

Political Conflict in the Horn of Africa

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Course Description

The Horn of Africa refers to the geographical region falling within that horn-shaped part of Africa that protrudes into the Indian Ocean, from the continent's land mass in northeastern Africa. As an area without obvious physical or political boundaries, the Horn is somewhat difficult to define precisely. By its strictest definition, it includes the countries of Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti, The Sudan and the northeastern region of Kenya. During the decade of the 1970s, no area of Africa underwent more sudden and startling upheavals and went from relative neglect to intense courtship by the superpowers. The Horn has been a contentious area of the world whose recent history has been constantly marred by wars, revolutions, coups d'etat and territorial dispute. Much of this course will be devoted to an understanding of the internal politics of Somalia and Ethiopia, the two countries that are most central to the disputes in that area. Questions will be raised about secession, independence and the maintenance of artificial unitary states. The course will present an overview of structural disintegration in the Horn of Africa from the dual perspectives of domestic and international political developments. Finally, we will explore the prospects for peace and conflict resolution in the Horn.

Prerequisites: Upper Division Standing or Consent of the Instructor.

Evaluation:

There will be two examinations and a short paper (5-7 pages maximum). The exams will consist of essays and questions requiring brief paragraph answers and identifications. You will have essay questions for the exams in advance. The paper will count for 40 percent of the final grade, the first exam will count 30 percent and the second exam 30 percent. Students must take both examinations and will not be allowed to substitute a research paper for the exams. If graduate students are enrolled in the course, they will be required to do a research paper and either the short paper or two exams. The research paper will count for 70 percent of the final grade in the course. The paper topic must be cleared with the instructor by March 9 and the paper would be due by May 11.

Incompletes:

There will be no incompletes given in this course.

Course Reading

Bereket Habte Selassie, *Conflict and Intervention in the Horn of Africa* (Monthly Review Press: New York & London, 1980).

Available at Atticus/Albion Books, 8 Main Street, Amherst. Phone: 256-1547.

Xeroxed Packet: A packet of xeroxed materials will be available for purchase at the Copy Cat Print Shop, 228 Triangle Street, Amherst. Phone: 549-3840.

Course Schedule

January 31 Introductory Statements

February 2 The Genesis of the Conflict in the Horn of Africa: Historical Overview

Readings:

Bereket Habte Selassie, *Conflict and Intervention in the Horn of Africa*, pp. 1-7.

Peter Anyang' Nyong'o, "The Roots of Conflict in the Horn of Africa", pp. 27-40 in Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, ed., *Conflict in the Horn of Africa* (1991).

ETHIOPIA

February 7 From Feudalism to Socialism? Understanding Ethiopia's Political Evolution

Readings:

Frederick C. Gamst, "Peasants and Elites Without Urbanism: The Civilization of Ethiopia", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (1970): 373-392.

G. Ellis, "The Feudal Paradigm as a Hindrance to Understanding Ethiopia", *Journal of Modern African Studies (JMAS)*, Vol. 14 (1976): 275-295.

February 9 State, Class and Revolution

Readings:

Selassie, pp. 1-47.

Marina Ottaway, "Social Classes and Corporate Interests in the Ethiopian Revolution" *JMAS*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (1976): 469-486.

Edmond Keller, "Socialism From Above? Power Consolidation in a 'Soft' State", pp. 213-244 in *Revolutionary Ethiopia* (1988).

February 14-16 The Economy and Revolutionary Transformation

Readings:

Edmond Keller, "Toward Economic Socialization", pp. 245-263 in *Revolutionary Ethiopia* (1988).

Marina Ottaway, "Land Reform in Ethiopia, 1974- 1977", *African Studies Review* (December 1977): 79-90.

Abdul M. Hussein, "Political Economy of Famine", pp. 9-43 in Abdul M. Hussein, ed., *Drought and Famine in Ethiopia* (1976).

Mulugetta Bezzabeh, "Attempts in the Transformation of Ethiopia's Agriculture: Problems and Prospects", pp. 143-153 in M. Doornbos et al., *Beyond Conflict in the Horn* (1992).

PAPER TOPIC ASSIGNED ON FEBRUARY 14.

February 21 Monday Class Schedule.Followed - No Class

February 23-28 Domestic Responses to the Revolution: Class, Ethnicity and the National Question

Readings:

Selassie, pp. 74-96.

Marina and David Ottoway, "Feudal Reaction and Ethnic Revolts", pp. 82-95 in *Ethiopia: Empire in Revolution* (1978).

_____, "The 'Leftist' Opposition", pp. 99-112 in *Ethiopia: Empire in Revolution* (1978).

P.T.W. Baxter, "Ethiopia's Unacknowledged Problem: The Oromo", *African Affairs* (1978): 283-296.

Edmond Keller, "Ethiopia: Revolution, Class and the National Question", *African Affairs*, 80 (October 1981): 519-550.

March 2-7 The Eritrean Problem

Readings:

Selassie, pp. 48-73.

Michael and Trish Johnson, "Eritrea: The National Question and The Logic of Protracted Struggle", *African Affairs*, 80 (April 1981): 181-195.

Martin Dent and A.W. Asserate, "A New Beginning in Ethiopia and Eritrea: Guidelines to the Healing of the Land through a Federal Structure", pp. 14-51 in P. Woodward and M. Forsyth, eds., *Conflict and Peace in the Horn of Africa* (1994).

Lionel Cliffe, "Eritrea: Prospects for Self-Determination", pp.52-69 in P. Woodward and M. Forsyth, eds., *Conflict and Peace in the Horn of Africa* (1994).

PAPER DUE ON MARCH 7.

March 9-14 U.S. and Soviet Responses to the Ethiopian Revolution

Readings:

Marina Ottoway, "Revolution in Ethiopia: Challenge for the Great Power", pp. 89-108 in *Soviet and American Influence in the Horn of Africa* (1982).

Richard Remnek, "Soviet Policy in the Horn of Africa: The Decision to Intervene", pp. 125-149 in Robert Donaldson, ed., *The Soviet Union in the Third World* (1981).

Robert Patman, "Ideology, Soviet Policy and Realignment in the Horn of Africa", pp. 45-61 in A. Dawisha and K. Dawisha, eds., *The Soviet Union in the Middle East* (1982).

ESSAYS FOR EXAMINATION I DISTRIBUTED ON MARCH 9.

March 16 Examination I (in Class)

March 18-26 SPRING BREAK

SOMALIA

March 28-30 The 1969 Military Coup: Toward Socialism?

Readings:

Basil Davidson, "Somalia: Toward Socialism", *Race and Class* (Summer 1975): 19-37.

Gary D. Payton, "The Somali Coup of 1969: The Case for Soviet Complicity", *JMAS*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (1980): 493-508.

I.M. Lewis, "The Politics of the 1969 Somali Coup", *JMAS*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (October 1972): 383-408.

April 4-6 Domestic Policies Under Siad Barre

Readings:

David Laitin, "The Political Economy of Military Rule in Somalia", *JMAS*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (1976): 449-468.

Ahmed I. Samatar, "Somalia in the 1980s and Beyond", pp. 146-163 in *Socialist Somalia: Rhetoric and Reality* (1988).

April 11-13 Understanding Somali Nationalism: The Ogaden Factor

Readings:

Selassie, pp. 97-124.

I.M. Lewis, "Modern Political Movements in Somaliland", *Africa*, Vol. 28, No.3 (1958): 244-261.

David Laitin, "The Ogaden Question and Changes in Somali Identity", in D. Rothchild and V. Olorunsola, eds., *State Versus Ethnic Claims* (1983) SEE RESERVE DESK.

Edmond Keller, "The OAU and the Ogaden Dispute", pp. 89-116 in Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, ed., *Conflict in the Horn of Africa*

April 18-20 Somalia: From Soviet to U.S. Support

Readings:

Selassie, pp. 129-150; 151-171.

Marina Ottoway, "Ethiopia and Somalia Before the Military Coups d'Etat", pp. 33-58 in *Soviet and American Influence in the Horn of Africa* (1982).

_____, "The Great Powers and the Horn of Africa: An Overall Assessment", pp. 155-174 in *Soviet and American Influence in the Horn of Africa* (1982).

_____, "The Reversal of Alliances and Its Impact on Somalia", pp. 111-132 in *Soviet and American Influence in the Horn of Africa* (1982).

Anthony J. Hughes, "Reagan and Africa: Policy Options in the Horn", *Horn of Africa*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1981): 3-10.

April 25-May 2 From Barre to Aideed: Civil War, the Refugee Crisis, U.S. Military Intervention and the Disintegration of Somalia.

Readings:

Ronald C. Woods, "United States Policy on the Refugees", *Horn of Africa*, Vol.5, No. 1 (1982): 6-18.

Raklya Omaar, "Somalia: At War With Itself", *Current History* (May 1992): 230-234.

Michael Clough, "The U.S. and Africa: The Policy of Cynical Disengagement", *Current History* (May 1992): 193-198.

John R. Bolton, "Wrong Turn in Somalia", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 1 (January/February 1994): 56-66.

Hussein M. Adam, "Somalia: Federalism and Self-Determination", pp. 114-123 in P. Woodward and M. Forsyth, eds., *Conflict and Peace in the Horn of Africa* (1994).

May 4, 9-11 Prospects for Peace and Conflict Resolution

Readings:

M. Crawford Young, "Self-Determination Revisited: Has Decolonization Closed the Question?" pp. 41-66 in G. Nzongola Ntalaja, ed., *Conflict in the Horn of Africa* (1991).

Zenebeworke Tadesse, "Limits and Possibilities of Externally Negotiated Settlements", pp. 167-182 in G. Nzongola-Ntalaja, ed., *Conflict in the Horn of Africa* (1991).

Evgeny Tarabrin, "Examination of General Approaches to Ways of Defusing Regional Conflicts, Including the Conflict in the Horn of Africa on the Basis of New Thinking", pp. 183-188 in G. Nzongola Ntalaja, ed., *Conflict in the Horn of Africa* (1991).

Hussein M. Adam, "Somalia: Federalism and Self-Determination", pp. 114-123 in P. Woodward and M. Forsyth, eds., *Conflict and Peace in the Horn of Africa* (1994).

Paul B. Henzo, "The Economic Dimensions of Federalism in the Horn of Africa", pp. 124-130 in P. Woodward and M. Forsyth, eds., *Conflict and Peace in the Horn of Africa* (1994).

John Markakis, "Ethnic Conflict and the State in the Horn of Africa", pp. 217-238 in K. Fukui and J. Markakis, eds., *Ethnicity and Conflict in the Horn of Africa* (1994).

EXAMINATION II ESSAYS DISTRIBUTED ON MAY 9.

May 16 Examination II (in Class).