

**From Civil-Military Relations to Security Sector Reform: New
Directions, Old Visions¹**

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¹ The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not represent those of the United States Agency for International Development. This paper is for discussion only, and represents a part of a larger project on security sector reform in the 21st century.

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Johanna Mendelson Forman

Introduction: The transitions from military to civilian rule that marked the opening of democratic governance also launched a new interest in the subject of civil-military relations. In both Latin America and the United States small groups of scholars, policy makers and military officials began what could now be characterized as a shift in the way we currently view the security sector. Ending the scourge of military rule from Patagonia to Central America has taken more than 20 years. Yet the threats to civilian rule are ever present, as recent events in Ecuador and Paraguay illustrate. That democratic processes remain incomplete is evidence of the complexity of civil-military relations to the broader context of democratic governance. Ongoing research about conflict, violence and its relationship to development have provided yet another lens in which to explore the relationship between the state and its citizens in the context of security and human rights.

As we enter the new century, reexamining some of ways we look at the military, and what we have learned in the last two decades, and especially since the end of the cold war can provide important lessons for how we must expand and develop our knowledge of the security sector, its relevant actors and the way in which this sector affects development in the hemisphere. The methodologies developed in the mid-1980s to begin engaging members of the region's armed forces in a dialogue with civilians marked an important breakthrough in better understanding the military's perception of democratic governance. Discussion of roles and missions, and the identification of civilians in government and in think tanks who were concerned about the evolution of relationships between the military and civilians created an important departure in the way we think about the military in Latin America today. It is also significant that because the transitions of Latin America have afforded researchers and policy makers a new laboratory to test some assumptions about institutional behavior of the armed forces in democratic transitions. These lessons are now being taken seriously as benchmarks for other world regions undergoing similar transitions. For example, the lessons of Latin America have not been lost on such recent transitions as Nigeria or Indonesia, and while culturally distinct, the behavior of armed institutions vis a vis civilian organizations can be managed more effectively by studying the lessons of cases in Latin America.

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This paper has two goals. First, it attempts to sketch out what projects have explored the civil-military relations, and have created a new literature and knowledge about the subject in the hemisphere. These first generations programs, some of which are ongoing, have created a baseline for study and dialogue on this subject. A second goal of this paper is to reach beyond what we describe as civil-military relations to explore the way thinking has evolved about the role of the security sector as a factor in promoting or inhibiting good governance and democratic development. This section will explore the role of other actors engaged in the subject matter, and in particular will look at how such multilateral lending organizations have been forced to include the concept of security sector reform into consideration as part of their country assistance strategies, and their broader approaches to poverty reduction not only in Latin America, but also in other parts of the globe.

Defining Civil-Military Relations:³ Civil-military relations refer broadly to the interactions between armed forces as institutions and the sectors of society in which they are embedded. Most commonly, civil-military relations focus on the relative distribution of power between the government and the armed forces of a country. They involve, as one specialist recently wrote, a “process” in which civilian control is measured and evaluated by weighing “the relative influence of the military officers and civilian officials in decisions of state concerning war, internal security, external defense, and military policy (that is, the shape, size and operating procedures of the military establishment.”⁴

Evidence is emerging of the positive impact of democratization on civil-military relations – at least in countries where economic development has lifted per capita GNP above a floor of \$1000. As Samuel Huntington pointed out, civil-military relations are “a dramatic exception to the lackluster performance of [new] democracies in so many other areas.”⁵ Countries with per capita GNPs over \$1000 do not have successful coup attempts; those with GNP’s over \$3000 do not even have coup attempts, he observes.⁶

The civil-military relations literature, and certainly developed nations’ concept of the role of the military, views armed forces as institutions geared at defending the state against external threats. Moreover, the control of armed institutions is vested in the executive branch, a symbol of the contract between elected officials and voters. Containing an institution whose main business is its franchise on violence within the state is one of the most important components of a democratic state.

³ This section is derived from two earlier studies, “Transforming Civil-Military Relations Through External Assistance: New Roles for USAID,” Claude Welch and Johanna Mendelson Forman. Paper presented to the 1999 Biennial International Conference, Inter-University Seminar on the Armed Forces and Society, Baltimore, Maryland, October 1999 and, Claude Welch and Johanna Mendelson Forman, *Civil-military relations: USAID’s Role*, Center for Democracy and Governance, Bureau for Global Programs, Field Support and Research, (Washington, D.C., 1998).

⁴ For example, see *Non-Combat Roles for the US Military in the Post-Cold War Era*, edited by James R. Graham (Washington, D.C., National Defense University, 1993).

⁵ Samuel P. Huntington, “Reforming Civil-Military Relations,” in *Journal of Democracy* 6, 4 (1995), p.11.

⁶ *Ibid.* p.15.

This being said, the perspective of more developed nations, which view the military's mission as a purely external one, is not universally accepted in less developed nations. Often, constitutions mandate that militaries play internal security roles, and frequently militaries are used to perform civic action programs, from building roads to providing rural health care to police activities outside the capital city. Thus, any program being developed which calls attention to the relationship between civilians and military must also be respectful of constitutionally mandated roles that may greatly affect the content and messages being conveyed. Certainly, in the case of so many countries in Latin America, the policing function of the armed forces, while now often separate de jure, have in fact been reconstituted in response to the growing crime and violence that has plagued so many countries emerging from conflict or where economic downslides have created greater citizen insecurity.⁷

Armed forces in most countries of Latin America still carry out extensive roles. Often, they still constitute the only presence of the state outside the national capital. This means that, for the average citizen, there is no civilian counterpart to the army official when it comes to seeking services or favors. Civilian politicians cannot muster the material goods, the manpower, the force, or the deterrence that an armed presence implies. But it is also this armed presence that has gone awry so many times as to become the source of repression, human rights violations, and corrupt practices.⁸ When bankrupt or corrupt civilian regimes no longer provide soldiers with pay, or allow soldiers to become local entrepreneurs, the risk of creating an institution without accountability is high. Thus, soldiers serving commanders loyal only unto themselves forms the basis for the rise in impunity, the ongoing suffering of civilians and the continued lack of development in so many societies around the globe. Civil-military relations thus impact directly on economic advance. The more traditional approach to civil-military relations is now giving way to a broader examination of how to affect security sector reform as a condition precedent to economic development.

The challenge for any program in civil-military relations is to address ways in which and appropriate balance can be achieved, where freely elected civilians can regain control of their countries. This will require civilians to devise strategies that include the gradual reduction of an armed presence as the only state-run agency responsible for key aspects of internal security and development. It will require political leaders to create a civilian police, provide local security, and support the gradual civilianization of activities that are

⁷ See, for example, the work of Rachel Neild, "From National Security to Citizen Security: Civil Society and the Evolution of Public Order Debates," a paper prepared for *Themes and Debates in Police Reform: A Manual for Civil Society*, prepared for the Washington Office on Latin America, 1999. As Neild states in her paper, "as governments seek to improve public security and crime fighting measures, they often resort to repressive measures that further restrict rights. In a number of countries, the response to police weakness has been to re-engage the military in internal security and public order tasks, undermining hard-won restrictions on military mandates that limit them to external defense tasks."

⁸ This has certainly been evident in places like Ecuador, where civilian elected officials rarely provided public services among the indigenous communities in the highlands, but the armed forces provide civic action programs and health care to support this excluded population. Yet another example has been in rural Honduras, where the armed forces still exercises great economic control in certain areas, in exchange for providing security.

not necessarily those of the armed forces (i.e., customs, immigration, mail service, road construction and health care). It will require strengthening a variety of institutions, and most important, it will require a strong civil society to provide oversight and accountability.⁹

First Generation Civil Military Relations Programs: After the transition to civilian government in Latin America a growing interest in learning more about armed forces became an important area of inquiry. Both foundations and development agencies began to take pay more attention to the relationship of the military to the state. It was also clear that the rising tide of political openings required civilians to engage on a more systematic basis with members of the armed forces in order to begin the process of political opening that was a major feature of this era. The result of this situation was a series of programs that took the study of civil-military relations as a serious academic pursuit. It also spawned a new generation of scholars, and revitalized an older one, who could now begin to discuss the military as an institution of governance. By the mid-1980s studying the military was once again a respectable line of work, especially in the United States, which had produced few doctoral students interested in this subject in the late 1960s and 1970s.¹⁰

USAID, in the mid-1980s, as part of its mandate to support democratic transitions, experimented with projects that would help support creation of knowledge about the Latin American armed forces, but also help consolidate network of civilian leaders who could become legitimate interlocutors with the military. Such programming could not directly support active duty personnel to attend such programs, and USAID was ambivalent about work with our US military counterparts in the field in supporting direct programs with the armed forces. USAID, however, did encourage civilian institutions to start looking for ways to create an understanding and communication to support a common objective: the professionalization of the armed forces and its withdrawal from politics. The message was to engage civil society organizations to become active in discourse with military actors as part of the greater political space that the transitions to democratic rule had created.

Democracy Projects, American University, Washington, D.C and PEITHO, Montevideo, Uruguay: In 1986 USAID provided a small grant to the American University in Washington, D.C., and its Uruguayan partner in Montevideo, PEITHO, to

⁹ It is recognized, to be certain, that significant threats to internal security surpass the capacity of many police forces. Insurgent groups, narco-traffickers with private armies, party militias, or mafias are examples where the military has been necessarily and appropriately involved in domestic action. The dividing line that is clear in theory - - or at least in the minds of many Western analysts - is challenged in the field.

¹⁰ During the Viet Nam war the study of the military as a research topic was shunned. Among Latin Americanists, in particular, there were few who paid attention to the armed forces, and those who did, viewed them through the Cold War lens of US national security doctrine. The democratic political sea change in Latin America reawakened intellectual interest in the role of the armed forces in governance, and thus created a wider network of younger scholars who were willing to engage in serious research in this field.

initiate the first program in civil-military relations.¹¹ The initial USAID support, slated for three years, and tagged on to a project about political parties and democracy in Central America, became one of the longest-running of USAID grants, lasting 11 years. Underlying this program was the belief, especially in the Department of State, that civil-military relations and security sector reform was directly linked to US interests in post-war Central America. This view was also shared by the Department of Defense that over the course of the project grew more supportive of its objectives and participated in programs by provided funding for active-duty officers to attend regional meetings.

The American University program, known as the *Democracy Project for Latin America*, developed two important features that are still a vital component of civil-military relations programs today. First, it created a methodology for research on the subject by having a scholarly participant paired with a military or security practitioner in his or her given country. Second, it identified and cultivated a network of civilian specialists working in the subject of civil-military relations in the hemisphere who could form a critical mass of knowledge on the subject, while also helping to break down boundaries between military educational institutions and civilian think-tanks and universities. Third, it created a forum for military and political leaders to address civilian elites and non-governmental organizations through a series of conferences and regional dialogues on civil military relations in the aftermath of authoritarian regimes. Conferences were held in Panama, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Uruguay, Venezuela, Peru, Paraguay, Ecuador, El Salvador and the United States. These events focused on specific themes such as appropriate roles for the armed forces in democratic societies, definitions of security and discussions about free media and accountability of the armed forces to the public. Many of these events marked the first time that civilian and military leaders had come together to discuss their respective positions on political opening. The events also created a means of building confidence among different parts of each sector. Finally, the program produced a set of new and original research in the field that marked the beginning of an important scholarly opening in the field.¹²

Lessons learned from the American University/PEITHO program included the importance of dialogue as a basis for engagement with the armed forces, and the importance of linking the creation of new knowledge as an entry point to a more in depth relationship with members of the armed forces. But the most tangible evidence from the program over time was a network of professionals in both civilian and military spheres that were able to sustain the work of this initial project in their respective countries or in the region. Looking at a roster of original participants in that project it is clear that the impact of it far exceeded its limited resources, based on its ability to forge relationships with others in the hemisphere, and also with the US security forces by helping to expand

¹¹ This project, headed by Louis W. Goodman, Dean, American University School of International Service, Johanna Mendelson, Research Professor, American University School of International Service, and Juan Rial and Carina Perelli, Directors of PEITHO, Montevideo, Uruguay, was based on an initial effort headed by Dr. Goodman at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholar's Latin America Program in 1985.

¹² See Louis W. Goodman, Johanna Mendelson and Juan Rial, *The Military and Democracy: Civil-Military Relations in Latin America*, (Lexington, MA, Lexington Books, 1989).

their vision of civil-military relations at a critical time in the development of US foreign policy.

Other Significant Programs: If the Democracy Projects were a start in this field, it as soon followed by a wide range of regional programs and activities. Other programs that followed included efforts in the US and Latin America that also reached out to similar constituencies, encouraging dialogues, conferences and original research. Among the most salient projects are:

Peace and Security in the Americas: This project, a joint activity of the Latin America program of the Woodrow Wilson Center and the Facultad Latino Americana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), Santiago, Chile, expanded the view of civil-military relations to include a wider perspective of security studies, with an emphasis on regional geopolitics and the impact it had on security policy. Started in the early 1990s the project still remains an important forum for discussion on regional security issues. It has been supported by private foundations, and especially by the MacArthur Foundation.

National Endowment for Democracy (NED): Through the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) civil-military studies also became a focus of grant making. The creation of the NED in the 1980s provided another outlet in support of indigenous research groups whose interests in promoting civil-society engagement on this subject became an area of support. Many local institutions, from Guatemala and El Salvador, to the Southern Cone, benefited from NED support of conferences, programs and dialogues. NED resources also supported the two US political party foundations, the National Democratic Institute and the International Republican Institute. Only the National Democratic Institute developed programming in this field, pursuing opportunities in Argentina and most importantly, through a program that took place in Nicaragua at a crucial point in the transition from the Sandinista government to elected government of Violeta Chamorro in the early 1990s.

FLACSO – Central America: Conflicts in the region created an important and serious engagement of scholars, first in Costa Rica, and later back in Guatemala, on the subject of civil-military relations. Research, conferences and publications helped forge an important new relationship between civilians and the military in both El Salvador and Guatemala that has remained an important focal point for discussions about security sector reform.¹³

Catholic University – Ecuador: A project that was supported by USAID, the Catholic University, and several of Ecuador's economic think-tanks started a process to engage the armed forces in a discussion of appropriate civil-military relations in that country, starting in 1995. The dialogue was interrupted by the border war between Ecuador and Peru, but resumed after cessation of hostilities. Some of the participants in

¹³ Guatemalan political scientist, Dr. Gabriel Aguilera, led the way to discussions about how civil-military relations might function in his country. After leading the intellectual assault on military rule, Dr. Aguilera became the Vice-Minister for Foreign Relations during the recent PAN government of Arzu, which left power in early 2000.

this forum included Peruvian scholars who served as an important link between these two hostile states. One of the most important contributions of this effort was a forging of closer links between the intellectual elites in the military and with civil society¹⁴.

Inter-American Institute of Human Rights, San Jose, Costa Rica. In the early 1990s the Institute, a regional organization focussed on the study, promotion and protection of human rights, embarked on an important effort to provide the militaries of the region with training in international humanitarian law. These early encounters, in countries with serious histories of human rights abuses among the armed forces, provided a significant entry point for the discussion of human rights in the wake of the conflict in El Salvador. The Institute, supported mainly by the European Community in this effort, continues to provide training, and engagement on human rights education among the armed forces of the region, by linking NGOs with national militaries in specific countries.

The Civil-Military Issue in Latin America: Training a Network of Civilian Specialists: This project, started at the Universidad Torcuato Di Tella by Professor Rut Diamint, addressed the important need to build capacity among a new generation of researchers in the region. Supported in part by the Ford Foundation, this effort was started in 1998 to address the important training needs in the region through weeklong training sessions for young scholars and civilian practitioners. Programs have been held in the Southern Cone, Mexico and the Caribbean. In a time when so many students have never been exposed in a positive way to military culture, this endeavor marks an important opening in the field.

US Military Programming: Throughout the 1980s the US Department of Defense has sought ways to expand its role in supporting enhanced civil-military relations as part of its changing mission in the world. As the cold war waned, democratization movements flourished, and DOD was especially involved in using this opening as a way to support the field training of foreign soldiers and civilians in the ways of democracy. In the Latin America region, the end of sub-regional wars in Central American opened a new chapter in inter-American cooperation, which included an expanded role for US officers in the region. In addition to the International Military Education Training program (IMET), which was the primary vehicle for bringing Latin American soldiers to the US for traditional types of training, the US Congress authorized the expansion of this effort to civilians, under a program known as Expanded IMET, or E-IMET. (As of FY 1998, worldwide support for this program is \$50 million, with about half-slotted for the Latin American theater.)¹⁵

¹⁴ This project, headed by Dr. Berta Garcia Gallegos, a sociologist at the Catholic University, Quito, was a pioneering effort on her part, to bring the different groups in the armed forces into closer contact with theory and practice of civil-military relations. Several publications resulted. The project also had close connections to that of American University's Democracy Projects.

¹⁵ See Defense Security Assistance Agency's *Expanded IMET Handbook*, February 1997, 1-003058/97, which contains the most up-to-date listing of all DOD sponsored courses with outreach to civilian students.

In addition to this global outreach, the Secretary of Defense created a group of regional schools to support training of civilians and military officials on defense management, civil-military relations, procurement and budgeting, and general type of security assistance programming. US embassies and military attaches around the world select the students who will attend these schools. Congress has imposed greater checks on who is provided with this type of training, and extensive vetting of candidates now occurs to ensure that individuals charged with criminal activities or human rights abuses are not permitted to be part of these programs. To date, in addition to the Center for Hemispheric and Defense Studies, housed at the National Defense University in Washington, D.C., there is the Marshall Center in Germany to cover the European and NIS countries, a Center for Asia at the East-West Center in Hawaii, and a recently created African Center for Strategic Studies, which is temporarily housed in Washington, D.C.

The significance of all these programs that are supported through our defense establishment must be viewed as both a positive approach to dealing with the broader security issues of each region by attempting to train civilians in defense issues. For example, the Naval Post-Graduate School in Monterey, California, established a Center for Civil-Military Relations (CCMR) in the early 1990s to provide for academic curriculum development and training center that is used to support regional commands in engaging civilians and military in different parts of the world. This Center uses mobile military teams to reach out to civilians in the field. Their focus is centered on the relationship of US military doctrine on democratic governance, but the message is one very oriented toward US military operations. But the trend also poses some important questions about the appropriateness of military institutions of the US providing this type of training to civilians.

Part of this expanded role for the US military reflects the extension of US military power to the civilian realm, and filling a vacuum that the development community failed to fill in its wider programming in democracy and governance issues.¹⁶ In the context of peace operations, for example, civilians and NGOs are now discussed in terms of being “force multipliers,” a positive concept that acknowledges a the dependency that exists between military and civilian spheres of activities. Whether the US civilian agencies will ever recapture this constituency is highly questionable, given the paucity of resources for international foreign assistance. But anyone serious about the primacy of civilian control of the military must really think hard about the long-term implications for such programming within our foreign policy tool-kit.

Second Generation Programs- Toward a Broader Definition of the Security Sector: As we enter the new millennium it is growing more apparent that the traditional approach to civil-military relations has only scratched the surface of dealing with governance in the security sector. Both bilateral and multilateral foreign assistance organizations are revisiting their investments in development and it has become more apparent that “crime and violence have emerged in recent years as major obstacles to the realization of

¹⁶ See, for example, Charles J. Dunlap, Jr., “*The Military Coup of 2012*,” *Parameters* 22 (Winter 1992-93), pp. 2-20.

development objectives in Latin America and the Caribbean.”¹⁷ In the World Bank’s most recent efforts to explore the root causes of poverty, and its impact on the poor, the Bank held extensive consultations around the globe about the needs of the world’s most disenfranchised. Out of these consultations one issue featured more prominently than any other, the need for citizen security. Those interviewed said that fear for one’s life, property and freedom was the factor that prevented them from advancing.¹⁸ Thus, the dialogue has moved from a more narrow discourse on civil-military relations in governance to a wider view of security sector reform as a means to bring justice with equity, and democratic security as the condition precedent to other forms of economic, social and political needs.

Defining Security Sector Reform: Civil-military relations today is a sub-field of what is becoming known as security sector reform. In development parlance this means that there has been a growing recognition of how security affects a country’s ability to advance. Thus, the linkages between development and a nation’s security are closely related to poverty alleviation, respect for human rights, health standards and governance. Taking this broad view has also helped to integrate the notion of security being subject to the rule of law that is open and democratic. As discussions of the security sector expand to embrace reform of the police, public sector accountability of military expenditures, training of civilian practitioners in security matters, to such issues as the demobilization and reintegration of combatants and soldiers, disarmament and destruction of light weapons, downsizing militaries, and bringing crime and violence into the mainstream of development challenges, there is also now a focus on police and policing as an integral part of institutional reforms.

In the post-conflict period, not only in Latin America but also around the world, the civil-military relations nexus in terms of development cooperation is more complex. Military programs provide the principal source of support for actual demobilization; civilian programs are more likely to be useful in the areas of training, micro-enterprise and credit, and general registration. Moreover, the use of demobilization programs in transition societies serve dual purposes: helping support internal security by providing a place for former fighters to train and work, while also laying the foundation for a peaceful transition from military to civilian governance.

In 1994 the United Nations Development Program used the term human security to describe this panoply of issues which we now consider a more appropriate way to discuss the inter-relationships between military states and society.¹⁹ This concept has also captured the interest of the international financial institutions that are beginning to grasp the importance of good practices in the security sector as central to a country’s ability to stabilize, thus creating an enabling environment for investment.

¹⁷ World Bank. 1997. “Crime and Violence as Development Issues in Latin America and the Caribbean,” Washington, D.C., Paper drafted by Bob Ayres for Seminar on Urban Criminal Violence, Rio de Janeiro, 2-4 March 1997.

¹⁸ World Bank, 1999. Consultations with the Poor, See World Bank Website, www.worldbank.org, and the homepage on poverty.

¹⁹ UNDP (United Nations Development Program). 1994. *Human Development Report, 1994*. New York.

The donor community has also latched on the concept of security sector reform, sparked by the more recent phenomenon of failed states, and the consequences that such failures have on development projects. While interest has focused more on prevention and early warning, there is now a shifting of approaches to a more straight forward effort to engage development partners in the idea of reforming the security sector, writ large, as a way to ensure that investments in health, education, infrastructure and reconstruction are not compromised by war and conflict. Most recently, the United Kingdom has redirected its work in the development field to embrace security sector reform.²⁰ Similarly, the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development Cooperation has completed a significant policy study on the impact of the security sector on development assistance.²¹ The European Union also provided an updated study on donor positions about reforming this vital sector. It seems, in some ways, the US is among the slowest in the civilian sphere, to recognize this trend.²²

Among those investigating the question of security sector reform, the issue of internal security and policing has emerged as a central question for future inquiry, and has indeed become a key theme in reforming governance, and the justice sector in particular. We are now looking at a new generation of research and researchers seeking a better understanding of how the police, the military and the judicial sector create the underpinnings for strong socio-economic development in this hemisphere.²³

In the future major issues in civil-military relations will include a set of problems that can be divided into matters common to all militaries and those that are specific to certain armed forces. Examples of civil-military relations issues common to all governments include:

- The high costs generally of modern militaries, with consequences for national development. It is widely accepted that although technological modernization and social integration can be achieved through the armed forces, the fiscal tradeoff relative to expenditures for education, public health, or private sector-led development does not favor military expansion, but rather reduction. This is particularly troublesome in Latin America, given the current economic downturn in so many countries, and the role of the armed forces as an employment safety net.
- The boundaries between civil-society and the armed forces are shifting. The growth of civilian police forces poses a counter-balance to the internal security function of the military in many countries. Moreover, the expansion of civil society, and the potential for subordination of the armed forces to

²⁰ DFID (Department for International Development), United Kingdom. 1999. *Poverty and the Security Sector: Policy Statement.* London.

²¹ DAC/OECD. 1998. *Conflict, Peace and Development Cooperation on the Threshold of the 21st Century.* Paris.

²² Malcolm Chalmers, "Security sector reform in developing countries: an EU perspective," Conflict Prevention Network, Brussels, and Saferworld, London, UK, January 2000.

²³ See, for example, Charles T. Call, "Sustainable Development in Central America: The Challenges of Violence, Injustice and Insecurity," Draft paper. October 21, 1999; Rachel Neild, op cit.

civilian oversight is an unresolved issue, and one that is tested every day in the media and in the human rights community.

- The balance between externally and internally oriented security measures is critical. Throughout the developing world, and in many developed countries, the armed forces not only defend national boundaries and project state power externally, but also frequently supplement or even supplant the police in dealing with domestic disturbances. One of the most important steps in ensuring civilian control over the armed forces is professionalization of the police function.
- Military “professionalism” of different types and levels. If professionalism includes a strong sense that officers should limit themselves to offering expert advice on policy matters, the likelihood of forcible intervention and the possibility for successful democratization respectively fall and rise. But if professionalism includes a wide-ranging assertion of the unique capacities of the armed forces to determine aspects of the national interest, governmental control is undercut.
- Effectiveness of major means of governmental control. These include legislative budget appropriation, formal control over appointments/promotions of military officers to the highest ranks, designation of elected civilians as constitutional heads of state, etc. These are strongly buttressed, in systems marked by significant governmental control over the armed forces, by a widespread sense within the military of the appropriateness of such policy oversight, as suggested above.
- Recruitment, training and demobilization of members of the military. Recruitment and retention is an important issue, as well as providing a means to live outside a reduced military. Demobilization of regular forces is a critical issue, but one which will require important policy considerations with respect to education, retraining, and pension costs.
- Controlling illegal weapons flow. Traffic in arms of all types, through private channels closed to public scrutiny, has immensely complicated the reestablishment of security in conflict-torn areas. State and international mechanisms have not proven equal to the task of identifying sources, halting transfers of illegal weapons, and developing means to counteract the proliferation.
- Reconceptualizing security and its institutions, so that militaries are no longer the sole or perhaps even central institutions of defense. Relations between standing armed forces, police and other units must be carefully examined. An important part of this process is incorporating NGOS into the policy dialogue.
- Dealing with conversion of military property – e.g., base closures in countries where substantial demobilization has occurred, and returns of land to civilian uses.
- Similarly, conversion of the arms industry must be undertaken. This will not prove an easy task, given shortages of capital, global competition for production of alternative outputs and vested interests.
- Demobilization of rank and file of guerilla, insurgent and paramilitary forces, as part of the reestablishment of security overall. Having thousands of jobless

armed individuals roaming the countryside undercuts all other serious efforts at reform. Alternative employment opportunities must be devised.

- Depoliticization of officers who have played leading roles in juntas. Quite clearly, democratization and effective civilian control require political neutralization of high-ranking military leaders, taking note of potential risks.

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The following are examples of disparate issues and heritages that include:

- The historical role of the armed forces. In Latin America, for example, the military played a central role in the achievement of independence, and then in unifying the state.
- The constitutional roles defined formally for militaries. These range from broad mandates [*estado militar*] to tight restrictions on armed forces' formal autonomy. Although the dynamics of civil-military relations are defined by many factors other than constitutional prescriptions, they provide an important starting point for analysis.
- The nature and level of the military's utilization in internal security operations. For example, gendarmeries supplement police in many states (particularly those with French colonial backgrounds); these units form integral parts of the national security apparatus, are controlled through the ministry of defense, yet have no function outside national borders.
- In some states, extensive 'privatization' of security functions. Civil-military relations are especially complex in "failed states", or where private armies linked to drug trafficking (as in parts of Latin America and Central Asia) exercise control over parts of the countries.
- Contrasting relationships between society divisions and norms, and military isolation and autonomy. Armed forces in some developing countries exemplify marked disparities; dominated by personnel from specific groups, these militaries fall far short of the democratic ideal that they should reflect, in at least a rough way, the ethnic, racial and religious or other societal distribution of these societies. Tensions arise in civil-military relations based on such disparities.
- Levels of economic development and military expenditures. Obviously, contrasts exist along a broad spectrum between highly industrialized and well off, and primarily subsistence agriculture and poor. The burden of heavy military expenditures will be more serious in countries that have yet to "break through" to middle income status. Many governments spend well above the figure of three percent of GDP. But today the real issue is more than expenditures. It is what functions the military is performing and whether there is a way to transition such expenditures from military to civilian agencies. This is also complicated when governments subsidize extensive military industries and shun privatization and free market approaches. Though a seeming target for cuts, armed forces budgets may in fact need some degree of protection in order for democratization and improved civil-military relations to become firmly established.

Security Sector Reform in the Context of Multilateral Development Banking:

Security is a development issue connected to the poverty and development mandate of the multi lateral lending institutions.²⁴ One in five persons are living in country in conflict. Nineteen of the twenty of the world's poorest nations are either engaged in an active internal war, or have recently emerged from some form of fighting.²⁵ Since the early 1990s the World Bank has been involved in security-related work through a variety of lending and non-lending instruments and mechanisms. That work began with studies and debates on military expenditures, motivated by the realization that many of the Bank's borrowers maintained levels of military spending that crowded out social spending. The problems then were armies that were large, or weapons purchasing programs that were ambitious, in relation to the country's resources and its ability to meet debt service obligations. Discreetly, the policy dialogue with some countries was extended to the issues of excessive military spending. In 1991 the Bank's Board approved guidelines for Bank staff on how to address the issue, and several symposia were held.

Concern about military expenditures crowding out the development agenda of government budgets has eased considerable. Although there are still some borrowing countries with military spending patterns that are disproportionate to their needs or capabilities, average levels are about half those a decade ago. In the meantime, the Bank has increasingly engaged in directly and indirectly assisting post-conflict countries with the transition to peace through demobilization and reintegration, demining, and community level reconciliation through reconstruction of war-torn societies.

The Bank's economic research is also intensifying its focus on the relationship between economic exclusion and violence.²⁶ In the last year along, the Bank's department of economic research has established a program to explore how economic greed has fueled conflict, and contributed to the destabilization of regions in Africa. In the Latin America region, Colombia has been central to this type of research. Studies on violence as a factor in political, economic and social development have been especially important to the Bank's approach to such countries as Guatemala and Colombia. In these discussions it is impossible to exclude the role of the armed forces, non-state actors such as rebels and paramilitaries, or the existence of privatized security forces as a factor in the continued instability of many regions of the globe in the post-cold war era.

While the Bank has not worked directed on what we could call first generation programs in civil military relations, it has entered this field through its work in public sector reform. For example, the Bank in Guatemala engaged political leaders and members of the armed forces in a dialogue about military pensions, and the impact of such recurrent costs on other budgetary demands. Similarly, working in partnership with other

²⁴ Johanna Mendelson, Nat Colletta, and Jan Vanheukelom, *Security, Poverty Reduction and Sustainable Development: Challenges for the New Millenium*, The World Bank, 1999.

²⁵ World Bank, 1998. *Policy Framework on Post Conflict Reconstruction*, Washington, DC.

²⁶ The Development Economics Research Group at the World Bank is sponsoring a series of meetings and investigations on the fundamentals of the economics of political conflict and violence. See, for example, Paul Collier, "On the Development Consequences of Civil War," *Oxford Economic Papers*, 51, pp.168-83.

international organizations, it provided technical support on the demobilization program in that country after the 1996 peace accords. Given the Bank's current focus on governance, public sector accountability, and transparency, it seems natural that the institution will become more engaged in matters of security sector reform, though the specifics of that engagement may be less operational, and more research oriented.

The Inter American Development Bank has also come along on the subject of security sector reform, but unlike the World Bank, which was more willing to think about reducing or demilitarizing national armies, the IDB came to this field through its work on the rule of law. Emphasis on policing, crime and violence has led the IDB to devote more attention to how citizen security, or the lack of it, inhibits economic growth, and undermines simple development gains. In the last few years it has been the IDB that has taken a more active role in providing support to this topic, though it has been less involved with what would seem an obvious related field: military reform and the role of the military in the region's economies.

Conclusion: Toward a Broader Comprehension of the Sector: As we march forward in the 21st century the notion of appropriate civil military relations is more widely accepted as a serious concept which embraces the way the armed institution relates to the state, and the extent of both de facto and de jure control that citizens exercise over an institution designed to use violence in the protection of the state. Whereas fifteen years ago engaging the armed forces in Latin America in a dialogue about human rights were taboo, today it is a commonplace. Discussions within the military and among non-governmental groups engaged in democracy building have expanded the boundaries of dialogue so that protection of civilians and respect for the rule of law are part of the ongoing discourse about appropriate roles and missions. There is also a growing recognition of the interrelationship between internal and external security, as a point of entry into exploring what appropriate civil-military relations should embrace. This is a major advance in thinking about the armed forces, especially in light of the growing increase in crime and violence in such regions as Central America, and in urban areas around the hemisphere. The issue of internal security, or citizen security has engaged a new generation of scholars and created an expanded literature about police, and public safety that will probably continue to dominate the field for the next decade.¹

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