

In our post-Cold War era, or in transition or post-war situations, military professionalism and integration with society is not an either/or proposition: professionalism may well entail the establishment of new definition of security encompassing new social contracts that clearly delineate new spheres of influence, while closing others. But the truth of the matter is that, beyond the general principle of civilian supremacy, those military spheres of influence cannot be determined and dictated from the outside, by economic conditionality or otherwise, inasmuch as civilian control is not a fact but a process with its ebbs and flows resting upon a series of social institutions and behaviors influenced by struggle over time. Yet if military security (or power) is to be fully integrated with other elements of security (or power), then new skills are vital for both political and military officers at all levels. Taking on new missions entails both risks and opportunities in terms of existing norms of civil-military relations.

### **Military Budgets and Military Professionalism**

As one expert writes, "budgetary guarantees will not necessarily be sufficient to deter coups; on the other hand drastically reduced budgets do immeasurably complicate the problem of reform, unless they are combined with some form of downsizing and deep reform of military structures. Budgetary policy thus needs to be coordinated with military restructuring designed to reduce the size and manpower of armies while at the same time improving their armaments, logistics and service conditions."<sup>5</sup>

This is particularly pertinent in countries where civil society and government are weak, and in many senses growing weaker as the product of neoliberal economic policies. That is to say the need for action in the various human security fronts is growing, while the means—organizational and political—seem to be weaker, and not up to the task. The question is then posed, can society in the light of pressing social and ecological needs, afford not to

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<sup>5</sup>Eboe Hutchful, "Restoring Civil Control of the Military in Democratic Transitions in Africa: Some Reflections and a Case Study," Seminar on Comparative Civil-Military Relations," Arias Foundation, August 1-3, 1996.