

**Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies (IR/PS)  
IRGN 490: INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIES TOWARD FRAGILE STATES  
Spring quarter 2007**

Thursdays, 9:30 AM -12:20 PM  
IR/PS 1201

Miles Kahler  
Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies and  
Department of Political Science  
RBC 1417  
Phone 534-3078; email: mkahler@ucsd.edu

OFFICE HOURS: Mondays, 11 AM – 1 PM

Internal conflict and weak governance have produced increased levels of international intervention in fragile states (a controversial and poorly defined category) by international institutions, the aid agencies of national governments, and non-governmental organizations. The course will explain and evaluate the strategies of international actors toward fragile states and the response by domestic actors within those states.

**COURSE REQUIREMENTS:**

- Completion of a research paper or report (approximately 25 pages) on a topic approved by the instructor. The paper may analyze a case or set of cases, a theoretical issue, or policy prescriptions for fragile states.
- Participation in seminar discussions based on each week's reading
- Opening one or more seminar discussions

**COURSE READINGS**

All required readings have been placed on E-Reserves at the UCSD library. A reader with all selections from books is available from A. S. Soft Reserves. Readings marked with an asterisk (\*) can be purchased at the University Bookstore. "Additional reading" is not required.

**I. April 5: Defining states**

Michael Hechter, *Containing Nationalism*, pp. 35-69

Robert H. Jackson, "Quasi-states, Dual Regimes, and Neoclassical Theory: International Jurisprudence and the Third World," *International Organization* 41, 4 (Autumn 1987): 519-549

Mark Duffield, *Global Governance and the New Wars*, pp. 22-34

Michael Barnett, "Building a Republican Peace: Stabilizing States after War," *International Security*, 30, 4 (Spring 2006): 87-112

**Guest speaker: Professor Stephan Haggard**

*Case: North Korea*

Stephan Haggard and Marcus Noland, *Famine in North Korea: Markets, Aid, and Reform*, pp. 21-50, 220-228 (recommended: pp. 51-76)

*Additional reading:*

Francis Fukuyama, *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century*

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa*, pp. 97-136

Human Security Centre (University of British Columbia), *Human Security Report* (2005;

<http://www.humansecurityreport.info/>) and *Human Security Brief* (2006;

<http://www.humansecuritybrief.info/>)

John W. Meyer et al. "World Society and the Nation-State," *American Journal of Sociology*, 103, 1 (July 1997): 144-81

**II. April 12: Measuring state fragility and failure**

Robert I. Rotberg, "The Failure and Collapse of Nation-States," in Robert I. Rotberg, ed., *When States Fail*, pp. 1-25

*Measures and Indicators [seminar members will report on one of the following]:*

Jack A. Goldstone, et al. *State Failure Task Force Report: Phase III Findings* (30 September 2000), pp. iii-xi, 1-9, 49-53, 62-63; skim the remainder of the findings (pp. 10-48) and the appendices (particularly pp. 64-79, 189-204)

"The Failed States Index," *Foreign Policy*, July/August 2005, pp. 56-65 AND "The Failed States Index," *Foreign Policy*, May/June 2006, pp. 50-58

World Bank (Independent Evaluation Group), *Engaging with Fragile States: An IEG Review of World Bank Support to Low-Income Countries Under Stress* (World Bank, 2006), pp. 3-13, 83-84 (Appendix B)

Daniel Kaufmann, Aart Kraay, and Massimo Mastruzzi, "Measuring Governance Using Cross-Country Perceptions Data," The World Bank (August 2005).

Joanna Macrae et al., "Aid to Poorly Performing Countries: A Critical Review of Debates and Issues," pp. 81-86 (Overseas Development Institute, July 2004)

*CASES: Somaliland, Colombia, and others*

International Crisis Group, *Somaliland: Time for African Union Leadership* (Africa Report No. 110—23 May 2006), pp. 4-17

AND ONE of the following:

Mónica Serrano and Paul Kenny, "Colombia and the Andean Crisis," in Simon Chesterman, Michael Ignatieff and Ramesh Thakur, eds., *Making States Work: State Failure and the Crisis of Governance*, pp. 102-142

"The mayhem in Manipur," *The Economist*, 1 March 2007.

Ismail Khan and Carlotta Gall, "Pakistan Lets Tribal Chiefs Keep Control Along Border," *The New York Times*, 6 September 2006.

Larry Rohter, "New Attacks by a Heavily Armed Gang Rattle Brazil," *The New York Times*, 13 August 2006

*Additional reading:*

Stuart E. Eizenstat, John Edward Porter, and Jeremy M. Weinstein, "Rebuilding Weak States," *Foreign Affairs*, 84, 1 (January/February 2005): 134-146  
 Kees Koonings and Dirk Kruijt, editors. *Armed Actors: Organized Violence and State Failure in Latin America*.

**III. April 19: Internal conflict, state failure, and peace building**

James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review*, 97,1 (February 2003): 75-90.  
 Nicolas Van de Walle, "The Economic Correlates of State Failure," in Robert I. Rotberg, ed., *When States Fail*, pp. 94-115  
 \*Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, editors, *Making War and Building Peace*, pp. 27-68, and one of the following cases: pp. 197-223 (El Salvador and Cambodia); 243-256 (East Timor), 281-302 (Rwanda)  
 David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild. "Territorial Decentralization and Civil War Settlements," in Philip G. Roeder and Donald Rothchild, editors, *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*, pp.109-132

*Additional reading;*

Dawn Brancati, "Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism?" *International Organization*, 60,3 (Summer 2006): 651-685  
 Paul Collier, et al. *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*  
 Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "On the Incidence of Civil War in Africa," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 46,1 (February 2002): 13-28.  
 Page Fortna, "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace?: International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War," *International Studies Quarterly*, 48 (2004) pp. 269-292  
 J. Michael Greig and Paul F. Diehl, "The Peacekeeping-Peacemaking Dilemma," *International Studies Quarterly*, 49, 4 (December 2005), pp. 621-645  
 Ian Lustick, Dan Miodownik, and Roy J. Eidelson, "Secessionism in Multicultural States: Does Sharing Power Prevent or Encourage It?" *American Political Science Review*, 98. 2 (May 2004): 209-229.  
 Stephen N. Ndegwa and Brian Levy, "The Politics of Decentralization in Africa: A Comparative Analysis," in Brian Levy and Sahr Kpundeh, eds., *Building State Capacity in Africa*, pp. 283-321

**IV. April 26: Non-governmental organizations and governance**

Daniel N. Posner, "Civil Society and the Reconstruction of Failed States," in Robert I. Rotberg, ed., *When States Fail*, pp. 237-255  
 Alex Cooley and James Ron, "The NGO Scramble," *International Security*, 27, 1 (2002): 5-39  
 Fiona Terry, *Condemned to Repeat? The Paradox of Humanitarian Action*, pp. 17-54  
*Engaging Civil Society Organizations in Conflict-Affected and Fragile States: Three African Country Case Studies* (World Bank Sector Report 32538, 2005/06/29.  
 (Available as a pdf file at the World Bank website)

Deniis Dijkzeul, "Healing Governance? Four Health NGOs in War-Torn Eastern Congo," *Journal of International Affairs*, 57, 1 (Fall 2003): 183-199.

*Additional reading:*

Mary B. Anderson, *Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace—or War*

Michael Barnett, "Humanitarianism Transformed," *Perspectives on Politics*, 3, 4 (December 2005): 723-239

Elena Shishkova, "The Role of INGOs in Promoting Civic Participation and Good Governance," Prepared for InterAction's Democracy and Governance Working Group, August 2004

Arne Strand, "Aid Coordination: Easy to Agree On, Difficult to Organise," in Sultan Barakat, ed., *After the Conflict: Reconstruction and Development in the Aftermath of War*, pp. 87-99

### **V. May 3: No meeting of the course**

### **VI. May 10: Neo-trusteeship and peace-building**

#### **Guest speaker: Professor David Lake**

David Lake, "Building Legitimate States After Civil Wars: Order, Authority, and Institutions"

James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States," *International Security*, 28, 4 (Spring 2004): 5-43

Stephen D. Krasner, "Sharing Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States," *International Security*, 29, 2 (Fall 2004): 85-120.

\*Doyle and Sambanis, *Making War and Building Peace*, pp. 303-333

#### *Case: East Timor*

Jarat Chopra, "Building State Failure in East Timor," in Jennifer Milliken, ed., *State Failure, Collapse and Reconstruction*, pp. 223-243

International Crisis Group, *Resolving Timor-Leste's Crisis* (Asia Report No. 120, 10 October 2006).

*Additional reading:*

Richard Caplan, *International Governance of War-Torn Territories*.

### **VII. May 17: Democratization, elections, and state fragility**

#### **Guest speaker: Professor Matthew Shugart**

Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict*, pp.179-211

Timothy D. Sisk, "Pathway of the Political: Electoral Processes after Civil War," paper prepared for the Research Partnership on Postwar State-Building (<http://state-building.org/6.html>)

**Cases:**

Paris, *At War's End*, pp. 63-96 (Angola, Rwanda, Cambodia, Liberia)

Sorpong Peou, "Implementing Cambodia's Peace Agreement," in Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth M. Cousens, eds., *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*, pp. 499-530

**Additional reading:**

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and George W. Downs, "Intervention and Democracy," *International Organization*, 60, 3 (Summer 2006): 627-649.

**VIII. May 24: Aid and state-building**

Miles Kahler, "Aid and State-building"

Steven Radelet, "A Primer on Foreign Aid," *Center For Global Development*, Working Paper Number 92 (July 2006).

Paul Collier, "The Failure of Conditionality," in Catherine Gwin and Joan M. Nelson, *Perspectives on Aid and Development*, pp. 51-77

James K. Boyce, "Aid Conditionality as a Tool for Peacebuilding: Opportunities and Constraints," in Jennifer Milliken, ed., *State Failure, Collapse and Reconstruction*, pp. 267-289

Nicholas van de Walle, *Overcoming Stagnation in Aid-Dependent Countries*, pp. 65-78

**Case: Aid, the security sector, and police reform [read one of the following]**

Rama Mani, "Contextualizing Police Reform: Security, the Rule of Law and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding" and Chuck Call and Michael Barnett, "Looking for a Few Good Cops: Peacekeeping, Peacebuilding and CIVPOL," in Tor Tanke Holm and Espen Barth Eide, eds., *Peacebuilding and Police Reform*, pp. 9-26 and pp. 43-68

David H. Bailey, *Changing the Guard: Developing Democratic Police Abroad*, pp. 49-67

Charles T. Call and William Stanley, "Civilian Security," in Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth M. Cousens, eds., *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*, pp. 303-325

**Additional reading:**

Department for International Development (DfID), (U. K.). *Why We Need to Work More Effectively in Fragile States*. (2005)

Merilee S. Grindle, "Good Enough Governance: Poverty Reduction and Reform in Developing Countries" *Governance*, 17, 4 (October 2004): 525-548

Gemma Collantes Celador, "Police Reform: Peacebuilding Through 'Democratic Policing'?" *International Peacekeeping*, 12, 3 (Autumn 2005): 364-376

**IX. May 31: International institutions and the governance agenda**

Adele Harmer, "Bridging the Gap? The International Financial Institutions and their Engagement in Situations of Protracted Crisis," in Adele Harmer and Joanna Macrae, eds., *Beyond the Continuum: The Changing Role of Aid Policy in*

- Protracted Crises*, pp. 28-41 (Overseas Development Institute Humanitarian Policy Group Research Report)
- Sebastian Mallaby, *The World's Banker*, pp. 207-260
- Jean A. P. Clément, The Democratic Republic of the Congo: Lessons and Challenges for a Country Emerging from War, in Jean A. P. Clément, ed., *Postconflict Economics in Sub-Saharan Africa*, pp. 6-61
- World Bank (Independent Evaluation Group). *Engaging with Fragile States: An IEG Review of World Bank Support to Low-Income Countries Under Stress* (2006), Executive Summary and pp. 15-44, 65-74

*Additional reading:*

- James K. Boyce, "The International Financial Institutions: Postconflict Reconstruction and Peacebuilding Capacities," paper prepared for the Center on International Cooperation, New York University, June 2004.
- World Bank Operations Evaluation Department, *Capacity Building in Africa* (2005)
- World Bank, *The Role of the World Bank in Conflict and Development: An Evolving Agenda*.

**X. June 7: Evaluation of the effects of international intervention and its absence**

**Guest speaker: Professor Craig McIntosh**

- Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy M. Weinstein, "Disentangling the Determinants of Successful Demobilization and Reintegration," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D. C., 2005.

*Case: Somalia—state building without international intervention?*

- Ken Menkhaus, "Governance without Government in Somalia: Spoilers, State Building, and the Politics of Coping," *International Security*, 31, 3 (Winter 2006/07), pp. 74-106
- Jeremy Weinstein, "Autonomous Recovery and International Intervention in Comparative Perspective," Center for Global Development Working Paper Number 57 (April 2005).
- Tatiana Nenova and Tim Harford, "Anarchy and Invention," *Public Policy for the Private Sector*, Note 280, November 2004 (<http://rru.worldbank.org/PublicPolicyJournal>)
- International Crisis Group, "Somalia: The Tough Part is Ahead," Policy Briefing (Africa Briefing No. 45, 26 January 2007)

*Background:*

- Terrence Lyons and Ahmed I. Samatar, *Somalia*, pp. 7-24