

Civil Wars and International Interventions in Africa

POLS V3604

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Office 419, Lehman Hall
Office Hours: Thursdays, 3-5 p.m.

Undergraduate lecture class, Spring 2010
Tuesdays and Thursdays, 1:10 – 2:25 p.m.
Altschul 202
Barnard & Columbia Colleges

Teaching Assistants:

- Michael Broache (mpb2140@columbia.edu): Discussion sections on Fridays 9-10 a.m. and 12-1 p.m.; Office hours on Tuesdays, 2:35-4:35 in the SIPA cafe (6th floor of IAB)
- Costantino Pischedda (cp2417@columbia.edu): Discussion sections on Mondays, 12:30-1:30 p.m. and Wednesdays, 5:30-6:30 p.m.; Office hours on Wednesdays, 2-4 pm in the SIPA cafe (6th floor of IAB)
- Third TA TBA: Discussion sections on day / time TBA; Office hours TBA

Substance of the Course

Why does violent conflict persist in post-independence Africa? Why do nearly half of the countries that emerge from war lapse back into violence after five years? Why do most international interventions fail to bring peace to affected populations? This class focuses on recent conflict and post-conflict situations in Africa as background against which to understand the distinct dynamics of violence and international interventions in civil wars.

The goal of the course is three-fold. First, to provide participants with the intellectual tools to understand and analyze civil wars and international interventions. Throughout the course, the participants will acquire a broad knowledge of the concepts, theoretical traditions, and debates in the study of civil war, emergency aid, peacekeeping, and peace building. The course will also introduce participants to new issues in the field, such as the micro-foundations of peace settlements. Second, the course will provide participants with an in-depth understanding of the most salient civil conflicts and peace processes in recent African history, notably the D.R. Congo, Rwanda, and Sudan. Third, the course will develop students' research, analytical, and writing skills through assignments and papers.

Readings for this course are drawn from a variety of disciplines (political science, anthropology, and others), approaches (rational choice, constructivist), and methodologies (qualitative and quantitative). They include both theoretical works and case studies of recent conflicts. Classes will consist both of lectures and discussion. Guest speakers will be invited for several class sessions, to exchange with students and explain how the specific issues under consideration play out in the "real" world.

Grading and Requirements

- 1) Attendance to all lectures and sections, participation to class discussions during the sections. (15% of the final grade)
- 2) Readings: Assignments are on the attached list. For tips on how to do active critical readings, please see the handout distributed on the first day of classes and posted on coursework. In addition, please regularly read news articles on African civil wars in your preferred newspapers.

All the articles are available for free through Columbia databases. If you are on campus, the easiest way to locate them is to click on the link provided in this syllabus. If you are not on campus, or if the link does not work, you can access the article through the Columbia University library webpage (www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/index.html). To find an article, simply type the journal title in the E-Journals tab and follow the appropriate link based on your citation information (volume, date).

The books by Kaplan, Mamdani, Straus, Reno, Collier & Sambanis, Weinstein, Duffied, Jones, Fisher and Ury, Stedman, and Barnett are available for purchase at the Columbia

University Bookstore. They are also available on Library Reserve at Barnard and Butler libraries. The rest of the book chapters assigned as required readings are available through Courseworks in the library reserve section.

PLEASE NOTE: It is essential that students keep up with the weekly reading assignments. Readings are designed as building blocks for understanding topics in subsequent weeks. The readings are often difficult, it is therefore in the students' best interest to attend all discussion sections, to ensure that they understand the main claims and the fine points of the readings. It is also essential that students attend all lectures. The lectures and the readings are complementary (the lectures will not substitute for the weekly readings and discussion sections, and vice-versa). The short, long, and final essays will test your understanding of the material covered both during lectures and in the readings.

- 3) A short essay (take-home, open-books, 15% of the final grade). The essay question will cover a topic already covered in class. The paper must be typed; no handwritten material will be accepted. It must be at most 4 pages double space, with 1 inches margins, and in font Times New Roman 12. It should use the material covered in the readings and during the lectures and the discussion sessions. The essay question will be given on February 9 and the paper will be due on February 16.
- 4) A long essay (take-home, open-books, 30% of the final grade). The essay question will cover the material learned during the first part of the semester. The paper must be typed; no handwritten material will be accepted. It must be at most 8 pages double space, with 1 inches margins, and in font Times New Roman 12 or Arial 10. It should use the material covered in the readings and during the lectures and the discussion sessions. The essay question will be given on March 4 and the paper will be due on March 11.
- 5) A final essay (take-home, open-books, 40% of the final grade). The essay question will cover the material learned during the entire semester. The paper must be typed; no handwritten material will be accepted. It must be at most 8 pages double space, with 1 inches margins, and in font Times New Roman 12 or Arial 10. It should use the material covered in the readings and during the lectures and the discussion sessions. The essay question will be given on April 22 and the paper will be due on April 29.

The papers must be submitted when scheduled. Extensions will be granted only in case of documented medical or family emergency. Late turn-ins will be downgraded one-third of a letter grade per day after the deadline unless you contact me beforehand to request an extension.

Writing resources: The following websites provide many very useful advice for research and writing, which may become handy as you write your essays:

- <http://www.nd.edu/~dlindley/handouts/handoutlinks.html> (plenty of handouts on everything you need: how to make a theoretically informed argument, core theories and concepts used in IR, etc)
- <http://www.library.ualberta.ca/guides/plagiarism/handouts/index.cfm> (you can find hundreds of useful tips on research and writing)
- <http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl> (the sections on "The Writing Process", "General Academic Writing", "Research and Citations", and "Grammar and Mechanics" are especially helpful).
- <http://www.dianahacker.com/resdoc/> (rules and examples on how to reference your sources)

All students are strongly encouraged to use the Erica Mann Jong Writing Center to work on their writing skills. The Erica Mann Jong Writing Center is currently located in 18 Milbank; you can sign up for an appointment at <http://www.barnard.columbia.edu/writing/writingcenter.html>. Columbia students are welcome to use the Writing Center for papers assigned in this course. For further information on writing resources at Barnard College and helpful strategies for writing assignments, please check <http://www.barnard.columbia.edu/english/writing.html>.

Challenging grades: Any student who believes a grade was given in error should follow the following procedure. S/he should wait a week before submitting a complaint. S/he should meet first with the TA who graded the paper and bring to the meeting a one-page typed document explaining why the student

believes that s/he deserves a better grade and telling which grade s/he thinks s/he deserves. If the student and the TA still disagree about the grade after their meeting, the student should come to discuss the situation during my office hours. S/he should bring the one-page document annotated by the TA. Students should realize that a change in grade is very unlikely, and that I reserve the right to lower a grade as well as raise it.

Barnard Honor Code: Students affirm that all work turned in is their own, and that they have fully and accurately cited every written source, including web-based sources, used in their writing.

For each paper, all students (whether or not they are Barnard College students) must sign the Barnard College Honor Code statement, affirming that their written work is completely their own. Any student found to have violated the Honor Code will face the disciplinary rules of his or her home college.

Here are some very helpful websites for all your questions on intellectual property, citing and documenting sources, avoiding disasters, etc (and of course don't hesitate to ask me if you have any doubt or question):

- <http://www.library.ucla.edu/b Bruinsuccess> (the tutorial is fun and very useful)
- <http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/589/01> (another very helpful site on avoiding plagiarism)
- <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~sources> (very detailed information about how and why to cite sources)

Use of laptops in the classroom: The use of laptops in the classroom is allowed only to take notes on the class lectures and discussions. Students are forbidden to use a laptop in the classroom to browse the internet or work on something different than the material discussed in class. Students who want to use a computer should give me a written document promising to *never* use their laptop in class for something else than taking notes on class lectures / discussion. Cheaters will be severely penalized. Students using laptops should sit at the back of the classroom in order to not disturb their colleagues.

Students with disabilities: Students with disabilities who will be taking this course and may need disability-related accommodations are encouraged to make an appointment to see me as soon as possible. Disabled students who need test or classroom accommodations must be registered in advance with the Office of Disabilities Services (ODS) in 105 Hewitt (for Barnard students) or the office of disabilities services at Columbia.

Pre-requisite: At least sophomore standing, except in consultation with the instructor.

Sub-field & Requirements: The course fulfils the Barnard College's General Education Requirement: Social Analysis (SOC). It also fulfils Columbia College's Global Core requirement. Alternatively, Columbia College and Barnard College political science majors can count this class toward their international relations sub-field requirement OR their comparative politics sub-field requirement.

Enrollment restriction: 110 students.

Learning Objectives

Students who complete this course will learn how to:

1. Evaluate and critique the theories on the causes of violence and the determinants of international interventions
2. Integrate and apply conceptual tools and theories from various disciplines, in particular political science, in order to analyze issues related to civil wars and international interventions
3. Develop rigorous and convincing political science arguments
4. Demonstrate knowledge of several salient cases of conflicts and peace processes in recent African history
5. Express themselves effectively in writing
6. Perform independent research on political science, human rights, and/or African studies topics

Jan. 19 and 21 – Introduction and key concepts

Assignment: please read the first three pages of this syllabus very carefully and don't hesitate to ask in class if you have any clarifying question.

As there is no reading for this week, take the opportunity to get started on the readings for next week.

Guest speaker: Steve Crawshaw, UN advocacy director for Human Rights Watch, on why civil wars and international interventions in Africa matter

PART 1: EXPLAINING VIOLENCE IN AFRICAN CIVIL WARS

Jan. 26 - Can we understand violence? The “new barbarism” idea & the “new wars old wars” debate

Kaplan, Robert D. 1996. *The Ends of the Earth*. New York: Random House. Chapters 1 & 2

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2001. “‘New’ and ‘Old’ Civil Wars, a Valid Distinction?” *World Politics*, 54(1): 99-118. (http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/world_politics/v054/54.1kalyvas.pdf)

Recommended

Kaldor, Marie. *New War, Old War. Organized Violence in a Global Era*. Polity Press; 2d edition, 2006.

Richards, Paul. *Fighting for the Rain Forest: War, Youth & Resources in Sierra Leone*. Oxford: Portsmouth, N.H, International African Institute. 1996.

Kaplan, Robert D. The Coming Anarchy. How scarcity, crime, overpopulation, tribalism, and disease are rapidly destroying the social fabric of our planet. *The Atlantic Monthly*, February 1994.

Huntington, Samuel. 1993. “The Clash of Civilizations?” *Foreign Affairs*.

Jan. 28 – The role of the state I: legacies of colonialism

Mamdani, Mahmood. 1996. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press. Read chapters 1-3, browse chapter 4.

Recommended

Davidson, Basil. 1992. *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State*. London: James Currey.

Paul Nugent. 2004. *Africa since independence: a Comparative History*. New York: Palgrave.

Cooper, Fred. 2002. *Africa since 1940. The Past of the Present*. Harvard University Press.

Hoschild, Adam. 1998. *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. New York: Mariner Books.

Dunn, Kevin. 2003. *Imagining the Congo*, New York: Palgrave. Especially chapters 2 and 3.

Pakenham, Thomas. *The Scramble for Africa*. London: Abacus books.

Feb. 2 – The role of the state II: regime type & state violence

Strauss, Scott. *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. Cornell University Press, 2006. Chapters 1 and 2.

Recommended

Wrong, Michaela. 2000. *In the footsteps of Mr. Kurtz: Living on the Brink of Disaster in Mobutu's Congo*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers. Browse the entire book (310 pages)

Gourevitch, Philip. 1998. *We wish to inform you that tomorrow we will be killed with our families: stories from Rwanda*. New York: St Martin's Press.

James Ron. *Frontiers and Ghetto*. University of California Press, 2003. Intro, chapter I, and part two.

Feb. 4 – The role of the state III: state failure & warlordism

Reno, William. 1998. *Warlord Politics and African States*. London: Lynne Rienner. Introduction, chapters 3 and 5.

Recommended

Rotbert, Robert I. 2004. *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*. Princeton University Press.

Hoslsti, Kalevi. 1996. *The State, War, and the State of War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Zartman, William I (ed). 1995. *Collapsed states: the disintegration and restoration of legitimate authority*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Fanthorpe, Richard. "Neither Citizen Nor Subject? Lumpen Agency and the Legacy of Native Administration in Sierra Leone," *African Affairs*, 100. 2001.

Chabal, Patrick; and Daloz, Jean-Pascal (1999). *Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument*. Bloomington / Oxford, Indiana University Press

Trefon, Theodore (ed.). *Reinventing Order in the Congo: How people respond to state failure in Kinshasa*. London: Zed Books, 2004

Timothy Raeymaekers. *Governance without Government? Power and Property in a Small Congolese Town*. Paper presented at the 2006 African Studies Conference

Feb. 9 & 11 – Research and Writing

February 9: How to think and write like a political scientist:

- *Advice on research and writing for political science papers.*
- *End of class: distribution of topics for the short essay & explanation of requirements and grading criteria.*

February 11: Training by Yusuf Caruso, Columbia University Librarian in charge of the Africa collections, on how to find good research resources on African civil wars.

No readings this week, review the readings for the first few weeks of the semester and work on your essay.

Recommended

Wayne C. Booth et al. *The Craft of Research*.

Roselle, Laura and Spray, Sharon. *Research and Writing in International Relations*. Pearson. 2008.

Kate Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*. 6th rev. ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007

Stephen Van Evera. *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997.

Modern Language Association. *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers*.
<http://www.wisc.edu/writing/handbook/DocMLA.html>.

See Also: <http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/557/01/>

Various sources on citations, bibliographies, and footnotes available at:
http://sipa.columbia.edu/resources_services/student_affairs/academic_policies/code_of_conduct.html

Feb. 16 & 18 – Identity and Violence

Fearon, James and Laitin, David. 2000. "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity," *International Organization* 54-4: 845–877.

Sanders, Edith R. 1969. "The Hamitic Hypothesis; Its Origin and Functions in Time Perspective," *Journal of African History*, 10-4: 521-532 (<http://www.jstor.org/view/00218537/ap010030/01a00020/0>)

De Waal, Alex. 2005. "Who are the Darfurians? Arab and African identities, violence and external engagement." *African Affairs*, 104 (415):181-205.
(<http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/content/abstract/104/415/181>)

Marshall-Fratani, Ruth. 2006. *The war of 'Who Is Who': Autochthony, Nationalism, and Citizenship in the Ivorian Crisis*. *African Studies Review* 49-2: 9-43
(http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/african_studies_review/v049/49.2marshall-fratani.html)

Short essay due at the beginning of class on February 16. No extension except in case of documented medical or family emergency.

Recommended

Mamdani, Mahmood. 2007. "The Politics of Naming: Genocide, Civil War, Insurgency," in *London Review of Books*. <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v29/n05/print/mamd01.html>.

De Waal, Alex and Flint, Julie. *Darfur, A Short History of a Long War*. Palgrave - Zed Books. 2006

Mamdani, Mahmood. *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press. 2001.

Berkeley, Bill. *The Graves are Not Yet Full: Race, Tribe and Power in the Heart of Africa*. Basic Books. 2001.

Hutchinson, Sharon Elaine; Jok, Jok Madut. "Sudan's Prolonged Second Civil War and the Militarization of Nuer and Dinka Ethnic Identities." *African Studies Review*, 42 (2), 1999. 125-145.

Sambanis, Nicholas. "Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45(3): 259 - 282. 2001.

Fearon, James D. and Laitin, David D. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75-90. 2003.

Feb. 23 & 25 - Economic explanations of civil war violence

Collier, Paul; Sambanis, Nicholas (eds). 2005. *Understanding Civil Wars: Evidence and Analysis: Vol 1 - Africa*. Washington: The World Bank. Chapter 1, 3, 4, 5, 7.

Recommended

Collier, Paul and Hoeffler, Anke. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Paper* 56: 663-695. 2001.

Keen, David. *The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars*. International Institute for strategic studies Adelphi paper London. 1998

Ross, Michael. "What Do We Know about Natural Resources and Civil War?" *Journal of Peace Research* 41: 337-356. 2004.

Giordano, Mark F.; Giordano, Meredith A.; Wolf, Aaron T. "International Resource Conflict and Mitigation," *Journal of Peace Research* 42 (1): 47-65. 2005.

Nest, Michael; Grignon, Francois, and Kisangani, Emizet. *The Democratic Republic of Congo: Economic Dimensions of War and Peace*. International Peace Academy Occasional Paper Series. Boulder, Co: Lynne Rienner, 2006.

March 2 – Insurgencies

Weinstein, Jeremy. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge University Press, 2006. Introduction, chapters 1, 3-6 but skip all the sections on Peru.

Recommended

Finnström, Sverker 2008. *Living with Bad Surroundings: War, History, and Everyday Moments in Northern Uganda*. Duke University Press.

Clapham, Christopher. 1998. *African Guerillas*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press

Boas, Morten and Dunn, Kevin. 2007. *African Guerrillas: Raging Against the Machine*. Lynne Rienner.

Richards, Paul (ed). 2005. *No Peace no War - An Anthropology of Contemporary Armed Conflict*. Ohio University Press.

Brinkman, Inge. "Language, Names, and War: the Case of Angola." *African Studies Review*, 47-3. December 2004.

Muana, Patrick (1997). "The Kamajoi Militia: Violence, Internal Displacement and the Politics of Counter-Insurgency," in *Africa Development* 22(3/4): 77 - 100.

Van Acker, Frank, and Vlassenroot, Koen (2000). "Youth and Conflict in Kivu: 'Komona Clair'," in *Journal of Humanitarian Assistance*.

Viterna, Jocelyn S. 2006. "Pushed, Pulled, and Persuaded: Explaining Women's mobilization into the Salvadoran Guerilla Army." *American Journal of Sociology*. 112 (1).

Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2003. *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. Cambridge University Press.

March 4 – Micro-dynamics of violence

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2003. "The Ontology of 'Political Violence': Action and Identity in Civil Wars." *Perspectives on Politics* 1 (3): 475 - 494.
(<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?jsessionid=CD271E2C05FE0B4119B278CE5C8741EB.tomcat1?fromPage=online&aid=174766>)

Autesserre, Séverine. 2006 "Local violence, National Peace? Post-war "settlement" in the Eastern D.R. Congo," *African Studies Review* 49-3: 1-29.
(http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/african_studies_review/v049/49.3autesserre.pdf)

Strauss, Scott. 2006. *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. Cornell University Press, Chapter 3.

End of class on March 4: distribution of topics for the long essay.

Guest speaker: Dr. Elisabeth King, Post-Doctoral Fellow, Earth Institute, Columbia University, on education and violence in Rwanda.

Recommended

Autesserre, Séverine (2008). The Trouble with Congo - How Local Disputes Fuel Regional Violence. *Foreign Affairs* 87 (3): 94-110.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Vlassenroot, Koen and Raeymaekers, Timothy. *Conflict and Social Transformation in Eastern Dr Congo*. Gent, Academia Press Scientific Publishers. 2004

O'Bannon, Brett. *Conflict Early Warning: An Indicator Species of Structural Transformation*. Paper presented at the 2006 African Studies Association Conference.

Krämer, Mario (University of Siegen). *Dynamics of violence in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The Relations between Center and Periphery*. Paper presented at the Order, Conflict, and Violence Speaker Series. Fall 2006.

PART II – TOPICS IN INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTIONS

March 11 – International interventions to Support Warring Parties

Long essay due at the beginning of class on March 11. No extension except in case of documented medical or family emergency.

No readings for today, work on your essays.

March 23 & 25 – Humanitarian Aid

Duffield, Mark R. 2001. *Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security*. London / New York, Zed Books. Chapters 1-4, 8-9

Guest speaker: Catherine Dumait-Harper, former representative of Doctors Without Borders (MSF) to the United Nations, on humanitarian aid in Africa.

Recommended

Pendregast, John (1996). *Frontline diplomacy. Humanitarian aid and conflict in Africa*. Boulder / London.

Anderson, Marie. *Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace - or War*. Lynne Rienner, Boulder, CO. 1999.

Macrae, Joanna and Leader, Nicholasa. *Shifting Sands: the search for 'coherence' between political and humanitarian responses to complex emergencies*. HPG Report 8. 2000

Uvin, Peter. 1998. *Aiding violence: the development enterprise in Rwanda*. West Hartford: Kumarian Press.

Fergusson, James. 1994. *The anti-Politics machine. "Development," Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. University of Minnesota Press.

De Waal, Alexander. *Famine Crimes: Politics & the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa*. Bloomington, Ind., Indiana University Press. 1997.

Autesserre, Severine. 2003. "United States "humanitarian diplomacy" in South Sudan". *Journal of Humanitarian Aid*. <http://www.jha.ac/articles/a085.htm>. (entire article)

Gilbert Rist. 2002. *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*, Zed Books, 2002.

Collier, Paul. 2003. *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*. Washington, D.C./Oxford: The World Bank/Oxford University Press.

Michael Barnett and Tom Weiss, eds. 2008. *Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power, Ethics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Peter Hoffman and Thomas Weiss. 2007. *Sword and Salve: Confronting New Wars and Humanitarian Crises* (NY: Rowman and Littlefield).

Crush Jonathan. 1995. *Power of development*. Routledge.

March 30 & April 1 – From war to peace: organizing negotiations

Bruce D. Jones. 2001. *Peacemaking in Rwanda: The Dynamics of Failure*. Lynne Rienner. Introduction, chapters 3-5

Fisher, Roger and William Ury with Bruce Patton. *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement without Giving In*, 2nd ed. New York: Penguin, 1991, chapters 3 and 4.

Guest speaker: Ambassador Adonia Ayebare, Acting Director of the Africa Program at the International Peace Institute, on negotiations to end the Burundian civil war.

Recommended

Holbroke, Richard, *To End A War*, Random House: New York, 1998.

Princen, T, *Intermediaries in International Conflict*, Princeton University Press, 1992.

Richmond, Oliver P. *Mediating in Cyprus: The Cypriot Communities and the UN*, London: Frank Cass, 1998.

Roy Licklider. 1993. *Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End*. New York: NYU press. Chapters 1, 2, 7, and 8 (3-36 and 164 - 205)

Crocker, Chester A.; Hampson, Fen Oslder; and Aall Pamela R. 2004 *Taming intractable conflicts: Mediation in the hardest cases*. USIP Press

Barbara Walter. 2002. *Committing to Peace: Successful Settlements of Civil Wars*. Princeton University Press.

Darby, John and Mac Ginty, Roger. 2003. *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*.

Maundi, Mohammed O. et al. 2006. *Getting in: Mediator's entry into the settlement of African conflict*. USIP Press.

Zartman, I. William. 1995. *Elusive Peace: Negotiating an End to Civil Wars*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.

Zartman and J. Lewis Rasmussen. 2007. *Peacemaking in International Conflict. Methods and Techniques*. Washington, US Institute of Peace Press.

Page Fortna, Virginia. "Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace," *International Organization*, 57:337 – 372. Cambridge University Press. 2003.

Timothy Sisk. 1996. *Power Sharing and International Mediation in Ethnic Conflicts*. New York: Carnegie Corporation

Licklider, Roy. 1995. The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars, 1945- 1993, *American Political Science Review* 89(3):681-690.

Doyle, Michael and Nicholas Sambanis. 2000. International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis, *American Political Science Review* 44 (4).

D. Mason and P. Fett, "How Civil Wars End: A Rational Choice Approach," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol. 40, no. 4 (December 1996), 546-68.

Barbara Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization*, vol. 51 (Summer 1997), pp. 335-64.

April 6, 8, and 13 – Peacekeeping

Barnett, Michael. 2002. *Eyewitness to a Genocide: the United Nations and Rwanda*. Cornell University Press. Introduction, Chapter 1 to 5.

Guest speaker: Claire Bamber, director, United Nations Operations Center, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, on current UN peacekeeping operations.

Guest speaker: Major General Patrick Cammaert, former United Nations Force Commander for the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, on the peacekeeping mission in the DR Congo.

Recommended

Paris, Roland. *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Doyle, Michael W. and Sambanis, Nicholas. *Making War and Building Peace*. Princeton University Press, 2006. Chapter 1, 2, 4 (section on Somalia), 7.

Cater, Charles. "The Political Economy of Conflict and UN Intervention: Rethinking the Critical Cases of Africa," in Karen Ballentine and Jake Sherman. *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance*. Boulder; London, Lynne Rienner Publishers. 2003.

Poulligny, Beatrice. *Peace Operations Seen from Below. UN Missions and Local People*. Kumarian Press. 2006.

Alao, Abiodun; Mackinlay, John, et al. (1999). *Peacekeepers, Politicians and Warlords: The Liberian Peace Process*. Tokyo ; New York, United Nations University Press.

April 15 & 20 – Humanitarian Interventions and the Responsibility to Protect

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. *The Responsibility to Protect*. December 2001. <http://www.iciss.ca/report-en.asp>. Synopsys, chapter 1 and chapter 2.

Holt, Victoria and Berkman, Tobia. 2006. *The Impossible Mandate? Military Preparedness, the Responsibility to Protect and Modern Peace Operations*. Report of the Henry L. Stimson Center. <http://www.stimson.org/pub.cfm?id=346>. Chapter 8.

Slim, Hugo. "Dithering over Darfur? A preliminary review of the international response." *International Affairs* 80-5, 2004, pp. 211-233 <http://www.hdcentre.org/datastore/shaping%20opinion/Dithering%20Over%20Darfur.pdf>.

Guest speakers: Emmanuel Lebrun Damiens et Emmanuelle Lachaussée, Counselors, French Mission to the United Nations, on the UN Security Council and R2P.

Recommended

Scott Strauss. 2005. "Darfur and the Genocide Debate," *Foreign Affairs*. <http://fullaccess.foreignaffairs.org/20050101faessay84111/scott-strauss/darfur-and-the-genocide-debate.html>

Pantulio, Sara and O'Callaghan, Sorcha. 2006. *The 'Protection Crisis': a Review of Field-Based Strategies for Humanitarian Protection in Darfur*. Overseas Development Institute: Humanitarian Policy Group Discussion Paper.

Grono, Nick. 2005. "Briefing – Darfur: the International Community's Failure to Protect" *African Affairs*, 105/421, 621–631.

Mamdani, Mahmood. 2009. *Saviors and Survivors - Darfur, Politics, and the War on Terror*. New York: Random House.

De Waal, Alex. 2007. "Prospects for Peace in Darfur" in *War in Darfur and the Search for Peace*. Ed. Alex de Waal. Global Equity Initiative: Harvard University, Cambridge, and Justice Africa: London. 367-392.

Holt, Victoria and Berkman, Tobia. 2006. *The Impossible Mandate? Military Preparedness, the Responsibility to Protect and Modern Peace Operations*. Report of the Henry L. Stimson Center.

De Waal, Alex. 2005. *Counter-Insurgency on the Cheap*, London Review of Books, Vol. 26, No. 15; <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v26/n15/waal01.html>

De Waal, Ale and Prendergast, John. 2007. *Dueling Over Darfur*. Newsweek web forum. <http://www.newsweek.com/id/69004/output/print>

Reports on the Save Darfur, Enough, and International Crisis Group's websites

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1674. 2006. (<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/331/99/PDF/N0633199.pdf?OpenElement>)

Institute for Security Studies. *African Security Review*. Special issue on R2P in Africa. Sept. 2007. http://www.issafrica.org/dynamic/administration/file_manager/file_links/ASR16NO3FULL.PDF?link_id=3&link_id=5035&link_type=12&link_type=13&tmp

Thakur, Ramesh, *The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to the Responsibility to Protect* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

United Nations High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. 2004. *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*. <http://www.un.org/secureworld/>

April 22 – Peacebuilding

Stedman, Stephen John; Rothchild, Donald and Cousens, Elizabeth M. 2002. *Ending Civil Wars. The Implementation of Peace Agreements*. London, Lynne Rienner. Chapters 1, 6,8.

Stedman, Stephen John. 1997. "Spoilers Problems in Peace Processes," *International Security* 22(2): 5-53.

Autesserre, Séverine. Hobbes and the Congo. Frames, International Intervention, and Local Violence, *International Organization*, 63-2, 2009

End of class on April 22: distribution of topics for the final essay.

Recommended

Tull, Denis M.; Mehler, Andreas. 2005. "The hidden costs of power-sharing: Reproducing insurgent violence in Africa," *African Affairs*, 104 (416):375-398. (<http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/content/abstract/104/416/375?etoc>)

Branch, Adam and Mampilly, Zachariah Cherian. 2005. "Winning the war, but losing the peace ? The dilemma of SPLM/A civil administration and the tasks ahead" *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 43-1: 1-20. (http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FMOA%2FMOA43_01%2FS0022278X04000588a.pdf&code=3265332278125dbf83c2e95bce65491e)

Call, Charles T and Cousens, Elizabeth. 2008. "Ending Wars and Building Peace: International Responses to War-Torn Societies," *International Studies Perspectives*, 9-1: 1-21.

Woodward, Susan (2006). *Why State-Building? Toward a Conceptual Framework*. Unpublished paper: City University of New York.

Chuck Call (ed.) 2007 (forthcoming). *Building States to Build Peace*. International Peace Academy.

Blattman, Christopher. *The Consequences of War and the Determinants of Successful Reintegration of Youth Combatants in Africa*. Paper presented at the 2006 African Studies Association Conference. <http://www.chrisblattman.org/Blattman.ConsequencesChildSoldiering.pdf>

John R. Heilbrunn. "Paying the Price of Failure: Reconstructing Failed and Collapsed States in Africa and Central Asia." *Perspectives on Politics*, 4:1. 2006.

Tull, Denis M. "A reconfiguration of political order? The state of the state in North Kivu (DR Congo)." *African Affairs* 102: 429-446. 2003 (<http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/content/abstract/102/408/429>)

Cousens, Elizabeth M.; Kumar, Chetan, et al. *Peacebuilding as Politics : Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies*. Boulder, Co: Lynne Rienner Publishers. 2000.

Roeder, Philip and Rothchild, Donald. *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*. Cornell University Press, 2005.

Rothstein, Robert L. (ed). *After the Peace: Resistance and Reconciliation*. Boulder, Colo., L. Rienner Publishers. 1999.

Sawyer, Amos. *Beyond Plunder: Toward Democratic Governance in Liberia*. Lynner Rienner, 2005.

Hartzell, Caroline; Hoddie, Mattew. "Institutionalizing Peace: Power Sharing and Post-Civil War Conflict Management", *American Journal of Political Science*, 47 (2): 318-332. 2003.

Callaghy, Thomas M.; Kassimir, Ronald, et al. (2001). *Intervention and Transnationalism in Africa: Global-Local Networks of Power*. Cambridge ; New York, Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, Ian; Williams, Paul (eds). *Africa in International Politics: External involvement on the continent*. London and New York, NY: Routledge. 2004.

Furley, Oliver and May, Roy (eds). 2006. *Ending Africa's Wars: Progressing to peace*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

April 27 – Challenges of third party interventions

No required readings, work on your final essays.

Recommended

Ellis, Stephen. 2005. "How to Rebuild Africa," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2005, <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=17979679&site=ehost-live>.

Pierre Englebert and Denis M. Tull. "Postconflict Resolution in Africa: Flawed Ideas about Failed States." *International Security* 32 4 (Spring 2008): 106-139. http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/international_security/toc/ins.32.4.html

Marten, Kimberley. *Enforcing the Peace: Learning from the Imperial Past*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

Dotty, Roxanne Lynn. 1996. *Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North-South Relations*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Whole book, except chapters 2 and 4.

Power, Samantha (2002). *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*. New York, Basic Books. 2002.

Regan, Patrick M. 2002. Third-Party Intervention and the Duration of Interstate Conflicts. *The Journal of Conflict Reslution*. 46.

Carpenter, Charli. 2006. *Innocent Women And Children: Gender, Norms And the Protection of Civilians (Gender in a Global/Local World)*. Ashgate.

Turner, Thomas (2007). *The Congo Wars: Conflict, Myth and Reality*. London / New York: Zed Books / Palgrave Macmillan.

Lemarchand, René (2008). *The Dynamics of Violence in Central Africa*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Prunier, Gerard (2008). *Africa's World War. Congo, the Rwandan Genocide, and the Making of a Continental Catastrophe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reyntjens, Filip (2009). *The Great African War. Congo and Regional Politics, 1996 – 2006*. Cambridge University Press.

April 29 – Concluding session

Session devoted to catching up if we are behind, Q&As, and wrapping up the semester.

Final essay due at the beginning of the class. No extension except in case of documented family or medical emergency.