Mare Matthew- PhD Student systematic theology (UNISA), Master of Human Rights, Peace and Development (AU), Master of Religious Studies (UZ), Master Peace, Leadership and Conflict Resolution (ZOU), Master of Developmental Studies, Honours in Religious Studies (UZ), Part Time student, Honours in Political Science (UZ) and 12 Executive certificates in various fields.

Fortunate Chingono- BSC Honours in Sociology (UZ)

Spencer Mbazangi- MSC in Intelligence and Security (BUSE), BSC Honours in Intelligence and security (BUSE)

Simbarashe Mangezi- Hon in Political Science (UZ), Master of International Relations (Student-UZ)

The concept of civil military relations in the management of African political affairs.

Abstract

A fundamental feature of the pattern of civil-military relations hereinafter CMR in most of Africa has been the historical trading of places between the military and the civilian population. This study was motivated by the fact that, rather than being under the control of civilians as constitutionally required, the military often took control of not only the civilian population, but the entire machinery of state (Ebo: 2005). A major direct outcome of prolonged military rule in many African states, therefore, is the inversion of civil-military relations, with the structure of the relationship literally standing on its head (Hänggi ed: 2003). The research problem was premised on the desktop evidence that, the civilian populace, whose constitutional duty and right is to supervise the military, themselves became subjects and victims of military dictatorship. The military, which was supposed to be subject to civilian control, became master of not only its own destiny, but also the destiny of the entire nation. This reversal of roles has had disastrous consequences for political stability and national development (Ebo: et al). Political instability, kleptomania, manipulation of ethno-religious cleavages, economic doom, systemic and brutal human rights abuses have been the net effect of poorly managed civil-military relations where the army involves itself in the internal affairs of the civilian schisms. The research used desktop research to trace in history the influence of colonial legacy in compromising the civil-military relations. This study made assumption that, the pre colonial armies had more stronger civil-military relations than the post-colonial era and that demilitarisation, demobilisation and reintegrated of the liberation armies into colonial structures (settlement constitutions and defence acts) as the greatest impediment to sustainable civil-military relations in the post-independence era. The study found out that the majority of leaders who tried to advance African consciousness were eliminated. The study also found out that, in the West, the army are custodians of human security and wherever armies are deployed internally, they will be helping the civilian structures in times of crisis like the Corona Virus health pandemic. Additionally, their armies play critical roles of advancing foreign policy through a synchronised defence doctrine. In Africa, the Commander-in-Chief doctrine codified in its constitutions has been abused for political expedience. Meanwhile, the military are political determinants such that leadership is determined by the armies and not the ballot box and as such elections in Africa are marred with a lot of violence, human rights abuses, polarised political atmosphere, politics of retribution, enforced disappearances, guillotine of key political opponents, vote rigging and vote buying. The study ended up by proposing various measures of improving civil military cooperation through military involvement in the governance issues.

Introduction

It cannot be immediately ascertained whether to talk of civil military relations in Africa. The military structures that were formed by liberators during the liberation struggle are not the same as those currently in place. Instead, at Independence in precolonial Africa, the military structures which were there during the liberation struggle were disbanded through demobilization, disintegrated and reconstituted. Resultantly, the combatants were integrated into colonial armies. In Africa the colonial armies are still in existence and what only changed was the colour of the skin. To make matters worse, even those who served in the colonial armies are still occupying very key positions in the armies across Africa. Countries such as South Africa are instructive in this regard where the majority of the army's top echelon is the former Apartheid military personnel. This phenomenon extents to the bureaucratic structure of the government especially the public service. Africa does not exist, it is just a geographical expression void of key components that defines what it is to be an African. In ideological terms, the military exists as defined by its defence doctrine and the existence of institutions like regional standby forces, peace keeping mission, protocol on defence and security. Through the defence doctrine, one can be able to ascertain whether to talk of civil military relations in Africa or neo-colonial military relations. To what extent is the African Union's defence doctrine reflective of African values and aspirations and also to what extent is the African Union (AU) free from UN's influence? This question is critical in that it determines whether AU can reform itself. The AU's position on security sector reforms has not been clear and without the endorsement of the AU, security sector reforms would not be able to take the 'whole-of-continent' strategy. Reclaiming the African civil military approach requires a collective approach.

In Africa we have colonial armies under the custody of blacks and more importantly the defence acts do not reflect any post-colonial African interests. One cannot talk of civil military relations in Africa when the army is pseudo Africa as a result of them disbanded their armies and were integrated into colonial structures at independence through disarmament, disintegration and reintegration. What is African about the post independent military establishment in Africa given that they are using colonial Defence Acts to establish and govern its operations. How can a Defence Act inherited from the colonial past help to promote genuine military relations when it was designed for other purposes other than

African interests. Colonial armies were created primarily to advance and support the colonial establishments through heavy handed approach, a colonial legacy which was adopted by post independent African states. The use of the military in civilian matters is a colonial legacy which is totally different from the purpose of the military in the pre-colonial Africa and also nolonger in tandem with the international best practices in the 21st century. In pre-colonial Africa, warriors from the colonial literature were protecting the vulnerable, make raids to meet the human security needs of their own people and they would conquer inferior kingdoms. There were strong civil military relations during pre-colonial Africa and army brutality is un-African and very alien. Mao had his homegrown, concept of civil military relations as that of water and fish resonates well with the African viewpoint of civil military relations and Africa is relying on colonial template which is not only archaic but also counter progressive.

The immediate post-colonial period in most African states featured military institutions which were virtually clones of their colonial masters and thus remained within the confines of their constitutional roles. With the inability of the civilian elite to meet the challenges and contradictions of the post-colonial state, coupled with the inherently domineering character of the military, military takeovers became increasingly commonplace in Africa in the 1960s and 1970s, with successful coup plotters justifying their regimes on the altar of corrective revolutions and patriotism (Mays: 2003). Africa does not exist if her constitutions are inherited from the colonial past. A government exists not only geographically but also constitutionally and ideologically. In some African state, their constitutions are negotiated constitutions that do not wholly represents the aspirations of the African interests. When we talk of defence and security in Africa what do we mean and who defined the defence and security doctrine in Africa. Africa is following the shadows of its colonial masters. African armies were human security centered with strong civil-military relations. The rational for demobilizing them at independence is yet to be ascertained. However research on pre-colonial Africa indicates that the role of the military was to defence (defend) the people from fear and want.

The concept of civil military relations is a very complex phenomenon in Africa, leading non-state actors to push for security sector reforms. There is a disjuncture between the

military that liberated Africans from the military that is party to government bureaucracy. The post independence armies were formed from the same people who liberated people from the colonial bondage. These individuals went to war for fight for the emancipation of their people and to ensure that they enjoy fundamental freedoms. During the liberation struggle, the armies/combatants were the darling of the people but are now instruments of oppression and rights denial (Sikenyi: 2013). There are a number of cases were armies are being unleashed on the civilian populace resulting in casualties. There are a number of cases where armies played a key role in ethnic wars. The supposedly people's army is now viewed differently, prompting scholars to question the nature of the relationship that is currently existing between the citizens and their armies. The currently existing civil-military relations in Africa is highly toxic to an extent that it is no longer clear whether to talk of people's army or people as servants of the army.This has led to the death of the founding principles of the liberation struggle of the water and fish relationship which was derived from Mao's military doctrine. The army is for the people, to liberate and protect them from any form of harm be it inbound or outbound.

Assumptions of the study

- That Africa does not exist apart from it being a mere geographical expression.

- Armies in Africa are the worst enemies of the people.

- That the military's primary role is to defend its people and the territory and that the territory are the people and not the geographical territory.

- That post independent armies are a replica of the colonial past, some major army cantonment bear colonial names and also the Defence Acts and some constitutions across Africa serve former colonies than African interests.

- That, the army must have support from its own people in defending the territory and by failure to maintain and promote civil-military relations, states are weakening their capacity to protect themselves.

- Poor civil-military relation may result in citizens supporting opposition elements to liberate themselves from the despotic tendencies emanating from the poor civil-military relations. In most African countries for example in Egypt president Mubarak was dethroned by the people after they have suffered from acute authoritarianism in

the hands of the army. The popular revolt in the Middle East is instructive in this regard.

- That the pro masses armies of the liberation struggle are no longer the same as the armies in post-independence Africa in terms of the civil military relations.

- The push for security sector reform is stemming from the civil-military relations which went wrong and that civil-military relations can help in the maintenance of peace, security and defence.

- That the majority of senior military personnel harbor political ambitions upon leaving office prompting them to use their positions to consolidate power. This is so because retired senior military personnel in Africa, depending on the circumstances under which he/she was retired, becomes the top person of security interest. In some cases, they would be arrested prompting the majority to retire into politics since most political parties in Africa are revolutionary parties which were founded by the military during the liberation struggle.

- In Africa, retired military personnel are not accorded the same respect as one in office, whilst in the West the majority of senior military personnel are entrusted with senior positions in the civil service.

- That the military should be non-partisan, accountable and apolitical.

Background

Civil-Military relations refer to the web of relations between the military and the society within which it operates., Such relations encompass all aspects of the role of the military (as a professional, political, social and economic institution) in the entire gambit of national life. Civil military relations involve issues of the attitude of the military towards the civilian society, the civilian society's perceptions of, and attitudes to the military, and the role of the armed forces in relation to the state (Ebo: 2005). This paper argues that the relationship approximates to one of mutual reinforcement, and by the same token, mutual degradation. Just as the military is, itself, a reflection of the larger society, the civilian sector is affected by the policies, actions, and activities of the military, particularly when the military has directly ruled the country for a prolonged period. Therefore the military and the larger society affect

each other through a dynamic and complex web of sociocultural, economic, and political linkages.

At the core of civil military relations are core pillars namely accountability of security forces to elected civil authorities as well as civil society and adherence of security forces to international law and domestic constitutional law, transparency in security-related matters and the adherence of the security sector to the same principles of public-expenditure management as the non-security sectors.   In addition, acceptance of clear hierarchy of authority between civil authorities and security forces, clear statement of mutual rights and obligations between civil authorities and security forces (DFID: 2000). More-so, capacity among civil authorities to exercise political control and constitutional oversight of security sector and the capacity within civil society to monitor security sector and provide constructive input into political debate on security policies, creation of political environments conducive to an active role on the part of civil society and access of security forces to professional training consistent with requirements of democratic societies and lastly, high priority accorded to regional and sub-regional peace and security by policy makers (ibid).

There is a proliferation of non-traditional threats to include corruption, smuggling, trafficking, terrorism, gangster ism, xenophobic tendencies, tribal simmering, religious clashes, state brutality on the civilian populace among other vices. These threats have serious negative effects on both the state and human security and without strong military relations the civilian populace will continue to harbour infidels. Security agents rely on human agencies for intelligence collection for strategic planning and decision making. Instead, a number of military operations are continuously being compromised through deliberate interference by the civilian populace as they seek vengeance. The nature of modern conflicts thus requires strong civil military relations. Today, unlike traditionally, fighting is rarely carried out between uniformed soldiers from two or more national armies. With the decrease in inter-state warfare and the growth of internal conflicts and terrorist groups, conflict dynamics have moved into what this paper calls 'the informal sector'(Ferreira: 2010). In the informality of warfare and asymmetric conflicts, combatants rarely have uniforms, even in circumstances where they wore uniform, camouflage is the order of the day (Cherkaoui, eds: 2012).

Frequently, it is extremely difficult to identify who is fighting for whom. However, it is important to note that this confusion is strategic, as it allows individuals and combat units to operate more freely and with less risk of sanctions since the command structures are harder to identify and 'prove'. Nevertheless, while there may be fewer military battle casualties, there are high human costs, including civilian casualties; they target hospitals and other humanitarian infrastructures, hence rendering the war unlawful and less conformity with the 'rules of engagement' at least according to the International Humanitarian Law hereinafter IHL (Karlsrud: 2015).

The role and influence of colonisation

Colonial heritage are value systems given to the present generation by the past. In the words of Karl Marx, "men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living". Marx's perspective was also buttressed by Young (1998) who argued that, a "close scrutiny of the post-colonial state [in Africa generally] suggests that a number of its pathologies trace to its predecessor ... its autocratic habits, its command. Politically, the "post" in post-colonialism appears to signal a chronologically defined period and linear progression from pre-colonialism through colonialism to post-colonialism. An inquiry into post-colonialism reveals continuity, fluidity and inter-connectivity. Young (ibid) contends that despite independence in many African countries, it soon became evident that there was a wholesale importation of routines, practices and mentalities of the African colonial state into its post- colonial successor.

Pridham (2000) observes that the post-colonial state failed to remove an ulcer that was poisoning the whole system. The ulcer produced the toxic art of refining and perfecting the colonially inherited authoritarian structures by the post- independent state violence. The current Zimbabwean body-politic can be understood through the lens of path dependency. This school of thought demonstrates the idea that historically constructed institutions; structures and vested interests are the major determinants of political behaviour. Moore (2007) posits that colonial rule and the liberation war had attested to the supremacy of legal, extra-legal and violent means of fostering and entrenching societal domination.

Subramanyam (2006) notes that in the same way, the liberators turned political leaders would "suspend civil liberties and use preventive detention (a colonial practice) to neutralize or eliminate political opponents and suppress criticism".

If the pan-African perspective is to go unchallenged, colonialism negatively impacted on Southern African. According to Mazongo, (2011: 2), Africa had a democratic culture in the precolonial era which later dismantled through the influence of slavery, colonialism, and neo-colonialism (ibid: 3). Wyk (2007:3) interestingly alluded to the fact that the "contemporary state in Africa is a remnant of a colonially imposed system". Southern African states have adopted the colonialists' centralized state system which produced ethnic and authoritarian based political culture (ibid: 7). The scholar went on to state that, colonialists neither flourished democratic systems in Africa nor prepared African states to administer themselves effectively in the post-independence era, instead, they used and threw them. It is clearly noted that "the colonial state in Africa was an authoritarian bureaucratic apparatus of control and not intended to be a school of democracy" (Copson, 2001:12)." This shows the fact that the state was used as an instrument of exploitation throughout the colonial era. During the colonial era, there was no such concept of African popular participation (ibid). The military is advertently and inadvertently sustaining colonial pillars by supporting individuals over the human security and the civil institutions of governance.

Moreover, the notion of ethnicity left behind by the colonial powers has posed an adverse impact on the overall political system of African states. Ethnic division which was multiplied by colonial system left persistent rivalry and conflict in the continent and thereby resulted in exclusion and marginalization in African political societies (Alemazung, 2010:79). Kidane (2011:15-16) also asserted that the fragmentation of ethnic identities into several states and the uneven socioeconomic development among several ethnic groups become an obstacle to manage diversity. Instead of being rectified, this unholy colonial legacy of inter- ethnic conflict has been exacerbated by leaders in the post-colonial period (ibid). It is common practice to favour one ethnic group over the other in blurred inter-ethnic relations in the post-independence era. Instead of the military to veto their influence to war ethnic cleavages, they are seen being used to perpetuate ethnic wars

and in Rwanda over a million civilians were killed in 90 days. According to Catholic Peace and Justice over 20 000 civilians were killed in Matabeleland (Zimbabwe), Sudan, Kenya, Libya and Egypt where the military used excessive force on the civilian population.

Salih et al (2007:41) argued that "African political parties originated in the non-democratic setting of colonial rule which was neither democratic nor legitimate". This shows that African party system has inherited the undemocratic colonial tradition. Even though multiparty system is allowed to emerge, pure and unfettered democracy is still a pipeline dream especially in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Most post-independent governments perverted into one-party states or military dictatorships characterized by corruption and inefficiency (Gordon, 2013:4; Mazrui, 1994:61). Any form of opposition to the state faces ruthless oppression and imprisonment (Gordon, 2013:4). Hence, democratizing Africa becomes very costly as the aforesaid Southern African states are perpetuating the colonial political dynamics to suppress the universal suffrage.

Overview of the CMR

There is clamoring for security sector reform across Africa and at the core of security sector reform is civil military relations. When addressing the issue of security sector reform pertinent questions are asked; what are the issues around security sector reform, what are they advocating for and why are people advocating for the security sector reform? Military strategists recommend that modern military academies must embrace the concept of a 'thinking' soldier, in which case, the military must be willing to exercise resilience, flexibility and adapt to the operational environment (Stewart: 2015). Additionally, the military must create strong synergies between itself and the trained civilian experts and non-state organisations in areas such as protection of civilians, rule of law, correctional services, and child protection towards effective civil military relations operations.

According to Williams (2003) there are three kinds of civil-military namely civil-military relations, civilian-military relations and the civil-military security relations as the pillars of stability in Africa. Meanwhile most Africans states consider conventional threats as more important than the human security threats posed by poor civil-military relations. A closer

look into the budgets of most African states reveals that military expenditure outweighs developmental budgets. The West is continuously selling weapons to Africa with a strategic foresight that these weapons would be used on the citizens. Through the analysis of military expenditure, defence doctrine, Defence Act and the constitution one can measure civil military relations of any state. In the USA, for example, the defence doctrine is higher because their armies are used to plunder resources from troubled states for the benefit of its own citizens. At the core of the USA army are human security concerns of its citizens against any form of harm from both internal and external threats. African armies in the pre-colonial societies were people driven armies who fought conquest wars.

At independence the majority of African states upon assumption of power brought down the general standard of living. In Africa, the majority of states attained their independence through compromise, settlements and a number of moratoriums were entered into which were meant to safeguard the colonial interests in the post-colonial era. Through these moratoriums, peace and reconciliation was imposed and it never followed the tenets of conflict resolution procedures. To note is that peace settlements were not only decreed but also restorative as they closed any maneuvers towards retributive justice. The initiative to pardon former colonizers was never voted for and to ensure that there wont be any turning back, colonial structures were also imposed. The pen betrayed the gun at independence and Africa failed to fulfil the gains of the liberation struggle. The resentment within most African political environment is such that, citizens are still clamoring for independence and yet on paper Africa is said to be free. In Mozambique, the fundamental questions being raised by RENAMO is over the gains of the liberation struggle and in South Africa, among other countries, the same question is being asked. In Zimbabwe the war veterans had to resort to violence to reclaim the gains of independence hence land reform was a necessary evil.

The moratoriums expired across the continent, and Africa cannot justify itself for continuing with colonial systems of governance where armies are the enemies of the masses whom they liberated. It is yet to be established why African countries find it so difficult to deconstruct, decolonize and reconstruct systems of government that reflects African philosophies such as the Ubuntu philosophy. An enumerable number of the AU member states, tried to deconstruct, decolonize and reconstruct the colonial structures with limited success due to

lack of support from other AU member states. It can be noted that, when Thomas Sankara became the president of Upper Volta, a colonial name, he renamed Upper Volta Burkina Faso. In addition, he dismantled the French colonial system of governance and replaced it with local structures. At declaratory level Sankara declared that the French system of governance was no longer tenable. He went on to castigate dependence syndrome towards the former colonies and advocated for localized policies that addresses the human security concerns of the masses. Sankara was eliminated chiefly for setting out a 'bad' example to other colonies by advocating for deconstruction, decolonization and reconstruction of the colonial structures. Sankara was very popular with the masses and he is one of Africa's famous short-lived leaders with concrete pro-human security policies. Patrice Lumumba in his independence address in 1961 declared that the history of Congo should be written by the Congolese and he was eliminated. Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana said, Africa can only be free if the whole of Africa is free and these same sentiments were shared by Steve Biko, Anton Muziwakhe Lembede, Augustino Neto and Samora Machael. Retired Colonel Muamar Gadhafi advocated for a United Africa and the use of resources as a trading currency and he was eliminated. Robert Mugabe, for presiding over confrontational land reform programme, he was sanctioned, his international accolades were revoked and Zimbabwe was pushed out of the global village.

The demobilization was Africa's greatest disservice. Army operations are guided by a system and if the system is a defect the output is also defective. The colonial system adopted at independence is one of the major reasons why the armies in Africa are at cross roads with the masses. One of the reasons why wars were fought is that the war veterans were to dislodge the colonial system. In a book None But Ourselves, revealed that, in 1979, the Defence Chief Josiah Tongogara clearly stated that, the war was never being fought on racial lines but to dismantle the colonial system which was anti-coexistence. Alas, at independence, politicians betrayed the masses when they accepted colonial systems as a condition for their independence. Kwame Nkrumah influenced other states to accept political independence by arguing that, political independence would advertantly and inadvertently translate to independence of all. The seek ye first the political kingdom and everything else would be added unto it (Praeger: 1963), philosophy remained utopia.

Through document exploitation the Green Book by Gaddafi had insights into decolonization of colonial infrastructure and replacing it with African values. Meanwhile, Gaddafi failed to define the role of the military in governance. In Libya, Colonel Gaddafi had managed to replace the constitution with his Green Book because he believed in the decolonization of both the mind and the colonial infrastructure. The Green Book was imposed on the people because Gaddafi had problems with what he termed 'false democracy'. In his view point, the source of human predicament is democracy because a democratic system allows for the struggle for power through multi party-ism. This struggle of power manifests itself through alternative instruments of government and this struggle maybe peaceful or armed as is evidenced among classes, sects, tribes, parties or individuals (Karlsrud: 2015). The majority of the cases of violence and human rights abuses are power driven and for Gaddafi one centre of power was very critical. Given that Libya was a desert when Gaddafi assumed office the human security consideration became central to his governance approach. Gaddafi created the law of the society which did not follow the Western thinking that a valid law is one that was grounded on custom and religion. Gaddafi was widely criticized for abrogating natural laws from human societies and replacing conventional laws as the fundamental danger that threatens freedom. In order to achieve his principles, the army would be dispatched to silence deviation from the law which resulted in him being overthrown from power. The use of military in the civilian affairs is always Africa's greatest dilemma and it will continue unless Africa creates a viable system of governance peculiar to Africa.

Africa is lagging behind in terms of military research unlike in other jurisdictions where institutions such as the Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces whose mandate is to carry out scientific studies on ways to improve civil military relations. The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces hereinafter DCAF was established in October 2000 on the initiative of the Swiss government. The DCAF encourages and supports states and non-state governed institutions in their efforts to strengthen democratic and civilian control of armed and security forces, and promotes security sector reform conforming to democratic standards. The Centre collects information and undertakes research in order to identify problems, to gather experience from lessons learned, and to propose best practices in the field of democratic governance of the security sector. The Centre provides its expertise and support, through practical work programmes, on the ground, to all interested parties, in particular governments, parliaments,

military authorities, international organisations, non-governmental organisations, and academic circles.

Peace and security have always been Africa's greatest dilemma and human security has been one of the key pillars of peace and stability within the continent. However, in order to achieve strong civil military relations towards securing the human security component to state security, decolonization of the military must be the starting point. Efforts to have a united Africa have always been a nightmare for AU because each member state adopted and domesticated the colonial bureaucratic system of governance. In order to prove the efficacy of the colonial era, AU's regional blocs SADC, ECOWAS and IGAD are separated by the Berlin Conference. Since the 1960s, African states have embraced regional integration as the key to political cooperation and building functional institutions for tackling challenges facing the continent, including peace and security threats. Although several initiatives have been taken to realize such dreams, structural limitations pose challenges in equal measure. Some critiques of the AU institutions have observed that one of the key problems restraining Africa from achieving its development, peace and security goals is the way in which governance in Africa and institutions at various levels are constituted, structured and managed (Maphosa: 2014). The consequences of these weaknesses are that they have an inhibitive effect on the ability of these structures to mobilize and deploy human capacities.

In terms of conflict resolution and national building, the civil military relations play a key role in the maintenance of peace and order. The Gacaca conflict resolution mechanism was a success story which made use of the indigenous knowledge systems hereinafter IKS. At the core of IKS is restorative justice over retributive justice and retributive justice has seen most African armies involved in war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide against own citizens. The military involvement in civil matters is not guided by restorative but retributive justice where armies would end up using live ammunition, rape and other heinous crimes on the civilian populace. Meanwhile, the civilian population has developed a strong hatred for the military far that there is a wave of novel political culture of faceless civil disobedience as was the case in Egypt and Tunisia among others. There exists an inconclusive debate on whether the African Standby Forces hereinafter ASF and the regional mechanisms have achieved the multidimensional status-military, civilians and police components. It is in this

sense that reference to civil-military relations (CMRs) has become almost a cliche of debates in the African Union's (AU) peacekeeping space.

States thrive on strategic intelligence and the human being becomes the primary sources of intelligence gathering. The intelligence gathered must be credible and the credibility of any strategic intelligence is determined by a number of hidden variables to include, the nature of the civil-military relationship. With the proliferation on non-traditional threats to national security like climate security, health security, food security, human security, boarder security and trans organised crimes like smuggling, the concept of civil-military relations becomes of paramount significance. Interstate wars are gradually diminishing and intrastate conflicts are on an upward trajectory thus conflict dynamics have moved to human security and terror groups are beginning to operate as cells in communities and the communities are embracing them. They have adopted the liberation ethos that to win any war you need civil endorsement and the majority of terror groups are utilizing the human security component as a war tact, mobilization strategy and safe havens for operational purposes. Whilst the armies are limiting the rights of the civilian populace terror groups are purportedly fighting for the emancipation of the civilians from state repression.

Threats to national security present a new set of challenges like the psychological and socialization threat to national security. Africa is faced with a demographic threat to national security through desktop analysis, the weaponization of social media platforms, composition of terror groups, active participants in xenophobic attacks, anti-state ism, national and trans boundary crimes are committed by the youths. This is more so in Africa because there is underrepresented growth of ideological extremism and radicalization of youth (Dowd: 2016). The adoption of the African Union hereinafter AU Constitutive Act in July 2000 and of the Protocol Establishing the Peace and Security Council in July 2002, marked critical steps in building Africa's capacity to address challenges of peace, security and stability on the continent. In particular, the Peace and Security Council Protocol set out the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), designed as a set of institutions and standards to facilitate conflict prevention, management and resolution (African Union Peace and Security Council Report: 2010). In order, to address security threats of ideological and socialization nature, the

security sector must adopt strong civil military relations in an effort to achieve consensus and nation building.

There are countries like Japan without an army in the aftermath of the Nagasaki and Hiroshima nuclear warfare. Japan has only the police for the purposes of the maintenance of peace and order. Japan is thus being governed by the key precepts of the international law on respect for each other's territory. Meanwhile, it has a stronger economy as evidenced by its GDP, compared to heavily militarized African states. The meddling of the military in civilian affairs by aligning with one personality over the other is the cause of concern. The military should use its power to curtail elements like abrogation of the constitution, demand for free, fair and credible elections in-line with the liberation ethos of one man, one vote philosophy, block the civilian authorities from excessive use of force against the civilian population, weeding out corruption, nepotism, sabotage of government programmes, demanding the natural justice principles, foster human security and strong institutions. The military should thus support values and not personalities.

To demonstrate that the military in Africa serves the interest of those in power than the civilian populace, former Zimbabwean Defence chief, Vitalis Zvinavashe declared that the army will never recognize and accept any leader without military and liberation struggle history at the height of land reform programme. To clearly demonstrate the involvement of the military in the civilian affairs, Colonel Gadhafi, Mubarak former Airforce Commander and Thomas Sankara, then head of the Military Intelligence Department came from the military. In most African countries the military is the source of threat to human security and whenever they assume power through coup de tats they militarise the government's whole bureaucratic system. Instead, like Sankara and Gadhafi the military must help to decolonize Africa from neo-colonialism. It is only the Corona-virus that had forced AU member states to prioritize inbound policies as outbound global actors have closed their boarders. The Coronavirus has forcefully reminded AU member states the importance of strong internal systems and robust public service institutions. Had it been the armies were conducting constructive coup de tats where they help to push states towards reclaiming not only liberation values but also African values there wont be any cases of war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity by governments to their own citizens.

The instabilities in Sudan, Egypt, Madagascar and Lesotho among others have indicated that the army is the source of instability, with political interests taking precedence over human securities. In the case of Madagascar, there is the highest number of military coups and the army went on to install a disk joker, Rajoelina, for presidency, demystifying the role of elections in Africa. Elections are very expensive and what is the logic of conducting the elections if the result is militarily determined. Is democracy still an issue or the army should be let to determine who should be the president? The army, at the end, determine who should rule and the army should ensure that there is level playing field and protect citizens against political interests. In the case of Babbo and Watara, Babbo won the election but Watara was installed by the army instead. Yahya Jameh refused to relinquish power with the support of the army and only to step down after the intervention of ECOWAS. If a leader has a fallout with the army, he will be removed. As such, instead of civil-military relations there are leader-military relations in Africa. The history of dictatorship in Africa is the history of military interference into domestic petty politics and the fall of those dictators is as a result of the fallout with the army. This clearly indicates that, the military has the potential to limit dictatorship if the UNSC or AU formulates a Convention or a Protocol redefining the role of the military in governance. This is the only way to empower the army towards good governance and attaining true independence. Currently, the uncouth civil-military relations reversed the gains of the liberation struggle and independence in Africa is now a replacement of the white skin with a black skin.

The philosophical origins of the concept of civil military relations

The relationship between the legitimate political leadership of a given social community and that group which is meant to defend society against external threats has been an important topic of political philosophy and political science since the beginning of systematic thinking on political order (Crolssant: 2011). Since Plato's discussion of the relations between the peasants, the warriors and the philosophers, the relationship between the unarmed and the armed segments of society has been discussed in a multitude of treatises and scholarly work. In this regard, the principle of constitutional civilian power over military power is clearly stated in paragraphs 21-26 of the OSCE Code and in Articles 2, 7, and 14 of the draft African Code (Code of Conduct for Armed and Security Forces in Africa: 2002). For example, while

paragraph 21 of the OSCE Code stipulates that 'each participating state shall at all times provide for and maintain effective guidance and control of its military, paramilitary and security forces by constitutionally established authorities vested with democratic legitimacy.' The draft African Code similarly provides that 'the armed and security forces shall be at the disposal of the constitutionally established political authority' (Article 2) (ibid).

After World War II, the study of civil-military relations was, for a long time, defined by the works of Samuel Huntington and Morris Janowitz whose ground breaking studies namely The Soldier and the State (Huntington, 1957) and The Professional Soldier (Janowitz, 1960), did not only, for the first time, thoroughly combine empirical research on civil-military relations with systematic theorising (Feaver and Seeler, 2009) but also initiated the bifurcation of civil-military research into a sociological tradition and a political science strand. The roles, values and self-perceptions of military officers, as well as the function of the modern military institution itself, are not constant, but change in line with dominant norms of the greater society (Janowitz, 1960). Under the impression of the Cold War, Huntington proposed a solution to reconcile two seemingly incompatible social imperatives: the need to build an institution powerful enough to defend American society against the threat of the Soviet Union, while at the same time ensuring civilian control so that this powerful institution could not become a threat to society itself. Huntington argued that the only way to maximise both goals at the same time was by strictly separating the spheres of responsibility between civilian politicians and military officers and fostering 'military professionalism', that is, the development of a genuine conservative military mindset focused on corporate and social responsibility and expertise in the 'management of violence' (Huntington, 1957).

A wide range of actors and their influence on civil-military relations, such as parliaments, the media and civil society (Caparini et al, 2006), proposed new concepts like 'democratic control of the military' (Born, 2006) and 'security sector governance' (Hanggi, 2004). The classical philosophers of ancient Greece and Rome to the most recent advocated for policy-oriented concepts, ranging from 'civilian control' to the notion of 'security sector governance' and 'human security'. Based on this conceptualisation, the development of civil-military relations in new democracies can be recorded and compared longitudinally and

cross-sectionally, and the effects of weakly institutionalised civilian control for the quality of democracy can be assessed. Thus, Croissant et al make a contribution to both the ontological discussion of what 'civilian control' actually is, as well as to the theoretical debate on the interrelation- ship between civil-military relations and democratic theory.

Plato on Civil Military relations

Civil-military relations is a very broad subject, encompassing the entire range of relationships between the military and civilian society at every level. The field largely focuses on the control or direction of the military by the highest civilian authorities in nation-states. The army must prioritise human rights especially the rights of its citizens. A second major principle common to both normative instruments is the subjection of armed and security forces to International Humanitarian Law (IHL). This is contained in paragraphs 29, 30, 31, 34 and 35 of the OSCE Code and articles 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 28 and 30 of the draft African Code. Both stipulate that the personnel of the armed and security forces shall assume responsibility for individual acts that violate IHL and human rights.21Indeed, the provisions of the draft African Code relating to IHL indicate that it was significantly informed by, and modeled after the OSCE document. It is evident that paragraph 30 of the OSCE Code was split into two, to become Articles 4 and 5 of the African Code, with marginal changes to the language contained in the OSCE document Specifically, paragraph 30 of the OSCE Code provides that: Each participating state will instruct its armed forces personnel in international humanitarian law, rules, conventions and commitments governing armed conflict and will ensure that such personnel are aware that they are individually accountable under national and international law for their actions. Almost identically, Article 4 of the draft African document stipulates (as in the first part of paragraph 30 of the OSCE Code) that 'the personnel of the armed and security forces shall receive specific education in international humanitarian law, human rights, rules, conventions and instruments that regulate armed conflicts'.

Article 5 of the draft Africa Code is, essentially, the second half of paragraph 30 of the OSCE Code cited above: 'the personnel of the armed and security forces shall assume responsibility for individual acts that violate international humanitarian law and human rights'. Respect for the human rights of military and security personnel is another principle which is common to

both instruments. In the same vein, paragraph 32 of the OSCE Code corresponds with Article 8 of the draft African Code in terms of the similarity of language and the essence of provisions. Both documents are also based on the principle of commensurability of the use of force with enforcement needs and prohibition of the use of force aimed at restricting the peaceful and lawful exercise of human rights or at depriving people of their individual or collective identity. However, while the OSCE Code provides that 'the armed forces will take due care to avoid injury to civilians or their property' (paragraph 36), the draft African Code proceeds further to stipulate the nature of action to be taken in case of injury, particularly cases involving the use of firearms:

> ...after the use of firearms and in the event of injuries, the personnel of the armed and security forces shall assist the wounded without discrimination. The families of the victims shall be informed. A public enquiry shall be opened. And a report shall be produced (Article 32).

Nichol Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes in The Prince and The Leviathan respectively had their philosophical writings influence a number of dictators across the globe. In their political ideas the duo believed that a leader must use the military to consolidate power thus the role of the military is to help the leader to maintain power. Machiavelli clearly stated that, any leader should seek to achieve three things to grab, maintain and expand power. The concept of targeted assassinations and politics of divide and rule was popularized by Machiavelli in his famous book The Prince. In one of famous quotes, when a leader is faced with two choices to be feared or to be loved, he must choose fear. In both Hobbes and Machiavelli's political ideas, the role of the military is to help the political figure to grab, maintain and expand power. He went on to suggest that, after attaining power, the leader must kill those who helped him and saw him ascending to power. As a result, the military and the civil intelligence services are notoriously known for targeted assassination to help leaders to maintain the political leverage of power. The practice is both Machiavellian and also a colonial legacy where the colonial regime killed a number of nationalists across the African continent. The issue of military involvement in civilian life is as old as colonization in Africa as it was never part of African philosophies.

The Athenian philosophy on the role of the military

The perception which was created about the military from its inception, especially in the Graco-Roman empire, has an influence on its poor civil military relations. The 'die is the cast' nature of the military is one greatest antithesis towards the attainment of sustainable civil military relations. The 'die is the cast' concept is translated to mean a decision has been taken which cannot be changed. This expression has its origins in Julius Caesar's remark as he was about to cross the Rubicon, as reported by the Roman historian Suetonius in his writing *jacta alea esto*. This explains the inflexible nature of many armies in Africa who exist legally from colonial templates which were shaped by the 'die is the cast' philosophy (Janowitz: 1964) The military became known for its ability to instill fear and limit people's rights through brutal means. Thus, coercive and radical decision making has become an uncodified military strategy and a 'myth for existence'. With the emerging threats like trade wars, natural disaster security, health security, information technology and the re-branding of traditional threats like terrorism, smuggling and trafficking, the military must reform if they are to remain relevant as custodians of state security and defence. Threats to national security are becoming more and more complex and dynamic. The complex and dynamic nature of threats to national security requires strong civil-military cooperation.

There is no agreed position with regard to how leaders define their military. Most autocratic thinkers branded the military as an evil institution and democrats would advocate for civil military relations because this school of thought view the army as an essential component of statecraft. Machiavelli would argue that a "military man cannot be a good man", and Voltaire would describe them as the "manifestation of brute force in rationalized form" (McAlister: 1965). Meanwhile, Samuel Adams would claim that a standing army, however necessary it may be, is always dangerous to the liberties of the people (Cushing, ed: 1907). However, according to Janowitz (1964) several post-war political scientists began thinking of the military as a legitimate pressure group, capable of playing a positive role in the socio-political transformation of the newly created peripheral states.

The role of the military is thus subject to one's philosophical lenses. Civil military relations are linked to leadership style, if one is an autocrat, the military is dangerous and he uses it to violate human rights knowing they will be on an international radar system and they will turn to politics for protection. The international community has extended its tentacles to include

individuals as subjects of international law. As a result, the majority of the senior military personnel are under investigations for various human rights violations on the civilian population. With the surge in terms of human rights discourse and CSOs, NGOs and opposition political parties, the past crimes are beginning to be investigated under the banner of national healing and reconciliation efforts. Due to fear of retributive justice over restorative justice and the history and nature of African politics the military is forced to align with the Executive because at law it is the Executive that can declare a Commission of Inquiry on internal investigations. This explains the disappearance or deliberate lack of publication of the findings on several inquest and inquiries so far done across African continent. In the case of Zimbabwe, Mugabe on various fora would describe internal disturbances as a 'moment of madness' due to the cordial relations he enjoyed with his securocrates.

The civil military relations in Africa involve mind maps because the matter is not an academic discourse but a national security matter and to achieve viable civil military relations, there must be consensus between the military itself and the political leadership. It is problematic if the leader institutes military reforms without military endorsement or the military institute political reforms without political endorsement. At law, even if the army see the need to reform, it requires the endorsement of the Commander-in-Chief who is usually the President or Head of State. Any initiative outside the endorsement of the Head of State is considered by the Defence Act as mutinous behaviour which attracts Marshal penalty. The nature of the colonial military structures that were adopted by African countries from the colonial past is such that whilst the military advises the state through Joint Operations Command and the Defence Minister, same do not have the power to compel a civil leader to follow their suggestions. Any attempt to act otherwise is considered as either an actual or attempted coup de tat and the international law is quick to brand military takeovers as illegal without looking into the merits of their arguments. The UNSC should however allow military interventions in exceptional circumstances, for example, in Rwanda, a million civilian population was killed in just three months and yet the military could have intervened to stop the political madness.

The army must have support from its own people in defending the territory and by failure to maintain and promote civil-military relations, states are weakening their capacity to protect themselves. Poor civil-military relations pause a significant threat as people will potentially expose it through social media and other platforms. In the end the citizens will eventually side with the opposition elements to liberate themselves from the despotic tendencies emanating from poor civil-military relations. In most African countries, for example, in Egypt, president Mubarak was dethroned by the people after they had suffered from acute authoritarianism in the hands of the army. The popular revolt in the middle east is instructive in this regard.

The study also inquires on why the civilian populace in the West prefer to be governed by the former military generals than the civilian populace. In the West, the majority of the retired generals ended up presidents after having been voted into office through the normal electoral processes. There is a thinking that the military in the West have strong civil-military relations and their preoccupation is territorial integrity and upholding of the Constitution. The question is what went wrong and why the post-independence Africa has seen a drastic shift resulting in the army being enemies instead of being the darling of the people. In Africa almost all the military generals are former liberators who were the representatives of the masses. The concept of security sector reform in Africa is stemming from the civil-military relations concept that went wrong.

Various Perspectives on Civil Military Relations in Africa.

The question of civil military relations in Africa is an academic dynamite and various perspectives have been proffered to try and explain the concept of civil military relations in Africa. Some perspectives suggest that the armies which liberated them are different from the armies which are currently presiding over them. The nationalists at independence betrayed the revolution by making concessions which were contrary to the ethos of the revolution struggle. The people did not endorse most decisions by the politicians including demobilizing and reintegrating guerrillas into the same military structures they were fighting against. The poor military relations are caused by unrevised Defence Acts and negotiated constitutions, and in countries such as South Africa, the EFF led by Julius Malema castigated the ANC for negotiated half independence and this can be generalized to most African states.

There are very few notable countries that, after attaining independence, redefined its civil military relations. The case of Senegal is a good example of a post independent state which revised its army structures to include strong civil military relations. In other jurisdictions the politics is still following the gun directly or indirectly. Mugabe in 1980 declared that, the gun should follow the political order and not the other way round. However, his views were utopia because he abused the military for personal political aggrandizement. Mugabe could not trust his own armies far that his security architecture was under the same colonial commanders like General Peter Walls and Ken Flower. His mistrust of the military led him to adopt Machiavellian tactics and promulgating laws and politics meant to ensure that the military follow his political shadows. As a result, the army was used to commit a number of atrocities resulting in them being the enemies of the masses whom they liberated. The liberation values were undermined because of nationalists who enjoyed Noble Peace prices and were Knighted by former colonies at the expense of their own citizens. It may be true that the army might be blamed for bad civil military relations in Africa without considering the political hand. To date, some Africans are afraid of expressing themselves because they fear the army. However, people are beginning to question the role of the military in the post African continent and why many governments are subsequently not being recognized internationally as a result of the military coups and sustaining autocratic systems of governance and why the majority of the armies and their companies are on the sanction list.

Apart from Senegal, retired Colonel Muamar Gadhafi is highly credited for proposing the change from OAU to AU with the view to prioritize peace and stability but he, however, started to sponsor civil unrest in other jurisdictions. He supported Charles Taylor and Forday Sankoh of Sierra Leon and Burkina Faso to cause civil unrest. Thus, Gadhafi idealistically proposed for AU instead of OAU with the view to improve human security and improved civil military relations. The AU introduced a number of regional standby forces and the Organ on Defence and Security in order to advance and improve civil military relations, conflict resolution, regional integration, security and intelligence integration. However, like Gadhafi, the majority of AU member states have double standards because they are not fully liberated. The former colonizers remotely determine the internal affairs of former colonies. In Africa a number of states have pseudo independence and this explains its political culture,

system of governance, the third world status and the clash of civilization among other variables.

In Nigeria General Sani Abacha a Nigerian military head of state fought hard to stabilise one Naira to 1 US dollar. Abacha advocated for a United Africa and debt crisis, and also Abacha undertook to free Nigeria from its external financial obligation. As part of his plans to liberate Africa from its colonial bondage, Abacha never visited America. This pan African approach to the management of African affairs accredited to, Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah, Haile Selassie 1, Patrice Lumumba, Julius Kambarage Nyerere, Modiba Keita, Malcolm X and Marcus Garvey should have been the starting point towards viable civil military relations. Africans, due to mental slavery, have developed hatred for one another. Africans are now treating each other as foreigners in their colonial determined boundaries. Sometimes this assumes the form of hatred and violence, xenophobia, ethnic and civil wars. These are contradictions that drive Africa's history, changing what Africans were before the 'scramble for Africa'. African leaders must work towards strong civil military relations and sustainable peace.

The colonial administration created an undertone for the current cycle of African authoritarian regimes and military intervention in civil matters in the post African Independent states. The problem befalling Africa is that of 'political military'. The concept of taking ballot boxes to the military cantonment was a political strategy by politicians to consolidate power through evaluating the voting patterns of its military. Voting in the military cantonment became a formality and any vote for the opposition would attract a secret inquiry in order to fish out the political mole. Thus, it is given that the military vote for the incumbent in Africa meaning they do not have political determination as their voting behaviour is pre-determined. In order to justify military influence in the political management of the state, all non-state actors and opposition political movements are branded conduits for regime change and agents of the colonial past. There are a lot of conspiracy theories in this regard and as such African political culture is a colonial legacy as it does not reflect how precolonial Africans were managing their military and political affairs. This brought about the debate of what the use the military was during the colonial era and the role of the military in the post independent Africa. There is continuity of the role of the colonial

armies of oppressing the black masses and sustaining autocratic tenets. The line that separates the military from liberation movement is blurred and in Zimbabwe, the war veterans are both ZANU PF affiliates and a reserve force under the Ministry of Defence, War Veterans, Collaborators and Ex-Detainees. Thus, the military's role in political affairs is that of the velvet glove of the Executive. Even in the succession matrix in the liberation movements across Africa, one must have endorsement from both the party and securocrats.

Civil Military relations from African literature's perspective

Historiography is one of the essential elements to consider when decolonizing literature. The available literature on Africa is that of a dark continent, primitive individuals incapable of governing their own affairs, military that is blood thirsty and countries with resources but poor leadership. This study, therefore, analysed diverse perspectives from various literature genres on various typologies of gendered liberation struggle writings. The African writers used figurative language to explain that, Africa, being figuratively represented by a wailing woman, is suffering because she could not get what she fought for. This literature genres are very essential in explaining the concept of civil military relations as one of the aspects under the category of the unfulfilled promises of the liberation struggle. The armies that liberated people were disbanded by nationalists in favour of the colonial bureaucratic system. The nationalists politicians did not include nationalists in their negotiation for independence and because of greed of power they became obsessed with the desire to rule over the desire to fulfil the liberation promises.

African literature has accurately projected the centrality of womanhood as reflective of nationhood. Writing in the Grain of Wheat Ngugi wa Thiongo's character of Mumbi represents Kenya, a state that was fought for by the Mau Mau guerrillas. The importance of women is reflected in typologies such as motherland is reflective of African societies where parents sweat to raise their children but the relationship is not reciprocal due to colonial legacies. The arms of production are still held by former colonies, for example land reform was done to strike a balance and those who were holding the economy sabotaged it. In the Grain of Wheat, the author delves into the expectations of the Mau Mau fighters and the pending disappointment as the regime of Jomo Kenyatta took over in the early 1960s.

The expectations of all liberation struggles were such that everything was to start afresh without the involvement of the former colonizers. The Zimbabwe independence was a false independence because it was not reflective of the colonial cleavages. The Zimbabwean independence was more of a social movement. Calling bygones to be bygones was never right from the national level because it did not address the problems of a crying motherland, the motherland lost its sons, bones are lying in the bush, some were tortured and maimed. The mother is still crying, she is not a proud mother in Togo, Rwanda, the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa. Everywhere the motherland is crying from the pain caused by her own sons, when people thought post-independence would bring about human securities. If they look at their wounds these are frustrations caused by fellow countryman suppressing other fellow countryman, for example, the Hutu and the Tutsi in Rwanda. In African Traditional Religion, this causes *"ngozi yemumusha"* meaning the internal avenging spirit, a brother killing another brother.

Closer home, renowned author Solomon Mutsvairo in his novel Feso, places a woman character at the centre of the struggle which figuratively represents the struggle for independence. The novel was banned during the Rhodesia era as the regime then realized it was a satire on the evils of Rhodesia. Both Ngugi wa Thiongo and Solomon Mutsvairo show in their artistic prowess the vantage point of women as the bedrock of nationhood. The authors showed their deep appreciation of African cultural issues and were aware of the importance of women at household and village levels. If one studies what is happening in West Africa from Sahel to Mali, Burkina Faso and Chad, there is militarization at the instigation of France. France is continuously destabilizing that region due to its rich mineral deposits and to show deep rooted neo-colonial influence, France has been approving the national budgets of West African states and the pegging of their currencies is on the Franc. It is questionable why France is designing the monetary policies for these states in this 21st century and this compels one to wonder if Africa is indeed a free continent and if it is free, to what extent.

The military in Africa should consider themselves as agents of neo colonialism and they need to be reminded that the revolution in Africa is half-cocked and that the motherland is

wailing and clamoring for full independence. The military should not block civilians from demanding their full liberties. In terms of civil military relations in Africa, the military should note that freedom and neo colonialism are both in their hands. At independence, the majority of the military commanders were persuaded by nationalists to accept colonial structures, laws, institutions and systems of governance. The military turned against the civilians, derogatorily nicknamed them "*povo*", yet the revolution was won as a result of strong civil military relations, a development that has seen three categories of the war veterans in Africa thus, ex combatants, ex detainees and restrictees. The military interferes with civilian votes and impose leaders who in turn collaborate with the countries' past en slavers in every facet of life. Whatever evil Africa is facing, it was deliberately designed to keep and sustain mental slavery. Some of the leaders aided by their military are busy looting monies and minerals and saving it in foreign territories and the West is busy accepting looted resources from their former colonies. It is ironic that the loans that are being extended to Africa are their own monies. Would the West be wrong in regarding Africa as a dark continent? The mentality between Africa and its former colonies is that of a farmer and sheep, the sheep always think that the farmer is good and will not kill it. Kwame Nkrumah believed that, Africans are poor but Africa is not poor because we don't manage our resources well, the military should be gatekeepers and not conduits of corruption and bad governance.

War boot is a concept where one is entrusted into power by foreign support through campaign materials sponsored by foreign hands and after coming into power one gives them mining rights without paying tax in return. This has created a rocking chair in politics by creating perpetual poverty in Africa. After getting into power the leader spends his/her tenure paying war booties and neglecting the interests of their own people. The politics of appeasement in Africa is the reason why Africa remains poor. The thrust is no longer to appease people but war booties. The leaders in Africa do not mind maiming and violating the rights of their citizens because the foreign hand will continue to help them to rig their way into political office. The cases of vote rigging in Africa has its roots in war booties and individuals are now nocturnally richer than their own nations. Leaders are mortgaging own states for personal power and when citizens complain and protest, armies are called to quell them off the streets. There is proliferation of civilian supported terror and dissident groups across Africa which are being supported by the general citizenry who are seeking to emancipate themselves from the tyrant behaviour by their black leadership.

There was a heated debate in 1963 at the OAU formation between Julius Nyerere and Kwame Nkrumah over how to come up with a United States of Africa, Nkrumah proposed that, the OAU be transformed into a United States of Africa to govern African affairs, with one president and one cabinet. He urged African leaders not to be too comfortable in their little states. His argument was that, if leaders are too comfortable in managing their little states it will be difficult for them to relinquish their sovereignty and power. Nyerere rebutted Nkrumah's idea and proposed a brick by brick approach where the process has to be slow and gradual towards integration, the first step being to come up with regional bodies and eventually a United States of Africa. However, Nyerere's proposal is likely not to see the light of the day unless the regional armies combine with state armies and force leaders to cede their political power to a sovereign power. A United States of Africa is a utopian idea given that most African leaders are killing own citizens for political power, have created a one centre of power concept, amend constitutions and rig elections in order to continue in power. The African leaders and their armies are a stumbling block to solidarity in Africa. Being in political office in Africa is the easiest route to ill gotten wealth.

Through data mining on social media platform Facebook's Pan African activism, Lawrence Chahmih, responded to a question posed on whom he blamed for Africa's very sluggish growth between the people, the leaders, the military and colonial masters or the West. In his response he mentioned that the African continent is a victim of a well calculated conspiracy since the dawn of time and the untold ramification is manifold. There are three schools of thought with various views as to who should be blamed for our woes. The first blame the West, the second attributes blame to the Africans and the third blame to the Africans and the West. Whilst current leaders are to blame for perpetuating neo-colonialism, there has to be a separation between those who experienced colonialism and the 'born free'. Colonial socialization took a number of years as it was not an event but a process, thus the stone foundation of Africa's present predicament was laid in the past by the West through slavery and colonialism that took four hundred years and sixty years respectively. The brutal nature of colonisation has made nationalists to agree on compromised independence and the post-independence generation is approaching the whole concept from a purely academic point of view. Nationalists, after prolonged period under colonial rule and the growing squams within

the liberation movements themselves, attainment of independence preluded all other factors with the anticipation of taking a corrective measure soon after attaining political independence. Meanwhile, leaders made a mistake of perpetuating poverty, conflicts, corruption, embezzlement, Afro-pessimism, brainwash, cultural infiltration which are a multiplier effect of the ugly side of history perpetuated against mother Africa since the dawn of time. In all this the military took sides with political leadership to undermine civil liberties.

The behaviour of the young generation is a true indication that neocolonialism isflourishing than ever before. The uptake of skin bleaching creams and oils by the young generation is an indication that self-hate is on an upward trajectory. The resurgence of xenophobic or Afrophobic tendencies is not only misdirection of anger but self-hate, short memory span, short shortsightedness, narrow mindedness and stubbornness. Now this deadly combination is what has made Africa to remain despondent, mentally stagnant and lethargic enough to allow hyenas to continue ruling regardless of brutality. The Chinese, as investors, for example, are beginning to defy labour laws in Africa with impunity and the West is continuously attaching aid to their value systems. Currently, most African states that attended the Africa-China road and belt summit and signed such concessions without strategic foresight of whether Rhodes' Cape to Cairo dream is no different from this road and belt concept. If the role of the military is defence and security of the sovereign, to what extent are African armies mitigating both autocracy and neo-colonial maneuvers in Africa. This brings about the debate on what is security and what is the role on the military in the management not only of the state affairs but also foreign policy posture.

Civil military relations and its complexities

The philosophy of the civil military relations can be tracked back to Chairman Moa Tse Tung, where he described the nature of the relationship between the military and the civilians to be that of water and fish. In his approach, if the military want to dislodge an oppressive regime it must reach out to the civilians who would support the revolution through acquisition of intelligence, food, shelter and recruitment/mobilisation. In this approach, therefore, the civilian populace through its support of the guerrilla welfare, would be able to attain their independence. Mao advanced the ideas of a guerrilla warfare when dislodging an enemy with superior and sophisticated weapons as was the case during the liberation

struggle. He opined that human security concerns in third world countries would be tenable if the concerned states realised that they are poor and the only resource that they have are its citizens and that for change to take place, the relationship between the military and the civilians would be a key variable. However, in contemporary terms, the debate is now a hen and egg debate, in terms of who is influencing who between the civilians and the military. The relationship between the two variables need to be calibrated. The advocacy for the removal of oppressive regimes by non-state actors through crimes such as terrorism and rebel groups who at times use unorthodox means to achieve their goals has its ligaments in Maoism.

The ever increasing role of the military in the maintenance of peace and order, has seen the UNSC and regional bodies beginning to form standing armies with the power to even intervene militarily. The human security dimension has always been a source of major revolutions and the Arab spring, Egypt, Zimbabwe, Sudan and more recently Venezuela, demonstrate the importance of the military in civil-military relations. In Africa the idea of standby forces like the SADC standby force, ECOMOG and ECOWAS are classical examples of the importance of the military in civilian matters in pursuit of peace and security. According to Rothwell (2013), Chapter VIII, Articles 55, 53, & 54 of the UN Charter recognize the importance of regional institutions in achieving the core aim of the United Nations in terms of maintaining international peace and security. Since crisis or conflict occurs in given regions within the world political system, the success of ensuring peace and security; either through a dialogue or military efforts may rest largely on the cooperation of regional institutions. Enforcing a sanction on any member of the United Nations requires the cooperation of the regional institution in making sure that UN Security Council resolution is enforced in the region of the wanting member of the UN. Nevertheless, the UN Security Council is ever portent and significant in the process of ensuring international peace and security as many of the regional institutions or agencies are less efficient, responsive, and reliable.

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is one of the most important multilateral institutions having the ambition to shape global governance and the only organ of the global community that can adopt legally binding resolutions for the maintenance of international

peace and security and, if necessary, authorize the use of force. Created in the aftermath of World War II by its victors, the UNSC's constellation looks increasingly anachronistic, however, in light of the changing global distribution of power. Whenever there is an emergency of international proportions, caused by an aggressor, the world looks to the United Nation Security Council for guidance. Through its unique position, the Council has taken on the role of legitimiser or delegitimiser of actions in international conflicts, (Moore and Pubantz, 2005). This is possible because of its role within the United Nations to maintain international peace and security, and for this purpose, it has been given extraordinary enforcement powers, with the authority to take decisions binding upon all its member states. The provisions for these decisions, allowing the Council to take enforcement measures binding upon all members, are found in chapter VII of the UN Charter and the rules determining the conditions of application is described in article 39: "The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security." When the Council is of the opinion that a threat or breach of international peace exists, it has the power to use a range of tools, from the imposition of sanctions to military actions, (UN Charter art. 41-42).

Since then peacekeeping has been a key instrument of international governance but never more so than since the end of the Cold War (Frechette and Kristensa, 2012). Traditionally, peacekeeping missions involved just deployment of small unarmed or lightly armed military force to monitor a ceasefire between two parts in a conflict (Duffey 2007). However, the end of the cold war signified a new era in the history of peacekeeping as peacekeeping expanded dramatically and became multidimensional with very complex mandates and increasingly difficult and often dangerous environments (Frechete and Kristensa, 2012). The nature, scope and tasks of peacekeeping missions changed as wars became more intra-state than inter-state as before. This in turn called for reforms in the nature and scope of peacekeeping mission responses as the new task required and demanded a more committed performance beyond that of acting as neutral observers of a truce or peace agreement. Thus, the UN peacekeeping tool had to reform to remain relevant.

It can be observed that security discourse and practice has undergone definitive changes during the post- Cold War period. For instance, traditionally, the protection of the state and its institutions from external and internal military threats had been emphasised, prioritising norms such as state sovereignty and non-intervention in states' domestic affairs, as evidenced by Article 2(4) of the United Nations Charter and Articles 2(2) (c) and 3(3) of the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). However, this position has changed because since the end of the Cold War, members of the international community have developed a new security paradigm, shifting focus from state security to human security. Although state security remains important, it is now seen as a working component of the promotion of human security and a means to bring it about, Cherubin-Doumbia (2003). Therefore, human security now extends beyond military threats to the state and its institutions, moreover, it is now concerned with other threats and challenges to the welfare and advancement of individuals and communities. In light of the above, this discussion will attempt to explain the role of the military in human security which is now considered a threat to national security and that it is the duty of the military to uphold the constitution and to safeguard national security.

The expansion of security issues was formally acknowledged when state leaders gathered to meet at the Security Council in 1992 and referred to a range of non-military sources of instability in the economic, social, humanitarian and ecological fields as threats to international peace and security, Hemmings et al (2012). Other security threats loom in the African continent; from conventional challenges such as insurgencies, resource and identity conflicts, and post-conflict destabilization to growing threats from piracy, narcotics trafficking, violent extremism, and organized crime, among others (Africa Center for Strategic Studies), Hemmings et al (2012). In this strategic environment, African people have been looking for African solutions to their own security problems, and are developing a continental security system within the context of the African Union (AU), Hemmings et al (2012).For that reason, there has been a gradual move towards recognising more diverse issues as posing security threats, spawning a growth of security literature in the areas of economic security, environmental security, energy and resource security, food security, bio-security and health security.

Additionally, the security architecture in Africa has evolved considerably over the past forty years. In the past, regional and sub-regional African organizations expended most of their time dealing with the aftermath of conflicts instead of prevention and early resolution, Olivier (2015). The creation of the African Union in 2002 was the most significant step towards achieving a continental collective security system, enabling African countries to unite in seeking and developing collective solutions to prevent and mitigate conflicts, Olivier (2015). The AU rejected the approach of its predecessor (the OAU) which was that of absolute respect for national sovereignty and adopted a new policy in which the responsibility to protect human and people's rights, and the right to intervene in a Member State are enshrined in the Constitutive Act, the basis of the new security architecture, Olivier (2015). The Constitutive Act established provisions for intervention in the internal affairs of a Member State through military force, if necessary, to protect vulnerable populations from human rights abuses. Implicit in these provisions is the concept of human security and the understanding that sovereignty is conditional and defined in terms of a State's capacity and willingness to protect its citizens, Powell (2005). As such, it can be observed that in the quest to ensure political security for human beings in Africa, the AU has, on a number of occasions, been forced to intervene towards threats that would have manifested themselves in member states, Powell (2005).

Therefore, in order to provide an operational dimension to the security provisions of the Constitutive Act, the AU developed capacities for early warning, quick reaction, conflict prevention, management and resolution, Powell (2005). At the same time, it placed "itself within a robust security system that builds on the strengths of African regional organizations and the United Nations (UN), and that draws on extensive support from other international actors" Powell, (2005). This new African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) pursues African solutions to African problems. The APSA is grounded on two pillars which are the Common African Defence and Security Policy (CADSP) and the Peace and Security Council (PSC), Powell (2005). To fulfil its tasks, the PSC has three primary instruments at its disposal which are the Panel of the Wise (PW), the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS) and the African Standby Force (ASF), Powell (2005). These three instruments, together with a special fund for financing missions and activities related to peace and security (the Peace Fund) and the Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, round out the elements of the APSA.

Human security today has become a major issue on the international political agenda. Even though there are a wide range of approaches (United Nations system, regional and international organisations, bilateral cooperation, civil society organisations, etc.), all actors realise that security is no longer limited only to the traditional view of protecting State borders and territories against external threats, Powell(2005). Emphasis is increasingly placed on human security focused on the citizen rather than the State. As specified in the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report, the concept of human security stresses the protection and promotion of human life and dignity. It is important to underscore, however, that these various approaches do not envisage replacing State security with human security. Rather, they emphasise the need to examine these two aspects of human security, taking into account the various possible threats at different levels (local, national and regional).

Human security entails a global approach linking security, governance, solidarity and development issues. Whether it concerns civil wars with their dramatic consequences, natural accidents, natural disasters or health crises and major pandemics, populations today now face life threatening dangers, Adetula (2014). The concept of human security now addresses security in a broader sense that includes all of these political, economic, social, economic and environmental dangers. Human security is an extremely serious issue in West Africa. Many internal conflicts have undermined security over the past two decades. Political instability, civil wars, under-development and poverty have weakened governments (responsible for their populations' security) and rendered large sections of society increasingly vulnerable, Bah (2004). Many of the conflicts are regional therefore spreading insecurity far beyond the original crisis area. Synergising efforts to find sustainable solutions to the various challenges have become essential in these situations.

As a priority, populations, especially the most vulnerable, need to be protected and their basic needs met. For that reason, they therefore need to be protected from all detrimental threats to their dignity and physical and moral integrity, Hoffman (2009). The challenges to human security concern not only countries shaken by conflict but also those emerging from conflict or at peace, Hoffman (2009). They are linked to natural, human and political factors. Human security can be considered as a worldwide or regional public good. Involvement of

development partners, multilateral organisations and civil society is important alongside governments and regional institutions, Hoffman (2009). This should encourage the development, implementation and success of strategies, policies and action to provide human security for all in Africa.

The struggle for power is a threat to the security of individuals in countries because it is generally settled with arms and often leads to situations of instability and even chaos, Bokue (2002). Many internal conflicts have undermined security over the past two decades which has threatened political security in a number of African states, Bokue (2002). For instance, political instability, civil wars, under-development and poverty have weakened governments (responsible for their populations' security) and rendered large sections of society increasingly vulnerable. Many of the conflicts are regional therefore spreading insecurity far beyond the original crisis area. As such synergising efforts to find sustainable solutions to the various challenges have become essential in these situations. The impunity of those responsible for crimes against populations may be a factor of insecurity, Bokue (2002). It is a sign of the malfunctioning of justice, one of the pillars of the rule of law. It indicates that the State does not fully play its role as protector of the population.

Previously, economic insecurity was not a problem of economic resources but a problem of governance. However, resource depletion has reached unprecedented levels such that economic security now occupies top priority when looked from an African collective security mechanism, Barnett et al (2010). In other words, countries which have the most natural resources have not been fairing best. Very often financial income from the resources is redistributed inequitably and the bulk of the income goes to a handful of privileged persons Barnett et al (2010). To this end, many African countries end up being in dilemma because failure to provide economic security creates chaos in respective states. This creates a situation of injustice and can lead to conflict which constitutes a source of insecurity, Barnett et al (2010). For instance, the matchstick to the Arab springs emanated from economic dimensions. Such has resulted in regional and continental initiatives aimed at ensuring economic security in Africa, Barnett et al (2010). Such initiatives include, among other things Regional Economic Committees initiated by SADC as well as ECOWAS, Wonnenberg (2011).

Furthermore, another human security variable that has a bearing on African collective security mechanisms is environmental security. Although natural resources potentially represent financial windfalls, natural resources in Africa have of late been the object of greed, Barnett et al (2010). Even though they constitute great assets, they paradoxically often threaten the stability of countries. For example, the case of the Niger Delta is a situation in which the citizens have been perpetually at war with government security forces and oil companies because, rather than being a source of well-being and prosperity to the local communities, oil exploration has led to serious environmental damage and neglected developmental needs, Dare (2002). The need to address these concerns has led to perennial bloody conflicts, to even necessitate calls for secession of the oil producing states from the Nigerian federation, Human Rights Watch Report (1999). Due to the fact that politics at inter-state or intra state level have dismally failed to address this vicious circle, African collective security mechanisms have had to align initiatives in line with augmenting environmental security to respective African states.

In line with other human security variables that influence the African collective security mechanism, personal security also features prominently. According to Adetula (2014), migration today forms part and parcel of personal security. This is largely due to the fact that the forms of migration have changed. For instance, human flows across African countries could ultimately be felt as a threat to the security of local populations. Over the past decade, regional organizations around the world have been devoting increased attention to the problem of internal displacement, Adetula (2014). There is good reason for their involvement since most situations of conflict and displacement rarely remain confined within borders. Rather, they spill over into neighbouring countries and can upset regional stability, thereby often compelling a regional response. For that reason, R.E.Cs like ECOWAS and SADC have had to come up with mechanisms to anticipate and defuse the conflicts that cause mass displacement and encourage the return of refugees and displaced persons, as well as set up mechanisms for conflict prevention, management and resolution, Adetula (2014).

Similarly, cross-border crimes linked to drug trafficking, the proliferation of small arms and human trafficking threaten peace and stability of States, as well as the security of not only

populations but also neighbouring countries' populations. In addition, the formation of the Community of Intelligence Services and Security in Africa (CISSA), whose purpose is to consolidate cooperation between states' intelligence and security establishments, has been such a milestone in making efforts to counter security threats (drug trafficking and Cyber warfare among others) which have been precipitated by the surge in globalisation. For instance, at the regional level, the formation of CISSA is an indication that challenges requiring cross border intelligence coordination are increasingly recognized, as is the role of intelligence within a framework of collective security .In light of these developments, the SADC organ on Politics, Defence and Security (PDS) whose framework provides for strengthening regional solidarity, peace and security is a clear indication of the seriousness with which African states are treating the threats posed by globalisation.

Over the past decade, the African Union (AU) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) have taken notable steps towards internalizing and promoting human rights as international norms within their regional organizations. While the AU Constitutive Act (2000) calls for 'Respect of democratic principles, human rights, the rule of law and good governance; and promotion of social justice' the ASEAN Charter (2007) equally requires member states to adhere 'to the rule of law, good governance, the principles of democracy and constitutional government; [and] respect for fundamental freedoms, the promotion and protection of human rights, and the promotion of social justice.

Attempts to promote human security by creating new institutions such as the Organ on Politics, Defence and Security, have themselves brought to the fore tensions of violent domestic conflict, coupled with the often contradictory and inconsistent responses to them by leaders in the region and point to the compelling need for a sub-regional security architecture to promote more co-ordinated collection action in the future, Adetula (2014). SADC's bold attempt at addressing wider regional security issues highlights signification issues in Southern African policy.

Additionally, food security has emerged as another essential human variable that has got enormous influence on the African collective security mechanisms. In other words, food

security is a fundamental human rights issue and a fundamental health concern. As recent evidence suggests, the prime cause of death worldwide is no longer disease but instead hunger. According to Morris (2005), hunger kills more than AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria combined and sadly, Africa bears the brunt of this as one out of three people suffer hunger and malnutrition in Africa compared to one out of eight worldwide. Some 204 million people suffer from malnutrition on the continent, and current food shortages affect 35 million people in 24 sub-Saharan African countries, Morris (2005).To this end, in addressing food security as a human security variable and improve food security in the region, SADC has encouraged countries to continue growing other traditional cereals such as sorghum and millet as well as non-cereal crops such as cassava and plantain. This points out how food security has been influencing policy as regional level which can further be complemented by the fact that SADC is working towards addressing some of these challenges through the input subsidy programmes as well as improved prices for cash crops, Bah (2004). To deal with droughts, SADC member states have intensified efforts to invest in irrigation as over dependence on rain-fed agriculture has impacted on crop production.

The paradigmatic shift in the discourse on and practice of security from state to human security has brought human rights into the realm of the security discourse and practice, Dersso (2008). It has now become common to employ human rights as an instrumental normative framework and concept to advance the objectives of human security. As a result, human rights are featuring prominently in the discourse on and practice of human security. In Africa, where multiple conditions pervasively threaten human security, it is necessary that all available institutional, political and legal mechanisms be employed to address these threats and to contribute to providing human security to all individuals and communities, Dersso (2008). Indubitably, the African human rights system is one such mechanism that could contribute greatly to the protection and promotion of human security on the continent, Dersso (2008).

For instance, SADC's adoption of a new security paradigm encompassing both military and non-military issues marks a radical departure from the state centric approach that characterised previous regional security arrangements, Bah (2004). The new SADC framework emphasizes the security of people and broader developmental concerns such as

alleviation of poverty, eradication of killer diseases such as HIV-AIDS and tuberculosis, violent crime, promotion of democratic values and principles, proliferation of small arms and the protection of human rights, Bah (2004). The new approach was clearly spelt out in Article (2) of the SADC Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation which outlines the Organ's objectives as follows: protect the people and safeguard the development of the region against instability arising from the breakdown of law and order, intra-state conflict and aggression, promote the development of democratic institutions and practices within the territories of state Parties, Bah (2004).

Moreover, it can be observed that the premise of the SADC's broadened approach to security is that security is a holistic phenomenon incorporating political, social, economic and environmental issues, Bah (2004). One of the consequences of widening the security discourse is a vertical shift in the referent object, thus from an almost exclusive focus on the state to a concern with people, Bah (2004). To this end, the objectives of security policy as espoused by the SADC framework document go beyond achieving an absence of war to encompassing the pursuit of democracy, sustainable development, social justice and the protection of the environment. The framework also recognizes that states can mitigate the security dilemma and promote regional stability by adopting a defensive rather than an offensive military doctrine and posture, Adetula (2014). It further emphasizes that domestic security policy should pay greater attention to social sources of instability such as the problem of violence against women and children.

To further highlight the extent to which these human security variables influence the African collective security mechanisms, SADC has taken step further practical measures to enhance the promotion of human security by creating the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Co-operation as well as the Regional Peacekeeping Training Centre and the Southern African Police Chiefs' Co-operation Organization (SARPCCO), Bah (2004). Despite diverging opinions over the functions and control of these and the purposes they serve, most observers of political developments in Southern Africa see their creation as a positive step towards African collective security mechanisms. For instance, the Regional Peacekeeping Training Centre has trained over 200 students from SADC member states and

is currently developing a standardized peacekeeping training program to ensure the interoperability of the armed forces in the region, Adetula (2014).

Finally, it should be realized that an effective regional security mechanism can only be built if there is a clear consensus on the rules, norms and directions of that structure. In a region where there is widespread aversion to having a regional hegemony, the guiding principles of any such project should be consultation, dialogue and consensus. The controversies triggered by the South African-led intervention in Lesotho and by the Zimbabwe-led three-state intervention in the DRC highlight the political, military and legal complication that arise when collective enforcement action is taken on an ad hoc basic, Cawthra (2010). The Nigerian-led ECOWAS interventions in Liberia and Sierra Leone suffered from similar complications largely due to their improvised nature, Wonnenberg (2011). The intervening countries were accused, among other things, of violation not only the ECOWAS treaty but also the OAU and UN Charters, which clearly state that collective security enforcement must only be undertaken with the authorization of UN Security Council ,Wonnenberg (2011).

However, threats to security are difficult to internationalize as each government may have specific and unique threats of their own, for example in 2006,Finland's modern threat model included disturbance to electricity grid, disturbances to the functioning of the economy, natural disasters among other threats. Threats to national security therefore differ from state to state or group to group depending on the level of development in the global community and the values that societies attach to their well-being. This has, to a greater extent, affected how African Collective security mechanisms address human security variables that currently exist in Africa.

Many subjects and recommendations are needed in order to be successful in the endeavour to come to grips with the meaning of human security in Africa. The subjects range from conflict itself to political and social exclusion, involuntary and voluntary movement of people, protection and empowerment of women, recovery and the role of reconciliation, governance and participation, food security, health security, education, skills and values. In the Herald of 27 April 2019, according to a reporter Panganai Kahuni, Retired Lieutenant General Sibusiso

Moyo highlighted that, state craft the world over is better understood and applied in conjunction with the military. The military, as a disciplined legal institution for governance has a well-structured bureaucracy that is undoubted global due to its effective protection of national interests, cultural heritage and provision of peace and stability. Moyo went on to cite China and American among other powerful states where infusing military and civilian leadership helped the aforementioned states to develop economically and militarily. Thus, he posits that the mixture strengthens the state and preserves its sovereignty. In addition to that, Moyo revealed that military personnel are good in diplomatic and NGO sectors, adding that USA and China use the military in their foreign services and in the structural establishment of their NGOs for example USAID and Plan China. He went on to reveal that the strategy to involve the military in government, private sector and NGOs is meant to influence the world to embrace the national brand.

Section 122 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe recognises the role of the military in civil, military and state security. The said section provides as the functions of the Defence Forces to be: "To protect its people, its national security and interests and territorial integrity and to uphold the Constitution". This clause is obscure because upholding the constitution is a very broad term. In addition, state security is a concern that has evolved to include human security, which concerns all aspects of livelihoods of the citizens in a country to include food security, corruption, governance, politics, social and religious issues among other things.

In the USA and other powerful states, the role of the military is to create wealth for the state through intervening and at times invading resource rich but weaker states. In other situations, the CIA and the military would interfere directly into the internal affairs of a sovereign state as they did in Afghanistan, Chile leading to the assassination of Salvado Allende and in DRC leading to the assassination of Patrice Lumumba. In addition, to avoid mutiny from the military, powerful states ensure that the human security component of the military is catered for adequately.

In Africa the number of the military and governance correlate, the more the military personnel the less democratic the state would because. The role of military in Africa is to

protect the sovereignty of a state in case of attack by another state. However, the era of inter state wars is over and the world is grappled with how human security threats impede on sovereignty of a state. The majority of third world countries are faced with human security threats emanating from their failure to address the human security component which is affecting both the over-recruited military personnel and citizens alike. Human security threats on both the military and the general populace result in a new phenomenon in international relations wherein through popular uprisings and protests, the military and citizens peacefully come together and remove the government.

The military in developing countries must be rationalised given that the majority of states have recruited more military personnel to suppress the citizens but with the human security component, the military like other citizens looks to the government for their human security challenges. The evolution of the concept of the people's army, has seen 'smart coups' removing or threatening sitting governments. Meanwhile, the failure by most developing states to cater for the human security component has created the fissures between the state and the command element.

Third world countries should consider using their military for production purposes in peace times. In peace times the military should embark on developmental programmes and projects in order to raise capital for their countries as is the case with advanced states. The era of using the military to suppress the people is diminishing as the military no longer tolerates dictators, especially when they fail to solve their human security challenges.

Given that most third world states are failing to feed and accommodate their military personnel, as compensation they can get land to farm, build adequate houses for its personnel, construct state of the art hospitals and other social amenities. In most developing states, the concentration is on manufacturing and procuring ammunition, negating the human security dimension to state security. When the military falls out with the government of the day due to misaddressed human security needs, the same weapons are used to depose the government through a coup or a military intervention under 'smart coups'.

On 'coups' or 'smart coups', only the military can stage a coup because it has access to weapons which were initially procured to suppress the civilian populace if they revolt against the incumbent government for failure to address the human security component. The Police, Prison and Intelligence Services are yet to stage a known coup in-spite of the fact that in some states they will outnumber the military. Peace is at stake in Africa due to access to the armory, which makes it possible for the military to remove the government from power. The fact that, other security services, despite having human security challenges, have not removed any government in power, clearly demonstrate that access to the armory is the catalyst to the modern-day insecurities in the developing countries. The UN may consider rationalizing the production of weapons if peace is to be achieved.

The global community is pushing policies and democracy in Africa without considering that, in Africa leadership does not have independent authority from its military. At the centre of decision making in almost all states and Africa in particular is the Joint Operations Command (JOC). The Constitution only states that, the president makes decisions in consultation with the Parliament and the Cabinet, but the same does not state, whose agenda will be topical in the Cabinet for example. The JOC security reports are given a central role in Cabinet, therefore, JOC determines governance issues. The president must have a by-inn from the JOC before certain policies can be implemented.

The debate on the relationship between the nationalists and command element in Africa is like a hen and chicken story. In the context of Zimbabwe, the nationalists were the first to challenge the colonial governments and to mobilize for civil disobedience and at the same time mobilized people to go to war and liberate themselves from the colonial bondage. The nationalists mobilized civilians to undergo training in various countries like Russia, China, Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique among others. After military training they qualified as the military element, who upon receiving training, returned more radical than the nationalist themselves. The training they received was political, psychological and physical. Within the nationalists, the majority were learned but did not bother themselves to receive military training. With the passage of time, the military element started to call the nationalist civilians and inferior to them. This was the genesis of the schism between nationalism and the

command element in the body politic. Essentially, in most African states both those states that experienced a protracted armed struggle to liberate themselves and those that did not, the relationship between civilian leadership and the command element is both a bed of roses and thorns. African politics revolve around the nature of the relationship between the command element and the government of the day.

In most African states, democracy was embraced not because of the desire for good governance but because it advances the role of the military in the civilian affairs of a state. There is no known state that is purely democratic and this is because the state does not have the capacity to limit the powers of the military. Military power cannot be limited by a civilian leader but by another powerful military. The endeavour to try and limit military power has seen African states experiencing more *coup de tat*s than any other continent. The majority of African leaders believe in the Hobbesian concept of absolute power and the military has always been their greatest impediment to achieving that goal. However, dictators have mastered the art of military relations in order to sustain their rule. Firmness and commandeering are a military attribute and most dictators adopt military attributes for them to sustain their rule. There is, therefore, a thin line which separates dictatorship and a military state. Dictatorship is a systemic problem and not an individual problem.

The African states are being sold a dummy. They are busy implementing the tenets of democracy whilst the West is pre-occupied with maintaining a facade, that is in essence an electocracy. The tolerance levels might differ from country to country but once the system is under threat it goes into dictatorial mode, in all so-called developed democracies. There is a contradiction between the declaratory and substantive aspects of democracy. The rise of right-wing politics in Western democracies provides a living example of how a democratic process can produce a dictatorial government that negates the basic tenets of liberal democracy.

The template of an Executive President that has traction in many African countries inadvertently tilts the political balance towards a democratically elected dictatorship. An expansive interpretation of the constitution and its Presidential powers inevitably promotes

autocratic tendencies within the governance architecture. For example, in most, if not all states, the constitution empowers the President to single handedly appoint Vice Presidents, Cabinet Ministers, Ambassadors, Permanent Secretaries of various ministries, Provincial Ministers/Governors, Commissions and most senior office bearers within the legislature and the judiciary. If presidents are democratically elected it would be logical for the whole system to be subjected to public scrutiny and checks and balances as envisaged in a participatory democracy. In Africa, most of the appointments are based on nepotism, favoritism, corruption and tribalism. Unfettered interference in all arms of the state has thus led to state capture by non-statutory actors. The distribution of senior posts after an election has always been a source of acrimony and divisions based on regional and tribal affiliations. The democracy dividend has yet to manifest itself on the African continent.

The history of political leadership in Africa has largely been the chronicle of the relationship between the leadership and the command element that is situated within the armed forces. Failure to calibrate the balance of forces between the body politic and the military establishment has been the scourge of African politics since independence. Societal stability or instability in any given state largely depends on the existing relationship between the supreme leader and the command element of the military.

Louis Althusser accurately illustrated the distinct roles of the ideological state apparatus and the coercive state apparatus. The coercive state apparatus of any state lies with the military, including the power to depose or arrest the supreme leader. In fulfilling its conflict management mandate, the UN should pay special attention to the role of the command element in national governance structures. There is need for open discourse on the role and quality of civil military relations to guarantee peace and stability at national, regional and international level.

In addition, the military must be an interested party in processes unfolding within the legislature, judiciary and the executive. Their accommodation in matters of the state should be an accepted norm so as to avoid misunderstandings that could have fatal consequences for the well-being of the state. Failure to do so invariably leads to resort to robust intrusive

measures by the military. The illegality or legality of such remedial action might be case for protracted processes within the courts but the political reality on the ground would have been irreversibly altered. *De jure* recognition of a coup *de tat* is necessary but not essential as the incumbency factor creates its own conducive environment to elicit endorsement.

Youth and Global Politics

The youth demographic bulge is becoming a threat to global politics which is now shaped and determined by human security. The youths belong to various strata of the society (Upper, Middle and Lower class). The majority of the youths belong to the lower class and the minority to the middle and upper classes, hence failure to pay attention to problems bedeviling the lower class can engulf a state. The bulk of the youths from the lower class are socially alienated and yet they have easy access to drugs and can easily network in the current technological era. In Africa, security services are dominated by youths who are living below the poverty datum line. Therefore, failure to address their existential challenges might trigger unplanned and unforeseen political convulsions. The sympathy between the unemployed youths and their counterparts within the security sector cannot be under estimated. The formal and informal exchange of ideas and perspectives within the youth range cannot be controlled, thus posing yet another destabilization front. The demography of the majority of the states are youths who are unemployed with access to narcotics.

In Most African states including countries such as Zimbabwe, majority of its youths from the lower strata of the society are educated and unemployed. This stratum has captured the art of media influence and they have occupied social media space where constructive ideas are being debated. Social media, which used to house jokes, has thus turned out to be a platform for direct democracy where policies, political talk, economic matters and religious discourse are discussed. The media influence has also seen the security sector infiltrating social media groups with the view to harness the general thinking by the citizenry. Zimbabwe had in the past experienced a 'spat of shut down Zimbabwe campaigns' agitated through social media and the citizens responded by getting into streets demanding the government to solve the human security component. The concept of civil disobedience in Zimbabwe has been

popularized by personalities such as the anonymous Facebook character by the pseudo name 'Baba Jukwa' and other characters like Pastor Evan Mawarire followed thereon. In some instances, courts have been used to prosecute those seen to be calling for the removal of the government for failing to provide the human security component.

Elections in Africa cannot be validated without the consent of the military establishment. Outcomes that are unfavourable to the military can be countermanded by use of naked force. The confrontational role of opposition parties as opposed to the loyal opposition tradition in Western countries has always burdened the transition processes in African politics. Most African political transitions are fraught with mayhem and disorder thus inviting the military to intervene in the name maintenance of peace and stability. Democracy, therefore, means an abbreviated access to power by civilians and a veto by the military as and when it suits them. In Africa, most of the political leaders who pushed for security sector reform were eventually removed from power before they effected the desired reforms. While there is a push for democracy in Africa by the West, the West is failing to give a workable prescription on how to handle the command element.

Globalisation is driving the world in the direction of the Hobbes' perception on the state of nature. There are a lot of undesirable crimes that have been internationalized due to globalisation yet such elements used to be native and dealt with locally. These nontraditional crimes will become an integral part of the international relations discourse. Of late military coup de tats have been less brutal hence the new term 'smart coup de tat' which simply means suffocating the incumbent leading to his/her surrender without physical elimination. This subtle method has sanitized *coup de tats* and made them less reprehensible.

Elections no longer provide solutions to the leadership crisis as the same is subject to manipulation with impunity. The more the military stage coup de tats and return power to civilian rule at their own free will, the more they become a very critical variable in the domestic affairs of most African states. The global community has seemingly failed to deal with vote rigging by incumbents, thus ripping off the relevance of elections in Africa. The recent military interventions in Zimbabwe and Sudan which were largely bloodless clearly

demonstrate how effective soft military solutions are in ending dictatorship and return to constitutionalism.

The idea that politics directs the gun proves to be unattainable given a surge in military interventions especially in Africa. At global level, NATO and the American military expeditions have shown the overarching importance of the military in civil matters. The idea of standby forces by regional blocs also reinforces the importance of the command element in civilian matters. The command element seems to be currently at the centre of world politics.

Nationalism and sovereignty cannot be sustained in the absence of the military clout. In Zimbabwe, after independence, the command element was pushed backwards on the pretext that they were less educated than the nationalist/activist element. During the liberation struggle the turf between nationalism and the command nearly stifled the liberation war with the assassination of ZANU Chairman Hebert Chitepo and the arrest of the command element inclusive of Tongogara and Solomon Mujuru on the suspicion that they had a hand in the death of Chitepo. The same story unfolded within ZAPU with the elimination of ZIPRA Commander Nikita Mangena. The Zimbabwean question is whether, in the long term the nationalists would be able to sustain power against the command element.

The world has experienced so many 'dictators' and their sustenance in power is at the benevolence of the command element of the military. Dictators rule against the wishes of the people they are ruling because their power lies in the hands of the military. Even the so-called popular revolts like the ousting of Mubarak, Mugabe in Zimbabwe and the civil unrest in the Middle East, these popular uprisings were successful on the basis that the command element would have chosen to take sides with the members of the civilian population.

The rule and fall of Mugabe in Zimbabwe were a question of mishandling of the civil-military relations. There is a question on whether a president can adopt a leadership style without the consent of the command element. Had it been that Mugabe addressed the human security challenges and avoid uninformed purges of securocrates he would have been the

President to date. Leaders must strike a balance between the civilian populace and the military, failure of which will see the military and the civilian populace coming together to depose a leader. The civil-military relations primarily seek to achieve human security goals. This is how the paradigm shift from state centered approach to human security approach is very critical to the state's sovereignty. The civilian populace is beginning to hold dictators accountable through improvement on the civil-military relations. The civil military relations limits the power of any leader by removing their coercive power.

In the USA the home of liberal democracy, there is no known platform that a President openly lambastes the command element for any wrong doing. If a powerful American President cannot take to task the army for overspending in wars across the globe, it means they are an important variable in global politics and governance. The absence of coups in such countries as America may be attributed to the fact that the leadership do not interfere with military operations. In USA the military can refuse to follow a presidential order even though the President is also their commander in chief. The role of leadership is to sign treaties and conventions meant to protect the USA military both in and out of its borders. The USA military cannot be investigated by the International Criminal Court, for example, but in Africa the same prescribe Commissions of Inquiry to be instituted against members of the military. The Commission of Inquiry on military conduct is a security threat as it creates a rift between the leader and the military. The military is a very important segment in a state as it can determine its stability, leadership style, the level of the rule of law, accountability and civil-military relations.

There are various theories which tried to account for various leadership styles but no theory is yet to explain how the military influence the leadership style in a state and how the same help to sustain the leadership style that it would have created. In African politics, politicians assume that power comes from the people and the people have power and can determine on who should be the president. The ill-informed perception has seen so many opposition leaders using their eloquence/oratory/charismatic capabilities to lure the electorate only without striking a balance between civilian and military power.

The constitutions of many countries clearly stipulate that, the president is not only a civilian leader but also the Commander-In-Chief of the Defence Forces and yet the same constitution requires that only the civilian should decide on both the military and the civilians. The natural phenomenon is that, the military observes, with a lot of interest, the political developments in the country because such developments impact directly on them through the Commander-In-Chief clause. The Commander-In-Chief has the power to declare war, retire, appoint a Defence Minister, Military Commander, Permanent Secretary, promote, reassign any member of the military regardless of rank and make changes like the security sector reform meant to reduce the military influence in a state. The majority of opposition political parties, due to lack of experience of statecraft, do not consider the military constituency in its efforts to assume the public office. Democracy was prescribed to Africa without an operational template. Democracy without military support is not sustainable, for example, if the USA military were not benefiting from American democracy, Americans would have experienced a democratic breakdown long back. In America there are less human security concerns hence the military do not see the need to stage a coup against the leader. As a strategy to maintain democracy as a status quo, the American budget is inclined towards defence and security. In addition to that, the American system alternates between civilian and former military leaders and so far, 29 out of 44 former American presidents were retired military personnel thus the rotational basis between civilians and the command element. . Command element has two faces, the military and the civilian, however, ninety percent of world leaders are from the military.

In many African states, there is a disjuncture between opposition parties and the military far that the military would end up interfering in a subtle way for example direct suppression through electoral violence and vote rigging in cahoots with other security services. Opposition political parties should draw lessons from the longest serving presidents, they balance power between the military and the civilian authority. Those dictators who lasted for decades in power, loot resources by involving the securocrates in their matrix. They make sure that, the military is always on their side through addressing their human security ahead of other citizens.

In the entire history of humanity there is no known dictator who has never been either a military man himself or a creature of the military. The reason being that, the military element will never allow an independent thinker to govern without pursuing an agreed agenda with the military establishment. Serving in the military isn't a prerequisite for becoming president, but the USA alternates between civilians and military personnel for presidency. The USA has not experienced democratic breakdown because their military take public offices, as Presidents, leaders of parastatals, combating international crimes like terrorism, leaders of international organisations including civil society organisations, diplomats and defence attaches. All these roles give the military to have a voice in governance, hence the possibilities of coups are insignificant given that the army is structurally part of governance. Whilst the USA condemns military rule in other continents, the same is one of its key features.

In the unforeseeable future, coups, unless redefined, will remain illegal in that it usurps the powers of the electorate who have the contractual obligation to elect the government of their own choice. However, military intervention is continuously gaining momentum in Africa as the alternative to elections. The continued erosion of credibility of elections across Africa has seen the civilians appealing to the military to restore constitutionalism. The idea of people's army is a new phenomenon which was popularised in Sudan, Egypt and Zimbabwe and removed despotic leaders.

Under the Lome Declaration of July 2000, there are varied types of coups that have been codified. The first category is the military coup proper, where members of the army dispose the incumbent political leader and put in place a military led government for example in the case of Mauritania in 2005 and 2008, Guinea Bissau 2009 and 2012, Niger 2010 and Mali 2012. In this regard, the military would no longer be able to trust the civilian authority, based on the failure of the regime to address the human security concerns of both the military and the civilian populace.

The other type of a coup is forced change of government involving mass protest, where these facilitate military backed change of government like the case of Madagascar and Egypt.

There is also the army's involvement in the violation of constitutional processes, for example the case of Togo. However, it should be noted that the Zimbabwean scenario does not qualify in any one of the above three. Furthermore, Article 30 of the Constitutive Act says governments that shall come to power through unconstitutional means shall not be allowed to participate in the activities of the union. It went further to say those that led the coup should release power to a civilian government within 90 days. Leaders of the coup should not also participate in elections or voted into power.

The president is constitutionally mandated to declare elections and dissolve parliament paving way for general elections. The buildup to elections is charred and marred with hate speech, assassination plots, violence and intimidation among other vices as politicians jostle for power. According to the Westphalia Treaty, the winner takes it all principle is causing political competition and intolerance among political rivals. In Africa, politics potentially becomes a passport to ill-gotten wealth , hence most Africans thrive for political space. Accountability and rule of law in Africa in very difficult to enforce given the manner in which politicians get into office. The use of violence as an electoral tool, means that citizens fear the government. The decisions and policies come to people as executive orders. This also explains why there so many dictators in Africa than in any other part of the world.

Participatory democracy

The researcher proposes a new concept for the management of African affairs termed 'Participatory Democracy' which share the same values as the liberation struggle's '*Gutsaruzhinji*' concept and the 'Ubuntu' based forms of the precolonial governance systems. This approach is not a deviation from the existing political systems but it further adopts politics of assimilation, indigenization and inculcation. This approach was used in the religious sphere during the Vatican 11 resolution in 1962 when it became apparent that blacks were fighting for religious independence by ditching dogmatic colonial churches en-masse and forming their own local churches. To date, the colonial linked churches are gradually turning into religious white elephants. Similarly, the AU must liberate itself from neo-colonial rule by creating alternative system of government which reflects its ethos.

Africa is faced with electoral related challenges with devastating effects, for example, in Kenya as well as in Zimbabwe during the 2008 Presidential runoff among others. Politics underdeveloped Africa and has resulted in violence, destructive demonstrations, human security challenges, debt crisis, human rights abuses, corruption and state capture amongst a plethora of challenges. There is lack of political maturity leading to economic, social, political, religious, media, non-state actors polarization. In so many African countries managing a rigged electoral effect has been a cause of concern. Vote rigging is a phenomenon that has been practiced over centuries and the variance between states and continents is on how to manage the shocks and the political culture of the affected country. In the USA and Britain, for example, allegations of vote rigging are there but the duo is good at managing the effects of post electoral rigged election.

In most states there is no Transitional Law that stipulates what will happen when the leader is defeated in an election or should transfer power. The absence of clear-cut laws which compel leaders to leave office within stipulated time-frames has seen so many leaders withholding election results infinitely and, in some cases, refuse to vacate office. Transitional law is a key variable in managing post electoral situations. Many opposition political parties, especially in Africa where almost every election is rigged in favour of the ruling party, interpret delays in the release of election results to mean that the securocrates were 'manufacturing' the electoral outcome. The same can be said of Zimbabwe in 2008 where the disputed results led to the formation of the Government of National Unity and to date the results are subconsciously being contested. The absence of Transitional Law is a threat to human security and national security. This study proposes that the internal military and standby forces should be mandated and empowered to deal with issues of transition because they have the capacity and the coercive devices. The idea of confining the military to the barracks can be challenged because it is more ideal than realistic.

There are ways which Africa can adopt to minimize electoral shocks and foster unit which is the basic ingredient for development. This study proposes participatory democracy as the panacea to electoral related challenges. The approach would create unity in diversity and inhibit politics from interfering in national interest. National interest is the anchor of sovereignty and there is no country to talk about in the absence of protecting state

sovereignty. In most cases, the military intervenes in political matters as long as the management of politics impinge on national security, international relations, trade and commerce, sovereignty, human security, uneven distribution of political goods, failed succession plan by the ruling party and national interests. The philosophy of standby forces by both the UNSC and regional bodies in Africa is informed by the realization that, the military has a special role in the maintenance of peace and order, through the Organ on Defence and Security and at domestic level, the Joint Operations Command. There is no policy or law without enforcers. Democracy cannot work in Africa without enforcers and the military has the capacity to enforce democracy through use of diplomacy and compulsion depending on the level of resistance.

The researcher proposes the electoral participatory democracy paradigm for African states to avert pre, during and post electoral misdemeanors in the form of violence, vote rigging, polarized society, sabotage, thwarting of rule of law and other fundamental freedoms. There are two variables that have been at the centre of violence in Africa thus the human security and illegitimate governments through manipulation of the electoral processes. The external interventions are limited by the international law with regard to sovereign authority. The sovereign status can only be wavered by the international humanitarian law or through the authority of the UNSC. The domestic remedies are the formal courts which are often manipulated by the incumbent government. Most political parties do not concede to electoral court verdicts citing executive and securocrates interference. These challenges can be thwarted if the military partners with the electoral bodies to thwart any form of interference. The electoral body is independent on paper but in practice the body is only legally protected and does not have adequate protection in the event of interference. Electoral reforms do not mean anything because the political culture of any given society takes centre stage in the management of a state. It is prudent that electoral bodies be attached to the regional standby forces. The role of the military in civil affairs cannot be underwritten, they are strategically positioned to help countries attain true democracy through strong civil military relations. in the history of humanity, the fall of dictators has been the military intervention through staging a coup and even assassinating the despotic leader.

The concept of electoral participatory democracy mooted by the researcher is aimed at attaining a free, fair and credible election, a position challenged by Masunungure who argued that the three elements are a utopia. This theory, recognizes that, elections are in three phases and all of which are vital in terms of attaining a free, fair and a credible election. The theory proposes strategies that can be done at each of the stages towards the attainment of the electoral goals. In the pre-election phase, the approach proposes that, the parliament summons all political parties registered with the electoral body and debate on the framework for the elections and all the mismatching electoral laws are harmonized. In the parliamentary session the military, members of the civil society organizations, pressure groups, prominent business persons, religious organizations, technocrats and foreign electoral observers accredited to that country would be in attendance as the electoral outcomes impact on the society as a whole. When a unanimous decision has been made and the electoral blueprint has been set, the President would declare an election and sets out a date in accordance with the laws that govern the concerned country.

The theory also proposes, that all political parties would be summoned to the parliament ahead of the actual election itself. The same other stakeholders would be invited to prepare on how the actual election would take place. In this endeavor, all political parties would be made to present their political manifestos and they are debated inline with the state's national interest. Major tenants of the said political manifesto would be debated and a national manifesto is formulated. The parties would shed off their political manifestos in favour of the national manifesto agreed upon after thorough debates and consultations. This helps ensure continuity of viable policies and protection of the country's national values. The competition on political parties would be on selling the national manifesto to the electorate. The same would also guarantee monitoring and evaluation of public policies contained in the national manifesto. There would be ownership of policies and this also encourages the participation of minority political parties in governance issues, thus providing inclusive participation of all stakeholders in the management of the affairs of the state as the interests of all sectors would be represented. Currently, the ruling parties' manifesto becomes the national agenda thus furthering the interest of political parties at the expense of the national interests. In mature democracies like the USA, political parties have an insignificant influence on national interest.

In any situation, election is rule by the minority because at any given point in time the voters would not exceed a quota of the total population of the given state. If only a few citizens vote democracy is thus for an elite few, most of whom are the electoraly illiterate. Few of them know the constitution, have know-how of governance and public policy related issues. This explains why elections in Africa are a threat to national security and vote rigging would be the fall back strategy. Rural and urban votes, whilst critical, comprise of a group of fanatics who make emotional decisions when casting their votes thus the majority of votes in Africa are protest votes, wherein urban areas are popular with opposition political parties and the rural voters voting in favour of the status quo. The electoral participatory democracy seeks to promote unity in diversity, dialogue, promotion of national interests, rule of law and attaining mature democracy by raising the tolerance bar higher.

In this thinking, after an election has been conducted and the electoral body releases results within the prescribed parameters and political parties involved in the elections, together with the relevant stakeholders, converge. The purpose would be to manage post electoral legitimacy. Under the same concept, the first three political parties form the government and the rest would provide foreign missions, permanent secretaries, principal directors amongst others. Under this model, all parties would be fully represented in government. This would go a long way in easing politically motivated violence and gross human rights abuse , maiming, enforced disappearances, vote rigging and vote buying. The absence of a credible elections means; people are deprived of the right to self-determination. The role of the military would be to regulate those parties that are rebellious in nature for example the rebel groups that do not want to disarm and reintegrate into the society inclusive of terror groups, Mozambique, Somalia, Nigeria and Sudan have challenges of rebel groups.

In this approach regional standby forces and the internal forces combine to escalate efforts to quell down dissident behaviour. In addition, there are threats to human security that are being neglected and yet they negatively impact on the human security for example, accidents, rape, murder, child marriages, child soldiers, corruption and inequitable distribution of resources. The military should be empowered to review all the government deals entered into by heads of state to see if they are not mortgaging the country at the expense of future generations.

The issues of accountability should not be left out to parliaments alone but should also partner the military in case of cartels that are gradually being a major threat in Africa. In so many African states inclusive of big economies such as South Africa, DRC and Nigeria, the aspect of cartels and state capture are on an upward trajectory. The regional Organs on Defence and Security should encompass these emerging threats before Africa is turned into a hot spot for mafia, cartels and terror. The idea by the West of encouraging African states to cage their military who are capable of playing a major role in stabilising the continent is the major concern in this discussion. States should accord the military a special role in statecraft and ensure that they are productive as opposed to restricting them to barracks.

The Zimbabwean concept of Zimbabwe National Defence University (ZNDU) must be popularised and ensure that, at continental levels, states are encouraged to have their own defence universities.Through the **Statutory Instrument No. 38/2017 of 3 March 2017**, the President of Zimbabwe established the National Defence University. Courses are attended by senior officials from the National Army, Air Force, the Prisons and Correctional Services, the President's department and senior officials from other sectors in order to sharpen their skills in defence and national security strategy formulation. In Zimbabwe, military personnel of the rank of Colonel and above should attend the defence university and the principal course is on defence and security. This process can also be viewed as a demilitarisation process of the senior military officers in preparation for posts in the civil service such as parastatals and diplomatic services. The university should also encompass all top civil servants as a reorientation and re-calibration process, as African states moves towards reaffirming national values.. Furthermore, ZNDU provides higher education and training in national policy and strategy formulation for military and civilian leaders. This is to better address national and international security challenges, to strategically develop, through research and multidisciplinary programmes, patriotic individuals, institutions and communities who are alert and conscious in the face of the national, regional and global challenges and threats.

Study propositions, theory development and conclusion

The study proposes bureaucratic reform of the entire security sector to ensure that the military is there to protect and not to persecute the general citizenry. The military in Africa must adopt the Malawian approach where the military mitigated against police brutality on the general populace. The army in Malawi not only did it protect the voter's right, it also protected the sanctity of the judiciary from executive abuse but also created a conducive platform for Malawians to freely express themselves by voting for a presidential candidate of their choice without any form of coercion. This was against the norm where the military in Africa facilitate electoral fraud. The study, therefore, opted to coin it 'military assisted democracy''. This kind of political culture would gradually transform into formidable security sector reform. The Malawian, Zimbabwean and the ECOWAS initiatives are three critical developments towards people's army. The military must also help to foster good governance and there must be provisions to court marshall senior corrupt and incompetent government officials because their ill behaviour is a security concern and usually triggers civil unrest. With the human security development in the understanding of the term security, the sphere of influence of the military must be broadened. At the centre of development and sustainable peace must be the military playing an oversight role. In most African states, the military, in support of the political leadership, grab mineral deposits and smuggle these into offshore accounts. The role of the military in Africa is misconstrued if not confused. The general populace end up hating their armies because of misconduct ranging from human rights violations, looting, providing safe havens for wealthy criminals, fronting dictatorial tendencies, indulging in operations meant to silence opposing voices amongst other heinous acts. Africa can only develop only if the military revamp itself and undertake to alleviate human insecurities in line with the liberation struggle ethos.

The research proposes that, the military should be divided into the regular army and homeland security as this will be important especially when responding to riot situations by the citizenry. The homeland security armies would be trained on disaster management where people's rights must not be abrogated. There are various reports of military abuse of victims in disaster situations across Africa and more so when it is called to manage violent demonstrators mostly with valid grievances. A qualitative analysis of what triggers civil unrests through protests are concerns to do with electoral fraud, cost of living adjustments, state brutality, unemployment, gross corrupt activities, nepotism, dictatorship, fees structure for students and unfulfilled promises. Whilst these are genuine concerns the militaries of

most African states opt to use heavy handedness because the military top echelons have their human insecurities addressed in exchange of repression to maintain the status quo. Serving self-interest by the military top brass has always been a cause of concern in Africa. The role of the military becomes highly questionable because they are perpetuating colonial legacies through refusing to decolonise the military structures which they inherited from the former colonisers. This makes it very difficult to talk about independence in Africa and more so civil military relations. The colonial armies remained, what only changed was the skin. Names, acts, drills, code of conduct and infrastructure remained unchanged, for examples in Zimbabwe, the names of barracks were only changed in 2018 since 1980. Apart from the renaming, everything else remained unchanged and there are liberators with colonial behaviour. The study, therefore, coined a theory 'colonised military liberator', to describe the current post independence militaries in Africa.

In the absence of a clearly defined transition law in most African states, the one with military support can freely violate the constitution with impunity. There is a new political culture in Africa where the military is beginning to respect the will of the people. The new trend of military assisted transition is gaining momentum in Africa and this will go a long way in making sure that leaders respect the electorate since the military is no longer predictable, unlike in the past. The concept of civil driven military is a new political culture where the military openly defy its Commander-in-Chief and side with the masses for example in Sudan, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Egypt amongst others. At the center of these interventions are human security, constitutionalism, democracy and the enforcement of the martial law doctrine which mandates the military to intervene and self-deploy in situations where the state or government apparatus are using excessive force against the general populace. The study, therefore, recommend a human security sector reform approach where governments must begin to treat the military as human beings and not political tools to be unleashed against their own relatives and people. The political tactics of Machiavelli are no longer sustainable in the 21st century politics where political consciousness has improved significantly. Social media platforms especially Twitter and Facebook have significantly improved political literacy in Africa such that future politics shall be a battle of ideologies. Any form of brutality is quickly exposed and the culprits become social misfits given that members of the security live with the general populace. The majority of low-ranking military personnel are tenants and most house owners are skeptical in accommodating members of the security sector. The continued

alienation of the security forces has resulted in them being heavily compromised due to human insecurities as a result of poor remuneration. The politics of adaptation, indigenization and enculturation is at play in the low-ranking military personnel. There is some kind of forced civil military relations by default.

The study also recommended a 'whole of government approach' to be adopted towards security sector reform. Revolutionary ethos are diminishing because post-colonial Africa embraced colonial military templates, structures, defence doctrines and defence acts making former liberators a new form of colonial masters. The military in the post colonial Africa have killed their own citizens through genocide, civil war, repression and crimes against humanity and in 1994 in Rwanda, in less than ninety (90) days more than one million people were killed, in Kenya the post electoral violence claimed one million lives and in the 80s around 20 000 civilians were killed in Matabeleland according to Catholic Peace and Justice report findings of 2005. The culture of democracy being determined by barracks is a strange political culture which devalued the fundamental pillars of civil military relations in Africa.

The study proposes that constitutions should be amended and the military be empowered to eradicate malpractices such as corruption, politicization of the military institutions, interference in civil matters, nepotism and securocrates benefiting from every government program and fail to deliver with impunity. The fear and respect accorded the military can be used to enforce good governance as is the case in countries such as China and North Korea which have developed economically as a result of the coercive power of the military. The bureaucratic systems in Africa and the doctrine of separation of power can only be achieved if the military move beyond press conferences to implementation of national values and discipline. The army usually speaks when their own interests are at stake and yet they exist to serve the people hence Africa has recorded the highest number of coups in the world. This shows the irrationality of imposing leaders through rigging and later on conducting a coup against that same leader. These actions negatively impact on international relations and the economy of the affected states. Africa is being stagnated economically because of military behaviors. The iron fist rule by the military is not benefiting the African continent in any way.

There is need to domesticate the R2P doctrine where the military safeguards the human security concerns. The operation restore legacy of 2017 in Zimbabwe was done under R2P principle where the army cited human security concerns for its intervention. Zimbabwe became a classical model where the military intervened on the pretext of human security concerns. In the past the UN and other international organisations are known for intervening on humanitarian grounds, as was the case with Libya. The African Union must consider mooting a convention which authorizes military intervention on grounds of human security concerns to be legal. The regional standby forces must consider human security concerns to be part of its mandate thus envisaging a situation whereby standby forces intervene on corruption, unemployment, protection of the judiciary as was the case in Malawi, electoral malpractices, poverty and human rights with the concurrence of domestic armies. This will not only bring peace but also help Africa to grow economically, socially and in every sphere of human existence. A number of African states had their key resources mortgaged by leaders in exchange of safe havens after leaving office. The army should add their voice to any investment deals entered into by the heads of state in Africa, as these must be rationalized to ensure that they are designed to benefit the general public and not the leader in his personal capacity. This is the practical form of civil military relations by the armies as opposed to stage managed public relations stunts.

In order to solve political impasse, the study proposed an African model of democracy- 'participatory democracy' which combines both African and Western values in order to come up with a hybrid political culture that respects both African and Western civilizations. The basis of this trajectory is that African solutions for African challenges. The role of the military in peace times should be extended to governance and human security concerns. The doctrine of separation of powers is only tenable if there is military intervention. The tragedy comes when the military opt to align with one arm of the state, the Executive. The management of politics is a cause of concern and has been a source of challenges affecting Africa, and the military, as custodians of security, peace and stability have the legal duty to protect the Constitution. In order to improve on peace, security and stability, a hybrid democracy is thus required, in the form of participatory democracy. Politics is context specific and requires a situational approach hence the proposal to come up with participatory democracy where the military would be the ambassadors of good governance and sustainable economic maneuvers.

The European template that the military must be confined to barracks is unworkable in Africa. The study proposes an active role of the military towards human security obligations under the R2P principle. Thus, the military must be empowered to intervene and participate in cabinet meetings to avert knee jerk interventions by the military in the form of coups. This study holds that the military are largely responsible for the status quo in Africa. The military during the colonial era combined efforts with nationalists to liberate Africa and the same combined effort is required towards total eradication of the neo-colonial legacies. Africa has waged half-baked war as the economy, culture, religion and the political culture still reflects more of a colonial legacy. Insofar as the military and political leadership do not combine efforts to decolonize Africa, Africa will remain underdeveloped. Currently, there are various pan African movements which are lacking military support.

When considering human security threats to a nation, the military must consider corruption as one of the key threats to national security. Corruption has the same impact as any military aggression as it causes sizeable human insecurities and at times death. It is pertinent to note that, corruption can be considered a colonial legacy and Africa is failing to emancipate itself from the jaws of neo-colonialism. Instead of the military joining the masses in eradicating corruption, a colonial legacy, they deploy their military arsenal against the masses. Lord Macaulay's address to the British parliament on 2nd February 1835, said,

'I have travelled across the length and breadth of Africa and I have not seen one person who is a beggar or a thief ...such wealth I have seen in this country, such high moral values, people of such caliber, that I do not think we would ever conquer this country, unless we break the very backbone of this nation, which is her spiritual and cultural heritage and therefore, I propose that we replace her old and ancient education system, her culture, for if the Africans think that all that is foreign and English is good and greater than their own, they will lose their self-esteem, their native culture and they will become what we want them, a truly dominated nation''.

In the pre-colonial Africa corruption had never been of concern. The same applies to religious wars for example in Nigeria, Sudan has its peace being threatened by foreign religions Islam and Christianity. The mushrooming of these alien religions in Africa has seen the emergence of threats such as terrorism threating peace and stability.

Conclusively, the military is a key determinant factor in Africa and it must accept reforms so that they remain relevant to the general populace. Currently, civil military relations are non existant due to enmity between the military and the general populace. The military usually improve civil military relations only if the relationship would be beneficial to them, for example when trying to sanitize a coup. Confining the military to the barracks is not helping Africa to grow and in Europe the military is an important institution in terms of economic and technological developments. In China and India, for example, the best hospitals are military hospitals and the opposite is true of Africa. The military budgets in Europe cannot be compared to Africa and the rationale being that very few African states understand the role of the military in peace times. To note is that European military hardware major markets are Africa and Asian because leaders use armies to protect political power and not development. The political leaders in Africa procure military hardware in order to prepare to fight their own citizens, a tragic scenario. In light of these components the security sector reform and decolonization of the colonial military legacy is inevitable.

References

Adapted from Department for International Development, Security Sector Reform and the Management of Military Expenditure: High Risks for Donors, High Returns for Development, (Report of the International Symposium on Security Sector Reform, Sponsored by DFID, London, 15-17 February, 2000, p. 46.

African Regional Mechanisms include: Eastern African Standby Force: ECOWAS Standby Force: North African Regional Capability; and the Central African Multidimensional Force.

Aurel Crolssant; (2011), Introduction: New Perspectives on Civil-Military Relations also found on https://www.researchgate.net/publication/50358850-ontroduction-New-Perspectives-Civil-Military-Relations

Born, H. (2006) 'Democratic Control of the Armed Forces: Relevance, Issues, and Research Agenda', in G. Caforio (ed.) Handbook of the Sociology of the Military, New York: Springer, pp. 151–165.

Born, H., Haltiner, K.W. and Malesic, M. (eds.) (2004) Renaissance of Democratic Control of Armed Forces in Contemporary Societies, Baden-Baden: Nomos.

Burgess, Stephen (2011) "The African Standby Force, Genocide, and International Relations Theory," Genocide Studies and Prevention: An International Journal: Vol. 6: Iss. 2: Article 4.

Caparini, M., Fluri, P.H. and Molnar, F. (eds.) (2006) Civil Society and the Security Sector: Concepts and Practices in New Democracies, Berlin: Lit-Verlag.

Daniel Rothbart, Karina V. Korostelina, and Mohammed D. Cherkaoui, eds. Civilians and Modern War: Armed Conflict and the Ideology of Violence. London and New York: Routledge, 2012.

Desch, M.C. (1999) Civilian Control of the Military: The Changing Security Environment, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Dowd, A. Robert. 2016. Violent religious extremism and the U.S.-Africa policy. Special Issue: The Review of Faith and International Affairs, 14 (2): 93-100.5.The African Union Peace and Security Council Report was Commissioned by the African Union's Peace and Security Department and was Subsequently Adopted by the Third Meeting of the Chief Executives and Senior Officials of the AU, RECs and RMs on the

Implementation of the Mmemorandum of Uunderstanding on Cooperation in the Area of Peace and Security, held from 4-10 November, 2010, Zanzibar, Tanzania.

Feaver, P.D. (1999) 'Civil-military relations', Annual Review of Political Science 2(1): 211–241.

Feaver, P.D. (2003) Armed Servants: Agency, Oversight, and Civil-Military Relations, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Feaver, P.D. and Seeler, E. (2009) 'Before and After Huntington: The Methodological Maturing of Civil-Military Studies', in S.C. Nielsen and D.M. Snider (eds.) American Civil-Military Relations: The Soldier and the State in a New Era, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Final Report of Experts Workshop on Validating the Code of Conduct for Armed and Security Forces in Africa', 27-29 May 2002, Lome, Togo, p. 3. A DCAF Representative attended the Workshop and contributed to the drafting of the Code.

Gordon, April A. and Gordon, Donald L., eds. (2013). Understanding Contemporary Africa. Fifth Edition. USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers

H.A. Cushing, (ed) The writings of Samuel Adams [New York: Putnam, 1907 p2503

Hänggi, H., 'Good Governance of the Security Sector: Its Relevance for Confidence-Building', in Hänggi, H. (ed.), 'Practical Confidence-Building Measures: Does Good Governance of the Security Sector Matter?', Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, Working Paper No107, January, 2003.

John Karlsrud. 2015. The UN at war: examining the consequences of peace enforcement mandates for the UN peacekeeping operations in the CAR the DRC and Mali. Third World Quarterly 36 (1): 40-54.

Kidane Mengisteab (2011) "Critical Factors in the Horn of Africa's Raging Conflicts." Discussion papers 67. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet

Lyle McAlister, 'Changing Concepts of the Role of the Military in Latin America', Annals of the American Academy of Political Science, Vol.160, (1965), p862

Maphosa, S.B. 2014. Partnerships in peace operations-emerging and promising future orientations of peace support operations in Africa. Africa Insight. 44(3):111-128.

Maurice Sikenyi, Challenges or regional peace building: A case of the Great Lakes Region. Beyond Intractability (2013). Available at: http://www.beyondintractability.org/casestudy/sikenyi-great-lakes.

Mazrui, Ali A. (1994) "The bondage and boundaries." IBRU Boundary and Security Bulletin

Morris Janowitz, The Military in the Political Development of New Nations [Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1964, p101

Njoku, Uzochukwu J. (2005) "Colonial Political Re-Engineering and the Genesis of Modern Corruption in African Public Service: The Issue of the Warrant Chiefs of South Eastern Nigeria as a Case in Point." Nordic Journal of African Studies 14(1): 99–116.

Nunn, Nathan (2003) "The Legacy of Colonialism: A Model of Africa's Underdevelopment" Occasional Paper Series: Vol. 2, No. 1.

Praeger F.A. 1963 Africa must Unite: Kwame Nkrumah, New York

Pridham, G, 2000. "Confining Conditions and Break with the Past: Historical Legacies and Political Learning in Transitions to Democracy," Democratisation, vol. 7, no. 2 (Summer)

Prorok and Benjamin J. Appel, Compliance with international Humanitarian Law: Democratic Third Parties and civilian targeting in interstate war. Journal of Conflict Resolution 58 (4): 713-740.

Rialize Ferreira. 2010. Irregular warfare in African conflicts. South African Journal of Military Studies vol. 38, No. 1.

Rodney, Walter (1973) How Europe Underdeveloped Africa. London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications.

Stewart Alexander, Geological-reasoning training as preparation for the 'thinking warfighter' in the next-generation military. Journal of Military and Strategic Studies, 16 (1) 2015.

Terry, M. Mays, African solutions for African problems: The changing face of African mandated peace operations. The Journal of Conflict Studies, 23(1) (2003).

Theo Neethling. 2005. Realizing the African Standby Force as a Pan-African ideal: Progress, prospects and challenges. Journal of Military and Strategic Studies, Fall (2005), vol. 8, Issue 4.

Williams, R., 'Conclusion: Mapping a New African Civil-Military Relations Architecture', in Williams, R., Cawthra, G., and Abrahams, D. (eds.), Ourselves To Know: Civil-Military Relations and Defence Transformation in Southern Africa, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, 2003. p. 279.