You need to read the academic journal articles, book chapters, and other readings listed below before coming to class on the day noted on the syllabus.

We will focus this semester on four Southern African countries: Tanzania, Zambia, and South Africa. Through our discussion of these states, we will analyze general theoretical issues: the nature of the African state, democratic transitions in the independence era and the twenty-first century, the dilemmas of African development considering alternative strategies for development, and the role of the worker and the peasant.

Our tasks this semester:

► We will begin with case studies in Tanzania’s agricultural sector and Zambia’s industrial/mining sector; we will give special attention to peasants, labor, African new state bureaucratic elites, foreign investors, and foreign aid practitioners.

► We will become familiar with sample African models of community organization and the effects of external pressures and internal evolution.

► We will evaluate the pros and cons of International Monetary Fund (IMF) structural adjustment strategies for development promulgated in the 1980s as a response to the role of foreign aid and its efficacy in the post World War II period.

► We will study comparative theories of development for late industrializing countries.

► We will analyze the emergence of single party states in the 1960s and movements for multi-party democratization in the 1990s and the twenty-first century.
We will examine the democratic transition from apartheid, political party rivalry, and ANC factions within South Africa.

We will analyze the possibilities -- the negatives and the positives -- of foreign aid.

We will consider to what extent an African country’s political economy affects its chances for civil war.

We will evaluate the changing nature of African states and the role ethnicity plays in those states.

We will analyze the new regionalism in Africa

We will evaluate the rise of Chinese influence on the continent.

**Students will be graded on:**

10% Participation in class, writing assignments, group work, and blackboard communications. Obviously, in order to participate, you must attend class.

20% Issue Memo on topic of development in Tanzania or Zambia - (See assignment on blackboard)

20% Issue Memo on topic in South Africa - (See assignment on Blackboard)

25% Research Paper 12-15 pages - you may use one of the memo topics but unlike a memo you must situate your research within an academic debate. (See assignment on blackboard)

25% Take home exam (essay format)

**Students will gain skills:**

♦ in researching and writing memos with special attention to

1) finding data banks and sources related to African affairs and

2) organizing their presentation of findings.

♦ in background knowledge of general topics affecting Africa and specific country knowledge regarding three African countries: Tanzania, Zambia, and South Africa

♦ in identifying contemporary authors and journalists writing on a particular topic in African affairs

♦ in writing an analytical political essay

**Honor Code:**

"With the privilege of pursuing an Oberlin education comes the responsibility of supporting both the expectations and the spirit of the Honor Code"
“Plagiarism: The appropriation of the work or ideas of another scholar – whether written or not – without acknowledgement, or the failure to correctly identify the source, constitutes plagiarism regardless of whether it is done consciously or inadvertently. A lack of knowledge of the standards of academic citation is not an excuse for inadequate or improper citation.”


POLT 224 students should consult a writing tutor in Mudd Library if you are unclear about proper citation so that you do not engage in plagiarism, especially on your final exam.

Tuesday February 9, 2009: Introduction to the Course.

▷ We will go through the syllabus and talk about requirements.
▷ We will learn who in the class has lived and worked in what parts of Africa.
▷ Students will receive a handout from “The Africa Report” December 2009-January 2010 published by Jeune Afrique that reviews fifty years of African independence. (Ghana 1957; Congo 1960; Tanzania 1961, etc)

Questions/issues we will discuss in class:
Contrast the development strategies advocated by the US (Modernization theory) and the Soviet Union (Central Planning) at the time of independence for Tanzania (1961) and Zambia (1964).

Terms: All Africa People’s Conference 1958; Organization of African Unity 1963-United States of Africa; 1960s/1970s coups and civil wars with great power interventions; class analysis; individualism; nuclear family; clan; central planning vs. laissez faire.

Thursday February 11, 2010: - Tanzania’s populist socialist strategy for development

President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania

Julius Kambarage Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism: Uhuru na Ujamaa


**Questions/issues we will discuss in class:**
What values bind traditional African rural landworkers/peasants according to Nyerere and Bond? Why did Nyerere claim his Ujamaa strategy for national economic development was appropriate for Tanzania? What would Adam Smith and Karl Marx have responded if asked about Nyerere’s Ujamaa strategy? How does Bond’s work in Zambia give support to Nyerere’s strategies in Tanzania?

Terms: ujamaa, appropriate development, socialist populism, African social organization, Arusha Declaration, TANU, pre-capitalist economy

**Tuesday February 16, 2010: Do donors have a role to play?**


**Questions/issues we will discuss in class:**
What price did Nyerere’s Tanzania pay for its non-alignment? What advantages did it gain? How did the super power’s cold war impact the early years of African states like Tanzania?

Terms: self reliance; single party state; UDI; non-alignment; decolonization; cold war; multi racialism; flag independence; budget and balance of payments support; constitutional reform

**Thursday: February 18, 2010: Hyden’s View of Nyerere’s strategies:**


**Questions/issues we will discuss in class:**
Hyden’s is a compelling critique of Ujamaa, why? How might defenders of Ujamaa respond to Hyden’s criticism?
Terms: Uncaptured Peasantry; state capacity; villagization; cooperative movement; Ujamaa villages; Chama Cha Mapinduzi; social logic of the peasant mode.
["weapons of the weak" – James C. Scott term not in the reading]

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia

**Tuesday February 23, 2010 Workers and Industrial Policy in Zambia**


**Questions/issues we will discuss in class:**

Political Science Institutional Theory notes that resources and power for various actors are built into institutions at the time of their design. Explain the struggles over designing Zambia’s labor institutions in the post-independence period and the resulting outcomes for government, labor and corporations.

Terms: “Labor Aristocracy”; party mobilization; Copperbelt; Bemba; industrial policy; UNIP; African Mineworkers Union (AMU), Zambian Mineworkers Union (ZMU); Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU); mono economy.

**Thursday February 25, 2010: Zambia and its Foreign Mining Companies**


Questions/issues we will discuss in class:
What are the benefits and disadvantages of a government being in the production business? Does the way in which government participates make any different to economic outcomes? Why would government intervention appeal to African citizens? How will Zambian labour’s (miners) interests be affected if they are dealing with a government owned, operated, or partially owned enterprise?

Terms: parastatal; vertical integration; mixed economy; nationalize/Zambianize; majority equity participation?

Monde Sifuniso, Footprints in History (Lusaka: Non-Governmental Organisations Co-ordinating Council (NGOCC), ZAWWA Printers, 1982) Entire pp. 1-103

Questions/issues we will discuss in class:
In what ways had Zambian women participated during the independence struggle and what, if any, political rewards did they receive after independence?
What caused Zambian women to make advances politically in the 1970s and 1980s?
Where did Zambian women get their resources for action? How would you contrast the political gains made by Zambian women with the economic gains they have or have not made? How might the new practices of mainstreaming gender and PRSP’s into the public sector affect Zambian women?

Terms: UN Declaration on Human Rights; Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women CEDAW; Basic Needs; Anti-poverty programs; UN Conferences on Women; Mexico 1975; Copenhagen 1980; Nairobi 1985; Women In Development (WID); Gender Development Practices; civil society; NGOs; gender analysis; Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper PRSP.

Thursday March 4, 2010: Debates on the Nature of the State in Africa
Questions/issues we will discuss in class:
What are the units by which we analyze government in each of the three studies? What does each author argue (thesis)? What is a strong state? a weak state? What is the “triangle of accommodation”? How does the concept of “class” differ in Tanzania according to Shivji from that found in a Marx/Engels analysis? Why focus on the head of state to the extent that Jackson and Rosberg do when discussing government politics? According to Shivji, by what means does an African class reinvent itself? If these authors are correct what are the consequences for African development?

Terms: Ideal type, Max Weber, Prince, Autocrat, Prophet, Tyrant, bureaucratic bourgeoisie vs. captains of industry, triangle of accommodation.

Tuesday March 9, 2010: Debates on the Nature of the State in Africa continued, and Debates on the relationship of elites to the state.

Questions/issues we will discuss in class:
Why do Leonard and Straus critique explanations such as those of Jackson Rosberg, etc. What units of analysis should we investigate to understand African states and development? What is the connection between enclave production and personal rule? Between enclave production and civil war? What are some of the issues and debates surrounding ethnicity and ethnic conflict today?

Terms: enclave production; asset specificity; juridical state; socially constructed/constructivism; instrumentalism; ethnicity; civil war.

Wednesday March 10, 2010:
Issue Memo on Development due on Blackboard 5pm

Thursday March 11, 2010: Debates on Multi-Party Democracies in Africa

Questions/issues we will discuss in class:
Why does Mugyenyi reject democracy as a first order priority for Africans? What might constitute a counter argument? What does Simiyu identify as myth and what are the consequences of these myths? What methodology did Bratton and Mattes bring to their work and how might that affect their study? What do their conclusions suggest we might think about in light of the theses from Mugyenzi and Simiyu?

Terms: African Barometer; civil society; representation; consensus; age groups.

Tuesday March 16, 2010: The Zambian Case of Structural Adjustment

IMF & WORLD BANK ROUND-UP: Kevin Cleaver, the World Bank’s director of agriculture and rural development, said at a May 19 conference in London on the international coffee crisis that coffee farmers needed to diversify to help solve the issues of overproduction and collapse of real prices to 40-year lows, which had pushed many coffee growing communities into poverty. The bank says coffee prices in real terms are less than one-third of their 1960 level, and that prices are below the cost of production, causing hardship to more than 20 million households in the 50 developing countries that produce coffee.

Terms: Basic Needs; Poverty Reduction; international financial institutions; SAPS; liberalization; privatization; democratization; scissors effect; oil shocks; technocrats; comparative advantage; monetary policy; fiscal policy; foreign direct investment.

Thursday: March 18, 2010 IMF Structural Adjustment Programs (continued) and Foreign Aid Reconsidered
In Robert J. Griffiths, Annual Editions: Developing World 06/07, Sixteenth Edition (Hightstown, NJ:McGraw-Hill, Dushkin, Read the chapters below:
Questions/issues we will discuss in class:
Following September 11, 2001 should foreign aid be linked more closely with national security strategy? In what ways did President GW Bush refocus foreign assistance? Authors Leonard and Strause rejected foreign aid because they argued it orients an African economy externally? Does foreign aid have to do this/ Are there alternatives? How would Sachs and Panagariya respond? Does the foreign aid that supports new practices of mainstreaming gender and PRSP’s fit Leonard and Straus’s frame for rejecting foreign aid? What would Sachs, Rotberg and Panagariya think of the PRSP in Zambia? In what ways do the authors suggest reorienting foreign assistance?

Terms: Millennium Development Goals; Monterrey Consensus; DAC; OECD;

Tuesday March 23, 2009: Multi-Party Politics and NGOs in Tanzania and Zambia

Questions/issues we will discuss in class:
What are challenges for building the rule of law in countries like Zambia and Tanzania? What specific mechanisms must be effected for free and fair elections? How does development continue to be distorted in Zambia and Tanzania?

Terms: multi-party coalitions; independent elections commission; legitimacy, candidate vetting

Thursday March 25, 2010 Democratic Debates Fifty Years After Independence


Questions/issues we will discuss in class:
How has globalization and the IMF affected the judicial systems in African states? How can a country build the rule of law? How do mono commodity exporters face more challenges in building the rule of law than states with more diversified economies? What role do/can Chiefs have in democratic societies? Can chiefs be modern?

Terms: rule of law; corruption, intimidation; political pluralism; legalism; chieftancy; hybrid systems.

Spring Recess March 27, 2010- April 4, 2010

Tuesday April 6, 2010: Movie T-Shirt Travels

Thursday April 8, 2010 South Africa Apartheid Politics before the Transition to Democracy
The following are from: David Mermelstein, ed. The Anti-Apartheid Reader (New York: Grove Press, 1987):
► Fiona McLachlan "The Apartheid Laws in Brief" pp. 76-78.

Questions/issues we will discuss in class:
What are the legal bases for apartheid? How did the Afrikaners out maneuver the British to take control of South Africa? How did the two major black South African liberation groups differ in their world view and political strategies? Where did the Coloureds and the Indians “fit” in the apartheid scheme?
Terms: ANC; PAC; Black Consciousness; Steven Biko; National Party; Grand Apartheid; Petty Apartheid; Group Areas Act; Pass Laws; Homelands/Bantustans; Broederbund; United Democratic Front (1983); Inkatha Freedom Party; Mandela; Buthelezi; Zulu; Xhosa; Freedom Charter; Bishop Tutu; FOSATU; Sharpville; constructive engagement;

Tuesday April 13, 2010: South African Politics the ANC and the Transition to a Multi-Party Democracy
Chapter Two pp. 39-96.

Questions/issues we will discuss in class:
Why did apartheid end? What government followed the apartheid government prior to democratic elections? What were the negotiating positions of the rival parties? Who won South Africa’s first free elections? What other parties joined the government/parliament? What issues divided the parties after the election? What constraints did the ANC face after the elections? What were the major concerns of Mandela during the transition?

Terms: group rights; proportional representation; first past the post; national reconciliation; federal government; government of national unity; RDP; GEAR; tripartite alliance; COSATU; SACP; Chris Hani; Joe Slovo; Winnie Mandela; movement for mass democracy; Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini; Thabo Mbeki; Jacob Zuma; F.W. de Klerk; the Liberal Party; Helen Suzman; language policy.

Thursday April 15, 2010
Chapter Three pp. 100-149.

Questions/issues we will discuss in class:
Why did smaller parties have such difficulty allying against the ANC?; Why did Meyer and Holomisa form the United Democratic Movement and why were they optimistic for its prospects? By what means did the ANC win a great victory without Mandela as their leader? Discuss the nature of the AIDs debate under Mbeki’s leadership. What was the situation of Inkatha after the 2004 elections?

Terms: Marthinus van Schalkwyk; Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC); floor crossings; The lost generation; 2004 Black Economic Empowerment Act;
**Monday April 19, 2010:**
**Issue Memo on South Africa due on Blackboard 5pm**

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**Tuesday April 20, 2010 Regionalism in Africa**
SADC: [http://www.sadc.int/index/browse/page/52](http://www.sadc.int/index/browse/page/52)
SADC Member States: Angola, Botswana, DRC, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe
“African Union in a Nutshell” (available on blackboard)
NEPAD (2001): New Partnership for Africa’s Development
(NEPAD, a program of the AU is integrating its secretariat and activities with the AU more closely in 2010.)

Questions/issues we will discuss in class:
What are the advantages of regionalism? The disadvantages? How has the notion of regionalism run throughout independent Africa’s history? What are the goals of SADC? Who were the original members and how/why did it expand? What are the tensions in SADC? What is the African Union and why did it replace the OAU? How does NEPAD and the AU coordinate?

Terms: customs union; sovereignty; free trade; integration; regional security; norms; rules; economies of scale; transition costs.

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**Thursday April 22, 2010-Democratic Transition in South Africa continued**

Questions/issues we will discuss in class:
What resources did Jacob Zuma have to bring to bear in his rivalry with Thabo Mbeki? How did Mbeki manage to lose control of the ANC? What do we learn of the character of each of these men during their political struggles? What foreign policy achievements did Mbeki pursue and how did that affect his standing at home?
Terms: ANC Executive Committee; ANC National Conference; the Youth League; The Scorpions.

**Tuesday April 27, 2010 South African Politics in 2010; President Jacob Zuma**
Various, current, news articles on South Africa from April 2010 newspapers.


_Questions/issues we will discuss in class:_
Has Jacob Zuma pleased his allies in the SACP, COSATU, and in the Youth League? What achievements and failures has he faced? How has Zuma affected the rule of law in South Africa? The development strategy of the country? Has he reversed any Mbeki policies and if so to what effect? Why is land such a difficult issue in South Africa and does the Zimbabwe actions affect the South African context?

**Tuesday May 4, 2010- South African Politics in 2010 the Jacob Zuma**
Various, current, news articles on South Africa continued.

 Please note that the
World Economic Forum on Africa May 5-7 2010
takes Place
in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
You may wish to check news sources...

**Thursday May 6, 2010- Tuesday April 28, 2009: Zimbabwe**
_Susie Linfield_, The Bleeding Wound Zimbabwe’s Slow Suicide” _Dissent_ Fall 2007. pp. 84-101.


Questions/issues we will discuss in class:
Who is Robert Mugabe and what does he want? Who opposes Mugabe and what do they want? What resources does Mugabe utilize for dealing with those who oppose him? Should Mugabe’s neighbors intervene? Why don’t they? Are there ways to accomplish some of the goals that Mugabe supporters seek without using his tactics? Are current land problems stemming only from former white settler farmers?

Terms: corporatism; communal areas; ZANU; white settler farmer; agricultural commercialization

Monday May 12, 2010 research paper is due. Hardcopy must be placed in the box in Rice 207 by 8 PM and by 8:30 PM posted on blackboard.

Tuesday May 11, 2010- China, Trade, Environment
November 3-5 2006 Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in Beijing
“Trader with Rogues or Force for Progress?” Financial Times May 2, 2006
The Africa Report December 2009-January 2010 published by Jeune Afrique:

Questions/issues we will discuss in class:
In what way does China a new model for development? In what ways does China present an opportunity and a threat to African states? Do left or right leaning leaders find China more attractive? What are the dilemmas African states face when contemplating environmental issues?

Terms: Green Energy; desertification; global warming;

Thursday May 13, 2010-Wrap Up and course evaluations