

PSCI 4802A
International Politics of Africa
Thursdays - 2:35pm to 5:25pm
Please confirm location on Carleton Central

Instructor: James Milner
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Please note that e-mails relating to the course will be sent to your Carleton Connect account, *not* via WebCT. Also, please use your Carleton Connect account when sending an e-mail to the instructor and include the course code in the subject line.

First class: 8 January 2009
Last class: 2 April 2009

WebCT: On-line components of this course will be managed through WebCT. Please visit the WebCT site at least once a week to receive the most current information pertaining to the scheduling of the course and required readings.

Course objectives:

The post-colonial African state has been characterized as “weak in foundations, structurally deficient, without deep legitimacy and generally lacking the political means of its putative power over civil society” (Chabal, 1994). Internationally, African states are “at the bottom of any conventional ordering of global power, importance and prestige” (Clapham, 1996). In fact, Khapoya (1994) argues that “for much of modern history, Africa, with its many states, has not been a major player on the world stage.”

But yet, Africa - and African states – plays an important role in the international system. The largest United Nations peacekeeping missions are in Africa. Billions of dollars of overseas development assistance and humanitarian assistance are directed to Africa every year. The survival of African states and the challenges of peace, security, development, and human rights have been the focus of policy debates and research for decades. How do we understand this apparent contradiction?

The focus of this course is the relationship between African states, African international relations, and the international system. While the literature primarily focuses on relations between Northern actors (state and non-state) with African states, this course will consider the African state as a distinct and independent unit in both the international and African state systems. The course will draw on a more critical understanding of the nature and evolution of the African state and state system to consider the range of factors that affect the relations of African states with each other and with external actors. Through a series of seminars, guest lectures, readings and debates, this course will examine the diversity of contemporary African international relations and how such an approach enhances our ability to understand conflict and peace on the continent.

Course outline:

The course is divided into three sections:

Section 1 develops a conceptual foundation for the course by considering the nature of the African state and the foundations of the African state system. This section will examine how the 'quasi-state' nature of African states and the heritage of colonialism should inform our treatment of the African state as an actor in the international system. The significance of these characteristics will be highlighted as we consider the evolution of the African state system from decolonization, the Cold War and through the period of economic and political liberalization in the 1980s and 1990s.

Section 2 will build on this conceptual understanding of the African state and state system to consider relations between African states and other states in the international system. This section will consider what factors have most influenced the engagement of Northern states in Africa, and the ability of African states to navigate these relations. This section will also consider the foreign policies of African states themselves, a dynamic which is frequently overlooked in the literature. This understanding will be important as we consider the regional dynamics of particular conflicts in Africa.

Section 3 will specifically consider how dynamics of African international relations affect the causes, consequences and possible responses to conflict in Africa. This section will examine how the nature of the African state, the African state system, and the pattern of relations with the international system have all contributed to particular patterns of conflict in the past decade. We will then examine how regional relations affect responses to the consequences of conflict, especially refugee movements. We will also consider how the nature of Africa's relations with external actors affects efforts to respond to conflict, through peacekeeping, peacebuilding and humanitarian assistance.

An important aspect of Section 3 will be the participation of **guest speakers** to lead discussions on particular conflicts and regional dynamics in Africa. These discussions will be scheduled for the second half of class meetings. Possible cases will be discussed in the first meetings of the course, and the scheduling of particular cases will depend on the availability of guest speakers.

Requirements:

Reading critiques (4 x 5%)	20%
Research paper	50%
Proposal (10% - due 29 January 2009)	
Final paper (40% - due 2 April 2009)	
Famine Crimes debate (26 March 2009)	15%
Critical review (10%)	
Debate participation (5%)	
Participation	15%

As per **early feedback** guidelines, **at least** one reading critique must be submitted before **29 January 2009**. Critiques will be returned to students the following week.

There is **no final exam** for this course. Instead, students are required to actively engage in reading, writing and participation throughout the term through four elements:

Reading critiques: Students are required to write 4 reading critiques over the course of the term. Reading critiques should be 2 to 3 pages long, double spaced and referenced. Critiques should summarise the key arguments of the readings, contrast the perspectives of the readings, and respond to the readings within the context of the course. Is there a tension between the readings? What contribution do they make? Do you agree with their position? How do the arguments of the authors relate to the broader themes of the course? Reading critiques must be submitted at the start of class.

Research paper: Students are also expected to research a particular issue relating to African international relations. Students should select their own topic, but should consult with the instructor. Students will be required to submit a 2 to 3 page proposal and annotated bibliography on their selected issue at the start of class on **29 January 2009**. On the basis of this proposal, students will be required to submit a 15 to 18 page paper at the start of class on **2 April 2009**.

Famine Crime debate: On **26 March 2009**, the class will be debating the following resolution: "Be it resolved that de Waal's depiction of the 'disaster relief industry' provides a useful framework for understanding humanitarian action in contemporary Africa." In preparation for this debate, all students should read Alex de Waal, *Famine Crimes: Politics and the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa*, Oxford: James Currey, 1997. Students are also required to write a 4 to 6 page critical review of the book, due at the start of class on **26 March 2009**. This review should outline de Waal's key argument, draw on other sources to critically engage with de Waal's argument, and argue the student's position for the debate

Participation: 15% of the final grade is for participation. Students are expected not only to attend class meetings, but engage in class discussion. While this is a large class, it will be run as a seminar. Students who submit reading critiques in a given week will be especially expected to contribute to class discussions. In addition, students are expected to remain informed on African current events, which will form a key component of class discussions. Students may wish to subscribe to the daily update of African news from the BBC: <http://news.bbc.co.uk>

Late penalties: Reading critiques submitted after the start of class will receive a mark of 0%. All other assignments submitted after the due date will be penalized by 5% of the 100% assignment grade per 24 hours. Exceptions to this policy will only be made for academic accommodations, as outlined below, or for medical or personal emergencies substantiated by official documentation. **Late papers must be submitted via the drop box in the Department of Political Science, as outlined below. The departmental drop box cut off time is 4pm. Any assignments submitted after 4pm will be date stamped for the following weekday.**

Readings and required texts:

The majority of readings for this course are available electronically through the Carleton University Library system **at no cost to the student.**

The only required text for this course is: Alex de Waal, *Famine Crimes: Politics and the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa*, Oxford: James Currey, 1997.

This text is available for purchase at Octopus Books, 116 Third Avenue (Third and Bank), in the Glebe. For directions, see: <http://www.octopusbooks.ca>, or the map on WebCT.

All other readings for this course are either available on-line through the Carleton Library system or held in RESERVE at the MacOdrum Library and in the Political Science Resource Centre.

On-line journals may be accessed through the Carleton Library portal:
<http://www.library.carleton.ca/eresources/databases.html>

E-books may also be accessed through the Carleton Library portal by selecting 'E-Book' from the drop-down menu at: <http://catalogue.library.carleton.ca/>

Students should note that the following texts are used in the course but are not available in electronic format. Used copies of these texts are available on-line. A limited number of copies have also been ordered by Octopus Books, at the above address.

John Harbeson and Donald Rothchild (eds.), *Africa in World Politics: The African State System in Flux*, Third Edition, Boulder: Westview Press, 2000.

Gilbert Khadiagala and Terreny Lyons (eds.), *African Foreign Policies: Power and Process*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001.

E. Gyimah-Boadi (ed.), *Democratic reform in Africa: The Quality of Progress*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004.

Taisier M. Ali and Robert O. Matthews (eds.), *Civil Wars in Africa: Roots and Resolution*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999.

Taisier M. Ali and Robert O. Matthews (eds.), *Durable Peace: Challenges for Peacebuilding in Africa*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

Provisional outline of course topics:

Below is a **tentative** weekly breakdown of the course and core readings. Please consult WebCT regularly for updates to this list of weekly topics and readings, in addition to information about the course.

Week 1

8 January 2009: Introduction: Understanding the African state

Christopher Clapham, "Introduction", *International Affairs*, Vol. 81, no. 2, 2005. (Available through electronic journals)

Crawford Young, "The Heritage of Colonialism", in John Harbeson and Donald Rothchild (eds.), *Africa in World Politics: The African State System in Flux*, Third Edition, Boulder:

Westview Press, 2000. (On RESERVE – MacOdrum Library and PSCI Resource Centre)

Robert H. Jackson and Carl C. Rosberg, “Why Africa’s Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Juridical in Statehood”, *World Politics*, Vol. 35, no. 1, October 1982. (Available through electronic journals)

Week 2

15 January 2009: Understanding Africa and the international system

Ian Taylor and Paul Williams, “Introduction: Understanding Africa’s place in world politics” in Ian Taylor and Paul Williams (eds.), *Africa in International Politics*, New York: Routledge, 2004. (E-book in MacOdrum Library)

Christopher Clapham, “The evolution of Africa’s international relations”, in Ulf Engle and Gorm Rye Olsen (eds.), *Africa and the North: Between globalization and marginalization*, New York: Routledge, 2005. (E-book in MacOdrum Library)

Donald Rothchild and John W. Harbeson, “The African State and State System in Flux”, in John Harbeson and Donald Rothchild (eds.), *Africa in World Politics: The African State System in Flux*, Third Edition, Boulder: Westview Press, 2000. (On RESERVE – MacOdrum Library and PSCI Resource Centre)

Week 3

22 January 2009: The shaping of the African state system:
Economic and political liberalization

Paul Collier, “The Marginalization of Africa”, *International Labour Review*, Vol. 134, no. 4-5, 1995. (Available through electronic journals)

John W. Harbeson, “Externally Assisted Democratization: Theoretical Issues and African Realities”, in John Harbeson and Donald Rothchild (eds.), *Africa in World Politics: The African State System in Flux*, Third Edition, Boulder: Westview Press, 2000. (On RESERVE – MacOdrum Library and PSCI Resource Centre)

Paul Collier, “Africa’s External Economic Relations: 1960-90”, *African Affairs*, Vol. 90, no. 360, July 1991. (Available through electronic journals)

Week 4

29 January 2009: Contemporary relations with Africa: China and Europe
Due: Research proposal

Ian Taylor, “Sino-African Relations and the Problem of Human Rights”, *African Affairs*, Vol. 107, no. 426, January 2008. (Available through electronic journals)

Stephen R. Hurt, “The European Union’s external relations with Africa after the Cold War: aspects of continuity and change”, in Ian Taylor and Paul Williams (eds.), *Africa in International Politics*, New York: Routledge, 2004. (E-book in MacOdrum Library)

Jean-François Bayart, "Commentary: Towards a new start for Africa and Europe", *African Affairs*, Vol. 103, no. 412, July 2004. (Available through electronic journals)

Week 5

5 February 2009: Contemporary relations with Africa: Canada and the US

David Black, "Canada and Africa: Activist aspirations in straitened circumstances" in Ian Taylor and Paul Williams (eds.), *Africa in International Politics*, New York: Routledge, 2004. (E-book in MacOdrum Library)

James J. Hentz, "The contending currents in United States involvement in sub-Saharan Africa", in Ian Taylor and Paul Williams (eds.), *Africa in International Politics*, New York: Routledge, 2004. (E-book in MacOdrum Library)

Donald Rothchild and Nikolas Emmanuel, "United States: The process of decision-making on Africa", in Ulf Engle and Gorm Rye Olsen (eds.), *Africa and the North: Between globalization and marginalization*, New York: Routledge, 2005. (E-book in MacOdrum Library)

Week 6

12 February 2009: The formulation of African foreign policy

Gilbert Kadiagala and Terrence Lyons, "Foreign Policy Making in Africa: An Introduction" **and** "Conclusion: African Foreign Policy Making at the Millennium" in Gilbert Khadiagala and Terrence Lyons (eds.), *African Foreign Policies: Power and Process*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001. (On RESERVE – MacOdrum Library and PSCI Resource Centre)

René Lemarchand, "Foreign Policy Making in the Great Lakes Region" in Gilbert Khadiagala and Terrence Lyons (eds.), *African Foreign Policies: Power and Process*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2001. (On RESERVE – MacOdrum Library and PSCI Resource Centre)

Timothy Shaw, "African Foreign Policy in the New Millennium: From Coming Anarchies to Security Communities? From New Regionalisms to New Realisms?", in Kevin C. Dunn and Timothy M. Shaw (eds.), *Africa's challenge to international relations theory*, New York: Palgrave, 2001. (E-book in MacOdrum Library)

Reading week: No class meeting on 19 February

Week 7

26 February 2009: Issues: Fragile states and new patterns of conflict

Stephen John Stedman and Terrence Lyons, "Conflict in Africa", in E. Gyimah-Boadi (ed.), *Democratic reform in Africa: The Quality of Progress*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004. (On RESERVE – MacOdrum Library and PSCI Resource Centre)

Taisier M. Ali and Robert O. Matthews, "Introduction" **and** "Conclusion: Conflict, Resolution, and Building Peace", in Taisier M. Ali and Robert O. Matthews (eds.), *Civil Wars in Africa: Roots and Resolution*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999. (On RESERVE – MacOdrum Library and PSCI Resource Centre)

William Reno, "Arms trafficking and the local political economy of conflict" in Muna Mdulo (ed.), *Security, reconstruction and reconciliation: When the wars end*, London: University College London Press, 2007. (E-book in MacOdrum Library)

Week 8

5 March 2009: Issues: Refugee movements and regional relations

Gil Loescher and James Milner, "The Long Road Home: Protracted Refugee Situations in Africa", *Survival*, Vol. 47, no. 2, Summer 2005. (Available through electronic journals)

Ben Barber, "Feeding refugees or war? The dilemma of humanitarian aid", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, no. 4, July 1997. (Available through electronic journals)

Assefaw Bariagber, "States, International Organizations and the Refugee: Reflections on the Complexity of Managing the Refugee Crisis in the Horn of Africa", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 37, no. 4, December 1999. (Available through electronic journals)

Week 9

12 March 2009: Issues: From peacekeeping to peacebuilding in Africa

Adekeye Adebajo, "From Congo to Congo: United Nations peacekeeping in Africa after the Cold War", in Ian Taylor and Paul Williams (eds.), *Africa in International Politics*, New York: Routledge, 2004. (E-book in MacOdrum Library)

Taisier M. Ali and Robert O. Matthews, "Introduction" **and** "Conclusion: The Long and Difficult Road to Peace", in Taisier M. Ali and Robert O. Matthews (eds.), *Durable Peace: Challenges for Peacebuilding in Africa*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004. (On RESERVE – MacOdrum Library and PSCI Resource Centre)

James Milner, "Refugees and the Regional Dynamics of Peacebuilding", *Controversies in Global Politics and Societies*, No. IX, Toronto: Munk Centre for International Studies, 2008, available on-line at:

http://webapp.mcis.utoronto.ca/resources/MCIS_Controversies/2008_milner_contro.pdf

Week 10

19 March 2009: Issues: International actors and African states

Caroline Thomas, "The international financial institutions' relations with Africa", in Ian Taylor and Paul Williams (eds.), *Africa in International Politics*, New York: Routledge, 2004. (E-book in MacOdrum Library)

David Williams, "Aid and sovereignty: quasi-states and the international financial institutions", *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 26, no. 4, 2000. (Available through electronic journals)

James Busumtwi-Sam, "Redefining "Security" after the Cold War: The OAU, the UN, and Conflict Management in Africa", in Taisier M. Ali and Robert O. Matthews (eds.), *Civil Wars in Africa: Roots and Resolution*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999. (On RESERVE – MacOdrum Library and PSCI Resource Centre)

Week 11

26 March 2009: Debate: Alex de Waal, *Famine Crimes*
Due: Critical review

Alex de Waal, *Famine Crimes: Politics and the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa*, Oxford: James Currey, 1997.

Resolution: "Be it resolved that de Waal's depiction of the 'disaster relief industry' provides a useful framework for understanding humanitarian action in contemporary Africa."

Week 12

2 April 2009: New perspectives on Africa and the international system
Due: Research paper

Marcel Kitissou, "Africa's security dilemma: national stability versus world security", in Muna Mdulo (ed.), *Security, reconstruction and reconciliation: When the wars end*, London: University College London Press, 2007. (E-book in MacOdrum Library)

William Reno, "Africa's Weak States, Nonstate Actors, and the Privatization of Interstate Relations", in John Harbeson and Donald Rothchild (eds.), *Africa in World Politics: The African State System in Flux*, Third Edition, Boulder: Westview Press, 2000. (On RESERVE – MacOdrum Library and PSCI Resource Centre)

Crawford Young, "The end of the post-colonial state in Africa? Reflections on changing African political dynamics", *African Affairs*, Vol. 103, no. 410, January 2004. (Available through electronic journals)

Academic Accommodations

For students with Disabilities: Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations in this course must register with the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (500 University Centre) for a formal evaluation of disability-related needs. Registered PMC students are required to contact the centre (613-520-6608) every term to ensure that the instructor receives your letter of accommodation. After registering with the PMC, make an appointment to meet with the instructor in order to discuss your needs **at least two weeks before the first assignment is due or the first in-class test/midterm requiring accommodations**. If you require accommodation for your formally scheduled exam(s) in this course, please submit your

request for accommodation to PMC by **November 7, 2008 for December examinations**, and **March 6, 2009 for April examinations**.

For Religious Observance: Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance (www.carleton.ca/equity).

For Pregnancy: Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

Plagiarism: The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course. The Department's Style Guide is available at:

<http://www.carleton.ca/polisci/undergrad/Essay%20Style%20Guide.html>

Oral Examination: At the discretion of the instructor, students may be required to pass a brief oral examination on research papers and essays.

Submission and Return of Term Work: Papers must be handed directly to the instructor and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day’s date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Please note that assignments sent via fax or email will not be accepted. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

Approval of final grades: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Course Requirements: Students must fulfill all course requirements in order to achieve a passing grade. Failure to hand in any assignment will result in a grade of F. Failure to write the

final exam will result in a grade of ABS. FND (Failure No Deferred) is assigned when a student's performance is so poor during the term that they cannot pass the course even with 100% on the final examination. In such cases, instructors may use this notation on the Final Grade Report to indicate that a student has already failed the course due to inadequate term work and should not be permitted access to a deferral of the examination. Deferred final exams are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course.

Connect Email Accounts: The Department of Political Science only communicates with students via Connect accounts. Important course and University information is also distributed via the Connect email system. It is the student's responsibility to monitor their Connect account.

Carleton Political Science Society: The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students in the after-hours academic life at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, please email carletonpss@gmail.com, visit our website at poliscisociety.com, or come to our office in Loeb D688.

Official Course Outline: The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.