**State-Building and War-Making
in the Developing World**

MINT025 – Autumn - 6 ECTS

Mondays 12:15-14:00

> **PROFESSOR**

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Office hours:
Tuesdays 14:30-16:00
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Course Description

This course examines the challenges of state-building and the manifestations of armed conflict in the contemporary developing world. Surveying different cases and contexts, the course focuses on the role of state and non-state armed groups, the drivers of communal conflict, the historical dimensions of multifaceted state-building processes, and the legacy of colonial rule. Particular attention is paid to conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa, and Sub-Saharan Africa. The purpose of the course is to equip students with a comparative understanding of the complex causes, characteristics, and manifestations of conflict in the developing world and its cross-cutting relations to contemporary international governance.

Syllabus

This course is a comparative examination of the processes of state-building and conflict in the developing world. The active participation of students in class discussion is expected, and will be an important element in the determination of their final grade.

The main assignment is an individual **research paper** which will count for 50% of the grade. The term paper should be 20-25 pages long (12 point font, double-spaced), with proper citations and a bibliography (additional to the text page length). The paper should put forth a cogent argument or examine analytically an issue, rather than summarize the literature. The paper may discuss any particular aspect of the course themes. The topic of the research paper should be thematic. If the student opts for a case-study, the paper must nonetheless cast the analysis against thematic questions and comparatively in relation to other instances.

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Students are invited to select a topic for their paper and submit an **outline** no later than Session Seven (**November 4**). Please make an appointment with me if you have questions or would like to discuss research topics. A **draft** of the paper can be submitted no later than Session Eleven (**December 2**), and will be returned to you the following week with comments without a grade. **The completed term paper is due at the course's last session (December 16)**.

The papers will be **presented in class**. Each student will distribute a one-page **abstract** to his/her classmates before their scheduled presentation. Presentations will be held during sessions eleven to thirteen. Students will be given time (determined in relation to the number of students in the class, approximately ten minutes) to present their work followed by a brief question and answer session with the class. Students are expected to engage each other in the focused discussion of their colleagues' papers.

The overall grade received in this class will be distributed as follows:

Research paper: 50%
Class participation: 30%
Paper presentation: 20%

A documentary film – *The Ghosts of Rwanda* (2004) – will be shown during Session Eight (November 11), to illustrate the issues associated with genocide and the geopolitics of identity violence. If any student has previously seen this film, he/she is nonetheless required to attend the screening as class discussion will ensue.

Readings

For each session, there will be three (3) required readings. Students are expected to familiarize themselves ahead of the class with all the readings and be prepared to discuss them critically in the context of the session's scheduled issues and the course's overall themes.

Please note that this syllabus is subject to change, and that specific sessions may be rescheduled to meet unavoidable commitments on my part. Should that be the case, students will be informed ahead of time and proper rescheduling arrangements made promptly.

If you have a special condition that requires accommodation in this course, let me know after class or in office hours during the first week of class. I will be happy to consider appropriate accommodations provided timely notice is received and the arrangement is consistent with the Graduate Institute's policies.

Session One (September 23):   Introduction: War and the Developing State

Issues: ❏ What accounts for the persistence of the prevalence of conflict and state fragility in parts of the developing world?
                 ❏ What are the points of interaction between war and the state in such contexts?
                 ❏ How have those bellicist dynamics evolved in the contemporary era?

Readings: ▪ Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime" in Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back in*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 169-191.
                 ▪ Richard J. Reid, "The Contours of Violence: Environment, Economy, and Polity in African Warfare," in Richard J. Reid, *Warfare in African History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 1-17.

▪ Youssef Cohen, Brian R. Brown, and A.F.K Organski, "The Paradoxical Nature of State Making: The Violent Creation of Order", *American Political Science Review* 75, 1981, pp. 901-910.

Session Two (September 30):   The State-Building Process

Issues: ❑ Through which 'building' processes does the modern state emerge?
❑ Can state-building in late-developing countries reproduce forms of the modern state?
❑ Is there a third world security predicament that alters the state-building process?

Readings: ▪ Michael Rear, "Approaches to the State-Building Process", in Michael Rear, *Intervention, Ethnic Conflict, and State-Building in Iraq – A Paradigm for the Post-Colonial State*, New York: Routledge, 2008, pp. 24-49.
▪ Christopher Clapham, "Fragile States and the International System", in Christopher Clapham, *Africa and the International System – The Politics of State Survival*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 3-27.
▪ Ashraf Ghani, Clare Lockhart, and Michael Carnahan, *Closing the Sovereignty Gap: An Approach to State-Building*, Overseas Development Institute Working Paper, no. 253, September 2005.

Session Three (October 7):   The Transformation of War

Issues: ❑ How has armed conflict evolved in the modern period?
❑ How has this impacted the process of state-building in the developing world?
❑ What conditions favor the persistence of protracted conflicts in the developing world?

Readings: ▪ Hew Strachan, "The Changing Character of War," in Karl Erik Haug and Ole Jørgen Maaø, eds., *Conceptualizing Modern War*, London: Hurst and Company, 2011, pp. 1-25.
▪ John Gray, "The Metamorphosis of War", in *Al Qaeda and What It Means to Be Modern*, London: The New Press, 2003, pp. 71-84.
▪ Stathis N. Kalyvas, "New and Old Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?", *World Politics* 54, 1, October 2001, pp. 99-118.

Session Four (October 14):   The Legacy of Colonialism

Issues: ❑ What is the historical impact of colonialism on the contemporary state-building process in Africa and the Middle East?
❑ What, if any, role does the resurgence of colonial discourse play in this context?
❑ What are the features of the criminalization of the post-colonial state?

Readings: ▪ Shashi Tharoor, "The Messy Afterlife of Colonialism", *Global Governance*, 8, 1, January-March 2002, pp. 1-5.
▪ Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey, "The Postcolonial Moment in Security Studies", *Review of International Studies* 32, 2006, pp. 329-352.
▪ Timothy Raeymaekers, "Introduction", in *Violent Capitalism and Hybrid Identity in the Eastern Congo – Power to the Margins*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, pp. 1-27.

Session Five (October 21):   The Post-Cold War Era and Interventionism

Issues:
- ❑ What have been the effects of 1990s humanitarian interventionism on state-building?
- ❑ How do weak state structures deal with outside (armed) intervention?
- ❑ Does intervention further or impede sovereign state-building?

Readings:
- ▪ J. Peter Pham, "The Limits of Intervention: Humanitarian or Otherwise", *Human Rights and Human Welfare* 6, 2006, pp. 13-30.
- ▪ Robert Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy", *The Atlantic Monthly*, 273, 2, February 1994, pp. 44-76.
- ▪ Rajan Menon, "Introduction", *The Conceit of Humanitarian Intervention*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 1-18.

Session Six (October 28):   The Post-9/11 World and Securitization

Issues:
- ❑ What are the markers of the state building process in the post-September 11 era?
- ❑ To what extent did the War on Terror redefine the understanding of state-building?
- ❑ What is the overall impact of this evolution?

Readings:
- ▪ Aidan Hehir, "The Myth of the Failed State and the War on Terror: A Challenge to the Conventional Wisdom", *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 1, 3, November 2007, pp. 307-332.
- ▪ Jonathan Fisher and David M. Anderson, "Authoritarianism and the Securitization of Development in Africa", *International Affairs*, 91, 1, 2015, pp. 131-151.
- ▪ Tarak Barkawi, "Decolonizing War", *European Journal of International Security*, 1, 2, July 2016, 2002, pp. 199-214.

Session Seven (November 4):   Peacebuilding and State-Building

PAPER TOPICS AND OUTLINE DUE

Issues:
- ❑ What is the relationship between state-building and peace-building?
- ❑ How does state-building play out in post-conflict reconstruction settings?
- ❑ How do war-torn societies create conditions for sustainable peace?

Readings:
- ▪ David Carment, "Assessing State Failure: Implications for Theory and Policy", *Third World Quarterly* 24, 3, 2003, pp. 407-427.
- ▪ Pierre Englebert and Denis M. Tull, "Postconflict Reconstruction in Africa – Flawed Ideas about Failed States", *International Security*, 32, 4, Spring 2008, pp. 106-139.
- ▪ Charles T. Call, "The Evolution of Peacebuilding: Improved Ideas and Institutions?", United Nations University, February 2015.

Session Eight (November 11):   Genocide

Issues:
- ❑ What markers of violence and of the social construction of identity are relevant to the state building process?
- ❑ What impact do episodes of mass violence have on state capacity?
- ❑ What role does the international community play in this context?

  - ❍ Case study: Rwanda

Movie: *The Ghosts of Rwanda* (2004) documentary film by Greg Barker, 120 minutes.

Readings: ▪ Mahmood Mamdani, "Thinking about Genocide", in Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers – Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*, Introduction, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001, pp. 3-18.
▪ René Lemarchand, "The Geopolitics of the Great Lakes Region", in Lemarchand, *The Dynamics of Violence in Central Africa*, Chapter 1, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008, pp. 3-29.
▪ Gérard Prunier, "Groping for Meaning", in Prunier, *Africa's World War – Congo, the Rwandan Genocide, and the Making of a Continental Catastrophe*, Chapter 10, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 329-357.

Session Nine (November 18):   Theorizing Transnational Rebellion

Issues: ❑ What challenges do non-state transnational armed groups pose to the state-building process?
❑ What, if any, role can these groups play in the building process?
❑ What operational and political mutations have armed groups experienced in recent years?

Readings: ▪ Klejda Mulaj, "Violent Non-State Actors: Exploring their State Relations, Legitimation, and Operationality", in Klejda Mulaj, ed., *Violent Non-State Actors in World Politics*, London: Hurst & Company, 2010, in, pp. 1-25.
▪ Idean Salehyan, "Transnational Rebels: Neighboring States as Sanctuary for Rebel Groups", *World Politics*, 59, January 2007, pp. 217-242.
▪ Anne N. Clunan and Harold A. Trinkunas, "Conceptualizing Ungoverned Spaces: Territorial Statehood, Contested Authority, and Softened Sovereignty", in Anne L. Clunan and Harold A. Trinkunas, eds., *Ungoverned Spaces – Alternatives to State Authority in an Era of Softened Sovereignty*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2010, pp. 17-33.

Session Ten (November 25):   'Fragility', 'Weakness', 'Collapse', and 'Failure'

Issues: ❑ What is the genesis and the function of the discourse on state fragility, weakness, collapse, and failure?
❑ Is there empirical and analytical pertinence to these categories?
❑ Is there a 'dangerosity' of the developing state?

Readings: ▪ Pinar Bilgin and Adam David Morton, "Historicizing Representations of 'Failed States': Beyond the Cold War Annexation of the Social Sciences", *Third World Quarterly* 23, 1, 2002, pp. 55-80.
▪ Charles T. Call, "The Fallacy of the 'Failed State'", *Third World Quarterly*, 29, 8, 2008, pp. 1491-1507.
▪ Michael J. Mazarr, "The Rise and Fall of the Failed State Paradigm", *Foreign Affairs*, January/February 2014, pp. 113-121.

Session Eleven (December 2):   **Papers Presentations 1**

DRAFT RESEARCH PAPERS DUE

Students present their papers and discuss them with the class.

Session Twelve (December 9):   **Papers Presentations 2**

Students' papers presentations (continued).

Session Thirteen (December 16):   **Papers Presentations 3 and Conclusions**

Students' papers presentations (completed).

FINAL RESEARCH PAPERS DUE

Issue: ❏ Review of course issues

Readings: ▪ Miles Kahler, "State-Building after Afghanistan and Iraq", in Roland Paris and Timothy D. Sisk, eds., *The Dilemmas of State-Building – Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace Operations*, New York: Routledge, 2009, pp. 287-303.
▪ Clionadh Raleigh and Caitriona Dowd, "Governance and Conflict in the Sahel's 'Ungoverned Space'", *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development*, 2, 2, 32, 2013, pp. 1-17.

Further Reading and Research Resources

The sources of print and electronic information below may be useful to the students in the preparation of their research papers, and for further reflection on the issues discussed in class.

Books

Barkley, Karen. *Bandits and Bureaucrats – The Ottoman Route to State Centralization*. Cornell University Press, 1997.

Bates, Robert H. *Prosperity and Violence – The Political Economy of Violence*. New York: Norton, 2001.

Centeno, Miguel Angel. *Blood and Debt – War and the Nation-State in Latin America*. Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003.

Duyvesteyn, Isabelle and Jan Angstrom, eds. *Rethinking the Nature of War*. New York: Frank Cass, 2005.

Hehir, Aidan and Neil Robinson. *State-Building – Theory and Practice.* London: Routledge, 2007

Fukuyama, Francis. *State-Building – Governance and World Order in the 21ˢᵗ Century*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2004.
Kagan, Donald. *On the Origins of War and the Preservation of Peace.* London: Hutchinson, 1995.

Lawson, Stephanie. *The New Agenda for International Relations – From Polarization to Globalization in World Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Lust-Okar, Ellen. *Structuring Conflict in the Arab World – Incumbents, Opponents, and Institutions*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Rasler, Karen and William R. Thompson. *War and State-Making – The Shaping of Global Powers*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989.

Stewart, Patrick. *Weak Links – Fragile States, Global Threats, and International Security*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011

Tilly, Charles. *The Politics of Collective Violence*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Volkov, Vadim. *Violent Entrepreneurs – The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism*. Cornell University Press, 2002.

Waltz, Kenneth. *Man, the State, and War – A Theoretical Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.

Journals

Third World Quarterly
Journal of Peace Research
Political Research Quarterly
Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding
Journal of Modern African Studies
The International Journal of Middle East Studies
American Political Science Review
The Christian Science Monitor
The New York Review of Books
The London Review of Books
Foreign Affairs
Foreign Policy
World Politics

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