

SYLLABUS FOR CONTEMPORARY AFRICAN POLITICS (W4496) – Spring 2004

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Tuesdays and Thursdays, 1:10 -2:25 pm
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OVERVIEW

This class provides an introduction to contemporary African politics. The core questions that motivate the course are: (i) Why are state structures weaker in Africa than elsewhere? (ii) What accounts for Africa's slow economic growth? (iii) Why do some African countries suffer from high levels of political violence while others are spared? In the course of the class we will see that there is in fact great variation within Africa in the strength of states, the levels of economic growth and the amount of violence; we will aim to explain that variation. To do so we will study many individual cases but we will also stand back and try to apply the tools of political science and economics to try to find some general answers to these questions.

The course is structured in three parts. In the first part we take a quick tour of Africa's recent political history, examining pre-colonial structures, the impact of colonialism and the form of post colonial states. We then examine the social forces that now shape contemporary politics: ethnic groups, race, economic classes, religion, civil society. With an understanding of the political background and the political forces in operation we then turn to examine contemporary topics: the structure of states, policy choices and violent conflict.

To answer these questions we will draw on writing from journalists, anthropologists, psychologists, economists and historians as well as on the work of political scientists. And, insofar as it is possible in New York, we will immerse ourselves in the day-to-day politics of contemporary Africa.

REQUIREMENTS

1. Reading: The Syllabus lists both required reading and further reading. **You will be expected to have completed all the required readings for the week before you attend section for that week.** The reading loads are not especially heavy but you should aim to read them carefully and reflectively. Before approaching each reading think about what the key questions are for the week and about how the questions from this week relate to what you know from previous weeks. Then skim over the reading to get a sense of the themes it covers, the countries, the periods, the methods and, before reading further, jot down on a piece of paper what questions you hope the reading will be able to answer for you: what do you hope to be able to learn from reading the article? Next, read the introduction and conclusion. This is normally enough to get a sense of the big picture. Ask yourself: are the claims in the text surprising? Do you believe them? Can you think of examples of places that do not seem consistent with the logic of the argument? Is the

reading answering the questions you hoped it would answer? If not, is it answering more or less interesting questions than you had thought of? Next ask yourself: what types of evidence or arguments would you need to see in order to be convinced of the results? Now read through the whole text, checking as you go through how the arguments used support the claims of the author. Keep an eye on the sorts of unstated assumptions that the author uses: what does she assume about how humans behave or think? What does she assume about the ability of groups to act collectively, and so on. It is very rare to find a piece of writing that you agree with entirely. So as you come across issues that you disagree with or are not convinced by, write them down and bring them along to section for discussion. Also note when you are pleasantly surprised, when the author produced a convincing argument that you had not thought of.

Many of the readings are available on-line. In most places this is indicated. For those that are not, all readings are available in the libraries. A course pack will contain many readings that are otherwise difficult to access. For the remainder, the following books are recommended for purchase:

- Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz. 1999. Africa Works. Indiana University Press.
- Robert Bates. 1981. Markets and States in Tropical Africa. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Peter Lewis, ed. 1998. Africa: Dilemmas of Development and Change. Boulder: Westview Press.

2. Listening: Focus on Africa. You will be required to listen to Focus on Africa every day, Monday-Friday <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/default.stm>. It's a 40 minute listen and will keep you well up to date with what is going on on the continent. While there will be no test or other way of checking whether you will do this, the content of Focus on Africa will be treated as background knowledge for class and section discussions. If you're not up with the week's programs you won't be able to keep up with the discussions.
http://allafrica.com/partners/bbc/focus_on_africa.ram

3. Develop Country Expertise: We expect that **you will become our class expert for one country**. For each of the topics that we will look at throughout the course of the term you should read up especially on the situation for your country for that topic. So if you become our expert on Uganda you should try to find out information for Uganda on each of the weekly topics: the class relations, the ethnic relations, the economic policies and so on. In developing this expertise you will be able to get more out of the readings, and you will also be a resource for the rest of the class who will then be able to call on you for your evaluation of the situation in your country. In most cases at least one of your written assignments (see below) will be on your country of expertise.

4. Quiz. (10%) We will have a short quiz in-class in Week 3. This will not be a "concepts" quiz but a "basic facts" quiz. These basic facts will be easy enough to learn but will provide a useful knowledge base and will help you in your listening to the news and in your reading of texts. The basic facts that you will be expected to have mastered by week 3 are: the names, locations and capitals of all African countries, the official language and the name of their heads of state.

5. Vignette Authoring (10%). On your own or possibly together with a small group of colleagues you will be asked to research a "focus" topic. Each of the topics looks an interesting episode in African politics that can provide insights into the broader themes of the course. The topics are quite obscure and will require some investigative work on your part—for your topic you should try

to establish the main facts and the political and social implications of the episode at hand. You will be asked to write up your study in the form of a short vignette that you will present to the class in a week corresponding to that vignette (see below). Presentations of each of these vignettes should take no more than 10 minutes (and this limit will be held to strictly!). Your write-up of the vignette should be handed in on the day of the presentation and this write-up will be posted on the class website alongside all other vignettes, so put care into your writing! The following are the themes of the vignettes, these will be assigned during the second week of class.

VIGNETTES

Vignette 1	Von Trotha's Orders, 2 Oct. 1904
Vignette 2	The Return From Exile of Cheikh Amadou Bamba, 11 Nov. 1902
Vignette 3	The Death of Dag Hammarskjold, 18 Sept. 1961
Vignette 4	Hassan's Green March
Vignette 5	The United States of Chad and Libya
Vignette 6	Conakry Attacked. 22 Nov. 1970
Vignette 7	Tombalbaye Reintroduces Scarification
Vignette 8	The Ganda Koy's <i>Voix du Nord</i> #0
Vignette 9	Thomas Sankara and the Renault 5
Vignette 10	The Fatwa against Isioma Daniel
Vignette 11	Set Setal
Vignette 12	The National Conference in Benin. Feb. 1990
Vignette 13	The Overthrow of Moussa Traore
Vignette 14	Nkrumah and Houphouët-Boigny's Wager
Vignette 15	Houphouët-Boigny's Cathedral
Vignette 16	A model for governance? The Chad-Cameroon Pipeline
Vignette 17	Lettre ouverte au Président Biya, 27 Dec. 1990
Vignette 18	The collapse of Mozambique's cashew industry
Vignette 19	Third termism: the case of Chiluba
Vignette 20	The Death of Samuel Doe
Vignette 21	Sao Tome's Buffalo Battalion
Vignette 22	Nkomo's Exile and the "Disturbances" in Matabeleland
Vignette 23	ELF in Congo Brazzaville
Vignette 24	The Burial of S.M.

6. Participation in Section (20%). You will be expected to participate in section each week. Attendance at section is very important for discussing the themes of the course in greater depth. The section leader may ask that you prepare material for discussion or debate or may ask that you present some of your own research during section times.

7. Written Assignments (60%). Undergraduate students will be expected to write three short papers of 10-12 pages each in length. Topics and guidelines for these assignments will be handed out during the course and posted on the website. They will be due **27 February, 2 April and 7 May 2004**. Graduate students will be expected to write a single 20-30 page research paper displaying original research and probing in depth one of the themes of the course and due on **7 May 2004**. In all cases these research papers will contain (i) a theoretical argument, engaging with one of the key themes of the course, (ii) an empirical test of that argument and (iii) a discussion of policy prescriptions resulting from the argument. The empirical part does not have to be quantitative but it does have to constitute a genuine test of your argument.

RESOURCES

To keep up with the day-to-day politics there is a host of new on-line resources that we can use.

We have no excuse not to be able to keep up with the news: Regular news sources available on-line include:

- <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/default.stm>
- <http://allafrica.com/>
- <http://www.africanews.org>
- Africa news (LexisNexis) <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3324754>

In addition you can sign up for the United Nations IRIN (<http://www.irinnews.org/>) news bulletins for Africa here: <http://www.irinnews.org/subscriptions/subslogin.asp>. these will give you regular feeds of news on the continent as soon as it comes in.

There is even a host of radio stations you can listen to:

- <http://www-sul.stanford.edu/depts/ssrg/africa/radio.html>
- <http://allafrica.com/partners/bbc/> (Direct link to focus on Africa: http://allafrica.com/partners/bbc/focus_on_africa.ram)
- http://allafrica.com/partners/rfi/en_rfi.html (RFI)

Fortunately, Columbia University Libraries has a very rich page of links to on-line resources on Africa:

- <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/africa/cuvl/>

Other rich **portals** for information on Africa include:

- http://www.sas.upenn.edu/African_Studies/AS.html
- <http://www-sul.stanford.edu/depts/ssrg/africa/guide.html>
- <http://www.worldbank.org/af/>
- <http://www.afrika.no/>
- <http://www.africaonline.com/site/>
- <http://worldviews.igc.org/awpguide/>
- *Country Pages:* http://www.africa.upenn.edu//Home_Page/Country.html

And fortunately too, many of the **academic journals** writing on Africa are available on-line to Columbia students. Make use of these resources! See the listing of on-line journals here: <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/africa/ejournals.html>)

Browse through:

- Africa (1992-) <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3430148>
- Africa Confidential <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?ATT2410>
- Africa Insight <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio4113541>
- Africa Recovery (UN) <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?ANJ4439>

- Africa Research Bulletin (Political) <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?AVQ3259.002>
- African Studies Review (1970-99) <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3383975>
- Africa Today
1986-98: <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3324755.001>
1999- <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3324755.002>
- African Affairs
1996-2000 <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3383971.001>
1994-97 <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3383971.002>
2000- <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3383971.003>
- African Studies Quarterly <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?ANJ4491>
- African Studies Review <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3383975>
- The Journal of Modern African Studies
1997- <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3326904.001>
1963-1997 <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3326904.002>
- Journal of African Economies (1999-) <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3398895.002>
- Review of African Political Economy <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3431221.002>

TOPICS

Lecture 1: Tue 20 January: Introduction

Naomi Chazan. 1999. "The Diversity of African Politics: Trends and Approaches" Naomi Chazan, Robert Mortimer, John Ravenhill, and Donald Rothchild. 1988. Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

ONLINE! The Economist. 13 May 2000. [The Heart of the Matter](#)

ONLINE! Robert D. Kaplan. 1994. "The Coming Anarchy," in: The Atlantic Monthly. 273, 2 February. <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/foreign/anarchy.htm>

Further reading:

ONLINE! Oyekan Owomoyela.. 1994. "With Friends like These... A Critique of Pervasive Anti-Africanisms in Current African Studies Epistemology and Methodology," African Studies Review. 37(3): 77-101. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0002-0206%28199412%2937%3A3%3C77%3AWFLTAC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-V>

ONLINE! Crawford Young. 2002. "Deciphering Disorder in Africa: Is Identity the Key?" World Politics, 54/4: 532-57. http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/world_politics/v054/54.4young.pdf

Maliqalim Simone and David Hecht. 1994. Invisible Governance. New York: Semiotexte.

Lecture 2: 22 January: Pre-colonial Political Structures

Jomo Kenyatta. 1965. Facing Mount Kenya. New York: Vintage Books. Chapter 9

Bates, Robert H. 1983. "The centralization of African societies" and "The preservation of order in Stateless Societies" in Essays on the Political Economy of Rural Africa, UCLA Press

Further reading

Gluckman, Max 1973: "The Peace in the Feud." In: Custom and Conflict in Africa. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 26: 1-26.

E. E. Evans-Pritchard, The Nuer. Oxford: Clarendon Press, (originally) 1940, Chapter 4.

George BN Ayittey (ed.). 1993. Africa Betrayed.

Victor Uchendu, The Igbo of Southeastern Nigeria (NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965)

Film: King Solomon's Mines (Marton, Bennett, 1950), Battle of Algiers (1965),

Lecture 3: 27 January: Colonization, Historical Aspects

Gerard Prunier. 1995. The Rwanda Crisis. New York: Columbia, Chapter 1.

Chamberlain, M.E. 1999. The Scramble for Africa. 2nd ed. New York: Longman. Part IV, "Documents" pp. 94-125.

Michael Crowder. 1964. "Indirect Rule: French and British Style." Africa 34: 197-205. Also in Martin A. Klein and G. Wesley Johnson, (eds.), Perspectives on the African Past. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1972.



Further Reading

John Iliffe. 1994. The Africans. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P. Ch 7 (on the Atlantic Slave Trade)

Adam Hochschild. 1998. King Leopold's Ghost (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998)

Films: Camp de Thiaroye (Sembene, 1987), Noirs et blancs en couleur (Annaud, 1976)

Vignette 1 Von Trotha's Orders, 2 Oct. 1904

Lecture 4: 29 January: Independence



ONLINE! James Coleman. 1954. "Nationalism in Colonial Africa" *APSR* 1945, 3 (1954) 404-426.

Kenneth Kaunda. 1962. *Zambia Shall be Free*, London: Heinemann. Chapter 17, "A Year of Decision."

Basil Davidson, 1992. *The Black Man's Burden*. London: Times Books. Chapter 6.

Further Reading

John Illife. 1994. *The Africans*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P. pp. 246-252

ONLINE! Eliot Berg, "The Economic Basis of political Change in French West Africa" *APSR* 54,2 (1960): 391-405.

Robert I. Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia 1953-1964*, Chapters 3, 5, 6.

ONLINE! Richard Joseph. 2003. "Nation-State Trajectories in Africa." *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*
<http://journal.georgetown.edu/Issues/ws03/josephlocked.pdf>

Film: *Lumumba* (Raoul Peck, 2001), (Zaire, DRC)

Vignette 2 The Return From Exile of Cheikh Amadou Bamba, 11 Nov. 1902

Lecture 5-6: 3, 10 February*: Colonial Legacies

Paul Ekeh. "Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa." in Lewis, pp. 97-109

Franz Fanon. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth*, "Colonial War and Mental Disorders" New York: *Presence Africain*, pp. 249-311.

ONLINE! Kathryn Firmin-Sellers. 1995. "The politics of property rights," in: *American Political Science Review*. 89:4.

Crawford Young. 1994. *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*. Chapter 8.

Jennifer Widner. 1994. "Political Reform in Anglophone and Francophone African Countries," in: *Economic Change and Political Liberalization in Sub-Saharan*, Jennifer Widner (ed.), Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.



Further Reading

Samir Amin. 1972. "Underdevelopment and Dependence in Black Africa: Origins and Contemporary Forms." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 10 (4): 503-24.

Samir Amin, *Neo-Colonialism in West Africa*, London: Monthly Review Press 1974, Chapters 2, 3

Mahmood Mamdani. 1996. *Citizen and Subject*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Basil Davidson, 1992, *The Black Man's Burden*, Chapter 7

* **Note:** No class on 5 February

Vignette 3 The Death of Dag Hammarskjold, 18 Sept. 1961

Vignette 4 Hassan's Green March

Lecture 7 - 8: 12, 17 February: The State

Jean Ensminger 1996. "Collective Action: From Community to State," Chapter 6 in Making a Market. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz "Whither the State?" Chapter 1 in: Africa Works. Indiana University Press.

ONLINE! R. Jackson and C. Rosberg. 1982. "Why Africa's Weak States Persist." World Politics. 1-24. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0043-8871%28198210%2935%3A1%3C1%3AWAWSPT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-K>

Jeffrey Herbst. 2000. States and Power in Africa. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 9

ONLINE! Documents: Foreign Relations of The United States 1964-68, XXIV, Africa www.state.gov/www/about_state/history/vol_xxiv/y.html, Documents 252-53, 259-60.

Further Reading

Leonardo Villalon and P.A. Huxtable (eds.), 1998. The African State At A Critical Juncture.

Young and Turner. 1985. "The Patrimonial State and Personal Rule" in: Young and Turner, The Rise and Decline of the Zairian State.

Novel: *Antbills of the Savannah*

Vignette 5 The United States of Chad and Libya
Vignette 6 Conakry Attacked. 22 Nov. 1970



Source: Mitchell, http://www.era.anthropology.ac.uk/ERA2/Kalela/Mitchell_Photo/html/kal6g.html

Lecture 9: 19 February. Ethnicity

J. Clyde Mitchell. 1956. The Kalela Dance: Aspects of Social Relationships Among Urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia. Rhodes-Livingstone Paper. Manchester: U Manchester Press.

ONLINE! William Miles and David Rochefort. 1991. "Nationalism versus Ethnic Identity in Sub-Saharan Africa." APSR. 85(2): 393-404. <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0003-0554%28199106%2985%3A2%3C393%3ANVEIIS%3E2.0.CO%3B2-W>

ONLINE! Dan Posner, 2003. "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi." UCLA: Working Paper. http://www.globalization-africa.org/papers_detail.php?Paper_ID=20

Further Reading

Max Gluckman, "Tribalism in Modern British Central Africa," Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines 1(1) (1960):55-70.

Suberu, Rotimi "Ethnic Minorities and the Crisis of Democratic Governance in Nigeria." In Olowu et al Governance and Democratization in West Africa (Dakar: Codesria, 1999)

William Miles, 1994. Hausaland Divided: Colonialism and Independence in Nigeria and Niger, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

! Film Screening, 19 Feb: Sankofa

Vignette 7 Tombalbaye Reintroduces Scarification

Lecture 10: 24 February: Race

Mahmood Mamdani, 2001. When Victims Become Killers, Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 3.

Leopold Sedar Senghor, "Negritude: a humanism of the Twentieth Century" in Grinker and Steiner (eds.), Perspectives on Africa, pp. 629-36.

Appiah, Anthony. 1993. In My Father's House, Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 2.



Further Reading

Jared Diamond, Guns, Germs and Steel, Ch 19.

Marx, Anthony W. 1996. "Race-Making and the Nation-State," World Politics 48 (2) January: 180 - 208.

Cheikh Anta Diop. The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality

Donald Rothchild. 1973. Racial Bargaining in Independent Kenya. London, New York and Nairobi: Oxford University Press, for the Institute of Race Relations.

Vignette 8 The Ganda Koy's *Voix du Nord* #0

Lecture 11: 26 February: Class



Source:
<http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/pubs/sephadi/2002/3rd-term/images/mine-workers.gif>

ONLINE Richard Sklar. 1979. "The Nature of Class Domination in Africa" Journal of Modern Africa Studies 17:4.

Robert Melson, 1971. Ideology and Inconsistency: The "Cross-Pressured" Nigerian Worker APSR, 65(1): 161-171.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0003-0554%28197103%2965%3A1%3C161%3AIAIT%22N%3E2.0.CO%3B2-H>

ONLINE Mike Lofchie. 1972. "The Uganda Coup-Class Action by the Military," Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 10.1: 19-35.

Further Reading

- Catherine Boone, "The Making of a Rentier Class: Wealth Accumulation and Political Control in Senegal 185-213" in Lewis (1998).
- Mamdani, Mahmood Politics and Class Formation in Uganda, London: Monthly Review Press 1976 Ch 4-6
- R. Joseph. "Class, State and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria," 44-63 in: Lewis Kasfir, Nelson. 1976. The Shrinking Political Agenda. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Elster, Jon. 1958. Making Sense of Marx, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6.

Vignette 9 Thomas Sankara and the Renault 5

! 27 FEBRUARY: FIRST PAPER DUE !

Lecture 12: 2 March: Religion

Benjamin Ray, 1976. Chapter 6 in African Religions, Symbol, Ritual and Community. London: Prentice Hall. 155-171.

ONLINE Stephen Ellis, 1988, "Religion and Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa" Journal of Modern African Studies 36(2) 175-201.

Cruise O'Brien, Donal B. 1975. "Chiefs, Saints and Bureaucrats: Dynamics of Power and Authority under Colonial Rule," in Saints and Politician. New York: Cambridge UP.



Further Reading

See Africa World Press Guide: <http://worldviews.igc.org/awpguide/relig.html>

David Laitin, 1986. Hegemony and Culture Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz, "The Use and Abuse of the Irrational: Witchcraft and Religion" in Africa Works, Indiana University Press.

Diane Ciekawy and Peter Geschiere, "Containing Witchcraft: Conflicting Scenarios in Postcolonial Africa," African Studies Review, 41/3 (December 1998), 1-14.

Film: Ceddo (Sembene, 1976)

! Film Screening: 2 March Zan Boko (Burkina Faso, 1988)

Vignette 10 The Fatwa against Isioma Daniel

Lecture 13: 4 March: Civil Society

Célestin Monga. 1996. The Anthropology of Anger, London: Lynne Rienner. **Chapter 6.**

Aili Tripp, 1994. "Gender, Political Participation, and the Transformation of Associational Life in Uganda and Tanzania." African Studies Review 37 (1): 107-131. 1994. [Reprinted in Peter Lewis: 232-257, 1998.]

Mariane Ferme, 1999. "Staging politisi: the dialogics of publicity and secrecy in Sierra Leone," in: Comaroff and Comaroff, Civil Society and the Political Imagination in Africa, pp. 160-91.

Vignette 11 Set Setal

CONTEMPORARY TOPICS

Lecture 14- 15: 9-11 March: Forms of Government and Political Change



Robert Jackson and Carl Rosberg, "Personal Rule: Theory and Practice in Africa" Lewis, Africa: Dilemmas of Development and Change, (Westview, 1998), 17-43.

ONLINE David Harris, "From 'Warlord' to 'Democratic' President: How Charles Taylor Won the 1997 Liberian Elections," Journal of Modern African Studies, 37/3 (1999), 431-55.

Michael Bratton and Nicholas van de Walle, 1997. Democratic Experiments in Africa. Cambridge UP. Chapters 3 and 5.

Masune Document (Posner): "Rescheduled Election Report"

Further Reading

Pearl Robinson, "The National Conference Phenomenon in Francophone Africa," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 36, 3 (1994): 575-610.

Vignette 12 The National Conference in Benin. Feb. 1990

Vignette 13 The Overthrow of Moussa Traore

[Note: *Spring break on 16, 18 March.*]

Lecture 16: 23 March: Policy Choices

Julius Nyerere. Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism. 1968. Dar es Salaam: OUP. Chapters 1, 5-7.

James Scott. 1998. Seeing Like a State. pp. 223-262.

Robert Bates. 1981. Markets and States in Tropical Africa. Berkeley: University of California Press, Entire Book.

Further Reading

Kisangani Emizet, "Confronting Leaders at the Apex of the State: The Growth of the Unofficial Economy in Congo," African Studies Review, 41/1 (April 1998), 99-137.

C. Pratt. 1999. "Julius Nyerere: Reflections on the Legacy of his Socialism" Canadian Journal of African Studies. 33(1)

!Film Screening 23 March: Everyone's Child (Zimbabwe)

Vignette 14 Nkrumah and Houphouët-Boigny's Wager

Lecture 17: 25 March : Pork Politics

ONLINE J.P. Olivier de Sardan. 1999. "A Moral Economy of Corruption in Africa?" Journal of Modern African Studies, 37 (1) 25-52.

Michael Bratton and Nicholas van de Walle, Democratic Experiments in Africa (Cambridge UP, 1997), Chapter 2.

ONLINE Leonard Wantchekon, "[Clientelism and Voting Behavior: A Field Experiment in Benin.](http://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/politics/faculty/wantchekon/research/client.pdf)"

Ryszard Kapuscinski. 1986. "The Child Support Bill in the Tanganyikan Parliament," in: The Soccer War, New York: Vintage, pp. 89-94.

Further Reading

Wole Soyinka. 1996. "The Spoils of Power," in: The Open Sore of a Continent. New York: Oxford University Press, , pp. 61-109.

Jean Ensminger, "Market Integration and Fairness: Evidence from Ultimatum, Dictator, and Public Goods Experiments in East Africa." Available On-line

Vignette 15 Houphouët-Boigny's Cathedral

Lecture 18- 19: 30 March, 1 April: Structural Adjustment

Sahn, David, Paul Dorosh and Stephen Younger Structural Adjustment Reconsidered (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1997), Chapter 3.

P.T. Mkandawire and C. Soludo. 1999. Our Continent, Our Future. Dakar: Codesria. Chapter 3. pp. 49-86.

ONLINE B. Sadasivam. 1997. "The Impact of Structural Adjustment on Women: A Governance and Human Rights Agenda," in: Human Rights Quarterly. 19(3).
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/human_rights_quarterly/v019/19.3sadasivam.html

Further Reading

Bill Easterly. 2003. "Can Foreign Aid Buy Growth" Journal of Economic Perspectives, 17 (3) :23-48. <http://www.nyu.edu/fas/institute/dri/Easterly/File/EasterlyJEP03.pdf>

Ayittey, George Africa in Chaos, (New York: Saint Martin's Griffen, 1999), Chapter 7

The World Bank, 1998. Adjustment in Africa.

Susan George. A Fate Worse than Debt or Faith and Credit.

!Film Screening: 1 April Taafe Fanga (skirt power) (Mali)

Vignette 16 A model for governance? The Chad-Cameroon Pipeline

Vignette 17 Lettre ouverte au Président Biya, 27 Dec. 1990

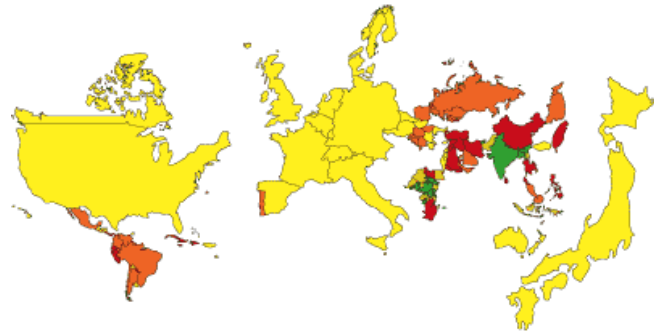
! 2 APRIL: SECOND PAPER DUE !

[Note: No class on 6 April]

Lecture 20: 8 April*: Policy Impacts

ONLINE Paul Collier and Jan Gunning. 1999. "Why has Africa grown slowly?," Journal of Economic Perspectives, 13, 3:3-22.

P. Englebert. 2000. State Legitimacy and Development in Africa. Chapter: "Accounting for Africa's Development Crisis."



[World Map with Country size weighted by GDP, source <http://www.pamlynsmithdesign.com/mapnine.html>]

Further Reading

Ndulu, B. and S. A. O'Connell. 1999. "Governance and Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa." Journal of Economic Perspectives 13(3): 41-66.

ONLINE Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson and James A. Robinson. 2001. "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation." American Economic Review 91(5):1369-1401. http://econ-www.mit.edu/faculty/download_pdf.php?id=144

*! This class may be postponed until 12 April.

Vignette 18 The collapse of Mozambique's cashew industry

Lecture 21: 13 April: AIDS

ONLINE Mark Schoofs. 1999. Aids: The Agony of Africa. www.villagevoice.com/specials/africa

Samantha Power. 2003. "The AIDS Rebel," in: The New Yorker, 19 May 2003.

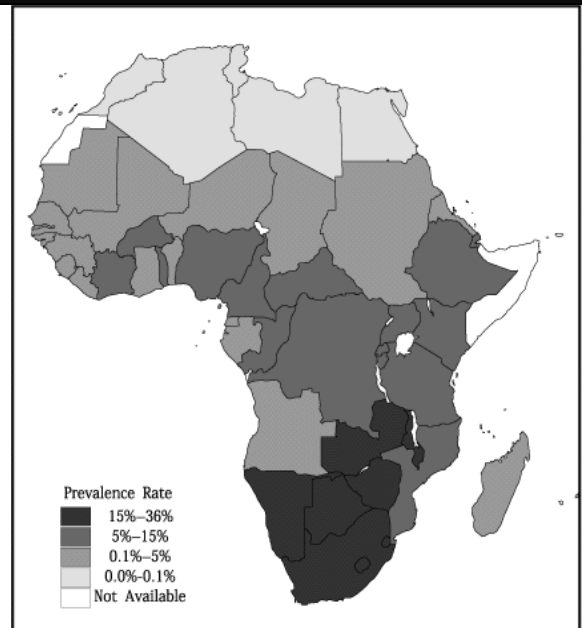
ONLINE Alex de Waal. 2003. "How will HIV/AIDS transform African Governance?" in: Africa Affairs, 102: 1-23.

Further Reading

Lots of resources here: allafrica.com/aids/ and here worldviews.igc.org/awpguide/aids.html

Edward Hooper. 2000. The River: A Journey Back to the Source of HIV and Aids. (Allen Lane/Penguin Press).

Brooke, Grundfest, Schoepf: "Mobutu's Disease": A social history of AIDS," in: Kinshasa Review of African Political Economy. London: Sep/Dec 2002. 29, 93, 94; p. 561.



Adult HIV/AIDS rates in Africa (adapted from UNAIDS, 2000)

Vignette 19 Third termism: the case of Chiluba

Lecture 22- 23. 15, 20. April: Civil War: Analysis

ONLINE James Fearon and David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, insurgency and Civil Wars" American Political Science Review.

ONLINE Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler. 2000. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," Policy Research Working Paper 2355, World Bank Development Research Group (updated Oct 2001). http://www.worldbank.org/research/conflict/papers/greedgrievance_23oct.pdf.

ONLINE Macartan Humphreys. "Economics and Violent Conflict." Harvard School of Public Health CPI: www.preventconflict.org/portal/economics/Essay.pdf

Further Reading

More resources: <http://allafrica.com/peaceafrica> www.preventconflict.org/portal/economics

!Film Screening: April 15, Faat Kine (Senegal: Sembene, 2000)

Vignette 20 The Death of Samuel Doe
Vignette 21 Sao Tome's Buffalo Battalion

Lecture 24- 25: 22, 27 April: Civil War: Cases

Sierra Leone

Paul Richards. 1996. Fighting for the Rain Forest. Oxford: James Curry. Introduction and Chs 1-2.

ONLINE H. Howe. 1998. "Private Security Forces and African Stability: Executive Outcomes," Journal of Modern African Studies, pp. 307-331.

Angola:

John Stockwell. 1978. In Search of Enemies: A CIA Story New York: Norton Press. Chapters 2, 8, 9, 13, 15.

Tony Hodges. 2001. Angola from Afro-Stalinism to Petro-diamond capitalism Oxford: James Curry. pp. 1-43, 123-175.

Sudan

ONLINE ICG God, Oil and Country: Changing the Logic of War in Sudan, Report <http://www.intl-crisis-group.org/projects/showreport.cfm?reportid=534>



Further Reading

Amadou Koroumah. 2003. *Allah is not obliged*. London: Arrow [*Allah n'est pas obligé*]

- Vignette 22 Nkomo's Exile and the "Disturbances" in Matabeleland
- Vignette 23 ELF in Congo Brazzaville

Final Lecture: 29 April [Open]

Final Film Screenings:

- 29 April Mobutu, Roi Du Zaire (Thierry Michel, 1999)
- 3 May Our friends at the Bank (Peter Chappell)

! 7 MAY: FINAL PAPERS DUE !

- Vignette 24 The Burial of S.M.

