

Political Science 361/461: State-Building and State Collapse

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Kelly M. McMann
Case Western Reserve University
Department of Political Science
Office Address: 218 Mather House

Email Address: kelly.mcmann@case.edu
Phone Number: 216-368-5565
Office Hours: Tuesdays 6-6:45,
Wednesdays 4-4:45, and by appointment

Are nation-states the most effective means of organizing society? This course will challenge the prevailing wisdom that nation-states are necessary and efficient. First, we will explore whether the historical rationales behind the development of the nation-state remain relevant today. Second, we will consider potential challenges to the modern state. For example, do international humanitarian interventions, transnational advocacy networks, economic globalization, and human migration erode state sovereignty and undermine democratic accountability? Third, we will investigate potential alternatives to the state. Can charities, for-profit companies, mercenaries, or tribes provide typical state services, including a social safety net, economic prosperity, and national defense. Does the provision of these services by non-governmental actors undermine state legitimacy and capacity?

To explore these questions, we will draw on examples from most regions of the world, including the Middle East, Africa, Asia, Europe, the former Soviet Union, North America, and South America. We will read scholarly works as well as journalistic accounts, travelogues, and policy pieces. The course also incorporates film clips and policy exercises.

Course Materials

Books and Articles: Three works are available for purchase at the bookstore: 1) *Mercenaries, Pirates & Sovereigns*, 2) *States and Power in Africa*, and 3) *The Myth of the Powerless State*. Unless otherwise noted, other required materials are included in the coursepack, which is also available at the bookstore. The books are on regular reserve at Kelvin Smith Library, and the coursepack is available through e-reserves at <http://catalog.cwru.edu/screens/reserve.html>.

News: Students are strongly encouraged to follow world events. These sources offer some of the best foreign coverage:

- *The New York Times*, <http://www.nytimes.com/>, provides daily news for free on its website, once you register. Also see the website for details about a student subscription discount.
- *The Economist* is available for free online through EuclidPLUS and in print at Kelvin Smith Periodicals. For information about a student subscription rate call 1-800-456-6086.
- National Public Radio (WCPN 90.3 FM) broadcasts brief news updates at the top of the hour and news analyses throughout the day on programs, such as Morning Edition, Talk of the Nation, All Things Considered, and Marketplace. See <http://www.wcpn.org/schedule/> for the schedule.

Blackboard: Students will post questions on Blackboard, as later described. To post a question, go to the Case web site, select Computing, choose Blackboard. Select Course Catalog, College of Arts & Sciences, POSC. Login next to POSC 361. Choose Discussion Board. Doubleclick on the appropriate week and then on my message. Select reply, write your questions, and click submit. Additional assistance is available through Blackboard FAQ on the first site.

Course Requirements

Participation: The focus of each class will be on discussion. Students should craft at least two analytical questions based on each week's readings and post them on the course Blackboard site by noon Tuesday prior to class meetings during Parts I and II of the course. Students should read their classmates' questions before the start of class. The instructor will select some questions, and students are welcome to raise questions in class. Students are expected to actively participate in class discussion and to thoughtfully complete evaluations of their classmates' presentations (described below). Students are strongly encouraged to take notes on the readings in order to be prepared to integrate and critique the materials in class. Because participation is critical to understanding the material, students are expected to attend all classes. Except under extraordinary circumstances, absenteeism will negatively affect students' final grades.

Commentaries: In addition to reading course materials, posting questions, and participating in class, students will write a commentary on the readings for five class meetings. Students should write papers for three weeks in Part I and two weeks in Part II. No commentaries will be accepted for Part III or Part IV. The purpose of the commentaries is to help students understand, critique, and integrate the readings and prepare to pose questions for discussion in class. Students should not summarize the readings but should instead use the course materials to answer their own questions and explore their own arguments. Students should incorporate concepts and arguments in readings from previous weeks, and the quality of the commentaries should improve throughout the semester. For the commentaries informal citations—phrases like “as Krasner argues”—are acceptable. Commentaries should be between two and two and a half pages double-spaced. They must be submitted at the beginning of the class the analyzed materials are assigned. Grading of the responses will take into account the degree of independent thinking, use of assigned materials, and quality of writing.

Individual Presentation: Each student will develop an argument integrating the readings from Part I or Part II of the course and share this argument with classmates in a ten-minute presentation. In preparation for this presentation, students will share their topics with the instructor, and the class will discuss techniques of effective public speaking. Students will receive three types of feedback on their presentations. First, the students will have access to videotapes of their presentations. Second, students will receive written evaluations from their classmates. Third, the instructor will provide her own evaluation, taking into account insights offered on student evaluations. The instructor's evaluation will be based on the degree of independent thinking, use of assigned materials, and quality of presentation. Part I presentations will take place on October 13 and Part II presentations will take place on November 10.

Group Research Session: Teams of two to five students will select a non-state actor and research its viability as an alternative to the state, its threat to state legitimacy and capacity, and other analytical questions of their choosing. During a 30-minute period November 17, each group will share its findings through presentation and discussion techniques of its choosing. In preparation, groups will consult with the instructor about their topics; review relevant materials suggested by the instructor; gather and analyze additional research materials; work during and outside class, as needed; and develop an informative and interesting approach for sharing their ideas with classmates. Students will receive the three types of feedback described above. The instructor's evaluation will be based on the degree of independent thinking, the extent of research, and the quality of the session. Each student will receive an individual grade.

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Final Paper

Undergraduates will write a critique of a group research session, other than their own. The critique should focus on the substance, not the style, of the session, and it should incorporate concepts and arguments from other class meetings. Evaluation of the critique will take into account the degree of independent thinking, use of session and course materials, and quality of writing.

Graduate students will write a research design based on the topic they investigated for their group research presentations. The research design should identify a question and hypotheses for investigation, review the literature related to this question, describe methods of research to answer the question and test the hypotheses. The instructor will provide additional readings on research methodology. Evaluation of the research design will take into account understanding of the literature, the appropriateness of the methods for the question and hypotheses, and the quality of writing.

Critiques should be 5-6 pages long, double-spaced. Research designs should be 10-12 pages long, double-spaced. Papers are due no later than Wednesday, December 8 at 10 am at 218 Mather House.

All written work should be carefully structured and grammatically correct. To avoid plagiarism, students should review "Plagiarism: What It is and How to Recognize and Avoid It," distributed in class. Cases of plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be investigated by university judicial bodies.

Participation and attendance will constitute 15 percent of the course grade, the five commentaries will count for 25 percent, the individual presentation for 15 percent, the group research session for 30 percent, and the final paper for the remaining 15 percent. Students will lose a half a grade on an assignment for each day it is late.

Course Schedule and Readings

I. August 25: Introduction to State and Course

PART I: STATE-FORMATION and FUNCTION

II. September 1: “Stateless” Societies

Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard. *The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940.
“Introductory” [part], “Interest in Cattle” [part], “Oecology,” “The Political System” [part], 3-15, 16-31, 48-50, 51-93, 139, 150-184, 190-191.

Max Weber. “Politics as a Vocation.” In *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, edited by Hans Heinrich Gerth and C. Wright Mills, 77-128. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946. Read 77-83.

III. September 8: The Formation of States—Europe

Charles Tilly. “War Making and State Making as Organized Crime.” In *Bringing the State Back In*, edited by Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, 169-191. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Janice E. Thomson. *Mercenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns: State-Building and Extraterritorial Violence in Early Modern Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. “The State, Violence, and Sovereignty” [part], “Nonstate Violence Unleashed,” “Unintended Consequences” [part], “Delegitimizing State-Authorized Nonstate Violence,” “Suppressing Unauthorized Nonstate Violence,” 3-6, 21-42, 43-44, 67-68, 69-106, 107-110, 115-120, 140-142.

IV. September 15: The Formation of States—Latin America, the Middle East, and Asia

M. A. Centeno. “Blood and Debt: War and Taxation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America.” *American Journal of Sociology* 102, no. 6 (1997), 1565-1605. To be distributed in class.

Lisa Anderson. “The State in the Middle East and North Africa.” *Comparative Politics* 20, no. 1 (1987), 1-18.

Meredith Woo-Cumings. “Introduction: Chalmers Johnson and the Politics of Nationalism and Development.” In *The Developmental State*, edited by Meredith Woo-Cumings, 1-31. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999.

PART I: STATE-FORMATION and FUNCTION
(continued)

V. September 22: The Formation of States—Africa

Jeffrey Ira Herbst. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000. “The Challenge of State-building in Africa,” “Power and Space in Precolonial Africa,” “The Europeans and the African Problem,” “The Political Kingdom in Independent Africa” [part], 1-113.

VI. September 29: State Capacity—Strong and Weak States

Juan J. Linz. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Crisis, Breakdown and Reequilibration*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978. 16-23

Theda Skocpol. “Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research.” In *Bringing the State Back In*, edited by Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, 3-37. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. Read 9, 15-17.

Michael Mann. *The Sources of Social Power: The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760-1914*. Vol. II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. 59-60.

Jeffrey Ira Herbst. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000. “The Political Kingdom in Independent Africa” [part], 113-136. And, choose two of the following three: “Chiefs, States, and the Land,” 173-197; “The Coin of the African Realm,” 201-226; “The Politics of Migration and Citizenship,” 227-246.

Atul Kohli. *Democracy and Discontent: India's Growing Crisis of Governability*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. “An Overview of the Study,” “From Breakdown to Order: West Bengal,” 3-9, 13-20, 267-296.

NO CLASS October 6

PART I: STATE-FORMATION and FUNCTION
(continued)

VII. October 13: State Capacity—Collapsed States

Robert I. Rotberg. "Failed States, Collapsed States, Weak States: Causes and Indicators." In *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*, edited by Robert I. Rotberg, 1-25. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2003. Read 1-10, 19-25.

Harvey Kline. "Colombia: Lawlessness, Drug Trafficking, and Carving up the State." In *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*, edited by Robert I. Rotberg, 161-182. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2003.

Nasrin Dadmehr. "Tajikistan: Regionalism and Weakness." In *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*, edited by Robert I. Rotberg, 245-262. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2003.

Oren Barak. "Lebanon: Failure, Collapse, and Resuscitation." In *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*, edited by Robert I. Rotberg, 305-339. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2003.

Robert D. Kaplan. *The Ends of the Earth: A Journey at the Dawn of the 21st Century*. 1st ed. New York: Random House, 1996. "Cambodia: Back to Sierra Leone?" "Jungle Temples and the 'Milk of Chaos'," 401-419, 421-428. To be distributed in class.

INDIVIDUAL PRESENTATIONS FOR PART I

PART II: POTENTIAL CHALLENGES TO THE STATE

VIII. October 20: International Intervention

Stephen Krasner. "Sovereignty." *Foreign Policy* (2001), 20-22, 24, 26, 28-29.

Kofi A. Annan. *The Question of Intervention: Statements by the Secretary-General*. New York: United Nations Department of Public Information, 1999. 3-17, 37-55.

Stephen Stedman. "The New Interventionists." *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 1 (1993), 1-16.

Robert H. Jackson. "International Community Beyond the Cold War." In *Beyond Westphalia? State Sovereignty and International Intervention*, edited by Gene Martin Lyons and Michael Mastanduno, 59-83. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. To be distributed in class.

Thomas G. Weiss and Jarat Chopra. "Sovereignty under Siege: From Intervention to Humanitarian Space." In *Beyond Westphalia? State Sovereignty and International Intervention*, edited by Gene Martin Lyons and Michael Mastanduno, 87-114. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. To be distributed in class.

Gerald B. Helman and Steven R. Ratner. "Saving Failed States." *Foreign Policy*, no. 89 (1992), 3-20.

IX. October 27: Transnational Advocacy Networks

Stephen D. Krasner. *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999. "Rulers and Ruled: Human Rights," 105-126.

Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998. "Human Rights Advocacy Networks in Latin America," 79-120.

Jessica T. Mathews. "Power Shift." *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 1 (1997), 50-66.

Anne-Marie Slaughter. "The Real New World Order." *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 5 (1997), 183-197.

PART II: POTENTIAL CHALLENGES TO THE STATE
(continued)

X. November 3: The Global Economy

Linda Weiss. *The Myth of the Powerless State*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998. "The State is Dead: Long Live the State" [part], "Limits of the Distributive State: Swedish Model or Global Economy" [part], "The Limits of Globalization," "The Myth of the Powerless State," 2-11, 83-110, 112-115, 167-187, 188-212.

Silja Talvi. *World Trade or World Domination*. Mother Jones. 1999. Available at <http://www.Motherjones.com/wto/talvi.html>.

Russell Mokiber and Robert Weissman. *Top 10 Reasons to Shutter the WTO*. Mother Jones. 1999. Available at <http://www.Motherjones.com/fotc/fotc12.html>.

Norimitsu Onishi. "Deep in the Republic of Chevron." *New York Times Magazine*, July 4, 1999, 26-31. To be distributed in class.

XI. November 10: Transnational Problems—Movement of People

Saskia Sassen. *Globalization and Its Discontents: Essays on the New Mobility of People and Money*. New York: The New Press, 1998. "The De Facto Transnationalizing of Immigration Policy," "America's Immigration 'Problem'," "Economic Internationalization: The New Migration in Japan and the United States," 5-30, 31-53, 55-76.

Elisabeth Rosenthal. "From China's Provinces, a Crafty Germ Breaks Out." *New York Times*, April 27, 2003, A1 and A18. To be distributed in class.

INDIVIDUAL PRESENTATIONS FOR PART II

PART III: POTENTIAL ALTERNATIVES TO THE STATE

XII. November 17: State Alternatives

Commentaries will not be accepted for this week.

GROUP RESEARCH SESSIONS

NO CLASS November 24

PART IV: THE FUTURE OF THE NATION-STATE

XIII. December 1: The Nation-State: The Most Viable Form of Organization?

For this class meeting students are expected to review their notes and be prepared to integrate the topics we discussed. Commentaries will not be accepted for this week.

DUE: Monday, December 8 at 10 AM—Final Assignment