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CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS AND DEMOCRATIZATION OF AFRICAN STATES: CASE STUDY OF BURUNDI

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DECLARATION

This project is my own original work and to the best of my knowledge has not been presented for examination in any other university or any other award.

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The project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor.

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DEDICATION

The project is dedicated to my family whose patience, encouragement and backing have been my motivation. Special thanks to my lovely wife Graciose Nkurunziza, my children Hamilton Hatungimana, Lorie Miele Kanteyineza, King Beni Merlin Mugisha, Key Queen Mukiza and Lilian Isaac Nkurunziza. For their prayers, love and encouragement, I say thank you.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AMISOM   - African Union Mission in Somalia

CMR   - Civil Military Relations

UPRONA   - Union for National Progress

PLIPEHUTU   - Party for the Liberation of the Huntu

FRODEBU   - Front for Democracy in Burundi

EASF   - Eastern African Standby Force

EAC   - East African Community

NP   - National Party

ANC   - African National Congress

DRC   - Democratic Republic of Congo

UNGA   - United Nation General Assembly

SNR   - Service National de Renseignements

CNDD-FDD   - Council National Pour la défense de la Démocratie - Force Pour la défense de

               la Démocratie.

ISCAM   - Institute Supérieur des Cadre Militaires

FDN   - Forces de Défense Nationale

FAB   - Forces Armées Burundaises

SSR   - Security Sector Reforms

MINUSCA   - United Nations Mission in Central Africa Republic

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ABSTRACT

The concept of democracy in post-colonial Africa elicits mixed reactions given the varied experiences witnessed in different countries that claim to adhere to this principle. CMR and Democratization of Burundi depict a political deficiency which needs a political cure. This study pursued to evaluate the nature and extent of CMR in Africa, the impact of CMR on democracy in Africa and the impact of CMR to democratization process in Burundi. Theory of Concordance as posits Rebecca Schiff was the lens through which this study was based on. The research design that has been employed was a case study through mixed approach. The study was founded on qualitative approaches of gathering data and analysis. It was established that democratic civilian-military affairs stresses that the military be subsidiary to a constitutionally designated citizen regime. The civil population has less confidence in the military and CMR has done very little in the promotion of democracy in Africa and more specifically in Burundi. The study established that the military did not contribute a progressive role in democratization of African states, particularly in view of the success achieved in promoting democracy in Burundi. Therefore more multifaceted co-operative and security involvements need to be an essential principle for forthcoming CMR towards promotion of democratization in Burundi.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Civil Military Relations (CMR) denotes the association between the civilian people and military.[1] This association may occur in totality or through organizations representing each organ. CMR generally refers to the varied models involved in political science and military studies towards the similarity between the state and the military. CMR also refers to the normative efforts to place the military and civil control as an act of convenience towards ensuring that control of civil rule. Although CMR is a comprehensive school of thought, it is mainly reinforced by the control of the military by civil authority.

Huntington believed that for the ideas of liberalism to stand, the military must be submissive to the state. Since then, CMR has often been applied in tandem with democratization. A proper association amongst the state and military places the state above the military. Therefore, worldwide CMR often echoes the civil control over the military. Africa leads the developing world in embracing CMR that supports the liberal ideals of democracy. The quest to improve the cooperation between the state and the military has been entangled with the push for

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[1] Inbody, Donald S. *The soldier vote: War, politics, and the ballot in America.* Springer, 2016.

democratization.[2] For example, in guaranteeing democracy, civil liberties must be protected. This is only possible in a society led by an elected government that controls the military. As a result, in Africa, the mainstream political ideology is a democracy, which controls the military institutions. Although there are some instances of coups in Africa, the development of civil liberty relations in the continent has placed elected governments above military establishments. Although the views published by Huntington and Janowitz are widely accepted as representing the true concept of CMR, they have been challenged by some scholars who believed that CMR can only be attained by governments that have the capacity and ability to govern.

Burundi became independent in 1962 and originally conserved its empire. The nation's initial multiparty domestic polls were done in June 1961 and saw the victory of the nationalist Prince Loius Rwagasore's Party Union for National Progress (UPRONA) on September 18, 1961. The Prince became the first PM of the independent Burundi monarchy though he was assassinated on October 13, 1961. Captain Micheal Micombero contributed to an effective overthrow and substituted the kingdom with the presidential state government. He became popular for his contribution in serving to infatuate an attempt coup d'état in October of 1965 by traditional Hutu militias in contradiction of the nation's realm.

Colonel Bagaza overthrew Micombero in a nonviolent overthrow in 1976 and acquired authority himself. He presented different changes which modernized the government and

[2] Bachman, Jerald G., and John D. Blair. "" Citizen Force" or" Career Force"? Implications for Ideology in the All-Volunteer Army." *Armed Forces & Society* 2, no. 1 (1975): 81-96.

completed franchises to the nation's traditional Hutu mainstream. His stay in power went on until 1987 when his system was ousted in an additional overthrow and he was constrained into hiding. The transition went well until September 3, 1987 whereby Major Pierre Buyoya took over from Bagaza through a coup d'état. Pierre Buyoya framed a military board of trustees for National Salvation to take regulation, postponed the nation's constitution. Buyoya endeavoured to organize changes to ease government regulation and endeavoured to encourage a countrywide discourse. Rather than aiding the issue, these changes rather helped to aggravate ethnic pressures.

Local rebellions hereafter occurred by Hutu workers against most Tutsi leadership in the northern part of Burundi. At the point when the military came to quell the distress, they thus executed a huge number of Hutu, prompting an approximated loss of life somewhere in the range of five thousand and fifty thousand among both Hutu and Tutsi. A rebellion created, and the primary Hutu rebellious bunches were framed; mainly the Liberation party of the Hutu People (PLIPEHUTU). At the point when a majority rule change started in Burundi in the initial times of the 1990s, the centre authority of PALIPHEHUTU chose to help out the Hutu-overwhelmed Front for Democracy in Burundi party (FRODEBU) and to peaceful participation in governmental issues.

After decades of Military dictatorship, parliamentary and presidential elections of June 1993 served as the earliest in the country to be fair and free. FRODEBU conclusively won against the majority Tutsi UPRONA of president Buyoya. In this manner, FRODEBU leadership under Melchior Ndadaye turned into the first fairly chosen Hutu President. The political circumstance heightened when Tutsi fanatics armed force officials propelled an overthrow on

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21st October same year. Bolstered by half of the military, Ndadaye was killed together with FRODEBU top pioneers, and another leadership system was declared. This outlines the role the military has had in defining the government of Burundi since her independence. The stability of the Burundi government has always depended on how the military will behave and how the military and civilian alliance will be unfolded. In this regard, the study will seek to identify the role of military interventions to promote democracy as well as the problems encountered. The role of the military in promoting democracy, whilst addressing social, political, and economic challenges in Africa, must, therefore, be understood in order to objectively assess the role of CMR in democratization process in Africa with specific reference to Burundi. The study proposes that the army contributes to an advanced responsibility in promoting democracy in Africa, particularly in view of the success achieved in promoting democracy in Burundi.

1.2 Problem Statement

Africa is arguably dominated by unique interpretations of the principles of democracy, thereby creating several democratic regimes. The complex nature of democracy in Africa has resulted in a high number of violent civil conflicts in most Sub-Saharan countries since their independence Burundi included.

The power-sharing partisan systems of Hutu tenure and Tutsi military functioned till 1996, when the Tutsi Pierre Buyoya took power from the Hutu president in an overthrow, apparently to reinstate order. If history indeed obstinately repeats itself over time, 2015 in Burundi is nonetheless a flawless recurrence of 1965, same causes causing the same effects. Five

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decades had gone but the governmental ghost of 1965 has arisen to fervently disturb 2015's Burundi.

Militaries should play a significant role in the realization of democracy in developed and developing nations Burundi in particular. They have a role to ensure the CMR lends a wider democratic space. Despite Burundi having a strong military, the nation has had numerous coups d'état or attempts (1965, 1966, 1976, 1987 and 2015). The role of the military to promote democracy is, therefore, investigated in this study as an intervention measure to regulate, manage, and resolve conflicts in that country. This study, therefore, intends to analyze whether the CMR in Burundi is making a significant contribution to democratization process in Burundi.

1.3 Research Objectives

The broad objective was to analyze the Civil-Military relations and democratization of African states with specific reference to Burundi.

1.4 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives entailed to:
   a. Assess the nature and extent of CMR in Burundi.
   b. Examine the impact of CMR on democracy in Burundi.
   c. Assess the impact of the CMR in the democratization process in Burundi.

1.5 Research Questions

The research questions guiding the study were;

a. What is the nature and extent of CMR in Burundi?

b. What is the impact of CMR on democracy in Burundi?

c. What is the impact of CMR in democratization process in Burundi?

1.6 Significance of Study

The discoveries would provide updated knowledge to policy makers to draw the factors that ensure the effectiveness of the CMR as a contributing factor to the democratization process in Burundi. The Burundi policy makers, regional organization or mechanisms of which Burundi is party like East African Community (EAC) and the Eastern African Standby Force (EASF) to name a few can largely gain from this study in its construction and adoption of policy and best practices of the CMR dimension. Future scholars and academic community will use this study as a stepping stone for further studies on CMR. For the Burundi people and leaders, the study can be an open door to self-examination to learn from the errors in terms of CMR in the view to strengthen their aspirations to a Burundi democratic society.

1.7 Literature Review

1.7.1 Introduction

This section analyzed the existing literature on CMR and democratization based on the research objectives in seeking to address the missing link in literature over the subject. The review looked at the literature about the nexus between CMR and democratization in Africa, the impact of CMR with African democracy and the role CMR has played in Burundi democratization process.

1.7.2 Theoretical Framework

This section analyses the theoretical framework and highlights the scholarly works on analysis of CMR and democratization of African states with specific reference to Burundi. Theory of Concordance on CMR as posited by Rebecca Schiff laid the foundation of this study. The general theory of CMR also called separation theory by Samuel Huntington shoulders that the military must continue to be distinct from civilradical organizations in to avoid internal military interference. The alienation of civic and army institutes as it happens in the USA is prescribed by the separation theory as a perfect ideal for countries to stick to[3]. By contrast, concordance theory[4] contends that 3 associates - the political elites, military and people - should purpose for a supportive affiliation that could or could not involve the alienation of radical and

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[3] Feaver, Peter D. "Crisis as shirking: An agency theory explanation of the souring of American civil-military relations." *Armed Forces & Society* 24, no. 3 (1998): 407-434.
[4] Schiff, Rebecca L. "Civil-military relations reconsidered: A theory of concordance." *Armed Forces & Society* 22, no. 1 (1995): 7-24.

army establishments. The theory of concordance points out accommodation, negotiation and common ideals or objective amongst the radical leaders, military and people.

The theory of concordance endeavours to achieve 2 purposes. To begin with, it endeavours to explain the formal and ethnic circumstances, including incorporation, separation or alternative relation that promote or prevent local army interference. In addition, the theory forecasts that the minute there is general understanding amongst the 3 associates, the military is more averse to mediate locally. Concordance doesn't need a specific type of government, organizational sets, or dynamic procedure, but happens with regards to dynamic understanding, regardless of whether set up by enactment, pronouncement, or constitution, or dependent on long-standing chronicled and social qualities. It empowers collaboration and contribution among the military, the political foundations, and the general public. Collaboration and concurrence on 4 explicit pointers may bring about a scope of civilian-military outlines including separating them, the evacuation of civilian-military limits, and other variations. As a prescriptive and descriptive hypothesis/theory, concordance doesn't confine the situation to one civilian-military situation, it clarifies the established and social circumstances that influence the particular connections amongst the 3 associates.

1.7.3 Nature and Extent Civil-Military Relations in Burundi

Democracy as it is understood today refers to "rule of the people". Democracy is loosely referred to as a system of governance where authority is vested in the public, who freely and actively participate in making the decisions about their state. Such decisions are made through voting in representatives, who then exercise power on behalf of the people who elect them. In

other words, democracy occurs in a regime where power is exercised by individuals or representatives chosen by distinct society in a region, which represents a societal state characterized by equal rights and privileges of citizens.[5] In order to understand democracy and its constituents, it is imperative to highlight Plato's and Aristotle's views on democracy and politics. Both were not staunch supporters of democracy.

According to Plato, a democratic government, also known as an ideal regime was characterized by leaders or representatives who observed adherence of every member of the society's universally valid principles aimed at making better the lives of each and every member of the society, as opposed to increasing authority and power, material wealth and prestige to a few selected individuals. Hence, only a few individuals full of wisdom, charisma and virtue had the potential to run the ideal government.[6] He also held that democracy would easily surrender to anarchy and rebellion, which would make all citizens to lose regard of law, and its enforcement, tyranny of power and would lead to moral deterioration. On the other hand, Aristotle argued that power comes from underneath and is exercised on behalf of all individuals irrespective of class, wealth, colour and other differences in walks of life. He had strong beliefs that were backed by lucid analysis of the workings of the government in his notion of ideal government. He also had a strong believe in the legitimacy of people in the middle class as being more superior compared to the lower and the upper classes. This is based on the idea that the middle class consists of a

[5] Sun Tzu, "The Art of War", New York City: Barnes & Noble Books, 2003.
[6] Barany, Zoltan. "Comparing the Arab revolts: The role of the military." *Journal of Democracy* 22, no. 4 (2011): 24-35.

larger population than the rich and the poor. He also held that being born and brought up within affluent environments prevented one from learning to obey rules, thus making them to become overambitious and abusive of authorities, while the poor were likely to be used as slaves[7].

The origin of CMR can be copied back to the contributions of Carl Von Clausewitz and Sun Tzu who contended that a military is a servant of the government.[8] The idea that military institutions were servants of the government led to the emergence of the quests to put military institutions under civilian control. The first part of the 20th century witnessed the rising of militarization of society that entrenched the belief that the military organizations should be controlled by civilian authority.

Conflict management is an imperative concept in understanding the role of military institutions in Africa because most of the conflicts in Africa cannot be resolved but managed. Though quite a number of conflicts can be solved, others require management. Conflict managing underscores the aspect of restricting the bad features of conflicts and encouraging the progressive features of the same[9]. The development of military institutions in Africa ought to be engineered towards inculcating conflict management deals to safeguard democracy and good governance.

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[7] Barany, 24.
[8] Shields, Patricia. "Civil Military Relations" in Encyclopedia of Public Administration and Public Policy, Third edition. Boston: Taylor and Francis, 2015.
[9] DeChurch, Leslie A., and Michelle A. Marks. "Maximizing the benefits of task conflict: The role of conflict management." *International Journal of Conflict Management* 12, no. 1 (2001).

In the 1960s and early 1970s, armies in Africa were largely composed of guerrillas and their main goal was to liberate the African societies from colonial rule. However, in most post-independent African countries, institutionalized military outfits became instruments of political interventions, thereby usurping civilian rule[10]. As a result, military dictators emerged at an unprecedented rate as most of the dictators viewed civilian power as inadequate to govern the new states.

Huntington argues that the interaction of democratic political and democratic military professions in terms of safety and transparency is the origin of the problems of civilian-military relationships. He further argues that the military institutions are further guided by 2 factors: a practical authoritative coming from the threats to the society's safety and a social authority rising from societal powers, philosophies and establishments that dominate inside the social order.[11] The main concerns in CMR are resolving the tension that usually arises out of these opposing obligations. The traditional emphasis in scholarly works has been on civil regulation of the military, well-defined as governmental regulation of the army. [12]

Moskos et al argue that an adjustment in the global security condition, for example, the termination of the Cold War besides the level of influence, has given suggestions on apparent danger and thusly on the army's strategic organization, the prevailing army expert, and the

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[10] Ibid
[11] Huntington, Samuel P. *The soldier and the state: The theory and politics of civil–military relations.* Harvard University Press, 1981.
[12] Ibid.

allotted spending plan.[13] These progressions have likewise brought about a difference in the military's qualities and standards. While some time ago the partisan issues and people were eager to acknowledge that the army had its individual novel qualities, as well as standards in light of the necessity to work for an assumed bigger benefit, this never again is the situation. Moskos utilizes factors, for example, the changed connection between the media and military, the adjustment in the civil mentality concerning the army, or the women's responsibilities and gay people in the army to demonstrate how the standards and qualities of the army are fluctuating and in what way these progressions are shutting the disconnection amongst regular citizen culture and army.

During 1990s, states grew new security techniques with significant consequences on military activities, spending plans, military posture, military proficiency, ethos and morals, and their association to society[14]. In their investigation, Moskos et al. explicitly set up a worldview with respect to the improvement of the militaries in western popular governments. South Africa, for instance, encountered the conclusion of its politically-sanctioned racial segregation apartheid rule and started the change to equitable military and political arrangements as at 1987, during which the National Party (NP) administration and the African National Congress (ANC) involved among themselves to start progress and started to execute a temporary government to

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[13] Moskos, Charles C., John Allen Williams, and David R. Segal, eds. *The postmodern military: Armed forces after the Cold War.* Oxford University Press on Demand, 2000.
[14] Winkates, James. "The Transformation of the South African National Defence Force: A Good Beginning." *Armed Forces & Society* 26, no. 3 (2000): 451-472.

regulate progress to a post-politically-sanctioned racial segregation appeal. The procedure of change concurred with the most recent significant change in the global condition, in particular the conclusion of the Cold War. This had various ramifications for South African military and government structures.[15]

Burchert in his thesis, the apartheid and democracy, a case of South Africa, established that impression of the prospects and intimidations introduced by the global organization outline the army's strategic, powers and in this manner its association to people. Besides, he contends that a country's way of life and its communal recollections affect mutually the army and its connection with its neighbours[16]. So as to put forth their instance, Moskos et al predicted the development of various significant civilian-military factors, for example, the apparent risk, power structure, significant operations definition, prevailing military expert, role of women, mentality toward the military, media associations, citizen representatives, family and military, as they are influenced by sudden changes in the global formation.[17]

Feaver postulates that CMR are an essential element of partisan life in all countries that keep up changeless military associations, entrusted with the guard of the country and its residents. The crucial matter in civilian-military relationships is the means by which to make and protect a military that is subordinate to political control but on the other hand, is viable and

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[15] Ibid
[16] Burchert, Thomas H. *From apartheid to democracy: the civil-military relations in the Republic of South Africa.* Naval postgraduate school Monterey CA, 2004.
[17] Moskos, p 265.

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efficient[18]. Huntington powerfully contends that political administration ought to maintain a strategic distance from any obstruction in military issues for greatest military adequacy.[19] Both Feaver and Huntington's propositions portray a close relationship between civil-military relations with the democratization process but, however, they fail to postulate on how the military has contributed to democracy development as opposed to civil control over the military.

Moskos suggests that the conventional citizen power above the military is assumed in that the civil administration gives the meaning of a nation's dynamic welfares, the military's strategy endorses the power structure and the financial limit. Moreover, the administration has citizen authority over the military through its particular foundations and based on the affirmed governing body. Without an immediate and regular risk, neither the council nor the general public is set up to acknowledge that the military has one of a kind qualities and standards as to the particular prerequisites of ensuring an assumed higher good.[20] Thus, the law-making body gives the stage to civilian-military relationships and cooperation based on laws that are to guarantee a typical culture, and regular qualities and standards.

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[18] Feaver, p 3.
[19] Huntington, 1981.
[20] Moskos, p27.

1.7.4 The Impact of Civil-Military Relations on Democracy in Burundi

Public regulation/control of military forces and the democratization process are global ideas and developments grounded in political discipline and practiced universally. The origin of these practices is the concept of CMR which underpins the equilibrium of control between civil organizations and military establishments.[21] This concept is closely tied to democracy because the perfect balance between civil authorities and the military is an important underpinning of the democratic space. CMR as a concept emerged from the contributions of numerous scholars who oversaw the possible takeover of civilian affairs by the military. This was considered inappropriate because it could undermine the ideals of democracy. For instance, Sun Tzu described the military as a servant of the state; this started the debate on the connection amongst the public and military. Further developments in this concept were based on the considerations of the military as subservient to the state.[22]

The most evident indications of change towards democracy across Africa begun in 1989 and the start of the 1990s, which marked the termination of the Cold War era[23]. The change was marked with a shift from military regimes and weak liberal democratic movements to civilian rule characterized by populist democracies. Liberal democracy in this context is viewed as the

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[21] Rahbek-Clemmensen, Jon, Emerald M. Archer, John Barr, Aaron Belkin, Mario Guerrero, Cameron Hall, and Katie EO Swain. "Conceptualizing the civil–military gap: A research note." *Armed Forces & Society* 38, no. 4 (2012): 669-678.

[22] Janowitz, Morris, and Charles C. Moskos Jr. "Racial composition in the all-volunteer force." *Armed Forces & Society* 1, no. 1 (1974): 109-123.

[23] Heinecken, Lindy, and Richard Gueli. "Defence, democracy and South Africa's civil-military gap." *Scientia Militaria: South African Journal of Military Studies* 33, no. 1 (2005): 119-140.

starting point to a rule of law that is drawn from constitutional supremacy, thereby ushering in regular, participatory, competitive, and legitimate elections. For this reason, liberal democracy as emphasized by the international community has been criticized in the African setting as fundamentally infuriating the development of inclusive equality despite being more prominent across the continent. Ideally, the shift in democracy in the 1990s was largely advanced through external forces, as well as from within the African states[24].

Rebecca in her theory of concordance concluded that the concept of civil and military relationships underpins the equilibrium of authority amongst civil organizations and military institutions.[25] It is an umbrella idea that includes a wide field that cuts across policy, management, and social science scales. The concept defines the connection between civil authority and a military organization. The connection between common society and the military is a basic part of any country, equitable or else, on grounds that military power is an all-inclusive element of social systems[26]. In spite of huge advancement moving towards the majority rules system amongst some African nations in the previous era, several African armies presently can't seem to acknowledge main democratic standards guiding citizen authority over the military.

CMR have gotten broad insightful consideration, particularly during the 1960s–1980s time frames when military overthrows were regular in Africa. Ever since the start of something

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[24] Heinecken, pp. 1-6.
[25] Schiff, 7–24.
[26] Houngnikpo, Mathurin C. *Guarding the Guardians: civil-military relations and democratic governance in Africa.* Routledge, 2016.

Samuel Huntington depicted as the "Third Wave of Democratization" during 1990s, comparative decrease in militarism in legislative issues in the region has followed[27]. West African nations, for example, are as of now at various phases of their democratic procedures. It was conceived that military overthrows would have become a relic of times gone by in the location, because of the acknowledgment of worldwide and local standardizing structures of majority rule government and good administration.[28] Nonetheless, majority rule dividends in the area have been blended, and a few nations have seen an inversion to the coup occurrence.

Ouedraogo contended that the military, as a significant state body with an imposing domination over power, stays an exceptionally compact political player in the area. Aside from politicization of the protection mechanism, different difficulties confronting the defence subdivision incorporate an absence of military competence, high occurrence of revolts, human rights infringement, out of date missions and principles, lessening abilities, insufficient oversight, defilement and an absence of straightforwardness.[29] Assensoh and Alex-Assensoh established that prior to the coming of colonialists, militarism was common in African events, particularly in the political developmental events.[30] Nevertheless, present-day militaries in the area, for the most part, rose up out of the colonialism armed forces that were made for the

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[27] Huntington, pp. 12–34.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ouedraogo, Emile. *Advancing military professionalism in Africa*. No. NDU/ACSS-RP-6. National defence univ fort mcnair dc africa center for strategic studies, 2014.
[30] Alex-Assensoh, Y. *African military history and politics: Coups and ideological incursions, 1900-present*. Springer, 2002.

motivations behind radical conveniences to control native opposition and rule the geo-key benefits of colonialism controls regarding labour for simple preparation in the midst of war.[31] Naison contends that after independence, common military relations of African states have been for the most part impacted by the colonialism past that triggered distress and even abhorrence of the colonialism military[32]. The two arguments support the fact that the role of the CMR has played in Africa is minimal and this study seeks to further establish the impact that civil-military relation has played in the democratization of African states.

The complex nature of democracy in Africa has resulted in a high number of violent civil conflicts in most Sub-Saharan countries since their independence half a century ago. The role of the military to promote democracy is, therefore, investigated in this study as an intervention measure to regulate, manage, and resolve conflicts in Africa. While military interventions have been used in Africa to achieve this goal, it is worth noting that such deployments have achieved more success subsequent to the formation of African Union in the year 2002.[33] The concept of democracy from an African context needs to be assessed form the Realist lens as opposed to

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[31] Van den Berghe, Pierre L. The Military and Political Change in Africa. In Welch, Claude (ed.) Soldier and State in Africa: *Northwestern University Press: Evanston*, 1970.
[32] Ngoma, Naison. "Civil-military relations in Africa: Navigating uncharted waters." *African Security Studies* 15, no. 4 (2006): 98-111.
[33] Gerhart, Gail M. "Democratic experiments in Africa: Regime transitions in comparative perspective." *Foreign Affairs* 77, no. 5 (1998): 167.

idealist perspective. Hans Morgenthau argues that democracy is viewed as a political process that is guided by objective laws that are inherently human[34].

John De Pauw argues that the military has contributed majorly in the rise of new states that surpasses war tasks and forms the philosophy of the people that it is a part of[35]. Huntington looks at the national security policy as prevailing in 3 structures and 2 levels. The first one is the military security program that is a policy of things projected to bound or reduce activities to incapacitate or infatuate the nation by army operating from separate established and local boundaries. The second is the interior security program that accomplishes the dangers of disturbance, the drive to incapacitate or demolish the nation by controls emanating from within its local and established boundaries. The third is the situational program concerning the danger of breakdown emanating from extended variations in monetary and radical circumstances having a tendency to diminish the overall intensity of the nation.[36] These 3 aspects points to the role the military plays in democracy development in Africa, where this research seeks to dwell more in establishing further the impact of CMR in democracy in Africa.

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[34] Morgenthau, Hans Joachim, Kenneth W. Thompson, and W. David Clinton. "Politics among nations: The struggle for power and peace." (1985).
[35] De Pauw, John Whylen, and George A. Luz, eds. *Winning the Peace: The Strategic Implications of Military Civic Action.* Greenwood Publishing Group, 1992.
[36] Huntington, p 6.

The most common idea placed in CMR is the subjugation of military under civil rule. This involves the enactment of laws and rules that restrict the role of the military.[37] Although it has been criticized for approaching the relationship directly, this idea has been successful in demarcating the roles of the state and the military. This strategy has been successful in removing the conflicts between the state and the military by giving power to the state. The second idea involves strategic partnerships flanked by the public and military which improve the standards of the military institution. This idea was initially championed by Huntington who affirmed that the desire to professionalize the military must guide civilian authority above the military. This concept is grounded on the element that the military is a profession with standards, policies and systems.[38]

Democracy underpins the will of the people in which a government is chosen by the people through civil means. Under egalitarianism, the military is supposed to contribute to a limited role as directed by the government. Therefore, liberals support the concept of civilian-military relationships since it advances the ideals of democracy by protecting civil liberties.[39] Military organizations are considered crucial in the protection of the state but are also perceived as a danger to the nation as well as civil liberties by extension. The military is associated with

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[37] Burk, James. "Theories of democratic civil-military relations." *Armed Forces & Society* 29, no. 1 (2002): 7-29.
[38] Herspring, Dale Roy. *The Pentagon and the presidency: Civil-military relations from FDR to George W. Bush.* Vol. 14. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005.
[39] Schiff, 7–24.

anarchy and war in the sense that military rule is seen as the direct opposite of democracy which undermines civilian rule and hinders the attainment of a liberal society.

1.7.5 The Impact of Civil-Military Relations on Democratization in Burundi

Burundi is a non-coastal country in Central Africa located between the DRC to the west, Tanzania on the southern and eastern boarders and Rwanda to the north. The country's borders have remained largely unchanged since the early 18th century when it was ruled by the monarch who consolidated his kingdom. The country remained an independent monarchy until Germany forced a treaty on the monarch in 1903, relinquishing its sovereignty. Burundi became a Belgium mandate at the culmination of the First World War, granted by the League of Nations. It remained a protectorate until 1962, when it was granted independence by the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) on July 1, 1962.

The first countrywide polls in Burundi were organized slightly less than a year prior to freedom form colonialists, and political establishments quickly showed impressive delicacy, laying the right foundation for post-colonialism precariousness. Nonetheless, post-colonialism struggle additionally worsened this precarious heritage, with military revolutions in 1966, 1976 as well as 1987, radical assassinations and purges[40]. These scenes of political clash destabilized what organizations had been created and combined 'Big Man' regulation. The rule of General

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[40] Coffman, Edward M. "The long shadow of the soldier and the state." *The journal of military history* 55, no. 1 (1991): 69.

Micombero, who held onto authority in 1966, was set apart by close to home principle and de-institutionalization, which is featured by the 1974 constitutions that didn't accommodate a parliament, and provided both administrative and jurisdictive capacity to the president. After an additional overthrow that conveyed Colonel Bagaza to control in 1976, the 1981 constitutions presented a solid administration that permitted Bagaza to command the radical framework. He was thus ousted by Major Buyoya in the year 1987, an additional exhibit of the deteriorating limit of recognized establishments.[41]

After a long time of ethnic governmental issues set apart by the rejection of the Hutu larger part, the country set out on a procedure of "compromise" in 1988 below serious global stress. The following stage concerning "democratization" entailed the proclamation of a majority rule constitution in 1992 and countrywide polls in June the following year. These elections were secured by the Hutu commanded an opposing party of FRODEBU, consequently stopping many years of rule by Tutsi elites. Only months after the polls, the Tutsi-ruled armed force arranged a rebellion with the point of saving the benefits of the previous officeholders. President Ndadaye was killed, which dove the nation into 10 years in length civic conflict throughout which partisan establishments were paralyzed.[42]

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[41] Ibid.
[42] Reyntjens, Filip. "The proof of the pudding is in the eating: The June 1993 elections in Burundi." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 31, no. 4 (1993): 563-583.

After liberation from colonizers, reliance and accord stayed constrained in Burundi, even inside the little sphere of the decisive military leaders, as is appeared by the way that the nation experienced military overthrows generally at regular intervals. These were ordinarily royal residence insurgencies that planned for supplanting a military leader who had arisen to be viewed as a risk for the people in power[43]. Truly Buyoya, Bagaza and Micombero altogether came from a similar region in the Bururi region. Every time, the purposes behind the overthrow were the equivalent: end intra-system pressures, glance dangers against the people's authority, and restore the corporatism intensity of the military. Consequent scenes of an ethnic clash, and the overthrows themselves, prompted an additional crumbling in relationships between rival partisan elites. At the point when the officeholder elites were beaten at the 1993 polls, there existed no shared belief among them and the unforeseen victors.[44] In spite of the fact that President Ndadaye endeavoured to correct this by selecting a Tutsi leader from the previous in power party and an executive that, regardless of FRODEBU'S vast majority share in legislature, offered around 33% of positions to the other party, the old leaders dreaded radical marginalization and deprivation of their benefits. Thus, this absence of reliance prompted the overthrow in October that year.[45]T

he utmost genuine test to the Burundian armed force's professionalism emanated in April of the year 2015 looking at the way the President offered to run for a third term considered by

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[43] Ibid
[44] Wilen, Nina. "Burundi crisis: the military's central role." *Security sector reform ressource centre* (2015)..
[45] Ibid.

rivals (and numerous outside eyewitnesses) to be illegal.[46] The military stayed unbiased toward the start of a period with huge protests, though the police indicated its support to the government position in brutal suppressions on protestor citizens from police violence. Sooner or later the military was additionally observed to be safeguarding as well. This could demonstrate that the army had incorporated non-military personnel esteems from its various instructions identified with peacekeeping and SSR.[47] It additionally indicated how the police power close by the Service National de Renseignements (SNR), was the greatest debated in the country, unmistakably supportive of the system. As such, the firm police politicization and the SNR allowed a specific de-politicization of the military, as it contributed to the SNR a less vital device in the influences of the system.

1.8 Research Methodology

1.8.1 Area of Study

The study focused on the CMR in African states with specific reference to Burundi.

1.8.2 Research Design

The researcher adopted case study of Burundi to analyze the CMR and democratization of African states with specific reference to Burundi. Mixed approach was adopted in this study. According to Kothari and Georg (2019), survey and case study are widely adopted for this type

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[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.

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of research because they permit collection of data from large population and also give room for in-depth analysis of research findings.

1.8.3 Target Population

The population comprised respondents from Government officials, top military officers and civil organizations who are the consumers of the services of the Government and the military.

1.8.4 Sampling Techniques

Purposive sampling technique permitted the researcher to obtain the data because it gives the researcher the freedom to select a sample of his convenience.

1.8.5 Instruments for Data Collection

The researcher used interview schedules and questionnaires to obtain data from respondents for primary data. The interview guides enabled the researched to obtain in-depth information from the sampled population. The researcher referred also to content analysis of secondary data from publications such the constitution of the Republic of Burundi, journals like Jstor, and other government publications.

1.8.6 Validity and Reliability

The researcher applied the concept of face and content validity to warrant that the tools were reliable and valid.

1.8.7 Data collection Procedures

After designing and confirming that the tools were reliable and valid, the researcher utilized a researcher assistant to distribute and collect the research questionnaires. The researcher also

conducted structured interviews with selected respondents from the sampled population. The researcher also conducted content analysis of the secondary data to arrive at his conclusions.

1.8.8 Methods of Data Analysis

Descriptive analysis of qualitative as well as quantitative data was adopted and conclusion drawn to explain the relationship between CMR and democratization.

1.8.9 Ethical Consideration

The researcher ensured that the ethics in research was applied during research process. This entailed the issue of confidentiality of the respondents' information about the research.

CHAPTER TWO

THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATION IN AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

The connection between the civilian authority and military forces is the basis of CMR since the concept describes the connection between these two forms of authority. Whereas civil authority represented the state's elected government by people for purposes of governance, the military is a defensive organ that defends the state and civilian population against external attack. This section analyses the nature and extent of CMR in Africa, in extension in Burundi.

2.2 Civil-Military Relations with Democratization

The underlying philosophy of CMR is that citizen regulation over the army is more appropriate than army regulation of the government. Since the army is taken as serving the interests of the state, it should be under the supervision of the state. The intensified militarization of the society steered to the belief that military control of the state will create a world of anarchy and disorder which will also hamper the civil liberties. Militaries overthrow governments when they are considered ineffective or unable to govern. There are several examples that include Egypt and Zimbabwe which have experienced military takeover in the last few years. This implies that CMR is only possible when government have the governance capacity to control affairs.

Civil and military authorities are the main forms of power in an egalitarian society whose engagement must be regulated. For instance, civil authority represents the will of the people to govern while military authority uses military power to defend the state and population. A balanced relationship between these two organs is important in ensuring that each organ plays its role without interfering with the other. CMR guards against conflict of interests pitting military and civil authority.

Many reviews of partisan government in the globe show that after over thirty years of the third influx of democratization, barely few nations stay under direct military administration. Also, the quantities of military overthrows have drastically diminished since the 1980s[48]. Nonetheless, a few scholars showed that in numerous recently democratized nations in Latin America, Pacific Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, the level of institutionalized citizen supervision on military undertakings is little, and the military appreciates significant administrative privileges and a lot of institutional self-sufficiency.

The idea of majority rule CMR suggests an observance to rules that comply with responsible, genuine democratic establishments, and the presence of a legislature that practices supervision of the military and approves the assertion of combat and makes the executive responsibility to it as far as the appeal of its defence policy is concerned[49]. The connection of the

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[48] Alagappa, Muthiah. "Investigating and explaining change: An analytical framework." *Coercion and governance: The declining political role of the military in Asia* (2001): 29-68.
[49] Ibid.

army to the constitution is an issue that has had massive understanding challenges for both military and political/security examiners. Starting from the perspective that the military is a civic foundation that is devoted to the defence of the nation, it could in this way be derived that likewise with every other person in the nation, the main guide in all undertakings is the constitution.[50] The constitution is the basis whereupon every further law is inferred. It might consequently be contended that it is this essential standard which is pined for and, in reality, a perspective for all including the military.

CMR is not a simple interconnection amongst the structures of the nation, people and military, but instead a confusing measurement of every one of these establishments, and amongst subdivisions of the establishments and the military, just as inside the different areas of the military itself. It has been demonstrated that discoveries of an examination of the nature and character of CMR will to a great extent rely upon the standard expected, just as on various different elements that are minor ideas that have a huge illustrative incentive to the issue of CMR.

The military profession in modern governments is socialized to defend a particular form of government. The military profession believes that the guard of democratic establishments as well as of the individual autonomies of their compatriots hangs on their support. In united democracies, however, there exists expectation from inside the social order everywhere and

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[50] Ngoma, 98–111.

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inside the military itself that democratic esteems are of significance and all arms of the regime, including the military, must regard and maintain them. The army not just protects the radical appeal progressed by the law based system, it is obligated to permit itself to be formed by that appeal. In that capacity, human rights abuse in the military are likely not to be endured.

Given the delicate nature of ethnic-related conflicts witnessed in most African countries, there is no doubt that the main goal of the African Union was to promote security, peace and steadiness. The new organization was created to address the challenges that were crippling most African democracies, by providing solutions that suited specific African contexts. To this end, the Union has undertaken several military interventions in Africa, including Burundi, Sudan, Comoros and Somalia. In addition, the union also suspended the membership of several countries including Madagascar, Ivory Coast, and Niger, over irregularities during political transitions. All these efforts are ultimately intended to promote democratization of African states.

In East Africa, CMR have been centred on two imperative pillars, namely the subjugation of the military below citizen regulation and the enhancement of the armed institution. Although the region has previously faced several challenges regarding military coups and rule, efforts have been made to restore the constructive balance amongst the military and public power. Democratization in the region has been improved through the subjugation of military authority in countries like Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda. The region boosts of countries that have thriving democracies with proper CMR like Kenya and Tanzania.

Kenya, for example, has been the epitome of CMR in many ways considering that the country has never had a successful military coup or military rule since independence. This has

been attributed to a strong separation of powers between the army and citizen regime. In Kenya, there are no avenues of doubt regarding the citizen regulation over the army; the Kenya Defence Forces is firmly under the civilian government with the President being the commander-in-chief of the military. Kenya has enjoyed a lengthy time of peace in the region because of the civilian-army relations; the Kenyan army has historically thwarted any attempts for a military takeover of government. The Kenyan government has heavily invested in the professionalization of the military to play its diverse roles locally and internationally.

Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda have faced several challenges involving political instability. The states' experience with the civil war entrenched militarism within the society hence increasing the role of the army in civil affairs. However, following the restoration of democracy in the states, there have been efforts to build a strong CMR based on the supremacy of civil authority over military institutions. The most common idea placed in CMR is the subjugation of military under civil rule. This involves the enactment of laws and rules that restrict the role of the military.[51] Although it has been criticized for approaching the relationship directly, this idea has been successful in demarcating the roles of the state and the military. This strategy has been successful in removing the conflicts between the state and the military by giving power to the state. The second idea involves strategic partnerships amongst the public and the army which improve the standards of the military institution.

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[51] Burk, 7–29.

2.3 The impact of Military Institution in Burundi

The responsibility of the military in supporting social equality is great in the sense that the democratic space must be protected through military defence. Therefore, the analysis of military affairs in Africa can point towards a better understanding of the prevalence of democracy in Africa. Democracy is fragile in Africa because it is an imported concept from western nations[52]. Therefore, the military plays a great role in democracy that can be classified as positive or negative. Negative military intervention underscores the overthrow of civilian governments by military elements while positive intervention connotes the use of military power to support democratic governments.

The consequences of Cold War, military animosity amongst the Soviet Union and the USA led thinkers like Samuel Huntington to envisage a possible conflict between the military and liberal ideas.[53] It was during this period that the civilian regulation of the military was born and included in political science. Military organizations are considered crucial in the protection of the state, but are also perceived as a danger to the government and civil liberties by extension. The military is associated with anarchy and war in the sense that military rule is seen as the direct opposite of democracy which undermines civilian rule and hinders the attainment of a liberal society. Cold War era aggravated this situation with the rationale that the imminent

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[52] Barany, 2011.
[53] Sowers, Thomas S. "Beyond the soldier and the state: Contemporary operations and variance in principal-agent relationships." *Armed Forces & Society* 31, no. 3 (2005): 385-409.

outbreak of a global war not only necessitated but also justified the existence of such militaries for the purpose of preserving it[54]. As a result, the citizens accepted the disproportionate roles and capabilities assigned to military institutions, which subsequently squandered their intended legitimacy as promoters of democratic governance. This rationale promoted the notion that the military was the best institution to safeguard against external aggression and internal social unrest.

The paradigm shift from military authoritarianism to democracy is largely seen to have taken three major approaches. These are government top-down reforms, democratization process from below, and internal wars. Top-down reforms occurred in those cases where the ruling regime responded to imminent or actual crisis by initiating democratic reforms in their countries. An excellent example is Nigeria, where the death of military dictator, Sani Abacha in 1998 led to the contested accession to power of Major General Abdulsalami Abubakar. The ensuing discontent led to the parliamentary election where Olusegun Obasanjo was elected. This shift was criticized by some scholars casting serious doubts on how citizens engage with power[55].

However, cases of top-down reforms have taken place and have not ignored the justice element of democracy. In such cases, the reforms maintained semi-autonomous profile in the face of international community instead of sticking to a strict neo-liberal agenda, resulting to

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[54] Biddle, Stephen, and Stephen Long. "Democracy and military effectiveness: A deeper look." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 4 (2004): 525-546.
[55] Mattes, Robert, and Michael Bratton. "Learning about democracy in Africa: Awareness, performance, and experience." *American Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 1 (2007): 192-217.

more positive transition from military rule to civilian rule. This promoted cohesive democracies like in the case of Ghana, resulting to stable institutions of governance. On the other hand, the democratization process from below occurs at the point when there is mounting prominent weight from the general population bringing about national meetings, unrest, coups d'état, or social agreement arrangements, which are planned to move the state towards a fairer society. In the mid-1990s, the previously mentioned meetings, especially in Francophone nations, developed as vehicles for representation, responsibility, and accord arrangement[56]. Finally, in cases where these two approaches fail, war becomes inevitable. This was the case in DRC, Uganda and Rwanda. In these countries, military authoritarian regimes were overthrown through military efforts.

Arguably, most of the European authorities had done less to set up their African settlements for autonomy, subsequently a feeling of national character was troublesome to establish due to the ensuing ethnic and cultural conflicts that characterized the new states. Consequently, democracy was short-lived in most states, as sturdy armies turned out to be apparatuses for determined leaders to seize and/or maintain power. In many other cases, military dictatorship replaced established democracies, and ethnic imbalances soon emerged plunging the countries into endless wars and conflicts. It is, therefore, understandable that the concept of democracy in post-colonial Africa was characterized by the absenteeism of inclusive and self-

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[56] Ibid.

governing authority, with the counter-dynamic participation of the army in establishments of authority taking its fair share of blame in the ensuing chaos.

Despite the fact that most countries in post-colonial Africa were granted independence under multiparty systems, it did not take long for military rule and one party system to take over in most of the regimes. As such, democratic experiences in post-colonial Africa cannot be generalized since they differ very extensively that an individual can simply tell of democracies in a multifaceted context and in reference to specific contexts. Nonetheless, the stark image of democracy in Africa was greatly reshaped after 1989 and in the early 1990s.[57]

During this period, a majority of African countries reverted to multiparty systems, indicating a resurgence of democracy. Most of these countries conducted elections, albeit with diverse difficulties that compromised their quality and representativeness. It was during this wave that most dictators ceded power to allow for elections, while in other regimes, the ruling parties manipulated the election process to ensure they held on to power. The wave of change in the 1990s also saw a reduction of military coups, with others reverting power to the people. The creation of the African Union a decade later has also enhanced the democratic process in the continent, especially in cases where military and diplomatic interventions have been launched to reinstate harmony and steadiness.

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[57] Agbese, Pita Ogaba, and George Klay Kieh. *The military and politics in Africa: from engagement to democratic and Constitutional control*. Ashgate, 2004.

While most of the African countries are characterized by young democracies, it is notable that the legal and institutional capacity to withstand historical challenges is still inadequate. This implies that most of the countries are still faced with historical inequalities that pose tangible risks that could throw them back to instability and civil conflicts. It is however arguable that the challenge in modern times is not attributable to the military, but rather to the civilian authority in place in the context of generalized inequalities and injustices. Indeed, some of the military regimes have inadvertently promoted peace and stability in some countries. It is, therefore, the question of whether the military should contribute in creating, promoting, and sustaining democratic governance, or keep off completely. The typical political thinking perspective emphasizes that the army should stay away from politics, so as to promote the institutional and economic incentives that enhance participatory democracy.

2.4 Discussion

A typical assessment of CMR revolves around the equilibrium of control amongst the civil radical power and the military establishment. In this case, independent CMR demand that the army is inferior to a constitutionally voted citizen regime. This is based on the understanding that the various legal and state institutional structures have a foremost responsibility in operationalizing effective civil regulation above the military institution. Ideally, military institutions and their actions are considered as legitimate, indirectly, through their recognition of the legitimate civilian institutions and civilian governing Structures.

Civilian control is exercised through a number of statutory and organised actions that have to be in position, and citizen supervision is recognized as a key aspect of the ensuing relationship. This may entail two methodologies; objective or subjective civil regulation of the army. Objective citizen regulation exists where the non-military personnel and military organizations are clearly unique from one another. In this case, established limits that isolate the regular citizens and military circles of exercises and capacities are plainly outlined, and the non-military personnel power marks regulations that the army is supposed to implement. On the other hand, the army's contribution in regulations creation is restricted to safety and defence matters over civil and not army initiatives.

Conversely, subjective citizen control exists where the established limits amongst the civil governments are relatively blurred and there is no clear distinction. As a result, the army roles are not plainly distinct or they may be firmly limited to safety and defence matters. Such a scenario is only possible where there are no definite institutional structures and as such, the difference concerning the regime and the military is subsequently misplaced. Ideally, great administration of the security powers, especially the military, necessitates that they be constrained by majority rule citizen organizations. In this case, civil control is moulded by numerous variables, most significant amongst them being the institutional limit of the civilian governance structures. In Republic of South Africa, the engagement by NP and ANC at the termination of Cold War to initiate a transition towards a democratic rule led to a concordance within the CMR in that part of Africa.

However, fragile political institutions embedded in a post-colonial ethnic conflict environment of recurrent coups d'état, political assassinations and purges characterized CMR in Burundi. After autonomy, dependence and accord stayed constrained in Burundi, even inside the little sphere of the governing army leaders, as is appeared by the way that the nation practiced military overthrows generally at regular intervals. In a conditional move from military authoritarianism to democracy system, consequent scenes of ethnic clash, and the overthrows themselves, prompted an additional disintegration in relationships amongst rival partisan elites. At the point when the ruling elites were defeated at the 1993 polls, there was no shared conviction among them and the unforeseen victors and the circumstance escalated into 10 years of societal war throughout which partisan foundations were paralyzed. The greatest test to the country's armed force's professionalism emanated in the year 2015, where the President offered to run for another term and was considered by rivals to be undemocratic. The military continued to be unbiased and defended the constitutional order.

CHAPTER THREE

THE IMPACT OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATION ON DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA

3.1 Introduction

This section reviews how the responsibility of the military in modern independent states has changed in promoting democracy over the last two decades, and how it can be enhanced to promote good governance and political stability. This review seeks to explore the concept of democracy in modern context, in the understanding that its interpretation across Africa has evolved from the post-colonial view to a more cohesive perspective in modern times.

3.2 The Concept Civil-Military Relation in Promotion of Democracy in Africa

Africa leads the developing world in embracing CMR that support the liberal ideals of democracy. The quest to improve the cooperation between the state and the military has been intertwined with the push for democratization. In fact, the two are inseparable considering that a perfect mix between civil and military institutions determines the democratic space within a country. For example, in guaranteeing democracy, civil liberties must be protected. This is only possible in a society led by an elected government that controls the military. As a result, in Africa, the mainstream political ideology is democracy, which controls the military institutions. Although there are some instances of military coups in Africa, the development of CMR in the continent has placed elected governments above military institution.

Conflict and warfare in most African nations have had detrimental impacts to the nations and their distinct citizens. People from a conflicting nation are usually faced by various hardships ranging from lack of the basic necessities to illnesses. A superb example of such a scenario is Kenya during the 2007-2008 disputed elections, which saw the nation experience armed conflict resulting in the death of more than 2000 people, destruction of property and high numbers of internally displaced persons. The aftermath of the conflict was a period of various hardships. Being a country that is highly dependent on farming activities, Kenya was threatened to hunger as most people did not engage in farming activities during the conflicting times, which resulted to low production of farm produce. Somalia and South Sudan are other African nations that have been greatly affected by prolonged warfare and conflicts in the poverty and despondency milieu.

From a historical perspective, the role of military institutions as intervening agents in the political process in Africa is as varied as the political institutions they represent. This can be traced from their roles and subsequently the power they impose on the citizens. For instance, there are those regimes that take over power unconstitutionally and without any popular basis.[58] A good example is the current Mali regime. These are generally referred to as the "usurpers", and they are typically unstable and susceptible to other coups in future. Another form of military influence was characterized by anti-colonial guerrilla groups, which then take over power

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[58] Pfaffenzeller, Stephan. "Conscription and Democracy: The Mythology of Civil—Military Relations." *Armed Forces & Society* 36, no. 3 (2010): 481-504.

through civilian leaders and continue to rule with civilian constitutions. Such governments are referred to as "legitimates", and they continue to rule in countries like Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.[59]

However, despite these strides towards achieving democracy, the overall role of the military in achieving this goal is often overlooked. As a result, some missions by the military have been unsuccessful due to the apparent mismatch of the role of the intervening force and the context of the conflict being resolved. Such a setback can be traced to the lack of elaborate research that reflects how African problems can be resolved by African solutions. Although CMR are a widespread school of thought, it is mainly underpinned by the regulation of the army by civilian power.

It is apparent that Africa has endured its fair share of strained relations amongst the army and civil people since the post-independence era. The strained relations extend to those countries that maintain to have a legitimate civilian rule. In post-independence years of 1970s, Africa saw an unprecedented rise in military involvement in the political matters and governance, leading to over thirty undemocratic fluctuations of regime in a period of one

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[59] Ibid.

decade[60]. These incidents greatly obscured the continent's conception of democracy as initially envisaged by the departing colonial rule.

Arguably, the subsequent failure of democracy in post-independence Africa is partly attributable to the colonial administrative structures that were entrusted to a fragmented and inexperienced continent. As suggested in the conflict transformation theory, the inherent long term impacts of colonialism are partially linked to the leadership challenges that typified post-independence Africa since the continent was left to chart its own destiny after innumerable and irrecoverable distortions of the geographical, socio-economic, and political structures that existed before colonization. As a result, the incoming leadership had a painstakingly uphill task of cultivating a cohesive feeling of identification in nations that hosted diverse cultural and political backgrounds[61].

To a large extent, it is also plausible that some African states have also benefited from army interference in governments, as is the case of Benin and Ghana. In this case, the military was instrumental in promoting social liberties that were initially neglected by the ruling regimes, and the resultant military intervention granted the civilian population a lifeline to better governance and democratic rule.[62] It is evident that fifty percent of African nations have

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[60] McGowan, Patrick J. "African military coups d'état, 1956–2001: frequency, trends and distribution." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 41, no. 3 (2003): 339-370.

[61] Ibid

[62] Adejumobi, Said. "Citizenship, rights and the Problem of internal Conflicts and Civil Wars in Africa." *African Journal of Political Science* (2001): 77-96.

witnessed unconstitutional changes in power since independence. This indeed poses a stark image of the democratization process in Africa, particularly in the period after independence. While the military is largely to blame for these events, it is also plausible to assert that this phenomenon has been escalated by the apparent lack of strong institutions of governance to fully realize fluid democratization process. Consequently, it is worth noting that the bigger foundations of independence dangers are inherent in the contradictions within the democratization process itself.

It is apparent that the reincarnation of military coups in post-independence Africa has led to important inquiries about the viability of independent partnership on the region in the last 50 years. While some of the military interventions and coups have played a positive responsibility in eliminating an oppressive, tyrannical regime given other ways were unsuccessful, it is also the case that some of these regimes perpetrated heinous crimes against the same population that they are supposed to protect. Consequently, some of the military coups like in Ghana and Nigeria have gained popularity among community assemblies, opposing parties and employee unions, as a means to prepare the country for expanded democratic governance and to address social inequalities promoted by ruling regimes.

During the colonialism time the army was required to spread the predominance of the colonialism authorities. Definitely, this included the utilization of the army as an apparatus of local governmental issues in every one of the colonialism regions. The colonialism experimentation accordingly ingrained an army culture of interruption in governmental issues that is contradictory to the civilian-army standards of a law based age. Set on the extractive idea

of colonization, the disappearance of Africa's colonialists left Africa's freedom elites responsible for feeble and less prepared countries – a situation that has endured into modern occasions, despite the fact that not to a similar degree[63]. All through post-colonialism Africa, when political elites, for various motives, have neglected to satisfy desires encompassing modernization and advancement, the army – because of its inborn structure and the way of life set up during colonialization – has regularly felt it was vital and supported to intervene.

3.3 The Civil-Military Relations in Promotion of Governance and Political Stability

In accordance to the conflict management theory, the military and democracy ought to support each other in resolving, managing, and preventing conflict. As a result, there should be deliberate attempts to ensure that military and democracy work in harmony. It is indeed agreeable that the concept of democracy ought to acknowledge the fact that, as long as the military institutions in Africa continue to exercise the power they amassed during the post-colonial days, and as long as the institutions continue to enjoy excessive powers from the ruling regimes, then democracy as an ongoing process is unlikely to be realized.

The standard comprehension of CMR involves the level of influence between the non-military radical power and the army. Independent CMR demands that the army is subjected to a fairly chosen citizen administration. Furthermore, different established and official approaches are set up and non-military personnel supervision turns into an essential element of ensuring

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[63] Ngoma, p. 103.

relations. This may involve two approaches, subjective or objective non-military personnel government of the military. Objective non-military personnel regulation exists where the citizens and army foundations are plainly unique from one another. In this case, established limits that seclude the citizenry and army circles of tasks and capacities are plainly portrayed. To this end, the civil power devises strategies that the army should actualize, while additionally, the army's contribution to policy creation is restricted to security and defence matters through civilian and not military initiatives.

African armies, specifically, in view of their past destructive influence on expansion and impact on democratization, consequently, have a significant task to carry out corresponding to democratization. They should recognize, comprehend and acknowledge their job comparable to the political circle. This will prompt what CMR researchers allude to as "democratic control" of the military. Deprived of the army's acknowledgment of the standards of law based on control, the independent government can't exist[64]. The greatest significant among this incorporate adherence to the standard of law, straightforward planning forms, responsibility before civilian established order, regard for human rights, compliance to political authority over expenditure, consultation with common society and military competency.

Citizens accepted the existence of powerful militaries that undermined the civilian rule due to the imminent outbreak of a global war for the purpose of preserving peace. However, the

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[64] Ngoma, p. 107.

militaries squandered the roles and responsibilities that the citizens had assigned to military institutions, which again misused the intended legitimacy as promoters of democratic governance. The powers beyond the control of the citizenry once unleashed by the military, undermines democracy, abuses human rights of the citizens it is supposed to protect and ultimately allows states to become authoritarian in administration of public service[65]. While the military as an institution may be blamed for the apparent inability to promote democracy in Africa, it is also mentionable that such challenges are attributable to poor governance.

Burundi has experienced various periods of intense violence, protracted armed conflicts, political strife as well as citizens' displacement that have led to humanitarian crisis in the country and all of which can be attributed to military interference in the self-governing practice of the nation. The precise triggers of the Burundi conflicts have proven to be complex and the causes of the country's struggles have largely revolved around party-political leaders who need to attain control. The military has always been used in some instances as a tool for forceful change of government and undermining the civilian rule in the country. Burundi political history has been greatly being influenced by the military actions where it has contributed to a lively part in the restoration of peace and also active involvement in the coups that have greatly undermined the democratic process of the country.

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[65] Biddle, 24.

3.4 Discussion

Democracy should be anchored in law and protected by strong legal structures. A basic understanding of the CMR emphasizes the need for constitutional, legal and institutional structures of governance, which have the capacity to effectively manage military institutions in a democratic system. The importance of these institutions is emphasized by the fact that, democratic systems are typified by distinct institutions to provide checks and balances, with a view of deterring autocratic rule and excessive power by any arm of governance. Most of the institutions that can effectively offer the checks and balances need to be entrenched in the constitutional dispensations in the systems they operate.

To this end, similarly significant is the necessity to effectively balance the executive control to govern and rule the state security of a nation in isolation. In this case, parliamentary oversight becomes a necessary check against monopolization of the state security and guard guidelines, together with the extended roles of the army. This implies that the institution necessities to warrant that the army institution functions inside independent and constitutional limits provided for in law, and that it does not abuse its powers in executing its mandate. This parliamentary role is exercised through oversight duties drawn from the constitutional provisions that govern the operations of the various institutions of governance.

The case of Burundi clearly illustrated that the apparent lack of legitimacy often compels authoritarian leaders to rely on ethnically biased recruitment to maintain allegiance in governance. Burundi knew usurpers regimes coupled with colonial administrative structures entrusted to a fragmented and inexperienced elites. While the military rule might have played a

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positive responsibility, it is also a case that these regimes perpetrated heinous crimes against the same population they were supposed to protect. In this case, the minority Tutsi population held on to power, which is a factor viewed by the Hutu as illegitimate, hence sparking a vicious cycle of deadly civil conflicts amongst the citizen population and the army establishment. In this case, the ruling regime used the military to cling on the power, and democratic rule was viewed as impractical given that the Tutsis comprised a minor percent of the population. With such points of reference, it is arguable that most of the military institutions in Africa were largely based on ethnicity, hence representing social imbalances and inequalities. The need for reforms in such cases was inevitable, so as to reflect the demographic patterns in the affected countries.

Without accountability, military resolutions are more liable to be based on political, institutional, or personal interest as opposed to the real needs of the security services to protect the citizens. Additionally, objective oversight role promotes better CMR, while in different circumstances, a legitimate and trusted military institution is able to cooperate, inform and easily interact with civilians. While such collective reforms and objective oversight roles of the security services are difficult to achieve, the long term benefits to regional, national, and human security that accrue from it are substantial. The approval of universal and local normative structures of democratic independence and noble authority has enhanced civil control above the army and consecrated the concordance within the CMR in the processes of democratization of African states. AU deployments have shaped the promotion of democracy through military interventions to mitigate conflicts across the continent.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE IMPACT OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATION IN DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS IN BURUNDI

4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives the research results on the impact of CMR in democratization process in Burundi. The section looks at the demographic information and the data provided from the respondents as per the research objective. The data has been displayed using tables. The data used are descriptive.

4.2 Background Information

4.2.1 Sample selection

The study took a random sample size of 54 persons comprising of 31 males and 23 females. Male to female ratio is 1: 0.8.

4.2.2 Respondents' Gender

The distribution of the participants by gender was done to know its distribution for the study. The results were as shown in the table 4.1 below:

Table 4.1 Gender Distribution

Gender	No. of respondents	Percentage (%)
Male	31	57.4
Female	23	42.6
Total Sample	54	100

Source: Research Data (2020)

From the above table, male representation was at 31 (57.4 %) while female representation was at 23 (42.6%). This shows that males were more amongst the respondents than females. This means that the study sought to integrate the views of all the respondents contacted during data collection. African societies and particularly Burundi society are patriarchal societies and this explains the incidence of less females than males among government officials, officer corps and the directorates of civil organizations. The human idiosyncratic nature and the warlike spirit of Burundians have led males to dominate the society. In consequence, military power anchored to clannism, regionalism and ethnicism led to establishments that dominate in Burundi society. The impact of such scenario has been the lack of transparency and safety to the extent that rebellions took over the democratic rule of law for many decades. However, the figure also show the extent at which the CMR has contributed towards gender integration in the sphere of Burundi leadership.

4.2.3 Sample Respondents' Age Distribution

The age of the participants was done and the results of the findings were as shown in table 4.2 below:

Table 4.2 Age Distribution

Ages (Years)	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
18-25	6	11
25-45	24	44
45-65	14	26
Above 65	10	19
Total Sample	54	100

Source: Research Data (2020)

From the table, it shows that 11 % were of the age between 18-25 years; 44 % of the age between 25-45 years; 26 % were of the age between 45-65 years while 19 % were of the age above 65 years. From the data it is noted that most of the respondents were of the age between 25-45 years. The respondents were composed of people of different opinion based on the age brackets that were contacted. From the table, it shows that the portion of respondents whose age is between 25 and 45 are present in the field of the study followed by those in 45-65 and above. It is essentially in that category of age that reliable data can be drawn having in mind the fact that they are eyewitnesses of the Burundi recent history. This age bracket forms the majority of Burundi population, which is most informed and able to compare and contrast the CMR from a global context hence providing analysis that is more credible. Combining age brackets of 25 -45 and 45 – 65 (70%), they constitute the majority of the current Burundi leaders who have made and implemented the contemporary military/civil policies amongst which there is CMR.

4.2.4 Highest Education Level

The highest level of education of the participants was done in order to ascertain whether they are well informed and well equipped with the required knowledge to perform their duties as well as

understand the case presented by this study. The study findings were as shown in the table 4.3 below. From data obtained, eight (14.8 %) of the respondents indicated that they reached secondary level as their highest education level; thirteen (24.1 %) had college level as their highest level of education while twenty one (38.9 %) and twelve (22.2 %) indicated that they had University and Post graduate level respectively.

Table 4.3 Highest Education Level

Level of Education	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Secondary Level	8	14.8
College Level	13	24.1
University Level	21	38.9
Postgraduate Level	12	22.2
Total Sample	54	100

Source: Research Data (2020)

Majority of the respondents from the research data had University level (twenty-one) as their highest level of education, which implies that most of the respondents had a good understanding of their work and had information about the study. From 1988 intellectual Hutu elites started to challenge the Burundi military oligarchy and that was culminated by the victory of FRODEBU Party in the general elections of 1993. Despite the crises that resulted from the ubiquitous social disorder, it is clear that the intellectual elites have been key in the fight against the inequalities amongst the Hutu and Tutsi in the political arena. However, in Burundi as well as in most African states, structural violence has characterized the CMR. The impact of such demeanour has been the tearing of the social order until the advent of democratization process in Africa. The education level has contributed towards entrenchment of CMR in governance system

through rebellious activism of the more educated Hutus while the Tutsis relied on military oligarchy. The impact of this has been more coalesced approach within CMR interactions in Burundi.

4.3 The impact of the Military in Democratization Process of Burundi

4.3.1 Impact of the Military in Burundi

The study sought to assess the impact of the Burundi defence forces within the country and the findings was as shown in table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4 Response on role of the Military in Burundi

Roles of Military	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Protection form external aggression	26	48.1
Assistance in infrastructure development (MACC)	7	13
Military aid to civil authority (MACA)	4	7.4
Military aid to civil power (MACP)	11	20.4
Military aid to civil ministries (MACM)	6	11.1
Total Sample	54	100

Source: Research Data (2020)

The study found out that twenty six (48.1%) of the respondents believed that the Burundi Defence Forces role is to protect the nation from external hostility. Seven (13%) said the military has contributed to infrastructure development which is a key feature of genuine democracy. In terms of military aid to civil authority, four (7.4%) were of the opinion that the military has

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assisted the police in the performance to keep law and order that enhance civil liberties; eleven (20.4%) argued that the military at some point has been called to maintain law and order where the police has failed completely. This happened during the recurrent unrest Burundi went through in her quest for a democratic order from her accession to independence to 2015. Furthermore, the Burundi military has been involved in support of foreign governments like Somalia and Central Africa Republic under African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and United Nations Mission in Central Africa Republic (MINUSCA) respectively. This depicts good CMR that can go to the extent of helping African sister states to restore and sustain democratization process. Six (11.1%) were of the opinion that the military has also been used in non-military duties such as assistance to the electoral campaigns, environment protection by massive tree plantation and in provision of services that are meant to be done by the civil authority like in judiciary. It was further established that the transition to democracy in the year 2005 was perceived as a revolving time in Burundi's history as this was the time that the rebel group that participated in the civil war of 1994-2005 (CNDD-FDD) had been listed as a political party. It is at this period that the military was called upon to assist the civil ministries in setting up infrastructure for a referendum and assist in the conduct of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of the rebel group to facilitate smooth transition to democratic government. The impact has been to rebuild the image of a democratic Burundi.

4.3.2 The Confidence of the Population in Military Promotion of Democracy

The level of confidence of the population in the use of Military in promotion of democracy in the country was determined. The findings of the study were as shown in table 4.5 below.

Table 4.5 The Confidence (trust) of the Population in Military

Confidence in Military	No. of Respondents		Total Sample
	Agree	Disagree	
Military use in promotion of Democracy	17	37	54
Percentage (%)	31.5	68.5	100
Military Involvement in Civil Administration	14	40	54
Percentage	25.9	74.1	100

Source: Research Data (2020)

The findings below show that thirty-seven (68.5 %) of the respondents do not have confidence in the military promoting democracy with only seventeen (31.5 %) conveying their confidence in the military in promotion of democracy. It has been said that Burundi inherited from the colonization rule fragile democratic institutions characterized by ethnic conflict. The recurrent coups have left a devastating burden of death, separation of families and infrastructure destruction on the social mind in Burundi at a significant extent that thirty-seven (68.5 %) of the respondents do not have confidence in the contribution to democratization process by Burundi military. The study also shows that forty (74.1 %) of the respondents do not have confidence in the military towards their involvement in civil administration, while only fourteen (25.9 %) expressed their confidence in military participation in civilian government. The findings show that the impact of the military in Burundi is distinctly perceived in the sense that although the role of the military is mostly necessitated by the circumstances, the effects have been devastating with most of the respondents referring to the experience of the past military coups and their

negative effects on the democratic process of the country. The respondents underscored that the military intervention have undermined democracy in Burundi. Conversely, the respondents also reinforced the fact that civil administration should not be interfered with by the military.

4.4 Discussion

The case of Burundi is cited as a surprisingly awkward power structure, where the Tutsi minority is accused to have ruled the majority Hutu for decades by using the military to crush any form of rebellion from the Hutu. However, this is a constructivist theory developed by Hutu elites in order to gain posts in politics. The inequalities that followed the post independent events led to unending power struggles between competing factions, some of which led to bloody ethnic conflicts. The Nature and extent of CMR in Burundi has however been characterized by fragile political institutions embedded in a post-colonial ethnic conflict environment of recurrent coups d'état, political assassinations and purges.

Burundi was characterized by a system of governance that lacked devotion to values that follow the independent rule. Indeed, the centre of gravity of Burundi case has been the military and as opposed to other African nations and the world at large, even it lacked accountability to domestic and international rules as well as radical impartiality. Decision-making was left to the military personnel to act as they wish. This has caused devastating impacts bearing in mind that there has been militarization of politics in Burundi whereby the military has actively been involved in political affairs and some of them are from rebel groups.

Burundi was defaced by governmental issues of rivalry for the regulation of the country, particularly amongst the army and non-military actors, coming about to fizzled majority rules systems and awful cycles of upsets. In settling this at a national level, common regulation of the military gives a plausible method to address the issues of Burundian advancement and administration, the vast majority of which are military instigated. In the meantime, parliamentary oversight is another measure to adequately decrease the impact of the army in the radical procedure in Burundi, as well as crosswise over Africa. This involves components to represent the resistance part, which for this situation, to a great extent relies on upon the kind of political framework that exists.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Summary of Discussion

Objective one of the study was to assess the nature and extent of CMR in Africa. The study established that independent CMR stress that the military is subsidiary to a constitutionally voted civil regime. This is grounded on the understanding that the numerous legal and state institutional arrangements have a major role in operationalizing effective civil control over the military institution. Civil regulation is applied through a number of lawful and formal measures that have to be in existence, and civil supervision is accepted as an essential aspect of the succeeding connection. This may demand two approaches: objective or subjective civil control over the military. Preferably, the noble authority of the militaries, particularly the military of Burundi, necessitates that they are ordered by autonomous civil establishments. In this case, such civil mechanism is moulded by numerous factors, most important among them being the institutional ability of the civilian control structures.

However, fragile political institutions embedded in a post-colonial ethnic conflict environment of recurrent coups d'état, political assassinations and purges characterized CMR in Burundi. Reliance and agreement continued to be inadequate in the country, even inside the lesser sphere of the reigning army leaders. It took a decade-long civil war to transit from military authoritarianism to democracy. Through the April 2015 military coup d'état attempt, the Burundi

National Defence Forces (BNDF) sufficiently proved their loyalty to democratic institutions. The BNDF remained neutral and defended the constitutional order.

The second objective was to examine to impact of CMR on democracy in Africa. The study has established that a basic understanding of the CMR emphasizes on the need for legal and organized structures of governance, which contain the capacity to efficiently manage army institutions in an independent system. Most of the institutions that can effectively offer the checks and balances need to be embedded in the constitutional dispensations in the systems in which they operate. Equally significant is the essentiality to successfully balance the executive's control to regulate and manage the national military of a country. In this case, parliamentary oversight becomes a necessary check against monopolization of the national safety and protection guidelines, together with the extended roles of the army. The recognition of international and local normative structures of democratic rule and noble authority has enhanced civil regulation of the army and consecrated the concordance within the CMR in the processes of democratization of African states Burundi included. AU deployments have shaped the promotion of democracy through military interventions to alleviate conflicts across the continent.

The study was also meant to assess the impact of CMR in the democratization process in Burundi. The findings indicated that 74.1 % of the participants do not have assurance in the military towards their involvement in civil administration, while only 25.9 % expressed their confidence in military involvement in civil administration. The study established that majority of the population do not have confidence in the Military especially in promotion of democracy and also in the provision of civil administration in the country. According to the respondents, the

centre of gravity of Burundi problems revolved around the military. Decision-making was left to the military leadership to act as they wish. Burundi was defaced by governmental issues of rivalry for the regulation of the nation, particularly amongst the army and civil actors. Common control of the military gives a plausible approach to address the issues of Burundian advancement and administration. The Burundi military institution was largely based on ethnicity, hence representing social imbalances and inequalities. The need for reforms in such case was inevitable, so as to reflect the Burundi demographic patterns in order to build a strong democratic governance.

5.2 Conclusions

Burundi knew usurpers regimes coupled with colonial administrative structures entrusted to a fragmented and inexperienced elites. Civilian control is applied through a number of lawful and formal measures that have to exist, and civil supervision is accepted as an essential aspect of the succeeding connection. Most of the institutions that can effectively offer the checks and balances need to be embedded in the constitutional dispensations in the systems in which they operate. The civil population has less confidence in the military and that CMR has done very little in the promotion of democracy in Burundi. The study established that the CMR did not have an affirmative task in promoting democracy in Burundi, particularly in the view of the achievements in regard of promotion of democracy in Burundi.

5.3 Recommendations

The study recommends the following:

a. In a stable but high threat environment in Burundi, the development of stronger civilian institutions would enable the country to promote its democracy while seeking solutions to professionalization of the army as a figure of state unity.

b. Develop a strong political and civil control over power capable of strong radical guidance to reduce the motives that draw army overthrows.

c. Enlightening the citizens in state security facets and consistent disclosure of military professional to advanced levels of civil instruction will help in reducing philosophical and perpetual differences amongst the civilian establishments and the military.

d. Better political regulation of the military using an entire government methodology in multifaceted co-operative and security involvements need to be an essential principle for forthcoming civilian-military relations towards promotion of democratization in Burundi.

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APPENDIX

Appendix I: Questionnaire

1. Gender

    a. Male   ( )

    b. Female   ( )

2. Age

    a. 18 - 25 Years   ( )

    b. 25 - 40 Years   ( )

    c. 40 - 65 Years   ( )

    d. 65 Years and above   ( )

3. Highest level of Education?

    a. Secondary level   ( )

    b. Tertiary College Level ( )

    c. Bachelor Degree Level ( )

    d. Post Graduate Level   ( )

4. What is the role of the military in Burundi based on the following? Choose one.

a. Protection against external aggression ( )

b. Assistance in Infrastructure Building ( )

c. Military Aid to Civil Authority ( )

d. Military Aid to Civil Power ( )

e. Military Aid to Civil Ministries ( )

5. How do you rate your confidence in Military towards promotion of Democracy in Burundi?

( )

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6 What is your confidence in the military towards assistance in civil administration in Burundi?

( )

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CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS AND DEMOCRATIZATION OF AFRICAN STATES: CASE STUDY OF BURUNDI