War and Conflict in Africa

IAFF 6186.13
3.0 Credits
Government Room 101, 710 21st Street
Mondays and Wednesdays 6.10-8.20pm
Dates: 20 May – 26 June 2013
CRN 70797

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COURSE DESCRIPTION
This course explores patterns of armed conflict in contemporary Africa, its most important ingredients, and international responses to it. It does so in four parts. Part 1 explores the major quantitative and qualitative trends in Africa's armed conflicts. Part 2 analyses some of the major explanations for armed conflict in contemporary Africa namely neopatrimonial systems of governance, ethnicity, state failure, warlord politics, liberation/self-determination struggles, and competition over resources. Part 3 examines some of the main dynamics of Africa's wars by looking at the roles played by insurgencies, private actors and children. Part 4 explores international responses to Africa's wars and asks how they might be brought to an end.

LEARNING OUTCOMES
This course aims to cultivate an MA level understanding of:
- the literature on armed conflict in contemporary/post-Cold War Africa.
- the causes and dynamics of armed conflict in contemporary/post-Cold War Africa.
- the politics of international responses to Africa's wars.
- selected African case studies.

WEEKLY OVERVIEW
1. War and Conflict in Africa: Introduction (20 May)
2. Trends in Africa's Armed Conflicts (22 May)
   Why do they fight?
3. Neopatrimonialism and War—is there a link? (28 May)
4. Ethnicity (29 May)
5. Warlord Politics (3 June)
6. State Failure (5 June)
7. Liberation Struggles Continue? (10 June)
8. Resource Wars? (12 June)
   How do they fight?
9. African Guerrillas versus African States (17 June)
10. Private Wars and Child Soldiers (19 June)
    International Responses
11. Peace Operations in Africa 1: African Responses (24 June)
12. Peace Operations in Africa 2: International Responses (26 June)

COURSE REQUIREMENTS
Attendance and participation.	20%
Paper 1.	30%
Paper 2.	50%

- Attendance and participation (20%): This is a seminar, not a lecture course. Student contributions are thus essential. Students are required to attend all sessions, arrive on time, and have read *at least* the items listed under <u>Required Reading</u> prior to each session.
- <u>Paper 1 (30%)</u>: What caused war X? The paper should be between ten and twelve, double-spaced, 12-point typed, pages in length, excluding the Bibliography. If the paper exceeds the page limit, the grade will be reduced. Students should submit one hard and one electronic version of the paper. <mark>Due Session 10 class (19 June 2012).</mark>
- <u>Paper 2 (50%)</u>: Devise your own research question addressing an issue related to war and conflict in contemporary Africa. Exact topics <u>must</u> be agreed with Professor Williams. The paper should be between fifteen and twenty, double-spaced, 12-point typed, pages in length, excluding the Bibliography. If the paper exceeds the page limit, the grade will be reduced. Students should submit one hard and one electronic version of the paper. <mark>Due 9am (EST) on Monday 1 July 2012.</mark>
- Late papers will be penalized one-third of the grade per day (from A to A-, from A- to B+, etc.) Incompletes will not be allowed, except in the case of truly dire emergencies. Save and print your work regularly as you write. Problems with technology are not an acceptable reason for late work.
- Sources should be cited using a recognized system of referencing, preferably Chicago or Harvard.

UNIVERSITY RESOURCES AND POLICIES
For university teaching policies: http://www.gwu.edu/~academic/Teaching/main.htm

Academic Integrity
Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information. For the remainder of the code, see:
http://www.gwu.edu/~ntegrity/code.html

Support for Students Outside the Classroom

DISABILITY SUPPORT SERVICES (DSS)
Any student who may need an accommodation based on the potential impact of a disability should contact the Disability Support Services office at 202-994-8250 in the Marvin Center, Suite 242, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. For additional information see http://gwired.gwu.edu/dss/

UNIVERSITY COUNSELING CENTER (UCC) 202-994-5300
The UCC offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include: crisis and emergency mental health consultations; confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals. See http://gwired.gwu.edu/counsel/CounselingServices/AcademicSupportServices

Security
In the case of an emergency, if at all possible, the class should shelter in place. If the building that the class is in is affected, follow the evacuation procedures for the building. After evacuation, seek shelter at a predetermined rendezvous location.

RELEVANT JOURNALS
African Affairs
Journal of Modern African Studies
Journal of Contemporary African Studies
Review of African Political Economy
Third World Quarterly
African Security Review
Africa Confidential (fortnightly)
African Research Bulletin (monthly)
   Foreign Affairs
   African Studies Quarterly

Journal of Asian and African Studies (after 2002, *African and Asian Studies*)
International Security
World Politics
International Affairs
Survival
Development and Change

TEXTS FOR PURCHASE
There are no textbooks that cover all the issues discussed in this course. However, we will be reading significant sections of three books in particular. You may wish to purchase them but you will need to get access to them. I would suggest www.amazon.com or another online store.

Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz, *Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument* (James Currey, 1999). Interesting and important, if controversial, overview of politics in contemporary sub-Saharan Africa.
William Reno, *Warfare in Independent Africa* (Cambridge University Press, 2011). Excellent historical overview of Africa's rebels and rebellions.
Paul D. Williams, *War and Conflict in Africa* (Polity Press, 2011). A book that grew out of teaching this class: covers most of the issues we'll discuss.
If you are seriously interested in child soldiering issues in Africa, I highly recommend Myrian Denov, *Child Soldiers: Sierra Leone's Revolutionary United Front* (Cambridge UP, 2010). We will read a couple of chapters for class but you may want to purchase if this is an area you're particularly interested in.

CLASS TOPICS

Session 1 (Monday 20 May): Introduction
- Overview of the course and your role in it.

Required Reading
Williams, P.D., *War and Conflict in Africa* (Polity, 2011), Introduction.
Gettelman, J., 'Africa's Forever Wars: why the continent's conflicts never end', *Foreign Policy* (March/April 2010), at http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/02/22/africas_forever_wars

Recommended Background Reading
Jackson, R., 'Africa's Wars: Overview, Causes and the Challenges of Conflict Transformation' in O. Furley & R. May (eds.), *Ending Africa's Wars* (Ashgate, 2006), pp.15-30.
de Waal, A., 'Contemporary warfare in Africa' in M. Kaldor & B. Vashee (eds.), *Restructuring the Global Military Sector: Vol. 1 – New Wars* (Pinter, 1997), pp.287-332.
Stedman, S.J., 'Conflict and Conciliation in Sub-Saharan Africa' in M.E. Brown (ed.), *The International Dimension of Internal Conflict* (MIT Press, 1996), pp.235-65.

Session 2 (Wednesday 22 May): Trends in Africa's Armed Conflicts

- What are the major trends in the incidence and nature of armed conflicts in Africa?
- Is there something special about "African wars"?
- What are the main limitations of our current knowledge about Africa's wars? How might these be rectified?
- To what extent, if any, has the "war on terrorism" affected armed conflict in Africa?

Required Reading
Human Security Brief 2007, chapter 2: 'Towards a new peace in Africa?', at http://www.humansecuritybrief.info/hsb07_chapter2.pdf
Straus, S. 'Wars do end! Changing patterns of political violence in sub-Saharan Africa', *African Affairs*, 111 No.443 (April 2012), 179-201.
Williams, P.D., *War and Conflict in Africa* (Polity, 2011), chapter 1.
Reno, W., *Warfare in Independent Africa* (Cambridge UP, 2011), pp.1-36.

Recommended Reading
The Human Security Report: War & Peace in the Twenty-First Century (Oxford UP, 2006): http://www.humansecurityreport.info, Overview and Part 1.
Collier, P. and A. Hoeffler, 'On the Incidence of Civil War in Africa', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46:1 (2002), 13–28.

Newman, E., 'The 'New Wars' Debate: A Historical Perspective is Needed', *Security Dialogue*, 35:2 (2004), 173-189.

Buzan, B. and O. Wæver, *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security* (Cambridge UP, 2003), chapter 8.

Stevenson, J. 'Africa's Growing Strategic Resonance', *Survival*, 45:4 (2003-04), 153-171.

Herbst, J., 'War and the State in Africa', *International Security*, 14:4 (1990), 117-139.

On Africa and the "war on terrorism"
Ellis, S. and D. Killingray, 'Africa After 11 September 2001', *African Affairs*, 101, No.402 (2002), 5-8.

Mills, G., 'Africa's New Strategic Significance', *Washington Quarterly*, 27:4 (2004), 157-169.

Lyman, P.N. and S. Morrison, 'The Terrorist Threat in Africa', *Foreign Affairs*, 83:1 (2004), 75-86.

Rotberg, R. (ed.), *Battling Terrorism in the Horn of Africa* (Brookings Institution Press, 2005).

Le Sage, A. (ed.), *African Counterterrorism Cooperation* (Potomac Books, 2007).

WHY DO THEY FIGHT?

Session 3 (<mark>Tuesday 28 May</mark>): Neopatrimonialism and War—is there a link?

- What are the main characteristics of neopatrimonial systems of governance?
- How important is neopatrimonial politics as an explanation for armed conflict in Africa?
- To what extent do patronage networks affect the dynamics of Africa's wars?

Required Reading
Chabal, P. and J-P Daloz, *Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument* (James Currey, 1999), Introduction + pp.1-44.

van de Walle, N., *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis* (Cambridge UP, 2001), chapter 3 (pp.113-37).

Williams, P.D., *War and Conflict in Africa* (Polity, 2011), chapter 3.

Recommended Reading
Erdmann, G. and U. Engel, 'Neopatrimonialism Reconsidered', *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 45:1 (2007), 95-119.

Hyden, G., *African Politics in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge UP, 2006), chapter 5.

Reno, W., 'Patronage Politics and the Behavior of Armed Groups', *Civil Wars*, 9:4 (2007): 324-42.

Bratton, M. and N. van de Walle, *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge UP, 1997), chapter 2.

Power, M. 'Patrimonialism and Petro-Diamond Capitalism: Peace, Geopolitics and the Economics of War in Angola', *Review of African Political Economy*, 28, No. 90 (2001), 489-502.

Bøås, M., 'Liberia and Sierra Leone—Dead Ringers? The Logic of Neopatrimonial Rule', *Third World Quarterly*, 22:5 (2001), 697-723.

Taylor, I., *NEPAD: Towards Africa's Development or Another False Start?* (Lynne Rienner, 2005), chapter 3 on elite politics.

Session 4 (Wednesday 29 May): Ethnicity (Case Study: Rwanda)

- How important are ethnic differences in explaining armed conflict in Africa?
- How malleable are ethnic identities?
- What role did ethnicity play in causing the war and genocide in Rwanda 1990-1994?

Required Reading
Berman, B., 'Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State: The Politics of Uncivil Nationalism', *African Affairs*, Vol. 97 (1998), 305-41.

Fujii, L.A., *Killing Neighbors: Webs of Violence in Rwanda* (Cornell UP, 2009), pp.1-22.

Hintjens, H.M., 'Explaining the 1994 genocide in Rwanda', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 37:2 (1999), 241-286.

Williams, P.D., *War and Conflict in Africa* (Polity, 2011), chapter 6.

Recommended Reading

Hyden, G., *African Politics in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge UP, 2006), chapter 9.
Kaufman, S.J., 'Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice? Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence', *International Security*, 30:4 (2006), 45-86.
Mueller, J. 'The Banality of "Ethnic War"', *International Security*, 25:1 (2000), 42-70. And response by Simons in 25:4 (2000).
Young, C., 'Deciphering Disorder in Africa: Is Identity the Key?', *World Politics*, 54:4 (July 2002), 532-557.
Azarya, V., 'Ethnicity and Conflict Management in Post-Colonial Africa', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 9:3 (2003), 1-24.
Welsh, D., 'Ethnicity in Sub-Saharan Africa', *International Affairs*, 72:3 (1996), 477-491.
Braathen, E., M. Boas and G. Sther (eds.) *Ethnicity Kills? The Politics of War, Peace and Ethnicity in Subsaharan Africa* (Palgrave, 2000).
Bowen, J., 'The Myth of Ethnic Conflict' *Journal of Democracy*, 7:4 (1996).
Fearon, J. and D. Laitin, 'Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity', *International Organization*, 54:4 (2000), 845-877.
Smith, Z.K., 'Democratisation and Ethnic Conflict in Africa', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 38:1 (2000), 21-39.
Horowitz, D.L., *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (University of California Press, 1985).
Kaufman, S.J., *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War* (Cornell UP, 2001).

On Rwanda's 1994 Genocide

Des Forges, A. *Leave None to Tell the Story* (Human Rights Watch, 1999), at
http://www.hrw.org/legacy/reports/1999/rwanda/rwanda0399.htm
Melvern, L., *A People Betrayed*: *the West's role in Rwanda's genocide* (Zed, 2000; 2nd edn. 2009).
Melvern, L., *Conspiracy to Murder: The Rwandan Genocide* (Verso, 2004, revised edn 2006).
Dallaire, R., *Shake Hands With the Devil* (Random House, 2003).
Barnett, M., *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The UN in Rwanda* (Cornell Uni Press, 2002).
Clapham, C., 'The perils of peacemaking', *Journal of Peace Research*, 35:2, (1998), 193-210.
Prunier, G., *The Rwanda Crisis* (Hurst, 1995 and 1997).
Adelman, H. and Suhrke, A. (eds.), *The Path of a Genocide* (New Brunswick, 2000).
Uvin, P., *Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda* (Kumarian, 1998).
Uvin, P., 'Ethnicity and Power in Rwanda and Burundi: Different Paths to Mass Violence', *Comparative Politics*, 31:3 (1999), 253-271.
McNulty, M., 'France's Role in Rwanda and Military Intervention', *International Peacekeeping*, 4:3 (1997).
Kroslak, D., *The Role of France in Rwanda's Genocide* (Hurst, 2007).
Andersen, R., 'How Multilateral Development Assistance Triggered the Conflict in Rwanda', *Third World Quarterly*, 21:3 (2000), 441-56.
Durch, W.J. (ed.), *UN Peacekeeping, American Policy and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s* (Macmillan, 1997), chapter 9.

Session 5 (Monday 3 June): "Warlord politics" (Case Studies: Liberia and Sierra Leone)

- Who is a warlord in Africa?
- Why do warlords emerge?
- What are the chief characteristics of warlord politics?

Required Reading

Marten, K., 'Warlordism in Comparative Perspective', *International Security*, 31:3 (2007), 41-73.
Reno, W., *Warfare in Independent Africa* (Cambridge UP, 2011), pp.163-205.
If you have time, this goes into more detail on the Liberian and Sierra Leone cases: Reno, W., *Warlord Politics and African States* (Lynne Rienner, 1998), pp.1-145.

On warlords

Vinci, A., 'Like worms in the entrails of a natural man: A conceptual analysis of warlords', *Review of African Political Economy*, 34: 112 (2007), 313-331.

Jackson, P., 'Warlords as Alternative Forms of Governance', *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 14:2 (2003), 131-50.

Mackinlay, J. 'Defining Warlords', *International Peacekeeping*, 7:1 (2000), 48-63.

Reno, W. *Warfare in Independent Africa* (Cambridge UP, 2011), pp.163-205.

Rich, P.B. (ed.), *Warlords in International Relations* (Palgrave-Macmillan, 1999).

On Liberia and Sierra Leone

Bøås, M., 'Liberia and Sierra Leone—Dead Ringers? The Logic of Neopatrimonial Rule', *Third World Quarterly*, 22:5 (2001), 697-723.

Zack-Williams, A.B., 'Sierra Leone: The Political Economy of Civil War, 1991-98', *Third World Quarterly*, 20:1 (1999), 143-62.

Pugh, M. et al., 'Sierra Leone' in *War Economies in a Regional Context* (Lynne Rienner, 2004).

Clapham, C. (ed.), *African Guerrillas* (James Currey, 1998), chapters 10-11.

Ellis, S., *The Mask of Anarchy: The Destruction of Liberia and the Religious Dimension of an African Civil War* (Hurst, 1999). [best single volume overview]

Hubband, M., *The Liberian Civil War* (Frank Cass, 1998). [on the early phases of the war]

Ellis, S., 'Liberia 1989-1994: A study of ethnic and spiritual violence', *African Affairs*, 94, No.375 (1995), 165-197.

Keen, D., *Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone* (James Currey, 2005). [best single volume overview]

Abdullah, I., 'Bush path to destruction: The origin and character of the Revolutionary United Front/Sierra Leone', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 36:2 (1998), 203-235.

Richards, P., *Fighting for the Rainforest: War, Youth and Resources in Sierra Leone* (James Currey, 1996). [excellent overview of the causal dynamics and early years of the conflict]

Gberie, L., *A Dirty War in West Africa* (Hurst, 2005).

Hirsh, J., *Sierra Leone* (Lynne Rienner/IPA, 2001).

Session 6 (Wednesday 5 June): State Failure (Case Studies: <u>Somalia</u> and Zaire)

- What are weak/failed/collapsed states?
- Why do states fail in Africa?
- How do weak and failing state structures increase the likelihood of armed conflict?
- How do opposition movements form and act in weak states?

Required Reading
Englebert, P. and D.M. Tull, 'Postconflict Reconstruction in Africa: Flawed Ideas about Failed States', *International Security*, 32:4 (2008), 106-39.

Williams, P.D., 'State Failure in Africa: Causes, Consequences and Responses', *Europa Yearbook: Africa South of the Sahara, 2012* (Taylor & Francis, 2011).

Menkhaus, K., 'Governance without Government in Somalia: Spoilers, State Building and the Politics of Coping', *International Security*, 31:3 (2006/07), 74-106.

McNulty, M., 'The Collapse of Zaire: Implosion, Revolution, or External Sabotage', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 39:1 (1999), 53-82.

Recommended Reading
Jackson, R. and C. Rosberg, 'Why Africa's Weak States Persist', *World Politics*, 35:1 (1982), 1-24.

Clapham, C., 'Degrees of Statehood', *Review of International Studies*, 24 (1998), 143-57.

Reno, W., 'The Politics of Violent Opposition in Collapsing States', *Government and Opposition*, 40:2 (2005), 127-51.

Herbst, J., 'Responding to State Failure in Africa', *International Security*, 21:3 (1996/97), 120-144.

Call, C.T. 'Beyond the 'Failed State': Towards Conceptual Alternatives', *European Journal of International Relations*, 17:2 (2011), 303-26.

Call, C.T., 'The fallacy of the failed state', *Third World Quarterly*, 29:8 (2008), 1491-1507.

Allen, C., 'Warfare, Endemic Violence and State Collapse', *Review of African Political Economy*, 81 (1999), 367-384.

Rotberg, R.I. (ed.), *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences* (Princeton UP, 2003), chapters 1-6.

Zartman, I.W., *Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority* (Lynne Rienner, 1995), chapter 1.

Patrick, S., 'Weak States and Global Threats: Fact or Fiction?', *Washington Quarterly*, 29:2 (2006), 27-53.

Bøas, M. and K. Jennings 'Insecurity and Development: The Rhetoric of the 'Failed State'', *European Journal of Development Research*, 17:3 (2005), 385-395.

On Somalia

Menkhaus, K., *Somalia: State Collapse and the Threat of Terrorism* (Adelphi Paper No. 364, IISS/Oxford UP, 2004).

Menkhaus, K., 'The Crisis in Somalia: Tragedy in five acts', *African Affairs*, 106 (2007), 357-90.

Menkhaus, K., 'State Collapse in Somalia: Second Thoughts', *Review of African Political Economy*, No.97 (2003), 405-422.

Bradbury, M. et al., 'Somaliland: Choosing Politics over Violence', *Review of African Political Economy*, No.97 (2003), 455-478.

Special Issue on 'Warlords, Failed States, and Terrorism – The Case of Somalia' in *Journal of Conflict Studies*, (Fall 2003), articles by Menkhaus, Bryden, and Hansen. Available at: http://www.lib.unb.ca/Texts/JCS/Fall03/contents.htm

See also Rasmuth Krath, *A Journey Into Piracy* – 2009 documentary film (c.50 mins): http://www.cultureunplugged.com/play/4770

On Zaire/DRC

Reno, W., 'Congo: from state collapse, to "absolutism", to state failure', *Third World Quarterly*, 27:1 (2006), 43-56.

Lemarchand, R., 'Patterns of State Collapse and Reconstruction in Central Africa', *African Studies Quarterly*, 1:3 (1997): http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v1/v1i3.htm

Reno, W., 'Sovereignty and Personal Rule in Zaire', *African Studies Quarterly*, 1:3 (1997): http://web.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v1/v1i3.htm

Session 7 (Monday 10 June): Self-determination (Case Studies: Eritrea, Western Sahara, Somaliland)

- To what extent does the anti-colonial struggle in Africa continue?
- Why are there not more separatist movements in Africa?
- When are self-determination struggles likely to turn violent?
- What accounts for Eritrea's independence?
- What are the main obstacles to Western Sahara and Somaliland gaining independence?

Required Reading

Englebert, P., *Africa: Unity, Sovereignty & Sorrow* (Lynne Rienner, 2009), chapter 2.

Williams, P.D., *War and Conflict in Africa* (Polity, 2011), chapter 5.

Klabbers, J., 'The Right to be Taken Seriously: Self-Determination in International Law', *Human Rights Quarterly*, 28 (2006), 186-206.
 Plus at least one case study:

Eritrea: Iyob, R., 'Regional Hegemony: Domination and Resistance in the Horn of Africa', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 31:2 (1993), 257-76.

ICG, *Western Sahara: Out of the Impasse* (ICG Middle East/North Africa Report No.66, June 2007).

Bradbury, M. *Becoming Somaliland* (James Currey, 2008), Introduction & Conclusion.

On Self-Determination

Weller, M., 'The Self-Determination Trap', *Ethnopolitics*, 4:1 (2005), 3-28.

Quane, H., 'The UN and the Evolving Right to Self-Determination', *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 47 (July 1998), 537-72.

Higgins, R., *Problems and Process: International Law and How We Use It* (Oxford UP, 1994), chapter 7.

Kornprobst, M., 'The management of border disputes in African regional sub-systems', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 40:3 (2002), 369-393.

On Eritrea

Clapham, C. (ed.), *African Guerrillas* (James Currey, 1998), chapter 2.

Araya, M., 'The Eritrean Question', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 28:1 (1990), 79-100.

Iyob, R., *The Eritrean Struggle for Independence* (Cambridge UP, 1995).

Pool, D., 'Eritrean Independence', *African Affairs*, Vol.92, No.368 (1993), 389-402.

Yohannes, O., 'The Eritrean Question: A Colonial Case?', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 25:4 (1987), 643-68.

Iyob, R., 'The Eritrean Experiment: A Cautious Pragmatism?', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 35:4 (1997), 647-73.

On the subsequent war with Ethiopia

Negash, T. and K. Tronvoll, *Brothers at War: Making Sense of the Eritrean-Ethiopian War* (James Currey, 2000).

Jacquin-Berdal, D. (ed.), *Unfinished Business: Ethiopia and Eritrea at War* (Red Sea Press, 2004).

Iyob, R., 'The Ethiopian-Eritrean Conflict', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 38:4 (2000), 659-682.

Lata, L., 'The Ethiopian-Eritrean War', *Review of African Political Economy*, No.97 (2003), 369-88.

On Western Sahara

Jensen, E., *Western Sahara: Anatomy of a Stalemate* (Lynne Rienner, 2nd edition 2011).

Shelley, T., *Endgame in Western Sahara: What Future for Africa's Last Colony?* (Zed, 2004).

Castellino, J., 'Territoriality and Identity in International Law: The Struggle for Self-Determination in the Western Sahara', *Millennium*, 28:3 (1999), 523-559.

Von Hippel, K., 'The Non-Intervention Norm Prevails: An Analysis of the Western Sahara', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 33:1 (1995), 67-81.

Roussellier, J., 'Quicksand in the Western Sahara? From Referendum Stalemate to Negotiated Solution', *International Negotiation*, 10 (2005), 311-36.

Zunes, S. and J. Mundy, *Western Sahara: War, Nationalism and Conflict Irresolution* (Syracuse UP, 2010).

On Somaliland

Spears, I., 'Reflections on Somaliland and Africa's Territorial Order', *Review of African Political Economy*, No.95 (2003), 89-98.

Bradbury, M. et al., 'Somaliland: Choosing Politics Over Violence', *Review of African Political Economy*, No.97 (2003), 455-78.

ICG, *Somaliland: Time for African Union Leadership* (Africa Report No.110, 23 May 2006).

Schraeder, P., 'Why the US should recognize Somaliland's independence', *CSIS Africa Forum*: http://forums.csis.org/africa/?p=19

Clark, E.S., 'Somaliland: A Democracy under Threat', *Foreign Service Journal*, (Nov. 2006), 30-38.

Somaliland Forum, http://somalilandforum.org/sl/

Session 8 (Wednesday 12 June): Resource Wars? (Case Studies: DRC and Sudan)

- What is (not) a resource?
- When is the struggle over resources likely to lead to violence?
- Once violence has started, how can economic incentives be reduced?
- What role should outsiders play in these conflicts?

Required Reading

Le Billon, P., 'The Political Ecology of War: Natural Resources and Armed Conflict', *Political Geography*, 20 (2001), 561-584.

Herbst, J., 'Economic Incentives, Natural Resources and Conflict in Africa', *Journal of African Economies*, 9:3 (2000), 270-294.

Williams, P.D., *War and Conflict in Africa* (Polity, 2011), chapter 4.

DRC: If you're a new comer to the war in the DRC start with Shearer, D., 'Africa's Great War', *Survival*, 41:2 (1999), 89-106. Then move onto the relevant bits of International Crisis Group, *Scramble for the Congo: Anatomy of an Ugly War* (ICG: Africa Report No. 26, 20 Dec. 2000).

For those of you who know the background, this report focuses on the trading networks based on the DRC's minerals etc. *Final report of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of Congo* (S/2002/1146), especially paras. 1-21.

Sudan: Patey, L.A., 'Crude Days Ahead? Oil and the Resource Curse in Sudan,' *African Affairs*, Vol.109, No.437 (2010): 617-36.

<u>Recommended Reading</u>

Berdal, M., 'Beyond greed and grievance: and not too soon …', *Review of International Studies*, 31 (2005), 687-698.

Ross, M., 'What Do We Know about Natural Resources and Civil War?', *Journal of Peace Research*, 41:3 (2004), 337-56.

Berdal, M. and D. Malone (eds.) *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars* (Lynne Rienner, 2000).

Chabal, P. and J-P. Daloz, *Africa Works* (James Currey, 1999), chapter 6.

Cramer, C., '*Homo Economicus* Goes to War: Methodological Individualism, Rational Choice and the Political Economy of War', *World Development*, 20:11 (2002), 1845-64.

Le Billon, P., *Fuelling War: Natural Resources and Armed Conflict* (Adelphi Paper No.373, IISS/Taylor & Francis, 2005).

Keen, D., *The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars* (Adelphi Paper No. 320, IISS/Oxford UP, 1998).

Berdal, M. and D. Keen, 'Violence and Economic Agendas in Civil Wars', *Millennium*, 26:3 (1998), 795-818.

Malaquias, A., 'Diamonds are a Guerrilla's Best Friend: The Impact of Illicit Wealth on Insurgency Strategy', *Third World Quarterly*, 22:3 (2001), 311-25.

Le Billon, P., 'Angola's Political Economy of War: The Role of Oil and Diamonds, 1975–2000', *African Affairs*, 100 (2001), 55-80.

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Reyntjens, F., 'The Second Congo War: More than a Remake', *African Affairs*, 98:391 (1999), 241-250.

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Global Witness, *Fuelling Mistrust: The Need for Transparency in Sudan's Oil Industry* (September 2009), http://www.globalwitness.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/v12_final_sudan_fuelling_mistrust_lowres.pdf

Global Witness, *Crude Calculations: The Continued Lack of Transparency over Oil in Sudan* (Jan. 2011), http://www.globalwitness.org/sites/default/files/110104_Crude%20Calculations.pdf

Concordis International, *More Than A Line: Sudan's North-South Border* (September 2010), http://www.concordis-international.org/component/content/article/46/245-pnp-project-1.html

United We Stand, Divided We Fall: The Sudans after the Split (Wilson Center, Working Group Series Paper No.2, March 2012), http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/FINAL-AFR120228_policy5T_0329_rpt.pdf

HOW DO THEY FIGHT?

Session 9 (Monday 17 June): African Guerrillas versus African States (Case Study: Sudan-SPLM/A)

- How different are states and insurgents?
- How important are the international politics of insurgency?
- What accounts for the success of the SPLM/A?

Required Reading

Clapham, C. (ed.), *African Guerrillas* (James Currey, 1998), chapters 1 and 4.

Bøås, M. and K. Dunn (eds.), *African Guerrillas: Raging Against the Machine* (Lynne Rienner, 2007), esp. Introduction, Chapter 1 and Conclusion (by Clapham).

Reno, W., *Warfare in Independent Africa* (Cambridge UP, 2011), pp.1-15.

On the SPLA

Deng, F.M., *War of Visions: Conflicts of Identities in Sudan* (Brookings, 1995), Intro, chapters 2 and 3. [Read chapter 1 if you do not have decent knowledge of the war between the government and the SPLM/A.]

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Howe, H., *Ambiguous Order: Militaries in Africa* (Lynner Reinner, 2001), chapters 1-2.

On Sudan: Government vs SPLM/A
Johnson, D.H., *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars* (James Currey, 2003).
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Scroggins, D. *Emma's War: Love, Betrayal and Death in the Sudan* (Pantheon Books, 2002).
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Branch, A. & Z.C. Mapilly, 'Winning the war, but losing the peace? The dilemma of the SPLM/A civil administration and the task ahead', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 43:1 (2005), 1-20.
de Zeeuw, J. (ed.), *From Soldiers to Politicians* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2008), chapter on the SPLM.

On Sudan: Darfur
De Waal, A. (ed.), *War in Darfur and the Search for Peace* (Harvard UP, 2007).
Prunier, G. *Darfur: The Ambiguous Genocide* (Hurst, 2005; new editions, 2006, 2008).
Prunier, G., 'The Politics of Death in Darfur', *Current History*, (May 2006), 195-202.
Flint, J. and A. de Waal, *Darfur: A Short History of a Long War* (Zed, 2005; new edition 2008).
Human Rights Watch, *Darfur in Flames: Atrocities in Western Sudan* (HRW: 16(5A), April 2004).
Human Rights Watch, *Darfur Destroyed: Ethnic Cleansing by Government and Militia Forces in Western Sudan* (HRW: 16(6A), May, 2004).
International Commission of Inquiry, *Report of the International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur to the United Nations Secretary-General*, Geneva, 25 January 2005; available at www.reliefweb.int/library/documents/2005/ici-sud-25feb.pdf
Brosché, J., Darfur: Dimensions and Dilemmas of a Complex Situation (UCDP Paper No.2, 2008), at http://www.pcr.uu.se/publications/UCDP_pub/Darfur_080317.pdf
Tanner, V. & J. Tubiana, *Divided They Fall: The Fragmentation of Darfur's Rebel Groups* (Small Arms Survey, HSBA Working Paper 6, 2007).

Session 10 (Wednesday 19 June): Private Warriors and Child Soldiers (Case Study: Sierra Leone)

Private Companies:
- What explains the recent growth in the private security companies operating in African conflicts?
- How much impact did private actors have on the war in Sierra Leone?
- What are the advantages and disadvantages of private security firms participating in African wars?

Child Soldiers:
- What explains the relatively large numbers of child combatants in African wars?
- What are the particular problems associated with this phenomena? What should be done in response, and by whom?
- Can Western ideas about childhood be used in the African context?
- What are the issues associated with trying to reintegrate former child combatants into society?

Required Reading
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Howe, H., *Ambiguous Order: Militaries in Africa* (Lynner Reinner, 2001), chapter 5.

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Peters, K. and P. Richards, 'Why we Fight: Voices of Youth Combatants in Sierra Leone', *Africa*, 68:2 (1998), 183-210.

On PMCs

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Shearer, D., *Private Armies and Military Intervention* (Adelphi Paper No. 316, IISS/Oxford UP, 1998).

Cilliers, J. and P. Mason (eds.), *Peace, Profit or Plunder? The Privatisation of Security in War-Torn African Societies* (Pretoria: ISS, 1999).

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Avant, D., *The Market for Force* (Cambridge UP, 2005).

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On Child Soldiers

Francis, D., ''Paper protection' mechanisms: child soldiers and the international protection of children in Africa's conflict zones', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 45:2 (2007), 207-31.

Achvarina, V. and S.F. Reich, 'No Place to Hide: Refugees, Displaced Persons and the Recruitment of Child Soldiers', *International Security*, 31:1 (2006), 127-64.

Singer, P.W., *Children at War* (Pantheon, 2005), chapters 1-3.

Boyden, J., 'Children, war and world disorder in the 21st century', *Conflict, Security & Development*, 7:2 (2007), 255-79.

Honwana, A., *Child Soldiers in Africa* (Pennyslvannia UP, 2005).

Rosen, D.M., *Armies of the Young* (Rutgers UP, 2005), ch. 3.

Richards, P., *Fighting for the Rain Forest: War, Youth and Resources in Sierra Leone* (James Currey, 1996).

Machel, G., *The Impact of War on Children* (Hurst, 2001).

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<u>On Girl Soldiers</u>
Denov, M. 'Girl Soldiers and Human Rights: Lessons from Angola, Mozambique, Sierra Leone and Northern Uganda', *International Journal of Human Rights*, 12:5 (2008): 813-36.
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Coulter, C. et al, *Young Female Fighters in African Wars* (Nordic Africa Institute, 2008), http://www.childtrafficking.com/Docs/young_female_fighters_wars_0309.pdf
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McKay, S. & D. Mazurana, *Where are Girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique: Their Lives During and After War* (Rights & Democracy, 2004), www.dd-rd.ca/site/_PDF/publications/women/girls_whereare.pdf
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HOW TO RESPOND?

Session 11 (Monday 24 June): Peace Operations in Africa 1: African Responses

- To what extent has the creation of the AU changed the way African states respond to conflicts on the continent?
- How should we assess African responses to the continent's wars?
- Are there African solutions to African wars?
- What are the best ways forward?

<u>Required Reading</u>
Malan, M. 'Africa: Building Institutions on the Run' in D. Daniel et al (eds.), *Peace Operations* (Georgetown UP, 2008), pp.89-117.
Williams, P.D., *War and Conflict in Africa* (Polity, 2011), chapter 8.
Boutellis, A. and P.D. Williams, *Peace Operations, the African Union, and the United Nations: Toward More Effective Partnerships* (International Peace Institute, April 2013), http://www.ipinst.org/publication/policy-papers/detail/395-peace-ops-the-african-union-and-the-un-toward-more-effective-partnerships.html

<u>Recommended Reading</u>
Franke, B., *Security Cooperation in Africa* (Lynne Rienner, 2009).
Boulden, J. (ed.), *Dealing with Conflict in Africa: The UN and Regional Organizations* (Palgrave, 2003), chapter 2 and Conclusions.
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Williams, P.D. *The African Union's Conflict Management Capabilities* (Council on Foreign Relations Working Paper, 2011), http://www.cfr.org/african-union/african-unions-conflict-management-capabilities/p26044
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Nhema, A. & P.T. Zeleza (eds.), *The Resolution of African Conflicts* (Ohio UP, 2008), esp. chapters 1-3.
Howe, H., *Ambiguous Order: Militaries in Africa* (Lynner Reinner, 2001), chapter 4.
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Job, B.L., 'The UN, Regional Organisations and Regional Conflict' in R.M. Price and M. Zacher (eds.), *The UN and Global Security* (Palgrave, 2004), pp. 227-43.

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Mulugeta, A., 'Promises and Challenges of a Sub-Regional Force for the Horn of Africa', *International Peacekeeping*, 15:2 (2008), 171-84.

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Adebajo, A., *Building Peace in West Africa: Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea-Bissau* (Lynne Rienner, 2002).

Adebajo, A. *Liberia's Civil War: Nigeria, ECOMOG, and Regional Security in West Africa* (Lynne Rienner, 2002).

Session 12 (Wednesday 26 June): Peace Operations in Africa 2: International Responses

- What are the main characteristics of international responses to wars in Africa?
- What are some of the problems with (a) the UN; (b) the EU; and (c) the US AFRICOM response to Africa's wars?
- How can international responses be improved?

Required Reading

de Waal, A. 'Mission without End? Peacekeeping in the African political marketplace', *International Affairs*, 85:1 (2009), 99-113.

Autesserre, S. 'Hobbes and the Congo: Frames, Local Violence, and International Intervention', *International Organization*, 63:2 (2009), 249-80.

Menon, A., 'Empowering Paradise? The ESDP at Ten,' *International Affairs*, 85:2 (2009): 227-46.

On AFRICOM: see special section of *Contemporary Security Policy*, 30:1 (2009): 1-99.

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Autesserre, S., *The Trouble with the Congo* (Cambridge UP, 2010).

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Goulding, M., 'The United Nations and Conflict in Africa Since the Cold War', *African Affairs*, 98, No.391 (1999), 155-166.

Wiharta, S., 'Peace-Building: the new international focus on Africa' in *SIPRI Yearbook 2006* (SIPRI, 2006), at: http://www.sipri.org/contents/conflict/YB06%20139%2003.pdf#search=%22wiharta%20peace-building%20africa%22

Kuehne, W. *How the EU Organizes and Conducts Peace Operations in Africa* (ZIF Report March 2009), at: http://www.zif-berlin.org/fileadmin/uploads/analyse/dokumente/veroeffentlichungen/EUFOR_Tchad__RCA_final_03_09.pdf

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Adebajo, A. and C. Landsberg, 'Back to the Future: UN Peacekeeping in Africa', *International Peacekeeping*, 7:4 (2000), 161-188.

Mueller, J., *The Remnants of War* (Cornell UP, 2004), chapter 9.

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