

CISS6006 – Semester 1, 2020.

Assessment task (all tasks are individual)	Weighting	Due date	Word length
1. First Essay	40%	TUESDAY 7 April (11:59pm)	3000
2. Actor Profile	10%	THURSDAY 23 May (before class)	500
3. Final Essay	40%	MONDAY 1 June (11:59pm)	2500
4. Seminar participation	10%	Weekly	N/A

All assessment tasks are compulsory to pass this unit.

Work not submitted on or before the due date is subject to a penalty of 5% per calendar day late. Refer to Sydney Curriculum for the full policy on Late Work.

No extensions will be granted on or after the due date. The closing date is two weeks after an assessment is due, after this time no assessment can be accepted for marking.

Written work may be either 10% over or under the word limit, however, essays outside of this range will attract a significant penalty (5% for every 100 words).

All work that is submitted by the due date/time will receive comments with their feedback. Due to time constraints with marking, work that is submitted late (without an extension) will receive only a mark (and the marking table).

Assignments must be submitted electronically as a Word document (not pdf) on Blackboard and must include a coversheet. Should submission problems occur, students must contact the unit coordinator as soon as possible.

1) First Essay: 3000 words (worth 40%)

DUE TUESDAY 7 APRIL 11:59pm

Choose one of the following (each question coincides with a weekly seminar, where you will find suggested additional readings):

- 1) Is state formation an inherently violent process? What are the implications of your answer for contemporary state-building interventions?
- 2) Is state fragility an analytically useful concept? Why/not?
- 3) To what extent can informal/non-state institutions provide effective "governance without government"? Are there inherent limitations to what they can achieve?

- 4) Fragile and failed states “are not merely theoretical concepts; they are also power political tropes for normalizing relations of domination and exploitation, past, and on-going” (Wai 2018, 55). Do you agree or disagree? Why?
- 5) Are security and development inexorably linked – is achieving one necessary to achieve the other? Why/not?
- 6) Are drone strikes an effective counter-terrorism tool? How do you know?
- 7) Is the R2P doctrine better than nothing or does it only serve to make certain interventions more palatable? Provide evidence for your answer.

Horn of Africa Scenario (entails two related assessment tasks)

The following two assessments are related to the research students will conduct to participate in a *Horn of Africa Scenario*, which will be held in class in Week 12. Failure to attend this class (without a medical certificate) will result in a **3% reduction in your overall mark for this unit.**

The scenario. Three independent crises have occurred in Somalia and the Red Sea region in recent weeks. A number of international parties are involved, each with their own agenda—to limit their risk and exposure and to defend their interests at either a local or international level, or both. The purpose of the assessment is to reach a settlement to all of the crises as quickly as possible, minimising the loss of life. Where this is not possible (and it won't be), you must aim to minimise harm for your actor.

Each actor will be represented by a small group of students, who must develop a clear understanding between themselves about how their party would be likely to act given the scenario, their ultimate objectives, and their biggest concerns. To understand how your party would act and ensure that you do so in the most realistic manner possible, it is crucial that you do some research into recent events in Somalia and the Horn of Africa.

The initial scenarios will be given in class in Week Three. Sets of additional developments that complicate the negotiation process will occur throughout the simulation – just as real world events tend to do. Each team will need to respond accordingly. In the final part of the class, an Emergency Summit will be held, to debate the issues covered throughout their meetings and their theoretical/conceptual implications for understanding ‘fragile states’ and state-building. The course convener will direct one/two questions to each party and each will be required to respond accordingly.

The aim of this exercise is to get you thinking like a stakeholder in a high stress environment on a number of issues related to international intervention and ‘fragile’ states.

a) Actor Profile: 500 words (worth 10%)

DUE THURSDAY 21 May (WEEK 12) BEFORE CLASS (3:00/5:00pm)

Your performance in the group scenario (above) is not assessed in class so this piece is your chance to reflect on the preparations that you made when considering your strategy in the scenario. Each student must present a short piece outlining their actor's key interests, goals and most significant risks prior to coming to class in Week 12. This will be assessed in the light of how realistic your understanding is of those interests, goals and risks are, based on that party in the real world.

b) Final essay: 2500 words (worth 40%)

DUE MONDAY 1 JUNE 11:59PM

Option 1: What have been the biggest limitations to state-building interventions in Somalia? (You may also choose instead to write about Yemen, DRC, Iraq, or Afghanistan as long as you did not do a case study of the same country for your first assessment).

Option 2: How do you understand the interplay between domestic and global politics in the production of state fragility? You may answer generally, or with a case study of Somalia, Yemen, DRC, Iraq, or Afghanistan (as long as you did not do a case study of the same country for your first assessment).

Option 3: Drawing from your preparations for (and participation in) the group scenario exercise in Week 12, what are the core tensions when one moves from critically analysing the concept of state 'fragility/failure' to attempting to solve the problems of poverty and insecurity in 'fragile/failed' states?

Many of the readings throughout this course are relevant to answering this question, but there is a focused discussion of "critical studies vs policy analysis" in Sonja Grimm, Nicolas Lemay-Hébert & Olivier Nay (2014) 'Fragile States': introducing a political concept, *Third World Quarterly*, 35:2, p. 197-209.

Many of the other articles in this Special Issue are relevant as well.

The seminal article about the difference between problem solving and critical thinking in international politics is: Robert W. Cox, "Social Forces, States, and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory" *Millennium* 10:2, pp. 126-155.

See also Finn Stepputat (2012) 'Knowledge production in the security-development nexus: An ethnographic reflection' *Security Dialogue*, October 43:5, p. 439-455.

In addition to the readings set for Week 8, the following pieces will also provide useful context for these two assessment tasks:

Dua, Jatin. 2019. *Captured at Sea: Piracy and Protection in the Indian Ocean*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.

De Waal, Alex. 2019. "Pax Africana or Middle East Security Alliance in the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea?" *World Peace Foundation*. <http://www.lse.ac.uk/international-development/Assets/Documents/ccs-research-unit/Conflict-Research-Programme/crp-occasional-papers/Horn-of-Africa-Red-Sea-Occasional-Paper-Jan-2019.pdf>

Meester, Jos, Willem Van den Berg, and Harry Verhoeven. 2018. "Riyal politik. The political economy of Gulf Investments in the Horn of Africa." *Institut de relations internationales des Pays-Bas, rapport*. <https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/2018-04/riyal-politik.pdf>

Styan, David, 2018. "The politics of ports in the Horn: War, peace and Red Sea rivalries" *African Arguments*. 18 July. <https://africanarguments.org/2018/07/18/politics-ports-horn-war-peace-red-sea-rivalries/>

Ali, Bashir. 2018. "How an unrecognised state's port deal could shift dynamics across the Horn" *African Arguments*. 1 May. <https://africanarguments.org/2018/05/01/how-an-unrecognised-states-port-deal-could-shift-dynamics-across-the-horn-berbera-port-dpworld-somaliland/>

ICG, 2018. "The United Arab Emirates in the Horn of Africa" *International Crisis Group*. 6 November. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/united-arab-emirates/b65-united-arab-emirates-horn-africa>

ICG. 2019. "Intra-Gulf Competition in Africa's Horn: Lessening the Impact" *International Crisis Group*. 19 September <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/gulf-and-arabian-peninsula/206-intra-gulf-competition-africas-horn-lessening-impact>

Phillips, Sarah G. 2020. *When There Was No Aid: War and Peace in Somaliland*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Huliaras, Asteris, and Sophia Kalantzakos. 2017. "The Gulf States and the Horn of Africa: A New Hinterland?." *Middle East Policy* 24:4, p.63-73.

Anja Shortland, 2017. "Governing kidnap for ransom: Lloyd's as a 'private regime'" *Governance*. 30, p.283–299.

Bereketeab, R. 2013. *The Horn of Africa: Intra-State and Inter-State Conflicts and Security*. London: Pluto Press. (Co-publishers, The Nordic Africa Institute, have placed a full pdf online: <http://nai.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:589071/FULLTEXT03.pdf>)

Shortland, Anja and Federico Varese. 2015. "State-Building, Informal Governance and Organised Crime: The Case of Somali Piracy" *Political Studies*, 1467-9248.

Hastings, Justin and Sarah Phillips, 2015. "Maritime piracy business networks and institutions in Africa" *African Affairs*, 114:457, p.555-576.

Dua, Jatin. 2015. "After piracy? Mapping the means and ends of maritime predation in the Western Indian Ocean, *Journal of Eastern African Studies*", 9:3, 505-521.

Percy, Sarah, Anja Shortland, 2013. "Contemporary Maritime Piracy: Five Obstacles to Ending Somali Piracy" *Global Policy*, 4:1, p. 65-72.

Aynte, A. and Ashley Jackson, 2013. 'Talking to the Other Side: Humanitarian Negotiations with al-Shabaab in Somalia,' A Humanitarian Policy Group Working Paper, December. <http://www.heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Humanitarian-Negotiations-with-alShabaab-in-Somalia.pdf>

Marchal, Roland. 2011. "Somali Piracy: The Local Contexts of an International Obsession" *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development*, 2:1, Spring 2011, p. 31-50.

Hansen, Stein J. 2009. 'Piracy in the Greater Gulf of Aden: Myths, misconceptions and remedies' Oslo: Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research. <http://www.nibr.no/filer/2009-29-ny.pdf>

Dua, Jatin and Ken Menkhaus, 2012. 'The context of contemporary piracy: The case of Somalia,' *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 10:4, p. 749-766.

International Crisis Group, 2014. 'Somalia: Al-Shabaab – It Will Be a Long War' Africa Briefing 99, 26 June. <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/africa/horn-of-africa/somalia/b099-somalia-al-shabaab-it-will-be-a-long-war.aspx>

International Crisis Group, 2014. 'Kenya: Al-Shabaab – Closer to Home' Africa Briefing 99, 25 September, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/africa/horn-of-africa/kenya/b102-kenya-al-shabaab-closer-to-home.aspx>

International Crisis Group, 2012. 'The Kenyan Military Intervention in Somalia' Africa Report 184, 15 February. <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/africa/horn-of-africa/kenya/184-the-kenyan-military-intervention-in-somalia.aspx>

Burgess, Stephen F. 2009. "Stabilization, Peacebuilding and Sustainability in the Horn of Africa," *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, Spring. <http://www.au.af.mil/au/ssq/2009/Spring/burgess.pdf>

Bryden, Matt. 2003. "No quick fixes: Coming to terms with terrorism, Islam and statelessness in Somalia," *The Journal of Conflict Studies* Vol. 23, Fall, p. 24-56.

Cliffe, L., Love, R. and Tronvoll, K. 2009. "Conflict and Peace in the Horn of Africa," *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 36:120, p. 151 - 163.

Healy, S. 2008. "Lost Opportunities in the Horn of Africa: How Conflicts Connect and Peace Agreements Unravel" *Chatham House*,
http://www.riftvalley.net/resources/file/healyhornafrica_2008.pdf

King, R., 2009. "Ocean Piracy and its Impact on Insurance." *Congressional Research Service Report*, 6 February. <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/crs/r40081.pdf>

Lyons, Terrance. 2009. "The Ethiopia-Eritrea Conflict and the Search for Peace in the Horn of Africa," *Review of African Political Economy*, 36:120, p. 167 - 180.

Menkhaus, Ken. 2004. "Vicious circles and the security development nexus in Somalia," *Conflict, Security & Development*, 4:2, p. 149-165.

Menkhaus, Ken. 2006/2007. "Governance without Government in Somalia: Spoilers, State Building, and the Politics of Coping," *International Security*, 31:3, p. 74-106.

International Crisis Group Report, 2008. "Somalia: To Move Beyond the Failed State." Africa Report Number 147, 23 December.
<http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=5836&l=1>

International Crisis Group, 2010. "Somalia's Divided Islamists," Africa Briefing No. 74 Nairobi/Brussels, 18 May.
[http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/horn-of-africa/somalia/B74%20Somalias%20Divided%20Islamists.ashx](http://www.crisisgroup.org/~/media/Files/africa/horn-of-africa/somalia/B74%20Somalias%20Divided%20Islamists.ashx)

Muller, T. 2006. "State making in the Horn of Africa: notes on Eritrea and prospects for the end of violent conflict in the Horn," *Conflict, Security & Development*, 6:4, 503—530.

Middleton, Roger. 2008. "Piracy in Somalia: Threatening Global Trade, Feeding Local Wars," *Chatham House Briefing Paper*, Africa Programme, October,
http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/files/12203_1008piracysomalia.pdf

Percy, Sarah and Shortland, Anja 2011. "The Business of Piracy in Somalia" *DIW Berlin*, Discussion Paper 1033.

Ploch, L., et al. 2009. "Piracy off the Horn of Africa", *Congressional Research Service*, 28 September. <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R40528.pdf>

Priddy, A. and Casey-Maslen, S. 2012. "Counter-piracy Operations by Private Maritime Security Contractors: Key Legal Issues and Challenges" *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, 10, 839-856.

Samatar, A.I., Lindberg, M. and Mahayni, B. 2010. "The Dialectics of Piracy in Somalia: The Rich Versus the Poor" *Third World Quarterly*, 31:8, pp 1377–1394.

Shinn, D. 2009. "Somalia's New Government and the Challenge of al-Shabaab," *CTC Sentinel*, March, 2:3, www.ctc.usma.edu/sentinel/CTCSentinel-Vol2Iss3.pdf