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 at crucial junctures, and most recently the US administration's "global war on terror". It suffers from protracted political strife, stemming from local national grievances, identity politics and regional interstate rivalries, making it difficult to build a lasting and meaningful peace and security in the region and beyond.

The course is divided into five sections. The major themes explored in each section are as follows:

**Section One:** Discussions on the long and fascinating history and traditions of the societies in the region.

**Section Two:** Explores colonialism, struggles for political independence and colonial legacies.

**Section Three:** 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:** 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.

Section Five: we will look into contemporary issues in the Horn and their challenges including recent events-piracy and radical Islam. We will look more closely in beyond conflict in the Horn - the recent historic reconciliation between Ethiopia and Eritrea could transform politics and security in the volatile Horn region and we conclude by investigating the challenges and opportunities for Africa’s new nation-South Sudan.

Over the course of the semester, a broad range of topics will be examined through class discussions, which will be predicated on students having read the assigned materials for the week. We will also draw on Films and documentaries whenever appropriate to present images of Africa, the environment, people and cultures.

Course Format: Lectures, which provide overviews of broad themes and periods. Course readings, which provide detail and texture to the themes and periods covered in the lecture, class discussions that 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*
Robert D. Kaplan, *SURRENDER OR STARVE: Travels in Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, and Eritrea*
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)
*R. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Percentage of Final Exam</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Midterm</td>
<td>35%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research topic</td>
<td>15%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Final Exam</td>
<td>50%</td>
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</table>

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

1. **Short Assignment**

2. **Examinations**

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

   b) A three-hour final examination based on the work of the entire term. The final exam will be formally scheduled in the formal examination period.

3. **A 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 submitted, if you wish to have one returned with comments. Late papers will be penalized at 3% per day. Papers should be delivered to me in hard copy. Students should contact me if they are late to submit their research papers due to a documentation illness.

Course outline

Week 1  
September 7  
Introduction: Land and People of the Horn  
Overview of 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. 'The land and the people of Somalia: an overview'  
Holt and Daly, Introduction pages 1-9 ‘The land and the people of Sudan’ (on reserve)

Week 2 & 3  
Sept. 14-21  
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 ‘Ethiopia; Intellectual and Cultural background'  
Njoku, Chapters 2  
Erik Gilbert, Ancient Nubia and the Horn in the Ancient World (Pages78-81) on reserve.  
Erik Gilbert, Chapter 6  
Reid, Chapter 2

Week 4 & 5  
Sept. 28-Oct.5  
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 2-3  
Njoku, Chapters 3-4  
Reid, Chapters 3-5  
Marcus,Harold."the foreign policy of Emperor Menelik 1896-19  
Week 5& 6  
World War and Aftermath
Oct.12  
African Nationalism and the Struggle for Freedom  
The Fascist Invasion and the Ethiopian Resistance

Readings:  
Adejumobi, Chapter 4  
Khapoya, Chapters 5-6  

Oct.19  
Conservatives and Liberal Reforms in Ethiopia, 1960-74  
Adejumobi, Chapter 5  
Cold War in the Horn of Africa  

Fall Break  
October 22-26
Week 7&8
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.

Nov.2-9
The Ethiopian Revolution, "Liberation" and Militant Identity, 1974-1990  
Emerging markets of violence, ethnic and nationalist borderlands  
Ethiopia: Rebuilding the State - The Socialist Model  
The Derg Regime  
Ethiopia "Afro-Marxism": Engaging Local and Global Orthodoxies and the Price of Revolution

Readings  
Adejumobi, Chapter 6  
Kaplan, Chapter one  
Cohen, John M. “Ethiopia after Haile Selassie." African Affairs, 72, 289 (1973)

The World's Biggest Forgotten War  
Kaplan, Chapters 2-3
Ethiopia: The Rise of the EPLF and TPLF  
Ethiopia: The End of the Derg and the beginning of a New Era  
Political Transition and Modernization: From Marxism to Social Democracy  
Adejumobi, Chapter 7

Somalia: Mohamed Siad Barre and the "New Era"

**Sudan:** The Era of Jaafar Nimeiri
Njoku, Chapters 6-7
Reid, Chapters 2-6
Kaplan, Chapters 4-5
Woodward, Chapter 2 (on reserve)
P.M. Holt and M.W. Daly, Chapters 13-14 (on reserve)

**Midterm examination (Nov.9)**

**Research topics assigned (Nov.9)**

**Week 9&10 Conflict and Collapsed States in the Post-Cold War**
**Nov.16-23**
The Cold War had a great impact in the Horn but it had often shown the inability of either superpower 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**
The Rise Of the Ruling EPRDF
Democratization and Contemporary Ethiopian Politics
The 2005 and 2010 Elections

**Readings:**
V.B Khapoya, Chapter 7
Reid, Chapters 8 - 9
Woodward, Chapters 3 - 6
Ali, M. Tassisier 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
Kaplan, POSTSCRIPT Eritrea: December 2002

The Sudan and the New Millennium

Readings:

Explaining the Anarchy in Post-Barre Somalia

Readings:

Managing the Somali States
The Somaliland Option

Readings:

Research papers due (Nov.16)

Week 11
Nov.30

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. We will also look in beyond conflict in the Horn: the prospects for peace, recovery and development in Ethiopia, Eritrea, D'Jibouti, Somalia and Sudan and the challenges and opportunities for Africa's new nation- South Sudan.

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:
- Eric Gilbert, Genocide in Sudan pages: 402-403. (On Reserve)

**Case 2: Ethiopian-Somali Conflict**


**Case 3: The Ethiopian and Eritrean Conflict**


**Djibouti**

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

**Case: Somali Civil War**


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

**Dec. 7 Radical Political Islam**

**Somali terrorism and Political Islam**

Readings:

Regional and International Relations
The growth of the Somali pirates made Djibouti port as important regional centre 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 9-12 (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.

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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<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Credits</th>
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<td>A</td>
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<td>B-</td>
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<td>F</td>
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<td>WDN</td>
<td>Withdrawn from the course</td>
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<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>Absent from the final examination</td>
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<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>Official deferral (see &quot;Petitions to Defer&quot;)</td>
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<tr>
<td>FND</td>
<td>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.</td>
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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**
September 30, 2018: Last day for a full fee adjustment when withdrawing from fall and fall/winter (full year) courses (financial withdrawal). Withdrawals after this date will result in a permanent notation of WDN on the official transcript.
December 7, 2018: Last day for academic withdrawal from fall courses.
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 the professor 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 https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Religious obligation: write to the professor 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 https://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf

Accommodation for Student Activities: write to the professor 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 https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf

Survivors of sexual violence: As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and is survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit https://carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support/wp-content/uploads/Sexual-Violence-Policy-December-1-2016.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 (3500) 300 Tory
• Academic Advising Centre (7850) 302 Tory
• Paul Menton Centre (6608) 500 Unicentre
• Centre for Student Academic Support – Study Skills, Writing Tutorials, Bounce Back (3822) 4th flr. Library

Application for Graduation Deadlines
• Spring Graduation (June): March 1
• Fall Graduation (November): September 1
• Winter Graduation (February): December 1