

Civil Wars and Peace Settlements in Africa

INRL 581 01 (23105) / AFST581

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Office 345, MacMillan Center, Luce Hall
Office Hours: Thursday, 2-4 p.m.

Graduate seminar, Spring 2007
Wednesday, 3:30 - 5:20 p.m.
Street Hall 261
Yale University

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 research seminar focuses on recent conflict and post-conflict situations in Africa as background against which to understand the distinct dynamics of violence and peace settlement in civil wars. Throughout the course, the students will acquire a broad understanding of the concepts, theoretical traditions, and debates in the study of civil war and peace implementation. The course will also introduce students to new issues in the field, such as the micro-foundations of peace settlements and the challenges of international interventions. Finally, by the end of the semester, the students should have an in-depth understanding of specific cases, notably the D.R. Congo, Rwanda, Sudan, Liberia, and Sierra Leone.

Grading and Requirements

- 1) Readings: Assignments are on the attached list.
The books by Kaplan; Mamdani; Reno; Weinstein; Collier and Sambanis; Strauss; Doyle and Sambanis; and Stedman, Rothshild and Cousens are available at the Yale Bookstore. The books by Kaplan; Mamdani; Reno; Nest; Power; Doyle and Sambanis; and Stedman, Rothshild and Cousens are on reserve at the Cross Campus Library, under course number INRL 581 01 (23105). The books by Weinstein; Collier and Sambanis; and Strauss should be on reserve ASAP.
- 2) Class participation (10% of the final grade). The class participation grade will be based on 1- participation in the discussion during each session; 2- the oral presentation and discussion during week 13 (see last page of this syllabus).
- 3) Four reviews of the readings, maximum two pages single-spaced (30% of the final grade). The reviews should briefly summarize the argument, critically assess it, and raise questions for class discussion. They should be posted on the class website by 2 p.m. on Tuesday.
- 4) A research paper (60% of the final grade), about 15-20 pages double space. Ancillary material due throughout the term: paper topic due on week 3; paper bibliography due on week 6, paper outline due on week 9, optional first draft due on week 12, final paper due on Monday, May 7 by 4 p.m.

Week 1 – Introduction

PART 1: EXPLAINING VIOLENCE IN AFRICAN CIVIL WARS

Week 2 - Can we understand violence? The barbarism debate

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

Kalyvas, Stathis N. "'New' and 'Old' Civil Wars, a Valid Distinction?" *World Politics*, 54, October 2001. (http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/world_politics/v054/54.1kalyvas.pdf)

Recommended

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

Bangura, Yusuf. "Understanding the Political and Cultural Dynamics of the Sierra Leone War: A Critique of Paul Richards's Fighting for the Rain Forest." *Africa Development* 22 (3/4), 1997. 117 - 148.

Abdullah, Ibrahim. "Bush Path to Destruction: The Origin and Character of the Revolutionary United Front." *Africa Development* 22(3/4), 1997. 45 - 76.

Ellis, Stephen. *The Mask of Anarchy. The Destruction of Liberia and the Religious Dimension of an African Civil War*. New York: New York University Press. 1999.

Week 3 – The role of the state: colonialism and state failure

Mamdani, Mahmood. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press. 1996. Chapters 1-5.

Reno, William. *Warlord Politics and African States*. London: Lynne Rienner, 1998. Introduction, chapters 3-4.

Recommended

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

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

Week 4 – Insurgencies

Weinstein, Jeremy. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge University Press, 2006. [Whole book except chapter 8; skim all the sections on Peru.]

Guest Speaker: Julie Linden, Librarian for Political Science and International Affairs. Presentation: How to find good bibliographic resources on civil wars and peace settlements in Africa.

Recommended

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

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

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*.

Week 5 - Economic causes of violence

Collier, Paul; Sambanis, Nicholas (eds). *Understanding Civil Wars: Evidence and Analysis: Vol 1 - Africa*. Washington: The World Bank, 2005. [Chapter 1 and 10, plus four of the eight case-study chapters]

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.

Week 6 – Identity and Violence

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

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

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

Recommended

Mamdani, Mahmood. *When Victims Become Killers : Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press. 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 and Laitin, David. "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity," *International Organization* 54-4, Autumn 2000.

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

Week 7 – Micro-dynamics of violence: local agendas and private motivations

Kalyvas, Stathis N. "The Ontology of 'Political Violence': Action and Identity in Civil Wars." *American Political Science Review* 1 (3): 475 - 494. 2003.
(http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPPS%2FPPS1_03%2FS1537592703000355a.pdf&code=2d5b09cd71078197a69d566e33aeaf5e)

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

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

Recommended

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 – FROM WAR TO PEACE

Week 8 – Determinants of third party interventions in African civil wars

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

Recommended

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

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

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.

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

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

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

Week 9 – Peacekeeping & Peace Implementation

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

Stedman, Stephen John; Rothchild, Donald and Cousens, Elizabeth M. *Ending Civil Wars. The Implementation of Peace Agreements*. London, Lynne Rienner. 2002. Chapters 1, 2, 16, 20.

Recommended

Doyle, Michael W.; Johnstone, Ian, et al. *Keeping the Peace : Multidimensional UN Operations in Cambodia and El Salvador*. New York, Cambridge University Press. 1997.

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.

Sundh, Lena. "Making Peace Keeping Missions More 'Prevention Aware'," paper presented at the *Stockholm International Forum 2004: Preventing genocide*, Stockholm, Sweden. 2004

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

Week 10 - Post-conflict reconstruction I: State building

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

Englebert, Pierre and Tull, Denis, *Flawed Assumptions about State Reconstruction in Africa*. Paper presented at the 2006 African Studies Association Conference. (available on the class website)

International Crisis Group. *Liberia and Sierra Leone: Rebuilding Failed States*. Africa Report N°87 December 2004. (<http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?l=1&id=3156>).

Guest Speaker: Mike McGovern. Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Yale University. Presentation on "Rebuilding Failed States."

Recommended

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

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://afaf.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/content/abstract/102/408/429>)

Week 11 – Post-conflict reconstruction II: peace building

Branch, Adam and Mampilly, Zachariah Cherian. “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, 2005. (http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FMOA%2FMOA43_01%2FS0022278X04000588a.pdf&code=45adb1bc41801924ead73b8e039e5e6c)

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>

Paluck, E.L., & Green, D.P. (2006). *Reconciling Ethnic Conflict Through Mass Communications: A Field Experiment in Rwanda*. Working paper. (Available on the class website)

Recommended

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.

Week 12 - Challenges of peace implementation

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

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

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

Autesserre, Séverine. *Hobbes and the Congo: Framing Processes and Continued Local Violence in the the Eastern D.R. Congo (2003 – 2006)*. Paper presented at the 2006 African Studies Association Conference. (Available on the class website)

Recommended

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

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

Lemarchand, René. Consociationalism and Power Sharing in Africa: Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. *African Affairs*. 2006

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

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

Week 13 – Conclusion & brainstorming on students' research papers

Each student will post his / her draft paper (or paper abstract) on the class website by Monday, 4 p.m.

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

We will devote about 10 minutes to each student's paper. Each student 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 students.