

John Carroll University
Political Science 332(51): African Politics
Course Syllabus, Fall 2015
Designations: Core Course Division III, International (R)

Instructor: Jen Ziemke

Wed: 6:30p-9:15p

Room: DE 240

Office Hours: Wednesdays, 12:30p-6:30p, or by appointment, in Room AD B06

Course Objectives

Fifty-four distinct, diverse and fascinating countries comprise the continent of Africa. This course aims to generate or further your intellectual curiosity about the nature of politics, culture, and life in Africa. We will begin by examining the nature of the modern state and its relationship to the colonial state. Turning to some of the giants of this literature for insight, we will learn about key concepts and theories that help inform our discussions, answer questions and fully engage puzzles. This course values the close examination of particular cases and as such will focus on specific countries as a mechanism for understanding broader course themes, such as: the nature of the modern African state, determinants of conflict and peace, democracy and one party rule, neopatrimonialism, food security, and the role of civil society. You will also have the opportunity to apply these themes to a country of your choice that you will closely follow over the course of the semester as a Country Expert. I anticipate a class that values active participation and engagement in topics, critical thinking, debate, and open forum. I look forward to learning together with you.

Situating the Course within JCU's Institutional Learning Goals:

Despite the fact that this course regularly interfaces with **all** of John Carroll's Institutional Learning Goals, this course demonstrates most especially those emphasized below:

- Demonstrate an integrative knowledge of human and natural worlds
- Apply creative and innovative thinking
- Develop habits of critical analysis and aesthetic appreciation
- Act competently in a global and diverse world
- Communicate skillfully using multiple forms of expression

Core Requirements:

Because this course directly speaks to many of JCU's institutional learning goals, this course meets both Division III and International (S) requirements for the core curriculum.

Situating the Course within The Department of Political Science:

This course is required for Political Science majors because it meets a significant portion of the Department's express goals for your education, most especially those sections emphasized below:

- Students will know have knowledge of the major fields of political science: American, **Comparative, International Relations**, Theory, and Methods.
 - **African Politics** incorporates theories from both Comparative Politics and International Relations.
- Students will be able to demonstrate academic and intellectual skills: critical analysis; academic writing; and oral communication.
- Students will be engaged in and aware of global politics.
- Students will be prepared, according to interest, for graduate programs or careers in public service, or international service.

Course Objectives & Demonstration of Learning Outcomes:

Therefore, aligning both institutional, core and department goals with the goals of the course, this course expressly seeks to impart “knowledge of International Relations & Comparative Politics as one of the major fields of political science” by:

- Introducing you & deepening your understanding and interest in the field of African Politics, including core (and contested) concepts like sovereignty, the state, and national self-determination. The course then outlines the problems posed by the modern contemporary state, given colonial and pre-colonial legacies, the challenges of institution building, and raises puzzles about the divergent trajectories of the modern African state.
- Building on a broad historical understanding of several African conflicts in the past 20 years, including the genocide in Rwanda, we can more ably explain recent and current conflicts, including the situation in eastern Congo, Rwanda, Uganda, and Burundi today.
- Applying a similar lens to contemporary conflicts, we seek to explain the creation of the state in S. Sudan, the ongoing crisis there, and compare this case with the Western Sahara, raising questions about juridical and empirical sovereignty.
- Given the US government's interest in countering Islamic insurgency, we will also discuss the war in Somalia, US alliances with Ethiopia, Kenya & Uganda, among others, as well as counter-AQIM missions in the Maghreb.
- The course material is presented assuming no prior knowledge of the subject and the course is taught at an introductory level. **That said, the real-world concepts and challenges discussed in this course constitute some of the most complex, important and truly “wicked” problems of our time.** This is the nature of the world we have and not because your professor deliberately wants to make the class challenging.

By the end of the course, students passing the course will demonstrate:

- **“An integrative knowledge of human and natural worlds” by:**
 - Becoming even more confused about the state of international affairs, and Africa’s role in the system, because they will have learned to embrace all sides of the hard questions head-on, particularly the unpleasant feeling of deep cognitive dissonance and confusion, signals of intellectual growth and learning.

By the end of the course, students passing the course will demonstrate:

- **They are “developing habits of critical analysis”**
 - This is the central theme in all of the social sciences. All content, exams, and discussions implicitly revolve around this goal.
 - See especially: **Reflection Paper 2: Patrice Lumumba’s Congo** and the **Country Expert Paper**
- **The ability to “Act competently in a global and diverse world”**
 - See especially the **Country Expert Assignment** described below, which encourages students to develop a travel itinerary for clients, to encourage them to visit their selected country.
 - Students will have read several articles and engaged in course discussions expressly related to this point.
 - See also: **Reflection Paper 1: The Danger of the Single Story**
- **They are able to “Communicate skillfully using multiple forms of expression” because they have:**
 - Written quality papers, engaging multiple viewpoints (as described in “Evaluation Standards” below)
 - Engaged in daily class discussion
 - Presented their work on their selected country, as indicated by the **Country Expert Assignment & Presentation**
- **They are “Engaged in and aware of global politics” because they:**
 - Read or listened to major national and international news sources at least three times per week over the course of the semester, as described in the requirements below.
 - Were prepared to answer questions on current events about their country and the region
 - Engaged debates at the nexus of theory in practice in class.
- **That they are better “prepared for a career in public service,” because:**
 - Listened to anecdotal reflections about engagement with USAID, State, DOD, various agencies and bodies within the UN and many other national and international organizations, as well as experience on the ground.

Required Books

Pierre Engelbert & Kevin C. Dunn. *Inside African Politics*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder & London, 2013.

Other readings mentioned in the syllabus are available online here:

<http://jenziemke.wordpress.com/other-course-materials/>. You will also be required to read any additional handouts distributed in class.

Evaluation Standards

5% Class Participation, attendance, and in-class assignments, including a **2-point assignment, “What I Learned about my 2 new friends”** due: September 16

10% **Reflection Paper 1: The Danger of the Single Story**. Due: September 16

10% **Map Quiz**: September 23

5% **Reflection Paper 2: Patrice Lumumba’s Congo**. Due: September 30

25% **Country Expert Assignment & Presentation (Due on your Individually Scheduled Date)**

25% **Country Expert Paper: due Wednesday, December 16, at the very latest, by hardcopy**

20% **Comprehensive Final Exam: 6pm, Wednesday, December 16, in the usual classroom.**

Grading Scale

A	93 – 100
A-	90 – 92
B+	88 – 89
B	83 – 87
B-	80 – 82
C+	78 – 79
C	73 – 77
C-	70 – 72
D+	68 – 69
D	63 – 67
D-	60 – 62
F	59 and below

Reflection Paper #1: The Danger of the Single Story & Encountering the Other: a reflection. Thoughtfully reflect upon both sources, letting both of them “speak” and engage one another.. What did you learn about yourself and your own thinking from these materials? How can these lessons help you put in context the many negative stories of Africa in the media [and in this syllabus]? **Due September 16.**

Map Quiz: September 23

For the map quiz you will identify a selection of African countries on the map. To practice, visit <http://www.lizardpoint.com/fun/geoquiz/afquiz.html> and take the online quiz.

Reflection Paper #2: Reflect on Raoul Peck’s Film, Lumumba and what you learned about the Congo & Colonialism from the film, as well as the nature of foreign involvement in the post-colonial moment. **Due: September 30.**

Country Expert Assignment & Presentation: Select any African country, and sign up on the

sheet. (Each person must select a unique country in the class). As a tour guide operator to this country, create a presentation enticing would-be travelers to join you on your epic journey.

Present your travel itinerary to the rest of the course, using powerpoints, and plenty of photographic and/or video evidence, in order to entice us to join you. You may also create a brochure, if you wish. We will be asking plenty of questions (See the guide below), so be ready to answer them!

- **You need to select at least five distinct places for us to visit on our 10 day journey.**
- Before you begin Consider: What are the tourist activities in the country?
- Which path or journey do you anticipate will make most sense for us? How will we move around? (Bus, train, plane?)

A full travel itinerary should include, for example:

- A. A schedule for some time in an **urban area**, the capital, or other important place.
 - Elaborate the specific activities we will do during the day and the evening for our time in that place. Is there a national museum, historical site, or other “must see” here? What will we do first, second? Be sure to budget down time and travel time.
 - We would like to visit the largest shopping area, or mall - please arrange this. Is there a large supermarket in the capital city so we can obtain some supplies? What will we find at this mall?
 - We would like to stay in four or five star accommodation, if available in this area, provide us with details... We will take the **best available accommodations**. What is the price? Will the hotel come with food? Can we eat the food? Can we drink the water?
- Jen will need an espresso or coffee in the morning. Can you identify a boutique cafe or starbucks or something to keep her going during the day?
- In the evening, Jen likes to listen to music, preferably local but modern, or blended. Are there any rap, hip-hop, reggae, rock, punk, etc influences and clubs? Can you show me a clip or a video, giving me a sense of our evening activities? She is also interested in traditional or older forms of entertainment, or local activities that folks enjoy.
- B. Now we want to spend some time in an area known for its **environmental splendor, such as: good beaches, climbing mountains, historical ruins, or other... somewhere away from the capital city**. Is the area mountainous, forested, desert?
 - Where will we stay, as above?
 - What do we need to bring for this part of the journey?
- C. If possible, we would also like to see some **wildlife**. (Safari or the equivalent) What are the accommodations? Where will we go? Will it be overrun by tourists? (if so, maybe consider a different, more off-the-beaten track destination?)
- D. **Off the Beaten Track/Peace Corps Sampler:**
 - In this area, we would like to stay in budget accommodation. We are out of money ... We are happy to tent camp or sleep on someone’s floor.
 - What will we be able to eat and drink in this location and how will we obtain it?
 - Will we need mosquito nets, or prophylaxis?
- E. Now we want to enjoy life like a local, in a place of your choice. Tell us:

- What is the typical food (an example) we can expect to sample?
- Typical must-try beverage?
- What games do locals enjoy playing, perhaps we can join them? Board games or ball games?
- Finally, you need to be prepared for questions about your country. And honest in your responses. Questions might include:
 - How many ethnic groups and languages are spoken?
 - Is it a democracy, autocracy, mixed regime, failed state?
 - What is the nature of its colonial past and transition to independence?
 - Who are the first important major leaders of the country, at independence, and what was the nature of their rule?

All of this matters, because we want to know:

- What is the nature of security in the place? We are very nervous and concerned for our safety. We may ask questions like: Do we have to worry about Ebola? Is there unrest or conflict, and, if so, what is the nature of the conflict? Is it localized (confined to one region), or widespread? Do we have to worry about the potential for terrorism to strike? If so, what areas seem to be at greatest risk? Are any regions at risk of breaking away, or any secessionist movements, in recent history or currently?
- We will want to know how can we mitigate our concerns? Do we need to hire a private guard? Please build this into your talk.
- If you are a brave tourist operator in a failed state or a conflict state, this will constitute the majority of your work and discussion in your paper.
- You have connections with UNHCR, UNICEF, WFP and others. So if your clients want to know whether there are any refugee camps, could you identify them on a map?
- Not everything is rosy, in life. So, what do we have to be worried about? Excited about?
- How much will the airfare cost? Are visas or other documents required for travel? What books, articles, or websites do you recommend reading about the country to prepare us for the trip?

****Be sure to include a basic handout for all of us, with some of the most important information included that we need to know****

Country Paper: Due by the time of the final exam at the latest (by hardcopy)- 25% of final grade.

You presented your travel itinerary to the class as described above. Now show that you have an incredibly solid, nuanced understanding of the **history, politics, and security environment** for

the country for which you are a travel guide.

Begin with a very BRIEF overview of the country. How many ethnic groups and languages are spoken? What is the regime type? What is the nature of its colonial past and transition to independence?

Now, focus the remainder (and vast majority) of the paper on **security concerns** in your country. Is there unrest or conflict, and, if so, what is the nature of the conflict? Is it localized (confined to one region), or widespread? Do we have to worry about the potential for terrorism to strike? If so, what areas seem to be at greatest risk? Are any regions at risk of breaking away, or any secessionist movements, in recent history or currently?

In other words, answer the following question:

What is the **primary nature of contention in the country you selected?** What factors best explain these dynamics? Ethnic or racial divides? Resources, poverty or endowments? Geographic factors? The colonial legacy? State institutions? Individual agents? Something else? Be sure to make one strong argument and back it with evidence. Provide sufficient relevant background into the country you selected such that an intelligent reader not familiar with your country could understand what you write.

Attendance Policy

From the Undergraduate Bulletin: “Students are expected to attend each and every scheduled meeting of all courses in which they are enrolled and to be present for the full class period. Absenteeism and tardiness, regardless of cause, are a threat to academic achievement.” If you are absent for a class it is your responsibility to make sure to obtain all of the information relayed in that class related to assignments, exams, and course material. Please first contact other students in the course and your study buddy before speaking with me. I do not give out course notes or slides to students who missed a class.

Midterm and Final Exam Policy

Under normal circumstances, students must be present at the midterm and final exam and should make every effort to do so. Please contact me as soon as possible in the event that an emergency makes it impossible for you to take the exam. I will negotiate with each student on an individual basis the terms for making up a missed test, and any associated penalties.

Attendance

The Undergraduate Bulletin states: “Students are expected to attend each and every scheduled meeting of all courses in which they are enrolled and to be present for the full class period. Absenteeism and tardiness, regardless of cause, are a threat to academic achievement.” If you are absent for a class it is your responsibility to make sure to obtain all of the information relayed in that class related to assignments, exams, and course material. Please first contact other students in the course and your study buddy before speaking with me. I do not distribute course notes or slides to students who missed a class. You should know that excessive absences strongly correlate with poor performance on exams and papers. Of course, excessive absences will also negatively affect your class participation grade. Furthermore, an unannounced quiz or graded in-class activity may occur at any time. I do not allow make-ups for quizzes or in-class activities.

Documentation and Accommodation of Disabilities

In accordance with federal law, if you have a documented disability (learning, psychological, sensory, physical, or medical) you may be eligible to request accommodations from the Office of Services for Students with Disabilities (SSD). To make a request for accommodations, please contact SSD Director Allison West at (216) 397-4967 or visit the SSD office, located in Room 7A, on the garden (lower) level of the Administration Building. Please keep in mind that accommodations are not retroactive so it is best to register with SSD at the beginning of each semester. Only those accommodations approved by SSD will be recognized by your instructors. Please contact SSD if you have further questions.

Academic Honesty

For the full JCU policy on academic honesty, please refer to the 2015-2017 [Undergraduate Bulletin](#). Academic honesty, expected of every student, is essential to the process of education and to upholding high ethical standards. Cheating, including plagiarism, inappropriate use of technology, or any other kind of unethical behavior, may subject the student to severe academic penalties, including dismissal.

Syllabus Statement on Discrimination, Sexual Harassment and Bias

John Carroll University is committed to fostering a learning and working environment based upon open communication, mutual respect, and ethical and moral values consistent with Jesuit and Catholic traditions. The University seeks to provide an environment that is free of bias, discrimination, and harassment, including sexual harassment. If you have experienced sexual harassment/assault/misconduct based upon gender/sex/sexual orientation, and you share this with a faculty member, the faculty member must notify the Title IX Coordinator, Kendra Svilar, J.D., who will discuss options with you. She can be reached by email at ksvilar@jcu.edu or (216) 397-1559. For more information about your options and resources, please go to <http://sites.jcu.edu/hr/pages/resourcespolicies/title-ix/>. If you have experienced bias or discrimination based on race, age, sex*, sexual orientation*, religion, ethnic or national origin, disability, military or veteran status, genetic information or any factor protected by law, you are encouraged to report this via the Bias Reporting System at <http://sites.jcu.edu/bias> to Dr. Terry Mills, Assistant Provost for Diversity and Inclusion, or at tmills@jcu.edu, or (216) 397-4455. For more information about the University commitment to diversity and inclusion, please see <http://sites.jcu.edu/diversity>.

*You can report concerns anonymously through the Bias Reporting System.

Course Timeline (Subject to Change)

Week 1, September 2: Pre-Colonial & Colonial Legacies. The incredible variation on top of variation inside a vast continent.

Read: *Inside African Politics*, Chapter 1: Why Study African Politics?

Read: Ryszard Kapuscinski, [Encountering The Other](#).

View: [The Danger of A Single Story](#)

Read: Jonathan Kalan. "[Africa Not Fit for Print: The 'Light' side of a 'Dark' Continent](#)," Huffington Post. January 12, 2012.

Week 2, September 9: Colonialism & Independence, Understanding implications for the DRC today, Part I.

View Film: [Lumumba](#)

Read: Stephen R. Weismann. [What Really Happened in Congo: The CIA, the Murder of Lumumba, & the Rise of Mobutu](#). *Foreign Affairs*. July/August 2014.

Read: *Inside African Politics*, Chapter 2: The Evolution of African States.

Read: Goodwell Nzou. [In Zimbabwe, We Don't Cry for Lions](#). *The New York Times*. August 4, 2015.

Week 3, September 16: Liberation movements & Independence. Challenges of state building & neopatrimonialism

"What I Learned About My 2 New Friends" Assignment Due.

"The Danger of the Single Story" Reflection Due.

Read: *Inside African Politics*, Chapter 3: People, Identity & Politics

Read: Crawford Young. A Half Century of Independence: Three Cycles of Hope & Disappointment. 2012. ***

Read: Peter Ekeh, [Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement](#) *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 17(1): 1995.

Read: Linda J. Beck. [Democratization & The Hidden Public: The Impact of Patronage Networks on Senegalese Women](#). *Comparative Politics*. January 2003.

Week 4, September 23: Democratization movements & reversals. Coups d'état.

MAP QUIZ

Read: *Inside African Politics*, Chapter 4: The Practice of Power

Read: Aili Tripp. "[Women in Movement: Transformations in African Political Landscapes](#)," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 5(2): July 2003.

Read: Philip Gourevitch. [Comment: Coming to Terms](#). *The New Yorker*. June 22, 2015.

Read: [2015: Elections in Africa](#). *Africa Research Institute*. August 15, 2015.

Week 5, September 30: A Typology of Regimes and Observed Outcomes I: Democratic Consolidation & Contestation: Botswana, South Africa, Ghana, & Senegal

Reflection Paper on Patrice Lumumba's Congo DUE

Read: *Inside African Politics*, Chapter 5: An Increasing Range of Regimes

Read: Scott Straus. "Retreating from the Brink in Cote D'Ivoire," in *Making & Unmaking Nations: War, Leadership & Genocide in Modern Africa*. 2015. **

Select 2 recent papers to read via: www.afrobarometer.org/

Week 6, October 7: Urban vs. Rural in Comparative Perspective. Repressive Regimes, featuring Forced Evictions, Disappearances, & Human Rights Violations: Eritrea.

Student Presentation: Nigeria. Conflict and Contention in Nigeria.

Lecture: Ghana and Senegal, Democracy in Comparative Perspective.

Read: [They Will Say We Are Not Here](#), *New York Times*. Jan 25, 2012.

Read: Frank Mugisha. [Gay and Vilified in Uganda](#). *The New York Times*. December 22, 2011.

Read: Abraham T. Zere. [‘If we don’t give them a voice, no one will’: Eritrea’s forgotten journalists, still jailed after 14 years](#). *The Guardian*. August 19, 2015.

Read: Robert George & Thomas Reese. [Is Eritrea the North Korea of Africa?](#) *The Christian Science Monitor*. August 18, 2015.

Week 7, October 14: Conflicts I: Genocide in Rwanda, Violence in Eastern Congo. DRC, Burundi & Rwanda Today

Student Presentation: Kenya.

Read: *Inside African Politics*, Chapter 7: The Shifting Landscape of Conflict & Security

Read: Machete Season (excerpt) Jean-Baptiste Murangira, as told to Jean Hatzfeld. (Hardcopy)

Read: Samantha Power, [“Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen,”](#) *Atlantic Monthly*: September 2001.

Read: Mark Santora. [As Burundians Vote in Presidential Election, Many Are Afraid to Pick a Side](#). *The New York Times*. July 21, 2015.

Read: Désiré Nimubona. [Burundi Diary: Inauguration Day](#). *IRIN Africa*. August 20, 2015.

Read: Daniel N. Posner, [“The political salience of cultural difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are allies in Zambia and adversaries in Malawi”](#) *American Political Science Review*, 98, 4 (November 2004), pp. 529-545

Read: Michael C. Brown. [Why Not Us Women?](#) *The New York Times*. February 18, 2015.

View: [Conflict Minerals, Rebels & Child Soldiers in Congo](#). *Vice News*. May 2012.

Week 8, October 21: Regional Geopolitics inside hybrid regimes: Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, AFRICOM, and the war on terror from Somalia to the Maghreb. LRA.

View: [Kony2012](#)

Read: Andrew Mwenda. [Lessons From Kony2012](#). *The Independent* (Uganda): March 30 2012.

Read: Angelo Izama. [Kony is Not the Problem](#). *The New York Times*. March 20, 2012.

Read: Xan Rice. [Now Serving: Terrorists keep targeting a Mogadishu chef’s restaurants, but he won’t shut down](#). *The New Yorker*. September 30, 2013.

Week 9, October 28: Contested Spaces, Sovereignty, New States & Conflict Legacies. Western Sahara, & South Sudan...

Read & View: [Special Feature: Forgotten Conflicts. Part I. South Kordofan](#). *IRIN News*.

Read: [International Community Enabled South Sudanese corruption](#). *Al Jazeera*. April 12, 2015.

Read: Jenn Abelson. [Western Sahara: Why Africa’s last colony can’t break free](#). *Boston Globe*. June 16, 2013.

Read: David Conrad. [Nowhere Land: After 40 years of fighting in the desert for their unrecognized country, the people of Western Sahara may be on the cusp of collapsing into extremism - and it could be the thing that saves them](#). *Foreign Policy*. June 25, 2014.

Week 10, November 4: The Arab Spring Devolves into Winter: Libya, Egypt, & Tunisia in Comparative Perspective.

Read: Alan J. Kuperman. [“Obama’s Libya Debacle: How a Well-Meaning Intervention Ended in Failure.”](#) *Foreign Affairs*: March/April 2015.

Week 11, November 11: Africa in the World: African Union, International Criminal Court

Read: *Inside African Politics*, Chapter 8: International Relations Near and Far.

Read: [A Milestone for Justice in Africa](#). The Editorial Board, *New York Times*. July 22, 2015.
Read: [Amnesty or Prosecution for War Criminals?](#) IRIN Africa. 17 May 2012.
Read: Luis Moreno-Ocampo. [Let Sudan's President Come to New York. Then Arrest Him](#). *The New York Times*. August 24, 2015.
Read: Marlise Simons. [Former Leader of Chad Hauled Into Court As Trial Resumes](#). *The New York Times*. Sept 7, 2015.

Week 12, November 18: Political Economy

Read: *Inside African Politics*, Chapter 6: The Economic Dimensions of African Politics.
Read: Daniel Bergner. [Can Coffee Kick-Start an Economy?](#) *New York Times*. April 6, 2012.
Read: Howard French. [The Plunder of Africa: How Everybody Holds the Continent Back](#). *Foreign Affairs*. July/August 2015.
Read: Alexis Adele. [The Lost Childhoods Behind Our Chocolate](#). *IRIN Africa*. August 25, 2015.

Week 13, November 25: No Classes This Week, Happy Thanksgiving!

Week 14, December 2: Civil Society, New Media & Technology: Uganda/Kenya

Read: [Writing an SMS can save lives in Northern Uganda](#). ACTED. September 16, 2010.
Read: G. Pascal Zachary. [Fertile Ground in Africa for Science to Take Root](#). *New York Times*: December 5, 2011.
Read: [Makerere Fights Crop Disease With Cell-Phones](#). *New Vision*: November 23, 2011.

Week 15, December 9: Obama & Africa

Read & Watch Video: Peter Baker. '[Nobody Should Be President For Life,](#)' Obama Tells Africa. *The New York Times*. July 28, 2015.
Read: Nicolas van de Walle. [Obama and Africa: Lots of Hope, Not Much Change](#). *Foreign Affairs*. Sept/Oct 2015.

Comprehensive Final Exam: 6pm, Wednesday, December 16, in the usual classroom
Final Paper Due anytime, but at the latest, by the time of the final exam, and by hardcopy

The test of a first-rate intelligence is the ability to hold two opposed ideas in mind at the same time and still retain the ability to function. -- F. Scott Fitzgerald