Panel Y: Conflict/Post-conflict Dynamics in Africa: Select Case Studies (chair: Anthoni van Niewkerk)

1) **Anthoni van Niewkerk (University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa/Nordic Africa Institute, Sweden)**

2) **Jeremiah O. Arowosegbe (University of Ibadan, Nigeria): Understanding the Predatory Roots of African Conflicts: Nigeria in an African Context**

Evidently, the twentieth century has been a remarkable period in African history. Since the 1960s, the continent has undergone profound changes and transformations, which have radically impacted on the complexity of its social terrain. An examination of its political trajectory since the terminal colonial period however, suggests that, among the many features underlining its experience, resource-based conflicts have been very prominent. This has been the case since the post-Cold War period. This paper discusses 'conflicts' as the most salient feature characterizing the state in Africa since its emergence to statehood in the twentieth century. Drawing from Nigeria's Niger Delta region, it locates predatory rule as the major source of resource-based conflicts in the continent. Understood in terms of the cake-sharing psychosis and corruption of state officials, the determination of public policies based on the competition for sectional advantages, among other pathologies, predatory rule is a distinct feature of African politics which accelerates governance failure and fundamentally inhibits state capacity. This paper discusses its connections with the emergence of anti-state mobilizations in Nigeria and recommends the development of democratic structures as a step towards development and peace in the country. My intended study discusses resource-based conflicts as the most salient feature characterizing Africa in the twentieth century. It examines the predatory roots of these conflicts, and their connections with conservative elite practices, which create the conditions for marginalized groups in the continent to do well out of war. Focusing on Nigeria, the predatory roots of resource-based conflicts, the repressive responses by the national government, and their connections with the emergence of anti-state mobilizations in this country are at the focus of analysis in this study. The aim is to proffer suggestions for developing democratic structures as a basis for restoring the trust of marginalized groups to the state.

3) **Otso J. Vainio (Finland): Aid Organisation Security in the Democratic Republic of the Congo**

The ongoing crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is one of the world's worst and most complex humanitarian crises. Aid organisations working in the DRC face a variety of practical and ethical problems, many of which are intrinsically linked to the blurring of political, military, and aid agendas. This paper is based on a study of aid organisation personnel and stakeholders in the DRC which critically examines a fundamental aspect of aid operations, aid organisation security. The study found that while the subjects considered the overall situation in the DRC to be improving, ongoing instability in the east of the country was keeping the security situation tenuous. The complexity of the crisis and the number and variety of actors' involved led to an emphasis on a deep understanding of context as the foundation of security thinking. The security strategies used by the aid organisations varied and were affected by the organisation's mandate and organisational culture. Co-operation and co-ordination efforts in the DRC are conducted on a needs basis, rather than as collective effort encompassing the humanitarian community. Reasons for the lack of commitment to co-operation appeared to stem from differing mandates, lack of trust in other

actors, unwillingness to allocate assets, fear of loss of independence, and competition for funding. Many aid organisations appear to be undergoing an 'identity crisis', due to the distinct and irreconcilable demands of the 'cultural paradigm' – the organisations most deeply held humanitarian values, and the external pressures placed on them by the environment. This dissonance leads to increasing frustration within the organisation and can cause it to act in apparently irrational ways. With humanitarianism becoming increasingly politicised and polarised, it is likely that these identity crises will deepen, affecting the ability of aid organisations to provide services, and even forcing them to question the reasons for their existence.

4) Katarína Bajzíková (African Centre of Slovakia / ACS): Distribution of Power within the Post-Conflict Reconstruction Concept (Liberian Case)

While we can witness numerous interventions of the international community in troubled zones whose goal is to calm down violent situations and to change political and economic climate in these countries, we cannot say that our world and the states where the community intervenes become safer when the international missions are over. It stems out from our experience with peace missions or other external interventions that the sustainibility of stabilizing of post-conflict dynamic and its deepening is, after the international actors leave, the main and often underestimated requirement for peace. Therefore, the period of post-conflict reconstruction represents a challenge for local elites and administrations when choosing a suitable political and economic course, and important aspect for evaluating successfulness of outside interventions in an unstable country or region. Even though the agenda of post-conflict reconstruction and peace-building is very diverse and different actors understand it differently, scholarly literature and implementation documents of the most important contributors to peace-building programs usually agree on some common elements. In particularly, they divide the process in three stages, though the names differ. The paper will discuss the three-phase approach of transition of power in the context of post-conflit reconstruction in Liberia. Moreover, it will examine the issues of Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in context of transitional judicial system, power-sharing agreements, and reconciliation within the society as crucial aspects of the complex reconstruction process. Finally the paper will present conclusions on distribution of power between the external and internal actors and second mentioned ones themselves, based on partial assesments of Liberian case.

5) Yosi Echeverry Burckhardt (SOAS, UK): Regional dimensions in contestation of space, identity, and resources in the Democratic Republic of Congo

Many recent conflicts in Africa have spilled over physical borders of sovereign states that are defined and respected by international law because Rebel groups and national armies do not adhere to these border spaces. Therefore, analyses of conflicts need to take regional aspects and contested spaces into account to a greater extent than they currently do. Acknowledging the arbitrary making of borders during colonial times and the fluid nature of borders in many countries where interests for natural resources are high, this essay will consider the regional dimensions of the ongoing violent conflict in the DRC. Borders and national spaces have been contested by rebel groups inside the DRC as well as by actors from the surrounding countries. How does the influence by regional actors influence conflict dynamics in the DRC? To what extent is the continuum of violence perpetuated due to this? On the other hand, what

opportunities arise for future peace? There will be a special emphasis on gender relations within this topic.

6) Mousa M. Elbasha (University of the Americas, Puebla, Mexico): Secession as a challenge to nation states in Africa: The Sudan as an example

In many nations across Africa, minority separatist movements are calling for outright secession from their parent states. In this paper, the author endeavors to analyze some of the myriad factors that have both individually and collectively been cited as having a causal relationship with the emergence and growing strength of such separatist movements. These factors include *inter alia*: despotism, nepotism, corruption, extreme poverty, political exclusion, weak consciousness of national identity coupled with a strong sense of tribal and/or regional identity, easy access to conventional weapons, and a vague concept of the principle of peoples' right to self-determination. The case of The Sudan is used to exemplify the importance and interplay of these factors. The author concludes that secessionist movements constitute a serious challenge not only to the socio-political order of some African states within a specific region, but to the whole fragile multi-ethnic political system of the entire continent.

7) Ane Kirkegaard (Malmoe University, Sweden): Operation Murambatsvina and the history of control in Zimbabwe

In May-July 2005 the Zimbabwean government undertook the much discussed Operation Murambatsvina or Operation Restore Order (shortened OM/RO below), an urban planning operation, which the government claimed intended to rise the level of housing quality in the affected areas, by implementing existing urban planning directives. The operation led to the loss of homes, health care and income for some 700 000 Zimbabweans.
Urban planning in Zimbabwe has a history stretching back at least to 1891. Being a British colony the British urban planning tradition was transferred to the new colony, however modified to suit the particular African context, i.e. concerns about racial separation was added to concerns about class. At the core of this tradition was the control of infections and disease, as well as the control of people, and the arrest of social ills, and indecent or immoral behaviour. With independence no great changes were made to the urban planning practices in Zimbabwe, and when the political crisis deepened in the early 2000s planning as a political tool of control and domination was put into effective use by the government. The main question dealt with in the paper relates to the dis/continuities represented by OM/RO. To what extent was the operation typically Zimbabwean (or Rhodesian), and to what extent was it a reaction related to the particular political conflict being played out between 2000 and 2009? The question speaks directly to the theme of the 2010 NAD, in dealing with issues of time/space in the geographical and cultural reproduction of power in contemporary Zimbabwe.

8) Henni Alava (University of Helsinki, Finland): Aid after the silence of the guns: Politics and development in post-Juba Northern Uganda

Based on a theoretically reflexive empirical case study from Northern Uganda, this study seeks to establish a fresh perspective on post-colonial African politics. The failure of political processes to produce states capable of managing and developing their territories and populations in ways conducive to peace, justice and well-being is well-documented in literature on post-colonial Africa. Where mainstream approaches favour 'internalist'

explanations for the shortcomings of state formation, this project focuses on the structural impact of external development aid on state formation and local politics. Drawing on insights from recent work by Abrahamsen, Callaghy et al, Duffield, Ferguson, Harrison, Kassimir, Nordstrom, etc., this study seeks to advance an empirically grounded theorization of post-colonial politics as an outcome, in an important part, of the ways Africa is, through development aid, embedded in a global order of commercial and administrative interests. Numerous researchers have discussed the relationship between aid and politics, and conflict-ridden Northern Uganda has also received ample scholarly attention. What this study will contribute to existing research is a detailed ethnographic account of the mediations between development aid and local politics in the region. This will include studying the internal politics of, and the politics created by, a major reconstruction programme in the region. It is suggested that coupling analysis of the world 'outside' the realm of aid with a careful analysis of the 'inside'; the documents, legislation and actors within the aid system; can provide fresh tools for conceptualising development, aid, and politics in Africa. The paper will develop the author's research proposal for a PhD dissertation in Development Studies, and builds upon her prior work on and field experience in Northern Uganda. The paper will also develop the findings of her thesis, 'Interactions of Development Intervention and Conflict in Northern Uganda' (Alava 2008).