University of Canterbury

4-5 July 2017

Redefining the Role of the Military in Democratization

a collaboration between

IPSA • AISP
International Political Science Association

Macmillan Brown Centre  University of Canterbury

Massey University
Centre for Defence and Security Studies

supported by
United Nations Development Program

Conference Program
Research Committee on the Military’s Role in Democratization (RC44) of the International Political Science Association (IPSA)

Set up in 1988, RC44 focuses on examining the processes, dynamics and consequences of military interventions in the political systems of countries around the world. The aim of the committee is to engage in international research into these issues to enhance our understanding of the relationship between democratic governance, security, and regulation of violence.

As part of this process, RC44 in collaboration with Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies (University of Canterbury) and the Centre for Defence and Security Studies (Massey University) are hosting this conference, with the support of UNDP. We warmly welcome you to RC44’s conference on “Redefining the Role of the Military in Democratization”.

The board members of the RC44 are listed below:

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**RC44 Website:** [https://sites.google.com/site/ipsarc44/](https://sites.google.com/site/ipsarc44/)
Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies

The Macmillan Brown Centre is a research centre founded through a bequest from the late Professor John Macmillan Brown (1846-1935). The mission of the centre is to promote and advance scholarship and understanding of the Pacific region, including Aotearoa New Zealand, its people, societies, and cultures; histories; arts; politics; environment and resources; development and future.

MBC website: [http://www.pacs.canterbury.ac.nz/about.shtml](http://www.pacs.canterbury.ac.nz/about.shtml)

We are also excited to officially launch the first issue of our new interdisciplinary journal *Pacific Dynamics: Journal of Interdisciplinary Research*.

Conference Location

[Map of University of Canterbury in Christchurch with a circle highlighting the location]
The conference will be held in the Ashby Building of the R&R hall of residence. The primary venue is on the second floor.

The conference dinner will be held at the Shilling Club on the ground floor of the James Hight Building. This is in the centre of the UC campus 5mins walk from R&R.
## Day 1, Tuesday (04/07/2017)

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### *Opening Ceremony*

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### Day 2, Wednesday (2017/7/5)

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<td>6.00-8.00</td>
<td>Dinner (Shilling Club)</td>
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Session A: 10.30-12.00

1 The Changing Role of the Military in Politics

Chair: Anne-Marie Brady
Panelists:

**Baciu, Cornelia Adriana:** NGO-Military Interaction as a Mechanism of Democratic Civilian Control.

**Kitts, Miles:** The distribution of domestic political power within democracies and civil-military relations: The case of post-1789 France.

**Hannan, Kate:** The Changing Role of the Military in Chinese Politics.

**Ockey, James:** Order, Chaos and Democracy: The 2014 Military Coup in Thailand Chair.
2 The Challenges to the Democratic Oversight of the Military

Chair: Karim, Mohd Animul
Panelists:

Costello, Arieta Koila: Shaping Spaces.


Karim, Mohd Aminul: Political Culture and Institutions-building Impacting CMR in Bangladesh?

Session B: 1:00-2:30

3 The Military, Police and Internal Control

Chair: Espesor, Jovanie
Panelists:

Dhenin, Miguel: The evolution of the role of the Brazilian Army in Amazon borderlands: new urban police practices challenging traditional norms of the security field?


Espesor, Jovanie: Soldiers, Rebels and the Overlords.
Session B: 1:00-2:30

4 The Military, Socio-Political Relations and Marginalization

Chair: Naidu, Vijay
Panelists:


Naidu, Vijay: The Fiji Military Forces and Ethnicity.

Yi, Seong Woo: Impact of Major Military Events in Inter-Korean Relationship with Time-Series Analysis.

Rakuita, Tui: The Chiefly System and the Military in Fiji.
Session C: 3.00-4.30

5 Militarization of the State

Chair: van Wyk, Jo-Ansie
Panelists:

van Wyk, Jo-Ansie: The Executive and the military in post-apartheid South Africa.

Vandamme, Dorothée: Between a behaviour of deviance and a rhetoric of normalization: The military as a factor of Pakistan’s international stigmatization.

Arsh, Arshad: Democratic Breakdown in post-Mubarak Egypt.


Senituli, Lopeti: 16/11: The Role of His Majesty's Armed Forces in Constitutional Reform in Tonga.
Session C: 3.00-4.30

6 The Role of the Military in Peace-Keeping and Peace-Building

Chair: Aguilar, Sergio
Panelists:

Dion, Eric: Synergy – A theoretical model of the Comprehensive Approach.

Islam, Md Touhidul: Maintaining and building peace: The utilities of military in post-accord Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh.

Fraenkel, Jon: The Role of the Military and Police in RAMSI.


Session D: 4.30-4.45

**Keynote Speech 2**

**Speaker:** Azizian, Rouben  
**Participants:** All participants are welcome

Session E: 4.45-5:30

**8 Administrative Session (RC44)**

**Chair:** Ratuva, Steven  
**Participants:** All
Session F: 9.30-9:30

Day 1 Plenary Updates/ Journal Launch

Chair: Ratuva, Steve  
Participants: All participants are welcome

Session G: 9.30-10.30

Keynote Speech 3

Speaker: Firth, Stewart  
Participants: All participants are welcome
Session H: 11:00-12:30

9 Gender, Democratization and the Military

Chair: Gershoni, Yekutiel
Panelists:

Okoli, Al Chukwuma: The Military, Volunteer Vigilantism and Counter-Insurgency in North East Nigeria.

Gershoni, Yekutiel: Liberian Women’s Struggle to End the Civil War and Establish Democracy.

Aghinotri, Divya: Women Combatants in Indian Defense Forces: A Panopticonal View.

Boomen, Marcus: Gendered Violence Against Civilian Males: A case study using the Bougainville conflict.

Tagicakibau Ema: Peacebuilding and masculinity: A gendered approach
Session H: 11:00-12:30

10 The Military, Justice and Security

**Chair:** Compel, Radomir  
**Panelists:**

**Zambrano Ramírez, José Pablop:** Protego ergo obligo: the sovereignty paradox in the Responsibility to Protect doctrine.

**Sumbas, Azer:** A Quandry in the Humanitarian Law: Unlawful Combatants and Civilians by Referring to the Children.

**Compel, Radomir:** Rethinking the Second Wave.

**Oinam, Anuradha:** Privatisation of Security and its Legal aspects in Contemporary International Politics.
Session I: 1:30-3:00

11 Terrorism, the Military, and Privatization of Security

Chair: Mukerji, Sumit
Panelists:


Hustedt, Anthony: Terminating Terrorism with Negotiations: A Divided Path Towards Progress.

Dinnen, Sinclair: Globalisation and Changing Patterns of Security Governance the inexorable rise of private security in Papua New Guinea.
Session I: 1:30-3:00

12 Post-Colonial Democracy and Military Rule

**Chair:** Shin, Youngtae  
**Panelists:**

**Shin, Youngtae:** Military Protection by Foreign Powers and the Rise of Nationalism of the Host Countries: the Case of South Korea.

**Palmeira, José:** Portugal and the former colonies: After the war the cooperation on Defense.

**Al Wardi, Sémir:** Military evolution in French Polynesia.

**Nurullayev, Dmitriy:** The Effect of Choice of Diplomatic Strategy on Outcome Success in Interactions with Authoritarian Regimes.
Session J: 3:30-5:00

13 Armament Buildup, Militarization, and Propaganda

Chair: Neethling, Theodor
Panelists:


Elovits, Tal: Parliament coalition instability as a vital component in the development process of Israel security doctrine regarding Palestinian terrorism: From Oslo accords to our days.

Mitreski, Aleksandar: Civil-military relations during an intervention abroad: the case of the United Arab Emirates (UAE).


Carnegie, Paul: SCAF, Reserved Domains and Rollback: The Deracination of Egypt's Arab Spring.
Session J: 3:30-5:00

14 The Military and International Cooperation

Chair: Hoverd, William
Panelists:

Hoverd, William: New Zealand National Security – Democracy and Deployment?

Ball, Rhys: NZSOF A History.

Wharton, Miriam: NZSOF: Making a Contribution through Relationship Building.

Goiran, Helene: Role of the French Military in the Pacific.

Tekulu, Karlyn: Indigenous Perspectives: Attitudes of Solomon Islanders towards the military contingent in a police-led intervention.
NGO-Military Interaction as a Mechanism of Democratic Civilian Control

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Keywords: democratic oversight; NGO-military interaction; democratization; Pakistan

This paper aims at conceptualizing the role which the interaction between non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and military can have on democratic oversight of armed forces. The following research question is examined: “Does NGO-military interaction foster democratic oversight of armed forces?” Existing theories of civil-military relations argue that the degree of compliance between military and civilian political leadership is higher when the risk of punishment is higher (Feaver 2003: 112). From here it is inferred that compliance depends on (i) monitoring, i.e. to what extend military policies and practices infringing democratic principles are uncovered and (ii) the follow-up on monitoring, i.e. the decision to sanction non-compliance. Through diffusion of democratic security approaches, can NGOs act as checks and balances components and contribute towards the democratization of the military? The two proposed hypotheses are tested by employing empirical evidence in form of an in-depth case study of Pakistan. Transition to a democratic system of governance can be particularly challenging in countries with a strong tradition of military influence in politics. Pakistan is selected as a case study due to its variation on both dependent and independent variables. The normative importance of NGOs in governance processes increased since the end of the military regime of General Pervez Musharraf. However, the military continues to maintain a strategic role in politics even in the unstable democratic transition period post 2008. The findings of this paper will have significant implications for both academic and policy communities. Firstly, it will advance the theoretical understanding of the mechanisms of democratic civilian control and how NGOs can contribute to them. Secondly, these findings can serve as reference for political actors and donors interested in promoting the democratization of armed forces, particularly in countries with a strong military tradition. Words: 288
The distribution of domestic political power within democracies and civil-military relations: The case of post-1789 France

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Keywords: civil-military relations, types of democratic government, French civil-military relations

Peter Feaver's agency theory of civil-military relations posits that within democratic countries the relationship between civilian and military leaderships is fluid. This paper seeks to see how civil-military relations within democracies are influenced by the distribution of domestic political power, shown particularly in whether the country has a presidential or parliamentary form of government, or their approximate. France since 1789 is a case (however imperfect) of a democratic country where the distribution of domestic political power has fluctuated between autocratic and collective forms of decision-making. This paper presents a longitudinal case study of how since 1789 French civilian leaders have attempted to control the French military, with a focus on how the distribution of domestic political power influenced civil-military relations. This paper hypothesizes that when there is a concentration of domestic political power the military is more likely to be compliant with the civilian leadership, but when that power is more diffused the military is less likely to be compliant. This is because when political power is more concentrated the military has more confidence in the government, as well as limiting the scope through which the military can inject itself into politics. However, when political power is more diffused the military feels that it has the duty and the opening through which to inject itself into politics.
The Changing Role of the Military in Chinese Politics

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Keywords: Chinese military-PLA, personalised power, institutionalised power, political stability

The Changing Role of the Military in Chinese Politics

At the time of the 1989 Tiananmen Incident it was argued that ‘Deng's basic mistake, the one that Mao made before him, was that, although he wished the party to control the PLA [China's People’s Liberation Army] he used the military to buttress his own power and enforce his own policy preferences...’ In this paper I offer a brief overview of the role of China’s military during two particularly sensitive periods in Chinese contemporary politics. The first concerns Mao Zedong’s ‘personalised’ 1967-8 Cultural Revolution use of the PLA to impose discipline on Red Guards. The latter had been overly enthusiastic supporters of Mao’s bid to ensure that revolution toward socialism was not undermined by capitalist tendencies. The second period comes just over twenty years later when Deng Xiaoping ensured that a section of the PLA played a decisive role in the outcome of the Tiananmen crisis. Deng argued that political stability must be protected in order to ensure the continued success of modernisation, but his ‘personalised’ use of China’s military in the Tiananmen crackdown undermined the formal use of institutionalised power.

I finish my paper with a third overview: the role China’s current leadership expects the PLA to take up in matters both domestic and international. Today, the PLA and its various branches continue to be charged with ‘upholding the Chinese Communist Party’s ruling position’ and ‘firmly maintaining social stability’. At the same time, the international role for China’s military recognises China as ‘the world's largest trading nation’ and urges ‘China’s armed forces to strengthen international security cooperation in areas crucially related to China's overseas interests’. The PLA is presented as a professional, highly institutionalised source of considerable power.
Order, Chaos and Democracy: The 2014 Military Coup in Thailand

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Keywords: democratisation, civil-military relations, military rule

Since the Thai military was reorganised along Western lines in the 1880s, there have been 19 coup attempts, 12 of them resulting in the overthrow of the government. Thai political scientist Chai-Anan Samudavanija has characterised this pattern as a "vicious cycle" where following a military coup, there has been a period of military rule, followed by the writing of a constitution, the holding of an election, a "honeymoon" period for the new legislature, then rising tensions and another coup.

While this pattern has held for over 80 years now, there are two other linked patterns that have received less attention. First, the periods of rule for soldiers and civilians reversed after the 1973 democratic uprising, with civilian governments lasting longer than military governments. Military governments had become truly interim, governing on average for only a year. Second, beginning in 1932, virtually every military regime governed with the assistance of civilian allies. The current military regime has marked a large step backward on both these latter patterns, with the army commander taking on the prime ministership himself, appointing a cabinet made up almost entirely of senior military officers, and then staying in power for a longer time than any military government since the 1960s. What do we make of this shift?

I will argue that the Thai military has come to associate democracy with chaos, and has sought to promote that perception. It seeks to impose greater military-style order on society, by creating a more lasting government of generals, and has plans to perpetuate that military style order into the foreseeable future, even as it plans elections and a return to civilian rule. The paper will explore the implications of that attitude for the future of democracy in Thailand.
Parliamentary Oversight of South Africa's Armed Forces

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Keywords: Civil-military relations, South Africa, Democracy, Parliament, Oversight

In democratic theory, democracy cannot exist without democratic civil-military relations. Therefore assessing quality of democracy requires measuring the quality of civil-military relations. This is of particular importance in Africa, where, in the extreme militaries have intruded in politics, while on the other politics have intruded in the military. One critical component of civil-military relations, in assessing the quality of democracy, is the oversight exercised by a country’s parliament in relation to its armed forces. Having presented the theoretical views on what parliamentary oversight of the military entails, this paper assesses the functions of South Africa’s parliament, after twenty years of democracy, in overseeing the country’s armed forces. The paper gauges the capacity and extent of parliament’s oversight, showing that despite parliament possessing a high capacity, the extent of its oversight remains low. The paper then considers why this may be the case.

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Keywords: Israel, Israel Defence Forces (IDF), Ehud Barak, withdrawal from Lebanon, Al-Aqsa Intifada

As in any democracy, no-one in Israel disputes the sacred principle that the military serves as the tool of the political echelon and must submit completely to its authority. Disagreements between the military and political echelons are a routine occurrence, particularly in Israel, where the military is also involved (sometimes intensively so) in political issues. Military leaders may – and indeed must – state their opinion clearly. However, at the end of the argument, the political leader maintains exclusive discretion, and the military echelon must fall into line (or resign). Nevertheless, over the 69 years since the State of Israel was established, military commanders have occasionally disobeyed the political echelon. In most cases they did so as individuals, and generally their action did not take the form of an outright refusal to obey an order, but rather of attempts – often covert – to adjust the instructions of the political echelon slightly or to promote a somewhat different agenda. Such instances often came against the background of soured relations between the military commander and the political leader, or in the context of a particular balance of personalities (such as an opinionated military commander versus a hesitant political leader). An extreme example of this phenomenon is the poor relationship between the senior command of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and the political leadership during the brief period in which Ehud Barak served as Israel’s prime minister and defense minister (May 1999 – February 2001). Tensions between the two sides reached boiling point during this period due to two key events. The first was the process of withdrawal of the IDF from Lebanon (May 2001). The heads of the IDF and of its intelligence service, AMAN, strongly and publicly opposed the decisions of the political echelon. As customary in a democracy, the crisis ended with imposition by the political echelon of its authority over the military echelon, including the partial exclusion of the latter. The second event was the Al-Aqsa Intifada, which erupted in September 2000. During this period, and particularly during the first few weeks of the Palestinian uprising, it was alleged that the military echelon disobeyed the political leaders and adhered to its own independent agenda. These are serious allegations, and arguably the most serious ever raised regarding the Israeli military echelon. The paper will analyze these two test cases in depth and will attempt to answer a basic question: In 1999-2001, did the IDF blatantly disobey the fundamental democratic principle that the military is subordinate to the political echelon and did it come close to “going to the barricades?”
Political Culture and Institutions-building Impacting CMR in Bangladesh?

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Keywords: Political Culture, Institution-building, CMR, Professionalism, Military, Executive.

Political Culture and Institutions-building Impacting CMR in Bangladesh?
Professor Dr. Lt. General (Ret.) Mohd Aminul Karim

Bangladeshi political culture is highly confrontational, and the society is deeply divided along political lines. It is presumably impacting professionalism and institution-building in Bangladesh. Institutions are decaying as there is, reportedly, political interference by the ruling political masters. Institutions are a great check on the excesses done by the executive but that may not be happening. Bureaucracy, police and lower judiciary, as cases in point, are seemingly beleaguered by political interference. Even the parliament appears handicapped because of its inherent systemic constraint. Its military is presumably not interfered with at least in its professional domain. However there is a mix of objective and subjective controls by the executive on the military as outlined by Huntington, depending on the level.

It can thus be formulated that this mixed method of controls may impact the CMR in Bangladesh in the long run. This may presumably impact the professionalism and loyalty—depending on the circumstances—of the commanders at the strategic and operational levels. The paper attempts to explore such a possibility and its degree of such a state of affairs.

Key Words: Political Culture, Institution-building, CMR, Professionalism, Military, Executive.
Informal Institutions and Democratizing Civil-Military Relations/. The Philippines from a Comparative Perspective

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Keywords: civil-military relations; democratization; civilian oversight; informal institutions; civilian control

Efforts to democratize civil-military relations have made a significant dent in the Philippines. Laws and institutions in the formal sense have been established and fairly observed in order to impose and maintain civilian control. However, these are insufficient given the prevalence of informal norms and institutions that undergird the relationship between civilian politicians and military officials. Drawing from the typology of informal institutions by Helmke and Levitsky, this paper provides evidence on their existence in Philippine civil-military relations. In the post-authoritarian era, these informal practices have been accommodated, substituted, complemented, or competed with formal laws and institutions. Examples of these informal practices and institutions are: patronage, politico-military networks, the reliance on the military for security or defence expertise, and corruption. These informal institutions significantly affect the capacity and willingness to exercise civilian oversight and efforts to professionalize the armed forces. This paper argues that a nuanced approach that span from combating these informal institutions and imposing accountability to implementing policies that accept their existence and possibly ways to integrate them with the formal apparatus of civilian control can form the principles that guide democratizing civil-military relations in the Philippines. By way of conclusion, this paper examines the prospects of this approach from a comparative perspective, notably from the successful and failed experiences of Latin American democracies.
This article constitutes an examination of the militarisation of the civil service and civil administration in Zimbabwe. It argues that this phenomenon has always been rooted in the structures of the liberation movements during the struggle for independence where the gun and bullets always went ahead of the ballot and civilian authority. I argue that the militarisation of the civil service and society in Zimbabwe has to be understood in a continuum and is not a recent phenomenon. Over the past decade and a half, the military has increasingly come to play a major part in Zimbabwe's political life. Military officer have been responsible for the organising and holding of election in the country, have essentially militarised the election management body and even been used to unleash political violence upon opposition supporters and parties. At the same time, the government has deployed and seconded military officers to civil service thus militarising the government. In addition, the military has become heavily involved in business, command agriculture, construction of low-cost housing all leading to the militarisation of civil society and the civil service. Military officers have been deployed to the Foreign Service as diplomats, have taken over State Owned Enterprises (SOEs), have even begun taking up terminal degrees with an eye on landing ministerial posts and joining mainstream politics. It argues that by so doing, a militarized, armed and securitised bureaucracy has emerged thus threatening civilian oversight of the civil service. In a sense, Zimbabwe has begun to witness the camouflage-type government where the whims of the military supersedes those of the civilians as power has been usurped by the securocrats.
The Executive and the military in post-apartheid South Africa

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Keywords: South Africa, political leadership, African National Congress, democratization, military

The relationship between the political Executive and the military in post-apartheid South Africa is relatively under-researched. Despite commitments to sound civilian oversight, the Executive has been able to maintain control over the military and the ruling party's military wing. Against the aforesaid, the paper intends to analyze Executive-military relations in South Africa, the Executive's use of the military for political and private use, the role of the ruling party's armed wing, accusations against the military of misconduct in border protection, rhino horn smuggling and misconduct during United Nations peacekeeping operations, and the state of the South African military. The purpose is to determine the military's role in the ongoing democratization process in South Africa.
Democratic Breakdown in post-Mubarak Egypt

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Keywords: Democratic Backsliding, Democratic Breakdown, Democratization, Authoritarianism, Arab Spring

The first democratically elected government of President Mohammed Morsi was overthrown by military leader Fatah al-Sisi, in 2013, hence, Egypt transitioned to authoritarianism. However, the gradual backsliding to authoritarianism finally switched over to ‘democratic breakdown’ by the time Fatah al-Sisi assumed the power. During the transition, regime reversed back to authoritarianism due to the structural ‘causes’ and the agential ‘causers’ during the period of transition. Conversely, the absence of both results in to democratic breakdown. The structural factors include nature of state-society relationship, domination of military-security institutions, fractured civil society, and lack of democratic civic culture. The agential factors that lead to the retrenchment include lack of leadership’s skills and commitment to forge consensus and its failure to rise up to the aspirations of citizens, which, together, render the polity chaotic, paving the way for military intervention to establish a semblance of stability.

The paper will be divided into four sections: first, it will introduce the theoretical background of democratic breakdown and democratization process; second, it will explain the factors accounting for the democratic backsliding in Egypt: domination of military-security establishment and the deficiencies of political parties and civil societies; third, it will examine the role of President Morsi in transitional leadership; fourth, it will up the findings of the paper.
16/11: The Role of His Majesty's Armed Forces in Constitutional Reform in Tonga

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This paper will examine the role His Majesty’s Armed Forces (Tonga Defence Services) played on 16 November 2006, when political violence broke out in the Nuku’alofa CBD and in the subsequent restoration of law and order. It will also trace the campaign for constitutional and democratic reforms in Tonga leading up to 16/11, as well as examine the subsequent reforms adopted by Parliament in 2010.
Between a behavior of deviance and a rhetoric of normalization: the military as a factor of Pakistan’s international stigmatization

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Keywords: Pakistan; deviance; international socialization; marginalization; stigma

Despite recognizing that the positioning of the Pakistani military in domestic politics damages the international image of the country, few studies have looked at the military institution as an international social stigma. Yet, in a normative international system, the democratic nature of a regime is bound to influence the state’s socialization process. Drawing from sociological theories of stigma and role, the analysis addresses the question of the Pakistan Army as a factor of international stigmatization: how does a strong military institution impact the international socialization of Pakistan? Building upon the variables of stigma process and its management, the study tests the hypothesis of the importance of the role of the military institution in a state’s politics and the civilian oversight of the army as an international norm, linking it to democracy as an international systemic boundary. We address the tension between the international norm of non-interference in internal affairs and the normative principle of democratic promotion and defense around which the system is partly shaped, by studying the impact that an out-of-norm military has in terms of international integration. We link the international socialization process through norms with the identification and management of stigmatization of a non-conforming state.

Data was collected from 28 semi-structured interviews with Pakistani civilian officials and high-ranked military officers, combined with official statements and media interviews. The data was analyzed through inductive content analysis. The analysis reveals that despite the fact that the domestic positioning of the military is identified as a factor of stigmatization for Pakistan on the global stage, the country remains a fully integrated player. Consequently, we posit that the democratic nature of a political regime is a soft boundary in the current system, in the sense that despite being a stigma, it does not preclude a non-democratic state from being integrated in the system.
Synergy – A theoretical model of the Comprehensive Approach

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Keywords: Synergy, Comprehensive Approach, Civilian, Military, Afghanistan, Iraq

A systematic and critical review of literature of Canada’s Engagement in Afghanistan and of the so-called Comprehensive Approach i.e.: “commonly understood principles and collaborative processes that enhance the likelihood of favourable and enduring outcomes within a particular situation (UK, 2006)”, has demonstrated that this approach has not been theorised or modelled in Afghanistan. This article thus proposes to theoretically model the Comprehensive Approach in order to provide the executive management with a more synergistic construct. Based on six dimensions: The situational context, the socio-culture, the organisational structure, the strategic policies, the systemic processes and the synergy dynamics; this theoretical model allows to tackle some of the fundamental lessons learned from Canada’s Engagement in Afghanistan with a view to applying them generally to Canada’s current engagement in Iraq and the Levant. In particular, it is found that Synergy is the central theme underlying the Comprehensive Approach, and that constructing a theoretical model from this dynamic dimension is crucial in order to provide greater effects. So approaching the subject of the Comprehensive Approach from a collaborative public strategic management perspective thus provides a pragmatic theoretical model explanation. Indeed, applying our previously developed synergistic model, this article takes our model a step forward in the field of management and makes key policy recommendations. Explaining the methodology which led to our synergistic model of the Comprehensive Approach in collaborative public strategic management perspective enables us to provide theoretically grounded recommendations for Canada’s Engagement in Iraq and the Levant. What is found is that Canada could greatly benefit from applying such a synergistic model and particularly from synchronising the management levers supporting the six dimensions. And doing so, an integrated perspective could emerge which would foster greater Synergy.
Maintaining and building peace: The utilities of military in post-accord Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh

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Keywords: Chittagong Hill Tracts, Peacebuilding, Military Role, Stabilisation, Conflict Prevention

This exploratory paper is an attempt to understand the roles that Bangladesh military, one of the champions of UN peace operations, has played in its own country particularly in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) after the peace accord signed in 1997. The CHT conflict, which happened between the state and a regional ethnic party that attempted to achieve their self-determination, was settled by a comprehensive negotiated accord that has allowed limited devolved governance to the region. In the post-conflict period, the state along with development partners has been engaged in wider socio-economic development and peacebuilding works. This paper considers that as a state apparatus, the military has played an indispensable role in terms of socio-economic development and peacebuilding. Given the complex post-conflict CHT situation, this institution despite some caveats has helped the state both in terms of regional stabilisation and in maintaining peace by preventing large-scale inter-community violence and intra-ethnic group conflicts.
The Role of the Military and Police in RAMSI

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Keywords: Solomon Islands, peacekeeping, state-building, police, military

The July 2017 end of the thirteen year 2003-17 Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI) presents an opportunity to look back at what this achieved, how the mission was constituted and how it compares with other contemporary so-called 'state-building' missions in places like Kosovo, Bosnia, Iraq, Sierra Leone and East Timor. In other settings, intervention missions rebuilt security forces from scratch. In Solomon Islands, which has no domestic military forces, the initial surge in the foreign military presence was short-lived. Over the 13 years as a whole, the policing operation was the core focus of RAMSI (despite much propaganda emphasis on the civilian components). RAMSI pursued a 'two forces' model, with key objectives of the mission being delivered by an organizationally separate 'Participating Police Force' (PPF), largely comprising officers from the Australian Federal Police force. In the initial, phases of RAMSI, the Royal Solomon Islands Police Force (RSIP) was largely left on the sidelines, encouraging a deep sense of demoralization among the senior officers. Over the longer run, the RSIP was reconstituted, with a new generation of younger officers emerging. Major disturbances accompanying the 2006 election, and more sporadic public order breakdowns thereafter, encouraged Australia to extend the policing operation beyond the termination of the military component and, in 2013, beyond the end of the civilian parts of RAMSI. This paper assesses the initial core organizational framing choices of RAMSI, examines what has been achieved, and asks what the likely legacy will be.
European Union Military Operations: the use of force in Chad, Central African Republic and Democratic Republic of Congo

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Keywords: Peacekeeping Operations, European Union, Crisis Management Operations; Africa, Use of Force

The European Union (EU) has developed its own policy, strategy, norms, structure and decision-making to deal with security issues. In this sense, crisis management missions and operations emerged as a pragmatic EU response to the security challenges that EU faced from the end of Cold War. Since the establishment of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) in 1999, EU has launched missions and operations in nineteen different countries ranging from advisory missions to large-scale military operations. Out of them, nine military operations were deployed in Africa. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo (RDC) and Central African Republic - République Centrafricaine (RCA) were established six military operations, among which four were authorized by the UN Security Council (UNSC) to take enforcement action in the performance of their mandate. This article focuses on EU military intervention in DRC and CAR in which the use of force was authorized. In this way, it focuses on Operation Artemis (DRC), EUFOR Chad/RCA, EUFOR RCA and EUFOR DRC and addresses: why did the EU intervene in the DRC, RCA and Chad; what the context in which EU operations were established; how the force was used in each operation; and what were the implications of these interventions for EU presence and actorness in the world.
PAPER ABSTRACT

The EU as a Parliamentary Democracy Promoter in Pakistan? Challenges and Strategies

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Keywords: parliamentary democracy, military rule, PakistanParliament, EU's parliamentary support, and democratic transition

Pakistan recently achieved a milestone in its democratic development when a democratically elected government led by Asif Ali Zardari handed power over to another elected government headed by Nawaz Sharif after the 2013 elections. This transfer of power from one democratically elected civilian government to another civilian government could be viewed as the first-ever democratic transition in the country’s 40 years of political history since the 1973 Constitution established a federal parliamentary democracy in Pakistan. This reinforced the central role of the parliament in the quest for democracy as during the periods of intermittent democratic and military governments, the efficiency of the Pakistan Parliament to perform its core functions (law making, representation and oversight) effectively was undermined. Supporting and strengthening parliamentary institutions through projects and programs has been a significant feature of the EU international democracy promotion strategies throughout the world since 2000. In recent years, the EU's parliamentary support to Pakistan has provided an opportunity to discuss and understand the role of the EU as a promoter of parliamentary democracy in Pakistan. The aim of this paper is to: (a) provide an overview of the collapse of parliamentary democracy in Pakistan; (b) discuss the role of the EU as an external democracy promoter in supporting Pakistan Parliament in the recent years; (c) explain the EU policy, strategies and instruments for parliamentary democracy promotion; and (d) emphasize the importance of strengthening Pakistan parliament as a key state institution. The key secondary literature on democracy and military dictatorship in Pakistan as well as the EU's parliamentary support to Pakistan is reviewed. The primary sources are also integrated for analytic clarity. Although several studies have been done on the role of the EU as an external democracy promoter, few studies have discussed the assistance and support of the EU to consolidate parliaments in developing countries.
PAPER ABSTRACT

Can Military be Entrusted the Role of Police?

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Keywords: changing role, peacekeeping, human security, guardian of democracy, disaster management

With the shift in paradigm from territorial to human security, the role of military has changed drastically since post cold war era. Instead of fighting wars and protecting the national sovereignty and territory, the military is now engaged in fighting for peace. It has to deal with not only the armed conflicts, insurgency and terrorism but also deal with human security from political violence, environmental degradation and other man-made disasters. It also has to protect the civilian population by providing interim policing and crowd control. This role is very different from conventional war fighting role. Sometimes, the consequences of non-compliance with prevailing rules, regulations and norms can be devastating. Instead of traditional use of hard power, the militaries are now required to use soft power in order to achieve common good. They have to adjust to their new role within the settings of democratic globalized and highly informed and networked society. The militaries can no longer use their powers for destruction, repression or dominance. Rather they need to use their power to build democracy and uphold human rights. They need to protect global citizens from war, terrorism, poverty, hunger and environmental degradation and play the role of police as far as safety is concerned. My paper would focus on the question: can military be entrusted the role of police and is it desirable too? The methodology adopted is analytical, comparative and empirical.
The evolution of the role of the Brazilian Army in Amazon borderlands: new urban police practices challenging traditional norms of the security field?

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Keywords: Brazilian Army, Amazonia, Borderlands, Militarization, Critical Security Studies

This paper aims to offer a critical case study of the challenges of the Brazilian Army as a major asset in the security field, especially regarding Amazonia's borderlands. First, in order to stress this role, we focus our paper on the consequences of the transformation of the Brazilian Army security model in borderlands that started in the 1980's and was recently influenced by public policies launched in 2011, which were created by the Brazilian Department of Justice. Based on a field work experience, we argue that the ENAFRON program had both deep social and political consequences for the borderland security landscape, and forced the Brazilian Army to reshape its security agenda in order to follow a federal policy that was in favor of large scale cooperation between federal security agencies. Secondly, we offer a broad review of the literature regarding the nexus between territoriality, sovereignty and borderlands in the critical security studies area, focusing on the importance of the Paris School of the International Political Sociology in developing a conceptualization of such phenomenon. The theoretical work of Didier Bigo, amongst other scholars, offers a powerful framework to understand the complexity of both geographical and political interactions between internal security forces (police) and external security forces (armed forces). Finally, we stress the policiarization of the Brazilian Army units located in the borderlands, largely legitimated by the official discourse produced by governmental authorities in recent years. We highlight the process involving the transformation of the nation's defense regular forces into highly trained special units that specialized in a so-called "new security agenda", such as the war on drugs, illegal immigrants or human trafficking.
FAUJIS Vs BABUDOM : AN UNEASY TALE OF INDIA'S DISTRUSTFUL CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

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Keywords: Civil Military Friction, Contemporary Strategic Environment, India

| Since it's independence from British colonialism in 1947, India has been victim of a seemingly innocuous yet grave internal threat - its distrustful Civil-Military relations. The animosity may not be visible on the surface, yet the malaise runs deep. The civilian Indian bureaucracy (Babudom) through its proximity to the political masters of the country, has been able to create misgivings against the defense forces especially the Indian Army's ability to capture power in a coup. The gravest fallout of this mistrust has been the downright refusal of the Indian government to appoint a Chief of Defense Staff (CDS) - who would act as a single-point military advisor to the government, be a four star general heading the Strategic Forces Command and also reconcile budgetary and weaponry requirements for its military forces. Apart from the above issue, the humiliation of the Faujis (Defense personnel) in pay and service matters as well as non-equivalence in hierarchical structures of government echelons have been major issues of discord. Also, an entrenched civilian bureaucracy has successfully stymied the attempts of the defense forces to play a meaningful part in the policy making processes in the Indian Ministry of Defense (MoD) by occupying key offices. This paper attempts to analyze the historical trepidations and contemporary apprehensions which exist between the so-called steel frame of India i.e. the civilian bureaucracy and the ultimate protectors of the Indian motherland i.e. its Defense Forces. It also focuses on the numerous agitations by war veterans across the country for better pensions and facilities which are controlled by the civilian officers and also discusses briefly the comparative civil-military relationship in neighboring countries especially Pakistan and China. |
Policing the state: The army and the preservation of ‘peace and order’ in Zimbabwe, c.1997 – 2008

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Keywords: repression, military, torture, democracy, law

In Zimbabwe, Section 37 of the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) provides that the Commissioner of Police can request the assistance of the Defence Forces for the purpose of suppressing any civil commotion or disturbance in any police district. Given that the army has been deployed on police duties under this arrangement, it is not surprising that the Zimbabwean crisis historiography is replete with scholarly analyses detailing how opposition supporters (perceived or real) have been at the receiving end of brutal tactics including torture and murder by the army. More specifically there have been analyses that examine the militarisation of the state and yet little has been done towards exposing in a more nuanced way the way ordinary people have dealt with the army whenever it has been deployed amongst civilian populations. In light of these lacunae, this study explores, in the wider political contest involving Zanu PF and numeral opposition political groups, how the army was deployed for police duties and the ramifications that this has had on the ordinary people. It examines whether the police can hand over suspects to army intelligence, how army officials acquitted their police duties and whether this arrangement created a peaceable environment for the ordinary person. In doing this, the study utilises issues arising from court judgements in which the army was sued by individuals tortured or harassed by army officials.
Soldiers, Rebels and the Overlords

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Keywords: Philippine military, Mindanao conflict, Peacebuilding, Warlords, Insurgency

This seeks to explain the process whereby the Armed Forces of the Philippines engages in peace operations, while fighting various guerrilla forces and insurgent groups in conflict-stricken communities in the southern Philippines. It focuses on the major initiatives of the Philippine military to contribute in the attainment of peace that apparently elude Mindanao for more than four decades. This paper tackles the relationship of the military with major power holders and brokers in the conflict zone, particularly the warlords and rebel commanders as well as the vulnerable group, the people at the grassroots. This paper also devotes attention to the collaborative efforts of the military with other peacebuilding organisations in Mindanao. This study employs first-hand information that are gathered through combination of different research strategies such as interviews with experts from the Philippine military, universities and civil society organisations, and ethnographic field observation in conflict-ridden communities. This is paper concludes that the Philippine military is no longer relying on its traditionally hard and rigid approach to counter insurgency and terrorism in Mindanao. It is employing different soft approaches through its engagement in peacebuilding not only to curtail separatism and radicalism, but to lessen the communal divide, and hence promote reconciliation between and among the people of Mindanao.
National Security Policy in Evolving Democracies: Role of Military in Nepal

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Keywords: Security, Evolving democracy, Military, Political transition, Regime

With the end of oligarchic regime in 1950, Nepal experienced a huge shift in terms of governance system, representation and establishment of state institutions. After the promulgation of Military Act in 1959, National Army got clear mandate and the defined role for preserving national integrity and sovereignty. Prior to the declaration of federal democratic republican in Nepal, a public perception prevailed that army is under the interest of 'king' but not people as king used to be the supreme commander. The civil-military relationship was neither the academic discourse nor a practice before 1990 as head of the government and state for many years were not people's representative. The Comprehensive Peace Accord signed between the Government of Nepal and Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) in 2006 provided a new paradigm for power sharing and integration of former combatants became a major agenda during the political transitions. The constitutional provisions for the mobilization of army demand a mechanism and process with the formation of National Security Council. In the post conflict situation and post-disaster situation after earthquake in April 2015, Nepal encounters multidimensional security challenges. The promulgation of new Constitution in 2015 has invited new social conflicts with identity issue at the focal point. Situated between the two emerging global powers India and China, landlocked country Nepal holds important Geo-strategic position with varying topography and demography. The first part of this paper describes the national security policy formulation initiatives under various regimes in modern Nepal. The second part presents an analysis on role of military in democratic transitions. The end part consists of role of military in the formulation of national security policy in 2016 and implementation challenges.
Fiji is one of less than a handful of Pacific Island Countries (PICs) that has a military. The Fijian army has contributed to political instability by overthrowing democratically elected governments on four separate occasions. The first of these coups was in May, 1987 and was said to be for the protection of indigenous rights and to avoid the military being used to suppress indigenous ethnic Fijians. The military was used primarily to return those who held power before the general election of 1987. The military had underwritten ethnic Fijian (Taukei) chiefly power in the face of a government that was perceived as, and portrayed as Indo-Fijian supported, and Indo-Fijian dominated. Interestingly enough the very same military nearly 20 years on overthrew what was largely and indigenous Fijian supported and dominated government.

The military-led government that came into power justified the illegal overthrow of the democratically elected government in December, 2007 as a 'clean up' operation against an incoming government that was corrupt. This military-backed government was generally opposed by Taukei creating a situation that the paper seeks to explore. The Fijian military has remained over 98% ethnic Fijian (Taukei) in a multi-ethnic society. Over the last ten years there has been further militarisation of the country, and although the military-backed, and the post-2014 the democratically elected governments led by Retired Admiral Voreqe Bainimarama have strongly advocated 'racially' or ethnically blind policies, the ethnic composition of the military has remained unchanged. The paper provides a historical background to the Fiji military forces ethnic composition, it’s role in political instability and human rights violations, and the potential for further instability and oppression.
Impact of Major Military Event in Inter-Korean Relationship with Time-Series Analysis

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Keywords: South Korea, North Korea, militarized conflict, time series, reciprocity

It is necessary for a researcher to analyze the relationships between North and South Korea with objective data including information concerning actors, targets, time, and places since the interactions between two Koreas have happened on a daily basis. On top of that, it is unclear to delineate the cause and effect of the dynamics of inter-Korean relations.

Previous researches concerning North-South Korean relations have concentrated on specific events which are related to the policy implications rather than tracing down the chronologic trend. Lack of information is attributable as the biggest barrier for objective understanding of North Korean behavior. Therefore, this research employs the big data forms of North-South Korean interaction, GDELT. With the support of big data, I build the peace index between North-South Korean relations and used the time-series analyses in order to provide the policy suggestions.
PAPER ABSTRACT

The Chiefly System and the Military in Fiji

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Keywords: I Taukei, Chiefs, Vanua, Military, Militarisation

The paper sets out to explore the changing relationship between Fiji's chiefly system and the Military. It starts from the presupposition that, historically, these institutions have always reinforced one another in different ways. The current attempt re-examines this premise in light of recent developments in Fiji.
The Military, Volunteer Vigilantism and Counter-Insurgency in North East Nigeria

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Keywords: Boko Haram, counter-insurgency, military, North East Nigeria, volunteer vigilantism.

The prevalence of unconventional violence orchestrated by Boko Haram insurgents in North East Nigeria has occasioned precarious civil and humanitarian atmosphere in that area. The exigency of the situation has necessitated an equally unconventional civil-military response, as exemplified in the involvement of volunteer vigilantes in counter-insurgency operations of the state. Relying on a synthesis of primary and secondary research, based respectively on field interviews/discussions and library/desk sources, the paper evaluates the role of volunteer vigilantes as strategic partners with the military in the ongoing fight against Boko Haram insurgents in North East Nigeria. The paper posits that the outcome of this emergency approach to security has been largely inconsistent and seemingly contradictory: while the vigilantes have been effective in degrading the strongholds of the insurgents through localized reconnaissance and counter-offensives in collaboration with the military, they have also contributed to intensifying the insurgency by engendering selective reprisals attacks by the insurgents on communities that are associated with the vigilante forces. Coupled with their manifest negative attitude to human rights as well as their seeming potential for disintegration into amorphous armed militias in the aftermath of the counter-insurgency operations, the paper submits that the involvement of volunteer vigilantes in counter-insurgency is a dicey strategic option given the fragile security regime in Nigeria wherein the practice is liable to counter-productive and abusive outcomes.
Liberian Women's Struggle to End the Civil War and Establish Democracy

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Keywords: Nobel Peace Prize 2011

From the last decade of the 20th century onward, civil war has become a familiar phenomenon throughout Sub-Saharan Africa. The literature on these wars, among the many issues it deals with, points to the impact of the wars on African women. Some of the literature discusses the victimization and suffering of the women, and some describes the activities of women in the political arena aimed at ending the wars and rehabilitating the countries. This paper focuses on two Liberian women, Leymah Gbowee and Ellen J. Sirleaf, who were awarded the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts to bring about a peaceful end to the fourteen years of civil war in their country and establish a democratic regime there.

Gbowee and Sirleaf differ in their socio-economic backgrounds, period of public activity, and methods of operation. Gbowee was trained as a social worker and worked in the Lutheran church in Monrovia; Sirleaf is an economist who served in the World Bank and the U.N. before becoming the President of Liberia. Gbowee was active in the struggle to end the 1999-2003 Civil War; Sirleaf led the rehabilitation of the country after her election in 2005. Gbowee's contribution to ending the Civil War rested on her ability to lead change from below, through organizing and leading a popular women’s movement; Sirleaf's contribution came about through a change from above, through her leadership of a government that implemented democratic values.

This paper will show that the cooperation of the two women and the combination of their respective approaches brought the Civil War to an end and brought about the internalization of the values of democracy and human rights in a country that had never known them before.
WOMEN COMBATANTS IN INDIAN DEFENSE FORCES: A PANOPTICONAL VIEW

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Keywords: Gender Relations, Military, Democracy, Force Multiplication Women, Combatants, Indian Military

With a nuclear and hostile neighborhood and a rising geopolitical profile in Asia, the Indian state is steadily enhancing its military prowess and augmenting the number of women combatants in its military ranks - who would act as 'Force Multipliers' in the future battle and war scenarios (which are predicted to be short, intense and rapid in scope, scale and size).

A show of solemn intent regarding the growing opportunities for women in the Indian defense forces was displayed when the country's Air Force inducted its first women fighter pilots in 2016. The demand to induct women as Infantry combat soldiers is growing, though the same has been ruled out in the short term citing cultural impediments.

Keeping in view the changing demographic character of the Indian military forces, this paper attempts to examine the various factors that have led to the growing realization that women too can contribute to the Indian state's defense. It also analyzes the organizational, administrative, logistical and training gaps that need to be bridged before a full-fledged attempt to induct women at par with men can be made. The paper also makes a brief comparative analysis of the ground realities of women's position in other defense forces operating in Asia in recent times.
Gendered Violence Against Civilian Males: A case study using the Bougainville conflict

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Keywords: Gender Violence, Bougainville, Insurgency, War Crimes, Military

The term gender violence is often used to highlight the role gender dynamics and expectations have in the commission of violence against women. However, in this paper, I intend to demonstrate how at least within times of conflict this term can also be used to identify types of violence committed against men. I will use the case study of the Bougainville civil war to demonstrate how in certain types of conflicts, combatant’s inability or unwillingness to distinguish hostile forces from the male civilian population can result in the disproportionate targeting of this group. Consequently, this demographic can be at increased risk of assault, torture and murder at the hands of combatants as a result of their gender. The intention of this paper is not to try and marginalise the victimisation of women during times of war but merely to demonstrate how gender roles and expectations can result in unique forms of violence against men as well.
PAPER ABSTRACT

Shaping Spaces

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Keywords: power, gender, timing, influence, negotiation

What does it mean to transition into democracy for civil military relations who have different levels of influence and power in a space that has changed its form so many times. What are the ongoing efforts and the challenges that need to be embraced and worked through separately and together. There are some historical aspects that impact the current context in Fiji and there are more prominent emerging issues and factors that need to be acknowledged. This paper is an attempt to capture the interesting and challenging intersection of the civil military relations against this backdrop.
Protego ergo obligo: the sovereignty paradox in the Responsibility to Protect doctrine

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Keywords: sovereignty, responsibility to protect, humanitarian intervention

Since its formulation in the report by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), the Responsibility to Protect doctrine (R2P) has been praised as a substantial change in the way in which sovereignty is understood, because it shifts the focus from the rights of the states over their citizens, to the duties states owe to them. According to R2P, when a population is under serious harm or threat, and its authorities are unable or unwilling to fulfil its responsibilities, the principle of non-intervention yields to the responsibility of the international community to protect the rights of those in need. However, I argue that R2P will never be able to deliver what it promise, first, because it fails to distinguish between the two senses of responsibility: as accountability of my own acts, and as the capacity to remedy the situation of others (Miller 2007); and this is relevant because from these two senses of responsibility are derived different moral duties and obligations. Since R2P mix and confuse them, it fails to properly assign the right duties and obligations derived from the relations of authority between a sovereign and its constituents, on the one hand, and between the international community and those in need, on the other. Second, and related with this, by defining sovereignty contingent upon the capacity to protect, R2P ends up promoting an articulation of sovereignty that cleaves the bond that legitimizes the relations of authority and obligation between the sovereign and its constituents. As such, I claim that the notion of ‘sovereignty as responsibility’ is ill suited to fulfil the moral principle on which the right to sovereignty should be grounded, the principle of self-determination, because the population being protected would be in a situation where they would owe obedience to a foreign agent.
A Quandry in the Humanitarian Law: Unlawful Combatants and Civilians by Referring to the Children

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Keywords: Direct Participation, Children, Civilians, Armed Conflicts, War Crimes

Although the armed conflicts of 19th and 20th centuries were among states, the modern conflicts are essentially between the states and different sub-state armed groups or among these groups such as in the cases of Rwanda, Former Yugoslavia, Iraq, Afghanistan or Syria. At this new type of armed conflicts, not only men are the carrier of the missions and weapons, but also children and women turn into a rebel as experienced in the farmer sample who works in the farm by day and fights in the guerilla by night. In this respect, the distinction between “civilians” as protected persons conventionally including children, and “unlawful combatants” as legitimate targets traditionally including males, becomes unclear. On the other hand, new developed weapons in the course of events enabled especially the children to carry and operate them easily. Therefore the notion of direct participation in hostilities causing the entitlement unlawful combatants appears. In this sense, this paper aims to open a discussion on the term of direct participation in hostilities by particularly referring the situations of children in contemporary conflicts and interventions and to determine a close or narrow interpretation by attributing Geneva Conventions and Additionals protocols, commentaires and cases.
PAPER ABSTRACT

Rethinking the Second Wave

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Keywords: Huntington, Third Wave, Japan, democratization, order

There is scarcely any textbook on political science that would not refer to Samuel Huntington’s hypothesis about the third wave of democratization. However, examining Huntington’s argument in detail, one finds surprisingly little elaboration and fact-finding that would validate his thesis. Such shortcoming does not prove his widely accepted statement wrong, but it calls for deepening and reexamining the thought about democracy waves Huntington had in mind. This presentation will be concerned with one major case study of the second-wave democratization of Japan.

In 1945, Japan under the command of Supreme Commander of Allied Powers General Douglas MacArthur managed to change from zealously militaristic authoritarian regime into a peace-loving country cherishing individual freedoms and democratic ideals. During the period of occupation Japan achieved not only demilitarization and democratization, but it was also put on the path of reconstruction and economic growth. There are two factors which aided this accomplishment: 1) retention of the imperial system including the current emperor, and 2) reliance on the existing Japanese bureaucratic machinery.

The result of this research is to emphasize, that the primary goal of the occupation authorities was not democratization, but conservation of order. Only when establishment of order was safeguarded by relying on the existing Japanese government, and by guaranteeing the retention of the imperial system, could MacArthur engage in his menu of reforms. While some find aggregation of democratizations into Huntington’s three waves far from compelling, this study suggests that we should look closer at individual cases and not judge only from their consequences.
Privatisation of Security and its Legal aspects in Contemporary International Politics

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Keywords: Privatisation, Security, PMSCs, International Law, Human rights, War

In today’s world, individual, states, corporations, and international organisations are increasingly relying on military services supplied not only by states but also by private contractors at the global markets. The private military forces have contributed significantly to modern warfare in the name of providing security and to stabilise the volatile situation of weak or failed states and hence, it becomes the backbone of modern warfare. Hence, privatisation of security has been one of the much debated security issues in Contemporary International Politics. Nowadays, most states prefer to hire private forces rather than sending their troops to wage wars abroad though a number of flaws are associated with private military forces, thus leading to an increase in the demand for private military forces to carry out modern warfare. In fact, the private forces are multifaceted in their task and yet this fact makes it difficult to address their nature and to bring them within the straight-jacket of international legal framework which may sow confusion in armed conflicts, unable to distinguish the combatants and non-combatants groups, which indirectly affecting the general population.

Therefore, it is important to implement the legal status of private forces under International Law (IL). This paper will analyse first, the existing nature of legal status of PMSCs in the international system and its importance during a conflict. Second, it will further explore the implications such as grave human rights violations, displacement of the people and how these issues affect the moral and ethics of the regular soldiers. Third, it will also address the importance of the legal framework of PMSCs under International Law wherein private forces could wage war like regular soldiers without violating the laws of war. Lastly, this paper will focus the nature of future warfare which has more to do than to attain a state’s political goals, but to survive and promote the business of the war mongers and private contractors.
Rapid Expansion and Misuse of Small Arms and Light Weapons in West Africa: A dysfunctional Factors towards Achieving a Meaningful Economic, Social and Political Development in Nigeria

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Keywords: Arms, expansion, misuse, conflict and development.

The rapid expansion and misuse of small arms and light weapons around the globe and in Africa in particular is a worldwide phenomenon. Their easy availability, durability, low cost, and simplicity, they are now weapons of choice by many actors in conflicting areas which helped to raised the level of arms related violence and militarizing the civil society. The spread of small arms in society by criminal gangs and their allies in West Africa has witnessed a devastating effect. Their circulation within the region has created a conducive atmosphere and enabling environment for Islamist's extremists, militant groups and criminal gangs to further increase their destabilizing effect on both the economic, social and political structures within the region. Over the past decade, Nigeria experience a serious implication of direct and indirect effects of armed related violence in various parts of the country particularly in North-east and South-south regions. The abundance and rapid expansion of small arms and light weapons (SALW) in Nigeria is principally drives from both socioeconomic and political dynamics in which globalization plays a vital role in the process that allow free movement of goods, ideas, information, persons, services and money around the regions of West African communities with little or no restrictions. The entire ECOWAS regions are suffering from the negative effects of these services, which allowed easy access to trafficking and smuggling of arms within and outside the region.
Traditional knowledge regarding states engaging in talks with terrorist and insurgent organizations suggests that the process of negotiations will be accompanied by an increase in violence, as it signals that violence will encourage the state to make concessions. While this understanding appears to generally hold true, it does not properly isolate the driving mechanism for the elevated level of violence. This research analyzes the source and motivation for the rise in violence seen alongside a peace process. Contrary to previous work, this evaluation separates the violent actions from Participating Groups- with a vested interest in the success of the negotiations, and the Excluded Groups- that were not permitted a seat at the bargaining table and therefore have little to gain, and much to lose, from a successful peace accord. Analyzing the violence stemming from the Islamic independence movement in the Mindanao region of the Philippines, and separating the attacks between the Participating and Excluded Groups, a distinct divide appears in the frequency and intensity of violence from each. Participating Groups are found to have a decline in attacks and casualties during times of negotiations, while Excluded Groups have a steep increase during the process. This suggests that negotiations served to reduce violence by Participating Organizations, and these organizations engaged in the peace process in good faith, seeking to reconcile with the government and terminate their violent campaign.
MILITARY RESPONSE TO TERRORISM: PANACEA OR PATHOLOGY? THE INDIAN PERSPECTIVE

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Keywords: Military Operation, South Asia, Terrorism, Repression, Negotiation

Of the various options available to combat the menace of terrorism, military operation is the most debatable and controversial. The seminal question is whether a terrorist movement can be permanently destroyed by military action. The Indian experience testifies that army offensive can emasculate a terrorist movement but is no lasting guarantee against its resurgence in the near or distant future. When the Naxalite movement broke out in West Bengal in the 1970s, there was no official military action by the state government but police repression was unleashed and after a period of eclipse, the movement resurfaced in the new millennium as the Maoist movement. Military action Operation Greenhunt by the state government curbed the menace for the time being but it is very much alive in Jharkhand, Orissa, etc. Military operations like Operation Rhino and Operation Bajrang were launched by the Central Government to counter the terrorist insurgency unleashed in the turbulent North East by the militants of United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA). The Government of Bhutan launched Operation Flush Out with the Royal Bhutanese Army to evict the Kaptapur Liberation organization (KLO) activists working in collusion with the ULFA from the Bhutanese soil. Yet both the movements, though seriously beleaguered, are far from crushed. This raises the question whether military action with its limited efficacy, can be totally dispensed with even if the terrorists are intransigent and averse to negotiation. Military intervention entails the danger of victimizing and traumatizing innocent people inciting in them, the spirit of malevolent revenge thereby creating new terrorists of the future. Interestingly the police and military are themselves ambivalent and skeptical about the tasks they are entrusted with. The present paper seeks to analyze objectively, the relative utility of military intervention as a means to the end of ending terrorism.
Globalisation and Changing Patterns of Security Governance– the inexorable rise of private security in Papua New Guinea

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Keywords: Globalisation, Security Governance, Weak States, Regulation

Globalisation and Changing Patterns of Security Governance– the inexorable rise of private security in Papua New Guinea It is now widely acknowledged in academic and policy discourses that security governance in any social or political setting involves multiple actors and diverse institutional forms. This has always been the case in many parts of the Pacific with relatively small military & police organisations and a profusion of community-based and ‘traditional’ actors involved in the provision of everyday security. Recent decades have seen a significant expansion in private security provision involving a diverse range of corporate actors. Papua New Guinea provides a rich case study for examining these multiple providers of security and interactions between them. This presentation will discuss the growth of private security in PNG, its impact on public security and the challenges and opportunities it gives rise to in tackling endemic problems of insecurity in this Pacific nation.
Military Protection by Foreign Powers and the Rise of Nationalism of the Host Countries: the Case of South Korea

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Keywords: Military Crimes, Nationalism, Conflicts in Democracy

Military Protection by Foreign Powers and the Rise of Nationalism of the Host Countries: the case of South Korea

The United States deploys its military to many parts of the world with mixed results in terms of the host countries’ perceptions of the alleged protection that US provides. As Ann Tickner notes national security does not necessarily render women’s security, it is a well-known fact that US military personnel (in fact by UN peace keeping forces as well) commits various crimes, most often, crimes against women of the host countries. No country in the world probably has more mixed and divided views of the US military presence than in South Korea. The complexity is more compounded by the perceived threats from North Korea. In this paper, I would like to explore and discuss the two sets of Korean nationalism that arose and contest with each other as the result of the crimes committed by the U.S. military.
Portugal was a colonial empire until 1974, when a military coup overthrew the authoritarian Portuguese regime and opened the doors to democracy and Decolonization in Africa (Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe) and in Southeast Asia (East Timor). The newly independent States form with Portugal and Brazil, in 1996, the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP), and the military confrontation between colonizer and colonized that occurred between 1961 and 1974, has given way to cooperation in the field of defense, within the CPLP, among the 9 Member States. This cooperation includes a Permanent Secretariat for Defense Affairs, a Center of Strategic Analysis and joint military exercises, in addition to regular meetings of Defense Ministers and Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces. While international organization with multilateral and cross-sectoral character, the CPLP has developed more intensive cooperation in Defense domain than in other sectors, with a view to the pacification of the new States, some of which affected by internal and regional conflicts. With the end of the cold war and the escalation of regional conflicts, the United Nations can count on the support of multilateral organizations, such as the CPLP, to help in the prevention and resolution of conflicts. The aim of this paper is to analyze the relationship between Portugal and its former colonies in the political-military plan, having as backdrop the geopolitical space of the CPLP, in order to assess the internal and regional impact of such cooperation.
Military evolution in French Polynesia

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Keywords: Nuclear testing, développement of military presence, local political consequence, the end of the military presence

The decision to do nuclear testing in French Polynesia change radically life of indigenous. The developpement of Tahiti was turned essentiaaly around the testing. After a huge military presence, France decide to close military bases and let the country with difficulty.
PAPER ABSTRACT

The Effect of Choice of Diplomatic Strategy on Outcome Success in Interactions with Authoritarian Regimes

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Keywords: Military Strategy, Cold War, Russia, Diplomatic Strategy, Containment

What is the effect of implementing the containment strategy on the level of success in dealings with major power authoritarian regimes as opposed to the effect of high level negotiations and principled diplomacy targeted at finding “win-win” solutions? Although much attention has been devoted to the study of containment in the Cold War context, most scholastic work addresses the reasons why negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union were doomed to be fruitless. Literature on contemporary U.S.-Russian relations makes a similar point. However, there is a gap in the literature as it comes short of answering whether hardline military commitment to issues of strategic importance and clear communication of such commitment leads to better outcomes for the United States than do negotiations at the heads of state level. Firstly, we argue that authoritarian regimes are inherently in need of a powerful enemy for the purposes of regime justification to their domestic populations. Because of this, they are prone to seek out points of contention and are likely to avoid conflicts that are impossible to win as it may damage their reputation in the eyes of their domestic population. Given the limited resources and the need to “win”, these regimes will forgo issues that are of high strategic importance to the United States if the potential costs of contention are clearly communicated. Such communication is best executed through the mechanisms of containment which advocates for hardline military commitment and diplomatic non-engagement. Secondly, current literature on the topic is limited to qualitative work and we offer a quantitative analysis of containment and its relative effectiveness vis-a-vis high level negotiations. We do so by using data from one hundred and six crises between the United States and the Soviet Union or Russia from the end of World War II and until 1978.

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Keywords: Modernization of the South African National Defence Force

This paper will revisit some of the main arguments presented (in the South African context) since the late 1990s in relation to the regional security demands placed on the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) on the one hand, and the configuration of the force design imposed on the SANDF on the other. These issues are of great relevance to the South African Department of Defence's (recent) official pronouncements and related defence thinking on the current and future external role of the SANDF, specifically with regard to peace missions and post-conflict reconstruction and development. In view of the above, this paper will examine the dynamics of recent years – philosophical and practical – that gave rise to the policy ‘move’ or ‘shift’ from the 1998 Defence Review to the 2015 Defence Review. From this point of departure the paper will argue that the Department of Defence has now gained a clearer idea or perspective of what the future external role(s) of the SANDF should be. The paper will further argue that there is a need for increased spending on the military in terms of the need to have a military that is appropriately equipped, resourced and multi-role trained, and in order to execute successful external operations across the spectrum of potential conflict. However, politicians, taxpayers and the public at large will have to be convinced of the need for increased spending on the SANDF. In this regard, it will finally be argued that the need for more spending on the SANDF poses a major challenge to defence functionaries – specifically given the current problem of low economic growth and dire socio-economic needs in the South African context.
Parliament coalition instability as a vital component in the development process of Israel security doctrine regarding Palestinian terrorism: From Oslo accords to our days

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Keywords: Democracy, Coalition, Israel-Palestinian conflict, doctrine, terror

This paper purpose is to study the role that Coalition instability takes in the development of the Israeli Security doctrine, in the period since Oslo Accords to present time.
In its 67 years of existence, the state of Israel had updated the official security doctrine only once, in 1953. David Ben-Gurion, Israel first Prime Minister, published the only official document, which defines the security doctrine.
In the coming years, Israel has gone through several wars and an ongoing conflict, since 1967, with the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and in the West Bank. Although the threats have changed - the official Israeli security doctrine remains as it was in 1953. The new threats, especially Palestinian Terror, have no reference in the official doctrine. The absent of official doctrine allows the political and military leaders to determine the guidelines of dealing with those threats ad-hoc. Those tactical decisions act as the security doctrine de-facto regarding the Palestinian conflict.
The Oslo accords, signed in the years 1993-1995, have dramatically changed the security situation and the point of view of Israel regarding the existence of Palestinian partners for peace, from an enemy to a partner. The tactical reality has changed immediately – from fighting and distrust to joint armed patrols.
Through those years, the Israeli coalitions are suffering from lack of stability, which in its turn leads to often changes in the cabinet and in the Prime Minister position.
The research was based on in-depth interviews with high ranked military officers and high ranked government officials and politicians. In addition to the interviews, the research analyzed Government resolutions and officials’ declarations.
The research findings point that during the years 1993-2015 Israeli security doctrine has progressively developed into a defensive doctrine, and that the lack of coalition stability plays a vital role in this process.
Civil-military relations during an intervention abroad: the case of the United Arab Emirates (UAE)

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Keywords: Civil-military; UAE; Gulf; military; Yemen

The UAE and the other Arab Gulf monarchies present an enigma for scholars of civil-military literature. However, analysis of recent changes in the UAE military role can inform the literature of civil-military literature in general, and regional Middle Eastern studies in particular. Since the creation of the federation in 1971, the UAE military has acted as a protector of the nation and its vast oil resources. In 2015 the UAE joined the Saudi-led intervention in Yemen against the Houthi rebels. It was the first time that the military was instructed to fully intervene in another country. The UAE military assumed a new role as a defender of the Emirati national interests beyond the national borders. This required a new government strategy for management of the new military’s image. The UAE government has vast control over the national media and it could directly control the narrative of the intervention. Secondarily, the UAE military emerged as a nation-building driver. Traditionally the UAE military mirrored the fragmented structure of the federation, however, the new role of national force with soldiers from all seven Emirates furthered the sense of unity and national belonging. Conclusions from media analysis confirm a strategy of instilling national pride and support for the intervention. More importantly, the narrative shows shaping a ‘martyr’ image of the soldier. Those conclusions are supported by recent government decisions such as establishing a new national holiday called Martyrs’ Day in 2015 and extensive public and financial support for the martyrs’ families. Some of UAE’s choices for Yemen’s intervention depict a strategy for limiting further casualties and accentuating the humanitarian and capacity-building efforts of the soldiers. Finally, it can be concluded that the first UAE government decision for a military intervention abroad was executed with a complete subordination of the military.
Military propaganda in media in Russian Federation
(2008-2016)

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Keywords: Paper investigates history of developing Russia's military propaganda during 2008-2016.

Today Russian Federation is most active state in military politics. Russia's Government has two active conflict and two finished. Syria's war company and hybrid war operation in Eastern region of Ukraine (Donetsk and Luganskaya oblast), de-facto annexation Crimea peninsula region from Ukraine in 2014 and Russian-Georgian war conflict in August 2008. My paper investigates history of developing Russia's military propaganda during 2008-2016. In this period authorities clearly demonstrate progress in using by authorities of new media as blogs, social networks, messengers, also big media for clearly their position in conflicts. For researching military propaganda in Russia, necessary to divide two branch: interior propaganda which based on post-soviet revanchism idea, supported of most people in country, and exterior propaganda, which based on aggressive media politics in affiliate media (Russia Today), and bot-activity in English-speaking social networks. Russia's military propaganda based on several principles. For example, to create an image of the enemy accelerating the idea of an nearly all-powerful enemy that can do incredible things behind the scenes is an important aspect of Russian propaganda narratives. To link all internal problems to external factors - the supposedly all-present enemy can be used to deflect criticism away from Russia's rulers. Problems and political opposition are caused by external conspirators. Next point is weaken critical thinking - to make sure that Russian audiences will consume propaganda without asking too many questions, Russian media bombard their audience with falsified or invented reports that aim to disable critical thinking. To emphasize the consolidation of society in the face of a military threat Russian propaganda exaggerates the importance of preparing for a supposed war with the West. The threat of an impending nightmare will make people accept any other deprivation as a "lesser evil," or as a sacrifice that must be made to avoid war.
The events that swept Egypt six years ago gripped us all and they also raised high expectations of substantive political change. Yet, it may have been better to exercise caution about Egypt’s post-uprising direction. As we have witnessed, there are no guarantees during a transition phase of regime change. The following paper investigates why and how Egypt’s ‘Arab Spring’ turned out the way it did. It argues that the current outcome, while disappointing to normative aspirations, was not wholly unexpected. The post-Mubarak political outcome is largely the product of a polity still snared in the capricious embrace of reactionary military forces and past legacies.
New Zealand National Security – Democracy and Deployment?

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Keywords: New Zealand, Special Operations, Democracy, State

Dr Hoverd will broaden the previous historical and relationship discussion to critically review the New Zealand connections between democracy and military, in terms of State action after the rise of ISIL. Specifically, he will look to the renewed military relationship with the United States after the Afghanistan deployments, discuss the NZDF as tool of foreign policy, and review the extent to which the State Executive relies on its electoral mandate to make decisions about military deployments to conflict areas.
In this 20 min talk, Dr Ball outlines how historically New Zealand Special Operations Forces have contributed to campaigns in support of broader collective security foreign policy objectives – he uses Southeast Asian case studies, including the Vietnam War, Borneo Confrontation and activity in Malaysia to make a broader claim about New Zealand, Democracy and the Military.
NZSOF: Making a Contribution through Relationship-Building

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Keywords: New Zealand, Special Operations, Democracy, State

Drawing on her extensive primary data, PhD Candidate Miriam Wharton explains the contribution NZSOF seeks to make to the State through national and international partnerships in the twenty-first century. Her discussion will be framed by the construct of a relational approach enacted within a hierarchically organised system.
Role of the French Military in the Pacific

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Keywords: Sovereignty Security Stability Assistance Cooperation

France’s current White Paper on Defence and National Security (2013) reminds that New Caledonia, French Polynesia, Wallis-et-Futuna and Clipperton Island make France a power of the Pacific, with responsibility to defend her sovereignty in this part of the world and obligation to guarantee the security of her citizens. Moreover, as a permanent member of the Security Council, France believes it is her duty to contribute to the general protection of populations and resources in the Pacific. France maintains military forces there in order to defend her interests and to contribute to the regional stability, alongside her partners. This permanent military basing in the Pacific Ocean confers to France a presence which is unique among European countries. In this capacity, she develops relations of cooperation with many neighbouring States, particularly Australia, with which she has established a strategic partnership. France has the second largest exclusive economic zone in the world (11 million km2), located mainly in the Pacific (about 60%), and, as such, is responsible for protecting the fragile maritime environment and its extensive fishing, mineral and energy resources. The Quadrilateral Defence Coordination Group (Quad) brings together Defence and security agencies from Australia, France, New Zealand and the United States of America to develop multilateral approaches to enhance maritime security in the South West Pacific area and coordinate maritime surveillance and support to Pacific Island Countries to reduce illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing, both in exclusive economic zones and adjacent High Sea Pockets. France performs a protective mission thanks to her military stationed in the region, as illustrated by many humanitarian assistance missions following natural disasters, usually conducted under the FRANZ Arrangement (France – Australia – New Zealand). The role of the French Military in the Pacific is significant, diverse and relevant.
Indigenous Perspectives: Attitudes of Solomon Islanders towards the military contingent in a police-led intervention.

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Keywords: Solomon Islands, indigenous conflict resolution, conflict management, peace building, military intervention

Solomon Islands is a nation made up of multiple interdependent indigenous societies. For Solomon Islands, World War II was the first introduction to military action. Its most recent encounter with the military began on the 23rd of July 2003. On that day a military contingent came in as part of a police-led intervention force called the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI). Solomon Islands had experienced a defining moment in its history when a civil conflict materialised between the years 1998 to 2003. RAMSI intervened in this conflict with support from the Pacific Island Forum nations as part of an effort to bring about security in the region.

The conflict in Solomon Islands provoked my current research on resolving and managing disputes as indigenous Solomon Islanders. In this paper, I will present a conflict resolution mechanism, from one indigenous society in Solomon Islands. It discusses some fundamental themes arising from this work and explores how this indigenous society addresses disputes at the community level.

Drawing from these fundamental themes, I will explore the attitudes Solomon Islanders have towards the military arm of RAMSI compared to the police arm. From anecdotal information, the military was well received but not so the case of the police arm.

The knowledge stemming from this research I hope would help towards the overall peacebuilding development efforts in Solomon Islands.
Peacebuilding and masculinity: A gendered approach

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Keywords: Pacific, Peacekeeping, gender

With references to three troops-contributing countries in Asia-Pacific (Pakistan, Bangladesh and Fiji) to UN peace keeping operations, this paper investigates the contradictory role of the military in peace-keeping and democratization by examining two critical issues in particular:

(i) the gendered ideology that underpins the military as an institution which gives rise to a ‘militarized masculinity’ that is inconsistent with peacekeeping; and

(ii) the role of arms and force in the military’s ‘modus operandi’ that is antithetical to democracy.

(iii) I suggest the need for demilitarizing and disarming masculinities in order for the military to be consistent with the ideals of democracy and peacekeeping.
Rethinking global militarization and post-colonial democracies

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Keywords: Transformation, civilianization, militarization, global, coercion,

The paper does a critical analysis of the global security and military discourses and their impact on post-colonial political systems. It examines some of the dominant and hegemonic discourses used to justify military intervention by hegemonic powers such as the US and how these have shaped the democratic processes in post-colonial societies. The paper is a broad brush of global trends and will use specific examples to illustrate specific historical cases and their significance. It will also examine the impact of Trump on US military intervention and potential impact on the global south countries.
Keywords: Military, Pacific, defence, regional, colonial

The paper provides an overview of militarism in the Pacific. Formal security arrangements link some Pacific island countries with more powerful external states. New Caledonia, French Polynesia and Wallis and Futuna, as parts of overseas France, come under the security arrangements of the French Republic. The Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau are protected by New Zealand, which is legally responsible for their defence. Seven Pacific island entities, together accounting for large areas of the Pacific Ocean, are the defence responsibility of the USA—Hawaii, Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands, American Samoa, Palau, the Federated States of Micronesia and the Marshall Islands. PNG, a country of almost 8m, is promised consultation with Australia in the event of attack on its territory and is receiving more military assistance under a revamped defence cooperation program with Australia. The remaining Pacific island countries fall under an informal security guarantee from Australia and New Zealand and to a lesser extent the USA. Australia has long seen its immediate neighborhood as a strategic interest second only to the defence of the Australian continent itself.