

African Politics

Political Science 359, African Studies 390

Tuesdays & Thursdays, 14:00 to 15:20

Tech LR 4

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TA: Dan Lawrence

Africa is a nation that suffers from incredible disease.

-- Presidential candidate, George W Bush, 14 June 2001

We are prepared to send election observers to Florida as needed.

-- Governor Adesina, Oyo State, Nigeria, Dec 2000.

Course Description:

This course provides an overview of key issues in the evolution of African politics since the colonial era. The geographic focus of this course will concern sub-Saharan Africa. While North Africa will enter into some of the concerns of this class, the bulk of the course material will consider the particular historical experiences and contemporary legacies of the politics of the vast region to the south of the Sahara.

This course focuses on explanations for what many perceive to be a crisis of African politics. What is this crisis? In an oft-cited comparison, for example, it has been noted that when Ghana became independent in 1957 its' citizens enjoyed a higher level of income and standard of living than did citizens of South Korea. According to the United National Development Programme's *Human Development Report 2008* (available at http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_20072008_EN_Complete.pdf), South Korea has a per capita income (converted for purchasing parity) of \$22,029, compared to Ghana's \$2,480. South Koreans can expect to live an average of 77.9 years, which is 18.8 years longer than the average for Ghana. Of the 177 countries that this report rates across a range of social indicators, all but one of the bottom 25 states are located in Africa. This latter figure indicates Africa's subordinate low position in a global hierarchy of development, an outcome that would have been surprising to many observers in the 1950s and 1960s.

The bulk of this course will trace developments that have played significant roles in shaping the internal politics of Africa's states. The first part of the course focuses on colonial legacies, Pan-African visions of a post-colonial future, struggles for national liberation, the role of ethnicity in political life, the military coups d'états that begin right after the wave of national independence, and the rise of "big man politics" and patronage-based political networks. The second part of the course takes stock of dramatic developments since the 1980s. The first concerns the nearly universal wave of economic reforms. Though a few have been of indigenous origin, the International Monetary Fund and World Bank have designed and instigated the implementation of the great majority of these economic programs. The second concerns the replacement of authoritarian regimes with electoral multi-party civilian regimes through the combined pressures of indigenous and outside forces. The last part of the course considers the trajectories of contemporary African politics. These include the problem of so-called "failed states" and internal conflict, a condition that has directly affected about a dozen of Africa's 52 states since 2000. While the focus of much of western reporting, this is not the continent's main trajectory. The course thus explores other modes of politics, including society-based political movements that look beyond states as primary legitimate units for politics. We finish the class with a view to detecting new trends in African politics.

Course Requirements:

Students are required to complete all of the following required assignments in order to have the opportunity to receive a passing grade in this course. The relative weight of each assignment is as follows:

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|----------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Participation / attendance | 10% |
| A map quiz | 5% Thursday, 9 April |
| A midterm exam | 25% Tuesday, 5 May [Graded by 7 May] |
| A final exam | 30% Wednesday, 10 June, 15:00 to 17:00 |
| A paper of no more than 10 pages | 30% Due in class on Thursday, 28 May |

Participation / attendance can be satisfied with regular attendance and observable evidence of having read assignments, etc. The contrary, such as the failure to show up for class, will have a measurable negative impact on evaluation. The map quiz will require that students fill in the names of countries and capital cities on an unlabeled map. The reading packet contains a map with necessary labels and one with outlines of countries only. The former can be used for studying and memorizing and the latter can be used as a practice quiz. The midterm exam will be short answer and essay format and will be administered in class. I will provide further details about the exam in due course. The final exam will be comprehensive, though with a focus on material from the second half of the course. This will be administered during the regular two hour final exam period noted at the end of the class calendar below.

The paper is due at the end of the last class on the 28th of May. This paper should be limited to ten pages. The topic of the paper should address the last heading of the class calendar: "Which Direction Now?" One could propose a pan-African solution to contemporary problems. Others may argue for further market reforms. Others find answers in electoral democracy. There is no single "correct answer" that is required for this paper. Rather, evaluation will be based upon the coherence of argument and presentation of supporting evidence against at least one other reasonable alternative. Readings from class may be used to provide data and other information to be incorporated into this argument. Students are free to consult work outside of the assigned readings. As length is limited, this writing assignment should not evolve into a major research project. Writers will, however, benefit from incorporating *African based debates and data* into their arguments. The Herskovits Africana library, located on floor five of the Main Library's East Tower (and of which we will have a tour) houses the world's largest collection of these materials.

Booklist

Five books are required textbooks for this course. This course also has a reading packet that provides readers with the writings of African social scientists directed to wider audiences, primary documents, media commentaries and related material [mostly] from the African continent. Assigned items from this packet are denoted as "*" in the class calendar. The reading packet is available for purchase at Quartet at Clark & Benson. Books are available at Beck's at 716 Clark. The Denzer book be available at the first class meetings and will cost \$25. This Nigerian publication is hard to procure in the US in any other way.

William Tordoff, *Government and Politics in Africa*. Indiana University Press, 2004. (4th Edition) ISBN-13: 978-0253215451

Fred Cooper, *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present*. Cambridge, 2002. ISBN: 0521 776007

Robert Bates, *When Things Fell Apart: State Failure in Late-Century Africa*. Cambridge, 2008. Paperback, ISBN-13: 9780521715256

John W Harbeson & Donald Rothchild, eds., *Africa in World Politics: Reforming Political Order*, 4th edition. Westview Press, 2009. Paperback, ISBN-13: 978-0-8133-4364-8.

LaRay Denzer. 2001. *Folayegbe M Akintunde-Ighodalo: A Public Life*. Ibadan: Sam Bookman Publishers.

Class Calendar

March 31: Introduction

April 2: Colonial Legacies in African Politics: Are African colonies that become independent states somehow “artificial” and thus difficult to maintain? Are patterns of colonial administration responsible for setting Africa on a particular political trajectory?

Denzer, “Okeigbo” & “Queen’s College,” in her *Folayegbe Akintunde-Ighodalo*, 1-39.

Tordoff, “Introduction” and “Colonialism and the Colonial Impact,” in his *Government and Politics in Africa*, 1-41.

Cooper, “From Colonies to Third World,” in his *Africa since 1940*, 1-19.

Harbeson & Rothchild, eds., *Africa in World Politics*, chapter by Crawford Young, “Heritage of Colonialism,” 19-38.

- “The Rhodes Colossus” *Punch* [London], 10 Dec 1892
- Petroleum Department, Colonial Office [London] “Concession to prospect for Oil,” 26 Feb 1932.
- District Commissioner, Kailahun District [Sierra Leone], “Confidential,” 12 Oct 1949.

Liberation and After

April 4: Nationalism: Why were some colonial rulers more willing to depart than others? Did these differences in the process of decolonization have a lasting impact on politics?

Denzer, “Changing Horizons” & “London,” 41-103.

Tordoff, “Nationalism and the Transfer of Power,” 42-75.

Harbeson & Rothchild, chapter by Ali Mazrui, “Africa and Other Civilizations: Conquest and Counter-Conquest,” 72-106.

- Acting Governor, Nigeria to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, “Disturbances in Warri Province,” 14 Oct 1952.
- Opoobo National Assembly [Nigeria], “A Resolution”, Oct 1958.

April 7: The Politics of Liberation: Why was socialism an attractive ideology for those seeking liberation from colonial and apartheid rule?

Denzer, “Not too Obedient Servant,” 105-35.

Cooper, “Citizenship, “Ending Empire,” & “Late Decolonizers,” in his *Africa since 1940*, 38-84 & 133-55.

- Justin Nyoka, “Inside Free Zimbabwe,” *Zimbabwe News*, Nov-Dec 1978, 18-28.
- Movimento Popular de Liberação de Angola, “Memorandum to the 15th Session of the African Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity,” Dakar, 15 July 1969.

April 9: Ethnicity and Politics, Women in Politics: To what extent is ethnicity an artifact of administrative institutions and the politics of recent decades? Does Africa produce a distinctive politics of gender?

Denzer. "Women's Empowerment" & "Flag-Bearers," 171-231.
Tordoff. "State and Society," 76-108.

- VOA, "ChevronTexaco Reaches Agreement with Ijaw Women," 2002.
- Ka'ro Ooji're Youth Council, [Yoruba ethnic association pamphlet], no date.

Those interested in examining the issue of women in politics in greater depth may want to look at ABANTU for Development, "A Women's Manifesto for Ghana," 2004, available at <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/ghana/02983.pdf>. There are huge numbers of ethnic association web sites. One example can be found for Asantahene Otumfuo Nana Osei Tutu II Fund, www.otumfuofund.org/.

*** Map quiz at the start of class ***

April 14: State Administration in Africa: Why does corruption appear to be a particularly tenacious problem? Is corruption related to culture or to legacies of colonial and post-colonial administration?

Tordoff, "Political Parties" and "Administration", 109-67.
Cooper, "Interlude" & "Development and Disappointment," 85-132.
Robert Bates, first four chapters in *When Things Fell Apart*, 3-74. [continue to read this for your 16 April assignment]

- Government of Sierra Leone, "Application for an Alluvial Diamond Mining License"
- "Sierra Leone Exchange Control Form M", 1989.

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April 16: Military Interventions in Politics Is the era of military coups at an end? What is the fate of those who try to launch coups in the 21st century?

Denzer. "Permanent Secretary," 137-70.
Torfoff. "The Military," 168-96.

- "Want to Get Ahead Faster?" *Punch* [London], 3 Feb 1971.
- Col. Anthony Ukpou, "Introductory Speech on the Occasion of the Launching of the New Direction of the War Against Indiscipline," National Stadium, Lagos, 5 July 1986.

April 21: Personal Rule – The Rise of Big Men and the Politics of Patronage Was patronage politics inevitable? What role does culture play alongside circumstance?

Denzer. "Retirement and After," 233-57.
Bates, "Subnational Tensions," 75-93.

- "Suspension of Paramount Chief..." [Sierra Leone], 18 Oct 1982.
- "Suspension of Paramount Chief..." [Sierra Leone], 17 Jan 1983.
- "Petition against Paramount Chief..." [Sierra Leone], 19 Nov 1982.

The Vicissitudes of Reform

April 23: Debt Crises and the Collapse of Economic Nationalism To what extent can one say that Africa adopted "incorrect policies," versus "correct policies" but at the wrong time (or wrong place)?

Tordoff, "Political Liberalization and Economic Reform," 197-239.
Cooper, "The Recurrent Crises," 156-90.
Bates, "Things Fall Apart" & "Conclusion," 97-139.

- Amadu Jacky Kaba, "Africa's Migration Brain Drain," USA- Africa Institute, 2004.

See also "New Data on African Health Professionals Abroad," [2007]
www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/12908, and Delanyo Dovlo, "Brain Drain in Africa: An Emerging Challenge to Health Professionals' Education," *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*, 2:3 (2004), 1-18, www.codesria.org/Links/Publications/jhea3_04/dovlo.pdf. On the migration of health care professionals from southern Africa, see Queens University's Southern Africa Migration Project, www.queensu.ca/samp/migrationresources/braindrain/.

April 28: Economic Reform: Structural Adjustment How has economic reform changed Africa's societies and Africa's politics?

Harbeson & Rothchild, chapter by Thomas Callaghy, "Africa and the World Political Economy: Still Caught Between a Rock and a Hard Place?" 39-71.
Denzer. "Faith and Work," 259-84.

- Jenny Aker, "Can You Hear Me Now? How Cell Phones are Transforming Markets in Sub-Saharan Africa," Center for Global Development, 2008.
- Bob Majirioghene, "Idi-Iroko: A City of Smugglers," *Tell* [Lagos], 3 March 2008.

The World Bank Africa region website contains links to multitudes of documents about economic reform: www.worldbank.org/afr.

April 30: Democratization: First Elections What explains the sudden onset of pressures for political reform? To what extent were these pressures internal and to what extent were they external to African states?

Harbeson & Rothchild, chapter by Aili Tripp, "In Pursuit of Authority: Civil Society and Rights-Based Discourses in Africa," 140-63.

- "Stability is Kenya's Most Precious Possession," [Kenya], 1992.
- "Don't Risk Your Future with Other Candidates" [Uganda], 2001.

There is a great African elections database that is available at africanelections.tripod.com/.

May 5: Midterm Exam in class [Graded exams will be returned in class on Thursday, 7 May]

Which Direction Now?

May 7: The Consolidation of Electoral Civilian Regimes Should democratic consolidation eradicate old practices of politics or should it seek to incorporate them?

Denzer, "Matriarch," 285-90.
Harbeson & Rothchild, chapter by John Harbeson, "Promising Democratization Trajectories in Africa's Weak States," 109-39.

- Sierra Leone ballot, 2007.

The Mo Ibrahim Foundation's Index of African Governance is at www.moibrahimfoundation.org/index-2008/. The US-based National Democratic Institute (www.ndi.org/) and International Republican Institute (www.iri.org/) promote democratic consolidation. The African Union Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance is at www.africa-union.org/root/au/Documents/Treaties/text/Charter%20on%20Democracy.pdf.

May 12: The Internal Politics of Violence and the Collapse of Order: The financing of rebellion. Is the "criminalization of the state" [or of insurgency] sustainable?

Jean-François Bayart, Stephen Ellis & Béatrice Hibou, "From Kleptocracy to Felonious State?" in J-F Bayart, S Ellis & B Hibou, *Criminalization of the State in Africa*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 1-31 [found in your reading packet]

- National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government, "Memorandum of Understanding," 17 Jan 1992 and Monrovia government response.
- United Nations Security Council, "Overview of Prices of Weapons and Ammunition at the Somali Arms Markets," in *Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia*, 24 April 2008.
- "Blueprint to Stop Drug and Airport Menace," *For di People* [Sierra Leone], 13 July 2008.

One also might want to visit the website of the UN Office on Drug and Crime to read their Nov 2008 report on the trafficking of narcotics in West Africa and the risk of "narco-states": www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/Studies/Drug-Trafficking-WestAfrica-English.pdf.

May 14: Global Responses to the Collapse of Order: How effective is external intervention? Are international tribunals a viable and sustainable solution?

Harbeson & Rothchild, chapter by Donald Rothchild, "The US Role in Promoting Peaceful African Relations," 241-75.

- Special Court for Sierra Leone, "The Prosecutor against Charles Ghankay Taylor," 7 March 2003.

Students who are interested in this topic may wish to read reports of the UN Security Council's experts. A good example is United Nations Security Council, *Report of the Panel of Experts Appointed Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1395 (2002), Paragraph 4, in Relation to Liberia*, 11 April 2002, available at www.un.org/Docs/sc/committees/Liberia2/470e.pdf.

May 19: The Politics of Security: How viable is the project of reform of Africa's militaries? What is the impact of the Global War on Terror on African militaries' relationships with their own societies?

Harbeson & Rothchild, chapter by Will Reno, "The Privatization of Africa's International Relations," 190-212.

Harbeson & Rothchild, chapter by Princeton Lyman, "The War on Terrorism in Africa," 276-304.

- "United States Military / Not on Parade", *Africa Confidential*, 28 Feb 2008, 9 [on US area command for Africa]

AFRICOM maintains a web site at www.africom.mil. The UK Ministry of Defense posts an interesting document that explains how the UK military plans to work with civilian NGOs and local authorities in "state-building" projects: www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/acppinfodoc.pdf. The

US equivalent is found in the Department of Defense Directive 3000.05 of 2005 on the joint role of humanitarian organizations and the US military in training local militaries:
www.usaid.gov/policy/cdie/sss06/sss_1_080106_dod.pdf.

May 21: Societal Alternatives to State Politics as Usual? What are the limits of politics? Where should one look for new kinds of political engagement?

Cooper, "Africa at the Century's Turn," in his *Africa since 1940*, 191-204.
Harbeson & Rothchild, chapter by Denis Tull, "China's Engagement in Africa," 323-44.

- Osman Sankoh, "Is Tupac Alive?" *Concord Times* [Freetown], 11 & 18 Nov 2000.

May 26: Pan-African Alternatives (or Addition?) to State Politics

Tordoff, "Regional Groupings and the Organization of African Unity" and Conclusions: Ideology, the Post-Colonial State and Development," 240-82.
Harbeson & Rothchild, chapter by I William Zartman, "Inter-African Negotiations and Reforming Political Order," 213-37.

- "Edward Wilmot Blyden," *Sierra Leonean Heroes: Fifty Great Men and Women who Helped to Build Our Nation*, Freetown, 1988.

May 28: African Politics and the NU Student "So you want to work for an NGO in Africa?" We're looking at the politics of that too.

- Omar Kalinge Nnyago, "Can the Donors Support Regime Change in Uganda?" *Daily Monitor* [Kampala], 18 July 2008.
- Craig Timberg, "Paradise in Poverty: How NGOs Live Here," *Democrat* [Monrovia], 2 June 2008.

***** Papers are due in class on this day *****

The final exam will be administered on WEDNESDAY, 10 JUNE from 15:00 to 17:00 in Tech LR 4, which also serves as the classroom throughout the term.

What do we **not** study adequately during this term? Religion in politics (such as the evolving role of Islam and evangelical Christianity in political change), the varieties of youth politics, and a myriad of issues related to the Africa's place in global society have been given short-shrift. We have to work within the constraints of the term system, and if you want more courses on these topics, one suggestion is to lobby for them.