

NATION BUILDING

Dartmouth College
WINTER 2013
DAVID A. REZVANI

TIME AND LOCATION

Tuesdays and Thursdays 2:00pm – 3:50pm
Location: 013 Silsby Hall

CONTACT DETAILS

Lecturer: David A. Rezvani, DPhil
Office Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays 3:50-5:20pm and by appointment, Silsby 304A
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SYNOPSIS

Is it possible to create stable states in the international system by force? This course will focus on the challenges, processes, and implementation of modern state building. The class will critically assess issues such as post conflict legitimacy, state failure, imperial relations, authoritarian rule, interim governance as well as institutional responses to poverty, corruption, civil war, and insurgency.

COURSE WORK AND GRADING

The final grade for this course will be based on a research paper abstract (worth 5%), a midterm exam (worth 20%), a research paper (worth 30%), a final exam (worth 30%), and participation (worth 15%).

- The research paper abstract is due at the beginning of class on **(1/24)**.
- The midterm will take place on **(2/7)**.
- Research paper presentations will take place on **(2/20 and 2/27 [During the Wednesday X-Period] from 4:15-5:05pm)**
- A draft copy of the research paper is due on **(2/20)**.
- The final research paper is due on **(3/7)**.
- The final exam will take place on **(3/13) at 3:00pm**

Late assignments will be marked down by one-third of a grade (i.e. from A- to B+) for every day they are late, with the exception of extraordinary reasons. Class attendance is obligatory for the course. Students are strongly encouraged to have studied the required readings beforehand and actively participate in the class. The participation grade will be a measure of the research presentations toward the end of the class and especially the readings-enriched quantity and quality of the comments made in class discussion.

The research paper. The paper should at the outset very clearly state a central argument (thesis) in reaction to material in the lecture or the readings and then draw on evidence to reinforce the thesis. Students will need to read materials that are of interest to them from both the required and suggested readings to gain ideas of possible paper topics. Students are also encouraged to obtain scholarly material outside of the required and suggested readings using sources such as Google Scholar. In response to the scholarly debates and arguments in the literature, you will agree or disagree with the information you encounter. The assignment then requires you to set forth your own ideas of how you believe policies and concepts should be formulated or reformulated. Ultimately you will need to take a position and make an argument that is clear, enriched by the readings, and backed up with evidence. Students will want to express all details, evidence, and facts only as they serve the purposes of their thesis and its supporting sub-arguments—unlike a news or book report that seeks merely to communicate facts and details. In other words, you are discouraged from providing extensive background information or summaries of other works. Instead, such details should be used as they reinforce the arguments as they are made throughout the paper. The quality of your argumentation will also be greatly strengthened by thinking of the strongest counterarguments to your thesis and refuting them. You should begin work on your research paper as early as possible in the term. Papers should be between 10-11 pages in length. Helpful advice for creating excellent research papers is also clearly described in the Van Evera reading on Blackboard.

Before the research papers are due, you are expected to hand in **a research paper abstract** (for the due date see above). This assignment will allow you to receive feedback well before your research paper is due later in the term. This assignment needs to include the title of your research paper (which describes the topic). It will also need an abstract of 150 words or less (which articulates the central argument as well as at least one counterargument that will be refuted by your research paper). Lastly, it will need to provide a list of at least five scholarly sources that the research paper will draw on. If you have questions regarding your paper topic or thesis, please do not hesitate to ask.

Research Paper Presentations. Toward the end of class, each student will need to have completed a preliminary draft of their research paper and present its key arguments and evidence in 5-7 minute presentations. As with the research papers, students are discouraged from providing background information and encouraged to instead focus on articulating the paper's key arguments as well as refuting counterarguments. Presentations can also be improved through the use of visual aids such as handouts, Power Point slides, or writing on the chalkboard. Students who use Power Point are also encouraged to come 5-10 minutes before the start of the class to set up their presentation slides on the class computer. Practicing your presentation beforehand will also assist with your delivery. All students within the class are encouraged to be an active audience and carefully assess the presenter's arguments, proffering their opinions and reactions after the talk for the presenter's response. Students can then use such feedback for further revisions before papers are due.

All assignments will be assessed according to the quality of critical analysis, creativity, clarity, and use of theoretical and empirical support from the literature. Although you are expected to draw on the scholarly literature to enrich the arguments in your papers, the sources that you use must be properly cited to avoid the dangers of plagiarism. Plagiarism occurs when an author uses the ideas of another source without proper citations and thereby falsely makes it seem as if it is their own work. Any established citation style will be sufficient as long as it is used consistently throughout the paper. For citation styles you can examine scholarly articles and use them as a model. All papers are expected to be in scholarly format, with a bibliography, title, and thesis statement. The research paper should also have an introduction, body, and conclusion. The papers should be stapled, double-spaced, and have 1.25" margins with 12-point script. Page numbers should also be clearly noted.

If you have questions regarding your exams, assignments, or other aspects of the course, please do not hesitate to ask and/or see me at my office hours. For additional peer tutorial assistance with writing, research, and multimedia projects, students may use RWIT, the Student Center for Research, Writing, and Information Technology. To make appointments go to RWIT's appointment scheduler at <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~rwit>, or drop by the Center in 183 Baker-Berry Library, Level One (next to the Reference area) from 4 to 6 pm and 7 to 10 pm, Sundays through Thursdays.

COURSE TEXTS AND READINGS

Among the required material for the course are two books:

- Fukuyama, Francis. 2004. *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century*. Cornell University Press.
- Cooley, Alexander. 2005. *Logics of Hierarchy: The Organization of Empires, States, and Military Occupations*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

These books, which are marked on the syllabus with a star symbol (*), are available for purchase at the college bookstore, Barnes and Noble, or Amazon.com. The remainder of the required readings are available on Blackboard.

Students are also generally encouraged to keep up with current events, which can improve the quality of discussion and papers. Four publications are particularly good for current events information: *Foreign Affairs*, *The Economist*, *The New York Times*, and *The Washington Post*.

I. WAR, POVERTY, AND STATE FAILURE

Introduction (1/8)

Required Readings:

No Assignment

War-making and Legitimacy (1/10)

Required Readings:

Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime," in Peter B. Evans et al (ed.) *Bringing the State Back In*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 169-191.

Suggested Readings:

Cohen, Youssef et al. "The Paradoxical Nature of State-Making: The Violent Creation of Order," *American Political Science Review* 74 (4) (1981): 901-910.

Englebert, Pierre, "The contemporary African state: neither African nor state," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol 18, No 4, (1997): 767-775.

Tilly, Charles, *Coercion, Capital, and European States: AD 990-1990*, (Basil Blackwell 1990).

Spruyt, Hendrik, *The Sovereign State and its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1994).

Tilly, Charles, "Reflections on the History of European State-Making," in Charles Tilly, *The Formation of National States In Western Europe* (Princeton University Press, 1975), 3-84.

Hooghe, Liesbet and Gary Marks, "Unraveling the Central State, But How? Types of Multi-level Governance," *American Political Science Review* 97:2 (2003): 233-43.

Strayer, Joseph R., *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970).

Almond, Gabriel A., "The Return to the State," *American Political Science Review* 82(3) (1988): 853-74.

Skocpol, Theda, "Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research, in Evans, Peter R., Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), 3-37.

State Failure and the Sustainability of Forcible Control (1/15 and 1/17).

Required Reading:

Jackson, Robert H. 1987. "Quasi-States, Dual Regimes, and Neoclassical Theory: International Jurisprudence and the Third World," *International Organization*, Vol. 41, No. 4, (Autumn): 519-549.

Jeffrey Herbst, *War and the State in Africa*

MacDonald, Paul K. 2009. Is Imperial Rule Obsolete? Assessing the Barriers to Overseas Adventurism. *Security Studies* 18(1): 79-114.

Atzili, Boaz. 2007. "When Good Fences Make Bad Neighbors: Fixed Borders, State Weakness, and International Conflict. *International Organization* 31 (3): 139-173.

Global Poverty and the State System (1/22).

Required Reading:

Pritchett, Lant, "Divergence, Big Time" in *Essential Readings*, pp. 391-403.

Stiglitz, Joseph, *Making Globalization Work*, Ch. 5.

II. STATE-BUILDING CHALLENGES AND PROCESSES

Institution Building and Economic Growth (1/24)

**** **Research Abstract Due Today******

Required Reading:

North, Douglass C., "Institutions" in *Essential Readings*, pp. 116-128.

Collier, Paul and Jan Willem Gunning, "Why Has Africa Grown Slowly?" in *Essential Readings*, pp. 411-428.

Political Corruption (1/29 and 1/31).

Required Reading:

Banfield, Edward. 1975. Corruption as a feature of government organization. *Journal of Law and Economics* 18 (3): 587-605.

Olson, Mancur. 1993. Dictatorship, democracy and development. *American Political Science Review* 87 (3): 567-576.

Bardhan, Pranab. 1997. Corruption and development: A review of the issues. *Journal of Economic Literature* 35: 1320-46.

Modification of State Strength and Scope (2/5)

Required Reading:

Fukuyama, Francis. 2004. The Imperative of State-Building. *Journal of Democracy* 15(2), 17-31.

Suggested Readings (Shaping Identity and State-Building):

Linz, Juan. 1993. State Building and Nation Building. *European Review* 1 (4): 355-369.

Byman, Daniel, "Forever enemies? The manipulation of ethnic identities to end civil wars," *Security Studies*, Spring 2000

Hechter, Michael, *Containing Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). Chapters 3, 4, 5.

Tilly, Charles, "States and Nationalism in Europe 1492-1992," *Theory and Society*, Vol. 23, No. 1, February 1994.

Brubaker, Rogers, and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity'," *Theory and Society*, Vol. 29, No. 1, February 2000.

Linz, Juan and Alfred Stepan, "Political Identities and Electoral Sequences: Spain, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia," *Daedalus*, Spring 1992.

Sekulic, Dusko, Garth Massey, Randy Hodson, "Who Were the Yugoslavs? Failed Sources of Common Identity in Former Yugoslavia," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 59, No. 1, February 1994.

Midterm Exam Today (2/7)

The Institutional Performance and Development of States (2/12).

Required Reading:

* Fukuyama, Francis. 2004. *State Building*, pp. 43-121.

Friedman, Thomas. *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, ch. 8.

Authoritarianism or Democracy? (2/14)**Required Readings:**

Kaplan, Robert D. (1997) "Was Democracy Just a Moment?" *The Atlantic Monthly* (December): 55-80.
 Zakaria, Fareed (1997) "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* 76 (6): 22-43.
 Przeworski, Adam et al., "Political Regimes and Economic Growth" in *Essential Readings*, pp. 431-440.

State Unification after Civil War (2/19)**Required Readings:**

Walter, Barbara F. "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization*, Vol. 51, No. 3, Summer 1997, pp. 335-364.

Suggested Readings (Transitional Law and Order):

Dickinson, Laura A., "The Promise of Hybrid Courts," *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 97, No. 2, April 2003.
 Zoglin, Katia, "The Future of War Crimes Prosecutions in the Former Yugoslavia: Accountability or Junk Justice?" *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 1, February 2005.
 Schabas, William, "The Relationship Between Truth Commissions and International Courts: The Case of Sierra Leone," *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 25, No. 4, November 2003.
 Johnstone, Ian, "Rights and Reconciliation in El Salvador," in Michael W. Doyle, Ian Johnstone and Robert C. Orr, eds, *Keeping the peace: Multidimensional UN operations in Cambodia and El Salvador* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, International Peace Academy 1997).

Research Paper Presentations (2/20, and 2/27 [During the X-Period] from 4:15-5:05pm)

****Draft Copy of Research Paper Due on 2/20****

III. STATE-BUILDING IMPLIMENTATION**Insurgency and Occupation (2/21 and 2/26).****Required Readings:**

Arreguín-Toft, Ivan .2001. "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict," *International Security* 26 (1): 93-128.
 Lyall, Jason and Isaiah Wilson, 2009. "Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars," *International Organization* 63 (1) 67-106.
 Edelstein, David. 2004. "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail," *International Security* 29 (1): 49-91.

Suggested Readings:

"What to do in Iraq: A Roundtable," *Foreign Affairs* 85/4 (July/August 2006): 150-69.
 Alexander B. Downes, "The Holy Land Divided? Defending Partition as a Solution to Ethnic Wars," *Security Studies* 10/4 (Summer 2001): 58-116, or "The Problem with Negotiated Settlements to Ethnic Civil Wars," *Security Studies* 13/4 (Summer 2004): 230-79.
 Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr., "How to Win in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs* 84/5 (September/October 2005): 87-104.
 Barbara F. Walter and Jack Snyder, eds., *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention* (Columbia, 1999).
 Barbara F. Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization* 51/3 (Summer 1997): 335-64.
 Barbara F. Walter, *Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars* (Princeton, 2001).
 Barry R. Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival* 35/1 (Spring 1993): 27-47.

- Carter Johnson, "Partitioning to Peace: Sovereignty, Demography, and Ethnic Civil Wars," *International Security* 32/4 (Spring 2008): 140-170.
- Chaim D. Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," *International Security* 20/4 (Spring 1996): 136-75.
- David M. Edelstein, *Occupational Hazards: Success and Failure in Military Occupation* (Cornell, 2008).
- James D. Fearon, "Commitment Problems and the Spread of Ethnic Conflict," in *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*, ed. David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild (Princeton, 1998), 107-26.
- Larry Diamond, "What Went Wrong in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs* 83/5 (September/October 2004): 34E56.
- Martha Finnemore, *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs About the Use of Force* (Cornell, 2003).
- Michael E. Brown, "The Causes and Regional Dimensions of Internal Conflict," in *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict*, ed. Michael E. Brown (MIT, 1996), 571-601.
- Monica Duffy Toft, "Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration, and Ethnic War," *Security Studies* 12/2 (Winter 2002/2003): 81-118.
- Page Fortna, "Interstate Peacekeeping: Causal Mechanisms and Empirical Effects," *World Politics* 50/4 (July 2004): 481-519.
- Stephen Biddle, "Seeing Baghdad, Thinking Saigon," *Foreign Affairs* 85/2 (March/April 2006): 2-14.
- Suzanne Werner and Amy Yuen, "Making and Keeping Peace," *International Organization* 59/2 (Spring 2005): 261-92.
- Virginia Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War* (Princeton, 2008).
- Virginia Page Fortna, *Peace Time: Cease-Fire Agreements and the Durability of Peace* (Princeton, 2004).

Unilateral versus Multilateral Occupations (2/28)

Required Readings:

- Dobbins, James. 2004-05. "The UN's Role in Nation-building: From the Belgian Congo to Iraq," *Survival* 46(4): 81-102.
- Ottaway, Marina. 2002. "Rebuilding State Institutions in Collapsed States," *Development and Change* 33(5): 1001-1023.

Suggested Readings:

- Barnett, Michael. 2006. "Building a Republican Peace; Stabilizing States after War," *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 4.
- Dobbins, James F., "America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq," *Survival*, Winter (2003-04): 87-110.
- Von Hippel, Karin. 2000. *Democracy by Force: U.S. Military Intervention in the Post-Cold War World*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Chesterman, Simon. 2004. *You the People: The United Nations, Transitional Administration and State-building*, Oxford University Press.
- Krasner, Stephen D., "Sharing Sovereignty; New Institutions for Collapsed and Failed States," *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 1, (Fall 2004).
- International Crisis Group, "Liberia and Sierra Leone: Rebuilding Failed States," Africa Report No 87, December 8, 2004.

Interim Governance: U-Form or M-Form? (3/5 and 3/7)

*******Final Research Paper Due 3/7******

Required Readings:

- * Cooley, Alexander, *Logics of Hierarchy: The Organization of Empires, States, and Military Occupations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), Ch. 1, 2, 3 and pp. 126-143.

Suggested Readings:

- Chopra, Jarat, "Building State-Failure in East Timor," *Development and Change* 33 (2002): 979-1000.
- Caplan, Richard, 2005. *International Governance of War-Torn Territories*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 159-257.
- Chesterman, Simon. 2004. *You the People: The United Nations, Transitional Administration and State-building*, New York: Oxford University Press, Ch. 4
- Azimi, Nassrine and Chang Li Lin, (ed.), *The United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET): Debriefing and Lessons*, Report of the 2002 Tokyo Conference, The United Nations Institute for Training and Research, The Institute of Policy Studies of Singapore, and The Japan Institute of International Affairs (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2003).
- Orr, Robert C., "Governing When Chaos Rules: Enhancing Governance and Participation," in *Winning the Peace*, pp 58-71.
- Chopra, Jarat (ed.) *The Politics of Peace Maintenance* (Boulder, Lynne Reinner, 1998).
- Griffin, Michele and Bruce Jones, "Building Peace through Transitional Authority: New Directions, Major Challenges," *International Peacekeeping* 7(4) (2000).
- Special Issue. *International Peacekeeping*. Volume 9, Number 2 / Summer 2002.
- A More Secure World. Report of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. UN. New York, December 2004. www.un.org/secureworld.
- Durch, William J., Victoria K. Holt, Caroline R. Earle, and Moira K. Shanahan, *The Brahimi Report and the Future of UN Peace Operations* (Stimson Center, 2003).
- United Nations. Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations. New York, 2000. http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/

Final Exam (The final exam will take place in the same classroom on **(3/13)** at 3pm.)