

PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY AND MULTILATERAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN AFRICA

Professeur(s) : Fabienne HARA

Année universitaire 2015/2016 : Semestre d'automne – Fall semester

COURSE OUTLINE – PLAN DE COURS

Session 1: Presentation of the course and introduction to doctrines and instruments of conflict management at the UN

Required readings:

1. Annual Review of Global Peace Operations 2013, Center for International Cooperation, Lynne Rienner, 2013 (strategic summary)
2. UN Secretary General's Report S/2011/552, Preventive Diplomacy: Delivering Results, 26 August 2011

Recommended readings:

3. Comprehensive Review of the whole question of peacekeeping operations in all their aspects (Brahimi report), A/55/305–S/2000/809, 21 August 2000, UN, 2000
4. Principles and Guidelines: "Capstone Doctrine"
http://pbpu.unlb.org/pbps/Library/Capstone_Doctrine_ENG.pdf
5. Mats Berdal, Building peace after war, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, 2009
6. World Development report, Executive Summary, World Bank, 2011
7. Richard Gowan and Megan Gleason, UN Peacekeeping: the Next Five Years, Center for International Cooperation, 27 November 2012.

Assignment for this session: discussion on readings

Session 2: Never Again? Lessons-learned from the Rwandan genocide

Required readings:

1. Allison Des Forges: Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda, Human Rights Watch Report, 199, pp213-354
2. Linda Melvern, A People Betrayed, the role of the West in the Rwandan genocide, Zed Books 200, pp137-209
3. Jean Hatzfeld, Une saison de machettes, Le Seuil, 2009

4. The Responsibility to Protect, Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, 2001

Recommended readings:

5. Gareth Evans: The Responsibility to Protect: Ending Mass Atrocity Crimes Once and for All, The Brookings Institution, 2008, pp 78-103
6. World Summit Outcome Document, 2005, para 138-139 available on website of International Coalition for the responsibility to protect
7. Mahmoud Mamdani, When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda, 2002, pp 41-102
8. Report of the Independent Inquiry into the actions of the United Nations during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda S/1999/1257
9. Jean Hatzfeld, Une saison de machettes, Le Seuil, 2009
10. "In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all", UN Secretary-General report, 21 March 2005
11. Lt. Gen. Roméo Dallaire, Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda, with foreword by Samantha Power, Carroll & Graff, 2005

Assignment for this session: Short presentations on 1) the international failure in Rwanda 2) Responsibility to Protect and its applicability in crisis management

Session 3: Negotiating after mass crimes: Burundi as a laboratory of crisis prevention

Required readings:

1. Rene Lemarchand, The Dynamics of Violence in Central Africa (National and Ethnic Conflict in the 21st Century), Chapters on Burundi, 2009
2. ICG report: The Mandela effect: Prospects for Peace in Burundi, Africa Report n 13, 18 April 2000 (available on www.crisisgroup.org).

Recommended readings:

3. Arusha peace agreement for Burundi, 28 August 2000
4. ICG reports on Burundi, 1998-2012
5. Lisa Maalki, Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania, University of Chicago Press, 1995, pp 52-104

Assignment for this session (if applicable):

Presentations on 1) the Arusha agreement and the question of ethnicity in politics 2) the role of the subregion in managing and solving the conflict.

Session 4: Dealing with regional conflict formations and proxy wars: the Great Lakes wars

Required readings:

1. Tatiana Carayannis, "The Complex Wars of the Congo: Towards a New Analytic Approach," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, vol. 38(2-3):232-255, 2003. (Reprinted in Rose Kadende-Kaiser and Paul J. Kaiser, *Phases of Conflict in Africa* (Willowdale, On: de Sitter Publications, 2005).
2. International Crisis Group, *Scramble for the Congo, Anatomy of an Ugly War*, December 2000 and *Africa Seven Nation War, 1999* (and other ICG reports on DRC)
3. Gerard Prunier: *Africa's World War, Congo, the Rwandan Genocide, and the Making of a Continental Catastrophe*, 2010, Chapters 6 and 10
4. Letter dated 21 May 2010 from the Chair of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1533 (2004) concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the Interim report of the Group of Experts on the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 25 May 2010.

Recommended readings:

5. Reno William, "Shadow State and the Political Economy of Civil War" in BERDAL Mats and DAVID M. Malone (Eds) *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars* Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 2000
6. Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*, New York: Mariner Books, 1999.
7. Michaela Wrong, *In the Footsteps of Mr. Kurtz: Living on the Brink of Disaster in Mobutu's Congo*, New York: HarperCollins, 2002.

Assignment for this session: Presentation on 1) the complex dynamics of regional wars in DRC 2) the relevance of the international conflict management toolbox in the context of regional conflicts?

Session 5: Stabilization and robust peacekeeping in fragile states (1): the UN in DRC

Required readings:

1. The Capstone doctrine, chapter 3, DPKO 2006.
2. "Robust Peacekeeping: building political consensus and strengthening command and control", Jean-Marie Guéhenno, pp7-13, in "Robust peacekeeping: the Politics of Force", Center on International Cooperation, 2009.
3. Special report of the Secretary-General on DRC and the Great Lakes region (S2013/119)
4. Resolution 2098 of 28 March 2013 creating the intervention brigade in MONUSCO

Recommended readings:

5. Jim Terrie, "The Use of Force in UN Peacekeeping: The Example of MONUC," AFSAAP conference, 2008. [http://www.meetings.com.au/africa/Jim Terrie Conference Paper.pdf](http://www.meetings.com.au/africa/Jim_Terrie_Conference_Paper.pdf)

6. Patrice Sartre, Making the UN more robust: protecting the mission, persuading the actors, International Peace Institute, July 2011
7. Steven Spittaels & Filip Hilgert, Mapping conflict in Eastern DRC, IPIS, 2008 (see website)
8. Steven Spittaels & Filip Hilgert, Mapping conflict motives: M23, IPIS, 2012 (see website IPIS)

Assignment for this session: Presentation on 1) the evolution of peacekeeping doctrines in the last twenty years 2) the debate over the Force Intervention Brigade in DRC

Session 6: Elections, a risky business: the UN intervention in Cote d'Ivoire in 2011

Required readings:

1. Côte d'Ivoire: securing the electoral process, International Crisis Group, Africa report N°158, 5 May 2010 (take a look at other reports on Cote d'Ivoire on www.crisisgroup.org)
2. Thabo Mbeki, what the world got wrong in Côte d'Ivoire, April 29 2011, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/04/29/what_the_world_got_wrong_in_cote_d_ivoire
3. Paul-Simon Handy, Côte d'Ivoire: The war is on, Let's give it a chance? Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, 1 April 2011 http://www.issafrica.org/iss_today.php?ID=1259
4. UNSC Resolution 1975 : S/RES/1975 (2011)

Recommended readings:

5. Mahmood Mamdani, Ivory Coast: a UN failure, Aljazeera, 27 April 2011, at <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/04/20114258205629868.html>
6. Elections and exit strategies (pp 204-235) in "You, the People" by Simon Chesterman, 2004.
7. Paul Collier, part I of Wars, Guns and Votes: Democracy in dangerous places, Harper, 2009 and the "The lessons of Côte d'Ivoire", Dec 13, 2010 in Social Europe Journal <http://www.social-europe.eu/2010/12/the-lessons-of-cote-divoire/>
8. Winrich Kühne, The role of elections in emerging democracies and post conflict countries, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2010

Assignment for this session: Presentation on the lessons learned from the Cote d'Ivoire elections for peacemaking

Session 7: Protection of civilians or regime change in Libya?

Required readings:

1. Crisis Group Middle East and North Africa Report, N°107, Popular Protest in North Africa and the Middle East (V): Making Sense of Libya, 6 June 2011.
2. Alex Bellamy, Paul Williams, The new politics of protection? Cote d'Ivoire, Libya and the responsibility to protect, Chatham House, 29 March 2011

3. Richard Gowan, *The Libyan war: A diplomatic history*, Center for International Cooperation, August 2011
4. UN SC Resolution 1970 and 1973: S/RES/1970 (2011), S/RES/1973 (2011)

Recommended readings: none

Assignment for this session: Presentation on the decision-making process at the UNSC for the NATO intervention in Libya

Session 8: Peace vs. Justice: Lessons learned from the international response to the conflict in Darfur

Required readings:

1. UN Commission of Inquiry on Darfur Report (pp158-164), January 2005
2. *Darfur, a new History of a Long War*, Alex de Waal and Julie Flint, Zed Books, 2008
3. International Criminal Court (2008-07-14). "ICC Prosecutor presents case against Sudanese President, Hassan Ahmad AL BASHIR, for genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes in Darfur".
4. Concept note for the Open debate of the Security Council on "peace and justice, with a special focus on the role of the International Criminal Court", S/2012/731 1 October 2012

Recommended readings:

5. *Darfur, The Ambiguous Genocide?* Gerard Prunier, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2008, pp 54-123
6. Galy, Michel (sous la direction de), *Guerres nomades et sociétés ouest africaines*, Paris Editions de l'Harmattan, Novembre 2007
7. Rebecca Hamilton, *Inside Colin Powell's decision to declare genocide in Darfur*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, 17 August 2011.
8. Fatou Bensouda, "International Justice and Diplomacy", *New York Times*, 19 March 2013
9. The rise and fall of human rights, speech by Louise Arbour, April 27 2011 (on www.crisisgroup.org)

Assignment for this session: Presentation on the peace vs. justice debate following after Bashir's indictment

Session 9: Self-determination: Challenges of building peace between North and South Sudan after the 2011 referendum

Required readings:

1. Douglas Johnson: *The root causes of Sudan's civil wars*, Oxford, James Currey, 2003, pp167-180
2. Ann M.Fitz-Gerald, Chapter on South Sudan, in *Responding to Conflict in Africa*, Jane Boulden, Palgrave Mc Millan, 2013
3. Jerome Tubiana, *Sudan and South Sudan Inch Toward War*, *Foreign Affairs*, 8 Octobre 2013

4. ICG report, Politics and Transition in the New South Sudan, Africa Report N°172, 4 Apr 2011

Recommended readings:

5. "The Situation in South Sudan", Statement of Kate Almquist Knopf Former USAID Assistant Administrator for Africa Adjunct Faculty, Africa Center for Strategic Studies Before the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, January 9, 2014
6. Comprehensive Peace Agreement and Agreement Between the Government of the Sudan (GOS) and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLM/SPLA) on Implementation Modalities of the Protocols and Agreements, 31 December 2004, posted by United States Institute of Peace Library on: March 16, 2005.
7. Alex de Waal ed, Islamism and its enemies in the Horn of Africa, 2004, pp71-113

Assignment for this session: Presentations on 1) the impact of South Sudan's secession on Africa 2) the challenges of peacebuilding in South Sudan

Session 10: Stabilization and robust peacekeeping in fragile states (2): Intervention in Mali and the Sahel

Required readings:

1. ICG report: Mali Avoiding Escalation, 18 July 2012 (and the executive summaries of all ICG reports until 10 January 2013)
2. Report of the Secretary General on the situation in Mali, 29 November 2012, S/2012/894
3. Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in the Sahel region (S/2013/354), 14 June 2013
4. UN Report of the Assessment Mission on the Impact of the Libyan Crisis on the Sahel Region, 7 to 23 December 2011 (S/2012/42)

Recommended readings:

5. Gregory Mann: 2013 - With Baz Lecocq, et al., "One Hippopotamus and Eight Blind Analysts: a Multivocal Analysis of the 2012 Political Crisis in the Divided Republic of Mali," Review of African Political Economy, 1-15; doi: 10.1080/03056244.2013.799063
6. Livre Blanc 2013 sur la Défense et la sécurité nationale, France, 29 avril 2013 (sur le site de l'Elysée)

Assignment for this session: Presentation on 1) the decision to intervene in Mali 2) the role of regional organizations

Session 11: Regionalization of peacemaking and peacekeeping: What do African solutions for African problems look like?

Required readings:

1. Jane Boulden, Responding to conflicts in Africa, Palgrave Mac Millan, Part I

2. Solomon Ayele Dersso, Annual review of the Peace and Security Council 2012/2013, <http://www.issafrica.org/>
3. In Hindsight: The Relationship between the Security Council and the AU Peace and Security Council, 20 July 2013, <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/>

Recommended readings:

4. Security Council Report's Monthly Reports (glance through 2013), <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/>
5. Peace and Security Council Reports, Institute for Security Studies (glance through 2013): on <http://www.issafrica.org/>
6. Comfort Ero: Le sommet de l'Élysée et le problème des solutions africaines, Jeune Afrique, 5 Dec 2013
7. Christopher Clapham: African Guerrillas, Indiana University Press, 1998, pp1-18, 19-52, 119-133

Session 12: Preventive Diplomacy, peacekeeping, stabilization: Challenges ahead

Required readings:

Central African Republic: Better Late than Never, Africa Briefing N°96, 2 December 2013

Mats Berdal and Achim Wennmann. Building peace after war, New York: Routledge, 2009. Chapter 1, "The Peacebuilding Environment," pp. 29-94, and Chapter 2, "Peacebuilding Operations and the Struggle for Legitimacy," pp. 95-134

Assignment for this session: Presentation on the CAR crisis and the international/regional response

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Fabienne Hara served as the Vice-President for Multilateral Affairs of International Crisis Group from February 2008 to October 2013, overseeing Crisis Group's advocacy and research at the United Nations and the Security Council in New York, and directing the Crisis Group New York office. She has over twenty years of experience in conflict management and resolution issues, African affairs and multilateralism, topics on which she has published extensively. Prior to joining Crisis Group as a Vice-President, she served as Acting/Deputy Political Chief of the United Nations Mission in Sudan (2006- 2007). She was previously a Senior Political Officer in Department of Political Affairs at the UN and a Fellow at the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, Harvard Kennedy School of Government (2005). Between 1998 and 2003, she was the first Director of the Africa Program at Crisis Group. Ms. Hara also served as the Great Lakes Project Coordinator at the Center for Preventive Action of the Council on Foreign Relations (1996-1997) and as a Team Leader for Doctors of the World in Burundi (1995).

Fabienne Hara holds a Postgraduate degree in International Relations and an M.A in Political Science and International Relations, both from the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris (1991-1994), as well as an M.A in German Studies and an undergraduate Degree in French Literature.