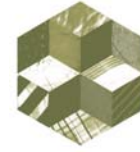




International Peace Academy



**CENTER ON
INTERNATIONAL
COOPERATION**

AGENDA

STATE-BUILDING POLICY MEETING *THE POLITICAL, INSTITUTIONAL AND ECONOMIC CHALLENGES OF STATE-BUILDING*

5 – 7 November 2004

Greentree Estates, Manhasset, New York

Background

From Cambodia to Haiti, the international community has been increasingly involved in operations that seek to build or re-build the institutions of a state. International interventions – ranging from complex peace-building missions in Afghanistan and Liberia, to UN transitional administrations in Kosovo and East Timor, to US-led attempts to install democracy in Iraq – have met with mixed success. Yet these types of interventions are undeniably becoming more common, particularly in light of a growing consensus that failing or failed states are uniquely vulnerable to exploitation by radical groups or likely to serve as breeding grounds for international terrorist networks. What was once viewed as an internal matter is increasingly seen as affecting the vital national security interests of the world's great powers.

In considering the legitimacy and effectiveness of past international state-building efforts, scholars and policymakers have identified challenges that are strikingly similar from case to case. The policy challenges range across all of the essential components of state-building, from establishing basic security and law & order, to establishing a framework for long term peace and security, building sustainable institutions, and providing economic stabilization and the ability of the state to deliver basic public goods.

Past attempts have been seriously undermined by a lack of strategic planning prior to intervention, particularly the failure to understand the local context in which state-building efforts will be undertaken. In most cases, an overemphasis on short-term goals – largely dictated by external domestic politics – has resulted in no real foundations being laid for the

attempted transition; what little change does come has been largely cosmetic. Little attempt has been made to reach out to the local community and manage their expectations for international interventions, let alone good faith efforts to properly consult and involve them in important decisions about the future of their state. The international community often withdraws too early, leaving behind weak institutions that are not sustainable over the long term.

Overarching these issues is a key lacuna: there is surprisingly little clarity about the nature of the state sought to be built, and how success should be measured. Since the ends being pursued are ill defined, the means employed are often inconsistent, inappropriate, and inadequate. The diagnosis and prescription offered by the international community have often been driven more by available resources and great power interest than by a nuanced understanding of the local context and needs on the ground.

Past state-building efforts have, most importantly, suffered from an insufficient focus on the inherently political nature of state-building – which aims for nothing less than the transformation of a society from one that resolves conflicts over power by violence to one that opts for political means – and have tended to assume that politics cease to exist when formal state institutions have eroded or collapsed. Instead, international actors have demonstrated a tendency to treat state-building as a purely technical exercise of transferring skills and running elections.

Aims of the Meeting

This meeting aims to move beyond these critiques, to investigate the feasibility of building legitimate and sustainable state institutions via intervention by international actors, to determine what goals might be achievable, and consider how international state-building doctrine and practice can be improved. It also aims to launch a discussion on basic criteria for measuring success, and priorities for future international interventions.

As used in this context, the term “state-building” covers a wide range of international involvement that goes beyond traditional peace-keeping and peace-building mandates, and is directed at stabilizing a state or (re)building the institutions of a state. This may cover a range of activities, including (but not limited to) capacity building in governance, rule of law, and elections; the provision and reform of the security apparatus; and service provision and reform of the economic sector.

Friday, 5 November 2004

Welcoming Remarks: **Elizabeth Cousens**, Vice-President, International Peace Academy
Shepard Forman, Director, Center on International Cooperation

Saturday, 6 November 2004

0900 – 1230 PANEL 1: Current approaches and new thinking on state-building

- Who wants state-building? Why?
- Peace-building, nation-building: state-building by another name?
- Does peace-building undermine state-building?
- Peace-building: one size fits all? Can our models match the complexity of the world?
- What is the ideal state? Is the perfect the enemy of the good?
- How do we know if we are succeeding or failing?

Chair: **Shepard Forman**, Center on International Cooperation

Panelists: **Michael Barnett**, University of Minnesota
Charles Call, UN Department of Political Affairs
Barnett Rubin, Center on International Cooperation
William Reno, Northwestern University

1330 – 1500 PANEL 2: The inherently political nature of state-building

- How should international actors interact with local political agendas, power structures, and informal institutions that may exist in the wake of conflict or state failure?
- To what extent is state-building success pre-determined by the process of achieving consensus on a transition to political rather than violent competition for power?
- Can state-building ultimately be successful if it is not incorporated into the early stages of negotiating the peace?
- What are the most appropriate strategies for transition? Who holds power prior to elections, how are they chosen, and to whom are they responsible? How can their power be limited in absence of traditional liberal notions of checks and balances?

Chair: **Kirsti Samuels**, International Peace Academy

Panelists: **Salman Ahmed**, UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations
Yezid Sayigh, University of Cambridge: *Perspectives from Palestine*

1530 – 1645 PANEL 3: The challenges of participation and ownership

- What forms does consultation take among national actors? What forms of consultation takes place between international and national actors? How are various actors consulted, empowered, included?
- There is a difference between involving locals in planning v. seeking their endorsement: how can the local population be involved in substantive decision-making and strategic planning? How can international actors move beyond solicitation of participation by elites to consultation of the population at large?
- There is a difference between planning v. implementation: how much emphasis can or should be placed on seeking local implementation?
- How can the need for technical expertise (often from international actors) be balanced with demands for more participation?
- Is there a way of overcoming the ‘no one values what they get for free’ dilemma?
- How can information be shared with the local population & their expectations managed?

Chair: **Elizabeth Cousens**, International Peace Academy

Panelists: **Catherine Barnes**, Independent Consultant
Mike McGovern, International Crisis Group: *Perspectives from Liberia*
David Haeri, UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations: *Perspectives from Afghanistan*

1700 – 1815 PANEL 4: Holding governments accountable

- How can horizontal accountability (checks and balances within government) and vertical accountability (ability of population to hold leaders accountable) be achieved?
- What role can the international community play in holding the leaders it supports accountable for their actions? Who holds international actors accountable? How do decisions about accountability for international actors translate into establishing culture of accountability?
- What are strategies for enforcing constitutional provisions for checks and balances?
- Architecture for accountability v. challenge of enforcement. What role can independent auditors or watchdog institutions play? What is the role for civil society? What role for markets?

Chair: **Madalene O’Donnell**, Center on International Cooperation

Panelists: **Erik Jensen**, Stanford Law School
Marcus Cox, European Stability Initiative: *Perspectives from Bosnia*

Sunday, 7 November 2004

0900 – 1030 PANEL 5: Building sustainable institutions

- What are strategies for strengthening very weak institutions? Top-down, bottom-up, headquarters-frontline, twinning, resident advisors, leadership development, multi-stakeholder dialogue, joint fact-finding, training?
- How do we take informal institutions and networks into account when we try to build or strengthen formal institutions? How do such networks enable or undermine formal institutions?
- Criteria for using international staff in place of local staff. How can skills best be transferred? How should the transition from international to local take place? The role of advisors vs. line managers. Training on the job vs. long term training.
- Can some functions be provided externally? What are the implications for effectiveness, legitimacy and sustainability?
- Decentralization & local government: when and how should decentralization be undertaken? Where the state is too weak to extend its control over the entire territory which services and responsibilities can be left to or assumed by local authorities or non-state actors?

Chair: **Nicholas Manning**, The World Bank

Panelists: **Sarah Cliffe**, The World Bank
Bob Maguire, Trinity University: *Perspectives from Haiti*
Ken Menkhaus, Davidson College: *Perspectives from Somalia*

1100 – 1300: PANEL 6: Fiscal management, economic growth and state-building

- How can political, macro-economic and micro-economic goals be aligned to minimize tension and best support state-building? How should economic and political/governance reforms be sequenced?
- Is there scope for peace-conditionality or other economic sticks and carrots to reinforce sustainable positive change?
- What are the challenges of fiscal management? Are the nearer-term pressures to build revenue or expenditure management capacity?
- What are the unique challenges to economic management and growth in post-conflict economies? How should assistance strategies be tailored to these special circumstances? Which economic and social areas are most closely linked to successful state-building (e.g. monopoly over taxation, credible social service provision?)
- What institutional structures and frameworks are key in the short term to promote success over the long term (budget process, independent central bank, regulation of business and foreign investment, property rights and rule of law)?

Chair: **Michael Carnahan**, Ministry of Finance, Afghanistan

Panelists: **Clare Lockhart**, Ministry of Finance, Afghanistan
Sarah Cliffe (for Paul Collier), The World Bank
Rex Brynen, McGill University: *Perspectives from Palestine*

1300 - 1400 LUNCH and closing remarks, Kirsti Samuels, International Peace Academy

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

1. Mr. Salman Ahmed, Political Affairs Officer, UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations
2. Dr. Catherine Barnes, Independent Consultant
3. Professor Michael Barnett, Harold Stassen Chair of International Affairs, Hubert Humphrey School of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota
4. Ms. Michele Brandt, Consultant, Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery, United Nations Development Programme
5. Professor Rex Brynen, Professor of Political Science, McGill University
6. Dr. Charles Call, Peacebuilding Consultant, Policy Planning Unit, UN Department of Political Affairs
7. Dr. Michael Carnahan, Senior Advisor to Minister of Finance for Afghanistan
8. Dr. Sarah Cliffe, Coordinator, Low-Income Countries Under Stress Initiative, The World Bank
9. Dr. Elizabeth Cousens, Vice President, International Peace Academy
10. Dr. Marcus Cox, Senior Editor, European Stability Initiative
11. Dr. William Durch, Senior Associate, The Henry L. Stimson Center
12. Dr. Shepard Forman, Director, Center on International Cooperation
13. Mr. David Haeri, Political Affairs Officer, UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations
14. Ms. Vanessa Hawkins, Program Officer, State-Building Program, International Peace Academy
15. Mr. Erik Jensen, Co-Director, Rule of Law Program, Stanford Law School
16. Ms. Clare Lockhart, Special Advisor to Minister for Finance, Government of Afghanistan
17. Professor Robert Maguire, Director of Programs in International Affairs, Trinity University
18. Dr. Michael McGovern, West Africa Project Director, International Crisis Group
19. Mr. Nicholas Manning, Lead Public Sector Management Specialist, PREM Unit, The World Bank
20. Professor Ken Menkhaus, Professor of Political Science, Davidson College
21. Ms. Madalene O'Donnell, Coordinator, State-Building Program, Center on International Cooperation
22. Professor William Reno, Professor of Political Science, Northwestern University
23. Professor Barnett Rubin, Director of Studies and Senior Fellow, Center on International Cooperation

24. Ms. Kirsti Samuels, Associate, State-Building Program, International Peace Academy
25. Dr. Yezid Sayigh, Visiting Scholar, Pembroke College, University of Cambridge
26. Ms. Laura Sitea, Associate, Center on International Cooperation