AFRICAN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

A. Course Aims:
The purpose of this course (previously numbered PS 362) is to provide students with an intensive introduction to the broad structures and processes of international politics and foreign policy in Africa. Although we shall pay some attention to historical legacies of both the precolonial and colonial periods, the course will emphasize many of the major themes and patterns that have characterized African international relations since independence in 1960, and especially the more recent events that have shaped African international relations since the end of the Cold War. Among these are the interventions of both African and external powers in crisis situations; the pervasive legacies of the Cold War itself; the constraints that economic dependency and poverty place on the foreign policies of most African states; the increasing prominence of non-state actors (such as nongovernmental organizations, warlords, and rebels of various sorts) in Africa’s international arena; and the role of various continental and regional organizations in the resolution of internal and international conflicts. Throughout the semester we shall also think about how international relations affects ordinary individuals as they go about their daily lives. In addition, we shall consider both how and why many of the behavioral patterns, operational “rules,” and normative assumptions of African international relations prevalent during the first three decades of independence are now in flux. For Africa, as well as for the rest of the world, 1989 was a watershed that altered dramatically many basic and long-accepted tenets of international politics. Old policies and perceptions dissolved as the Cold War came to an end. Analysts are increasingly questioning even fundamental assumptions such as state sovereignty and the “sanctity” of international boundaries. African politicians and political leaders, like our own, are now searching for new ways of maneuvering in an increasingly complex international environment. How these changes will affect future patterns of African international relations will be a subject for continuing discussion throughout the semester. A major goal of this course, therefore, will be to develop a “sense” and a “feel” for these emerging patterns that will stand you in good stead long after the current names and faces have passed from the scene.

B. Course Requirements:
There will be two lectures each week and it is expected that students will attend regularly. “Lecture” should not imply that your questions, comments, and observations are out of order. Far from it. Within the limits imposed by a moderately large class, time, and the necessity of completing the course outline, student participation is actively encouraged for the instructor values dialogue more than monologue. It is thus essential that students do the reading on time (by Wednesday of each week), and appear in class ready to share their questions, thoughts, and observations. Please note that in order to facilitate a friendly and comfortable learning
environment for all, recording devices of any sort will be permitted only with the instructor’s consent. With the same goal in mind, all cell phones, pagers, Ipods, and other such devices should be turned off during our class sessions. Students wishing to use laptops or tablets to take notes may do so, but please observe the following simple rules of etiquette: a) be sure your sound is off at the beginning of class; b) please stay focused on the course: surfing, gaming, or checking out Facebook entries is distracting to those around you; c) please sit in the first two rows; and d) during certain periods laptops may be prohibited (during exams or films, for example), so please respect these limitations on personal electronics.

There will be a mid-term examination on Wednesday, 18 October 2017 as well as a two-hour final examination on Monday, 18 December 2017 starting at 7:45 a.m. (Please note well that since you have been alerted to this unfortunate bit of university scheduling on day one of the semester, and since it has been readily available on the web since last spring, requests to take the final at alternative times because of fear of sorcery, obligations to your “big man,” or winter break travel arrangements will not fall on sympathetic ears.) In addition, undergraduates will submit a 2,500 word (10 typewritten pages) term paper dealing with a contemporary aspect of African international relations. Graduate students (as well as undergraduate honors students) should submit a lengthier, more theoretically focused, paper of 5,000 words (or 20 typewritten pages). Honors students should treat the requirement of a lengthier paper as the “default” option. Other possibilities for fulfilling the honors requirement exist and the instructor will be happy to discuss them with you. All papers are due on Wednesday, 22 November 2017, but will be welcomed earlier. Late papers are a serious “no-no,” and will be penalized severely.

In addition, all students should submit a one-page, typewritten statement of the proposed topic which tentatively indicates some of the sources to be consulted. These paper proposals are due no later than Wednesday, 11 October 2017, but will also be welcomed earlier. Consultations with the instructor will then be arranged for all students desiring, or needing, them. All term paper topics must be approved in this way. Although these paper proposal exercises will not be graded, students failing to submit them will not receive a passing grade. Similarly, all required course work must be submitted to be eligible to receive a passing grade. (Students affiliated with the McBurney Center are warmly and strongly encouraged to see the instructor as soon as possible if they are going to need alternate arrangements.)

Finally, for the purposes of this course, all students should use a university e-mail address. The list address for this course is: polisci455-2-f17@lists.wisc.edu.

C. Grading Criteria:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mid-term</td>
<td>30%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>30%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Final examination</td>
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Where possible, the instructor will reward exceptional cases of sustained, consistent, and intelligent class participation. Borderline cases will also be determined on the basis of class participation.

D. Books:
The following books will be used extensively. In theory, the University Book Store and the reserve reading room of the College Library in Helen C. White Hall should have copies available. They are also all available online from various vendors and many are available as e-books. Please note: it is required that you read these books, not that you buy them.


In the course outline which follows, some readings are required (*); others are recommended (#) for those wishing to pursue a subject further. Required books readings should be on three-hour reserve in the College Library at Helen C. White Hall. In addition, all required articles may be accessed both through Learn@UW and the following web link: [http://faculty.polisci.wisc.edu/schatzberg/ps455](http://faculty.polisci.wisc.edu/schatzberg/ps455). (Throughout the remainder of this syllabus this will be abbreviated as [web].) Some of the recommended articles may also be accessed through other indicated links or directly through MadCat. You may need to access these from a UW email or web address, but the relevant journal articles should then be accessible. To facilitate easy access, I will send electronic copies of this syllabus (in WordPerfect, Word, Adobe pdf, and html) to the classlist. A copy of this syllabus will also be accessible through [web] and Learn@UW.

E. Course Outline and Reading Assignments:

**Week 1 — Organization and Introduction**  
6 September 2017

*General Readings*

Week 2 — Historical Dimensions: Precolonial and Colonial IR

13 September 2017

Pan-Africanism

#Ronald W. Walters, Pan Africanism in the African Diaspora: An Analysis of Modern Afrocentric Political Movements.
#Ibrahim Sundiata, Brothers and Strangers: Black Zion, Black Slavery, 1914-1940.
#David Northrup, Africa’s Discovery of Europe, 1450-1850.
#James C. McCann, Maize and Grace: Africa’s Encounter With a New World Crop, 1500-2000.
#Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann, Reparations to Africa.
Week 3 — Basic Concepts: Systems; “Rules”; Dependency  
20 September 2017


**Boundaries**

#Saadia Touval, *The Boundary Politics of Independent Africa*.

#A. I. Asiwaju and P. O. Adeniyi, eds., *Resolving Boundary Disputes: Multi-Disciplinary and Comparative Focus on Nigeria and West Africa*.

#A. I. Asiwaju, *Artificial Boundaries*.

#A. I. Asiwaju, *Partitioned Africans*.


#Paul Nugent and A.I. Asiwaju, eds., *African Boundaries: Barriers, Conduits and Opportunities*.


#Tekeste Negash and Kjetil Tronvoll, *Brothers at War: Making Sense of the Eritrean-Ethiopian War*.


Week 4 — Foreign Interventions & Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy  
27 September 2017

*Chivvis, *The French War on Al Qa'ida in Africa*, front matter, 1-143.

**Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy**

#Gilbert M. Khadiagala and Terrence Lyons, eds., *African Foreign Policies*.


#Olujimi Jolaoso, *In the Shadows: Reflections of a Pioneer Diplomat*.

#Herbert M. Howe, *Ambiguous Order: Military Forces in African States*.


**Week 5 — The Changing International Environment**  
* 4 October 2017

*Chivvis, *The French War on Al Qa'ida in Africa*, 144-186.  

**Somalia**

*Bereket Selassie, *Crisis and Intervention in the Horn of Africa*.  
*I. M. Lewis, A Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*.  
*Samuel M. Makinda, Seeking Peace from Chaos*.  
*Mohamed Sahnoun, Somalia: The Missed Opportunities*.  
*Anna Simons, Networks of Dissolution: Mogadishu*.  
*Ahmed Samatar, ed., The Somali Challenge: From Catastrophe to Renewal*.  
*Tekeste Negash and Kjetil Tronvoll, Brothers at War: Making Sense of the Eritrean-Ethiopian War*.  
*Robert I. Rotberg, ed., Battling Terrorism in the Horn of Africa*.  
*Ken Menkhaus, SOMALIA: State Collapse and the Threat of Terrorism, Adelphi Paper 364*.  

*I. W. Zartman, ed., Collapsed States*.  
*Audie Klotz, Norms in International Relations: The Struggle Against Apartheid*.  
*Greg Campbell, Blood Diamonds: Tracing the Deadly Path of the World’s Most Precious Stones*.  
*Paul Darby, Africa, Football and FIFA: Politics, Colonialism and Resistance*.  

**I-PAGE PAPER PROPOSALS DUE: WEDNESDAY, 11 OCTOBER 2017**

*Paul D. Williams, *War and Conflict in Africa*, 1-139.

#Ernesto “Che” Guevara, *The African Dream: The Diaries of the Revolutionary War in the Congo.*
#Alan James, *Britain and the Congo Crisis, 1960-63.*
#Sean Kelly, *America’s Tyrant: The CIA and Mobutu of Zaire.*
#Jean-Claude Willame, *La crise congolaise revisitée.*
#Ludo de Witte, *The Assassination of Patrice Lumumba.*

**French Policy**
#Jean-François Bayart, *La politique africaine de François Mitterand.*
#Jacques Foccart, *Foccart parle.*
#Alain Rouvez, *Disconsolate Empires: French, British and Belgian Military Involvement in Post-Colonial Sub-Saharan Africa.*
#François-Xavier Verschave, *Noir silence: Qui arrêtera la Françafrique?*

**U.S. Policy**
#Peter J. Schraeder, *United States Foreign Policy toward Africa: Incrementalism, Crisis and Change.*
#Michael Clough, *Free at Last?: U.S. Policy Toward Africa and the End of the Cold War.*
#Peter Duignan and L.H. Gann, *The United States and Africa: A History.*
#M. G. Schatzberg, *Mobutu or Chaos?: The United States and Zaire, 1960-1990.*
#Herman J. Cohen, *Intervening in Africa: Superpower Peacemaking in a Troubled Continent.*
#Elizabeth Schmidt, *Foreign Intervention in Africa: From the Cold War to the War on Terror* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

**Week 7 — Analytic Interlude, I**

***MID-TERM EXAMINATION: WEDNESDAY, 18 OCTOBER 2017***

**Week 8 — Crisis and Intervention, II: Congo’s Later Crises; Rwanda**

*Paul D. Williams, *War and Conflict in Africa*, 140-278.

*Congo Wars*


#Kevin C. Dunn, *Imagining the Congo: The International Relations of Identity*.

#Michael Nest et al., *The Democratic Republic of the Congo: Economic Dimensions of War and Peace*.


#Thomas Turner, *The Congo Wars: Conflict, Myth, and Reality*.

#Gerard Prunier, *From Genocide to Continental War: The Congo Crisis of Contemporary Africa*.

#René Lemarchand, *The Dynamics of Violence in Central Africa*.


##Rwandan Genocide

#Alain Destexhe, *Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century.*
#Colette Braeckman, *Rwanda — Histoire d’un genocide.*
#Gérard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis.*
#Philip Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform you that Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families: Stories from Rwanda.*
#Peter Uvin, *Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda.*
#Johan Pottier, *Re-imagining Rwanda: Conflict, Survival and Disinformation in the Late Twentieth Century.*
#Alison Des Forges, “Leave None to Tell the Story”: Genocide in Rwanda.
#L. R. Melvern, *A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda’s Genocide.*
#Linda Melvern, *Conspiracy to Murder: The Rwandan Genocide.*
#Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and Genocide in Rwanda.*
#Scott Straus, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda.*

##HIV / AIDS

# Amy S. Patterson, *The Politics of AIDS in Africa*.

**Week 10 — The Economic Dimension, 1: Migrants**
8 November 2017

**Human Rights & Peacekeeping**
* Domenico Mazzeo, ed., *African Regional Organizations*.
* Ibrahim A. Gambari, *Political and Comparative Dimensions of Regional Integration: The Case of ECOWAS*.
* Claude E. Welch, *Protecting Human Rights in Africa: Strategies and Roles of Non-Governmental Organizations*.
* Daniel Bach, ed., *Regionalisation in Africa: Integration and Disintegration*.
* Bruce D. Jones, *Peacemaking in Rwanda: The Dynamics of Failure*.

**Darfur**
* Julie Flint and Alex de Waal, *Darfur: A Short History of a Long War*.
* Alex de Waal, *Famine that Kills: Darfur, Sudan*, revised ed.
* Alex de Waal, *Famine Crimes: Politics and the Disaster Industry in Africa*.
* Gerard Prunier, *Darfur: The Ambiguous Genocide*.
Week 11 — The Economic Dimension, 2: Aid

15 November 2017

*Howard W. French, *China’s Second Continent*, 1-141.

Foreign Aid

#Carol Lancaster, *Aid to Africa: So Much to Do, So Little Done.*
#Michael Maren, *The Road to Hell: The Ravaging Effects of Foreign Aid and International Charity.*
#Robert Calderisi, *The Trouble with Africa: Why Foreign Aid Isn’t Working.*
#Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion.*
#Dambisa Moyo, *Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and How There is a Better Way for Africa.*

#Thomas M. Callaghy, and John Ravenhill, eds., *Hemmed In.*
#Oye Ogunbadejo, *The International Politics of Africa’s Strategic Minerals.*
#John Ravenhill, *Collective Clientelism: The Lomé Conventions and North-South Relations.*
#E. Philip English and Harris M. Mule, *The African Development Bank.*
#Wayne E. Nafziger, *The Debt Crisis in Africa.*
#Jedrzej Georg Frynas, *Oil in Nigeria: Conflict and Litigation between Oil Companies and Village Communities.*
#Paul Collier, *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy.*
**Week 12 — Analytic Interlude, 2**  
22 November 2017

***TERM PAPERS DUE WEDNESDAY, 22 NOVEMBER 2017***

**THANKSGIVING BREAK**

**Week 13 — The Economic Dimension, 2: New Players**  
29 November 2017

*Howard W. French, *China’s Second Continent*, 142-264.

**China**

*Harry G. Broadman, *Africa’s Silk Road: China and India’s New Economic Frontier.*
*Chris Alden, *China in Africa.*

*Ian Taylor, *NEPAD: Towards Africa’s Development or Another False Start?*
# Robert Klitgaard, *Tropical Gangsters.*
# Eboe Hutchful, *The IMF and Ghana: The Confidential Record.*
# Bonnie Campbell and John Loxley, eds., *Structural Adjustment in Africa.*
# World Bank, *From Crisis to Sustainable Growth.*
# Nicolas van de Walle et al., eds., *Beyond Structural Adjustment: The Institutional Context of African Development.*

**Week 14 — Sovereignty and African States, 1**  
6 December 2017


**South African Foreign Policy**

*Stephen Ellis and Tsepo Sechaba, *Comrades Against Apartheid.*
*Chester Crocker, *High Noon in Southern Africa.*
*Princeton N. Lyman, *Partner to History: The U.S. Role in South Africa’s Transition to Democracy.*
#James Barber, *Mandela’s World: The International Dimension of South Africa’s Political Revolution*.


**Week 15 — Sovereignty and African States, 2**

13 December 2017


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**FINAL EXAM: MONDAY, 18 DECEMBER 2017, 7:45 a.m. - 9:45 a.m.; LOCATION: T.B.A.**

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