

## **The Politics of Africa**

Lent term 2014- Optional Module A, Devon Curtis

### **Conflict, Peace and Intervention in the Great Lakes Region of Africa**

**Mondays 14:00-16:00 starting Jan 13**

**Location: Room 119, POLIS building, starting 13 Jan 2014**

**Office hours:** Tuesdays, 11-1pm in term time, POLIS office 130.

Western intervention is a prominent feature of violent conflict in the Great Lakes region of Africa. From anti-slavery campaigns in the 20<sup>th</sup> century to today's peacebuilding and statebuilding interventions, Westerners have often justified their involvement in the Great Lakes region of Africa using arguments about progress and peace. This option will critically assess these claims, and evaluate different theories of conflict, peace and change. We will pay particular attention to the interplay between international, regional and local ideas and practices related to peace and conflict. Why has the Great Lakes region of Africa experienced such high levels of violence in the post-colonial period? Why have so many international and regional efforts to end conflict and promote peace failed? What accounts for different patterns of violent conflict in the region? What is the relationship between state formation, international economy, identity, development and violence? Has the involvement of non-traditional donors in the Great Lakes region had any notable consequences? These are some of the questions that will be explored in this option. We will focus on these questions and themes with reference to the experiences of Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, and Burundi, but students are welcome to draw comparisons with other African countries and regions.

**Relevant Lectures:** There are no required lectures for Lent term, but there are some relevant undergraduate lectures that you may find interesting. If you would like the reading lists for any of these courses, you can get them from the POLIS administrative office.

### **Peacebuilding**

**(10 lectures, Dr Curtis, 10-11 on Tuesdays and Thursdays, starting 21 January, Tuesday lectures in room S1, Thursday lectures in room SG2)**

1: Introduction: peace studies (Tues 21 January)

2: Conceptions of peace (Thurs 23 January)

**NOTE:** no class on Tuesday 28 Jan

3: Who keeps the peace? The UN and regional organisations (Thurs 30 Jan)

4: The politics of humanitarian assistance (Tues 4 February)

5: Negotiations, mediation and peace agreements (Thurs 6 February)

6: Governance: Democratisation & governance of divided societies (Tues 11 Feb)

7: Security: Ex-combatants, security and stabilisation (Thurs 13 Feb)

8: Society: Justice and post-war reconciliation (Thurs 20 Feb)

9: Economy: Post-conflict economic policies and development (Thurs 27 Feb)

10: Beyond a liberal peace? (Thurs 6 March)

## **African Development**

(Dr Fraser, Wednesdays 11-12, starting 22 Jan, Sidgwick Lecture Block room 4)

## **Introduction to State formation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo**

(Dr Curtis, Monday 20 Jan, 10-11am, POLIS SG1; Monday 3 February 9-11am, Mill Lane Lecture room 7; Monday 10 February, 10-11am, POLIS SG1.

## **Seminars and Readings**

Some weeks we will discuss a full book, other weeks you will be read a number of different articles. There are limited copies of the books in the UL, PPS library, African studies library, Marshall library. Please also check your college library for the books.

The articles will be on Camtools on the HSPS library site. I will expect you to have read all the starred weekly readings on the list.

### **1. The North-South politics of humanitarianism (13 Jan)**

*How was the idea of 'Congo' produced? What were the consequences of the North-South encounter in the Congo? What was the basis for international humanitarian campaigns in the Congo?*

\*Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, Heroism in Colonial Africa*. Houghton, 1998. (Read entire book)

\*Bernard Hours, "NGOs and the victim industry", *Monde Diplomatique*, November 2008.

Further reading:

Sarah Kenyon Lischer, "Collateral Damage: Humanitarian Assistance as a Cause of Conflict", *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 1, Summer 2003.

Alexander Cooley and James Ron, "The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action", *International Security*, (27: 1, 2002).

Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: a history of humanitarianism*, Cornell University Press, 2011.

David Kennedy, *The Dark Sides of Virtue: Reassessing International Humanitarianism* (Princeton University Press, 2004).

White King, Red Rubber, Black Death

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=paPL5VyU9I>

Dir. Peter Bate, 2003 (documentary)

## **2. Violence and genocide in Rwanda and Burundi (20 Jan)**

*What are the causes and dynamics of war and genocide? What is the relationship between the state, violence and genocide?*

\*Scott Straus, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power and War in Rwanda*, Cornell University Press, 2006. (Read entire book)

\*Rene Lemarchand, *Burundi: Ethnic Conflict and Genocide*, Cambridge University Press, 1994. (Read introduction 'The Burundi Paradox', p. 1-16).

Further reading:

Rene Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi*, Pall Mall Press, 1970.

David Newbury, "Understanding Genocide" *African Studies Review*, April 1998.

Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

Peter Uvin, *Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda* (Bloomfield CT: Kumarian Press, 1998).

Lee Ann Fujii, "The Power of Local Ties: Popular Participation in the Rwandan Genocide" *Security Studies*, Vol. 17, 2008.

## **3. Understanding Violence and Conflict in the DRC (27 January - Marta Iniguez de Heredia)**

*How is violence produced and reproduced in the DRC? Why is the conflict in Eastern DRC still ongoing? What are the main actors and drivers of violence and conflict in the DRC?*

\* Patience Kabamba 'External Economic Exploitation in the DRC: 1990–2005' in *African Studies Review*, Volume 55, Number 1, April 2012, pp. 123-130.

\* Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Congo: From Leopold to Kabila: A People's History* (London: Zed Books, 2002). (Read Chapter 7)

\*Jason Stearns, *From CNDP to M23: The Evolution of an Armed Movement in Eastern Congo* (Nairobi: Rift Valley Institute - Usalama Project, 2012).  
<http://riftvalley.asialtd.com/publication/cndp-m23#.Ur2EAvbt5CY> (Read the summary - although the entire report is highly recommendable)

\* Koen Vlassenroot and Timothy Raeymaekers, "Briefing: Kivu's Intractable Security Conundrum," *African Affairs* 108, no. 432 (2009): 475 – 484.

## Further reading

Zoë Marriage, *Formal Peace and Informal War: Security and Development in the Congo* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

Achille Mbembe 'At the Edge of the World: Boundaries, Territoriality, and Sovereignty in Africa' (trans. by *Steven Rendall*) in *Public Culture* 12(1): 259–284.

Elikia M'bokolo, "Aux Sources de La Crise Zaïroise," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, May 1997, [http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/1997/05/M\\_BOKOLO/8199](http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/1997/05/M_BOKOLO/8199)

Thandika Mkandawire, "The Terrible Toll of Postcolonial Rebel Movements: Towards an Expanation of the Violence Against the Peasantry," in *The Roots of African Conflicts: The Causes and Costs*, ed. Alfred G. Nhema and Paul Tiyambe Zeleza (Oxford: James Currey, 2008), 106 – 135.

Isidore Ndaywel è Nziem, *Nouvelle Histoire du Congo: Des Origines à la République Démocratique* (Bruxelles: Cri édition, 2009). (Read from p. 597)

Gérard Prunier, *Africa's World War: Congo, The Rwandan Genocide, and the Making of a Continental Catastrophe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Thomas Turner, *The Congo Wars: Conflict, Myth, and Reality* (New York: Zed Books, 2007). (Read Introduction)

UN Group of Experts, *Final Report of the Group of Experts on the Democratic Republic of Congo. S/2011/738* (New York: UN Security Council, December 2, 2011). (Read pages 20 – 71)

Stephen Jackson, "Sons of Which Soil? The Language and Politics of Autochtony in Eastern DR Congo" *African Studies Review* 49 (2), 2006.

## **4. Identity and the representation of conflict and violence (3 Feb)**

*The contest over discourse and representation. The construction of identity. How do cognitive maps shape the possibilities for action? Are material explanations convincing?*

\*Roxanne Doty, *Imperial Encounters*, University of Minnesota Press, 1996 (Read Introduction, pp. 1-19).

\*Helen Hintjens, "When identity becomes a knife: reflecting on the genocide in Rwanda", *Ethnicities*, Vol. 1, No. 1, April 2001.

\*Kevin C. Dunn, *Imagining the Congo: The International Relations of Identity*, Palgrave, 2003. (Read: Introduction: Identity and International Relations in the Heart of Darkness, pp. 1-20)

\*Séverine Autesserre, 'Dangerous tales: dominant narratives on the Congo and their unintended consequences', *African Affairs* 111, 443 (2011), pp. 202–22. Also read the reply by Jason Stearns, "So How Do We Help the Eastern Congo?," *Congo Siasa*, June 26, 2012, <http://congosiasa.blogspot.co.uk/2012/06/so-how-do-we-help-eastern-congo.html>

\*Chinua Achebe, 'An Image of Africa: Racism in Conrad's Heart of Darkness' in Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, Critical Edition (New York: Norton, 1988).

Further reading:

Adam Branch, *Displacing Human Rights*, Oxford University Press, 2011.

## **5. Negotiations and Conflict Resolution (10 Feb)**

*Why do peace negotiations sometimes fail? Is it possible for outsiders to 'institutionally engineer' states and societies in order to reach desired outcomes? In what ways might peace negotiations help provoke further violence?*

\*Alex de Waal, 'Mission without End: Peacekeeping in the African Political Marketplace', *International Affairs*, Vol. 85, No. 1, 2009.

\*Christopher Clapham. "Rwanda: The Perils of Peacemaking". *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 35, No. 2, March 1998.

\*René Lemarchand, 'Consociationalism and Power Sharing in Africa: Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo', *African Affairs*, 106, 422, (2007), pp. 1-20.

\*Jeffrey Herbst and Greg Mills, "There is No Congo" *Foreign Policy*, 18 March 2009;  
See reply by Timothy Raeymaekers, "Who Calls the Congo"

\*Maria Eriksson Baaz and Judith Verweijen, 'The volatility of a half-cooked bouillabaisse: Rebel-military integration and conflict dynamics in the eastern DRC', *African Affairs*, 112, 449, pp. 563-582.

Further readings:

Stephen Stedman, 'Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes', *International Security* (22:2, 1997).

Mohammed Maundi et al., 'The Problem', in *Getting In* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2006).

Jones, Bruce. *Peacemaking in Rwanda: The Dynamics of Failure* (Boulder CO:

Lynne Rienner, 2001).

## **6. 'Post-conflict' peacebuilding (17 Feb)**

*Is international peacebuilding fundamentally flawed? What are the assumptions of international peacebuilding organisations operating in 'post-conflict' environments? Why has it been so difficult to 'build peace' in the Great Lakes? Are there alternative routes to peace?*

\*Roland Paris, 'Saving Liberal Peacebuilding', *Review of International Studies*, 36, 2, April 2010, pp. 337-365.

\*Pierre Englebort and Denis Tull, "Postconflict Reconstruction in Africa: Flawed Ideas about Failed States," *International Security* 32 (4), 2008.

\*Susan Thomson, 'Whispering Truth to Power: The Everyday Resistance of Rwandan Peasants to Post-Genocide Reconciliation', *African Affairs* 110, 440, (2011), pp. 439-456.

\*Devon Curtis, 'The International Peacebuilding Paradox: Power sharing and Post-Conflict Governance in Burundi', *African Affairs*, 112, No. 446, January 2013, pp. 72-91.

\*Timothy Raeymaekers, "Post-war Conflict and the Market for Protection: The Challenges to Congo's Hybrid Peace", *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 20, No. 5, November 2013, pp. 600-617.

Further readings:

Stefaan Marysse and Sara Geenan, 'Win-win or unequal exchange? The case of the Sino-Congolese cooperation agreements', *Journal of Modern African Studies* 47 (3), 2009: 371-396.

Beatrice Pouligny, *Peace Operations Seen from Below: UN Missions and Local People*, (London: Hurst, 2006).

Johan Pottier, "Displacement and Ethnic Reintegration in Ituri, DR Congo: Challenges Ahead", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 46, 3, 2008.

Barbara Oomen, "Donor-Driven Justice and its Discontents: The Case of Rwanda", *Development and Change* (Vol. 36, No. 5, 2005).

## **Assessment**

Your second assignment is a 4500-word research essay displaying significant research and probing in depth one of the themes of the course. Topics should be

approved in advance by the lecturer, and should be related to the topics discussed in Lent term. In some circumstances, students may choose a topic related to a theme from Michaelmas term.

**Please give your essay title to your seminar leader by Monday 3 February.**

This essay is worth 75% of the final grade and is due at noon on **31 March**.

**Examples of research essay topics (4500 words):**

- The Union of Islamic Courts and conflict in Somalia
- The failure of security sector reform in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
- The politics of justice in Rwanda
- The politics of conflict and conservation in the Virunga forest in Congo
- Ethnicity and power-sharing in Burundi
- Rwanda and Burundi and contributions to UN/AU Peacekeeping

**NOTE: Students taking this option as part of the MPhil in African Studies have a slightly different assessment. Please see lecturer for details.**