

Civil Wars and International Interventions in Africa

POLS V3604

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Office Hours: TBA

Undergraduate lecture class, Fall 2008
T & Th, 10:35 - 11:50 a.m.
Milbank 405
Barnard & Columbia Colleges

Substance of the Course

Why does violent conflict persist in post-independence Africa? Why do nearly half of the countries that emerge from war lapse back into violence after five years? Why do most international interventions fail to bring peace to affected populations? This class focuses on recent conflict and post-conflict situations in Africa as background against which to understand the distinct dynamics of violence and international interventions in civil wars.

The goal of the course is three-fold. First, to provide participants with the intellectual tools to understand and analyze civil wars and international interventions. Throughout the course, the participants will acquire a broad knowledge of the concepts, theoretical traditions, and debates in the study of civil war, emergency aid, peacekeeping, and peace building. The course will also introduce participants to new issues in the field, such as the micro-foundations of peace settlements. Second, the course will provide participants with an in-depth understanding of the most salient civil conflicts and peace processes in recent African history, notably the D.R. Congo, Rwanda, and Sudan. Third, the course will develop students' research, and analytical, and writing skills through assignments and exams.

Readings for this course are drawn from a variety of disciplines (political science, anthropology, and others), approaches (rational choice, constructivist), and methodologies (qualitative and quantitative). They include both theoretical works and case studies of recent conflicts. Classes will consist both of lectures and discussion. Guest speakers will be invited for several class sessions, to exchange with students and explain how the specific issues under consideration play out in the "real" world.

Grading and Requirements

1) Attendance to all lectures

2) Readings: Assignments are on the attached list.

All the articles are available for free through Columbia databases. If you are on campus, the easiest way to locate them is to click on the link provided in this syllabus. If you are not on campus, or if the link does not work, you can access the article through the Columbia University library webpage (www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/index.html). To find an article, simply type the journal title in the E-Journals tab and follow the appropriate link based on your citation information (volume, date).

The books by Mamdani, Straus, Reno, Collier & Sambanis, Weinstein, Duffied, Jones, and Barnett are available for purchase at the Columbia University Bookstore. They are also available on Library Reserve at Barnard and Butler libraries. The rest of the book chapters assigned as required readings are available through Courseworks, in the library reserve section.

PLEASE NOTE: It is essential that students keep up with the weekly reading assignments. Readings are designed as building blocks for understanding topics in subsequent weeks. It is also essential that students attend all lectures. The lectures and the readings are complementary (the lectures will not substitute for the weekly readings and vice-versa). The research paper, the mid-term, and the final exam will test your understanding of the material covered both in class and in the readings.

- 3) A mid-term exam (40% of the final grade). It will be a take-home, open-books exam. The exam will be distributed on October 16 and due on October 21 at 10:35 a.m. It will consist of two sections: (1) a list of short identification questions, and (2) a longer essay. In each case the student will be given some choice concerning which questions to answer. The exam must be typed; no handwritten material will be accepted.
- 4) A research paper (20% of the final grade), about 10-12 pages double space. It must be typed; no handwritten material will be accepted. It should use the material studied in class. Research topics will be given on October 21 and the research paper will be due on November 25.

Here are a couple of websites, full of very useful advice for research and writing:

- <http://www.nd.edu/~dlindley/handouts/handoutlinks.html> (plenty of handouts on everything you need: how to make a theoretically informed argument, core theories and concepts used in IR, etc)
 - <http://www.library.ualberta.ca/guides/plagiarism/handouts/index.cfm> (you can find hundreds of useful tips on research and writing)
 - <http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/> (the sections on “The Writing Process”, “General Academic Writing”, “Research and Citations”, and “Grammar and Mechanics” are especially helpful).
- 5) A final exam (40% of the final grade). It will be an in-class, closed-books exam. This exam will test your knowledge of the theories, concepts, and cases studied during the entire semester. Just like the mid-term, it will consist of two sections: (1) a list of short identification questions, and (2) a longer essay. In each case the student will be given some choice concerning which questions to answer. Each student may bring one 8 ½” by 11” piece of paper, on which anything may be typed on both sides.

The final exam will be held on the official date and time to be set by Columbia University. Please wait to make your holiday travel plans until this date is officially announced by the Columbia registrar; the university does not accept the excuse of holiday travel as a legitimate reason for missing the scheduled final exam.

Exams must be taken when scheduled. For the mid-term exam, late turn-ins will be downgraded one-third of a letter grade per hour after the deadline unless you contact me beforehand to request an extension. Extensions will be granted only in case of documented medical or family emergency. For the research paper, late turn-ins will be downgraded one-third of a letter grade per day after the deadline unless you contact me beforehand to request an extension (and, again, extensions will be granted only in case of documented medical or family emergency). Students missing the final exam should not expect to be given a make-up exam. But, if you miss it, please contact me ASAP, and keep in mind that a make-up exam will be offered only in case of a documented medical or family emergency.

Any student who believes a grade was given in error can come do discuss the situation during my office hour. Students should realize that a change in grade is very unlikely, that they have to come prepared to demonstrate why the copy needs a better grade, and that I reserve the right to lower a grade as well as raise it.

Barnard Honor Code: Students affirm that all work turned in is their own, and that they have fully and accurately cited every written source, including web-based sources, used in their writing.

For each exam, as well as for the research paper, all students (whether or not they are Barnard College students) must sign the Barnard College Honor Code statement, affirming that their written work is completely their own. Any student found to have violated the Honor Code will face the disciplinary rules of his or her home college.

No laptop or cell-phone use for any reason will be allowed during exams, unless the student makes approved prior arrangements through the Office of Disability Services.

Here are some very helpful websites for all your questions on intellectual property, citing and documenting sources, avoiding disasters, etc (and of course don't hesitate to ask me if you have any doubt or question):

- <http://www.library.ucla.edu/bruinsuccess> (the tutorial is fun and very useful)
- <http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/589/01> (another very helpful site on avoiding plagiarism)
- <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~sources> (very detailed information about how and why to cite sources)

Use of laptops in the classroom: The use of laptops in the classroom is allowed only to take notes on the class lectures and discussions. Students are forbidden to use a laptop in the classroom to browse the internet or work on something different than the material discussed in class. Students who want to use a computer should give me a written document promising to *never* use their laptop in class for something else than taking notes on class lectures / discussion. Cheaters will be severely penalized. Students using laptops should sit at the back of the classroom in order to not disturb their colleagues.

Students with disabilities: Students with disabilities who will be taking this course and may need disability-related accommodations are encouraged to make an appointment to see me as soon as possible. Disabled students who need test or classroom accommodations must be registered in advance with the Office of Disabilities Services (ODS) in 105 Hewitt.

Pre-requisite: International Relations (V 1601 or equivalent) or Comparative politics (V 1501 or equivalent) or Introduction to Human Rights (HRTS V 3001 or equivalent) or Introduction to Africana Studies (BC 3004 or equivalent).

Enrollment restriction: 100 students.

Sept. 2 – Introduction

PART 1: EXPLAINING VIOLENCE IN AFRICAN CIVIL WARS

Sept. 4 - Can we understand violence? The barbarism thesis & the “new wars old wars” debate

Kaplan, Robert D. 1996. *The Ends of the Earth*. New York: Random House. Chapters 1 & 2

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2001. “‘New’ and ‘Old’ Civil Wars, a Valid Distinction?” *World Politics*, 54: 99-118. (http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/world_politics/v054/54.1kalyvas.pdf)

Recommended

Kaldor, Marie. *New War, Old War. Organized Violence in a Global Era*. Polity Press; 2d edition, 2006.

Richards, Paul. *Fighting for the Rain Forest: War, Youth & Resources in Sierra Leone*. Oxford: Portsmouth, N.H, International African Institute. 1996.

Kaplan, Robert D. The Coming Anarchy. How scarcity, crime, overpopulation, tribalism, and disease are rapidly destroying the social fabric of our planet. *The Atlantic Monthly*, February 1994.

Huntington, Samuel. 1993. “The Clash of Civilizations?” *Foreign Affairs*.

Sept. 9 & 11 – The role of the state I: legacies of colonialism

Mamdani, Mahmood. 1996. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press. Chapters 1-4.

Recommended

Davidson, Basil. 1992. *The Black Man’s Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State*. London: James Currey.

Paul Nugent. 2004. *Africa since independence: a Comparative History*. New York: Palgrave.

Cooper, Fred. 2002. *Africa since 1940. The Past of the Present*. Harvard University Press.

Hoschild, Adam. 1998. *King Leopold’s Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. New York: Mariner Books.

Dunn, Kevin. 2003. *Imagining the Congo*, New York: Palgrave. Especially chapters 2 and 3.

Pakenham, Thomas. *The Scramble for Africa*. London: Abacus books.

Sept. 16 – The role of the state II: state violence

Strauss, Scott. *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. Cornell University Press, 2006. Introduction, chapters 1 and 2.

Recommended

Wrong, Michaela. 2000. *In the footsteps of Mr. Kurtz: Living on the Brink of Disaster in Mobutu’s Congo*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers. Browse the entire book (310 pages)

Gourevitch, Philip. 1998. *We wish to inform you that tomorrow we will be killed with our families: stories from Rwanda*. New York: St Martin's Press.

James Ron. *Frontiers and Ghetto*. University of California Press, 2003. Intro, chapter I, and part two.

Sept. 18 – The role of the state III: state failure

Reno, William. 1998. *Warlord Politics and African States*. London: Lynne Rienner. Introduction, chapters 1,3,5.

Recommended

Rotbert, Robert I. 2004. *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*. Princeton University Press.

Hoslsti, Kalevi. 1996. *The State, War, and the State of War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Zartman, William I (ed). 1995. *Collapsed states: the disintegration and restoration of legitimate authority*. Bourder: Lynne Rienner.

Fanthorpe, Richard. "Neither Citizen Nor Subject? Lumpen Agency and the Legacy of Native Administration in Sierra Leone," *African Affairs*, 100. 2001.

Chabal, Patrick; and Daloz, Jean-Pascal (1999). *Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument*. Bloomington / Oxford, Indiana University Press

Trefon, Theodore (ed.). *Reinventing Order in the Congo: How people respond to state failure in Kinshasa*. London: Zed Books, 2004

Timothy Raeymaekers. *Governance without Government? Power and Property in a Small Congolese Town*. Paper presented at the 2006 African Studies Conference

Sept. 23 & 25 - Economic causes of violence

Collier, Paul; Sambanis, Nicholas (eds). 2005. *Understanding Civil Wars: Evidence and Analysis: Vol 1 - Africa*. Washington: The World Bank. Chapter 1, 3, 4, 5, 7.

Recommended

Collier, Paul and Hoeffler, Anke. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Paper* 56: 663-695. 2001.

Keen, David. *The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars*. International Institute for strategic studies Adelphi paper London. 1998

Ross, Michael. "What Do We Know about Natural Resources and Civil War?" *Journal of Peace Research* 41: 337-356. 2004.

Giordano, Mark F.; Giordano, Meredith A.; Wolf, Aaron T. "International Resource Conflict and Mitigation," *Journal of Peace Research* 42 (1): 47-65. 2005.

Nest, Michael; Grignon, Francois, and Kisangani, Emizet. *The Democratic Republic of Congo: Economic Dimensions of War and Peace*. International Peace Academy Occasional Paper Series. Boulder, Co: Lynne Rienner, 2006.

Week Sept. 30 and Oct. 2 – Identity and Violence

Fearon, James and Laitin, David. 2000. "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity," *International Organization* 54-4: 845–877.

Sanders, Edith R. 1969. "The Hamitic Hypothesis; Its Origin and Functions in Time Perspective," *Journal of African History*, 10-4: 521-532 (<http://www.jstor.org/view/00218537/ap010030/01a00020/0>)

De Waal, Alex. 2005. "Who are the Darfurians? Arab and African identities, violence and external engagement." *African Affairs*, 104 (415):181-205.
(<http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/content/abstract/104/415/181>)

Marshall-Fratani, Ruth. 2006. *The war of 'Who Is Who': Autochthony, Nationalism, and Citizenship in the Ivoirian Crisis*. *African Studies Review* 49-2: 9-43
(http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/african_studies_review/v049/49.2marshall-fratani.html)

Recommended

Mamdani, Mahmood. *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press. 2001.

Berkeley, Bill. *The Graves are Not Yet Full: Race, Tribe and Power in the Heart of Africa*. Basic Books. 2001.

Hutchinson, Sharon Elaine; Jok, Jok Madut. "Sudan's Prolonged Second Civil War and the Militarization of Nuer and Dinka Ethnic Identities." *African Studies Review*, 42 (2), 1999. 125-145.

Sambanis, Nicholas. "Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45(3): 259 - 282. 2001.

Fearon, James D. and Laitin, David D. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75-90. 2003.

Oct. 7 – Insurgencies

Weinstein, Jeremy. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge University Press, 2006. Introduction, chapters 1, 3-6 but skip all the sections on Peru.

Recommended

Finnström, Sverker 2008. *Living with Bad Surroundings: War, History, and Everyday Moments in Northern Uganda*. Duke University Press.

Clapham, Christopher. 1998. *African Guerrillas*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press

Boas, Morten and Dunn, Kevin. 2007. *African Guerrillas: Raging Against the Machine*. Lynne Rienner.

Richards, Paul (ed). 2005. *No Peace no War - An Anthropology of Contemporary Armed Conflict*. Ohio University Press.

Brinkman, Inge. "Language, Names, and War: the Case of Angola." *African Studies Review*, 47-3. December 2004.

Muana, Patrick (1997). "The Kamajoi Militia: Violence, Internal Displacement and the Politics of Counter-Insurgency," in *Africa Development* 22(3/4): 77 - 100.

Van Acker, Frank, and Vlassenroot, Koen (2000). "Youth and Conflict in Kivu: 'Komona Clair'," in *Journal of Humanitarian Assistance*.

Viterna, Jocelyn S. 2006. "Pushed, Pulled, and Persuaded: Explaining Women's mobilization into the Salvadoran Guerilla Army." *American Journal of Sociology*. 112 (1).

Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2003. *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. Cambridge University Press.

Oct. 9 and 14 – Micro-dynamics of violence: local agendas and private motivations

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2003. "The Ontology of 'Political Violence': Action and Identity in Civil Wars." *American Political Science Review* 1 (3): 475 - 494.

(http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPPS%2FPPS1_03%2FS1537592703000355a.pdf&code=2d5b09cd71078197a69d566e33aeaf5e)

Autesserre, Séverine. 2006 "Local violence, National Peace? Post-war "settlement" in the Eastern D.R. Congo," *African Studies Review* 49-3: 1-29.

(http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/african_studies_review/v049/49.3autesserre.pdf)

Strauss, Scott. 2006. *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. Cornell University Press, Chapter 3.

Recommended

Kalyvas, Stathis N. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Vlassenroot, Koen and Raeymaekers, Timothy. *Conflict and Social Transformation in Eastern Dr Congo*. Gent, Academia Press Scientific Publishers. 2004

O'Bannon, Brett. *Conflict Early Warning: An Indicator Species of Structural Transformation*. Paper presented at the 2006 African Studies Association Conference.

Krämer, Mario (University of Siegen). *Dynamics of violence in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The Relations between Center and Periphery*. Paper presented at the Order, Conflict, and Violence Speaker Series. Fall 2006.

Oct. 16 – Review session

Session devoted to Q&As, synthesis, and exercises that will help you for the mid-term. We will also review the guidelines for the research paper.

Please send e-mail me by October 9 if you have any specific question on which you would like me to prepare a short presentation.

End of class: distribution of mid-term question & explanation of requirements and grading criteria.

PART II – INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTIONS

Oct. 21 & 23 – Development and Humanitarian Aid

Mid term exam due on October 21 at the beginning of class (10:35 a.m.).

Duffield, Mark R. 2001. *Global Governance and the New War: The Merging of Development and Security*. London / New York, Zed Books. Chapters 1-4, 8-9

End of class on October 21: distribution of topics for the research paper & explanation of requirements and grading criteria.

Recommended

Uvin, Peter. 1998. *Aiding violence: the development enterprise in Rwanda*. West Hartford: Kumarian Press.

Fergusson, James. 1994. *The anti-Politics machine. "Development," Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. University of Minnesota Press.

De Waal, Alexander. *Famine Crimes: Politics & the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa*. Bloomington, Ind., Indiana University Press. 1997.

Autesserre, Severine. 2003. "United States "humanitarian diplomacy" in South Sudan". *Journal of Humanitarian Aid*. <http://www.jha.ac/articles/a085.htm>. (entire article)

Gilbert Rist. 2002. *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*, Zed Books, 2002.

Collier, Paul. 2003. *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*. Washington, D.C./Oxford: The World Bank/Oxford University Press.

Michael Barnett and Tom Weiss, eds. 2008. *Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power, Ethics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Peter Hoffman and Thomas Weiss. 2007. *Sword and Salve: Confronting New Wars and Humanitarian Crises* (NY: Rowman and Littlefield).

Crush Jonathan. 1995. *Power of development*. Routledge.

Oct 28 & Nov. 30 – Negotiations

Bruce D. Jones. 2001. *Peacemaking in Rwanda: The Dynamics of Failure*. Lynne Rienner. Introduction, chapters 3-6

Recommended

Holbroke, Richard, *To End A War*, Random House: New York, 1998.

Princen, T, *Intermediaries in International Conflict*, Princeton UP, 1992.

Richmond, Oliver P. *Mediating in Cyprus: The Cypriot Communities and the UN*, London: Frank Cass, 1998.

Roy Licklider. 1993. *Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End*. New York: NYU press. Chapters 1, 2, 7, and 8 (3-36 and 164 - 205)

Crocker, Chester A.; Hampson, Fen Oslder; and Aall Pamela R. 2004 *Taming intractable conflicts: Mediation in the hardest cases*. USIP Press

Barbara Walter. 2002. *Committing to Peace: Successful Settlements of Civil Wars*. Princeton University Press.

Darby, John and Mac Ginty, Roger. 2003. *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*.

Maundi, Mohammed O. et al. 2006. *Getting in: Mediator's entry into the settlement of African conflict*. USIP Press.

Zartman, I. William. 1995. *Elusive Peace: Negotiating an End to Civil Wars*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.

Zartman and J. Lewis Rasmussen. 2007. *Peacemaking in International Conflict. Methods and Techniques*. Washington, US Institute of Peace Press.

Page Fortna, Virginia. "Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace. *International Organizations*". 57:337 – 372. Cambridge University Press. 2003.

Timothy Sisk. 1996. *Power Sharing and International Mediation in Ethnic Conflicts*. New York: Carnegie Corporation

Licklider, Roy. 1995. The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars, 1945- 1993, *American Political Science Review* 89(3):681-690.

Doyle, Michael and Nicholas Sambanis. 2000. International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis, *American Political Science Review* 44 (4).

D. Mason and P. Fett, "How Civil Wars End: A Rational Choice Approach," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol. 40, no. 4 (December 1996), 546-68.

Barbara Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization*, vol. 51 (Summer 1997), pp. 335-64.

Nov. 6 & 11 – Peacekeeping

Barnett, Michael. 2002. *Eyewitness to a genocide: the United Nations and Rwanda*. Cornell University Press. Entire book (pp. 1-181)

Recommended

Paris, Roland. *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict*. Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Doyle, Michael W. and Sambanis, Nicholas. *Making War and Building Peace*. Princeton University Press, 2006. Chapter 1, 2, 4 (section on Somalia), 7.

Cater, Charles. "The Political Economy of Conflict and UN Intervention: Rethinking the Critical Cases of Africa," in Karen Ballentine and Jake Sherman. *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance*. Boulder; London, Lynne Rienner Publishers. 2003.

Pouliny, Beatrice. *Peace Operations Seen from Below. UN Missions and Local People*. Kumarian Press. 2006.

Alao, Abiodun; Mackinlay, John, et al. (1999). *Peacekeepers, Politicians and Warlords: The Liberian Peace Process*. Tokyo ; New York, United Nations University Press.

Nov. 13 – Humanitarian interventions, the responsibility to protect & the Darfur crisis

Grono, Nick. 2005. "Briefing – Darfur: the International Community's Failure to Protect" *African Affairs*, 105/421, 621–631.

Scott Strauss. 2005. *Darfur and the Genocide Debate*. Foreign Affairs. <http://fullaccess.foreignaffairs.org/20050101faessay84111/scott-strauss/darfur-and-the-genocide-debate.html> Entire article (5 pages).

Mamdani, Mahmood. 2007. "The Politics of Naming: Genocide, Civil War, Insurgency," in *London Review of Books*. <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v29/n05/print/mamd01.html>. Entire article (17 pages)

Recommended

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. The Responsibility to Protect. December 2001. <http://www.iciss.ca/report-en.asp>

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1674. 2006. (<http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N06/331/99/PDF/N0633199.pdf?OpenElement>)

Institute for Security Studies. *African Security Review*. Special issue on R2P in Africa. Sept. 2007. http://www.issafrica.org/dynamic/administration/file_manager/file_links/ASR16NO3FULL.PDF?link_id=3&link_id=5035&link_type=12&slink_type=13&tmp

Thakur, Ramesh, *The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to the Responsibility to Protect* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

United Nations High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. 2004. *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*. <http://www.un.org/secureworld/>

Holt, Victoria and Berkman, Tobia. 2006. *The Impossible Mandate? Military Preparedness, the Responsibility to Protect and Modern Peace Operations*. Report of the Henry L. Stimson Center.

De Waal, Alex and Flint, Julie. *Darfur, A Short History of a Long War*. Palgrave - Zed Books. 2006

Slim, Hugo. "Dithering over Darfur? A preliminary review of the international response." *International Affairs* 80-5, 2004.

<http://www.hdcentre.org/datastore/shaping%20opinion/Dithering%20Over%20Darfur.pdf>

Nov. 18, 20, and 25 – Peacebuilding

Stedman, Stephen John; Rothchild, Donald and Cousens, Elizabeth M. 2002. *Ending Civil Wars. The Implementation of Peace Agreements*. London, Lynne Rienner. Chapters 1,2,6,8,12.

Ellis, Stephen. 2005. "How to Rebuild Africa," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2005, <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=17979679&site=ehost-live>. Entire article, (pp. 135-148).

Englebert, Pierre and Tull, Denis, 2006. *Flawed Assumptions about State Reconstruction in Africa*. Paper presented at the 2006 African Studies Association Conference. (available on the class website) Entire article, 30 pages.

Tull, Denis M.; Mehler, Andreas. 2005. "The hidden costs of power-sharing: Reproducing insurgent violence in Africa," *African Affairs*, 104 (416):375-398.
(<http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/content/abstract/104/416/375?etoc>)

Branch, Adam and Mampilly, Zachariah Cherian. 2005. "Winning the war, but losing the peace ? The dilemma of SPLM/A civil administration and the tasks ahead" *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 43-1: 1-20.
(http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FMOA%2FMOA43_01%2FS0022278X04000588a.pdf&code=3265332278125dbf83c2e95bce65491e)

Research paper due at the beginning of class on Nov. 25.

Recommended

Call, Charles T and Cousens, Elizabeth. 2008. "Ending Wars and Building Peace: International Responses to War-Torn Societies," *International Studies Perspectives*, 9-1: 1-21.

Woodward, Susan (2006). *Why State-Building? Toward a Conceptual Framework*. Unpublished paper: City University of New York.

Chuck Call (ed.) 2007 (forthcoming). *Building States to Build Peace*. International Peace Academy.

Blattman, Christopher. *The Consequences of War and the Determinants of Successful Reintegration of Youth Combatants in Africa*. Paper presented at the 2006 African Studies Association Conference.
<http://www.chrisblattman.org/Blattman.ConsequencesChildSoldiering.pdf>

John R. Heilbrunn. "Paying the Price of Failure: Reconstructing Failed and Collapsed States in Africa and Central Asia." *Perspectives on Politics*, 4:1. 2006.

Tull, Denis M. "A reconfiguration of political order? The state of the state in North Kivu (DR Congo)." *African Affairs* 102: 429-446. 2003 (<http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/content/abstract/102/408/429>)

Cousens, Elizabeth M.; Kumar, Chetan, et al. *Peacebuilding as Politics : Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies*. Boulder, Co: Lynne Rienner Publishers. 2000.

Roeder, Philip and Rothchild, Donald. *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*. Cornell University Press, 2005.

Rothstein, Robert L. (ed). *After the Peace: Resistance and Reconciliation*. Boulder, Colo., L. Rienner Publishers. 1999.

Sawyer, Amos. *Beyond Plunder: Toward Democratic Governance in Liberia*. Lynner Rienner, 2005.

Hartzell, Caroline; Hoddie, Mattew. "Institutionalizing Peace: Power Sharing and Post-Civil War Conflict Management", *American Journal of Political Science*, 47 (2): 318-332. 2003.

Callaghy, Thomas M.; Kassimir, Ronald, et al. (2001). *Intervention and Transnationalism in Africa: Global-Local Networks of Power*. Cambridge ; New York, Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, Ian; Williams, Paul (eds). *Africa in International Politics: External involvement on the continent*. London and New York, NY: Routledge. 2004.

Furley, Oliver and May, Roy (eds). 2006. *Ending Africa's Wars: Progressing to peace*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Dec. 2 – Challenges of third party interventions

Stedman, Stephen John. 1997. "Spoilers Problems in Peace Processes," *International Security* 22(2): 5-53.

Autesserre, Séverine. 2008. "Hobbes and the Congo: Representations, Local Violence, and International Intervention." Paper resubmitted to *International Organization*. (Available on the class website).

Recommended

Marten, Kimberley. *Enforcing the Peace: Learning from the Imperial Past*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

Dotty, Roxanne Lynn. 1996. *Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North-South Relations*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Whole book, except chapters 2 and 4.

Power, Samantha (2002). *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*. New York, Basic Books. 2002.

Regan, Patrick M. 2002. Third-Party Intervention and the Duration of Interstate Conflicts. *The Journal of Conflict Reslution*. 46.

Carpenter, Charli. 2006. *Innocent Women And Children: Gender, Norms And the Protection of Civilians (Gender in a Global/Local World)*. Ashgate.

Dec. 4 – Review session

Session devoted to Q&As, synthesis, and exercises that will help you for the final exam.

Please send e-mail me by November 27 if you have any specific question on which you would like me to prepare a short presentation.

Final exam on the official date and time to be set by Columbia University.