long-term strategic political or economic planning could suffice in this institutionalized system of political exchange. Resources capture and distribution has become more important to politicians and bureaucrats than the actual development of the economy that produced these resources. In his work “the state in Africa” Bayart (2009) corroborated the above position when he added that access to political power in Africa automatically means access to state resources hence, he posited that the state in Africa is a major manufacturer of inequality as one's position in the state apparatus also determines one's social status in the society. According to him, the scramble and struggle for power accounts for instability and the collapse of several African states.

In his work “the true nature of conflicts in Africa today, case study: Kenya, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Burundi, Ethiopia... argued that several factors account for conflict in post-independence African states. According to him, the 20th century saw many conflicts in Africa, breaking out along ethnic divisions. In his words: Besides, the civil wars in Uganda, the Sudan, Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, and Sierra Leone were and are being carried by rebel movements which are organized across ethnic lines. Therefore the influence that tribalism and ethnicity have had on many conflicts in Africa some years ago, can not be in doubt. Yet many researchers hold different views about the true nature of conflicts in Africa today.

While reiterating his earlier position he argued that for the past fifteen (15) years the most dangerous and most frequent causes of conflict, divisions and wars in many peaceful African countries have not been as a result of tribalism nor ethnic divide as the media would have us believe. In his words: many of the civil wars recently seen in Africa have been as a result of “democracy”, electoral disputes and political dashes which often left tens of thousands of people dead and many others wounded. A few of the countries which have experienced electoral disputes/clashes where many people were reported to have lost their lives are; Ethiopia (2005), Kenya (2007), Zimbabwe (2008), Burundi (2010), Guinea (2010), Ivory Coast (2011), South Sudan (2011), DR Congo (2011) Uganda (2011), and many more (Saka, 2012:2).

While x-raying the link between natural resources and conflict in Africa Maphosa (2012) observed with dismay that Africa is a large and topographically varied land mass which has endowed the continent with a wide range of natural resources. According to him, even despite a lack of systematic environmental mapping and survey, the vast expanse of the continent is known to contain widespread reserves of natural resources with a great potential for mineral beneficiation. He however regretted that despite the availability of mineral resources, Africa remains underdeveloped.

In his words: Yet in the midst of this great wealth, Africa is a paradox of poverty and protracted social violence. It is home to most of the least developed countries of the world. More than two thirds of the countries in Africa are fragile and characterized by a combination of weak governance infrastructure, little or no service delivery, protracted social unrest and political violence, questions about regime legitimacy, inter-communal strife, food insecurity, economic despair, disputed border conflicts, and targeted attacks. Examples are Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Zimbabwe, Zambia, Congo (DR), Senegal, South Sudan, Libya, Madagascar, Kenya, Egypt, Burundi, Rwanda, Nigeria, Mauritania and Sudan, the list is sobering (Maphosa, 2012:2).

Scholars are of the consensus opinion that absence of sustainable development, peace, justice and stability have had great consequences on the African continent hence, Maphosa (2012) reiterated that fragile countries lack essential capacity and the will to fulfill four critical government responsibilities of fostering an environment conducive to sustainable and equitable economic growth: established and maintaining legitimate, transparent and accountable political institutions; securing their population from violent conflicts and

controlling their territory; and meeting the basic human needs of their population. The prevailing situation in Africa no doubt makes the study and analysis of sustainable development goal sixteen (SDG 16: Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels) very crucial and fundamental.

In a document titled “Promoting a culture of constitutionalism and democracy in commonwealth Africa” published by Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (CHRI) Ebrahim, Fayemi and Loomis (1999) argued that the following essential elements of sustainable development goal 16 must be in place before sustainable development, peace and political stability can take place in any society:

1. **Inclusiveness:** Access to justice and promotion of peaceful and inclusive societies must first start with the constitution making processes which must also be participatory.
2. **Legitimacy:** They contended that the legitimacy of constitution making processes is usually defined by the domestic, social and political context in individual countries and legitimacy can be enhanced and facilitated by bestowing a legal mandate upon constitutional commissions, Assemblies or similar bodies to solicit citizens input, draft a new constitution, and present a final document for adoption by a representative body such as parliament. They posited that South Africa's constitutional Assembly of 1994 was a classical example of a citizen's constitution-making process.
3. **Empowerment of civil society:** They added that by empowering civil society to participate in the constitution-making process and governance countries like Uganda, South Africa and Eritrea were able to add a new dimension to the concept of democracy in their respective countries. In their words: empowering civil society to participate in any democratic process creates a culture of openness and scrutiny that becomes increasingly difficult to suppress overtime” (CHRI, 1999:17).
4. **Openness and transparency:** They added that consultation processes should be kept transparent, public participation programmes are useful for ensuring the processes are, seen to be, open to the public as it was the case in South Africa where three approaches were used for promoting public participation: community liaison, media liaison and advertising. Though not in consonance with the public service conventions, it helped forge an open and transparent process.
5. **Accessibility:** The process of constitution-making and governance must be transparent and accessible by a citizen who wishes to know about government accounts and budgets. They noted that in South Africa for example, the public was provided with toll-free telephone numbers, addresses and public opportunities in different localities to take part in the process of constitution-making and policy formulation and implementation processes. In their words: the principle of accessibility was also considered and addressed from the perspective of language as the draft and new constitution was published in plain and accessible language.
6. Reforms and continuous reviews learning in mind that society is dynamic, they advocated for periodic reforms and continuous review of constitutions, laws, and policies to meet contemporary needs and challenges.

Borrowing the words of Dr. Julius Nyerere, “we refuse to put ourselves in a strait jacket of constitutional devices, even of our own making. The constitution of Tanzania must serve the people of Tanzania. We do not intend that the people of Tanzania should serve the constitution”. It is on record that post-colonial governments have used the letter of the law as an instrument for control and repression, and the military regimes that overthrew them perfected the art of manipulating the law to justify their hold on power. Helped by the dominant super-power politics of the cold war era that facilitated monopolies on power by coercive rulers, the manipulation, trivialization, and disregard of the constitution has become the defining characteristic of governance in post-colonial African states. Africa is therefore caught between two forces; on the one hand is the paradox of economic globalization that has compounded the problem of insecurity, violence and militarization through the forced policies of structural adjustment and the influence of transnational corporations. Debt and competition for scarce resources leaves the poor to fight it out amongst themselves. The worsening of poverty by these economic factors also enhances communal conflict, which in turn poses the greatest threats to making democracy a reality. In the light of these challenges, reconstituting the African state along equitable and just lines should be pursued with extra ordinary vigour. At every level of the continent Africa must no longer function as “virtual democracies” (Joseph, 1997) but must be refashioned to reflect the realities of their multifaceted societies. This has been reflected in the constitutional conferences in Benin, Togo, Niger, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Cameroun in the early 1990s, in the successful constitutional arrangements in South Africa, and in the process-based constitutional commissions in Uganda and Eritrea.

Rather than pursue ambitious regional agenda, African states should focus on internal security challenges facing African states. According to him, such notions as respect for the rule of law, good governance and regional security were conspicuously absent from the mandates of regional and sub-regional economic organizations that were established in the 1970s to promote integration. He argued further that most of the post-colonial states in Africa were governed by authoritarian military or single party regimes that rejected any constraints on the advancement of the power and personal wealth of incumbent rulers. He reiterated that state reconstruction is steadily and somewhat paradoxically emerging as the key issue upon which hinges success for regional grouping. The personalization of the state as a means to the acquisition of wealth accounts for the collapse of several African States. Worried about global tension, insecurity and war at the global level Babbitt (2009) argued that the field of international conflict resolution (ICR) came of age in the 1990s along with the alternative disputes resolution (ADR) movement in the United States. He added that international conflict resolution blossomed after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1991 and the end of the cold war.

This according to him caused the following changes in international conflict resolution strategies:

- I. An expansion from a focus on superior negotiating strategies to a wider peace building agenda

- ii. An increase in the role of nongovernmental actors as both disputants and third parties in international conflict, and A growing concern about human security in addition to state security, which created both tensions and opportunities for collaboration between governmental and non-governmental bodies. While citing Boutros Boutros Ghali 1992, he maintained that the issue of global peace and security received global attention when in 1992, the former United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali, issued the UN agenda for peace, laying out a framework for international conflict resolution that has continued to this day. The agenda for peace report no doubt identified four over reaching tasks for the UN and others involved in peace and conflict resolution at the global level. The four areas according to Babbitt 2009 include:
 1. **Conflict prevention:** This is also called preventive diplomacy which according to the UN is defined as action to prevent disputes from a rising between parties. It also means to prevent existing disputes from escalating into conflicts and to limit the spread of the latter when they occur.
 2. **Peace making:** This according to the UN means actions to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter Vi of the Charter of the United Nations.
 3. **Peace keeping:** This means deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned normally involving United Nations military and / or police personnel and civilians as well.
 4. **Peace building:** This means action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a recaps into conflict.

The above developments according to Babbitt (2009) represented an enormous shift from the emphasis on bilateral strategic bargaining hence, with the call to prevent violence from occurring or reoccurring, the UN was categorically saying that the international community has a responsibility to do something in vulnerable states and societies. With the UN Agenda for peace now in place Babbitt (2009) added that emphasis in international conflict resolution is now on maintaining internal and external security among member states, political reforms and rule of law, constitution making and revamping governance structures, rebuilding the economy and financial institutions, the in turn of refugees and internally displaced persons, and developing a functioning civil society. It is therefore obvious to state that the issue of peace, security, good governance and building an inclusive society is an issue that requires global attention by leaders at all levels. Mohale while x-raying the role of the African Union in combating emergency situations and post conflict conditions Mohale (2014) stated that within the AU commissions Department of Political Affairs, the humanitarian Affairs, refugees and displaced persons Division is responsible for humanitarian. In her words:

This division undertakes assessment missions and provides advice to the Chairperson of the AU Commission (AUC) and the Assembly on what the AU can do to support humanitarian

action. The main role of the AU is to ensure that the political environment enables humanitarian action: for instance, by negotiating and ensuring access for humanitarian agencies to populations in need. The importance of this role is reflected in the way humanitarian agencies have sought to have an ongoing exchange with AU on humanitarian issues. For example, there are now more than 20 humanitarian agencies that have a presence at the African Union Commission (AUC) in Addis Ababa. In several cases, the AU has made contributions aimed at further enabling the work of humanitarian actors, such as donating US\$100,000 to the UNHCR for its programmes in the Central African Republic (CAR) (Mohale, 2014:50) she however lamented that there are very few African countries that have specialized military units and equipment which can be used for disaster response. According to her, internationally the military assets that are most sought after for supporting natural disasters are helicopters and transport aircraft, and in some cases ships, and these are all used to transport humanitarian goods, equipment and personnel. This clearly indicates that managing security and natural disaster is yet to receive attention in most African countries.

Theoretical framework

In other to give the study a direction, the basic human needs theory was adopted in order to interrogate and analyze the subject matter. Burton (1997) posited that human needs are core issues creating the conflict and violence in the first place hence: ignoring such fundamental issues no doubt makes the interest-based model and others limited and contradictory. It is for this reason that a theory that looks at the root causes of conflict is needed hence; this study will examine the Basic Human Needs Theory which was made popular by John Burton (1997). Burton (1997) argued that when an individual or group is denied its basic need for identity, security, recognition or equal participation within the society, protracted conflict becomes inevitable hence, to resolve such conflicts, it is imperative that needs that were threatened be identified and placed at the front burner. In addition, Burton (1997) stated categorically that the needs of all individuals and groups must be accommodated in any decision making process. Basic Human Needs according to Burton (1997) can influence our beliefs, the values we place on them Avruch and Back, (1987) and the emotional impact of the frustration of these highly viewed beliefs (Sandole, 2001).

It is therefore obvious that the main reasons why compliance systems result in alienation and anti-social behavior is because there are limits on the ability of human systems of elite-sponsored institutions and norms to induce compliance given the fact that if needs are frustrated by these institutions, they will be pursued by other means (Sandole, 2001). These needs according to him appear to be more important than food and shelter, and as Burton (1997:19) points out, individuals are prepared to go to extreme lengths to defy authorities and systems in order to pursue their deeply felt needs even through death by suicide bombings or by hunger strikes. The needs for security, identity, recognition, and personal development are indeed salient to the understanding of destructive social conflicts and the failure of existing state systems to satisfy the need for identity is the primary source of contemporary ethno-nationalist struggles (Burton, 1997:19). It is instructive to note that Burton's Basic Human Needs theory is relevant in this study because it serves as a tool that gives direction to policy makers and third party interveners to help make a distinction between struggles that can be

dealt with by employing force, law and power-based negotiations and those struggles whose resolution require more conciliatory measures (Sandole, 2001) while corroborating this position, Burton (1990:34) stated thus; deterrence can not deter and coercive methods are not effective to modify behavior when individuals and groups are compelled to act on the basis of imperative needs.

Research Methodology and Scope

The concept of methodology according to Kaplan, cited in Obasi (1999) is to help in understanding in the broadest possible fashion both the products and the process of scientific investigation. Nachmias and Nachmias (1985) also see methodology as a system of unambiguous rules and procedures upon which the basis of an enquiry is formed and claimed knowledge evaluated. Thus, this study relied on secondary sources of data such as official government publications, published scholarly works in journals, textbooks, newspapers, magazines, international news media, the internet etc. Although the paper examined sustainable development goal sixteen (16); A panacea for sustainable development and peace in Africa, emphasis was placed on selected African countries (Sudan, Zimbabwe, Kenya and Sierra Leone). Data generated in the study was analyzed through qualitative descriptive analysis otherwise known as content analysis which Prasal (2008) described as the scientific study of content of communication with reference to the meanings, contexts and intentions contained in messages.

Highlights of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

Goal 1: End poverty in all its forms everywhere

Goal 2: End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture

Goal 3: Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages

Goal 4: Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all

Goal 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls

Goal 6: Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all

Goal 7: Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all

Goal 8: Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all

Goal 9: Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation

Goal 10: Reduced inequality within and among countries

Goal 11: Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable

Goal 12: Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns

Goal 13: Take Urgent action to combat climate change and its impact

Goal 14: Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development

Goal 15: Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss

Goal 16: Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels

Goal 17: Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development

Overview of Sustainable Development Goal Sixteen (16): Promote Peaceful and Inclusive Societies for Sustainable Development, Provide Access to Justice for All and Build Effective, Accountable and Inclusive Institutions at All Levels

1. Significantly reduce all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere
2. End abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against and torture of children
3. Promote the rule of law at the national and international levels and ensure equal access to justice for all
4. By 2030, significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthen the recovery and return of stolen assets and combat all forms of organized crime
5. Substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all their forms
6. Develop effective, accountable and transparent institutions at all levels
7. Ensure responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making at all levels
8. Broaden and strengthen the participation of developing countries in the institutions of global governance
9. By 2030, provide legal identity for all, including birth registration
10. Ensure public access to information and protect fundamental freedoms, in accordance

With national legislation and international agreements

- a. Strengthen relevant national institutions, including through international cooperation, for building capacity at all levels, in particular in developing countries, to prevent violence and combat terrorism and crime
- b. Promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development

Case Studies of Insecurity/Conflicts in Africa and the Relevance of Sustainable Development Goal Sixteen (16) to the Development Agenda of Africa States

This section of the study examined selected conflicts in Africa and the opinions of scholars on the subject-matter. Where necessary, tables were presented and its contents analyzed in order to determine areas of disagreement and consensus with a view to arriving at a justifiable conclusion devoid of prejudice and sentiments.

Sudan: From Ethnic Division to Resource Collision

The size and location of Sudan and its porous borders contributed to the conflict in the country. Geographically Sudan is the largest country in Africa, covering a massive territory of nearly 1 million square miles and bordering nine countries: Egypt and Libya to the north:

Eritrea and Ethiopia to the east: Kenya, Uganda, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to the South: the Central Africa Republic Chad to the West and is separated from a tenth neighbor, Saudi Arabia, Only by the Red Sea. Ethnic and religious divisions in the country gave birth to the 1955 mutiny that triggered a seventeen year war, perpetrated by the Southern Sudanese Liberation Movement (SSLM) and its military wing, the Anyanya, which was terminated by the dictatorship of Jafer Nimeiri through the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972 which was unilaterally abrogated in 1983 hence, provoking another round of civil unrest in the country. However, existing racial, ethnic, and cultural marginalization of groups led to crosscutting alliances among non-Arab groups in the North and South. The discovery of petroleum reserves in Southern Sudan further complicated the process of national unification in the war-torn country.

Since the discovery of more oil reserves in 1980, the government of Sudan shifted emphasis to controlling this valuable asset (oil). This situation became problematic as the inhabitants of the South sustained a rebel war against the North for decades. Thus, the relationship between southern and northern people of Sudan became more complex and driven by profound racial, ethnic, cultural, and religious differences. Continuous rivalry between the north and south no doubt helped to provoke an escalated the 1955-1972 Sudanese civil war in which the South sought full secession from the North. After almost ten years of peace, the civil war resumed in 1983 due to discovery of significant, valuable petroleum reserves in 1980, and the subsequent discovery of additional oil reserves during the 1990s, slowly transformed the war between the north and south hence, affirming the views of Laremont and Ostergard (2005) on the role of natural resources in war in Africa. The assertion that natural resources management and appropriation accounts for most of the conflicts ravaging Africa was reiterated by Alao (2007) and Maphosa (2012). This is further analyzed in the tables below.

Table 1: Recent Conflicts in Africa linked to Natural Resources

Country	Duration	Natural Resources
Algeria	1992	Oil gas
Angola	1975 – 2002	Oil diamond, timber, Ivory
Angola (Cabinda)	1975	Oil
Burundi	1993	Land
Cameroon/Nigeria	1997	Oil
Chad	1980 – 1994	Oil, uranium
Congo Brazzaville	1993: 1997	Oil
DRC	1993	Copper, cobalt, diamond, gold, timber
Kenya	1991	Walter, grazing pasture, lives stock
Liberia	1989 – 1996	Iron, diamonds rubber timber, drugs
Libya	2011	Oil
Mozambique	1976 – 1996	Ivory, timber
Morocco	1975	Phosphates, oil
Papua New Guinea	1988	Copper, gold
Rwanda	1990	Coffee, land
Senegal	1997	Drugs
Sierra Leone	1991 – 1999	Timber, Diamond, Copper
Somalia	1988	Bananas, lives stock
South Africa	1990s	Drugs, land, platinum
Sudan	1983	Oil
Western Sahara	1976	Phosphates
Zimbabwe	2000	Land

Source: Adapted from Mophosa, (2012:p.3)

Electoral Crises and Political Instability in Zimbabwe 2007-2009

The presidential elections in Zimbabwe took place on the 29th March 2008 with two contending forces represented by Morgan Tsvangirai of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and the incumbent, Robert Mugabe of the Zanu PF ruling party. At the end of the elections, the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission refused to release the election results, claiming that it can be release the results until it investigate anomalies which require a recount. This development caused general pannick and insecurity in the country as the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and its members alleged that its leader, Morgan Tsvangirai won the election and that the delay in releasing the result was to give the government time to change the result. On the other hand, Robert Mugabe and the Zanu PF government through its spokes and justice Minister, Patrick Chinamasa, also alleging that President Robert Mugabe won the election and that the opposition was working with Britain to bring about “regime change”. The situation degenerated into an open confrontation which led to violence and political instability which caused the death of over six thousand persons and another three thousand rendered homeless. In a separate move to restore peace in Zimbabwe, the international community through the G8 group of major industrialized

countries also called for the official results of the election to be published. In the same vein, foreign ministers from G8 countries also issued statements urging a speedy, creditable and genuinely democratic resolution of the crisis in Zimbabwe. However, after series of negotiations between the Zanu PF government and the movement for democratic change (MDC) led opposition leader, Morgan Tsvangirai, brokered by the international community, both groups agreed to form a national coalition government with Robert Mugabe as president and Morgan Tsvangirai as Prime Minister. Recent events however show that all is not well in Zimbabwe as politics and leadership in the country has been reduced to a family affair. What is referred to as politics of the belly where access to leadership in Africa means access to wealth and economic resources at the expense of the state is the case of Zimbabwe and most African countries where even opposition leaders trade off their mandates for lesser positions in order to remain relevant. The politics of the belly and the selfish nature of African leaders accounts for the collapse of several African states (Bayart, 2009:8).

Electoral Crisis and Political Instability in Kenya 2007-2009

The situation in Kenya is quite similar to the case of Zimbabwe because after the 28th December 2007 presidential elections in Kenya, Mr. Raila Odinga Odinga whose Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), the largest political party in the then parliament stated categorically that the presidential election in Kenya was rigged in favour of the former incumbent president, Mr. Mwai Kibaki. Like the Zimbabwe experience, post-election violence in Kenya left about 1,500 people dead and over 1,000 people homeless. This explains why Africa currently has the highest number of internally displaced persons in the world. This is also the case in Rwanda, Nigeria, Somalia etc, where government insensitivity towards the plight of minorities and vulnerable groups led to the proliferation of militia groups and insurgency. In the case of Kenya, the intervention by the United Nations through its former Secretary General Mr. Kofi Annan, the contenting parties of the Kenya conflict and their supporters agreed to form a government of national unity with the then incumbent Mwai Kibaki as president and opposition leader, Raila Oding Odinga as Prime Minister. This was also followed by constitutional amendments and power sharing between the two groups. Advocates of the post-colonial state theory however described the Kenya and Zimbabwe model of conflict resolution as selfish and also a time bomb that will catch up with the players in future. Using the citizens' vote as the basis to negotiate power has also been described as elite conspiracy against the African state and peoples. The tables below clearly show that the absence of inclusive and participatory government, access to justice for all and lack of effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels (Sustainable development goal 16) can cause distrust, disenchantment and rebellion against the state and its institutions.

Table 2: Showing Statistics of Poverty in Some Selected Countries in Africa

COUNTRY	1999	2010	2015	2016
NIGERIA	23%	48%	64%	67%
GHANA	20%	33%	32%	30%
SOMALIA	34%	54%	66%	70%
ZIMBABWE	35%	56%	75%	78%
NAMIBIA	48%	55%	60%	65%

Source: GTZ Projections based on Punchman statistics in Africa

Table 3: Showing Political Conflicts and Its Effect on the Economy and the Poverty Level in Selected African States

COUNTRIES	POLITICAL CONFLICTS	ECONOMY (%)	POVERTY LEVEL (%)
SOMALIA	LEADERSHIP TUSSLE	22%	12%
SUDAN	BALCANIZATION	18.22%	10%
DR. CONGO	LEADERSHIP TUSSLE	19%	17%
IVORYCOAST	LEADERSHIP TUSSLE	21%	14.22%

Source: GTZ Projections based on Punchman statistics in Africa

This is imperative and fundamental because food security as postulated by Burton (1997) and Maslow (1943) is an important aspect of security and the stability of any state or society. Thus, the absence of basic human needs coupled with lack of access to justice and fair trial is no doubt a call for anarchy and anomie in the society. The situation becomes worst when discriminatory laws and policies exists in a state hence, running the state on the basis of tribal, religious and cultural affiliations rather than on established rules and principles is the major cause of contemporary conflicts in most African states. This was the case in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Zimbabwe, Kenya, and Ivory Coast etc where minority ethnic groups control the state while rebel leaders from excluded minority ethnic groups control areas within the country with huge reserves of natural resources. This still remains the case with several African countries today.

Conclusion

We have attempted in the above analysis to show that the effective implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals especially sustainable development goal sixteen (16) can serve as panacea to Africa's contradictions and challenges in terms of maintenance of peace, security and development. The study adopted the qualitative descriptive method, basic human needs theory and content analysis which enabled the researchers to arrive at rational findings and objective conclusions which will no doubt help to address the socio-economic challenges confronting the African continent.

In all, we argued that sustainable development, economic growth, peace and political stability in Africa cannot be guaranteed and sustained without access to justice, the promotion of peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable economic development, including the building of effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels (Sustainable development goal 16).

Recommendations

In the quest to advance fundamental political values, promote sustainable development and facilitate peace and consensus building in Africa, the following recommendations are hereby proposed:

1. African states and leaders need to promote the fundamental values in process-led constitutional mandates instead of imposed constitutional frameworks and help promote the shift from juridical constitutionality to political constitutionalism by emphasizing process as well as substance in the quest for constitutional and democratic governance as was the case in South Africa where the government set up its Constitutional Assembly in 1994. This is imperative and fundamental because most African states currently make use of constitutions drafted by military regimes without the mandate and inputs of the citizens.
2. There is also need for aggressive socio-economic and political reforms coupled with other policy measures will no doubt help to address the issues of food security, hunger, poverty, disease and all forms of conflict ravaging the African continent.
3. Adequate sanctions should be meted out to desperate and corrupt African leaders and citizens who violate the laws of their countries and the fundamental human rights of their people under the guise of maintaining political power. Thus, the African Union (AU), international criminal court (ICC) and other regional and international organizations should be alive to their responsibilities
4. All forms of sit-tight leadership should be discouraged while countries with sit-tight leaders who have overstayed in power against the will and wish of their citizens should be sanctioned and their nations expelled from regional and international organizations. This will no doubt serve as a deterrent to others with similar motives.
5. Strong and effective justice system and institutions alone can not guarantee stability, peace and sustainable development hence, there is urgent need for African states and leaders to diversify their economies by creating alternative sources of revenue through agriculture, tourism etc. In this way, they can create employment for their citizens and also address the issues of hunger, poverty and disease that is currently ravaging the continent.
6. New and emerging African leaders must view the issue of succession seriously in their various countries. It is on record that most pre-colonial and early post-colonial African leaders failed in this direction. The first political crisis in Ivory Coast was as a

result of the death of former president Felix Houphouët Boigny's inability to put in place a sustainable democratic structure and clear succession plans and processes in the country after about thirty to (32) years in power. This is also the case in several post-colonial African states. Thus, with proper political education and clear succession plans and processes in place, cases of electoral crisis, violence and conflict in Africa will no doubt be minimized.

7. The study clearly revealed that the African continent is blessed with diverse mineral resources such as oil, diamonds, timber, ivory etc. yet; its citizens wallow in abject poverty and lack. This explains why Ibeano (2008) and others described Nigeria's Niger Delta and Africa as a paradox. Thus indicating that resource utilization and management remains a challenge hence, there is urgent need for African states and governments to diversify their economies in order to boost agriculture and other sectors of the economy and create employment for their citizens. This will no doubt increase the inflow of foreign direct investments and the volume of trade in Africa. This is the only way economic growth and development can be sustained.
8. No society can stand alone and survive no matter its level of industrialization hence, African leaders should also go into partnerships and networking with other states and organizations for economic and political purposes in line with the principles contained in the sustainable development goal seventeen (17) (strengthen the means of implementation and revitalized the global partnership for sustainable development) through effective and strategic partnerships countries like Malaysia, United Arab Emirate and others have become strong, stable and viable economies.

References

- Abazie, I. M. H. (2014). *Engaging the Nigerian Niger Delta Ex-agitators: The impacts of the presidential Amnesty Programme to economic development*. Abuja: Office of the Special Adviser to the Nigerian President on Niger Delta. Being a paper presented at the Responsible Development in a polycentric world: Inequality, citizenship and the middle classes 14th EADI General Conference, 23-26 June, 2014 at Bonn.
- Achebe, C. (1984). *The Trouble with Nigeria*. London: Macmillan Press.
- Agadah, D. (1981). *A political economy of Africa*. Nigeria: Longman Publishers.
- Alao, A. (2007). *Natural resources and conflict in Africa: The tragedy of endowment*. USA: University of Rochester Press.
- Ayandele, E. A. et al. (1971). *The growth of African civilization: The making of modern Africa*. London: Longman Group.
- Babitt, E. F. (2009). The evolution of international conflict: From Cold war to peace building. London: *Negotiation Journal*, p. 539.

- Bach, C. D. (2006). *Regional governance and state reconstruction in Africa*. Working paper series No. 6 Japan: African Centre for Peace and Development Studies.
- Beyart, J. F. (2009). *The state in Africa*. Cambridge: Polity press.
- Coleman, J. et al. (1960). *The politics of the developing area*. USA: Princeton University Press.
- Ebrahim, H., Fayemi, K. & Loomis, S. (1999). *Promoting a culture of constitutionalism and democracy in Commonwealth Africa*. New Delhi: Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative.
- Ibeanu, O. (2008). *Affluence and affliction: The Niger Delta as a critique of political science in Nigeria*. An inaugural lecture of the University of Nigeria. Nsukka: UNN Press.
- Ihonvbere, J. O. (1994). *Pan-Africanism; Agenda for African Unity in the 1990*. Being Keynote Address delivered at the All-African Students Conference, Peter Clark Hall, University of Guelph, Ontario, Canada, May 27th, pp. 2-4.
- Laremont, R. R. & Ostergard, R. I. (2005). Ethnic grievances or material greed. In, Laremont RR, eds (2005). *Borders, Nationalism and the African State Lynne Rienner*, pp. 239-250.
- Mac-Ogonor, C. U. (2006). *The UN, NATO and the post-cold war management of global peace: Theory and practice*. Port Harcourt: Postian Press.
- Maphosa, B. S. (2012). *Natural resources and conflict: Unlocking the economic dimension of peace-building in Africa*. Policy brief No. 74: Africa Institute of South Africa.
- Mohale, B. (2014). How can the African stand by force support humanitarian action in conflict trends issue 2, African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), Durban, South Africa.
- Njoku, F. O. C (1988). *Basic world political theories*. Nigeria: SNAAP Press.
- Nkrumah, K. (1965). *Neo-colonialism: The last state of imperialism*. London: Panaf Books.
- Ojo, O. (1984). Economic underpinnings of security in Africa in Centre for Advance Social Science (CAS) Monograph No. 12.
- Omotor, D. G et al (2006). *Readings in conflict management and peace building in Africa*. Abraka: Delta State University Press.
- Patrick, F. W. (2006). *In search of nationhood: The theory and practice of nationalism*. Zaria: Asekome & Co Publishers.

Rodney, W. (1972). *How Europe under developed Africa*. London: Malcomson press.

Saka, H. (2012). *The true nature of conflicts in Africa today*. Case study: Kenya, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Burundi, Ethiopia...<http://honourablesaka.blogspot.co.uk>.