

MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

THE IMPACT OF THE COLONIAL LEGACY ON CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN AFRICA: CHAD AND THE SUDAN AS COMPARATIVE CASE STUDIES

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The end of the Cold War has resulted in a general tendency toward democratization all over the world. The United States and other Western countries such as France and Britain are determined to help African countries establish democratic institutions and improve good governance. The reluctance and instability of many African societies and regimes to democratize inspired the research questions of this thesis: Why is Africa so vulnerable to military coups? Why is political and economic modernization so difficult in Africa? What is wrong with Africa?

Scholars have suggested several explanations for Africa's political instability and military interventions including, political development theory, military centrality theory, ethnic antagonism theory, and world system/dependency theory.

Although it cannot be ruled out that any of these causal mechanisms have contributed to some extent to Africa's political instability, the author's opinion is that the colonial experience played a significant role, too.

By using Chad and the Sudan as comparative case studies of former colonies of France and Britain, the thesis illustrates the relevance of my colonial-legacy theory. Chad and the Sudan are almost similar in every aspect except the former colonial power. Variations in the patterns of their civil-military relations are explained by variations in the nature of their colonial experiences.

KEYWORDS: Colonial Legacy in Africa, Civil-Military Relations in Africa, Chad, The Sudan

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Civil-Military Relations)

PEACE OPERATIONS IN BOSNIA: RULE OR EXCEPTION?

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The peacekeeping operations in Bosnia—Implementation Force (IFOR) and the Stabilization Force (SFOR) or collectively (IFOR/SFOR)—exemplify the new opportunities and prerequisites for multinational peacekeeping in the post-Cold War era. These operations have shown that regional organizations and the UN can complement rather than complicate each other's work.

The operations also demonstrate that with the end of the cold War, Russia and the United States have been able to cooperate in a new fashion, widening the potential scope for peacekeeping in the future. The key prerequisite for success in

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Bosnia (and for the future) is the willingness of the peacekeeping partners to compromise on their near-term interests and principles, and focus on the long-term benefits of peace and cooperation.

KEYWORDS: Peace Operations, Peacekeeping, Bosnia, National Interests, Conflict Management

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Peacekeeping Operations)

THE CZECH REPUBLIC IN NATO: A STUDY OF SMALL POWER'S DEFENSE POLICY

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The Czech Republic, slated to be a future member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1999, will likely occupy a weak position within NATO's decision-making process.

The country's historical experience, its geo-strategic situation, and certain economic factors have led Czech policy makers to the strategic decision to join NATO. The Czech Republic's security and defense policy, together with its strategic political culture will influence the country's future role in NATO. However, because it is a small state and because of other inherent structural factors, the Czech Republic will probably fail to occupy a position in NATO comparable with other small powers. This contrasts directly with the case of the Netherlands, a small state in the Alliance which has managed to become a reliable member and occupy an influential position. Although both countries had similar motives for joining or having joined NATO, certain aspects of the Czech Republic's policies and strategic political culture do not correspond with those of the Dutch.

In order to enjoy fully the "security benefits" derived from a strong position in the Alliance, as does the Netherlands, the Czech Republic's policy makers will have to readjust its priorities in security and defense policy. In particular, it will have to endeavor to make some sort of significant contribution to the strategic political culture of NATO.

KEYWORDS: NATO, Czech Republic, Netherlands, Defense Policy, Small Powers, Small States

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Defense Policy)

CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN DOMESTIC SUPPORT OPERATIONS-

THE CALIFORNIA NATIONAL GUARD IN LOS ANGELES

1992 RIOTS AND NORTHRIDGE EARTHQUAKE OF 1994

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The main argument of the thesis is that the use of the California National Guard (CNG) in response to major emergencies has both advantages and disadvantages as a model for countries in transition, such as Ukraine. Furthermore, it argues that civil-military relations in domestic support operations (DSO) are a very important factor to consider when new democracies try to build an effective system of emergency management.

The author attempts to explain why the civil authorities, specifically in the United States, request military involvement in domestic emergencies while remaining suspicious about military involvement in domestic affairs. He discusses the

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reasons for military involvement in disaster relief and law enforcement operations, and the considerations and constraints by which the U.S. federal legislation authorizes and limits it.

The study is based on two cases of DSO in which the CNG participated as one of the leading agencies: the 1992 Los Angeles Riots as an example of military assistance in a civil disturbance operation and the 1994 Northridge Earthquake as an example of a disaster assistance operation.

In the conclusion, the thesis provides recommendations about the applicability of the CNG's experience and organizational features for the emergency management systems in new democracies, particularly Ukraine.

KEYWORDS: Civil-Military Relations, Domestic Support Operations, Disaster Relief, Support to Law Enforcement, National Guard, California National Guard, Los Angeles Riots (1992), Northridge Earthquake (1994)

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Domestic Support Operations)

THE UNITED STATES-RUSSIAN MILITARY COOPERATION IN IMPLEMENTATION FORCE OPERATIONS IN BOSNIA

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Yugoslavia's rapid disintegration amid violence and war in 1991 came as a shock to the outside world. The war was a result of an organized program of domestic conflict waged along ethno-cultural lines by a threatened powerful elite. The response of the international community has been marked by considerable confusion and inconsistency. With most of the major obstacles that characterized the Cold War now removed, there seemed to be a more favorable environment for effective U.S.-Russian cooperation in matters of mutual interests in international security. This notwithstanding, the U.S.-led initiative to cooperate with Russia to find a lasting solution to the Bosnian crisis ran into impediments from the very onset. This thesis will argue that the causes of these impediments were rooted in Russia's domestic political and economic constraints, coupled with a nostalgia to exercise the leverage of a super-power over the Bosnian peace process.

The Balkans is only of secondary national interest to Russia and the United States. Nevertheless, the Balkans constitute an area of extensive interaction between the two countries. The Bosnian conflict offers a good case study for examining the causes of the impediments to U.S.-Russian cooperation.

KEYWORDS: U.S.-Russian Military Cooperation, IFOR, NATO, UN, Bosnia, Ethno-Nationalism, International Community Peace Effort, Balkan's Conflict

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Relations)

SECURITY COOPERATION IN AFRICA: LESSONS FROM ECOMOG

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This thesis argues that when West African states united to form the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), they did so for reasons very different from those that are advanced by most scholars and West African policy makers. The conventional wisdom holds that the ECOMOG intervention in Liberia was motivated by the

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desire of West African leaders to relieve the humanitarian disaster caused by the Liberian civil war. In contrast, it can be argued that humanitarian considerations were far less important to the participating states than their desire to protect the political stability of their own regimes, which they believed would be threatened by a rebel victory over President Samuel Doe's Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL). In particular, they worried that a rebel victory in Liberia would constitute a dangerous precedent for other dissidents within the sub-region. Moreover, they were concerned that a Charles Taylor-controlled Liberia could become a "breeding ground" for similar insurgencies by dissidents fleeing their regimes.

KEY WORDS: ECOMOG, ECOWAS, Security Issues in Africa, Francophone-Anglophone Issues, African Alliances

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Policy Issues)

THE LEVEL AND STRUCTURE OF POWER DELEGATED TO HIGH-RANKING MILITARY OFFICIALS IN A DEMOCRACY: A CASE STUDY OF THE UNITED STATES

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Hungary is in transition to democracy. The country is democratizing its institutions, including the armed forces. The process of establishing democratic civil-military relations, adequate command and force structures as well as reprofessionalization of the military personal is based on Euro-Atlantic model. In democratic civil-military relations the military must be excluded from political decision-making. However, as the cases of established liberal democracies demonstrate, the military often attempts to exert influence on political decisions.

The Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986 dealt with the question of how much influence the military should have, and who should exercise this influence. By strengthening the position of the Chairman of the JCS, who is the principal military adviser, the Congress intended to improve professional military advice. Even though the American society generally evaluates Goldwater-Nichols as a success, opinions on the consequences of the Act vary considerably. The thesis argues that a Chairman fully exploiting his position and bringing subjectivity into decision-making process can weaken the civilian authority over the military, which contradicts the intentions of the legislation.

Hungary can make good use of the U.S. case in finding the appropriate balance between civilian and military influence on political decisions related to national security.

KEYWORDS: Political Decision-Making, Civilian Control, Military Advice, Chairman, Political Bargaining

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Political-Military)