

**Aid, politics, and violence in Africa**  
POLS BC 3810

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Office: 419, Lehman Hall  
Office Hours: Wednesdays, 5-7 p.m.

Colloquium, Fall 2009  
Wednesday, 2 - 4 p.m.  
Room TBA  
Barnard College

Head Speaking Fellow: TBD

*“If I knew someone was coming over with the express intention of doing good, I would flee”*  
(Henry David Thoreau)

### **Substance of the Course**

International emergency aid often takes place in violent contexts. Beyond the claim that humanitarian aid is and should be neutral, what are exactly the relationships between aid, politics, and violence? What are the political and military impacts of humanitarian and development assistance? Aid is aimed at healing sufferings, but it can also fuel violence or be an instrument of war. Should humanitarian aid promote the imperatives of conflict resolution and democratization? If so, does it compromise the humanitarian ideals? Does aid contribute to perpetuating subtle forms of domination?

This colloquium adopts a critical, social science approach to humanitarian and development assistance (it is not a class on how to design and implement aid programs, but rather a class on how to think about aid). It focuses on aid in Africa as background against which to understand the political implications of aid in complex emergency situations. It has a majority African focus, but it includes some non-African cases for comparative purposes, to elucidate the important theories on the subject. Readings include both highly theoretical works and case studies. Guest speakers will be invited for several class sessions, to exchange with students and explain how the debates studied in class play out in the “real” world.

Throughout the course, the students will develop their knowledge of international relations theory. They will acquire a broad understanding of the concepts, theoretical traditions, and debates in the study of development and humanitarian aid. The course will also introduce students to new issues in the field, such as the securitization of emergency aid and the interplay between aid and micro-local politics. Furthermore, by the end of the semester, the students should have an in-depth understanding of specific cases, notably the Sudan, Rwanda, and the D.R. Congo.

Class discussions and the written assignments will help students develop their research and analysis skills as well as their ability to understand, criticize, and create scholarly arguments. In addition, this class puts a lot of emphasis on developing students’ leadership and oral presentation skills. We will do so through various activities in the classroom (class discussions, oral presentations, role play, student-led discussions, and interactions with guest speakers) and outside of the classroom (through two workshops with Barnard Speaking Fellows, the first on oral presentations and third on how to lead a meeting, and the second on negotiations).

### **Grading and Requirements**

1. Readings: Assignments are on the attached list.  
The books by James Scott, Roxanne Dotty, James Ferguson, and Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Michael Barnett and Martha Finnemore, Peter Uvin, John Pendregast, Marie Anderson,

Alex De Waal, Marc Duffield, and Martha Finnemore are available at Columbia University Bookstore.

In addition, all these books are on reserve at the library, under course number POLS BC 3810.

2. Class participation (20% of the final grade). The class participation grade will be based on 1- participation in the discussion during each session; 2- brief oral presentations on topics assigned by the instructor; 3- the oral presentation and discussion during week 12 (see second-to-last page of this syllabus), and 4- attendance to the workshops led by the Speaking Fellows.
3. Three reviews of the readings, maximum two pages single-spaced (40% of the final grade). The reviews should briefly summarize the argument, critically assess it, and raise questions for class discussion. They should be submitted by Monday, noon, through two means: 1- putting a hard copy in the folder on my door, and 2- posting them on the class website. No need to sign up or give me advance notice, just submit reviews for three different sessions of your own choosing.
4. A research paper (40% of the final grade), about 25-30 pages double space. Ancillary material due throughout the term: paper topic due on week 3 (5% of the final grade); revised paper topic and bibliography due on week 6 (5% of the final grade); 1-page outline due on week 9 (5% of the final grade); final paper due on week 13, i.e. December 9, the last day of class (25% of the final grade). The research paper should build on the material studied in class. It should apply the theories and concepts studied to specific debates or cases of interest to the students.

Students should come to see me during office hours on week 3, 4, or 5 to discuss their paper topic (this is a mandatory meeting). Students are also strongly encouraged to come and see me during office hours on week 8, 9, or 10 to discuss their progress and questions (this is not a mandatory meeting but you are very strongly encouraged to come). Students are of course welcome to come during all my office hours during the rest of the semester.

Here are a couple of very useful websites, full of advice for research and writing:

- <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 tons 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).

No late review will be accepted. For the research paper & ancillary material, late turn-ins will be significantly penalized (one-third of a letter grade per day after the deadline) unless you contact me beforehand to request an extension. Extensions will be given only in the case of documented illness, family emergency, or other crisis situation (please bring any form of documentation available).

Please inform me beforehand if you expect to miss particular class meetings because of religious holiday that forbids work, illness, or family emergency. Please plan to submit an additional review for each session you miss. This extra review will make up for missed participation and it will count towards your participation grade.

**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. Students that do not comply with the Honor Code will face appropriate sanctions.

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 ever hesitate to ask me if you have any doubt):

- <http://www.library.ucla.edu/bruinsuccess> (the tutorial and 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 from 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 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.

Pre-requisite: POLS V 1601 (International Politics) or equivalent. Many readings are difficult and/or quite theoretical, so you need to have some background in International Relations theories – or be ready to put in a lot of extra work – if you wish to take this class.

## **Week 1 (September 9) – Introduction**

Overview of the class  
Overview of the research methodology for the final paper.

### **Aid and Politics**

## **Week 2 (September 16) – State-led development**

Scott, James. 1999. *Seeing like a state. How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. Yale University Press. Introduction, chapters 1-3; introduction to part 3, chapter 7 & 10.

*Guest Speaker: Jenna Freedman, Coordinator of Reference Services and Zine Librarian at Barnard College Library, on how to find good bibliographic resources on aid in Africa.*

### **Recommended**

Macinko, JA and Smith, SH. 1998. "Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief: an Overview" in Rodriguez-Garcia R, Macinko J, and Casia JA. *From Humanitarian Assistance to Human Development*. Pan American Health Association. (pp. 33 – 72)

Sen, Amartya. 1999. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999.

Stoddard, Abby. 2006. *Humanitarian Alert: NGO Information and its Impact on US Foreign Policy*. Kumarian Press.

Natsios, Andrew. 1997. *US Foreign Policy and the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Humanitarian Relief in Complex Emergencies*. Praeger.

Weiss, Thomas G. 2000. *Humanitarian Challenges and Intervention: World Politics and the Dilemmas of Help*. Westview Press.

Cahill, Kevin M. (ed.).2002. *Basics of International Humanitarian Mission (International Humanitarian Affairs, No. 2)*. Fordham University Press.

Collier, Paul. 2008. *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What Can Be Done About It*. Oxford University Press.

Dawes, James. 2008. *That the World May Know: Bearing Witness to Atrocity*. Harvard University Press.

Porteous, Obie C. 2009. *In Search of Humanity: Blogs of an International Aid Worker*. VirtualBookWorm Publishing.

Ruffin, Jean-Christophe. 1999. *Asmara ou les Causes Perdues*. Paris: Gallimard.

## **Week 3 (September 23) – Humanitarianism in perspective**

Craig Calhoun. 2008. "The Imperative to Reduce Suffering: Charity, Progress, and Emergencies in the Field of Humanitarian Action," in Barnett, Michael and Weiss, Thomas (eds). *Humanitarianism in Question*. Cornell University Press.

Dotty, Roxanne Lynn. 1996. *Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North-South Relations*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Chapters 1, 3, 5, 6.

Keck, Margaret, and Sikkink, Kathryn. 1998. *Activists beyond borders: advocacy networks in international politics*. Ithaca, N.Y, Cornell University Press. Introduction & chapter 3.

*Paper topic due. Maximum length: 150 words.*

#### Recommended

Peter Walker and Peter G Maxwell. 2008. *Shaping the Humanitarian World*. Routledge.

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

Carlo Ginzburg. 1994. "Killing a Chinese Mandarin: The Moral Implications of Distance," *Critical Inquiry*, 21, 1, August, 46-60.

Norman S. Fiering. 1976. "Irresistible Compassion: An Aspect of Eighteenth-Century Sympathy and Humanitarianism," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 37, 2, April/ June, 195-218.

Deen Chatterjee, *The Ethics of Assistance*. NY: Cambridge University Press.

Michael Ignatieff. 1997. *The Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience*. New York: Owl Books.

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).

Firoze Manji, Carl O'Coill (2002). "The missionary position: NGOs and development in Africa" *International Affairs* 78 (3), 567–583. <http://www.fahamu.org/downloads/missionaryposition.pdf>

#### **Week 4 (September 30) – Development as the Negation of Politics**

Ferguson, James. 1994. *The Anti-Politics Machine. "Development," Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. University of Minnesota Press. Preface, chapter 1-2-3 (skim the annex to chapter 3), 6-7 and chapter 9, epilogue.

*Guest speaker: Sergio Vieira, Division of Social Policy and Development, United Nations, on development aid to Africa.*

*Reminder: don't forget to come and see me during my office hours to discuss your paper topics!*

#### Recommended

Weaver, Kate. 2008. *Hypocrisy Trap: The World Bank and the Poverty of Reform*. Princeton University Press.

Robin Broad. 2006. "Research, knowledge, and the art of `paradigm maintenance': the World Bank's Development Economics Vice-Presidency (DEC)", *Review of International Political Economy*, 13-3, 387-419.

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

Escobar, Arturo. 1994. *Encountering Development*. Princeton University Press.

Mitchell, Tim. 2002. *Rule of experts. Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Olivier de Sardan (ed) 2005. *Anthropology And Development: Understanding Contemporary Social Change*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Fisher, William. "Doing Good? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 16 (1997).

Laëtitia Atlani-Duault et Laurent Vidal. 2009. *L'aide humanitaire et le développement vus par des anthropologues*. Paris, A. Colin. 320 p.

### **Week 5 (October 7) – Pathologies of international and non-governmental organizations**

Barnett and Finnemore. 2004. *Rules for the World*. Preface (p. vii – ix and first paragraph of page x), Chapter 1, 3-5.

Carpenter, Chali. 2003. "Women and Children First': Gender, Norms, and Humanitarian Evacuation in the Balkans 1991-5", *International Organization*, 57. (pp. 661-694).

#### Recommended

Harri Englund. 2006. *Prisoners of Freedom: Human Rights and the African Poor*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Moyo, Dambisa. 2009. *Dead Aid: Why Aid Is Not Working and How There Is a Better Way for Africa*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux

Cooley, Alexander & Ron, James. "The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action" in *International Security*, 27-1, 2002, pp. 5-39.

Michael Maren. *The Road to Hell: The Ravaging Effects of Foreign Aid and International Charity*. Free Press, 2002. (entire book, 280 pages)

Corinna Kreidler, "Corruption as an internal problem for emergency operations": Jul 06 . JHA, <http://jha.ac/articles/a190.pdf>

Hancock, Graham. 1994. *The Lords of Poverty: The Power, Prestige, and Corruption of the International Aid Business*. Atlantic Monthly Press.

Easterly, William. *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good*. Penguin Press HC, 2006.

Chaulia, Sreeram. 2006. "Angola: Empire of the Humanitarians" in *Journal of Humanitarian Aid*, <http://jha.ac/articles/a192.pdf>. (entire article, 36 pages)

Riehl, V. 2001. *Who is Ruling in South Sudan? The role of NGOs in rebuilding socio-political order*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

### **Aid and Violence: Dilemmas of Aid in Conflict Areas**

#### **Week 6 (October 14) - Development and Violence**

Uvin, Peter. 1998. *Aiding violence: the development enterprise in Rwanda*. West Hartford: Kumarian Press. Introduction, Part I,II, III, and chapter 11.

*Documentary screening: Heart of the Congo*

*Revised paper topic and bibliography due. Your statement of topic should still be maximum 150 words. Your bibliography should include at least 10 items in addition to any articles or books from our syllabus that you will be using. After providing the reference for each item, add one sentence (no more) to describe how you will use each source.*

### Recommended

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

Baron, Patrick; Diprose, Rachael; and Woolcock, Michael. *Local Conflict and Development Projects in Indonesia: part of the problem or part of the solution?* World Bank working paper, 2007.

Barnett, Michael. *Eyewitness to a genocide: the United Nations and Rwanda*. Cornell University Press, 2002.

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

Katarina West. 2002. *Agents of Altruism: The Expansion of Humanitarian Ngos in Rwanda and Afghanistan. (Non-State Actors in International Law, Politics and Governance)*. Ashgate Publishing.

Eriksson, John (Eriksson 1996). *The international response to conflict and genocide: lessons from the Rwanda experience. Synthesis report*. Joint evaluation of emergency assistance to Rwanda. Danida: Copenhagen.

### **Week 7 (October 21) – Humanitarian Aid as an Instrument of War**

Pendregast, John (1996). *Frontline diplomacy. Humanitarian aid and conflict in Africa*. Boulder / London: Lynne Rienner. Chapters 1-6.

Anderson, Marie. *Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace - or War*. Lynne Rienner, Boulder, CO. 1999. Chapter 1-5.

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

*Reminder: plan to come and see me during office hours to discuss the progress on your final paper.*

### Recommended

Mark Duffield, "The Political Economy of Internal War: Asset Transfer, Complex Emergencies and International Aid," in Macrae and Zwi, Anthony (ed.). 1994. *War and Hunger: rethinking international response to complex emergencies*. New Jersey : Zed Books, pp. 50-69

Terry, Fiona. 2002. *Condemned to Repeat? The Paradox of Humanitarian Action*. Cornell University Press.

Keen, David. 2006. *Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone*. James Currey/Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. Especially chapters 9 & 10.

Sarah Kenyon Lischer. 2003. Collateral Damage: Humanitarian Assistance as a Cause of Conflict. *International security*. 28(1).

Pirotte, Claire (Ed.), Husson, Bernard (Ed.), Grunewald, Francois (Ed.). 2000. *Responding to Emergencies & Fostering Development: The Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid*. Zed Books

Moore, J. 1998. *Hard Choices: Moral Dilemmas in Humanitarian Intervention*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Lanham.

Larry Minear, 2002. *The Humanitarian Enterprise: Dilemmas and Discoveries*. Bloomfield, Conn.: Kumarian Press.

Packenham, Robert A. 1966. "Foreign Aid and the National Interest," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 10-2.

Medecins Sans Frontieres. *In the Shadow of "Just Wars": Violence, Politics, and Humanitarian Action*. C. Hurst & Co. TBA.

### **Week 8 (October 28) – Case Study: Famine in Africa**

De Waal, Alex. 1997. *Famine Crimes: Politics and the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa*. Oxford / Bloomington: James Currey / Indiana University Press. Entire book.

*Guest Speaker: Karine Milhorgne, Desk Officer for Action Against Hunger / Action Contre la Faim, on manipulation of aid*

#### Recommended

Action Against Hunger. 2001. *The Geopolitics of Hunger, 2000-2001: Hunger and Power*. Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner.

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

Macrae, Joanna and Zwi, Anthony (ed.). 1994. *War and Hunger: rethinking international response to complex emergencies*. New Jersey : Zed Books.

Duffield, Mark and Pendregast, John (Duffield and Pendregast 1994). *Without troops and tanks : humanitarian intervention in Ethiopia and Eritrea*. Lawrenceville, NJ : Red Sea Press, 1994.

### **Aid and Peace: Coherence and “Humanitarian” Interventions**

#### **Week 9 (November 4) - The New Humanitarianism and Securitization of Humanitarian Aid**

Duffield, Marc. *Global governance and the new wars: the merging of development and security*. New York: Zed Books. Chapters 1-4, 8-9.

*Paper abstract and outline due. Your paper abstract should be maximum 250 words. Your outline should be no longer than one page. Don't forget to write your research question at the top of the document.*

#### Recommended



- Barnett, Michael. 2005. "Humanitarianism Transformed," *Perspectives on Politics*, 3: 723-740.
- Duffield, Mark. 2002. "Social Reconstruction and the Radicalization of Development: Aid as a Relation of Global Liberal Governance Development and Change". *Development and Change* 33 (5), 1049–1071
- Barnett, Michael. 2005. "Is multilateralism bad for humanitarianism?" Available at: <http://www.ekem.gr/pdf/Barnett.pdf>.
- Devon Curtis. *Politics and Humanitarian Aid: Debates, Dilemmas and Dissension*. HPG Report 10. April 2001. Available at <http://www.odi.org.uk/hpg/papers/hpgreport10.pdf> (pp. 3-17)
- Special issue of *Disasters* on politics and humanitarian aid (December 2001 - Vol. 25 Issue 4)
- Rieff, David (2002). *A bed for the night: humanitarianism in crisis*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002.
- Joanna Macrae and Nicholas Leader. *Shifting Sands: The Search for Coherence Between Political and Humanitarian Action*. HPG Report 8. August 2000.
- Macrae, J. (ed.)(2002), *The New Humanitarianisms: A Review of Trends in Global Humanitarian Action*, HPG Report 11, Humanitarian Policy Group, Overseas Development Institute, London. Available at <http://www.odi.org.uk/hpg/papers/hpgreport11.pdf>.
- Hugo Slim, 2003 "Humanitarianism with Borders? NGOs, Belligerent Military Forces and Humanitarian Action," *Journal of Humanitarian Assistance*. 03 <http://jha.ac/articles/a118.htm>
- Toby Porter, "The Interaction between Political and Humanitarian Action in Sierra Leone, 1995 to 2002," *Journal of Humanitarian Assistance*, <http://jha.ac/articles/a117.pdf>
- Sorensen, Birgitte Refslund. "Violence and humanitarian assistance: Reflections on an intricate relationship" in *Journal of Humanitarian Assistance*. September, 2006
- Victoria Wheeler and Adele Harmer. *Resetting the rules of engagement: Trends and issues in military–humanitarian relations*. HPG Report 21, March 2006
- Atmar (2001). *Politicization of humanitarian aid and its consequences for Afghans in Disasters*, 25 (4).
- Chomsky, Noam (1999). *The new military humanitarianism: lessons from Kosovo*. London: Pluto Press.
- Donini, Antonio. 2004. *Nation-Building Unraveled? Aid, Peace and Justice in Afghanistan*. Kumarian Press.
- Newberg, Paula R. *Politics at the Heart: the architecture of humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999.
- Ethics and International Affairs*, 18, 2, Fall, 2004, especially Nicolas de Torrenté, "Humanitarianism Sacrificed: Integration's False Promise;" Joel Charney, "Upholding Humanitarian Principles in an Effective Integrated Response;" Antonio Donini, "An Elusive Quest: Integration in the Response to the Afghan Crisis;" Joanna Macrae, "Understanding Integration from Rwanda to Iraq;" Arthur Dewey, "The Value of Integration: A U.S. Perspective."
- Antonio Donini, *How Compatible are UN Coherence and Humanitarian Partnership?* ICVA Conference Closing Address, February 2, 2007. <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/lib.nsf/db900SID/AMMF-744FX6?OpenDocument>

Espen Barth Eide, et al. 2005. *Report on Integrated Missions: Practical Perspectives and Recommendations*, Independent Study for the Expanded UN ECHA Core Group, May. <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/lib.nsf/db900SID/SODA-6CK7SK?OpenDocument>

## **Week 10 (November 11) - Humanitarian Interventions and the Responsibility to Protect (R2P): General Issues**

Finnemore, Martha. 2003. *The Purpose Of Intervention: Changing Beliefs About The Use Of Force*. Cornell University Press. Chapters 1 and 3.

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

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 2 and 9.

*Guest Speaker: Catherine Dumait-Harper, former MSF representative to the United Nations, on diplomacy and humanitarian interventions.*

### Recommended

Shaw, Ibrahim Seaga. 2006. "Historical Frames and the politics of humanitarian intervention: from Ethiopia, Somalia, to Rwanda" in *Globalisation, Societies, and Education*. 5:3, 351-71. [Available on the electronic reserves]

Tony Lang, ed. 2003. *Just Intervention*, Georgetown University Press.

Hoffman, Stanley. 1997. *The Ethics and Politics of Humanitarian Interventions*. University of Notre Dame Press.

Nicholas J. Wheeler. 2000. *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Orford, Anne. *Reading Humanitarian Intervention: Human Rights and the Use of Force in International Law*. Cambridge University Press, 2003

Finnemore, Martha. 1995. "Constructing norms of humanitarian intervention" in Katzenstein, Peter J. *The culture of international security*. New York: Columbia University Press. (pp. 153 – 185) [Available on electronic reserves]

Walzer, Michael. 1992. *Just and Unjust Wars*. New York, Basic Books.

Luke Glanville, 2005. "Somalia Reconsidered: An Examination of the Norm of Humanitarian Intervention". *Journal of Humanitarian Aid*.

Western, Jon. "Sources of Humanitarian Intervention: Beliefs, Information, and Advocacy in the U.S. Decisions on Somalia and Bosnia" in *International Security* 26-4, 2002.

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

Barnett, Michael and Snyder, Jack. *The Grand Strategies of Humanitarianism*. Book chapter, forthcoming.

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/>

UN Secretary-General. 2005. *In Larger Freedom*. Report submitted to heads of state and government attending the 2005 World Summit session of the UN General Assembly. <http://www.un.org/largerfreedom>

United Nations. 2005. *World Summit Outcome Document*. <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N05/487/60/PDF/N0548760.pdf?OpenElement>

UN Security Council. 2006 *Resolution 1706* . [http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc\\_resolutions06.htm](http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions06.htm)

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

Check out the following websites

- <http://www.globalcenter2p.org/about.html>
- <http://www.stimson.org/fopo/?SN=FP20040831715>
- <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4521> (section 7 has a great bibliography on R2P)
- [http://www.odi.org.uk/hpg/protection\\_practice.html](http://www.odi.org.uk/hpg/protection_practice.html)

## **Week 11 (November 18) – Humanitarian Interventions and R2P: Role Play on Congo**

Background reading for role play:

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.

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

Autesserre, Severine (2007). Explaining Peacebuilding Failures. *Review of African Political Economy*. 113: 423-441. Available on the class website.

Autesserre, Séverine (2009). Hobbes and the Congo: Frames, Local Violence, and International Interventions. *International Organization*. 63: 249-280.

*Assignment in preparation for the role-play: prepare a 1-page memo on your actor's position during the negotiations (bullet points are fine).*

### Recommended

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&slink\\_id=5035&link\\_type=12&slink\\_type=13&tmp](http://www.issafrica.org/dynamic/administration/file_manager/file_links/ASR16NO3FULL.PDF?link_id=3&slink_id=5035&link_type=12&slink_type=13&tmp)

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.

### **Week 12 (November 25) – Brainstorming on Students' Research Papers**

Each student will post his/her draft paper on the class website by Saturday, November 21, noon.

Each student will be responsible for preparing a constructive criticism of one of his/her colleagues' papers, and present his/her feedback orally during the class.

We will devote about 10 minutes to each student's paper. Each participant will do a 3-5 minutes presentation of his / her research paper (topic, puzzle, main argument), which will be followed by a 3-5 minute presentation by a discussant and (provided there is enough time) by suggestions from the other class members.

Although you are required to read only your peer partner's paper, you are encouraged to read as many papers as possible (you will learn a lot by reading your colleague's papers, and it will make this class session much more interesting both for you and for your colleague)

### **Week 13 (December 2) – Humanitarian Interventions and R2P: Case Study on Darfur**

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>

Grono, Nick. 2005. "Briefing – Darfur: the International Community's Failure to Protect" *African Affairs*, 105/421, 621–631. <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4417>

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.

Mamdani, Mahmood. 2009. *Saviors and Survivors - Darfur, Politics, and the War on Terror*. New York: Random House. Chapter 2 (pp. 48-74) "The Politics of the Movement to Save Darfur."

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.

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

*Guest speaker: Steve Crawshaw, UN Advocacy Director for Human Rights Watch, on the international intervention in Darfur.*

#### Recommended readings

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>

Scott Strauss. 2005. Darfur and the Genocide debate. *Foreign Affairs*.

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

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

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>.

Alex J. Bellamy, "Responsibility to Protect or Trojan Horse? The Crisis in Darfur and Humanitarian Intervention after Iraq," *Ethics and International Affairs* 19, no. 2 (2005): 31-53.

Kirsten Zaat, 2004. "Legalising a Contemporary 'War of Peace': A case for humanitarian intervention in the Sudan," in *Journal of Humanitarian Aid*. <http://jha.ac/articles/a155.pdf>

Oliver Ulich. 2005. *The UN Security Council's Response to Darfur: A Humanitarian Perspective*, Humanitarian Exchange 30, Overseas Development Institute. Available at: <http://www.odihpn.org/documents/humanitarianexchange030.pdf>.

### **Concluding thoughts**

#### **Week 14 (December 9) – Conclusion**

Group work on the main contributions of the class.

*Depending on the interests of the students, the class may have a guest speaker this day: Philippe Rosen, Human Resources Director, Action Against Hunger, on "Careers in Development and Humanitarian Aid."*

*Final papers due!*