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World in Transit

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THE JOURNAL

The McGill International Review is an effort on the part of the International Relations Students Association of McGill to showcase the outstanding academic work of students in the field of International Relations at McGill. Recently revamped, and in its second year, the journal has focused its attention on a specific theme, incredibly relevant in this day and age. If there was one thing that marked the past year, it was the sweeping change that has occurred in every single region in the world. Transitions from dictatorships, anarchy, and revolutions are only some of the everlasting changes to have occurred, leaving behind a legacy that the only thing constant is change itself. We hope that the publication will succeed in creating a forum for high calibre academic publications and pursuits. We offer our most sincere gratitude to all the editors for their hard work, dedication, vision, and above all, unfettered enthusiasm, during the course of working on the McGill International Review. We hope that our passion in seeing the journal realized is only exceeded by its continuity.

Sincerely,

Maanasa Rayavarapu

Vice-President, Internal Affairs
IRSAM 2011-2012

FOREWORD

In a year that has seen much political turmoil, the MIR editorial board saw it fitting to heed the global winds of a shifting political order. Our theme, "World in Transit" reflects an idea that all of our contributors have grappled with in their essays in some ways. Whether it be about religion in Indonesia or democracy in Russia, all of our contributors offer a lens through which we can view the current and often violent transitions that are taking place in the Middle East and North Africa. It is my hope that you walk away with an appreciation of the challenges that come with a shifting global order. The world is indeed in transit. How a society adapts and conforms along the ride will determine how far it can lay its tracks.

A journal such as this would not be possible without the contribution, critique and collaboration of many. I would like to thank IRSAM, and especially Maanasa Rayavarapu, without whom this journal would not exist. To all my editors, thank you so much for all the insights that you brought to meetings and the commitment and hard work that you've put into the this publication to reflect the highest standard of student research. Lastly, to all those who have contributed to the journal, thank you. This year we received many papers of high quality, making our jobs as editors extremely difficult. Rest assured that this selection represents some of the most thoughtful and well written scholarship on international relations.

Happy Reading!

Yashmi Mahat

Editor-in-Chief
McGill International Review

WORLD IN TRANSIT

EDITORIAL STAFF

REVISITING CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN NORTH AFRICA

Jais Mehaji

One of the main failures of the Middle East academic community in anticipating the Arab Spring 2010-2011 has been the community's under-appreciation of how the civil-military landscape has changed since the 1970s, particularly in North Africa. This paper, through a case analysis of Libya and Tunisia, explores the strategies of civil-military relations under Qadhafi and Bourguiba and Ben Ali to find the explanatory factors of the military's role in the Arab Spring. The paper concludes that the policies of the leaders in both countries contributed to the midwife role that Arab armies have played during revolution, particularly looking at the civilian transition in Tunisia and the army's fragmentation and the armed civil war that ensued in Libya.

In the Middle East and North Africa, the military has been a key and enduring element in understanding the durability of authoritarianism in the region, having constituted the backbone of many authoritarian regimes in the area.[1] Military politics in the Arab world have held a particular importance for scholars for many reasons. Chief among them is that Arab politics, since their postcolonial history, have been characterized by "the continuous interference and the ascendance of army officers in the political life of their countries."[2] This has been the case in Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Iraq and other countries at different historical junctures. Notorious for its frequency of coups, between the 1940s and the 1960s, there were no less than three dozen actual and abortive coups in the region.[3] Another reason for the key importance of Arab military politics resides in the military's central role in facilitating transitions in the 2010-2011 "Arab Spring", particularly in Tunisia and Egypt, but also playing a decisive role in the Libyan uprising and ongoing turmoil in Syria and Yemen. Arab armies have been propelled to the forefront of Arab politics once again.[4]

Civil-military relations in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) have however been underappreciated and have experienced a scholarly neglect in recent years, primarily because of the decline of Arab coup politics since the late 1970s, despite the fact that the army has still continued to play a crucial role in the internal affairs of Middle Eastern states. As military coups waned, academic interest in Arab military politics also faded, which has left a gap in the region's civil-military relations literature.

The waning of the Arab military coup era could be attributed to the fact that military élites had successfully consolidated themselves in countries like Egypt, Syria, and Iraq by using more sophisticated tools of coercion and by integrating themselves with other segments of the political élites such as the technocratic and commercial bourgeoisie class.[5] The retreat from direct and open interventions has compelled the military to "operate through more subtle, and sometimes structural, intertwinings between civil and military networks."[6] This suggests that although the military coup era has been in decline, the weight of the military in Arab states' internal affairs has not diminished. As coups decreased in frequency and as regimes became more consolidated and stabilized, "the debate on the nature of the military regimes in the Arab world had lost much of its importance in the Arab Middle East and the Maghreb."[7] Furthermore, as Arab armies became professionalized (or rather're-professionalized') when compared to their previous roles as guerilla or revolutionary armies, Huntington mistakenly interpreted them as a return to the barracks, because no link has been found between professionalization and depoliticization.[8] Nonetheless, this changing trend of Arab militaries and their role vis-à-vis the state and society requires serious analysis.

As Elizabeth Picard instructs us well before the advent of the 2010-2011 Arab Spring, Arab military participation in politics requires the adoption of a new perspective for the post-1970s era. Exactly how armies in the Arab world have been integrated in what Stephen King terms the 'new authoritarianism' of the 1980s and 1990s requires a look at regime strategies in ensuring their armies' loyalty – whether these strategies have an ethno-sectarian, tribal, economic, or institutional dimension to them. We thus need to revisit and give civil-military relations in the Arab world a new perspective, one that takes into account the social and political changes of the last thirty years, as well as the remarkable diversity in the politico-military "encephalogram"[9] of the region. Gregory Gause notes that one of the failures of the Middle East academic community in missing the seismic shifts of 2011 was due to a profound under-appreciation of civil-military relations.[10] While the literature has understandably focused on civil-military relations in countries where militaries have dominated the political scene such as Algeria, Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, very little has been written about civil-military relations in the North African region, whose importance has been somewhat neglected as it has historically been peripheral to the major Arab theatres of war. With the Arab Spring however, and the toppling of regimes having occurred in two North African countries – Tunisia and Libya – the region has gained a renewed importance that merits some reflection.

This paper will shed light on civil-military relations in North Africa, through a case study of how regimes have interacted with their militaries in Morocco,

Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya. As the Arab Spring has demonstrated, militaries have often found themselves to be the fulcrum of revolutionary dynamics, having played determinative roles in sealing the fates of Ben Ali, Mubarak and Muammar Qadhafi. In fact, no revolution can succeed without the armed forces' acquiescence; the backing of the army is not a sufficient but a necessary condition for revolutionary success.[11] Different regimes have managed their army's role in the state and society in very different ways, which has generated interesting analytical insights and theoretical implications. Because the North African regimes have been cognizant of the necessity of maintaining their military's loyalty to stay in power, a range of methods have been used:

> "These include increasing non-military support by cultivating social, economic and religious groups; courting the high command and officer corps with corporate and private benefits; appointing members of specific groups- often privileged minorities- to key posts in the armed forces; and preventing officers from building a support-base within the military by purging potential opponents, monitoring military activity, rotating commands and establishing independent security services reporting directly to the presidency or the palace."[12]

The purpose of this paper is to account for the different strategies that North African regimes have used to ensure their military's loyalty, to draw theoretical implications, and to contextualize these strategies with ongoing developments, providing answers as to how successful these strategies have been. In the context of Tunisia and Libya in the Arab Spring, this paper will focus on how Bourguiba and Ben Ali's practices of marginalizing the military establishment has ensured a civilian transition to democracy in 2011, and how in Libya Qadhafi's deep distrust of militaries and fear of coup explains the army's implosion and fragmentation that led to an armed civil war in 2011. Why divergence rather than convergence has characterized civil-military relations in North Africa has been a result of two important factors: (1) the army's role in achieving postcolonial independence and the subsequent state-building process and (2) the agency and political mastery (or lack thereof) of leaders like King Hassan, Houari Boumedienne, Habib Bourguiba, or Muammar Qadhafi.

TUNISIA: MARGINALIZATION AND TRANSITION TO CIVILIAN RULE

Civil-military relations in Tunisia since independence in 1956 have been quite unique for many reasons when compared to its Algerian, Morocco and Libyan neighbors. In Tunisia, two key features will be discussed: 1) the military establishment's marginalization and subordination to civilian rule under Habib Bourguiba and continued by Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, and 2) the army's midwife role in the 2011 Arab Spring's political transition to civilian life, which was a logical consequence of the Destourian strategies to keep the army weak.

Throughout the first decade of independence, the Tunisian armed forces were a neglected government agency; a result of the pre-protectorate and later on French legacy, but also an implication of Bourguiba's institutionalization of a powerful one-party rule. In terms of the French legacy, native Tunisians saw military service as debasing and military rule illegitimate. Even under Destourian rule, being in the military profession was not looked upon favorably and the principle of civilian leadership has always been the linchpin of Bourguibism. The elite that ruled Tunisia after independence emerged from the national resistance movement dominated by the Neo-Destour, and most of the elites were socialized in the eastern coastal provinces, having received a secular Francophone education.[13] These elites were quick to exclude military and religious elites from political decision-making. Because the Tunisian population was essentially homogenous, there was no need for military umpirage as in Lebanon's confessional system.[14] Refusing to be mired in Arab theatres of war, Bourguiba relied mainly on the international community[15] for matters of external defense. Contrary to Morocco which set up the army as a political instrument- even though the monarchy was cautious not to politicize it- in Tunisia the Neo-Destour party dispensed with the need for a strong army, for fear that using the army as a political instrument could politicize it in undesirable ways. After Tunisian army officers were implicated in an attempt on Bourguiba's life in 1962, Bourguiba clearly outlined in 1963 his vision of civilian primacy in state-building:

> "Officers must also realize that these tasks [of state-building] are matters for the political authority and for it alone. It can only perform them if it knows that the State's existence is secure...It is easier to get rid of a man than to replace him."[16]

The Socialist Destour party sought to impose a civilian management on the army and the security forces. Despite his reliance on diplomacy for external defense, Bourguiba slowly expanded the military after 1962, as a result of disputes with Algeria. Nonetheless, it was clear that Bourguiba was adamant on keeping his army weak and subordinated to civilian authority.

Lewis B. Ware is one of the most authoritative sources on the role of the military in Tunisia's Bourguiba and post-Bourguiba era. In his work, he contends that the military establishment in Tunisia "is a non-praetorian, highly professional body of officers and men which, as an armed force, never mounted a coup or fomented revolution against the state, never involved itself directly in the Arab-Israeli crisis, has never been the instrument of national emancipation except as the adjunctive arm of civilian policy, and has always answered to the authority of the state through the intermediary of a civilian minister of defense."[17] As King Hassan did in the 1970s, Bourguiba banned any member of the military from joining any political movement, including the Neo-Destour. The Tunisian military was thus invested solely in the defense of national integrity and as guarantor of the survival of Tunisian nationalism, it was unquestionably subservient to the resolutely non-militarist civic values of Bourguibism.

Bourguiba tried to ensure the loyalty of his armed forces by limiting its size and quantity of armaments, in order to dissuade them from any form of independent intervention in the affairs of the state. In the first decade of independence, investment in weaponry was the lowest rate of expenditure in the Middle East, never reaching as much as 2 per cent of the estimated GNP.[18] In Tunisia the military establishment has been effectively isolated from power and subjected to civilian primacy except for on two occasions, in 1978 and 1984, when the government ordered the formal intervention of the Tunisian army to restore order during severe civil disturbances.[19] Another exception was naming colonels to command national security forces and direct communications at the end of the 1977 disturbances; they were nonetheless were subordinated to the Interior Minister and were happy to return to the barracks after unrest had abated.[20] During times of student and worker unrest in the 1970s the security forces have been occasionally requested to intervene, further confirming the quasi-impossibility of the military exercising power on its own. The security forces were Bourguiba's best instrument of military loyalty. From the 1970s onward, the president created a variety of paramilitary internal security agencies fielding heavy weaponry and additional intelligence agencies tasked with monitoring one another, policing their populations.[21] The excessive behavior of these forces in early 2011 were the source of revulsion among the Tunisian population.

Though he was an army man, Zine El Abidine Ben Ali continued the Bourguibist practices of civilian primacy over the military, except that he marked a departure from Bourguiba in effectively rendering Tunisia a police state. He joined the army at age 15 and was appointed director of military security in 1964, then promoted to director-general of national security in 1977.[22] Ben Ali was the only professional military member of an elite composed mainly of civilian politicians, university graduates, and lawyers. His support base was found in the Interior Ministry and the security apparatus, thus did not inherit the same institutional support as the Bourguiba he deposed in a medical coup in 1987. Composed of various competing secret services, the security apparatus (mukhabarat) employed 150,000 to 200,000 people, "virtually becoming a state within the state."[23] Ben Ali's Tunisia was thus a police state where the 50,000 manned military establishment found itself supplanted by a much larger, better funded, and more politically influential network of security agencies under the aegis of the Interior Ministry.[24] Thus, not only did Ben Ali continue Bourguiba's practices of politically sidelining the military, he actively counterbalanced it with the growing power of the security apparatuses, which would have significant ramifications during the

popular mobilization of December 2010 and January 2011.

In December 2010, street demonstrations galvanized by the self-immolation of a young fruit vendor, Mohamed Bouazizi, led to severe civil unrest and protests demanding the downfall of the Ben Ali regime and his party, the RCD. Police and security forces harshly responded with the demonstrators in an attempt to quell the unrest. President Ben Ali used a gang of pro-government thugs and unleashed his elite Presidential Guard against the protesters, which only exacerbated the Tunisian population's distaste for the country's paramilitary forces. Ben Ali also ordered the army chief of staff General Rachid Ammar to support the security units by deploying troops, but Ammar refused, effectively dealing the final blow to the Ben Ali regime and forcing the president into exile. Why the army decided to save the revolution and refuse to shoot against protesters, even opening fire on Tunisian security and intelligence units, is a consequence of the Bourguibist and Ben Ali relations with the military, as identified above. The Tunisian army, because it was marginalized since 1956, was never invested in the regime like in Algeria or Egypt, or had any stake in the regime's survival. It was comparatively disadvantaged to the detested security forces, and was not a beneficiary of any significant source of patronage or foreign assistance; thus had few economic interests tied to the regime. Having been kept distanced from the political sphere since 1962, and under the oversight of the paramilitary National Guard since 1968 (a civilian force), this arrangement has created a schism between the army and the civilian authority. Because the Tunisian army saw itself strictly as defender of the territorial integrity of the country, it did not enjoy suppressing civil unrest. Ware noted the antagonism that emerged as a result between the army and the police force, well before the Arab Spring when he wrote his piece in 1985:

> "The military has resented having to assume a police function which belongs to other organs of security under civilian control. And it is the bureaucrats of the Interior Ministry whom the soldiers hold responsible for dereliction of duty. Hence, a certain distrust between armed forces and Interior is beginning to make its appearance in the context of an uneasy feeling that the civilians cannot cope with the problems of social disorder. At the same time, the military does not believe it is receiving either added benefits or recognition for the new burden the civilians have laid on its shoulders."[25]

"It is apparent that Ben Ali's strategy of marginalizing the military had the unintended consequence of facilitating the transition from his rule."[26] As a result of Bourguiba's strategies of keeping the military out of politics, the army has been reluctant to let go of its apolitical, nationalist, institutional, and professional role. Its reluctance to take over the reigns of power after the downfall of Ben Ali further attests to its focus on reestablishing the status quo ante rather than taking on a more active and hegemonic role.[27] The delegitimization of secret police, anti-riot forces, and other coercive agencies during the unrest of 2010-2011 kept the army, which was relatively autonomous, intact and suitable for playing the midwife role of political transition. The military's subordination to civilian rule under Bourguiba and Ben Ali was further instantiated when the military refused to take over any official political functions as in Egypt. In sum, Tunisian civil-military relations highlight the case of a weak, not provided for, apolitical, sidelined military establishment eclipsed by the growth of paramilitary institutions and subordinated to civilian authority. These patterns have been the explanatory factors of why Tunisia's army refused to shoot on protesters and precipitated the exile of Ben Ali to Saudi Arabia, "allowing state bureaucrats and jurists [to] take the lead."[28]

LIBYA: PRIMORDIALIZATION AND FRAGMENTATION OF THE MILITARY

Until this past year, very little has been written about civil-military relations in Libya. The literature on Libyan politics has suffered from Qadhafi's personalistic and opaque style of rule, especially regarding his relationship to his armed forces. This section will bring attention to the main elements of Qadhafi's relationship to the Libyan military establishment – namely his deep distrust of it, despite coming to power in a bloodless military coup in 1969, and how that related to the defection of a large part of his forces during an armed civil war that only ended with the liberation of Tripoli in August 2011. Exactly how Qadhafi attempted to coup-proof his army throughout his 40 years of dictatorial rule, and the implications of those attempts during the 2011 Libyan Civil War will form the bulk of analysis.

Muammar Qadhafi was a remarkable young captain when in 1969 he and other junior 'Free Officers' staged a bloodless coup deposing the unpopular, pro-Western Sanussi monarchy. Though the Free Officers had a network in the army, they were a minority in the officer corps.[29] During the phase of seizure, expansion, and consolidation of power the political vacuum in Libya at the time meant ample opportunity for the new officer-elite to monopolize the system of political power. The new elite's first task was to consolidate its power over the coercive apparatus and the army. This task was facilitated by the fact that other higher ranking officers were sympathetic to and cooperative with Qadhafi's forces, since they were also planning a coup. Qadhafi then proceeded by purging nearly all middle-rank and senior officers (about 430), placing the Free Officers into the vacant commanding positions.[30] Though for a short period Qadhafi appointed some high ranking officers like Colonel Musa Ahmad as Interior Minister or Colonel Adan Hawaz as Defense Minister in the first cabinet, when they exhibited signs of seeking more independent positions, Qadhafi ruthlessly purged them and launched a process of eliminating all high ranking officers of the upper class as well as the educated middle class in the officer corps.[31] Thus, by avoiding any recruitment of and purging older officers, and by propelling the junior officers in their twenties to higher positions, the generational dimension has been a particularly salient issue in Qadhafi's control of his army. Qadhafi also purged any elements seen to be loyal to the monarchy as well as those suspected of any form of opposition to the regime.

Despite coming from a military background and seizing power through a coup himself, Qadhafi excluded both the army and bureaucracy from any visible political role, except for top unit commanders which as part of the first core of elite acted as informal mediators between clients and decision makers.[32] Nonetheless, Qadhafi made serious attempts to remain close to his army base. He held on to the post of Defense Minister in order to exercise direct control over promotions and dismissals in the army. "Significantly, he had evidently allowed no political officer to turn the army into a personal 'fiefdom' comparable to that of Amer in Egypt."[33] Moreover, Qadhafi marginalized those who played a key role in the 1969 coup by keeping them outside of the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC). In Libya, contrary to Egypt, the army did not form a powerful political-administrative sphere of recruitment and officers have not been given any roles in the civil bureaucracy or any ministerial ranks.[34] Nevertheless, though not institutionalized, some officers that have been included in Qadhafi's core elite still retain some informal power and possess a key constituency for that elite.

Qadhafi's strategy for coup-proofing his army – which has presented several challenges to his rule – has been mainly to create parallel military structures as countervailing forces to the military elite. He first sought to mobilize the Libyan population by creating a "people's militia" in the early years of the revolution, comprised of part-time public employees, workers and farmers.[35] Largely used for guard duty at strategic locations, the "people's militia" was dispatched to Uganda to bolster Idi Amin's regime in the 1970s. As a way of counterbalancing the professional military force, in the early 1980s Qadhafi mobilized female students and trained them in factories, high schools, and universities which essentially became military barracks.[36] Qadhafi deliberately generated antagonism between the army and people's militia, granting the revolutionary press a free rein in publishing open attacks in 1983 that besmirched the formal army.[37] The "people's militias" underscored the distinction between 'professionals' and 'loyalists' and were used by Qadhafi as a certification process which was a way for 'loyalist' officers to persuade Qadhafi of their support.[38] These loyalists were to dominate the military command structure and control key military installations. Comparatively, the professional officers enjoyed much less influence and many of them have been demobilized. Kamrava remarks that Qadhafi "gives far more priority to the revolutionary credentials and loyalty of his officers as opposed to their rank or qualifications."[39]

Another strategy Qadhafi used to eliminate the possibility of coup was to rely on military advisors from abroad, particularly from East Germany, Syria, and Cuba.[40] Some estimate up to 3,500 foreign advisors were relied upon to counterbalance any possible coup attempts by Libyan units.[41] These expatriate units were essentially used to hold key intelligence and security roles (since the late 1980s Syrian pilots were to fly in the Libyan air force) and they actively complemented the loyalists in the Libyan army, representing a counterweight to both the loyalists and the professionals. This form of compartmentalization of the military has been a salient feature of Qadhafi's military modus operandi. This way, dissension in one unit can be effectively contained before it permeates to another part of the military establishment, ensuring the localization of any form of coup attempt. Thirdly, Qadhafi's strategy also consisted of increasingly relying on acquiring 'smart' biological and chemical weapons, which were well-suited to coup-proof his forces since "they represent a maximal threat of mass destruction with minimal requirements in human resources."[42] Qadhafi sought to decrease his dependence on his army by relying on these types of weapons. Finally, tribalism has colored an increasing number of Qadhafi's decisions vis-à-vis the military establishment. Since the 1980s, Qadhafi thought he could ensure the loyalty of his army by appointing officers based on their tribal origin. To form the security organizations, Qadhafi preferred to recruit members of all six tribes of the Qadhadhfa tribal community and frequently suppressed any dissident tribal groups inside Libya.[43]

Since the 1990s, military unrest has undermined the effectiveness of Qadhafi's fragmentation of the military with regards to army loyalty. A lot of unrest has ensued in Libya in the 1990s and the Libyan army has been responsible for a number of coup attempts. In October 1993, a military plot, devised by an army colonel to ambush Qadhafi in Bani Walid, failed, leading to the arrest of 1,500 people and the execution of hundreds.[44] Also, since the mid-1980s a considerable amount of soldiers and officers have been unpaid experiencing wage arrears and cuts in arms spending as a result of budget cuts from the restructuring of the economy.[45] Another element that has threatened the loyalty of Qadhafi's army has been the military unrest since the defeat of the Libyan army by French-backed Chadian forces in 1987. The forced withdrawal of Libyan troops from the Aouzou Strip in 1994 coupled with the ICC's ruling in favor of Chad has led to the growing disaffection of the officer corps and subsequent abortive coups from different tribes and militant Islamists.

Ultimately, the disaffection of the military establishment and much more importantly, the contagion effects of the Arab Spring that started in Tunisia and spread to Egypt, took the Libyan regime and the entire world by surprise. Protests which began in Benghazi on February 15 and faced violence by the security and loyalist elements within the army, quickly escalated into an armed rebellion by defected soldiers, volunteers, and a cross-section of Libyan society. In March a NATO coalition led by Britain, France, and the United States enforced a UN-mandated no-fly zone over Libya to protect civilians, giving rebels close air-support, ultimately leading to the liberation of Tripoli in August. This led to the dismemberment of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the capture and execution of Qadhafi by rebel groups south of Sirte in October 2011. The implosion of the army and the armed civil war that ensued were a direct result of Qadhafi's strategy of fragmenting the army to coup-proof it.

Qadhafi was well aware that his army could not be trusted, because rather than initially deploying the regular, more professional army, he first unleashed his paramilitary organizations and security units commanded by his relatives. Almost all of the units near Benghazi and Tobruk in eastern Libya defected, while desertion was common for large segments of units in Kufra, Misrata, the Western Mountains, and Zaqiya.[46] Particularly interesting was Qadhafi's decision to import mercenaries from sub-Saharan Africa, Europe, and Latin America – as a continuation of his past practices of relying on foreign fighters. The tribal element discussed above also helps us understand why some segments of the Libyan forces were persuaded by the coercion and bribery of the Qadhafi regime. Those tribes which fell out of love with the regime as shown through the defections and desertions were not lured by the Qadhafi's last-ditched desperate efforts to dispense patronage.

The above analysis suggests that the various coup-proofing strategies that Qadhafi implemented, such as the tribal stacking, fragmentation of officer corps through creation of competing paramilitary agencies, and inadequate economic benefits – in conjunction with the relatively important role the army plays in safeguarding the revolution and the state – have failed to ensure its loyalty to the same extent Bashar al-Asad has in Syria, or more tenuously Ali Abdullah Saleh in Yemen. Surely, the Arab Spring precipitated the implosion of the Libyan armed forces, yet coup risk or army defection must be understood to reflect structural, background causes that increased its likelihood, "rather than immediate, triggering causes that precipitate specific coups."[47] With or without the permeable regional forces of the Arab Spring, Qadhafi would have most likely faced significant challenges from the military establishment sooner or later. How the militias and different rebel groups will disarm and form a national army is another question, and what role the military will play in Libya's post-Qadhafi period will be interesting for scholars of civil-military relations.

CONCLUSION

This paper has sketched out a variegated picture of civil-military relations in North Africa, one that is complex and characterized by a number of interlocking factors and variables such as, but not limited to: ethnic and tribal coloring of the officer corps, the apoliticization of the army in Tunisia, and to a lesser degree in Libya; the role of the army during the colonial and post-colonial period in Algeria; the effect of purging in Morocco and Libya, in nearly all of the cases explored the proliferation of paramilitary institutions; the allocation of patronage and economic procurements of militaries; the idiosyncrasies and convictions of particular leaders like King Hassan, Bouteflika, Bourguiba, and Qadhafi- whose particularist actions played key roles in managing the civil-military balance- the role of foreign policy, and many others. These factors all interact with each other and this interaction is conditioned by the historical contingencies and specificities of the country and regime in question. The paper then followed by accounting for the status of North African civil-military relations today, particularly the relation King Muhammad VI has with his military, that of an aging Bouteflika with the generals, and at present the new role of the military in the Arab Spring of 2010-2011 for Tunisia and Libya.

Tunisia looks the most likely to entrench the principle of civilian primacy that was initiated by Bourguiba, with a highly professional officer corps which has happily remained in its barracks. Libya looks the most uncertain, and the situation can go either way, though recent developments have suggested a more bleak medium-term given the proliferation of small arms and military cleavages that have emerged.

One factor which will be important to look at is the role of paramilitary and parallel agencies, what Droz-Vincent calls "tentacular" apparatuses.[48] This was and still is a form of coup-proofing for the North African regimes, but its use seems to have backfired in Tunisia and Libya, often after growing antagonism disrupts the balance between the two and is reflected in the population. More work needs to be done in this area, as the literature on security sectors in the MENA has been scanty. Oren Barak and Assaf David note "the lack of adequate attention to the Arab Security Sector and its complex political social roles in the Arab States" and that "recent theoretical and comparative advances in the study of civil-military relations have not been paralleled in the study of the Arab Security Sector."[49] How the security services interact with the military as in Tunisia, or with other state institutions like the party and bureaucracy, their functions, their relation to the president or King are all pertinent questions because of the sector's importance in Arab politics, will enhance our understanding of civil-military relations.

This paper has demonstrated a regained interest in civil-military relations and the regional importance and uniqueness of North Africa. The army's role in Arab politics has been and continues to be decisive and politically critical. Paying more attention to the region's civil-military relations will illuminate the academic community's understanding of this critical juncture and the Middle East's political direction for decades.

ISLAM, NATIONALISM, AND NATION-BUILDING IN MALAYSIA AND INDONESIA

TOP-DOWN OR BOTTOM-UP?

Taylor Rusnak

Malaysia and Indonesia offer an interesting paradox worth examining. In Indonesia, over 85% of the population is Muslim, whereas in Malaysia Muslims make up just over half. This paper assesses the role of Islam in the nation-building processes of Malaysia and Indonesia after independence, seeking to explain the divergence in both polities' incorporation of Islam – namely that Islam is the officially recognized state religion only in Malaysia. The author finds that circumstantial twin forces from "above", through the state's instrumentalization of Islam in response to various threats and from "below" have been the causal forces behind the treatment of Islam in state nationalism.

The nature, timing, and origins of nationalism are widely discussed topics in the social science literature. Crawford Young generalizes about developing, pluralistic societies: the "unanimous mood (was) that statehood won by anti-colonial struggle required completion by the construction of nationality."[1] Despite the differences inherent in each context, this is a useful stepping-stone for most analyses. As the political attention shifted from the anti-colonial struggle to internal problems, domestic tensions intensified. Therefore, political leaders tried (and try) to bring together diverse groups so that political independence does not generate into anarchy – a process called nation-building.[2] The nation becomes the product of the conflicts and accommodations which characterize the political process.

Even once it became apparent that religion was imperative in early formations of national identity in many parts of the world[3], western political theorists, almost universally, believed that it was a declining force. Religion was meant to succumb to the forces of economic modernization and nation-state formation. Among Marxists, Weberians, modernization theorists, and their postmodern critics, the dominant view of modernity and nation-building is that it is inherently destabilizing of religion certitudes. At the very least, religion was destined to be privatized within the realm of personal belief.[4]

Islam in Southeast Asia has been able to play a role in the nation-state in a similar way to secular nationalism in the west.[5] It provides a bond of communal identity as strong as those developed by social or political institutions.[6] Islam has even gained prominence in these modernizing states. Although marginalization of religion became the Western European prototype for nation-building and modern development, it appears that these can evolve on fundamentally different paths. There are complex patterns of religious and national identities embedded in the process of nation-building.[7] In light of the unique interaction of Islam and nation-building, this paper will provide a more concrete account of the process of interaction in Southeast Asia. A context-sensitive approach provides a deeper understanding of the multitude of forces that help shape the role of Islam in nationalism, nation-building, and identity construction.

Malaysia and Indonesia offer an interesting paradox worth examining. In Indonesia, over 85% of the population is Muslim, whereas in Malaysia Muslims make up just over half.[8] Yet, Islam is the officially recognized state religion only in the latter. Here the specific question is: What forces have caused the role of Islam in state nationalism and construction of national identity to be so different in Malaysia and Indonesia, given that both places have seen a rising Islamic consciousness at similar junctures in history? The answer, as will be shown, lies in the twin forces from "above" and "below."[9] In both Indonesia and Malaysia, the instrumentalist role of the state, initially, was paramount in determining how Islam became incorporated in the nation, while bottom-up forces are crucial in accounting for Islam's changing role in national identity over time.

Indonesia and Malaysia provide a fitting case study for a few reasons. Most interestingly, these two Muslim majority countries are geographically located well away from the conventional association with Islam in the mind of the Westerner. They are geographical neighbours, with similar official and national languages, bahasa Indonesia and bahasa Malaysia.[10] The Japanese occupation during the Second World War was common to them both, and there had even been dialogue between the Japanese and their respective nationalist leaders about uniting the two colonies into one independent state.[11] After their separate independence, both have histories of strong and long lasting political regimes. Although the United Malay National Organization (UMNO) operates under the façade of coalition politics, it has ruled almost uninterruptedly since independence, making it one of the most dominant party regimes of the 20th century.[12] At birth in 1945, Indonesia was ruled by the Indonesian Communist Party, then by the authoritarian New Order regime, after a coup, from 1965 – 1998.[13] Furthermore, Islam exists in a multi-religious and culturally pluralistic condition in both countries, and thus has naturally been implicated in an "uneasy relationship" with nation-building.[14]

The organization of this paper will proceed as follows. First, I will describe the history of Islam in the area and the impacts of colonialism, and explain

why this combined history greatly influenced, but did not play a determining role in the trajectories of each case. Next, I will outline the details of Indonesia and Malaysia in the early years of independence, explaining the primacy of the state in constructing and using nationalism and Islam in nation-building. Finally, I will demonstrate how forces from below have changed the position of Islam in national identity over time in a way distinct from state influence.

As in virtually every area of the world, colonialism had a large impact on the structure of Islam these societies. In British Malaysia, the colonizers practiced indirect rule and maintained the sultans as formal heads in their provinces. The position of official Islam was strengthened by power sharing between the sultans and colonizers.[15] Also, British colonial policy funneled the Chinese (and to a lesser extent the Indians) into positions of economic power. The arrival of immigrants with totally different cultures compelled many Malays to reaffirm their identity and religion.[16] The Japanese interlude in colonial rule had Malays play a larger role in administration.[17] Although the occupation had little effect on ordinary peasants, those in government service assumed fairly high positions and became more politically motivated, thus providing the leadership for the postwar Malay nationalist movement.[18]

The postcolonial national leadership instituted Islam as the official religion upon independence as a way to safeguard the ideological and political supremacy of the Muslim Malays.[19] The Malays claimed to be the rightful owners of the land, and as such should receive preferential treatment to balance the inequality created under colonialism. The Chinese and Indians claimed that they should be given equal citizenship rights.[20] Consequently, Malays have preferential status in the constitution, but the minorities were given citizenship rights and freedom of religious practice. What is important to note is that in the definition of a Malay person in the constitution, Islam is only one of three determining pillars. The other two are Malay language and government of the sultans.[21] The emphasis on Islam in national identity has been dynamic. In this way, the colonial project does not tell the whole story. Instrumentalist state actions are what shape the position of Islam in the vision of the state.

In Dutch Indonesia, the colonizers repressed local Muslim rulers and elites. They saw Islam as a potential threat, so Muslim leaders were cast aside as the colonizers implemented their own structures of rule.[22] Nevertheless this does not easily account for official state secularism. Numerous Islamic cultural and economic organizations of the early 20th century contributed towards the creation of an Indonesian national identity and were an integral part of the struggle for independence.[23] The Japanese gained control over Indonesia during World War II, and in 1945 established the Investigating Committee for the Preparation of Indonesian Independence. Religious and secular nationalists were a part of this committee.[24] Sukarno came forth as the foremost of the secular nationalist leaders. His fundamental argument against the preferential treatment of Islam resided in the threat it posed to national unity.[25] Additionally, this secularism has historically been associated with communism, because the state and regime are given greater value than religion.[26] Sukarno became the leader of the Indonesian Communist Party.

Although obviously influential, the colonial era did not necessarily determine the place of Islam in the state in either case. In Malaysia the UMNO initially gained mass support by mobilizing Muslim Malays to resist the post-war constitutional arrangements proposed by the British.[27] Religion was not a critical factor in the politics of the early nation-building until after the Malays had already become fairly mobilized. Islam was not the trigger for anti-colonial mobilization.[28] In fact, Islam has become increasingly important over time. In Indonesia, although the state chose not to include Islam as an officially recognized religion, there was dialogue from both sides of the religious-secular-spectrum during the birth of the nation in 1945. Furthermore, in 1965, the initial New Order alliance under former President Suharto that overthrew the Indonesian Communist Party was multi-religious. In fact, Muslims were an integral part of the early New Order alliance.[29] Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that each anti-colonial movement could have taken a different direction than it did. Colonialism influenced, but did not predetermine, the outcomes of nationalism and Islam.

Instrumentalists such as Donald Horowitz focus their analysis on the uses of ethnicity in political and social competition.[30] Cultural pluralism offers a repertoire of social roles available for the pursuit of power.[31] Ethnicity in Indonesia and Malaysia encompasses much more than just Islam, but the focus here is the way in which it becomes "contingent, situational, and circumstantial."[32] It is apparent in both Indonesia and Malaysia that incentives and calculations of threat upon independence, rather than party competition, account for the place of Islam in nation-building. Identifying these factors illuminates how the same fundamental forces produced such divergent outcomes in two unique contexts.

The understanding of who poses the greatest threat to the state impacted the place of Islam in the vision of the nation. Malaysia, (population 19.3 million), is divided by specific ethnic identities. Ethnic Malays, with 59%, represent the majority; with minority Chinese at 32%, and Tamil at 9%.[33] Multi-ethnic politics have dominated Malaysia's political history. Indeed, as discussed earlier, the initial threat envisioned by the UMNO was the Chinese. So although the UMNO was a secular party, Muslim interests were entrenched in the constitution by establishing Islam as the official religion. Particularly in pluralist societies, but indeed all over the world, the ruling class seeks to find a moral or legal basis for the possession of power.[34] It was Islam that was appropriated for both the reason for Malaysian unity, and legitimacy for the state.

Once the state was established and Islam rendered an official religion, party competition came to define just exactly how the place of Islam was interpreted. Conversion to Islam, in the Malay language, is Masok Melayo. It means to "to enter the Malay community." Communal bonds are reinforced by Islamic attitudes. As a result, politicians often try to reinterpret and use Malays' religious ideas when attempting to mobilize Malays for political support.[35] In 1951 the Malayan Islamic Party (PAS) was consolidated as a response to what many orthodox Muslims viewed as insufficient emphasis on Islam. They sought an Islamic state which was governed by shari'a law.[36] In response to this political competition, the UMNO made a concerted effort to promote a "modernist Islamic" vision.[37] To avoid movement of support to the PAS, this vision of Islam was popularized in an attempt to preempt the conservative Islam emphasized by the PAS from becoming too influential. Resources were injected into education and building of training colleges where this "modernist" Islam was the foundation. Furthermore, the Malay language was used in these institutions in order to cement the connection between "modernist Islam" and the Malay people.[38]

Various other policies enacted by the UMNO were also an attempt to court Muslims away from the PAS. The affirmative action program, the New Economic Policy (NEP) of 1971, was passed to elevate Malay participation in the economy and steps were taken to Islamize society through the creation of institutions in education and Islamic banking.[39] The ultimate aim was to maintain the domination of the secular state by satisfying the various streams of Malaysian Islam while detracting from conflict over "true Islam" between the UMNO and PAS.40 The UMNO successfully incorporated Islam [in] the national vision by flexibly and pragmatically interpreting religious doctrines.[41] According to Abdullah, Islam was used as a "social instrument" to create one's "self consciousness."[42] In Malaysia, Islam played a vital role in building the nation-state, just as the state was instrumental in defining its place. Islam became a key aspect of national unity.

Indonesia has a population of just over 200 million people, and is home to the largest Muslim majority country in the world.[43] Nationalist postcolonial leaders, led by President Sukarno, chose from the beginning to sideline Islam, installing instead Pancasila as the philosophical foundation of Indonesia.[44] This came about after long and heated contestations which concluded that an official role for Islam in the state would be exclusionary, and contrary to the national Indonesia vision.[45] In Indonesia, Islamists have not been successful in incorporating their sense of Muslim nationhood into the narrative of the Indonesian state because the construction of the early nation identity was so state-centric.[46] Sukarno, the secular Communist Party leader, was thus able to resist the Islamization of politics in a territory made up predominantly by Muslims.

Within Indonesia there was great diversity among

the Muslims themselves, so even incorporating Islam would have resulted in conflict over varying interpretations of Islamic law. Although this initially seems contradictory, the biggest threat envisioned by the early nation was succession and the loss of territorial integrity. Sukarno thought the Christian-populated East, among other regions, would secede if the state was Islamic.[47] Crawford Young writes that "religion joins ethnicity and regionalism as the earlier vision of the secular state fades."[48] The one large and successful Islamic party in Indonesia, Masjumi, was banned in the late 1950s for the role of its prominent leaders in regional rebellions that were deemed separatist and Islamic. This was said to be against the fundamental principles of Indonesia's political identity: multireligiousness and national territorial integrity.[49] The initial adoption of Pancasila and the enforcement of a non-Islamic state was thus a product of instrumental state building.

A new era began in Indonesia upon the overthrow of the Indonesian Communist Party by Suharto and the army forces. In 1965, uniting under the banner of secular nationalism was also a strategic choice by the New Order alliance, as Islamic identity in each region of Indonesia was seen in a different way.[50] The appeal of nationalism was greater than the appeal of Islam. Soon after the establishment of the New Order, it became clear that it was an authoritarian regime. Under Suharto, political Islam became highly repressed, while "cultural" or "civil" Islam, as will be discussed, became the new focus of Muslim energies.

Once the New Order regime was established and the communists effectively destroyed, Islam was singled out as "public enemy number two."[51] The New Order asserted that Islam was politically dangerous and socially disruptive; the antithesis of its pragmatic, modernizing, and developmentalist paradigm. Suharto adopted a "two-pronged" Islamic policy whereby political Islam was strongly repressed, but "cultural" or "civil" Islam was encouraged.[52] In fact religious observance for all five officially recognized religions was strongly encouraged as an anti-communist weapon.[53]

In 1973, Suharto fused the four existing Islamic parties into one, the Partai Perasaluan Pembandunan (United Development Party, or PPP). They were forced to drop their Islamic name and symbolism, and then adopt Pancasila as their sole foundation.[54] This effectively undermined their coherence and discredited the Islamic voice, because they could not agree on a coordinated response to this policy.[55] According to Mujani and Liddle, Suharto accomplished a transformation of political Islam in Indonesia from pro-shari'a to acceptance of a secular state by adopting market-oriented economic policies that produced rapid, steady, and widely shared growth, and by repressing the defiant and incorporating the willing.[56] Economic success in Indonesia provided the resources and rationale for many orthodox Muslims to cooperate with Suharto. Essentially, Islam became the target of modernization. In his efforts to modernize Indonesia, Islamic nationalists came to be seen as parochial and backward; part of Indonesia's past rather than its future.[57] In Indonesia the lack of Islam played a vital role in building the nation-state, in contrast to the situation in Malaysia. However, it was used in equally instrumental ways in the process of nation-building.

Scholars with primordialist leanings may criticize instrumentalist accounts for failing to explain the powerfully emotional aspect of ethnicity. According to Clifford Geertz, human beings are essentially created through creating a culture, which becomes something of a primordial social existence. Scholars examining Indonesia and Malaysia through this lens would attribute the outcomes in both countries to traditional, or primordial Malayan and Javanese cultures. Gunn asserts that since the birth of the nationalist movement, Indonesian ideological formulations have reflected the Javanese cultural heritage. Furthermore, Suharto took on the role of a Javanese king in the state.[58] However, in reality primordialism ignores the debate that occurred at independence. In Indonesia, attributing the outcome of nation-building to Javanese culture is insufficient. Primordialism misses frequent contestation of these "ties" by people within and outside the group. It does not account for the evolution of newer and changing identities, and does not give sufficient weight to the choices made by the state in the face of certain threats and incentives.

Primordialist scholars examining Malaysia would also be found wanting. Religion was not a focal point of identity in pre-colonial society, yet it became one in the postcolonial era.[59] Also, the conflict between Chinese and Malays is not an issue of deeply rooted identity, but a result of British policies which advanced the Chinese to higher economic positions in society. The use of Islam in nation-building and its key role in national identity cannot be sufficiently explained by primordialism. Some Malaysian nationalists even fought to have Malaysian nationalism reflect the Indonesian model.[60]

What determined the role of Islam in nationalism and nation-building was how the state chose to construct it while responding to particular incentives and challenges throughout the struggle to build a nation. The state's ideological appropriation of Islam can account for the diverging outcomes of Indonesia and Malaysia.[61] These outcomes are the product of the different threats and incentives, in combination with the project of nation-building taken on by the elites. In sum, it is apparent in both Indonesia and Malaysia that threats perceived by the state at independence, political competition afterwards, and the project of nation-building throughout, initially determined how Islam was incorporated into the nation.[62] This is, however, only the first part of the story.

According to Shamsul, identity construction and nation formation takes place within two levels of social reality. One is the official or authority defined social reality. The second is the everyday defined social reality experienced by the people in their daily lives. At any given time these two social realities exist side by side.[63] Malaysia and Indonesia have both been experiencing an Islamic revivalism since the 1970s.[64] There is growing religious identification and piety by people of all generations and backgrounds. Along with this comes a rethinking of Islam and national identity. Islam is seen as the key for understanding law, society, politics, the state, and national identity. National identity is changing, and interestingly, "Islamization" coincides with development in these countries.

Many people are inclined to attribute this revivalism to state policy. In Malaysia, the story goes that the state did an insufficient job of quelling ethnic tension in the 1950s. As a result of the ethnic riots of 1969, the New Economic Policy was implemented with the goal of raising Muslim status and reducing economic inequality between them and the Chinese.[65] The NEP is said to be the catalyst for the Islamic revival because it created a Muslim middle class that was able to push for Islamization of state policy.[66] Essentially, the Islamization of the state is a result of the social engineering of the UMNO.[67]

In reality, however, this top down approach is inadequate. Islamic revivalism was, and is, actually a community-level response to the ethnic riots in 1969. After the riots there was a sense of failure for young Muslims.[68] The Dakwah movement which emerged in response thus attempted to resolve how to live in a world of radical doubt. Its main attraction was its ability to implement fundamentalist Islamic doctrine in the context of Malay Muslims living in a multi ethnic society.[69] University students, especially, were deeply involved in the process. The National Students Association decided to establish a Muslim youth organization (ABIM) in 1972, whose goal was to build a society based on the principles of Islam. Malayness was redefined. Language saw a downgrading in importance because of its limited use in a globalizing and modernizing world. Sultanism would not be the pillar around which people rallied, for there was widespread belief of corruption.[70] The result was a reemphasizing of the role of Islam in national identity. These "forces from below" led the UMNO to increase its attention on Islamic policies. The state did not engineer, but responded to society.

After the riots, ideas continued to spread that "true Islam rejects racism."[71] The UMNO was forced to respond to the growing Dakwah movement. It pushed the state to approach Islam in a more positive manner, economically and politically. To demonstrate its new commitment to Islam, the government spent millions of dollars in the late 1970s to mid 1980s on projects such as the Southeast Asian Islamic Research Center, the introduction of Islamic religious knowledge as a subject in national education examinations, and the launching of the national Dakwah month.[72] Additionally, The "Vision 2020" policy is a clear example of the elites responding to pressures from below. The policy's aim is twofold. The first component is modernization, the second is to include non-Malay ethnic groups within the cultural foundation. This is consistent with the Dakwah movement, which has reinterpreted

Malayness and Islam in a modernizing society, and attempted to deal with living in a pluralistic society.

In the 1990s Islam did not influence election results, but it played a crucial role in the two parties representing their relevance and legitimacy.[73] This attests to the fact that the forces of Islamic revivalism are coming from below. The people are not responding to the state, rather it is the state responding to the people. The Dakwah movement began as a community project for redefining the Malay self, but became a force that challenged and reinterpreted national identity. There is a persistence of nationalist sensibilities in everyday life, which suggests the active participation by ordinary Malaysians in nationalistic visions of progress and cultural futures.[74] This dispels the notion of nation-building as a mere product of state manipulation.

In Indonesia, the top down account of revivalism is based on the idea that Suharto, after sufficiently repressing his opponents, decided he wanted to construct Islam in his own view. In reality, the process was less top-down then bottom-up. In the early years of the New Order regime the larger reason that young activists were not eager to oppose the government is because they were convinced that mass politics of the late 1950s had wrecked the economy and driven many Muslims into the arms of the communists.[75] Furthermore, many Muslims concluded in 1966 that the military, under Suharto, could be an agent for progress. They chose to distance themselves from mass politics in favor of a new strategy of Islamic revivalism.[76]

While Suharto oppressed political Islam, many Muslims took the view that restrictions on political Islam should not be equated with government opposition to cultural or civil Islam. These intellectuals decided that a cultural approach to Islamic revival had to be formulated in order to neutralize military concerns while deepening roots of Islam.[77] This cultural emphasis sanctioned the shift of Muslim energies out of formal politics and into social and educational activities.[78] Universities were at the forefront of the trend. In the 1950s and 1960s they were very secular institutions. Then in the 1970s, there was rapid growth of Muslim initiatives on state university campuses, such as the encouragement of strict adherence to devotional acts like daily prayer, fasts, and payment of alms.[79] Furthermore, the Muslim middle class of the 1980s and 1990s became more self-confident, whereas their predecessors suffered from the belief that Islam was a religion of traditional, backward, uneducated villagers.[80] Suharto's opening to Islam was a consequence of the deepening Islamization of the urban middle class.

Interestingly, Suharto's 1985 policy wherein all social and political organizations must acknowledge Pancasila, in fact helped the Islamic revivalist movement. Their acceptance of Pancasila meant that Islam was not associated with any single party. When the politicians recognized the nation was experiencing an Islamic resurgence, all political parties began to pronounce their commitment to Islam. Suddenly, as is evident in the 1993 elections, Islam is not confined to one party, but promoted by all of them.[81] After the fall of Suharto in 1998, there was very little support garnered for the idea of inserting the "seven words" remnant of the failed Jakarta charter of the 1950s.[82] People have come to see the state as embodying Islamic values instead of opposing them: "I accept Pancasila, because I am Muslim."[83] National identity evidently changed over the decades. Counter to what many would expect, Islam has actually become a more important element of nationalism. It was forces from below that influenced elite decision-making and the overall view of the national identity in later decades after indepe ndence.

This paper has shown that the two Muslim majority countries, Indonesia and Malaysia, had the potential to become either secular or Islamic states. However, the elites in each country perceived different threats and found different incentives to construct their nation in a particular way. In Malaysia, the threat was the Chinese. Thus including Islam as the official religion constructed the nation to reflect and give preference to the Malays. In Indonesia the biggest threat was succession. Secular nationalism was seen as a better way to unite the country. Political competition affected the policies towards Islam that were enacted and how they were interpreted. For example, in Malaysia, PAS competition led to a push for "modernist Islam." In Indonesia, political opposition led to the forceful adoption of Pancasila and repression of Islamic parties.

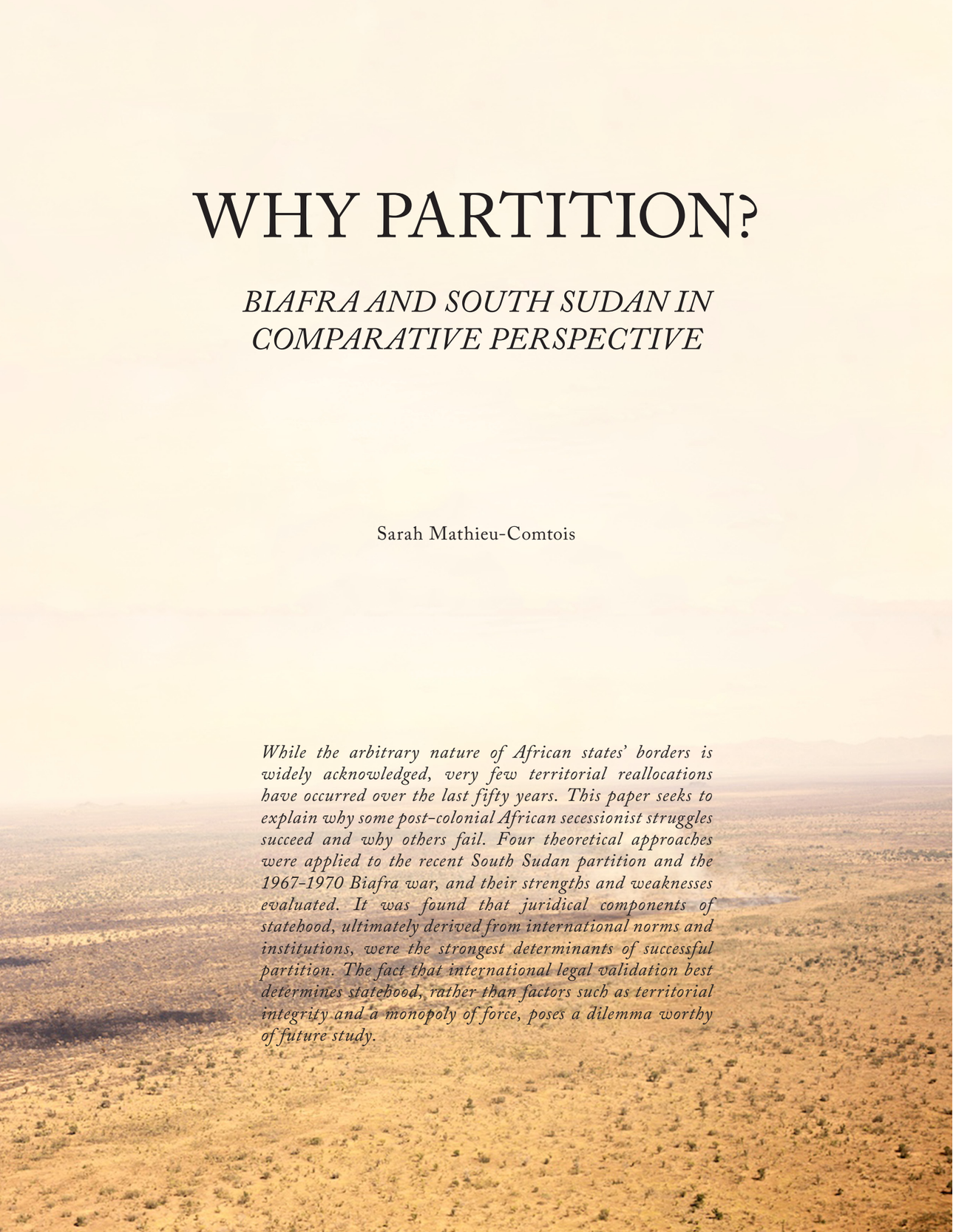
In the early years, as much as the result of nation-building was a product of top-down forces, the constellations from below have changed the trajectory of Islam in state nationalism, nation-building, and identity. In Malaysia, the result of the ethnic riots of 1969 was an attempt to redefine Malayness and incorporate Islam into a multi religious society. In Indonesia, "cultural Islam" was appropriated and Islam was worked into other spheres of society. All of this was occurring as these states modernized. Modernization and nation-building do not, it appears, necessarily require, nor result in, secularization.

What this means in a more general sense is that the creation of national identity is a dual process, and it is not easy to separate the forces behind it and the results. It is also a dynamic process with different paths available to certain groups of people at specific times in history, thus is highly conditioned and circumstantial. Equally important is the realization that nation-state and nationalism have influenced Islamic politics as much as any timeless principles of Muslim governance – it is not, nor is any religion, an unchanging and "all-encompassing blueprint" for social and political order.[84]

WHY PARTITION?

BIAFRA AND SOUTH SUDAN IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Sarah Mathieu-Comtois



While the arbitrary nature of African states' borders is widely acknowledged, very few territorial reallocations have occurred over the last fifty years. This paper seeks to explain why some post-colonial African secessionist struggles succeed and why others fail. Four theoretical approaches were applied to the recent South Sudan partition and the 1967-1970 Biafra war, and their strengths and weaknesses evaluated. It was found that juridical components of statehood, ultimately derived from international norms and institutions, were the strongest determinants of successful partition. The fact that international legal validation best determines statehood, rather than factors such as territorial integrity and a monopoly of force, poses a dilemma worthy of future study.

The arbitrary nature of African states' borders is a widely acknowledged fact. Yet, very few partitions and territorial reallocations have occurred over the last fifty years. The recent creation of Southern Sudan thus places it at the center of the state-building debate. Indeed, in the context of enduring weak states and deficient democracies on the continent, observers of African politics may see in this recent case of partition – if not a solution – at least a major development. Therefore, it is primordial to understand the circumstances that allowed for such a pivotal change. In this sense, the purpose of this article is to explain why some post-colonial African secessionist struggles have succeeded while others were easily crushed. Both internal and external processes come into play in successful partitions: there has to be a domestic demand by a certain group and an international desire to recognize the newly formed state. However, what cause is sufficient to trigger the actual change?

To answer to this question, the theoretical foundations of the following four approaches will first be explored: the historical-institutional argument; the identity politics thesis; the political economy explanatory framework; and the juridical-empirical statehood approach. The formulation of a hypothesized causal relation with partition as the dependent variable will follow from this discussion. Subsequently, the recent partition of Sudan and the 1967-1970 Biafra war will be contrasted in order to determine the strengths and weaknesses of each approach. This analysis will demonstrate the relative usefulness of each of the four theoretical approaches and yield conclusions about the causes and circumstances of partition.

PARTITION: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Colonial Legacies: The Historical-Institutional Approach to State Formation

In Citizens and Subjects, Mahmoud Mamdani discusses the institutional legacy of colonialism in Africa. Indeed, he constructs a model that highlights the role of the colonial experience in forging the "structure of power in contemporary Africa"[1] and thereby substantiates "the legitimacy of Africa as a unit of analysis."[2] Mamdani uses a historical-institutional approach and contends that the key element to consider is in fact the colonial legacy, which informs the underlying mechanisms of the modern state in sub-Saharan Africa. Furthermore, he contends that the "native question" was dealt with through a form of institutional segregation, based on the "doctrine of differentiation,"[3] in colonial systems across the continent. Broadly speaking, he establishes legacies from two distinct patterns of rule: "decentralized despotism", or indirect rule, and "centralized despotism", or direct rule. These two modes of governance, he argues, have been applied jointly in all instances of colonization on the continent; they have therefore left distinct but co-dependent imprints on the contemporary African state. Direct rule was used mostly in urban settings to serve capitalist production purposes and took the form of racial segregation; "natives" were excluded from civil rights while having to conform to civil law. This form of exclusion fostered a very clear set of grievances that were addressed at independence. Decolonization thus brought along what Mamdani calls the "deracialization" of the state. On the other hand,

> "indirect rule came to be the mode of domination over a 'free' peasantry. […] Peasant communities were reproduced within the context of a spatial and institutional autonomy. The tribal leadership was either selectively reconstituted as the hierarchy of the local state or freshly imposed where none had existed, as in 'stateless societies'"[4]

The legacies of direct and indirect rule are responsible for what Mamdani conceptualizes as the "bifurcated state" that focuses on the institutional processes through which colonial power was expanded to include the geographically and racially segregated segments of the population.

This historical-institutional approach starts from the assumption that the common historical experience shared by African states is, merely and crucially, a structural constraint. It thereby avoids both a linear understanding of political phenomena through the creation of "binary oppositions" comprising "the

normal and the abnormal,"[5] as well as arguments that reach the other extreme and render the historical context meaningless by "seeing the flow of events in Africa […] as routine."[6] It removes the fatalistic notion of a single historical trajectory by bringing back in the idea of individual agency in a path-dependent way that limits the range of possible outcomes. However, historical-institutional approaches fail, some argue, to account for variations across countries, which have experienced post-independence internal disruptions to very different extents. Mamdani addresses this critique by creating two ideal types of state, defined at the stage of independence: the conservative and the radical state.[7]

Coming back to the argument per se, Mamdani contends that racially defined boundaries have been weakened by industrialization and urbanization, while tribalism and customary law seem to have been exacerbated through independence struggles: the "detribalization" process is incomplete. Mamdani therefore argues that the legacies of colonial policies best explain the enduring prevalence of "tribal" identifications in Africa, and of the violent politics associated with it. This, however, is true to varying extents depending on the case. It is contingent on the aforementioned type of the post-independence leadership and polity.

The conservative state is defined as a national context in which the local modes of governance installed by the mechanisms of indirect rule have remained in place following independence. Mamdani writes: "[…] the decentralized conservative variant of despotism tended to bridge the urban-rural divide through a clientelism whose effect was to exacerbate ethnic divisions […]."[8] By attempting to respect the "traditional" governance schemes, this sort of polity only reinforced constructed ethnic identities while failing to generate a sense of national unity.

Conversely, some states have tried to tackle this issue of national unity and reform the pre-existing system of "Native Authorities": Mamdani refers to them as radical states. A code of law was applied to the entire country, which sometimes took the form of a "single customary law transcending tribal boundaries."[9] Yet, the existence of civil law in urban centers led to a somehow dual legislative system: a customary code of law for all peasants regardless of ethnicity and "a modern law for urban dwellers."[10] This sort of polity may have effectively reduced inter-tribal conflicts, but it created a divide between urban and rural by reproducing the "bifurcated state" it tried to reform.

This dichotomy of despotisms is crucial for understanding the present issue. Indeed, following Mamdani's argument, partition would be more likely to occur in states where the conservative form of despotism was reproduced. This is not to say that radical despotism does not breed conflict. Rather, Mamdani seems to argue that the conflict engendered by these two sets of polities is in fact fundamentally different. Given the fact that secessionist struggles are more likely to be based on an ethnic or religious rhetoric than on a socioeconomic one, the historical-institutional approach leads to the following hypothesis:

> ***H1.*** ***Partition is more likely occur in contexts where the policies of indirect rule were reproduced following independence than in contexts where Native Authorities were abolished.***

Incompatible National Projects: The Identity Politics Approach

The fact that people, in some cases, so fiercely think in terms of identity conflict leads one to suspect that it may play a more important role in determining the outcome of secessionist struggles than what is a priori expected by most political scientists. The identity argument is indeed sometimes discredited on the basis that it does not rely enough on rational-choice assumptions, perhaps because the question of identity politics traditionally pertains to "emotional issues" and constructed beliefs. Hence, the following model will be presented in such a way as to avoid this trap. To begin, David Laitin develops a theory of political identities grounded in the "Janus-facedness of culture."[11] He aims to integrate both the primordial and constructivist conceptions of identity and to evaluate how each component comes into play with regard to political issues. He writes:

> "Identities are […] categories of membership that are based on all sorts of typologies –gender, race, class, personality, caste. People are limited by, but they are not prisoners of, their genes, their physiognomies, and their histories in setting on their own identities. And if powerful social forces motivate identity exploration –as they seem to do in our age –it is the constructivist face of identity that seems the more real."[12]

In this sense, Laitin argues that the second face of identity – the constructed social identification – is instrumental because it is renegotiated as opportunities arise. Indeed, it is often understood as something that can be manipulated to satisfy a wide range of interests. His model, however, goes further than the popular rational-choice argument about material gains: he includes factors of "in-group scorn" and "out-group acceptance" when discussing identity choice.[13] This is a good basis on which to build a "testable" understanding to the incidence of identity-related policies on political stability in general. Fearon and Laitin, in an article called "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity," write: "We take it that an 'identity' here refers to a social category […] and in particular a social category that an individual member either takes a special pride in or views as a more-or-less unchangeable and socially consequential attribute."[14] This definition is crucial since it takes us from the very broad concept of identity to the more operational one of social category. Furthermore, the fact that the authors highlight the social consequences resulting from adherence to those categories further paves the way towards a more rational understanding of identity-related choices, which may be more compelling than the broad, romanticized assertion that decisions are made on the basis of emotional attachment.

In this sense, the authors articulate a novel approach to the issue of identity and violence by posing the following question: Why do ordinary people fight or support civil warring factions? Indeed, acknowledging that individual-level motivations can be independent from the usual elite-induced mobilization argument creates space for alternative interpretations. It also allows us to look into the questions of national identity, which is directly relevant to the issue of partition. Fearon and Laitin stress the "permeability" of ethnic group boundaries as a potential cause. This is very compelling because it implies that the desire to redefine those boundaries, or to infiltrate them, may provoke very prompt reactions. This is explained by the so-called "consequential attributes" of social categories. Thus, when the benefits and values related to those attributes threaten to disappear due to, for instance, a policy of language uniformity or the imposition of a new religious law code, it is very rational for members to express discontent. In terms of partition, it seems that identity would then come to play a key role when the national projects, informed by the values associated with different constructed identities, present themselves as fundamentally incompatible. When the response to such a predicament takes the form of "assimilationist" policies rather than national accommodation and dialogue, partition is likely to emerge as the only realistic option for the minority group. It is important to note an inevitable caveat for this proposition to hold: the groups opposed in the identity conflict must be relatively geographically concentrated. Accordingly, it is hypothesized that:

> ***H2.*** ***In a context where identities with incompatible goals coexist within the same state, the more actively the dominant group pursues assimilation as a policy, the more likely it is that partition will present itself as the only way to protect the existing boundaries of identity.***

Natural Resources and Civil Conflict: The Political Economy Approach

One of the most common arguments pertaining to internal competition for economic advantages is the "greed and grievance model". Collier and Hoeffler approach civil wars from this political economy perspective and empirically test the model: "The 'grievance' model examines inequality, political oppression, and ethnic and religious divisions as causes of conflict, while the 'greed' model focuses on the sources of finance of civil war."[15] They go on to argue that the grievance model is not upheld by the

data and that the economic incentives argument is therefore more viable. Nonetheless, although they fail to find a covariational relationship in cases of inequality and political oppression, they admit that the results "find some evidence that societies characterized by 'ethnic dominance,' i.e., where one ethnic group makes up 45-90 percent of the population, have a systematically higher risk of civil war."[16] This suggests that the dynamics of political economy may work differently in cases where minority groups exist.

In a subsequent paper, Collier and Hoeffler investigate the issue of secession in detail.[17] The authors build on their previous empirical findings in order to define a clear political economy approach to partition. First, they ground their understanding of identity in Benedict Anderson's Imagined Communities thesis[18]; he argues that ethnic communities large enough to function as political units inevitably are constructions, given the fact that their constituents do not form a real network of "genuine social interaction."[19] Drawing from this, Collier and Hoeffler seek to understand why some imagined identities become politically functional, while others transform into "secessionist political communities."[20] The term functional implies that they have the ability to foster mobilization along identity lines, whether it is in a democratic context, for votes, or in a conflict context, for insurgent violence. They find an answer to this inquiry in the second body of literature they draw from: Buchanan and Faith's analysis of the point at which tax rates increase enough such that the economic elite social stratum is better off "[redrawing] the boundaries of the tax authority so as to exclude themselves."[21] With those two arguments in mind, Collier and Hoeffler propose the following approach to explaining secession: effective secessionist movements are constructed at the point when partition benefits the "common economic interest of the minority of the population that is rich."[22] A caveat is once again added to this framework: partition being a geographic phenomenon, the aforementioned economic elite must be regionally concentrated; otherwise, different and more advantageous responses to "higher tax rates" will emerge.

Moreover, Collier and Hoeffler specifically address the issue of natural resources. They suggest that because natural resources tend to be regionally concentrated, secessionist struggles are more likely to take place in resource-rich countries. This is very pertinent to our analysis considering the dominance and relative importance of natural-resource wealth in most African economies. In this sense, Richard Snyder also evaluates how specific institutional structures for the extraction of "high-value goods with low economic barriers to entry"[23], known as "lootable" resources, lead to "contrasting consequences for political stability."[24] He argues that leaders of "failed states" of the South can build extraction institutions in a way that allows them to finance their grip on power and thereby breed stability. This claim highlights a new way of thinking about the question, the traditional one being that those "lootable" resources inevitably increase the likelihood of internal disorder. For the present analysis, it also suggests something more. Accepting Snyder's proposition, it can be deduced that an endowment with non-lootable resources, which cannot be easily "extracted and transported by individuals or small teams of unskilled workers,"[25] will always lead to relatively strong states because the political leaders, in those instances, can control exploitation with great ease. In this context, considering Collier and Hoeffler's proposition about secession, the economic elite may at some point – perhaps after oil discoveries or a boom in global market prices – find it more advantageous to seize control of the geographical area altogether. Michael L. Ross also arrives at similar conclusions about the impact of non-lootable resources: he argues that they more often cause "separatist conflicts."[26] Thus, a third hypothesis can be formulated as follows:

> ***H3.*** ***Partition is more likely to take place in states comprised of regions endowed with non-lootable natural resources than in countries that either possess lootable resources or no resources at all.***

International Institutions: The Normative Approach to State Formation

The necessity to inquire into the international system and its foundations in order to understand why and when partition takes place arises from the fact that statehood is undeniably an intersubjective concept. In this sense, Robert H. Jackson and Carl G. Rosberg pose the following question: "How can the persistence of Africa's weak states be explained?"[27] Indeed, the overwhelming majority of African countries present only some, if any, of the characteristics of the Weberian state, e.g. the exercise of "a monopoly of force over a territory and its population, including 'all actions taking place in the area of its jurisdiction.'"[28] This sociological account of statehood however merely includes de facto, or empirical, properties. Thus, Jackson and Rosberg argue that our inability to understand the persistence of weak states lies precisely in the fact that we are using an incomplete definition of statehood: we are ignoring the juridical, or de jure, attributes. They claim that this aspect – the international legal validation by other states – is essential and not automatically granted once a unit presents de facto attributes of a state. In other words, "[a] political system may possess some or all of the empirical qualifications of statehood, but without the juridical attributes of territory and independence it is not a state."[29] This has been especially true since the beginning of early 20th century when the international community was formalized through a collective security arrangement; an effective "club of modern states" was created and it attributed to itself the power to define the conditions of admission. Charles Tilly also recognizes this in his analysis of war as a state making process throughout history:

> "[…] state-certifying organizations such as the League of Nations and the United Nations simply extended the European-based process to the world as a whole. Whether forced or voluntary, bloody or peaceful, decolonization simply completed that process by which existing states leagued to create new ones."[30]

This being said, Jackson and Rosberg develop what they call a "sociological-legal" framework within which the "sticky" nature of statehood can be explained. They base their theoretical process on the way Ian Brownlie defines the state: "a legal person, recognized by the international law, with the following attributes: (a) a defined territory, (b) a permanent population, (c) an effective government, and (d) independence, or the right to 'enter into relations with other states.'"[31] They first go on to demonstrate that very few African states possess empirical characteristics (b. and c.) of the state. Ethnic divisions and the abundance of irredentist claims account for the absence of definite populations in African countries, both in physical and cultural terms. Furthermore, the claim that most governments on the continent lack administrative and coercive control over the totality of their countries' territory is widely acknowledged. Considering this, one is forced to admit that African states are not part of the international community because they have failed to evolve as de facto states in any meaningful manner.

On the other hand, the judicial attributes of statehood (a. and d.) have been granted to these empirically weak states by external forces: colonial powers and international organizations. Accordingly, the authors use this fact to convincingly explain why weak states were able to survive. Jeffrey Herbst wrote, in 1990: "The presence of permanently weak states that will not be eliminated is a new development in international relations and one that poses novel development challenges."[32] This statement highlights how deeply entrenched the norms established in the 1960s had become by the end of the Cold War. Yet, these international norms, as shall be demonstrated below, have evolved over time and reconstructed themselves to adapt to a new world system freed from the constraints of bipolarity. In this context, one is justified in postulating that partition – arguably comprised in what Jackson and Rosberg call "jurisdictional change by consent,"[33] – may now be normatively more acceptable than it was thirty years ago. In this sense, a fourth and final hypothesis is constructed:

> ***H4.*** ***Changes in international norms and institutions regarding the conditions for juridical statehood explains why some secessionist struggles were successful while others failed.***

CASE STUDIES

The next section will evaluate the usefulness of the previously established theoretical frameworks in determining causes of partition in post-colonial sub-Saharan Africa. In order to do so, the case of the 2011 Sudanese partition will be compared and contrasted with the 1967 Biafra Declaration of Independence. The latter resulted in a return to the status quo ante of a geographically united Nigeria after two and a half years of fighting, while the former was the result of a referendum embedded in the peace agreement meant to put an end to thirty years of civil war.

In terms of separatist conflict, Sudan has experienced civil war since its independence, with a decade of relative peace in 1973-1983. The rhetoric of Southern grievances against the North has arguably comprised a separatist rationale over almost the entire period since independence. The results of the January 1st, 2011 referendum showed that partition remained the preferred outcome: 98.8% of people voted in favor of separation.[34] Although some issues remain to be settled, such as debt and oil revenues sharing and the faith of some central provinces, the Referendum was conducted relatively peacefully and in a timely manner.

The Biafran-Nigerian war erupted after Biafra, the eastern region of Nigeria, declared independence in May 1967, as a result of the abandonment of the Aburi (Ghana) Accord and the massacre of Ibo migrants in the Northern region.[35] The accord had been reached, in January 1967, between the main political parties, and comprised provisions for a restructuration of armed forces and an institutional reform. The two and a half years of intense fighting that followed witnessed a very high level of civil violence and a serious humanitarian crisis.

Colonial History and Independence

Britain formally acquired Nigeria as a colony during what is called the "Scramble for Africa," which was settled at the Berlin Conference of 1885. From that point on, the British authorities applied the indirect rule model to the entire Nigerian territory, administering the region north of the Niger River completely separately. Although a British imperial decree transformed, in 1914, the two regions of Nigeria into a single protectorate, both parts remained independently ruled until the official integration of Northern Provinces into the main structure of Nigerian colonial administration in 1946. The administrative d between the Northern and Southern regions were due to religious distinctions: the North was exempted from Christian missionary presence, which resulted in weaker colonial control at the cultural and social levels. In both cases, however, "the colonial conquest essentially left traditional authority structures intact […]," [36] and even sometimes supported those structures when they faced challenging forces. The Richards Constitution of 1946 crystallized the colonial administrative institutions by defining three areas as "ethno-regional clusters: a Hausa-Fulani north, the Yoruba south west, and the Ibo south east."[37] This is the moment when the "tripartition of Nigerian politics," [38] as Herbert Ekwe-Ekwe calls it, was rendered official.

Overall, this portrayal of colonial Nigeria clearly fits the decentralized despotism model described by Mamdani. In parallel, a more centralized type of control was exercised in "production areas," such as Lagos, the plantations, or the oil fields. Yet, what the British had defined as customary law in Nigeria was deeply institutionalized through years of relative autonomy with regards to non-economic matters. The polity structure adopted at independence in 1960 proved to be very conservative in the sense that the First Republic of Nigeria was founded as a federation of three fairly autonomous regions. The "seesaw movement between civilian and military regimes" [39] that followed was however the expression of a tension between centralized and decentralized despotism that was embodied by Nigerian political institutions from the onset. Importantly, even though the system was declared officially opened, the three main parties sought to achieve hegemony in their respective regional assemblies through very undemocratic means, such as violence and intimidation. Furthermore, the British mediated the inclusion of a de facto Northern "veto" by adding a constitutional article calling for a north-south ratio of 54:46 in terms of seats in Parliament.[40] This represented an attempt by the fading colonial power at rectifying the regional development discrepancies. The January 1966 coup d'état was an expression of the resentment fostered by deliberately unequal voting power. Ibo middle-ranking officers overthrew both the central government and the regional federative structure.[41] This sparked a lot of civil violence and thus another coup occurred, in July 1966, which put in power a leadership that promised to reform the Nigerian polity in such a way as to address the destructive tensions of tribalism and regionalism that had led to the state-building stalemate. The aforementioned Aburi Accord was the embodiment of such reforms; yet, it came to be perceived as a scheme "for the transformation of Nigeria into a unitary state" and was "interpreted as an attempt by southerners, more specifically the educationally advanced Ibos, to assert and entrench their domination."[42] Resulting violence directed towards Ibo migrant populations in the North subsequently motivated the declaration of an independent Biafra. At this point, facts seem to support the claim that the transposition of indirect governance structures makes secession more likely.

The circumstances that led to the crushing defeat of the movement and the reintegration of Biafra, however, suggest otherwise. Domestic support rallied around the Nigerian government, effectively isolating the Ibos and critically undermining their chances of winning their secessionist struggle. Indeed, the other ethnicities that comprised the southeastern region were alienated from the struggle through the further decentralization of the system and "fissiparity," or the splitting of existing regions into more divisions – the creation of new and smaller subdivisions, thereby dismantling the ethno-regional clusters – pacified the non-Ibo ethnic groups. In this sense, one can suppose that had the Ibos benefitted from more support they would perhaps have had greater success asserting Biafran independence. Yet, counterfactual analyses only take us this far. It is nonetheless relevant to underline that stability was restored through the creation of new regions, or in Mamdani's words, through the further "bifurcation of the state."

In the case of Sudan, colonization was experienced in a sort of "doubly indirect" way: Egypt ruled Sudan on the account of Britain, through the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. This was largely the result of British concerns about preventing other European powers from having access to the Nile.[43] The existing structures of governance were for the most part left intact. A Southern Policy was also implemented; this new instrument further limited the interactions between the North and the South, in an attempt to prevent the diffusion of nationalist feelings into the relatively quiescent Southern population. It was meant to "seal off [the south] from the north in order to 'protect' the south from Muslim influence."[44] This effectively resulted in discrepancies in terms of economic development between the two regions, which were even more intense than in the case of Nigeria, given the fact that the territories were not only administered separately, but interaction was prohibited through a set of legislation. In terms of indirect rule at the local level, the nationalist uprising of 1924, which was fiercely repressed by the British colonial army, had the consequence of motivating more regionally organized armies and administrative structures.[45]

The fact that representatives from the Southern communities were excluded from the constitutional negotiations at the Juba Conference prior to independence is crucial. Indeed, not only was customary law and institutional segregation maintained in the North, but racial and geographic segregation became institutionalized as well. Discontent was stirred even further through the imposition of the Arab identity on African Christian and animist societies. Indeed, the Northern government felt concerned about the polarizing policies implemented during the colonial era, and aimed at reversing them in order to create a united country. "The logical response was for the government to seek the unity of the country by pursuing the forced assimilation of the South through Arabization and Islamization […]." [46] In this sense, it can be claimed that Sudan is an exception to Mamdani's assertion that the state was deracialized with independence; part of the racial institutional component remained.

In sum, both cases of colonial experience present the characteristics depicted by Mamdani's account of indirect colonial rule. The point at which they differ is located at independence: while Nigerians decided to adopt a federative system along colonial lines, Sudan's constitutional arrangement was drafted without Southern participation and it resulted in policies of centralized despotism towards that region. In addition, considering that the South had not been involved in colonial politics before 1956, it can be argued that both states were conservative, in

Mamdani's sense, in the design of their respective polity. The political patterns observed also suggest that, in both cases, democratization had not been achieved at the time of the secessionist struggle. It thus seems like institutional colonial legacies may explain the boundaries along which secessionist claims are made, but not why the phenomenon happens per se. Colonial histories can nonetheless help us understand the construction of identity and its incidence on politics more thoroughly.

National Identity

The question of identity politics will be approached, as explained earlier, through the perspective of "national identity." Despite the fact that this concept is often argued to be lacking in most contemporary African states, a clash between diverging objectives or projects for state-building, informed by values related to an identity in particular, can arguably lead to demands for separation. In the two cases studied here, the issue of defining national identity has been a particularly thorny one, considering their marked ethnic heterogeneity.

Recalling the previous discussion about colonial history, important socio-cultural contrasts were generated by the religious-based imperial policies: missionaries were not allowed to operate north of the Niger River, and their agency in creating educated and prosperous elites in the South is undeniable. Indeed, mass conversion to Christianity, as well as the propagation of "English education", engendered a new generation of "educated professionals […] [who] often challenged and undermined the authority of the traditional chiefs."[47] This is the same group who later questioned the legitimacy of the colonial state and eagerly pushed for independence. "This explains, at least in part, the fact that regional parties struggled to reach an agreement in terms of constitutional arrangements."[48] It also sets the bases of what would evolve as regionally and ethnically defined identities: the Ibo one being characterized by intellectualism and financial prosperity. Decentralization and federalism presented themselves, as it was then thought, as the best ways of dealing with the different national projects of the three main ethno-regional clusters. This predicament however had the effect of allowing the exacerbation of "sub-Nigerian" identities along regional lines rather than of motivating the development of some sort of uniting and compromising nationalism. Nonetheless, the constitutional framework in place prevented a situation where partition presents itself as the only way of protecting the existing boundaries of identity. The military coups and traumatic ethnic violence of 1966 arguably shook this framework to the point where it did not provide a guarantee anymore, at least for the Ibo group. This is how the Biafra campaign initially gained momentum and relative endorsement in the Southeastern region. However, the previously mentioned "fissiparity" plan, and the speed with which it secured domestic support for the government, highlights the weakness of the "Biafran identity."[49] As a result, the Ibo leadership began emphasizing religious persecution by portraying the conflict as one between Biafra and the Muslim Hausa-Fulani instead of against Nigeria as a whole, which comprises many more than only two ethno-religious groupings.[50] This can be seen as an attempt to polarize the conflict and thereby construct an identity entailing incompatible features with the "Nigerian" one. Stephen Saideman also depicts it as a strategy to gain support from Christian countries, and subsequently international recognition of state status.[51] The establishment of a fundamentally distinct identity in Biafra was, however, not enough to make partition a reality, suggesting that the identity politics approach may not be sufficient to explain the separatist phenomenon.

Sudan, on the other hand, is typically portrayed as a case of identity conflict. Francis M. Deng quotes Stephen Madut Baak, an SPLA officer posted in the United Kingdom:

> "The issue of identity in the Sudan is actually the root cause of the civil war. Sudan is a multiracial, multireligious country. It has no parallel in Africa. Although some people compare it to Nigeria, that is not correct, because all the Nigerians in the first place are Africans, except that they are multireligious, Muslims as well as Christians. Sudan has African and Arab nationalities"[52]

This duality between Arabism and Africanism is arguably at stake in the conflict between two conceptions of how national identity is defined, even though the array of ethnicity is actually much wider and diverse. Deng argues that the "contest of national identities"[53] in Sudan is the result of the fact that the Northern communities have had, since independence, the project of assimilating the Southern communities and the political ability to enact policies in this sense.[54] The previously discussed stranglehold of the North on Sudanese politics, embedded in the constitution at independence, allows for the formulation of regulations that impose the Arab identity throughout the country. Thus, this factor is impossible to ignore when looking for the elements that contributed to fueling the civil war for thirty years. This enduring character, however, also weakens a conception that sees a fundamental identity clash as the main cause of secession. On the other hand, the presence of an antagonist identity, along with colonial legacies, is most likely the reason why, in the case of Sudan, the Southern region emerged as a single entity.

Overall, the question of national identity seems to present itself more as a necessary cause than as a sufficient one. Indeed, the lack of an encompassing deep-rooted identity conflict, as in the case of Biafra, would most likely fail to generate popular support for the cause. On the other hand, as Fearon and Laitin have empirically demonstrated, there is "little evidence that one can predict where a civil war will break out by looking for where ethnic or other broad political grievances are strongest."[55] In other words, ethnic heterogeneity is a widespread reality, while partition is not. Its presence is thus indispensable for grievances to emerge, but is not enough: it is very unlikely that a completely homogenous state would experience separatist demands.

Political Economy

The focus here will be on the role of greed, with regards to natural resources, in motivating secessionism. As mentioned above, both Nigeria and Sudan are endowed with considerable oil and natural gas reserves. During the conferences that gave birth to the Federation of Nigeria, the decentralized political system was justified on the basis of the necessity to "meet the demands for regional autonomy, while addressing the need to share the country's limited and unevenly spread resources."[56] However, the established revenue allocation scheme was based on the principle of derivation, meaning that it "favored the regions deriving substantial income from exportable commodities or crude oil deposits, which meant sharp discrepancies in the funds available to the regional governments and created uneven levels of dependency on the federal center."[57] The first goal, autonomy, was thus achieved with no serious effort made to establish a system of domestic redistribution. In this context, it seems that the economic elite in the oil-rich parts of the country already profited from oil exports revenues without having to make a lot of concessions. The Southeastern region is oil-rich: had it succeeded in seceding in 1967, Nigeria would have lost considerable revenues. Chibuike Uche argues that it is precisely those important oil interests that provided the impetuse for the international community to support Nigeria during the war: "Britain was interested in protecting the investments of Shell-BP in Nigerian oil."[58] The centrality of Nigeria in the global economy, as an oil exporter, is one point where it contrasts with Sudan (which is further discussed below). Nafziger and Richter write: "The dominant structural change in the Nigerian economy prior to the civil war was the rapid growth of the value of output crude oil, 78 percent per annum between 1958 and 1966."[59] This important statistic lends support to the political economy approach: 1967 may have been the point at which it became more profitable for the economic elite to secede than to continue to collaborate and share oil revenues with the central government. This rational decision could indeed, and some argue it did, provide sufficient incentive for the Southeastern political leaders to declare independence and provoke the war. History, however shows that it was not enough to provoke full secession. The will to control the resources was nonetheless a very important consideration for both parties, and thus is crucial in understanding the stakes at play. Furthermore, recalling Snyder's argument, the ability of the Nigerian state to use oil revenues to build up its strength is certainly a factor in explaining its efficiency in military terms. To be sure, state strength is asserted in comparison to other African states and not to the concept of modern state per se.

On the other hand, greed in terms of oil revenues cannot be seen as trigger for the separatist struggle in South Sudan, or for Khartoum's repression of the movement. The fact that oil reserves were located

relatively recently – after the conflict had started – suggests that something else motivated the original secessionist claim in the South. This, however, is not to say that resources have no role in the partition: the prospect of more discoveries "had much to do with the escalation of the conflict between the Bashir regime and the South during the 1990s."[60] Moreover, it undeniably raised the stakes for each side, and is now a main issue of contention in post-partition negotiations. Luke Anthony Patey contends: "It was no mere coincidence that oil was found in Sudan at the same time as the return of civil war [in 1983]."[61] The former Sudanese president Jaafar al-Nimeiri simultaneously shifted his vision from inclusive to assimilationist by imposing Sharia law across the country, and modified regional borders to secure access to potential oil revenues for Khartoum. The sort of warfare that followed was characterized by the central government's desire to control oil-rich territory and the insurgency aiming at disrupting the oil-related activities.[62] In sum, oil was a cause of the Biafra war, while it was merely, and importantly, an additional spoil of winning the "war of visions"[63] in Sudan. The fact that it is one of the unresolved issues in the Sudan-South Sudan post-partition discussions further supports this statement.

One last element worth discussing is the systemic aspect of the political economy approach. Although it was not included in the initial hypothesis, it may provide insight as to what motivated certain foreign policy decisions. Indeed, as mentioned above, Shell-BP was very well established in Nigeria; at the time of Biafra's declaration of independence their operations were valued at around 250 million pounds, while a considerable number of foreign nationals were living and working in Nigeria as part of the oil-extracting business.[64] Furthermore, Nigeria represented an important oil reserve for emerging, energy-consuming economies of the time. The preferred outcome of international actors was therefore a return to the status quo ante and a stabilization of the situation.[65] On the other hand, state regulation had forced the Western oil companies, such as Chevron, Arakis, and Talisman, out of Sudan by the time of secession in 2011.[66] Considering that civil war had been ongoing for thirty years prior to the signature of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), the rational calculation for prospects of political stability appeared to support partition. The endurance of ethnic conflict in Sudan suggested that peaceful national cohabitation of the North and the South would not be easily achieved. Moreover, having to deal with South Sudan's government, which does not have the same stained human rights record as Khartoum, opened the door to "legitimate" Western enterprises in the region. For those reasons, the existence of crude oil reserves exerted very different pressures in the two cases.

International Norms and Institutions

International norms and institutions play, as we have already established, an undeniable role in the formation of countries due to the juridical aspect of statehood. First, we shall begin by looking at the United Nations (UN). From the onset, statehood has been a requirement for full membership in the collective security organization. Simultaneously, it emerged, as Tilly puts it, as a "state-certifying" entity. This new role was materialized with the wave of decolonization that followed. Jackson and Rosberg write, in 1982: "The doctrine of 'states rights' – that is, sovereignty – is the central principle of international society."[67] State sovereignty increased in importance during the second half of the twentieth century and was central to the rules underlying Cold War interstate relations. Although it occasionally clashed with other rights doctrines – such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights – the idea of conceiving sovereignty primarily as a right was a crucial assumption of this precarious equilibrium. International society had little choice but to recognize such rights of newly formed African states, given the fact that they obtained independence "at a time when [it] was highly organized and integrated."[68] Direct intervention in the domestic affairs of weak states, without being invited to do so, would have indeed most likely weakened the credibility of the state system as a whole. The change in international dynamics that followed the disintegration of the Soviet Union, however, created some space to rethink those unquestioned norms. In this context, the UN adopted, in 2005, the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) Doctrine with unanimous consent. Although some have argued that it did not trigger any tangible change in state behavior while providing a seemingly righteous justification for intervention, the impact of the adoption of this doctrine on the language of sovereignty is really important. Indeed, R2P defines sovereignty in terms of responsibilities and rights. This represents a major break from the originally untouchable "non-intervention" principle.

Regional security on the African continent was also influenced by these shifts in the definition of sovereignty. First, let us look at the Organization of African Unity (OAU), created in 1963 and grounded in anti-colonial struggle, to understand why it was later disbanded and gave rise to the African Union (AU) in 2002. From the beginning, the processes of international recognition, it is argued, reinforced the regional development of norms based on the same sacrosanct rights associated with juridical statehood: "the Organization of African Unity (OAU) […] fully acknowledged and legitimated the colonial frontiers and the principle of state sovereignty within them."[69] This phenomenon is called "ethnic Balkanization," or the process through which arbitrary boundaries gain precedence in legitimacy terms over culturally defined boundaries. It was, in the African case, the result of many intertwined factors, which Jackson and Rosberg skillfully lay out. These include the intellectual elites' realization that the only way to articulate African nationalism was through the use of colonial frontiers as political units, and the pan-Africanist rhetoric that flowed from this. This rationale will prove to be enduring, as the relatively peaceful secession of Eritrea from Ethiopia suggests: the Eritrean territory was redefined along colonial lines in 1993.[70] Another important incentive to promote the inviolability of established borders can be formulated in terms of an "elite security dilemma": the need for governments to obtain guarantees of protection and state survival because they are not in a position to provide them themselves. Finally, the "vulnerability argument" cannot be ignored either: the fact that many African states were also under secessionist threat created a disincentive for the support of separatism in other states, regardless of whether or not it was legitimate.[71] For these reasons, non-intervention and the protection of existing boundaries were priorities of the OAU. Yet, by the early 1990s, it was widely acknowledged that these two principles were responsible for putting immense strain on the continent's quest for peace and prosperity.[72] Indeed, there was a realization that "African leaders, in abiding strictly by the prohibition of the OAU Charter […] watched civil wars erupt and destroy states and their populations."[73] Moreover, the facts that decolonization was complete and that apartheid in South Africa and Namibia had been abolished meant that the emphasis on sovereignty and auto-determination no longer served its original purpose. Reform was in order. In this sense, the Constitutive Act of the AU became authoritative on July 10, 2001. Although it restates the international institution's respect for the principles of "sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its Member States,"[74] it does not prohibit intervention. Article 4(h) indeed presents itself as a completely new provision and reads as follows: "the right of the Union to intervene in a Member State pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity." This shows a pivotal shift in thinking, which shall influence the fate of subsequent crises on the continent. Furthermore, article 4(m) calls for the "respect [of] democratic principles, human rights, the rule of law and good governance."

Keeping this in mind, and as Ijalaye underlines: "recognition forms an integral part of that factual situation which must manifest itself before and entity can claim to have attained statehood in international law."[75] Yet, in the case of Biafra, only four African states – Zambia, Tanzania, Gabon, and the Ivory Coast –and Haiti granted state status recognition.[76] France also shyly positioned itself in favor of conflict resolution "on the basis of the right of peoples to self-determination,"[77] but never formally recognized Biafra. This general support for the reinstatement of "original" Nigerian boundaries flows directly from the aforementioned norms of the OAU. Indeed, Tanzania justified its decision on the basis of human rights violations by the Nigerian state and even went as far as to compare the situation of the Eastern populations to the one of Jews in Nazi Germany.[78] The response from the Nigerian government was the withdrawal of its diplomatic representatives in Dar-es-Salaam as well as stating "that the Tanzanian decision was contrary to the Charter of the OAU […]."[79] This is a good example of how the international norms and institutions were used by African governments for security purposes. The fact that only four other states followed the lead of Tanzania also speaks of the prevalence of those norms in determining foreign policy decisions.

In the case of Sudan, potential partition became

an acceptable outcome after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between Khartoum and the Sudan People's Liberation Army/ Movement (SPLA/M) in 2005. Indeed, it stipulated that a referendum for independence would take place in South Sudan ten years after the ratification of the agreement by the warring parties; those years represented an interim period during which peaceful cohabitation would be attempted.

> "The CPA provides that upon an affirmative referendum vote, the ability of the South to secede is an unequivocal right under the CPA, and one to which the North is bound. This clearly places it further along the 'legal' spectrum than a mere political declaration."[80]

The above statement illustrates the primacy of international law in sanctioning the secessionist demands of South Sudan. Although this right was recognized alongside that of self-determination, which pertains more to the question of nationalism, it is this international juridical legitimacy that provided favorable conditions for the partition to occur –not a genuine will of the Southern Sudanese to form a country together. Moreover, recalling the new definition of sovereignty adopted in 2005 – comprising the "responsibility" element –any claim by an international actor to Al-Bashir's government right to territorial integrity would have lacked a lot of credibility. The proven inability of the regime to uphold its responsibility to protect the people living under its jurisdiction was indeed so obvious that very few rationales based on the rights of the state were expressed. As the discussion about the evolution of international institutions since the early 1960s has proven, the conditions under which a provision such as the right to secede have until recently only started conditioning international normative thinking.

CONCLUSION

Why partition? This paper represents an attempt at answering this question. What causal links can be found when investigating different sides of secessionist successes and failures? Are some elements necessary? What are the sufficient ones? The initial conclusion that can be drawn, in light of the preceding discussion, is that partition is a very complex phenomenon. Indeed, although some approaches seem to better provide an explanation in terms of direct causality, it appears that a combination of many factors is essential for this structural change to take place.

The question of international norms and institutions, in the end, stands out as the strongest approach: the necessary cause for partition is in fact found in the juridical components of statehood. Indeed, the shift in international norms not only created more favorable conditions within which partition could take place, it also implicitly presented secession as an opportunity. Separatism has become acceptable in the eye of the international community, when it is supported by legitimate grievances, usually expressed in terms of human rights and good governance. These ideas, and their primacy in international relations discourses, are truly novel. The premises in which the state system is grounded appear to be changing: the international community's attitude towards partition or more fundamentally towards the concept of sovereignty, thus also evolves as a consequence. International recognition really is the single factor that will render any independence declaration official. The case of South Sudan truly speaks of this: every permanent member of the UN Security Council, along with other states, had recognized it upon independence on July 9, 2011. On the other hand, it did not, and still does not, have settled boundaries or a definitive population. Neither does it present a government with the capacity to exercise a monopoly of violence, let alone unite its citizens under the banner of a single community. On the contrary, Biafra was recognized, as mentioned before, by a total of five states even though it claimed sovereignty over a defined territory and had a relatively coherently organized military force to control it. This starkly highlights the precedence taken by the juridical over the empirical features of statehood.

This portrait of statehood and international recognition however remains unsatisfying. It indeed provides a necessary cause for partition: a de jure status. But it leaves open the question: Why do separatist claims emerge? How do they define themselves? Why are some of these claims warmly welcomed while others are not internationally recognized? This last question is a good place to start in order to complement our normative approach. Indeed, as discussed earlier, the place of a state in the international economy can also be determinant in terms of whether or not a secessionist claim will gain external support. The "lootability" of resources within a country, it has been shown, defines the most optimal insurgency strategy. The presence of regions endowed with non-lootable natural resources indeed seems to increase the likeliness of partition demands. The partition demands will nonetheless be received differently depending on the position of the state in the world economy. In the case of Nigeria, its status of established oil producer made the cost of supporting partition, for international actors, very high. Increasing oil revenues also may have motivated the economic elite in declaring independence for Biafra. Ironically, those same revenues propped up the Nigerian state in military terms, thereby widening the gap between its own strength and that of the Biafran army. On the other hand, in Sudan, the fact that its oil-extraction infrastructures remain to be developed makes it more likely that partition will be supported. The political economy approach – although individually too weak to account for partition – thus refines our understanding of the variations across cases. It should therefore not be dismissed altogether, but rather used within the framework of a more detailed analysis.

The historical-institutional approach, however, is the weakest of the theoretical statements presented. First, despite Mamdani's dichotomous model – the conservative versus the radical state – the argument still lacks explanatory power in terms of accounting for divergences. Second, and notwithstanding the fact that the author appears to be carefully avoiding the "identity politics" issue, his account is first and foremost helpful in understanding the bases for the construction of identity in post-colonial Africa. Indeed, it has been demonstrated earlier that colonial legacies are responsible for the underlying conditions that breed secessionism such as arbitrary borders and high levels of regionalism within a country. These are however neither sufficient nor necessary causes. As a matter of fact, secessionism is not a phenomenon exclusive to the African continent; it is present everywhere, even in the most developed countries. The colonial legacies can thus be seen more as a starting point for explaining the emergence of what we have described as "incompatible national identity projects" within contemporary African states than as an explanation for partition per se.

This brings us to the identity politics approach. It was hypothesized that in a context where identities with incompatible goals coexist within the same state, the more actively the dominant group pursues assimilation as a policy, the more likely it is that partition will present itself as the only way to protect the existing boundaries of identity. The empirical analysis of the cases of South Sudan and Biafra lends support to this proposition. Although it does not explain why some secessionist claims are internationally recognized and others are not, this approach very convincingly accounts for the emergence of separatism as the only alternative to violence. It also explains the mass support for the idea in some regions, even if those regions comprise many different ethnic groups. In this context, the aforementioned colonial legacies are responsible for the construction of antagonistic identities within the same state. When those social categories present themselves as incompatible, and when assimilationist policies are actively pursued, partition may appear to be the only peaceful option; a deep-rooted identity conflict is thus a necessary cause of partition. To be sure, it does not explain why partition takes place; as stated before, the juridical features of statehood remain crucial. It does nonetheless provide a clarification as to why some groups are willing to fight serious and long-lasting battles for self-determination.

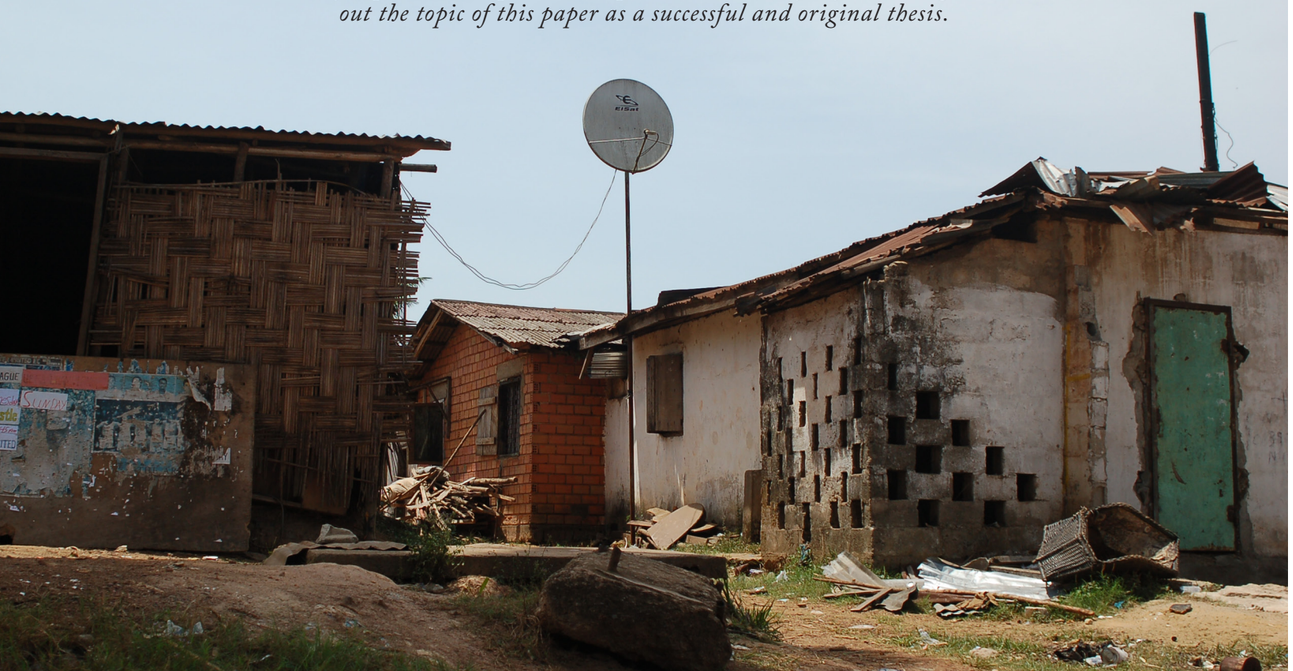
Finally, this discussion sheds light on an important problem: the fact that international norms still represent the most powerful approach for interpreting the creation of states suggests that we are not about to witness the end of what Jackson and Rosberg call the "persistence of weak states in Africa". Indeed, the lack of an empirical state in South Sudan, and the general lack of consensus of how to address the situation, speaks to the many "dilemmas of state building."[81] If partition is to become a reasonable strategy for peace building in the future, these dilemmas must be taken very seriously. The simple de jure creation of new states is not the answer to civil violence; the answer inevitably lies in the de facto features of the state.

PEACEKEEPING IN THE ABSENCE OF PEACE

ECOMOG'S MISGUIDED INTERVENTION IN THE FIRST LIBERIAN CIVIL WAR

Alexia Jablonski

This article discusses two theories of conflict resolution in relation to the first Liberian Civil War. Its innovative stance on peacekeeping as an action that does not have to be, and sometimes should not be, peaceful is grounded in the case study of the ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group's mission in Liberia. Within this the possibilities of credible commitment and a mutually hurting stalemate as conditions for peace are explored and parsed out successfully rounding out the topic of this paper as a successful and original thesis.



In the last few decades, the humanitarian costs of external military interventions in ethnic civil wars have prompted states to favor less obtrusive forms of intervention. Peacekeeping, in particular, is commonly regarded as a method for external actors to mitigate violence in war-torn countries without the possibility of exacerbating conflict, a risk associated with more direct forms of military operations. This paper, however, contends that peacekeeping may have negative unintended repercussions by undermining the credibility of third-party interventions to enforce peace agreements. By examining the example of the ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group's mission in the first Liberian civil war, it will argue that the reluctance to employ force for peace enforcement operations may have prolonged the political stalemate, thereby increasing the cost of human life.

THEORIES OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Before delving into the argument, it is necessary to discuss the theoretical literature pertaining to conflict resolution strategies. Achieving a successful resolution to ethnic civil war is a daunting challenge, rendered all the more difficult by the intractable nature of ethnic strife. Chaim Kaufmann argues "restoring civil politics in multi-ethnic states shattered by war is impossible because the war itself destroys the possibility of ethnic cooperation."[1] Mobilization and atrocities committed by both sides harden ethnic identities, implying that cross-ethnic appeals are unlikely to find any support. Moreover, intermingled populations create security dilemmas that prevent de-escalation.[2]

There exist several theories regarding possible solutions to ethnic conflict, two of which are relevant for the purpose of this discussion: ethnic separation and power-sharing. Kaufmann argues that separation of opposing ethnic groups into demographically separate enclaves might limit the opportunity and incentive for further combat. This solution is problematic, however, because it fragments states, and thus causes suffering during population exchanges, and harden ethnic antagonisms.[3]

Power-sharing, or "consociational democracy," involves dividing power among competing groups through "1) joint exercise of governmental power; 2) proportional distribution of government funds and jobs; 3) autonomy on ethnic issues 4) a minority veto on issues of vital importance to each group."[4] Arend Lijphart argues that this form of resolution can be conducive to long-term political stability in fragmented societies.[5] Kaufmann, however, contends that such a solution is unfeasible under conditions of violent conflict because it is "inherently voluntaristic." There may be no incentive for groups to cooperate, nor any confidence that adversaries will uphold commitments.[6]

While the lack of political will for negotiations may impede the process of forming settlements in ethnically divided countries, Kaufmann falsely assumes that this necessarily pre-empts the attainment of a peaceful resolution. Insofar as war is a bargaining process between competing groups with vested interests, combatants may also seek resolutions through peaceful means if they have an incentive to do so.

Barbara Walter's theory of credible commitments offers an explanation on how external intervention can facilitate the brokering of a peace settlement during civil war. In her view, the most significant hurdle in negotiations is not how to stop the fighting, but "how to design a settlement that convinces the groups to shed individual defenses and submit to the rules of a new political game at a time when no government or police force can either protect them or guarantee compliance."[7] Combatants are likely to renege on treaties for a number of reasons: there may be an incentive to prolong conflict, they may fear exclusion from power, and they may expect a surprise attack.[8] As long as incentives for factions to prolong conflict and expectations that opponents will violate agreements exist, political resolutions are likely to collapse.

Walter writes that one of the most effective means of ensuring adherence to political agreements involves external intervention: "adversaries will generally move forward with a peace plan when a third-party has the political will to verify or enforce demobilization."[9] According to Walter, the credibility of third-party enforcers is not merely a function of the number of peacekeeping troops

deployed, but also depends on how effectively they can verify compliance and how willing they are to stay. In other words, external actors must prove that they have the will and capacity to enforce demobilization and ceasefires. Conversely, "if a third-party fails to step forward, or in some way reveals a lack of resolve," peace settlements are likely to founder.[10]

I. William Zartman discusses another condition under which peaceful negotiations are likely to be upheld based on the concept of a mutually hurting stalemate. He states that "when the parties find themselves locked in a conflict from which they cannot escalate to victory and this deadlock is painful to both of them (although not necessarily in equal degree or for the same reasons), they seek an alternative policy or way out."[11] Combatants who no longer have an interest in conflict and who expect their adversaries to have lost the incentive to fight are more likely to adhere to peace settlements.

The remainder of this paper will apply these last two theories – credible commitment and mutually hurting stalemate – in examining the effectiveness of the ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group's (ECOMOG) peacekeeping mission in the first Liberian civil war. It will prove that the ECOMOG mission prolonged the conflict because its strategy of impartial peacekeeping failed to signal a credible commitment towards ceasefire and demobilization agreements. The civil war only ended after the devastating consequences of conflict had created a mutually hurting stalemate, causing the opposing faction to lose both the incentive and ability to continue fighting.

LIBERIAN CIVIL WAR AND ECOMOG INTERVENTION

While the complex political background of the first civil war in Liberia is beyond the scope of this paper, it is necessary to briefly discuss the ethnic cleavages underlying the conflict. For over a century following Liberia's establishment in 1822, the Americo-Liberian ethnic group controlled the country's government apparatus. In 1980, Samuel Doe launched a military coup and subsequently appointed members of his own Krahn group and his allies, the Mandingo, to positions of power. His rule exacerbated ethnic tensions through the use of persecution against other ethnic groups and political opponents.

On December 24, 1989, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), under the leadership of former Doe official Charles Taylor, crossed the border from Cote d'Ivoire to launch an invasion against Doe and the AFL. The insurgency, which primarily consisted of Mano and Gio, drew great support among the population and spread quickly because of the unpopularity of Doe's regime and the Krahn-Mandingo hegemony.[12] Six months into the conflict fighting reached the capital, Monrovia, and Taylor was in control of over 90 percent of Liberia's territory.[13]

In the surrounding sub-region, members of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) watched the conflict with concern. ECOWAS, which had been formed in 1976 to foster economic ties among the 16 states in West Africa, feared violence would destabilize the region and have devastating humanitarian consequences. In April 1990, a group of five ECOWAS members dispatched a Standing Mediation Committee (SMC) to carry out peaceful mediation between warring groups. Seeing no progress through diplomatic means, and fearing a massacre in Monrovia, the Committee created the ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) on August 7, 1990. The operation began with the deployment of 3,000 West African troops in Monrovia. ECOMOG's initial mandate was "to conduct military operations for the purpose of monitoring the ceasefire, and restoring law and order to create the necessary conditions for free and fair elections to be held in Liberia."[14]

Other members of the international community, however, played a very minimal role in the conflict. The United Nations remained largely uninvolved until 1992, when calls for intervention prompted the signing of Resolution 788, supporting an arms embargo on the rebel factions imposed by ECOWAS.[15] In September 1993, a UN Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) was sent with the mandate of coordinating peacekeeping operations with ECOMOG.[16] By early 1994, there were 368 UN observers in Monrovia.[17] Similarly, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) sent a peacekeeping force to work in collaboration with ECOMOG.[18] As for the United States, it declared that the conflict should remain at the regional level, and only contributed through minimal humanitarian assistance.[19]

The peacekeeping mission occurred in conjunction with efforts to broker a political resolution as the SMC sought to mediate diplomatic negotiations among different factions, the interim governmental and relevant societal actors. A number of ceasefires and disarmament agreements were signed between combatants, including those in Bamako (November 1990), Lomé (February 1991), Akosombo (September 1994) and Accra (December 1994),[20] however, these resolutions were repeatedly violated as warlords continued fighting and refused to disarm. A tenuous peace accord was signed in Abuja, Nigeria in August 1995 to bring together all major factional leaders in a transitional government, though fighting still continued until 1996.[21] After years of diplomatic negotiations, however, multi-party elections were finally held in July 1997, and ECOMOG withdrew its final forces in October 1999.[22]

AFTERMATH AND EVALUATION

The civil war plunged Liberia into one of the most horrific conflicts of the decade, where approximately 200,000 people died and 1.2 million (roughly half of the country's pre-war population of 2.5 million) were displaced.[23] Other atrocities – including the use of child soldiers, ethnic killings of civilians, mass rape, child sacrifices and cannibalism – severely eroded confidence in social and political institutions.[24] The war also ignited conflicts in surrounding regions, as insurgents used bases in Sierra Leone to consolidate and launch operations.[25] Moreover, the 1997 election of Charles Taylor prompted the formation of a rebel group in Guinea, Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), which instigated the second Liberian civil war that lasted from 1999 to 2003.[26] While conflict has subsisted and a democratically elected government is currently in power, Liberians are still struggling to rebuild their shattered economy and political system.

The impact of the ECOMOG peacekeeping mission is still widely debated.[27] Some analysts commend the effort as a success because of its role in minimizing civilian casualties and providing humanitarian assistance,[28] But on the other hand, certain critics declare the ECOMOG mission a failure due to the immense social and economic costs of the war. However, it may be unfair to attribute the losses incurred during the conflict solely to a failure on the part of ECOMOG, as it would be unrealistic to expect a complete success given the constraints experienced by peacekeeping forces.[29] As will later be discussed at length, the mission faced an extremely polarized Liberian political context, financial and military impediments, and neglect on the part of the international community, among other problems. Rather than dismissing the role of ECOMOG altogether, a more appropriate question would be to ask whether, given the constraints, the strategy pursued by ECOMOG helped bring about a peaceful resolution to the civil war.

ECOMOG STRATEGY: IMPARTIAL PEACEKEEPING?

Throughout the mission, ECOMOG's primary role was as a peacekeeper, to enforce ceasefire agreements, assist in disarmament and minimize civilian casualties. Its efforts were secondary to the political process, which sought to broker a ceasefire agreement and establish a peace treaty to pave the way for democratic elections. Thus, the end of the mission was to resolve the civil war through a power-sharing agreement. Central to this strategy was the explicit norm of impartiality. In the words of the Nigerian president, "ECOMOG is a peace force… ECOMOG forces are soldiers without enemies or favored faction in the conflict; they can open fire only in self-defense."[30]

The decision to intervene and to adopt a strategy of neutrality was politically contentious among ECOWAS members. Most West African states feared that the failure to intervene in Liberia could destabilize the region, leading to massive refugee flows and more insurgencies. According to Ademola Adeleke, Anglophone countries, particularly Nigeria, had an interest in opposing

the NPFL insurgency because "the artificial and porous interstate frontiers, the fragility of most of the governments and their inability to improve the objective conditions of their citizens, made them apprehensive of cross-border subversion."[31]

In contrast, most Francophone states in the sub-region supported the NPFL. Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea and Burkina Faso in particular had acrimonious ties with the Doe regime, and were in favor of Charles Taylor's effort to overthrow it.[32] Moreover, as a result of colonial legacies, Francophone states had bitter relations with Anglophone West Africa, and feared that if Nigeria's intentions too heavily influenced the mission, it would pave the way for Nigerian hegemony in the region. As a result of these disagreements and fears of "Nigerianisation", ECOMOG deliberately adopted a strategy of impartiality towards Liberian factions.[33]

While other factors influenced ECOMOG's mandate for neutral peacekeeping, including strategic and normative considerations,[34] regional political divisions were significant because they influenced ECOMOG's strategy in two ways. First, since any overt resistance against a particular faction could incite regional tensions, ECOMOG prioritized peacekeeping over peace enforcement operations.[35] The primary difference between these two strategies is that the former forbids the use of force except for self-defense,[36] whereas the latter requires defining an opponent against whom to direct offensive military operations.[37] Second, due to the domestic political reasons discussed above, many states had an incentive to covertly defect from the norm of impartiality by providing assistance for warring factions. As will be explained below, these conflicting interests served to undermine the overall peacekeeping mission.

BALANCING IMPARTIALITY AND VESTED INTERESTS

This following section will examine how ECOMOG members balanced these conflicting interests, and in doing so, it will argue that ECOMOG's strategy of impartial peacekeeping served to prolong the conflict by weakening its perceived commitment to enforcing a peaceful power-sharing resolution.

Peacekeeping

As has previously been discussed, one of the primary limitations to a power-sharing approach to solving ethnic conflict is that it rests on the willingness of the relevant parties to engage in negotiations. Due to the intensity of ethnic conflict, Kaufmann argues that there often exists no desire for negotiation, and no incentive to cooperate with opposing groups. When there is a clear imbalance in power among groups, successful negotiations are even more improbable, as there is no incentive for the stronger side to comply, nor can the weaker party realistically believe the commitment of its opponent.[38] Consequently, as Walter discusses, commitments are only likely to be upheld if combatants expect that external parties have the will and capabilities to enforce compliance.

In Liberia in the early 1990s, a successful peace negotiation was extremely unlikely to succeed on its own given both the ferocity of ethnic cleavages, as well as the overwhelming military superiority of the NPFL vis-à-vis other groups.[39] The brutal tactics employed by all warring factions, including the use of ethnic cleansing, indicated the degree to which combatants were committed to gaining political power at all costs. Warlords' increasing reliance on ethnically based rhetoric solidified cleavages, which further amplified the unwillingness to cooperate.[40]

Economic incentives also gave combatants an interest in prolonging the conflict. The state of anarchy allowed factions to profit enormously from resource extraction, trade and looting. According to Stephen Ellis, "diamonds, gold, drugs, rubber, wood, looted goods, scrap metal, palm oil, coffee, cocoa and, of course, weapons, were all traded."[41] Warlords had extensive business connections that were willing to finance their operations in exchange for control over some of Liberia's abundant resources. For example, Charles Taylor had commercial ties with private businesses and the French government, particularly over its major iron ore mining operation in NPFL territory.[42] Herbert Howe argues that "this external support not only [aided] the groups' military capabilities but may [have made] them reluctant to settle for political negotiations which would end their pillaging."[43]

Since combatants had incentives to continue the conflict, there was little cooperation on brokering a peace agreement. While the AFL and smaller factions initially welcomed the entry of ECOMOG forces in 1990, the NPFL was resistant from the onset.[44] As a result, ECOMOG's strategy of impartial peacekeeping was unsuited to compelling commitment to agreements because it falsely presupposed that factions would cooperate to reach a peaceful settlement. As Christopher Tuck writes, "the traditional essentials for a peacekeeping operation, the consent of the protagonists and a working ceasefire, did not really exist – indeed the ECOMOG force was fired upon even as they landed."[45] ECOMOG's unwillingness to launch offensive peace enforcement missions against uncooperative groups, particularly the NPFL, meant that there existed no feasible means of compelling compliance to the diplomatic process.[46]

Due to the violence of the conflict, it became impossible for ECOMOG to remain completely neutral. When facing aggression, troops had to transition from peacekeeping to limited peace enforcement by engaging directly in combat and launching counter-offensives on rebel encampments. However, due to the mission's mandate of impartial peacekeeping, instructions for offensive military offensives were unclear and contradictory. For instance, later on in the mission, ECOMOG was tasked with drawing up buffer zones and establishing check points without any guidelines about how to do so, which limited its effectiveness.[47] The lack of clarity of its mandate regarding peace enforcement constrained its ability to compel factions to adhere to ceasefires and engage in disarmament.

Thus, combatants did not view ceasefires as permanent solutions to conflict, but rather as temporary opportunities to consolidate power before returning to war.[48] Due to the plethora of natural resources in Liberia, factions also had plenty of economic opportunities to rebuild their forces during moments of temporary peace, particularly during the earlier stages of the war. Following the Bamako ceasefire on November 28, 1990, for example, Taylor built up his financial base by selling gold, diamonds and hardwoods to commercial enterprises.[49] Some groups overtly flouted the rules stipulated by negotiations, such as Taylor refusing to disarm following a political agreement in 1992.[50] The lack of a credible enforcement mechanism failed to coerce groups into respecting ceasefire and demobilization agreements.

Overall, ECOMOG's efforts at peacekeeping prolonged the conflict, particularly in the early stages of the war. Its refusal to engage in significant military offensives against combatants, except when it was attacked in 1992, allowed warlords to form bases outside of Monrovia where they could retreat and consolidate their power during the imposition of ceasefires. According to Howe, "ECOMOG allowed Taylor to recover from his defeats in 1990 and 1992, and to loot much of the Liberian countryside."[51] Ceasefires thus served to empower warlords, deepening the political stalemate by further decreasing their incentive to cooperate in peaceful power-sharing negotiations.

Fragmentation of Factions

As negotiations languished and the stalemate deepened, new factions began to emerge, adding an additional complication to the peace negotiation process.[52] By 1995, there existed at least eight major factions and many minor ones.[53] Most of these groups were formed along ethnic lines or were united in their dislike of an opposing warlord.[54] This increasing factionalism solidified ethnic hatreds, which made disarmament and negotiations more difficult. Many groups simply excluded themselves from political agreements, such as the Lofa Defence Force's and the Bong Defence Front's abstention from the 1993 Cotonou Agreement.[55]

As previously mentioned, most ECOMOG members had a political incentive to support particular factions over others. By expecting that assisting warlords would speed up a military resolution in favor of the host country's preferred faction, ECOMOG members began providing weapons, ammunitions and transport to Liberian combatants. After the murder of Samuel Doe in September 1990, for instance, Nigeria increased support of factions opposed to the NPFL, including the AFL, ULIMO, and the Liberian Peace Council.[56] In contrast, Francophone countries, particularly Cote d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso, increased their support of the NPFL.[57] As the stalemate deepened, this tactic was

more widely employed due to frustration concerning "ECOMOG's political and military limitations, including its adherence to a peacekeeping mandate… and escalating costs."[58] Another reason involved greed; "ECOMOG officers assisted the factions in their looting by providing armed protection and transport."[59] Although secretly supporting factions violated ECOMOG's mandate of impartiality, there lacked any disciplinary mechanism to ensure compliance among members.[60]

These efforts were counterproductive in a number of ways. Firstly, principal-agent theory suggests that the delegation of conflict to rebels can create problems of agency slack, whereby "the agent takes actions that are not consistent with the preferences of the principal once delegation has been established."[61] In the Liberian civil war, the empowerment of factions undermined peace negotiations by increasing conflicts among competing groups and decreasing the incentive to broker a resolution. As Howe writes, "by supporting the factions, ECOMOG risked creating Frankenstein monsters that could threaten any peace settlement… prolongation of the war risk[ed] devolution of faction power away from any central command and to smaller units."[62] Consequently, the covert support of factions, while serving the interests of ECOMOG members, exacerbated the political stalemate.

Secondly, ECOMOG's willingness to assist combatants decreased the credibility of its commitment to enforce a settlement through peaceful negotiations. Walter's credible commitment theory asserts that if a third-party "in some way reveals a lack of resolve," opposing groups may be unwilling to follow peace settlements.[63] Thus, ECOMOG's covert support of rival factions undermined its role as a third-party enforcer by indicating that it lacked the political will to seriously enforce compliance to ceasefire and demobilization agreements. This decreased the likelihood that factions would adhere to a political resolution, thereby prolonging the war.

Resolution of conflict

Given the lack of credibility demonstrated by ECOMOG in enforcing compliance to a diplomatic settlement, why did combatants finally agree to a peace resolution and democratic elections in 1997 the most convincing explanation for the commitment to the peace resolution of 1997 is that the prolongation of the civil war had yielded such extreme costs that warlords within Liberia found themselves in a mutually hurting stalemate, which motivated them to agree to a temporary settlement. As Tuck asserts,

Ultimately, ECOMOG`s success was less in peacekeeping, since the fighting may well have been more prolonged and heavy than if it had not intervened. The ECOMOG operation was, in reality, an ambiguous exercise in attrition, sustained by Nigeria's willingness to accept heavy material costs… Prolongation of the war was the key reason for its eventual termination.[64]

Combatants agreed to the peace resolution out of necessity, as the material and social cost of conflict had reduced their willingness and expectations of success of further conflict. This appears to offer evidence for Zartman's theory, namely that negotiations can be successful when opposing parties have an interest in ending a destructive and protracted conflict. In the absence of a credible third-party enforcer to compel adherence to a political settlement, a peaceful resolution was only brought about by the realization that the military stalemate was too costly to maintain, rather than the inherent strategic success of the ECOMOG mission.

COUNTERARGUMENTS

There are two potential limitations with the argument that ECOMOG's strategy of impartial peacekeeping helped perpetuate the stalemate and prolonged the Liberian civil war.

Constraints

There were several military, economic and political factors that limited ECOMOG's ability to enforce ceasefires and maintain peace. As Walter argues, in order for third parties to credibly enforce peace negotiations, they need to possess sufficient military capabilities. ECOMOG lacked the appropriate manpower, training, material, and communication infrastructure to carry out a successful counterinsurgency campaign.[65] The maximum number of troops during the campaign, for instance, was about 12,500, while it could be as low as 2,700, which was too small for peace enforcement.[66] Most ECOWAS countries faced restricted budgets, and could not afford to sustain a protracted military operation,[67] and there were also few efforts on the part of the international community to provide additional military, financial or political support.[68] Lack of financial resources meant that soldiers were poorly paid, which lowered morale and created an incentive for them to engage in mass looting.[69]

While these constraints did indeed limit the effectiveness of peacekeeping operations, the underlying problem with the mission was of a strategic rather than logistical nature. Though military and financial limitations reduced ECOMOG's capability to enforce resolutions, outcomes might have been more successful had ECOMOG redirected its scarce resources to peace enforcement operations rather than choosing to take on a neutral peacekeeping role, as the latter strategy reduced ECOMOG's credibility as a third-party enforcer.[70] Moreover, the covert financing of factions also undermined ECOMOG's credibility by indicating that it lacked the will to seriously carry through with negotiations. Even though material limitations reduced the efficacy of operations, the lack of a political will to enforce compliance to settlements was the fundamental reason why the mission was not perceived as credible.

Alternative strategies?

A second counterargument might be that even though impartial peacekeeping was an imperfect strategy, more aggressive peace enforcement operations might have engendered more devastating consequences. Ghana, for example, believed that Nigeria's desire to launch an invasion against Taylor might have prolonged the war, as the NPFL was by far the most powerful faction in Liberia.[71] Other potential solutions, including Kaufmann's strategy of ethnic separation, could also pose serious costs in terms of human life. While peacemaking was problematic, some analysts contend it was the least dangerous of a set of undesirable strategies.

While one may concede the point that other strategies may have also had negative consequences, the fundamental problem with the ECOMOG mission was that the evaluation of alternative strategies was not sufficiently addressed. Rather, impartial peacekeeping was prioritized to avoid regional political ruptures at the expense of sound military planning. As Howe concludes, ECOMOG's mandate was "way too mushy… it simultaneously attempted impartial peacekeeping (without a peace to keep) and biased peace enforcement." 72 Thus, the ECOMOG mission was inadequate because it failed to devise a strategy that would be more appropriate to the situation in Liberia. Instead, regional political dynamics compelled forces to adopt a nebulous mandate of impartial peacekeeping that seriously undermined the effectiveness of its efforts to enforce peace agreements.

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Despite the normative merit of deploying peacekeeping forces to mitigate violence in ethnic civil wars, external actors must be cautious about assuming that peacekeeping missions are without negative consequences. As the example of ECOMOG operations during the first Liberian civil war demonstrates, impartial peacekeeping can in fact prolong conflict and increase the cost of human life by reducing the credibility of third parties to enforce political agreements. The implication is that states must be wary of deploying peacekeeping forces without adequately evaluating the underlying political conditions in the country at war. While peacekeeping missions may succeed in areas where the requisites for lasting peaceful settlements exist, they may be counterproductive in wars where factions have no incentive to seek peace and possess sufficient economic resources to continue fighting. In the latter case, peacekeeping may in fact empower warlords, thus enhancing their ability to perpetrate horrific crimes against civilians.

DEMOCRACY AND CIVIL WAR IN RUSSIA

Saladin El Ayoubi

The question of whether the spread of democracy promotes peace is of contemporary importance, given the recent Arab Spring. This paper aims to evaluate Mansfield and Snyder's theory that incomplete democratization is a causal factor in the outbreak of war. The theory was applied to post-Soviet Russia, where analysis of four elite strategies used to consolidate political support – logrolling, squaring the circle, elite mobilization, and prestige strategies – assessed the effects of incomplete democratization on foreign policy. This investigation found that while democratization heightens internal division, it need not lead to war. Further studies should focus on the role of weak central authority and ethnic divisions in determining the likelihood of civil war.

Does the spread of democracy promote peace? This fundamental question has long been a source of debate among IR scholars. In light of events such as the Arab Spring, this theoretical question is of great contemporary importance. Democratic transitions in the Middle East may give rise to bellicose foreign policies, due to the rise of religious extremism, the legacy of weak domestic institutions, and hostile public opinion vis-à-vis Israel.

This paper will test Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder's theory, which argues that incomplete democratization is a causal factor in the outbreak of war. The authors assert that shifts from autocracy to democracy coupled with weak domestic institutions create a tendency towards aggressive foreign policy. The divided political elites within nascent democracies tend to use nationalist appeals in order to win elections, which in turn provides the framework for bellicose foreign policies.

To test this theory, I will study a case where a shift towards democracy occurs within a state embroiled in an interstate rivalry. To investigate correlation, I will address the following questions. First, did the state in question experience incomplete democratization, as defined by Mansfield and Snyder? Second, did an armed conflict ensue? Once I have answered these questions, I will investigate whether it was caused by incomplete democratization or by other factors. This case study will focus on democratization in Russia since the fall of communism. Russia is an appropriate case study because it has had conflictual relations with ethnic minorities in the Caucuses prior to democratization, which enables one to study the impact of regime change on foreign policy making.

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Before embarking upon a discussion of democratization and war, it is necessary to define relevant terms. For measures of regime type, Mansfield and Snyder employ Gurr's widely used Polity II database.[1] Russett's regime typology distinguishes between anocracy, autocracy, and democracy. Anocracy is a political regime that is characterized by weak central authority or undemocratic features.[2] A transition from autocracy or anocracy to democracy within a five-year period is considered complete democratization. The shift from an autocracy to an anocracy is defined an incomplete transition.[3] Nationalism is the doctrine that embraces politics based on national identity. Nationalism knits the cultural unit (the nation) with the political unit (the state).[4] Finally, there are four elite strategies that political elites in democratizing states use to garner domestic support. These include (1) elite mobilization, (2) logrolling, (3) squaring the circle, and (4) prestige strategies. Mansfield and Snyder argue that these elite strategies are used to gain support among the elites as well as the masses, which in turn pushes democratizing states towards belligerence in their foreign policy.

THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

The democratic peace literature posits that mature democracies do not fight each other.[5] Mansfield and Snyder argue, however, that democratization has a strong monadic effect, thus increasing the propensity of democratizing states to engage in civil and external war against regimes of all types.[6] The early stages of democratization are more likely to lead to war rather than peace because threatened elites use populist appeals to gain popularity, which in turn fuels nationalist sentiment. Nationalism is an effective "way for militarist elite groups to appear populist in a democratizing society while obstructing the advance to full democracy."[7] Mansfield And Snyder conclude that war is more likely in emerging democracies that lack the institutional apparatus needed to cope with democracy.[8] Elections force politicians to compete for votes, which in turn culminates in tribal, ethnic and religious appeals that have the potential of provoking conflict.[9] As Mansfield and Snyder's theory argues that incomplete democratization leads to war, it is helpful to first review the literature regarding the consolidation of democratic transitions.

A number of scholars focus on the problem of democratic sequencing, which looks into the necessary preconditions for democracy. First, following Lipset, modernization theorists argue that democratic consolidation is the result of a long

process of political and economic development.[10] Second, scholars such as Zakaria argue that constitutional liberties must be entrenched in a society before it can implement electoral democracy successfully.[11] The presence of a strong legislature, impartial courts, political parties, regional governments, independent universities and free media are prerequisites to elections in order to safeguard the democracy.[12] Third, McFaul argues that the problem of 'stateness' determines a nascent democracy's chance of success: a sovereign, functioning state is a prerequisite for democracy.[13] It thus transpires that dismemberment, rather than international conflict, is the most likely consequence of democratization according to proponents of the 'statehood' theory.[14] Finally, Carothers provides a critique of democratic sequencing, positing a 'gradualism' approach instead.[15] Gleiditsch and Ward come to a similar conclusion, notably that the regional and historical context of the state affects the likelihood of democratic consolidation.[16] Finally, Thompson and Tucker argue that it is not democracy that leads to peace, but rather peace that leads to democracy. Consequently, regions of war push autocrats to concentrate power in their hands, while peaceful regions give incentives to leaders to undertake liberalization reforms.[17] The discussion regarding consolidation is pertinent to this study because Mansfield and Snyder's theory focuses on "incomplete democratization" (or stalled transitions) and its impact on foreign policy.[18]

The majority of critiques that emerged in response to Mansfield and Snyder focus on their statistical research design. Mansfield and Snyder conclude that states that make a dramatic shift from complete autocracy to mass democracy are twice as likely to engage in a conflict in the following decade compared to states that undergo no regime change.[19] By modifying Mansfield and Snyder's research design, however, Enterline finds that democratization decreases the probability that a state will engage in external war.[20] In another study, Oneal and Russett contend that democratization has no bearing on the outbreak of war.[21] McFaul notes that the statistical research ignores the difference of magnitude between wars initiated by autocrats and wars initiated by belligerent democratizers, treating the Second World War and the 1879 War of the Pacific between Bolivia, Chile, and Peru as two equal observations.[22] Thomson and Tucker critique Mansfield and Snyder's choice of cases, as they omit colonial or non-sovereign states making transitions to democracy, and rely heavily on cases of great power democratization.[23] They therefore conclude that Mansfield and Snyder's results are consistent only when using the Maoz and Russett database.[24]

Thompson and Tucker offer an alternative explanation for Mansfield and Snyder's findings, offering a structural explanation rather than focusing on innenpolitik. This suggests that the "direction" of Mansfield and Snyder's "causal arrow" is pointed in the wrong way:

> "[I]t is difficult to exclude the external factors facilitating war proneness while stressing only the internal factors. Domestic actors interact with changing environments; they do not simply project their preferred strategies on a featureless external environment. The causal arrows are more likely to be reciprocal than unidirectional-from either the inside out or the outside in."[25]

Likewise, Gleiditsch and Herge suggest that a state's propensity to wage war depends on the nature of the states that surround it.[26] A third-image approach may thus shed light on foreign policy behavior, by examining the external pressures that are exerted on the state.

Scholars who study the effect of regime change on foreign policy disagree about whether it is democratization or regime change at large that leads to belligerent foreign policies. Gliditsch and Ward contend that complete shifts from autocracy to democracy reduce the likelihood of war, while minor reforms towards liberalization make states more war-prone.[27] In addition, they argue radical shifts between democracy and autocracy increase the likelihood of conflict, in consent with Mansfield and Snyder.[28] Maoz and Enterline conclude that both autocratization and democratization increase the likelihood of war in two separate studies.[29] In this light, Weede suggests that a broader hypothesis would be more appropriate to Mansfield and Snyder's theory, one that links regime change to war rather than focusing solely on democratization.[30]

More recently, a debate has emerged regarding the potential implications of democratization. Mansfield and Snyder assert that incomplete democratization increases the likelihood of both civil war and interstate war, yet a number of scholars are skeptical about the latter. Russett argues that anocratic regimes are less likely to engage in foreign military adventures due to their domestic fragility. Narang and Nelson conclude that there is insufficient evidence that democratizing states wage external war.[31] However, they concede that civil war is likely to occur following democratic transitions, particularly in the environment described by McFaul.[32] Likewise, Weede finds a lack of empirical evidence to support Mansfield and Snyder's argument that democratization leads to external war.

ELITE STRATEGIES

To assess the validity of the theory, I will examine the steps in Mansfield and Snyder's causal chain linking incomplete democratization to the outbreak of war. According to Mansfield and Snyder, incomplete democratization forces political elites to compete for votes, which gives them an incentive to resort to certain political strategies in order to gain support. The strategies that Mansfield and Snyder discuss include elite mobilization, logrolling, squaring the circle, and prestige strategies. In this section, I will outline these strategies and provide a historical example for each one. In the following section, the case study, I will assess whether they can be applied to the situation in post-communist Russia.

First, democratization weakens the state center while empowering elite groups, which gives politicians an incentive to pursue logrolling among interest groups.33 This technique "works by giving each group what it wants most, so that even if only some of the groups in the coalition favored policies leading to war and expansion, that would be enough to make their adoption likely."[34] A historical example of logrolling is the Prussian marriage of iron and rye. This coalition tied the navy and heavy industry with the Junkers, who produced rye. The ruling coalition's survival depended upon the endorsement of both of these interest groups, who had contradictory demands. The Junkers demanded protectionist tariffs from the government, which spewed tensions with Russia and angered rival domestic groups.[35] The leaders of heavy industry and the navy lobbied for increased dreadnaught production, which resulted in increased tensions with Great Britain.

Second, the syndrome of weak central authority creates an incentive for political elites to employ another perilous strategy: squaring the circle.[36] Due to the broad spectrum of interests and demands, elites attempt to build coalitions that are "cobbled together from diverse or even contradictory bases of support" to gain power. "In foreign affairs, this often means making trade-offs under the rug, pretending that contradictory policies actually make sense or cannot be avoided."[37] For instance, when the marriage of iron and rye provoked a hostile reaction in London, Paris, and Moscow, the German elite refused to recognize their belligerence. Instead, the government blamed their adversaries for being inherently hostile and proceeded by issuing threats rather than making concessions, as any compromise would have "jeopardized the policies of the iron-and-rye coalition."[38] The democratization process incites ruling elites to engage in populist appeals and special-interest payoffs across a wide spectrum of demands to maintain power, which in turn constrains their range of foreign policy options.

Third, elections provide incentives for endangered elites to pursue a prestige strategy.[39] This consists of seeking a diplomatic or military victory abroad in order to shift "attention away from the domestic situation to the international arena."[40] "Johannes Miquel, who revitalized the iron-and-rye coalition at the turn of the century, argued that 'successes in foreign policy would make a good impression in the Reichstag debates, and political divisions would thus be moderated.'"[41] The Moroccan Crises of 1904 and 1911 provide an example of a failed prestige strategy by the Kaiser, which culminated in "embarrassing defeats." Furthermore, prestige strategies render a "country hypersensitive to slights to its reputation. Wilhelm's diplomatic defeats enraged the military along with other interest groups who began pressuring the Kaiser to use force.

Fourth, elite mobilization is a strategy in which elites compete for mass support.[42] Elites attempt to monopolize the sources of information and

wealth to serve their political agendas. During the Wilhelmine era, the navy provided the sole source "strategic assessments" of British naval capabilities, and the Krupp giant financed the "militarist and nationalist leagues."[43] In addition, elites counter other groups who succeed in rallying mass support. Following the Second Moroccan Crisis, for instance, German nationalist groups made the argument that if Germany's adversaries were as hostile as the ruling elites had painted them, then the Kaiser's inaction was detrimental to German national interest.[44] The absence or weakness of the domestic political institutions that exist in mature democracies further exacerbates the ungovernability of democracies in transition.

CASE STUDY: RUSSIA

Mikhail Gorbachev sought to revive the crumbling Soviet system as early as 1985 by initiating political and economic reforms. Gorbachev initiated the policy of perestroika, restructuring the political and economic system, as well as glasnost, which sought to open political participation. By 1987, a rift emerged between Gorbachev and a member of the politburo, Boris Yeltsin, who was critical of Gorbachev's reforms. The Belozevh Accords of December 1991 marked Russia's transition from communism, as Yeltsin met his Belorussian and Ukrainian counterparts to effectively dissolve the Soviet Union. In the wake of the Soviet collapse, Russia underwent an incomplete democratic transition as defined by Mansfield and Snyder.[45] The Soviet legacy left a network of weak institutions and a lack of experience with mass political participation. As a result, Russia established an electoral democracy in the absence of the domestic institutions that regulate mass politics. During the decade following democratization, Russia underwent domestic strife, radical political and economic reform, and engaged in two wars in the Caucuses. This decade was coined the 'smuta' period, a Russian term for confusion or lack of transparency.[46] In order to assess the effects of democratization, the following will attempt to find evidence of Mansfield and Snyder's four elite strategies – logrolling, squaring the circle, elite mobilization and prestige strategies – at work in post-Communist Russia.

Logrolling

The fall of the Soviet system brought corporate interests into the Russian political arena. Throughout the 1990s, Yeltsin engaged in logrolling among corporate groups in order to solidify his power.[47] By 1996, the war in Chechnya had become unpopular, damaging Yeltsin's reputation. The presidential elections may thus have been an incentive for the President to sign the Khasavyurt peace accord, halting the war in the Caucuses. The President implemented a controversial loans-for-shares program only a few months prior to the 1996 presidential elections. Yeltsin exchanged "undervalued state assets" in exchange for government loans, effectively creating "a new capitalist nomenklatura."[48] This program gained Yeltsin the support of powerful business elites, who in turn promised to support his reelection. Russia's new nomenklatura featured 'oil barons,' 'metal magnates' and media tycoons, some of whom "became so immensely rich and used their wealth to such political effect that they became known as oligarchs."[49]

Although these newly empowered groups had diverging interests, both oil barons and metal magnates profited from advocating for Russia's interests abroad, pursuing investment opportunities in neighboring countries and seeking to restore Russia's prestige vis-à-vis the West. "Russia's tycoons generally promote Russian government interests abroad … in the hope that this will speed up the creation of the domestic political and legal environment necessary for them to retain and expand their assets."[50] In sum, a powerful Russia would help cement the position of Russia's new industrial elites. Moreover, the alliance with media moguls such as Beresovsky and Gusinsky helped Yeltsin turn Russia's "aggressive, indignant and independent" media of the early 1990s into a pro-government force.

Squaring the Circle

As the 1993 elections approached, Yeltsin resorted to squaring the circle to maintain his grip on power. This tactic consisted of 'integrating opposites,' in order to broaden Yeltsin's "political base by appealing to the preferences of various sections of the moderate, 'centrist' opposition, which was particularly strong among industrial managers."[51] Arkady Volsky, head of Russia's industrial lobby,[52] threatened to use his influence among industrialists to call a general strike and paralyze the country.[53] Pressure from the Duma forced Yeltsin to replace the liberal Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar by the end of 1992 with Viktor Chernomyrdin, a former manager of Gazprom who was the "main representative in the government of the established managerial elite."[54] Yeltsin further broadened his coalition by nominating former Red Army officers Oleg Soksovets and Pavel Grachev for Cabinet positions, thereby channeling the military's hawkish demands into the policymaking process.[55] As a result, Yeltsin's political survival was dependent on the support of business groups, the military and other potentially contradictory bases of support. While this coalition led to conflicting domestic policies, Russia did not engage in external belligerence, as was the case in Germany or Japan.

Elite Mobilization

Russian elites, particularly from the opposition, attempted to mobilize popular support by using nationalist and communist appeals and criticizing incumbents for failing to advance the 'national interest.' Snyder refers to the post-Communist environment as "Weimar Russia," due to economic unrest and popularity of nationalist appeals. '[V]oters disgruntled by economic distress backed belligerent nationalists like Zhirinovsky, put ostensible liberals like President Boris Yeltsin and Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev on the defensive on ethnic and foreign policy issues," contributing to the outbreak of the First Chechen War.[56]

Russia's demise in the early 1990s made it self-conscious of its reputation – popular demands abounded to restore former grandeur. This provided an opportunity for the political opposition to gain popular support by appearing more nationalist than incumbents, preaching ideological messages to the weakly institutionalized public. As a result, Yeltsin was compelled to take an aggressive position vis-à-vis Russia's 'near-abroad' in order to maintain power, ultimately leading to the First Chechen War.

Prestige Strategy

Politicians may also increase domestic support by seeking a quick military victory or diplomatic success. This tendency is exacerbated by the dynamics of democratization, as politicians have an incentive to divert attention away from domestic strife to the foreign arena, in order to gain support in a divisive political environment. Following Chechnya's attempt to secede from the Russian Federation, Yeltsin sought to:

> "show that he could act decisively to prevent the unraveling of central authority, with respect not only to ethnic separatists but also to other ungovernable groups in a democratizing society. Chechnya, it was hoped, would allow Yeltsin to demonstrate his ability to coerce Russian society while at the same time exploiting a potentially popular nationalist issue."[57]

Once conflict broke out, however, Yeltsin led an ill equipped tank division into the streets of Grozny that succumbed to the RPGs of Chechen guerrilla fighters. The prestige strategy backfired, as Russia's troops were humiliated by a weaker opponent. The Chechen fiasco angered public opinion, particularly militarist and nationalist groups, thus weakening Yeltsin's reputation.

Three years after the First Chechen War, Russian elites began discussing a plan to resolve the Chechen problem once and for all. "Within the Russian political elite, talk of a Chechen 'provocation' had been discussed since the spring [of 1999], and Berezovsky told people that he believed a crisis was the best way to establish a new political leadership" in Russia.[58] That August, Chechen militants crossed into neighboring Dagestan, seized several villages and declared the region's secession from the Russian Federation. This event coincided with Putin's nomination as Prime Minister, who sought to consolidate his power in Russia's volatile political environment. In September, two blasts in Moscow apartment buildings killed a combined 214 people creating a "mood across Russia [that] became more frightened and aggressive." These attacks rallied Russian public opinion in support of Putin's war effort. He quickly seized the opportunity to deal with the Chechen problem decisively and boost his popularity in the process. Putin's "hardline approach to Chechnya undoubtedly raised his

profile, turning what looked like another short-lived hapless Yeltsin nominee into an unchallengeable presidential successor within a few weeks."[59] The close timing between Putin's ascendance to power and the Second Chechen War is striking. The young, enigmatic Putin was able to distance himself from the plethora of elites aspiring to the Kremlin by showcasing his will and determination in crushing the revolt. Moreover, Putin demonstrated that he would be both an effective commander-in-chief and a decisive foreign policy decision-maker.

Implications

In Putin's 2005 state-of-the-nation address, he publically lamented that "the collapse of the Soviet Union was the major geopolitical disaster of the century."[60] Putin's statement was popular among a majority of Russians, but intensified suspicions among scholars and policymakers outside of Russia about the state's international ambitions. Within Russia however, an "elite consensus" surrounds Putin since the success of the Second Chechen War, which suggests the end – or at least a temporary pause – of Russia's transition to democracy.

In contrast to the interwar German democratization experience, the new Russia does not appear expansionist or revisionist. While many Russians lament the loss of great power status, few seek to overturn the balance of power in the international system. Throughout Germany's democratic transition, industrialists such as the Krupp giant saw expansion as potentially profitable, while the landed elite pressured the government to pursue protectionist policies. When corporate interests lean towards an expansionist foreign policy or a protectionist trade policy, their political influence harms foreign relations. Russia's business elite, however, includes oil barons and metal magnates who require export markets to survive; they have an interest in maintaining strong foreign trade relations.[61] Due to their foreign trade dependence, they may use their political influence to avoid interstate conflict and to defend Russia's territorial integrity.[62] Clearly, interest groups may affect the direction of foreign policy either positively or negatively, depending on the nature of their interests.

Questions of structure and agency are also pertinent to the study of democratization and the danger of war. Are Russia's post-communist experiences the result of the idiosyncrasies of particular leaders, or can they be explained solely by structural factors? While Chechnya and Ingushetia are ethnically close, their relations with Moscow were radically different. Ingushetia's Ruslan Aushev sought compromise with Moscow to maintain peace, while Chechen leadership under Dudayev primarily pursued secession. Chechen elites were "so criminalized that even if [Dudayev] had attempted to make peace with Moscow and bring order to the republic, those around him would have prevented or killed him."[63] Foreign interaction, such as the infiltration of Wahhabi influence into Chechnya by the Saudi-born Ibn-Khattab, may have also played an important role.

CONCLUSION

Although Mansfield and Snyder's study sheds new light on the perils of democratization, it fails to provide convincing evidence that democratization leads to external war. Logrolling among elite groups and mobilization of the masses heightens internal divisions, but does not always make a state more prone to international conflict. Civil war, however, is a likely outcome of democratic transitions. States in transition may be prone to civil war for reasons other than democratization, such as weakness of the state or the lack of national unity. According to McFaul, the problem with Mansfield and Snyder's theory is that they misinterpret their findings. McFaul argues that incomplete democratization is a failure of consolidation: the lack of state power and national unity contributes to the propensity of democratizers to engage in civil war. Future studies should investigate weak central authority or ethnic divisions as independent variables, and assess how they affect the likelihood of civil war. The elite strategies discussed by Mansfield and Snyder would provide intervening variables that would help one study the influence of ethnic divisions or the degree of central authority on the likelihood of intrastate war.

ENDNOTES

REVISITING CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN NORTH AFRICA

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18 Ibid., p. 45

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20 Abdullah Kamarulnizam (2003); p. 33. Also, see p.42 for an explanation of the bumpitera concept, created by a faction of Malay nationalists before independence, which denotes an indigenous group, "pure Malay", separate from the "immigrants".

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22 Houben, Vincent J.H. (2003); p. 155

23 Ramage, Douglas E (1995). Politics in Indonesia: democracy, Islam, and the ideology of tolerance, New York: Routledge, p.15

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26 Ramage, Douglas E., (1995); p. 12

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43 Mabry, Tristan James (1998); p. 78

44 Tanuwidjaja, Sunny (2010); p. 36. The Pancasila refers to five basic principles of the Indonesian state: belief in one god, humanity that is just and civilized, the unity of Indonesia, democracy guided by wisdom of representative deliberation, and social justice for all Indonesians.

45 In one of the intial drafts of the constitution, "seven words" were inserted which represented a commitment to Islam by the state. These "seven words" were removed, and are now referred to as the "Jakarta Charter". See: Hamayotsu, Kikue (2002); p. 355, and Elson, R.E. (2010); p. 332.

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48 Young, Crawford (1993): p. 15

49 Liddle, William R (1996); p. 620

50 "There was no way in which Javanese can make common cause the Acehnese by uniting under the banner of Islam to overthrow the government…(however) neither would hesitate to defend Indonesia against an outside enemy…the appeal of nationalism is greater than the appeal of Islam", (Mabry, Tristan James (1998); p. 83)

51 Liddle, William R. (1996); p. 620.

52 Elson, R.E (2010); p. 330

53 The reason for this is that the communists were overwhelmingly atheist. See: Liddle, William R. (1996); p. 620.

54 Ibid., p.622

55 Hamayotsu, Kikue (2002); p. 367

56 Mujani S. and Liddle, W.R., (2009); "Muslim Indonesia's Secular Democracy", Asian Survey 49, no.4: p. 585

57 Liddle, William R. (1996); 620

58 Gunn, Geoffrey C., (1979). "Ideology and the Concept of Government in the Indonesian New Order", Asian Survey 19, no.8: p. 752

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60 Means, Gordon (1970); p. 93

61 Hamayotsu, Kikue (2002); p. 356

62 Although this is similar to Anderson's (1983) "official nationalism" in that it is constructed by elites, it differs in that the role of religion is at the heart of these constructions and interpretations. Benedict does not account for the reasons behind this, particularly because his ideas of nationalism coincide with secularization.

63 Shamsul, A.B. (1997); p. 208

64 Some scholars like Robert Hefner write that "revivalism" is an incorrect word for the process referred to here. He prefers the term "Islamization". I will use the term interchangeably because I think that both terms, in fact, capture the essential changes occurring. "Revivalism" because there has been a rethinking of Islam, and "Islamization" because it has been incorporated into more aspects of society, and the national-identity. For a concurrent view see: Shamsul, A.B. (1997); p. 211

65 The New Economic Program's professed main objective was national unity. It incorporated poverty eradication and societal restructuring. This was directly aimed at Malays, because they were at the bottom of the socio-economic classes in society. See: Abdullah, Kamarulnizam (2003); p. 57.

66 Abdullah, Kamarulnizam (2003); p. 56

67 Singh, Hari (1998); p. 247

68 This coincides with Shamsul's Phase I of Islamic revivalism in Malaysia. Although Shamsul's four phases break up the time periods nicely, they represent a mixture of bottom-up and top-down forces, but do not distinguish between the two. For limited space, these phases will not be separated in this paper. (See Shamsul, A.B. (1997); p. 212-222)

69 Shamsul, A.B. (1997); p 219

70 Ibid., p. 210

71 : Martinez, Patricia A., (2001) "The Islamic State or the State of Islam in Malaysia", Contemporary Southeast Asia 23, no.3: p. 488

72 Shamsul, A.B. (1997); p. 217-218

73 That Islam did not affect election results means that although Islam was becoming more important in society, people did not vote for the Islamic party. See: Mohamad, Maznah (2010); "The Ascendance of Bureaucratic Islam and the Secularization of the Sharia in Malaysia", Pacific Affairs 83, no. 3: p. 508

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41 Stephen Ellis, The Mask of Anarchy (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 169.

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DEMOCRACY AND CIVIL WAR IN RUSSIA

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9 Huntington, 1997

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14 Narang and Nelson 2009, p. 376, and McFaul 2009.

15 Carothers identifies five "underlying conditions and structures for democratic success:" (p.23) the level of economic development, the concentration of wealth, identity-based divisions, historical experience with political pluralism, and finally, democratic neighborhoods. These five factors can act as facilitators for democratic consolidation.

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33 Mansfield and Snyder, "Democratization and the Danger of War," p. 32

34 Ibid, p. 31-2.

35 The military and industrial lobbies, for example, were discontent about grain tariffs, due to the foreseeable rise in food prices that would ensue. This situation therefore enabled such groups to exert more pressure on the government, who thus became more constrained.

36Mansfield and Snyder, "Democratization and the Danger of War," 32

37 Ibid, 32

38 Ibid, 43

39 Ibid, 33

40 Smith argues that election cycles push politicians to pursue policies that increase their chance of reelection rather than policies that are for "the good of the nation," which may result in sub-optimal foreign policies. Smith, 133-134

41 Mansfield and Snyder, "Democratization and the Danger of War," 33

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43 Ibid, 91

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45 According to Freedom House, Russia went from 'not free' in 1990 to 'partly free' by the year 2000. Freedomhouse.org, "Country Report: Russia," Consulted Dec. 7, 2011. <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=22&year=2002&country=616>

46 Mette Skak, From Empire to Anarchy: Postcommunist Foreign Policy and International Relations, 12

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48 Quotes from Treisman, p. 1. For more on the loans-for-shares program, see Olcott, p. 67

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51 Malcolm and Pravda, p. 547

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54 Ibid

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60 Vladimir Putin, "Annual Address to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation," April 25, 2005. Kremlin Archives, Consulted on Dec. 9, 2011. <http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/speeches/2005/04/25/2031_type70029type82912_87086.shtml>

61 Russia's business tycoons control a considerable share of numerous sectors such as oil, (72%) ferrous metals (78%) and non-ferrous metals, (92%) the automotive industry, (71%) aluminum, (80%) fertilizers (46%) and ore (73%). See Guriev and Rachinsky, "The Role of Oligarchs in Russian Capitalism," p. 137

62 Oil and natural gas provide an instrument of coercion for the Russian state vis-à-vis its neighbors and clients. Nevertheless, it is in Russia's best (economic) interest to maintain a steady flow of energy exports.

63 Jack, 94

PHOTO CONTRIBUTIONS

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<http://www.flickr.com/photos/28634332@N05/6595063305/>

Revisiting Civil-Military Relations in North Africa

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Islam, Nationalism and Nation-Building in Malaysia and Indonesia

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Why Partition?

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Peacekeeping in the Absence of Peace

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Democracy and Civil War in Russia

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