

International Statebuilding: Exporting Democracy?

2008-9

Module Code: 1ISP7C1

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Full Module Title:	INTERNATIONAL STATEBUILDING: EXPORTING DEMOCRACY?
Short Module Title:	International Statebuilding
Module Code:	1ISP7C1
Module Level:	7
Academic credit weighting:	20
Length:	1 semester
School:	School of Social Sciences, Humanities and Languages
Department:	Politics and International Relations
Module Leader(s):	Professor David Chandler
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Host course:	MA International Relations
Status:	Core
Subject Board:	MA International Relations
Pre-requisites:	None
Co-requisites:	None
Assessment:	1 book review 1,000 words (20%) 1 essay 4,000 words (80%)

Summary of Module content:

The module introduces students to the theoretical frameworks and practices of international state-building, the debates they have triggered, and the way that international state-building has developed in the 1990s and 2000s. Most emphasis is on the issues addressed, such as security, development, democracy and human rights and on the contexts of post-conflict reconstruction, EU enlargement and international responses to prevent state failure.

Module Aims:

The module introduces students to the theoretical frameworks and practices of international state-building, the debates they have triggered, and the way that international state-building has developed in the post-Cold War era. The course is divided into four parts. First we consider the changing international framework of discussions of the state and sovereignty in the 1990s and 2000s, in which the non-Western state was problematised in terms of both its security and development capacities, with debates around the need for external economic conditionality and more direct forms of humanitarian intervention, we also consider how the terms of debate shifted to capacity-building in the 2000s. Secondly, we trace discussion and policy-making in three issues – security, development and democracy and human rights – which have necessitated a rethinking of the state's relation to international institutions. Thirdly, we consider some of the contexts in which relations of power are expressed within the framework of statebuilding, including post-conflict state-building, frameworks to prevent state failure and EU enlargement practices. Finally, we conclude with a discussion of the implications of the internationalised state both in terms of international theory and policy practices, focusing on how international statebuilding relates to global governance and critiques of the liberal peace.

Learning Outcomes:

By the end of this module students will be able to:

1. critically evaluate a range of theories of the state and sovereignty that can be applied to the study of international state-building;
2. analyse how current policy frameworks in this area developed out of, or relate back to, similar issues in domestic politics and relate to new mandates and roles for international institutions;
3. critically evaluate how international state-building practice has developed in response to changing views of the role of the state and to specific political contexts;
4. critically evaluate a range of theories on democracy, its content and practices and how these relate in the context of international regulation.

Teaching and Learning Methods:

Weekly three-hour seminars initiated by some staff presentations, but mainly centred on student presentations and discussion.

Assessment Rationale:

The assessment by 1,000 word book review and 4,000 word essay has been chosen partly to reflect the cosmopolitan character of the students taking this course, and the disadvantage many of them would have working under timed examination pressure in English, but mostly to reflect the MA level, and the need to allow students to engage with selected issues and themes of international state-building in some depth. The essay will give students the opportunity to develop critical approaches to the material introduced in the module based upon comprehensive reading.

Assessment criteria:

The book review should demonstrate an understanding of the context (policy and theory) in which the book was written, its central argument, the reasons why the argument is presented in the form which it is and a critical assessment of the author(s) approach. The essay should demonstrate that students have understood the issue they are addressing, made themselves familiar with the appropriate literature, and demonstrated the ability both to assess the arguments on all sides of the debate, and to formulate a rationale for their own position.

Assessment Methods and Weightings:

20% book review, 80% essay, no formal examination

Introductory reading:

Robert H. Jackson, *Quasi-states: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Francis Deng et al, *Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict Management in Africa* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1996).

Stephen Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton University Press, 1999).

Christopher Bickerton, Philip Cunliffe and Alex Gourevitch (eds) *Politics without Sovereignty: A Critique of Contemporary International Relations* (London: UCL Press, 2007).

Mark Duffield, *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).

Ashraf Ghani and Clare Lockhart, *Fixing Failed States: A Framework for Rebuilding a Fractured World* (Oxford: OUP, 2008).

Core reading:

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

David Chandler, *Empire in Denial: The Politics of State-Building* (London: Pluto Press, 2006)

Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Christopher Clapham, *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).

Rupert Emerson, *From Empire to Nation: The Rise to Self-Assertion of Asian and African Peoples* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1960).

Simon Chesterman, *You, the People: the United Nations, Transitional Administration, and State-Building* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

Michael Ignatieff, *Empire Lite: Nation-Building in Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan* (London: Vintage, 2003).

Robert Cooper, *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-first Century* (London: Atlantic Books, 2003).

William Bain, *Between Anarchy and Society: Trusteeship and the Obligations of Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Dominik Zaum, *The Sovereignty Paradox: The Norms and Politics of International Statebuilding* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

A. Ghani, C. Lockhart and M. Carnahan, 'Closing the Sovereignty Gap: an Approach to State-Building', *Overseas Development Institute Working Paper*, No.253, ODI, September 2005.

http://www.odi.org.uk/publications/working_papers/wp253.pdf.

Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What can be Done about it* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Basil Davidson, *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State* (James Currey, 1992).

International Commission on the Balkans, *The Balkans in Europe's Future*, 2005.

<http://www.balkan-commission.org/activities/Report.pdf>.

Commission for Africa, *Our Common Interest*, 11 March 2005.

<http://www.commissionforafrica.org/english/report/introduction.html>.

Colin Leys, *The Rise and Fall of Development Theory* (Oxford: James Currey, 1996).

Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

William Easterly, *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest have done so much Ill and so little Good* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Jan Zielonka, *Europe as Empire: The Nature of the Enlarged European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

Heather Grabbe, *The EU's Transformative Power: Europeanization through Conditionality in Central and Eastern Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006).

Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998).

Alan Doig and Robin Theobald (eds) *Corruption and Democratisation* (London: Frank Cass, 2000)

Richard Caplan, *International Governance of War-Torn Territories* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

James Dobbins et al, *The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2007).

Seminar Programme

Part One: The State and Sovereignty

1. Introduction
2. Changing views of the State
3. Rethinking Sovereignty

Part Two: Issues

4. Security
5. Development
6. Democracy, Human Rights and Corruption

Part Three: Contexts

7. Post-Conflict Statebuilding
8. Intervention in Fragile States
9. EU Member Statebuilding

Part Four: The Internationalised State

10. 'Global Governance' and Statebuilding
11. The 'Liberal Peace' and Statebuilding
12. Conclusion

Part One: The State and Sovereignty

1) Introduction

We will discuss the aims and expected outcomes of the course, the course content, introduce the key readings, discuss the modes of assessment, and allocate student presentations.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) What is international statebuilding?
- 2) Why is statebuilding considered necessary?
- 3) What issues are raised by international statebuilding?

Background reading:

Simon Chesterman, *You, the People: the United Nations, Transitional Administration, and State-Building* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004),

Chapter 1: Colonies and Occupied Territories: Transitional Administration Through the Twentieth Century.

Chapter 2: Power and Change: The Evolution of United Nations Complex Peace Operations.

Christopher Clapham, *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Part One: African State and Global Politics (Chapter 1: Fragile States and the International System; Chapter 2: The Creation of an African International Order; Chapter 3: Domestic Statehood and Foreign Policy).

Rajiv Chandrasekaran, *Imperial Life in the Emerald City: Inside Iraq's Green Zone* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006).

Rupert Emerson, *From Empire to Nation: The Rise to Self-Assertion of Asian and African Peoples* (Cambridge: Mass: Harvard University Press, 1960).

Basil Davidson, *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State* (James Currey, 1992).

Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Chapter 1: The Origins of Peacebuilding

2) Changing views of the State

We consider the changing international context in the 1990s and 2000s, in which the non-Western state was problematised in terms of both its security and development capacities, with debates around the need for external economic conditionality and more

direct forms of humanitarian intervention, we also consider how the terms of debate shifted to capacity-building in the 2000s, particularly after 9/11.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) Why was the state viewed as the central political actor during the Cold War?
- 2) Why did the view of the role of the state change during the 1990s?
- 3) Why was the state understood as increasingly important since the end of the 1990s?

Essay Question:

How does *The Responsibility to Protect* approach reconcile the sovereign state with international intervention and why is this important to statebuilding?

Essential reading:

Francis Deng et al, *Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict Management in Africa* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1996).

Jackson, R. H. (1990) *Quasi-states: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *Responsibility to Protect* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001).

Kaldor, M. (1998) *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity Press).

David Chandler, *Empire in Denial: The Politics of State-building* (London: Pluto Press, 2006), chapter 3: The Governance of Government

Recommended reading:

Basil Davidson, *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State* (James Currey, 1992).

Christopher Clapham, *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Robert I Rotberg (2002) 'The New Nature of Nation-State Failure', *Washington Quarterly*, Vol.25, No.3, pp.85-96.

<http://www.twq.com/02summer/rotberg.pdf>

C. Clapham (2003) 'The Challenge to the State in a Globalised World', in J. Milliken (ed.) *State Failure, Collapse and Reconstruction* (Oxford: Blackwell).

G. B. Helman and S. R. Ratner (1993) 'Saving Failed States', *Foreign Policy*, No.89, pp.3-21.

J. Herbst (2004) 'Let Them Fail: State Failure in Theory and Practice: Implications for Policy', in R. I. Rotberg (ed.) *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

C. Tilly (1985) 'War Making and State Making as Organized Crime', in P. B. Evans, D. Rueschemeyer and T. Skocpol (eds) *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Adam Morton, 'The "Failed State" of International Relations', *New Political Economy*, Vol.10, No.3, (2005), pp.371-379.

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect: Research, Bibliography, Background* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001).

Jean-Francois Bayart, Stephen Ellis and Beatrice Hibou, *Criminalisation of the State in Africa* (James Currey, 1999).

M. Foucault (2003) *Society must be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France 1975-76*, trans. D. Macey (London: Allen Lane/Penguin).

F. Fukuyama (2004) *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Profile Books).

3) Rethinking Sovereignty

Introduction to debates on the nature and problems of sovereignty in the 21st. We shall consider Krasner's 'unbundling of sovereignty', and concepts such as sovereignty as responsibility, conditional sovereignty, shared sovereignty and sovereignty as capacity. We shall also consider Bickerton et al's claims that there is an 'unholy alliance against sovereignty' covering positions from Realist to Post-structuralist.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) What is sovereignty as responsibility?; What is 'shared sovereignty'?
- 2) What are the implications of understanding sovereignty as a capacity rather than as a right?
- 3) Why does there appear to be an 'unholy alliance against sovereignty'?

Essay Question:

Is there an ‘unholy alliance against sovereignty’? If so, what factors give this alliance its strength?

Essential reading:

S. Krasner, ‘The Case for Shared Sovereignty’, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 16, No. 1, (2005), pp. 69-83.

Christopher Bickerton, Philip Cunliffe and Alex Gourevitch (eds) *Politics without Sovereignty: A Critique of Contemporary International Relations* (London: UCL Press, 2007).

A. Ghani, C. Lockhart and M. Carnahan, ‘Closing the Sovereignty Gap: an Approach to State-Building’, *Overseas Development Institute Working Paper*, No.253, ODI, September 2005.

http://www.odi.org.uk/publications/working_papers/wp253.pdf.

David Chandler, *Empire in Denial: The Politics of State-building* (London: Pluto Press, 2006), chapter 2: State-building States without Sovereignty

Cynthia Weber, *Simulating Sovereignty: Intervention the State and Symbolic Exchange* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Recommended reading:

S. Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton University Press, 1999).

S. Krasner, ‘Sharing Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsing and Failing States’, *International Security*, Vol.29, No.2, (2004), pp.5-43.

Keohane, R. (2003) ‘Political Authority after Intervention: Gradations in Sovereignty’, in J. L. Holzgrefe and R. O. Keohane (eds) *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal and Political Dilemmas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

J. D. Fearon, and D. D. Laitin, ‘Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States’, *International Security*, Vol.28, No.4, (2004), pp.5-43.

R. N. Haass, ‘Sovereignty: Existing Rights, Evolving Responsibilities: Remarks to the School of Foreign Service and the Mortara Center for International Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, 14 January 2003. Available at: <http://www.state.gov/s/p/rem/2003/16648.htm>.

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *Responsibility to Protect* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001).

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect: Research, Bibliography, Background* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001).

Independent International Commission on Kosovo, *Why Conditional Independence: The Follow up of the Kosovo Report* (Solna, Sweden: Tryckeriet Åsbrink Grafiska, 2001).

http://kulturserver-hamburg.de/home/illyria/kosovocommission.org_report_english_2001.pdf

Keohane, R. (2002) 'Ironies of Sovereignty: The European Union and the United States', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol.40, No.4, pp. 743-765.

David A. Lake, 'Delegating Divisible Sovereignty: Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield', 11 October 2006.

<http://weber.ucsd.edu/~dlake/documents/DelegatingDivisibleSovereigntypublic.pdf>

A. Yannis, 'The Concept of Suspended Sovereignty in International Law and its Implications in International Politics', *European Journal of International Law*, Vol. 13, No. 5, (2002), pp.1037-1052.

Kofi Annan, 'Two Concepts of Sovereignty', *The Economist*, 18 September 1999.

<http://www.un.org/News/ocg/sg/stories/kaecon.html>

Robert H Jackson, 'Surrogate Sovereignty, Great Power Responsibility and "Failed States"', Institute of International Relations, University of British Columbia, Working Paper No.25, November 1998.

<http://www.iir.ubc.ca/pdffiles/webwp25.pdf>

Roberta Cohen, Sovereignty as Responsibility: The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, Public Lecture Hosted by the Calcutta Research Group and the Refugee Studies Center of Jadavpur University, Calcutta, December 5, 2003.

<http://www.brookings.edu/dybdocroot/views/speeches/cohen/20031205.pdf>

John W. Harbeson, (book reviews) 'Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict Management in Africa', *American Political Science Review*, June, 1998.

http://www.findarticles.com/cf_dls/m0259/n2_v92/20851365/p1/article.jhtml

David Chandler, 'The Responsibility to Protect: Imposing the "Liberal Peace"?', *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.11, No.1, Special Issue: Peace Operations and Global Order, 2004, pp.59-81.

http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/IPK%20-%2011.1%20R2P.pdf

OR

David Chandler, *Constructing Global Civil Society: Morality and Power in International Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), Chapter 4.

Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun, 'The Responsibility to Protect', *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 6, Nov-Dec 2002, pp.99-110.

Kofi Annan, 'Secretary-General Addresses International Peace Academy Seminar On 'The Responsibility To Protect'', UN Press Release SG/SM/8125

<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2002/sgsm8125.doc.htm>

Alex de Waal, 'Darfur and the Failure of the Responsibility to Protect', *International Affairs*, Vol.83, No.6, (2007), pp.1039-1054.
<http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/publications/ia/archive/view/-/id/2232/>

Part Two: Issues

4) Security

Charting the developing security discourses in the 1990s and post 9/11 which have argued that the state needs to be subject to greater international engagement and that weak or failed states pose the main threat to international peace in the wake of 9/11. Reflecting these discussions, the seminar will also consider the changing nature of international peacekeeping practices and the extension and reform of peacekeeping to take in the need for peace-building and statebuilding.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) How have Critical Security approaches impacted on international intervention? Is it possible to pursue both human-centred and state-centred approaches to security?
- 2) How has 9/11 impacted on statebuilding?
- 3) What is the 'security-development nexus'?

Essay Question:

Is statebuilding a shift away from human-centred security concerns of the 1990s? What difference does this make in terms of policy-outcomes?

Essential reading:

Ken Booth, 'Security and Emancipation', *Review of International Studies*, Vol.17, No.4, (1991) pp.313-26.

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, 'Greed and Grievance in Civil War', World Bank, 21 October 2001.

http://www.worldbank.org/research/conflict/papers/greedgrievance_23oct.pdf

Christopher Cramer, *Civil War is Not a Stupid Thing* (London: Hurst & Co, 2006).

Tara McCormack, 'From State of War to State of Nature: Human Security and Sovereignty', in Christopher Bickerton et al (eds) *Politics without Sovereignty: A Critique of Contemporary International Relations* (London: UCL Press, 2007), pp.77-92.

Recommended reading:

Justin Logan and Christopher Preble, *Failed States and Flawed Logic: The Case against a Standing Nation-Building Office*, Policy Analysis, No.560, CATO Institute, 11 January 2006.

<http://www.cato.org/pubs/pas/pa560.pdf>

Richard Devetak, 'Between Kant and Pufendorf: Humanitarian Intervention, Statist Anti-Cosmopolitanism and Critical International Theory', *Review of International Studies*, Vol.33, Special Issue, (April 2007), pp.151-174.

Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998).

Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities, *A Human Security Doctrine for Europe*, Barcelona, 15 September 2004. Available at: <http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/Human%20Security%20Report%20Full.pdf>.

Straw, J. (2002b) 'Failed and Failing States: Speech by the Foreign Secretary at the European Research Institute, University of Birmingham', 6 September. Available at: <http://www.eri.bham.ac.uk/events/jstraw060902.pdf>.

United Nations, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping*, Report of the Secretary-General, (A/47/277 - S/24111), 17 June 1992. <http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html>

J. Solana, 'A Secure Europe in a Better World', European Council, Thessaloniki, 20 June 2003. http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/76255.pdf.

Jürgen Habermas, 'Bestiality and Humanity: a war on the border between law and morality' (trans F. Solms-Laubach) *Bestialität und Humanität*, *Die Zeit*, Vol.54, No.18, 29 April 1999, pp.1-8. <http://www.theglobalsite.ac.uk/librarytexts/011habermas.htm>

Jack Straw, 'Order out of Chaos: The Challenge of Failed States', in M. Leonard (ed.) *Reordering the World* (London: Foreign Policy Centre, 2002).

Chesterman, S. (2002) *Just War or Just Peace? Humanitarian Intervention and International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

David Chandler, 'The People-Centred Approach to Peace Operations: the New UN Agenda', *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.8, No.1, Spring 2001, pp.1-19. <http://www.wmin.ac.uk/sshl/pdf/IPK%20UN%20P-KING.pdf>

International Peace Academy, *Strengthening the Security-Development Nexus: Assessing International Policy and Practice since the 1990s*, New York: IPA, April 2004.

International Peace Academy, *The Security-Development Nexus: Conflict, Peace and Development in the 21st Century* (New York: IPA, May 2004).

International Peace Academy, *The Security-Development Nexus: Research Findings and Policy Implications*, Program Report (New York: IPA, February 2006).

The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, 2002.
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nssall.html>.

Commission for Africa, *Our Common Interest*, 11 March 2005.
<http://www.commissionforafrica.org/english/report/introduction.html>.

J. Ann Tickner, 'Re-visioning Security', in Ken Booth and Steve Smith (eds) *International Relations Theory Today* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995/2002), pp.175-197.

Neil Cooper, 'Chimeric Governance and the Extension of Resource Regulation', *Conflict, Security and Development*, Vol.6, No.3, (October 2006), pp.315-335.

C. Rice, 'The Promise of Democratic Peace: Why Promoting Freedom is the Only Realistic Path to Security', *Washington Post*, 11 December 2005.
<http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2005/57888.htm>

Report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations (Brahimi Report), A/55/305–S/2000/809. August 2000.
http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/.

Paul Collier et al, *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*, (World Bank/ Oxford University Press, 2000).

Paul Collier and Nicholas Sambanis (eds) *Understanding Civil War, Volume 1: Africa* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2005).

International Commission on Human Security, *Human Security Now* (New York: United Nations, 2003).
<http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/finalreport/English/FinalReport.pdf>.

Report of the Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility* (New York: United Nations, 2004).
<http://www.un.org/secureworld/>.

Report of the Secretary-General, *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights For All*, 2005.
<http://www.un.org/largerfreedom/>.

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *Responsibility to Protect* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001).

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect: Research, Bibliography, Background* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001).

J. L. Holzgrefe and R. O. Keohane (eds) *Humanitarian Intervention: Ethical, Legal and Political Dilemmas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

5) Development

Charting the shifting approach to the non-Western state in discourses and policy practices of development: from 1950s and 1960s modernisation theory to 1970s IFI conditionality to 2000s country-ownership of poverty reduction and state-building. Particular focus will be placed on the centrality of state-capacity building to current World Bank, IMF and UN Millennium Goal frameworks.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) Why has development become increasingly understood in terms of poverty reduction?
- 2) What led to the collapse of development theory?
- 3) What is the difference between the role of the state in current discussions of development and earlier approaches in the 1960s or 1980s, for example?

Essay Question:

What are the implications for the non-Western state of understanding development as poverty reduction?

Essential reading:

Colin Leys, *The Rise and Fall of Development Theory* (Oxford: James Currey, 1996).

Sen, A. (1999) *Development as Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Gordon Crawford, 'The World Bank and Good Governance: Rethinking the State or Consolidating Neo-Liberalism', in Alberto Paloni and Maurizio Zanardi (eds) *The IMF, World Bank and Policy Reform* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp.115-141.

Joseph Stiglitz (Chief Economist, The World Bank) *Towards a New Paradigm for Development: Strategies, Policies, and Processes*, World Bank, 19 October 1998.

<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/CDF/Resources/prebisch98.pdf>

Joseph Stiglitz, *Participation and Development: Perspectives from the Comprehensive Development Paradigm*, World Bank, 27 February 1999.

<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/CDF/Resources/stiglitzparticipation1999.pdf>

World Bank, *Empowerment and Poverty Reduction: A Sourcebook* (World Bank, 1 May 2002).

<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTEMPowerment/Resources/486312-1095094954594/draft.pdf>

Vanessa Pupavac, 'Witnessing the Demise of the Developing State: Problems for Humanitarian Advocacy, in Aidan Hehir and Neil Robinson (eds) *State-Building: Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp.99-106.

Recommended reading:

S. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).

John Pender, 'From "Structural Adjustment" to "Comprehensive Development Framework": Conditionality Transformed', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.22, No.3 (2001), pp.397-411.

Stuart Simpson, 'Debt and Development: Ghana a Case Study', *WorldWrite paper*, 2007.

www.worldwrite.org.uk/debtanddevelopment.pdf

World Bank, *Reforming Public Institutions and Strengthening Governance: A World Bank Strategy* (Washington, DC: IBRD/World Bank, 2000).

<http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/Reforming.pdf>

UN Millennium Project, *Investing in Development: A Practical Plan to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals*, 2005.

http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/reports/index_overview.htm.

United Nations, *An Agenda for Development: Report of the Secretary-General*, (A/48/935), 6 May 1994.

<http://www.un.org/Docs/SG/agdev.html>

Sachs, J. (2005) *The End of Poverty: How We Can Make It Happen in Our Lifetime* (London: Penguin).

United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1994* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

World Bank, *World Development Report 1997: The State in a Changing World* (Washington, DC: IBRD/World Bank, 1997).

<http://www.worldbank.org/html/extpb/wdr97/english/wdr97con.htm>.

[http://www-](http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/1997/06/01/000009265_3980217141148/Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf)

[wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/1997/06/01/000009265_3980217141148/Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf](http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/1997/06/01/000009265_3980217141148/Rendered/PDF/multi0page.pdf)

B. Levy and S. Kpundeh (eds) *Building State Capacity in Africa: New Approaches, Emerging Lessons* (Washington, DC: IBRD/World Bank).

Ben-Ami, D. (2005) 'Postponing the "End of Poverty"', *Spiked-Online*, 6 May.
<http://www.spiked-online.com/Articles/0000000CAB08.htm>.

Alberto Paloni and Maurizio Zanardi (eds) *The IMF, World Bank and Policy Reform* (London: Routledge, 2006)

James Wolfensohn, 'Opening Address by the President of the World Bank Group', Summary Proceedings of the 54th Annual Meeting of the Board of Governors, 28-30 September 1999.

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Participation, Chapter 7

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http://povlibrary.worldbank.org/files/4105_chap8.pdf

'Community Driven Development' Chapter 9,

http://povlibrary.worldbank.org/files/5805_chap9.pdf

Gender, Chapter 10

http://povlibrary.worldbank.org/files/4221_chap10.pdf

6) Democracy, Human Rights and Corruption

Charting the shift from external democracy promotion of the Cold War to state-building and good governance programmes of today. Considering discussions around the centrality of strong and viable institutions and a vibrant civil society as preconditions for democracy today and the shifting focus from representative government to good governance, particularly around the importance of anti-corruption approaches.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) What is the relationship between democracy and human rights?
- 2) Why did corruption increasingly become an issue for international institutions?
- 3) How does the changing view of democracy relate to international statebuilding?

Essay Question:

In what ways do anti-corruption initiatives make the political process more or less legitimate?

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'Building Trust in Public Institutions? Good Governance and Anti-Corruption in Bosnia-Herzegovina', *Ethnopolitics*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2006, p.85-99.

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Morris Szeftel, 'Between Governance and Underdevelopment: Accumulation and Africa's "Catastrophic Corruption"', *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol.27, No.84, (2000) pp.287-306.

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David Potter, David Goldblatt, Margaret Kiloh and Paul Lewis (eds) *Democratization* (Cambridge: Polity/ Open University, 1997).

Julie Hearn, 'Foreign Aid, Democratisation and Civil Society in Africa: A Study of South Africa, Ghana and Uganda'. Institute of Development Studies (IDS), UK (1999).

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- Chandler, D. (1999) *Bosnia: Faking Democracy after Dayton* (London: Pluto Press).
- Hobsbawn, E. (2005) 'The Dangers of Exporting Democracy', *Guardian*, 22 January. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,3604,1396038,00.html>
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- David Chandler, 'The OSCE and the Internationalisation of National Minority Rights', in Karl Cordell (ed) *Ethnicity and Democratisation in the New Europe* (London: Routledge, 1999). <http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/chapters/OSCE1999.pdf>
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Part Three: Contexts

7) Post-Conflict Statebuilding

Considering the problems and lessons learned from the external state-building experience in Bosnia, Kosovo, East Timor, Afghanistan and Iraq. Examining the changing understanding of the problems and issues involved in international and external administrations by informal international groupings and direct management by the United Nations.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) How did peacekeeping become statebuilding?
- 2) What impact will the 'lessons learned' (Paris, Dobbins, Chesteman) have on future statebuilding missions?
- 3) Does the success of international statebuilding depend more on domestic context than international policies?

Essay Question:

What are the key difficulties faced by international administrations, in what way can they be mitigated?

Essential reading:

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Recommended reading:

Richard Caplan, *International Governance of War-Torn Territories* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

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Marina Ottaway, 'Nation building (Think Again)', *Foreign Policy*, Sept-Oct 2002.
<http://ics.leeds.ac.uk/papers/vp01.cfm?outfit=pmt&folder=607&paper=1107>

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David Chandler, *Constructing Global Civil Society: Morality and Power in International Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005), Chapter 4.

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Carl Bildt, *Peace Journey* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999).

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Richard Holbrooke, *To End a War* (Random House, 1999).

Elizabeth M Cousens and Charles K. Cater, *Toward Peace in Bosnia: Implementing the Dayton Accords* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2001).

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Jonathan Steele, *Defeat: Why America and Britain Lost Iraq* (London: Counterpoint, 2008).

Larry Diamond, *Squandered Victory: The American Occupation and the Bungled Effort to Bring Democracy to Iraq* (Times Books, 2005).

L. Paul Bremer III, *My Year in Iraq: The Struggle to Build a Future of Hope* (Simon & Schuster, 2006).

David L. Phillips, *Losing Iraq: Inside the Postwar Reconstruction Fiasco* (Basic Books, 2005).

Mark Etherington, *Revolt on the Tigris: The Sadr Uprising and Governing Iraq* (C. Hurst & Co, 2005).

George Packer, *The Assassins' Gate: America in Iraq* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005).

Eric Herring and Glen Rangwala, *Iraq in Fragments: The Occupation and its Legacy* (London: Hurst & Co, 2006).

Patrick Cockburn, *The Occupation: War and Resistance in Iraq* (London: Verso, 2006).

Rajiv Chandrasekaran, *Imperial Life in the Emerald City: Inside Iraq's Green Zone* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006).

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Katia Papagianni, 'State Building and Transitional Politics in Iraq: The Perils of a Top-down Transition', *International Studies Perspectives*, Vol.8, No.3, (August 2007), pp.253-271.

8) Intervention in 'Fragile States'

From 'fragile states' to 'countries at risk of instability' and 'low-income countries under stress' there is a growing number of classifications drawing international attention to the crisis of governance in a growing number of states, many of which are in sub-Saharan Africa. This session looks at ways in which the problems of governance are seen in these state and the mechanisms which have been used to internationalise governance in response. We focus in particular, on Harrison's concept of 'governance states' but also consider the broader relationship between state capacity-building and international institutions.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) What traps are fragile states caught in according to Collier?
- 2) What are 'governance states'?
- 3) What has been the impact of the merging of development and security according to Duffield?

Essay Question:

Is the case of 'governance states' is the line between sovereign and international authority still a relevant one, if so why?

Essential reading:

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<http://www.commissionforafrica.org/english/report/introduction.html>.

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Department for International Development, *Why we need to work more effectively in fragile states*, DfID, January 2005.
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Mark Duffield, *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007). Especially Chapters 4 and 7.

Graham Harrison, 'Post-Conditionality Politics and Administrative Reform: Reflections on the Cases of Uganda and Tanzania', *Development and Change*, Vol.32, No.4, (2001), pp.634-665.

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Recommended reading:

'The Fragile State Debate: Considering ways and means to achieve stronger statehood', *Politorbis*, No.42, (2007), Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA).

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<http://www.guardian.co.uk/katine/2007/oct/20/about>

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John Pender, 'Country Ownership: The Evasion of Donor Accountability', in Christopher Bickerton et al (eds) *Politics without Sovereignty: A Critique of Contemporary International Relations* (London: UCL Press, 2007), pp.112-130.

John Pender, 'From "Structural Adjustment" to "Comprehensive Development Framework": Conditionality Transformed', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.22, No.3 (2001), pp.397-411.

Mark Duffield, *Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security* (London: Zed Books, 2001).

Graham Harrison, 'The World Bank, Governance and Theories of Political Action in Africa', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol.7, (2005), pp.240-260.

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Rosaleen Duffy, 'Non-governmental Organizations and Governance States: The Impact of Transnational Environmental Management Networks in Madagascar', *Environmental Politics*, Vol.15, No.5, (2006) pp.731-749.

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James D. Fearon and David Laitin, 'Neotrusteeships and the Problem of Weak States', *International Security*, Vol.28, pp.5-43

Jean-Francois Bayart, 'Africa in the World: A History of Extraversion', *African Affairs*, vol.99, No.395, (2000), pp.217-67.

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Abrahamsen, R. (2005) 'Blair's Africa: The Politics of Securitization and Fear', *Alternatives*, No.30, pp.55-80.

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9) EU Member State-Building

This session examines the impact of EU enlargement on both the accession states and the EU itself. How has the EU become the most successful international state-building institution? How should we understand its operation as (in Mark Leonard's words) an 'invisible hand' transforming countries while leaving their formal national political institutions intact? We consider whether the asymmetry in power relations and the use of policy conditionalities means that the EU is promoting democracy through means that restrict the public sphere and may have counterproductive effects. We will also discuss the shift in 2000 to member-state building in the Balkans and whether the EU exerts more or less influence in this region with membership not an immediate prospect.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) What is the secret of the EU's statebuilding success?
- 2) Is the EU a post-modern Empire?
- 3) What is the process of 'Europeanization'?

Essay Question:

To what extent do the EU's statebuilding mechanisms undermine or promote democracy in Central and Eastern Europe?

Essential reading:

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Christopher Bickerton, 'State-building: Exporting State Failure', in Bickerton et al (eds) *Politics without Sovereignty: A Critique of Contemporary International Relations* (London: UCL Press, 2007), pp.93-111.

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Antoaneta Dimitrova, 'The Role of the EU in the Process of Democratic Transition and Consolidation in Central and Eastern Europe', Paper presented at the Third ECSA-World Conference, 'The European Union in a Changing World', Brussels, 19-20 September 1996.

<http://www.ecsanet.org/conferences/ecsaworld3/dimitrova.htm>

W. van Meurs, (ed.) *Prospects and Risks Beyond EU Enlargement: Southeastern Europe: Weak States and Strong International Support* (Opladen: Leske & Budrich, 2003).

David Chandler, *Empire in Denial: The Politics of State-building* (London: Pluto Press, 2006), chapter 6: Denying the Bosnian Protectorate

Geoffrey Pridham, *Designing Democracy: EU Enlargement and Regime Change in Post-Communist Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

Antoaneta L. Dimitrova (ed.) *Driven to Change: The European Union's Enlargement Viewed from the East* (Manchester University Press, 2004).

Sandra Lavenex, 'EU External Governance in "Wider Europe"', *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol.11, No.4, (2004), pp.680-700.

Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier, 'Governance by conditionality: EU rule transfer to the candidate countries of Central and Eastern Europe', *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol.11, No.4, (2004), pp.661-679.

Dimitris Papadimitriou, Petar Petrov and Labinot Greicevci (2007) 'To Build a State: Europeanization, EU Actorness and State-building in Kosovo', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 12, pp.219-238.

James Hughes, Gwendolyn Sasse, Claire Gordon (eds) *Europeanization and Regionalization in the EU's Enlargement to Central and Eastern Europe: The Myth of Conditionality* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

Wim van Meurs, and S. Weiss, 'Qualifying (For) Sovereignty: Kosovo's Post-Status Status and the Status of EU Conditionality', Discussion Paper, 6 December 2005 (Guetersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung).

Heather Grabbe, 'Europeanisation Goes East: Power and Uncertainty in the EU Accession Process', in K. Featherstone and C. M. Radaelli (eds) *The Politics of Europeanism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Heather Grabbe, 'How does Europeanization affect CEE Governance? Conditionality, Diffusion and Diversity', *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol.8, No.4, (Dec 2001), pp.1013-1031.

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Heather Grabbe, 'A Partnership for Accession? The Implications of EU Conditionality for the Central and East European Applicants', *Robert Schuman Centre Working Paper*, 12/1999, European University Institute, Florence, Italy.

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A. Gryzmal-Busse and A. Innes, 'Great Expectations: The EU and Domestic Political Competition in East Central Europe', *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol.17, (2003), pp.64-73.

Jelena Petrović, 'Stick and Carrot: All you Wanted to Know about the Policy of Conditionality but Didn't Dare Ask', *Western Balkans Security Observer*, No.4, Jan-Mar 2007.

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Bojan Petrovic and Etel Solingen, 'Europeanisation and Internationalisation: The Case of the Czech Republic', *New Political Economy*, Vol.10, No.3, (2005), pp.281-303.

Kristi Raik, 'EU Accession of Central and Eastern European Countries: Democracy and Integration as Conflicting Logics', *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol.18, No.4, (2004), pp.567-594.

Jan Zielonka, *Explaining Euro-Paralysis: Why Europe is Unable to Act in International Politics* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998).

Part Four: The Internationalised State

10) 'Global Governance' and Statebuilding

The most striking aspect of statebuilding in the twenty-first century is its internationalized nature. Statebuilding seems to be a strikingly new phenomenon not only because external powers are intervening to strengthen sovereignty rather than to undermine it, but because this intervention is being undertaken by the international community under the UN or by coalitions of states, rather than by a self-interested power acting unilaterally. It is little surprise then that international statebuilding in theory and practice should be seen as intimately linked to emerging frameworks of global governance.

Seminar Questions:

- 1) Why does statebuilding mostly take the form of a multi-lateral external intervention?
- 2) How do Ghani and Lockhart articulate statebuilding as central to global governance?
- 3) In what way have 'whole of government approaches' changed the nature of Western policy-making?
- 4) How does statebuilding relate to the Security-Development nexus?

Essay Question:

What are the limits to understanding international statebuilding as an ethical, technical or administrative project?

Essential reading:

Ashraf Ghani and Clare Lockhart, *Fixing Failed States: A Framework for Rebuilding a Fractured World* (Oxford: OUP, 2008).

Stewart Patrick and Kaysie Brown, *Greater than the Sum of its Parts?: Assessing "Whole of Government Approaches to Fragile States"* (New York: International Peace Academy, 2007).

Francis Deng et al, *Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict Management in Africa* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 1996).

David Chandler, 'The Security-Development Nexus and the Rise of "Anti-Foreign Policy"', *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Vol.10, No.4, (2007), pp.362-386.

http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/JIRD%20-%20Security%20Development.pdf

Recommended reading:

Dominik Zaum, *The Sovereignty Paradox: The Norms and Politics of International Statebuilding* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Merilee Grindle, 'Good Enough Governance: Poverty Reduction and Reform in Developing Countries', paper for the World Bank, Nov 2002.

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Merilee Grindle, 'Good Enough Governance Revisited', DFID paper Feb 2005.

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<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1467-7679.2007.00385.x?>

Christopher Bickerton, 'Governance beyond borders: new frameworks for EU foreign policy, paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association, San Diego, California, USA, 22 March 2006.

<http://convention2.allacademic.com/one/isa/isa06/index.php?cmd=isa06> (conference archive – search Bickerton & author, then click pdf)

Graham Harrison, 'The World Bank, Governance and Theories of Political Action in Africa', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol.7, (2005), pp.240-260.

S. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).

Alejandro Bendaña, 'From Peace-building to State-building: One Step Forward and Two Backwards', presentation at 'Nation-building, State-building and International Intervention: Between 'Liberation' and Symptom Relief', CERI, Paris, 15 October 2004.

http://www.transcend.org/t_database/articles.php?ida=506

Alex Gourevitch, 'The Unfailing of the State', *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.58, No.1, (2004), pp.255-260.

Amitai Etzioni, 'A Self-Restrained Approach to Nation-Building by Foreign Powers', *International Affairs*, Vol.80, No.1, (2004), pp.1-17.

David Chandler, *Empire in Denial: The Politics of State-Building* (London: Pluto Press, 2006)

11) The 'Liberal Peace' and Statebuilding

What is the dynamic behind international state-building? For example, is it a reassertion of Great Power domination through 'postmodern imperialism' (Robert Cooper)? Can it be better understood in Foucaultian terms of biopolitical regulation, where self-sufficiency enforces Western liberal interests (Mark Duffield / James Ferguson)? Or is statebuilding an example of the failings of the teleological self-understanding of Enlightenment Liberalism with its interventionist relationship to areas not yet included within the Liberal order (James C. Scott / Beate Jahn)?

Seminar Questions:

- 1) Does statebuilding make sense within a biopolitical framework?
- 2) Is statebuilding an inevitable consequence of liberal frameworks of development and progress?
- 3) Is statebuilding imperialist or neo-colonial or post-imperial or neither?

Essay Question:

How is statebuilding understood within perspectives critical of the 'liberal peace'?

Essential reading:

Robert Cooper, *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-first Century* (London: Atlantic Books, 2003).

Mark Duffield, *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).

Beate Jahn, 'The Tragedy of Liberal Diplomacy: Democratization, Intervention and Statebuilding' (Part I), *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (2007) pp. 87-106 and (Part II), *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, Vol. 1, No. 2, (2007) pp. 211-230.

Recommended reading:

James Ferguson, *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development", Depoliticization and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

Roland Paris, 'International Peacebuilding and the 'Mission Civilisatrice'', *Review of International Studies*, Vol.28, No.4, October 2002, pp.637-56.

Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

Costas Douzinas, *Human Rights and Empire: The Political Philosophy of Cosmopolitanism* (London: Routledge Cavendish, 2007).

Vivienne Jabri, *War and the Transformation of Global Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007).

David Chandler, 'Hollow Hegemony: Theorising the Shift from Interest-Based to Value-Based International Policy-Making', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol.35, No.3 (2007).

http://www.davidchandler.org/pdf/journal_articles/Millennium%20-%20Hollow%20Hegemony%20published.pdf

Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France 1977-1978* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2007), Lecture 4, 1 February 1978

David Chandler, *Empire in Denial: The Politics of State-Building* (London: Pluto Press, 2006)

David Chandler and Volker Heins (eds) *Rethinking Ethical Foreign Policy: Pitfalls, Possibilities and Paradoxes* (London: Routledge, 2007).

Zaki Laïdi, *A World without Meaning: The Crisis of Meaning in International Relations* (London: Routledge, 1998).

Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder, Co/London: Lynne Reiner, 1998), esp.
Chapter 2: Security Analysis: Conceptual Apparatus
Chapter 9: Conclusion

Alex Bellamy, Stuart Griffin and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004).

Paul Williams and Alex J. Bellamy (eds) *Peace Operations and Global Order* (London: Frank Cass, 2005).

David Campbell, *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity* (2nd ed) (University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

Robert Cooper, 'The New Liberal Imperialism', *Worldview Extra, Observer*, 7 April, 2002.

<http://observer.guardian.co.uk/worldview/story/0,11581,680095,00.html>.

Mark Duffield, *Global Governance and the New Wars* (London: Zed Books, 2001).

Julie Hearn, 'Foreign Aid, Democratisation and Civil Society in Africa: A Study of South Africa, Ghana and Uganda'. Institute of Development Studies (IDS), UK (1999).

<http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/bookshop/dp/dp368.pdf>

Neil Cooper, 'Chimeric Governance and the Extension of Resource Regulation', *Conflict, Security and Development*, Vol.6, No.3, (October 2006), pp.315-335.

Michael Pugh, 'Post-war Economies and the New York Dissensus', *Conflict, Security and Development*, Vol.6, No.3, (October 2006), pp.269-289.

Paul Cammack, 'Global Governance, State Agency and Competitiveness: The Political Economy of the Commission for Africa', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol.8, (2006), pp.331-350.

Ray Kiely, *Empire in the Age of Globalisation: US Hegemony and Neoliberal Disorder* (London, Pluto, 2006).

M. Duffield, 'Social Reconstruction and the Radicalization of Development: Aid as a Relation of Global Liberal Governance', in J. Milliken (ed.) *State Failure, Collapse and Reconstruction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003).

R. Abrahamsen, 'The Power of Partnerships in Global Governance', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.25, No.8, (2004), pp.1453-1467.

J. Baudrillard, *In the Shadow of the Silent Majorities* (trans. P. Foss, J. Johnston and P. Patton) (New York: Columbia University/Semiotext(e), 1983).

12) Conclusions

In this session we'll catch up on any issues or questions which need further clarification and ensure that everyone is well prepared with regard to the final piece of assessed work, the 4,000 word essay.

Assessment

1) One 1,000 word Book Review

The twelve books chosen for the book review assignment tend to be relatively recent works, which seek to engage academic and policy audiences. Please choose just one of the books below. Focus on drawing out, in your own words, the argument put forward by the author(s) and give your assessment of its strengths and weaknesses.

1) Ashraf Ghani and Clare Lockhart, *Fixing Failed States: A Framework for Rebuilding a Fractured World* (Oxford: OUP, 2008).

2) William Bain, *Between Anarchy and Society: Trusteeship and the Obligations of Power* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

3) Christopher Bickerton, Philip Cunliffe and Alex Gourevitch (eds) *Politics without Sovereignty: A Critique of Contemporary International Relations* (London: UCL Press, 2007).

4) David Chandler, *Empire in Denial: The Politics of State-Building* (London: Pluto Press, 2006)

5) Simon Chesterman, *You, the People: the United Nations, Transitional Administration, and State-Building* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

6) Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What can be Done about it* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

7) James Dobbins et al, *The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2007).

8) William Easterly, *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest have done so much Ill and so little Good* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

9) Mark Duffield, *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007).

10) Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

11) Dominik Zaum, *The Sovereignty Paradox: The Norms and Politics of International Statebuilding* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

12) Jan Zielonka, *Europe as Empire: The Nature of the Enlarged European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

2) One 4,000 word Essay

You will find ten essay questions, listed under the seminar sessions 2-11. They are repeated below. Please just choose one and stick to the question, there is nothing wrong with interpreting the question in a particular way or drawing on specific case studies or theoretical frameworks, you merely need to justify this approach when outlining your aims and methods in the essay introduction:

- 1) How does *The Responsibility to Protect* approach reconcile the sovereign state with international intervention and why is this important to statebuilding?
- 2) Is there an ‘unholy alliance against sovereignty’? If so, what factors give this alliance its strength?
- 3) Is statebuilding a shift away from human-centred security concerns of the 1990s? What difference does this make in terms of policy-outcomes?
- 4) What are the implications for the non-Western state of understanding development as poverty reduction?
- 5) In what ways do anti-corruption initiatives make the political process more or less legitimate?
- 6) What are the key difficulties faced by international administrations? In what way can they be mitigated?
- 7) Is the case of ‘governance states’ is the line between sovereign and international authority still a relevant one, if so why?
- 8) To what extent do the EU’s statebuilding mechanisms undermine or promote democracy in Central and Eastern Europe?
- 9) What are the limits to understanding international statebuilding as an ethical, technical or administrative project?
- 10) How is statebuilding understood within perspectives critical of the ‘liberal peace’?