

History 206.402

Power, Civil Society, and the End of Colonial rule in Africa

Spring 2007, W 2-5

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Course description

The purpose of this course is to explore one of the most significant events in the 20th century history of Africa: the end of colonial rule on the continent. We will examine the variety of ways in which political freedom was achieved and the forces that spearheaded the movement for independence. We will look at the intellectual, political, and violent dimensions of the struggle to end European domination in Africa. Topics include: the genesis and development of African nationalism; anti-colonial nationalism and national awakening; the role of women and institutions of civil society; the impact of African-American and West Indian political thinkers and activists on the struggle for independence in Africa. The approach will be both thematic and case study based. After engaging with the theoretical literature on nationalism, domination, civil society and the politics of British and French imperial retreat, we will discuss four major case studies in French West Africa, Kenya, Algeria, and South Africa.

Course objectives

The course aims to further students' understanding of the dynamics of colonialism and European rule in Africa by examining the process through which colonization was enforced and contested. Theories of power, hegemony, colonialism, civil society and nationalism, from James Scott, M. Foucault, Antonio Gramsci, Frantz Fanon and Benedict Anderson, will be used to explore the mechanism and tools of colonial domination and resistance to it.

Keep the following questions, and your own questions, in mind as you read and discuss through the course.

1. The politics of de-colonization. Was de-colonization a planned and predictable process? Did the British and French develop policies for de-colonization? What are the similarities and differences between French and British de-colonization? What are the ideological, political, economic, and ethical factors that shaped their attitude towards African struggle for independence?

2. Social science theory and history. Can Benedict Anderson's concept of nationalism be applied to African colonial societies as a whole? Or some portion of them? Did national consciousness exist in colonial Africa? When? Where? In what forms? Ask the same questions for Gramsci's concept of civil society and hegemony.

3. The colonial administration. Where did it get its power? How did it exercise it? Were there limitations to this power? Why and in what forms? Does it merit the designation of 'colonial state'? Did it affect all strata of society the same way? Did the colonized (subaltern) wield power? How did they exercise their power? Did they have an impact on the ways in which colonies were administrated?

4. Nationalism and panafricanism. What are the roots of African nationalism? What role did African-American and West Indian thinkers play in the emergence of African Nationalism? What factors in the local and global political context of post World War II helped the rise of the nationalist movement in Africa? What are the different forces that led this movement? What role did women play in it? Why did nationalists in different colonies use different methods to combat colonial domination?

Course Requirements

Attendance and class participation: This course fulfills the research requirement mandated by the new history undergraduate curriculum. It is a reading and discussion course that requires that students have the ability, and are motivated, to work independently. Students will find that the majority of their efforts are spent outside of the classroom as they prepare for weekly meetings (read, reflect, and formulate ideas to contribute). You are expected to be thoroughly familiar with the readings for each class and to participate actively in discussion. **Each student will co-lead discussion for one class meeting and prepare two to three questions for discussion every week.** Weekly reading is indicated on the syllabus. It is the student's responsibility to complete the required reading on schedule. Both attendance and in-class participation will count substantially towards your grade. **One absence does not carry a penalty but any additional absence will result in additional writing assignment or grade reduction. If you have a legitimate reason to miss class, please let me know beforehand.**

Book report: Every student will prepare a 3 to 4 page long report on a book relevant to a weekly topic. Bring book to class and present an oral summary of the contents, theoretical approach, relevance to class, and information on author as appropriate. Submit a written version to instructor. Send report to class 24 hours before class meeting.

Topic Paper: Every student is required to write a 6 to 8 page long topic paper. The paper is to be based on the topic discussed for the week and on relevant assigned readings and an appropriate set of additional readings. Students choose the weekly topic to write about at the beginning of the semester.

Term paper: Each student will prepare an individual paper of 15 pages maximum double-spaced on a topic of their choice but related to the history of nationalism and decolonization in Africa. You may focus on any country in Africa or on the role of a specific nationalist movement or a person (e.g. union or political activist, intellectual, resistance leader) whose ideas, works, or actions were significant in the struggle to end colonial rule. In your research paper you should demonstrate that you have carefully read

and thought through the material on your topic as it relates to issues of power, domination, civil society and nationalism. Critical analysis, originality and clarity are keys to a good paper. In writing this paper you are encouraged to draw from the resources available in the different libraries in the university and to use the interlibrary loan service, if needed, to document your thesis and arguments. The use of primary sources is recommended. Sources used should be acknowledged properly through quotations, footnotes and a bibliography. Format should be based on the Chicago Manual of Style. The topic and outline of your research project must be discussed with the instructor by the first week of February. A version of the paper will be presented in class April 11th and 18th and the revised version is due April 30th. Be prepared to provide a copy of your term paper for every student in the class two days prior to oral presentation.

Academic integrity: Students are expected to adhere to the university's academic integrity and plagiarism policies on all assignments. Plagiarism consists of using other people's ideas without proper acknowledgment. Students who violate the university's academic integrity policies risk failing the course.

Grading: Each student will be evaluated on three pieces of work: there will be a topic paper of eight pages based on a seminar theme, an oral and written book report of three to four pages and a term paper of fifteen pages. Attendance and participation in class discussion will count for 20 % of your grade.

Topic paper-----	30%
Book report-----	10%
Term paper-----	40%
Class participation-----	20%

Required books

Books are available for purchase at Penn Book Center; library copies are also reserved at the Rosengarten reserve. A course pack of additional required readings is available at Wharton Reprographics, Steinberg Hall.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso , 1991 (paper back version).

Boahen, Adu. *African Perspectives on Colonialism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U Press, 1989 (paper back)

Chafer, Tony. *The End of Empire in French West Africa: France's successful decolonization?* New York: Berg, 2002 (paper back)

Fanon, Frantz. *A Dying Colonialism*. Translated from the French by Haakon Chevalier with an introduction of Adolfo Gilly. New York: Gove Press, Inc 1967. Paper back

Odhiambo E. S, Atieno and John Lonsdale, *Mau Mau and Nationhood* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio U. Press Nairobi, Kenya: AEP; London: James Currey, 2003) Intro to chapt 6

Schedule of class meetings

Week 1

Jan 10- **Introduction**

Week 2

Jan 17-**The colonial moment**

Film: *This magnificent African Cake*

Reading

Boahen, *African Perspectives on Colonialism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U Press, 1989)

Week 3

Jan 24-**The politics of imperial retreat: the British and the French**

Reading:

Tony Smith, 'A comparative Study of French and British Decolonisation,' *Comparative Studies in society and history* XX (1978), 70-102;

Ronald Robinson ' Andrew Cohen and the Transfer of Power in Tropical Africa, 1940-1951' in *Decolonisation and After: the British and French Experience* eds. W.H. Morris-Jones and Georges Fischer (London: F. Cass, 1980), 50-72

John Flint, 'Planned decolonisation and its failure in British Africa in *African Affairs* v. 82 no. 328, (July 1983), 389-411;

Robert Pierce, 'The Colonial Office and Planned Decolonisation' *African Affairs*, v.83 no.330 (Jan. 1984), 77-93.

Week 4

Jan 31-**Power, domination, and civil society in the colonial context**

Reading:

J. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), ch. 1 and 2, 1-44

Dagmar Engels and Shula Marks ed., *Contesting Colonial Hegemony: State and Civil Society in Africa and India* (British Academic Press: London, 1994), 1-15.

D. Chakrabarty, *Habitations of Modernity: Essay in the Wake of Subaltern Studies* (Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, 2002), 3-19

Frederick Cooper, 'Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History' in David Ludden ed., *Subaltern Studies: Critical History, Contested Meaning and the Globalization of South Asia* (London: Anthem Press, 2001), 256-285 (change with excerpt from his recent book).

Week 5

Feb.7- **Understanding Nationalism**

Reading:

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York; Verso, 1991)

Week 6Feb.14-**Panafricanism and Nationalism**Film: *The rise of African Nationalism***Reading:**

George Shepperson, 'Notes on Negro American Influences on the Emergence of African Nationalism,' *Journal of African History*, 1, 2 (1960), 299-312

J.A.Langley, *Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa, 1900-1940: A study in ideology and social classes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973) 58-103

J. Lonsdale, 'The Emergence of African Nations: A Historiographical Analysis' *African Affairs*, 11-28.

Ali Mazrui, 'Seek Ye the political kingdom' *Unesco General History of Africa* vol. 8 (1993), 105-126

Week 7Feb.21- **Women and Nationalism in Africa****Reading:**

Susan Geiger: 'Women and African Nationalism,' *Journal of Women's history* 2(1990), 227-44.

Gloria I Chuku, 'Women and Nationalist Movements' in *Africa* vol. 4: *The End of Colonial Rule, Nationalism and Decolonization* ed. Toyin Falola (Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press, 2002), 109-130

Elizabeth Smith, 'Emancipate Your Husbands: Women and Nationalism in Guinea, 1953-1958' in *Women in African Colonial Histories* eds, J. Allman, S. Geiger and N. Musisi (Bloomington: Indiana U Press, 2002), 282-305

Tanya Lyons, 'Guerilla Girls and Women in the Zimbabwean National Struggle for Liberation' in *Women and African Colonial Histories*, 305-326

Week 8Feb.28-**Paper Conference****Week 9**March 14- **The End of French rule in West Africa****Reading**

Tony chafer: *The End of Empire in French West Africa: Frances successful decolonization?* (New York: Berg, 2002)

Week 10March 21- **The Algerian struggle for independence**Film: *Black skin White Mask***Reading:**

Frantz Fanon, *A Dying colonialism* (New York: Grove Press, Inc 1967)

Week 11March 28-**Mau Mau and the end of colonial rule in Kenya****Reading:**

Es Atieno Odhiambo and John Lonsdale, *Mau Mau and Nationhood* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio U. Press Nairobi, Kenya: AEP; London: James Currey, 2003) Intro to chapt 6

Week 12

April 4- **South African and Afrikaner nationalism**

Reading:

William Beinart, *Twentieth Century South Africa* (Oxford: New York: Oxford U Press, 2001, 2nd edition), 135-162; 212-260

Nelson Mandela, 'Talking with the Enemy' *Long Walk to Freedom: the Autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (Boston, New York, Toronto and London: Little, Brown and Company, 1995), 513-558.

Week 13

April 11- Paper presentations

Week 14

April 18- Paper presentations and review

Week 15

April 30- submission of term papers

Bibliography for book reports and reference

Adamson Walter, *Hegemony and Revolution: A study of Antonio Gramsci's Political and Cultural Theory* (Berkeley: U of Cal Press, 1980)

Allman, Jean M., *The Quills of the Porcupine: Asante Nationalism in an Emergent Ghana* (Madison: U of Wisconsin Press, 1993)

Allman, J., Susan Geiger and Nakanyike Musisi, *Women in African Colonial Histories*

(Athens: Indiana University Press, 2002).

Allman, Jean M, ed., *Africa: Power and the Politics of Dress* (Bloomington: Indiana U. Press, 2004)

Ansprenger, F., *The Dissolution of Colonial Empires* (London: Routledge, 1989)

Beinart, William, *Twentieth Century South Africa* (Oxford: New York: Oxford U Press, 2001, 2nd edition),

Betts R. F., *France and Decolonisation, 1900-1960* (Basingstoke: McMillan, 1991)

Betts, R. F., *Assimilation and Association in French Colonial Theory* (New York: Columbia U. Press, 1961).

- Birmingham D., *The Decolonisation of Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1995)
- Bozzoli, Belinda and Mamntho Nkotsie, *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy and Migrancy in South Africa, 1900-1983* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1991)
- Cabral, Amilcar, *Return to the Source: Selected Speeches by Amilcar Cabral* (Monthly Review Press, 1973)
- Cain, P. J. and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, 2 vols. : v. 1, *Innovation and Expansion 1688 –1914*; and v.2.: *Crisis and Deconstruction, 1914-1990* (London, Longman , 1993)
- Cooper F., *Decolonisation and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1996).
- _____, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, and History* (University of California Press, 2005).
- Davidson, B., *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of Nation-State*, (New York: Times Books, 1992)
- Dirks, Nicholas B.ed., *Colonialism and Culture* (The University of Michigan Press, 1995)
- Engels, D and Shula Marks, eds., *Contesting Colonial Hegemony: State and Society in Africa and India* (London and New York: British Academic Press, 1994)
- Fanon, F., *The Wretched of the Earth Preface*. by Jean-Paul Sartre. Translated by Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1963, 1968)
- Fanon, F., *Black Skin White Mask Translated by Charles Lam Markman* (New York: Grove Press, 1967)
- Fedorowich, K. and Thomas, M., (ed) *International diplomacy and colonial retreat* (London: Frank Cass, 2001)
- Gann L. H. and Duignan, P.eds., *Colonialism in Africa, 1870-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1970).
- Gendzier, I. L., *Frantz Fanon: A Critical Study* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973)
- Gifford, P. & Louis W. R., *Transfer of Power in Africa* (New Haven: Yale U. press, 1982)
- Hargreaves, J. D., *The End of Colonial Rule in West Africa* (London: Historical Association, 1976)
- Hargreaves, J. D., *Decolonisation in Africa* (2nd ed, Hawlow: Longman, 1996)
- Hodgkin, T., *Nationalism in Colonial Africa* (London: F. Muller, 1956)

- Hobsbawn, E. J., *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, (Cambridge: Cambridge U Press, 1995 ed.)
- James, C. L. R., *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution* (London : Allison and Busby, 1977)
- Kanogo, T., *African Womenhood in Colonial Kenya* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005)
- Kaviraj, S. and Sunil Khilnani, *Civil Society: History and Possibilities* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 2001)
- Kershaw, G., *Mau Mau From Below* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1996)
- Krantz, Frederick, ed. *History from Below: Studies in Popular Protest and Popular Ideology in Honour of George Rude* (Montreal: Concordia Press, 1985), 2 vols.
- Langley, J.A. *Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa, 1900-1940: A study in ideology and social classes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973) 58-103
- Legum, C., *Pan-Africanism: A short Political Guide* (Westport, Conn. : Greenwood Press, 1976, c1962)
- Le Sueur, James D., *Intellectuals and Identity Politics during the decolonization of Algeria* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001)
- Maddox, G and Welliver T., *Colonialism and Nationalism in Africa* (New York: Garland, 1993)
- Macqueen, N., *The Decolonization of Portuguese Africa: Metropolitan Revolution and the Dissolution of Empire* (London; New York: Longman, 1997)
- Maloba Wunyabari O., *Mau Mau and Kenya: An Analysis of a Peasant Revolt* (Bloomington: Indiana U Press, 1993)
- Mamdani, M., *Citizens and Subjects* (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1996)
- Marks, Shula, *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: Class, Nationalism and the State in twentieth-century Natal* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986)
- Morris-Jones W.H. and Georges Fischer eds., *Decolonisation and After: the British and French Experience*. (London: F. Cass, 1980).
- Mortimer E., *France and the Africans: A Political History, 1944-60* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969)
- Mudimbe, V., *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge* (Athens and London: Indiana U. Press and J. Carrey, 1988)
- Naylor, P. C., *France and Algeria: a History of Decolonization and Transformation* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000).

- Nkrumah, Kwame, *The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1957).
- Nkrumah, K., *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology of Decolonization and Development with Particular Reference to African revolution* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1965, 1964)
- Padmore, G., *Pan-Africanism or communism*. Foreword by Richard Wright. Introd. by Azinna NwaforGarden (City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1971.)
- Prochaska, David, *Making Algeria French: colonialism in Bône, 1870-1920* (Cambridge [England] ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1990)
- Roberts, Andrew, *The Colonial Moment in Africa* (New York: Cambridge U Press,
- Said, E., *Orientalism* (New York : Pantheon Books, 1978)
- Scott, J. C., *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1985)
- Springhall J., *Decolonization since 1945* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001)
- Thomas, L., *Politics of the Womb: Women, Reproduction, and the State in Kenya* (Berkeley: The U. of California Press, 2003)
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- Wallerstein, I., *The Road to Independence: Ghana and the Ivory Coast* (Paris: Mouton and Co, 1964)
- Walker, Cheryl, *Women and Resistance in South Africa* (London: Oryx, 1982)
- Wilson, H. S., *African Decolonisation* (London: Edward Arnold, 1994)
- Woodhull, W., *Transfigurations of the Maghreb: Feminism, decolonization, and literatures* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993)
- Wolf, E., *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley : University of California Press, c1982.)
- Wrong, D., *Power: Its Forms, Bases and Uses* (Oxford: Blackwell and New York: Harper, 1979)
- Young, Crawford, *Politics of the Congo: Decolonization and Independence* (Princeton, 1965)

