

National Security in the Third World

Abdul-Monem M. Al-Mashat



National Security in the Third World

Westview Replica Editions

The concept of Westview Replica Editions is a response to the continuing crisis in academic and informational publishing. Library budgets for books have been severely curtailed. Ever larger portions of general library budgets are being diverted from the purchase of books and used for data banks, computers, micromedia, and other methods of information retrieval. Interlibrary loan structures further reduce the edition sizes required to satisfy the needs of the scholarly community. Economic pressures on the university presses and the few private scholarly publishing companies have severely limited the capacity of the industry to properly serve the academic and research communities. As a result, many manuscripts dealing with important subjects, often representing the highest level of scholarship, are no longer economically viable publishing projects--or, if accepted for publication, are typically subject to lead times ranging from one to three years.

Westview Replica Editions are our practical solution to the problem. We accept a manuscript in camera-ready form, typed according to our specifications, and move it immediately into the production process. As always, the selection criteria include the importance of the subject, the work's contribution to scholarship, and its insight, originality of thought, and excellence of exposition. The responsibility for editing and proofreading lies with the author or sponsoring institution. We prepare chapter headings and display pages, file for copyright, and obtain Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data. A detailed manual contains simple instructions for preparing the final typescript, and our editorial staff is always available to answer questions.

The end result is a book printed on acid-free paper and bound in sturdy library-quality soft covers. We manufacture these books ourselves using equipment that does not require a lengthy make-ready process and that allows us to publish first editions of 300 to 600 copies and to reprint even smaller quantities as needed. Thus, we can produce Replica Editions quickly and can keep even very specialized books in print as long as there is a demand for them.

About the Book and Author

For nations of the Third World, national security poses serious dilemmas. Unlike Western nations, less developed countries must balance the complex and often contradictory requirements of socio-economic and political development with problems of internal stability and the requirements of national defense. For these countries, a concept of national security that focuses primarily on the international threat system and its overt manifestations of wars and violence, ignoring domestic well-being, is inadequate on theoretical and pragmatic grounds.

This book addresses the security problems of Third World states, arguing for new ways to define and measure national security so that the concept may be appropriately applied to the needs of developing countries. In addition, the author argues that the "tranquility" of a state, a concept traditionally linked with national security, cannot necessarily be associated with quality of life as measured by conventional means. Dr. Al-Mashat constructs a tranquility index for ninety-five developing nations and tests its relationship with the physical quality-of-life index to demonstrate this point. Attempts to improve quality of life, he suggests, may in many countries lead to a reduction in security unless simultaneous attempts are made to democratize the regime.

Abdul-Monem M. Al-Mashat is assistant professor at the Faculty of Economics and Political Science, Cairo University.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

National Security in the Third World

Abdul-Monem M. Al-Mashat

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 1985 by Westview Press, Inc.

Published 2018 by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Copyright © 1985 Taylor & Francis

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:

Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Al-Mashat, Abdul-Monem M. (Abdul-Monem Mohamed)

National security in the Third World.

(A Westview replica edition)

Bibliography: p.

1. Developing countries--National security. I. Title.

UA10.5.A4 1985 355'.03301724 83-2247

ISBN 13: 978-0-367-01722-4 (hbk)

Contents

List of Tables and Figures	ix
Foreword, <i>Edward E. Azar</i>	xi
Acknowledgments	xiii
Introduction	xv
1 THE DILEMMA OF NATIONAL SECURITY IN THE THIRD WORLD: THE NEED FOR A COOPERATIVE ENVIRONMENT	1
Introduction	1
The Transition from Political Independence to Economic Interdependence	1
The National Security Dilemma	12
2 NATIONAL SECURITY: FROM STRATEGIC TO NONSTRATEGIC CONCEPTION	17
Introduction	17
Definition of National Security	19
National Security and Related Concepts	27
Shortcomings of the Classical Theory of National Security	33
3 DOMESTIC COHESION AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION: BASIC PREREQUISITES FOR NATIONAL SECURITY IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES	39
Introduction	39
Domestic Cohesion and International Cooperation	40
Suppression and Its Relationship to Conflict and Cooperation	47
Tranquility and Well-Being: Basic Elements for National Security in the Third World	50

4	TRANQUILITY INDEX: A MEASURE OF NATIONAL SECURITY IN THE THIRD WORLD	61
	Introduction	61
	Research Design	61
	The Structure of the Variables	62
	Sources of Data	68
	Data, Methodology, and Results	68
	Measures of Tranquility	71
	Measures of PQLI and Results	78
	The Relationship Between Tranquility and PQLI	79
	Cluster Analysis	89
	Summary	105
5	EPILOGUE	107
	Introduction	107
	Transition in Security Regions: The Perpetuation of Acquired Position	108
	Perception and Policies of National Security in the Third World	111
	APPENDIXES	113
	A List of Actors	115
	B COPDAB Domestic Scale	116
	C COPDAB International Scale	123
	D Description of COPDAB	127
	E COPDAB Dimensions of Interaction	131
	Bibliography	133
	Index	147

Tables and Figures

TABLES

1.1	Military and social trends: World, developed and developing countries, and regions, 1969-1978 . . .	4
1.2	Number of developing nations producing various military arms and materials in 1965 and 1975 . . .	9
1.3	Number of Third World countries with advanced military systems, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1977	10
4.1	Descriptive statistical characteristics of data .	69
4.2	Correlations between the variables	70
4.3	Tranquility rank scores (1970)	72
4.4	Tranquility rank scores (1978)	74
4.5	Tranquility rank scores (Total--1970 and 1978) . .	76
4.6	PQLI rank scores (1970)	80
4.7	PQLI rank scores (1978)	82
4.8	PQLI rank scores (Total--1970 and 1978)	84
4.9	Spearman's correlation between tranquility and PQLI	86
4.10	Cluster listing--tranquility (1970)	90
4.11	Cluster listing--tranquility (1978)	92
4.12	Cluster listing--tranquility (Total)	94
4.13	List of the less secure states in 1978	96
4.14	Cluster listing--PQLI (1970)	98
4.15	Cluster listing--PQLI (1978)	100
4.16	Cluster listing--PQLI (Total)	102
5.1	Transition movements of member-states between 1970 and 1978	109

FIGURES

1.1	World arms imports by developed and developing countries	7
1.2	World arms imports, 1978, shares by regions . . .	8
1.3	World arms exports, 1978, shares by suppliers . .	8
3.1	Expected correlation between tranquility and physical quality of life	55
3.2	Tentative model of national security for the developing countries	57
4.1	Linear regression between Tranq. 70 and PQLI . . .	86
4.2	Linear regression between Tranq. 78 and PQLI . . .	87
4.3	Linear regression between Tranq. Total and PQLI .	87

Foreword

For individuals, groups, and nations, there are several sources of insecurity and fear. There are wars and threats of wars; poverty and its economic and physiological consequences; and repression, authoritarian controls, and the denial of identity and participation.

Professor Al-Mashat's book is about the management and eradication of these human insecurities. In his new book on national security, more than territorial defense it is about the physical, social, and psychological quality of life of a society and its members, both in the domestic setting and within the larger regional and global systems.

Professor Al-Mashat implies that legitimacy of regimes and national security are two sides of the same coin. Legitimacy is determined by how effectively the policies of elites and the structures of the political system satisfy the economic, political, and identity needs of the members of the society. The greater the success of ruling elites in satisfying the basic human needs of their people, the greater is the legitimacy and therefore the stability of the regime.

Furthermore, regional and international cooperation and national security are interdependent. The greater the level of cooperative relations, the greater the opportunity for stability and security. The greater the regional stability, the greater are the opportunities for domestic consensus and security.

Professor Al-Mashat's argument is that domestic security affects regional and international security and vice versa. However, it is the domestic environment that is important and critical in national security considerations. Carrying this argument forward to the Third World and perhaps to all other states, Professor Al-Mashat finds the following:

1. the improvement of the physical quality of life alone, not in the absence of withstanding the psychological quality of life, is negatively correlated to the level of security;

2. national security is positively correlated with the increase in the distributive capability and democratization of a given system; and
3. the tranquility and well-being of a society are pre-conditions for security.

This work should be seen as an important addition to the literature on national security, particularly since it demonstrates that in a newly emerging nation there is more to the meaning of security than what has been traditionally included. This book also demonstrates effectively that national security questions can be studied and analyzed empirically. Finally, it makes a timely contribution for the thinking of those in Third World countries who are now becoming interested in the theoretical and empirical aspects of the term "national security."

Edward E. Azar

Professor of International Relations
and Director of the Center
for International Development,
University of Maryland, College Park

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my appreciation to Professor Edward E. Azar, director of the Center for International Development at the University of Maryland, for his help and encouragement.

My heartfelt thanks go to Nagwa, my wife, for her kind patience, dedication, and understanding. As for my children, Rania and Hatim, I promise to make it up to them as soon as possible.

I also appreciate the help of my friends Dr. Ibrahim Salama and Dr. Mark Gasiorowski. My gratitude is extended as well to the Faculty of Economics and Political Science at Cairo University and the government of the Arab Republic of Egypt for their support.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the assistance and counsel of the staff at Westview Press.

Abdul-Monem M. Al-Mashat



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Introduction

When I began to write this book on national security in the Third World, I proposed to investigate a wide range of issues: military, socioeconomic, and political. However, as my research progressed I found it essential to focus on conflict and cooperation as behavioral concerns of national security in the Third World in order to present a method to measure national security and show how national security relates to the structural performance of the developing nations.

It is not unusual to start academic research, particularly in a controversial area of human interest, by designing a holistic or grand scheme. In this regard, Hempel argues that

In the early stages of scientific inquiry, descriptions as well as generalizations are stated in the vocabulary of everyday language. The growth of a scientific discipline, however, always brings with it the development of a system of specialized, more or less abstract, concepts and a corresponding technical terminology (Hempel, 1952: 1).

This argument is particularly true when the research deals with as complex an area of international relations as national security.

Hence, the emphasis in this book is on how conflict and cooperation in the performances of Third World nations can be used to construct a measure of national security.

Chapter 1 deals with the dilemma of national security in the Third World and the need for a more cooperative environment. A description of the foreign-policy orientation of the developing nations is included. In the early years of their independence, their concern about security (regarded in terms of political independence and sovereignty) pushed them first toward military buildup and then to a policy of nonalignment. However, the failure to resolve their social and economic problems, as well as the shift from perceiving sovereignty in territorial terms to functional terms, led them to emphasize

their economic independence and to place new demands on the developed nations. Neither of these changes in approach resolved the main problems of their security dilemma: (1) the conflict between defense requirements and development needs, and (2) the emergence of police-garrison states. These two factors were not helpful in the process of building an environment conducive to cooperation and consensus.

Chapter 2 acknowledges that national security is so complex and ambiguous that it is extremely difficult to grasp. A review of the literature on national security is divided between a strategic school and a school concerned with far more issues than military strategy. Both schools have contributed little to the resolution of the national security dilemma in developing nations, partly because they have been concerned mainly with interstate interactions and not intrastate or internal policies as well. Therefore, an attempt to define conflict and cooperation and to discuss international and domestic behavior along these two dimensions is made in Chapter 3. Cooperation and conflict are seen as multidimensional phenomena, and their correlations with behavioral or structural variables as multicollinear. Conflict and cooperation are not perceived as exclusive from one another but as occurring simultaneously, although on different levels and with different intensities. Consequently, a tranquility index is developed in Chapter 3 based on the ranking of states for conflict and their ranking for cooperation. Subtraction of the conflict index from the cooperation index yields the tranquility index as a measure of the net behavioral performance of each state, compared to others. The obtained value is then used to rank the states again by level of tranquility.

Associated with conflict and cooperation is the need for political authorities to create domestic cohesion and internal consensus. It has been argued that in developing countries the process toward consensus takes place through suppressive governmental activities against the public (Nacht, 1982:52-58; Klare and Arnson, 1981:17-27). Instead, well-being--defined as the ability of the state to provide its public with social, economic, and political conditions conducive to happiness and a prosperous life--is seen as the basic element of national security in developing nations. Yet the physical quality of life (PQLI) alone does not measure well-being, so that a multidimensional model of national security is developed at the end of Chapter 3.

Chapter 4 presents an empirical test of the hypothesis:

In developing countries, physical quality of life (PQLI) as an indicator of well-being is negatively correlated with the state of tranquility.

Clear statistical support for this hypothesis shows developing

and developed nations to be inversely related in this regard and convinced me to try to redefine national security in the Third World. National security, then, is the capacity of a society to protect individuals, groups, and the nation from physical and socioeconomic dangers and from the threat of such dangers created by both systemic and attributional conditions. This capacity manifests itself in the ability of the society to control not only individual and specific incidents of violence, but also the grinding nature of violence (the severe, frightening, and perpetual nature of violence) on the society (Al-Mashat, 1984). This definition is close to that of Johan Galtung, who defines security in terms of system maintenance, meaning that a society should change only as a result of internal conditions, not because of conditions (or threat of force) from the outside (Galtung, 1983).

In my analysis, countries can be placed on a security continuum as well as on a well-being continuum through both rank and cluster analysis. In Chapter 5, the epilogue, additional analysis of the transition from one place on the security continuum to another is presented.

Overall, this book represents an attempt to build a theory of national security applicable to Third World nations. It presents channels for dialogue rather than conflict between those who are concerned with the real security problems that Third World countries face. This dialogue in itself is a challenge to the scholars in the field of national security.

I also hope that my argument concerning the social and political context of national security will be heard in the decision-making circles of the Third World. There is a need to bridge the gap between the academic community and the policymaking establishments in developing nations. In the field of national security, which has been the traditional domain of the military, such a need becomes inevitable.