

## 2017 Summer 1 – Eight Week Session

V550 - US Foreign Policy and African Development

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### Course Overview

During the Cold War, American foreign policy toward African was conditioned in large measure by the East-West conflict and US global containment strategy. As a result, Washington favored political alliance with African governments and political factions that professed commitment to anti-communism but were unwilling or unable to support public aspiration for political and economic development. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, coupled with the collapse of the former Soviet empire in the early 1990s, marked the end of the Cold War. In the aftermath of the Cold War, critics from within and outside the foreign policy establishment argued/suggested that the US should realign its African policy with political and economic realities on the continent.

Despite the cessation of the East-West rivalry, there would be no significant departure from the minimalist approach to Africa until the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States which prompted Bush's decision to create the African Command (or AFRICOM) in 2007, giving African countries a potentially robust role in the us-led Global War on Terror (GWOT). Bush's policy shift provoked renewed debate among activists, scholars, and policy makers about the process, means and ends of US African policy. A central theme of this debate is related to the extent of convergence, or lack thereof, between Washington's global strategy and objectives and growing consensus that African countries and their international partners should invest more resources in human security.

Against this backdrop, ***V550 US Foreign Policy and African Development*** is intended to introduce participants to the literature on US foreign policy toward Africa, with a particular focus on US-African relations from the Cold War era through the present. While the course attempts to address diverse dimensions of US-African relations, particular attention is devoted to AFRICOM, the role of African countries in the US-led Global War on Terror (GWOT), and a major dilemma of US foreign policy toward Africa/the Global South, namely Washington's political friendship (patron-client relations) with African regimes whose conducts are in conflict with American democratic ideals. Among other things, participants are expected to take an active part in discussion the following topics:

- European colonialism/historical background to US-African relations, overview of US interests in Africa, and rationales for the study of US foreign policy toward Africa.
- Patron-clientelism as a conceptual framework for understanding past and present relationships between the United States and African countries.

- US African policy in the context Cold War International Relations – three case studies from Schraeder's book.
- 9/11 terrorist attacks, the US-led Global War on Terror, and shift in American foreign policy toward Africa/AFRICOM and US Security Policy in Africa.
- External and internal sources of Islamic fundamentalism/African hot spots in the Global War on Terror.
- The nature and role of US foreign aid policy to African countries, with particular emphasis on the post-Cold War era.
- Energy Security and Global Competition in Africa, with particular reference to the intersection of US and China's growing interests in Africa
- Resource trade with US/Western MNCs, human rights, socioeconomic rights and environmental rights protection in Africa
- US trade policy and African development in the post-Cold War global environment
- African Perspective on Security – toward the Human Security Paradigm in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century
- Humanitarian intervention in Africa, with particular emphasis on the HIV/AIDS pandemic, refugee relief, genocide and mass atrocity, and human rights violations.
- US role in conflict resolution and democratization in Africa
- Reflections of the future of US-African relations

### **Required Readings:**

In addition to magazine and journal articles, policy reports, and book chapters that will serve as supplemental readings, students will be required to purchase the following texts:

Peter Schraeder, ***United States Foreign Policy toward Africa: Incrementalism, Crisis and Change***, Cambridge Studies in International Relations, 1994.

Terry F. Buss & Joseph Adjaye, Donald Goldstein & Louis A. Picard, ed., ***African Security and the African Command: Viewpoints on the US Role in Africa***, New York: Kumarian Press, 2011.

2001. Stephen Morrison & Jennifer G. Cooke, ***African Policy in the Clinton Years: Critical Choices for the Bush Administration***, Center for Strategic & International Studies, 2001.

2002. Stephen Morrison & Jennifer G. Cooke, ***US African Policy beyond the Bush Years: Critical Choices for the Obama Administration***, Center for Strategic & International Studies, 2009.

### **Recommended Texts:**

Elizabeth Schmidt, ***Foreign Intervention in Africa: From the Cold War to the War on Terror***, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

David J. Francis, ***US Strategy in Africa: AFRICOM, Terrorism and Security Challenges***, New York: Routledge, 2010.

2004. Ugboaja Ohaegbulam, *US Policy in Postcolonial Africa: Four Case Studies in Conflict Resolution*, New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2004.

Macharia Munene, *The Truman Administration and Decolonization of sub-Saharan Africa*, Nairobi: Nairobi University Press, 1995.

John Harbeson & Donald Rothchild, *Africa in World Politics: Engaging a Changing Global Order*, Boulder: Westview Press, 2013.

David Gordon, David Miller, Jr., & Howard Wolpe, *The United States and Africa: A Post-Cold War Perspective*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998.

***The online version of US Foreign Policy and African Development is designed for self-driven/motivated students who are capable of working independently while participating in group activities. Therefore, it is critical that each participant make out time to cover the readings, review the instructor's lecture notes, videos, participate in online discussions as well as complete written assignments in the course of the semester. Introductory lectures will be given at the beginning of each module and, as needed, at other times. In other words, students are encouraged to take full advantage of the discussion sessions to ask questions while enriching each other's learning experience through their participation in the discussion sessions.***

Students are encouraged to read articles in major periodicals such as *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *US News and World Report*, *Foreign Policy*, *Foreign Affairs*, *International Organization*, *Newsweek* as well as publications by NGOs such as *Human Rights Watch*, *Amnesty International*, *Green Peace*, *Jubilee International*, etc. These and similar publications are very useful in keeping abreast of international issues that may be relevant to topics discussed in class.

### **STATEMENT ON ACADEMIC DISHONESTY**

Plagiarism is the practice of using the work of other people (including fellow students) without giving proper credit to the original sources of the ideas, words, sentences, paragraphs, entire articles, music, or pictures. Plagiarism is a form of cheating and is considered by the University as a serious offense. Proven cases of plagiarism are subject to severe punishment. When a student is suspected of plagiarism, he/she will be informed of the charge. Such a student has the right to respond to the allegations. Procedures outlined in the IU "Student Rights and Responsibilities" statement will be followed if a student is charged with plagiarism. Students have the right to appeal any charge to the Academic Affairs Committee. For additional information on academic dishonesty, see IU SPEA's website. For a useful discussion on plagiarism, see "Avoiding Plagiarism" at: <http://sja.ucdavis.edu/avoid.htm> (Links to an external site.)

### **COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

**Class Participation:** Students are required to participate actively in their own learning and that of their colleagues by reading all the assigned materials, maintaining regular attendance at virtual class meetings, and taking part in class discussions. Discussion topics will be posted at appropriate intervals, with specifications on time frame allowed for students to post their contributions, ask questions and/or post their reactions to other students' contributions. Each discussion session will last between one to two weeks, depending on the nature of the topic. Discussion sessions will be carefully monitored by the instructor to maintain focus and direction. **(20 percent)**

**Weekly Summaries and Reflections:** Students will be required to submit 1-2 page summary of class readings at the end of each week. The modality of this requirement will be discussed at the beginning of the summer session. **(20 percent)**

**Response Papers:** Students will be given one week at a time to write four critical essays on issues related to the course material. A written instruction/prompt will be provided for each essay assignment. **(60 percent)**

**GRADING SCALE:**

97-100 = A+	87-89 = B+	77-79 = C+	67-69 = D+	0-59 = F
94-96 = A	84-83 = B	74-76 = C	64-66 = D	
90-93 = A-	80-83 = B-	70-73 = C-	60-63 = D-	

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**SCHEDULE OF CLASS ACTIVITIES**

**WEEKS 1-2: MAY 9-21**

**MODULE ONE:**

- § European rule and decolonization: historical backdrop to US-African relations
- § US-African Relations post-World War II: conceptual/theoretical perspectives
- § Case studies of US foreign policy toward Africa during the Cold War

**Overview**

- § General introduction, course overview and course requirements
- § Rationales for the study of US foreign policy toward Africa/overview of US interests in Africa
- § European colonialism - historical backdrop to US foreign policy toward Africa
- § World War II and emergence of America as a global power

- § Decolonization and emergence of new African states after World War II
- § The Truman doctrine, containment and inception of US involvement in post-colonial Africa
- § Theoretical models of International Relations and foreign policy
- § The Cold War and expansion of US involvement in post-colonial Africa
- § Cold War alliances between Washington and African countries - Case Studies

## § Unit #1- European Colonialism and Decolonization: Historical backdrop to US-African relations

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### **READINGS:**

Todd Moss, ***African Development: Making Sense of the Issues and Actors***, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2011, Chapter 2 (**CANVAS**).

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Macharia Munene, ***The Truman Administration and the Decolonization of sub-Saharan Africa***, Nairobi: Nairobi University Press, 1995, Chapter I, The United States and Colonialism – Pre-Decolonization Era, (**CANVAS**).

David Gordon, David Miller, Jr., & Howard Wolpe, ***The United States and Africa: A Post-Cold War Perspective***, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998, Chapter 4 (**CANVAS**).

Elizabeth Schmidt, ***Foreign Intervention in Africa: From the Cold War to the War on Terror***, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013, Chapter 1, Nationalism, Decolonization and the Cold War, 1945-1991 (**CANVAS**).

Videos – TBA

DISCUSSION SESSION #1 [TBA]

## § Unit #2 – US-African Relations post-World War II: Conceptual/Theoretical Frameworks

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## **READINGS:**

Ole R. Holsti, Models of International Relations and Foreign Policy, in G. John Ikenberry, ***American Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays***, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005, pp. 14-39 (**CANVAS**).

Osita Afoaku, "US Foreign Policy and Authoritarian Regimes: Patron-Clientelism in the International Sphere", ***Journal of Third World Studies***, vol. xvii, no. 2, Fall 2000, pp. 13-40 (**CANVAS**).

Macharia Munene, ***The Truman Administration and the Decolonization of sub-Saharan***

***Africa***, Chapters 4 – Cold War and Africa's Position in American Foreign Policy, 1947-1950

(**CANVAS**).

Videos -TBA

## **Unit #3 – Case studies of US foreign policy toward Africa during the Cold War**

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## **READINGS:**

Peter Schraeder, United States Foreign Policy toward Africa: Incrementalism, Crisis and Change, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994, Chapters 1 &2.

Peter Schraeder, United States Foreign Policy toward Africa, Chapter 3 [Zaire: Case Study #1]

Peter Schraeder, United States Foreign Policy toward Africa, Chapter 4 [Ethiopia & Somalia: Case Study #2]

Peter Schraeder, United States Foreign Policy toward Africa, Chapter 4 [South Africa-Case Study #3]

Videos - TBA

**\*RESPONSE ESSAY ASSIGNMENT #1 –TBA**

**WEEKS 3-4: MAY 22-JUNE 4**

**MODULE TWO:**

- § US-African Relations in the post-Cold period – 1990s
- § 9/11 Terrorist Attacks, AFRICOM and Strategic Shift in US African Policy –Part I
- § Terrorist Attacks, AFRICOM and Strategic Shift in US African Policy – Part II

**Overview**

- § Balance of power in the post-Cold War international system
- § Renewed popular demand for democracy and accountable governance in Africa
- § Debating the future direction of US African policy after the Cold War
- § Redefining the goals of US foreign policy toward Africa after the Cold War
- § Retargeting US African policy on democratic reform and social justice
- § Deciding the political fate of former client regimes in Africa/Third World
- § Retargeting US African policy on poverty and sustainable development
- § Confronting genocide, human rights violations, and human security concerns

**§ Unit#1- US African Policies in the post-Cold period – 1900s**

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**READINGS:**

Peter Schraeder, *United States Foreign Policy toward Africa*, Chapter 6



Peter Schraeder, United States and Africa: “Uncle Sam” or “Uncle Scrooge”?, in Jürgen

Ruland, Theodor Hanf, and Eva Manske, ***US Foreign Policy Toward the Third World: A Post-Cold War Assessment***, Chapter 9 (CANVAS).

Victor Tanner & Nan Borton, Strengthening US Government Humanitarian Action in Africa, in Morrison & Cooke, ***Africa Policy in the Clinton Years: Critical Choices for the Bush Administration***, Chapter 7.

Alan J. Kuperman, Rwanda in Retrospect, in James Hoge Jr. & Gideon Rose, ***American Foreign Policy: Case Studies***, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003, pp. 76-100.

Andrew Natsios & Zachary Scott, Darfur, Sudan, in Jared Genser & Irwin Cotler, ***The Responsibility to Protect: The Promise of Stopping Mass Atrocities in our Time***, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012, Chapter 11.

Videos -TBA

## DISCUSSION SESSION #2 [TBA]

### § Unit#2 - 9/11 Terrorist Attacks, AFRICOM and Strategic Shift in US African Policy – Part I

#### READINGS:

Elizabeth Schmidt, ***Foreign Interventions in African***, Chapter 8

Elisabeth Feleke, Louis Picard, and Terry Buss, African Security Challenges and AFRICOM: An Overview, in Terry Buss et al, ***African Security and the African Command: View Points on the US Role in Africa***, USA: Kumarian Press, 2011, chapter 1



Peter Pham, AFRICOM's Strategic Assumptions, in Terry Buss et al, ***African Security and the African Command***, Chapter 3

David Francis, AFRICOM: US Strategic Interests and African Security, in David Francis, Ed. ***US***

***Strategy in Africa: AFRICOM, terrorism and security challenges***, New York: Routledge, 2010,

Chapter 1 (***CANVAS***).

Theresa Whelan, Africa: a new strategic perspective, in David Francis, ***US Strategy in Africa***, Chapter 2 (***CANVAS***).

Videos - TBA

**Unit#3 - 9/11 Terrorist Attacks, AFRICOM and Strategic Shift in US African Policy -**

**Part II**

### **READINGS:**

Joseph Adjaye, AFRICOM: A View from Below: What Security? Whose Security?, in Terry Buss et al, ***African Security and the African Command***, Chapter 4

Mathurin Houngnikpo, AFRICOM: African Concerns and Criticism, in Terry Buss et al, ***African Security and the African Command***, Chapter 5

M.A. Mohamed Salih, An African perspective on security, in David Francis, Ed. ***US Strategy in Africa***, Chapter 5 (***CANVAS***).

Shannon Beebe, Solutions not yet sought: a human security paradigm for twenty-first-century Africa, in David Francis, ed. ***US Strategy in Africa***, Chapter 6 (***CANVAS***).

Daniel Volman, AFRICOM: what is it for and what will it do?, in David Francis, Ed. ***US Strategy in Africa***, Chapter 3 (***CANVAS***).

Videos –TBA

### **DISCUSSION SESSION #3 [TBA]**

### **\*RESPONSE ESSAY ASSIGNMENT #2**

### **WEEKS 5-6: JUNE 5-18**

#### **MODULE THREE:**

- § AFRICOM and US-African Partnership in the Global War on Terror
- § Promoting Economic Development through Trade Policy and Foreign Aid
- § Promotion of Democracy and Good Governance in Africa

#### **Overview**

- § Understanding Africa's security environment
- § External and internal sources of Islamist terrorism in Africa
- § Military dimensions of counterterrorism operations
- § Non-military dimensions of counterterrorism operations
- § AGOA/MCC and US trade policy toward African countries
- § USAID and development assistance to African countries
- § Democracy promotion, governance and sustainable development
- § Balancing state-centric and human security in US African policy
- § American and African perspective on AFRICOM and GWOT

## Unit#1- AFRICOM and US-African Partnership in the Global War on Terror

### READINGS:

J. Stephen Morrison & Jennifer Cooke, A Smarter US Approach to Africa, in Cooke & Morrison, ***US Africa Policy beyond the Bush Years: Critical Challenges for the Obama Administration***, Washington, DC: The CSIS Press, 2009, Chapter 1

William Mark Bellarmy, Making Sense of US Security Engagement in Africa, in in Cooke & Morrison, ***US Africa Policy beyond the Bush Years***, Chapter 2

John Harbeson, AFRICOM and the Horn of Africa: Toward Terms of Partnership, in Terry Buss et al, ***African Security and the African Command***, Chapter 9

Machurin Hounnikpo, Small Arms and Big Trouble, in Terry Buss et al, ***African Security and the African Command***, Chapter 10

Terry Buss, Nathaniel Buss, and Louis Picard, Al-Qaeda in Africa: The Threat and the Response, in Terry Buss et al, ***African Security and the African Command***, Chapter 11

Videos-TBA

## § Unit#2- Promoting Economic Development through Trade Policy and Foreign Aid

### READINGS:

Peter Lewis, Pursuing US Economic Interests in Africa, in Morrison & Cooke, ***Africa Policy in the Clinton Years: Critical Choices for the Bush Administration***, Chapter 6.

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Princeton Lyman, US Foreign Assistance and Trade Policies in Africa, in Morrison & Cooke, ***US Africa Policy beyond the Bush Years***, Chapter 6

Brock Williams, African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA): Background and Reauthorization, Congressional Research Service, April 12, 2015 (**CANVAS**).

Videos -TBA

### § Unit#3: Promotion of Democracy and Good Governance in Africa

#### **READINGS:**

Joel Barkan, Advancing Democracy in Africa, in Morrison & Cooke, *US Africa Policy beyond the Bush Years*, Chapter 5

Nicholas van de Walle, Obama and Africa: Lots of Hope, Not Much Change, *Foreign Affairs*, September/October, 2015 (**CANVAS**).

Jimmy Carter, Our Endangered Values: America's Moral Crisis, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005, Chapter 12 (**CANVAS**).

### **DISCUSSION SESSION # 4 ([TBA])**

### **\*RESPONSE ESSAY ASSIGNMENT #3**

### **WEEKS 7-8: JUNE 19-30**

#### § **MODULE FOUR:**

- § Combating the HIV/AIDS Pandemic and Africa's Health Challenges
- § Energy Security and Global Competition in Africa-US Perspective
- § US Contributions to African Security through Crisis Diplomacy

### **Overview**

- § President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) and US Africa health policy
- § US support for African efforts to eradicate Malaria, TB and other communicable diseases
- § Strengthening Africa's public health delivery capacities
- § Pursuing US energy security interests in Africa after 9/11 attacks
- § Helping Africa's new energy produces to maximize emerging opportunities
- § Crisis diplomacy and post-conflict reconstruction in West and Central Africa
- § Diverse sources of intrastate conflicts and domestic instability in Africa
- § Impact of intrastate conflicts and domestic instability on US interests in Africa
- § Strengthening Africa's security/conflict management capacities

## § Unit#1- Combating Africa's HIV/AIDS Pandemic and other Health Problems

### READINGS:

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Stephen Morrison, US Policy toward HIV/AIDS in Africa: Momentum, Opportunities, and urgent choice, in Stephen Morrison & Jennifer Cooke, ***Africa Policy in the Clinton Years: Critical Choices for the Bush Administration***, Washington, DC: The CSIS Press, 2001, Chapter 2

Phillip Nieburg & J. Stephen Morrison, The Big US Leap on HIV/AIDS in Africa: What Is the Next Act?, in Morrison & Cooke, ***US Africa Policy beyond the Bush Years***, Chapter 3

Nellie Bristol, US Actions Can Help Keep Global Polio Eradication Strategy on Track,

***CSIS Global Health Policy Center***, Washington, DC. July 2015 (***CANVAS***).

Nellie Bristol & Chris Millard, Bolstering Public Health Capacities through Global Polio

Eradiation, ***A Report of the CSIS Global Health Policy Center***, Washington, DC,

February 2016 (***CANVAS***).

Videos -TBA

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## **Unit#2- Energy Security and Global Competition in Africa-US Perspective**

### **READINGS:**

Jennifer Cooke & David Goldwyn, Africa's New Energy Producers: Making the Most of Emerging Opportunities, ***A Report of the CSIS Africa Program and the CSIS Energy and National Security Program***, January 2015 (**CANVAS**),

David Goldwyn, Pursuing US Energy Security Interests in Africa, in Morrison & Cooke, ***US Africa Policy beyond the Bush Years***, Chapter 4

## **DISCUSSION SESSION #5 [TBA]**

### **§ Unit#3: US Contributions to African Security through Crisis Diplomacy**

### **READINGS:**

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Terrence Lyons, US Diplomatic Strategies to Resolve Conflicts in Africa, in Morrison & Cooke, ***Africa Policy in the Clinton Years: Critical Choices for the Bush Administration***, Chapter 3.

Jendayi Frazer & Jeffrey Herbst, US Investments in Security Operations in Africa, in Morrison & Cooke, ***Africa Policy in the Clinton Years: Critical Choices for the Bush Administration***, Chapter 4.

Timothy Carney, Crisis Diplomacy, in Morrison & Cooke, ***US Africa Policy beyond the Bush Years***, Chapter 8

Videos -TBA

## **\*RESPONSE ESSAY ASSIGNMENT #4**