

STATE COLLAPSE AND STATE RECONSTRUCTION

Human Rights Course 22230/32230 SPRING 2008
Tuesdays and Thursdays 9:00 – 10:20 AM, Harper Memorial 103

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Office Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays 10:30 – 11:30 AM; any other time, confirm by email

This course explores State failure and State collapse and the prospects for State reconstruction in cases that have witnessed the total implosion of internal governance processes. It considers the causes and consequences of State collapse and related issues of anarchy, civil war and the emergence of strong non-State actors that challenge the State monopoly of violence. The course also examines the regional implications of State collapse – how this affects neighboring countries; the possibility of predicting/anticipating collapse in particular countries and how to prevent State failure. The course considers prospects for rebuilding a collapsed State, and the various State-building models that predominate in the literature. The course will focus on contemporary cases of State failure and collapse (including Afghanistan, Somalia, Sierra Leone, and Colombia), and State reconstruction (including Afghanistan, East Timor, Kosovo, Iraq, Sierra Leone and Liberia)

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

This course will be conducted as a seminar. Lectures will be MINIMAL. It thus requires student preparation, attendance and active participation.

Assigned Readings: Students are required to complete assigned readings on schedule and to participate in all class discussions. Students are expected to come to each class prepared to ask and answer questions on assigned readings and to be prepared to discuss the questions listed on the syllabus and comments sent by email/posted on Chalk. Each student should come to the class with the expectation that s/he will be called upon to provide a summary of the readings for that class.

Presentation: During the quarter, each student will be designated as a co-leader to introduce the class discussion. This role includes offering a response to some of the questions in the syllabus on the readings for the class. S/he may also post additional questions/comments drawing out important issues from the assigned readings. These questions/comments must be **posted on Chalk AND sent by email** to the class **at least THREE HOURS** before each class – so that each person in the class can read these and think about them before class.

Paper Requirements:

Two papers are required. The first is the midterm (**5 double-spaced pages or 1250 words maximum**) (**20%**) is due **Wednesday May 7, 2008 by 5.00 PM.**

The final paper (**10 double-spaced pages or 2500 words maximum**) (**50%**) is due **Wednesday June 4, 2008 by 5.00 PM.**

These papers should be analytic, which combines research and reflective functions for the course. They need not provide a comprehensive survey of all scholarly literature on your chosen topic. Further, and more specific, instructions will be provided in class on these two papers.

Hard copies are required **in addition to** electronic submission.

Course Evaluation

The final grade will take account of the quality of participation, oral presentation and two papers.

For participation, you are required to submit a **one page evaluation** of your class participation, noting your contribution to the class in the quarter, the dates you missed class, if any, and the dates your class absence was excused, if any. This evaluation sheet is due on the last day of class.

The **one page evaluation** constitutes **10% of course grade.**

Oral presentation/leading class discussion 20%

First (midterm) paper 20%

Final paper 50%

If any of these is missing, you would be eligible for only the remainder of the requirement that you fulfill. For example, if you do not turn in the one page evaluation, you would be eligible for only 90% of the course grade.

Course Readings and Discussions

I recognize that students come to this course and enter the discussions with varying background. Not all readings will uniformly challenge all students, including those with the most advanced knowledge of a particular topic and those who fear they may flounder. Nonetheless, we all can benefit one way or another from these readings, which should inform our class interaction and participation. If any student does not feel appropriately challenged by the readings for any particular topic, such student should speak with the instructor about this and select alternative readings of comparable length and relevance. After consultation and approval for this substitution, the student must provide a brief (typed) annotated bibliography of the completed readings to the instructor not later than the beginning of the class(es) for which the alternative readings are relevant.

Note: All readings are available on Chalk.

A. STATE FAILURE AND STATE COLLAPSE

1. THE STATE: STATE WEAKNESS, STATE FAILURE AND STATE COLLAPSE; STAGES AND INDICATORS OF COLLAPSE (APRIL 1, 2008)

Define State failure and State collapse

What are the indicators of failure/collapse? How can we anticipate where and when it may occur?

Do you agree with –

- a. The Twelve Indicators of CAST
- b. The indicators in the “Failed State index”?

Required Readings:

- Robert I. Rotberg, *The Challenge of Weak, Failing, and Collapsed States, in LEASHING THE DOGS OF WAR: CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN A DIVIDED WORLD* (Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler and Pamela Aall, eds.) (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2007): **pp. 82-94**
- Kalevi J. Holsti, *Political Causes of Humanitarian Emergencies, in WAR, HUNGER, AND DISPLACEMENT: THE ORIGINS OF HUMANITARIAN EMERGENCIES* (E. Wayne Nafziger, Frances Stewart, & Raimo Väyrynen, eds.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Vol. 1, 2000): **pp. 240-281.**
- I. William Zartman, *Introduction: Posing the Problem of State Collapse, in COLLAPSED STATES: THE DISINTEGRATION AND RESTORATION OF LEGITIMATE AUTHORITY* (I. William Zartman, ed.) (Boulder, Colorado, Lynne Rienner, 1995): **Chapter 1: (1-11).**
- The “Failed States Index,” Issue 154, *FOREIGN POLICY*, July/August 2007, **pp. 54-63.**
- Fund for Peace -- The Twelve Indicators of CAST (the Conflict Assessment System Tool), available at <http://www.fundforpeace.org>

Recommended:

- Michael E. Brown, *The Causes of Internal Conflict: An Overview, in NATIONALISM AND ETHNIC CONFLICT* (Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Coté, Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones, & Steven E. Miller, eds.) (Cambridge, Mass. & London, England: MIT Press, 2001): **pp. 3-25.**

2. THE STATE AND ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTIONS (APRIL 3, 2008)

What are States and how are they created?

What are the distinguishing characteristics of a State?

What makes a State legitimate? – Indigenous creation?

Is violence necessary in State-making? What are the principal differences in the State-making experiences of “developing” and “developed” countries?

What are alternatives to the State?

Required Readings:

- Charles Tilly, *War Making and State Making as Organized Crime*, in BRINGING THE STATE BACK IN (Peter Evans Dietrich Ruschemeyer & Theda Skocpol, eds.) (Cambridge, Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985) **pp. 169-182.**
- RAYMOND GEUSS, *HISTORY AND ILLUSION IN POLITICS* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001): **pp. 14-68.**
- Mohammed Ayoob, *State Making, State Breaking, and State Failure*, in LEASHING THE DOGS OF WAR: CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN A DIVIDED WORLD (Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler and Pamela Aall, eds.) (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2007): **pp. 95-114.**
- Marc Lacey, *Hargeysa Journal: The Signs Say Somaliland, But the World Says Somalia*, NY TIMES, June 5, 2006, available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/05/world/africa/05somaliland.html>
- Jeffrey Gettleman, *The Other Somalia: An Island of Stability in a Sea of Armed Chaos*, NY TIMES, March 7, 2007, available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/07/world/africa/07somaliland.html>

Recommended:

- ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR., *THE WARS WITHIN: PEOPLES AND STATES IN CONFLICT* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2003) **pp. 34-63.**
- Steven Krasner, *Approaches to the State: Alternative Conceptions and Historical Dynamics*, Vol. 16(2) COMPARATIVE POLITICS (January 1984): **pp. 223-246**
- JAMES CRAWFORD, *THE CREATION OF STATES IN INTERNATIONAL LAW* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2ed., 2006): **Chapter 2: pp. 37-95**
- John W. Meyer, John Boli, George M. Thomas, & Francisco O. Ramirez, *World Society and the Nation-State*, Vol. 103(1), THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY (July 1997), **pp. 144-181.**

3. WHY DO STATES COLLAPSE? (APRIL 8, 2008)

What are the best explanations for State collapse? Do these include greed and/or grievance?

Do economic incentives drive State collapse? Which ones?

Do environmental/population pressures lead to State collapse?

What makes “undemocratic” States/regimes susceptible to collapse?

How does economic violence impact State capacity?

Required Readings:

- JARED DIAMOND, *COLLAPSE: HOW SOCIETIES CHOOSE TO FAIL OR SUCCEED* (London, England, Viking Penguin, 2005): **pp. 311-328**

- DAVID KEEN, THE ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF VIOLENCE IN CIVIL WARS, ADELPHI PAPER SERIES (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1998): **pp. 9-79.**
- EDWARD MANSFIELD & JACK SNYDER, *Turbulent Transitions: Why Emerging Democracies Go to War*, in LEASHING THE DOGS OF WAR: CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN A DIVIDED WORLD (Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler and Pamela Aall, eds.) (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2007): **pp. 161-176**

Recommended:

- MICHAEL T. KLARE, RESOURCE WARS: THE NEW LANDSCAPE OF GLOBAL CONFLICT (New York, Henry Holt & Co, 2001): **Chapter 9**
- JARED DIAMOND, COLLAPSE: HOW SOCIETIES CHOOSE TO FAIL OR SUCCEED (London, England, Viking Penguin, 2005): **pp. 486-525.**
- Paul Collier, *Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and Their Implications for Policy*, in LEASHING THE DOGS OF WAR: CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN A DIVIDED WORLD (Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler and Pamela Aall, eds.) (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2007): **pp. 197-218**

APRIL 10, 2008 – NO CLASS

4. GOVERNANCE, POLITICAL ECONOMY AND STATE COLLAPSE (APRIL 15, 2008)

Can you distinguish between good and poor governance? Does one or the other strengthen State capacity or lead to collapse?

How does corruption drive State collapse?

Why are paranoid leaders successful in obtaining and clinging to power? Why are they so destructive?

What is the role of human agency in State Collapse?

Required Readings:

- ROBERT S. ROBBINS & JERROLD M. POST, POLITICAL PARANOIA: THE PSYCHOPOLITICS OF HATRED (New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1997): **Chapters 4 (pp. 89-112) & 10 (pp. 244-275).**
- RAYMOND BAKER, CAPITALISM'S ACHILLES HEEL: DIRTY MONEY AND HOW TO RENEW THE FREE-MARKET SYSTEM (Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley & Sons, 2005): **Chapter 2 (pp. 21-47).**

Recommended:

- RAYMOND BAKER, CAPITALISM'S ACHILLES HEEL: DIRTY MONEY AND HOW TO RENEW THE FREE-MARKET SYSTEM (Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley & Sons, 2005): **Chapter 3 (pp 48-87)**

5. STATE COLLAPSE AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY (APRIL 17, 2008)

Does globalization precipitate or hinder State collapse?

How has the end of the Cold War changed the international system?

Are States still relevant in the international system or does the future belong to supranational organizations?

What are the implications of State collapse for international security? How does State collapse affect terrorism, drug trafficking, peacekeeping, WMDs?

Required Readings:

- Chester A. Crocker, *Engaging Failing States*, Vol. 82(5), FOREIGN AFFAIRS Sept./Oct. 2003, pp. 32-44
- Princeton N. Lyman & J. Stephen Morrison, *The Terrorist Threat in Africa*, Vol. 83(1), FOREIGN AFFAIRS, Jan./Feb. 2004, pp. 75-86
- Ken Menkhaus, *Quasi-States, Nation-Building and Terrorist Havens*, Vol. 23(2), JOURNAL OF CONFLICT STUDIES (2003): pp. 7-23.
- Michael E. Brown, *New Global Dangers*, in LEASHING THE DOGS OF WAR: CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN A DIVIDED WORLD (Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler and Pamela Aall, eds.) (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2007): pp. 39-51
- Patricia Taft & Jason Ladnier, *Realizing 'Never Again': Regional Capacities to Protect Civilians in Violent Conflicts*, January 2006 www.fundforpeace.org.

6. CASE STUDY: WEAK, FAILED, AND COLLAPSED STATES: AFGHANISTAN (APRIL 22, 2008)

What are the arguments explaining State collapse in Afghanistan? (Please refer to supplementary sheet and the indicators considered in the class of April 1)

How did the Cold War impact Afghanistan? Was the end of the Cold War a “good” thing for Afghanistan (Cold War meddling vs. post Cold War neglect)?

Required Readings:

- Alam Payind, *Evolving Alternative Views on the Future of Afghanistan: An Afghan Perspective*, Vol. 33(9), ASIAN SURVEY, pp. 923-931 (Sept. 1993).
- Barnett Rubin, *Afghanistan: The Last Cold-War Conflict, the First Post-Cold-War Conflict*, in WAR, HUNGER, AND DISPLACEMENT: THE ORIGINS OF HUMANITARIAN EMERGENCIES (E. Wayne Nafziger, Frances Stewart, & Raimo Väyrynen, eds.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Vol. 2: Case Studies, 2000): pp. 23-52.
- BARNETT RUBIN, THE FRAGMENTATION OF AFGHANISTAN: STATE FORMATION AND COLLAPSE IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2ed. 2002): ix-xxxv.

- Imtiaz H. Bokari, *Internal Negotiations Among Many Actors: Afghanistan*, in *ELUSIVE PEACE: NEGOTIATING AN END TO CIVIL WARS*, (William Zartman, ed.) (Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1995): **pp. 231-264.**

7. CASE STUDY: WEAK, FAILED, AND COLLAPSED STATES: COLOMBIA (APRIL 24, 2008)

Where does Colombia fall in the continuum – between State weakness and State collapse?

What are the major causes of State weakness and failure in Colombia?

What is the impact of the “culture of violence” and the *La Violencia* on the State in Colombia?

Required Readings:

- DAVID BUSHNELL, *THE MAKING OF MODERN COLOMBIA: A NATION IN SPITE OF ITSELF* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993): **pp. 201-282**
- Daniel Pécaut, *From the Banality of Violence to Real Terror: The Case of Colombia*, in *SOCIETIES OF FEAR: THE LEGACY OF CIVIL WAR, VIOLENCE AND TERROR IN LATIN AMERICA* (Kees Koonings & Dirk Kruijt, eds.) (London: Zed Books): **pp. 141-167**
- Pierre Gasman, *Persuading Belligerents to Comply with International Norms*, in *CIVILIANS IN WAR* (Simon Chesterman, ed.) (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001): **pp. 67-92**

Recommended:

- Ann Mason, *Colombian State Failure: The Global Context of Eroding Domestic Authority* (Presented at Conference on Failed States, 2001)
- Phillip McLean, *Colombia: Failed, Failing, or Just Weak*, Vol. 25(3), *WASHINGTON QUARTERLY* 2002, **pp. 123-134.**
- Harvey F. Kline, *Colombia: Lawlessness, Drug Trafficking, and Carving Up the State*, in *STATE FAILURE AND STATE WEAKNESS IN A TIME OF TERROR* (Robert I. Rotberg, ed.) (Cambridge, Mass, World Peace Foundation, 2003), **pp. 161-182.**

8. CASE STUDY: WEAK, FAILED, AND COLLAPSED STATES: DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO, LIBERIA AND SIERRA LEONE (APRIL 29, 2008)

What are the root causes of State decay and decline in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia and Sierra Leone? Was collapse inevitable in any of these cases?

What role did economic incentives play in State collapse? Could human agency have averted collapse?

Required Readings:

- René Lemarchand, *The Democratic Republic of the Congo: From Failure to Potential Reconstruction*, in *STATE FAILURE AND STATE WEAKNESS IN A TIME OF TERROR* (Robert I. Rotberg, ed.) (Cambridge, Mass, World Peace Foundation, 2003), **pp. 29-69**.
- WILLIAM RENO, *WARLORD POLITICS AND AFRICAN STATES* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1998): **Chapter 3, pp. 79-107**
- William Reno, *Sierra Leone: Warfare in a Post-State Society*, in *STATE FAILURE AND STATE WEAKNESS IN A TIME OF TERROR* (Robert I. Rotberg, ed.) (Cambridge, Mass, World Peace Foundation, 2003), **pp. 71-101**

Recommended:

- Herbert Weiss, *Zaire: Collapsed Society, Surviving State, Future Polity*, in *COLLAPSED STATES: THE DISINTEGRATION AND RESTORATION OF LEGITIMATE AUTHORITY* (I. William Zartman, ed.) (Boulder, Colorado, Lynne Rienner, 1995): **Chapter 10, pp. 157-170**.
- Claude Kabemba, *The Democratic Republic of Congo*, in *BIG AFRICAN STATES* (Christopher Clapham, Jeffrey Herbst, & Gregory Mills, eds.) (Johannesburg, South Africa: Wits University Press, 2006): **pp. 97-122**.
- WILLIAM RENO, *WARLORD POLITICS AND AFRICAN STATES* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1998): Chapters 5: Sovereignty and the Fragmentation of the Democratic Republic of Congo: **pp. 147-181**.
- Martin Lowenkopf, *Liberia: Putting the State Back Together*, in *COLLAPSED STATES: THE DISINTEGRATION AND RESTORATION OF LEGITIMATE AUTHORITY* (I. William Zartman, ed.) (Boulder, Colorado, Lynne Rienner, 1995): **Chapter 6: pp. 91-108**.
- WILLIAM RENO, *WARLORD POLITICS AND AFRICAN STATES* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1998): **Chapter 4, pp. 113-141**

9. CASE STUDY: WEAK, FAILED, AND COLLAPSED STATES: SOMALIA (MAY 1, 2008)

What factors precipitated the collapse of the Somalia State?

Was Somalia a victim of Cold War politics? How did this undermine stability in Somalia?

Are warlords legitimate actors in the politics of Somalia?

Could intervention have saved Somalia from collapse and ensuing anarchy?

Required Readings:

- Hussein A. Adam, *Somalia: A Terrible Beauty Being Born?* in *COLLAPSED STATES: THE DISINTEGRATION AND RESTORATION OF LEGITIMATE AUTHORITY* (I. William Zartman, ed.) (Boulder, Colorado, Lynne Rienner, 1995): **Chapter 5: pp. 69-89**.
- TERENCE LYONS & AHMED I. SAMATAR, *STATE COLLAPSE, MULTILATERAL INTERVENTION, AND STRATEGIES FOR POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1995): **pp. 7-35**.

- Jeffrey Gettleman, In Somalia, Those Who Feed Off Anarchy Fuel It, NY Times, April 25, 2007, available at <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/25/world/africa/25somalia.html>

Recommended:

- AFRICA WATCH, SOMALIA: A GOVERNMENT AT WAR WITH ITS OWN PEOPLE (New York, N.Y.: Human Rights Watch, January 1990): **pp. 1-43.**

10. CASE STUDIES: HYBRID: HAITI, SRI LANKA, SUDAN (MAY 6, 2008)

Is the characterization of The Sudan as a continuously failing/failed State correct?

What makes The Sudan a “successfully failed State”?

What accounts for Haiti’s perennial weakness?

Is low territorial control enough to permit Sri Lanka being considered as a failed State, in view of high government functionality? Why is Sri Lanka a failed State?

Required Readings:

- Gérard Prunier & Rachel M. Gisselquist, *The Sudan: A Successfully Failed State*, in STATE FAILURE AND STATE WEAKNESS IN A TIME OF TERROR (Robert I. Rotberg, ed.) (Cambridge, Mass, World Peace Foundation, 2003), **pp. 101-127.**
- Marlye Gélin-Adams & David M. Malone, *Haiti: A Case of Endemic Weakness*, in STATE FAILURE AND STATE WEAKNESS IN A TIME OF TERROR (Robert I. Rotberg, ed.) (Cambridge, Mass, World Peace Foundation, 2003), **pp. 287-304.**
- Erin K. Jenne, *Sri Lanka: A Fragmented State*, in STATE FAILURE AND STATE WEAKNESS IN A TIME OF TERROR (Robert I. Rotberg, ed.) (Cambridge, Mass, World Peace Foundation, 2003), **pp. 219-244.**

B. STATE BUILDING/STATE RECONSTRUCTION

1. CHALLENGE OF STATE BUILDING – LIMITS; PRIORITIES AND TASKS OF STATE RECONSTRUCTION (MAY 8, 2008)

What is State building/reconstruction?

What are the main tasks to be accomplished in State building?

Is “ownership” of the process important?

What should be the goal of the reconstruction process? The interests of the target State or those of the international community, e.g. war on terror?

Should failed/collapsed State forfeit their sovereignty?

Required Readings:

Derick W. Brinkerhoff, *Rebuilding Governance in Failed States and Post-Conflict Societies: Core Concepts and Cross-Cutting Themes*, Vol. 25(1), PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION & DEVELOPMENT, pp. 3–14 (2005).

Stephen D. Krasner, *Sharing Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States*, in LEASHING THE DOGS OF WAR: CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN A DIVIDED WORLD (Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler and Pamela Aall, eds.) (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2007): pp. 653-678.

Barnett R. Rubin, *Constructing Sovereignty for Security*, Vol. 47, No. 4, SURVIVAL pp. 93-106 (Winter 2005)

John J. Hamre & Gordon R. Sullivan, *Toward Postconflict Reconstruction*, Vol. 25(2), THE WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, pp. 85-96

Recommended:

George Downs & Stephen John Stedman, *Evaluating Issues in Peace Implementation*, in ENDING CIVIL WARS: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PEACE AGREEMENTS (Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild & Elizabeth M. Cousens, eds.) (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2002): pp. 43-69.

FRANCIS FUKUYAMA, *STATE-BUILDING: GOVERNANCE AND WORLD ORDER IN THE 21ST CENTURY* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2004): pp, ix-xi; 1-42.

2. PEACE AND SECURITY CHALLENGES; RESTORING THE ECONOMY AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS (MAY 13, 2008)

What are the main security challenges in rebuilding a failed/collapsed State?

How can balance be struck between the use of force and peaceful approaches in maintaining peace and security?

How can a viable peacetime economy and economic institutions be created in the aftermath of conflict?

What is the role of donors in post-conflict situations? What should be their proper roles?

Required Readings: Peace and Security:

- Nicole Ball, *Strengthening Democratic Governance of the Security Sector in Conflict-Affected Countries*, Vol. 25(1), PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION & DEVELOPMENT, **pp. 25-38** (2005)
- Joanna Spear, *Disarmament and Demobilization*, in ENDING CIVIL WARS: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PEACE AGREEMENTS (Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild & Elizabeth M. Cousens, eds.) (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2002) **pp. 141-159**.

Recommended:

- SIMON CHESTERMAN, *YOU THE PEOPLE: THE UNITED NATIONS, TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION, AND STATE-BUILDING* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004): Chapter 3: Peace and Security: The Use of Force to Maintain Law and Order, **pp. 99-125**.
- Scott Feil, *Laying the Foundation: Enhancing Security*, in WINNING THE PEACE: AN AMERICAN STRATEGY FOR POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION (Robert Orr, ed.) (Washington: CSIS, 2004): **pp. 39-57**.

Required Readings: Economy and Economic Institutions

- Donald Snodgrass, *Restoring Economic Functioning in Failed States*, in WHEN STATES FAIL: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES, (Robert I. Rotberg, ed.) (Princeton U. Press, 2004) **pp. 256-268**.
- Susan L. Woodward, *Economic Priorities for Successful Peace Implementation*, in ENDING CIVIL WARS: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PEACE AGREEMENTS (Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild & Elizabeth M. Cousens, eds.) (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2002): **pp. 183-214**.

Recommended:

- Stewart Patrick, *The Donor Community and the Challenge of Post-Conflict Reconstruction*, in GOOD INTENTIONS: PLEDGES OF AID FOR POST-CONFLICT RECOVERY, (Shepard Forman & Stewart Patrick, eds.), (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2000): **pp. 35-65**.
- James K. Boyce, *Beyond Good Intentions: External Assistance and Peacebuilding*, in GOOD INTENTIONS: PLEDGES OF AID FOR POST-CONFLICT RECOVERY, (Shepard Forman & Stewart Patrick, eds.), (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2000): **pp. 367-382**.
- Heiko Nitzschke and Kaysie Studdard, *The Legacies of War Economies: Challenges and Options for Peacemaking and Peacebuilding*, Vol. 12, INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING, **pp. 222-239** (Summer 2005).

3. GOOD GOVERNANCE, RULE OF LAW AND POST-CONFLICT JUSTICE (MAY 15, 2008)

Should the rule of law be a primary objective of post-conflict reconstruction?

Is the promotion of democracy and democratic institutions advantageous in reconstruction?

Should post-conflict justice be a goal? What is the best way to ensure accountability for past atrocities?

Required Readings:

- Neil J. Kritz, *The Rule of Law in Conflict Management*, in *LEASHING THE DOGS OF WAR: CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN A DIVIDED WORLD* (Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler and Pamela Aall, eds.) (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2007): **pp. 401-424.**
- Jack Snyder & Leslie Vinjamuri, *Trials and Errors: Principle and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice*, Vol. 28(3) *INTERNATIONAL SECURITY*, (Winter 2003), **pp. 5-44.**
- Marina Ottaway, *Is Democracy The Answer?* in *LEASHING THE DOGS OF WAR: CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN A DIVIDED WORLD* (Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler and Pamela Aall, eds.) (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2007): **pp. 603-617.**

Recommended:

- Terence Lyons, *Transforming the Institutions of War: Post-Conflict Elections and the Reconstruction of Failed States*, in *WHEN STATES FAIL: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES*, (Robert I. Rotberg, ed.) (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004) **pp. 269-301.**
- SIMON CHESTERMAN, *YOU THE PEOPLE: THE UNITED NATIONS, TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION, AND STATE-BUILDING* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004): Chapter 5: Justice and Reconciliation: The Rule of Law in Post-Conflict Territories, **pp. 154-182.**
- Susan Rose-Ackerman, "Establishing the Rule of Law," in *WHEN STATES FAIL: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES*, (Robert I. Rotberg, ed.) (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004) **pp. 182-221.**

4. NGOS AND PRIVATE SECTOR INVOLVEMENT; ROLE OF DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL ACTORS (MAY 20, 2008)

How can coordination be improved between NGOs and the private sector on one hand and national government on the other?

Should there a role for private contractors in the reconstruction and stabilization process? Should peacekeeping be privatized? What the implications for State sovereignty and national security?

What is the best way to deal with the problem of politicization of aid by donors?

Do humanitarian workers inadvertently legitimize non-State actors when they work with them?

Required Readings:

- Thomas G. Weiss & Peter J. Hoffman, *Making Humanitarianism Work*, in *MAKING STATES WORK: STATE FAILURE AND THE CRISIS OF GOVERNANCE*, (Simon Chesterman, Michael Ignatieff, and Ramesh Thakur, eds.) (Tokyo; New York: United Nations University Press, 2005): **pp. 296-317**.
- Michael O'Hanlon and P. W. Singer, *The Humanitarian Transformation: Expanding Global Intervention Capacity*, Vol. 46(1) *SURVIVAL* (Spring 2004), **pp. 77-100**.
- Alexander Cooley & James Ron, *The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action*, Vol. 27(1) *INTERNATIONAL SECURITY*, (Summer 2002), **pp. 5-39**.
- Peter W. Singer, *Outsourcing War*, Vol. 84(2) *FOREIGN AFFAIRS* (March/April 2005), **pp. 119-132**.

Recommended:

- David Rieff, *Humanitarianism in Crisis*, Vol. 81(6), *FOREIGN AFFAIRS* (Nov/Dec 2002), **pp. 111-121**.
- Antonio Donini, Larry Minnear, & Peter Walker, *The Future of Humanitarian Action: Mapping the Implications of Iraq and other Recent Crises*, Vol. 28(2) *DISASTERS*, (2004): **pp. 190-204**.

5. CASE STUDIES: UN TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATIONS: (EAST) TIMOR-LESTE; KOSOVO (MAY 22, 2008)

Was the UN-led operation in East Timor (Timor-Leste) a success? Does it provide any lesson(s) for future UN transitional administrations?

With the recent declaration of independence by Kosovo, was the international administration a success?

Can contemporary State building be successfully undertaken without the involvement of the UN?

Required Readings: Timor-Leste:

- Jarat Chopra, *Building State Failure in East Timor*, in *STATE FAILURE, COLLAPSE AND RECONSTRUCTION*, (Jennifer Milliken, ed.) (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2003) **pp 223-243**.
- INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP, *TIMOR-LESTE: SECURITY SECTOR REFORM*, Asia Report N°143 – 17 January 2008

Recommended:

- James Fearon & David Laitin, *Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States*, Vol. 28(4) *INTERNATIONAL SECURITY* (2004), **pp. 1-39**.
- Explanatory Note of the Secretary General: Peacebuilding Commission: <http://www.globalpolicy.org/reform/initiatives/annan/2005/0417peacebuilding.htm>

Required Readings: Kosovo:

- Jock Covey, *Making a Viable Peace: Moderating Political Conflict*, in *THE QUEST FOR VIABLE PEACE: INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION AND STRATEGIES FOR CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION* (Jock Covey, Michael C. Dziedzic, & Leonard R. Hawley eds.) (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2005): **pp. 99-122.**
- Michael J. Dziedzic & Len Hawley, *Linkages among the Transformation Strategies*, in *THE QUEST FOR VIABLE PEACE: INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION AND STRATEGIES FOR CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION* (Jock Covey, Michael C. Dziedzic, & Leonard R. Hawley eds.) (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2005): **pp. 245-265.**

Recommended: Kosovo

- Dziedzic and Hawley, *Introduction*, in *THE QUEST FOR VIABLE PEACE: INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION AND STRATEGIES FOR CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION* (Jock Covey, Michael C. Dziedzic, & Leonard R. Hawley eds.) (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2005): **pp. 3-22 (See April 5).**
- Halvor A. Hartz & Laura Mercean, with Clint Williamson, *Safeguarding a Viable Peace: Institutionalizing the Rule of Law*, in *THE QUEST FOR VIABLE PEACE: INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION AND STRATEGIES FOR CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION* (Jock Covey, Michael C. Dziedzic, & Leonard R. Hawley eds.) (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2005): **pp. 157-204**
- Stephanie A. Blair, Dana Eyre, Bernard Salome, and James Wasserstrom, *Forging a Viable Peace: Developing a Legitimate Political Economy*, in *THE QUEST FOR VIABLE PEACE: INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION AND STRATEGIES FOR CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION* (Jock Covey, Michael C. Dziedzic, & Leonard R. Hawley eds.) (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2005): **pp. 205-243**

6. CASE STUDY: AFGHANISTAN (MAY 27, 2008)

What is more important for the nation-building process in Afghanistan – establishment of legitimacy or creation of sovereignty?

Which parts of the reconstruction process in Afghanistan can be considered a success and which ones qualify for “failure”?

What is the relation of the “war on terror” to the reconstruction effort in Afghanistan? Can there be a balance between fighting terrorism and State reconstruction?

What are the proper roles for the UN, regional security organizations, national States and the Afghan State in this process?

Required Readings:

- Larry Goodson, *The Lessons of Nation-Building in Afghanistan*, in *NATION-BUILDING: BEYOND AFGHANISTAN AND IRAQ* (Francis Fukuyama, ed.) (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006): **pp. 145-169.**

- Barnett R. Rubin, *Peace Building and State-Building in Afghanistan: Constructing Sovereignty for Whose Security?* Vol. 27(1), THIRD WORLD QUARTERLY, pp. 175 – 185 (2006).
- Barnett R. Rubin, *Saving Afghanistan*, Vol. 86(1) FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Jan./Feb. 2007): pp. 57-78.
- Marvin Weinbaum, *Rebuilding Afghanistan: Impediments, Lessons, and Prospects*, in NATION-BUILDING: BEYOND AFGHANISTAN AND IRAQ (Francis Fukuyama, ed.) (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006): pp. 125-144.
- Zalmay Khalilzad, *How to Nation-Build*, Vol. 80, THE NATIONAL INTEREST (Summer 2005): pp. 19-28.

Recommended:

- S. Frederick Starr, *Sovereignty and Legitimacy in Afghan Nation-Building*, in NATION-BUILDING: BEYOND AFGHANISTAN AND IRAQ (Francis Fukuyama, ed.) (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006): pp. 107-124.

7. CASE STUDY: IRAQ (MAY 29, 2008)

What are the reasons for the problems encountered in the reconstruction efforts in Iraq?

Has the reconstruction effort failed? Could it have been successful or was it doomed from the start?

What is your assessment of the order for “De-Ba’athification of Iraqi Society” and the order of “Dissolution (*sic*) of Entities”? Were there alternatives to (the implementation of) these orders?

How do you determine progress in post-conflict reconstruction?

Required Readings:

- Sultan Barakat, *Post-Saddam Iraq: Deconstructing A Regime, Reconstructing A Nation*, Vol. 26 (4-5), THIRD WORLD QUARTERLY, pp. 571 – 591 (2005)
- Anthony Cordesman, *American Strategic, Tactical and Other Mistakes in Iraq: A Litany of Errors*, April 19, 2006
http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/060419_iraqlitany.pdf
- Larry Diamond, *What Went Wrong and Right in Iraq*, in NATION-BUILDING: BEYOND AFGHANISTAN AND IRAQ (Francis Fukuyama, ed.) (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006): pp. 173-195
- Johanna Mendelson Forman, *Striking Out in Baghdad: How the Lessons of Post-Conflict Reconstruction Went Awry*, in NATION-BUILDING: BEYOND AFGHANISTAN AND IRAQ (Francis Fukuyama, ed.) (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006): pp. 196-217
- Tareq Y. Ismael & Jacqueline S. Ismael, *Whither Iraq? Beyond Saddam, Sanctions and Occupation*, Vol. 26 (4-5), THIRD WORLD QUARTERLY, pp. 609 – 629 (2005)

Recommended:

- Nora Bensahel, "Mission Not Accomplished: What Went Wrong with Iraqi Reconstruction," *THE JOURNAL OF STRATEGIC STUDIES* 29, 3 453-473 (June 2006)
- James Dobbins, *Learning the Lessons of Iraq*, in *NATION-BUILDING: BEYOND AFGHANISTAN AND IRAQ* (Francis Fukuyama, ed.) (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006): **pp. 218-229**
- Ed Harriman, *Where Has All the Money Gone?* Vol. 27(13) *LONDON REVIEW OF BOOKS*, July 7, 2005
- Ed Harriman, *Cronyism and Kickbacks*, Vol. 28(2) *LONDON REVIEW OF BOOKS*, January 26, 2006
- Ed Harriman, *The Least Accountable Regime in the Middle East* Vol. 28(21) *LONDON REVIEW OF BOOKS*, November 2, 2006
- Eliot Weinberger, *What I Heard About Iraq*, Vol. 27(3) *LONDON REVIEW OF BOOKS*, February 3, 2005
- Eliot Weinberger, *What I Heard About Iraq in 2005*, Vol. 28(1) *LONDON REVIEW OF BOOKS*, January 5, 2006

8. CASE STUDIES: LIBERIA/SIERRA LEONE (JUNE 3, 2008)

Should security be the top priority in reconstruction? Should civil society play any role in reconstruction efforts?

In what ways can peace be negotiated without too much reliance on foreign interests?

Should there be a trade-off between peace and accountability in State reconstruction?

Is State reconstruction in Liberia and Sierra Leone hampered by the regional context in West Africa?

In light of recent elections in Sierra Leone and Liberia and apparent stability in both countries, can these be considered a "successful" effort?

Required Readings:

- Adekeye Adebajo, *Liberia: A Warlord's Peace*, in *ENDING CIVIL WARS: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PEACE AGREEMENTS* (Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild & Elizabeth M. Cousens, eds.) (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2002): **pp. 599-630**.
- INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP, "LIBERIA AND SIERRA LEONE: REBUILDING FAILED STATES" (December 8 2004)
- Michael Chege, *Sierra Leone: The State that Came Back from the Dead*, Vol. 25(3) *WASHINGTON QUARTERLY* (Summer 2002): **pp. 147-160**.
- Stephen Ellis, *How to Rebuild Africa*, Vol. 84(5) *FOREIGN AFFAIRS* (Sept. /Oct. 2005): **pp. 135-148**.