

**Ph.D./M.A. Program in Political Science
The Graduate Center of the City University of New York**

P SC 87801 International Intervention

Spring Semester 2014

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Office Hours: Mondays, 5:00 – 6:00
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Tuesdays, 6:30 – 8:30 p.m.
Seminar Room 5382

“We live in a great age of statebuilding” (Thomas Ertman). The primary mode currently is through international intervention, either direct (war, occupation, peacebuilding) or indirect (e.g., democracy promotion, IFI-required reforms for loans, international NGOs delivering humanitarian or development aid). Regime transitions, too, cannot be separated from intervention (regional, transnational, international). New journals to study this phenomenon are sprouting at remarkable speed, and one school of international relations now calls for recognizing intervention (its history, norms, and social practices) as a distinct field of study. While scholars of democratization (e.g., Dahl, Rustow, Schmitter and Karl) explicitly exclude such cases as non-democratic by definition (non-autonomous), those who study the “glocal,” transnationalized, and globalized nature of contemporary politics focus precisely on the political interaction between external and local actors and the effect of shifting balances of power and forms of resistance (on both sides) on outcomes.

Learning Goals

The purpose of this seminar is to give students an opportunity to do a research project on some aspect of the politics of this interaction between international and domestic political arenas and actors of their own choosing. The seminar will introduce them to this new literature, its debates, and some of its mounting empirical research (most of which is found in country case studies, and not only in political science). We will pair the policy literature with relevant literature in political science (to which the policy world rarely pays much attention). Because the focus is on changes in domestic political orders, this is a course in comparative politics; at the same time, as a course on international intervention, it is a course in international relations. Students will choose which they of the two they want recorded. In your research project, you are welcome to take a historical perspective as this new literature does, too, and you should not feel constrained in your geographic scope, in your focus on intervenors or on targets.

Outcomes Assessment

There are two requirements for this course: (1) reading the assigned material and participating actively in the discussion each week; and (2) a research paper. The final grade will be based on both.

To help move you along as needed to complete the research paper by the due date of May 20 (at 6:30 p.m.), I will require the following:

(1) on February 18, a statement of the topic of your research paper – hand in at the time of class or email me.

(2) on March 18, an annotated bibliography of what literature you are using (the annotation can be brief, and this will not be your final bibliography, but for me to see that you're moving along); also, at the time of class or by email.

(3) on April 1, a statement of your research question, that is, how you have formulated your topic into a subject for research so that I know you are proceeding; again, in class or by email.

(4) on May 20, by 6:30 p.m., your final Research Paper (by email or in my office). I do not accept late papers.

Readings

In general, the required readings are not a heavy load; the weekly page assignments range from 86 to 277 (that highest is for February 25). The recommended readings are intended to get you started on a topic – where to go next if you are interested in the subject or even think you might want to do your research paper on that topic. At that point, you will need to do your own searches and consult me. This literature is humungous, even given the strict confines I have placed on our topics for discussion. And for the entire case literature (e.g., on Afghanistan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cambodia, Democratic Republic of Congo, East Timor, Haiti, Iraq, Sudan, just to name some of the largest literatures), I am happy to give advice.

Availability:

Books:

Where the library owns the book, it is on Reserve at the Circulation Desk. (Finnemore, Duffield, Macrae, Mahoney and Rueschemeyer, Paris, Chesterman, Fortna, Carothers, and Eyal, et al.).

Where the library has only the electronic copy of a book, it is not placed on reserve and you will have to go onto the library website yourself (Fazal; Whitfield; Paris as well as the hardcopy on Reserve; Dobbins, et al.; Chesterman as well as the hardcopy on Reserve; Horowitz article in NOMOS; and Hoddie and Hartzell).

Journal articles:

Where the library has electronic access to a journal, you will find it yourself.

Where there is no GC access to a journal, book, or paper, the reading is placed on Black Board.

Class Schedule and Readings

January 28

Introduction

1. February 4

The Concept of Intervention

John Macmillan, 2013. "Intervention and the ordering of the modern world," *Review of International Studies*, vol. 39: 1039-1056.

Christian Reus-Smit, 2013. "The Concept of Intervention," *Review of International Studies*, vol. 39: 1057-1076.

Edward Keene, 2013. "International hierarchy and the origins of the modern practice of intervention," *Review of International Studies*, vol. 39: 1077-1090.

George Lawson and Luca Tardelli, 2013. "The past, present, and future of intervention," *Review of International Studies*, vol. 39: 1233-53.

Robbie Shilliam, 2013. "Intervention and colonial-modernity: decolonizing the Italy/Ethiopia conflict through Psalms 68:31," *Review of International Studies*, vol. 39: 1131-47.

Recommended readings:

S. Neil MacFarlane, 2002. *Intervention in Contemporary World Politics*, Adelphi Paper 350 (International Institute for Strategic Studies).

Hedley Bull, ed., 1984. *Intervention in World Politics*, introduction (Bull) and "The Problem of Intervention" (Stanley Hoffman).

Peter Uvin, 1998. *Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda*.

2. February 11 The Purpose of Intervention

Martha Finnemore (2003). *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force*, chapters 1, 4, and 5 (1-22, 85-161).

Mark Duffield (2007). *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples*, "Introduction: Development and Surplus Life": 1-31.

John M. Owen, IV (2002), "The Foreign Imposition of Domestic Institutions," *International Organization* 56:2 (Spring): 375-409.

Tanisha M. Fazal (2007). *State Death: The Politics and Geography of Conquest, Occupation, and Annexation*, chs. 7-8 ("State Death and Intervention after 1945," and "Conclusion"): 169-242.

Recommended reading:

John M. Owen, IV (2002), "The Foreign Imposition of Domestic Institutions," *International Organization* 56:2 (Spring): 375-409.

Paul K. MacDonald (2013). "'Retribution Must Succeed Rebellion': The Colonial Origins of Counterinsurgency Failure," *International Organization* 67:2 (April): 253-86.

Greg Grandin, 2006/2010. *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism*.

3. February 18 Normative debate

Richard Little, 2013. "Intervention and non-intervention in international society: Britain's responses to the American and Spanish Civil Wars," *Review of International Studies*, vol. 39: 1111-29.

Michael W. Doyle, "A Few Words on Mill, Walzer, and Nonintervention," *Ethics and International Affairs* (2010): 349-69.

Edward N. Luttwak, 1999. "Give War a Chance," *Foreign Affairs* 78:4 (July/August).

Jeremy M. Weinstein, "Autonomous Recovery and International Intervention in Comparative Perspective," Working Paper Number 57 (April 2005), Center for Global Development, Washington, DC, available at <http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/2731/>

Philip Cunliffe, 2010. "Introduction: Critical Perspectives on R2P," and Mahmood Mamdani, 2010. "Responsibility to Protect or Right to Punish?" *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 4:1 (March): 35-8 and 53-68.

Recommended reading:

Roy Allison (2013). *Russia, the West, and Military Intervention* (Oxford U. P.).

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, 2000. *The Responsibility to Protect* (Ottawa, Canada).

Mary Ellen O'Connell, 2010. "Responsibility to Protect: A Critique of R2P" and Tara McCormack, 2010. "The Responsibility to Protect and the End of the Western Century," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 4:1 (March): 39-52 and 69-82.

4. February 25

Analyzing Interaction

John Macmillan, 2013. "Historicising intervention: strategy and synchronicity in British intervention 1815-50," *Review of International Studies*, vol. 39: 1091-1110.

Susan L. Woodward, 2013, "The long intervention: continuity in the Balkan theatre," *Review of International Studies*, vol. 39:1169-87.

Annika Bjorkdahl and Kristine Hogland, 2013. "Precarious peacebuilding: friction in global-local encounters," *Peacebuilding* 1(3): 289-99.

Lindsay Whitfield, ed., 2009. *The Politics of Aid: African Strategies for Dealing with Donors* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press): introduction, chs. 1 and 3 (pp. 1-44, 74-107).

David Williams, 2013, "Development, intervention, and international order," *Review of International Studies* vol. 39: 1213-31.

Mark Duffield, "The Political Economy of Internal War: Asset Transfer, Complex Emergencies and International Aid," in Macrae and Zwi, eds., *War and Hunger*: 50-69.

Peter A. Hall, 2003, "Aligning Ontology and Methodology in Comparative Politics," in James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, eds. *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*: 373-406 (you can skip the history on pp.375-81).

Laurent Bonnefoy and Renaud Detalle, 2010. "The Security Paradox in Unified Yemen," in Necla Tschirgi, Michael S. Lund, and Francesco Mancini, eds., *Security and Development: Searching for Critical Connections*: 99-134.

Recommended reading:

Amitav Ghosh, 1994. "The Global Reservation: Notes toward an Ethnography of International Peacekeeping," *Cultural Anthropology* 9(3) (August): 412-22.

Lindsay Whitfield, ed., 2009. *The Politics of Aid: African Strategies for Dealing with Donors*: chs. 2 and 12 (pp. 45-73, 329-360).

Patrick M. Regan and Aysegul Aydin (2006), "Diplomacy and Other Forms of Intervention in Civil Wars," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50: 5 (October): 736-756.

William Reno (2008), "Bottom-Up Statebuilding?" in Charles T. Call with Vanessa Wyeth, *Building States to Build Peace*: 143-61.

Jarat Chopra and Tanje Hohe (2004), "Participatory Intervention," *Global Governance*, 10:2, 289-305.

John W. Dower, 1999. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*

Michael Barnett and Christoph Zuercher, 2009. "The Peacebuilder's Contract: How External Statebuilding Reinforces Weak Statehood," in R. Paris and T. Sisk, eds., *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Post War Peace Operations*, 23-51.

Beatrice Pouligny (2006), *Peace Operations Seen from Below: UN Missions and Local People*.

Ole-Jacob Sending, "Why Peacebuilders Fail to Secure Ownership and be Sensitive to Context," *Security in Practice* 1 - 2009 [NUPI Working Paper 755] (Oslo: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 2009). Available online at:

<http://english.nupi.no/Publications/Working-Papers/2009/Why-Peacebuilders-Fail-to-Secure-Ownership-and-be-Sensitive-to-Context>

Darin Christensen and Jeremy M. Weinstein, 2013. "Defunding Dissent: Restrictions on Aid to NGOs," *Journal of Democracy*, 24:2 (April): 77-91.

5. March 4 Debate on Liberal Internationalism

Roland Paris (2004). *At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict*, chs. 1-2 (pp. 1-51).

Kristoffer Liden, Roger Mac Ginty, and Oliver P. Richmond (2009), "Introduction: Beyond Northern Epistemologies of Peace: Peacebuilding Reconstructed?" *International Peacekeeping* 16:5 (November): 587-598.

Jonathan Goodhand and Mark Sedra, 2013. "Rethinking liberal peacebuilding, statebuilding and transition in Afghanistan: an introduction," *Central Asian Survey* 32:3: 239-54.

Jonathan Goodhand and Oliver Walton (2009), "The Limits of Liberal Peacebuilding? International Engagement in the Sri Lankan Peace Process," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 3: 3 (November): 303-323.

Toby Dodge, 2013. "Intervention and dreams of exogenous statebuilding: the application of Liberal Peacebuilding in Afghanistan and Iraq," *Review of International Studies*, 39: 1189-1212.

Peacebuilding (<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rpcb20>) [open access]

Recommended reading:

Mark Peceny and William Stanley (2001), "Liberal Social Reconstruction and the Resolution of Civil Wars in Central America." *International Organization* 55, 1: 149-182.

Odd Arne Westad, (2007), *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*, chs. 1-2 (8-72).

Beate Jahn, 2007. "The Tragedy of Liberal Diplomacy: Democratization, Intervention, Statebuilding," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, I:1 (March) (Part 1): 88-106 and I:2 (June): Jahn, Part 2: 211-29.

6. March 11 Military intervention; "Stabilization"; counterinsurgency

Richard Betts, 1994. "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," *Foreign Affairs* 73 (6): 20-33.

Jason Brownlee (2007), "Can America Nation-Build? A Review Article," *World Politics* 59 (January): 314-40.

David M. Edelstein (2004), "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail," *International Security* 29:1 (Summer): 49-91.

Patrick M. Regan, 2002. "Third Party Interventions and the Duration of Intrastate Conflicts," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46: 55-74.

Stability (the journal: www.stabilityjournal.org)

Susan L. Woodward, 2001. "Humanitarian War: A New Consensus?" *Disasters*, vol. 25, no. 4 (December), 331-344.

Karsten Friis, 2010. "Peacekeeping and Counter-insurgency – Two of a Kind?" *International Peacekeeping* 17:1 (February): 49-66.

Mark Bradbury and Margaret Kleinman (2010) *Winning Hearts and Minds? Examining the Relationship Between Aid and Security in Kenya*, Feinstein International Center, Tufts University: Medford, MA (April): 4-7, 12-19, 51-2, and 72-3 (read as much more as you wish).

Recommended reading:

Toby Dodge, 2010. "The ideological roots of failure; the application of kinetic Neo-Liberalism to Iraq," *International Affairs*, 86 (6) (November): 1269-1286.

Daniel Branch and Elisabeth Jean Wood, 2010. "Revisiting Counterinsurgency," *Politics and Society* 38 (1): 3-14 (and studies that follow on Kenya, Vietnam, and El Salvador, if you wish).

Alexander George, 1991. *Forceful Persuasion: Coercive Diplomacy as an Alternative to War* (US Institute of Peace).

David Keen, 1995. "Short-term interventions and long-term problems: the case of the Kurds in Iraq," in John Harriss, ed., *The Politics of Humanitarian Intervention*: 167-86.

"Review Symposium: The New U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual as Political Science and Political Praxis," by S. Biddle, S. Kalyvas, W. Brown, and D. Ollivant, *Perspectives on Politics* 6:2 (June 2008), 347-360.

Adam Roberts, 1999. "NATO's 'Humanitarian War' over Kosovo," *Survival* 41:3 (Autumn): 102-33.

Michael J. Boyle (2010), "Do Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency Go Together?" *International Affairs* 86:2 (March): 333-354 (Answer: NO, and why).

Stuart Gordon (2010), "The United Kingdom's stabilization model and Afghanistan: the impact on humanitarian actors," *Disasters* 34:S3, S368-S387 (the entire issue is devoted to stabilization; you can look at other articles, too).

Michael Doyle (1996), "Strategies of Enhanced Consent," in Abram Chayes and Antonia Handler Chayes, eds., *Preventing Conflict in the Post-Communist World*: 483-506 (on peace enforcement).

Nora Bensahel, Olga Oliker, and Heather Peterson (2009), *Improving Capacity for Stabilization and Reconstruction Operations*.

Andrew J. Bacevich, 2005. *The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced by War*.

Karin von Hippel, 2000. *Democracy by Force: US Military Intervention in the Post-Cold War World*.

7. March 18 State-building: the policy

Susan L. Woodward (2011). "State-Building for Peace-building: What Theory and Whose Role?" in Richard Kozul-Wright and Piergiuseppe Fortunato, eds., *Securing Peace: State-Building and Economic Development in Post-Conflict Countries* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, in association with the United Nations): 87-112.

Rory Stewart, 2011, "The Plane to Kabul," in Rory Stewart and Gerald Knaus, *Can Intervention Work?* pages 34-50.

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

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

Stephen D. Krasner (2004), "Sharing Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States," *International Security*, 29: 2 (Fall): 85-120.

Renata Dwan and Laura Bailey, 2006. "Liberia's Governance and Economic Management Assistance Programme (GEMAP) (United Nations Peacekeeping Best Practices and World Bank, Fragile States Group: LICUS Initiative, May).

Volker Boege, Anne Brown, Kevin Clements and Anna Nolan (2009), "On Hybrid Political Orders and Emerging States: What is Failing: States in the Global South or Research and Politics in the West?" in Martina Fischer & Beatrix Schmelzle (eds.) *Building Peace in the Absence of States, Berghof Dialogue Series No. 8* (pdf on Reserve).

Recommended readings:

James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States," *International Security*, vol. 28, no. 4 (March 2004), 5-43.

Bertrand Badie, 2000 (French original 1992), *The Imported State: The Westernization of the Political Order*.

Susan L. Woodward (2011), "Varieties of State-Building in the Balkans: A Case for Shifting Focus," in Beatrix Austin, Martina Fischer, and Hans J. Giessmann, eds., *Advancing Conflict Transformation. The Berghof Handbook II*

Francis Fukuyama, 2004. *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century* (Cornell University Press).

Charles T. Call, ed., 2008. *Building States to Build Peace* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner)

Nora Bensahel, "Organising for Nation Building," *Survival* 49:2, 43-76.

8. March 25 The United Nations

James Mayall, 2007. "Introduction," to Mats Berdal and Spyros Economides, eds., *United Nations Interventionism 1991-2004*: 1-31.

Simon Chesterman, 2004. *You, The People: The United Nations, Transitional Administration, and State-Building*, introduction and chs. 1-2, 8 (pp. 1-98, 236-56)

Mats Berdal and Dominik Zaum, eds., 2013. *Political Economy of Statebuilding: Power after Peace*: Berdal and Zaum, ch. 1 (only pp. 6-12); Berdal and Davies, ch. 8 (pp. 111-139), and Goldstone, ch. 13 (on East Timor; pp. 209-229).

Karsten Friis (2010), "Peacekeeping and Counter-insurgency: Two of a Kind?" *International Peacekeeping* 17:1 (February): 49-66

Virginia Page Fortna (2008), *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War*, pp. 172-179.

Jarat Chopra, 2000. "The UN's Kingdom of East Timor," *Survival*, 42: 3 (Autumn): 27-39.

Ole-Jacob Sending, "Why Peacebuilders Fail to Secure Ownership and be Sensitive to Context," *Security in Practice* 1 - 2009 [NUPI Working Paper 755] (Oslo: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 2009). Available online at:

<http://english.nupi.no/Publications/Working-Papers/2009/Why-Peacebuilders-Fail-to-Secure-Ownership-and-be-Sensitive-to-Context>

Recommended reading:

Adam Roberts and Dominik Zaum, 2008. *Selective Security: War and the United Nations Security Council since 1945*. Adelphi Paper, vol. 47, Issue 395. (IISS): 94 pp.

Richard Caplan, 2002. *A New Trusteeship? The International Administration of War Torn Territories*, Adelphi Paper 41, International Institute for Strategic Studies, or: (2005). *International Governance of War-Torn Territories: Rule and Reconstruction*.

Virginia Page Fortna, 2004. "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War," *International Studies Quarterly* 48: 269-292.

9. April 1 Good Governance, "Institutions," and the IFIs

Martin Doornbos, 2003. "'Good Governance': The Metamorphosis of a Policy Metaphor," *Journal of International Affairs* 57:1 (Fall), 3-18

Susan L. Woodward, 2012. "The IFIs and Post-Conflict Political Economy," in Mats Berdal and Dominik Zaum, eds., *The Political Economy of Post-conflict Statebuilding: Power After Peace*: 140-157.

Axel Dreher and Martin Gassebner, 2012. "Do IMF and World Bank Programs Induce Governmental Crises? An Empirical Analysis," *International Organization*, 66:2 (Spring): 329-58.

Merilee Grindle, 2004. "Good Enough Governance: Poverty Reduction and Reform in Developing Countries," *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration and Institutions* 17: 525-48.

Merilee Grindle, 2007. "Good Enough Governance Revisited," *Development Policy Review* 25:5: 553-574.

Erik Wibbels, 2006. "Madison in Baghdad: Decentralization and Federalism in Comparative Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 9: 165-188

Kathleen Thelen, 2003. "How Institutions Evolve: Insights from Comparative Historical Analysis," in J. Mahoney and D. Rueschemeyer, eds., *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*: 208-240.

Todd Moss, Gunilla Pettersson, and Nicolas van de Walle, 2006. "An Aid-Institutions Paradox? A Review Essay on Aid Dependency and State Building in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Working Paper Number 74* (Washington, DC: Center for Global Development, January), about 20 pages.

Donald Horowitz, 2000. "Constitutional Design: An Oxymoron?" in *Designing Democratic Institutions* (Nomos v. 42) 253-284 and *Democratic Culture*, vol. 3: 117-147.

Recommended readings:

Nicolas Guilhot, 2005. *The Democracy Makers: Human Rights and International Order*, ch. 6 (188-221).

World Bank, *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development*.

Boon, Kristen E., 2007. "'Open for Business': International Financial Institutions, Post-Conflict Economic Reform, and the Rule of Law," *International Law and Politics*, 39: 513-581.

Graciana del Castillo, 2008. *Rebuilding War-Torn States: The Challenge of Post-Conflict Economic Reconstruction*.

Terry F. Buss and Adam Gardner, 2006. *Why Foreign Aid to Haiti Failed*, A Summary Report, Academy International Affairs Working Paper Series (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Public Administration, February)

10. April 8 Democracy promotion

David Chandler, 2006. "Back to the Future? the limits of neo-Wilsonian ideas of exporting democracy," *Review of International Studies*, vol. 32: 475-494.

Marina Ottaway, 2003, "Promoting Democracy after Conflict: the Difficult Choices," *International Studies Perspectives*, 4: 314-22.

Kevin Narizny, 2012. "Anglo-American Primacy and the Global Spread of Democracy: An International Genealogy," *World Politics*, 64:2 (April): 341-73

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and George W. Downs, 2006. "Intervention and Democracy," *International Organization* 60 (Summer): 627-649.

Thomas Carothers, 2002. "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy* 13(1) (January): 5-21.

Andrew Gilbert, 2012. "Legitimacy Matters: Managing the Democratization Paradox of Foreign State-Building in Bosnia-Herzegovina," *Suedosteuropa*, 60(4): 483-96.

Nicolas Guilhot, 2005. *The Democracy Makers: Human Rights and International Order*, introduction and chs. 4 and 5 (pp. 1-28, 134-187).

Larry Diamond, Francis Fukuyama, Donald L. Horowitz, and Marc Plattner, 2014. "Reconsidering the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy*, 25:1 (January): 86-100 – just read the last pages 98-100, unless you're interested in the entire discussion).

Recommended readings:

William I. Robinson (1996), *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, US Intervention, and Hegemony*, chs. 1-2 (or more, if you wish).

Valerie J. Bunce and Sharon L. Wolchik, 2011. *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries*, pp. 21-6 and 335-8, 347-52.

Thomas Carothers, 1996. *Assessing Democracy Assistance: The Case of Romania*.

Alexander B. Downes and Jonathan Monten, 2013. "Forced to be Free? Why Foreign-Imposed Regime Change Rarely Leads to Democratization," *International Security*, 37:4: 90-131.

April 15 and April 22 Spring Recess

11. April 29 Civil Society, Political Parties, Elections, the Rule of Law

Thomas Carothers, ed., 2006. *Promoting the Rule of Law Abroad: In Search of Knowledge* (Washington: The Carnegie Endowment), chs. 1, 2, and 3 (3-74).

Alejandro Bendana and Tanja Chopra, 2011, "Rethinking Gender, Legal Pluralism and Rule of Law Approaches in Somaliland" (ms.)

Antonio Giustozzi, 2013. "March towards Democracy? The development of political movements in Afghanistan," *Central Asian Survey* 32:3, 318-35.

Stephan Hensell, 2010. "Police Reform as a 'Solicitous Siege' – International Actors and Local Subversion in the Balkans," in Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy, ed., *OSCE Yearbook 2009* (Baden-Baden, Nomos): 303-319.

Anthony Bebbington, Scott Guggenheim, Elizabeth Olson and Michael Woolcock, 2004. "Exploring Social Capital Debates at the World Bank," *The Journal of Development Studies* 40: 5 (June): 33-64.

Gil Eyal, Ivan Szelenyi and Eleanor Townsley, 1998. *Making Capitalism without Capitalists: The New Ruling Elites in Eastern Europe*, ch. 3 ("The Ideology of the Post-Communist Power Elite"): 86-112.

Michael W. Foley, 2010. "Cautionary Tales: Soft Intervention and Civil Society," in Matthew Hoddie and Caroline A. Hartzell, eds., *Strengthening Peace in Post-Civil War States: Transforming Spoilers into Stakeholders*: 163-188.

Tanja Hohe, 2002. "The Clash of Paradigms: International Administration and Local Political Legitimacy in East Timor," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*. 24(3): 569-589.

Recommended reading:

Torun Wimpelman, 2013. "Nexuses of knowledge and power in Afghanistan: the rise and fall of the informal justice assemblage," *Central Asian Survey* 32(3): 406-22.

Deborah Isser, ed., 2011. *Customary Justice and the Rule of Law in War-Torn Societies*.

Carrie Manning, 2008. *The Making of Democrats: Elections and Party Development in Postwar Bosnia, El Salvador, and Mozambique*, at least chs. 1-2 (1-42).

Benjamin Reilly, 2013. "Elections and post-conflict political development," in Berdal and Zaum, *Political Economy of Statebuilding*: 33-47.

Shaheen Mozaffar, 2010. "Electoral Rules and Post-Civil War Conflict Management: The Limitations of Institutional Design," in Matthew Hoddie and Caroline A. Hartzell, eds., *Strengthening Peace in Post-Civil War States; Transforming Spoilers into Stakeholders*: 79-104.

Dawn Brancati and Jack L. Snyder, 2011. "Rushing to the Polls: The Causes of Premature Post-conflict Elections," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 55 (3): 469-92.

Jack Snyder and Leslie Vinjamuri, 2003-04. "Trials and Errors: Principle and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice," *International Security* 28: 3 (Winter-Spring): 5-44.

Bronwyn Leebaw, 2008. "The Irreconcilable Goals of Transitional Justice," *Human Rights Quarterly* (February): 95-118.

12. May 6 NO CLASS

13. May 13 Present papers (please plan to stay extra time)

May 20 Research Paper Due 6:30 p.m.

Suggested Journals

Conflict, Security, and Development

Crisis States Research Center (LSE): Working Paper series

Democratization

Disasters

Global Governance

International Affairs

International Peacekeeping

International Security

International Organization

Journal of Conflict Resolution

Journal of Democracy

Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding

Review of International Studies

Journal of Peacebuilding and Development

Peacebuilding

Stability (www.stabilityjournal.org)