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PSC 395.01: Third World and International Security

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THE UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA
POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT
PSC 395: Third World and International Security
Fall 1996-1997

Professor: Olatunde Ojo Class: LA 337, MWF 12:10-1 pm
Office: LA 354, Phone X4418 Office Hours: MT 1:10-2:40 pm

Course Objective

With the end of the Cold War, it is increasingly clear that attribution of Third World crises and violence to ideological battles was wrong. Today the Third World is fast becoming the exclusive arena of conflict. Is the Western world right in taking it for granted that the world of the post-Cold-War period is a more secure place except the backwater of the Third World? Should the West simply regard these Third World conflicts as being only of a nuisance value? Pity the affected peoples and intervene there on humanitarian grounds? Or simply let them stew in their own juice? Or should we see the insecurity of the Third World as a source of insecurity for the West, demanding collective, global solution, and if so, what kinds of solutions will work, which ones will not? Answers to these questions demand first of all our understanding of the nature and sources (internal and external) of Third World conflict and how they impact on the international system and affect others. Secondly, they demand that we see the nature of threats to security as dramatically transformed, compelling commensurate dramatic revisions in security concepts and security planning. The objective of the course is to introduce students to these issues, to increase their understanding and to let them reflect on the idea that security is increasingly less a matter of arms than of cooperation to eradicate or attenuate global insecurity at its source -- global poverty in the midst of plenty.

Course Description and Format

The course begins with the discussion of the concept of security, western and non-western perceptions of threats to security, and the meaning and sources (systemic and internal) of the insecurity dilemma in the Third World. Then we examine the impacts of Third World insecurity dilemma on international and global security, paying particular attention to the role and impact of the strategies adopted to overcome insecurity. Of interest here are adversarial/conflictual approaches reflected in irredentism and secessionism, in the non-aligned movement and in paradoxical dependent militarization.

Attention is then turned to the search for accommodative and cooperative solutions to the emergent global insecurity. Here we examine the strengths and weaknesses of global, regional and sub-regional collective security, the UN conflict management role and possibilities, regulation of arms production and transfers, the idea of cooperative security, promotion of democracy and human rights, and the notion of global governance.

The last three weeks of the semester will be devoted to the presentation and discussion of term papers.

The course will be organized as a discussion seminar. After the initial preliminaries, students will take turns leading discussions on key issues, concepts and themes from the assigned readings for the relevant class sessions. The discussion leader launches the discussion by presenting a summary of the readings and posing the key issues. Discussion leaders are not expected to answer all questions in their presentations; their task is to identify important issues and areas of controversy for discussion. Meaningful discussion and rewarding class sessions can only occur if we all faithfully do the assigned readings when due; otherwise we would only be exchanging ignorance and have boring sessions. Everyone is therefore responsible for the material assigned for each session. The oral summary by the discussion leader is only a convenient way of launching the discussion, not a substitute for a careful reading of the materials.

In addition to leading class discussions in turns, each student will also write and present a term paper, a learning tool. The paper, on a topic of your own choosing, is expected to break new ground, i.e. go beyond the assigned class readings and discussions. It may cover topics left out or insufficiently covered in the course, e.g. international terrorism or the Timorese struggle against Indonesia. Or it may examine the interventionist policy of a great power in a specific country or sub-region, or the role of a particular group or NGO in bringing about such a policy. It may deal with the position of a country or sub-region on particular security issues or conflicts. The possibilities are unlimited.

Class presentation of the term papers will begin about the Thanksgiving period. It will follow essentially the same format as the earlier presentations. The final draft incorporating relevant comments and suggestions from the class discussion will be due not later than 72 hours after the class presentation.

Evaluation

There will be three components to the course evaluation. The first component comprising 30 percent will be based on your classroom performance, including the quality of class discussions you lead, and your general contributions to other class sessions. To assure this quality, short (no more than three pages at the most) reaction papers to some of the readings will be required and will constitute a part of the evaluation. Obviously, your regular attendance will also count, perhaps as much as ten percent.

The second component, also 30 percent, is a mid-term exam. The third component, the term paper, will be evaluated for its quality and the oral presentation (40 percent). There will be no final exam.

Texts

The basic texts are: Mohammed Ayoob, The Third World Security Predicament; Mahmood Monshipouri, Democratization, Liberalization and Human Rights in the Third World; Frederick Pearson, The Global Spread of Arms; and The Commission on Global Governance, Our Global Neighborhood.

Course Outline

PART I: Third World (In)security Dilemma

WEEK 1 Nature & Sources of Third World Insecurity

- Sept. 4 Introduction
Sept. 6 Is there a new world order?

WEEK 2 Expanding Concept of Security: (In)security Dilemma

- Sept. 9 Security in the New World Order: Two Contrasting Perspectives
Sept. 11 Nature and dimensions of Security: Problems in definition and utility.

Readings: Ayooob, The Third World Security Predicament, chp 1, pp 1-12; Gareth Porter, "Environmental Security as a National Security Issue" (R); "Redefining Security: The Human Dimension" (R).

- Sept. 13 Security as Power Discourse

Further readings: Brian L. Job, ed. The Insecurity Dilemma, pp. 1-12; James N. Roseneau, "Security in a Turbulent World," Current History, May 1995.

WEEK 3 Why Third World Insecurity Dilemma?

- Sept. 16 Discussion of Robert Kaplan's "The Coming Anarchy," Atlantic Monthly Feb. 1994 (R)
Sept. 18 Sources of Third World insecurity: state-building and weak-state idea

Readings: Ayooob chp 1, pp 12-16; chp 2.;
Further reading: Job, ed. pp 19-35.

- Sept. 20 Systemic impact on state-building & insecurity: the Middle-East example.

Reading: Ayooob, chp 4.

Further reading: Korany et. al. Many Faces of National Security, Ayooob's chp, pp 26-52

PART II: Impact of Third World Insecurity on International Security

WEEK 4 Impact of Strategies to Overcome Insecurity: Intertwining of intra-state and inter-state conflicts.

- Sept. 23 Discussion of Matthew Connelly's & Paul Kennedy's "Must It Be the Rest Against the West?" Atlantic Monthly Dec. 1994 (R)

- Sept 25 Irredentist strategy and Regional Insecurity: the example of Kuwait and Kashmir; the problem of regional power centers.

Readings: Ayooob chp 3, pp 47-61

Suggested readings: Mehran Nakhjavani, "Resources, Wealth and Security: The Case of Kuwait" (R). Ashutosh Varshney, "India, Pakistan & Kashmir: Antimonies of Nationalism" (R).

Sept. 27 Secessionist strategy and international conflict: the Sri Lankan and the Kurdish experience.

Readings: Sankaran Krishna, "A Fatal Convergence: India & Sri Lanka," Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 15,4 (Winter 1992), pp 267-282 (R). Robert Olson, "The Kurdish Question in the Aftermath of the Gulf War," Third World Quarterly 13,3 (1992): pp. 475-499 (R).

Further readings: P. V. Rao, "Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka: India's Role" (R).

WEEK 4 Secession and Irredentism continued

Sept. 30 Islamic nationalism in the former Soviet Union

Reading: Ayooob, chp 7, pp 139-145.

Suggested reading: Shireen Hunter, "The Muslim Republics of Former Soviet Union: Policy Challenges for US" (R).

Oct. 2 External Involvement and prospects for successful secession: Some common assumptions

Further reading: Alexis Heraclides, "Secessionist Minorities and External Involvement" International Organization 44,3 (1990);

Oct. 4 Discussion of Ted Robert Gurr's, "Communal Conflicts & Global Security" (R).

WEEK 6 Impact of The Non-Aligned Strategy: Concert of Weak States

Oct. 7 Non-alignment and Third World security: the economic and political agenda
Readings: Ayooob, ch 5, esp. pp 102-105.

Oct. 9 Discussion of Samuel P. Huntington's "A Clash of Civilizations?" (R).

Oct. 11 Discussion of A clash of civilization cont'd

WEEK 7 Impact of Adversarial-Conflictual Approach: the Dependent Militarization Strategy

Oct. 14 Dependent militarization: meaning and systemic determinants

Readings: Ayooob, pp 93-102. Also, Pearson, The Global Spread of Arms, Introduction & ch 1

Oct 16 Arms transfers and acquisition - a discussion of supply and distribution trends, and the extent and reasons for excess production

Reading: Pearson, ch 2.

Further reading: Amit Gupta, "Third World Militaries: New Supplies, Deadlier Weapons," Orbis 37,1 (Winter, 1993), pp 57-68.

- Oct. 18 International security implications
Readings: Pearson, ch 3; and Ayoob, ch 7, esp. pp 145-155.

Part 3 - In Search of Solutions to International Insecurity

WEEK 8 Collective security in the new world order?

- Oct. 21 Collective security, the resuscitation of an idea - institutional/operational issues in the Gulf War

Reading: Ayoob, ch 6.

Further reading: Thomas G. Weiss (ed.), Collective Security in a Changing World, chs 1 & 3.

- Oct. 23 The UN and conflict management: peace-making, peace-keeping, and peace-building

Further reading: Harrison & Nishihara, ch 1.

- Oct. 25 Prospects for collective security; The US-Japan treaty and other great power factor.

Further readings: Harrison & Nishihara, chs 2-4.

WEEK 9 Regional organizations and Regional/ national security.

- Oct. 28 The OAS, the OAU and conflict management

Readings: Ayoob, ch 3, pp 56-65 & ch 7, pp 155-158.

Further readings: "Africa's Internal Conflicts: the Search for Response," (the International Peace Academic report, March 1992). Also, "The Organization of African Unity and Conflict Management in Africa," an International Peace Academy report, May 1993.

- Oct. 30 ASEAN, SAARC, & the GCC

Further reading: Job, (ed.), ch 7, "Regionalism and Regime Security in the Third World;" Neil Macfarlane and G. Weiss, "Regional Organizations and Regional Security," Security Studies, 2,1 (Autumn 1992).

- Nov. 1 Inter-state conflicts in West Africa; Nigeria, ECOMOG and Liberia

Reading: Baffour Agyeman-Duah & Olatunde Ojo,

"Interstate Conflicts in West Africa: Reference Group Theory perspective" (R)

Further reading: Job, (ed.) ch 9 on a new role for regional powers. Human Rights Africa Watch special study on Liberia.

WEEK 9 Regulating arms production and arms transfers: reconstituting Third World states

- Nov. 4 Controlling arms transfers: disarmament, non-proliferation, and the Great Powers

Readings: Pearson, chs 4 & 5.

Further reading: Joseph Cirincione, "The Non-proliferation treaty and the nuclear balance," Current History 1995, pp 201-206

Nov. 6 Cooperative security: a preventive medicine?
Further reading: Janne E. Nolan, (ed.) Global Engagement.

Nov. 8 Reconstituting Third World states: the lure of redefining self-determination

Reading: Ayoob, ch 8, esp. pp 165-176.

WEEK 11 Promoting democracy and human rights

Nov. 11 How not to promote democracy and human rights: a critique of the western approach

Reading: Monshipouri, chs 2 & 3.

Further reading: Todd J. Moss, "US Policy and Democratisation in Africa: the Limits of Liberal Universalism," in JMAS 33,2 (1995), pp 189-209.

Nov. 13 Democratization in Algeria and Pakistan

Reading: Monshipouri, chs 4, 5 & 8.

Nov. 15 Democratization in El Salvador and Peru

Reading: Monshipouri, chs 6-8.

WEEK 11 Promoting global governance

Nov. 18 The concept of global governance

Reading: Our Global Neighbourhood, pp 1-7

Nov. 20 Global governance and global security

Reading: Our Global Neighbourhood chp 3, pp77-133

Nov. 22 Global governance and global security, continued

Reading: Our Global Neighbourhood, chps 4 & 5

WEEK 12 Special topics of concern to students

Nov. 25. Presentation of term papers

Nov. 27 Thanksgiving

Nov. 29 " "

WEEK 13 Special topics continued

Dec. 2 Presentation of term papers

Dec. 4 Presentation of term papers

Dec. 6 Presentation of term papers

WEEK 14 Special topics continued

Dec. 9 Presentation of term papers

Dec 11 Presentation of term papers

Dec 13 Presentation of term papers