Index

Afghanistan, 2, 106
aid, 47–8, 70, 94, 110–116, 120, 147, 161, 238
aid fragmentation, 195, 199n128, 203, 208–9
as failed state, 16, 18, 20, 26, 39, 48, 50, 75
as security threat to US, 48
Bonn decisions, 141
example of international poaching of local talent, 191
foreign terrorist organizations, 16
government lack of information on aid, 185
justice system, 201, 202, 206
NATO aid delivery, 94, 138
OCHA Strategic Compact, 98
police training, 161
Provincial Reconstruction Teams, 94
real bases of security, 241
state-building, 70, 162
US-led invasion, 44
African Union, 83, 87, 160
Agenda for Peace. See Boutros-Chali, Boutros
Aid absorption capacity, 135, 146
administrative costs, 115, 117, 119, 154
administrative overload on recipients, 186, 197
aid-institutions paradox, 75
country programmable (CPA), 114, 115, 185, 239
disbursement delays, 192, 219
donor pledging conferences, 97, 121
effectiveness
fourth meeting at Busan 2011, 24, 103, 194, 195, 239
third meeting in Accra 2008, 24, 50, 102, 195n106
effectiveness obstacles, 135
fragmentation, 195
geopolitical criteria, 238
military, 100, 110, 218, 249, 249
problem of data, 108
rule-of-law assistance, 149, 202
selectivity, 43, 58, 113
signaling with, 142
strategic criteria, 238
technical assistance, 115, 116, 122, 143, 146, 154, 197, 206
tied, 116
training, 85, 88, 91, 93, 95, 104, 111, 112, 143, 155, 201, 204, 205, 240, 248
volatility, 193
Anderson, Mary, 107, 210
Atwood, J. Brian, 6, 18, 20, 35, 45, 51, 158, 223
Barnett, Michael, 7, 77, 124, 129
Bergamaschi, Isaline, 168, 169, 170, 173, 193
Biden, Joseph, Jr., 46, 96, 99
Bosnia-Herzegovina, 5, 18, 39, 72–75
aid, 114, 152
aid pledges, 122
aid coordination, 97
aid data, 109, 110
as strategic threat to US, 29, 35
civil society as outsourced service delivery, 181, 192
civil–military cooperation
innovations. See civil-military cooperation
currency board, 144, 175
elected officials dismissed, 142
international commitments imposed, 187, 188
Index

Bosnia-Herzegovina (cont.)
international governance, 80, 92–93, 150, 216
internationals in government positions, 144
Peace Implementation Council, 71, 72
NATO intervention plans, 32, 93
Office of the High Representative (OHR), 71, 89, 140
resistance against international criteria on the civil service, 180
US intervention, 34, 137
Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, 30, 85
Agenda for Peace, 53, 70, 234
Agenda for Peace Supplement, 54
Boye, James, 167n
Brahimi Panel on Peacekeeping Operations, 41n, 80
Brahimi Panel Report on Peacekeeping Operations, 55, 81, 85, 234
Brahimi, Lakhdar, 70, 106
light footprint proposal, 112
Bretton Woods institutions, 27, 36, 77, 222, 224
See World Bank; International Monetary Fund; international financial institutions
British Department for International Development (DFID)
See UK Department for International Development: fragile states list
Burundi, 101, 152, 178, 239
Bush, George H. W., 30, 31, 32, 35, 233
new world order, 27

Cambodia
ad hoc consent mechanism, 140
aid fragmentation, 195
aid pledges, 122
as failed state, 28, 39
aid effect on exclusionary state, 210, 213
economic impact of UN peacekeeping, 71, 216
government excluded from information, 185
UN peacemaking, 30, 53, 71
Cameroon
aid, 113, 238
Canadian Commission on intervention and state sovereignty. See International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
Carothers, Thomas
on rule-of-law programs, 66, 112, 150, 202
Chandler, David, 76
Chesterman, Simon, 30n, 76, 80
China, 87
and international aid cooperation, 24, 103
and South–South cooperation, 103, 253, 254
development, not failure, 22, 62, 253, 254
non-traditional security threats, 62
on internationally responsible state, 134
UN peacekeeping, 63, 87, 104
civil–military cooperation, 94, 97, 99–100, 132, 214
Colombia
as failed state, 21, 244
conflict-generating decentralization, 217
US military aid, 140n, 218
community-driven development, 152, 153, 189, 208, 213n, 242
Afghanistan (National Solidarity Program), 185, 241n
Timor Leste, 153, 154
conflict-generating intervention and aid, 210–218
Congo, Democratic Republic of
aid and debt relief, 113, 115, 238
as failed state, 19, 20, 39, 75, 238
UN peacekeeping, 212
Côte d’Ivoire, 179
counterinsurgency, 48, 68, 94, 105, 123, 129, 138, 199, 234n
Country Policy and Institutional Assessment, 57, 58, 115, 146, 147, 171, 232, 237, 239, 240
see also World Bank
Crocker, Chester, 19, 46
de Cuéllar, Perez, UN Secretary-General, 4, 30n
de Soto, Alvaro, 54, 68, 236
decentralization, 136, 153, 190, 206, 209, 212, 212n, 216, 217, 218, 247
del Castillo, Graciana, 94n, 175n, 228n, 236
Dili Declaration, 24
Duffield, Mark, 76, 198, 199, 232n
East Timor. See Timor Leste
El Salvador
ad hoc consent mechanism, COPAZ, 140
as failed state, 39
civil society as outsourced service delivery, 181
UN peacemaking, 31, 53, 54, 55, 68, 79, 153
Index

World Bank assistance, 120, 148, 165
Helman, Gerald, 6, 28, 33, 53, 77, 79, 130, 143, 251
heavily indebted poor countries (HIPC), 82, 145, 149, 242
Hogan, Michael, 27, 36, 226
Huntington, Samuel P.
Clash of Civilizations, 35
hybridity, 61
Ikenberry, G. John, 4, 28, 36, 231
India, 16, 23, 253
on security threats, 65
International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, 44, 56
International Financial Institutions
economic policy, 37
emphasis on speed, 179
good governance, 56, 68, 132
secrecy in negotiations, 179
United Nations, 56, 101, 238
International Monetary Fund, 6, 37, 38, 130, 171, 173–74, 182, 183, 193, 224n, 229
Chapter VII override of sovereignty, 139
de facto legislative powers, 139, 148
International Network on Conflict and Fragile States, 24, 50, 102
International Network on Conflict and Fragility (INCAF). See International Network on Conflict and Fragile States
international norms, 27, 54, 56, 77, 124, 133, 132, 134, 174, 189, 223, 251
gender, 189
imposed, ethnic minority representation, 189
Iran
as rogue state, 34
Iraq
aid, 47–8, 111, 112, 113, 115, 119, 123, 128, 238
as rogue state, 32
humanitarian crisis, 32, 79, 128
as failed state, 39, 127, 210
as security threat to the US, 48
civil war, 17, 254
counterinsurgency, 129, 138
foreign terrorist organizations, 16
influence on peacebuilding operations and state-building strategy, 48, 80, 96, 99, 105, 106, 162, 234, 240
influence on US shift to stabilization, 48, 96
NATO aid delivery, 94
## Index

### Iraq (cont.)
- provincial reconstruction teams, 94, 152
- US-led invasion, 17, 20, 46, 75, 121, 176
- joint assessment missions, 101, 106, 121, 176, 244
- design for government ministries, 190
- process, in Sudan, 121
- Kaplan, Robert, 35, 100, 134n
- Kenya, 18, 100, 207, 217, 242
- aid, 113
- Klare, Michael, 31, 32, 34
- Kosovo, 110, 189
- EU offices (ICO, EULEX), 90, 114, 150, 202
- international standards on minorities, 89
- NATO bombing, 43, 44, 90
- police reform, 204
- security sector reform, 202
- UN administration, 80
- Kouchner, Bernard
  - le devoir d’ingérence, 33, 43, 77
- Kraemer, Stephen, 8, 47, 80
- shared sovereignty, 145

### Lake, Anthony, 34

### Liberia
- as failed state, 19, 28, 39
- Ebola virus crisis, 242, 243
- Governance and Economic Management Assistance Programme (GEMAP), 145, 175
- humanitarian crisis, 125
- IMF-defined economic policy, 242
- interaction security vs. development, 243
- international pressure against national dialogue, 177
- local expertise overlooked, 106
- security sector reform, 230, 242
- US definition of security, 230, 242

### Libya
- as failed state, 25, 65, 75
- as rogue state, 34
- consequences of Western armed intervention, 163
- Western military coalition against, 75

### Low-Income Countries Under Stress (LICUS), 19, 49, 56n, 82, 95, 117, 118, 121

### Lugar, Richard, 46, 96, 99

### Lysøen declaration. See human security

### Mack, Andrew, 16

### MacMillan, John, 27n

### Maier, Charles S., 4

### Mali, 91, 168–70, 198
- aid fragmentation, 195
- consequences of 1990s economic liberalization, 229n
- decentralization, 136
- and Ebola virus, 243
- military intervention, 234, 238–9, 254
- effect on state planning and statistics of structural adjustment policies, 173
- organized interests weakened, 182

### Marshall Plan, 27, 36

### Menkhaus, Kenneth, 65, 163, 171

### Mexico
- as failed state, 22, 244
- militarization, 157–63

### Millennium Development Goals, 43
- as criterion of failed state, 20, 23, 24, 187, 192

### Mozambique, 146, 183, 226, 230
- aid fragmentation, 195, 208
- as failed state, 39
- decentralization, 217
- UN peacemaking, 30, 53
- multilateral trust fund, 118, 201
- Great Lakes, 147n
- Sierra Leone, 147n
- South Sudan, 138, 193
- Sudan, 120

- opportunity to close, 31, 77, 92

### Nepal, 239
- failed state label as partisan weapon, 22, 23
- history of external engagement, 63, 172

### Nigeria
- aid, 113, 228
- and Ebola virus, 243
- odious debt, 227

### Operation Provide Comfort, 32

### Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Development Assistance Committee, 2, 49–50, 94–95, 253
- and military expenditures, 39, 40, 112n, 184

© in this web service Cambridge University Press

www.cambridge.org
### Index

- **coordination**, 101–103
- evidence on overload for recipient countries, 196
- fragile states list, 19, 127, 133
- fragility index, 15, 167
- Paris Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States, 49, 52, 151, 194
- transparency, 110, 194
- state-building, 57, 60, 64, 68
- Task Force on Fragile States of the DAC, 13
- Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 83, 92, 93, 144, 150
- Owen, John, 8, 271, 128

**Pakistan**
- aid, 112, 113, 238
- as failed state, 63, 172
- failed state label as partisan weapon, 22
- foreign terrorist organizations, 16
- Indian security specialists on, 23
- parallel mechanisms by donors, 147
- Paris, Roland, 59, 210
- Patrick, Stewart, 15, 20, 76, 112, 131, 159
- Pentagon. See United States Department of Defense (DOD)
- Pires, Emilia, 165, 211
- external interference with nation-building, 176
- externally imposed rules as primary constraint, 186
- local–international contest over design of government in Timor Leste, 190, 191
- on aid to donors, 117
- police reform
  - in Southeastern Europe, 204–205
- policing assistance
  - Afghanistan, 161
  - Bosnia-Herzegovina, 89–90
- southern Africa, 161
- political instability task force, 48, 64. See also State Failure Task Force

- Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, 60, 82, 142, 148, 180, 227
- exclusionary process, 181
- for Afghanistan, 198
- for Haiti, 148
- Mali, 169
- Yemen, 247
- Powell, General (ret.) Colin, Jr., 32, 137

end of Cold War, 31
PRSP. See Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
Quick Impact Projects (QIPs), 156n
Ratner, Steven, 6, 28, 33, 53, 77, 79, 130, 143, 253
Responsibility to Protect, 132, 139. See also International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
African Union, 83
Rice, Condoleezza
- Civilian Response Corps, 105
- concept of responsible sovereignty, 133
- reversal on nation-building, 59
- risk assessment strategies, 107
- rogue state, 51, 31, 34
- rogue states. See rogue state
- Rotberg, Robert, 13, 18, 46
- Rubin, Barnett, 18, 186n
- Rwanda, 15, 34, 55, 173
- aid pledges, 122
- as failed state, 39, 127n
- as strategic threat to US, 29

security. See militarization
security
- cooperative, 4, 28, 31, 36, 92, 222
- human, 4, 48, 7, 25, 37, 39, 40, 44, 51, 222
- organizational separation between security and development, 225, 236
- security and development link, 3, 7, 10, 39, 53n, 98, 223, 225, 226, 235
- security and development link, DFID and Clare Short, 40, 98
- security vs. development
  - Afghanistan, 244
  - Bosnia-Herzegovina, 244
  - Liberia, 243
  - Palestine, 244
  - Yemen, 244
  - Yugoslavia, 243
- threat, 1, 2, 15, 16, 33, 35, 45, 48, 62, 63, 157–60, 207, 222, 250
- security sector reform, 41, 87, 91, 111, 160, 200, 242
- Sending, Ole Jacob, 105, 189
- shadow alignment, 147, 156
- Sierra Leone, 222
- and UN Peacebuilding Commission, 101, 222
- as failed state, 19, 39, 239
- OCHA Strategic Compact, 98

© in this web service Cambridge University Press  www.cambridge.org
Sierra Leone (cont.)
political effects of aid, 206, 210, 213, 219
security sector reform, 200
social funds. See community-driven
development
Sogge, David
move the money, 136
Somalia, 5, 18, 31–33
as complex humanitarian crisis, 34, 79,
137, 157
as failed state, 18, 20, 28, 39, 48, 65, 75, 163
US intervention, 32, 35
South Sudan, 128, 151n, 1930, 254
aid fragmentation, 120, 135, 195
as fragile state, 25
sovereignty
as responsibility, 44, 56, 132
operational, 129
local capacity, 134
political will, 131
sovereign consent, 130
shared, 81, 145, 175
Soviet foreign policy
changes 1985–90, 230
stability operations. See stabilization
operations
police-building. See militarization
stabilization, 234
economic, 37, 41, 243–44, 229, 246, 248, 251
Yemen, 246
in peace operations, 85, 104, 162, 234
military, 92–3, 234
post-conflict, 70, 104
stabilization operations, 48, 84,
162, 208
US and counterterrorism, 100
State Failure Task Force, 18, 20, 29, 43, 130
state-building, 3, 7, 52ff, 67
as aid management, 235
problem of evidence, 166
structural adjustment, 6, 37, 38, 65, 134, 173,
210, 229, 248
Yemen, 246, 247
Sudan
aid, 113, 144, 120, 238
as failed state, 18, 28, 39, 48
JAM, 121
Suhreke, Asti, 75, 155
Tajikistan, 175, 210, 213, 219
as failed state, 39

Index

technical cooperation. See aid:technical
assistance
Timor Leste
and g7+, 24, 102
CDD/CEP, 153, 154, 189, 215
clash of international and local paradigms
(Hohe), 213
Dili-centric intervention, 207
external design of central fiscal authority and
Petroleum Fund, 175
judicial reform assistance, 202
nation-building, obstacles to, 176–77,
191, 216
Pires on capacity, 165
trust funds, 119, 120
World Bank assistance, constraints, 187
Tokatlian, Juan Gabriel, 21
Truman Doctrine, 226
Uganda
aid overload, 196
as failed state, 39, 239
UK Department for International
Development (DFID)
definition of failed/fragile state, 23, 39
fragile states list, 19
working with fragile states, 49, 84, 149
ul Haq, Mahbub
human development, 5n, 37, 44, 233
UN
Peacebuilding Commission, 86, 101,
118, 222
Peacebuilding Fund, 118
ungoverned spaces, 2, 47, 53, 68,
100, 159, 223
concept of, 207
northern Kenya, 207
United Nations, 2, 54, 227
limits on by US design, 27
urban, capital city bias, 206, 212
US Agency for International Development
(USAID), 2, 6, 37, 45, 46, 96, 99, 105, 109,
123, 174, 179, 200, 223
US National Defense Strategy, 2005, 47, 84
US National Security Strategy, 2002, 2, 26, 44,
84, 99
Venezuela
as failed state, 21
Vietnam
aid overload, 196
Index

Westad, Odd Arne, 28, 226, 230, 232, 245, 250
Whitfield, Lindsay, 146, 172, 173, 198
Woods, Ngaire, 38, 105, 199, 132, 136, 172, 173, 197
disbursement culture of World Bank, 136
World Bank, 2, 94, 105, 136, 148, 156, 179, 224n, 232, 234–35
arrears crisis, 6, 38
Chapter VII override of sovereignty, 139
Country Policy and Institutional Assessment, 57, 58, 127, 132, 171, 237
as excuse for neglect, 239
good governance, 28, 40, 42, 56, 68, 134, 174, 199, 237
Low Income Countries under Stress
Trust Fund, 117
Low Income Countries under Stress (LICUS), 19, 49
President Barber Connable, 38, 135, 174
President James Wolfensohn, 38, 39, 81, 94
President Jim Young Kim, 102, 148
President Robert Zoellick, 12, 52
Project Implementation Units (PIU), 98, 151
structural adjustment policies, 6, 37, 172, 228–29
Task Force on “Fragile States,” 49, 82
Task Force on Failed States, 38, 81
trust funds, 116, 118–120, 138, 147, 192–93, 204
Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI), 19, 41, 57, 127, 171, 253
Zoellick, Robert, 12, 52
Yemen, 18, 230, 244–49
as failed state, 48, 245
conflict-generating decentralization, 247
export-oriented development plan 1980s, 247
geographic bias of aid, 208
International financial institutions requirements, 247
military aid, 201, 248
security sector, 201
US aid, 112, 201
US counterterrorism strategy in, 208, 248
water privatization, 247
Yugoslavia, 88, 229
as failed state, 31, 33, 39
change in US policy under Bush, 35, 93, 230, 233
Zartman, I. William, 44
collapsed states, 30