ILLEGITIMATE EXTRACTIVE INSTITUTIONS AND THE LOSS OF LEGITIMACY

AND SECURITY: THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

OF STATE FAILURE

by

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the men of Bravo Company, 3rd Battalion, 504th Parachute Infantry Regiment who steadfastly and diligently fought and worked toward the goals outlined in this thesis and thus provided the necessity and inspiration for my work.

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PREFACE

The motivations for this thesis began in the Paktika Province of Afghanistan in the summer of 2003 where I served as an Airborne Infantryman with the US Army in the War on Terror. I soon realized there was much more to the task at hand than simply fighting insurgents; building and rebuilding a society was vital to our military interests. I took a keen interest in how the operations of such a mission were conducted and once I left the military in 2005 my interest continued.

As a college student I actively studied the history of revolutions and the politics of international relations. Still keen to aid the global effort in some way I began a Master's program in International Studies so as to further my understanding of international relations and the world as a whole. The culmination of that effort is found in this thesis.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the course of decolonization in the post-World War II era the number of independent legitimate states grew at an incredible rate. The legacy of colonial governments and fights for independence left unstable societies with untested and amateur leaders in control of fledgling states. These new states lacked inclusive political and economic institutions and often times had little incentive to create such institutions. This led to a new phenomenon in the international community; the failed state. With increasing interconnectivity and globalization serious problems such as poverty, human rights, drug trafficking, and terrorism have become more central concerns of the world community.[1] Recently, there has been greater outreach to attempt to secure and stabilize failed and weak states as well as increased scholarship on the topic.

My thesis is that states fail because governments lose legitimacy vis-à-vis the population through the abuse of extractive institutions, both political and economic; creating the conditions for violent conflict that destroys society and infrastructure causing the state to collapse. Through research and case studies it is possible to better understand the causes and consequences that lead to the failure of a state. To attain the information necessary to appreciate these processes research must begin with the causes and nature of state failure, how failed states vary from weak states, and why the difference is important. Because there is a difference between failed and weak states it is also imperative to understand the consequences of state failure at both the national and international level. To further

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[1] Francis Fukuyama, "The Imperative of State-Building" *Journal of Democracy* 15, no. 2 (April 2004) 17.

comprehend the nature and consequences of failed states case studies will be conducted into the failed states of Somalia and Afghanistan.

Before the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11th, 2001 most people in the developed world seemed to share the assumption that failed states were of no concern to their life or their country. In fact, after the disastrous mission to capture a Somali warlord by U.S. forces in October 1993 American citizens were adverse to the idea of becoming involved in the Third World. That has all changed now and the United States and many European nations have taken it upon themselves to become actively involved in the failed and weak nations of the world as this is now seen as a vital security concern. As Francis Fukuyama states, "suddenly the ability to shore up or create from whole cloth missing state capabilities and institutions has risen to the top of the global agenda and seems likely to be a major condition for the possibility of security in important parts of the world. Thus state weakness is both a national and international issue of the first order."[2]

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[2] Fukuyama, "State-Building," 18.

CHAPTER II

UNDERSTANDING THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF STATE FAILURE

Failed states can be found across the many geographic regions of the world and as such are a global phenomenon. Furthermore, state failure is not endemic to one culture, religion, or ethnic group but owes its nature to certain aspects that characterize these states. To understand the origins and failure of states it is imperative to look back to the age of colonialism and to the creation of the modern nation-state after the Treaty of Westphalia. Next, the growth in power of nation-states, the age of imperialism, and its eventual decline following World War II will be explored. From there one must understand the nature of the post-World War II world, the Cold War and the independence movements of colonies that led to a global system rife with failed and weak states. This will provide an understanding of the characteristics of statehood that failed states have been unable to develop or have come to lack. From this understanding it will become possible to establish a coherent definition of what constitutes a failed state and how it is different from a weak state.

Literature Review

To write this thesis I have relied heavily on the teachings of my professors at both the undergraduate and graduate levels at Texas State University. Their guidance on literature for the topic has been indispensable. To that end I have consulted the following materials to establish the necessary background information concerning failed states. Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson's work *Why Nations Fail* was instrumental in establishing some of the facilitating causes of state failure; illegitimate extractive institutions. Other works vital to the cause of state failure were two Robert Rotberg compilations *State Weakness and Failure in a*

Time of Terror and *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*. These books were used to understand the nature of violence and conflict in failed states. Further information about the nature of politics and the imperative of the international community to deal with failed states was gained through various works of Francis Fukuyama including *the Origin of Political Order*. Also used were Jeff Goodwin's and Samuel Huntington's books concerning revolutions and democracy *No Other Way Out* and *The Third Wave* respectively.

In order to conduct the case study into Somalia information provided by the State Department's Military Liaison for Peacekeeping Operations Lieutenant Colonel Dave Buffaloe was instrumental. He has been on the ground in-country to assess the situation and has been actively involved in planning the international response and resolution in Somalia. Background information on Somalia was gathered through various sources including the United Nations Mission and the African Union Mission. To establish the nature of government and politics and why Somalia was unsuccessful as an independent state Walter Clarke and Robert Gosende's chapter "Somalia: Can a Collapsed State Reconstitute Itself?" from Robert Rotberg's *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror* was drawn from heavily. Also Basil Davidson's article *Somalia: Toward Socialism* was referenced to show the extractive policies under Siad Barre.

Information from the case study on Afghanistan was drawn extensively from Kevin Baker's *War in Afghanistan* and Tamin Ansary's *Game Without Rules*. Both sources provide extensive background into the volatile nature of Afghani tribalism and politics and why Afghanistan finds itself in a state of failure. Also sources from the Cold War History Project were used to determine motivations and difficulties in establishing communism in

Afghanistan. Contemporary sources and personal experience were drawn on for information concerning the current war in Afghanistan.

Finally, the process outlined in chapter four has been developed through various research into the subject, my own personal experience, and through discussions with service-members actively engaged overseas and their insights. To establish a theoretical framework in which this plan can work Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* was used. Also the old, nearly forgotten but still entirely relevant *Small Wars Manual* written by the United States Marine Corps prior to World War II was used to lay out the political-military goals of failed state operations. Max Boot's views in *The Savage Wars of Peace* were referenced as well. All other portions are original thoughts and ideas created through years of personal reflections and conversations.

Defining State Failure

Though there is no universally agreed upon definition of a failed state the definitions are as various as the failed states themselves. The Global Policy Forum defines a failed state as one that "can no longer perform basic functions such as education, security, or governance usually due to fractious violence or extreme poverty."[3] This is a good starting point but is too simple to fully understand a failed state. Dr. Daniel Thürer provides a more thorough description of failed states. He claims there are three aspects that define state failure. First, he states that the problem is "internal and endogenous" and that the situation is one of "an implosion rather than an explosion of the structures of power and authority."[4]

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[3] Global Policy Forum http://www.globalpolicy.org/nations-a-states/failed-states.html
[4] Daniel Thürer, International Committee of the Red Cross

The second aspect is "the internal collapse of law and order."[5] The final aspect is a functional one. That is "either no institution exists which has the authority to negotiate, represent and enforce or, if one does, it is wholly unreliable, typically acting as 'statesman by day and bandit by night.'"[6] This definition presents a much clearer idea of what is happening in a failed state that defines it as such.

As a true definition of a failed state is both elusive and varied a look at the generally agreed upon characteristics provides a clearer picture. Susan Rice and Stewart Patrick in a report for the Brookings Institute characterize failed states as missing "the essential capacity … to fulfill four sets of critical government responsibilities: fostering an environment conducive to … economic growth; establishing and maintaining legitimate … political institutions; securing their populations from violent conflict and controlling their territory; and meeting the basic human needs of their population."[7] Building on the characteristics given by Rice and Patrick the Fund For Peace's Failed States Index methodology should be consulted as to the indicators that are present for considerations of state failure. The Failed States Index looks at twelve indicators across the Social, Economic, and Political and Military fields with a high score deeming a state unstable in each area. The indicators are Demographic Pressures, Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons, Group Grievance, Human Flight and Brain Drain, Uneven Economic Development, Poverty and Economic Decline, State Legitimacy, Public Services, Human Rights and Rule of Law, Security Apparatus, Factionalized Elites, and External Intervention.[8] By looking at these indicators it

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[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Susan Rice and Stewart Patrick, Brooking Institute report on weak states
[8] Fund For Peace – Fragile States Index 2014, http://ffp.statesindex.org/

is possible to better understand the particular aspects of statehood in which nations in the midst of failure are lacking.

From the historical context of statehood and the known characteristics of failed states the process of explaining the causes of state failure can begin. To do this there will be a study into the commonalities leading to a collapse of the state. Once the causes of state failure have been determined an exploration of the consequences as such will be conducted. The exploration of the consequences will look at the local, regional, and international effects to better understand why nations have begun to focus on the problem of failed states and why assistance has become an inevitable necessity.

Before beginning the analysis of the causes of state failure the school of thought that claims geography plays a role in state failure should be addressed. It is well known many modern state borders were drawn arbitrarily by colonial powers; dividing up their claims as empires rose and fell. The institution of state borders across previous tribal homelands created rifts in society that created unforeseen problems in those areas. In Europe, state boundaries had been created to the extent by which a state was able to enforce control but also into areas in which the local people identified themselves as belonging to the same state as their neighbors. Thus the Spanish are divided from the French, the French are divided from the Germans and the Italians, and those states are apart from their neighbors and so forth. Or it could be described thusly, "France was not really a state…when it was led by a king of the Franks rather than the King of France."[9] That is to say, in Europe the territorial boundaries established through kinship and tribalism created the early borders for modern states. Due to the effects of colonialism this would not be the case throughout much of the

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[9] Francis Fukuyama, *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2011) 80.

rest of the world. Therefore, although some scholars claim geography is not a factor in state failure it seems obvious that in this context it certainly applies, not in the physical, climatic sense of location but in the human sense of political and ethnic division.

The Process of Failure

Illegitimate extractive institutions lead a country to weakness. This illegitimate extraction is of sufficient nature as to cause the rise of opposition groups and undermine the government's legitimacy vis-à-vis the population. When the people determine that they have no other option than to revolt against their government they arm themselves against the government and violent conflict begins. Often time's coups are quickly successful and a new government gains power. However, when the conflict becomes prolonged and destructive to society and infrastructure the state begins to move toward and will eventually fail.

It is important here to explain the nature of legitimate, or inclusive, institutions as a basis from which to view the illegitimate extractive institutions. These legitimate inclusive institutions "are those that allow and encourage participation by the great mass of people…and that enable individuals to make the choices they wish."[10] Furthermore, these institutions "feature secure private property, an unbiased system of law, and a provision of public services that provides a level playing field in which people can exchange and contract" as well as has political institutions that are pluralistic, that is they "distribute power broadly in society and subject it to constraints."[11]

The difference between a failed state and weak one can seem minute or extraordinary. Robert Rotberg points out that often time's states fluctuate between weak and

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[10] Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2012) 74-75.
[11] Acemoglu and Robinson, *Why Nations Fail*, 74-80.

failed depending on the circumstances at play internally and externally at any given time. "Failure is a fluid halting place, with movement forward to weakness and backward into collapse always possible."[12] As such it is important to establish what constitutes a failed state and a weak state within the context of this thesis. A weak state is one in which illegitimate extractive institutions have severely deteriorated the state to the point that citizens no longer have trust in the government. Weak states can also present with prolonged conflict from an insurgency. However, in the case of weak states the government is often seen as legitimate in the eyes of the majority of citizens and consequently, though an insurgency may persist, without abusive extractive institutions to galvanize a resistance, failure is averted. The idea of a failed state as presented here is that the abuse of extractive institutions is sufficient to weaken the state and to entice prolonged violent conflict against the government sufficient to destroy vital infrastructure and to create a security dilemma arising from the need to disarm, demobilize, and reintegrate combatants should the conflict reach a resolution.

Colonialism, Imperialism, and Illegitimate Extractive Institutions

According to Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson "the most common reason why nations fail today is because they have extractive institutions."[13] Extractive institutions are those that are, by design, intended to enrich and empower the elites of society at the expense of all others. However, while Acemoglu and Robinson's statement is true, it does not tell the whole story. All modern states have extractive institutions of some form, however it is once these institutions become illegitimate – defined above as enriching the elites at a cost to all others – that issues leading a state toward weakness begin to arise. How and why were these

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[12] Robert I. Rotberg, *State Failure and Weakness in a Time of Terror*, (Washington DC: Brookings Institution and the World Peace Foundation, 2003) 10.
[13] Acemoglu and Robinson, *Why Nations Fail*, 368-369.

states created as they currently exist? Why do states create illegitimate extractive political and economic institutions? Are illegitimate extractive institutions enough in and of themselves to cause a state to fail or are they a facilitating factor?

The issue of a failed state is interesting because of the fact that a state was created where no contemporary state had previously existed. However, when the peoples there were unable to constitute a modern, functioning state it was deemed failed. As Francis Fukuyama points out, "the fact that these regions had no long history of statehood very much affected their development prospects after they achieved independence in the second half of the twentieth century, especially when compared to colonized parts…where state traditions were deeply embedded."[14] Had colonization not created the infrastructure of a state in undeveloped areas of the world would the same title, failed states, still apply? For failed states to exist, states had to first exist. The modern state begins to take shape after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. These treaties are generally seen by scholars as the establishment of a "*horizontal* order based upon the idea of independent, self-governing states" identifying no higher political power to replace the traditional "*hierarchical* feudal order."[15] Obviously this notion of sovereignty does not blend with the ideas of colonialism and the enslavement and exploitation of other peoples. It is important to note two aspects of this idea though. The first being that the peace was forged by Catholic and Protestant nations, as religion was among the primary motivations of the Thirty Years' War. Second, it helps to explain why the imperial powers created their colonies as de facto states with artificial state structures that upon independence in some but not all cases could crumble and fail.

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[14] Fukuyama, *Political Order*, 81.
[15] Gerhard Von Glahn and James L. Taulbee, *Law Among Nations: An Introduction to Public International Law*. 10th ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, 2013) 33.

After the Peace of Westphalia the number of independent states compared to geographical size of the earth remained relatively low due to at least two factors. First, as mentioned above, many powerful states formed global empires and controlled large swaths of territory and many groups of peoples from a centralized home location; creating administrative territories where none had previously existed. This is the case of many European powers with imperial ambitions. Second, before colonization many areas were still administered through tribal-style rule and thus were quite decentralized in nature. Those areas that did have strong, centralized states, such as the empires in the Americas, would later fall victim to colonization themselves. According to Fukuyama "not all societies around the world made this transition to statehood on their own."[16] In many areas a de facto or quasi-statehood was achieved through colonization. Then, as empires crumbled throughout the twentieth century the number of independent states began to rise. Driven by independence movements in many colonies – based on the ideas of self-determination – decolonization swept the globe after World War II and the number of independent states reached all-time highs.[*]

However, there were problems from the start as colonial power waned and local groups armed themselves for revolution which often resulted in power struggles and internal strife. Furthermore, European colonialism and early decolonization, post-World War I, was based on the idea of trusteeship; that is that the 'civilized' European powers were responsible for their colonies until a time that the local people were deemed fit for self-

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[16] Fukuyama, *Political Order*, 81.

[*] According to Samuel Huntington the total number of states in the world totaled just sixty-four in 1922, just over one-third of the total today.

governance.[17] In reality, many of the states gaining independence did so through self-determination, on occasion through violence and revolution, which consequently turned traditional international norms of sovereignty on their head. The idea of colonialism ceased to be seen as legitimate as worldwide the view of power based on empire lost credibility as well.[18] The realization of such endeavors by decolonizing states met with varying degrees of success as can be seen by the present nature of many former colonies.

As stated previously the primary facilitating factor of state failure is the establishment of illegitimate extractive institutions. This means both political and economic institutions. Illegitimate extractive institutions are those that are created specifically to enhance the power and wealth of the elites of a nation. These extractive institutions, in many failed or weak states, have their origins in the colonial economies installed by their former rulers. Therefore, although the newly independent nations were now free to create their own economic and political systems they had little experience in such endeavors and often those able to gain power simply maintained the status quo and used the illegitimate extractive institutions to establish and strengthen their control over the country.[19] This often leads to conflict within the state as some groups continue to be oppressed. In other instances armed conflict did not arise but the extractive policies created by the new leadership sink the state into depression and endemic weakness.

The extractive institutions put in place by colonial powers and their local governments are varied in both their nature and scope. Colonial governments, as often as possible, exploited the indigenous populations as a cheap labor force, such as the

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[17] Robert H. Jackson, *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations, and the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 85.
[18] Jackson, *Quasi-States*, 85-86.
[19] Acemoglu and Robinson, *Why Nations Fail*, 398.

encomienda system developed by the Spanish to regulate the native populations in the Americas.[20] At times this took the form of servitude and slavery, to the extent as to consider human beings as a commodity to be harvested, collected, and traded across international borders. This practice had a two-fold effect on the involved societies: in some areas whole societies were destroyed while in others extractive slaving states were created to meet the demand of cheap labor in colonies that lacked the requisite native population to enslave and exploit.[21] This fueled the rise of extractive institutions such as the plantation system based on the enslavement of Africans.[22] These extractive economic institutions also allowed for the elite to gain political power which they could use to create further illegitimate extractive policies or maintain their position against internal challenges.

This extractive economy, then known as the mercantile system, took all raw goods from the colonies and shipped them back to the home nation to be processed and then sold back to the colonies. This practice ensured that the technologies needed for advancement were kept from the colonies so as to deny them the opportunity to industrialize and modernize and most likely create the inclusive political and economic institutions that lead to independence and prosperity. To the colonies this meant that the longer they remained under imperial rule the further they fell behind so that upon gaining independence there was little hope of establishing an effective state or being competitive in the global market. In fact in the British Empire at the time of independence many countries "had populations which were still almost entirely illiterate not only in the strict linguistic sense but also – and perhaps more importantly – in the institutional sense of having little or no understanding of the

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[20] Ibid. 29.
[21] Acemoglu and Robinson, *Why Nations Fail*, 301.
[22] Ibid., 271.

workings of a modern state and the responsibilities of citizenship."[23] In light of such bleak political and economic prospects those able to take power found it not only easy but advantageous to simply continue the extraction from the population that had gone on under colonial rule. This scarcity of both economic and political power often led to internal strife and conflict that plunged the fledgling nation from weakness to failure.

It could be argued that other former colonies such as the United States and Australia were created in the same manner yet managed to escape the detrimental effects of colonization and emerge as strong states. However, both Australia and the United States lacked the valuable natural resources – spices, sugar, silver, or gold – or a large native population to exploit.[24] Furthermore, both nations were able to create inclusive institutions, though they had to fight for them, which would allow for the implementation of technological developments from the Industrial Revolution.

While the United States and Australia were able to create inclusive institutions and grow; the imperial powers ensured such actions would not be possible in their more resource rich colonies. In fact, "in many of these places, they put in motion a set of institutional changes that would make the emergence of inclusive institutions very unlikely. In some of them they explicitly stamped out whatever burgeoning industry or inclusive economic institutions existed."[25] It is under this political and economic climate that most of the world developed from the time of the Industrial Revolution until the independence movements following World War II.

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[23] Jackson, *Quasi-States*, 86.
[24] Acemoglu and Robinson, *Why Nations Fail*, 299.
[25] Ibid.

However, the extractive institutions of colonization only tell part of the story. There are many nations today that are underdeveloped that are not former colonies of the European Empires or that had gained independence with sufficient time to take part in the industrialization and modernization taking place during the nineteenth century. Although few of these states have come to the point of failure it is essential to point out that the divergence of institutional dynamics during the nineteenth century, most maintaining an illegitimately extractive, absolutist regime as opposed to industrialization, modernization, and democratic reforms, is at the heart of the inequality currently found across the globe.[26]

Upon formation, or independence from colonial rule, newly created nations were free to determine their own political and economic institutions. It seems logical then that these nations would create inclusive institutions to increase their national prosperity, encourage foreign investment, and bring their newly established states up to the standards of the modern industrialized states. Unfortunately, this was not the case and often very far from it. While not delving into the psychological, sociological, or other reasons for leader's failure to develop inclusive institutions it seems that the corruption of power has often been the culprit in denying people the inclusive institutions that would have brought about prosperity for all. The leaders of the independence movements were most often the ones who then assumed power once decolonization was complete. Then, those same leaders chose to establish or maintain exclusive and extractive political institutions to concentrate power in the hands of a small group of elites loyal to the new regime. To support their power and establish immense personal fortunes the elite created illegitimate extractive economic institutions "supported by extractive political institutions that impede and even block

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[26] Acemoglu and Robinson, *Why Nations Fail*, 301.

economic growth."[27] This political and economic power could then be used by those in power to deny access to government and markets to any rivals or others as they chose.

The most compelling reasoning to explain this phenomenon is what the sociologist Robert Michels called the iron law of oligarchy.[28] This means that the "internal logic of oligarchies, and in fact all hierarchical organizations, is that…they will reproduce themselves not only when the same group is in power, but even when an entirely new group takes control."[29] Therefore, even though former colonies had lived under imperialism and its extractive institutions once independence was gained the cycle was perpetuated by the next group to take power and often the next group as well.

Though illegitimate extractive institutions can cause untold damage to a state's economy, deprive the government of the legitimacy necessary to effectively rule, and severely weaken the state in many aspects these institutions alone are not enough to deem a state failed. Though all governments are involved in the extraction of their respective populations through the levying of taxes, fees, regulations, and the like it is not until these extractions become illegitimate, that they are no longer serving the purpose of funding the government but are instead being used to enhance the wealth and power of the elites at the expense of all others, that the path to failure begins. The tipping point for these extractive institutions becoming illegitimate is often unnoticed at first but once tax revenues are siphoned off to enrich those in power, blatant corruption goes unpunished, and markets are closed to entry by unofficial fiat and the population finds it has no recourse the downward slide toward conflict begins. Once entrenched in a beneficial extractive system the economic

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[27] Ibid., 83.
[28] Robert Michels, *Poltical Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracies*, 1915.
[29] Acemoglu and Robinson, *Why Nations Fail*, 360.

and political elites of a state are loathe relinquishing their station. It is the rise of armed opposition groups and the perpetration of violence that completes a state's slide into failure. Illegitimate extractive institutions are a causal factor of violence within a state and therefore a facilitating factor of state failure.

Due to the array of illegitimate extractive institutions imposed on societies and the iron law of oligarchy that maintains them states are unable to develop the necessary political institutions to initiate any meaningful change in governments. Coupled with the inherent extractive economic institutions that support the extractive and increasingly illegitimate governments underdeveloped states have been unable to escape the vicious cycles of colonialism and post-colonial despotism. However, illegitimate extractive institutions do not fully explain why state failure has been so pervasive. Prolonged internal conflict and violence, perpetuated for myriad reasons, must follow in order to fully drive a state to failure.

Loss of Security and Destruction of the State through Prolonged Conflict

While it has been shown that extractive institutions are a primary causal factor of state failure there also exists a different school of thought that places the principal responsibility on prolonged conflict and violence within a state. According to Robert Rotberg nations "fail because they are convulsed by internal violence and can no longer deliver positive political goods to their inhabitants," he continues, "their governments lose legitimacy, and the very nature of the particular nation-state itself becomes illegitimate in the eyes and in the hearts of a growing plurality of its citizens."[30] Accordingly, states fail not only because of extractive institutions but also due to armed conflict against the government that reduces legitimacy and security within a nation's borders. This creates a problem because, by

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[30] Rotberg, *State Failure and Weakness,* 1.

the definition given by Max Weber, a state is "a human community that claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory."[31] Therefore, if an armed contingent within a state can contest the legitimacy of the government, as Rotberg says, the population loses faith in the government's ability and the state slips into failure.

The causal factors and nature of violence and conflict in states is varied. For a state to be considered failed in the face of conflict the significant aspect is the duration of the conflict, not the intensity. Rotberg holds that state failure is not identified by "the absolute intensity of violence…rather, it is the enduring character of that violence… the fact that much of the violence is directed at the existing government" and the "demands for shared power…that rationalize or justify that violence in the minds of the main insurgents."[32] Reasons for conflict leading to state failure include ethnic, religious, linguistic, or other intercommunal differences that lead to violence and conflict between groups.[33] As stated previously, when a group is able to gain power they often impose illegitimate extractive institutions on the various other groups of society exacerbating already existing differences. This in and of itself can cause a rise in opposition groups and lead to conflict. In these situations the group in power can perpetrate genocide against their perceived enemies based on the factors leading to conflict. One example, though not from a failed state, is the Rwandan Genocide in which Hutus massacred Tutsis because of their ethnic differences. A similar situation occurred in the Sudan, specifically in the Darfur region, which after years of conflict led to the creation of a new nation-state, South Sudan.

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[31] Max Weber, *Essays in Sociology* translated and edited by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1946) 78.
[32] Rotberg, *State Failure and Weakness*, 5.
[33] Ibid.

Another idea for causation of state collapse due to conflict as espoused by Nelson Kasfir is the tipping model. Kasfir's theory posits that there are critical junctures in a state's decline that cause people to move away from civil society and governance into groups and armed bands participating in domestic anarchy. Although reversible, if unchecked this leads to conflict and state failure.[34] Kasfir's tipping model helps to explain his overarching theory that state failure is caused and exacerbated by security dilemmas and violent predation.[35] These security dilemmas develop, and state failure is caused, because of expected or perceived notions of government or others behaviors that over time cause an ever increasing number of people to band together and arm themselves to ensure their own security. Therefore, the "first individuals to flout state authority lead to the prospect of an ever-accelerating self-fulfilling prophecy" which can create a security dilemma within a state which in turn can lead to a collapse of the state;[36] this often materializes when peaceful protests against the government are put down with violence and repression, thus inciting a conflict or rebellion. Most recently this was seen throughout North Africa and the Middle East during the Arab Spring and the recent Revolution in Ukraine.

As for why conflicts endure Jeff Goodwin postulates, "popularly supported guerrilla insurgencies have persisted when and where the armed forces of infrastructurally weak states have employed indiscriminate violence against social sectors suspected of sympathizing with the insurgents."[37] It is this indiscriminate violence that leads states toward failure due to the loss of legitimacy and security in the eyes of the majority of the populace. Also, as seen

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[34] Nelson Kasfir, "Domestic Anarchy, Security Dilemmas, and Violent Predation: Causes of Failure," in *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences* ed. Robert I. Rotberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004) 59.

[35] Ibid., 53.

[36] Kasfir, "Security Dilemmas and Violent Predation," in Rotberg (2004), 60.

[37] Jeff Goodwin, *No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) 217.

through Kasfir's tipping model, this type of indiscriminant violence is often a 'point of no return' which causes the permanent dissolution of ties between the government and the populace. However, even attempts at restoring governmental legitimacy through elections can fail, and violent conflict persists, because the elections "will not induce guerrillas to give up their fight, or their supporters to abandon them, when to do so will not significantly reduce, and may very well increase, the likelihood of violent injury or death."[38] This is because although elections may be competitive there is not necessarily a guarantee of democracy. Primarily, this is caused by the extractive political institutions, discussed previously, created and employed by nations. Therefore, conflict and insurgency cannot end "until rebels can lay down their guns – and they and their supporters can engage in peaceful political activities – without fear of being violently attacked."[39]

The existence of sustained armed conflict within a state and perpetrated by armed militias and semi-autonomous paramilitary bands, often former government security forces, means "the transition from failing to failed state is usually irreversible."[40] The prolonged armed conflict also results in other types of violence and bloodshed that further drive a state into failure, what Nelson Kasfir called "violent predation" which he explains "requires only the action of a single aggressor, plus, of course, an unwilling victim."[41] This follows along the lines of what Goodwin described as the reason for the continuation of conflicts due to government violence against perceived sympathizers and non-aggressors. Violent predation also comes about due to the lack of a functioning security apparatus in many parts of the country because of the government's inability to properly exert control over its own

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[38] Ibid., 234.
[39] Goodwin, *No Other Way Out*, 234.
[40] Michael T. Klare, "The Deadly Connection: Paramilitary Bands, Small Arms Diffusion, and State Failure," in Rotberg (2004), 116.
[41] Kasfir, "Security Dilemmas and Violent Predation," in Rotberg (2004), 65.

territory. As lawlessness across the country becomes pervasive "anomic behaviors become the norm."[42] Crime becomes rampant as armed gangs take control of cities and swaths of territory. With the lack of political goods, in this case effective security, from the government the people turn "to warlords and other strong figures who express or activate ethnic or clan solidarity, thus offering the possibility of security at a time when all else, and the state itself, is crumbling."[43] In doing so though people give legitimacy, or at least the perception of legitimacy, to these warlords; this in turn can lead to a prolongation of the conflict as each group perceives itself to be powerful enough to challenge the government and the other armed groups operating the country.

As governments' battle armed revolts, internal strife brings about security dilemmas, and people continue to lose confidence in the legitimacy of government and its ability to provide necessary political goods, states slide into failure. The conflicts then drag on and further wreck any attempts at legitimate government or the reestablishment or maintenance of state infrastructure. Coupled with the extractive political and economic institutions that develop in weak and failed states the consequences of such actions become apparent both locally and internationally.

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Consequences of State Failure

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Nations fail today because their society is trapped in illegitimately extractive institutions and mired in armed conflict against an illegitimate government, other opposing forces or both. To better understand state failure beyond the causes there is vital interest in looking at the enduring characteristics and consequences of failed states. "Nations fail economically because of extractive institutions… but the reason why these extractive

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[42] Rotberg, *State Failure and Weakness*, 6.
[43] Ibid.

institutions persist is always related to the vicious circle, and the implications of these institutions in terms of impoverishing their citizens."[44] It has been shown that extractive political institutions support the extractive economics that facilitate state failure; the vicious circle mentioned above, however, there must also be an evaluation of the longer term effects of such actions at both the local and international level. Furthermore, the consequences of states becoming "tense, deeply conflicted, dangerous, and contested bitterly by warring factions"[45] and its effects on stateness and state infrastructural power must be assessed. Once the consequences of state failure are explored and apparent it will be possible to better understand the need for a solution.

One of the most apparent consequences of state failure is the economic free fall caused by the illegitimate extractive institutions to enrich the elite. All of the countries that have descended into failure have prominent differences, nevertheless they all have extractive institutions in which "the basis of these institutions is an elite who design economic institutions in order to enrich themselves and perpetuate their power at the expense of the vast majority of people in society."[46] These elites then, for their own gain, crash the economy of their country which only serves to intensify the problems facing the fledgling state. Furthermore, the extractive economic institutions allow for the continuance of the extractive political institutions that support them; the vicious circle. These policies in themselves create other economic and political problems that deepen the collapse of the state.

As a state plummets into the depths of failure foreign investments dry up in what is known as capital flight. Consequently, this further deteriorates the economic situation

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[44] Acemoglu and Robinson, *Why Nations Fail*, 398-399.
[45] Rotberg, *When States Fail*, 4.
[46] Acemoglu and Robinson, *Why Nations Fail*, 399.

created by the illegitimate extractive institutions of the elite. Capital flight can be defined as capital stocks decreasing as the owners of capital discontinue local investments in favor of transferring capital abroad.[47] As the extractive institutions established by the elite prove unsustainable over the long-term government action leads to increased national debt and economically disruptive balance of payments.[48] Accordingly this poor macroeconomic policy causes the economy to become "more uncertain to investors, who respond by withdrawing capital from the economy."[49] As capital flight continues and foreign investment ends the state's capacities decline dramatically. The leaders of the state and government focus on activities that allow them to hold onto their power such as bad macroeconomic policies, rent seeking behavior, and a deterioration of public goods and services. As Nicolas van de Walle states "the 'hollowed out' state is the end of this process, where state leaders continue seeking to derive the advantages of controlling the state, notably the access to international aid, but have ceased to recognize any of its responsibilities."[50]

As the illegitimate extractive institutions and capital flight lead to economic decline the problem is often exacerbated by runaway inflation caused by poor macroeconomic choices by the government such as land reforms and the excessive printing of money. To fund government operations, especially patronage and military expenditures, the extractive elite will often print money. This leads to high levels of inflation, over 20 percent, and in extreme cases inflation will rise to over 100 percent; known as hyperinflation.[51] As inflation increases, government spending continues, and uncertainty mounts "people liquidate

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[47] Donald R. Snodgrass, "Restoring Economic Function in Failed States" in Rotberg (2004), 257.
[48] Nicolas van de Walle, "The Economic Correlates of State Failure: Taxes, Foreign Aid, and Policies" in Rotberg (2004), 105.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Van de Walle, "The Economic Correlates of State Failure" in Rotberg (2004), 106.
[51] Snodgrass, "Restoring Economic Function" in Rotberg (2004), 258.

holdings of local currency" even though "doing so makes inflation worse."[52] This leads to dollarization, the use of foreign currency in place of national currency, and in the most extreme of cases, such as Zimbabwe in 2009, can lead to the abandonment of the national currency.[53]

In failed and weak states rent seeking behavior and patrimonialism often become the normal economic activity among the established elites. Often times the two will overlap as political and governmental positions are used for personal gain.[54] When propping up the government of a failed state through rent seeking and patrimonialism the elites see "the rule of law as an inconvenient obstacle to its purposes."[55] Thus the government tends to operate outside the law, where it deems such activity possible, in a search for revenues. With the breakdown of civil society that often accompanies state failure the people lack any useful means to "impose upon [government] a basic principle of accountability."[56] For the populace this often means they are the target of illegal government activity in its pursuit of funds.

The search for money to continue to fund government, the patrimonial system, and the enduring quest to secure and maintain power causes officials to prey on their constituents and often creates state-sponsored criminal activity as well. As Robert Rotberg suggests, "driven by ethnic or other intercommunal hostility, or by the governing elite's insecurities, they victimize their own citizens or some subset of the whole that is regarded as hostile."[57] In war torn countries the rebels attack and extract from the producers and traders. Seeing the lucrative opportunity in such an effort government officials and troops also take

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[52] Ibid.
[53] Rotberg, *When States Fail*, 8.
[54] Fukuyama, *Political Order*, 339.
[55] Ibid., 337.
[56] Fukuyama, *Political Order*, 337.
[57] Rotberg, *State Failure and Weakness*, 6.

part.[58] Obviously, state-sponsored criminal activity decreases the government's legitimacy while at the same time hampering the economic livelihood of the citizenry. Frequently the corrupt rulers will raise taxes on their already shrinking tax base, depleted through extractive institutions and poor macroeconomic decisions, consequently further preying on the economic means of the impoverished.[59]

The poor economic climate and extractive government policies also spurs the growth of illicit economies or black markets. As people seek goods that are no longer obtainable through conventional means black markets tend to fill the gap. Illicit economies, especially for small arms, develop that help to fuel the violence by arming the rebel groups to the benefit of those in a position to make such a transaction. As Robert Rotberg states, "failed states offer unparalleled economic opportunity – but only for a privileged few."[60] This includes people, beyond the core group of elites, in a position to provide goods or services for a profit, comprised of smugglers, arms and drug dealers, human traffickers, and various other forms of unsavory individuals and groups looking to "grow richer while their less fortunate brethren starve."[61]

With so much money and effort spent supporting an illegitimately extractive government, infrastructure crumbles and the state is only able to provide limited, if any, political goods to citizens and then it is only those of the ruling factions choosing that receive such goods. This often leaves non-governmental actors, warlords and other non-state actors, as the principle suppliers of the political goods.[62] Furthermore, the deterioration of infrastructure means that road and rail travel becomes more difficult, communications

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[58] Snodgrass, "Restoring Economic Function" in Rotberg (2004), 258.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Rotberg, *When States Fail*, 8.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Rotberg, *State Failure and Weakness*, 6.

networks decay, and public services such as health and education become scarce.[63] The effect of this decay presents itself as "literacy rates fall, infant mortality rises … epidemic[s] overwhelms any healthy infrastructure that continues to exist, life expectancies plummet, and an already poor and battered citizenry becomes even poorer and more immiserated."[64]

As a state fails there is a deterioration of security conditions as the government loses legitimacy and armed groups challenge the established authority. "The state should have a monopoly on the use of legitimate force. The social contract is weakened where this is affected by competing groups."[65] The continued armed conflict against the government leads to security dilemmas. The term security dilemma in this context, derived from its form in international relations – states cyclically increasing tensions and hostilities when each actor prefers peace – to explain domestic situations in which rivalries develop in the near or total absence of state authority.[66] Security dilemmas develop from the inherent anarchic nature of state failure as the authority of the state and its supporting social norms wither away. State failure removes the institutional restraints from society and, accordingly, the population will seek safety, profit, or both.[67] This domestic anarchy and dilapidated security apparatus generate further problems for a state in failure.

As state authority dissolves and security dilemmas become apparent, borders become permeable and territorial integrity is challenged by warring factions or neighboring nations greedy for land or concerned for the stability of their own country. Conflict and insecurity tends to be contagious, as exemplified by the recent Arab Spring protests and revolutions across Africa and the Middle East. This causes neighboring states to arm themselves against

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[63] Ibid., 7.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Fund For Peace, Failed States Index 2013.
[66] Kasfir, "Security Dilemmas and Violent Predation" in Rotberg (2004), 55.
[67] Ibid., 54-55.

the possibility of their own internal conflict and intervene as they deem necessary to "provide services or manipulate internal affairs" in order to ensure the conflict does not spill over into adjacent territories.[68] Additionally, warring factions and refugees will freely cross borders in their search for safety from the fighting.

With the loss of the government's monopoly on legitimate force anarchic and anomic behaviors become normal as society breaks down during and after failure. At this point of a state's fall, society becomes reminiscent of the state of nature espoused by Hobbes or Locke in which behavior is no longer guided by a social contract as that contract seemingly disintegrated with the state. This obviously presents in different ways to different people and cultures but the ultimate effect is self-interest and self-preservation is the driving force.[69] Thus, as Kasfir explains, a strong indicator of failure is a state "where there are no surviving ties to soften anarchy."[70]

If anarchy rules the day in a failed state it follows that there is and will be a breakdown of the rule of law. As explained by Susan Rose-Auckerman there are two causes to the breakdown of the rule of law in failed states. The first is the declining power of an authoritarian regime in which the rule of law was constantly violated and corruption is a main coping mechanism of the people. Therefore, after failure, the population struggles with the revitalization of the rule of law as "those with vested interests may struggle to hold on to past benefits as the state deteriorates."[71] The second cause stems from endemically weak state governments in which political goods are found through private transaction and not

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[68] Fund For Peace Failed States Index 2013
[69] Kasfir, "Security Dilemmas and Violent Predation" in Rotberg (2004), 58.
[70] Ibid., 58-59.
[71] Susan Rose-Auckerman, "Establishing the Rule of Law" in Rotberg (2004), 182.

from the government.[72] This often materializes in the rise of warlords and armed gangs as mentioned previously. As government legitimacy and the rule of law are the underpinnings of civil society it becomes virtually impossible to enforce the social contract between population and government. As government ceases to function there is a decline in the operation of legitimate security forces which leads to an "inability to control violence and the destruction of property."[73] Coupled with the breakdown of the rule of law this further destroys the legitimacy of government. In an environment of anarchy and lawlessness it becomes very difficult for any type of civil society to operate.

It is also worth noting that while all of these conditions are detrimental to the state in a time of failure there are also implications at the regional and international level. When a state loses control of its borders then it is a very real possibility that the conflict could spill over into neighboring countries, especially if there are ethnic tensions that cross the arbitrary borders established by colonialism. This situation is further complicated by human flight resulting in large numbers of refugees seeking asylum and safety in neighboring countries. Furthermore, when nation-states lose control of territory and the monopoly on violence there exists the possibility of terrorist and other non-state actors, such as pirates, drug-smugglers, and the like, to use the territory as a base of operations.

Another issue at hand in the international arena is the access to vital resources. This is especially true in resource-rich failed states that the rest of the world seeks to access but is either unable or must pay excessively to do so, leading to the expansion of rent-seeking behavior beyond the borders of the failed state and increasing the financial gain of the elites. Finally, a failed state being unable to participate properly in the global economy is

[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.

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detrimental to the overall health of that economy. The loss of markets for goods, the loss of access to consumers, and the violent predation and security dilemmas can raise prices of commodities or decrease demand artificially because no viable market exist within a failed state or because the costs of business increases due to internal factors.

With the causes and consequences of state failure established it becomes clearer how the process generally plays out. Governments become illegitimate in the eyes of the population due to extractive institutions, both political and economic. Due to their inability to effect change democratically or through peaceful protests opposition groups form against the government because, in the words of Jeff Goodwin, they have "no other way out." However, the entrenched elite and those who profit and prosper because of their connections are almost always unwilling to simply abdicate their position of power and destructive armed conflict begins.

Prolonged conflict is the primary source of state failure and there are several reasons for this. First, illegitimate extractive institutions alone cannot destroy a state. Furthermore, these institutions are generally reversible and should a legitimate government come to power the illegitimate extraction would cease and the building of proper economic and political institutions should begin. While extractive institutions can more easily be undone the same cannot be said for the damage to society and infrastructure caused by prolonged conflict. When a state is mired in failure the rebuilding of infrastructure is difficult even after the fighting has stopped. Additionally, there is the need for the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of the former combatants into society. It is these conditions therefore, that cause a state to move from weakness to failure.

This process can be seen by examining the five states on the Fragile States Index deemed *Very High Alert*, or the most fragile. When looking at the scores for these states in the areas of Factionalized Elites, Uneven Economic Development, and State Legitimacy they all score very highly, approaching or even reaching ten, with high scores denoting factors of high instability. With just a cursory look at the history of these states it is easy to establish that the high scores in these areas were due to illegitimate extractive institutions and that these in turn lead to violent conflict within the state. With that in mind a look into the decline, failure, and absolute collapse of Somalia is in order to further comprehend the processes and consequences but also to look for a possible solution.

CHAPTER III

CASE STUDY: SOMALIA

Conducting a case study is a unique way in which to better interpret and understand the causes, consequences, and possible solutions to a failed state. For this reason the collapsed state of Somalia will be studied. Although all failed states are somewhat unique and exhibit different characteristics of failure Somalia encompasses more than most while at the same time showing many hopeful signs of recovery. The dire situation in Somalia exemplifies state failure as it is often ranked as the least stable state as ranked by the Fund For Peace and Foreign Policy magazine's Failed State Index. Somalia's failure was rampant with extractive institutions and has been mired in internal violent conflict for over two decades. For the purposes of this case study there will be an investigation into the extractive institutions, both political and economic, that began the process of failure as well as the civil war and infighting that utterly destroyed most of the country, what this meant for the nation locally and globally, and what attempts have been made to resuscitate Somalia.

Background and History: 1880's – 1978

The territory of Somalia came under the control of the British in the northwest, called British Somaliland, and the Italians in the east and south which was called Italian Somaliland in the late 1880's.[74] During this time the ethnic Somali nation was divided into five different areas: Djibouti, controlled by the French, the above mentioned British and Italian Somalilands, A portion in northern Kenya also controlled by the British, and finally a

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[74] Ioan Lewis, *Understanding Somalia and Somaliland: Culture, History, and Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 29.

section to the west, known as the Ogaden, controlled by Ethiopia.[75] These divisions would last until 1960 when the British and Italian protectorates were granted independence, on 26 June 1960 and 1 July 1960 respectively, and merged into the Somali republic on 1 July 1960.[76] The independence movement was led by Somalia's first political party, the Somali Youth League, which would remain influential after independence providing many of the first leaders of government.[77] Somalia was unique in post-colonialism in that most nations gaining independence "were required to forge a national identity out of a multiplicity of ethnic groups, Somalia was a predominately single-nationality state, with 80 percent of the peoples sharing a common ethnic identity and speaking the same language."[78]

Regardless of the commonalities in Somali ethnicity there were immediately issues and discrepancies within the government concerning the proper functions of politics and the government itself. These stemmed from the differences in governance of the British and Italians during the colonial period as well as the differences in the politics of the local clans that made up Somalia.[79] Somalis, although sharing a common ethnicity, found their personal identity in the clans and subclans that had formed in pre-colonial times. Although there were mechanisms in place to handle disputes between clans, called the shir, Somali's had a history of war and conflict between clans.[80]

Since before independence, literacy had been a requirement for admission into the bourgeoisie elite based on English and Italian, but also, though only marginally so, Arabic.

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[75] Lewis, *Somalia and Somaliland*, 29.

[76] Ibid., 33

[77] Federal Research Division, *Somalia: a country study*, 4th ed. (May 1992), ed. Helen Chapin Metz, Library of Congress 1993.

[78] Walter S. Clarke and Robert Gosende, "Somalia: Can a Collapsed State Reconstitute Itself?" *In State Failure and Weakness in a Time of Terror*, ed. Robert Rotberg (Cambridge, MA: World Peace Foundation, 2003), 132.

[79] Ibid., 34-35.

[80] Ibid., 132.

"This in turn meant that membership of the ruling elite was restricted in practice to those, and they were very few, who were literate in foreign languages."[81] This stemmed from the colonial and trusteeship periods leading up to independence in 1960. Once the Somali Youth League was in power post-independence they did nothing to further the literacy of the country in order to maintain its grip on power.

The remnants of a parliamentary system left over from the colonial and trusteeship model allowed the Somali Youth League to act as the tools of the bourgeoisie elite and undermined any real democratic efforts. Although there was greatly increased political participation in Somalia following independence this was not often seen in the decisions of their elected representatives. Also, the divisive nature of clan-based politics – Somalia had some eighty-six political parties – allowed the Somali Youth League to gain the majority of seats in parliament. In the first national elections in 1964 the "SYL triumphed, winning 69 of 123 parliamentary seats."[82]

Despite these difficulties Somalia was progressing and was relatively peaceful until 15 October 1969 when the second president of Somalia, Abdirashid Ali Shermarke, was assassinated and the Army, under the control of General Muhammad Siad Barre, took control of the country in a coup d'état to keep the corrupt parliament from selling the office of the president to the highest bidder.[83] The General immediately had the Prime Minister and his cabinet arrested, suspended the constitution, banned all political parties, and declared himself the chairman of the newly formed Revolutionary Council. Siad Barre had intentions of creating a greater socialist Somalia and reuniting the five Somali lands, three of which

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[81] Basil Davidson, "Somalia: Toward Socialism," *Race and Class* 17 (1975): 25.
[82] Somalia: a country study, 32.
[83] Ibid., 134.

remained in the possession of Kenya, Ethiopia, and France.[84] Although thwarted by the

newly independent Republic of Djibouti, with the help of the French military and

legionnaires, Siad Barre's pan-Somali dream of reclaiming and uniting all Somali people

under one flag led to the start of the Ogaden War with Ethiopia in 1977.[85]

Spurred by Ethiopia's revolutionary government weakening due to worsening

relations with the United States and rebel attacks from the Western Somali Liberation Front,

Somalia invaded the Ogaden on 23 July 1977.[86] Although initially successful, driving some

350 miles into Ethiopia, a realigning of alliances in the Horn of Africa spelled disaster for

Somalia. Siad's traditional Cold War ally, the Soviet Union, abandoned Somalia in favor of

the new Marxist regime in Ethiopia. This helped Ethiopia turn the tide on the Somali

invaders. The war ended less than a year later on 15 March 1978 with Somalia retreating

back across the border.[87]

As a result of the defeat of Somali forces great internal dissent spread across the

country with various factions, generally based on clan membership, began to challenge the

Siad Barre regime. According to Clarke and Gosende, "Siad's debacle in the Ogaden

provided the first step in what eventually became Somalia's slide into anarchy and failure."[88]

Siad sowed the seeds of dissent in Somaliland in the north, a generally Issaq clan area, by

executing six Issaq generals after the withdrawal of forces for alleged 'activities against the

state.'[89] The abortive attempt to conquer pan-Somalia, the formation of opposition groups

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84 Clarke and Gosende, "Somalia" in Rotberg (2003), 135.
85 Ibid., 135.
86 Somalia: a country study, 184.
87 Clarke and Gosende, "Somalia" in Rotberg (2003), 135.
88 Ibid., 136
89 Ibid.

across the country, and Siad Barre's repression and declining legitimacy severely weakened the Somali state.

From Weakness to Failure: 1978 – 1991

Siad's declining popularity and failure in the war with Ethiopia began a downward spiral of violence and repression that, coupled with the loss of Soviet backing, would lead to the dissolution of the Siad Barre regime and the failure of the Somali state. Immediately following the withdrawal of troops from the Ogaden in March 1978 military officers from the Majeerteen clan attempted a coup to oust Siad in April 1978. The coup was unsuccessful and all but one of the officers were hunted down and executed. This action led the regime to commit to a massive repressive effort in the Majeerteen clan area; the Mudug.[90]

By this time General Siad Barre had abandoned any considerations of the other clans of Somalia in his decisions for governing. The dissent in the north and the repression in the Mudug caused Issaq expatriates to form the Somali National Movement (SNM) in 1981 with the goal of removing Siad from power.[91] Although these groups had suffered at the hands of Siad's repressive regime, the Hawiye clan suffered the worst because "they were close at hand and, because of their size and proximity to the capital, were perceived to be the greatest threat to Siad's increasingly brutal rule."[92] The repression of the Hawiye clan led to the creation of another opposition movement; the United Somali Congress (USC). A third group in opposition to the Siad regime, consisting of former military personnel and others caught up in the Ogaden conflict in 1977-78, The Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM) formed in 1988. Although these groups all had similar goals – self-preservation and the removal of

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[90] Somalia: a country study, 48-49.
[91] Clarke and Gosende, "Somalia" in Rotberg (2003), 136-137.
[92] Ibid., 137.

Siad – they were formed of separate clans and rarely if ever worked together or supported each other.

In response to the continuing formation of opposition groups Siad, his loyal shock-troops the Red Berets, and the Somali National Army stepped up their tyrannical efforts across the country, further alienating any support Siad had outside his own clan. In early 1989 Siad's infamous Red Berets stormed through Mogadishu rounding up alleged dissidents and even killing the Catholic bishop drawing the ire of the international community. Then in 1990 Siad order the Red Berets to fire into an unarmed crowd protesting the regime at a soccer game, killing sixty-five.[93] By this time General Siad Barre's regime had seemingly lost all legitimacy.

The internal turmoil and declining legitimacy eventually led to the Somali Civil War with the various rebel-clan groups battling the government of Siad Barre. By 1989 the Somali government was disintegrating as Siad arrested perceived dissenters while losing others to defection. Somali's were amassing at foreign embassies in attempts to secure a visa out of the country. By 1990 the government forces were beset on all sides by rebel factions. The loss of control of territory by the government during this time led to Siad being derisively called 'the mayor of Mogadishu.'[94] Human rights organizations had long had their eye on Siad's repressive government but as his grip on power weakened he continued his reprisals; every one of which was published internationally effectively alienating Siad's government from any international support. With rebel forces encroaching on what little possessions the government had left in the capital, nothing more than the airport, the radio station, and the

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[93] Somalia: a country study, 52
[94] Clarke and Gosende, "Somalia" in Rotberg (2003), 157

presidential palace, General Mohammed Siad Barre fled the country into exile on 21 January

1991, thus ending over twenty years of despotic rule.[95]

Civil War and the Collapse of the State

Although normal government functions had long since ceased to exist the departure

of Siad Barre left a power vacuum of sorts leaving ambitious warlords with ample

opportunity to vie for power in the now headless state. The capital city, Mogadishu, which

had been looted by retreating government forces was then looted further by the advancing

rebel forces leaving the inhabitants without food, water, or power. Anything that could be

sold for profit was pillaged while civilians suffered from the continued fighting. As the

capital and the country collapsed in on itself foreigners, both governmental and non-

governmental, fled the country to escape the violence.[96]

By May of 1991 Somali National Movement forces, those opposed to Siad Barre's

regime and loyal to tribes indigenous to Somaliland in the north, had retaken the cities and

towns in the north from the remnants of the Somali National Army.[97] During late April and

early May the Great Conference of the Northern Peoples convened in which "Somaliland

revoked the Act of Union, and declared independence" from the nation of Somalia.[98]

According to the government of Somaliland "The Republic of Somaliland restored its

independence after the total collapse of Somalia on 18 May 1991 as a result of the civil war

of the late eighties and early nineties."[99] Though Somaliland has been autonomous and

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[95] Clarke and Gosende, "Somalia" in Rotberg (2003), 139
[96] Ibid., 139-140
[97] Dimitrios Lalos, *Between Somalia and Statehood: Reflections of Somaliland Statehood*, 10 Wash. U. Glob. Stud. L. Rev. (2011), 794
[98] Ibid.
[99] Government of Somaliland, "Our History" http://somalilandgov.com/history/ (accessed December 20, 2013)

revitalized its economy no states or the United Nations have recognized Somaliland as a sovereign nation and it remains a part of Somalia today. The rest of Somalia would not be so fortunate.

With a civil war raging and no semblance of government the warlords of Somalia began their own process of extraction. The warring factions not only fed off the local population but also the humanitarian assistance that was pouring in from around the globe. This created famine conditions throughout most of south and central Somalia compounded by the drought conditions the region was experiencing. These dire conditions led to a humanitarian intervention by the United Nations under the banners of UNOSOM and UNOSOM II as well as use of force operations, led by the United States, called UNITAF to secure areas for the delivery of humanitarian assistance[100]. Unfortunately this effort was ill-fated and after a disastrous raid against the warlord Farah Aideed in Mogadishu that left eighteen American soldiers dead and many more wounded, foreign military assistance began to taper off; leaving Somalia to its own devices by March 1995.

The Process of Failure: Illegitimate Extractive Institutions

The decisions of the inept and corrupt post-colonial government and the extractive institutions of the authoritarian Siad, economically impoverished the country. Like most colonial possessions Somalia constituted an export based economy, mostly based off of the plantation system, which the new government sought to continue after independence. Although marginally successful at first the new programs and reforms were insufficient to

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[100] United Nations, "Somalia – UNISOM II: Background" http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/past/unosom1backgr2.html#five (accessed January 8, 2014)

bolster Somalia to self-sufficiency.[101] As such there was an increased need for foreign assistance. This led to "many Somalis [being] enervated by the feeling that political incumbents, through electoral manipulations, were squandering the nation's economic resources for their private benefit."[102] This in turn led to the coup staged by General Siad Barre and other Somali military officers.

Although the new regime retroactively declared itself socialist the process of developing extractive political institutions began almost immediately after the coup was complete. With the conversion of the state to socialism the regime sought to develop Somalia along the lines of the Soviet model and even began receiving assistance from the Soviet Union. The process began by abolishing all political parties within Somalia, dissolving the National Assembly, and suspending the constitution.[103] Power was further consolidated in the formation of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, to which Siad Barre was named President, which stated as its goals "to end tribalism, nepotism, corruption, and misrule."[104] Regrettably for Somalia none of those goals would be met.

Siad's motivations for abolishing political parties stemmed from more than just his need to consolidate power and establish an authoritarian regime. Somali clans became 'political parties' after independence but at the same time they continued their tribal practices. Gaining representation was seen as a way to further one's personal and tribal ambitions and to amass wealth, not as a means of democratic representation. Somali's idea of democracy, and that which they used to prove their system was in fact democratic, involved the almost continual division of clan-parties into subclan-parties, and those parties

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[101] Somalia: a country study, 125.
[102] Ibid., 126.
[103] Ibid., 36-37.
[104] Ibid.

into parties of extended family and so forth until there would sometimes be a one-man party.[105]

Economically, the socialist reforms of the new government were no more successful than in other parts of the Third World which had embraced Soviet assistance. On the first anniversary of the revolution Siad declared, "In our Revolution we believe that we have broken the chain of a consumer economy based on imports, and we are free to decide our destiny. And in order to realize the interests of the Somali people, their achievement of a better life, the full development of their potentialities and the fulfillment of their aspirations, we solemnly declare Somalia to be a Socialist State."[106] The first step therefore was to nationalize the economy, except for the pastoral herds, even though, ironically enough, the Somali word for socialism, hantiwadaag, translates to 'sharing of livestock'.[107]

Like the democratic government before him Siad's socialist reforms were at best moderately effective, and then only in certain areas. However, the dream of a united Pan-Somalia soon consumed Siad and what little revenue the government was collecting was put into an unpopular war effort to capture the Ogaden from Ethiopia. The government's need for a large, modern army, and the costs associated with such, compounded the problems already faced by the economy caused by the drought of 1974-75. With the focus on war instead of the socialist transformation "two economic trends from this period were noteworthy: increasing debt and the collapse of the small industrial sector."[108]

By the 1980's the Somali economy was in shambles and began looking to the West for assistance. The socialist experiment had largely failed and the Soviet Union had

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[105] Davidson, "Towards Socialism," 27.
[106] Somalia: a country study, 126.
[107] Somalia: a country study, 126.
[108] Ibid., 130.

abandoned Somalia in favor of Ethiopia. This left Siad's regime with little in the way of revenue and decreased the abilities of the extractive institutions. In such a state the government stepped up its repressive measures to maintain power.

The Process of Failure: Loss of Legitimacy and Security

Somalia embodies Robert Rotberg's assumption that it is not the intensity of a conflict but its duration that leads to state failure. Somalia has been embroiled in a variety of oppressive and bitter conflicts since the assassination of the prime minister in 1969. Siad's reprisals throughout the 1980's and the civil war that followed his fall destroyed numerous cities and laid waste to large swaths of land. This constant fighting in the country has led to massive destruction of any type of state infrastructure.[109]

Siad was guilty of the indiscriminant violence posited by Jeff Goodwin that was discussed in chapter one of this thesis. When governments use violence against civilian populations this creates a security situation in which rebel forces feel they must continue to fight as they have no other choice. After the failure of the Ogaden War and the increased pressure from opposition groups "Siad Barre intensified his political repression, using jailing, torture, and summary executions of dissidents and collective punishment of clans thought to have engaged in organized resistance."[110] These clans included the Majeerteen clan, the Issaq clan in the north, and the Hawiye clan located in the strategically important central part of Somalia, which included the capital, Mogadishu.[111]

Seeking to establish his own personal rule, and angered by the attempted coup carried out by members of the Majeerteen clan, Siad's dreaded Red Berets unleashed brutal

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[109] Davidson, "Toward Socialism," 794
[110] Somalia: a country study, 45
[111] Ibid., 48-49

repressive efforts. The Red Berets destroyed vital reservoirs in the Majeerteen tribal homeland, the Mudug, causing the deaths of over two thousand herders and hundreds of thousands of animals. They also harassed the civilian populations and committed other atrocities, such as rape, throughout the region. Though other clans were sympathetic to the plight of the Majeerteen they offered no assistance due to alienation by the Majeerteen during the post-colonial government period.[112]

The Issaq clan in northern Somalia also challenged the regime in Mogadishu. In response Siad used the same repressive measures as in the Mudug; destruction of water supplies and the application of indiscriminant violence. The fighting in the north, however, was much more intense and resulted in the destruction of major Issaq towns such as Hargeysa and Burao.[113] The indiscriminate bombing of northern towns caused numerous fighter pilots to defect, flying their planes to Ethiopia instead of returning to base.[114]

Perhaps the most fatal mistake in the government's repressive efforts occurred against the Hawiye clan. In attempts to stem the tide of anti-government protests and attacks Siad order the indiscriminate killing of civilians. This led to the killing of the Catholic Bishop of Mogadishu. This was followed less than a week later by the July 14 massacre in which over four hundred fifty Muslims were killed and more than two thousand wounded in reprisals carried out by the infamous Red Berets. The following year, on July 6, 1990, an anti-regime protest broke out at a soccer game Siad was attending. In a panic his body guards opened fire on the crowd, mostly Hawiye clanspeople.[115] Siad's oppression of opposing clans

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[112] Somalia: a country study, 50.
[113] Ibid., 50-51.
[114] Clarke and Gosende, "Somalia" in Rotberg (2003), 137.
[115] Somalia: a country study, 51-52.

created a security situation which was untenable for the regime and destroyed what little, if any, legitimacy the regime had left.

After the collapse of the Somali government the state has become a haven for terrorist activity and piracy. Al-Shabaab has been active in the region since the dissolution of the Islamic Courts Union following the Ethiopian intervention in 2006. The organization has been able to remain viable due to having control of port cities and running an illicit charcoal trade.[116] Although Al-Shabaab has operated locally the presence of terrorist organizations within the borders of a state do not bode well for the security situation. Pirates have been able to operate with impunity because of the lack of any serious security apparatus within Somalia. This led to an international coalition forming a naval task force to patrol the waters off the coast of Somalia to protect shipping coming through the Suez Canal and around the Horn of Africa.

Piracy is still the most lucrative venture despite the international crackdown and the increased defense of ships and shipping lanes. Currently, there is no formal tax and the government has little to no ability to tax, as most Somali's are armed. Issues with disarmament have made progress in Somalia difficult as most Somali's are reluctant to give up their weapons after such an extended period of warfare.[117] The combination of these issues have left the security situation in Somalia precarious and until recent efforts have kept any form of legitimate government from functioning.

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[116] LTC David Buffaloe, phone interview with author, August 21, 2013
[117] Ibid.

The Problem of Internal Divisions

The issue of Somaliland further compounds the problems of stateness in Somalia as it seeks to become an independent nation of its own. The region known as the Puntland has also sought greater autonomy because of the dire conditions in the southern region of the country. Furthermore, the fact that Somali's, though ethnically homogenous, identify with their clans and clan-families. This creates further divisions within society that make reconciliation difficult.

The idea of pan-Somalia or Greater Somalia that was so pervasive among leaders after independence seems to have been counteracted in 1977 when French Somaliland, now known as Djibouti, became an independent nation. Although ethnically Somali the inhabitants of Djibouti chose instead to form their own nation apart from the newly formed Republic of Somalia. Previously, in 1958, French Somaliland had chosen to continue its association with France rather than join with the British and Italian Somalilands in forming the nation of Somalia. Along with the 'lost' Somali's in Djibouti, the Ogaden region and another small part in Kenya that is ethnically Somali have never been incorporated into the Somali nation-state. These divisions of ethnic Somali's were the primary cause of war in the 1970's by the Siad regime, which helped contribute to Somalia's downfall, but are no longer an issue.

This issue of differing opinions for going forward in Somalia is expressed by Samuel Huntington as the idea of a torn country. Torn countries are those in which, culturally, the population is near homogenous, and thus aligned with the like civilization, but the leaders

wish to change their states alignment to that of another civilization.[118] Although nearly all

Somali's recognize their cultural heritage with which civilization to align has been an issue

since independence. Siad Barre's experiment with socialism attempted to put Somalia in the

Soviet Union's sphere of influence. The realization that there will be not a greater Pan-

Somalia became apparent when Djibouti chose independence in its own right and

maintained a relationship with France. Somaliland has declared and continued to seek

independence by reestablishing ties with Great Britain and the rest of Europe. Finally, much

of southern Somalia, with its divisive tribal nature and the rise of tensions between extremist

Islam and those seeking reconciliation, has complicated the matter as to which civilization

Somalia should align itself. The torn nature of society can seriously complicate the process of

reversing state failure.
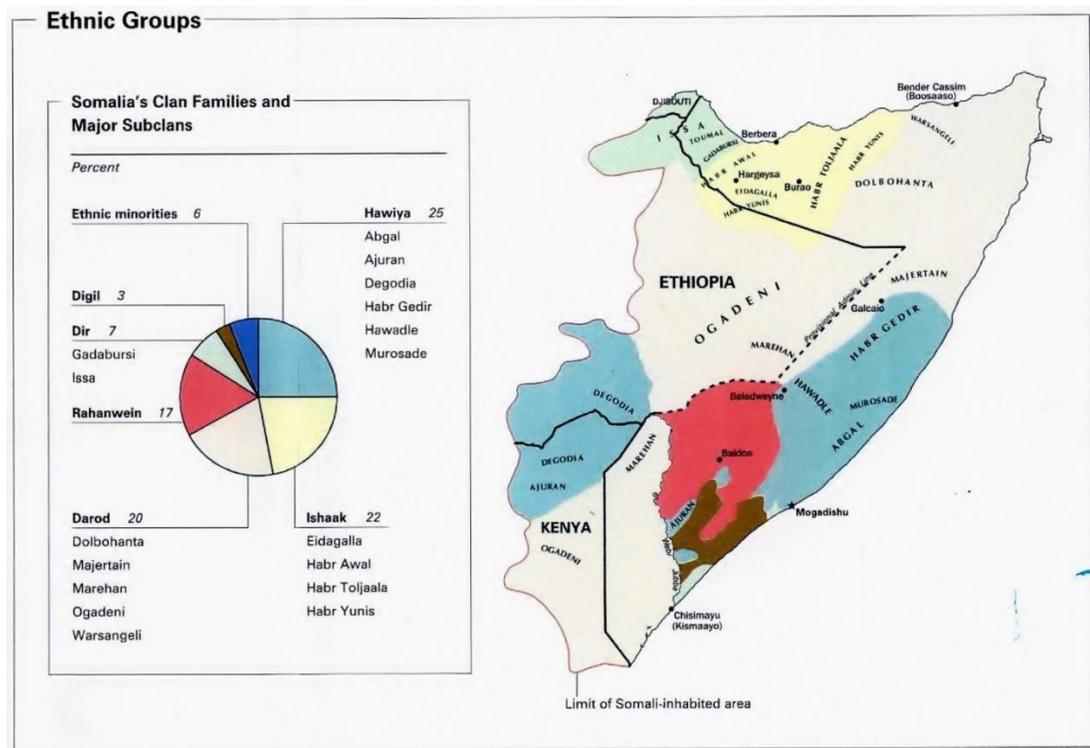
Figure 2-1: Ethnic Groups in Somalia

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[118] Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2011), 138.

A Hard Lesson Learned: The Failed Intervention

There is little in the way of information about Somalia after the international community fled in the face of civil war in early 1991 until a UN representative and a few journalists braved the ravages of war and brought the story to light in early 1992.[119] The dire conditions in Somalia caused sympathetic citizens the world over to call for an intervention. As such the global community began to contribute humanitarian aid to Somalia in hopes of relieving the starvation and anguish being experienced by the people there. When the warlords found ways to profit from the aid and continued to exploit the citizens of Somalia it became necessary to intervene militarily to ensure that the relief supplies reached their intended destinations.[120] Regrettably, still in the shadow of Vietnam and the recently concluded Gulf War conflict, the mission failed to achieve its goals for a number of reasons.

As the international community began to take notice of the plight in Somalia in early 1992 relief efforts began. These were hindered by a number of factors however. The city of Mogadishu was engulfed in fighting and controlled by warlords. A group of 500 peacekeepers were deployed by the UN but they were unable to effect any change in the situation and were virtually confined to the Mogadishu airport by the quarreling warlords. By August it became apparent that a greater effort was needed. An international coalition working with the United Nations and World Food Program began delivering supplies through 'Operation Provide Relief'.[121] Efforts were made then to distribute the aid through small regional airstrips, to avoid Mogadishu, though these were often little more than small dirt runways with no security. The warring factions attempted extractive measures to profit

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[119] Clarke and Gosende, "Somalia" in Rotberg, 139.
[120] Ibid., 139.
[121] Ibid., 141.

from the relief supplies coming in by taking them for themselves and threatening "to take aircrews hostage…and demanding 'taxes' of several thousand dollars before the aircraft were allowed to depart."[122] Due to the dangerous security situation and with no legitimate government entity with which to work the relief aid did little good to alleviate the famine conditions in southern Somalia.

With the failure of the humanitarian mission and continued press coverage of the horrible conditions in Somalia citizens in the West called for an intervention. This led to an international coalition, under 'Operation Restore Hope", to commit armed forces to Somalia with the intention of restoring order and delivering the humanitarian supplies. To accomplish this goal the United States, having just removed Saddam Hussein from Kuwait, chose "a large robust force to overwhelm potential opposition and less the opportunities for losses in battle."[123] The feeling among the planners was that the operation would be relatively simple and over rather quickly, the thought was that the United States was not there to nation-build, which would be the mission of the UN after the end of the intervention. "It was made clear that humanitarian goals, however critical, were secondary to the U.S. military's desire to keep its operation as short, safe, and simple as possible."[124] Many senior military and political leaders at this time had cut their teeth during Vietnam and were wary of any effort that could cause 'mission creep' and thus any likeness to the debacle in Southeast Asia. It was this line of thinking that would cause the intervention to accomplish very little in the way of stabilization or assistance.[125]

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[122] Clarke and Gosende, "Somalia" in Rotberg, 141.
[123] Ibid., 142.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid., 144.

The avoidance of 'mission creep' and trying to maintain truncated time tables kept the Unified Task Force (UNITAF) from completing many of the smaller objectives necessary to complete the overall goal of securing the country to provide humanitarian relief. As such the proposed rebuilding of destroyed roads and bridges, which were needed to deliver relief supplies, were deemed too time-consuming and never attempted. There was also no attempt to perform police functions or disarmament, nor to create a Somali force capable of the same, and no regard for reestablishing the rule of law or any legitimate government institutions.[126] The failure to complete these tasks had serious implications for the United Nations second mission to Somalia that followed and though the United States had sought to avoid confrontation, and thus battle deaths, such a situation soon became unavoidable.

Since the UN withdrawal in 1995 the situation in Somalia has created a security dilemma internally, regionally, and internationally. Internal clan warfare has made the establishment of a government nearly impossible, has destroyed infrastructure, and made the threat of violent death a very real fear of the civilian population. As a safe haven for terrorists and radical clan factions the threat of a spillover of the violence into neighboring countries is a constant concern. Finally, the piracy issue has caused the international community to take notice due to the threat to international shipping coming through the Red Sea. The combination of all of these issues and dilemmas has escalated the priority for finding a solution in Somalia.

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[126] Clarke and Gosende, "Somalia" in Rotberg, 144.

Conclusion

The situation in Somalia shows clearly how the illegitimate extractive institutions of a government can lead to the loss of legitimacy of that government and how this is followed by violence, and when prolonged causes the state to sink into failure. Because of the lasting nature of state failure in Somalia it is one of the most complex and difficult of all the current failed states. The internal divisions, Somaliland and tribalism, the long history of violence and non-state actors, and various unsuccessful attempts to revive the state created the ideal situation in which to test and apply newly developed theories of state-building. Although Somalia has been in a state of collapse for over two decades the proper application of security operations combined with a return to legitimate government has shown some promise of successfully revitalizing the country. Somalia has provided numerous examples worthy of study for how to conduct state-building missions while at the same time demonstrating the adverse effects of improper applications. Although the outcome is far from determined at this point the initial successes combined with the resurgence in the use of prior developments that had long been forgotten, the plan used in Somalia, with some variations and additions, can be used to create the much needed program for successful state-building that Francis Fukuyama stated was much needed when writing on the subject in 2004.

CHAPTER IV

CASE STUDY: AFGHANISTAN

As with Somalia, Afghanistan is another failed state that is unique but also exhibits the causes and characteristics of state failure described in this thesis. Afghanistan has been referred to as the "Graveyard of Empires" due to the numerous failed attempts to conquer and rule the state. Although no outside force has been able to control Afghanistan in the post-World War II era; the country has been racked with violence and rife with extractive institutions leading to a prolonged condition of failure. Afghanistan is unique as a failed state because that it was never properly colonized. As discussed previously decolonization often led to state failure. In the case of Afghanistan, though the power of the state was consolidated, poor governance and near constant conflict, (there have been some eighty wars and conflicts that took place within Afghanistan from 1839 to the present) have led to a chronically failed state.[127]

Background and History: 1747- 1978

The beginning of the history of modern Afghanistan is generally associated with the rise to power of Ahmad Khan, the so-called father of Afghanistan, in 1747. As a young man Ahmad Khan served as a cavalry commander in the forces of the king of Persia, Nadir Afshar, "who briefly reconstituted the Persian Empire, storming as far as India and plundering it."[128] However, Afshar was assassinated by his own generals while in camp during the campaign. During the ensuing chaos Ahmad Khan gathered the soldiers under his

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[127] Kevin Baker, *War in Afghanistan: A Short History of 80 Wars and Conflicts in Afghanistan and the Northwest Frontier, 1839-2011* (New South Wales: Rosenberg Publishing, 2011).

[128] Tamin Ansary, *Game Without Rules: The Often Interrupted History of Afghanistan* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2012) 19.

command along with the immense treasure of the murdered king and rode back to Afghanistan.[129]

Upon his return his people, the Pashtuns, feared there would be reprisals from the Persians and were concerned about a possible Turkish incursion from the north during a time of perceived weakness. To this end the many tribes of the Pashtuns called a *Loya Jirga,* or a royal intertribal council, to elect a king to unite the tribes against the perceived threats from Persia and Turkey. It is important to note that the Pashtuns, much like the Somalis, have a large system of clans, subclans, tribes, and confederations that guide their lives and loyalties. Therefore the chance of one man being able to unite and rule all of the Pashtun people was rather unlikely. However, during the *Loya Jirga* the tribal elders elected the young Ahmad Khan as their new leader. Thus he became Ahmad Shah, king of all the Pashtuns.[130] At the time of his coronation Ahmad Shah was bestowed with the nickname when he was "announced as *'Durri-i-Durran'* meaning 'the pearl of all pearls"[131] Due to the closeness of tribal relations the members of the Abdali clan, to which Ahmad Shah belonged, began referring to themselves as the Durrani's. This also marked the beginning of the Durrani Empire in Afghanistan.[132]

The Durrani Empire was important to the state of Afghanistan because of Ahmad Shah's ability to unite the varied, and often adversarial, peoples living within the borders of the empire. As Mir Tamim Ansary states "the many ethnic groups serving shoulder to shoulder in Ahmad Shah Baba's armies built up among themselves the beginning of a

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[129] Ansary, *Game Without Rules*, 10.
[130] Ibid., 9.
[131] Meredith L. Runion, *The History of Afghanistan* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007) 69.
[132] Ibid.

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national spirit, a sense of *Afghaniyat*, or 'Afghan-ness'"[133] Despite Ahmad Shah's abilities in unifying the Pashtun's and other Afghan people, their desire to continue fighting one another was not quelled. Ahmad Shah's successors would struggle greatly with rebellion from the different tribes of Afghanistan.

By the time of Ahmad Shah's death in 1773 the Durrani Empire was already weakening. His son, Timur Shah, was unable to control the empire in the same manner as his father and his siring twenty-four sons set the stage for infighting for control of the empire after his death. The sons of Timur Shah ruled with such ineptitude that the empire quickly fell into disarray. By 1818 "Afghanistan ceased to exist as a single nation, disintegrating for a brief time into a fragmented collection of small units, each ruled by a different Durrani leader."[134] This would eventually lead to the British intervening in Afghan affairs in a bid to outmaneuver Russia in the 'Great Game.'

British intervention in Afghanistan began in 1809 during the first reign of Shuja Shah, one of Timur Shah's many sons. Shuja signed a Treaty of Friendship with the British which specified that Shuja's Afghan forces would oppose foreign troops attempting to pass through Afghanistan. The treaty also called for joint action from British and Afghan forces to resist French and Persian aggression in the region.[135] Although the British continued to assure the Afghan rulers that they had no intention of meddling in the affairs of another sovereign nation the perceived threat of Russia controlling central Asia caused the British to become increasingly involved in Afghanistan.

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[133] Ansary, *Game Without Rules*, 15.
[134] Afghanistan: a country study, 11.
[135] Ibid.

By 1839, the situation in Afghanistan had become unstable enough that British leaders in India felt it necessary to send British troops into the country in what would be the first of three Anglo-Afghan Wars. This was precipitated by British fears of Russian intentions in the region and by the loss of control of the Khyber Pass, an historical invasion route into India, by the Afghan leaders in Kabul. Two events in 1837, Iran's push toward Herat with Russian assistance and the arrival of a Russian agent in Kabul, led Lord Auckland, the governor-general of India, to begin preparations to regain control of the restive eastern provinces in Afghanistan.[136] The plan involved supporting a return to the throne the former ruler Shuja Shah who had been deposed in 1809.

In early 1839 the Army of the Indus, a conglomeration of British regulars, East India Company soldiers, and sepoys, began its march into Afghanistan and by 25 April had reached the city of Kandahar.[137] The Afghani forces of Dost Mohammad, the then current leader of Afghanistan, had already fled the city so the British left behind a division to garrison Kandahar and continued their march towards the capital, Kabul. En route the British encountered the only real resistance of the initial endeavor at an Afghani fort called Ghazni, which they captured with light losses.[138] Once the army arrived at Kabul on 7 August 1839 it was found to be abandoned, just as Kandahar had been, with Dost Mohammad fleeing into the Hindu Kush to escape the British.[139] With Shuja Shah returned to the throne, and their other objectives met the British returned much of the invading force to India in late 1839 leaving only garrisons in Kandahar, Kabul, and Jalalabad.

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[136] Afghanistan: a country study, 12
[137] Stephen Tanner, *Afghanistan: A Military History from Alexander the Great to the War against the Taliban* (Boston: De Capo Press, 2009) 139.
[138] Ibid., 142.
[139] Ibid.

On 1 January 1840 the Army of the Indus was officially disbanded and the remaining British troops settled in to garrison and occupation duties. However, by late 1840 the Afghans, under the leadership of the recently returned Dost Mohammad, had begun an insurrection. Although the initial invasion had gone quite smoothly, the British committed "blunder after blunder" that destroyed their initial advantage.[140] These blunders culminated in a disastrous attempt to retreat to India with the garrison in Kandahar. Over four-thousand soldiers and twelve thousand camp followers departed Kabul en route to Jalalabad and on to India on 6 January 1842. On 13 January 1842 a lone survivor on horseback rode into the British camp at Jalalabad; all that remained of the sixteen-thousand strong column that had begun the retreat from Kabul.[141] In April of the same year Shuja Shah was murdered by his own soldiers just outside his palace.[142]

Shortly after news of the ill-fated retreat reached the Governor-General in India he order a new army raised, the Army of Retribution, to exact revenge on the Afghanis and then to remove the remaining British units from Afghanistan. Combining forces with the remaining Brigade in garrison at Kandahar the Army of Retribution marched on Kabul, razed the market, bazaar, and royal palace and promptly returned to India in the fall of 1842. This ended what would later be called the First Anglo-Afghan War.[143] The British experience in Afghanistan during this time set the tone for the future interventions of outside nations; that Afghanistan was not a place for civilized nations to intervene.

Immediately following the British withdrawal back to India Dost Mohammad returned to the throne and began a consolidation effort for the country of Afghanistan. He

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[140] Baker, *War in Afghanistan*, 34.
[141] Ibid., 43.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid., 45.

started by reasserting control over Kandahar and Helmand province after the local feudal lords requested he govern the province in order to maintain the peace and protect their land rights from one another. Dost Mohammad's final move before his death was to retake the city of Herat in the west of Afghanistan which once completed would establish the border of modern-day Afghanistan.[144]

Although the First Anglo-Afghan War had ended in favor of the Afghans there continued to be unrest in Afghanistan from time to time, which threatened to spill over into British India, and required the British to launch minor military incursions into Afghanistan. However, the British returned to Afghanistan in force less than forty years after the first war due to a diplomatic mission being turned away while a Russian mission was welcomed in Kabul. When the Emir, Shere Ali, did not respond to an ultimatum from Lord Lytton – Viceroy of India, demanding an apology for his actions, the British declared war on 21 November 1878.[145]

The British made quick gains on all fronts, securing Jalalabad and then Kandahar. Then, "with two British armies moving on the capital and a third in occupation of the second-largest city, it was clear that the Afghan forces would not be able to resist them."[146] The unified Afghan forces that had defeated the British forty years earlier were no existent due to poor national leadership and continual tribal infighting. During this time the Emir, Shere Ali, attempted to flee to Russia to beg for assistance. However, he was turned away and died shortly after his return to Afghanistan. His ineffectual and weak heir, Yakub Khan, was then left with no other option but to sign the instrument of surrender that the British

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[144] Baker, *War in Afghanistan*, 65-67.
[145] Ibid., 75.
[146] Ibid., 76-77.

decided to call the Treaty of Gandamak after the site of the massacre incurred during the first war.[147]

The victory was short-lived though as soon after large numbers of Afghan soldiers marching from Herat arrived ready to battle the British forces. These soldiers angered by the surrender joined with local fighters and sacked the British mission's residency in Kabul, slaughtering them to a man. This, once again, caused the British to seek retribution which they did by quickly recapturing and garrisoning Kabul and exiling the Emir in India. Though the Afghans attacked British garrisons and formations with determination they were often routed by the well-trained forces of Great Britain and thus through the winter of 1879-80 the British were able to consolidate their gains and maintain control over the country and its government.

Unfortunately before the British could complete their consolidation and withdrawal they suffered another disaster at the village of Maiwand in July 1880 at the hands of Ayub Khan, the son of the deposed emir Yakub Khan, who had earlier proclaimed himself the new emir. The self-proclaimed Emir's army was defeated by a combined British force outside Kandahar in September 1880. However, because of the nature and costs of this war the British realized their plans to dominate and control Afghanistan from within would not be feasible.

The Second Anglo-Afghan War did not see the conquest of Afghanistan by the British. However the British were able to impose their control over the external affairs of Afghanistan. The British were able to negotiate for a new emir to take the throne, Abdur Rahman Khan. The British also retained the right to govern Afghanistan's external affairs

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[147] Tanner, *Afghanistan: A Military History,*

from the one-sided Treaty of Gandamak. With Abdur Rahman Khan, the Iron Emir, ruling Afghanistan there was only minor outside interference and relative peace in Afghanistan through the end of the First World War.

The Third Anglo-Afghan War was fought briefly during 1919 after Emir Amanullah decided to use the perceived British weakness following World War I and an atrocity committed by British forces as a pretext for regaining traditional Afghan territory such as the Peshawar region.[148] The war was concluded with Treaty of Rawalpindi on 19 August 1919 which saw the British reaffirming the Durrand Line as the border between British India and Afghanistan and the Afghan's regaining sovereign control over their foreign affairs which had been lost in the Treaty of Gandamak during the last Anglo-Afghan war.[149]

From the end of the Third Anglo-Afghan war until 1973 Afghanistan was at its most progressive, modern, and even, peaceful. Though this was a relatively successful period for Afghanistan it was punctuated by small conflicts in response to attempts "to bring Afghan society into the twentieth century."[150] The first attempts were begun by Emir Amanullah but were not well received by the religious leaders of the country. Due to this Amanullah was eventually forced from power and his cousin, a hero of the Third Anglo-Afghan war, Zadir Khan, became the new king of Afghanistan in 1929. Zadir Khan continued many of the previously suggested and attempted reforms but watered them down in order to placate the religious leaders.[151] His rule would last over forty years, though his own cousin would stage two coups against him, resulting in the establishment of a republic in a bloodless coup in 1973. Most importantly, though, during this time in Afghanistan western culture was making

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[148] Baker, *War in Afghanistan*, 132.
[149] Ibid., 135.
[150] Ibid., 152.
[151] Ibid., 155.

tremendous in-roads in Afghanistan. In Kabul "women were beginning to appear in public showing not just their faces but their arms, their legs, and even cleavage…Nightclubs were popping up, which served beer and wine and whiskey – and not just to foreigners…Rock and roll, blue jeans, miniskirts – the capital had it all."[152] Though there were mistakes and hardships Afghanistan was looking as if it might overcome its troubled past and join the modern world.

From Modernity to Failure: Communism and the Soviet Invasion 1978-1989

In April 1978 there was a coup in Afghanistan that overthrew the republic established by Sardar Mohammad Daoud in 1973. The coup, which was led by the communist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), was bloody and resulted in the murder of Daoud and much of his family. Nur Muhammad Taraki, the Secretary General of the PDPA, became president of the Marxist government of the new Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA). However, instability soon threatened the government and a growing insurgency within the PDPA took control of the government after a shootout at the palace in Kabul in September 1979. This placed Hafizullah Amin as the head of government but his power was already crumbling by the time he come to power.[153]

With the coming to power of the communist PDPA, the Soviet Union quickly worked to help stabilize the country and attempted to ensure the success of the fledgling government in Kabul. In December 1978 the Soviet Union drastically increased support after signing a friendship and cooperation treaty and supplying military aid in an attempt to quell the growing insurgency in the Afghan countryside. This insurgency, called the Mujahideen, would later be the main enemy of Soviet and PDPA forces after the invasion.

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[152] Ansary, *Game without Rules*, 169.
[153] Shahrani, "War, Factionalism, and the State in Afghanistan," 719.

However, once Amin came to power, he refused to listen to Soviet leadership on ways to consolidate the Communist gains. As the situation deteriorated it became apparent that an intervention by the Soviet Union would be necessary to rescue the established communist government in Afghanistan.[154]

After the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation the Soviet Union actively sought to exercise control over the leaders of the fledgling communist regime and to stabilize the country while consolidating the position of the revolution. To this end, a Politburo decision of 7 January 1979 gave instructions to the ambassador to Afghanistan to have the DRA government make provisions for the installation of political and military advisors within their government and army.[155] It was the mission of the advisers to "work for party unity, expand the PDPA's influence in the countryside, push Afghan leaders towards moderate land reforms, and help build up Afghan government institutions."[156]

However, despite the placement of Soviet advisors within the PDPA government and military, the situation continued to deteriorate throughout the spring and summer of 1979. The PDPA forces were able to maintain control of the cities and large population centers, if just barely, while the rebel opposition retained control of the rural areas.[157] The government efforts to hold onto and consolidate power consisted of massive executions and purges against anyone critical of the new regime. However, the Communist Party Soviet Union Central Committee (CPSU CC) strongly advised against this action and pushed for political reform to stabilize the new government's position.

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[154] Bearden, "Graveyard of Empires," 19
[155] "Documents," *CWIHP*, 31.
[156] Kalinovsky, "Working Paper #60," 5.
[157] Lyahkovskiy, "Working Paper #51," 3.

The government's mismanagement of the situation led to its overthrow by Hafizullah Amin. Amin's rise to power caused problems for the Soviets. First, Amin, in what could almost be seen as Stalinesque, begin a massive campaign of purges of both the PDPA Communist Party and the military despite numerous CPSU CC requests to cease the killing and uphold the rule of law.[158] At one point Amin even responded to the Soviet request for cessation by turning communist rhetoric against them. "Everything is moral," he declared "which benefits the Revolution."[159] Second, Soviet leaders did not trust Amin because he spurned their advice and continually acted in an untrustworthy manner. Furthermore, there were unfounded suspicions that he was cooperating with the CIA. However, the CPSU CC felt that it was only a matter of time before opposition within the Party would overthrow Amin and therefore chose to refrain from immediate action.[160] Nonetheless, at the same time the Soviet leaders decided to continue to support the PDPA and Amin because he was carrying out plans Brezhnev had given to Taraki and seemed to still be in favor of the implementation of communism in Afghanistan.

The Soviet plan to stabilize the DRA was centered on the removal of Amin and the installation of a government with Babrak Karmal as its head. Karmal promised the Soviets that many in both the current regime and members of the opposition in the countryside would flock to his side once he came to power. This is what had initially led the CPSU CC to assume that only a small force would be needed to ensure the transition.

Even as preparations were being made many in the Soviet army were not informed of the impending invasion or what their mission was during the invasion. Furthermore,

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[158] Lyahkovskiy, "Working Paper #51," 3.
[159] Ibid., 4.
[160] Ibid., 3.

although the ultimate decision to invade had already been made the exact time was not issued until just before the invasion began. Word was received at the 40th Army Headquarters, the unit in overall command of the invasion, at noon on 25 December 1979 "[I]t ordered the crossing and overflight of the DRA border by the troops of the 40th Army and aircraft of the Air Forces to begin at 1500 25 December (Moscow time)."[161] Because of the secret nature of the mission Soviet troops were not informed of the rules of engagement either creating confusion when they were fired upon.[162] Although at times the invading forces faced stiff resistance by the end of the night 27 December Soviet forces and their loyal Afghan counterparts had taken control of the DRA government and military in the capital. The next morning word was spread to Afghan army units and local governments with orders "to recognize the new government and cease resistance."[163]

It was not immediately apparent that the Soviet forces would be drawn into an extended campaign following the invasion and a subsequent removal of Amin from power. A grave misunderstanding of the situation in Afghanistan and more questionable policies and decisions early in 1980 however would ensure that the Soviet Union became embroiled in a bitter conflict. In fact, in a Politburo meeting on 31 December 1979, it was reported that "Riding the wave of patriotic sentiments that have engaged fairly large numbers of the Afghan population in connection with the deployment of Soviet forces which was carried out in strict accordance with the provisions of the Soviet-Afghan treaty of 1978, the forces opposing H. Amin organized an armed operation which resulted in the overthrow of H. Amin's regime. This operation has received broad support from the working masses, the intelligentsia, significant sections of the Afghan army, and the state apparatus, all of which

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[161] Lyahkovskiy, "Working Paper #51," 44.
[162] Ibid., 50.
[163] Ibid., 71.

welcomed the formation of a new administration of the DRA and the PDPA."[164] This

assertion held to the Soviet opinion that the installation of Karmal would quiet the rebellion

by the Mujahideen. This was not to be the case however, and Soviet advisors began the

arduous task of attempting to stabilize Afghanistan.

This task was hindered because the Afghans were often content to leave the work to

their Soviet advisers as opposed to undertaking the task themselves, or if they did, doing so

only half-heartedly.[165] Because of this and the Afghans reliance on the Soviet advisors to

make decisions there was concern for the inability "of leaders to make decisions without

turning to their Soviet tutors for help was one of the major stumbling blocks in stabilizing

the situation in the country and creating the conditions for a Soviet withdrawal."[166] From

1980 through 1985 Soviet forces in Afghanistan took on an ever increasing role in an

attempt to quell the on-going insurrection. This was partly due to the Afghan's unwillingness

to actively participate, many did not even support the communist government, and the fact

that the increasing Soviet presence had the effect to strengthen, rather than diminish, the

insurgency.[167] This strength came not just from local Afghan tribesman but from across the

Muslim world as foreign fighters flocked to the region to participate in the war, which would

have an unsettling effect on terrorism as seasoned fighters returned to their homelands.

After several years of fruitless war against the Mujahideen, the unseen enemy in rural

Afghanistan, the Soviets devised a new tactic to deal with their frustrations, one that would

have great effect on the future failure of Afghanistan. Because the Mujahideen were quite

literally simple farmers who from time to time took up arms against the Soviets, the Soviets

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[164] "Documents," *CWIHP*, 56
[165] Kalinovsky, "Working Paper #60," 12-17
[166] Ibid., 17.
[167] Baker, *War in Afghanistan*, 187.

had no good way of decisively defeating them in battle. The favored tactic of the Mujahideen was to quickly ambush the Russian soldiers and then quickly escape and blend back into their village. As such, to counter the Soviets went about a systematic operation to depopulate the Afghan countryside. As Mir Tamin Ansary describes it, the Soviets "bombed countless villages…they scattered land mines, which still litter Afghan soil and have made much of the land difficult if not impossible to cultivate. They strafed livestock from the air"[168] destroying the locals ability to provide food for themselves and the Mujahideen fighters. These actions drove many Afghans into refugee camps outside the country and have had long-lasting effects on the local culture and way of life.[169] However, even with these drastic measures, by 1985 it became apparent to the new Soviet premier Mikhail Gorbachev, as it had to the British previously, an intervention in Afghanistan was unsustainable and thus the Soviets began plans for withdrawal.

By the time Soviet forces finally withdrew from Afghanistan on 15 February 1989 little had been accomplished in the proposed goals of stabilization and nation-building. The Soviet Union and Communist Afghan allies had been unable to successfully defeat the Mujahideen in Afghanistan's mountainous countryside. Furthermore, the volatile nature of Afghan politics had ensured that political infighting kept an effective government from forming. These two issues had made effective nation-building nearly impossible and saw the Soviet Union withdraw in frustration. The Afghanistan the Soviets left was in shambles and a shadow of the slowly progressing country of the 1970s. The attempt to install communism in Afghanistan had driven the country into failure; unfortunately the future did not bring a return to moderation but more repression.

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[168] Ansary, *Game without Rules*, 198-199.
[169] Ibid., 199.

<center>**Civil War, the Taliban, and War with America**</center>

After the withdrawal of Soviet forces the communist government of Afghanistan

under Mohammad Najibullah was immediately challenged by the Mujahideen forces,

sparking a civil war for control of the country. Najibullah's communist regime was able to

hold power until early 1992 when a staunch ally, General Abdul Rashid Dostum, abandoned

the communist party and sided with Ahmad Shah Massoud, a powerful Mujahideen leader.

Together they were able to capture Kabul in April 1992 effectively ending communism in

Afghanistan.[170] Though communism was defeated and the Mujahideen had declared the

Islamic State of Afghanistan, political infighting between Mujahideen leaders meant that the

"disorder and chaos that took place for the control of Kabul fostered the rise of the Taliban

regime in Afghanistan."[171]

The Taliban movement had started almost immediately following the Soviet

withdrawal and by 1994 had taken control of the southern city of Kandahar. As the

Mujahideen groups still quarreled among themselves, creating instability throughout the

country, the movement gained momentum and by September 1996 had captured the capital,

Kabul, and overthrown the government. During the Taliban's short time in power Osama

bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda terrorist organization were granted asylum in Afghanistan with

the understanding that they not provoke the United States.[172] However, Al-Qaeda's hidden

nefarious intentions came to fruition in 1998 with the bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya

and Tanzania.[173] This led to international sanctions against Afghanistan for their refusal to

turn over bin Laden. Unfortunately sanctions were not enough to deter further terrorism

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[170] Baker, *War in Afghanistan*, 198.
[171] History of Afghanistan, 116.
[172] Council on Foreign Relations, Taliban in Afghanistan.
[173] Baker, *War in Afghanistan*, 206.

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against the West. While within the sanctuary of Afghanistan Al-Qaeda operatives trained and planned for the massive 11 September 2001 attacks against America.

These attacks generated a vigorous international response to support the U.S.A. in retaliatory strikes and eventual invasion of Afghanistan. Since U.S. ground forces were committed to combat in Afghanistan in October 2001 the situation in Afghanistan has been quite varied. Early agreements made in Germany and through a Loya Jirga installed Hamid Karzai as president, a position which he has maintained up to elections in 2014.[174] Although there has been progress in Afghanistan the country has remained a war zone for nearly thirteen years. As such it remains in a state of failure.

The Process of Failure: Illegitimate Extractive Institutions

Afghanistan has had a long history of decentralized political institutions centered on the tribes and clans in the rural parts of the country. Therefore it was not until after a sufficiently strong central government in Kabul had been established that it would be possible to create extractive institutions.[*] These institutions, once begun, would continually change as governments changed but they all held in common their extractive nature. The first of these institutions began shortly after the establishment of the republic in 1973, new extractive institutions were put in place during the years of communism, finally the Taliban's rule brought the worst repression and extraction and though they have been removed from power it is likely that on a small scale extractive institutions have continued in Afghanistan.

When the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was established in 1973 it was "fatally flawed with a failing common to too many governments in Afghanistan" in that

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[174] Baker, *War in Afghanistan*, 206.
[*] Extractive institutions are those that are, by design, intended to enrich and empower the elites of society at the expense of all others.

nepotism was rampant and those positions were used to gain wealth at the public expense.[175] Although this was not a new development in Afghan politics the problem arose from the fact that the "state and society was growing fast amid the challenges of a modern world."[176] Finally, the illegitimate extractive institutions produced the new government's downfall because "the bureaucracy remained unable to provide basic services, for it was corrupted and subject to nepotism instead of fair employment and advancement on merit."[177] The failure caused by extractive institutions helped to create its replacement; the communist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

Communism in Afghanistan was short-lived and never gained the popular support necessary to be fully implemented. However, with the support of the Soviet Union, the government's attempt to establish communism led to the creation of institutions that were illegitimately extractive to the Afghan people. One of the first methods of extraction was to implement land reforms by dividing up traditional family land from powerful land owners and attempting to establish equality, or in some instances, putting them under the farmers that had previously worked from them.[178] These land reforms were staunchly opposed by tribal chiefs as they in turn used their land in their own form of extraction. This included control of travel and smuggling routes as well as "subsidies they had extracted from the government since Dost Mohammad's day."[179] Communism also removed political power from tribal elders and attempted to place power in the hands of the Afghan communist party. This combined with the implementation of land reforms destroyed traditional Afghan

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[175] Baker, *War in Afghanistan*, 164.
[176] Ibid., 165.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Ansary, *Game without Rules*, 196.
[179] Ibid., 183.

society and indeed would lead to further, and worse, extraction at the hands of the Taliban in an attempt to regain traditional norms and stability.

Once in power the Taliban government began implementing reforms to consolidate their position through the use of illegitimate extractive institutions. These extractive institutions under the Taliban had their roots in religious extremism; radical Islam and Sharia law. This led to the repression of women, declining education, and dictatorial government. Though rule under the Taliban was harsh many Afghans were supportive due to the stability brought by the strict rule.[180] Though certain tribal decision-making mechanisms remained nominally in place there was no political participation under Taliban rule. Dissent was quickly and brutally handled through public beatings, and in severe cases, executions.[181] Additionally, the Taliban provided almost no government services to the people.[182]

After taking Kabul in 1996 the Taliban were for all intents and purposes in control of Afghanistan. As such they began to impose their version of Wahhabi-inspired Sharia law on the country. These laws were imposed by the Ministry for the Promotion of Virtue and Suppression of Vice (PVSV). The religious police who administered the land would brutally beat offenders in the street.

The strict rule imposed by the Taliban severely limited activity in Afghanistan, prohibited items included "pork, pig, pig oil, anything made from human hair, satellite dishes, cinematography, any equipment that produces the joy of music, pool tables, chess, masks, alcohol, tapes, computer, VCR's, televisions, anything that propagates sex and is full of music, wine, lobster, nail polish, firecrackers, statues, sewing catalogs, pictures, Christmas

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[180] Baker, *War in Afghanistan*, 202-203.
[181] U.S. Department of State, *Afghanistan: Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, 2001 (March 2002)*. http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2001/sa/8222.htm (accessed September 21, 2014).
[182] Ibid.

cards."[183] On its face the prohibition of items might seem marginally extractive as it would

cut down on potential economic gain; however, the Taliban took this a step further. Any

merchant or shop keeper who was caught, or even accused, of selling contraband items or

breeching other laws, such as tending shop during prayer time, was thrown in jail and his

shop was closed.[184] Even though Afghanistan's economy was already in shambles by the

1990's "the economy of Afghanistan went backwards under Taliban rule."[185] Further

arbitrary laws that diminished economic viability as well as quality of life in general included

the banning of music, movies, and television as well as all electronic devices associated with

playing such entertainment.[186]

Other Taliban laws were set to further control the everyday lives of the population.

Men had grooming requirements that if not met would land them in jail. It was proscribed

that "men's beards were required to extend farther than a fist clamped at the base of the

chin."[187] Failure to do so was punishable by imprisonment until the beard had reached

sufficient length. There were also prohibitions against trimming or cutting beards, however

hair on the top of the head was required to be short and hair that was "Beatle-ly" resulted in

imprisonment and having the head forcibly shaved.[188]

Furthermore, Taliban treatment of women was extremely repressive. Women were

expected to be covered from head-to-toe in a Burqa, were almost universally barred from

employment and education, the exception being a very small number of medical

professionals to care for women as male doctors were banned from viewing women, and

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[183] Amy Waldman, "A Nation Challenged: The Law; No TV, No Chess, No Kites: Taliban's Code, From A to Z," *New York Times*, November 22, 2001.
[184] Waldman, "A Nation Challenged."
[185] Baker, *War in Afghanistan*, 205.
[186] U.S. State Department, *Afghanistan: Country Report*.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Waldman, "A Nation Challenged."

needed a close male relative to accomplish most tasks in public.[189] The banning of women from public and education had a ripple effect on Afghani institutions. Prior to the Taliban take over many women were employed as teachers. Their banishment indoors not only closed the girls schools but caused many boys schools to close as well, thus further reducing the education received in a country already suffering from a low literacy rate.[190]

The Taliban also removed all any semblance of political participation during their rule. Mullah Omar, the one-eyed leader of the Taliban, declared himself the head of government in Afghanistan as well as 'commander of the faithful', a term usually reserved for a caliph.[191] This single ruler system left "no organizational system to accommodate other ethnic groups or points of view."[192] This style of leadership deepened the crisis of failure as Mullah Omar rejected pleas from more moderate Taliban leaders to allow UN aid to flow into the country and ostracized many in the countryside who had once supported the Taliban but were in desperate need of assistance.

The Process of Failure: The Loss of Legitimacy and Security

In Afghanistan what constitutes legitimacy is quite different than the norms of the developed world as it is based on tribal and clan support, though it does have seemingly democratic institutions. However, the security situation in Afghanistan has long been fraught with weakness and fractured by the tribal conflicts that detract from the capacity to achieve legitimate government.

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[189] Ahmed Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010) 113.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Zachary Laub, "The Taliban in Afghanistan," Council on Foreign Relations, http://www.cfr.org/afghanistan/taliban-afghanistan/p10551 (accessed September 21, 2014).
[192] Rashid, *Taliban*, 104.

Though Afghanistan had long been in tumult over who should lead the country, often caused by the fact that each successive leader had excessively numerous children, by the middle of the twentieth century the rule of Zadir Khan was peaceful and stable but most importantly seen as legitimate in the eyes of most Afghans. However, with the overthrow of the republic by the communist Afghanistan began a long period of weak and ineffectual governments that were not seen as legitimate in the eyes of the populace as a whole.

Communism in Afghanistan was seen as counter to the traditional ideas and norms of the country and thus did not enjoy sufficient support to be able to consolidate power and form a legitimate government. This was because communism seeks to right the wrongs created by classes, a concept mostly foreign to the people of Afghanistan. This is not to say that there were not differences in class but that the multitude of Afghan peasants did not view their place in life in terms of class but rather "they saw their world layered and compartmentalized by ethnic, tribal, and religious factors."[193] Furthermore, although there was no law that mandated munificence the ethnic and tribal ties, along with custom, meant that the local khans often provided for their poorer relations and peasants that lived in their area.[194] This meant that the peasants saw no need for communism as they were already in the care of the khans and the khans stood to lose from communism and vehemently opposed it. The attempt to install communism was further complicated by the nomadic Afghans that made up some twelve to fifteen percent of the population.[195] For the nomads communism had nothing to offer. With so much of the population opposed to the reforms and styling's of communism it is no wonder that in a country with a history of violence that armed conflict against the unpopular government broke out.

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[193] Ansary, *Game without Rules*, 182.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Ibid., 183.

The conflict, followed by the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan, deteriorated the government's legitimacy further especially because rural Afghans are known to despise foreign forces in their country. The war also destroyed Afghanistan's security apparatus and with it any hope of controlling the large numbers of fighters that remained in the country after the war. This contributed to high levels of instability following the Soviet withdrawal at least partially due to the fact that the Afghan Arabs that came to fight were so varied in their backgrounds and causes. Some "were genuine volunteers on missions of humanitarian value" while others were "adventure seekers" but "there were psychopaths" as well.[196] Furthermore, "as the war dragged on, a number of Arab states discreetly emptied their prisons of homegrown troublemakers and sent them off to the jihad in the fervent hope that they might not return."[197] In such a precarious situation, caught in the middle of civil strife, and with armed brigands threatening travel routes, the people of Afghanistan were looking for hope and salvation no matter the source.

After deposing Najibullah the Mujahideen were unable to create a legitimate government to control Afghanistan. With the withdrawal of a common enemy the ethnic and tribal conflicts of old resumed. As such "the state of Afghanistan simply fell apart"[198] The void left by the conflict was soon filled by the Taliban due to their ability to seemingly deliver stability. Though the Taliban enjoyed at least some popular support it was not long before the illegitimate extractive institutions imposed on the populace deteriorated their legitimacy. Furthermore, although the Taliban nominally controlled a majority of the country the so-called Northern Alliance, comprised mostly of former Mujahideen fighters, still controlled territory and opposed Taliban rule through strength of arms. As stated in this

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[196] Bearden, "Graveyard of Empires."
[197] Ibid.
[198] Ibid.

thesis armed insurgencies are one of the main causes of state failure. Also, though the Taliban government was given diplomatic recognition by Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and Pakistan no other governments gave recognition, thus there was a definite lack of legitimacy vis-à-vis the rest of the world.[199]

The Problem of Tribalism

Although not a necessary characteristic of failed states, much like the situation in Somalia, Afghan's tend to find loyalty in their tribal and familial associations rather than through other political means. Tribal systems in Afghanistan are complex involving tribal confederations, tribes, as well as sub-tribes or sub-clans, with tribal names usually originating with a "legendary ancestor."[200] The different tribes compete for resources, as well as power within Afghanistan. Furthermore, tribes within the different sects of Islam and with different ideologies also find themselves in conflict. This leads to much warfare between the various tribes thus creating the violent conditions necessary for state-failure. However, Afghani tribes do have a unique tendency to unite in the face of a foreign invader.[201]

The largest tribe in Afghanistan is the Pashtun tribe of which the Durrani branch is the largest and most powerful sect. In fact, every king of Afghanistan has been of Durrani heritage.[202] The other significant branch of the Pashtun tribe is the Ghilzai. All total, the many different tribes and clans of the Pashtun make up some twelve and a half million people out of a total population of around twenty eighty million in Afghanistan.[203] Along with the Pashtuns are several other tribes and ethnic groups consisting of Uzbeks, Tajiks,

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[199] Bearden, "Graveyard of Empires."
[200] http://www.atsc.army.mil/crc/ISO6A10L/tribalisminAfghanistanC.pdf
[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid.
[203] Ibid.

Hazaras, Baluch, Nuristani, and Turkmen as well as many other smaller tribes and clans. In most cases these groups inhabit a certain region or province of the country, though sometimes these regions cross over borders into neighboring countries. Below are two maps detailing the tribal demographics throughout Afghanistan.

Though tribal warfare has not been the cause of failure in Afghanistan it has been a factor in keeping Afghanistan from centralizing and consolidating power. However, even tribal ties do not ensure cohesion as the Taliban consisted of and drew support largely from the Pashtuns while at the same time there were two prominent commanders of the Northern Alliance from the Pashtun tribe as well. The only times the tribes have truly been successful in cooperation is during a *Loya Jirga* for the election of a national leader and to repel foreign invaders. This does not mean however that tribalism must be a detriment to legitimate government or even democratic institutions nor must tribal interactions continue to be violent if effective mechanisms can be constituted.
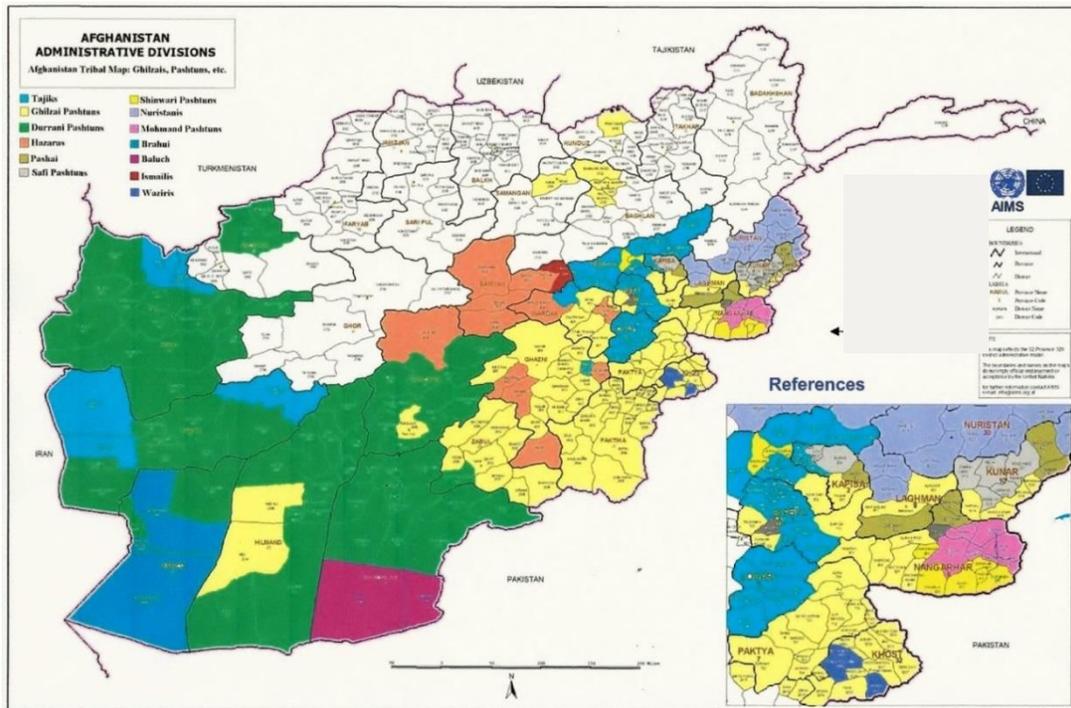

Image Source: Greg Bruno, "A Tribal Strategy for Afghanistan," Council on Foreign Relations

Figure 3-1: Administrative Divisions in Afghanistan
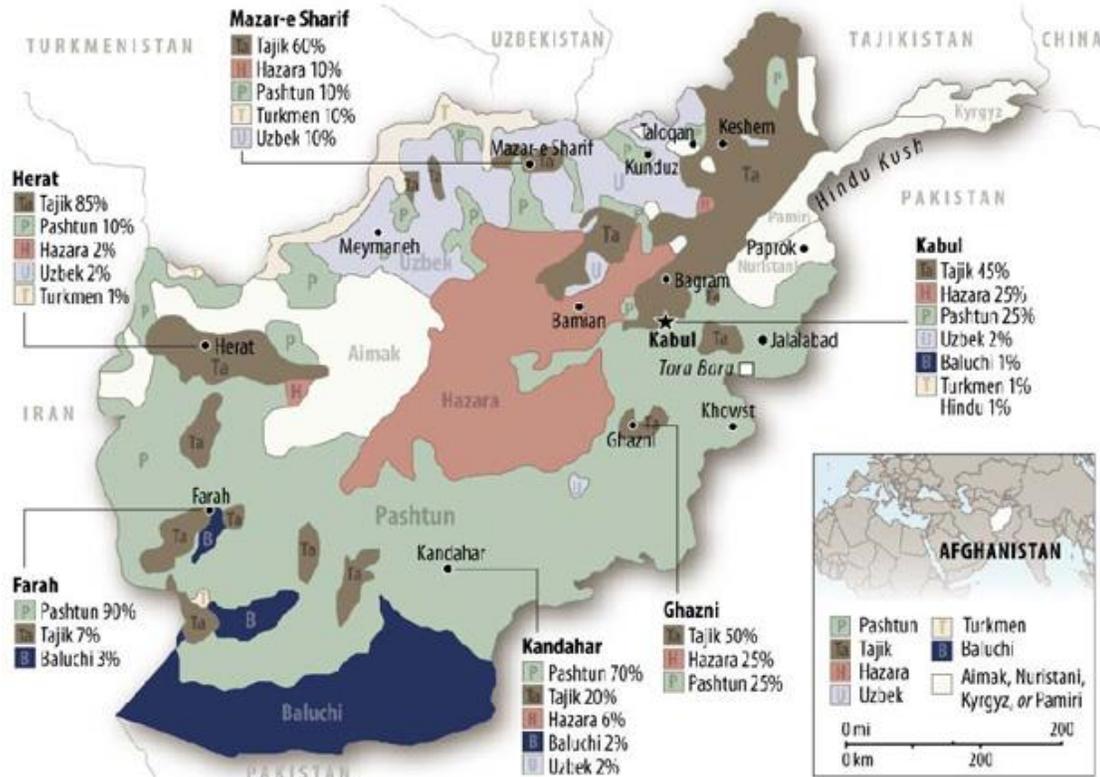
Image Source: Zachary Laub, "The Taliban in Afghanistan," Council on Foreign Relations

Figure 3-2: Tribal Divisions in Afghanistan

Conclusion

Much like Somalia, Afghanistan also illustrates the process of state failure from

illegitimate extractive institutions causing the government to lose legitimacy leading to

conflict and eventually two invasions and a civil war covering the past thirty-five years that

have utterly destroyed the state. Furthermore between Islamist Fundamentalism and corrupt

governments there is little trust from the population in the establishment of an effective

government. Even after an intervention by NATO countries following the attacks of

September 11th, 2001 the Taliban has not be fully defeated and the country hangs

precariously between progressing forward and slipping further back into failure. During the

same time initiatives in Somalia, both military and state-building, have been successful at

beginning to rebuild the once collapsed state however the effectiveness of these efforts have largely been ignored when confronted with similar circumstances in Afghanistan. The inability to effectively confront the problems encountered in Afghanistan, despite proven methods being available, expends resources excessively and decreases states' willingness to participate in military and state-building operations. The rise of the Islamic State and the declaration of a caliphate demonstrate the reluctance of states to intervene. This does not bode well for the future as troops are withdrawn and Afghanistan is once again left to its own devices.

CHAPTER V

ADDRESSING THE ISSUE OF STATE FAILURE

The path to reversing state-failure is not always clear. However, by identifying the causes and consequences of such incidents and by looking to useful examples of success the basis of state-building operations can be understood. The first task at hand then is to address the assumptions necessary to comprehend the nature of the world in the future and how that applies to state-failure. Then, the arguments against establishing legitimacy and security as the first priority in the resuscitation of failed states must be discussed. Finally, the cohesive plan will come together for completing the first step in reversing state-failure; the establishment of legitimacy and security.

To begin with, it is imperative to distinguish between state-building and nation-building to understand the goals of this thesis. State-building creates the necessary institutions from which civil government and security, both based on the rule of law, can be established and from which the other vital institutions of a state can be constituted. Nation-building refers to establishing a "national consciousness,"[204] a task the inhabitants will have to complete on their own after the state has been reconstructed. Or as Max Boot states "nation-building' is generally too ambitious a task, but 'state-building' is a more realistic objective."[205] In the terms of this thesis the proposed state-building has multiple phases, the first of which is the establishment of legitimacy and security supported by the rule of law, followed by phases creating the other essential functions of a state after the completion of

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[204] Max Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 346.
[205] Ibid.

the first phase. Here the treatment will solely focus on phase one of state-building operations and why they must be conducted in such an order.

Assumptions of the Global System in Regards to State Failure

When considering a solution to failed states there must first be an understanding of the assumptions of the global system in terms of this thesis. This is necessary because of differing views of international relations and what that means to states in failure. The first assumption of the global system is that it is anarchic. Despite the United Nations and its useful functions in assisting cooperation and dealing with failed states there is no true global governance. Also this thesis assumes that states see their interests as peace and stability in the global system and therefore would be willing to cooperate in their efforts to secure failed states. Furthermore, there are basic assumptions about the state of international affairs going forward that must be taken into consideration when dealing with failed states. The first assumption is that in the near future the United States will no longer be able or will choose not to maintain its current hegemonic state in the global system. The supposition then is that a multipolar system will develop with poles and spheres of influence consisting of the United States, the European Union, India, and China. It is difficult to say if or which other nations will develop but Russia, Latin America, Africa, and Arabic Islam will also be seeking recognition and influence.

The second assumption is that the global, anarchic system is laid out along the lines of Huntington's structure of civilization. This means that there are several civilizational identities to which the various states of the world belong. These civilizational identities are centered on core states; those states "viewed by their members as the principal source or sources of the civilization's culture" and the "most powerful and culturally central state or

states"[206] Then, in what can be called concentric circles, the next states are member states; lesser states that identify with the civilizational identity of the core state. In the next circle there are cleft states, in which "large groups belong to different civilizations."[207] A more serious type of cleft state lies along the civilizational fault lines. Many of these states are failed or endemically weak. This is important factor in the management of failed states to avoid what Samuel Huntington refers to as "Fault Line Wars" and their possibility of triggering greater "Civilizational Wars".[208] Fault line wars are those that develop because of tensions between civilizational identities. Due to the corresponding civilizational identities of other member nations they come to the aid of their faction. This increases the scale of the war which, as Huntington posits, could become global in nature.[209] A pertinent example of this is the Chinese intervention in the Korean War in late 1950.

The assumption of Huntington's structure of civilization is validated by the case study in Somalia in which regional forces with corresponding civilizational identities have been more effective in securing and stabilizing the country than any Western led force could have been. "The 17,000 AMISOM troops" according to LTC Buffaloe of the U.S. State Department "have done a better job than 60,000 Western troops would have."[210] The push back against Western forces and why they have been somewhat ineffectual has been seen in the U.S.-led interventions in both Afghanistan and Iraq. In both cases the presence of Western forces within states of a different civilizational identity led to increased tensions and spurred responses from other members, mostly non-state actors, of the same identity to action against those forces. Though Western forces have been effective at defeating

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[206] Huntington, *Clash of Civilizations*, 135.
[207] Ibid., 137.
[208] Ibid., 312.
[209] Ibid.
[210] Buffaloe, Interview, Aug 21.

extremist elements they have not been able to provide the necessary components to promote a lasting peace.

The third assumption of this thesis is that the greatest security threat in global affairs comes from the incidences of state-failure and not a large-scale or civilizational war. Although much time and effort has continued to be expended on the possibility of a large-scale war, especially with China or even with a resurgent Russia, history and current incidences show that militarily and politically peacekeeping and stability operations in the Third World have been the norm, not the exception. As SFC Andrew Kent states "The terms conventional and unconventional warfare have become misnomers of sorts. For the past dozen years I have conducted counterinsurgency operations in small-units; that is my conventional."[211] This coincides with the assumption that the world will balance along civilizational lines and therefore the member states' interest will be stability within their sphere-of-influence.

The final assumption in regards to proposing a solution is that the primary causes of state-failure are those discussed in the first chapter of this thesis; illegitimate extractive institutions leading to prolonged conflict, and that these forces together combine to create failed states. Particularly that means that the illegitimate, extractive political institutions are the causal factor of the vicious cycle, not the extractive economic institutions. Furthermore, that armed conflict is inevitably present in failed states; those states that have economically collapsed but lack conflict then would be endemically weak, not failed. Furthermore, a state in rebellion or revolution is not deemed failed either should the fighting be short or the

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[211] Kent, interview, Aug 31.

economy not collapse in the process. Thus, to conduct proper state-building operations the first step must be the establishment of legitimacy and security throughout the state.

Addressing Other Arguments and Impractical Solutions

The first argument that those seeking to reverse state-failure should be dissuaded from acknowledging goes along with the assumptions of world order stated above. That is that the United States, as a hegemon, with a 'coalition of the willing' should be responsible for policing the globe in the post-Cold War and post-9/11 era. While it is true that the United States has more military capabilities than nearly all other industrialized nations combined, especially in terms of air and naval capacity[212], as stated previously this position is unsustainable. As the title of Samuel Huntington's seminal work recalls there is a 'clash of civilizations' occurring and the continued presence of the American military and economy in other civilization's spheres-of-influence has created a global backlash. Furthermore, as evidenced by American interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq, this presence incites extremist in those civilizations to violence when given the chance to expel the Western invaders from their civilization and culture. The view of continued U.S. hegemony is espoused by Max Boot in his book *The Savage Wars of Peace* under the assumption that it had worked prior to World War II and could thus work again. This is a dangerous assumption as it likens the chances of creating a civilizational war that would otherwise be highly unlikely.

A second argument counter to the need for state-building operations in the Third World is that the primary security concern to the United States, the West, or the global system as a whole comes from another global conflict on the scale of World War II and therefore there is little necessity in intervening in failed states. As stated in the assumptions

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[212] Boot, *Savage Wars of Peace*, 349.

above this is an outdated, deceptive, and somewhat dangerous way of thinking. Many political thinkers and military strategists, especially in Washington D.C., still see China or Russia as the main threat to American security, and likely hegemony as well. Also, particularly in the military, there is little enthusiasm for engaging in the low-intensity, state-building efforts required to truly secure the globe. "Their mindset remains that of a mass army composed of conscripts mobilized to win a big war, but that is not the role of the armed forces early in the twenty-first century."[213] It was this particular line of thinking that allowed Osama bin Laden to build the Al-Qaeda terrorist network in Afghanistan virtually unmolested, and allowed piracy to flourish along the Somali coast, both instances which have put the lives of citizens of all nations at risk. Finally, there is one last point of this argument that should be addressed; that soldiers trained to fight in a counterinsurgency or policing role will be ill-equipped for the rigors of full-scale combat. However, this has not been the case in the past. As Max Boot points out, "the marines in the 1920's and 1930's were able to fight banana wars *and* prepare for amphibious operations in World War II."[214]

Besides the arguments against intervention in failed states or to conduct state-building operations there have been impractical solutions proposed and tried for redeveloping failed states. These usually fall into one of two categories; economic statecraft or humanitarian aid. The first has to do with various policies for dealing with a state economically, either through internal or external manipulation. The second proposes to handle the problems through the use of non-governmental agencies and states working together to provide the much needed aid to the citizens affected by state-failure. While both

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[213] Boot, *Savage Wars of Peace,* 332.
[214] Ibid., 343.

of these are noble efforts, and at times even necessary, they are not a sufficient starting point for the reversal of state failure.

As discussed earlier illegitimate extractive institutions are a facilitating factor of state-failure. This includes both political and economic institutions creating a vicious cycle in which one enhances the other. Therefore, there is a school of thought that suggests economics is the key to revitalizing the collapsed nation. As stated previously this can be done internally or externally. To commit to such action is fallacious though. Creating new economic institutions within a country before, or even simultaneously with, the establishment of legitimate political institutions and an effective security apparatus will inevitably be unsuccessful. This is because either the new institutions will fall into the vicious cycle of supplying economic means to those in power or because without security and legitimate government, supported by the rule of law, the market will not be viable and will fail. This idea is seen in the New Deal – Building Peaceful States mission statement to "use the peacebuilding and statebuilding goals (PSG's) as the foundation for progress."[215] While this sounds good in theory peacebuilding, what this thesis refers to as the establishment of legitimacy and security, should be the first step of statebuilding and therefore should not be conducted simultaneously with increasing economic capacity for the reasons offered above.

Countries and governments also seek to externally influence failed states economically through a process known as economic statecraft. This generally presents as the use of sanctions, positive or negative, against an uncooperative nation in order to coerce certain behaviors from the government. The effectiveness of sanctions is not the issue here but that the application of negative sanctions to a failed or weak state often exacerbates the

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[215] New Deal – Building Peaceful States, "New Deal Snapshot," http://www.newdeal4peace.org/new-deal-snapshot/ (accessed January 2, 2014).

problem rather than achieves the desired results. Unfortunately, those in power regularly maintain their lifestyle while their people suffer the effects of the negative sanctions. While supporting tyrannical governments in failed states is not advisable the use of negative sanctions can be misguided as well. However, this is merely a warning to avoid negative sanctions as a starting point as otherwise dealing with the economic institutions of a country is not pertinent to establishing legitimacy and security in failed states.

Towards a Solution: The First Step

This thesis, having already shown the causes and consequences of state failure, would not be complete without proposing a viable solution to the problems of legitimacy and security in failed states. To accomplish this goal there are various publications, both new and old, that have sought to resolve such issues. However, the weight of World War II and the Cold War has skewed the perceptions of many policy makers and military strategists the world over. To this end, although the problem of state failure has increased global security concerns, there has been little modern evaluation of necessary means for conducting such operations with the emphasis in this area all too often on large scale wars and global hegemony. Through review, revision, and amalgamation of these various works and sources it is possible to create a viable plan for the reversal and rebuilding of failed states. While many of the propositions for intervention in failed states come from the experiences of the United States and other Western forces this thesis seeks to take a neutral position as to the necessary causes for working with and developing reconstructive plans for failed states.

The possibility of international incidents leading to crisis over the involvement of one civilizational state in the sphere of influence of another civilizational entity, what Huntington refers to as "core states", make the need to establish guidelines and plans for

state resuscitation all the more imperative. Many of the necessary institutions are already in place locally and globally to counter the epidemic of failed states. However, there will be the need as well to create from scratch new institutions aligned to the mission of reversing state failure and to modify and strengthen others. This would be difficult in a highly cooperative global system. The anarchic nature of world affairs makes this an even more challenging proposition. However, if states view their best interests as peace and stability within their collective civilization and sphere of influence, and are willing to abide by international laws and norms, then the reversal of state failure is a mutually beneficial endeavor.

Lessons Learned: Solutions in Somalia

Since the fall of the Somali government in 1991 there have been multiple efforts to reestablish legitimate government though none were successful until the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of the Republic of Somalia in 2004.[216] Although internationally recognized the TFG was losing the battle against its main rival in Somalia, the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), until a United States-backed Ethiopian intervention in 2006 secured the capital Mogadishu and broke up the ICU. Some remnants of the ICU, including the Al-Qaeda sponsored Al-Shabaab, took up the fight against the TFG creating a need for a long-term mission to secure and stabilize the situation in Somalia.

Since 2007 the African Union (AU) has been operating in Somalia under the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). AMISOM is "an active, regional peacekeeping mission operated by the African Union with the approval of the United Nations. It was created by the African Union's Peace and Security Council on 19th January 2007 with an

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[216] African Union Mission in Somalia, "Brief History," http://amisom-au.org/about-somalia/brief-history/ (accessed November 24, 2013).

initial six month mandate."[217] That mandate, which has been extended, allowed for AMISOM to "conduct Peace Support Operations in Somalia to stabilize the situation in the country in order to create conditions for the conduct of Humanitarian activities and an immediate take over by the United Nations (UN)."[218]

More recently the United Nations (UN) has been working jointly with the African Union to establish an effective transitional peacekeeping operation leading to free and fair elections in Somalia by 2016. The UN has established a team consisting of personnel from all relevant UN departments, AU personnel, as well as members from interested stakeholders; those being the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and the European Union.

The ultimate goal of the joint UN-AU mission is to secure Somalia against radical insurgencies, such as Al-Shabaab, and to establish a lasting, legitimate government in Mogadishu. This is no easy task as social, political, and military conditions in Somalia have deteriorated significantly in the two decades since the fall of the Siad Barre regime. However, the mission has made great progress and has laid the ground work for a significant effort to restore Somalia to a functioning state. As such, it is reasonable to study the efforts, methodology, and ideas of the UN-AU team to see how such a mission could be employed to resuscitate other failed states.

To complete the mission and goals established therein AMISOM and the United Nations must provide training to create from whole cloth the as of now absent Somali forces necessary to conduct the vital security operations throughout the country. The most

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[217] African Union Mission in Somalia, "AMISOM Background," http://amisom-au.org/about/amisom-background/# (accessed November 24, 2013).
[218] African Union Mission in Somalia, "AMISOM Mandate," http://amisom-au.org/about/amisom-mandate/ (accessed November 24, 2013).

important aspect of this however is the integration of the various Somali militias that have been active in the country since the civil war of the 1990's. This allows for a unified effort for Somalia as a nation as opposed to the various tribal efforts that have thus far failed to secure the state.

The keys to success throughout these operations are the establishment of legitimacy and security. To establish legitimacy for both the newly formed Somali military and the newly elected government it is imperative to enact the rule of law throughout an area of operations. This will ensure the inhabitants, used to the lawlessness of the past twenty-five years, will be accepting of the new government. Additionally, as can be seen throughout the phases of the plan outlined above, instituting and providing security to enhance political capabilities are imperative to the successful transition.

Lessons Unlearned: A Solution in Afghanistan?

Though the United States has had success with stability operations through both armed intervention and as an outside facilitator the U.S.-led conflict in Afghanistan has continued unabated for nearly thirteen years. The U.S had even studied the failed Soviet invasion and published a book/manual called *The Bear went over the Mountain* in which Soviet decisions and tactics that ultimately led to defeat in Afghanistan were catalogued and studied. Furthermore, the United States has been relatively successful in stabilizing Somalia without the use of continually committed ground forces in the country. It seems then that there is a solution in Afghanistan however the United States and its military forces are not using their own successes as a guide toward a solution in Afghanistan.

The U.S.-led mission has also been questionable in its attempt to install Western Democracy in Afghanistan. Much like in Somalia, Afghanistan had moderate democratic

institutions based on tribal loyalties and tribal leaders. This has been seen in the selection of national leaders through the *Loya Jirga* that was used to bring Hamid Karzai to power before the election of a president. As will be discussed later in this thesis an attempt to introduce democracy on such a level too quickly can actually have adverse consequences.

Security Operations

By looking at modern examples of success in failed states, such as the mission in Somalia, the creation of a political-military solution to the security dilemmas in failed states becomes possible. Just as Robert Rotberg states that it is not the intensity rather the duration of conflict that leads to state failure the assemblage of a military force need not be large or overly complicated, more simply it needs to be effective and efficient. Although creating such a force seems to be a reasonably unassuming task in the developed nations this is not the case. History has shown that most engagements involving developed nations in modern times have been small wars, or what are colloquially known as counterinsurgency operations and low-intensity conflicts and thus the developed nations need military forces prepared to deal with these types of operations.

Security operations, in general, are intended to be small affairs of limited duration set to achieve a certain set of goals. However, in practice this has not always been the case. Unfortunately most attempts at stabilization and security tend to look more like the United States-led NATO operations in Afghanistan than the recent French endeavor into Mali in 2013. This does not mean that protracted security missions do not have their place. As can be seen in Somalia there is no indigenous force ready to take on the task of providing security to a fledgling government and country. Many nations, particularly the United States, often feel the need to conduct combat operations in situations when security and stability

missions would suffice. This is further exacerbated by a phenomenon known as 'mission creep'. This means that as the situation progresses more tasks are written into the mission that causes an expansion of forces and timetables. The avoidance of 'mission creep' is essential to providing effective and efficient security operation in failed states.

When conducting security operations within a failed state in an attempt to revive the legitimate government it is vital for the force to be as small as possible while still able to accomplish the mission designated. Once security has been established and confidence gained in the capabilities of the force by the population it is better to keep the force small is because a small force imposes less on the local population. This means that the force is less visible and therefore less of a target for attacks. Often times the security force in a country, especially if composed of non-civilizational relatives, is threatened or attacked simply do to its presence in the nation.[219] Also, the more that local and indigenous populations can be incorporated into the security apparatus being constructed the higher the chance for success. This gives populations a feeling of responsibility for their own well-being and by working in cooperation with the foreign security force decreases animosity that leads to violence. When securing a failed state it is imperative to remember the mission "is friendly and it wishes to accomplish its objectives with as little military display as possible with a view to gaining the lasting friendship of the inhabitants of the country."[220] However, according to a US Army COIN expert, SFC Andrew Kent, "There is no 'cookie cutter' counterinsurgency method; each situation has its own unique dynamics that have to be taken into account."[221]

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[219] SFC Andrew Kent, phone interview with author, August 31, 2013.
[220] United States Marine Corps, *Small Wars Manual* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Defense, 1940), 5-6.
[221] SFC Andrew Kent, phone interview with author, August 31, 2013.

Finally, the importance of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration in the cause of resurrecting failed states cannot be understated. This is because no matter the strength of a state's institutions, nor how great the perception of legitimacy, an armed and determined insurgency can wear down a state leaving it weakened and likely to fail. Furthermore, should such an armed insurgency legitimately gain control of the country then it is imperative that they lay down their weapons and begin to govern legitimately. It is possible that once in power, and still armed, there will be a tendency to seek retribution on those who had not supported the movement or had been in the opposition. By disarming, demobilizing, and reintegrating the former fighters into society a peaceful transition is possible.

A Return to Legitimate Rule

In the quest to resuscitate and rebuild failed states there have been various solutions proposed and nearly as many undertakings attempted. Most focus on the restructuring or otherwise reordering and rebuilding of the economic system and means of a failed nation. The thought is often that leaders of failed states or their populations in general simply do not understand what is needed to be a successful state. However, as Acemoglu and Robinson assert, this is simply not the case. As discussed in the causes of state failure one of the facilitating causes of states deteriorating is the illegitimate extractive institutions which have been put in place. These institutions delegitimize the government, in both the eyes of the people and the international community, and were created intentionally, not unintentionally as the theory of ignorance assumes. Though it may seem counterintuitive the illegitimate extraction enhances the power of the elite, though only in their state, allowing them to subjugate and repress their populations. Without an effective means of neutralizing

illegitimate extractive government policies, attempts to influence the internal economies of a state are for naught as the corrupt policies will generally continue by another means.

There is another assumption in the attempts to conduct state-building operations in failed states. This lies in a preponderance of solutions for establishing legitimate government resting on the ideals of modern Western democracy. The wholesale change of democracy from its infancy in the writings of Locke and Montesquieu and the establishment of the United States of America to the modern understandings was a long process developed over centuries, not implemented immediately. There are myriad examples of democracy failing to take hold since the end of the Cold War. As Samuel Huntington explains in his book *the Third Wave* democracy comes to being where there is popular support for it but also the spread of democracy has wave-like properties; that is it progresses and recedes.[222] Therefore it logically follows that attempts to 'enforce' democracy will be unsuccessful where it is not in keeping with local parochial cultures. This does not mean that the implementation of a democracy at some future point should be abandoned though. By this it should be understood that although modern Western democracy is not the starting point having the same as an end-state is a worthwhile endeavor and should help to ensure a weak state does not slip back into failure.

It is also possible for the institutions of democracy to vary based on various external factors to governance such as culture, religion, or geography. One such instance is the Islamic Republic of Iran. Though the head of government is a democratically elected president, the head of state and ultimate religious authority as well, is the Ayatollah. This is something to be considered when attempting to establish legitimate governments in

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[222] Huntington, *The Third Wave*, 31-40.

resuscitated failed states. Although in the grand scheme of international relations Iran poses a problem or threat because of their fanaticism associated with Islam (at least as perceived by the West), along with the nation's desire to obtain nuclear weapons, the successful establishment and organization of their government should not be overlooked.

In the case of Somalia it seems that it would be wise to either divide the country into separate nations or to devise a 'loose' federalism to govern the nation. To divide the country would be rather easy and quite possibly rather beneficial as well. The Somali people have historically lived in five different regions. Only the former Italian Somaliland and the former British Somaliland are fully incorporated into the boundaries of the Somali state. This leaves part of the Ogaden in the control of Ethiopia, a small portion of ethnic Somali's in northeastern Kenya, and the decidedly independent Djibouti. Therefore, to partition Somalia one more time, that is to internationally recognize Somaliland as an independent nation would not only make sense but also be understandable. Somaliland itself has already taken the necessary steps to be recognized by the international community all that is required now is official recognition.

Breaking off the functioning areas of Somalia into their own autonomous states could prove useful in resuscitating the remainder of the country. Some would argue that Somalia would need the functioning areas to support the rest of the county as it rises out of failure. However, this is not the best option. First, this creates resentment in the territories forced to stay in a nation of which they no longer desire to be a part. Second, the smaller the nation the easier it should be to control. Somalia with its current borders constitutes a land area nearly equivalent to the eastern seaboard and great lakes region of the United States. Allowing Somaliland and the Puntland to break away and become independent nations

leaves a much smaller area to administer, thus making security and border control less of an issue.

Should this not be an option and it is decided that Somalia should maintain its current borders then the best option would be to provide a 'loose' federalism or confederation to govern the territory leaving the various areas with greater autonomy. Again, Somaliland has provided the example and proved capable of maintaining functioning governmental institutions despite the fact that the rest of Somalia descended into anarchy after the dissolution of the national government in 1991. The decision to maintain a loose federalism is a stated goal of the United Nations – African Union mission and should the southern portion of the country be pacified and reconstituted it is realistic that this aim can be achieved. As stated previously the mission seeks to secure the nation against internal threats in the hopes of conducting national elections. However, the degree of autonomy and the actual power structure have not been decided as of yet.

However, despite these observations the attempted installation of any form of government can be a slippery slope for any external actors involved. States lacking an historical context for legitimate or democratic institutions often find the transition difficult. Furthermore, the Iron Law of Oligarchy discussed earlier, is a factor or one of a number of factors that can detract from legitimate government. Therefore it is only through the mobilization of the masses in a country, and ensuring not only their continued participation but their ability to as well, that legitimate democratic institutions of government can be created.

To effectively ensure mass participation the illegitimate extractive political institutions that are rejected by the people must be dismantled and a system put in place that,

barring a coup, will help to ensure that despotism does not regain a hold on the country. The best way to do this is to start small and allow democratic government and its ideals to grow and embed themselves in the collective thought of society. Also the reconstitution of traditional activities, often repressed by the autocratic elites previously in power, can help to reestablish the community and assist in fostering democratic principles. To do this having participation at the most local level is key, though, again, there is the possibility for variation. This is important because many small democratic institutions at the local (village, city, tribe, clan, etc.) level are more difficult to eradicate than one democratic system at the national level. For example, American democracy has often been considered strongest when there were people active at the community level, participating in civil discourse, and mobilizing en masse to vote in elections. An important example of a variation of this is the tribal elders found in Afghanistan. Although not democratically elected, they achieve their position through age and prominence in their respective communities; these elders congregate with other elders of their tribes to discuss issues at hand in democratic fashion. Following this system it is easy to see how a system of representation that functions in a democratic manner could be construed, though the people's representatives are not directly elected by them. This system, based on tradition and mixed with democratic ideals, often holds a great deal of legitimacy vis-à-vis those represented.[223]

Unfortunately even the best efforts have met with failure in some locales that have a long history of violence and despotism. How to engrain the ideas of democracy in a population that has never experienced such a thing is a difficult notion. However, as the technological advances and increased access to information brought on by globalization continue to make inroads into new areas previously untouched by modern thinking the

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[223] Buffaloe, interview, Oct 18.

chances become increasingly likely populations in failed and weak states will have access to the necessary information to make informed decisions about their state and their government. This was seen extensively during the Arab Spring in 2011 when protesters and revolutionaries successfully overthrew entrenched tyrannical governments through the use of social media and massive dissemination of information via technology.

To establish such legitimate institutions there have been various efforts undertaken by developed nations over time to attempt to consolidate and solidify legitimacy in failed and weak states. A worthwhile example to explore is the United States interventions in Latin American under the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine during the first half of the twentieth century. The goal of the various administrations throughout this time was securing the Windward Passage and the Panama Canal against threats from Imperialist European powers. However, to accomplish such a task the United States viewed the establishment of legitimate government and securing those governments against internal threats as the keys to success.[224]

Many nations in their quest for stability in their sphere of influence, or favorable economic conditions, or for various other reasons have supported illegitimate and extractive governments in weak and failed states. This was especially true during the Cold War in which supporting authoritarian rule was seen as preferable to the state possibly falling under the influence of one's adversary. In order to establish legitimacy, not only for the government but for their own state in future dealings, nations that have intervened in a failed state cannot support despotic rule. This can mean long term commitments from the intervening states. However, by implementing and maintaining limited goals, such as the establishment and

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[224] Boot, *Savage Wars of Peace*,

maintenance of a legitimate governmental regime, there can be legitimacy for the new government and the intervening nation vis-à-vis the population.

When conducting state-building operations, as has been shown above, the alignment of military and political goals ensures that there is an end to military operations and avoids the dreaded 'mission creep'. Furthermore, supporting these new institutions with the rule of law gives legitimacy to both the new political institutions and the security operations being carried out. Should the rule of law not be instituted and supported by the new institutions a reconstituted state could very easily slip back into failure. However, given the plan outlined in this chapter the establishment of legitimacy and security in failed states is conceivable. To date the operations being carried out in Somalia have validated this plan as that country is moving closer to reestablishment than any time in the previous two decades. Only the future though will tell if the plan was a success or failure but given the strength of the ideas and the theory behind them it seems likely that the next decade will see the rise of a new Somalia and possibly other failed states as well.

The Future of State Building

With the understanding of how to successfully take the first step in regards to state-building operations – the establishment of legitimacy and security under the rule of law – the global security situation should become much more manageable. As the global system continues to realign after the decline of American hegemony and along the civilizational lines the ways and means for achieving viable states through the other steps of state-building will become more apparent. However, there are many areas in which nations are going to have to prepare themselves and their citizens for the difficult tasks ahead.

The way in which nations organize themselves and their institutions has changed over the course of history and are likely to continue to change. State-building is no new phenomenon; simply the nature of it has changed. Imperialism has long since disappeared from the Western world and democratic, industrialized states have found ways to reconstitute themselves peacefully. The challenge remains then of how to use the knowledge and resources at hand to build and rebuild the states that have not been so fortunate. To do so will require a peaceful cooperation on a global scale, the likes of which the world has yet to see.

Already the United Nations has begun to support combat operations, instead of just peacekeeping, to achieve the goals of the interested parties. However, there is going to be a need for much more change in the United Nations if there is indeed going to be any effort at revitalizing the Third World and its failed states. Huntington has suggested a realignment of the Security Council to closer resemble the current world order.[225] This idea has a great deal of merit and should seriously be considered in the near future. Such a move should help to secure the world against the threat of a global war in the future as cooperation would be increased with all voices heard at the table. And once the threat of massive, destructive war is removed, or at least minimized, the world community can focus on stability in the unstable regions and bringing up the failed and weak states to the standards of the modern world.

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[225] Huntington, *Clash of Civilizations,* 208.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

States fail when they lose legitimacy – through illegitimate extractive institutions which whittle away at the government's validity – and when that loss of legitimacy leads to prolonged conflict which utterly destroys the state and society. Illegitimate extractive institutions are defined as those that are, by design, intended to enrich and empower the elites of society at the expense of all others. Also, the conflict that leads to state failure must be of a sufficient nature as to destroy important infrastructure but also society. This means that the state must be rebuilt both from a physical as well as cultural stand point. When armed groups rise up against an illegitimate government, no matter the outcome, there must be a process of reconciliation afterwards, in the case of armed groups this is referred to as disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration. The pattern of state failure described in this thesis can be seen in the many instances of failed and weak states. However, it is only through this process that states reach failure. States with rampant illegitimate extractive institutions are endemically weak and not failed. Even states embroiled in a conflict could not be considered failed unless the government was also involved in the illegitimate extraction of its population. States in these situations are on a precipice of sorts; destructive conflict could easily push them over the edge into failure. However, this is the reason that they are considered weak and not failed, a change in leadership or policies could begin to pull the state away from the edge, thus averting failure.

One of the main reasons that illegitimate extractive institutions exists in failed and weak states is due to the remnants of colonialism that did not disappear with the gaining of independence. Often times at the time of independence those in power choose to simply

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continue the policies of their former rulers and continue to illegitimately extract resources from the population to further enhance their wealth and status. However, even states that were not former colonies or had gained independence with sufficient time form their own means of governance are susceptible to corruption and illegitimacy. This is because once started down that path the Iron Law of Oligarchy posited by Robert Michels states that the cycle will continue even if a new group gains power.

Once the extractive institutions have deprived a government of legitimacy and armed conflict begins the failing of the state is near fruition. Should the conflict be resolved quickly, either being put down by government forces or the opposition seizing power, failure can be averted as the process of rebuilding legitimacy and government services can begin. However, should the conflict become protracted and the violence become sufficient to destroy infrastructure and society then the state will slip into failure.

Once states have failed the consequences are quite severe. Economic freefall is typical as inflation increases and foreign investment vanishes. The violent conflict destroys creates human rights concerns as violent predation and domestic anarchy become rampant. In these conditions it is nearly impossible for civil society to be successful. Furthermore, as the state is weakened by failure it becomes difficult for the government to control borders. In some instances this leads to the conflict becoming multi-national, especially if neighboring states share civilizational identities with the groups involved in the armed conflict.

The states of Afghanistan and Somalia represent examples indicative of state failure. Although Somalia and Afghanistan had different backgrounds, Somalia being a product of colonialism while Afghanistan had never been a formal colony, both states had governments that through extractive institutions became illegitimate to their constituents. Thus repressive

measures were instituted by the governments in attempts to bring the populace in line with the government. This merely exacerbates the situation resulting in armed conflict between the government and armed opposition groups. In both instances the conflict wore on and wore down the infrastructure and society. In the case of Somalia, though Siad was ousted relatively quickly there was no consensus between the various factions vying for power and a civil war broke out. In the case of Afghanistan again the warring factions who defeated the communist government could not agree on a collaborative government and here as well a civil war started. The power vacuum in both states made them havens for terrorist organizations to build and train their operatives. The consequence of this was to disrupt the stability of the post-Cold War world. It is for this reason that the developed world must prepare for and actively participate in the resuscitation of failed states and work to prevent their occurrence.

Though scholarship on the topic is ever increasing there is still insufficient writing and thought to thoroughly be able to end the epidemic of failed and weak states. However, the successes in Somalia and the obvious failure of opposing policies in Afghanistan and Iraq by U.S. and NATO forces show that progress is possible. Unfortunately it is unlikely that many governments will truly take the issue seriously as combating terrorism has taken priority. Though they would be remiss to forget that it has been from failed and weak states that terrorism has been able to flourish and global security has been threatened. Furthermore, peacekeeping and state-building operations are difficult and prolonged making many governments, particularly the United States, adverse to confront the challenge or to support the United Nations in its on-going efforts. However, great strides have been made and many countries, even undeveloped ones, are beginning to take part in securing the globe against the forces that drive state failure or to work to revive those states in failure.

State failure is not characterized by a number, but by conditions present at the time. Therefore a state cannot transition from failed to weak without making important progress in the areas of government legitimacy and an improved security situation. This means that a government that is legitimate vis-à-vis the population is in place and that armed opposition groups have sufficiently transitioned through the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration process as to not be a threat to reigniting the violence and plunging the state back into failure.

What the future holds for the developing world is uncertain. Globalization has allowed many formerly impoverished states to increase their stature and begin to compete in the global marketplace. However the rise of Islamofascism and other non-state actors seeking recognition and stature require the developed world to think differently about the global security situation and how to best secure their interests without creating further blowback. The situation is precarious yet hopeful; the developed world has the tools and wherewithal to support state-building operations and defeat the forces that would cause state failure it is only yet to be determined if there is a willingness to do so.

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