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Spring 2-1-1996

### PSC 395.01: Third World and International Security

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*The University Of Montana*

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UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA  
POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT  
PSC 395: Third World and International Security  
Spring 1996

Professor: Olatunde Ojo

Office: LA 354 -- Phone: 243-4418

Office Hours: Tues 12-1:30 pm & Wed 1-2 pm

Class meets in LA 337 on MWF 2:10-3 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 security dilemma in the Third World. From the third through the sixth weeks, we examine the impacts of Third World insecurity dilemma on inter-national and global security, paying particular attention to the role and impact of the strategies adopted to overcome insecurity, including irredentist and secessionist strategies, the non-aligned strategy and the dependent militarization strategy. In the seventh through the eleventh weeks we focus on a search for 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, of promoting democracy and human rights, and 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 a week after the Spring break. 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 the day and time scheduled for the final exam of this course.

### 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 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 Selig S. Harrison & Masashi Nishihara, UN Peacekeeping: Japanese and American Perspectives.

## Course Outline

### PART I: Third World (In)security Dilemma

#### WEEK 1 Nature & Sources of Third World Insecurity

- Jan. 29 Introduction  
Jan. 31 Security in the New World Order: Contrasting Perspectives  
Feb. 2 Expanding Concept of Security: Security Dilemma  
Readings: Ayooob, Third World Security Predicament, ch 1, pp 1-12; Gareth Porter, "Environmental Security as a National Security Issue" (R); "Redefining Security: The Human Dimension: (R).

#### WEEK 2 Why Third World Insecurity Dilemma?

- Feb. 5 Discussion of Robert Kaplan's "The Coming Anarchy," Atlantic Monthly Feb. 1994 (R)  
Feb. 7 Sources of Third World insecurity: state-building and weak-state idea  
Feb. 9 Systemic impact on state-building & insecurity  
Readings: Ayooob ch 1, pp 12-16; ch 2.; Robert Kaplan's article

### PART II: Impact of Third World Insecurity on International Security

#### WEEK 3 Impact of Strategies to Overcome Insecurity

- Feb. 12 Discussion of Matthew, Connelly & Paul Kennedy's "Must It Be the Rest Against the West?" Atlantic Monthly Dec. 1994 (R)  
Feb. 14 Irredentist strategy  
Feb. 16 Secessionist strategy  
Readings: Ayooob ch 3; ; & the Atlantic Monthly article. Suggested readings: Robert Olson, "The Kurdish Question in the Aftermath of the Gulf War," Third World Quarterly 13,3 (1992): pp. 475-499 (R). Also: Mehran Nakhjavani, "Resources, Wealth and Security: The Case of Kuwait" (R). Also: P. V. Rao, "Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka: India's Role" (R). Also: Ashutosh Varshney, "India, Pakistan & Kashmir: Antimonies of Nationalism" (R).

#### WEEK 4 Irredentism continued

- Feb. 19 Presidents' Day  
Feb. 21 Islamic nationalism in the former Soviet Union  
Feb. 23 Discussion of Ted Robert Gurr's, "Communal Conflicts & Global Security" (R). Suggested readings: Thomas Goltz, "Letter from EuroAsia: The Hidden Russian Hand" (R). Also: Shireen Hunter, "The Muslim Republics of Former Soviet Union: Policy Challenges for US" (R).

WEEK 5     Impact of The Non-Aligned Strategy

Feb. 26     Economic underpinning of security: food, debt, and asymmetrical interdependence

Feb. 28     Non-alignment and Third World security: the economic agenda

Mar. 1       Test

Readings: Ayooob, ch 5, esp. pp 102-105. Also, Samuel P. Huntington, "A Clash of Civilizations?" (R).

WEEK 6     Impact of Dependent Militarization Strategy

Mar. 4       Dependent militarization meaning, systemic determinants

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

Mar. 6       Arms transfers and acquisition - a discussion of supply and distribution trends, and the extent and reasons for excess production

Reading: Pearson, ch 2.

Mar. 8       International security implications

Readings: Pearson, ch 3; and Ayooob, ch 7, esp. pp 139-155.

Part 3 - In Search of Solutions to International Insecurity

WEEK 7     Collective security in the new world order?

Mar. 11      Collective security, the resuscitation of an idea - institutional/operational issues in the Gulf War

Reading: Ayooob, ch 6 and pp 157-158.

Mar. 13      The UN and conflict management: peace-making, peace-keeping, and peace-building

Readings: Harrison & Nishihara, ch 1.

Mar. 15      The UN peace-keeping: Japanese and American perspectives

Readings: Harrison & Nishihara, chs 2-4.

WEEK 8     Regional organizations in conflict management

Mar. 18      The OAS and the OAU

Readings: Thomas Perry Thornton, "Regional Organizations in Conflict Management" (R); and Ayooob, ch 3, pp 56-65 & ch 7, pp 155-158.

Mar. 20      ASEAN, SAARC, & the GCC

Mar. 22      Nigeria, ECOMOG and Liberia

Reading: Julius Ihonvbere, "Nigeria as Africa's Great Power: Constraints and Prospects for the 1990s" (R).

- WEEK 9     Regulating arms production and arms transfers;  
reconstituting Third World states  
Mar. 25     Controlling arms transfers: disarmament, non-  
             proliferation, and the Great Powers  
             Readings: Ayooob, ch 7, pp 139-155; and Pearson, chs 4 &  
             5.  
Mar. 27     Cooperative security: a preventive medicine?  
Mar. 29     Reconstituting Third World states: the lure of  
             redefining self-determination  
             Reading: Ayooob, ch 8, esp. pp 165-176.

- WEEK 10    Promoting democracy and human rights  
Apr. 1     How not to promote democracy and human rights: a  
             critique of the western approach  
             Reading: Monshipouri, chs 2 & 3.  
Apr. 3     Democratization in Algeria and Pakistan  
             Reading: Monshipouri, chs 4, 5 & 8.  
Apr. 5     Democratization in El Salvador and Peru  
             Reading: Monshipouri, chs 6-8.

April 8 - 12 Spring Break

- WEEK 11    Promoting global governance  
Apr. 15    The concept of global governance  
Apr. 17    Global governance and global security  
Apr. 19    Global governance and global security, continued

- WEEK 12    Special topics of concern to students  
Apr. 22    Presentation of term papers  
Apr. 24    Presentation of term papers  
Apr. 26    Presentation of term papers

- WEEK 13    Special topics continued  
Apr. 29    Presentation of term papers  
May 01    Presentation of term papers  
May 03    Presentation of term papers

- WEEK 14    Special topics continued  
May 06    Presentation of term papers  
May 08    Presentation of term papers  
May 10    Presentation of term papers