

Political Science 210

**CONTEMPORARY AFRICAN POLITICS:
Economic Crisis, Democratization, and War**

Spring 2005

University of Pennsylvania

Professor Thomas M. Callaghy

Tuesday/Thursday 10:30-12:00

**Office: 215 Stiteler
Phone: 898-7653**

**Office Hours: Thurs 1:00-3:00 and by appointment
Email: tcallagh@sas.upenn.edu**

This course will consist of an analytic survey of post-colonial politics in the states of Sub-Saharan Africa, concentrating on events of the last two decades. It will focus on the complex relationships between state, society, economy, and external actors and will offer a conceptual framework that takes into account forms of politics that are, even when formally democratic, often highly fluid, personalized, and authoritarian in character. Particular attention will be paid this term to four major aspects of Africa's current condition: [1] the seemingly never-ending economic crisis; [2] recent moves back toward forms of democratic politics; and [3] increasing war, civil violence (including warlordism and genocide), and accelerated processes of state failure, and [4] increasing dependence on external actors, including an expanding role for international NGOs. We will also examine how Africans try to cope with the difficult situation that confronts them every day.

BOOKS:

Nicolas van de Walle, *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999* (Cambridge UP, 2001)

Michela Wrong, *In the Footsteps of Mr. Kurtz: Living on the Brink of Disaster in Mobutu's Congo* (Harper, 2002)

Two Chinua Achebe novels are also required:

Chinua Achebe, *Arrow of God* (Doubleday, 1989) and

Chinua Achebe, *A Man of the People* (Doubleday, 1981)

The books are available at the University Book Store. The rest of the readings will be available in a course pack from Wharton Reprographics. Since there is no research paper for this course, heavy emphasis will be placed on the readings. Current events will also be stressed; see, in particular: http://www.sas.upenn.edu/African_Studies/About_African/ww_news.html and <http://www.intl-crisis-group.org/>. The two novels should be spread out over the first half of the course and read in the order listed above; they should be followed by Michela Wrong's book on

Zaire/Congo. All three books will be the basis of the short paper due at end of the term.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS:

1. A midterm examination on Thursday, March 3 (30%)*
2. A final examination (35%)
3. A fifteen-page paper, due the day of the final (30%)
4. Class participation (5%)

* After taking the midterm examination, you may elect to drop your grade and make the final examination grade worth 65% of the course grade.

Topics and Readings:

1.11 INTRODUCTION AND COURSE ORGANIZATION

- Marina Ottaway, "Africa," *Foreign Policy*, 14 (Spring 1999), 13-25.
Thomas Callaghy, "Africa: Back to the Future?" *Journal of Democracy*, 5/4 (October 1994), 133-45.
M. Hounnikpo, "Africa Between Despair and Hope," *African Studies Review*, 47/2, September 2004, 131-37.

1.13 CURRENT CONJUNCTURE I

- Peter Rosenblum, "Irrational Exuberance: The Clinton Administration in Africa," *Current History*, 101/655 (May 2002), 195-202.
Salih Booker, "America and Africa," *Current History*, 102/664, (May 2003), 195-99.
Thomas Turner, "The Kabilas' Congo," *Current History*, 100/646 (May 2001), 213-18.
Ken Menkhaus, "Somalia: In the Crosshairs of the War on Terrorism," *Current History*, 101/655 (May 2002), 210-18.
René Lemarchand, "The Fire in the Great Lakes," *Current History*, 98/628 (May 1999), 195-201.
Robert Rotberg, "Strengthening African Leadership," *Foreign Affairs*, 83/4, July/August 2004, 14-18.
G. Nzongola-Ntalaja, "Citizenship, Political Violence, and Democratization in Africa," *Global Governance*, 10/4, October-December 2004, 403-09.

1.18 CURRENT CONJUNCTURE II

- Jeanne Maddox Tourngara, "Ethnicity and Political Crisis in Cote d'Ivoire," *Journal of Democracy*, 12/3 (July 2001), 63-72.
Robert Lloyd, "Zimbabwe: The Making of an Autocratic 'Democracy,'" *Current History*, 101/655 (May 2002), 219-24.
Peter Lewis, "Nigeria: Elections in a Fragile Regime," *Journal of Democracy*, 14/3 (July 2002), 131-44.

International Crisis Group, "Angola: Exorcising Savimbi's Ghost," *Current History*, 102/664 (May 2003), 206-14.

Sakah Saidu Mahmud, "Islamism in West Africa: Nigeria," *African Studies Review*, 47/2, September 2004, 61-71.

1.20 CURRENT CONJUNCTURE III

Frank Holmquist, "Kenya's Postelection Euphoria – and Reality," *Current History*, 102/664 (May 2003), 200-05.

Stephen Ndegwa, "Kenya: Third Time Lucky?" *Journal of Democracy*, 14/3 (July 2003), 145-58.

Robert Mattes, "South Africa: Democracy without the People," *Journal of Democracy*, 13/1 (January 2002), 22-36.

Ebere Onwudiwe, "Africa's Other Story," *Current History*, 101/655 (May 2002), 225-28.

Ian Taylor, "Blind Spots in Analyzing Africa's Place in World Politics," *Global Governance*, 10/4, October-December 2004, 411-17.

1.25 AFRICA'S PAST AS PRESENT?

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa* (Princeton UP, 2000), 11-57, 251-72.

Crawford Young, "Deciphering Disorder in Africa: Is Identity the Key?" *World Politics*, 54/4 (July 2002), 532-57.

1.27 THE FIRST 30 YEARS: THE COLONIAL LEGACY

Crawford Young, "The Heritage of Colonialism," J. Harbeson, D. Rothchild, *Africa in World Politics* (Westview 2000), 23-42.

Ali Mazrui, "Africa and Other Civilizations: Conquest and Counter-Conquest," *Africa in World Politics*, 110-35.

J. Ade Ajayi, "Expectations of Independence," *Dædalus*, 111/2 (1982), 1-9.

2.1 THE FIRST 30 YEARS: A POLITICAL SYNDROME I

Aristide Zolberg, "The Structure of Political Conflict in the New States of Tropical Africa," *American Political Science Review*, 62/1 (March 1968), 70-87.

Jan Vansina, "Mwasi's Trials," *Dædalus*, 111/2 (1982), 49-70.

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

2.3 THE FIRST 30 YEARS: A POLITICAL SYNDROME II

Michael Bratton and Nicholas van de Walle, "Neopatrimonial Rule in Africa," *Democratic Experiments in Africa* (Cambridge UP, 1997), 61-89.

Robert Price, "Politics and Culture in Contemporary Ghana: The Big-Man, Small-Boy Syndrome," *Journal of African Studies*, 1/2 (1974), 173-204.

2.8 THE FIRST 30 YEARS: ETHNICITY, CLASS, AND PROTEST

Marina Ottaway, "Ethnic Politics in Africa: Change and Continuity," R. Joseph, *State*,

Conflict, and Democracy (Rienner, 1999), 299-317.

Naomi Chazan et. al., "Ethnicity, Class, and the State," *Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa* (Rienner, 1999), 107-33.

René Lemarchand, "Genocide in the Great Lakes: Which Genocide, Whose Genocide?" *African Studies Review*, 41/1 (April 1998), 3-16.

2.10 ECONOMIC LEGACY AND CURRENT CONTEXT

Marina Ottaway, "The Crisis of the Socialist State in Africa," Z. Ergas, *African State in Transition* (St. Martin's, 1987), 169-90.

Thomas Callaghy, "Africa and the World Economy: More Caught Between a Rock and a Hard Place," *Africa in World Politics*, 43-82.

2.15 THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DEBT

Thomas Callaghy, "Restructuring Zaire's Debt, 1979-1982," T. Biersteker, *Dealing with Debt* (Westview, 1993), 107-31.

Thomas Callaghy, "Networks and Governance in Africa: Innovation in the Debt Regime," in T. Callaghy et. al., *Intervention and Transnationalism in Africa* (Cambridge UP, 2001), 115-48.

2.17 PERMANENT CRISIS AND PARTIAL REFORM I

N. van de Walle, *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis*, Introduction and Ch. 1 [1-63].

2.22 PERMANENT CRISIS AND PARTIAL REFORM II

N. van de Walle, *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis*, Chps. 2-3 [64-151].

2.24 PERMANENT CRISIS AND PARTIAL REFORM III

N. van de Walle, *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis*, Chps. 4-5, 7 [152-234, 271-86].

3.1 RESPONSES TO THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DECLINE I

Janet MacGaffey, "Economic Disengagement and Class Formation in Zaire" D. Rothchild and N. Chazan, *Precarious Balance: State and Society in Africa* (Westview, 1988), 171-88.

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.

E. Gyimah-Boadi, "The Rebirth of African Liberalism," *Journal of Democracy*, 9/2 (April 1998), 18-31.

3.3 MIDTERM EXAMINATION [BREAK 3.9-11]

- 3.15 RESPONSES TO THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DECLINE II**
 Stephen Ellis, "Religion and Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 36/2 (1998), 175-201.
 Diane Ciekawy and Peter Geschiere, "Containing Witchcraft: Conflicting Scenarios in Postcolonial Africa," *African Studies Review*, 41/3 (December 1998), 1-14.
 E. Gyimah-Boadi, "Civil Society in Africa," *Journal of Democracy*, 7/2 (April 1996), 118-32.
- 3.17 THE POSTCOLONIAL SYNDROME: ZAIRE/CONGO I**
 Michela Wrong, *In the Footsteps of Mr. Kurtz*, Introduction, Chps. 1-5 [1-130].
- 3.22 THE POSTCOLONIAL SYNDROME: ZAIRE/CONGO II**
 Michela Wrong, *In the Footsteps of Mr. Kurtz*, Chps. 6-11 [131-248].
- 3.24 THE POSTCOLONIAL SYNDROME: ZAIRE/CONGO III**
 Michela Wrong, *In the Footsteps of Mr. Kurtz*, Chps. 12-14, Epilogue [249-319].
 Thomas Callaghy, "Life and Death in the Congo," *Foreign Affairs*, 80/5 (September/October 2001), 143-49.
 Thomas Callaghy, "From Reshaping to Resizing a Failing State? The Case of the Congo/Zaire," in O'Leary, Lustick, Callaghy, *Right-sizing the State* (Oxford UP, 2001), 102-37.
- 3.29 THE POLITICS OF DEMOCRATIZATION I**
 N. van de Walle, *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis*, Chp. 6 [235-70].
 Crawford Young, "The Third Wave of Democratization in Africa: Ambiguities and Contradictions" in Joseph, *State, Conflict, and Democracy*, 15-38.
 E. Gyimah-Boadi, "Ghana: The Challenge of Consolidating Democracy" Joseph, *State, Conflict, and Democracy*, 409-27.
- 3.31 THE POLITICS OF DEMOCRATIZATION II**
 Thomas Callaghy, "Civil Society, Democracy, and Economic Change in Africa: A Dissenting Opinion about Resurgent Societies" N. Chazan, *Civil Society and the State in Africa* (Rienner, 1994), 231-53.
 Michael Bratton and Daniel Posner, "A First Look at Second Elections," Joseph, *State, Conflict, and Democracy*, 377-407.
- 4.5 THE POLITICS OF DEMOCRATIZATION III**
 John Harbeson, "Externally Assisted Democratization," *Africa in World Politics*, 235-59.
 Elle Hauser, "Uganda Relations with Western Donors in the 1990s: What Impact on Democratization?" *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 37/4 (1999), 621-41.
 John Makumbe, "Zimbabwe's Hijacked Election," *Journal of Democracy*, 13/4 (October 2002), 87-101.

4.7 WAR AND FAILING STATES I

Christopher Clapham, "Fragile States and the International System" and "The International Politics of Insurgency," *Africa and the International System*, 3-27, 208-43.

Tonya Langford, "Things Fall Apart: State Failure and the Politics of Intervention," *International Studies Review*, 1/1 (Spring 1999), 59-79.

4.12 WAR AND FAILING STATES II

William Reno, "Sierra Leone's Transition to Warlord Politics," *Warlord Politics and African States* (Rienner, 1998), 113-45.

Herbert Howe, "Private Security Forces and African Stability: The Case of Executive Outcomes," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 36/2 (1998), 307-31.

Heike Behrend, "War in Northern Uganda" C. Clapham, *African Guerrillas* (Indiana University Press, 1998), 107-18.

4.14 AFRICA'S "GREAT WAR" AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

René Lemarchand, "The Case of the Great Lakes," *Africa in World Politics*, 324-52.

Mel McNulty, "The Collapse of Zaire: Implosion, Revolution, or External Sabotage," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 39/1 (1999), 53-82.

Richard Fredland, "AIDS and Development: An Inverse Correlation?" *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 36/4 (1998), 547-68.

Jeffrey Herbst, "Western and African Peacekeepers: Motives and Opportunities," *Africa in World Politics*, 308-23.

4.19 AFRICA AND THE WORLD

Christopher Clapham, "The Resort to the Superpowers," *Africa and the International System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 134-59.

Carol Lancaster, "Africa in World Affairs," *Africa in World Politics*, 208-34.

Cyril Obi, "Global, State, and Local Intersections: Power, Authority and Conflict in the Niger Delta Oil Communities," Callaghy, *Intervention and Transnationalism*, 173-93.

4.21 CAN AFRICA PULL ITSELF TOGETHER?

N. Chazan, "Inter-African Relations," *Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa*, 361-419.

William Zartman, "Inter-African Negotiations and State Renewal," *Africa in World Politics*, 139-59.

Ernest Harsch, "Making African Integration a Reality," *Africa Recovery*, 16/2-3 (September 2002), 10-31 and 1.