

PSCI 3101A
Politics of War in Africa
Thursday, 8:35 a.m. – 11:25 a.m.
This course will be held remotely online.

I General information

Instructor: C. Brown

On-line Office Hours: Thursday 8:30-9:30, 14:30-16:30

Email: chris.brown@carleton.ca

N.B.: Students are encouraged to use the “Course Administration” forum on the course webpage in CuLearn for all questions related to the conduct of this course, rather than my Carleton email address. This allows everyone in the class to see the answer to your question.

II Course description

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.

III Course Format

This course is offered online, in a **hybrid** format. This means that there are some components of the course that students are expected to complete on their own time (asynchronous) and other components that will take place during the formally scheduled class time (synchronous).

The following course components are offered **asynchronously**:

- Readings
- Lectures
- Videos and other media
- Evaluations

All course **readings** are available electronically via Ares, the library reserve reading system. Ares can be accessed through the course webpage in CuLearn. I will post all the course **lectures** in video format on the CuLearn webpage. All lectures will be posted at least one week ahead of time. For the

typical week, there will be two lectures: one overviewing the country case study and one addressing the thematic topic for the week. I will also post separately the PowerPoint presentations on which each lecture is based. For some weeks, there are also **videos or other media**; these will also be posted on the CuLearn webpage at least one week in advance. **Evaluations** are discussed below.

The following course components are offered **synchronously**:

- Office hours
- Class discussion

Each week, the class will follow the same format. The regularly scheduled class time is Thursday, 8:35-11:25, Eastern Standard Time. Students should complete the asynchronous components for the week (readings, lectures, media) **before** the regularly scheduled class time. This includes the weekly on-line quizzes evaluating your lecture comprehension, which will close each week at 8:30. Each week, I will then be available via Zoom from 8:30-11:30 for the synchronous components of the class. From 8:30-9:30 I will hold **office hours** for PSCI 3101 students only, during which time I will be available to answer whatever questions students may have regarding course content or course administration. Students are not required to attend the office hours if they do not wish to do so. (N.B. I will also hold general office hours for all students, Thursday 14:30-16:30.) Starting at 9:30, I will lead a **class discussion** of the week’s readings, lectures and media. Students are expected to attend this class discussion. There are two full hours available for class discussion, 9:30-11:30, though I expect that most weeks the discussion will not last that long.

IV Technology Requirements

This course will be held remotely online. Students should have access to a desktop, laptop or tablet computer to participate in the course. A phone is not sufficient. All course materials can be accessed, and all assignments submitted, via the course webpage in CuLearn. Weekly class discussion will be held Thursday, 9:30-11:30, Eastern Standard Time; students should be prepared to attend these discussions, whatever time zone they are in. These class discussions will be held via Zoom; students should download this app to their computer and be comfortable using it.

V Learning outcomes

By the end of this course, students will be able to:

- *Understand* the historical background to contemporary conflict in Africa;
- *Describe* and *explain* a framework for analysing conflict in Africa;
- *Analyze* contemporary African conflicts using this framework; and
- *Apply* this framework to at least one contemporary African conflict.

VI Evaluation at a glance

<u>Assignment</u>	<u>Due Date</u>	<u>Weight</u>
Weekly Quiz on Lectures	Weeks 2-13, Thursday 8:30 EST	12 x 1% = 12%
Reading Reviews	2 by Oct 15; 2 by Dec. 12	4 x 7% = 28%
Conflict Analysis Research Paper	Dec. 12	30%
Take-home Final Exam	Scheduled during the formal exam period	30%
Total		100%

VII Evaluation in detail

Students are expected to view the video lectures before each scheduled class. To check their comprehension of the lectures, there is a short multiple-choice **quiz** for each week, starting in Week 2 and continuing through Week 13, available on the course webpage in CuLearn. The quiz for each class will consist of ten multiple-choice questions; each quiz will open one week ahead of time and will close at 8:30 on the day of the class. Students will have 15 minutes to complete each quiz and will be allowed only one attempt. Students who do not complete a quiz before the scheduled class time will receive a grade of zero for that quiz. Each quiz is worth 1%, for a total of 12% on the weekly quizzes.

The **reading reviews** are brief critical reviews of the assigned readings. They should include a succinct summary of the main argument(s) made by the author(s). They should also include your critical analysis of the readings. In your critical analysis, questions you may wish to consider include, but are not limited to, the following: What is the main theoretical contribution of this article? How does it fit into the overall themes of the course and/or the specific theme of the week? How well does the article integrate theory and empirical data? What do you consider to be the main strengths and weaknesses of the article? 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, i.e. students must complete two reviews by Oct. 15 and the other two reviews by Dec. 12. Reviews must be submitted electronically via the course webpage in CuLearn and 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. Each reading review is worth 7%, for a total of 28% on the reading reviews.

The **conflict analysis research essay** is due before class on Thursday, December 12. 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 Thursday, November 26. 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 this course 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. The research essay should be approximately 7-12 pages double-spaced, though quality, not length, will be the criterion for evaluation. The research essay must be submitted electronically via the course webpage in CuLearn. 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 a take-home exam and will be scheduled during the formal examination period, December 12 - 23. It will cover the entire course. More details on the format of the exam will be given in class closer to the date.

VIII Course schedule

Week 1 – Course Introduction (10/9)

This week will be for introductions: of the course instructor, of the students in the class, and of conflict in Africa.

There is no assigned reading. Students are asked to view before class the video, *Cry, Freetown*, by the Sierra Leone filmmaker, Sorious Samura, which is available on the course webpage in CuLearn.

WARNING: This is a graphic video. Be prepared to be shocked.

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

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 (24/9)

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 (1/10)

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.

Students are asked to view two contemporary cultural artifacts about the Anglo-Zulu War before class, each celebrating battles fought on the same day, Jan. 22, 1879: 1) a clip from the 1964 movie, *Zulu*, featuring Michael Caine in his first starring role, which is about the battle of Rourke's Drift and 2) a recording of the song, "Impi", by the South African rock band Juluka led by the late Johnny Clegg, which is about the battle of Isandlwana. Both are available on the CuLearn course webpage.

Week 5 – Anti-Colonial Wars: Mau Mau in Kenya (8/10)

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.

Students are asked to view before class three British newsreels from the 1950s and to read a 2017 article from *The Guardian* newspaper about the historic Mau Mau court case. All four are available on the CuLearn course webpage.

Week 6 – Anti-Colonial Wars in the Cold War Era: Angola (15/10)

In the Portuguese colonies, including Angola, 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 examines the southern African regional context, while the second briefly recaps the Angolan independence struggle before providing an overview of the long civil war that followed Independence.

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 (22/10)

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 (5/11)

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 (12/11)

"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 – “The War on Terror” in Africa: Mali (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 11 – Refugees and Forced Migration: Kenya (26/11)

Armed conflict results in large numbers of people being displaced from their homes, either as internally displaced people (IDPs) or as international refugees. What are the international and continental rules that govern refugee movements? What is the scope of the refugee crisis in Africa and how have African governments responded? Are refugees simply victims, or can they be agents of conflict resolution? The first reading provides an overview of refugee issues in Africa, while the last two readings focus on refugees in Kenya.

J. Milner, *Refugees, the State and the Politics of Asylum in Africa*, 2009, Ch. 1 & 2, “Understanding the State and Asylum in Africa,” and “A History of Asylum in Africa,” pp. 1-38.

J. Milner, *Refugees, the State and the Politics of Asylum in Africa*, 2009, Ch. 5, “Kenya”, pp. 84-107.

A. O. Farah, “State Sovereignty vs. Refugees’ Resilience: Repatriation, Securitization, and Transnationalism in Dadaab,” in J. D. Schmidt et al. (eds.), *Refugees and Forced Migration in the Horn and Eastern Africa: Trends, Challenges and Opportunities*, 2019, Ch. 14, pp. 267-286.

Week 12 – International and Regional Peacekeeping: Darfur (3/12)

What is the responsibility of the international community in the face of apparent genocide? The Darfur crisis, and the weak international response, provides a chilling example. The first three readings look at UN peacekeeping, the Responsibility to Protect doctrine, and the African peace and security architecture in general terms, while the last considers more directly the conflict 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 (10/12)

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 reading looks at the general issues, while the last reading considers their application in the case of Sierra Leone, which is unique in having had both a Truth and Reconciliation Commission and war crimes trials.

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.

IX Accommodations during COVID

Due to COVID, instructors will not request or require a doctor's note when students seek accommodation for missed term work or exams due to illness. Instead, students will be asked to complete the self-declaration form available here: https://carleton.ca/registrar/wp-content/uploads/COVID-19_Self-declaration.pdf

X Academic Accommodations

Pregnancy

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

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

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 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.

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 its 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

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

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.

More information on the University's Academic Integrity Policy can be found at:
<https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/>

Intellectual property

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).