

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Poli Sci 659  
Afroamerican 651

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Governments and Politics in Africa

The course will examine Africa partly in relation to dialectical processes (not necessarily Marxian) and partly according to themes. Each student will be required to review a major book and either take a final examination at the end or submit a research paper.

COURSE DESCRIPTION: THE DIALECTICAL APPROACH

I.(a) The dialectic between continuity and change: How much of the heritage of pre-colonial Africa continues to condition political behavior in the post-colonial era? How much of a reflection of colonialism is independent Africa today?

(b) The dialectic between tradition and modernity. This is a special normative formulation of the above dialectic. It rests on a paradigm of transition from tradition to modernity. The paradigm includes theories of modernization.

II.(a) The dialectic between dependency and liberation. This includes the impact of European colonialism, western commerce and Christian churches on Africa. This section of the course will also examine strategies of resistance and liberation adopted by, or open to, African nationalists and policy-makers.

(b) The dialectic between foreign and indigenous influences. This is a special formulation of II(a) above. What should be remembered is that indigenization is only one strategy of liberation. Other strategies range from establishment of revolutionary socialism to the pursuit of counter-penetration into the Northern hemisphere.

III.(a) The dialectic between anarchy and order. This part of the course will focus on problems of nation-building, political integration and cultural engineering. How can Africa move from ethnic tensions to more settled nationhood?

(b) The dialectic between political decay and political development. This is a special formulation of the above theme. It includes Huntington's distinction between modernization and development - with the assertion that rapid modernization could cause political decay rather than development.

IV.(a) The dialectic between democracy and authoritarianism. This part of the course is more directly normative and ideological. It evaluates the other political processes according to certain standards of political participation, economic distribution and social justice.

(b) The dialectic between socialism and capitalism. This is viewed as a special case of the above dialectic - and relates issues of power to the

forces of class-formation and class relations.

Discussion in class will only be illustrative of these dialectics. Students are expected to bear in mind their reading as well.

The following themes are also broader than can be handled in class. Again, they are a guide to students in analyzing what they read.

#### COURSE DESCRIPTION: THE THEMATIC APPROACH

##### THEME I: African Nationalism: Primary and Secondary Resistance

- (a) Primary Resistance at the Time of Colonialism
- (b) The Origins of African Nationalism
- (c) The Politicization of the Masses Under Colonialism

##### THEME II: Race Consciousness and the Rise of Pan-Africanism

- (a) Pan-Africanism: Sub-Saharan, Trans-Saharan, and Trans-Atlantic
- (b) Race-Consciousness and the Continental Mystique
- (c) Negritude and Pan-Black Solidarity
- (d) Toward Institutionalizing Pan-Africanism

##### THEME III: The Emergence and Development of Political Parties

- (a) The Politicization of Social and Cultural Groups
- (b) Organized Agitation in Comparative Perspective
- (c) The Infrastructure of Modern Leadership

##### THEME IV: Independence and the Growth of Executive Power

- (a) The Decline of Political Parties
- (b) The Decline of Legislatures
- (c) The Rise of Presidential Power

##### THEME V: Ethnicity in African Politics

- (a) Ancient Loyalties and Modern Identities
- (b) Ethnicity and Resource Allocation
- (c) Ethnicity and the Scramble for Power
- (d) Ethnicity and Cultural Nationalism

##### THEME VI: Class-Formation in Changing Africa

- (a) Is there Class-Struggle in Africa?
- (b) Traditional and Modern Elites
- (c) Ethnicity, Class Differences, and Economic Underdevelopment

##### THEME VII: Problems of Civil-Military Relations

## V. Civil/Military Relations in Africa

1. Dowse, Robert E., "The Military and Political Development," in Colin Leys (ed.) Politics and Change in Developing Countries.
2. Fiek, E., "Military Coups and Political Development," in Doro and Stultz, Governing in Black Africa.
3. First, Ruth, The Barrel of a Gun (London, 1970).
4. Huntington, S.P., Political Orders in Changing Societies. Especially Chapter 4.
5. Lee, J.M., African Armies and Civil Orders (London, 1969).
6. Lucknam, Robin, The Nigerian Military: A Sociological Analysis of Authority and Revolt (Cambridge, 1971).
7. Mazrui, Ali A., "Political Control and Military Power," in Mazrui, Cultural Engineering and Nation-Building in East Africa (Evanston, 1972).
8. Welch, Claude, "Cincinnatus in Africa: The Possibility of Military Withdrawal from Politics," in Michael F. Lofchie (ed.) The State of the Nations (Berkeley and London, 1971).
9. Welch, Claude, Soldier and State in Africa (Evanston, 1970).
10. Wood, D. and W.F. Gutteridge, The Armed Forces of African States (London, 1966).

## VI. Ethnicity in African Politics

1. Gulliver, P.H. (ed.), Tradition and Transition in East Africa (Los Angeles, 1969).
2. Gutkind, P. (ed.) The Passing of Tribal Society (Toronto and Montreal, 1971).
3. Mazrui, Ali A., "Violent Contiguity and the Politics of Retribalization in Africa," Journal of International Affairs, XXIII, no. 1 (1969).
4. Mercier, Paul, "On the Meaning of Tribalism in Black Africa," in Pierre van den Berghe (ed.) Africa: Social Problems of Change and Conflict (San Francisco, 1965).
5. Olorunsole, V. (ed.) The Politics of Cultural Sub-Nationalism (New York, 1972).

Markovitz, Irving L.	<u>African Politics and Society</u>	(New York, 1971)
Gutkind, Peter and E. Wallerstein	<u>The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa</u>	(London, 1976)
Mazrui, A.I.A.	<u>The Africans: A Triple Heritage</u>	(London: BBC, 1986)
Mazrui, A.A. & Tidy, M.	<u>Nationalism and the New States in Africa</u>	(London: Heinemann, 1984)
Mazrui, A.I.A. (1980)	<u>The African Condition</u>	(Cambridge, New York: Praeger, 1986)
Mazrui, A.I.A. (ed.)	<u>The Africans: A Reader</u>	(New York: Praeger, 1986)
Mazrui, A.I.A.	<u>Political Values and The Educated Class in Africa</u>	(Univ. of CA Press, 1978)
Colin Leys	<u>Underdevelopment in Kenya: The Political Economy of Neo-Colonialism</u>	(Univ. of CA Press)
Colin Legum	<u>Pan Africanism</u>	(Latest Fall (Matl))
Gavin Williams	<u>Nigeria: Economy and Society</u>	(London, 1976)
Chinweizu	<u>The West and the Rest of Us</u>	(Random House, 1975)
Amiri	<u>Neo-Colonialism in West Africa</u>	(Monthly Review)
Kitchen	<u>Africa: From Mystery to Maze</u>	(D.C. Heath)
Mazrui	<u>Towards a Pax Africana</u>	(Univ. of Chicago, 1967)
Mazrui	<u>Cultural Engineering &amp; Nation-Building</u>	(Northwestern, 1972)
Shaw	<u>Cooperation and Conflict in Southern Africa</u>	(Univ. Press of America, 1976)

Appendix

5. Nkrumah, Kwame, Neo-Colonialism: The Last Step of Imperialism (New York, 1965).
6. Patel, Surendra, J., "The Technological Dependence of Developing Countries," vol. 12, no. 1, March 1974, pp. 1-18.
7. Rhodes, R.I. (ed.), Imperialism and Underdevelopment (New York and London, 1970).
8. Saul, John and Arrighi, Giovanni, Essays on the Political Economy of Africa (Monthly Review) 1973.
9. Worsley, Pete, The Third World (London, 1967).

#### IX. Problems of Cultural Dependency

1. Crocker, Chester A., "Military Dependence: The Colonial Legacy in Africa," The Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 12, no. 2, June 1974.
2. Fanon, Frantz, White Masks, Black Faces.
3. Irele, Abiola, "Negritude or Black Cultural Nationalism," and "Negritude—Literature and Ideology," The Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 3, no. 3 and 4, 1965.
4. Mazrui, Ali A., World Culture and the Black Experience (Seattle, 1974).
5. Mazrui, Ali A., "Racial Self-Reliance and Cultural Dependency: Nyerere and Amin in Comparative Perspective," Journal of International Affairs, vol. 27, no. 1, 1973.
6. Price, Robert M., "A Theoretical Approach to Military Rule in New States: Reference Group Theory and the Ghanaian Case," World Politics, vol. XXIII, no. 3, 1971.
7. Steeves, Edna, "Negritude and the Noble Savage," The Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 11, no. 1, March 1973.

#### X. Pan-Africanism and the Organization of African Unity

1. Elias, T.O., "The Charter Office Organization of African Unity," American Journal of International Law, vol. 59, no. 2, April 1965, pp. 243-264.
2. Green, R. and A. Seidman, Unity or Poverty? (Harmondsworth, 1968).
3. Legum, Colin, Pan-Africanism (London, 1965 or later edition).