**Patterson School**

The Weak State in International Security (DIP 600-004)

**Spring 2011**

**Dr. Stacy R. Closson Meeting Time: Thursdays 4-6:30PM**

**Patterson Tower 439 Office Hours: Tuesdays 2-4:00PM**

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**[1] dESCRIPTION**

The American and European Union national security strategies name weak states as the number one threat to security. Weak states have also been the subject of research in several academic spheres, including post-Soviet transition, African studies, development studies, security studies, political science, and historical sociology.  Despite, or perhaps because of, the numerous approaches to statehood in general, and the weak state in particular, there does not appear to be an agreed upon definition of the weak state.

This course will begin with a review of how the policy community has measured the weak state, revealing discrepancies in the quantifiable parameters, definitions, and categorizations, and analyze the efforts taken to address state weakness, particularly foreign economic and security assistance.  Following this, we will review the five theoretical approaches to the weak state in the literature, which are informed by the international community’s concerns with state weakness: development, intervention, post-colonialism, globalization and terrorism. The theory will be applied to specific cases of weak states in several regions (e.g., Africa, Asia, the Balkans, Latin America, the Middle East, and the Former Soviet States) and we will analyze the threats they pose to international security. By the end of the course, you will be able to identify the challenges in defining, assessing, and addressing weak states in various regions of the world.

**[2] PREREQUISITES**

There are no prerequisites for the course.

**[3] COURSE FORMAT**

Each class will be comprised of both a lecture and class discussion. The instructor will provide the lecture for the first two parts of the course. For the third part on case studies, assigned students will provide the lectures. Suggested readings for the case studies will be agreed upon between the instructor and assigned students at least one week prior to the class.

Any student with a disability who is taking this class and needs classroom or exam accommodations should contact the Disability Resource Center, 257-2754, Room 2, Alumni Gym, jkarnes@uky.edu.

**[4] COURSE REFERENCES**

**Conceptualizations of the Weak State:**

* United Nations University in 1996 sponsored a research project on states and sovereignty, which included a section on failed states.
* United Nations *Agenda for Peace* and establishment of peace building mission.
* Purdue University, sponsored in part by the US Army War College, held three conferences between 1998 and 2001which discussed the nexus of failed states and international security, failed states and globalisation, and the causes of state failure.
* Political Instability Task Force, The Central Intelligence Agency sponsored two major studies in the 1990s initiated by Vice President Gore’s *US Task Force on State Failure.*

<http://globalpolicy.gmu.edu/pitf/>

* Asian Development Bank, “Approach to Weakly Performing Member Countries: A Discussion Paper,” February 2002, and “Achieving Development Effectiveness in Weakly Performing Countries,” November 2006. http://www.adb.org
* The US Center for Global Government, ‘Commission on Weak States and U.S.National Security’ created a bi-partisan panel of thirty former government officials, senior business leaders, academics, and NGO representatives to issue a report.

Weinstein, Jeremy, Stuart E. Eizenstat and John Edward Porter. *On the Brink: Weak States and US National Security*. 2004 [accessed November 14, 2005]. Available from <http://www.cgdev.org/doc/books/weakstates/Full_Report.pdf>

* Department for International Development. *Why We Need to Work More Effectively in Fragile States*. Government of the United Kingdom, January, 2005 [accessed 2005, November 11]. <http://inec.usip.org/resource/why-we-need-work-more-effectively-fragile-states>
* The World Bank’s Fragile and Conflict-Affected Countries Group

<http://go.worldbank.org/JHPKRCXS40>

**Ranking Weak States:**

* The Fund for Peace, in cooperation with *Foreign Policy,* ‘Failed States Index’

<http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/06/21/2010_failed_states_index_interactive_map_and_rankings>

* Brookings Institution Index of State Weakness in the Developing World, 2008. <http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/Files/rc/reports/2008/02_weak_states_index/02_weak_states_index.pdf>
* USAID “Fragile States Strategy, <http://www.usaid.gov/policy/2005_fragile_states_strategy.pdf>
* George Mason University, Polity IV Project, “Global Report 2009” and “State Fragility Matrix 2009” by Monty G. Marshall and Benjamin R. Cole. <http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm>
* Canadian International Development Agency, ‘The 2006 Country Indicators for Foreign Policy Project, *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 13, no. 1, 2006. <http://indicatorsinfo.pbworks.com/f/Carment+et+al+Canada+Indicators+2006.pdf>
* Mo Ibrahim Foundation’s Index of African Governance, 2007, produced by Harvard’s Robert I. Rotberg and Rachel Gisselquist. <http://www.moibrahimfoundation.org/en/section/the-ibrahim-index>
* University of Maryland, Center for International Development and Conflict Management, “Peace and Conflict Instability Ledger” by J. Joseph Hewitt, Jonathon Wilkenfled, and Ted Robert Gurr, ch. 2 (Hewitt) <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/pc/executive_summary/exec_sum_2010.pdf>
* US *Millennium Challenge Corporation, http://www.mcc.gov/pages/selection*
* World Bank. *World Bank Group Work in Low-Income Countries Under Stress: A Task Force Report*. September, 2002, <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTLICUS/Resources/388758-1094226297907/Task_Force_Report.pdf>
* Department for International Development. *United Kingdom Government's Contribution to Millennium Development Goals*. 2002, <http://www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/uk-cont-mdg-report.pdf>.
* National Intelligence Council ‘Global Trends’, <http://www.dni.gov/nic/NIC_2025_project.html>

**Indicators of Political and Governance Change:**

* World Bank, Country Policy and International Assessment
* World Bank, World Governance Indicators
* Freedom House Index
* Human Rights Report
* IMF economic data
* Major Episodes of Political Violence (MEPV), 1946-2006
* Transparency International
* UNDP Human Development Index
* International Crisis Group country reports

**[5] Course Overview**

**Part I: Defining and Responding to Threats from Weak States**

1. **Defining Weak States [January 20, 2011]**
2. **Policy Options for Addressing Weak States [January 27, 2011]**

**Part II: The Weak State in Theory**

1. **The State in Theory [February 3, 2011]**
2. **Strong Societies, Weak States [February 10, 2011]**
3. **Post-Colonial Weak States** **[February 17, 2011]**
4. **State Weakness and Corruption** **[February 24, 2011]**
5. **State Weakness and Violence [March 3, 2011]**
6. **Mid-term [March 10, 2011]**

**NB: March 14-18 Spring Break**

**Part III: Case studies of Weak States**

1. **Case study 1: Nigeria, Azerbaijan and the resource curse [March 24, 2011]**
2. **Case study 2: Afghanistan, Iraq and state-building [March 31, 2011]**
3. **Case study 3: Rwanda, Congo and conflict [April 7, 2011]**
4. **NO CLASS: Scheduled Patterson field trip [April 14, 2011]**
5. **Case study 4: Bangladesh, Haiti and the development community[April 21, 2011]**
6. **Case study 5: Mexico, Guinea-Bissau and the drug wars [April 28, 2011]**
7. **Final Research Paper Due by email [MONDAY 5PM, May 2, 2011]**

**[6] Grade Computation and assignment**

* Class participation - 20% (including presentation of a case study)
* Mid-term – 30%
* An in-depth 15-20 page case study of a weak state - 50%

**Grading/Participation**

* Assignments will be graded based on your ability to cover the topics fully and logically.
* Assignments are expected on due date in class. Paper and electronic copies of each class assignment are requested.
* Class participation grade will be based on mandatory attendance (no absences unless approved in advance by instructor), and active (speaking) participation in the class. In addition, to get a maximum participation grade:
  + Students will do the mandatory readings, and stay abreast of energy security current events in the local papers and/or in the national news.
  + Laptops are permissible as long as they are used strictly for class note taking, though the instructor reserves the right to change this policy during the semester.
  + If a student is not participating in class discussions, instructor will send an email to the student to encourage participation. A second email will result in a letter drop in the participation grade.

**Assignment:**

* Over the course of the semester, you will be drafting a 15-20 page research paper on a weak state. Ideally, you will write about the same weak state that you presented on in class. You will discuss why the state is weak and choose an approach (or a combination of approaches, if appropriate) to analyze the state’s weakness, including state-societal relations, colonial legacies, violence, and regime type. You will also assess the threats that the state may pose both to the citizens and to the global community. Finally, you will suggest policy options for mitigating the state’s weakness. The paper should have 1.5 spacing with normal margins. Use the Harvard citation system and include a list of references. **Assignment is due by email on Monday, May 2, 2011.**

**[7] COURSE SCHEDULE**

**Part I: Defining, Assessing, and Responding to Threats from Weak States**

## Week 1: Defining Weak States [January 20, 2011]

## Definitions and rankings of weak states vary across several international agency governmental studies.

## Weak states pose different kinds of threats, from ‘hard’ security threats to ‘soft’ security threats.

* Weak states are a threat, but to whom? To U.S. national interests, U.S. citizens, European citizens, their own citizens?

## Readings:

Department for International Development. *Why We Need to Work More Effectively in Fragile States*. Government of the United Kingdom, January, 2005, pp. 1-27. <http://inec.usip.org/resource/why-we-need-work-more-effectively-fragile-states>

Susan Rice and Patrick Stewart, Index of State Weakness in the Developing World, Brookings Institution 2008. Read Executive Summary, pp. 1-24. <http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/Files/rc/reports/2008/02_weak_states_index/02_weak_states_index.pdf>

Robert I. Rotberg, *When States Fail,* Princeton University Press, 2004, chp. 1, pp. 1-50 (readings provided).

Stewart Patrick, “Weak States and Global Threats: Fact or Fiction?”*The Washington Quarterly*, Volume 29, Number 2, Spring 2006,

pp. 27-53.

Liana Sun Wyler, “Weak and Failing States: Evolving Security Threats and U.S. Policy”, Congressional Research Service, 2008, http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34253.pdf

References:

## The National Security Strategy of the United States, September 2002. <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/policy/national/nss-020920.pdf>

European Union. *European Union Security Strategy: A Secure Europe in a Better World,* 2003. <http://ue.eu.int/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>.

The Fund for Peace in cooperation with *Foreign Policy,* ‘Failed States Index’. 2010

<http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/06/21/2010_failed_states_index_interactive_map_and_rankings>

**Week 2: Policy Options for Addressing Weak States [January 27, 2011]**

* There have been three general approaches to addressing weak states: humanitarian assistance, state building, and stability operations/intervention.
* Criticisms of the approaches to weak states are several: assistance is not targeted, assumptions about transferring western institutions are faulty, security concerns can undermine development progress, and assistance can exacerbate weakness.

**Readings:**

Coyne, Christopher, “Reconstructing Weak and Failed States: Foreign Intervention and the Nirvana Fallacy,” *Foreign Policy Analysis,* vol. 2, no. 4, pp. 343-360, October 2006.

Stuart Eizenstat, John Porter, and Jeremy Weinstein, "Rebuilding Failed States", *Foreign Affairs*, January/February, 2005, Vol. 84 Issue 1, pp. 134-146.

Pierre Englebert and Denis M. Tull, “Postconflict Reconstruction in Africa,” *International Security,* Vol. 32, No. 4, Spring 2008, pp. 106-139.

R. D. Hooker, Jr ., "Hard Day’s Night; A Retrospective on the American Intervention in Somalia" (Joint Force Quarterly, 2009)

<http://www.ndu.edu/inss/Press/jfq_pages/editions/i54/29.pdf>

Stephen Browne, “Aid to Fragile States, Do Donors Help or Hinder?” United Nations University Discussion Paper No. 2007/01, <http://www.wider.unu.edu/publications/working-papers/discussion-papers/2007/en_GB/dp2007-01/>

**References:**

James Dobbins, et al. America's Role in Nation-Building From Germany to Iraq. RAND Corporation, Available at: http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph\_reports/MR1753 (Read executive summary, skim rest as inclined)

“DAC Guidelines on Conflict, Peace and Development Cooperation,” Development Advisory Committee, OECD, 1997, pp. 37-52, http://www.fas.org/asmp/campaigns/smallarms/eguide.pdf

Stability Operations, U.S. Army Field Manual 3-07, October, 2008, <http://usacac.army.mil/cac2/Repository/FM307/FM3-07.pdf>

## Part II: The Weak State in Theory

## Week 3: The State in Theory [February 3, 2010]

* Weak states are held up to the standard theory of strong states, particularly the European state building process.
* There is also an argument that weak states lack sovereign authority internally, despite having been granted juridical sovereignty by the international community.

**Readings:**

**Stephen D. Krasner, “**Sharing Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States.” *International Security,* Fall 2004, vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 85-120.

Robert Jackson and Carl Rosberg, “Why Africa’s Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Juridical in Statehood.” *World Politics* October 1982, pp. 1-24.

Mann, Michael. "The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results." In *States in History*, edited by John A. Hall, 109-136. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986 (readings provided).

Charles Tilly, “Reflections on the History of European State-Making” and “Western State-Making and Theories of Political Transformation,” In Charles Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975 (readings provided).

Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich eds. Bedminster Press, 1968. Pp. 50-58; “The Types of Legitimate Domination”, pp. 212-261; pp. 901-905 (Definition of the State); Selections on “Patrimonialism” pp. 1006-1042 (readings provided)

### Week 4: Strong Societies, Weak States [February 10, 2011]

* Weak states often contain strong societal groups. The weak state lacks physical administrative capabilities, including the capability to distribute resources. In turn, a weak state lacks the ability to influence societal groups through state institutions.
* Weak state governments can become a predator instead of protector of society.
* The break-down of state-societal relations has been named an international security threat.

Joel Migdal, *Strong Societies and Weak States,* Princeton University Press, 1988, chps. 1 and 6 (readings provided).

Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*. 2nd ed. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1991, chps. 1 and 2, pp. 35-111.

Kalevi J. Holsti, *The State, War, and the State of War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, chp. 6, pp. 99-122

Minxin Pei, "Rotten From Within: Decentralized Predation and Incapacitated State." In *The Nation-State in Question*, edited by T. V. Paul, G. John Ikenberry and John A. Hall, 321-349. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003.

### Week 5: The Legacy of Colonialism and Weak States [February 17, 2011]

* State weakness, particularly in Africa, is linked to legacies of colonialism.
* The post-colonial literature addresses the informal political and economic system that has developed over time, challenging and sometimes usurping the state.
* Colonialism and the origins of development in Asia tell a more complex story, with differences in colonial legacies affecting varied patters of development.

Richard Gott, ‘Latin America as a White Settler Society,’ *Bulletin of Latin American Research,* Vol. 25, Issue, 2, April 2007, pp. 269-289.

Mamdani, Mahmood. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996, chps. 2 and 3, pp. 37-108 (readings provided).

William Reno, *Warlord Politics and African States*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999, pp. 1-44 (readings provided).

Kim Wonik, '[Rethinking **Colonialism** and the Origins of the Developmental State in East **Asia,’**](http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/viewarticle?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie46bZMsqeuSLak63nn5Kx95uXxjL6nrUq2pbBIr6eeSriqtVKwrJ5oy5zyit%2fk8Xnh6ueH7N%2fiVa%2brr1G1prdIta6khN%2fk5VXj5KR84LPfiOac8nnls79mpNfsVbKpsVC2qbJNpNztiuvX8lXk6%2bqE8tv2jAAA&hid=111) *Journal of Contemporary* ***Asia***, Vol. 39 Issue 3, August 2009, pp. 382-399.

### Week 6: State Weakness and Regime Type [February 24, 2011]

* State weakness is a tool of corrupt regimes, signifying a lack of will rather than means.
* The literature on state-building in the post-Soviet states emphasizes regime corruption and organized crime as major stumbling blocks toward development.

Stacy Closson, “State Weakness in Perspective: Strong Politico-Economic Networks in Georgia's Energy Sector,” *Europe-Asia Studies*; July 2009, Vol. 61 Issue 5, pp. 759-778.

Kathleen Collins, ‘Clans, Pacts, and Politics in Central Asia’, *Journal of Democracy*, 13(3),

2002, pp. 137-152.

Henry Hale, “Regime Cycles: Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in Post-Soviet

Eurasia,” *World Politics*, Volume 58, Number 1, October 2005, pp. 133-165.

Rasma Karklins, “Typology of Post-Communist Corruption,” *Problems of Post-Communism,* pp. 22-32, July/August 2002.

Robert Legvold, “Corruption, the Criminalized State and Post-Soviet Transitions,” In Robert I. Rotberg, *Corruption, Global Security, and World Order,* Brookings Institution Press, 2009, chp. 8 (readings provided).

### Week 7: State Weakness and Violence [March 3, 2011]

* There is an argument that criminalized commercial entities (often tied to government officials) have vested interests in the prolongation of conflict and instability for financial gain.
* Weak states can create conditions that support growth of terrorism.

Boaz Atzili, “State Weakness and Vacuum of Power in Lebanon,” [*Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*](http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~db=all~content=t713742821), Volume [33](http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~db=all~content=t713742821~tab=issueslist~branches=33#v33), Issue [8](http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~db=all~content=g924333926) August 2010, pp. 757 - 782

Ann Hironaka, *Neverending Wars: the International Community, Weak States, and the Perpetuation of Civil War,* Harvard University Press, 2005, chps. 3-5, pp. 53-129

Michael T. Klare, “The Deadly Connection: Paramilitary Bands, Small Arms Diffusion, and State Failure, In Robert I. Rotberg, *When States Fail,* Princeton University Press, 2004, chp. 5 pp. 94-115.

Phil Williams, “Illicit markets, weak states and violence: Iraq and Mexico,” *Crime, Law and Social Change,* Volume 52, Number 3, pp. 323-336, September 2009.

Johan Engvall, “The State Under Siege: The Drug Trade and Organized Crime in Tajikistan,” Europe-Asia Studies, vol. 58, no. 6, pp. 827-854, September 2006.

**Week 8: Mid-term [March 10, 2011]**

**Part III: Case Studies: Define and Assess the Threats and Identify Policy Challenges**

**Week 9: Nigeria, Azerbaijan and the resource curse [March 24, 2011]**

**Week 10: Afghanistan, Iraq and state-building [March 31, 2011]**

**Week 11: Rwanda, Congo and conflict [April 7, 2011]**

**Week 12: Bangladesh, Haiti and the development community [April 21, 2011]**

**Week 13: Mexico, Guinea-Bissau and the drug wars [April 28, 2011]**

**Week 14: Final Research Paper Due by email [MONDAY, May 2, 2011]**