

**PSCI 3101A
Politics of War in Africa
Tuesday and Thursday, 13:05-14:25
Please confirm location on Carleton Central**

Instructor: C. Brown
Office: 2409R River Building
Office Hours: Tuesday and Thursday 14:30-15:30
Phone: 520-2600 x 8734
Email: chris.brown@carleton.ca

This class examines armed conflict in contemporary Africa. The first unit provides an overview of the historical roots of conflict in Africa. The aim of this unit is to provide a background and context for contemporary conflict, and to highlight the many continuities between contemporary conflicts and those of the past. The second unit then looks at selected issues in contemporary African conflict. The aim of this unit is to provide the theoretical tools necessary to analyse conflict in Africa. Throughout the course, each topic is presented through a focus on one African country case study, with a different country being the focus each week. The course does not aim to provide a systematic review of all contemporary armed conflicts in Africa. There are unfortunately too many such conflicts to do justice to all of them within the parameters of a term-length course. Instead, the intention is to provide students with sufficient historical background, theoretical tools and case study examples that they can then analyse on their own any given African conflict.

Students are expected to prepare the assigned readings before class, to attend class, and to participate in classroom discussions. The course grade will be assigned on the basis of a map quiz, four short reviews of the assigned readings, two essays, and a final exam. Each of these components of the grade is described in detail below.

Students can access this link <http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/testmaps/africa.gif> for a map of Africa. Students who submit this map with the names of all 55 African countries, and their capitals, correctly filled in on the map by the beginning of class on Thursday, September 10, will receive 2 bonus marks. Handwritten answers only! If you do not submit the map on time, or if there are any errors on your map, you will not receive the bonus marks.

The reviews of the assigned readings should begin with a brief summary of the main argument(s) made by the author(s). They should also include your critical commentary on the readings. Remember: "critical" commentary includes highlighting both strengths and weaknesses. The reviews must be no more than one page in length; longer reviews will not be accepted. Students may choose any four readings on the syllabus, though two must come from

the first unit and two must come from the second unit. As well, you may not review readings that you also use for Essay 1 (see below). Reviews are due at the beginning of the class in which the readings are to be discussed; reviews of readings that have already been discussed in class will not be accepted. To receive a grade for this component of the course, students must hand in all four reviews, i.e. if you hand in three or fewer reviews your grade on this component will be zero.

The first essay is due in class on October 13. For this essay, students are asked to read one of three novels about Africa listed below. Each of the novels relates to one of the topics on Unit 1 of the course syllabus. Students are asked to compare the way the topic is treated imaginatively by the novelist with the way it is treated in the academic literature. Some of the questions your essay may wish to consider include the following: In what ways do the novel and the literature complement each other? In what ways are they contradictory? How does reading the one help in understanding the other? What are the strengths and weaknesses of each? Which gives a “truer” account of the topic? You are not required to answer each of these questions, nor should you feel restricted to answering only these questions. Instead, with this assignment you are encouraged to be creative: how does looking at conflict through a different lens help our understanding? Your bibliography for this essay must include the novel and the assigned readings for the topic. You may read other academic sources relevant to the topic, but this is not required. The novels, and the topics they are associated with, are as follows:

Slavery – Lawrence Hill, *The Book of Negroes*, 2007

The “Scramble for Africa” -- Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart*, 1958

Anti-Colonial Wars: Mau Mau – Ngugi wa Thiong’o, *Weep Not, Child*, 1964

The second essay is due in class on December 3. It will be an analysis of one contemporary African armed conflict not covered in the course syllabus. You must clear your case study choice with me by November 19. Your analysis should display a thorough grounding in the current academic literature on your chosen conflict. At the same time, you must integrate the conflict analysis framework presented in class and the themes discussed in Unit 2 (as appropriate) into your analysis. With this assignment, you are being asked to apply what you have learned in the course. It will be less important to give all the “facts” of a given conflict than to demonstrate that you have thought about the concepts and themes of the course and can apply them in a specific setting.

Both essays should be approximately 7-12 pages double-spaced, though quality, not length, will be the criterion for evaluation. Any essay received after class on the due date will be considered late. A late penalty of one third of one grade point (e.g. from A+ to A) will be assigned for each 24 hour period or a part thereof that the essay is late. The maximum late penalty is two whole grade points (e.g. from A+ to C+).

The final exam will be three hours long and will be written during the formal examination period, December 9 - 21. It will cover the entire course. More details on the format of the exam will be given in class closer to the date.

Grades will be allocated as follows:

Component of grade	Weight
Map: bonus marks	2%
Reviews of assigned readings	20% (4x5%)
Essays	40% (2X20%)
Final exam	40%

Students are encouraged to attend the scheduled office hours if they have any questions related to the course. As well, email is a good way to get specific answers to specific questions. If possible, please use the email associated with the course webpage in cuLearn when communicating with me about this course. I will make my best efforts to respond to all email queries within 24 hours.

There is no assigned textbook for this course. The required readings for each week are listed below. All assigned readings are on 2 hour reserve in MacOdrum Library. All book chapters are available in hard copy at the reserve desk. All the journal articles are available on-line via the Carleton University library system (Ares). I will also post any course notes to the course webpage in cuLearn prior to the lecture in which they are used.

Week 1 – Course Introduction (3/9)

No assigned reading.

Week 2 – Overview: Conflict in Africa (8 & 10/9)

This week will provide an overview of conflict in Africa and present the conflict analysis framework used in this course. The first reading situates armed conflict within the broader African security debate, while the other two readings discuss some key theoretical issues related to analysing armed conflict in Africa.

P.D. Williams, "Thinking about Security in Africa," *International Affairs*, 83(6), November 2007, pp. 1021-1038.

P.T. Zeleza, "The Causes and Costs of War in Africa: From Liberation Struggle to the 'War on Terror'," in A. Nhema and P.T. Zeleza (eds.), *The Roots of African Conflicts: The Causes and Costs*, 2008, Introduction, pp. 1-35.

P.D. Williams, *War and Conflict in Africa*, 2011, Ch. 1, pp. 15-34.

UNIT 1 – HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO CONFLICT IN AFRICA

Week 3 – Slavery: The Gold Coast (15 & 17/9)

We will look at the violence of the Atlantic slave trade, focusing on the Gold Coast, as Ghana was then known. How did the Atlantic slave trade operate? What relationship did it bear to indigenous forms of slavery? To what extent did the Atlantic slave trade create patterns of conflict that persist until today? The first reading examines in detail the operation of the slave trade at the major British slave fort in the Gold Coast, while the second reading examines slavery in Africa more broadly.

W. St Clair, *The Grand Slave Emporium: Cape Coast Castle and the British Slave Trade*, 2006, Introduction and Ch. 8, pp. 1-9 and 200-244. (Also Ch. 9, pp. 245-264, if you have a chance.)

P.E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, 3rd ed., 2012, Ch. 1, pp. 1-23.

Week 4 – The “Scramble for Africa”: The Zulu Empire (22 & 24/9)

This week we will examine the European conquest of Africa, the so-called “Scramble for Africa”, with a focus on one of the best-known examples of armed resistance, the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879. Why and how did Europeans suddenly conquer most of Africa in the last few decades of the 19th century? How did Africans respond to the European incursion? What continuities, if any, are there between resistance to the imposition of colonialism and later nationalist struggles? The first reading examines the Scramble from an African perspective, while the other two readings look at the Anglo-Zulu War and its aftermath.

A. Adu Boahen, *African Perspectives on Colonialism*, 1987, Ch. 2, pp. 27-57.

M. Lieven, “‘Butchering the Brutes All Over the Place’: Total War and Massacre in Zululand, 1879,” *History*, 84(276), October 1999, pp. 614-632.

A. Greaves, *Crossing the Buffalo: The Zulu War of 1879*, 2005, Ch. 17, pp. 324-338.

Week 5 – Anti-Colonial Wars: Mau Mau in Kenya (29/9 & 1/10)

The movement the British in Kenya called “Mau Mau” was the first major anti-colonial revolt. Why did it fail militarily? Did it achieve political success despite military defeat?

C. Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: Britain’s Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire*, 2005, Prologue and Ch. 1, pp. 1-53.

W.O. Maloba, *Mau Mau and Kenya: An Analysis of a Peasant Revolt*, 1993, Introduction, pp. 1-19.

Week 6 – Anti-Colonial Wars in the Cold War Era: Angola (6 & 8/10)

In the Portuguese colonies, Independence was achieved only through armed struggle. What was the regional and global context for the struggle? Why was Independence in Angola followed by a long and costly civil war? The first reading looks at the Independence struggle, while the second and third readings examine the post-Independence regional context and the long civil war that followed Independence.

J. Marcum, "Angola: Division or Unity?" in G.M. Carter and P. O'Meara (eds.), *Southern Africa in Crisis*, 1977, Ch. 4, pp. 136-162.

R. Davies and D. O'Meara, "Total Strategy in Southern Africa: An Examination of South African Regional Policy since 1978," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 11(2), April 1985, pp. 183-211.

A. Vines, "Angola: Forty Years of War," in P. Batchelor and K. Kingma (eds.), *Demilitarisation and Peace-Building in Southern Africa: Vol. II – National and Regional Experiences*, 2004, Ch. 3, pp. 74-104.

UNIT 2 – CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN CONFLICT IN AFRICA

Week 7 – Military Coups: Nigeria (13 & 15/10)

After Independence, the military coup d'état quickly became the most common form of armed intervention in politics in Africa. What are the causes and consequences of coups? Are we at last witnessing the disappearance of the coup d'état from African politics? The first two readings look at coups more generally, while the last reading focuses on Nigeria, which has experienced six successful coups and 23 years of military rule since Independence in 1960.

P. J. McGowan, "African Military Coups d'état; 1956-2001: Frequency, Trends, Distribution," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 41(3), 2003, pp. 339-370.

S. Decalo, *Coups and Army Rule in Africa*, 2nd edition, 1990, Ch. 1, pp. 1-32.

E.O. Ojo, "Guarding the 'Guardians': A Prognosis of Panacea for Evolving Stable Civil-Military Relations in Nigeria," *Armed Forces and Society*, 35(4), July 2009, pp. 688-708.

Week 8 – Ethnic Conflict: The Rwandan Genocide (20 & 22/10)

Ethnicity has been described as the "resilient paradigm" for explaining Africa. The 1994 Rwandan genocide would seem to be a leading example, with 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus killed by Hutu extremists. Does ethnicity really explain what happened? If not, what does explain the genocide? The first reading explores some of the debates around the concept of ethnicity, while the second and third readings focus on the background to the genocide and the actual events of 1994.

N. Eltringham, *Accounting for Horror: Post-Genocide Debates in Rwanda*, 2004, Ch. 1, pp. 1-33.

G. Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide*, 1995, Ch. 1, pp. 1-40.

Des Forges, A.L., *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda*, 1999, Introduction, pp. 1-30.

Week 9 – Resource War and Conflict Diamonds: Liberia (3 & 5/11)

“New war” theorists have suggested that much contemporary conflict, including in Africa, is not about political ideology or ethnic divisions, but rather is a struggle for control over scarce resources. The Liberian civil war, where “conflict diamonds” played a central role, would seem to be a case in point. The first two readings examine the broader theoretical issues at play while the third reading examines the Liberian war itself.

P. Collier and A. Hoeffler, “Greed and Grievance in Civil War,” *Oxford Economic Papers*, 56, 2004, pp. 563-595.

O. Olsson, “Diamonds are a Rebel’s Best Friend,” *The World Economy*, 29(8), August 2006, pp. 1133-1150.

M. Boas, “The Liberian Civil War: New War/Old War?” *Global Society*, 19(1), January 2005, pp. 73-88.

Week 10 – Gendered Violence: The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (10 & 12/11)

The on-going conflict in the DRC has been described as “Africa’s World War”. One particularly disturbing aspect of this conflict is the widespread use of rape as a weapon of war. What explains this phenomenon? How does looking at the conflict through the lens of a gender analysis help us gain a better understanding of what is going on? Are women the only victims of gendered violence? The first reading examines the DRC conflict in domestic, regional and global context, while the second reading addresses issues of gendered violence.

B. Gebrewold-Tochalo, *Anatomy of Violence: Understanding the System of Conflict and Violence in Africa*, 2009, Ch. 4, pp. 89-128.

M.E. Baaz and M. Stern, *The Complexity of Violence: A Critical Analysis of Sexual Violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)*, 2010, Ch. 1-4, pp. 7-50. Electronic Resource.

Week 11 – “The War on Terror” in Africa: Mali (17 & 19/11)

Since 9/11, we have been fighting a so-called “war on terror”. What are the African dimensions of this global struggle? Is the concept of a “war on terror” a useful lens through which to analyse African conflicts? The first reading looks at the broader issues, while the last

two readings examine the recent conflict in Mali, during which al-Qaeda-linked militants briefly occupied most of the northern part of the country.

P.N. Lyman, "The War on Terrorism in Africa," in J.W. Harbeson and D. Rothchild (eds.), *Africa in World Politics: Reforming Political Order*, (4th ed.), 2009, Ch. 11, pp. 276-304.

M. Boas and L.E. Torheim, "The Trouble in Mali – Corruption, Collusion, Resistance," *Third World Quarterly*, 34(7), August 2013, pp. 1279-1292.

L.E. Cline, "Nomads, Islamists, and Soldiers: The Struggles for Northern Mali," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 36(8), August 2013, pp. 617-634.

Week 12 – International and Regional Peacekeeping: Darfur (24 & 26/11)

What is the responsibility of the international community in the face of apparent genocide? The Darfur crisis, and the weak international response to date, makes this question all the more urgent. The first two readings look at UN peacekeeping and the African peace and security architecture in general terms, while the last two consider more directly the war in Darfur.

R.I. Rotberg, "Peacekeeping and the Effective Prevention of War," in R.I. Rotberg et al., *Peacekeeping and Peace Enforcement in Africa*, 2000, Ch. 1, pp. 1-15.

A.J. Bellamy, "The Responsibility to Protect and the Problem of Military Intervention," *International Affairs*, 84(4), July 2008, pp. 615-639.

A. van Nieuwkerk, "The Peace and Security Architecture of African Subregional Organizations," in J. Boulden (ed.), *Responding to Conflict in Africa: The United Nations and Regional Organizations*, 2013, Ch. 3. pp. 51-75.

A. de Waal, "Sudan: Darfur", in J. Boulden (ed.), *Responding to Conflict in Africa: The United Nations and Regional Organizations*, 2013, Ch. 12. pp. 283-305.

Week 13 – Post-Conflict Peace and Justice: Sierra Leone (1 & 3/12)

After the war is over, how can peace and justice be reconciled? More specifically, does justice require some type of accounting for the atrocities of the past, or does peace require that all be forgiven in the name of national unity? Two mechanisms that have been tried for bringing peace with justice are Truth and Reconciliation Commissions and war crimes trials. The first two readings look at the general issues, while the latter two readings consider their application in the case of Sierra Leone, which is unique in having had both a Truth and Reconciliation Commission and war crimes trials.

T. Karbo, "Peace-building in Africa" in D.J. Francis (ed.), *Peace and Conflict in Africa*, 2008, Ch. 7, pp. 113-130.

J. Malan, "Understanding Transitional Justice in Africa," in D.J. Francis (ed.), *Peace and Conflict in Africa*, 2008, Ch. 8, pp. 133-147.

S. Macauley, "No Justice, No Peace: The Elusive Search for Justice and Reconciliation in Sierra Leone," in C.R. Veney and D. Simpson (eds.), *African Democracy and Development: Challenges for Post-Conflict African Nations*, 2012, Ch. 2. pp. 13-35.

T. Kelsall, "Truth, Lies, Ritual: Preliminary Reflections on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Sierra Leone," *Human Rights Quarterly*, 27(2), May 2005, pp. 361-391.

Academic Accommodations

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The University Senate defines plagiarism as "presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own." This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else's published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one's own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;

- using another's data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Grading: Assignments and exams will be graded with a percentage grade. To convert this to a letter grade or to the university 12-point system, please refer to the following table.

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Grades: Final grades are derived from the completion of course assignments. Failure to write the final exam will result in the grade ABS. Deferred final exams are available **ONLY** if the student is in good standing in the course.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As

important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit <http://facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety> or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.