

**PSCI 3101A
Politics of War in Africa
Thursday 8:35-11:25
Please confirm location on Carleton Central**

Instructor: C. Brown
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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 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.

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 15. For this essay, students are asked to read one of five novels about Africa listed below. Each of the novels relates to one of the topics on 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 -- Andre Brink, *A Chain of Voices*, 1982

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

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

Military Coups – Ayi Kwei Armah, *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born*, 1968

Ethnic Conflict – Gil Courtemanche, *A Sunday at the Pool in Kigali*, 2004

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 17. Your analysis should display a thorough grounding in the current academic literature on the conflict. At the same time, you must integrate the course themes into your analysis. Some of the questions you may wish to consider include the following: What are the historical roots of the conflict? What symbolic or other linkages do the protagonists make to the past? Has the conflict been described as “tribal”? How accurate is this representation? If the conflict is over, what led to the resolution of the conflict? What was the role of regional and international intermediaries? What steps, if any, are being taken towards post-conflict peace and reconciliation? If the conflict is on-going, what are the prospects for peace? 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, Dec 9-22. 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
Reviews of assigned readings	20% (4x5%)
Essays (Oct 15 & Dec 3)	50% (2X25%)
Final exam (Dec 9-22)	30%

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 on WebCt 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. In addition, course readings can be found in two other sources. All the journal articles are available on-line via the Carleton University library system. All the book chapters are gathered together in a coursepack, which is available for purchase at the Book Store. I will also post any course notes to the course webpage on WebCt immediately prior to the lecture in which they are used.

Week 1 – Course Introduction (10/9)

No assigned reading.

Week 2 – Overview: Conflict in Africa (17/9)

This class will provide an overview of conflict in Africa. The readings survey armed conflict in Africa since Independence, discuss different theoretical explanations for armed conflict, and situate armed conflict within the broader African security debate.

R. Jackson, "Africa's Wars: Overview, Causes and the Challenges of Conflict Transformation," in O. Furley and R. May (eds.), *Ending Africa's Wars: Progressing to Peace*, 2006, Ch. 2, pp. 15-30.

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

UNIT 1 – HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO CONFLICT IN AFRICA

Week 3 – Slavery: The Gold Coast (24/9)

In this class we will look at the violence of the slave trade, focusing on the Gold Coast, as Ghana was then known. To what extent did the slave trade create patterns of conflict that persist until today?

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.)

A. A. Perbi, *A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana: From the 15th to the 19th Century*, 2004, Ch. 1-3, pp. 1-68.

Week 4 – The “Scramble for Africa”: The Zulu Empire (1/10)

In this class we will examine one of the best-known examples of “primary resistance,” the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879. What dictated the choice between collaboration and resistance? What continuities, if any, are there between primary resistance and later nationalist struggles?

A. Isaacman and B. Isaacman, “Resistance and Collaboration in Southern and Central Africa, c. 1850-1920,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 1977, 10(1), pp. 31-62.

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 (8/10)

Mau Mau in Kenya 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 (15/10)

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 regional context in southern Africa, while the second and third readings examine the Independence struggle and the long civil war that followed.

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.

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.

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: Ghana (22/10)

The military coup remains the most common form of armed conflict in Africa. What are the causes and consequences of coups d'état? The first two readings look at coups more generally, while the last two focus on Ghana, which has experienced five military coups in its Independence history.

P. J. McGowan, "African Military Coups d'Etat; 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.

B. Hettne, "Soldiers and Politics: The Case of Ghana," *Journal of Peace Research*, 17(2), 1980, pp. 173-193.

A.S. Saine, "The Soldier Turned Presidential Candidate: A Comparison of Flawed 'Democratic' Transitions in Ghana and Gambia," *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, 28(2), Winter 2000, pp. 191-209.

Week 8 – Ethnic Conflict: The Rwandan Genocide (29/10)

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?

Human Rights Watch, *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda*, 1999, Introduction, pp. 1-30.

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

R. Lemarchand, "Ethnicity as Myth: the View from Central Africa," in C. Pumphrey and R. Schwartz-Barcott (eds.), *Armed Conflict in Africa*, 2003, Ch. 5, pp. 87-112.

Week 9 – Resource War and Conflict Diamonds: Liberia (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 readings examine both the war itself and the broader theoretical issues at play.

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

T.D. Sayndee, “Thugs’ Paradise, Agencies’ Guinea Pig and the Natural Resource Intrigue: The Civil War in Liberia,” in K. Omeje, *Extractive Economies and Conflicts in the Global South*, 2008, Ch. 9, pp. 149-159.

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.

Week 10 – Child Soldiers: Uganda (12/11)

One of the most shocking elements of some contemporary conflict in Africa is the abduction of children for use as child soldiers. How can this apparently cruel and irrational practice be explained? What are the prospects for bringing it to an end and rehabilitating the victims? The readings focus on the Lord’s Resistance Army of Northern Uganda, one of the rebel groups most notorious for its use of child soldiers.

F. Van Acker, “Uganda and the Lord’s Resistance Army: The New Order No One Ordered,” *African Affairs*, 103(412), July 2004, pp. 335-357.

J. Bevan, “The Myth of Madness: Cold Rationality and ‘Resource’ Plunder by the Lord’s Resistance Army,” *Civil Wars*, 9(4), December 2007, pp. 343-358.

M. Denov, “Girl Soldiers and Human Rights: Lessons from Angola, Mozambique, Sierra Leone and Northern Uganda,” *International Journal of Human Rights*, 12(5), December 2008, pp. 813-836.

C. Blattman and J. Annan, “Child combatants in northern Uganda: reintegration myths and realities,” in R. Muggah (ed.), *Security and Post-Conflict Reconstruction*, 2009, Ch. 4, pp. 103-125.

Week 11 – Regional African Mediation: Lesotho (19/11)

It is often said that there should be African solutions to African conflicts, and various African regional mediation and peacekeeping operations have been tried over the years. To illustrate some of the issues raised by these efforts, the readings focus on the 1998 military intervention by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in Lesotho.

L. Nathan, "SADC's Uncommon Approach to Common Security, 1992-2003," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32(3), September 2006, pp. 605-622,

F.K. Makoa, "Conflict Resolution in Southern Africa: Trading Democracy for Regional Peace?" in A.G. Nhema (ed.), *The Quest for Peace in Africa*, 2004, Ch. 4, pp. 93-106.

F.J. Likoti, "The 1998 Military Intervention in Lesotho: SADC Peace Mission or Resource War?" *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 14, No. 2, April 2007, pp. 251-263.

R. Southall, "An Unlikely Success: South Africa and Lesotho's Election of 2002," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 41(2), June 2003, pp. 269-296.

Week 12 – International Peacekeeping and the Responsibility to Protect: Darfur (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, make this question all the more urgent. The first two readings look at UN peacekeeping and the responsibility to protect more generally, while the last two consider more directly the war in Darfur and the international response to it.

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.

O.H. Rolandsen, "Sudan: The Janjawiid and Government Militias," in M. Boas and K. Dunn (eds.), *African Guerrillas: Raging Against the Machine*, 2007, Ch. 9, pp. 151-170.

C.G. Badescu and L. Bergholm, "The Responsibility to Protect and the Conflict in Darfur: The Big Let-Down," *Security Dialogue*, 40(3), June 2009, pp. 287-309.

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

After the war is over, how can peace and justice be reconciled? Most 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 readings consider their application in the case of Sierra Leone.

M.S. Kende, "Truth Commissions versus Prosecutions: an African Perspective," in M. Ndulo, *Security, Reconstruction, and Reconciliation: When the Wars End*, 2007, Ch. 9, 133-144.

B. Baker and R. May, "A Sustainable Peace? Sierra Leone," in O. Furley and R. May (eds.), *Ending Africa's Wars: Progressing to Peace*, 2006, Ch. 14, pp. 221-237.

C. L. Sriram, "Justice for Whom? Assessing Hybrid Approaches to Accountability in Sierra Leone," in M. Ndulo, *Security, Reconstruction, and Reconciliation: When the Wars End*, 2007, Ch. 10, 145-164.

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

For students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your request for accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your request for accommodation to PMC by **November 16, 2009 for December examinations** and **March 12, 2010 for April examinations**.

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.

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.

Course Requirements: Failure to write the final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available **ONLY** if the student is in good standing in the course.

Connect Email Accounts: All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via Connect. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

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 in the after-hours academic life 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, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, 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.