

**Colloquium on
State Failure, Warlords, and Pirates**

Political Science BC 3812

Spring 2012

Tuesdays 2:10-4:00pm

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

What are sovereign states, and why do they fail? Does their failure matter, either for the well being of their domestic populations or for international security concerns? Is there anything that the international community can do to remedy state failure? This course examines these problems through the lenses of both social science theories and in-depth historical case studies. We will pay special attention to the political economy and security consequences of two forms or consequences of state failure: warlordism and piracy.

The course's primary goals are to use the problem of state failure to develop students' ability to analyze and critique competing cause-and-effect arguments, and to pose their own causal arguments based on independent research of the existing secondary-source literature. The course is designed to help prepare Barnard students to write the senior thesis in the political science major.

STUDENT LEARNING OUTCOMES

Students who complete this course successfully will be able to:

- Demonstrate knowledge of social science and policy debates about sovereignty, state failure, warlordism, and piracy.
- Demonstrate factual knowledge of selected historical and current cases where these debates are reflected in real-world events.
- Read critically to assess the explanatory value of competing perspectives and theories.
- Apply contending theories from the social science literature to analyze, compare, and evaluate selected historical and current events, in class discussions and written assignments.
- Synthesize facts and arguments across cases in order to reason critically and argue creatively in class discussions and written assignments.
- Independently design, research, and write a substantial paper of 25-30 pages that explores and takes a stance on a significant debate in the social science literature on sovereignty, state failure, warlordism, or piracy.

ASSIGNMENTS AND EXPECTATIONS

Students are expected to participate regularly in class discussions, and to demonstrate through this participation that they have completed the assigned readings before class is held.

By 9pm on each Monday evening before class, each student will post a brief response to one of the assigned readings (or to one argument of a longer book reading) on the Courseworks discussion page. This response should start with a very brief paragraph that summarizes in a few lines the reading in question—what was the major argument that the author tried to make? Then the response should list one or two brief questions provoked by the reading that the student would like to discuss in class the next day. Students are expected to have looked at each other's postings before class, and to come prepared to talk about the issues that are raised in them. (The regularity and quality of email postings will be included in the student's course participation grade.) Students who are nervous or reluctant about speaking up in class should come and talk to Prof. Marten to get help and encouragement.

Three times during the semester, each student will also write a short (3- to 5-page) essay on the assigned weekly reading, due at the start of class on the assigned day. Each student will select the three weeks to do this at our second class meeting.

Each student will also write a substantial research paper of at least 25 pages on a topic chosen in consultation with the instructor. This paper will be due at the start of class on the last day of class, **April 24**. Students will turn in a carefully written, well thought-out one-page topic statement for this longer paper at the start of class on **February 7**, and an annotated draft bibliography (of at least 15 sources) for this paper at the start of class on **February 28**. On **March 27**, each student will bring a 3-page outline to go over with Prof. Marten individually, to discuss progress on the paper.

EVALUATION

Participation (including email postings and in-class discussion) that reflects independent engagement with the assigned readings: 20%

Three short review papers: 10% each (30% total)

Major research paper: (50% total)

 Topic statement: 5%

 Annotated bibliography: 5%

 Outline: 5%

 Final paper: 35%

Late turn-ins will be heavily penalized, except in the case of illness or family emergency. Students who must miss a class session should consult with Prof. Marten about writing a one-page response to the assigned readings as a substitute for participation that day.

BARNARD HONOR CODE

All assignments in this class are to be completed in accordance with the Barnard Honor Code. Students affirm that all work turned in is their own, and that they have fully and accurately cited every written source, including web-based sources and unpublished sources, used in their writing. Students are encouraged to consult with each other to get feedback as they are designing, researching and writing their major research papers, but no collaboration is allowed

when writing the short papers on the assigned readings. Students may use the Barnard Writing Center with no restrictions.

REQUIRED READINGS

Each of the five published books has been ordered at Book Culture, 536 West 112th Street. Each has also been put on reserve at the Barnard College Library. In addition, there are a large number of journal articles and book chapters, as well as the professor's book page-proofs, that are required reading and have been placed on electronic reserves for this class.

Jay Bahadur, *The Pirates of Somalia: Inside their Hidden World* (New York: Pantheon, 2011).

Ashraf Ghani and Clare Lockhart, *Fixing Failed States: A Framework for Rebuilding a Fractured World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009),

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

William Reno, *Warlord Politics and African States* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1998)

Vadim Volkov, *Violent Entrepreneurs: The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002),

COURSE OUTLINE

January 17: Introduction. What is state failure, and does it matter?

[The instructor will contact students before the start of the semester so that this reading may be completed before our first class.]

Articles available on Columbia Library Web:

“Failed States: The World in Misery, 2011;” James Traub, “Think Again: Failed States;” and Stewart Patrick, “The Brutal Truth: Failed States Are Mainly a Threat to Their Own Inhabitants” (set of three articles that are part of the annual failed states index), *Foreign Policy* (July/Aug. 2011): 46-55.

E-reserves source:

Kimberly Marten. “Failing States and Conflict,” in *The International Studies Encyclopedia*, ed. Robert A. Denemark (Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 2012-22.

January 24: The European state in theory: Hobbes and his contemporaries, and Weber.

E-reserves sources:

A. John Simmons, “Theories of the State,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Philosophy*, ed. Donald Rutherford (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 250-73, available via the Columbia Library Web through Cambridge Collections Online.

Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* [1651], chapters 13, 14, 17 and 18, ed. JCA Gaskin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 82-95, 111-22 (available as a Columbia Libraries ebook).

Max Weber, “The Profession and Vocation of Politics” [1919], in *Weber: Political Writings*, ed. Peter Lassman and Ronald Speirs (New York: Cambridge, 2007), pp. 309-26 only.

January 31: Why were states built in Europe, and what did sovereignty really mean?

E-reserves sources:

Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime," in *Bringing the State Back In*, ed. Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 169-86.

Saskia Sassen, "Part One: Assembling the National," in *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages*, updated edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), pp. 27-73.

Article available on Columbia Library Web:

Stephen D. Krasner, "Compromising Westphalia," *International Security* 20, no. 3 (Winter 1995/6): 115-51.

February 7: European colonialism and artificial statehood.

Please note: topic statement due at the start of class today.

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), Introduction and chapters 1-4 and 6 (pp. 3-136, 173-97).

February 14: When statehood collapses: the example of post-Soviet Russia.

Vadim Volkov, *Violent Entrepreneurs: The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), preface and chapters 1-5 (pp. ix-154).

February 21: Warlords and the state.

E-reserves book:

Kimberly Marten, *Warlords: Strong-Arm Brokers in Weak States* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), chapters 1-5 (these cover theoretical issues, and case-studies of the Pakistani tribal areas, post-Soviet Georgia, and Chechnya).

February 28: When warlords are the state.

Please note: annotated bibliography due at the start of class today.

William Reno, *Warlord Politics and African States* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1998), introduction and chapters 1-4 (pp. 1-145).

March 6: The political economy of warlordism: the Afghanistan example.

Articles available on Columbia Library Web:

Antonio Giustozzi, "War and Peace Economies of Afghanistan's Strongmen," *International Peacekeeping* 14, no. 1 (2007): 75-89.

Dipali Mukhopodhyay, "Disguised Warlordism and Combatantood in Balkh: The Persistence of Informal Power in the Formal Afghan State," *Conflict, Security, and Development* 9, no. 4 (2009): 535-64.

Websources:

U.S. Senate Committee on Armed Services, *Inquiry into the Role and Oversight of Private Security Contractors in Afghanistan*, Report, Sept. 28, 2010, pp. 1-86, available at <http://levin.senate.gov/newsroom/press/release/?id=68a307cd-ca99-44e1-87ea-d268b9c8d7db>

Dipali Mukhopodhyay, "Warlords as Bureaucrats: The Afghan Experience," Carnegie Middle East Program Papers 101, August 2009, available at

<http://carnegieendowment.org/2009/09/22/warlords-as-bureaucrats-afghan-experience/5af>

March 13: Spring break, no class meeting.

March 20: The political economy of piracy: the Somalia example.

Jay Bahadur, *The Pirates of Somalia: Inside their Hidden World* (New York: Pantheon, 2011), entire.

March 27: Individual meetings with Prof. Marten to discuss paper progress.

Please note: 3-page paper outline due at the start of class today.

April 3: No class meeting. Prof. Marten is at the International Studies Association annual convention in San Diego. Please use the extra time to work on the research and writing for your major paper.

April 10: Is neo-trusteeship a solution to state failure?

Articles available from Columbia Library Web:

Stephen D. Krasner, "Sharing Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States," *International Security* 29, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 85-120.

Nicolas Lemay-Hebert, "The Empty Shell Approach: The Setup Process of International Administrations in Timor-Leste and Kosovo," *International Studies Perspectives* 12, no. 2 (2011): 190-211.

William Bain, "The Political Theory of Trusteeship and the Twilight of International Equality," *International Relations* (London) 17, no. 1 (2003): 59-77.

April 17: Is an international compact with local citizens a solution to state failure?

Ashraf Ghani and Clare Lockhart, *Fixing Failed States: A Framework for Rebuilding a Fractured World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), Introduction and chapters 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, and Conclusion (pp. 3-14, 85-114, 124-231).

April 24: Papers due at the start of class. Open discussion about policy problems and solutions.