



### Institute of African Studies Course Outline

<b>COURSE:</b>		<b>The Horn of Africa</b> AFRI 2002A
<b>TERM:</b>		Winter 2024
<b>PRECLUSIONS:</b>		
<b>CLASS:</b>	<b>Day &amp; Time:</b>	Wednesday: 2:35 p.m. -5:25 p.m.
<b>ROOM:</b>		
<b>INSTRUCTOR:</b>		Mohamed Ali
<b>CONTACT:</b>	<b>Office Hrs:</b>	1709 Dunton Tower (Mondays/10-11a.m. or by appointment)
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#### 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 by 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 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 juncture, 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 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:** Examines the politics of the post-independence era including the rise of one-party states, increased political centralization, and economic experiments in socialism.

**Section Four:** Analyzes 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 investigate contemporary issues in the Horn and their challenges including recent events-piracy, radical Islam and the influence of China and the Middle eastern states in the region. We will look more closely 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 – and how the self-mobilization of ordinary people in Sudan was able to bring a new order in Sudan. We will look into how the current conflict between the government of Ethiopia and forces in the northern Tigray region has thrown the country into turmoil. We will conclude by how the year 2022 could be another turning point in the region, Sudan faces staggering challenges to Democracy despite significant advances on political transition, and we will investigate how South Sudan's leaders were the primary instigators of rival factions in the civil war that began in 2013 and the peace between them is fragile and might be an obstacle to the national election, which are set to occur in 2023.

**Learning Objectives:** By the end of the course students should be able:

- To explore how the various conflicts ravaging the Horn of Africa are underpinned by historical, socio-economic, and environmental issues.
- To have a critical and broad understanding of the economic, social, and political challenges facing the Horn of Africa, placing them in historical perspective.

**Course Format:** Over the course of the semester, a broad range of topics will be examined and class discussion, 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.

**Required Texts:** Please note that course readings must follow guidelines set out in the Copyright Act.

Adejumobi, Saheed A. *The History of Ethiopia*. Greenwood Publishing Group, 2007.

Njoku, Raphael Chijioke. *The History of Somalia*. Greenwood Publishing Group, 2013.

Holt P M, and M W Daly. *A HISTORY OF THE SUDAN: From the Coming of Islam to the Present Day*.

ROUTLEDGE. 2011.

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

**Recommended Texts (which are also available through ARES)**

Woodward, Peter. *Crises in the Horn of Africa: Politics, Piracy, and the Threat of Terror*

Richard J. Reid, *Frontiers of Violence in North-East Africa: Genealogies of Conflict* (2011)

Clapham Christopher, *The Horn of Africa: State Formation and Decay*

Michael Woldemariam, *Insurgent Fragmentation in the Horn of Africa: Rebellion and Discontents* (2018)

Gunnar M. Sorbo and Abdel Ghaffar M. Ahmed, *Sudan Divided: Continuing Conflict in a Contested State* (2013)

Kidane Mengisteab, *The Horn of Africa* (2014)

Robert D. Kaplan, *Surrender or Starve: Travels in Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, and Eritrea*

## Grading Method

Participation	10%
Midterm	30%
Research paper	15%
Final Exam	45%

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS

### EXAMS

- There will be a **three-hour 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 formally scheduled in the formal examination period and will not be an open book exam.

### 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 3 scholarly books and 3 articles**, write a **8-10 page essay should be typed (double spaced)**. Include a title page and numbered pages. The text should include proper footnotes and relevant citations and a full bibliography of the sources included using the MLA style. The bibliography should include information the author, publisher, edition, and date of publication. **Late papers will be penalized at 3% per day**. Students should **contact me** if they are **late to submit** their research papers **due to a documented illness**.

### Course outline

#### Week 1

January 10

#### **Introduction: Land and People of the Horn**

#### **Overview of Physical context of Horn History: Geography and Environment**

Readings: Woodward, Introduction and Chapter 1 (On ARES)  
Reid, Chapter 1 pages 1-23 (On ARES)  
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 ARES)

#### Week 2

Jan. 17

#### **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 Africa societies were connected to each other and to other parts of the world by trade, the exchange of ideas and the migration of peoples.

Readings:

Adejumobi, Chapters 1, 'Ethiopia; Intellectual and Cultural background'  
Njoku, Chapter 2  
Erik Gilbert, *Ancient Nubia and the Horn in the Ancient World*, Pages 78-81 (On ARES)  
Erik Gilbert, Chapter 6  
Reid, Chapter 2

**Week 3**

**Jan. 24**

**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 1896-1898 A Rejoinder." *Journal of African History*, 7, no.1 (1966) 117-122.  
Caulk, Richard. "Yohannes IV, the Mahdists, and the colonial partition of north-east Africa," *Trans-African Journal of History*, Vol. I, no.2, (1971): 1-20.  
Hess, Robert L. "The Mad Mullah' and Northern Somalia," *Journal of African History* 5, no.39 (1964): 415-433.

**Research topics will be assigned (Jan.24)**

**Week 4**

**Jan.31**

**World War and Aftermath  
African Nationalism and the Struggle for Freedom  
The Fascist Invasion and the Ethiopian Resistance**

Readings:

Adejumobi, Chapter 4  
Khapoya, Chapters 5-6 (On ARES)  
Shacchi, Alberto. 'Italy and the treatment of the Ethiopian Aristocracy, 1937-1940' *International Journal Historical Studies*.10.no.2 (1977):209-241.  
A. Triulzi,'Italian colonialism and Ethiopia', *Journal of African History*, 23-2(1982)  
Gesheker, Charles L. "Colonialism and class formation: The Eastern Horn of Africa before 1950: *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 18, no.1 (1985):1-32.  
Shillington, The struggle for independence in Sudan, Eritrea, and Somali (pages 428-432) (On ARES).  
Njoku, Chapter 5  
**Conservatives and Liberal Reforms in Ethiopia, 1960-74**  
Adejumobi, Chapter 5  
**Cold War in the Horn of Africa**

Lefebvre, Jeffrey A. "The United States, Ethiopia and the 1963 Somali-Soviet Arms Deal: Containment and the Balance of Power Dilemma in the Horn of Africa." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 36, no.4 (December 1998).  
Schweb, Peter "Cold War on the Horn of Africa." *African Affairs* 77, no. 306 (January 1978).

## Week 5 Feb.7

### **Personal Rule, Military and Militarism**

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

### **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 Dreg Regime**

#### **Ethiopia "Afro-Marxism": Engaging Local and Global Orthodoxies and the Price**

#### **of Revolution**

Readings: Adejumobi, Chapter 6  
Kaplan, Chapter one (On ARES)  
Gebru Tareke, 'The Ethiopia-Somalia war of 1977 revisited', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 33:3 (2000).  
Ottaway, Marina. "Soviet Marxism and African Socialism: *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol.16, Sept.1978.  
Chege, Michael. "The Revolution Betrayed: Ethiopia, 1974-79." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. (1979) 359-80.  
Keller, Edmond J. "Ethiopia: Revolution, Class, and the National Question." *African Affairs* 80 (1981)  
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**

John Young "The Tigray and Eritrean Peoples' Fronts: A history of tensions and pragmatism", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 38:49 (2000).

Lobban, Richard. 'The Eritrean War: Issues and Implications. *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 10, no. 2 (1976): 335-345.

#### **Ethiopia: The End of the Dreg and the beginning of a New Era**

Political Transition and Modernization: From Marxism to Social Democracy

Young, John. 'Ethnicity and Power in Ethiopia' *Review of African Political Economy* 23. no.70 (Dec.1996): 531-542.

Adejumobi, Chapter 7

Woldemariam, "Rebellion in Ethiopia and Eritrea" pages 185-208 (On ARES).

#### **Three hour-midterm examination (February.4)**

## Week 6

**Feb.14** **Somalia:** Mohamed Siad Barre and the "New Era".  
Latin, David.1976. The Political Economy of Military Rule in Somalia". *Journal of Modern African Studies* 14(3): 449-68.

**Sudan:** The Era of Jaafar Nimeiri  
Readings: Njoku, Chapters 6-7  
Reid, Chapters 2-6  
Kaplan, Chapters 4-5  
Woodward, Chapter 2 (On ARES)  
P.M. Holt and M.W. Daly, Chapters 13-14  
John Young, "Sudan: Liberation Movements, Regional Armies, Ethnic Militias and Peace," *Review of African Political Economy* No.97 (2003), pp 423-34.  
Jok Madut Jok and Sharon Elaine Hutchinson, "Sudan's prolonged Second Civil War and the Militarization of Nuer, and Dinka Ethnic Identities", *African Studies Review*, Vol.42:2. September 1999, pp, 125-145.  
Sharkey, Heather, 2008."Arab Identity and Ideology in Sudan: The Politics of Language, Ethnicity and Race." *African Affairs* 107 (426): 21-43.

Fall Break February 19-23

## Week 7

### Conflict and Collapsed States in the Post-Cold War

**Feb.28**

The Cold War had a great impact in the Horn, but it had often shown the inability of 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 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  
Bartan, Joel. D (2001), The many faces of African Democracy across a varied continent. *Harvard International Review*, 24 (2): 72-77.  
Ali, M. Tasisier and Matthews, Chapter 2 (On ARES)  
De Waal, Alex, 2013."Theory and Practice of Meles Zenawi", *African Affairs*, Vol.112, No.446, pp. 148-55.  
J. Abbink, "Breaking and making the state: the dynamics of ethnic democracy in Ethiopia". *Journal of Contemporary of African Studies*, 13:2 (1995).

Bariagaber, Kidand, "The politics of Cultural Pluralism in Ethiopia and Eritrea: Trajectories and Constitutional Experiments," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol.21, no.6: p.1056-73.  
Mengisteab, Kidane. "New Approaches to State Building in Africa: Case of Ethiopia' Ethnic-Based-Federalism," *African Studies Review* 490, no .3 (December; 1997).  
Fourie, Elsje, 2015.'China example for Mele's Ethiopia: when development "models" Land; *Journal of Modern African Studies*.  
Goiton Cebreluel, 2014."Ethiopia's Grand Renaissance Dam: Ending African Geopolitical Rivalry?" *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol.37, No, pp.25-35.

## WEEK 8

Mar.6

### The Tragedy of the Post-Insurgent State

#### The Creation of an Eritrean State

Readings:

Clapham, Christopher, pp.111-140  
J, Markakis, "The nationalist Revolution in Eritrea" *Journal of Modern African Studies*: 1 (1988) P.54.  
R.J.Reid, 'The challenge of the past: the quest for historical legitimacy in independent Eritrea' *History in Africa*, 28 (2001).  
Uoldelul Chelati Dirar, "Colonialism and the construction of national identities: the case of Eritrea' *Journal of East African Studies*, 1:2 (2007).  
Kaplan, POSTSCRIPT Eritrea: December 2002

#### The Sudan and the New Millennium

Readings:

Ali, Taisier M. and Matthews, Robert O. "Civil War and Failed Efforts in Sudan. In Civil War: Roots and Resolution, ed. Taisier M. Ali and Robert Matthews. (On ARES) House, William, 1989."Population, Poverty, and Underdevelopment in the Southern Sudan", *Journal of Modern African Studies* 27:201-231.  
Hassan al-Turabi. 'The Islamic Awakening's New Wave: *New Perspectives Quarterly*10:3(Summer 1993).44.  
Abdullahi An-Na'im.' Whose Islamic Awakening? A Response' *New Perspectives Quarterly* 10:3(Summer 1993)47.  
Peter Woodward," introduction: Sudan after the South's Secession: Issues of Identity'. In Sudan Divided, ed. Sorbo and Ahmed, chapter 6, pages 90-100.  
Alsir Sidahmed, Oil Politics in Sudan". In Sudan Divided, ed Sorbo and Ahmed, chapter 7, pages103-12. (On ARES)

#### Explaining the Anarchy in Post-Barre Somalia

Readings:

*New York Times*.1992. "Barrier to Somali Unity: Rivalry." By Jane Perlez. August 30, A12  
*Time* magazine. 1992. "How Somalia Crumbled: Clan Warfare and a Glut of Weapons Have Plunged the County into Anarchy." By Sophronia Scott Gregory. December

Shultz, R. (1995).: "State Disintegration Conflict: A Framework for Analysis" *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, no. 541:75-88.

Simons, Anna. 1994."Somalia and the Dissolution of the Nation-State." *American Anthropologist* 96(4):818-24.

Bestman, C. (1994)."Representing Violence and "Othering" Somalia. " *Cultural Anthropology* 11(1)120-133.

Adam, Hussein, 1992."Somalia: Militarism, Warlordism, or Democracy?" *Review of African Political Economy* 54:11-26.

Compagnon, Daniel. 1990."Political Decay in Somalia: From Personal Rule to Warlordism." *Refugee* 12 (5):8-13.

Menkhaus, Kenneth, 2003. "State Collapse in Somalia: Second thoughts; *Review of African Political Economy*, 30, pp. 405-22."

Mermin, Jonathan.1997'Television News and American Intervention in Somalia. The Myth of a Media-Driven Foreign Policy' *Political Science Quarterly* 12(3):385-403.

Woldemariam, "The Long War in Somalia" pages 211-281" (On ARES)

### **Managing the Somali States The Somaliland Option**

Readings:

Clapham, Christopher, 2017.*The Horn of Africa: State Formation and decay.* pp 141-170 (On ARES).

Michael Walls, "The Emergence of Somali State: Building Peace from Civil War in Somaliland,"

**Week 9**

**Mar.13**

### **ROOT CAUSES OF THE CONFLICT IN THE HORN**

The Horn is a region that is most threatened by three interrelated crises: 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, Djibouti, 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:

Francis M. Deng (2006)."Sudan: A nation in Turbulent Search of Itself", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 603(January):155-6.

Alex De Waal (2005)"Who are the Difurans? Arab and African Identities, Violence and External Engagement, " *African Affairs* 104(415), 18-25.

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

Pinaud, Clemence, 2014."South Sudan: Civil War, Predation and the making of a Military aristocracy". *African Affairs* (451):12-211.

#### **Case 2: Ethiopian-Somali Conflict**

Tibebe Eshete, 'The root causes of political problems in Ogaden 1942-1960', *Northeast African Studies*, 13:1 (1991).

Gebru Tareke. "The Ethiopia-Somali war of 1977 revisited" *International Journal of African Studies*. 33:3 (2000).

Hagman, T. "Beyond clannishness and colonialism: understanding political disorder in Ethiopia's Somali region, 1991-2004", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 43:4 (2005).

## **Week 10**

**Mar. 27**

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

Readings:

Ruth Iyob, "The Ethiopian-Eritrean conflict: diasporic vs. hegemonic states in the Horn of Africa, 1991-2000" *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 38:4 (2000).

Nystuen, Gro and Kjetil Trouville, 2008. "The Eritrea -Ethiopia Peace Agreement: Exploring the limits of law", *Nordic Journal of Human Rights*, Vol.26, No.1 pp.16-36>

### **Djibouti**

Readings:

Clapham, The Djibouti Anomaly, pp.170-75. (On ARES)

Peter J. Schrader (1993). "Ethnic Politics in Djibouti; From "Eye of the Hurricane" to "Boiling Cauldron," *African Affairs*, vol. 92, no. 367 (April):206-7.

Bollee, Amedee, 2003. "Djibouti from French outpost to US Base, *Review of African Political Economy*, 30, 97:481-484.

### **Case: Somali Civil War**

Adam, H.M. "Somali Civil War" in *Civil Wars in Africa: Roots and Resolution*: ed. Taisier M. Ali and Robert O. Matthews. (On ARES)

Doornbos, Martin and John Markakis. 1994. "Society and State in Crises: What Went Wrong in Somalia?" *Review of African Political Economy* 21 (59):82-88.

Kenneth J. Menkhaus, "The Somali Catastrophe: Bigger Than the Horn-and Not Over Yet," *Current History: a Journal of Contemporary World Affairs* 106, no. 700 (May 2007):195-2001.

## **Week 11**

**April. 3**

### **CONTEMPORARY HORN, RECENT EVENTS AND RELATED ISSUES**

**-Regional Instability and External Intervention**

**Radical Political Islam**

**Somali terrorism and Political Islam**

**Research topics papers due (March.27)**

Readings:

Hansen, Stid Jarle, "Al-Shabaab in Somalia: The History and Ideology of a Militant Islamic Group, 2005-2012," Ch3 and 5 (On ARES).

Andre Lee Sage (2001). "Prospects for Al-Etihad and Islamist Radicalism in Somalia," *Review of African Political Economy*, vol.28, no 89:473.

Hassan Mahad Allah. (2007)" The Islamic Courts, Ethiopian Intervention in Somalia, and its implications for Regional Stability, "*Horn of Africa*, vol. 25:135-46, esp.145-53.  
Peter Woodward, "Crises in the Horn of Africa: Politics, Piracy and the Threat of Terror", Chapter 7-8 (on reserve)  
Ken Menkhaus. The Crises in Somali: Tragedy in Five Fronts, *African Affairs*, 2007, Vol. 106, No.424.  
Maengisteab, "Regional Instability and External trade', chapter 6 (On ARES).

### **Somali Piracy**

Erik Gilbert, pages 382

### **Week 12-13**

**April.10**

### **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

-Tigray conflict: What is happening in Ethiopia

Readings:

Woodward, Chapters7-9

Erik Gilbert, China, and Africa (pages 407-408)

Ian Tayler, "Sino-African Relations and the Problem of Human Rights," *African Affairs*, vol.107, no.426.January 2008.Ri

Anthony, Ross.2013' Infrastructure and Influence: China's Presence on the Coast of East Africa' *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region* 9, .2:134-49.

Cliff, Lionel. 'Regional Dimensions of the Conflict in the Horn of Africa' *Third World Quarterly* 20. No .1 (February 1999): 89-111.

Declan Walsh and Abdi Latif Dahir. "Why is Ethiopia at war with itself. "*New York Times*. November 5,2020.

Adam Tayler and Siobhan O'Grady. *The Washington Post*. "What is behind the renewed conflict in Ethiopia's Tigray Region." June 20, 2021.

**Review**

**Three-hour final exam-April 13-25 (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.