War, Peace, and International Interventions in Africa

POLS UN3604

(Formerly called POLS V3404, Civil Wars and International Interventions in Africa)

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Office 1101, Milstein Center
Office Hours: Mondays, 5-7 p.m.

Undergraduate lecture class, Fall 2018 Tuesdays, 11:40 a.m.-2:25 p.m. Diana Center 504 Barnard & Columbia Colleges

You can schedule an appointment during my office hours by clicking <u>here</u>. Walk-ins are of course welcome – on a first come, first served basis. However, I give priority to people who have scheduled an appointment, so you are better off scheduling an appointment if you want to make sure that you see me—or do not want to wait.

Teaching Assistants:

- Jaclyn Davis (jkd2138@columbia.edu): discussion sections on Mondays, 2-3 p.m. (Milbank 306) and Tuesdays 8:10-9:10 a.m. (Diana 501); office hours on Tuesdays, 9:15-11:15 a.m. (Milstein Center 1114)
- Alexandra Mathieu (am4796@columbia.edu): discussion sections on Wednesdays, 4-5 p.m. (Milstein Center LL016) and Thursdays, 4-5 p.m. (Milstein Center LL016); office hours on Fridays, 3-5 p.m. (Milstein Center 1114)

Substance of the Course

Why does violent conflict persist in post-independence Africa? Why do so many of the countries that emerge from war lapse back into violence after a few years? Why do most international interventions fail to bring peace to affected populations? This class focuses on recent conflict and post-conflict situations in Sub-Saharan Africa, and it uses studies of these conflicts as a lens for understanding the distinct dynamics of violence and international interventions in civil wars.

The course has three goals. First, to provide participants with the intellectual tools to understand and analyze civil wars and international interventions. Throughout the course, participants will acquire a broad knowledge of the concepts, theoretical traditions, and debates in the study of civil war, emergency aid, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding. 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 Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Sudan and South 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.

Grading and Requirements

- 1) Attendance to all lectures and sections; participation to class discussions during the sections. (15% of the final grade).
 - This portion of the grade will be based primarily on your participation during the TA-led sections and your attendance to the lectures. It will assess whether you have completed and understood the readings, and whether you have attended the lectures and understood them.

If you miss particular class meetings because of a religious holiday that forbids work, an illness, or a family emergency, and wish to make up for the missed section or lecture, please plan to write a review of the book(s) assigned for that day, post it online (on Amazon, Goodreads,

Barnes and Noble, Wikipedia, and/or whatever site your prefer), and email your TA a link to your posted review, copying me on your message. This extra review will make up for missed participation and will count towards your participation grade.

Side note: Book reviews are tremendously important for authors and readers. So I encourage you to review online (on Amazon, Goodreads, Barnes and Noble, Wikipedia, and/or whatever site you prefer) any book that you read for this class. This would help raise the profile of the various books that we read this semester, be a kind gesture to their authors, and hopefully help potential readers decide whether or not to buy the book.

2) Readings: Assignments are on the attached list.

All the articles are available for free through Columbia library databases (just go on CLIO and type the title of the article in the search box, and then follow the instructions).

The required books are available for purchase at the Columbia University Bookstore. In addition, all these books are on reserve at the Barnard and Butler libraries, under course number POLS UN3614. Low-income students can also borrow them from the new Barnard lending library located in the Milstein Center. And if you want to purchase the books but don't have the means to do so, look at https://www.columbiaspectator.com/spectrum/2018/06/12/on-avoiding-book-culture-how-and-where-to-get-cheap-textbooks/.

The whole Collier & Sambanis book is available online through the Colombia library website, as well as the Srinivasan book chapter. In addition, whenever authorized by copyright laws, I have placed specific other book chapters on the Coursework / Canvas site for the class.

Note: If you want to look at the recommended readings, but can't get them through the Barnard / Columbia library system because they have been borrowed, try the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture (www.nypl.org/locations/schomburg). The Schomburg Center has an excellent African Studies collection, in which you can find many of the books listed on this syllabus. It also has a guiet reading / study room.

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 the material learned during the first month of classes. The paper must be typed; no handwritten material will be accepted. It must be a maximum of 4 pages double-spaced, 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 September 25 and the paper will be due on October 2.
- 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 a maximum of 8 pages double-spaced, 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 October 16 and the paper will be due on October 30.
- 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 a maximum of 8 pages double-spaced, 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 November 20 and the paper will be due on December 4.

Conversion Scale

- A+: 99 100
- A: 93 98.99
- A-: 90 92.99
- B+: 87 89.99
- B: 83 86.99
- B-: 80 82.99
- C+: 77 79.99
- C: 73 76.99
- C-: 70 72.99
- D: 60 69.99 (there is no D+ or D-)
- F: below 60

Late assignments

The papers must be submitted when scheduled. Late papers will be reduced by 1/3 of a grade for each 24-hour period for which they are turned in after the deadline. For example, a paper turned in one day late with a grade of B+ would be marked down to a B.

Extensions will be granted only in case of documented medical or family emergency. In case of emergency, please contact me via email (copying your TA) before the paper is due, and please submit any form of documentation available.

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.

Please note that this does not apply to your final grade. As stipulated by the Dean of Studies, "Course grades are final and may be changed only in the event of clerical error or if the work of all of your classmates is reevaluated. A course grade may not be improved by reexamination or by the submission of additional or revised work."

Writing Center

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 Barnard 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.

Students with disabilities

Students with disabilities who wish to take this course and who need disability-related accommodations are encouraged to let me know 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.

<u>Barnard Honor Code</u>: 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 doubts or questions):

- http://www.library.ucla.edu/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)

<u>Use of laptops in the classroom</u>: The use of laptops (or Ipads, or other kinds of electronic equipment) in the classroom is only permitted for taking notes on the class lectures and discussions. Students are forbidden to use laptops in the classroom to browse the Internet or work on something other than the material discussed in class. Any student who wants to use a computer (or other kind of electronic device) should give me a written document promising <u>never</u> to use his or her laptop (or ipad, etc) in class for something other than taking notes on class lectures / discussion. Students caught doing otherwise will be given a participation grade of F and will be forbidden to continue to use their laptops (or ipad, etc) during future class sessions. Students using laptops (or ipad, etc) should sit at the back of the classroom in order to not disturb their colleagues.

<u>Here</u> is the rationale for this policy. (Basically, students who multitask during classes learn less, and thus get lower grades. Worse, the students who sit next to the multitaskers learn even less and get even poorer grades, even when they try their best to focus on the lectures and discussions).

<u>Recording lectures:</u> Because of copyright & intellectual property issues, recording lectures is forbidden. However, I can make exceptions on a case-by-case, ad hoc basis. Please contact me.

<u>Pre-requisite</u>: At least sophomore standing.

<u>Sub-field & Requirements</u>: The course fulfils the Barnard College's General Education Requirement: Social Analysis (SOC). 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: 70 students.

Learning Objectives

Students who complete this course will learn how to:

- 1. Evaluate and critique the theories about 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

Sept. 4 - Introduction and key concepts

Please read the first four pages of this syllabus very carefully and feel free to ask in class if you have any clarifying questions.

Please also read the following two texts:

Kaplan, Robert D. 1996. The Ends of the Earth. New York: Random House. Chapter 2. (Available on Canvas)

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2001. "New' and 'Old' Civil Wars, a Valid Distinction?" World Politics, 54(1): 99-118.

Recommended

Goldstein, Joshua. 2011. Winning the War on War. New York: Dutton / Penguin.

Pinker, Steven. 2011. The Better Angels of our Nature: Why Violence has Declined. New York: Penguin. Chapter 6.

Kaldor, Marie. New War, Old War. Organized Violence in a Global Era. Polity Press; 3rd edition, 2012.

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.

Straus, Scott. 2012. Wars Do End! Changing patterns of political violence in sub-Saharan Africa. *African Affairs*, 111 (443): 179 – 201

Williams, Paul D. 2016. War and Conflict in Africa 2d edition. Polity Press.

Sept. 11 - The role of the state: legacies of colonialism, regime type, & state violence

Christensen, Darin; and Laitin, David D. 2019. *The Long Walk from Freedom: African States Since Independence*. Yale University Press. Browse the introduction; read chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9; browse chapter 13; read the sections on Rwanda on pp. 113-115 and 318-319.

NOTE: This book is still in press and has not been released yet, so I have made it available on google drive (https://drive.google.com/open?id=1YwTPSIhajWrQxvXPY0ddFKJQgSeRPqmU, read only version—please make sure that you sign in with your Columbia address).

Also, the authors would be grateful if you could let them know if you see any typos or mistakes, so that they can correct them before the book goes to print. If you do catch errors in the chapters, please email Prof. Darin Christensen, darinc@luskin.ucla.edu.

Recommended

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

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

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

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.

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

Khapoya, Vincent. 2012. The African Experience: An Introduction. 4th edition. New York: Longman.

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

Ron, James. 2003. Frontiers and Ghetto. University of California Press.

Mamdani, Mahmood. 1996. Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press.

Pakenham, Thomas. 2015. The Scramble for Africa. London: Abacus books, New edition.

Straus, Scott; and Waldorf, Lars. 2011. Remaking Rwanda: State Building and Human Rights after Mass Violence. University of Wisconsin Press.

Van Reybrouk, David. 2014. Congo: The Epic History of a People. New York: HarpersCollins. Chapters 1 to 6.

Wrong, Michaela. 2000. *In the footsteps of Mr. Kurtz: Living on the Brink of Disaster in Mobutu's Congo.* New York: HarperCollins Publishers.

Sept. 18 - Identity and Violence

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

Gbowee, Leymah and Mither, Carol. 2013. *Mighty be Our Power: How Sisterhood, Prayer, and Sex Changed a Nation at War.* Beast books. Chapters 1 through 3. (Available on Canvas)

De Waal, Alex. 2005. "Who are the Darfurians? Arab and African identities, violence and external engagement." *African Affairs*, 104 (415): 181-205.

Hutchinson, Sharon and Pendle, Naomi. 2015. "Violence, Legitimacy, and Prophecy: Nuer Struggles with Uncertainty in South Sudan," *American Ethnologist* 42: 415-430.

Recommended

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

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

Ellis, Stephen. 2006. The mask of anarchy. The destruction of Liberia and the Religious Dimensions of an African Civil War. New York University Press. 2d edition.

Elmi, Afyare Abdi. 2010. *Understanding the Somali Conflagration: Identity, Islam, and Peacebuilding*. Oxford: Pluto Press.

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

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.

Marshall-Fratani, Ruth. 2006. The war of 'Who Is Who': Autochthony, Nationalism, and Citizenship in the Ivoirian Crisis. African Studies Review 49-2: 9-43

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

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

Sanders, Edith R. 1969. "The Hamitic Hypothesis; Its Origin and Functions in Time Perspective," *Journal of African History*, 10-4: 521-532

Sept 25 – Research and Writing

No readings this week, review the readings for the first few weeks of the semester and get a head-start on the readings for next week.

How to think and write like a political scientist: Advice on research and writing for political science papers.

Training by Yuusuf Caruso, Columbia University Librarian in charge of the Africa collections, on how to find good research resources on African wars and peace processes.

End of class: distribution of topics for the short essay & explanation of requirements and grading criteria.

Recommended

The Columbia librarian for African Studies has put together a very useful research guide for our class: http://guides.library.columbia.edu/cwii-africa. It lists many research resources that should prove very useful as you work on your research papers.

The following websites provide many very useful pieces of 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://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://chrisblattman.com/2010/02/17/how-to-write-an-essay/ (tips for essay writing)
- http://www.wsu.edu/~brians/errors/errors.html#errors (common errors to avoid)
- http://library.columbia.edu/locations/undergraduate/seedtexts.html (Various sources and resources on citations, bibliographies, and footnotes)

Booth, Wayne C. et al. 2016. The Craft of Research. University of Chicago Press, 4th edition.

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

Turabian, Kate, 2013. A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations. Latest edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

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

Oct. 2 - 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 + one of the case-study chapters of your own choosing (focus on the African conflict you most want to learn about, and make sure you look only at the chapters in volume 1).

Note: the whole book is available as an e-book through the Columbia library website.

Short essays due at the beginning of class. No extension except in case of <u>documented</u> medical or family emergency.

Recommended

Autesserre, Severine. 2012. "Dangerous Tales - Dominant Narratives on the Congo and their Unintended Consequences," *African Affairs*, 111 (443), pp. 202-222,

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

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

Laudati, Ann. 2013. "Beyond Minerals: Broadening 'Economies of Violence' in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo." *Review of African Political Economy* 40 (135): 32-50.

Radley, Ben and Chase, Seth. Documentary We Will Win Peace. 2015. www.wewillwinpeace.com.

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

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

Williams, Paul D. 2016. War and Conflict in Africa. 2d ed. Polity. Chapters 3 and 4.

Oct 9 - State failure, Warlordism, & Insurgencies

Reno, William. 1998. Warlord Politics and African States. London: Lynne Rienner. Introduction and chapter 3. (Available on Canvas)

Reid, Stuart. 2018. "Congo's Slide Into Chaos: How a State Fails." Foreign Affairs 97-1, pp. 97-117.

Recommended

Allen, Tim and Vlassenroot, Koen. 2011. The Lord's Resistance Army: Myth and Reality. London: Zed Book.

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

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

Guichaoua, Yvan (ed). 2011. Understanding Collective Political Violence. Palgrave Macmillan

Mampilly, Zachariah Cherian. 2011. Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life during War. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

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

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

Trefon, Théodore. 2011. Congo Masquerade: The Political Culture of Aid Inefficiency and Reform Failure. London: Zed Book.

Weinstein, Jeremy. 2006. Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence. Cambridge University Press

Woodward, Susan. 2017. The Ideology of Failed States. New York: Cambridge University Press.

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

Documentary *Firestone and the Warlord*, by Christian Miller & Jonathan Jones, Frontlines, PBS, 2014. Available at http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/firestone-and-the-warlord/.

Movie Rebelle (War Witch). 2012. http://www.rebelle-lefilm.ca/english/

Documentary Kony, the M23 and the Real Rebels of Congo. 2012. VICE. www.youtube.com/watch?v=kSEaTQMI5AA

Oct. 16 – Micro-level dynamics of violence and Review session

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2003. "The Ontology of 'Political Violence': Action and Identity in Civil Wars." *Perspectives on Politics* 1 (3): 475 - 494.

Autesserre, Séverine. 2010. The Trouble With the Congo. Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 2 and 4.

Distribution of topics for the long essay at the end of class.

Recommended

Eriksson Baaz, Maria and Stern, Maria. 2013. Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War? Perceptions, Prescriptions, Problems in the Congo and Beyond. New York: Zed Books.

Fujii, Lee Ann. 2011. Killing Neighbors: Webs of Violence in Rwanda. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Justino, Patricia; Bruck, Tilman, and Verwimp, Philip. 2014. *A Micro-level Perspective on the Dynamics of Conflict, Violence, and Development*. New York: Oxford University Press.

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

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

Reyntjens, Filip. 2009. *The Great African War: Congo and Regional Geopolitics, 1996-2006.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

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

Sørbø, Gunnar. 2010. "Local Violence and International Intervention in Sudan." *Review of African Political Economy* 37 (124): 173-186.

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

Documentaries:

- This is Congo, by Daniel McCabe. 2018. https://www.thisiscongo.com/
- Von Einsiedel, Orlando. Documentary Virunga. 2014. http://virungamovie.com

Oct. 23 – Negotiations

Johnson, Hilde. 2011. Waging Peace in Sudan: The Inside Story of the Negotiations That Ended Africa's Longest Civil War. Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press. Introduction and chapter 1. (Available on Canvas)

Srinivasan, Sharath. 2012. "The politics of Negotiating Peace in Sudan" in *Peacebuilding, Power, and Politics in Africa*, edited by Devon Curtis and Gwinyayi Dzinesa, Ohio University Press, pp. 195 – 211.

Note: the whole book is available as an e-book through the Columbia library website.

Recommended

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

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

Da Rocha, Jose Pascal. 2017. The International Mediator: A Handbook. Lambert Academic Publishing. 2017.

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

Lanz, David. 2015. Saving Strangers in Darfur: International Norms Lost in Translation. Ph.D. thesis, University of Basel. (Chapters 4 and 5)

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

Jones, Bruce D.. 2001. Peacemaking in Rwanda: The Dynamics of Failure. Lynne Rienner.

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

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

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

Oct. 30 - Humanitarian Aid

Hoffman, Pieter, and Weiss, Thomas. 2018. *Humanitarianism, War, and Politics. New York: Rowan and Littlefield. Introduction and chapters* 1, 2, 3, and 7.

Long essays due at the beginning of class. No extension except in case of <u>documented</u> medical or family emergency.

Recommended

Anderson, Mary; Brown, Dayna; and Jean, Isabella. 2012. *Time to Listen: Hearing People on the Receiving End of International Aid*. Cambridge, MA: CDA Collaborative Learning Projects.

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

Barnett, Michael N. 2011. *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

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

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 and 9

Fechter, Anne-Meike and Hindman, Heather (eds.). 2011. *Inside the Everyday Lives of Development Workers: The Challenges and Futures of Aidland.* Sterling, VA: Kumarian press.

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

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

Documentary: UN OCHA. 2016. "HOME - Travel with the UN Secretary-General in Virtual Reality. http://unvr.sdgactioncampaign.org/vr-films/

Novel (in French): Jean-Christophe Rufin. 2001. Asmara et les Causes Perdues. Paris: Gallimard.

Nov. 13 - Peacekeeping

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

Recommended

Adebajo, Adekeye. 2011. UN Peacekeeping in Africa: From the Suez Crisis to the Sudan Conflicts. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Diehl, Paul and Balas, Alexandru. 2014. Peace Operations. 2d edition. Wiley.

Doyle, Michael W. and Sambanis, 2006. Nicholas. *Making War and Building Peace*. Princeton University Press, 2006.

Fortna, Virginia Page. 2008. *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil Wars.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Rubinstein, Robert A. 2008. *Peacekeeping Under Fire: Culture and Intervention*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.

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

Nov. 20: Peacebuilding

Autesserre, Séverine. 2014. *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention.* Cambridge University Press. Introduction (pp. 1-19), Peacebuilding and its effectiveness (pp. 20-24), and Part I (pp. 59-159).

End of class: distribution of topics for the final essay.

Recommended

Bush, Sarah Sunn. 2015. The Taming of Democracy Assistance: Why Democracy Promotion Does Not Confront Dictators. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Call, Chuck, and Wyeth, Vanessa (ed.) 2008. Building States to Build Peace. International Peace Academy.

Ellis, Stephen. 2005. "How to Rebuild Africa," Foreign Affairs, September/October 2005

Pierre Englebert and Denis M. Tull. 2008. "Postconflict Resolution in Africa: Flawed Ideas about Failed States." *International Security* 32 (4): 106-139.

Lederach, John Paul. 1997. Building peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies. Washington, DC: USIP Press.

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

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

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

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

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

Documentaries "The Road to Justice" (on Burundi, DR Congo, and Ouganda). Available at https://www.roadtojustice.eu

Fun / light reading: Todd Moss' two novels, The Golden Hour (2014) and Minute Zero (2015)

Computer games: http://peacemakergame.com and https://www.missionzhobia.org/.

Nov. 27 - Case studies: South Sudan and DR Congo

Autesserre, Séverine. 2010. The Trouble With the Congo. Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 3, 5, and 6.

2017 debate in Foreign Affairs online:

- Severine Autesserre, "What the Uproar Over Congo's Elections Misses"
- Jason Stearns, Koen Vlassenroot, Kasper Hoffmann, and Tatiana Carayannis, "Congo's Inescapable State"
- Severine Autesserre, "The Right Way to Build Peace in Congo."

Recommended readings on Congo

African Security Review. 2011. "Book Symposium on the Trouble with the Congo." *African Security Review* 20 (2): 56-124.

Berwout, Kris. 2017. Congo's Violent Peace. Zed Book.

Dunn, Kevin C. 2003. *Imagining the Congo: The International Relations of Identity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Eriksson Baaz, Maria and Stern, Maria. 2013. Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War? Perceptions, Prescriptions, Problems in the Congo and Beyond. New York: Zed Books.

Kisangani, Emizet Francois. 2012. *Civil Wars in the Democratic Republic of Congo, 1960-2010.* Boulder, CO: Lienne Rynner.

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

Prunier, Gérard. 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.

Stearns, Jason. 2011. Dancing in the Glory of Monsters. New York: PublicAffairs.

Sahin, Bilge, and Kula, Sidonia Lucia. 2018. "What Women Want Before Justice: Examining Justice Initiatives to Challenge Violence against Women in the DRC," *International Journal of Transitional Justice*. Advance access online.

Trefon, Théodore. 2011. Congo Masquerade: The Political Culture of Aid Inefficiency and Reform Failure. London: Zed Book.

Turner, Thomas. 2013. Congo. Polity books.

Veit, Alex. 2010. *Intervention as Indirect Rule*. Civil War and Statebuilding in the Democratic Republic of Congo.New York: Campus Verlag.

Recommended readings on South Sudan

Copnall, James. 2014. A Poisonous Thorn in our Hearts: Sudan and South Sudan's Bitter and Incomplete Divorce. London: C. Hurst & Co. (Publishers) Ltd.

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

De Waal, Alex. 2014. "When Kleptocracy Becomes Insolvent: Brute Causes of the Civil War in South Sudan." African Affairs 113 (452):347-369.

Deng, Francis. 2011. War of visions: Conflict of identities in the Sudan. Brookings Institution Press.

Duffield, Mark R. 2001. Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security. London / New York, Zed Books.

Johnson, Hilde F. South Sudan: The Untold Story from Independence to Civil War. I.B. Tauris.

Johnson, Douglas. 2011 (revised edition). *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil War: Peace or Truce*. Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer Ltd.

Jok, Jok Madut and Sharon Hutchinson. 1999. "Sudan's prolonged second civil war and the militarization of Nuer and Dinka ethnic identities". *African Studies Review*, 42(02), 125-145.

Dec. 4 - Concluding session

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

Guest speaker (TBC): Leymah Gbowee, Liberian peace activist and 2011 Nobel Peace Prize winner, on war, peace, and international interventions in Liberia.

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

Strongly recommended (but not required):

- Review the Gbowee and Mither chapters that you read for the session on identity and violence
- Watch the documentary "Liberia: America's Stepchild" available on Youtube (it's a 1h20 documentary split into six videos of 10 15 minutes each; the link for the first part is: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=94j2DMWCErg. If the link doesn't work simply go to YouTube and search for "Liberia: America's stepchild.")