

History 4318 (section 21475)
Africa and the Oil Industry
Dr. Kairn Klieman
Fall 2014
(Tuesdays 5:30-8:30 pm)

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Although few Americans are aware of it, Africa is currently undergoing events of a momentous nature – so momentous will be compared in the future to the Atlantic Slave Trade and era of European colonization. These events are related to the search for oil and referred to in oil circles as “Third Scramble for Africa.” International oil companies are competing to obtain exploration rights in nearly all of the countries on the African continent. The U.S. government is aiding oil companies in these endeavors, for it sees African oil as an alternative to continued dependence to sources in the Middle Eastern. The U.S. currently imports 25% of its oil from Africa, and the revenues accruing to African governments are the most concentrated influx of revenue in Africa’s history.

So what does this mean for Africans? Oil revenues can either “make” or “break” a national economy, depending on how they are managed. Judging by the record of African nations producing oil since the 1950s, the prospects don’t look good. Most of the African oil-producers have been characterized by military or authoritarian political systems, extensive corruption, and drastically diminished standards of living for the general populace. This phenomenon is referred to as “The Oil Curse,” the “Natural Resource Curse,” or “The Paradox of Plenty.” Strangely, oil-rich countries have experienced more political turmoil, violence, and poverty than those that do not have exportable natural resources.

This class is designed to expose students to this critical global energy issue by focusing on three things: the history of the international oil industry, the place of Africa in it, and the ways that the oil industry has impacted African people, political systems, and environments over time. It will not be an easy class, as there is a lot of reading. Much of it may be new and a bit complex (eg: issues such as economic development, globalization processes, African politics and society, corporate social responsibility, corporate/political corruption, and local peoples’ experiences and resistance). If you are will to work, however, the class will be exceptionally rewarding. It will awaken you to the political economy of oil on a global scale, allowing you to better understand what many consider the most critical issue facing our nation today: Energy - and how to continue getting access to it!

Books Required:

Achebe, Chinua. *A Man of the People*
Yates, Douglass. *The Scramble for African Oil* (2012)
Margonelli, Lisa. *Oil on the Brain: Petroleum’s Long Strange Trip to your Tank* (2007)

Additional Readings:

There are numerous articles and book chapters posted on Blackboard.
See weekly reading schedule and/or Bibliography at end of syllabus

Attendance Policy:

-You must be present, with readings in hand, each week. If you miss more than three weeks of classes you will be dropped from the class. It does not matter what the reason is; for a class that meets only once a week, missing four classes is too much.

Class Requirements/Grading Schema

Attendance and Participation	5%
Map Quiz (Week 4)	5%
Weekly Hand-in Questions/Assignments	20%
Film Hand in Assignment (wk. 3)	10%
Midterm (essay/short questions - take home, due wk. 8)	15%
Research Paper (10 pages- on a single nation, due wk. 12)	15%
Group Presentation of proposed solutions (wk. 15)	10%
Final Exam	20%

Opportunities for Extra-Credit:

Note: no student can earn more than 10 extra credit points total

1. There is a possibility for students to add up to **8 points extra credit** to their final grade by presenting one of the articles assigned. The article must be one that is focused on the nation you will write about for your paper. You will be graded on how well you identified the key points, how in depth you are able to go, and how clearly you communicated info to your peers.
2. There are also public events that you can attend to receive extra credit points. You will be required write up a 2-3 page review of what you saw/learned/thought. **Each is worth 2.5 points** and you can only do two of these (thus, **no more than 5 pts. extra credit**). I will announce these as they come up. If you find something to attend on your own, get approval from me first.
3. You can also read the novel ***Oil on Water* by Helon Habila** and answer a question/questions about it (approx. 3-4 pages of text). I ordered this for use in class but in the end decided to eliminate it. This assignment can earn you **5 extra credit points**.

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CLASS RULES AND REGULATIONS:

Important Dates:

Sept. 2, 2014 - Last day to add a course.

Sept. 10, 2014 - last day to drop without a grade/without affecting enrollment cap.

Oct. 31, 2014 - Last day to drop course or withdraw with a "W".

-Attendance: you are required to be in class for each meeting. Skipping classes will drastically affect your knowledge base, attendance alone counts for 5% of the final grade. Notify me if there is any reason you can't come to class. If you miss more than three courses you will be dropped from the class.

-Materials: You need to bring your books and articles to class. If there is reading assigned for that day, bring those readings to class. Because it is a three-hour course will often work with documents/readings in groups, so this is very important.

-Technology in the Classroom: Use your phone and computer in respectful ways – do not surf the web or constantly text during class hours. If I feel you are using them to disengage from class I will call you out on it. If there is an ongoing problem with any individual, I will ask the entire class to refrain from using electronic devices during class.

-No make-ups for weekly assignments. You either do them and turn them the day they are assigned, or you don't do them. Don't ask me for a make-up on these, don't turn them in after class, don't email

them to me (I won't accept any of these). If you miss some and are worried about your grade – do extra credit to make up for them.

-Missed exams: these will only be excused with doctor's notes or other formal documentation.

-Late Papers: These are accepted but will be marked down one grade for each school day late. A weekend will count as one day. Also, they ***are not accepted more than three days late.***

-Do not put any papers under my door. Turn them into the history office and have them dated and signed by one of the History office staff. Papers I find under my door they will receive a "0".

-Written Work- Format: All written work needs to be double-spaced, normal margins, size 12 font. Any attempts to "fatten" your paper will be immediately recognized by me. I will hand it back to you and/or take off a whole grade if you do this.

-Written Work – Length: Regarding the essays - if you do not have the minimum of pages required I will not grade it. If it says 5 pages don't give me 4 ½ - go to the bottom of the page. Study and read enough to make the minimum. If you have trouble doing this, notify me and come see me so we can work on it together.

-Plagiarism: University Policy on academic honesty will be strictly reinforced. Plagiarism and "cheating" will not be tolerated, and can lead to a failing grade in the course and/or suspension from the University. If you are not clear about what plagiarism and/or "cheating" is, ask me in advance, or see the UH Academic Honesty Policy at: <http://catalog.uh.edu/content.php?catoid=6&navoid=1025> . Also see Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ's) at: <http://www.uh.edu/provost/student-success/policy-updates/honesty-faqs-stu/index.php> .

-Respect: In discussions and questions/answer sessions, we must create an environment where all students feel free to ask questions, express their views. If this isn't allowed to happen, destructive myths and stereotypes continue to exist, nothing will be learned. It's ok to disagree; if you do, state it clearly, and we can go on to a lively, informative, and educational discussion or debate. Avoid personal attacks; avoid the use of racist, sexist, or offensive language. Either of these types of behaviors can shutdown the learning process of individuals, and will not be tolerated in class! If you don't know what constitutes racist, sexist, offensive languages (many people honestly don't!) come see the professor in office hours to discuss.

WEEKLY READING SCHEDULE

(Note: subject to change at Instructor's Discretion)

Week 1: Aug. 28

Intro to Class/Dealing with Stereotypes about Africa

Week 2: Sept. 4

Past and Present Global Energy Regimes

Readings:

- Burke, E. "The Big Story: Human History, Energy Regimes, and the Environment"
- Mouhout, Jean-Francois. "Thomas Jefferson and I"
- Margonelli, Lisa. Introduction and chpts 1, 2 (47ps)

Weekly Assignment: Assessment will be done through a "pairs" activity in class- read all and highlight key ideas to be prepared.

Week 3: Sept 11

No Class Meeting – But there are two things to do!

1. Do Handout Assignment on Film "Our Plan"
(Part I of Yergin's video series *The Prize*)

Access the film on youtube:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qspu35JG59Q>

Note: I will also post the chapter from Yergin's book on Blackboard (i.e., text version of same info). You can look at this if you can't figure out answers from film or you'd like more info.

2. Reading: Margonelli – chapters 3 and 4
Do T/F quiz (10 questions) on Blackboard

Week 4: Sept. 18

Early Impacts of Oil and Cars: USA vs. Africa

Readings:

Klieman, excerpt "From Kerosene to Avgas" (16 pgs)

Alber, "Motorization and Colonial Rule: Two Scandals in Dahomey, 1916"

Yergin, ch. 11 of *The Prize* "From Shortage to Surplus: The Age of Gasoline"

Weekly Assignment: Think about how the introduction of petroleum products impacted Africa vs. the U.S. between 1900 and 1930. List three good examples of how American and African experiences differed, and under each example, write a paragraph that explains your point.

Week 5: Sept 25

World War II, Oil, and Africa

Readings:

Yergin, excerpt ch. 17 of *The Prize*, "Germany's Formula for War" (14 pgs)
Klieman, "Of Secrecy and Supply Routes..." (18 pgs)
Margonelli on Venezuela, ch. 7 (30 pgs)

Weekly Assignment: Answer and turn in the following questions...

1. What role did oil play in Hitler's Strategies and Germany's defeat in WWII?
2. Describe three ways that Africa contributed to the events described in Yergin's chapter, but which are not acknowledged by historians at all.
3. Why would the history of Venezuelan oil be discussed in this chapter – What WWII –related events make it important to discuss on this day of class?
4. Write 5 sentences that describe Venezuela's "culture of oil."

Week 6: Oct 2

The 1950s-1960s: The Rise of Nationalism

Readings:

Klieman, "Oil Politics and Development..." (33 pgs)
Margonelli on Iran (Chapter 9, 34 pgs)
(In class we will also watch part 8 of Yergin's *The Prize*, "Power to the Producers")

Weekly Assignment:

Read and answer the following questions:

1. What is the definition of "nationalism"? (look it up!)
2. How did Enrico Mattei's nationalism help him relate to the leaders of the newly-independent African states? How did he act on and use this connection?
3. What monumental historical events did the rise of oil nationalism in Iran lead to?
4. Write 5 sentences that describe Venezuela's "culture of oil."

Week 7: October 9

Nigeria: Africa's Earliest Oil Producer (1960s and 70s)

Readings:

Klieman, "U.S. Oil Companies and the Nigerian Civil War" (10 pgs)
Achebe, *A Man of the People* (read the entire novel)

Weekly Assignment: Assessments will be done through group work in class; do all readings and come prepared! (reading guide will be handed out)

Week 8: October 16

Midterm Due! (to be completed at home and turned in during class!)

Film: "Half of a Yellow Sun" based on novel by Chimamanda Adichie Ngozi

You must be in class to view this – questions on the film will

Comprise 20% of your midterm grade.

Week 9: October 23

Gabon and the Origins of "La FranceAfrique"

Readings:

Yates, *The Scramble for African Oil*: Intro, pgs. 1-3 and 9, ch. 1, ch.2 (to pg. 44)
(25 pgs total)

Shaxson, "Eva Joly, Elf Africaine, and the Rabbit Warren" (20 pgs)

Weekly Assignment: Corruption is a two-way street. African leaders who participate in it cannot do it without the collusion of Western institutions and elite. List 10 ways the French government participated in corruption through their practices with Elf-Gabon during the period of President Omar Bongo's 41-year reign (1967-2009). Draw from both articles.

Week 10: October 30

The 1970s and '80s: Global Oil, Economic Crises, and Extreme Debt/Poverty

Reading:

Nugent, "Invasion of the Acronyms: SAPs, AIDS, and the NGO Takeover"
(45 pgs)

Weekly Assignment:

- 1. Bring the article to class – ½ your points will be on group work.**
- 2. Read and answer these questions with broad/general responses (for the other ½ of your points for this week).**

-What were SAP's and why were they a problem?

-How did AIDS affect Africa?

-What was the "NGO Takeover"?

Week 11: Nov. 6

Nigeria 1980s -'90s: Revolt, Resistance, and Repression

-Yates, *The Scramble for African Oil*, ch. 9

-Shaxson, ch. 1 of *Poisoned Wells*, "Fela Kuti: How Things Fell Apart in the Oil Boom."

-Saro-Wiwa, excerpts from *A Month and A Day and Letters* (tba)

(Film to be viewed in class: "The Naked Option" by Candace Schermerhorn)

Weekly Assignment:

Fela Kuti and Ken Saro-Wiwa are two individuals who spent their lives trying to fight the Nigerian state and the corporations that worked with it.

Write one page about each of these men, explaining the following:

1. their background
2. their political views (what were the problems/how to fix them)
3. their resistance tactics
4. the Nigerian state's reaction to their resistance

Week 12: Nov. 13

New Actors Enter the Game: The Role of International Non-Profits and Organizations

Readings:

Yates, ch. 3 (includes case study on Chad) (22 pages)

Shaxson – "Global Witness: Hooligans and Rock Stars" (12 pages)

Weekly Assignment: T/F questions in class (20 total) on both articles

Week 13: Nov. 20

A Current Controversy: the Case of Equatorial Guinea

Readings:

Yates, *The Scramble for African Oil*, ch. 4 (20 pgs)

Coll, chapters 6, 13, 24 from *Private Empire: ExxonMobil and American Power* (47 pages)

Donner, "The Myth of the Oil Curse: Exploitation and Diversions in Equatorial Guinea" (16 pgs)

Weekly Assignment: (reading guide/questions to be handed out week 12)

Week 14: Nov. 27 – no class – Thanksgiving

Week 15: Dec. 4

Current Proposed Solutions for the "Oil Curse" (foundations for your final)

Readings and Discussion:

We will divide these up and individuals or “teams” will report on each.

1. New Forms of CSR/New Types of Revenue Allocation:	
Slack, K. “Mission Impossible?: Adopting a CSR-Based Business Model for Extractive Industries in Developing Countries” (pgs. 179-184)	5
Diamond and Mosbacher, “Petroleum to the People: Africa’s Coming Resource Curse and How to Avoid It”	9
2. New Technologies?	
Margonelli – Chapter on China	18
3. Global Financial Reform:	
Shaxson, N. (on Tax Shelters/Finance Reforms): “Conclusion: Drawing the Poison” (223-236)	14
4. Change Consumption:	
Margonelli, (U.S. consumer behavior) “Epilogue” (pgs. 283-294)	11
5. Legal Methods	
Drohan, M., conclusion from <i>Making A Killing</i>	11
Legal Approaches: ATCA – excerpt from Weaver, J. , “Human Rights and the Oil Companies” (on this one you have to find examples – not read/understand all!)	50
6. Global Corporate Regulation	
The Dodd Frank Act (readings tba)	?

Final Exam: In class, Dec. 11, 5-8 pm –

Final will be based on what you learned in class, in writing your paper, and articles from last week of class – you will have to argue which “solutions” are likely to work best and worst for your specific country. Exam will be one essay that you prepare for in advance, then come in and write.

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RE: YOUR 10 PAGE RESEARCH PAPER -

Sources:

You will determine which country and theme you want to work on.

For each country I will post two scholarly articles for you to start with/use.

You will then have to use the bibliography or do research to find at least 3-6 more articles to use

If you are using scholarly articles, you need at least 3 more

If you are using new articles, you need at least 6 more

(you can also mix these up, but just make sure they are “meaty” enough)

Thus, all of you need to be working with between 5-8 good sources to write the paper. An important part of your grade will be how/if you integrated information from each of the articles (i.e, don't just list them and never use them in the paper).

Thesis:

You will have to have an argument for your paper, and prove it through logical and convincing presentation of the facts/history/data that you gather.

Plagiarism: You will turn these in to turnitin.com so don't plagiarize and lift passages from other sources/internet. You will be found out and receive a zero on the paper.

Countries to choose from:

Nigeria	Gabon	Angola
Chad	Equatorial Guinea	Ghana
Sudan	Cameroon	Congo Republic
Liberia	Tanzania	Sao Tome and Principe
Uganda	Ethiopia	

Themes to write about -

Environmental impact of oil/gas industry in that country

CSR attempts/failures/successes in the country

Governmental programs/policies to avoid “the Oil Curse” in that country

Oil Companies difficulties operating in that country (oil company perspective)

The Roles and Impacts of NGOs (focused on oil) in that country

The Roles and Impacts of civil society organizations in that country

Prospects for the future oil/gas situation in that country

International linkages re: corruption in that country

People's Resistance in that country

People's survival strategies in the oil producing regions of that country

List of Readings/Bibliography:

- Alber, Erdmute, "Motorization and Colonial Rule: Two Scandals in Dahomey, 1916." In *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 15: 1 (June 2002), pp 79-92.
- Burke, E. "The Big Story: Human History, Energy Regimes, and the Environment." In *The Environment and World History*, edited by Edmund Burke III and Kenneth Pomerantz, 33-53. Berkeley, University of California Press (2009).
- Coll, S. chapters 6, 13, and 24 in *Private Empire: Exxon-Mobil and American Power*. Penguin (2013).
- Diamond, Larry and Jack Mosbacher. "Petroleum to the People: Africa's Coming Resource Curse and How to Avoid It." *Foreign Affairs*, Sept./Oct. 2013, (9 pgs)
- Donner, C. "The Myth of the Oil Curse: Exploitation and Diversions in Equatorial Guinea. *Afro-Hispanic Review* 28:2 (Fall 2009), pgs. 21-42.
- Drohan, M., "Shell in Nigeria," ch. 6 (pg. 163-187) in *Making a Killing: How and Why Corporations Use Armed Force to Do Business*. Lyon's Press (2004).
- Mouhot, Jean-Francois. "Thomas Jefferson and I." Paper Presented at Second Annual Cultures of Energy Spring Symposium, Rice University, April 20, 2013.
- Nugent, P. ch. 8 of *Africa Since Independence*. Palgrave MacMillan (2012).
- Klieman, excerpts from "From Kerosene to Avgas: International Oil Companies and their Expansion in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1890s to 1945." *Environment and Economics in Nigeria*, edited by Toyin Falola and Adam Paddock, Routledge Press (2012).
- Klieman, K. "Of Secrecy and Supply Routes: Socony-Vacuum Oil Company and U.S. Foreign Policy in Africa during 1940-1950 (unpublished paper).
- Klieman, K. "Oil, Politics, and Development in the Formation of a State: The Congolese Petroleum Wars, 1963-1968. *International Journal of African Historical Studies* Vol. 41, No. 2 (2008), pgs. 169-202.
- Klieman, K. U.S. Oil Companies, the Nigerian Civil War, and the Origins of Opacity in the Nigerian Oil Industry. *Journal of American History*, June 2012, pg. 155-165.
- Shaxson, N. Chapters 1, 5, 11 and conclusion from *Poisoned Wells: The Dirty Politics of African Oil*. Palgrave (2007).
- Saro-Wiwa, K. excerpts from *A Month and A Day and Letters*. Lynne Rienner Publishers (2005).
- Slack, K. "Mission Impossible?: Adopting a CSR based business model for extractive industries in developing countries. *Resources Policy*, 37: 2012, pgs. 179-184.
- Yergin, D. Chapters 2, 11, 17 of *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power*. New York (1991)
- Weaver, J. excerpts from "Human Rights and the Oil Companies" (Legal Textbook).