THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND THE
CIVILIAN POPULATION IN WEST AFRICA

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This study analyzes the place and role of the military in the promotion of human security in West Africa. Beyond this, it shows that a strong civil-military relationship must be built on respect for the rule of law, the positive interaction between civilian populations and armed forces, and the active involvement of the armed forces in the socio-economic development of the nation.

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ABSTRACT

THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND THE CIVILIAN POPULATION IN WEST AFRICA, by Major Bouh Keita, 71 pages.

Civil-military relations continue to polarize attention in West Africa. Although there are reports put in place by ECOWAS member states to put an end to the conflicting relations between civilian populations and the military in West Africa, these problems are still present. This dialogue is made difficult by the problems that exist within the West African armies. They are divided into factions and partisan forces loyal to a range of diverse individual interests, to the detriment of the entire population. These problems, added to the heavy involvement of the military in the political sphere, further complicate the holding of this dialogue.

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ACRONYMS

AEC	African Economic Community
ANAMIS	National Association of Former Disabled Military of Senegal
ARSM	Agency for Social Reintegration of Militaries
AU	African Union
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DIRPA	Directorate of Information and Public Relations of the Armed Forces
DSF	Defense and Security Forces
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FIMM	Foundation of the Disabled and Mutilated Military
IHL	International Humanitarian Law
IMRAP	Malian Institute for Action Research for Peace
MFDC	Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
PBWA	Program for the Promotion of Democracy in West Africa
SSR	Security Sector Reform
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Overview

Human safety is the primary concern of many states, as well as the main topic of discussion on the international scene. This phenomenon is, in fact, at the origin of multiple changes noticed by various actors who today face several economic, social, food, and political concerns, as well as other challenges. In this context, there is a new posture for the Defense and Security Forces (DSF) to accomplish their mission, which was formerly limited to the traditional role of defense and protection of the national territory and the population or an allied state.

According to a former Secretary-General of the United Nations (UN), human security is the main reason for being part of the organization and it should continue to be included in its actions. Human security is an approach that focuses on individuals and their safety, and recognizes that the lasting stability, not only of states, but also of the societies they represent, is impossible until human security is guaranteed (Jeannotte 2012).

"Instead of adding a layer to the work of the UN, human security provides a framework for strengthening our actions, motivating our work, revitalizing our partnerships," (UN 2010) said Ban Ki-Moon in one of his conferences, also noting that the United Nations was fully working to integrate this concept into its operations. Defense and security forces must be involved now in the overall security of individuals.

Indeed, since 1994 the World Report on Human Development has emphasized the importance of a change in security design, from a concept based on conflict between

countries to a concept based on insecurity derived from the worries of everyday life, because most people in the contemporary world face violence, hunger, disease and deterioration of the environment (Sow Sidibe 2010).

The same concern was noted in West Africa, where the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) member states have implemented a code of conduct to put an end to the conflicting relationship between civilians and the military. In a democratic environment, both civilians and paramilitary forces enjoy the security of persons and goods, in an atmosphere of peace and stability. This reaffirms the commitment of the military to the standards of democracy; and human rights, as defined by the United Nations Charter in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and by the African Charter on Human Rights and People. It is important to note that West Africa has made remarkable achievements in recent years in many areas, particularly in peace and security. Thus, the concept of Army-Nation requires a projection of the military beyond traditional peace and security roles to activities devoted to the well-being of the population (Voinchet 2014). An obligation to protect then weighs on the defense and security forces. This responsibility is both political and moral. It is therefore useful to question the responsibilities given to defense and security forces by state authorities, who are the main actors in the realization of human rights, but also of fundamental freedoms.

<u>Background</u>

West Africa remains a concern because of the volatile political, economic, and social situations of many countries in the region which reduces security and stability. West Africa has not been spared in recent years by incidents of violence that have resulted in human rights violations, particularly violence against women. The security of

citizens is at additional risk because the armed forces in some West African countries have participated in violent incidents against them; acts that are contrary to the principles of their missions. ECOWAS must take initiatives to ensure the safety of citizens through defense and security sector reform in the countries concerned. Innumerable internal conflicts and their violent consequences have marked these states since the advent of the African Union (AU) and West Africa's lack of security has become a hurdle to its political and economic modernization. Soon after independence, authoritarian regimes settled across the African continent and developed a certain reluctance in terms of security that many years of democracy has failed to weaken. Since the winds of democracy swept through much of the continent in the early 1990s, many regimes in place now claim to be democratic. Unfortunately, their practices remain far from their desire to appear democratic (Fogue Tedom 2010). Many years after the creation of the AU, multiple crises and conflicts have emerged in West Africa and they continue to jeopardize its future.

<div align="center">Problem Statement</div>

The process of forming independent states in postcolonial Africa necessitated the creation of armed forces as part of the state apparatus. Their mission was to defend the nation against external aggression, in other words the territorial defense of the state. Unfortunately, this postcolonial era has seen a deterioration of the armed forces in many West African states, driven by ethnic divisions, corruption, and strong political influence. These military forces have been divided into partisan forces loyal to diverse special interests, to the detriment of the entire civil society. Currently, militaries behave in certain ways that oppose civil control. Several officers from countries such as Niger,

Mali, or Benin have embarked on "missions" to end poverty and disease, believing that civilian leaders had failed in their objectives (Houngnikpo 2010). As a result, the frequency of military coups has increased and the armed forces have become heavily involved in political affairs. When they are not in power, they influence political decision-making, and choose who governs and controls the levers of national power. Thus, the hope and euphoria of the years of independence as well as the democratic renewal of the 1990s were gradually replaced by the disappointment and anger of the citizens in many countries (Houngnikpo 2010).

Research Question

The primary research question of this study is what is the origin of the armed forces' massive involvement in political affairs in West Africa? In answering the primary research question, this study considered two additional questions; namely, what could facilitate dialogue between the military and the civilian population and which army model best meets the range of current needs of our societies?

Significance of the Study

This study is significant to the military profession and other scholars because it analyzed the place and role of the military in the promotion of human security in West Africa. The aim of this research is to deepen civil-military relations in order to establish a new style of dialogue between civilians and the military and to strengthen the ethical foundations and stability of Republican institutions. One of the expected results of this study is to prove that a fruitful dialogue, peaceful relations, as well as mutual trust are the principles of a strong relationship between the armed forces and the population. By

encouraging the defense and security forces of the ECOWAS region to focus on supporting human security, citizens invite them to leave their barracks and to participate together with them not only in development efforts, but also in efforts to understand the importance of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Assumptions

This study assumes that while there are still pockets of tension often caused by ethnic problems that complicate civil-military relations in some West African countries, the efforts of the authorities of these countries to put an end to these tensions will continue. Human rights defenders will continue to fight to see the emergence of a new environment marked by the dominance of the concept of human security. In this environment, human rights in the economic, food, health, community, physical and political spheres would be protected (AU 2000). This study also assumes that the African Union will devote more effort to enabling the establishment of partnerships between governments and all the components of the civil society; as defined in its preamble.

Scope and Delimitations

This study sought to examine the process of improving the dialogue between military and civilian population in West African countries. It was restricted to this area and focused on the case of two countries, namely Senegal and Mali. During the case study, three specific points were studied and compared between these two countries. The first point focused on the collaboration between DSF and civilian populations. The second point analyzed the level of communication between them, and the last point talked about the army recruitment system in these countries. This study has not pretended to

solve the problems related to the dialogue between the armed forces and civilian population, but has analyzed the processes that may prove fruitful in facilitating this dialogue.

<center>Acronyms and Terms</center>

Human security: Human security is an approach that focuses on individuals and their safety, which recognizes that the lasting stability of states, as well as the societies they represent, is impossible until human security is guaranteed. Human security refers to the rights of citizens to live in a secure environment and to the existence of political, social, religious and economic activity within each society free from organized violence. By directly impacting individuals, human security encompasses security against economic deprivation, the quest for an acceptable standard of living and a guarantee of basic human rights, including the right to freedom of expression and association. Its definition is as evolving as the risks and threats facing the world (Jeannotte 2012).

Civil society: Civil society is the "third sector" of society, along with government and business. It comprises civil society organizations (CSOs) and NGOs. In this study, it includes all those individuals, religious, and non-profit organizations operating outside of governments and profit sectors, armed with the will to provide service to citizens, including security (UN 2016).

Military professionalism: Military professionalism is commonly grounded in several overriding principles: the subordination of the military to democratic civilian authority, allegiance to the state and a commitment to political neutrality, and an ethical institutional culture. These principles are enshrined in values that distinguish the actions of a professional soldier such as discipline, integrity, honor, commitment, service,

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sacrifice, and duty. Such values thrive in an organization with a purposeful mission, clear lines of authority, accountability, and protocol (Ouédraogo 2014).

Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS): ECOWAS is a regional organization of 15 West African countries established May 28, 1975. Its main goal is the promotion of economic integration among its members. It is one of the five regional pillars of the African Economic Community (AEC). ECOWAS has three official languages: English, French, and Portuguese. Member countries making up ECOWAS are Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ivory Coast, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Senegal and Togo (ECOWAS 2016).

Defense and Security Forces (DSF): In this study, defense and security forces include military forces as well as paramilitary forces, namely police and gendarmerie, which must also be involved in civil-military relations.

Army-Nation: The link Army-Nation designates the attachment that would exist between the soldier, in the service of the Nation to ensure the security and the integrity of all the entities that compose it, and the people served by the armed forces (Voinchet 2014).

Deontology: The word deontology refers to rules, duties and obligations. It is the set of obligations that professionals undertake to respect, in order to guarantee a practice that complies with the profession's code of ethics (Bonnemaison 2010).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The study developed in this chapter aims to review the literature on the improvement of the relations between the military and the civil population in Africa in general, and in West Africa in particular. The topics written on this subject are quite numerous and have a particular connection with my research subject. This indicates that a strong civil-military relationship in West Africa is a characteristic point for the evolution of the democratic process and respect for human rights, as well as the development of the economy of the sub-region.

Professionalization of the Armed Forces in Africa

The Africa Center for Strategic Studies has conducted research on the professionalization of the armed forces in Africa. This research center supports the foreign policies and security of the United States by strengthening the strategic capabilities of countries to identify and address security challenges in order to foster cooperation between military and civil societies, respect for democratic values, and the protection of human rights. When reporting on the instability of the situation in West Africa, people often give eloquent examples of the lack of military professionalism in the sub-region. Cases of infraction of armed forces towards the population, putsches, mutinies, looting, human rights infringements, corruption, and illicit trafficking are numerous (Ouédraogo 2014).

These events continue today, long after decolonization and despite the contributions of billions of dollars in security sector assistance and repeated declarations for the need to strengthen civil-military relations on the continent. The consequences of the absence of strong and powerful professional armed forces include persistent instability, chronic poverty, investor deterrence and anemic democratization (Ouédraogo 2014).

Emile Ouédraogo, the editor of "Advancing Military Professionalism in Africa," explains that the reason for the inability of so many African countries to establish effective and respected military institutions is largely due to political factors. The African armed forces, created during the colonial era, aimed to ensure the protection of the government administration vis-à-vis the populations and not to protect the populations (Ouédraogo 2014). These practices were maintained during the postcolonial period as military leaders, belonging to minority groups, were strongly encouraged by the leaders of their respective ethnic groups to resist the advent of a democratic regime and the application of majority rule. The control of the armed forces has been perceived by political leaders in Africa as one of the vehicles to power and wealth. Corruption has developed. This has led to continued politicization of the armed forces, as well as competition and collusion between politicians and DSF leaders. Besides the fact of the degradation of the military's image, these processes have created a situation where the civilian population fears and mistrusts the armed forces, which has increased instability and limited popular support for the fight against insurrectional movements.

In his research, the author defends the suggestion that it is necessary to carry out a national security reform, to which the population will contribute, to redefine the mission

of the African armed forces. This will allow the establishment of constructive civil-military relations. A restructuring of the security forces to better adapt them to identified threats and the integration of their missions into a comprehensive and coherent defense policy will increase the relevance, operational capabilities, and prestige of the African armed forces (Ouédraogo 2014). As part of this process, it will be essential to clarify the responsibilities of a nation's armed forces to its people. Ouédraogo argues that an unambiguous code of ethics, supported by a sustained effort to assimilate ethical values in all military institutions, is necessary in order to establish standards of constitutionalism, integrity, service and respect for human rights, and to support them.

<div align="center">Strengthening Trust in Mali</div>

The Malian Institute for Action Research for Peace (IMRAP) conducted a study of the deep crisis of trust between the Malian populations and members of the DSF. This reciprocal mistrust, observed throughout the territory of Mali, is in itself a fundamental element of the crisis that hinders the stabilization and consolidation of peace.

"The relationship between civil society and the security sector is fundamental to human security. In many places civilian populations view security forces with suspicion, perceiving them as predators rather than protectors. At the same time, many military and police officers are wary of civil society, questioning their political intentions" (Schirch and Mancini-Griffoli 2015). This mistrust is explained partly by the population's unhappiness with the quality of the services rendered by the DSF and this is related to the absence of dialogue and collaboration between these forces and the populations.

This study shows that the DSF is facing an operational incapacity. This is the result of mismanagement of material and operational resources, as well as inadequate

training in the security context and human resource management challenges (IMRAP and Interpeace 2016). The need to strengthen operational capacities is, however, a key point in the context of security sector reform (SSR) of post-conflict societies. The lack of resources is apparent among the different locations and barracks in the country. This has a considerable impact on the effectiveness of the DSF when called upon by the population to fight a threat. The study shows that this is one of many things that undermine trust relationships between DSF and civilian populations. The authors argue that the reorganization of security policy must take into account the concepts of international humanitarian law (IHL) and human rights to prevent innocent civilians from being victimized by acts contrary to these new international provisions. Furthermore, the DSF must adopt a collaborative approach with the populations so that they can benefit from their support in the exercise of their mission. "Before, we were in two-state war situations, but today we are in what we call an asymmetrical war where everyone is suspect and whose threat comes from within the same state. The formation of DSF must therefore adapt to these new modus operandi that are difficult to fully comprehend without collaboration with the civilian population" (IMRAP and Interpeace 2016).

<div align="center">African Armies and Development: A Necessary Transformation</div>

In April 2011, the Peacekeeping Bulletin of the Saint Cyr Research Center, Coetquidan, France published Axel Auge's argument that the political history of sub-Saharan African states is also that of military actions against civil governments. According to Auge, if military action against institutions and the government is doing well in sub-Saharan Africa, the evolution of the missions entrusted to the armies will generates equal actions, in the name of the political stability and national development

(Auge 2011). As an example, he recalls that the Guinean people elected a civilian president in 2010, following an election organized by the ruling military junta. After the election, the results were blocked by political parties. The Ivory Coast endured a post-election crisis that lasted until March 2011.

The African soldier is no longer viewed as being both a soldier and a rebel, an enemy of peace. He now may be a peacemaker in a blue helmet (UN) or green (African Union); a builder of the territories where he is deployed and involved in security missions; and a humanitarian supporter of populations and their development. In peacebuilding or peacekeeping operations, strategic victory is identified as indirect action for the benefit of the people. Indeed, this operational shift towards developmental missions comes from the change of direction of military action: if military victory is essential to the process of post-conflict reconstruction, the conquest of the "hearts and minds" of the people is the peace force and national army's desired end effect.

Axel also argues that developing dual forces is another way to conquer the hearts and minds of the people. In other words, it is a question of reforming the armies by widening the range of the missions. They could lead both in the framework and in the maintenance of peace, and to support the population in the battle of development where citizens lack resources or even hope when human security is threatened (Auge 2011). The development actions entrusted to soldiers serve an additional purpose: to reconcile the armed forces with the civilian population on the basis of works of general interest and in doing so, change the general mistrust of the military to confidence. The reinforcement of their dual capacities and their support in development actions allow the African armies to

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play a major role in peacetime, as in external operations, to build a relationship of trust with the population and to strengthen the Army-Nation connection.

<div align="center">Involvement of the Armed Forces in Democratic Societies</div>

A project called "Program for the Promotion of Democracy in West Africa" (PBWA) has been set up by the Konrad-Adenauer Foundation; with the aim of establishing democratic structures of the rule of law and enabling the anchoring of a democratic culture in the consciousness of the populations of West Africa. This project was held in Benin in March 2005 and found that this is only possible in a setting where people can live in peace. In other words, the concept of human security is at the root of sustainable development (Konrad-Adenauer 2005). The actors in this project concluded that within the framework of this broader definition of security; the integration of armed and security forces into democratic societies is essential. At the heart of this challenge lies, on the one hand, the need to create a transparent collaboration, supported by laws that establish a system of legal provisions and administrative measures; between various bodies of the republican state power, and the institutions of civil society (Konrad-Adenauer 2005). On the other hand, they found it is important that the armed and security forces be an integral part of a democratic state. To explain it in other words, the soldier is called not only to live his rights and his freedom in the conditions of daily service, but also to respect, in the accomplishment of his mission, the values defined in the fundamental law (constitution) of his country. The section developed during this project on the involvement of the armed forces and security in democratic societies aims to help the countries covered by the project, namely Benin, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger and Togo. This component, along with the other components of the PBWA project,

should help put politicians, civil society and men in uniform together so that they know each other better and understand each other so that everyone respects the domain of others. The conclusion drawn by the actors at the end of the project is that democratic control of the armed forces will not work if the military institution is not democratic.

<u>Relation of Defense and Security Forces to Political Power</u>

The term additional protocol refers in this study to the Protocol A/SP1/12/01 on Democracy and Good Governance Additional to the Protocol on the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security. It was signed in 2001 in Dakar by the Heads of State and Government of 14 of the 15 member countries of ECOWAS, and then ratified in July 2005 by 9 of the states of the organization. Its main objective is the development of the rule of law, the consolidation of democracy, and the adoption of the principles of good governance in the ECOWAS region.

This report is the result of a study on the dynamics of the end of crisis in West Africa, which was held in Guinea Bissau in November 2005. During this work, participants discussed the relationship between DSFs and political power in West Africa. They also spoke of the implication and scope of these relations in the context of the political evolution of the sub-region. As with most of the writings related to my research topic, the authors have specified that the anti-colonial struggle is the principle that has partly determined the postcolonial politicization of certain armies in West Africa, the militarization of political power, and the involvement of the military in politics as actors.

The authority taken by the army in the conquest of power in the former Portuguese colonies, for example, will have a considerable impact on the postcolonial

state in the countries concerned (the case of Guinea Bissau). Apart from the anti-colonial struggle, organized armed violence to take control of political power has seriously affected West Africa. This has made democratic alterations difficult and has legitimized the idea that "the power is at the end of the rifle" (Diallo 2005). Indeed, the erosion of the state and the failure of governance mechanisms have resulted in a dispersion and proliferation of armed actors: dissident military, paramilitary, militia, rebels, and / or mercenaries. In order to take up the challenge of democratization, the Additional Protocol asserts by way of illustration, that between 1960 and 2005, out of the 15 countries which have become and remain members of ECOWAS since 1975, only 2 countries have never experienced coups and military regimes, these are Cape Verde and Senegal. In the 2 periods without a military head of state in the ECOWAS area (1960-1964/2000-2005), out of the 15 heads of state in office, 7 were military personnel who moved into civilian life after or before accession or participation in power. Between 1983 and 1989, 13 countries in West Africa were dominated by military regimes (Diallo 2005). This data shows that over a period of 35 years, West Africa has been marked by the presence of governments and political regimes dominated by the military. The military has emerged as a leading political actor, and has generally mismanaged the office, just as the other political actors of political parties.

The advent of military power has often been justified by the need for strength and the involvement of the most organized force to take the reins of power to drive the development process. Military regimes or governments dominated by members of armed forces and security seek to legitimize themselves in this way. In fact, this additional protocol, like many writings on the subject, has shown that military powers have not

accomplished miracles. Rather, they have prevented the emergence of a political system created on pluralism, freedom, and democracy. They have often been synonymous with selective or indiscriminate political repression according to the country; and have induced or aggravated an acute crisis of political governance.

The militarization of political governance often results in a regression of democracy, although it appears in certain national contexts that a military takeover has been perceived and / or experienced by public opinion and observers as a necessary situation. The return, however, of many political leaders of military origin to civilian life, and their creation or integration of a party or political movement, clearly indicates the necessarily civil character of democracy (Diallo 2005). The materialization of this Additional Protocol of ECOWAS led to the development of a dialogue between civilians and military involved, directly or indirectly, in the management of political power in countries in transition. These would include those who seem to be moving towards building a democratic state in a post-conflict dynamic, and those who are in a process of devolution of power to democratically elected civilians.

<center>Evolution of Civil-Military Relations in Benin</center>

Julien Morency-Laflamme of the University of Montreal made a case study on the evolution of the democratic process of the Beninese army, as well as the evolution of its relations with civil society. It shows that in Benin, these relations exist thanks to the changes recorded in civil society, but also within the military institution. According to him, the professionalization of the army of Benin was proven when it prevented the overthrow of the civilian government of the time by a group of officers. In other words, the reforms made after the 1990 national conference guaranteeing the power of civilian

institutions over the military sphere favored the depoliticization process of the armed

forces, neutralizing the last interventionist fringes within the institution (Morency-

Laflamme 2014).

By tackling democratic consolidation through the reform of the security system in

the first part of his work, the author shows that this type of reform is essential in post-

conflict situations, where the trust between security forces and the civilian population

was broken. Indeed, the recurrence of coups and intra-state conflicts of the past in Benin,

explains the importance of reform in the security sector. However, security sector reform

is also a necessity in political systems in democratic transition, where regimes have broad

prerogatives and are involved in many forms of abuses against their populations (Bryden

and Hänggi 2005).

Morency-Laflamme also explains that this type of reform has three main

challenges: to transform the state's security institutions, to reduce the political influence

of the army so that it is more politically neutral, and to increase its degree of

professionalism through a change of behavior (Morency-Laflamme 2014). Craig Jenkins

and Augustine J. Kposowa, on the other hand, argue that in Africa countries where

French is the first language, security sector reforms are slow to take shape, due to both

French interferences in its former colonies and the role of armed forces as a tool for

consolidating power (Jenkins and Kposowa 1992). Through the work done by the author,

there is an emphasis on the importance of building strong and democratic political

institutions. These would create a hostile environment for coups, through a partnership

between political elites, international NGOs, donors and civil society (Bryden and

Hänggi 2005). Indeed, a population's aversion to a coup is one of the most effective ways of avoiding the intrusion of the military into political life.

In light of the Beninese case, Morency-Laflamme demonstrates that the effectiveness of security sector reforms is necessary to neutralize the political influence of the armed forces. In Benin, the divisions within the officer corps have not facilitated this reform. International aid and massive participation in peace operations have helped to reorient the armed forces and strengthen the process of the military's withdrawal from politics. The study of Benin developed in this research; seems to show that it is possible to break out of the cycle of coups and establish civil supremacy.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The study analyzed this subject and proposed a model for the development of West African security and defense forces. It was based on a qualitative research methodology, which consisted of a study focusing on West Africa. It drew particularly on the case study of two countries in the sub-region, namely Senegal and Mali, by studying the security system and the evolution of civil-military relations in those countries.

Qualitative research is about depth rather than breadth (Rossman and Rallis 2016). Instead of extending the study to the entire African continent, it sought instead to acquire in-depth information on the involvement of the armed forces in the internal affairs of states, in this area where people share similar colonial history and the same problems. This work also aimed to refine the strategies of the Defense and Security Forces of the sub-region in the face of the geostrategic changes that have occurred in recent decades, including the emergence of a new paradigm centered on human security. Beyond this, it aimed, undoubtedly, to discover a new strong civil-military relationship, built on respect for the rule of law, the positive interaction between civilian populations and DSF and finally, the active involvement of these people in the socio-economic development of the nation.

I intended to answer my research questions by showing that, through balance, the military could be encouraged to preserve individual freedoms and essential values of their Republic without causing disorder or troubles in the public street, which is synonymous with lawlessness, violence, and chaos. This study was developed through three steps. The

first step was to demonstrate that the persistent lack of military professionalism is the source of the multiple difficulties of the armed forces in West Africa, including the massive involvement in politics. Army-Nation relations revolve around two ideas. The first recalls that the soldiers come from the Nation. It allowed me in the second step to question the attachment of West African armed forces to power, and determine how to establish peaceful relations between them and civilian populations. I showed that this appeasement could be facilitated by the contribution of the military to the management of intra-state conflicts that often lead to humanitarian disasters. I concluded by proving that in order to achieve all this, we must necessarily reform the security sector in West Africa. This reform could push the boundaries of security to new horizons and refocus it only on human beings. It will then be necessary to synthesize human security in order to find the most effective means to materialize it on the ground.

<div align="center">Step 1: Analysis of the Evils of the West African Armed Forces</div>

For the first step, it was a question of analyzing behaviors that West African armies often exhibit and trying to demonstrate the reason for which they show a certain lack of interest in the professional deontology. The major challenge for armies in the sub-region remains that of the dissemination of national values, that is to say, freedom, equality, and the set of values that enable people to live together. Because they are often used as an instrument by political leaders, the armed forces are affected by numerous divisions that are tribal, ethnic, or political in nature.

Additionally, some West African countries have undoubtedly made commendable efforts to increase the professionalism of their armed forces. However, half a century after the independence of most of them, West African societies must reassess in order to

obtain professional armed forces, not only to meet their own challenges, but also to contribute to the development and consolidation of their emerging democratic regimes and to foster development. This step aimed to analyze the obstacles to strengthening military professionalism in West Africa by examining the gap that separates aspirations from realities.

Step 2: Description of Armed Forces Relations with the Nation

This second step aimed to show that in order to build a stable governance based on a culture of real peace, it is important to manage the coordination between the military and civilians in order to control violence, develop a will to live together, and give impetus to the process of economic and social development (Pétris 2010). If the armed forces want to be legitimate, they must be perceived as useful by the population, hence the great importance of the Army-Nation link. This step focused on the countries of Senegal and Mali, and analyzed the nature of civil-military relations in these countries. It was necessary to study the reasons why in Mali, there is suspicion between the population and the armed forces, and what has created that mistrust between them.

Step 3: Security Sector Reform

The armed forces are now facing new, complex challenges in a context of limited budgetary resources in each of our countries. They are therefore challenged to demonstrate how they can be profitable to society. In view of the number of difficulties facing them, the normalization of civil-military relations in West Africa will require reforms in the security sector, particularly the role of the military in this reform. This final step examined the elements of transformational change in the security sector in the

sub-region. It proved that these changes would enable the armed forces to face the real

security problems and improve their relations with civilian population.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

<u>Introduction</u>

Parliamentary control of the defense and security forces is a very good indicator of the level of democratization in a state. Today in West Africa, this practice is difficult to enact because of the historical and political trajectory of the countries of this region; despite decades of attempts at democratization. In the wake of the democratic experience in West Africa in the 1970s, most of the young states in the sub-region adopted presidential rule as a political system. It organizes power in a pyramidal way making executive power, especially the president, the center of gravity of all public life. Indeed, the head of state enjoys a certain constitutional and political freedom that often incites him to tyranny (Conac 1983). In the absence of democracy and any prospect of democratic political change, the president, holds all the power and; becomes the main target of all the conspirators. His most determined opponents believe that it will be difficult for them to gain power through a democratic transition and that only a seizure of power by arms can stop his regime. It is this attitude that explains a regime's security drifts in West Africa because the president ends up conflating his political survival with the security of the state (Gaillard 1994). In the sub-region, leaders often act autonomously and determine the concepts of national security that are based in principle on two pillars: the maintenance of order and the protection of individual freedoms (Fogue Tedom 2010).

Because of the historical trajectory of the West African States that has just been briefly presented, its impact on the structuring of power for the benefit of the president,

the adoption of a non-democratic mode of government, and the lack of legitimacy, very complex relations have been developed between these regimes and their armed forces, which has led them to leave the right path.

<u>Step 1: Analysis of the Evils of the West African Armed Forces</u>

Ethnicity, lack of respect for the civilian population, corruption and a heavy involvement in the political scene are all ills suffered by the armed forces in West Africa (N'Gbanda N. 1998). In addition, they show a certain lack of interest in professional ethics. The instances of looting by the military on civilians in some West African countries, in times of peace and civil war, confirm this lack of respect for the population (Verschave 1998). They also reveal a lack of training and supervision when they are in conflict, as well as a lack of material resources. One of the main challenges of the armed forces in West Africa is the embodiment of national values within the military. In many countries of the sub-region, the army is often used as an instrument by political leaders and is affected by internal divisions that are diverse in nature. Nevertheless, the ethno-political divide is the one that has most misguided the armed forces. It is at the base of the emergence and development of so-called "paramilitary special forces," whose political use often tests the national dimension of the West African armed forces (Fogue Tedom 2010). Indeed, these forces assume the same role as that of political police in their practices and are generally placed under the political and operational control of the president. They are better equipped and better paid than all the national armed forces, and benefit from better supervision. In return, they are fully in the service of the president and his family. The existence, missions, and autonomy of action of these paramilitary forces,

compared to the military hierarchy; often constitute a major obstacle for the good course of the democratic process in West Africa.

By studying the relationship between security policy and the development of presidential guards in some West African countries such as Burkina Faso, we note that these paramilitary forces behave most of the time as militias. Militias are armed gangs in the service of a candidate who is seeking to conquer power by force. They are not subject to the laws as a national military force should be and consider themselves above the law (Yengo 1998). They often show an excess of zeal in the defense of the power of which they are in service. This was the case of the presidential guard for Blaise Compaoré, the former president of Burkina Faso. The financial and material advantages enjoyed by these troops are at the root of the anger of the national army in many countries. The modernity of their equipment is better than the regular national army's equipment (N'Gbanda N. 1998). This situation has created divisions between the paramilitary forces and the national armies of a majority of West African countries. The high number of coups or attempts since independence and the many mutinies illustrate this situation.

Lack of Military Professionalism

The lack of military professionalism noted in several West African armies is one of the root causes of their inappropriate behavior toward the civilian population and their desire to seize political power. Only a few men are armed most of the time to overthrow a president elected by popular vote. The coup in Mali in 2012 plunged the country and much of West Africa into a huge political and military crisis. The loss of power by the civil regime has allowed the expansion of radical Islamism in the region. The military often ends the democratic process in West Africa; an analysis of Guinea-Bissau's case

shows; that no elected president has completed his term since the country gained independence. The corrupt armed forces engage in drug trafficking; often set up regimes; and overthrow those who threaten the interests of their leaders (Dubruelh and Olivier 2012). This lack of professionalism is often exemplified by the frequency of mutinies in the sub-region. The most important of these mutinies in recent years have been noted in Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso, where soldiers often stage protests to claim bonuses or pay increases. Additionally, rapes and other human rights violations that the armed forces are perpetrating have caused fear and great concern on the civilian population. The Nigerian armed forces have been the subject of several accusations of these crimes during their clashes with Boko Haram's Islamist forces (Human Rights Watch 2013).

<u>Military Supremacy in the Political Field</u>

Historically, the armed forces in West Africa are often given, without any critical regard, a noble and constructive task. Since 1995, there has been a movement to study African peacekeeping capability; it began in November of the same year with the publication of the report from the United Nations Secretary entitled: "Improving conflict prevention and peacekeeping capacity in Africa" that supports this thesis (Ayissi 1997). The practices of some of the armed forces represent one of the main causes of insecurity in West Africa and the role the military plays in the development of insecurity is not always sufficiently highlighted (Bangoura 1987). In most modern states, the army accepts the laws and is differentiated by its discipline and its non-political commitment. It is placed under the authority of civilian leaders officially elected. Its main role, as we emphasized in the introduction of this study, is defined by the defense of the national territory as well as the protection of the citizens against possible external attacks. In most

West African countries, however, because of a turbulent political history that led to the establishment of authoritarian regimes, many armies did not fully understand their missions and became part of the political regimes (Bangoura 1998).

To mask their lack of legitimacy, many civilian regimes have allowed the military to manage public affairs. As a result, an objective alliance has been established between the political regime and the military for the preservation of power. Thus, the coups are more frequent and hasten the seizure of political power by the military (Gautron 1986). Even if they do not directly hold the reins of power, the military allies with the civil regimes in place and creates terror among the population. This often displaces the population's ability to impose democratically their points of view (Bangoura 1986). An analysis of the political state of West African countries was carried out on the period that followed independence until today. This analysis has certified the military relationship with the political life. This suggests that in West Africa, the influence of the military shapes political life in a democratic system (Atangana 2010). Yet security and peace in this area continues to be pursued and many civilians believe peace is the primary concern (Fogue Tedom 2008). This is difficult to believe because the political and social situation of the states of the sub-region shows that, apart from very rare cases like that of Senegal or Ghana, the factors that constitute a peaceful environment remain unmet.

<div align="center">The Problem of Ethnic Trends</div>

One of the obstacles to the professionalism of the armed forces in West Africa is the problem of ethnic domination. Organizing the military willingly on the basis of ethnicity does not guarantee the protection of the republic or the population, but rather the interests of the ethnic group to which they belong. The organization in some West

African countries is still based on these considerations, which robs them of any competence based on merit, as well as the confidence of the population. The domination of Mauritanian military and political institutions by the Arab-Berbers is still relevant. The armed forces have been built on racial and ethnic principles since the independence of this country (N'Diaye 2011). The recruitment process in the armed forces of Togo also reflects these facts. A study shows that 70% of the troops of the Togolese armed forces belong to the Kabye ethnic group, the same ethnic group as President Faure Gnassingbé's (Toulabor 2011). This ethnic group represents only 10 to 12% of the Togolese population. These practices undermine the professionalization efforts of the armed forces, as military members of the same ethnic group as the president tend to be more loyal to him than to the constitution.

<u>Step 2: Description of Armed Forces Relations with the Nation</u>

To be able to build strong governance based on a culture of real peace, it is important to manage better the coordination between the military and civilians in order to:

1. Calm the violence and develop a will to live together;

2. Give impetus to the process of economic and social development (Pétris 2010, 147).

Armed forces in developing countries must have a vital role within the state. The challenge for both civilian and military actors is to work together peacefully. However, rather than merging into the nation, the army has for a very long time been acted negatively in West Africa. It has often been at the center of state security, and the focus is more on the protection of regimes than on that of citizens (Ouédraogo 2014).

In addition, human rights violations and the numerous crimes committed by the army have widened the gap between the West African population and the military. The selective recruitment and promotion processes of the DSF in several countries do not reflect its population. In West Africa, civilians and the military often develop mutual mistrust. The military blames civilians for failures in the management of public affairs. Civilians, on the other hand, blame the military's numerous intrusions into political life and their regular support for the regimes in place. The weakening of national institutions and post-election violence, when the military disagrees with the elections results, give an image other than that of an Army-Nation. The defective implementation of the missions for which the armed forces are invested and the strained relations they have with the population, shows how difficult it may be to create good relationships between the army and its society.

Army: A Part of the Nation but Instrument of Political Power

While democracy has stimulated hope on the continent, its future depends on civilian or democratic control of the military (Houngnikpo 2010). This means that the government, led by a civilian legitimately elected, must make the decisions that the armed forces execute in a fair, effective and undisputed manner, within the framework of their professional capacities. Thus, the military should act according to principles defined and accepted constitutionally, following a recognized hierarchy. Because of its importance in West African political life, the military virtually holds the key to sustainable democracy in the region (Houngnikpo 2010). Like other state institutions, it must participate in the process of democratization and allow civilians to supervise military activities. The traditional control that civilians exert over the military cannot

continue if there is no more democracy. The question of civil-military relations that has

been successfully resolved in Western democracies remains elusive in West Africa. With

great hope, this question finds itself at the center of the economic and political

development of the sub-region. Without an improvement in civil-military relations,

constitutional processes alone are insufficient to allow West Africa to transition to a

democracy (Bangoura 2002).

However, the armed forces in West Africa are and will remain crucial political

actors. The question is not whether the armed forces will participate in politics but rather

to what extent and by what means (Gutteridge 1969). Their role in defending fragile West

African democracies is therefore crucial. In general, the army represents the different

organizations and military means that a state devotes to the implementation of its defense

policy. Its main mission is to ensure the security of the state, the defense of its interests

and the protection of its population vis-à-vis an external threat. The Army-Nation link

was mostly established in the 19th and 20th century Europe. In any state, the army is

indeed the institution that may better understand rivalries for power over territories

(Houngnikpo 2010). Indeed, it is through their armies that states often dispute territories,

or exercise their domination outside their borders.

However, each nation's army has importance as a national symbol, even when it

is used to support those in power (Bangoura 2002). In theory, the missions of West

African armed forces mentioned above are not fundamentally different from that of

Western armed forces. That said, our armed forces insist more on their role as a symbol

of the sovereignty of the state where the nation and army appear to be intimately linked.

In practice, however, West African military forces do not respect those missions and

often perform functions that distance them from their purpose. In civilian regimes, the military becomes either an instrument of power or a competitor of paramilitary forces [presidential guards, political militia] (Fogue Tedom 2010). In military regimes, on the other hand, the appointment of senior officers to the head of the state is becoming widespread. The illegitimacy of power–often because of coups or rigged elections–means that the regimes in place rely most of the time on armed forces to ensure their longevity (Bourmaud 1997).

<div align="center">
Role of Communication and Media in Strengthening
the Army-Nation Link
</div>

The legitimacy of the armed forces depends on two key factors. The first is the general behavior of the armed forces within the society and the values defended by the military. The second factor concerns citizens' support for military actions that reflect societal values. This factor will vary according to

- The role of the armed forces in helping people in the national territory, that is to say the security of citizens, including assistance in the event of natural disasters;

- The legitimacy of the military's missions [AU and UN resolution, humanitarian intervention, etc.] (Royal 2010).

However, in all these areas, the roles of communication and the media are essential. Communication will improve the quality of the Army-Nation link. The impact of the media today is not only national, but also international. Media's role is central to what may be called the globalization of truth. Indeed, citizens want to know what is happening and what the army is doing, to form their own opinion. He will build it on images and information gathered from the media. This will influence the strength of the

link between the armed forces and the nation, for good or for bad. That said, the role of the media in the military field is not new. One perspective, often held by members of the US military, believes that the Vietnam War was largely lost because journalists were allowed to go to the battle lines and report on what they wanted, such as images of the dead (Royal 2010). Battles in Vietnam were often militarily successful, but media coverage focused primarily on the negative consequences of warfare, and this coverage over time resulted in an erosion of public support for the conflict. This rejection of the conflict was at the same time accompanied by the rejection of its actors; in this case, the American armed forces (Royal 2010).

Today, the mission is won in part with public opinion. What Carl von Clausewitz called the "center of gravity" of the war went from strength of arms to the hearts and minds of citizens. A military force that does not benefit from its public opinion loses its legitimacy. Obtaining the support of the people depends, in particular, on the behavior of the military whether on the national territory or outside. This behavior must be free from any reproach. The lack of rights and dignity will be immediately reported by the global media and will have a direct influence on public opinion that will not remain insensitive or inactive. People will express their opposition in the street, in the media, and, when they have the opportunity, in their votes.. The nation will judge the behavior of troops in combat and the ethics of units deployed (Bâ 2010).

Additionally, the armed forces must communicate to make sense of and foster understanding of the mission. This communication must be practiced in two directions: internally, between the leaders and their subordinates, but especially outwardly (media and public opinion), in order to explain constantly the purpose of the decisions taken and

actions conducted. They have a duty to communicate their values with the national

community. Informing the public is necessary to ensure the military is seen as pursuing

legitimate courses action. Thus, this duty to communicate extends to the international

community, because of the political weight that this community exerts in an environment

characterized by the globalization of information (Bâ 2010).

Relationship Between Maintenance of Order and Human Security

The concept of human security first appeared in the report to the United Nations

Development Programme (UNDP) on human development, in 1994. This report said, "In

spite of its simplicity, the concept of human security should revolutionize 21st century

society" (UNDP 1994). It seeks to place the individual at the heart of the security

concerns of the States, which means that it contains new orientations linked to the action

of the public authorities and imposed by the evolution of society (Fall 2010). The

maintenance of order aims to ensure a general security mission allowing a life together

between all the components of society. Human security and law enforcement must

maintain a close relationship. However, maintaining order is often associated with

violence or violation of individual freedoms in West Africa. Yet, the many changes in

West African geopolitics must allow for a more tailored and broader approach to the

subject of security, of which as an individual, is the central element (Fall 2010).

Indeed, the real dimension of maintenance of order is the safeguarding of public

peace and the security of people and property. It is necessary to determine how it should

be performed while respecting the collective interest and freedoms of people. It must be

noted that in order to have a state of law, there must be a state that guarantees respect for

human rights, which means that the maintenance of order remains an indispensable action

for its existence (Fall 2010). It has a role of harmony and balance. Even though today's changes in society have made this work difficult, we must not forget that it was designed to preserve order and ensure the tranquility of the inhabitants. Its purpose is to protect the community and individuals from dangers that can affect their safety.

In Senegal, for example, individual freedoms are registered in the constitution. This leads the state to enforce their respect. The state is therefore the main provider of security and the law is its best tool. It ensures the protection of the individual freedom of each of its members to the extent that they respect the law in return. Ensuring human security therefore consists, in a way, of protecting the vital freedoms that must characterize every human life. The maintenance of order then guarantees the development of the spirit of citizenship and aims at the happiness of persons. It helps make human security a reality that does not change. It is clear, therefore, that the security of the individual and the citizen is at the heart of the principles of maintenance of order, whose action seeks, like human security, to free the individual from fear.

<div align="center">The Central Question of Human Beings</div>

The maintenance of public order is not necessarily synonymous with restrictive powers. It can indeed be extensive, giving the administrative authorities the means to act in favor of the interest of the populations. Respect for the human person is generally a fundamental principle registered in the constitution. The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights of 27 June 1981 states in its article 7 that "The human person is sacred, inviolable and the state has the obligation to respect and protect him."

The words ethics and morality refer to mores and reflections on human conduct, while the word deontology is the study of duty and obligation. The three words refer to

decision-making, but also to human behavior (Bonnemaison 2010). Thus, public order implies adhering to the clear and precise rules of deontology among which are the respect of the fundamental guarantees of the human person, and the preservation of the rights of the victims, which means respect for human dignity, for example during investigations (Senegal 2001). If the public power thus infringes on the rights of a person, he or she may freely have access to legal remedies to obtain redress. The application of the law must therefore grant the necessary equality between individuals within the society. Respect for the human person then remains one of the essential components of public order, which means that to maintain order forbids any behavior that may be harmful to human dignity.

In Senegal, for example, DSF are subject to strict compliance with laws and regulations in the exercise of their functions, on pain of disciplinary sanctions. It is a reminder that in this country, legal provisions are made to make the law stronger while safeguarding individual liberties. In most West African countries, however, there is a lack of enforcement of such rules. The state must ensure that personnel of the DSF are citizens respectful of fundamental and human rights, and this must be the concern of a state all the time.

<div align="center">Enabling People to Live Without Fear and Without Need</div>

Ban Ki-Moon, former Secretary-General of the UN said, "We must focus our actions on the strategies at the heart of which is the individual . . . to protect the human being from the need, to free him from fear, and to offer him the freedom to live with dignity . . . that is human security" (UN 2010). As pointed out in the previous sections, this concept takes as its starting point the security of individuals against various forms of threats, to allow people to live free from fear. Threats can come from armed conflict but

also from abuse of power or criminality (Helle 2010, 49). For others, however, it is also important to protect the individual against the destruction of war, thefts, poverty, disease, etc. That said, DSF could have a decisive influence in these cases. Indeed, there are many links between public safety and human security. For example, armed forces that protect the territory participate in maintaining human security. During armed conflict, they can reduce civilian suffering. In this context of conflict, it is a principle that people who do not actively participate in hostilities, should be treated humanely, respected and protected. However, there is a second context where DSF are called upon to intervene. This happens most often when there are public demonstrations or social unrest. In this case, it is the responsibility of the state to ensure that its agents respect human rights, in order to avoid harming the civilian population.

In terms of human security, lack of discipline in the military can easily put people at risk instead of protecting them. It is true that tensions often appear during maintenance of order, but the military or the security forces facing civilians must be well trained for such operations. In any case, it is important to remember that the population must never live in a state of fear of their country's DSF. In many West African countries, however, the way to conduct public order actions continues to be a concern for human rights defenders (Helle 2010, 51). In maintenance of order, it is crucial to learn to avoid the use of force, if possible. To meet this challenge, the security sector must be reviewed. This includes checking the specialization of the troops employed in these operations, their training and their equipment.

<u>Case Study 1: Senegal</u>

Collaboration Between DSF and Civilian Population

The Senegalese defense and security forces consolidated their relationship with the civilian population by developing the Army-Nation concept very early in their principles. It is an option established since independence, and reinforced by the republican character of the armed forces (Cissé 2015, 132). The defense and security forces have been removed from the political scene since their creation. In fact, the exercise of the right to vote was granted only recently to the armed forces, as well as the paramilitary forces in 2006. This may justify the idea that the military should not be involved in political affairs in Senegal. Unlike many African countries, members of Senegal's DSF comply with the law and have no advantages over civilian citizens. Cultural norms and values are taught to new recruits during their training, namely: loyalty to their country and its constitution, sense of duty, respect for laws, and subordination to the democratically elected civil authority. However, the collaboration between DSF and the population is more apparent during civil-military actions, the missions they undertake to the population's benefit. In Senegal, the military health service and military engineering are the dominant actors in the implementation of civil-military actions. As far as health is concerned, 80 percent of the activities of the Armed Forces Health Service are devoted to the population, and more than half of the personnel are in civilian hospitals (Diop 2011, 9). In remote areas, the health service of the armed forces provides a real public service mission by providing care to civilian populations, and by participating in prevention campaigns and endemic campaigns. For its part, military engineering has distinguished itself in the economic and social development of the country. Its

participation in the opening up of several areas of the territory is recognized, as well as in the realization of hydro-agricultural works, construction of social infrastructure, and protection of the environment. The southern region of Senegal, called Casamance, has been experiencing a conflict since 1981 that was caused by the demands for independence of the Movement of Democratic Forces of Casamance (MFDC). The Senegalese Armed Forces are engaged in security operations in this region. In the areas affected by the Casamance conflict, the military quickly realized that people are the main issue and that they should be included in their cause. As a result, they have integrated these relationships into their approach, from all levels of command to deployed units in the field (Cissé 2015). This explains why the action of the Senegalese Armed Forces in security operations in Casamance is based on a true concept of civil-military relations. Since independence, the balance of their achievement is estimated at more than one hundred and fifty (150) kilometers of asphalted roads, more than one thousand (1000) kilometers of lateritic roads, more than three thousand (3000) hectares developed, etc. (Diop 2011, 10). These achievements increase support that populations have for the armed forces. The rehabilitation of roads facilitates the movement of the population and allows them easier access to their destinations. Apart from these two examples, the Agency for Social Reintegration of Militaries (ARSM) established within the Senegalese armed forces, plays its part in achieving the objectives pursued by the State in terms of food self-sufficiency. It participates by implementing major agribusiness programs. In the field of assistance, the military has created support structures to support civil authorities, which helps the population to fight against floods and other natural disasters.

Level of Communication Between DSF and the Population

The complicated relationship between the armed forces and the civilian population in several West African countries is justified by the lack of dialogue between these two parties. In Senegal, this is not the case; an organization has been put in place since 1993 to establish communication with the civilian population all the time. This organization is the Directorate of Information and Public Relations of the Armed Forces (DIRPA). This makes it possible to relay the information to the population and to inform them of the daily activities of the armed forces. The establishment of this institution also allows civilian citizens to better know the army and bring them closer through the organization of open days at military bases. The fluidity of communication between the armed forces and the civilian population strengthens the mutual trust that already exists between them (Cissé 2015). The establishment of this dialogue facilitates coordination during the organization of major events that bring the whole nation together, such as the parade on Independence Day, which includes civilians and military. These positive relationships are beneficial to the military and to the people. For example, in the southern region affected by the Casamance conflict, villagers are the main sources of intelligence for the military, and are very favorable to the installation of military cantonments in their villages.

Recruitment Process within the Armed Forces

The recruitment system established in Senegal avoids benefiting part of the population to the detriment of others. Due to budgetary constraints, Senegal has the ability to recruit only volunteers for a period of two years in the Senegalese Armed Forces (FIMM 2018). All eligible citizens of both genders can present themselves to the

recruiting process, and ethnicity is irrelevant in the armed forces. Until the year 2017, the recruitment campaign organized by the Armed Forces lasted 45 days and took place every year during the last quarter of the year. The dates and places are the subject of a press release, and during this period, information can be obtained from the commands of military zones established in the administrative regions and gendarmerie brigades. This recruitment campaign was taking place throughout the country through traveling commissions. Starting in 2018, a new system has been put in place. It consists of abandoning itinerant commissions and decentralizing recruitment to the military zones. This system is therefore based on 16 recruitment centers, including one per regional capital, with the exception of Dakar, which will have three because of the large number of people to recruit (FIMM 2018). There will be simultaneous recruitment operations spread over an approximate duration of 30 days, which implies a greater involvement of local military commanders in the organization and support of the activity. At the end of the recruitment tests, the successful candidates will be awarded a paper known as a "green paper" indicating their class and the date of recruitment. In fact, the candidates recognized as fit for the military service are incorporated in three sections in the following year, and their recruitment is effective only after they are declared medically fit for duty at the armed forces center of instruction, located in the north of the country.

Case Study 2: Mali

Collaboration Between DSF and Civilian Population

The deterioration of trust between the Malian defense and security forces and the population is linked to historical incidents (IMRAP and Interpeace 2016). The relationship has been one of fear, mistrust and contempt. Civilian fear of the military

predates colonization. At the time, the "Donso," who were the warriors in the service of the king or the emperor, had the responsibility to ensure the protection of the villages, but also the collection of taxes. However, the violence with which they carried out these missions caused a fear among the civilian population (Ould 2015). The colonization that followed this period only accentuated the mistrust between the communities and the actors who facilitated the imposition of the colonial regime, namely the colonial army. The system imposed by the colonizer was based on the use of force and not on dialogue and persuasion. The colonial army was actually the architect of this policy, which allowed the colonizer to ensure his domination in order to avoid any protest from the population (Republique du Mali 2010, 41). To assert its domination, the occupier undertook to break, as much as possible, any relationship between the military in his service and the civilian population. The occupier wanted to remove the military from any influence within their community of origin and also to ensure they had the idea they were superior to civilians (Ould 2015). The military was educated to despise and mistrust civilians who, in turn, regarded the military as traitors who served the colonial power to the detriment of their brothers and sisters. These negative images, which the military and civilians had simultaneously, allowed the development of stereotypes that degraded relations between civilians and the military during colonization and even beyond (IMRAP and Interpeace 2016).

Mali's independence has fostered an improvement in the quality of relations between the civilian population and the Malian new army that had just been born. However, to quickly assert their authority and maintain order, those in power have used this new army to remove opponents and force people to join the socialist political system

of the First Republic. This behavior led to the birth of the militia in the 1960s, as an extension of the armed forces (Diarrah 2000). Although militiamen are not members of the Armed Forces, the uniforms they wear create confusion among the populations. Fear has increased among the populations because of the humiliating abuse they have been subjected to: "It was the militias who were the law in the past. They were the eye and the ear of power. They had the right to life and death over all those who opposed power" (IMRAP and Interpeace 2016, 53). This fear and mistrust of uniformed wearers continued until the events of 1991, during which civilians dared to confront the DSF in open revolt, causing a significant number of casualties. The analysis of the situation during this period, marked by a situation of advanced deterioration of the relations between civilians and soldiers on the one hand, and by the awakening of the democratic movements on the other, makes it possible to understand the context that pushed the civilian populations to confront the military power (Diarrah 2000). Thus, from fear of DSF civil populations developed a form of contempt, which, in the eyes of many Malians, still characterizes the relationship between these two components.

<div align="center">Level of Communication Between DSF and the Population</div>

Beyond fear and mistrust, a deep misunderstanding of the roles and responsibilities of DSF is noted among the civilian population (Schirch and Mancini-Griffoli 2015). This is due to the lack of dialogue and channels of communication between these two actors. DSF are often considered in Mali as "the great mute" because members of military are not allowed to talk about any military matters (Gourdin 2012). According to several Malians, this lack of communication results in an army that does not give its version of facts following the events it faces (IMRAP and Interpeace 2016). This

silence leaves room for speculation, multiplication of versions and misinformation. Mutual trust and knowledge must begin with frank and direct dialogue. However, the spaces allowing this type of dialogue hardly exist in Mali, and this is explained first and foremost by the fear of civilians towards the military that has become established over the years (Ould 2015). Nevertheless, free call lines are put in place to allow people to report information to the DSF and to solicit their help. A survey conducted by journalists among the population revealed that the weak collaboration between civilians and DSF is due to the population's concern that the DSF responds slowly to citizen's concerns. The frequent absence of a response from security authorities or officials following a crisis is the main factor that explains the reluctance of the population to provide information to them (Koné 2012).

<div align="center">Recruitment Process within the Armed Forces</div>

One of the conditions for restoring trust between DSF and the civilian population is necessarily the fairness, transparency and efficiency of the recruitment process. Many Malians believe that recruitment into DSF has become a legacy issue, that is to say, recruiting members favor candidates who already have family members in the military. For some, however, there is a lack of communication and clarity about the recruitment process (IMRAP and Interpeace 2016). This situation penalizes recruitment candidates who do not have direct contacts within the forces and, thus, do not have the necessary information on the procedures to be followed or the timing of recruitment openings. Apart from communication problems, the mode of recruitment is strongly criticized by a majority of the population because of the perceived corruption. Recruited people do not have the best profile to serve in the military.

"There are always people recommended and imposed either by politicians or by the military hierarchy to the recruiters, without taking into account their physical and moral aptitude, or their morality" (IMRAP and Interpeace 2016, 36). Some citizens recall that favoritism is a widespread practice in Mali, and present in all sectors. These influences in the recruitment system, or at least the perception of favoritism and lack of transparency, continue to increase frustration, especially among rural youth who feel marginalized by this process (Gourdin 2012).

Step 3: Security Sector Reform

Despite some setbacks, it is widely accepted that the exercise of power by a legally elected civil authority must be the norm in West Africa's political regimes. However, the arrival of democratic regimes has not led to a decline in violence between DSF and the population everywhere. On the contrary, DSF have been considered by civilians under certain circumstances as vectors of instability or, worse, the main source of instability (Bangoura 1987). While fear of inter-state warfare hovered over young states because of ideological differences or land claims, it soon became apparent that it was not the main threat. Indeed, internal conflicts quickly occupied most of their resources, either as part of the maintenance of order or the restoration of state authority in territories challenged by armed movements (Fall 2010). The complicated decade of the 1990s in West Africa, particularly the deadly conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone, testifies to this situation and the deterioration of DSF in several countries. The instability increases at the emergence of more widespread threats, namely terrorism, trafficking in drugs, weapons, or people and the multiplicity of armed gangs.

While traditionally organized in their training, doctrine, and equipment, DSF are now unsure in the face of these asymmetric threats that call for solutions beyond the capabilities of a single state. The result is the rise of collective security organizations to take into account the regional dimension of crises, such as ECOWAS and the AU (Fall 2010). The study of these phenomena has led to a global reflection on the origin of these threats and conditions favoring their development. Problems such as poverty, mass youth unemployment, education and the environment are not traditionally associated with security, instead they are more often considered in the realm of crisis prevention or resolution.

All this leads to the emergence of the concept of human security that is more encompassing than that of defense. Human security consists of the physical security of the state, and the right of each citizen to be free from fear, and the right for each citizen to political, social and economic advantages. DSF are therefore challenged by these new, very complex challenges in the context of limited budgetary resources in several West African countries (Cissé 2015). The urgent needs of the population may raise the question of the utility of devoting financial resources to the maintenance of a military force. They are therefore challenged to demonstrate how they can be profitable to society.

<u>Armed Forces that Meet the Range of Current
Needs of West African Societies</u>

Is it necessary to have a common army model in West Africa? Asking this question may seem surprising because an army is first adapted to a country's defense needs, depending on its political posture and strategic environment but not on a regional basis (Diop 2011). This question is not, however, insignificant; it is relevant in West

Africa. Indeed, since independence, the military of the sub-region, heirs of a long tradition of courage, have played a special role in the life of the states; only Senegal and Cape Verde have known no military coup or "military democracy." After much turbulence, the current environment is marked by the appearance of educated political classes, and diverse civil societies (Joana 2010). The current era is also marked by the arrival of a new type of officer trained both in Africa and in Western countries for many of them, in the command posts of the armed forces. Emerging from security forces of the colonial era, the West African armies have experienced an evolution disrupted by a history so agitated that it is necessary to ask today why they are made (Biyoya Makutu 2010). In view of all this, it is significant that a common model, with some differences taking into account the specificities of each country, could be as follows:

1. To be a professional army and the symbol of national cohesion, that is to say, an army capable of engaging citizens from all over the country. It is well accepted and must focus on its role of protecting the population and avoid ending up as mercenaries of international security (Joana 2010, 119).

2. To be an army whose leaders will ensure that all political positions are occupied by elected civilians. The military will be limited in size to ensure respect for democracy, without being tempted by the coup, which implies that the entire political class must evolve, as well as the military.

3. To be an army that adapts to reducing of the risks of conflicts.

4. To be an army that is involved in internal security in the face of rebels, terrorists, etc., in addition to external threats. This requires, however, a redefinition of the respective roles of the security forces (police, customs,

gendarmerie or presidential guards).

5. To be an army better prepared to act as part of an African regional force (ECOWAS Standby Brigade) and able to participate in United Nations operations in Africa or elsewhere in the world (Joana 2010, 120).

6. Finally, an army that fights corruption and does not hesitate to reform its internal systems and processes, manpower control, staff training plan, equipment plan, human resources management, etc.

7. This analysis of what could be an army model in West Africa shows that the armed forces must invest for the benefit of society. The commitments to respect to avoid a return to their negative image remain a challenge for most armed forces and West African state (Fall 2010). It would therefore be necessary for the military to lead the effort to educate the soldier as a citizen subject to the same difficulties as his compatriots.

Include Ethics and Deontology in Military and Civilian Training

The study of this subject requires first of all knowing the importance of this ethical training and the place it has in the military and in civilian life. Does it allow people to evolve and do more? Is it for the military to fulfill missions based on ethical and moral frameworks? The answer to these questions is paramount and presupposes conditions. First, it is necessary to accept the existence of moral values capable of uniting people, beyond the diversity of their cultures, around a common project. In the field of training, the aim is to provide decision-makers with principles of political doctrine. The second condition requires going beyond the limitations of the person in his quest for the truth about what is good and what is bad (Pfrengle 2010). This work cannot be started,

maintained and completed without the commitment of civilian and military officials. For this, they must be prepared by studying the exercise of authority. Indeed, democracy may occur when a nation respects the one who thinks differently. This is important for a country after a civil war that seems to focus on the differences of the populations. Thus, the purpose of the training is to equip civilian and military leaders with the principles of moral philosophy that will enable them to reduce divisions in society.

However, any state faces challenges when it comes to teaching ethics in its military and security forces. This education should primarily concern the officer because his skills should not be limited to military skills. Indeed, the development of his character and personality is more important than anything else. The know-how makes it possible to manage a situation, and the character makes it possible to control it. In addition, it is necessary to make clear to the whole nation that the principles of political philosophy and the values that set up a human community, engage the whole nation (Pfrengle 2010). Beyond cultures, traditions and religions, there is a heritage of moral values common to all men. It is also necessary to successfully providing civilian and military leaders with the conditions for their success to rebuild their country (Schnabel and Hans-Georg 2006). For this, it is about developing the virtues that characterize the action of the leader, namely authority, exemplarity, responsibility, knowledge and anticipation, as defined by values according to the army doctrine. Finally, a culture of moral philosophy must be encouraged by civilian leadership within the national community and particularly among those responsible for violence.

In the end, the armed forces must adapt to the rules of ethics and review their position concerning citizens. It is also time to cultivate professionalism within the armed

forces. The reinforcement of military ethics could strengthen the confidence these soldiers enjoy within the population (Ouédraogo 2014). All in all, this training also teaches the young soldier acceptable standards of the profession. In fact, honor sets limits in action in peacetime, in war and in crisis; it allows having a clear conscience. Honor must therefore find a place of primacy in training where the role of the officer is essential.

<div align="center">Reconversion of the Military into Civil Society</div>

The most important element in both training and reintegration is the development of personality and character through education. It must always be about respect for dignity and human rights (Oury Bâ 2010). Indeed, military expertise has no value without a morality based on ethical principles, and the soldier must be a citizen in uniform. In general, it is necessary to educate and train the soldier in a way that would facilitate his reintegration into society. In Senegal, for example, soldier training is mainly based on military know-how, but at the same time, it follows a professional training. This training remains applicable in society and thus allows the soldier to succeed in civilian life after a military service of two years, if he is not retained in the military.

However, the reintegration of the military must also take into account very important aspects such as the psychological dimension and the family environment as well as the financial aspect (Oury Bâ 2010). Indeed, conflicts often cause material damage and cause physical and moral injuries affecting a large number of soldiers. These soldiers often experience great difficulties in their reconversion into civil society. This is often due to their lack of communication with others outside the military. After their

return to civilian life, it becomes important to create associations to take care of invalids and to facilitate their reintegration into society.

In Senegal, many veterans are grouped in an association created in 1999 called the ANAMIS (National Association of former disabled military of Senegal). Another structure created in 2007, the FIMM (Foundation of the Disabled and Mutilated Military), is also a form of support and assistance to the disabled. It has resources from a variety of sources and provides support in a variety of areas (FIMM 2018). Finally, alongside these foundations, there is a state agency called ARSM (Agency for Social Reintegration of Militaries). It contributes to improve the living conditions of soldiers by facilitating the socio-economic reintegration of those who have returned to civilian life. All these agencies have emerged in Senegal to control frustrations, assist former soldiers and improve their living conditions, even if there is still work to be done.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This study sought to analyze the nature of the relations that defense and security forces maintain with the civilian population in West Africa. The aim was to first clarify the question of why these forces continue their massive involvement in the political sphere, a fact that hinders the improvement of civil-military relations in the sub-region. Secondly, it was necessary to show by what means these relations could be improved and be beneficial to men in uniform, as well as to civilian citizens. Finally, the study has sought to show that because of new forms of security threats, West African states need to reform their security sector and work to ensure that defense and security forces actions are more focused on human security.

Conclusions

At the end of the analysis, it appeared that both defense and security forces are at the heart of human security. They must protect the people from violations of their rights and freedoms, and from fear, because this serves to meet the needs of the population. However, the world has gradually realized that the major obstacle to the sustainable promotion of peace, democracy and development lies primarily in a lack of human security. This comes from inadequate security systems and from insufficient reform policies within these systems. Moreover, the evolution of global security issues within the international context leads to a change in the very nature of conflicts and the means to resolve them. Threats become more widespread and often cross borders, especially in

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Africa. Thus, it appeared that the resolution of security issues and violence could no longer be based on the exclusive use of force that can only treat the effects (De Courtivron 2010). Therefore, priority should be given to dealing with the causes of insecurity, and they are often linked to the lack of economic development and the lack of respect for human rights. This change in priority, however, requires more effective control of the security sector through a system of democratic representation. This would give politics back its central role, which is the non-violent development of conflict through political debate.

In addition, the democratic control of the defense and security forces in West Africa must be based on the historical and political trajectory of the state. Indeed, it must be preceded by studying both the military and the problem of peace, and above all, the place of democracy in the construction of peace. Today, the militarization of politics is the logical consequence of the phenomenon of the collapse of sub-region states. The cases of Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, Mali and the two Guineas are still fresh and full of information. According to Jean Jacques Konadje in "Geopolitical Approaches to West African Conflicts", West Africa is a region that has been home to armed conflicts since the 1960s (Biyoya Makutu 2010). At a time when most parts of the world enjoy the benefits of peace, West Africa faces other kinds of challenges, such as those that threaten the existence of states. Many of these challenges have not yet found a peaceful resolution to the internal pressures, resulting in explosions of violence that continually threaten the sub-region's security. West Africa, formerly known as a refuge of peace and stability of the continent, is becoming more and more violent.

However, people aspire to peace and prosperity. There should no longer be disorder, anarchy, and the isolation of peoples and states. West African countries can play their part in the concert of civilized nations only if they overcome the differences and disputes related to the colonial past, which are factors of permanent conflict that lead to intrastate insecurity and hinders development. The humanization of the politicians', leaders', and armies' attitude involved in the nation-building in the West African region should be based more on a permanent dialogue between the states, the permanent political-diplomatic dialogue between the various state structures, the spirit of responsibility, and patriotism in all components of society (Seudie 2010). Public authorities are the regulators of social tensions and the agent of the national or sub-regional consciousness. They must be responsible, dignified and active in all areas, particularly in terms of security. It is worth remembering that democratic power is not at the end of the gun, but in the voting booths (Seudie 2010).

The pretext often put forward is that the failure of civilian regimes provides an opportunity for military interference. It is often said that military interference in politics occurs only when civilian leaders are unable to govern effectively. There are few cases where the military takes power to respond simply to their own ambitions. Military interference generally follows the failure of civil governments to maintain political stability and achieve satisfactory growth. This failure actually leads to a loss of legitimacy that exposes these governments to violent change. The failure of civilian regimes provides a motive, but also an opportunity for military interference. However, in a representative democracy, it is the responsibility of the population to determine if there is a failure of the government. No legitimate argument would suggest that a military

government has already succeeded in fulfilling the tasks it has assigned to itself by taking power. Although civilian leaders' failures undermine democratic transitions, military leaders are not innocent. They can play an active role in disrupting the democratic process by intervening in the states' internal affairs. In addition, the population must make efforts to encourage and enable peaceful transition of power.

Even if the evidence does not always indicate one side has a greater success rate than the other between the military and civilian governments, it is clear that military participation in the political world influences civil-military relations. These effects vary to some extent from country to country. Military involvement in the political world is generally associated with the unrest that many countries have experienced since independence. Thus, it is hardly surprising that the military is associated with political repression and the violations of human rights that have characterized West Africa all these years. The military has always been involved in difficult political problems that have caused civil disagreements in many countries. In the same way, the poor West African economies during these years are also associated with the military, either because of negligence or because the military unfairly took advantage of the resources provided for development to satisfy their personal desires, or also perhaps because they are too closely related to the civilian leaders by ethnicity, tribal affiliation, etc. Civil-military relations in many West African countries have therefore been strained, leading to disputes between the army and society that date back to the colonial era. There is a strong mistrust for the military in many categories of society. Some citizens believe that the army consumes a large share of national resources to the detriment of economic and social development (Houngnikpo 2010). The military, on the other hand, often have so

much contempt for civil authority and politicians that they call them corrupt and ineffective. Partly because of this, in many West African countries, the military has cultivated an image of itself, one of saving society from its corrupt and unpatriotic politicians. Regardless of the validity of this image, it encourages the lack of respect for civil authority. Indeed, in cases where the army has ousted the civilian government there was no respect for civil authority. Within the army itself, there is a decline in professionalism; the military justifies its participation in the political sphere and that certainly has harmed civil-military relations.

At a time when many countries in the sub-region are struggling for democratic governance, the state of their civil-military relations is likely to become a bigger problem. Indeed, continued instability in these relations may compromise political transition and democratic consolidation if solutions are not found quickly. It is therefore necessary to look at civil-military relations in West Africa in a new context, and to reassess how they are arranged. This reassessment work should also be valid for the missions and roles of the military, as well as for the security apparatus (Houngnikpo 2010). Finally, it is important to remember that the army as the emanation of the nation must focus on its essential mission, and that is to participate in the evolution of the nation.

<u>Recommendations</u>

One of the important points discovered through this research on civil-military relations in West Africa is the misunderstanding between the civilian population and the defense and security forces. The situation in Mali is similar to the ones in the majority of countries in the sub-region. The citizens, civilian leaders and military leaders/members of many countries in the region should all strive for a greater understanding of their

respective roles and responsibilities. Interactions and complementarities between civilian populations and the defense and security forces should not be limited to the individual. A relationship and a better understanding must be consolidated in order to constitute a melting pot, in which, all the actors come together to jointly discuss their safety management. Communication between them will create relationships and develop confidence. In addition, open days at military bases would facilitate the understanding of the defense and security forces' living conditions to civilian populations. Knowing their difficulties, civil society leaders can advocate with politicians to improve their living and working conditions.

In addition, the security problems that the West African region is now confronted with require an adaptation of the modes of intervention and the means of the armed forces. Countries must adapt the capabilities of their forces to this evolving security context. This would imply better training and an improvement of their equipment. Countries could increase the budget allocated to military spending by reducing the budget allocated to social spending. Additionally, they can solicit external financing, taking advantage of the defense cooperation they have with European countries, United States, or China. This should result in more dedicated armed forces willing to serve the civilian population.

In order to benefit from greater consideration by the populations and to have an enriched human resource, recruitment processes in the armed forces must be reviewed in several West African countries. They must make these processes transparent, equitable and effective. To achieve this, they should apply the texts written on this subject, while fighting corruption and the interference by notable citizens, in order to recruit the most

deserving candidates. It will also be necessary to ensure better communication about the recruitment procedures, and to require that candidates undergo a security clearance investigation. Recruitment could be extended throughout the country in order to have an armed force composed of soldiers coming from communities spread across the country. Nevertheless, ethnic diversity is less important as long as professionalism is in place. The outcome of the recruitment process must be known to all applicants.

Since corruption and mismanagement in the military can have serious consequences for national security, the establishment of audits on the use of public money by the military must be a national priority. Inspection services composed of military and civilian personnel can be set up within the Ministries of Defense. These inspection services would supervise the management of the funds and produce periodic reports.

Finally, most West African political leaders seem to be pushing for closer integration of their policies, particularly in the areas of defense and security. Defense and security forces must be at the forefront of meeting these objectives. However, they must take into account the fact that the states' first defense systems are no longer at the borders, but rather in the stability of the neighboring state. In addition, as agents of peace, the DSF must actively participate in the missions organized by the regional security institution, namely ECOWAS, or by the international institutions such as the AU and UN.

<u>Recommendations for Future Studies</u>

The stability of civil-military relations in West Africa is necessary for the evolution of the democratic process, for the respect for human rights, and for living together peacefully. This study could therefore be extended to the civil-military role in

the construction of peace in West Africa. The idea is that peace is, above all, a process that relies on the efforts of all parties involved in a conflict. Conflict management should not be thought of only in military terms, but also in terms of what civilians may contribute during a crisis. It would therefore be useful to continue research on the question of civilian and military coordination to resolve conflicts in West Africa.

In addition, organizing the armed forces on the basis of ethnicity in some West African countries is a historical legacy of the colonial period, where such divisions were used to manage the loyalty of the indigenous troops. It would be important to reflect on how those states can solve this problem that undermines the professionalization of their armed forces.

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