

**PCSI 3101 B**  
**Politics of War in Africa**

**Tuesday 8:35 – 11:25**  
**Please confirm location on Carleton Central**

Instructor: S. Yaqub Ibrahimi  
Office: B642 Loeb Building  
Office Hours: Tuesday 12:30 – 1:30 and by appointment  
Email: [said.yaqub@carleton.ca](mailto:said.yaqub@carleton.ca)  
Phone: 613-520-2600 ext. 1657

### **I. Course Description**

This course introduces students to the politics of armed conflict in Africa. The course is divided into two parts. The first part (before the winter break), concentrates on the history, causes, dimensions, and outcomes of contemporary conflict in Africa. The second part (after the winter break) concentrates on selected issues and/or countries. While the first part discusses why conflicts in Africa emerged and expanded, the second part introduces theories and approaches to better understand and analyse the causes and dimensions of those conflicts. The purpose of this course is to provide students with historical, theoretical, and analytical tools and knowledge enabling them to study and research their cases and/or topics of interest in their term papers and beyond.

### **II. Course Structure/Class Format**

- A short lecture to provide a framework for understanding the issues under discussion
- A thematic discussion about a specific issue, country, or group of countries highlighted in the lecture
- An open class debate, or presentation with reference to both the required readings and broader observations

### **III. Readings**

There is no specific textbook for this course. All assigned readings are available, electronically, on Ares and as hardcopy in library reserve.

### **IV. Course Evaluation**

Course evaluation includes class attendance and participation, an essay proposal, a term paper, a final examination and will be calculated on the following basis:

### **A) Class Discussion and Participation (15%)**

All classes.

Students are expected to attend the classes and participate in class discussions and debates. Every week there will be a special concentration on a specific issue or country that students are required to discuss in groups and/or with the class.

### **B) Essay Proposal (15%)**

Due as hard copy and in class, February 3.

A proposal is an introduction to the course's term paper and should present a topic that a student wants to research in their term paper. Every proposal should focus on politics of armed conflict in a single case. Students can also select an issue/problem in a cross-case manner, but this should be discussed with the instructor, in advance. The proposal should clearly introduce the topic and the literature, state the literature gap or the importance of the topic, and make a clear argument/hypothesis and develop it based on reliable/scholarly sources. Every proposal should contain:

- An introduction to the topic
- A research question
- A hypothesis, or a central argument, or a thesis statement
- An explanation about the significance of the question and argument (Is there a literature gap? Or, is the topic novel? How?)
- A potential bibliography of 10-12 scholarly sources. These sources will be used for writing the term paper.

Proposals should not exceed **4-5 pages** (double-spaced in 12-point font), including everything but not the cover page.

### **C) Term Paper (30%)**

Due as hard copy and in class, April 7.

Students are required to address and critically assess a specific issue relevant to politics of war in Africa. Essays should be expanded on the proposals that students have submitted. Every essay should draw on the 10-12 sources that are introduced in proposals. Students can also supplement their papers with media or other contents if needed, but this should be discussed with the instructor in advance. Essays should be **10-12 pages** excluding bibliography and endnotes (double-spaced in 12-point font). A detailed instruction will be posted on CULearn in due course following the evaluation of the proposals.

### **D) Final Exam (40%)**

The final exam will be scheduled during the formal exam period.

## **V. Submission Policy**

Research proposals and papers are due as hard copy and must be submitted in class. E-mailed assignments will not be accepted. Late submissions will be penalized on a daily basis (i.e. 5% of the overall grade for the assignment per day). Extensions will be granted only in cases of special circumstances based on verifiable documentation.

## **VI. Course Schedule**

### **Week 1 (January 7): Course Introduction**

- No assigned reading

### **Week 2 (January 14): Overview of 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.

## **Part 1: Conflict in Africa: Historical Background**

### **Week 3 (January 21): Slavery**

- 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. 123.

### **Week 4 (January 28): European Conquest and Armed Resistance: The Anglo-Zulu War**

- 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 (February 4): Anti-Colonial Wars: Mau Mau in Kenya**

- 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 (February 11): Anti-Colonial Wars During the Cold War: Angola**

- 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.

**(February 18): Winter Break, no class**

## **Part 2: Contemporary Issues and Selected Case Studies**

### **Week 7 (February 25) Military Coups: Nigeria**

- 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 (March 3): Ethnic Conflict: Genocide in Rwanda**

- 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 (March 10): Conflict on Resources: Civil War in Liberia**

- 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 (March 17): Gendered Violence: The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)**

- 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.

### **Week 11 (March 24): War on Terror: Mali**

- 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 (March 31): Peacekeeping: 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 (April 7): Course Overview & Final Exam Discussion**

Term paper due in class.

---

## **Academic Accommodations**

### **Requests for Academic Accommodation**

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

#### **Pregnancy obligation**

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: [carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf](https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf)

#### **Religious obligation**

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: [carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf](https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf)

### **Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities**

If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or [pmc@carleton.ca](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca) for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC 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 your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made.

[carleton.ca/pmc](https://carleton.ca/pmc)

### **Survivors of Sexual Violence**

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and is survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: [carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support](https://carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support)

### **Accommodation for Student Activities**

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: [students.carleton.ca/course-outline](https://students.carleton.ca/course-outline)

### **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 may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

### **Submission and Return of Term Work**

Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline 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. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

### **Grading**

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

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

### **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. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, 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 our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/> and our website <https://carletonpss.com/>, or stop by our office in Loeb D688!"

### **Official Course Outline**

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.