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Fall 9-1-1997

### PSC 395.01: Third World and International Security

Olatunde Ojo

*The University Of Montana*

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**THE UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA**  
**POLITICAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT**  
**PSC 395: Third World and International Security**  
**Fall 1997-1998**

Professor: Olatunde Ojo  
Office: LA 354, Phone X4418  
E-mail: ojo@selway.umd.edu

Class: LA 337, MWF 12:10-1 pm  
Office Hours: M 1:10-2:00 or  
by appointment

**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 is organized in six parts. First we examine the question of whether there is a more secure world order today. Next we examine the sources of Third World insecurity and their impact on the international system. In the part three we examine the impact of technology on militarization and of both on international security. The problems of regulating arms production and arms transfers in the post-Cold War era are analysed. In part four we examine global and regional efforts at managing threats to international security. The role of the UN and regional as well as sub-regional organizations in effecting collective security is examined. In part five we critically analyse the prevailing view that international security can be promoted and enhanced by a global insistence on democratization and human rights. The final part of the course is devoted to the presentation 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 (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1995); Mahmood Monshipouri, Democratization, Liberalization and Human Rights in the Third World (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1995); Frederick Pearson, The Global Spread of Arms (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1994). There is also a FacPac and some reading materials on Reserve in the Library.

## Course Outline

### **PART I: Nature & Sources of Threat to International Insecurity**

#### **WEEK 1**

- Sept. 3 Introduction  
Sept. 5 Is there a new, more secure world order? Two contrasting theoretical perspectives.

#### **WEEK 2 The myth of a more secure world order.**

- Sept. 8 Discussion of Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy" and Ted Gurr, "Communal Conflict and global security" both in Facpac and/or Reserve (R)  
Sept. 10 Discussion of Samuel P. Huntington's "A Clash of Civilizations?" (R).  
Sept. 12 Discussion of Matthew Connolly's & Paul Kennedy's "Must It Be the Rest Against the West?" Atlantic Monthly Dec. 1994 (R)

#### **WEEK 3 The concept and dimensions of security: problems in definition and utility**

- Sept 15 Traditional concept of security: security as power discourse  
Suggested readings: Brian L. Job, ed. The Insecurity Dilemma, pp. 1-12; James N. Roseneau, "Security in a Turbulent World," Current History, May 1995.  
Sept 17 Expanding the concept of security: its scope and limitations  
Readings: Ayooob, The Third World Security Predicament, chp 1, pp 1-12; Gareth Porter, "Environmental Security as a National Security Issue" (R); UNDP Human Development Report, "Redefining Security: The Human Dimension" (R).  
Sept 19 Discussion of Clement Adibe, "South and changing notions of security in world politics in the 1990s"

### **Part TWO Sources of and International Security Impact of Third World Insecurity**

#### **WEEK 4**

- Sept. 22 Theoretical Perspectives: weak states, collapsed states and state-building strands  
Sept. 24 and 26: CASE STUDIES of State-building and irredentism: (a) Iraq invasion of Kuwait, (b) the case of Kashmir & (c) East Timor

Readings: Aycoob chp 3, pp 47-61; Mehran Nakhjavani, "Resources, Wealth and Security: The Case of Kuwait" (R). Ashutosh Varshney, "India, Pakistan & Kashmir: Antimonies of Nationalism" (R); Stephen Sherlock, "Political Economy of the East Timor Conflict" Asian Survey 36, 9 (1996):835-851 (R)

**WEEK 5 CASE STUDIES of ethno-religious intolerance and secessionism**

Sept. 29 The Sri Lankan and Malaysian experience.

Readings: Sankaran Krishna, "A Fatal Convergence: India & Sri Lanka," Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 15,4 (Winter 1992), pp 267-282 (R).  
David Camroux, "State Responses to Islamic Resurgence in Malaysia" Asian Survey, 36, 9 (1996):852-868 (R)

- Oct. 1 The Kurdish example  
Robert Olson, "The Kurdish Question in the Aftermath of the Gulf War," Third World Quarterly 13,3 (1992): pp. 475-499 (R).  
Oct. 3 External Involvement and prospects for successful secession: Some common assumptions

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

**WEEK 6 Case Studies 111: Impact of failed states on International security.**

- Oct. 6 Discussion of Shireen Hunter, "The Muslim Republics of Former Soviet Union: Policy Challenges for US" (R).  
Oct. 8 The case of Afghanistan  
Reading: Barnett Rubin, "Post-cold war state disintegration: The failure of international conflict resolution in Afghanistan" Journal of International Affairs 46,2 (1993): 465-492

**PART THREE: Technology, Militarization and Development: Impact on International Security**

- Oct. 10 Impetus and trends in the manufacture and spread of arms  
Readings: Aycoob, pp 93-102. Also, Pearson, The Global Spread of Arms, Introduction & ch 1

**WEEK 7**

- Oct. 13 Arms transfers and acquisition - a discussion of supply and distribution trends, and the extent and reasons for excess production  
Reading: Pearson, ch 2.

Oct. 15 Implications for black (and grey) markets and for international conflicts  
Readings: Pearson, ch 3; and Ayooob, ch 7, esp. pp 145-155.

Oct. 17 Controlling arms transfers: disarmament, non-proliferation, and the Great Powers  
Discussion of Pearson, chs 4

**WEEK 8**

Oct. 20 Discussion of Pearson, chp. 5.

**PART FOUR: Managing Global Chaos**

Oct. 22 Collective Security: The theory and practice  
Oct. 24 Case studies: The UN in Zaire and Afghanistan- a discussion of Michael Schatzberg, "Military intervention and the myth of collective security in Zaire" JMAS, 27,2 (1989):315-340 and Barnett Rubin (see Oct 15) both in facpac and/or reserve.

**WEEK 9**

Oct. 27 Case study cont'd: Discussion of Ramesh Thakur, "From Peacekeeping to Peace enforcement: Un operations in Somalia" JMAS, 32,3 (1994):387-410 (R)

Oct. 29 Conclusions on UN management of global chaos based on case studies-

Oct. 31 Mid-Term

**WEEK 10**

Regional organizations and Regional/ national security.

Nov. 3 Factors that allegedly favor regional organizations in conflict resolution

**CASE STUDIES**

Nov. 5 The OAS and Nicaragua

Nov. 7 Discussion of O. Kamanu's The Secession and self-determination: an OAU dilemma.

**WEEK 11**

Nov. 10 The case of ECOMOG in Liberia and Sierra Leone

Nov. 12 ASEAN & the GCC

Reading: Amitav Acharya, "Regionalism and Regime Security in the Third World: Comparing the origins of ASEAN and the GCC" in Job, (ed.), ch 7 (R)

**PART FIVE Promoting security through democracy and human rights**

Nov. 14 The Case for promoting security through democracy and human rights:

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.

WEEK 12

Nov. 17 Case studies: Democratization in Algeria and Pakistan

Reading: Monshipouri, chs 4, 5 & 8.

Nov. 19 Democratization in El Salvador and Peru

Reading: Monshipouri, chs 6, 7.

Nov 21 General conclusions from the case studies

WEEK 13

Nov 25

Nov 27, 29 Thanksgiving Break

WEEK 14

Dec 1, 3, 5 Presentation of Term Papers

WEEK 15

Dec 8, 10, 12 Presentation of term papers