AFRICA IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE (SIS 676 – 003) American University, School of International Service

Fall 2010 Dr. Carl LeVan Thursday, 5:30 – 8 pm levan@american.edu

Location: EQB 15 (old SIS bldg)

SIS room 343, Tel. 885-2457

http://carllevan.com Office hrs: Mon. 1-4; Thurs. 2-5

Course Description and Objectives

This course explores the economic, social, and political challenges facing sub-Saharan Africa today, placing them in historical and political contexts. Key themes include democratization, conflict, economic development, and the nature of the state. The course balances regional knowledge with comparative theory in order to address questions about African exceptionalism, democracy, path dependency, and the effects of political institutions on governance.

The first unit on colonialism discusses colonial rule, including how it affected traditional bases of authority and transformed the structure of economic life. We examine the lasting impacts of nationalism and decolonization, and analyze the politics of the post-independence era including the rise of one-party states, increased political centralization, and economic experiments in socialism. The second unit explores the causes and consequences of instability. For one of those

classes, students will divide into several teams and prepare policy memoranda in preparation for a role playing scenario related to the future of the African state. The third unit focuses on puzzles of African development: Why are so many countries rich in resources but poor in per capita terms? Have external actors helped or hurt post-colonial development? We also evaluate the impact of economic liberalization and foreign aid. The last unit looks at the causes of recent democratization, weighing structural, cultural, and historical factors. It also considers clientelism and other problems related to distribution and development.

Learning Outcomes

- Identify core themes and ongoing debates in African politics, and situate them within comparative studies
- Prepare students for advanced political research through the use of scholarly resources
- Effectively apply theories and concepts from the course to practical problems facing Africa
- Learn how to identify and interpret emerging issues

REQUIRED MATERIALS

These books are available at the bookstore on campus and on reserve in the library:

- Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. States and Power in Africa. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hyden, Goran. 2006. *African Politics in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Englebert, Pierre. 2009. *Africa: Unity, Sovereignty and Sorrow*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Flint, Julie and Alex de Walle. 2008. *Darfur: A New History of a Long War*. London: Zed Books.

Required readings posted on Blackboard are marked with an *asterisk below; other required readings noted below are available via the Internet link provided in the syllabus. Additional required materials may be distributed in class or via Blackboard.

ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADING

Your grade will be calculated based on the following distribution:

- In-class test on September 23 (20%)
- Policy memo/group project due on Friday, October 22 via Blackboard (20%)
- Analytical essay discussing Part 4 of the course, due on Friday, November 12 (20%)
- Final take home essay due on Thursday, December 9, via Blackboard (25%).
- Class participation (15%), including posting to Blackboard blog on Darfur.

Early papers are always welcome. Late papers will be penalized. Use one-inch margins, 12point type, and double-spacing. All papers must follow a standard formatting style such as Chicago, **APSA** The library examples posted MLA. ΑU has http://subjectguides.library.american.edu/citation/. If you use in-text (Author year, page) citations, you still must include a bibliography. Please consult the style guide on my website, where I have also posted tips, suggestions, and resources: http://carllevan.com/teaching/studentresources/. Papers will not be accepted by email without prior permission. AU's Academic Integrity Code will be strictly enforced. For information see: www.american.edu/provost/registrar/regulations/reg80.cfm.

UNIT 1: COLONIALISM, NATIONALISM, POST-IMPERIALISM

(1) The Pre-Colonial Polity (August 26)

- * Vasina, J. 1962. "A Comparison of African Kingdoms," Africa 32 (October): 324–335.
- * Osadolor and Otiode. 2005. "State Formation in Precolonial Nigeria," in *Precolonial Nigeria: Essays in Honor of Toyin Falola*, ed. Akinwunmi Ogundiran. Trenton: Africa World Press. Start reading Herbst.

(2) State Building in Africa (September 2)

Finish reading Herbst.

(3) Colonial Rule (September 9)

- * Crowder, M. 1964. "Indirect Rule: French and British Style," Africa 34: 197–205.
- * Ekeh, Peter. 1975. "Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17 (July): 91–112.
- * Azikiwe, Nnamdi. 1961. *Zik: A Selection from the Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 154 162.
- * Weissman, Stephen. 2010. "An Extraordinary Rendition," *Intelligence and National Security* 25, 2 (April 2010): 198-222.
 - → In-class video: "The Wind of Change" DVD 4034

(4) Nationalism and Decolonization (September 16)

- * Nkrumah, Kwame. 1965. "The Mechanisms of Neocolonialism," in *Neo-Colonialism: the Last Stage of Imperialism*. London: Nelson: 239 259.
- Cabral, Amílcar. 1970. "National Liberation and Culture," presented at Syracuse University, New York (February 20). Available at: http://www.historyisaweapon.org

* Nyerere, Julius. 1973. "Freedom and Development," in *Freedom and Development*, Oxford University Press: 58 – 71.

Hyden, Chapter 2, "The Movement Legacy" Chapter 3, "The Problematic State"

(5) Mobilizing for Development (September 23)

Hyden, Chapter 4, "The Economy of Affection" and Chapter 6, "The Policy Deficit"

→ IN-CLASS TEST

Some recommended readings for Unit 1:

Chilcote, Ronald. 1991. Chapter 1, "Cabral and His Historical Context," in *Amílear Cabral's Revolutionary Theory and Practice*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner.

Hyden, Goran. Chapter 1, "The Study of Politics and Africa"

Smith, Robert. 1988. Kingdoms of the Yoruba., 3rd Ed. London: James Currey.

Uchendu, Victor. 1965. The Igbo of Southeast Nigeria. New York: Holt, Rinehart.

Also take a look at: http://congoresources.tumblr.com/

UNIT 2: AUTHORITARIANISM, SECURITY, AND SOVEREIGNTY

(6) Dictatorship and Personal Rule (September 30)

Hyden, Chapter 5, "Big Man Rule"

- * Pitcher, Anne, Mary Moran, and Michael Johnston. 2009. "Rethinking Patrimonialism and Neopatrimonialism in Africa," *African Studies Review* 52, 1 (April 2009): 125-156.
- * Good, Kenneth. 2010. "Autocracy, Insecurity and Pre-Modernity in Botswana," *Commonwealth and Comparative Studies* 48, 3 (July 2010): 348-372.
- * Lindberg, Staffan and John Clark. 2008. "Does Democratization Reduce the Risk of Military Interventions in Politics in Africa?" *Democratization* 15 (February 2008): 86-105.
- * Al Jazeera interview with Rwandan President Paul Kagame, August 14, 2010.

(7) **Darfur** (October 7)

Flint, Julie and Alex de Waal. 2008. *Darfur: A New History of a Long War*. London: Zed Books. (You can skim Chapters 5 and 8.)

→ At least one online blog posting due by today

(8) Secession, Stability, and Security (October 14)

- * Verhoeven, Harry. 2009. "The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy of Failed States: Somalia, State Collapse, and the Global War on Terror," *Journal of East African Studies* 3, 3 (November 2009): 405-425.
- * Jourde, Cedric. 2007. "The International Relations of Small Neo-authoritarian States: Islamism, Warlordism, and the Framing of Stability," *International Studies Quarterly* 51 (June): 481–503.

Start reading Englebert, Africa: Unity, Sovereignty and Sorrow.

(9) Compliance, Capacity, and Sovereignty (October 21)

Finish reading Englebert, Africa: Unity, Sovereignty and Sorrow.

→ Policy memo due on Friday, October 22 via Blackboard assignments

Some recommended readings for Unit 2:

Special issue of Contemporary Security Policy (vol. 30, no. 1) on the Africa Command, 2009.

Cargill, Tom. "Our Common Strategic Interests: Africa's Role in the Post-G8 World," *Chatham House Report*, July 2010. Available for free at: http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/publications/papers/view/-/id/888/

Kevane, Michael and Leslie Gray. 2008. "Darfur: Rainfall and Conflict," *Environmental Research Letters* 3: 1–10. Linthicum, Kate. "Some see worsening rights situation in aid donor 'darling' Ethiopia," *Los Angeles Times*, August 12, 2010. http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/world/la-fg-ethiopia-aid-20100813,0,1729312.story van de Walle, Nicolas. 2010. "U.S. Policy Towards Africa: The Bush Legacy and the Obama Administration." *African Affairs* 103 (434):1-21.

UNIT 3: DEVELOPMENT PARADOXES AND PARADIGMS

(10) A "Growth Tragedy"? (October 28)

- * Collier, Paul and Jan Willem Gunning. 1999. "Why Has Africa Grown Slowly?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 13, 3 (Summer 1999): 3-22.
- * Ndulu, Benno and Stephen O'Connell. 2008. "Policy Plus: African Growth Performance, 1960-2000," in *The Political Economy of Economic Growth in Africa, 1960 2000*, Vol. 1: 3-75. eds. Benno Ndulu, Stephen O'Connell, et al. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- World Bank. 2010. "Africa's Pulse: An Analysis of Trends Shaping Africa's Economic Future" http://siteresources.worldbank.org/AFRICAEXT/Resources/Africas-Pulse-brochure.pdf

Annan, Kofi. 2009. "Africa: Global Crisis Hits Africa Twice," *AllAfrica.com*, March 27. Available at: http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/200903270155.html

(11) Transforming African Economies (November 4)

NOTE: Class will meet for dinner at 4201 Cathedral Avenue NW. Details to follow.

Hyden, Chapter 7, "The Agrarian Question"

- * McNeil Jr., Donald. "Dirt-Poor Nation, With a Health Plan," New York Times June 15, 2010.
- * Bates, Robert. 1981. Chapters 1 and 2 in *Markets and States in Tropical Africa: The political basis of agricultural policies*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Epstein, Helen. "Cruel Ethiopia," *New York Review of Books*, May 13, 2010.

Available online at: http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2010/may/13/cruel-ethiopia/

(12) **Debt, Trade, and Aid** (November 11)

GUEST LECTURE: Lora Shimp, Senior Technical Advisor, John Snow Inc.

Hyden, Chapter 10, "The External Dimension"

- Global Health Initiative, President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, Consultation Document http://www.pepfar.gov/ghi/136492.htm
- * Owusu, Francis Y. 2007. "Post-9/11 U.S. Foreign Aid, the Millennium Challenge Account, and Africa: How Many Birds Can One Stone Kill?" *Africa Today* 54 (1):3-26.
- Easterly, William. "How the Millennium Development Goals are Unfair to Africa," *World Development* 37, 1 (2009): 26–35. Available at:

http://www.nyu.edu/fas/institute/dri/Easterly/File/Easterly_2009_World-Development.pdf

- Moyo, Dambisa. 2009. "Why Foreign Aid Is Hurting Africa," *Wall Street Journal*, 21 March 2009. Available free at: http://online.wsj.com/article/SB123758895999200083.html#
 - → Hardcopy of the short essay due on Friday, November 12

Some recommended readings for Unit 3:

Ake, Claude. 1996. Democracy and Development in Africa, Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution:.

Bates, Robert. 2008. When Things Fell Apart. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

"Developmental States in the New Millennium: Concepts and Challenges for a New Aid Agenda," *Development Policy Review*. Podcasts and essays online at: http://www.odi.org.uk/events/

Asiama, Johnson, and Peter Quartey. 2009. "Foreign Aid and the Human Development Indicators in Sub-Saharan Africa" *Journal of Developing Societies*, 2, 1 (January 2009): 57-83.

Semu-Banda, Pilirani. "Cash Transfers Transform Lives of Malawi's Poor," Inter-Press Service, February 7, 2009. Available at: http://ipsnews.net/africa/nota.asp?idnews=45704

Responses to "Cruel Ethiopia" by at www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2010/jun/24/cruel-ethiopia/

UNIT 4: DEMOCRACY AND DISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA

(13) **Democratization** (November 18)

- * Jennifer Widner. 1994. "Political Reform in Anglophone and Francophone African Countries," in *Economic Change and Political Liberalization in Sub-Saharan Africa*. ed. Jennifer Widner. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press: 49–79.
- * Jensen, Nathan and Leonard Wantchekon. 2004. "Resource Wealth and Political Regimes in Africa," *Comparative Political Studies* 37, 7 (September 2007): 816-841.
- * Lindberg, Staffan Lindberg. 2006. "The Surprising Significance of Elections in Africa," *Journal of Democracy* 7: 139-151.
- * Nasong'o, Shadrack Wanjala. 2007. "Political Transition without Transformation: The Dialectic of Liberalization without Democratization in Kenya and Zambia," *African Studies Review* 50, 1 (April 2007): 83-109.
 - → Thanksgiving holiday November 25, No Class

(14) Ethnicity, Patronage, and Public Goods (December 2)

- * Wantchekon, Leonard. 2003. "Clientelism and Voting Behavior: A Field Experiment in Benin," World Politics 55 (April): 399-422.
- * Berman, Bruce. 1998. "Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State," African Affairs 97: 305-41.
- * Miguel, Edward. 2004. "Tribe or Nation? Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania," *World Politics* 56, 3 (April 2004): 327-62
- * Alence, Rod. 2004. "Political Institutions and Developmental Governance in Africa," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 42:163-87.

EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS

In the event of a declared pandemic (influenza or other communicable disease), American University will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university be required to close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. These may include altering and extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction in the traditional format and/or use of distance instructional methods. Specific strategies will vary from class to class, depending on the format of the course and the timing of the emergency. Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail and Blackboard, while students must inform their faculty immediately of any absence due to illness. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping themselves informed of emergencies. In the event of a declared pandemic or other emergency, students should refer to the AU Web site (www.prepared.american.edu) and the AU information line at (202) 885-1100 for general university-wide information, as well as contact their faculty and/or respective dean's office for course and school/ college-specific information.