

FAILED STATES

GOV 2571 M/W 2:30-3:55 HUBBARD 213

DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT AND LEGAL STUDIES BOWDOIN COLLEGE

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Office Hours

Coe 314 M/W 10-11am

Or by appointment

COURSE OUTLINE

This course will introduce students to the theories and empirical realities of state failure from both comparative politics and international relations perspectives. The defining characteristics of statehood and measures of state-society relations that contribute to collapse will comprise the first topics, providing the theoretical framework from which we can understand the subsequent security and development implications. The second topic will address the causes and implications of civil wars in failed states with a case study focus on the Democratic Republic of Congo. The third section is on whether failed states produce transnational threats, specifically terrorism, with a case study focus on Afghanistan and Pakistan. A fourth, brief, section will focus on Somalia as a potential “archetype of anarchy”, given the connections between internal disorder and transnational threats. The final topic will cover various options available to the international community to respond to weak and failed states, to both prevent threats with intervention and strengthen state-society relations with state-building.

CLASS TIME AND REQUIRED READINGS

The assigned reading material is meant to stimulate debate and discussion and expose you to important “thinkers” on different sides of the issues. Class time is devoted to lecture and discussion, and meant to complement the reading material. Lectures will not take up the entire class but are important to fill in the information gaps in the readings, explain the material, and shape our approach to the topic.

There are no books to purchase. The required reading materials are available online through direct links, Ebooks, or downloadable files on the Blackboard page for this course. It is expected that students will do all the assigned reading for each topic prior to the relevant lectures and be prepared to discuss them. Students are expected to keep up with international news so that discussion of new and ongoing global crises can occur in class.

ASSIGNMENTS AND EVALUATION

Participation	15%	Ongoing
Exam #1	20%	October 15 th
Exam #2	25%	December 10 th
Response Essays x3	40%	Per schedule

Participation: 15%

Participation grades will be determined by attendance and oral participation in class. The following are general guidelines and evaluation criteria for participation:

(A) Exceptional contribution, characterized by being an outstanding participant in the small group and frequently contributing during lecture discussion. The student's participation helps to generate more and better discussion within the group. Peers and the instructor learned a great deal, gained insights, and responded well to students' comments. Participation demonstrated that the student completed, understood, and could critically assess the assigned material.

(B) Substantial contribution, characterized by meaningful involvement that added to the discussion. He or she offered provocative and relevant comments or questions and participation was relevant to the readings and discussion. Participation demonstrated that the students completed and understood the assigned material.

(C) Expected contribution, characterized by meaningful involvement that added to the process. He or she participated consistently but not frequently. The student showed willingness and understanding during the discussion. Comments or questions were somewhat linked to the readings and discussion but it was not clear if the student understood the assigned material.

(D) Marginal and infrequent contribution, characterized by minor involvement that added little to the discussion. The student's knowledge of the reading could be inferred but was not directly stated. Participation did not demonstrate if he or she completed and understood the assigned material.

(F) Insignificant contribution, characterized by a failure to display interest or make relevant comments. The student listened but not intently and did not utilize reading material when making comments. Participation demonstrated that the student did not complete the assigned material.

Response Essays (3): 40%

Students are required to write three response essays, which must be approximately 5 double spaced pages each. The assigned topics and essays will be scheduled according to students' preferences and distributed throughout the semester.

The task in these essays is to respond to one question prompt (with choice) that will be distributed in advance and generated from the readings and lecture material. Students will be expected to develop an argument related to a particular theme, point of consensus or contestation, or critical analysis. The analysis must be focused and not simply a summary of the material. More details on the response essay assignments will be distributed separately.

These response papers will be due in class and in hard copy on the last day of each topic and students will be expected to draw on their essays for class discussion on those days.

Exams (2): 20% + 25%

There will be two in-class exams for this course: October 15th and December 10th. The first exam will cover the sub-topics for "When Things Fall Apart" and "Internal Disorder" whereas the second exam is non-cumulative and will cover the sub-topics for "Failed States as Transnational Threats," "Archetype of Anarchy" and "Global Responses and Responsibility." Each exam will consist of short answers and essays, with a degree of choice among them, and students will be responsible for both lecture and assigned reading material.

The exams will evaluate students' ability to understand, compare, and critically assess the concepts, scholarly arguments, and policy implications of each the sub-topics. They will not require rote memorization of detail and students will be allowed to have a copy of the syllabus during the exam.

Grading Scale

Letter	Percentage	GPA	Description
A	93-100%	4.0	Exceptional
A-	90-92%	3.7	Excellent
B+	87-89%	3.3	Very Good
B	83-86%	3.0	Good
B-	80-82%	2.7	Good
C+	77-79%	2.3	Below average
C	73-76%	2.0	Below average
C-	70-72%	1.7	Below average
D+	67-69%	1.3	Poor
D	63-66%	1.0	Poor
D-	60-62%	0.7	Poor
F	0-59%	0	Inadequate, below minimum standards
INC	Incomplete	0	Unsubmitted work

GENERAL POLICIES AND EXPECTATIONS

Students must abide by Bowdoin's policies and procedures, including the Academic Honor and Social Code, as found in the Student Handbook:

<http://www.bowdoin.edu/studentaffairs/student-handbook/index.shtml>

ASSIGNMENTS: All assignments and examinations must be completed. Any requests for extensions, alternative exam dates, excused absences, etc. will only be considered if accompanied by documentation explaining a personal or medical situation that would justify such an accommodation. In the event of such circumstances, notify me as soon as possible and in advance of the assignment deadline or exam.

ACADEMIC HONESTY:

All written work submitted by students must be *original* in conception, organization, and phrasing. Sources must be appropriately acknowledged, including online materials. Work submitted in this course for evaluation must not be, or ever have been, submitted in other courses. Any violations of the college's policies may result in sanctions ranging from a failing grade on the assignment to expulsion.

QUESTIONS & ASSISTANCE: First, make sure you cannot answer your own question by reviewing the syllabus or the college's resources. Otherwise, quick questions regarding course content and assignments can be directed to me by email or in person. If you have questions that require a more lengthy or private discussion, such as grading of an assignment, evaluation

of your progress, assistance in understanding course material, etc., please see me during our office hours.

ATTENDANCE: Arrive to class on time. Arriving late is disruptive and disrespectful. Repeated and excessive tardiness will negatively affect your participation grade. You are expected to attend all classes, save for one “free pass” that will not count against your participation grade.

OFFICE HOURS AND EMAIL: Office hours is time set-aside just for you. All students are welcome to come to my office hours to talk about course material, assignments, their research interests and academic goals, and any challenges they are facing in completing the assignments or participating in the class. Quick questions are best sent by email, and I typically respond within a day.

CLASS BEHAVIOR: Exhibit responsible, attentive, and mature behavior in class. This means avoiding any of the following: napping, talking to classmates while others are speaking, using phones, using your laptop or tablet for anything other than taking notes and class activities, consuming anything other than a quick snack or beverage, etc.

Be respectful of your classmates! Listen to them, learn their names, respect opinions, embrace diversity, and learn from each other.

COURSE SCHEDULE: TOPICS AND ASSIGNED READINGS

WHEN THINGS FALL APART

I. STATEHOOD (Sept 8, 10)

- Holsti, Kalevi J., Thomas Biersteker and Chris Brown. "States and Statehood" in *Taming the Sovereigns: Institutional Change in International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004: 28-31; 46-58. (Ebook)
- Migdal Joel S. "Strong States, Weak States" in *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001: 58-94. (Ebook)
- Jackson, Robert H. *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Third World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990: 1-9 (Introduction); 13-26 (Ch 1)

II. MEASURES AND DISCOURSE OF FAILURE (Sept 15, 17)

- Foreign Policy. *Fragile States Index 2014*. July/August 2014: Rankings and map only. <http://www.foreignpolicy.com/fragile-states-2014>
- Traub, James. "Think Again: Failed States" in *Foreign Policy*, June 20, 2011. http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/06/20/think_again_failed_states
- Patrick, Stewart. "Left Behind: Understanding State Fragility" in *Weak Links: Fragile States, Global Threats and International Security*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011: 18-60. (Ebook)
- Call, Charles T. "Beyond the 'failed state': Toward conceptual alternatives" in *European Journal of International Relations* Vol. 17, No. 2 (2010): 303-326.
- Boege, Volker, Anne Brown, Kevin Clements and Anna Nolan. "On Hybrid Political Orders and Emerging States: What is Failing – States in the Global South or Research and Politics in the West?" in *Building Peace in the Absence of States: Challenging the Discourse on State Failure*. Berghof Handbook Dialogue Series. (2009): 15-31. http://www.berghof-handbook.net/documents/publications/dialogue8_failingstates_complete.pdf

INTERNAL (DIS)ORDER: STATE-SOCIETY DYNAMICS OF COLLAPSE

III. CIVIL WARS AND WARLORDS (Sept 22, 24, 29)

- Williams, Paul D. "Introduction" and "The Terrain of Struggle" in *War & Conflict in Africa*. Cambridge: Polity, 2011: 1-11, 35-52.
- Kalyvas, Stathis. "'New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?" in *World Politics* Vol. 54 No 1 (2001): 99-118.
- Reno, William. *Warfare in Independent Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011: 1-36 (Evolving Warfare); 163-205 (Warlord Rebels).

- Jackson, Paul. "Warlords as Alternative Forms of Governance" in *Small Wars and Insurgencies* Vol. 14 No. 2 (2003): 131-150.

IV. THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO (DRC) (Oct 1, 6, 8)

- Stearns, Jason K. *Dancing in the Glory of Monsters: The Collapse of the Congo and the Great War of Africa*. New York: Public Affairs, 2011: 1-10; 307-337. (Ebook)
- Reno, William. "Congo: From state collapse, to 'absolutism' to state failure" in *Third World Quarterly* Vol. 27, No. 1 (2006): 43-56.
- Reyntjens, Filip. "Waging (Civil) War Abroad: Rwanda and the DRC" in *Remaking Rwanda: State Building and Human Rights after Mass Violence*. Scott Straus and Lars Waldork (eds). Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011; 132-146. (Ebook)
- Nzongola-Ntalaja, Georges. "The Failing State in the Democratic Republic of Congo" in *Global Dialogue* Vol. 13, No. 1 (2011): 1-12.
- Autesserre, Severine. "Hobbes and the Congo: Frames, Local Violence, and International Intervention." *International Organization* Vol. 63, No. 2 (2009): 249-280.
- Beswick, Danielle. "The Challenge of Warlordism to Post-Conflict State-Building: The Case of Laurent Nkunda in Eastern Congo" in *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*. Vol. 98, No. 402 (2009): 333-346.
- Stearns, Jason. "Helping Congo Help Itself" in *Foreign Affairs* (Sept/Oct 2013): 99-112.

EXAM #1 (Oct 15)

FAILED STATES AS TRANSNATIONAL THREATS

V. INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND TERRORISM (Oct 20)

- Patrick, Stewart. *Weak Links: Fragile States, Global Threats and International Security*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011: 61-104. (Ebook)

VI. AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN (Oct 22, 27, 29)

- Saikal, Amin. "Afghanistan's weak state and strong society" in *Making States Work: State Failure and the Crisis of Governance*, Simon Chesterman, Michael Ignatieff, and Ramesh Thakur (eds). New York and Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2005: 193-210. (Ebook)
- Barfield, Thomas. "Afghanistan's Ethnic Puzzle: Decentralizing Power before the U.S. Withdrawal" in *Foreign Affairs* (Sept/Oct 2011): 54-65.
- Jones, Seth G. "The Rise of Afghanistan's Insurgency" in *International Security* Vol. 32 No. 4 (2008): 7-40.
- Biddle, Stephen. "Ending the War in Afghanistan" in *Foreign Affairs*, (Sept/Oct 2013): 49-58.
- Groh, Ty L. "A Fortress Without Walls: Alternative Governance Structures on the Afghan-Pakistan Frontier" in *Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Authority in an Era of*

Softened Sovereignty. Anne L. Clunan and Harold A. Trinkunas. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2010: 95-114.

- Chalk, Peter. "Case Study: The Pakistani-Afghan Border Region" in *Ungoverned Territories: Understanding and Reducing Terrorism Risks*. Angel Rabasa, Steven Boraz and Peter Chalk (eds). Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 2007: 49-76. (Ebook)
- Rashid, Ahmed. "The Anarchic Republic of Pakistan" in *The National Interest*. Sept/Oct 2010. <http://www.ahmedrashid.com/wp-content/archives/pakistan/articles/pdf/TheAnarchicRepublicOfPakistan.pdf>
- Ahmed, Samina. "Reviving State Legitimacy in Pakistan" in *Making States Work: State Failure and the Crisis of Governance*, Simon Chesterman, Michael Ignatieff, and Ramesh Thakur (eds). New York and Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2005: 145-166 (Ebook)

ARCHETYPE OF ANARCHY?

VII. SOMALIA (Nov 3, 5, 10)

- Ferguson, James. *The World's Most Dangerous Place: Inside the Outlaw State of Somalia*. Boston: Da Capo Press, 2013: 80-100 (The Failure of Somali Politics); 131-154 (The Famine)
- Menkaus, Ken. "Governance without Government in Somalia: Spoilers, State-Building and the Politics of Coping in *International Security* Vol. 31, No. 3 (Winter 2006/2007): 74-106.
- Hesse, Brian J. "Lessons in Successful Somali Governance" in *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* Vol., 28, No.1 (2010): 71-83.
- Menkhaus, Ken and Jacob N. Shapiro. "Non-State Actors and Failed States: Lessons from Al-Qaeda's Experience in the Horn of Africa" in *Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Authority in an Era of Softened Sovereignty*. Anne L. Clunan and Harold A. Trinkunas. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2010: 77-91.
- Mwangi, Oscar Gakuo. "State Collapse, Al Shabaab, Islamism, and Legitimacy in Somalia" in *Religion and Ideology*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (2012): 513-537.
- Shinn, David. "Al Shabaab's Foreign Threat to Somalia" in *Orbis* Vol 55, No 2, 2011: 203-215
- Williams, Paul D. "After Westgate: opportunities and challenges in the war against Al-Shabaab" in *International Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 4 (July 2014): 907-923.

GLOBAL RESPONSES AND RESPONSIBILITY

VIII. INTERVENTION (Nov 12, 17, 19)

- Finnemore, Martha. *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs About the Use of Force*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003: 52-57,66-84. (Ebook)

- Western, Jon and Joshua Goldstein. "Humanitarian Intervention Comes of Age" in *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 90, No. 6 (2011): 48-59.
- Bellamy, Alex. "Conflict Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect" in *Global Governance* Vol. 14, No. 2 (2008): 135-157.
- Pape, Robert A. "When Duty Calls: A Pragmatic Standard of Humanitarian Intervention" in *International Security* Vol. 7, No. 1 (2012): 41-80.
- Carpenter, Charli. "The Responsibility to Protect – Or To Punish: Morality and the Intervention in Syria" in *Foreign Affairs*. August 29, 2013.
<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/139884/charli-carpenter/responsibility-to-protect-or-to-punish>
- Grono, Nick and Adam O'Brien. "Justice in Conflict?" The ICC and Peace Processes" in *Courting Conflict? Justice, Peace and the ICC in Africa*. Nicholas Waddell and Phil Clark (eds). London: Royal African Society, 2008: 13-20.
http://www.royalafricansociety.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=415
- Akhavan, Payam. "Are International Criminal Tribunals a Disincentive to Peace?: Reconciling Judicial Romanticism with Political Realism" in *Human Rights Quarterly* Vol. 31 (2009): 624-54.
- Rodman, Kenneth A. "Why the ICC Should Operate Within Peace Processes" in *Ethics & International Affairs*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (2012): 59-71.

IX. STATEBUILDING (Nov 24, Dec 1, Dec 3)

- Krasner, Stephen. "Sharing Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States" in *International Security* Vol. 29 No. 2, (Fall 2004): 85-120.
- Barnett, Michael. "Building a Republican Peace: Stabilizing States After War" in *International Security* Vol. 30, No. 4 (2006): 87-112.
- Englebort, Pierre and Denis M. Tull. "Postconflict Reconstruction in Africa: Flawed Ideas About Failed States" in *International Security* Vol. 32, No. 4 (Spring 2008): 106-139.
- Autesserre, Severine. *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014: 1-37.
- Schmeidl, Susanne (with Masood Karokhail). "'Pret-a-Porter States': How the McDonaldization of State-Building Misses the Mark in Afghanistan" in *Building Peace in the Absence of States: Challenging the Discourse on State Failure*. Berghof Handbook Dialogue Series. (2009): 67-76. http://www.berghof-handbook.net/documents/publications/dialogue8_failingstates_complete.pdf

Crash Course: The Newest Failed States (Dec 8)

- No assigned reading

Exam #2 (Dec 10)