

REFERENCES

- Abueva, J.V., 1971. *Ramon Magsaysay: A Political Biography*. Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House.
- Ahamed, E., 1980. *Bureaucratic Elites in Segmented Economic Growth: Bangladesh and Pakistan*. Dhaka: The University Press.
- , 1988. *Military Rule and Myth of Democracy*. Dhaka: The University Press.
- , 1989. 'The Six-Point Programme: its class basis', in E. Ahamed (ed.), *Society and Politics in Bangladesh*. Dhaka: Academic Publishers.
- , 1990. 'Coup of 1975 against Sheikh Mujib', *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* XIII(3):63-80.
- Ahmed, M., 1991. *Bangladesh: Constitutional Quest for Autonomy*. Dhaka: The University Press.
- Alavi, H., 1966. 'The army and bureaucracy in Pakistan', *International Socialist Journal* 3(14):140-181.
- , 1979. 'The state in post-colonial societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh', in H. Goulbourn (ed.), *Politics and State in the Third World*. London: MacMillan, pp. 38-69.
- Albright, D.E., 1980. 'A comparative conceptualization of civil-military relations', *World Politics* 32(4):553-76.
- Amnesty International, 1990a. *Myanmar. 'In the National Interest'. Prisoners of Conscience, Torture, Summary Trials under Martial Law*. ASA 16/10/90. London: Amnesty International.
- , 1990b. *Papua New Guinea. Human Rights Violations on Bougainville, 1989-1990*. ASA 34/05/90. London Amnesty International.
- Apter, D., 1962. 'Some reflections on the role of political opposition in new nations', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 4(2):154-168.
- Army General Headquarters, 1990. *Pakistan Army Green Book*. Rawalpindi.
- Ashkenazy, D. (ed.), 1994. *The Military in the Service of Society and Democracy. The Challenge of the Dual-Role Military*. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Ba Than, 1962. *The Roots of the Revolution*. Rangoon: Director of Information.
- Ball, N., 1981. *The Military in the Development Process: A Guide to Issues*. Claremont: Regina Books.
- Barrett, D., 1969. 'The Pacific Islands Regiment' in K.S. Inglis (ed.), *The History of*

- Melanesia*. Canberra: The University of Papua and New Guinea and the Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, pp. 493-502.
- Baxter, C. and Rahman, S., 1991. 'Bangladesh military: political institutionalisation and economic development', *Journal of Asian Studies* 26.
- Bebler, A., 1990. 'Typologies based on civilian-dominated versus military-dominated political systems', in A. Bebler and J. Seroka (eds), *Contemporary Political Systems. Classifications and Typologies*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp. 261-274.
- Bell, H., 1967. 'Integrating the P.I.R.', *New Guinea* 2(2):49-58.
- Berghahn, V. R., 1981. *Militarism: The History of an International Debate: 1861-1979*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Bienen, H., 1971. *The Military and Modernization*. Chicago: Aldine Atherton.
- , 1983. 'Armed forces and national modernization', *Comparative Politics* 16(1): 1-16.
- Bienen, H. and Morell, D., 1974. 'Transition from military rule: Thailand's experience', in C. McA. Kelleher (ed.), *Political-Military Systems. Comparative Perspectives*. Beerly Hills: Sage, pp. 3-26.
- Boonprasert, C., 1990. 'Personal concepts and experiences on the military role in democratic and security development', *Journal of Social Sciences* 27:201-2.
- Bunbongkarn, S., 1987a. 'Political institutions and processes', in S. Xuto (ed), *Government and Politics in Thailand*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, pp. 41-74.
- , 1987b. *The Military in Thai Politics 1981-1986*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- , 1992. 'Thailand in 1991, coping with military guardianship', *Asian Survey* 32(2): 132-3.
- Burk, J. (ed.), 1993. *The Military in New Times. Adapting Armed Forces to a Turbulent World*. Boulder: Westview.
- Cady, J., 1958. *A History of Modern Burma*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Chaleamtiarana, Thak, 1975. *Thailand: The Politics of Despotic Paternalism*. Bangkok: Social Science Association of Thailand.
- Chazan, N., Mortimer, R., Ravenhill, J. and Rothchild, D., 1988. *Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Chomsky, N., 1991. *Deterring Democracy*. London: Verso.
- Christian, J., 1945. *Burma and the Japanese Invader*. Bombay: Thacher and Company Ltd.
- Clapham, C. and Philip, G. (eds), 1985. *The Political Dilemma of Military Regimes*. London: Croom Helm.
- Cohen, S.P. 1986. 'State building in Pakistan', in A. Banuazizi and M. Weiner (eds), *The State, Religion and Ethnic Politics*. Lahore: Vanguard Books, pp. 299-332.
- , 1984. *The Pakistan Army*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Constitutional Planning committee (CPC), Papua New Guinea, 1974. *Final Report*. Port Moresby.
- Crouch, H., 1978. *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- , 1979. 'Patrimonialism and military rule in Indonesia', *World Politics* 31(4): 571-87.
- , 1985. 'The military and politics in South-East Asia', in H.A. Zakaria and H. Crouch (eds), *Military-Civilian Relations in South-East Asia*, Singapore: Oxford University Press, pp. 287-317.

- , 1988. 'The military mind and economic development', in Soedjati Djiwandono J. and Yong Mun Cheong (eds), *Soldiers and Stability in Southeast Asia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, pp. 49-72.
- Daalder, H., 1969. *The Role of the Military in the Emerging Countries*. 'S-Gravenhaage: Mouton.
- Dahl, R.A., 1989. *Democracy and its Critics*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Danopoulos, C.P. (ed.), 1988. *Military Disengagement from Politics*. New York: Routledge.
- De Pauw, J.W. and Luz, G.A. (eds), 1992. *Winning the Peace. The Strategic Implications of Military Civic Action*. New York: Praeger.
- Dean, E. and Ritova, S., 1988. *Rabuka: No Other Way*. Sydney: Doubleday.
- Decalo, S., 1976. *Coups and Army Rule in Africa: Studies in Military Style*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Defence General Board of Inquiry, Papua New Guinea, 1989. *Report of the Defence General Board of Inquiry into Administration and Management of the Papua New Guinea Defence Force and the Defence Department*. Boroko: Department of Defence.
- Diamond, L., 1992. 'Promoting democracy', *Foreign Policy* 87:25-46.
- Diamond, L., Linz, J.J. and Lipset, S.M. (eds), 1988. *Democracy in Developing Countries*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- , 1990. *Politics in Developing Countries. Comparing Experiences with Democracy*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Director of Information, 1960. *Is Trust Vindicated?* Rangoon: Government of the Union of Burma.
- Dowse, R.E., 1969. 'The military and political development', in C. Leys (ed.), *Politics and Change in Developing Countries*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 213-46.
- Eide, A. and Thee, M. (eds), 1980. *Problems of Contemporary Militarism*. London: Croom Helm.
- Enloe, C., 1980. *Ethnic Soldiers: State Security in Divided Societies*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Ershad, H.M., 1981. 'Role of Military in Underdeveloped Countries', *Bangladesh Army Journal* (January 1981).
- Evans, G., 1992. *Government Response to the Report of the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade on Australia's Relations with Papua New Guinea*. Mimeo.
- Ewins, R., 1992. *Colour, Class and Custom: the Literature of the 1987 Fiji Coup*. Regime Change and Regime Maintenance in Asia and the Pacific Discussion Paper 9, Department of Political and Social Change, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
- Feith, H., 1962. *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*. Ithaca: Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University.
- Finer, S.E., 1962. *The Man on Horseback: The Role of the Military in Politics*. London: Pall Mall.
- , 1974. *Comparative Government*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- , 1978. 'The military and politics in the Third World', in W.S. Thompson (ed.), *The Third World: Premises of U.S. Policy*. San Francisco: Institute of Contemporary Studies, pp. 75-114.
- , 1982. 'The morphology of military regimes', in R. Kolkowicz and A. Korbonski

- (eds), *Soldiers, Peasants and Bureaucrats. Civil-Military Relations in Communist and Modernizing Societies*, London: George Allen & Unwin, pp. 281-309.
- , 1985. 'The retreat to the barracks: notes on the practice and the theory of military withdrawal from the seats of power', *Third World Quarterly* 7(1):16-30.
- , 1991. 'Military regimes', in V. Bogdanor (ed.), *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Science*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 366-7.
- First, R., 1970. *The Barrel of a Gun: Political Power in Africa and the Coup d'Etat*. London: Allen Lane.
- Fitch, I.S., 1989. 'Military professionalism, national security and democracy: lessons from the Latin American experience', *Pacific Focus* 4(2):99-147.
- Gallie, W.B., 1956. 'IX. Essentially contested concepts', *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 56:167-98.
- Gastil, R.D., 1985. 'The past, present, and future of democracy', *Journal of International Affairs* 38(2):161-179.
- Goodman, L.W., 1990. 'The military and democracy: an introduction', in L.W. Goodman, J.S.R. Mendelson and J. Rial (eds), *The Military and Democracy. The Future of Civil-Military Relations in Latin America*, Lexington: Lexington Books, pp. xiii-xx.
- Goodman, L.W., Mendelson, J.S.R. and Rial J. (eds), 1990. *The Military and Democracy. The Future of Civil-Military Relations in Latin America*. Lexington: Lexington Books.
- Gow, J., 1991. *Legitimacy and the Military: The Yugoslav Crisis*. London: Pinter.
- Griffin, J., 1976. 'Secessionist movements and their future in Papua New Guinea', *World Review* 15(1):23-36.
- Grundy, K.W., 1968. *Conflicting Images of the Military in Africa*. Short Studies and Reprint Series, No. 3. Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Makerere University College.
- Guyot, J.F., 1974. 'Ethnic segmentation in military organizations: Burma and Malaysia', in C.McA. Kelleher (ed.), *Political-Military Systems. Comparative Perspectives*. Beverly Hills: Sage, pp. 27-37.
- Guyot, J.F. and Willner, R.A. (eds), 1970. *Journal of Comparative Administration* 2 (special issue).
- Hadenius, A., 1992. *Democracy and Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hakes, J.E., 1973. *Weak Parliaments and Military Coups in Africa: A Study in Regime Instability*. Sage Research Papers in the Social Sciences. Comparative Legislative Studies Series 90-004 Vol. 1.
- Halpern, M., 1963. *The Politics of Social Change in the Middle East and North Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hansen, H.B., 1977. *Ethnicity and Military Rule in Uganda. A Study of Ethnicity as a Political Factor in Uganda*. Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.
- Harries-Jenkins, G. and van Doorn, J. (eds), 1976. *The Military and the Problem of Legitimacy*. London: Sage.
- Hastings, P., 1969. *New Guinea. Problems and Prospects*. Melbourne: Cheshire.
- , 1971. 'Thoughts on Taurama. The myth of a "non-political army"', *New Guinea* 6(1):28-32.
- Hawes, G., 1989. 'Aquino and her administration: a view from the countryside', *Pacific Affairs* 62(1):9-28.
- Heatu, Basita, 1967. 'New Guinea's coming army', *New Guinea* 2(3):32-33.

- Heeger, G.A., 1977. 'Politics in the post-military state: some reflections on the Pakistani experience', *World Politics* 29(2):242-62.
- Hegarty, D., 1978. 'Political chronicle: Papua New Guinea', *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 24(3):401-08.
- Heinz, W.S., Pfennig, W. and King, V.T., 1990. *The Military in Politics: Southeast Asian Experiences*. Centre for South-East Asian Studies, The University of Hull.
- Hernandez, C.G., 1985. 'Constitutional authoritarianism and the prospects of democracy in the Philippines', *Journal of International Affairs* 38(2):243-258.
- Herspring, D.R. and Volgyes, I. (eds), 1978. *Civil-Military Relations in Communist Systems*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Hewison, K., Robison, R. and Rodan, G. (eds), 1993. *Southeast Asia in the 1990s: Authoritarianism, Democracy and Capitalism*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- Hoadley, J.S., 1975. *Soldiers and Politics: Civil-Military Relations in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company.
- Hong, D.S., 1990. 'Min'gun kwan'gye-ui pyonhwa-wa chonmang', *Sasang* 2(3): 105-142.
- Horowitz, D.L., 1980. *Coup Theories and Officers Motives. Sri Lanka in Comparative Perspective*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- , 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Huntington, S.P., 1957. *The Soldier and the State. The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press.
- , 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- , 1991. 'How countries democratize', *Political Science Quarterly* 106(4): 597-616.
- Hussey, G., 1968. 'Army civic action', *Australian External Territories* 8(6):31-34.
- Im, H.B., 1987. 'The rise of bureaucratic-authoritarianism in South Korea', *World Politics* 39(2):231-257.
- International Human Rights Law Group, 1990. *Post-Election Myanmar: A Popular Mandate Withheld*. Washington: International Human Rights Law Group.
- Jackman, R.W., 1976. 'Politicians in uniform: military governments and social change in the Third World', *American Political Science Review* 70(4):1078-96.
- Jahan, R., 1972. *Pakistan: Failure in National Integration*. Dhaka: University Press.
- Janowitz, M., 1964. *The Military in the Political Development of New Nations: An Essay in Comparative Analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- , 1971. 'The comparative analysis of Middle Eastern military institutions', in M. Janowitz and J. van Doorn (eds), *On Military Intervention*, Rotterdam: Rotterdam University Press, pp. 301-333.
- , 1977. *Military Institutions and Coercion in the Developing Nations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jenkins, D., 1984. *Suharto and his Generals: Indonesian Military Politics 1975-1983*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Johansen, R.C., 1992. 'Military policies and the state system as impediments to democracy', *Political Studies* 40 (special issue):99-115.
- Johnson, J.J., (ed.), 1962. *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade (JCFADT), The Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1989-91. Hearings. Canberra: Official Hansard Reports.
- , 1991. *Australia's Relations with Papua New Guinea*. Canberra: Senate Publishing and Printing Unit.
- Kabwegyere, T.B., 1974. *The Politics of State Formation: The Nature and Effects of Colonialism in Uganda*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.
- Kahin, G. McT., 1952. *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Kang, M., 1983. 'Kwallyojok kwonwi chui-ui han'gukjok saengsong', *Han'guk Chongch'i Hakoebō* 17.
- Kelleher, C.McA. (ed.), 1974. *Political-Military Systems. Comparative Perspectives*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Kennedy, C.H. and Louscher, D.J. (eds), 1991. *Civil Military Interaction in Asia and Africa*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Khan, F.M., 1963. *The Story of the Pakistan Army*. Lahore: Oxford University Press.
- Khin Yi, 1988. *The Dobama Movement in Burma (1930-1938)*. Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University.
- Kim, J.H., 1978. *The Garrison State in Pre-War Japan and Post-War Korea: A Comparative Analysis of Military Politics*. Washington: University Press of America.
- Kim, S.I., 1992. 'Yukigu ch'onya-ui kobaek', *Wolkan Ch'oson* (1): 292-396.
- Kim, S.J., 1971. *The Politics of Military Revolution in Korea*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Kim, Y.M., 1985. 'The political economy of military rule: a comparative study of Brazil, South Korea, Peru, and Egypt', unpublished doctoral dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo.
- , 1986. 'Han'guk-ui chongch'i pyondong-kwa Yusin ch'eje', in Korean Political Science Association (ed.), *Hyondaie Han'guk Chongch'i-wa Kukka*. Seoul: Popmunsa.
- Koenig, W., 1990. *The Burmese Polity, 1752-1819*. Ann Arbor: Michigan Papers on South and Southeast Asia, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies. University of Michigan, Number 34.
- Kolkowicz, R. and Korbonski, A. (eds), 1982. *Soldiers, Peasants and Bureaucrats. Civil-Military Relations in Communist and Modernising Societies*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Lal, B., 1988. *Power and Prejudice: The Making of the Fiji Crisis*. Wellington: New Zealand Institute of International Affairs.
- Lapitan, A.E., 1989. 'The re-democratisation of the Philippines: old wine in a new bottle', *Asian Profile* 17(3):235-242.
- Lawson, S., 1990a. *Constitutional Change in Contemporary Fiji: The Apparatus of Ideological Justification*. Peace Research Centre, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Working Paper No. 93.
- , 1990b. 'The myth of cultural homogeneity and its implications for chiefly power and politics in Fiji', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32 (4): 795-821.
- , 1991. *The Failure of Democratic Politics in Fiji*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- , 1993. 'Conceptual issues in the comparative study of regime change and democratization', *Comparative Politics* 25(2):183-205.
- Lee, H.B., 1968. *Korea: Time, Change, and Administration*. Honolulu: East-West Center Press.
- Lee, J.M., 1969. *African Armies and Civil Order*. London: Chatto and Windus.
- Lefever, E., 1970. *Spear and Scepter: Army Police and Politics in Tropical Africa*. Washington: The Brookings Institution.
- Legge, J.D., 1972. *Sukarno: A Political Biography*. London: Allen Lane.
- Lifschultz, L., 1979. *Bangladesh: The Unfinished Revolution*. London: Zed Books.
- Lintner, B., 1989. *Outrage: Burma's Struggle for Democracy*. Hong Kong: Review Publishing.
- Linz, J.J. and Stepan, A. (eds), 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Liria, Y.A., 1993. *Bougainville Diary*. Melbourne: Indra Publishing.
- Lissak, M., 1976. *Military Roles in Modernisation: Civil-Military Relations in Thailand and Burma*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Lloyd, P.C., 1973. *Classes, Crises and Coups*. London: Paladin.
- Lovell, J.P., 1975. 'The military and politics in postwar Korea', in E.R. Wright (ed.), *Korean Politics in Transition*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Lowenthal, A.F., 1974. 'Armies and politics in Latin America', *World Politics* 27(1): 107-30.
- Luckham, A.R., 1971. 'A comparative typology of civil-military relations', *Government and Opposition* 6(1):5-35.
- , 1979. 'Militarism and international dependence: a framework for analysis', in J.J. Villamil (ed.), *Transnational Capitalism and National Development. New Perspectives on Dependence*, Hassocks: Harvester Press, pp. 145-82.
- , 1991. 'Introduction: the military, the developmental state and social forces in Asia and the Pacific: issues for comparative analysis', in V. Selochan (ed.), *The Military, the State, and Development in Asia and the Pacific*, Boulder: Westview Press, pp. 1-49.
- Lynch, P.R., 1969. 'The coming army', *New Guinea* 4(1):21-23.
- Maniruzzaman, T., 1976. 'Bangladesh in 1975: the fall of the Mujib regime and its aftermath', *Asian Survey* 16(2):119-29.
- Maung, M., 1959. *Burma's Constitution*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- May, R.J., 1990. 'Papua New Guinea's Bougainville crisis', *The Pacific Review* 3(2): 174-77.
- , 1992. *Vigilantes in the Philippines: from Fanatical Cults to Citizens' Organisations*. Philippine Studies Occasional Paper No. 12. Centre for Philippine Studies, University of Hawai'i at Manoa.
- , 1993. *The Changing Role of the Military in Papua New Guinea*. Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence No. 101. Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
- , 1994. 'The study of regime change and regime maintenance in Asia and the Pacific: a tentative agenda', *Regime Change and Regime Maintenance in Asia and the Pacific. Discussion Paper 1*. Department of Political and Social Change, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.
- (ed.), 1982. *Micronationalist Movements in Papua New Guinea*. Political and

- Social Change Monograph 1. Canberra: Department of Political and Social Change, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
- May, R.J. and Spriggs, M. (eds), 1990. *The Bougainville Crisis*. Bathurst: Crawford House Press.
- Mazrui, A.A., 1976. 'Soldiers as traditionalizers: military rule and the re-Africanization of Africa', *World Politics* (2):246-72.
- McKinlay, R.D. and Cohan, A.S., 1975. 'A comparative analysis of the political and economic performance of military and civilian regimes: a cross-national aggregate study', *Comparative Politics* 8(1):1-30.
- , 1976. 'Performance and instability in military and non-military regime systems', *American Political Science Review* 70(3):850-864.
- Mench, P., 1975. *The Role of the Papua New Guinea Defence Force*. Development Studies Centre Monograph No. 2. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Mendelson, E.M., 1975. *Sangha and State in Burma*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Mohamad, G., 1989. 'The 'Manikebu Affair': literature and politics in the 1960s', *Prisma* 46:70-88.
- Mokis, S.P., 1988. 'A Papua New Guinea security viewpoint and its implications on PNG/Australia relations'. Paper presented to Bicentennial Conference, 'Australia and the World: Prologue and Prospects', Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.
- Morrison, I., 1947. *Grandfather Longlegs*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Mountbatten, L., 1960. *Report to the Combined Chiefs of Staff by the Supreme Allied Commander, Southeast Asia 1943-1945*. New Delhi: English Book Store.
- Needler, M.C., 1980. 'The military withdrawal from power in South America', *Armed Forces and Society* 6(4):614-24.
- Nelson, H., 1972. *Papua New Guinea. Black Unity or Black Chaos?* Ringwood Vic.: Penguin Books.
- Nordlinger, E.A., 1970. 'Soldiers in mufti: the impact of military rule upon economic and social change in the non-Western states', *American Political Science Review* 64(4):431-48.
- , 1977. *Soldiers in Politics: Military Coups and Governments*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Norton, R., 1990. *Race and Politics in Fiji*. Second edition. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
- Nugroho, Notosusanto, 1980. *The National Struggle and the Armed Forces in Indonesia*. Jakarta: Centre for Armed Forces History, Department of Defence.
- Nun, J., 1967. 'The middle-class military coup', in C. Véliz (ed.), *The Politics of Conformity in Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 66-118.
- , 1986. 'The middle class military coup revisited', in A.F. Lowenthal and J.S. Fitch (eds), *Armies and Politics in Latin America*, New York: Holmes and Meier, pp. 59-95.
- O'Donnell, G.A., 1973. *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism. Studies in South American Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- , 1979. 'Tensions in the bureaucratic-authoritarian state and the question of democracy', in D. Collier (ed.), *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 285-318.
- O'Donnell, G.A., Schmitter, P.C. and Whitehead, L. (eds), 1986. *Transitions from Autho-*

- ritarian Rule*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- O'Neill, R.J., 1971. 'The army in Papua-New Guinea', *New Guinea* 6(1):6-27.
- Olewale, E., 1972. 'The impact of national institutions on village communities', in M.W. Ward (ed.), *Change and Development in Rural Melanesia*. Canberra: The University of Papua and New Guinea and the Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, pp. 219-24.
- Oliver, D., 1991. *Black Islanders. A Personal Perspective of Bougainville 1937-1991*. Melbourne: Hyland House.
- Olsen, E.A. and Jurika, S., 1986. *The Armed Forces in Contemporary Asian Societies*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Overholt, W.H., 1986. 'The rise and fall of Ferdinand Marcos', *Asian Survey* 26(11): 1137-63.
- Papua New Guinea, Independent State of, 1991. *Government Paper. Security for Development. Integrating the Government's Response to the National Summit on Crime into a Comprehensive and Planned Approach to Law and Order*. Port Moresby: Acting Government Printer.
- Park, C.H., 1978. *Korea Reborn: A Model for Development*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Perlmutter, A., 1977. *The Military and Politics in Modern Times* New Haven: Yale University Press.
- , 1980. 'The comparative analysis of military regimes: formations, aspirations, and achievements', *World Politics* 33(1):96-120.
- , 1981. *Political Roles and Military Rulers*. London: Frank Cass.
- , 1982. 'Civil-military relations in socialist authoritarian and praetorian states: prospects and retrospects', in R. Kolkowicz and A. Korbonski (eds), *Soldiers, Peasants and Bureaucrats. Civil-Military Relations in Communist and Modernizing Societies*, London: George Allen & Unwin, pp. 310-31.
- Philip, C.H., 1962. *The Evolution of India and Pakistan*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Premdas, R.R., 1974. 'A non-political army', *New Guinea* 9(1):29-37.
- Pye, L., 1962. 'Armies in the process of political modernisation', in J.J. Johnson (ed.), *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 80-89.
- , 1966. *Aspects of Political Development*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Rapoport, D. C., 1982. 'The praetorian army: insecurity, venality, and impotence', in R. Kolkowicz and A. Korbonski (eds), *Soldiers, Peasants, and Bureaucrats. Civil-Military Relations in Communist and Modernizing Societies*, London: George Allen & Unwin, pp. 252-80.
- Reyes, L., 1988. 'The Philippines constitutional system', in J.Barton Starr (ed.), *The United States Constitution: Its Birth, Growth and Influence in Asia*. Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, 259-73.
- Rial, J., 1990a. 'The armed forces and the question of democracy in Latin America', in L.W. Goodman, J.S.R. Mendelson and J. Rial (eds), *The Military and Democracy. The Future of Civil-Military Relations in Latin America*, Lexington: Lexington Books, pp. 3-21.
- , 1990b. 'The armed forces and democracy: the interests of Latin American military corporations in sustaining democratic regimes', in L.W. Goodman, J.S.R. Mendel-

- son and J. Rial (eds), *The Military and Democracy. The Future of Civil-Military Relations in Latin America*, Lexington: Lexington Books, pp. 277-95.
- Riggs, F., 1964. *Administration in Developing Countries: the Theory of Prismatic Society*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin.
- Rizvi, H.A. 1986. *The Military and Politics in Pakistan*. Lahore: Progressive Publishers.
- , 1989. 'The legacy of military rule in Pakistan', *Survival* 31(3):255-68.
- Robertson, R. and Tamanisau, A., 1988. *Fiji: Shattered Coups*. Leichardt: Pluto Press.
- Rouquié, A., 1987. *The Military and the State in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rudolph, L., and Rudolph, S. H., 1964. 'Generals and politicians in India', *Pacific Affairs* 37:1:5-19.
- Saffu, Y., 1988. 'Political chronicle: Papua New Guinea', *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 34(2):250-62.
- , 1990. 'Changing civil-military relations in Fiji', *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 44(2):159-170.
- Salim, Said, 1991. *Genesis of Power: General Sudiman and the Indonesian Military in Politics 1945-9*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Samudavanija Chai-Anan and Bunbongkarn, S., 1985. 'Thailand', in H.A. Zakaria and H. Crouch, eds, *Military-Civilian Relations in South-East Asia*. Singapore: Oxford University Press, pp. 78-117.
- Sanday, J., 1989. *The Military in Fiji: Historical Development and Future Role*. Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Working Paper No. 201.
- , 1991. 'The politicisation of military professionalism in Fiji', in V. Selochan (ed.), *The Military, the State and Development in Asia and the Pacific*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Sarkesian, S., 1981. *Beyond the Battlefield: The New Military Professionalism*. New York: Pergamon.
- Scarr, D., 1988. *Fiji: The Politics of Illusion: The Military Coups in Fiji*. Kensington: New South Wales University Press.
- Schmitter, P.C., 1971. 'Military intervention, political competitiveness and public policy in Latin America: 1950-1967', in M. Janowitz and J. van Doorn (eds), *On Military Intervention*, Rotterdam: Rotterdam University Press, pp. 425-506.
- (ed.), 1973. *Military Rule in Latin America: Function, Consequences, and Perspectives*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Seitz, S.T., 1991. 'The military in Black African politics', in C.H. Kennedy and D.J. Louscher (eds), *Civil Military Interaction in Asia and Africa*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, pp. 61-75.
- Selochan, V., 1989. *Could the Military Govern the Philippines?* Quezon City: New Day Publishers.
- , 1990. 'Professionalization and politicization of the armed forces of the Philippines'. Unpublished PhD thesis, Australian National University.
- , 1991a. 'The armed forces of the Philippines and political instability', in V. Selochan (ed.), *The Military, the State, and Development in Asia and the Pacific*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- (ed.), 1991b. *The Military, the State, and Development in Asia and the Pacific*. Boulder: Westview Press.

- Selth, A., 1989. *Death of a Hero: The U Thant Disturbances in Burma, December 1974*. Griffith University, Centre for the Study of Australia-Asia Relations, Australia-Asia Paper 49.
- Sharma, D., 1990. 'The making of a Fijian military man', *Islands Business*, November.
- Shils, E., 1962. 'The military in the political development of new states', in J.J. Johnson (ed.), *The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 7-68.
- Silverstein, J., 1956. 'Politics, parties and the national election in Burma', *Far Eastern Survey* 25:177-184.
- , 1964. 'First steps on the Burmese way to socialism', *Asian Survey* 4(2):716-722.
- , 1972. *The Political Legacy of Aung San*. Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Department of Asian Studies, Cornell University.
- , 1977. *Burma: Military Rule and the Politics of Stagnation*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- , 1980. *Burmese Politics: The Dilemma of National Unity*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- , 1982. 'Burma in 1981: The changing of the guardians begins', *Asian Survey* 22(2):180-90.
- , 1992. 'Burma in an international perspective', *Asian Survey* 32(10):951-63.
- Simutupang, T.B., 1989. 'Indonesia: leadership and national security', in M. Ayooob and Chai-Anan Samudavanija (eds), *Leadership Perceptions and National Security*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, pp. 110-141.
- Sinclair, J. 1990. *To Find a Path. The Life and Times of the Royal Pacific Islands Regiment. Volume I - Yesterday's Heroes 1885-1950*. Brisbane: Boolarong Publications.
- , 1992. *To Find a Path. The Papua New Guinea Defence Force and the Australians to Independence. Volume II - Keeping the Peace 1950-1975*. Bathurst: Crawford House Press.
- Snitwongse, K., 1990. 'From armed suppression to political offensive: attitudinal transformation of Thai military officers since 1976', *Conflict* 10: 91, 93-4, 103.
- Soedjati, Djwandono J. and Yong, Mun Cheong (eds), 1988. *Soldiers and Stability in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Sohn, H.K., 1989. *Authoritarianism and Opposition in South Korea*. London: Routledge.
- Spriggs, M., 1992. 'Bougainville update: August 1990 to May 1991', in M. Spriggs and D. Denoon (eds), *The Bougainville Crisis. 1991 Update*. Political and Social Change Monograph 16. Canberra: Department of Political and Social Change, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, in association with Crawford House Press, Bathurst, pp. 8-41.
- Spriggs, M. and Denoon, D. (eds), 1992. *The Bougainville Crisis. 1991 Update*. Political and Social Change Monograph 16. Canberra: Department of Political and Social Change, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, in association with Crawford House Press, Bathurst.
- Stepan, A., 1973. 'The new professionalism of internal warfare and military role expansion', in A. Stepan (ed.), *Authoritarian Brazil: Origins, Policies, Future*, New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 47-68.
- Stepan, A., 1978. *The State and Society: Peru in Comparative Perspective*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Stepan, A., 1988. *Rethinking Military Politics. Brazil and the Southern Cone*. Princeton:

- Princeton University Press.
- Suharto, 1989. *Soeharto: Pikiran, Ucapan, dan Tindakan Saya: Otobiografi* (seperti dipaparkan kepada G. Dwipayana dan Ramadhan K.H.). Jakarta: Citra Lamtoro Gung Persada.
- Sundhaussen, U., 1973a. 'New Guinea's army. A political role?', *New Guinea* 8(2):29-39.
- , 1973b. 'Australia's future defence relations with Papua New Guinea: a second look', *Australia's Neighbours* February-March 6-7.
- , 1982. *The Road to Power: Indonesian Military Politics 1945-1967*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- , 1984. 'Military withdrawal from government responsibility', *Armed Forces and Society* 10(4):543-62.
- , 1985. 'The durability of military regimes in South-East Asia', in H.A. Zakaria and H. Crouch (eds), *Military-Civilian Relations in South-East Asia*, Singapore: Oxford University Press, pp. 269-86.
- Sørensen, G., 1993. *Democracy and Democratization. Processes and Prospects in a Changing World*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Thee, M., 1980. 'Militarism and militarisation in contemporary international relations', in A. Eide and M. Thee (eds), *Problems of Contemporary Militarism*. London: Croom Helm.
- Thompson, W.R., 1973 *The Grievances of Military Coup Makers*. Beverley Hills: Sage Professional Papers.
- , 1975. 'Regime vulnerability and the military coup', *Comparative Politics* 7(4):459-488.
- Tinker, H., 1961. *The Union of Burma*. Third edition. London: Oxford University Press.
- Valenzuela, A., 1985. 'A note on the military and social science theory', *Third World Quarterly* 7(1):132-43.
- Van Gils, M.R. (ed.), 1971. *The Perceived Role of the Military*. Rotterdam: Rotterdam University Press.
- Varas, A., 1990. 'Civil-military relations in a democratic framework', in L.W. Goodman, J.S.R. Mendelson and J. Rial (eds), *The Military and Democracy. The Future of Civil-Military Relations in Latin America*, Lexington: Lexington Books, pp. 199-218.
- Vatikiotis, M., 1987. 'Marching to a new drummer', *Far Eastern Economic Review* 26 November 1987: 35.
- Von Clausewitz, C. (ed. A. Rapoport), 1832/1968. *On War*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Von der Mehden, F.R., 1964. *Politics of the Developing Nations*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Warubu, Kokou, 1968. 'That army again!', *New Guinea* 3(2):8-10.
- Welch, C.E., 1971. 'Cincinnatus in Africa: the possibility of military withdrawal from politics', in M. Lofchie (ed.), *The State of Nations: Constraints on Development in Independent Africa*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 215-238.
- , 1974a. 'Personalism and corporatism in African armies', in C.McA. Kelleher (ed.), *Political-Military Systems. Comparative Perspectives*. Beverley Hills: Sage, pp. 125-145.
- , 1974b. 'The dilemma of military withdrawal from politics: some considerations from tropical Africa', *African Studies Review* 17(1):213-28.
- Wurfel, D., 1989. 'The Philippines' precarious democracy: coping with foreign and domestic pressures', *International Journal* 14(3): 676-697.

- Yoon, W.Z., 1973. *Japan's Scheme for the Liberation of Burma: The Role of the Minami Kikan and the 'Thirty Comrades.'* Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, Southeast Asia Program, Papers in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series, No. 27.
- Zagorski, P.W., 1992. *Democracy vs. National Security: Civil-Military Relations in Latin America.* Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Zakaria, H.A. and Crouch, H. (eds), 1985. *Military-Civilian Relations in South-East Asia.* Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- Zolberg, A., 1968. 'The structure of political conflict in the new states of tropical Africa', *American Political Science Review* 62:70-87.
- Zuk, G. and Thompson, W.R., 1982. 'The post-coup military spending question', *American Political Science Review* 76(1):60-74.