UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

POL 417 Y 1Y

Global South in International Politics, Summer 2020

Professor: Abbas Gnamo, Ph.D.
Time: Tuesdays and Thursdays, 6:00PM – 8:00PM
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Course description

Through the latest thinking in International Politics, International Political Economy and Security Studies, this seminar endeavors to enhance participants' understanding of domestic politics of the states of the global South and how the internal political dynamics shape their foreign policy behavior and orientations. In the first term, the course will look at the role of the Global South in international politics by analyzing the changing nature of North-South relations since their access to independence to the present. It will critically examine the nature of these complex relations including, but not limited to, dependency and interdependence, the role of "emerging economies" and the extent to which they affect both North-South and South-South cooperation and relations. As part of that, it will look at trade and investment patterns, foreign aid, debt, global poverty alleviation strategies as well as the impact of globalization on the unity and bargaining power of the global South. It will also highlight specific regimes such as democracy and human rights, environmental treaties and protocols, infectious diseases, etc., around which these relations revolve.

In the second term, this offering will mainly focus on the issues of peace and security in the Global south by carefully examining the origins and escalation of numerous civil wars and their consequences, the role of the international community and regional powers in preventing, managing or exacerbating them as well as human security and peace-building in war torn societies and failed/failing states from broader theoretical and comparative perspectives.

Procedure

In the first term the weekly discussion will follow a brief presentation by the instructor of the issues raised in the readings and of the questions that the class should address. Each student will be responsible for weekly readings and active participation in the discussion. Each student will make a brief presentation of one of the required articles during the first term (7-10 minutes). In the second term, following two sessions of general overview, we will examine a series of Third World conflicts and civil wars. Students will be responsible for choosing a case study of civil war and presenting their finding to one of the sessions – the schedule of presentations will be set up by the end of June (20-25 minutes).

Requirements and Evaluation Criteria

Synchronous: Students need to participate in two synchronous online webinar classes every week (Tuesdays 6:00 pm to Thursday, 8:00pm). They need to log into Quercus and use the Blackboard Collaborate option to join the webinar online sessions which include discussions, presentations and Q/A during the online webinar sessions. This requires access to internet on their computer with a microphone to take part in the online class discussion. Web camera is optional, not mandatory. All the required readings, the course outline, assignments and the necessary handouts are posted.

Students are expected to have basic tools including reliable internet access and a webcam to follow discussions transmitted virtually or to make their presentations. Submitting essays and getting access to posted videos and other important info, updates and course reserves require internet access. Participation in virtual discussions and presentations will be expected and the modality will be determined.

Criteria	Evaluation	Due date
Critical Book Review	25%	June 11, 2020
Essay1	25%	July 21, 2020
Major Research paper	40%	August 13, 2020
Participation/presentation	10%	Virtual to be announced

*Late penalty of 4% per working day will apply to all late papers and unjustified delays.

Required and recommended readings are available electronically at U of T libraries and you can access through Quercus, **"Course Reserves"**

1. A critical review of ONE of the following books should be handed in at or before the class of **June 11, 2020 (25%).** The length of the paper is 8-9 pages, double-spaced.

   The following books are recommended for the critical review, and they can be purchased from U of T Bookstore:

   a. K.J. Holsti, *The State, War and the State of War* (Cambridge University Press, 1996).

   b. William Easterly, *The Tyranny of Experts: Economists, Dictators, and the Forgotten Rights of the Poor* (Basic books, 2014)

   c. iii. Paul Collier, *The Bottom billion: Why the poorest countries are failing and what can be done about it* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

2. An essay of not more than 12-13 pages, double spaced (2500 words maximum) must be uploaded before the class of **July 21, 2020 (25%)**. The essay topics for the semester will be posted on May 18, 2020.

3. Lastly, a major research paper of approximately 18-20 pages (3500-4000 words) maximum on a civil war in the countries of the Global south must be handed in at or before the class of **August**

13, 2020. It will account for 40% of the total mark. Major civil wars or intra-state civil conflicts are listed at the end of this outline. Students are expected to choose one of these conflicts unless they want to come up with their own proposal that must be approved.

Please note: Assignment grading will follow the University of Toronto's grading regulations as outlined in the Arts and Science 2006/2007 course calendar (www.artsandscience.utoronto.ca/ofr/calendar). Assignments are due at the beginning of class. Extension may be granted for compassionate and medical reasons. But the request for an extension cannot be made in 48 hours before the due date. A penalty of 4% per working day will be applied to all late assignments up until a *maximum of ten late days, after which late papers will not be accepted except under exceptional circumstances.* Assignments will also not be accepted via email. Late assignments should be delivered to the receptionist's office (Room 3018, Sidney Smith Hall) to be date stamped. Students are strongly advised to keep draft work and hard copies of their essays. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned. Any medical-based assignment extension requests or make-up term test requests will require an official Student Medical Certificate and will require advance notice (www.utoronto.ca/health/forms/medcert.pdf).

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is a most serious academic offense and the offender will be punished. In the academy where the currency of the realm is ideas, to cite someone else's words or thinking without due attribution is theft. It *is not sufficient merely to list your sources in the bibliography or to use only footnotes.* You must ensure that you identify and attribute all of your sources in text, whether you are quoting them directly or paraphrasing them – and every time you cite someone verbatim, you MUST indicate this by the use of quotation marks.
According to the University's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters, it shall be an offence for a student knowingly:

a) to forge or in any way alter or falsify any document or evidence required for admission to the University, or to utter, circulate or make use of any such forged, altered or falsified document, whether the record be in print or electronic form;
b) to use or possess an unauthorized aid or aids or obtain unauthorized assistance in any academic examination or term test or in connection with any other form of academic work;
c) to personate another person, or to have another person personate, at any academic examination or term test or in connection with any other form of academic work;
d) to represent as one's own any idea or expression of an idea or work of another in any academic examination or term test or in connection with any other form of academic work;
e) to submit, without the knowledge and approval of the instructor to whom it is submitted, any academic work for which credit has previously been obtained or is being sought in another course or program of study in the University or elsewhere;
f) To submit for credit any academic work containing a purported statement of fact or reference to a source which has been concocted.

For further information on plagiarism and how to avoid it, please refer to the University's policy at www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html. Students are strongly encouraged to explore the numerous resources available at the "Writing at the University of Toronto" website at www.utoronto.ca/writing

Turnitin

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com website. Students who object to using turnitin may use the following alternative procedure: inform the instructor, in the first two weeks, that they will not be using turnitin and discuss alternative arrangements including submitting a disc with all saved drafts of their paper and handing in all notes, outlines, bibliographic research, etc.

More helpful information

1.   All undergraduate students taking summer courses in the Faculty of Arts and Science are eligible to use any of the five college writing centres that remain open in the summer: Innis College, New College, University College, Victoria College and Woodsworth College Writing Centres. Students may book up to TWO appointments per week. For information about writing centre appointments in the summer session, they may visit http://writing.utoronto.ca/news. To learn more about how writing centres work, they may visit http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/learning.

2. More than 60 Advice files on all aspects of academic writing are available from www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice>. Students benefit from your recommendation of specific material relevant to your course and assignments. Printable PDF versions are listed at www.writing.utoronto.ca/about-this-site/pdf-links<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/about-this-site/pdf-links>.

Please read carefully, "How Not to Plagiarize" and other advice on documentation format and methods of integrating sources. These pages are all listed at www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>.

4. Information about the English Language Learning program (ELL) is available at http://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/current/advising/ell. The non-credit August course ELL010H will take enrolment via ROSI starting in mid to late July. For more information, please contact the ELL Coordinator Leora Freedman at leora.freedman@utoronto.ca<mailto:leora.freedman@utoronto.ca>;

FIRST TERM

COURSE OUTLINE AND READING LIST FOR THE FIRST TERM

Tuesday, May 5, 20120

First class, Introduction, course overview

Thursday, May 7, 2020

The Third World: Does it still exist? Introducing to conceptual framework

Required:

John Ravenhill, "The North-South balance of power," *International Affairs,* vol. 66, no. 4 (1990).

Mark T Berger, "After the Third World? History, destiny and the fate of Third Worldism" *Third World Quarterly*, Volume 25, Number 1, February 2004, pp. 9-39

Vicky Randall, "Using and abusing the concept of the Third World: Geopolitics and the comparative political study of development and underdevelopment" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No 1, pp 41-53, 2004

Tuesday, May 12, 2020

IR, Alternative Approaches to North-South Relations

1. Inequality: The Realist Perspective

Mohammed Ayoob, "Inequality and Theorizing in International Relations: The Case for Subaltern Realism," *International Studies Review,* Fall 2002

Paul K. MacDonald and David A. Lake, "Escape from the State of Nature: Authority and Hierarchy in World Politics" *International Security,* Vol. 32, No. 1(Summer 2007), pp. 47–79.

Robert Jackson, Quasi-States Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World (Series: Cambridge Studies in International Relations (No. 12) chp. 1.
G. John Ikenberry, "The Liberal International Order and its Discontents" *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* Vol.38 No.3, pp. 509–521

Thursday, May 14, 2020

2. Interdependence, Cooperation or Partnership

 Required:

R. O. Keohane and J.S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, chp. 2

Jamey Essex, "The politics of effectiveness in Canada's international development Assistance", *Canadian Journal of Development Studies (Revue canadienne d'Etudes du developpement) Vol. 33, No. 3, September 2012, 338–355*

Jan Nederveen Pieterse. "Global inequality: bringing politics back" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No 6, pp 1023–1046, 2002

Tuesday May 19, 2020

3. Dependency, Development and Post-development

 Required:

Arturo Escobar "Beyond the Third World: imperial globality, global coloniality and antiglobalization social movements" *Third World Quarterly,* Vol 25, No 1, pp. 207-230, 2004

A.G. Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment" in C.K. Wilber (ed.) *The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment,* (1984).

Tuesday, May 21, 2020

C. Issue Areas

1. The Politics of Aid

Required:

Niels Hermes; Robert Lensink, "Changing the conditions for development aid: A new paradigm? *The Journal of Development Studies;* Aug 2001; 37, 6;

Jean-Philippe Thérien, "Debating foreign aid: right versus left" *Third World Quarterly,* Vol 23, No 3, pp. 449–466, 2002

Clemens Six, "The Rise of Postcolonial States as Donors: a challenge to the development paradigm?" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 6, 2009, pp. 1103– 112

David Black, Jean-Philippe Thérien, and Andrew Clark, "Moving with the Crowd: Canadian Aid to Africa," *International Journal*, spring 1996
Tuesday, May 26, 2020

2. The Politics of Trade

<u>**Required:**</u>

Shahrukh Rafi Khan, "WTO, IMF and the Closing of Development Policy Space for Low-income Countries: a call for neo-developmentalism" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 6, 2007, pp. 1073 – 1090 (E)

John Madeley, *Trade and the Poor: The Impact of International Trade on Developing Countries,* Chps. 3, 4, 5.

Ann Weston, "The Uruguay Round --Costs and Compensation for Developing Countries," UNCTAD, 1996

Thursday, May 28, 2020

3. The Politics of Money (Debt)

<u>**Required:**</u>

John Glenn, "Global Governance and the Democratic Deficit: stifling the voice of the South" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2008, pp 217 – 238

Nicola Bullard, Walden Bello and Kamal Mallhotra, "Taming the tigers: the IMF and the Asian Crisis," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (1998).

Tuesday, June 2, 2020

1. Multinationals

<u>**Required:**</u>

Charles Gore, "The Rise and fall of the Washington Consensus as a Paradigm for Developing Countries" *World Development* Vol. 28, No. 5, pp. 789±804, 2000

Susan Strange*, The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy*, chp. 4.

Dani Rodrik, "Goodbye Washington Consensus, Hello Washington Confusion? A Review of the World Bank's Economic Growth in the 1990s: Learning from a Decade of Reform" *Journal of Economic Literature* Vol. XLIV (December 2006), pp. 973-987

Thursday, June 4, 2020

D. Regimes

Human rights and the Global South

Required:

J. Donnelly, "Cultural Relativism and Universal Human Rights*," Human Rights Quarterly* 6 (November 1984).

Wulf Gaertner, "Individual Rights versus Economic Growth" *Journal of Human Development* Vol. 9, No. 3, November 2008.

Alexander B. Downes, Jonathan Monten, "Forced to Be Free? Why Foreign-Imposed Regime Change Rarely Leads to Democratization." International Security, Volume 37, Number 4, spring 2013, pp. 90-131

June 11, 2020 (THE LAST DAY TO SIGN FOR CIVIL WAR)

Tuesday, June 9, 2020

The Global Environment and infectious Disease

Required:

David Simon, "Dilemmas of development and the environment in a globalizing world: Theory, Policy and Praxis" *Progress in Development Studies* 3, 1 (2003) pp. 5–41

Elaine Hartwick and Richard Peet, Neoliberalism and Nature: The Case of the WTO, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 590, Rethinking Sustainable Development (Nov., 2003), pp. 188-211

Thursday June 11, 2020

Allan Whiteside. "Poverty and HIV/AIDS in Africa" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol 23, No 2, pp 313–332, 2002

Nana K Poku, *"*Africa's AIDS crisis in context: 'how the poor are dying" *Third World Quarterly,* Vol 22, No 2, pp 191–204, 2001

NO CLASSES IN THE WEEK OF JUNE 17-JUNE 25, 2020

SECOND TERM

Second Term: Internal and Regional Conflicts in the Third World

The purpose of this term's work will be to examine a number of Third World civil wars, their origins, the impact of foreign intervention on them, the efforts made by the parties and third parties to resolve them, and the process of peacebuilding that occurs after a settlement has been reached. During the first two sessions, we shall examine some of the literature on

conflicts and their resolution. In following sessions, we shall examine individual conflicts as presented by participants in the seminar.

Tuesday, July 7, 2020

The Beginnings of Civil Wars : Recommended Readings

A) Important sources on the origins and escalation of internal conflicts

Taisier Ali and Robert Matthews, eds. *Civil Wars in Africa: Roots and Resolution, Conclusion.*

Michael Brown, ed., *International Dimensions of Internal Conflict, Introduction*, chps. 7, 17.

C. Clapham, *Africa and the International System*, chps. 9.

Michael E. Brown, et al (Eds), Nationalism *and Ethnic Conflict,* pp.3-26; 27-62

Raymond Copson, "Peace in Africa? The Influence of Regional and International Change," in F. Deng and I.W. Zartman, eds*., Conflict Resolution in Africa*

K.J. Holsti, *The State, War, and the State of War*. chps. 2, 7

H. Adelman & A. Suhrke (eds.), *The Path of Genocide: The Rwandan Crisis from Uganda to Zaire.*

H. Adelman & A. Suhrke, *The International Response to Conflict and Genocide: Lessons from the Rwandan Experience,*

Robert E. Markavy and Stephanie G. Neuman, *Warfare and the Third World,* Chp 1&

Donald Horrowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict.* 1985.

Carter Johnson*,* "Partitioning to Peace: Sovereignty, Demography, and Ethnic Civil Wars" *International Security,* Vol. 32, No. 4 (Spring 2008), pp. 140–170

Stephen D. Krasner, "Sharing Sovereignty New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States" International Security, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Fall 2004), pp. 85–120

Bruce Cronin, "The Tension between Sovereignty and Intervention in the Prevention of Genocide" *Human Rights Review*, July 2007

Cynthia J. Arnson and I. William Zartman (eds). *Rethinking the economics of war: the intersection of need, creed, and greed,* Washington, D.C. : Woodrow Wilson Center Press, c2005.

William Chabas, *Preventing genocide and mass killing: the challenge for the United Nations,* 2006

Tiffiany Howarda, "Failed States and the Spread of Terrorism in Sub-Saharan Africa" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 33:960–988, 2010

Thursday, July 9, 2020

The Endings of Civil Wars

B) Key sources on internal conflicts, intervention, peacemaking and peace building

Michael Brown, (ed.), *International Dimensions of Internal Conflicts*, chps. 10, 14, 15, and 18

Jon Western, "Sources of Humanitarian Intervention: Beliefs, Information, and Advocacy in the U.S. Decisions on Somalia and Bosnia" *International Security,* Vol. 26, No. 4 (Spring 2002), pp. 112–142

Roy Licklider, ed., *Stop the Killing: How Civil Wars End*, chps. 1, 10, 11, 13

Stephen J Stedman et al. (eds.), *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements (Introduction),*

R. Matthews and Ali (Eds.) Peace building in Africa (Introduction) and various case studies.

Mark T Berger & Douglas A Borer*,* "The Long War: insurgency, counterinsurgency and collapsing states" *Third World Quarterly,* Vol. 28, No. 2, 2007, pp. 197 – 215

Roger Mac Ginty & Oliver P Richmond, "The Local Turn in Peace Building: a critical agenda for peace," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 5, 2013, pp. 763–783

Donald Rothchild, *Managing Ethnic Conflicts, Pressures and Incentives for Cooperation (various chapters)*

Richard Caplan, *From Collapsing States to Neo-trusteeship: the limits to solving the problem of 'precarious statehood' in the 21st century" Third World Quarterly, Vol. 28,* No. 2, 2007, pp 231 – 244

Michael Barnett, *"Building a Republican Peace: Stabilizing States after War" International Security, Vol. 30, No. 4 (Spring 2006), pp. 87–112*

Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, "Fighting at Home, Fighting Abroad: How Civil Wars Lead to International Disputes, *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* Volume 52 Number 4 2008.

David Last, "From Peacekeeping to Peace building" *The Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution* 5.1 Summer: 1-8 (2003)

Willam I. Zarman, *Traditional Cure for Modern Conflicts, African Conflict Medicine.*

Pierre Englebert and Denis M. Tull*, "Post-conflict Reconstruction in Africa" International Security, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Spring 2008), pp. 106–139*

Kelly M. Greenhill and Solomon Major, "The Perils of Profiling Civil War Spoilers and the Collapse of Intrastate Peace Accords" *International Security,* Vol. 31, No. 3 (Winter 2006/07), pp. 7–40

Edward Aspinall, "The Construction of Grievance Natural Resources and Identity in a Separatist Conflict", *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Volume 51 Number December 2007

Alison J. Ayers, "Sudan's uncivil war: the global-historical constitution of political violence" *Review of African Political Economy*; Vol. 37, No. 124, June 2010, 153–171.

STATHIS N. KALYVAS, "NEW" AND "OLD" CIVIL WARS: A Valid Distinction? *World Politics* 54 (October 2001), 99–118

Roger E. Kanet (ed.), *Resolving Regional Conflicts*

Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace*, New York, UN, 1992.

Lawrence Ziring, Robert. E. Riggs and Jack Plano, *The United Nations: International Organization and World Politics,* Thomson/Wadsworth, Fourth Edition, 2005, Chapter 5& 6.

Coleman, Katharina Pichler, *International Organisations and Peace enforcement: the politics of international legitimacy*, 2007

Max Blouin and Stephane Pallage, "Humanitarian Relief and Civil Conflict" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Volume 52 Number 4 August 2008 548-565

Barbara F. Walter, "Designing Transitions from Civil War: Demobilization, Democratization, and Commitments to Peace," *International Security,* Vol. 24, No. 1 (Summer 1999), pp. 127–155.

Michael E. Brown, et al (eds.), *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict,* pp.235-264

Heloise Weber & Mark T Berger, "Human (In)Security and Development in the 21st Century", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 1, 2009, pp 263–270

Roland Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" *International Security*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Fall 2001), pp. 87–102

Kimberly Marten, "Warlordism in Comparative Perspective" *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (winter 2006/07), pp. 41–73

Brennan M. Kraxberger, "Failed states: temporary obstacles to democratic diffusion or ... resolution 1706," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 2007,

DAVID KEEN, "A Rational Kind of Madness", *Oxford Development Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1997 67

Alex J. Bellamy, *Responsibility to protect: the global effort to end mass atrocities,* 2009

Shashi Tharoor and Sam Daws, "Humanitarian Intervention: Getting Past the Reefs," *World Policy Journal,* summer 2001

Mohammed Ayoob, "Third World Perspectives on Humanitarian Intervention and International Administration," *Global Governance*, January 2004.

Ken Menkhaus "Governance without Government in Somalia: Spoilers, State Building, and the Politics of Coping", *International Security,* Vol. 31, No. 3 (Winter 2006/07), pp. 74–106

Charles T Call and Vanessa Wyeth, *Building States to Build Peace*, Lynne Rienner, 2008

Richard Caplan*, International governance of war-torn territories: rule and reconstruction,* New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Eve La Haye, *War crimes in internal armed conflicts,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Gérard Prunier. *Darfur: the ambiguous genocide*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007. Rev. and updated.

Gérard Prunier, *Africa's World War: Rwanda, the Congo and the Making of a* Continental *Catastrophe.* Oxford University Press, 2009

Ward, Lee. *Toward a new paradigm for humanitarian intervention* [electronic resource], 2007

Hawk, Kathleen Hill, *Constructing the stable state: goals for intervention and peace building,* 2002.

Jeroen de Zeeuw (ed). *From Soldiers to Politicians: Transforming Rebel Movements after Civil War,* 2008

Monica Duffy Toft*, **"**Getting Religion**?** The Puzzling Case of Islam and Civil War" *International Security,* Vol. 31, No. 4 (Spring 2007), pp. 97–131.

Stuart J. Kaufman, "Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice? Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence" *International Security,* Vol. 30, No. 4 (Spring 2006), pp. 45–86.

Frances Stewarta; Frank P. Humphreys; Nick Lea, "Civil conflict in developing countries over the last quarter of a century: An empirical overview of economic and social consequences" *Oxford Development Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1997

A list of countries to choose from *	
El Salvador	East Timor
Nicaragua	Guatemala
Colombia	Sudan (South or Darfur, not both)
Afghanistan	Mozambique
Angola	Cote d'Ivoire
Lebanon	Somalia
Kampuchea (or Cambodia)	Sierra Leone
Liberia	Rwanda
Pakistan/Bangladesh	Burundi
Guatemala	Sri Lanka

*The schedule of presentation will be posted by the last week of June 2020