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Spring semester**Introduction to pan-african history (1787-2013)**

(192-1-0053)

This introductory course explores the historical process that led African countries to form the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963, and then the African Union (AU) in 2002. The goal is to give an overview of African political and cultural history, and to highlight the materialization of the idea of pan-Africanism and African unity in a concrete organization that has been going through lots of turmoil and criticism since fifty years. Starting around 1787 in America and the Caribbean, the idea of pan-Africanism was established in Liberia and Sierra Leone in the second part of the nineteenth century, developed during several congresses in Europe between 1900 and 1945, and then implanted in African countries like Ghana, Guinea, Congo, Senegal, Tanzania or South Africa in the second half of the twentieth century. The course will look at three specific questions. Who are the major figures from Africa and the Diaspora who gave an impulsion to this movement? Which were the main stages and difficulties during the pan-African process? What are the economic and political issues that still have to be challenged today by Africans?

Requirements: B.A. level; no previous course required. **Attendance required.**

Final exam based on working documents used in class (Final exam = 100% Final grade).

Total of Credits: 2

Week 1: Pan-African, the Origins of a Concept

Content: Presentation of the syllabus; Pan-African agency: Africa in global and long term history; African associations and anti-slavery uprisings in the Americas; the first pan-african figures: Olaudah Equiano and Toussaint Louverture.

Sources and non compulsory readings:

- WEB DuBois, *The World and Africa*, International Publishers Co. 1965.
- CLR James, *A History of Pan-African Revolt*, Oakland, PM Press, 2012.
- Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Pambazuka Press, 2012.

Week 2: African nationalism in the 19th century

Content: Slave abolitions and colonization in Africa; the Back to Africa Movement; Pan-Africanism and Zionism; the modern African political system.

Working document for the course:

- Hollis R. Lynch, "Pan-Negro nationalism in the New World, Before 1862", in Jeffrey Butler (ed.), *Boston University Papers on Africa*, Volume II, *African History*, p. 149-179.
[<http://www.neiu.edu/~circill/Thompson3.pdf>]

Sources and non compulsory readings:

- Nemata Amelia Blyden, *West Indians in West Africa, 1808-1880: the African diaspora in reverse*, Rochester, University of Rochester press, 2000.

- Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford, *Ethiopia Unbound: studies in race emancipation*, Bristol, Thommes Press, 2003.
- Christopher Fyfe, *Africanus Horton, 1835-1883: West African scientist and patriot*, Aldershot, Gregg revivals, 1992.
- Hollis R. Lynch, *Edward Blyden: Pan-Negro Patriot, 1832-1912*, Oxford University press, 1970.

Week 3: Pan-Africanism and pan-Africanism

Content: Brief overview of the Pan-African Congress from 1900 to 1927; African political and social organizations in the interwar period in Africa, France, UK and USA; WEB DuBois and Marcus Garvey

Working document for the course:

- George Shepperson, "Pan-Africanism and "pan-Africanism": Some Historical Notes", *Phylon*, n°23, 1962, p. 346-358.
[<http://www.freedomarchives.org/Documents/Finder/Black%20Liberation%20Disk/Black%20Power!/SugahData/Essays/Shepperson2.S.pdf>]

Sources and non compulsory readings:

- Colin Grant, *Negro with a hat: the rise and fall of Marcus Garvey*, Oxford University press, 2008.
- Jacqueline Moore, *Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, and the struggle for racial uplift*, Wilmington (Del.), Scholarly resources, 2003.
- Gabriel O. Olusanya, *The West African student's union and the politics of decolonisation, 1925-1958*, Ibadan, Nigéria, Daystar press, 1982.
- Sue Peabody & Tyler Stovall (ed.), *The Color of liberty: Histories of race in France*, Durham, Duke University press, 2003.
- Marika Sherwood, *Origins of Pan-Africanism: Henry Sylvester Williams, Africa, and the African Diaspora*, Routledge, 2012.

Week 4: Modern Pan-Africanism

Content: Ethiopia and Africa in World War II; the political agenda of the 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress; George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah

Working document for the course:

- Marika Sherwood, "Pan-African Conferences, 1900-1953: What did 'Pan-Africanism' mean?", *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, vol. 4, n°10, 2012, p. 106-126.
[<http://www.jpanafrican.com/docs/vol4no10/4.10Pan-African.pdf>]

Sources and non compulsory readings:

- Hakim Adi & Marika Sherwood, George Padmore, *The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress*, London, New Beacon Books, 1995.
- J. Ayodele Langley, *Pan-Africanism and nationalism in West Africa, 1900-1945: a study in ideology and social classes*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1973.
- Ras Makonnen, *Pan-Africanism from within*, London, Oxford University press, 1973.

Week 5: Pan-Africanism and Anti-colonialism

Content: Overview of the post-1945 colonial Africa; the Afro-Asiatic Bandung Conference; the independences of Ghana and Guinea; the All African People Organization; Frantz Fanon, Patrice Lumumba and Congo crisis.

Working document for the course:

- Patrice Lumumba, "Speech at the ceremony of the proclamation of the Congo's independence"
[<http://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/lumumba/1960/06/independence.htm>]
- Sekou Toure, "Discours de Sekou Toure le 25 août 1958 à Conakry"
[<http://histoire.comze.com/sekoutoure25aout1958.pdf>]

Sources and non compulsory readings:

- Frantz Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution*, Grove Press, New Edition, 1994.
- Thomas Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*, London, F. Muller, 1956.
- Kwame Nkrumah, *Challenge of the Congo*, Panaf Books, 1969.
- George Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism? The coming struggle for Africa*. London, D. Dobson, 1956.

Week 6: African political regroupings, 1958-1962

Content: The collapse of colonial federations; Monrovia and Casablanca groups; Felix Houphouët-Boigny and the African Democratic Rally (RDA); Sekou Touré and African trade unions

Working documents:

- Mehdi Ben Barka, "The Unity of the Maghreb", *Africa South*, Vol. 5, n°2, 1961.
[<http://www.disa.ukzn.ac.za/webpages/DC/asjan61.14/asjan61.14.pdf>]
- "Appendices", in Colin Legum, *Pan-Africanism. A short political guide*, London, Pall and Mall Press, 1961.

Sources and non compulsory readings:

- Mamadou Dia, *The African Nations and World Solidarity*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1962.
- Opoku Agyeman, *The failure of grassroots Pan-Africanism: the case of All-African Trade Union Federation*, Lanham, Lexington books, 2003.

Week 7: The Organization of African Unity

Content: The 1963 Addis Ababa Conference; the political guidelines and the shortcomings of OAU; Africa's international boundaries; Haile Selassie and Julius Nyerere

Working document for the course:

- Julius Nyerere, "A United States of Africa", in Gideon-Cyrus M. Mutiso & S.W. Rohio (ed.), *Readings in African Political Thought*, Heinemann Educational Book, Edinburgh, 1975, p. 88-94.
[http://www.newschool.edu/uploadedFiles/TCDS/Democracy_and_Diversity_Institutes/Nyerere_UnitedStatesAfrica.pdf]
- Secretariat of the Organization of the African Unity (OAU), "Resolutions adopted by the First Conference of Independent African Head of State and Government held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 22 to 25 May 1963".
[<http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/Documents/Decisions/hog/aHoGAssembly1963.pdf>]

Sources and non compulsory readings:

- Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, London, Heinemann, 1963.
- Cheikh Anta Diop, *Black Africa: the Economic and Cultural basis for a federated State*, Lawrence Hill & Co., 1987.
- Issa G. Shivji, *Pan-Africanism or Pragmatism. Lessons of the Tanganyika-Zanzibar Union*, Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, 2008.

Week 8: African Americans looking at continental Africa

Content: African independences and Civil Rights movement; Pan-Africanism and Black Power; African Americans and Caribbean back to Africa

Working documents for the course:

- Malcolm X, "Speech on the Founding of the Organization of Afro-American Unity", 28 June 1964 [<http://www.thinkingtogether.org/rcream/archive/Old/S2006/comp/OAAU.pdf>]
- Martin Luther King, "The Birth of a Nation", 7 April 1957, Montgomery, Alabama, Martin Luther King Jr, Papers Project [http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/primarydocuments/Vol4/7-Apr-1957_BirthOfANewNation.pdf]

Sources and non compulsory readings:

- Joseph E. Harris, *Global dimensions of the African Diaspora*, Washington D.C., Howard University press, 1982.
- Walter Rodney, *Groundings with my Brothers*, London, Bogle Louverture Publications, 2001.
- Ronald Walters, *Pan Africanism in the African Diaspora*, Detroit, Wayne State University, 1993.

Week 9: Culture and politics

Content: Cesaire, Diop, Senghor, and the concepts of Negritude and Afrocentricity; the Pan-African Festival (Dakar 1966, Algiers 1969, Lagos 1977) and the politicization of African culture; the crisis of African academics and intellectuals; Rasta, reggae music and Pan-Africanism

Working documents for the course:

- Alioune Diop, "Remarks on African personality and Negritude", in American Society of African Culture (ed.), *Pan-Africanism Reconsidered*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1962, p. 337-345.
[http://www.newschool.edu/uploadedFiles/TCDS/Democracy_and_Diversity_Institutes/Diop_Remarks%20on%20African%20Pers.%20and%20Negritude.pdf]
- Horace Campbell, "Rastafari as Pan Africanism in the Caribbean and Africa", *Africa Journal of Political Economy*, p. 75-88.
[<http://archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC/African%20Journals/pdfs/Journal%20of%20Political%20Economy/ajpev2n1/ajpe002001005.pdf>]

Sources and non compulsory readings:

- Jacob Festus Ade Ajayi, *The African experience with higher education*, London, J. Currey, 1996.
- Aime Cesaire, *Notebook of a Return to the Native Land*, Wesleyan University press, 2001.
- Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: modernity and double consciousness*, Cambridge, Harvard University press, 1993.
- Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, *Moving the centre*, London, J. Currey, 1993.

Week 10: Dynamics of struggles and resistances in Africa, 1970-1980s

Content: African political divisions; wars of liberation in Portuguese and Southern Africa; the 1974 Pan-African Congress; Amilcar Cabral and Walter Rodney.

Working document for the course:

- Walter Rodney, "Towards the Sixth Pan-African Congress: Aspects of the International Class Struggle in Africa, Americas and the Caribbean", in Horace Campbell, *Pan-Africanism*, Toronto, Afro-Carib Publications, 1975, 18-41.
[<http://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/rodney-walter/works/internationalclassstruggle.htm>]

Sources and non compulsory readings:

- Patrick Chabal, *Amilcar Cabral: revolutionary leadership and people's war*, London, C. Hurst, 2002.
- Ruth First, *The Barrel of a Gun, political power in Africa and the coup d'état*, London, A. Lane, 1970.
- Herbert Ekwe-Ekwe, *Conflict and intervention in Africa: Nigeria, Angola, Zaïre*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1990.
- David Austin, *You don't play with revolution. The Montreal lectures of C.L.R. James*, Oakland, AK Press, 2009.

Week 11: Political reconfigurations in Africa, 1990-2000's

Content: Overview of continental affairs: Namibia, Angola, Eritrea, Ruanda, Congo, Somalia and Western Sahara; the 7th Pan-African Congress in Kampala in 1994; Africa and neo-liberalism; the South African paradigm of Pan-Africanism; the concept of African Renaissance

Working documents for the course:

- Horace Campbell, "Pan African Renewal in the 21st Century", *African Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 1, n°1, June 1996, p. 84-98.
[<http://archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC/African%20Journals/pdfs/political%20science/volume1n1/ajps001001009.pdf>]
- Joseph Ki-Zerbo, "Which way Africa? Reflections on Basil Davidson's *The Black Man's Burden*", background paper for International South Network Group, Nairobi, 2007, p. 9-27
[http://www.dhf.uu.se/pdffiler/which_way_Africa.pdf]

Sources and non compulsory readings:

- Claude Ake, *The feasibility of democracy in Africa*, Dakar, Codesria, 2000.
- Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and subject: contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*, Princeton, Princeton University press, 1996
- Achille Mbembe, *On the Postcolony*, University of California Press, 2001.
- Thomas M. Scott, *The diplomacy of liberation: the foreign relations of the African National Congress since 1960*, London, Tauris academic studies, 1996.
- Wole Soyinka, *The burden of memory, the muse of forgiveness*, Oxford University Press, 1999.

Week 12: Empowerment and gender in Pan-African history

Content: The 1962 Dar-es-Salaam Pan-African Women Organization; Gender in Pan-African history; Pan-African, postcolonial, and subaltern studies.

Working documents for the course:

- Bonita Harris, "Caribbean Women & Pan Africanism", *African Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 1, n°1, June 1996, p. 21-33.
[<http://archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC/African%20Journals/pdfs/political%20science/volume1n1/ajps001001004.pdf>]
- Zaline Maliki Roy-Campbell, "Pan African Women Organising for the Future: the Formation of the Pan African Women's Liberation Organisation and Beyond", *African Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 1, n°1, June 1996, p. 45-57.
[<http://archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC/African%20Journals/pdfs/political%20science/volume1n1/ajps001001006.pdf>]

Sources and non compulsory readings:

- Karen Bouwer, *Gender and decolonization in the Congo: the legacy of Patrice Lumumba*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

- Dayo F. Gore, Jeanne Theoharis, Komozi Woodard (ed.), *Want to Start a Revolution? : Radical Women in the Black Freedom Struggle*, NYU Press, 2009
- Thandika Mkandawire, *African intellectuals: rethinking politics, language, gender and development*, Dakar, CODESRIA Books, 2005.
- Thomas Sankara, *Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle*, Pathfinder press, 2007.

Week 13: Pan-Africanism in the 21st century

Content: Processing to the African Union; the political shape and the historical agenda of the African Union; Globalization and recent political paradigms

Working document for the course:

- Issa Shivji, "Pan-Africanism or Imperialism? Unity and Struggle towards a New Democratic Africa", *African Sociological Review*, 10, (1), 2006, p. 208-200.
[[http://www.codesria.org/IMG/pdf/Address - Issa G- Shivji.pdf](http://www.codesria.org/IMG/pdf/Address_-_Issa_G-Shivji.pdf)]

Sources and non compulsory readings:

- Tajudeen Abdul-Raheem, *Speaking Truth to Power: Selected Pan-African postcards*, Pambazuka Press, 2010.
- Timothy Murithi, *The African Union: Pan-Africanism, peacebuilding and development*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008.
- Abdulqawi Ahmed Yusuf & Fatsah Ouguerouz (ed.), *The African Union: legal and institutional framework*, Leiden, M. Nijhoff publishers, 2012.

General bibliography

- Hakim Adi & Marika Sherwood, *Pan-African history. Political figures from Africa and the diaspora since 1787*, London, Routledge, 2003.
- C.O.C. Amate, *Inside the OAU: Pan-Africanism in practice*, New York, Saint Martin's press, 1986.
- Molefi K. Asante (ed.), *African Intellectual Heritage. A book of sources*, Philadelphia, Temple University press, 1996.
- Anthony J. Asiwaju, *Western Yorubaland under European rule, 1889-1945: a comparative analysis of French and British colonialism*, London, Longman, 1976
- Dennis Benn, *The Caribbean: an intellectual history, 1774-2003*, Randle Publishers, 2004.
- Frederick Cooper, *Africa since 1940: the past of the present*, Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Jacques Depelchin, *Silences in African History*, Dar es Salaam, Mkuki na Nyota, 2005.
- Peter O. Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism: the idea and the movement, 1776-1991*, Washington D.C., Howard University Press, 1994.
- Toyin Falola, *Nationalism and African Intellectuals*, Rochester, University of Rochester Press, 2001
- John Iliffe, *Africans: the history of a continent*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Bogumil K. Jewsiewicki & David Newbury, *African historiographies: What history for which Africa?*, London, Sage publications, 1986.