

ZOË MARRIAGE

Not Breaking the Rules
Not Playing the Game

*International Assistance to
Countries at War*

HURST & COMPANY, LONDON

CONTENTS

<i>Preface and acknowledgements</i>	page v
<i>Acronyms and abbreviations</i>	xi
1. Some Surprises and No Referee	1
<i>Players</i>	3
<i>The rules</i>	4
<i>How does it work?</i>	6
<i>Organisation of the book</i>	10
2. DFID: a New Humanitarianism	14
<i>What DFID says</i>	14
<i>What DFID does</i>	17
<i>Sierra Leone</i>	18
<i>Rwanda</i>	27
<i>Congo</i>	36
<i>Southern Sudan</i>	42
<i>What DFID achieves</i>	47
<i>Defines good</i>	48
<i>Reaches targets</i>	50
<i>Different questions, same responses</i>	52
3. NGOs (Part I): Sierra Leone and Rwanda	53
<i>Sierra Leone</i>	54
<i>Freetown</i>	57
– <i>Displacement</i>	57
<i>Port Loko</i>	61
– <i>Camps</i>	62
<i>Bo</i>	66
– <i>Service provision</i>	67

<i>Rwanda</i>	71
<i>Kigali</i>	75
– <i>Peace</i>	75
<i>Ruhengeri</i>	81
– <i>Resettlement</i>	82
<i>Umutara</i>	86
– <i>Neutral progress</i>	87
<i>Achievements, but not according to objectives</i>	93
4. NGOs (Part II): Congo and Southern Sudan	95
<i>Congo</i>	97
<i>Kinshasa</i>	100
– <i>Health and disarray</i>	101
<i>Goma</i>	106
– <i>Lobbying</i>	107
<i>Bukavu</i>	112
– <i>Targeting</i>	113
<i>Southern Sudan</i>	118
<i>Kotobi</i>	122
– <i>Sustainability</i>	123
<i>Agangrial</i>	127
– <i>More sustainability</i>	127
<i>Lankien</i>	132
– <i>Impartiality</i>	133
<i>Guidance lacking</i>	137
5. Breaking the Rules	139
<i>Southern Sudan</i>	140
<i>Solutions rejected</i>	141
‘ <i>Memorandum of mis-Understanding</i> ’	144
<i>Congo</i>	148
<i>Unregulated violence</i>	149
<i>Intransigence</i>	154
<i>Rwanda</i>	157
<i>Refined rules</i>	158
<i>Bullying</i>	161

<i>Sierra Leone</i>	165
<i>'Brutal war'</i>	165
<i>Harassment/development</i>	167
<i>Legitimacy</i>	170
<i>Another strategy</i>	173
6. <i>The Game</i>	175
<i>Who gets assistance, and why?</i>	177
<i>The politically backward</i>	177
<i>Victims of moral outrage</i>	183
<i>How and why is assistance sustained?</i>	186
<i>Fabricated clarity</i>	188
– <i>How: fantasy</i>	189
– <i>Why: incentives</i>	196
<i>Tactical confusion</i>	198
– <i>How: unrestrained action</i>	199
– <i>Why: restrained thought</i>	204
<i>The Score</i>	206
7. <i>Conclusions</i>	208
<i>Not breaking the rules, not playing the game</i>	210
<i>Implications for practice</i>	217
<i>Plan B, NGO assistance and withdrawal</i>	219
– <i>Plausibility</i>	220
– <i>Commitment</i>	222
<i>Congo rules</i>	224
<i>Plan A</i>	224
<i>Notes</i>	229
<i>Bibliography</i>	235
<i>Index</i>	248