

Contemporary African Politics

Political Science 46N

Stanford University
Fall Quarter 2006

Professor Jeremy M. Weinstein
Email: jweinst@stanford.edu
Telephone: 650-736-1224
Office: Encina Hall West, 415
Office Hours: Wednesday, 3:15-5:15

Monday and Wednesday, 1:15-3:05
Location: 160-317

Overview

This course provides an analytic survey of post-colonial politics in the states of Sub-Saharan Africa, concentrating on the events of the last decade. Particular attention is paid to three major aspects of contemporary Africa: (1) patterns of economic collapse and recovery; (2) shifts toward more democratic political systems; and (3) levels of political violence and civil conflict. While the seminar covers broad trends across the continent, the course includes a special focus on two countries that represent distinct challenges for policymakers concerned with Africa: Liberia, immersed in a process of post-conflict reconstruction, and Uganda, enmeshed in a persistent state of political decline and rising conflict.

The course is structured in three parts. In the first, we review Africa's recent political history, from the colonial period to the formation of the first independent states. Then we turn to the challenges faced by post-colonial governments in managing the interests of competing ethnic groups, creating the conditions for economic growth, and adapting political institutions to reflect the demands of an increasingly active citizenry. After examining economic and political reform, we conclude with a focus on conflict; in particular, increasing authoritarianism and the onset of political violence in many African countries. For these contemporary topics, a special effort is made to examine the role of the international community in shaping Africa's political future.

In this course, we will focus on bringing together macro and micro-perspectives on African politics. By macro-perspectives, I mean an understanding of broad patterns across the African continent, how the performance of countries has varied across regions and over time, and what factors may explain the differential paths that countries have taken. By micro-perspectives, I mean an understanding of how politics work in a particular context, an awareness and recognition of the competing interest groups, the names and faces of the key figures, and knowledge of the unique histories that shape some of the countries making news today. For this reason, each week begins with a session focused on broad patterns and is followed by a seminar where we will discuss how these forces play out in two particular countries.

A major goal of this course is to help you become an active follower of developments on the African continent, and an active participant in the debates here in the United States that have

the potential to affect Africa's prospects. For this reason, as a complement to your academic work, this seminar has a public policy component.

- Public Education. By and large, Americans know very little about developments on the African continent. This knowledge gap is one reason that Africa receives so little attention from the US government. As a class, students will be responsible for organizing a public event on the Stanford campus to raise awareness about the African continent. To make this happen, the class will need to choose an issue, identify appropriate speakers, secure a venue, raise money (with the instructor's help), and publicize the event across campus. We will begin talking about this assignment during the second week of class.
- U.S. Foreign Policy. By the end of the semester, participants will have a solid understanding of the patterns of political and economic performance in Africa and a deeper awareness of the challenges faced by Liberia and Uganda. In lieu of a final exam, working in two groups, seminar participants will be responsible for developing diplomatic strategies for the US government (informed by what we have learned in this course) to advance the prospects for peace, stability, and growth in Liberia and Uganda. The two groups will produce a written document, incorporating individual papers from the contributors, and prepare an oral briefing to be given during exam week to a former senior policymaker from the US government.

Requirements

This class is a freshman seminar in the Stanford Introductory Seminar series. It will be a demanding course: the reading, writing, and participation requirements are considerable. For the seminar to function properly, students must come well prepared for class and play an active role in discussion.

The requirements are:

1. Reading the assignments and *active* participation in class discussions (30%). To participate fully, you will need to do all the required reading before class. In seminar, I will expect each of you to make comments that reflect your understanding of what we have read; to support your comments with evidence and reasoning; to challenge the arguments of others while respecting their opinions; and to ask questions.

In order to prompt your thinking, you are expected to send me an email once a week. Your message should include two components. You should first list any terms, arguments, or issues you find confusing in the reading that you would like clarified in seminar discussion. You should also identify an argument that you disagree with and provide your reasoning, and some evidence, if possible. This email should be in my in-box by Monday morning at 9:00AM.

2. Two 3-5-page (double spaced) analytical papers completed during the semester (30%). As a freshman seminar, this course aims to give you experience and practice in reading and working through detailed arguments and evaluating them in light of

empirical evidence. These analytical papers are response papers: your opportunity to demonstrate that you have read, understood, and can cogently evaluate and challenge the arguments put forward by the authors assigned in this course. The task for these papers is straightforward: to take the arguments developed in macro-perspective and analyze them in light of the country experience of either Liberia or Uganda. Often, what is assigned for the course will provide you with sufficient evidence to explore the rival explanations articulated based on aggregate data. Sometimes, you will need to obtain additional sources in preparing your paper. In the weeks that you choose to write, your analytical papers are due to me by Wednesday morning at 9:00AM.

3. Active participation in the organization of the public education event (10%). I fully expect this activity to involve every member of the seminar: from conceptualizing the event to running it on the day it happens. This is your opportunity to learn how to make an event happen on the Stanford campus. A single summary report, detailing the rationale, context, logistics, and outreach efforts for the event must be submitted by the entire class (think of it as a proposal).
4. Successful completion of the written and oral component of the final project (30%). Guidelines for this assignment will be handed out at the mid-point of the quarter. The written project and oral presentation will be due the week of December 6.

Policies

I hope that this course will stimulate your interest (perhaps, a life-long interest) in the challenges of the African continent. It also aims to help you develop a variety of skills and competencies useful both in college and after. For this reason, it combines a substantial reading load with a variety of assignments: from analytical papers to public education and policy analysis.

But it also requires that you manage your time well, keeping track of the assigned readings, the regular email requirement, your two analytical papers, and the group projects. Learning to manage your time effectively is a critical part of making the most of your time at Stanford. Pay attention to the syllabus and keep in mind that extensions for assignments will NOT be granted.

Readings and Resources

A number of the books that we will use have been ordered and are available at the Stanford bookstore. They are listed below. The course readings are available on-line on the course website.

Bates, Robert H. 1981. *Markets and States in Tropical Africa: The Political Basis of Agricultural Policies*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bratton, Michael and Nicolas Van de Walle. 1997. *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Easterly, William. 2001. *The Elusive Quest for Growth: Economists' Adventures and Misadventures in the Tropics*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Ellis, Stephen. 1999. *The Mask of Anarchy*. New York: NYU Press.

Isegawa, Moses. 2000. *Abyssinian Chronicles*. London: Picador.

Reader, John. 1997. *Africa: A Biography of the Continent*. New York: Vintage Books.

Van de Walle, Nicolas. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

I also encourage you to make use of a diversity of resources to keep up with the day-to-day politics of the continent and the material covered in this course. You can get regular updates of African news from:

- <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/default.stm>
- <http://allafrica.com/>
- <http://www.africanews.org/>

A number of universities, including Stanford, have excellent on-line resources for Africa. Check out:

- <http://www-sul.stanford.edu/depts/ssrg/africa/guide.html>
- http://www.sas.upenn.edu/African_Studies/AS.html
- <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/africa/cuvl/>

Topics

Week One: Introduction to African Politics

Macro-Perspectives (September 25)

Chazan, Naomi. 1999. The Diversity of African Politics: Trends and Approaches. In Naomi Chazan (ed.), *Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers. pp. 5-34.

The Economist. 2000. The Heart of the Matter.

Kaplan, Robert D. 1994. The Coming Anarchy. *The Atlantic Monthly* 273 (2).

Personal Perspectives (September 27)

Isegawa, Moses. 2000. *Abyssinian Chronicles*. London: Picador. pp. 283-364.

Berkeley, Bill. 2002. *The Graves Are Not Yet Full: Race, Tribe, and Power in the Heart of Africa*. Basic Books: New York. Prologue, introduction, chapter 1, pp. 226-243.

Week Two: Colonialism and Its Legacies

Macro-Perspectives (October 2)

Cooper, Frederick. 2002. *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 38-65.

Crowder, Michael. 1964. Indirect Rule: French and British Style in Martin A. Klein and G. Wesley Johnson (eds.). 1972. *Perspectives on the African Past*. Boston: Little Brown and Company. pp. 358-369.

Reader, John. 1997. *Africa: A Biography of the Continent*. New York: Vintage Books. pp. 525-549, 579-607.

Mamdani, Mahmood. 1996. *Citizen and Subject*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. pp. 3-8, 16-27.

Liberia and Uganda: The Colonial Period (October 4)

Clegg, Claude. 2004. *The Price of Liberty: African Americans and the Making of Liberia*. Chapel Hill: UNC Press. pp. 77-129, 201-249.

Two Black Views on Liberia. New York: The New York Times. pp. 9-12, 29-35, 37-42, 56-61.

Mamdani, Mahmood. 1983. *Imperialism and Fascism in Uganda*. London: Heinemann. pp. 3-16.

Karugire, Samwiri. 1980. *A Political History of Uganda*. London: Heinemann. pp. 122-143.

Colonial Documents Assignment Handed Out in Class.

Week Three: The African State

Patrimonialism, Personalism, and Rent-Seeking (October 9)

Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. pp. 11-31.

Jackson, Robert and Carl Rosberg. 1982. Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and Juridical in Statehood. *World Politics* 35(1). pp. 1-24.

Bratton, Michael and Nicolas Van de Walle. 1997. *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 61-82.

Liberia and Uganda: State Power (October 11)

Isegawa, Moses. 2004. *Snakepit*. New York: Knopf. pp. 1-94, 97-200.

Karugire, Samwiri. 1988. *The Roots of Instability in Uganda*. Kampala: The New Vision. pp. 30-48.

Clapham, Christopher. 1976. *Liberia and Sierra Leone: An Essay in Comparative Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 33-70.

Sawyer, Amos. 2005. *Beyond Plunder*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner. pp. 11-21.

Week Four: Ethnicity and Politics

Origins and Importance (October 16)

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

Melson, Robert and Howard Wolpe. 1970. Modernization and the Politics of Communalism: A Theoretical Perspective. *The American Political Science Review* 64(4). pp. 1112-1130.

Posner, Daniel N. 2003. The Colonial Origins of Ethnic Cleavages: The Case of Linguistic Divisions in Zambia. *Comparative Politics* 35(2). pp. 127-146.

Liberia and Uganda (October 18)

Clapham, Christopher. 1976. *Liberia and Sierra Leone: An Essay in Comparative Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 17-32.

Ellis, Stephen. 1999. *The Mask of Anarchy*. New York: NYU Press. pp. 31-74.

Kasfir, Nelson. 1979. Explaining Ethnic Political Participation. *World Politics*. pp. 365-388.

Kasfir, Nelson. 1976. *The Shrinking Political Arena: Participation and Ethnicity in African Politics With a Case Study of Uganda*. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 119-152.

Otunnu, Olara. 2006. The Secret Genocide. *Foreign Policy* (July/August 2006).

Week Five: Economic Stagnation and Decline

Patterns of Economic Performance (October 23)

Bates, Robert H. 1981. *Markets and States in Tropical Africa: The Political Basis of Agricultural Policies*. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 11-29, 81-95.

Collier, Paul and Jan Willem Gunning. 1999. Why Has Africa Grown Slowly? *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 13(3). pp. 3-22.

Easterly, William and Ross Levine. 1997. Africa's Growth Tragedy: Policies and Ethnic Divisions. *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112(4). pp. 1203-07, 1213-1223.

Liberia and Uganda: Economic Performance (October 25)

Ellis, Stephen. 1999. *The Mask of Anarchy*. New York: NYU Press. pp. 191-219.

Hansen, Holger Berndt and Michael Twaddle. 1988. *Uganda Now: Between Decay and Development*. London: James Currey. pp. 27-82.

Week Six: The Politics of Economic Reform

State Policies (October 30)

Van de Walle, Nicolas. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 20-63.

Scott, James. 1999. *Seeing Like a State*. New Haven: Yale University Press. pp. 223-247.

Easterly, William. 2001. *The Elusive Quest for Growth: Economists' Adventures and Misadventures in the Tropics*. Cambridge: The MIT Press. pp. 1-20, 101-120.

Liberia and Uganda: Attempts at Reform (November 1)

Hansen, Holger Berndt and Michael Twaddle. 1988. *Changing Uganda: The Dilemmas of Structural Adjustment and Revolutionary Change*. London: James Currey. pp. 20-78.

Collier, Paul. 1999. *The Challenge of Ugandan Reconstruction, 1986-1998*. Washington: The World Bank.

Reno, William. 1998. *Warlord Politics and African States*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. pp. 79-111.

Week Seven: Forms of Political Change

Transitions (November 6)

Bratton, Michael and Nicolas Van de Walle. 1997. *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 19-48.

Widner, Jennifer A. 1994. Political Reform in Anglophone and Francophone African Countries. In Jennifer A. Widner (ed.), *Economic Change and Political Liberalization in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. pp. 49-57.

Wood, Elisabeth. 2000. *Forging Transitions from Below: Insurgent Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 3-19.

McGowan, Patrick J. 2003. African military coup d'état, 1956-2001: frequency, trends, and distribution. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 41 (3), pp. 339-343, Table 2, Figures 1-2.

Mattes, Robert and Michael Bratton. 2003. *Learning about Democracy in Africa: Awareness, Performance, and Experience* (Paper #31). pp. 2-6, 14-16.

Liberia and Uganda: Pressure from Below (November 8)

Ellis, Stephen. 1999. *The Mask of Anarchy*. New York: NYU Press. pp. 75-150.

Harris, David. 1999. From 'warlord' to 'democratic' president: how Charles Taylor won the 1997 elections. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 37 (3). pp. 431-455.

Ori Amaza, Ondoga. 1998. *Museveni's Long March from Guerrilla to Statesmen*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers. pp. 39-53.

Kasfir, Nelson. 1998. "No-party Democracy in Uganda." *Journal of Democracy* 9 (2). pp. 49-63.

Oloka-Onyango, Joseph. 2004. "New-Breed" Leadership, Conflict, and Reconstruction in the Great Lakes Region of Africa. *Africa Today* 50 (3). pp. 29-52.

Week Eight: State Collapse and Violence

Democracy in Trouble (November 13)

Ottaway, Marina. 2003. *Democracy Challenged: The Rise of Semi-Authoritarianism*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment. pp. 3-29.

Reno, William. 1998. *Warlord Politics and African States*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. pp. 15-28.

Chua, Amy. 2002. *World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability*. New York: Doubleday. pp. 1-23.

The Turn to Conflict (November 15)

Fearon, James and David Laitin. 2003. Ethnicity, insurgency, and civil war. *American Political Science Review* 91 (1), pp. 75-82.

Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. Greed and grievance in civil wars. *Oxford Economic Papers*, forthcoming. pp. 2-12.

Harff, Barbara. 2003. No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955. *American Political Science Review* 97 (1), pp. 57-65.

Stewart, Frances. 2000. Crisis Prevention: Tackling Horizontal Inequalities. *Oxford Development Studies* 28 (3), pp. 245-262.

Week Nine: Opposition from the Inside

Liberia and Uganda (November 27)

International Crisis Group. 2003. *Liberia: Unraveling*. Washington: ICG.

Hoffman, Danny. 2004. The civilian target in Sierra Leone and Liberia: Political power, military strategy, and humanitarian intervention. *African Affairs* 103 (411). pp. 211-226.

Doom, Rudy and Koen Vlassenroot. 1999. Kony's Message: A New Koine? The Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda. *African Affairs* 98. pp. 5-36.

Clark, John. 2002. *The African Stakes of the Congo War*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 1-13, 145-169.

Week Ten: Africa's Future

International Involvement (November 29)

Easterly, William. 2001. *The Elusive Quest for Growth: Economists' Adventures and Misadventures in the Tropics*. Cambridge: The MIT Press. p. 255-281.

Fukuyama, Francis. 2004. State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Chapter 1.

Carothers, Thomas. 1999. *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment. pp. 331-353.

Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. pp. 251-272.

Liberia and Uganda: The Challenges Ahead (December 4)

Comprehensive peace agreement between the Government of Liberia and LURD, MODEL, and Political Parties. 2003.

http://www.usip.org/library/pa/liberia/liberia_08182003_toc.html

International Crisis Group. 2005. *Liberia's Elections: Necessary but Not Sufficient*. Washington: ICG. <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1237&l=1>

International Crisis Group. 2004. *Northern Uganda: Understanding and Solving the Conflict*. Washington: ICG. <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=2588&l=1>

Human Rights Watch. 2004. *State of Pain: Torture in Uganda*. New York: Human Rights Watch. <http://hrw.org/reports/2004/uganda0404/>

Final Presentations (December 6)