Course Description: The course explores the economic, social and political challenges facing the Horn of Africa, placing them in historical and global context. We will start examining the major landmark events in the history of this region from antiquity to the present, with focus on the 20th and 21st centuries. This region, made up of Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti, Eritrea, Sudan and South Sudan is a key geopolitical pressure point in World politics. The strategic importance of the Horn’s location has always attracted international interest, given by the proximity to the Middle East region. For 150 years, the Horn has been a theatre for strategic power struggles-the British Empire's demand to control the Red Sea, Egypt's attempts to control the Nile waters, the end of the Cold war confrontations in which each of the Horn countries switched sides a crucial junctures, and most recently the US administration's "global war on terror". It suffers from protracted political strife, stemming from local national grievance, identity politics and regional inter-state rivalries, making it difficult to build a lasting and meaningful peace and security in the region and beyond.
The course is divided into five parts. The major themes explored during the first section of the course include discussions on the long and fascinating history and traditions of the societies in the region. The second section explores colonialism, struggles for political independence and colonial legacies. Section three will examine the politics of the post-independence era including the rise of one-party states, increased political centralization, and economic experiments in socialism. Section four will analyze modern social forces contemporary politics: ethnic groups, economic classes, religion, and civil society. With an understanding of the political background and the political force in operation, we will examine the causes of the conflicts in the Horn of Africa and the prospects of democratic governance. Unfamiliar observers generally make hasty conclusions about the origins and nature of these conflicts. We will evaluate and critique these arguments. We will also identify and assess competing scholarly explanations of the underpinnings of the Horn's conflict. Finally in section five we will look into contemporary issues in the Horn and their challenges including recent events-piracy and radical Islam.

A broad range of topics will be considered and class discussion will be predicated on the student having read the assigned material for the week, Films and videos will be used whenever appropriate to provide you images of Africa: the environment, people and cultures.

The structure of the course rests on the following format: lectures, which provide overviews of broad themes and periods; the readings which provide detail and texture to the themes and periods covered in the lecture; and the class discussions which give you the opportunity to ask questions about aspects of the readings and lectures that either confuse or inspire your interest.

**Required Texts:** Saheed A. Adejumobi, *The History of Ethiopia*

Raphael Chijioke Njoku, *The History of Somalia*

All required texts are available for purchase at the Carleton Bookstore.

**Recommended Text:** *Peter Woodward, Crises in the Horn of Africa: Politics, Piracy and the Threat of Terror (on reserve)*

*Richard J.Reid, Frontiers of Violence in North-East Africa: Genealogies of Conflict (on reserve)*

*P.M Holt and M.W. Daly, A History of the Sudan: from the coming of Islam to the present day (on reserve)*

Clapham Christopher: *The Horn of Africa: State Formation and Decay (on reserve)*

**Grading Method**

Your grade in class will be computed in the following manner:

- **Midterm**: 35% of the final exam
- **Research topic**: 15% of the final exam
- **Final Exam**: 50% of the final exam
COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Short Assignment

Examinations

There will be a midterm exam (in class). The questions will come from the readings, assignments and lectures.

A three-hour final examination based on the work of the entire term.

The final exam will be scheduled in the formal examination period.

One research paper (8-10 pages)

Selected research topics must relate to the themes of the course and must have the instructor's approval. Using a minimum of 4 scholarly books and 3 articles, write a 8-10 page typed (double-spaced) paper investigating the historical origins of the present conflicts of the Horn. It should include a title page, page numbers. The text should include proper footnotes and relevant citations and a full bibliography of the sources included. Two copies of research papers should be handed if you wish one returned. Late papers will be penalized at 3% per day. Papers should be delivered to me in hard copy.

Course outline

Week 1

September 11  Introduction: Land and People of the Horn- Overview

-Physical context of Horn History: Geography and Environment

Readings: Woodward, Introduction and Chapter 1 (on reserve)

Reid, Chapter 1 pages 1-23(On reserve)

Njoku, Chapter 1

Holt and Daly, Introduction pages 1-9 (on reserve)
Week 2&3
Sept. 18-25

COSMOPOLITAN AFRICA

Precolonial states and societies in the Horn of Africa
-Historical developments in ancient, medieval and early modern Horn of Africa

In this session we will look into how the old idea of Africans as stagnant and bound by unchanging traditions does not accurately reflect the way Horn of African societies were connected to each other and to other parts of the world by trade, the exchange of ideas and the migration of new peoples.

Readings:

Adejumobi, Chapters 1
Njoku, Chapters 2
Erik Gilbert, Ancient Nubia and the Horn in the Ancient World (Pages 78-81) on reserve.
Erik Gilbert, Chapter 6
Reid, Chapter 2

Week 4&5
Oct. 2-16 Demarcating Identity

The European Colonial Experience

We will focus on politics, social and economic forces that have shaped the history of the Horn since the late nineteenth century.

-Ethiopia-Building the State: The Imperial Model

Globalization and Modernization in the Late Nineteenth Century

Readings: Adejumobi, Chapters 2-4
Njoku, Chapters 3-4
Reid, Chapters 3-5
World War and Aftermath

African Nationalism and the Struggle for Freedom

Khapoya, 5-6 (on reserve)

Shillington, The struggle for independence in Sudan, Eritrea and Somali (pages 398-401) on reserve.

Cold War in the Horn of Africa


Fall Break October 23-27

Week 6 & 7 Personal Rule, Military Rule and Militarism

For much of the Horn, the final decades of the twentieth century seemed to open with little optimism. We will look into how the 1970's and 1980's have been decades of economic decline and political and civil hardship.

Oct.30-Nov. 6 Revolution, "Liberation" and Militant Identity, 1974-1990

-Emerging markets of violence, ethnic and nationalist borderlands

Ethiopia-Rebuilding the State: The Socialist Model

-"Afro-Marxism": Engaging Local and Global Orthodoxies and the Price of Revolution

Readings Adejumobi, Chapters 5-6


Somalia: Mohamed Siad Barre and the "New Era'.


Sudan: The Era of Jaafar Nimeiri

Njoku, Chapters 6-7

Reid, Chapters 2-6

Woodward, Chapter 2 (on reserve)

P.M.Holt and M.W.Daly, Chapters 13-14 (on reserve)

Midterm examination (Nov.6)

Research topics will be assigned (Nov.6)

Week 8&9 Conflict and Collapsed States in the Post-Cold War

Nov.13-20 The Cold War had a great impact in the Horn but it had often shown the inability of either superpowers to dominate the events.

- Democracy, Liberal Democracy in the Horn

We will investigate the fate of democracy on the continent, the challenges of both economic and political liberalization and the extent to which democracy has improved conditions of the Horn of African societies.

Histories of State Collapse

Globalization and Other Postmodern Configurations: Ethiopia at Home and the Abroad Since 1991

-New States, Old Wars

Readings: V.B Khapoya, Chapter 7

Reid, Chapters 8 & 9

Woodward, Chapters 3 & 6

Ali, M.Tasisier and Matthews, Chapter 2 (on reserve)


The Tragedy of the Post-Insurgent State

- The Creation of an Eritrean State

Readings:

Calapham, Christopher, pp.111-140


The Sudan and the New Millennium

Readings:

Explaining the Anarchy in Post-Baare Somalia

Readings:


Time magazine.1992."How Somalia Crumbled: Clan Warfare and a Glut of Weapons Have Plunged the County into Anarchy." By Sophronia Scott Gregory. December


Managing the Somali States

-The Somaliland Option

Readings:

Clappham, Christopher, 2017.The Horn of Africa: State Formation and decay.pp141-170(on reserve).

Research papers due (Nov.20)

Week 10 &11 ROOTS CAUSES OF TH CONFLICT IN THE HORN
The Horn is a region that is most threatened by three interrelated crisis: devastating conflicts, including inter-state wars, civil wars and inter-communal conflicts. The aim of this unit is to look at each country's conflicts as a case study and be acquainted with the theoretical tools to analyze the conflicts.

Mapping Inter-State conflicts in the Horn

Case 1: The North-South Conflict of the Sudan

Since independence, violent and continuous civil wars have been raging in post-colonial Sudan. The civil war in the South entered the record books as the longest war in Africa.

Readings:


Case 2: Ethiopian-Somali Conflict


Case 3: The Ethiopia and Eritrean Conflict

Readings:


Readings:
Clapham, The Djibouti Anomaly, pp.170-75. (on reserve)


**Case: Somali Civil War**


**Week 12  CONTEMPORARY HORN, RECENT EVENTS AND RELATED ISSUES**

**Dec. 4**

Radical Political Islam

Somali terrorism and Political Islam

**Readings:**


Peter Woodward, “Crises in the Horn of Africa: Politics, Piracy and the Threat of Terror”, Chapter 7-8 (on reserve)


Somali Piracy

Erik Gilbert, pages 382

Regional and International Relations

The growth of the Somali pirates made Djibouti port as important regional center for navies deployed in anti-piracy as well as the anti-terrorism activities of the USA.
China’s growing presence in the Horn of Africa

Readings: Woodward, Chapters 7-9
Erik Gilbert, China and Africa (pages 407-408)

Review
Three-hour final exam—December 10-22 (TBA)

Your Instructor:
Mohamed Nuuh Alli, Ph.D. University of California, Los Angeles, Formerly Dean of College of Education, Lafole and Professor of African History, Somali National University.

Evaluation: Include examinations (in-class tests, take-home and formally scheduled examinations), term work (essays, term papers and other written work), and any other forms of evaluation. Information on examinations should include Format (essay, multiple-choice, short-answer, other; cumulative vs. non-cumulative; etc.); how students can review their papers; % contribution towards the grade. Information on term work should include how topics will be assigned, deadlines and how they will be handled, how papers will be returned to students, percentage contribution towards the grade. If you have a late paper policy, please state it in the outline. Other forms of evaluation—attendance, participation, consistent progress: how evaluated, percentage contribution towards the grade. These subjective components need to be very clearly specified in order to avoid needless challenges and appeals. If you do require submission of all assignments and examinations to pass a course, ensure that this is stated in the outline.

REGULATIONS COMMON TO ALL AFRICAN STUDIES COURSES

COPIES OF WRITTEN WORK SUBMITTED
Always retain for yourself a copy of all essays, term papers, written assignments or take-home tests submitted in your courses.

PLAGIARISM
The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentionally or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
• submitting a take home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
• using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
• using another’s data or research findings;
• failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
• Handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs."

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They can include a final grade of "F" for the course.

COURSE SHARING WEBSITES and COPYRIGHT
Classroom teaching and learning activities, including lectures, discussions, presentations, etc., by both instructors and students, are copy protected and remain the intellectual property of their respective author(s). All course materials, including PowerPoint presentations, outlines, and other materials, are also protected by copyright and remain the intellectual property of their respective author(s).

Students registered in the course may take notes and make copies of course materials for their own educational use only. Students are not permitted to reproduce or distribute lecture notes and course materials publicly for commercial or non-commercial purposes without express written consent from the copyright holder(s).

STATEMENT ON CLASS CONDUCT
The Carleton University Human Rights Policies and Procedures affirm that all members of the University community share a responsibility to:
• promote equity and fairness,
• respect and value diversity,
• prevent discrimination and harassment, and
• preserve the freedom of its members to carry out responsibly their scholarly work without threat of interference.

Carleton University Equity Services states that “every member of the University community has a right to study, work and live in a safe environment free of discrimination or harassment”. [In May of 2001 Carleton University’s Senate and Board of Governors approved the Carleton University Human Rights Policies and Procedures. The establishment of these policies and procedures was the culmination of the efforts of the Presidential Advisory Committee on Human Rights and a Human Rights Implementation Committee.]
GRADING SYSTEM
Letter grades assigned in this course will have the following percentage equivalents:

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F Failure. No academic credit
WDN Withdrawn from the course
ABS Absent from the final examination
DEF Official deferral (see "Petitions to Defer")
FND Failure with no deferred exam allowed -- assigned only when the student has failed the course on the basis of inadequate term work as specified in the course outline.

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by the instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

WITHDRAWAL WITHOUT ACADEMIC PENALTY
The last date to withdraw from Fall term courses is December 8, 2017. Last day to withdraw from full-year courses is April 11, 2018.

REQUESTS FOR ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATIONS
You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request the processes are as follows:

**Pregnancy obligation:** write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details see the Student Guide: https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

**Religious obligation:** write to me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details see the Student Guide: https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

**Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities:** The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure
accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the [PMC website](#) for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (if applicable).

**PETITIONS TO DEFER**

Students unable to complete a final term paper or write a final examination because of illness or other circumstances beyond their control or whose performance on an examination has been impaired by such circumstances may apply within five working days to the Registrar’s Office for permission to extend a term paper deadline or to write a deferred examination. The request must be fully and specifically supported by a medical certificate or other relevant documentation. Only deferral petitions submitted to the Registrar's Office will be considered.

**ADDRESSES (613-520-2600, phone ext.)**

- Institute of African Studies (x2220) 439 Paterson Hall (PA)
-Registrar’s Office (x3500) 300 Tory
- Student Academic Success Centre (x7850) 302 Tory
- Paul Menton Centre (x6608) 500 Unicentre
- Learning Support Services – Study Skills, Writing Tutorial Service (x1125) 4th flr. Library

**Application for Graduation Deadlines**

- Spring Graduation (June): March 1
- Fall Graduation (November): September 1
- Winter Graduation (February): December 1