

U.S. Policy in Africa: How Policy Is Made in African Conflict Situations

Fall Semester 2017
IAff 2190W - 11
CRN 82270

Monday 3:30 p.m. - 6:00 p.m.
Elliott School, Room 212

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Course Description and Objective

This course, using the case study approach, focuses on the decision-making process in African conflict situations in Sierra Leone, Angola, Sudan, Ethiopia/Eritrea, Somalia and Rwanda. The goal is not to gain a detailed understanding of each conflict, but rather to comprehend how the U.S. responded to them and to master the important decision-making factors in each case. The course relies on published materials as well as insights I gained as a result of my involvement in the policy process during three of the conflicts. The course requires considerable student interaction and includes time for extended class discussion, role playing several sequences of the Somalia conflict, class debate on U.S. involvement in Rwanda and a mock briefing on Sudan policy by small groups. It also includes role playing the positions of U.S. personnel at American embassies in Addis Ababa and Asmara on U.S. policy toward the conflict. The overall objective is to obtain a better understanding of the decision-making process while learning about six African conflicts. This is a WID course.

Required Reading

The required readings are found in four different locations as noted in the syllabus. Some are in E-Journals on the Aladin system. You need to go to the E-Journal Finder and type in the name of the journal. Then go to the listing for EBSCOhost Academic. Fill in the boxes with the relevant journal information and continue until the full text appears. Others are available by direct link. Some are available on Blackboard. Finally, there are two case studies on Somalia and Rwanda prepared by Georgetown's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy. They can be downloaded at www.guisd.org and purchased for \$3.50 each. All of these items are required reading. Numerous additional selections are identified in the syllabus as reference material. It is entirely your choice if you wish to read any of the additional selections. They have not been placed on reserve and some are not available in the Gelman library. You may use these items, among others, as resource material for preparing the course papers described below. If you have not already seen them, prior to the unit on Sierra Leone, I recommend that you see the film *Blood Diamond*, prior to the unit on Somalia *Black Hawk Down* and, prior to the unit on Rwanda, *Hotel Rwanda*. Although they do not offer much context, they are useful accounts of the Sierra Leone conflict, 3-4 October 1993 battle in Mogadishu, and the genocide in Rwanda.

Basis for Grading

One half of the grade is based on class participation: discussion, mock briefing, role-playing, class debate, and attendance. Factors used in making this assessment include indications that you have read the required materials, frequency of participation, understanding of the decision-making process, degree of preparation for the exercises and comprehension of the broad outlines of the six case studies. I am not particularly interested in a mastery of the details of the six case studies. In order to assure sufficient classroom interaction, the course is capped at 30 students, although I may allow up to 35.

The second half of the grade is based on two writing projects, both of which may be new to you. The first one is a policy paper designed to influence U.S. policy. Write the paper as a policy recommendation to the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. It can be on any African issue that interests you. The paper should be precisely 5 pages in length, double-spaced in font 12 Times New Roman. Number the pages, but do NOT include footnotes or a bibliography. This paper should be divided into 4 sections: a BRIEF statement of the problem or issue, some background information, a discussion of at least 3 policy options with pros and cons for each option, and a BRIEF recommendation or recommendations. Give each section a heading. I will hand out exemplary sample papers from another class and a critique of the papers done last year before your paper is due. Please be sure that it has page numbers. The paper should be turned in on October 23.

The second project is entirely different. It is a reporting telegram from a U.S. embassy in an African country on some issue in Africa that is ongoing or occurred within the last 12 months. It can be your analysis of the problem or a report transmitting a summary of one or more conversations that you have had with host country nationals or other persons in the country who are well informed about the issue. The telegram should be no less than 7 pages long and no more than 8 pages long. A 7 page telegram will be graded the same as an 8 page telegram; there is no additional credit for length. The telegram should be relevant to the decision making process in Washington; this is not the occasion for philosophical ruminations. I will provide you with examples of good telegrams from previous classes. The telegrams should be typed, double-spaced in font 12 Times New Roman. Do **NOT** type them in all capital letters; use regular script. The telegram is due on November 27. Please be sure to include page numbers and follow the style of one of the sample telegrams. Do not include footnotes or a bibliography. For a semi-serious account of "How to Write a Cable," see Ambassador Peter Galbraith at <http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/02/21/how-to-write-a-cable/>.

I will go over the writing projects carefully. You should also treat this as a way to improve your substantive research ability. The first paper is due at approximately the mid-point in the course and the second before the end of the term so that I can critique the papers and return them to you before our last class on December 11. Regular attendance is essential to receive a high grade, but it does not guarantee one.

Learning Outcomes

Students will have a better understanding of writing for the work force in the field of international affairs. They will be given experience in a mock foreign policy briefing and role playing actual people involved in African conflicts. This interactive component is intended to help prepare students for the work force. Finally, they will gain an understanding of the factors that lead to conflict in Africa and how and why the United States government responds as it does.

Compliance with Credit Hour Policy

Over 14 weeks, students will spend 2 hours and 30 minutes (150 minutes) per week in class. Required reading for the classes, two writing assignments, and preparation for four class participation exercises are expected to take up, on average, 5 hours (300 minutes) per week. Over the course of the semester, students will spend about 35 hours in instructional time and about 70 hours preparing for class.

Academic Integrity

The University community, in order to fulfill its purposes, must establish and maintain guidelines of academic behavior. All members of the community are expected to exhibit honesty and competence in their academic work. Incoming students have a special responsibility to acquaint themselves with, and make use of, all proper procedures for doing research, writing papers, and taking examinations. Members of the community will be presumed to be familiar with the proper academic procedures and held responsible for applying them. Deliberate failure to act in accordance with such procedures will be considered academic dishonesty. Acts of academic dishonesty are a legal, moral, and intellectual offense against the community and will be prosecuted through the proper University channels. Copies of the University Code of Academic Integrity can be found at

<https://studentconduct.gwu.edu/sites/studentconduct.gwu.edu/files/downloads/160912%20Code%20of%20Academic%20Integrity%20-%20Final.pdf>.

Class Schedule

August 28: Introduction to the Course.

(No required reading).

September 11: Introduction to U.S. Policy toward Africa: Lecture and Class Discussion.

Required Reading:

Chapter 6: "US Africa Policies in the Post-Cold War Era" in United States Foreign Policy toward Africa (1994) by Peter J. Schraeder. Blackboard.

"A Mixed Record: 50 Years of U.S.-Africa Relations" by Herman J. Cohen in Foreign Service Journal (May 2008), pp. 17-24. Blackboard.

"Sub-Saharan Africa" by David H. Shinn in Divided Diplomacy and the Next Administration: Conservative and Liberal Alternatives (2004). Go to my blog at <http://davidshinn.blogspot.com>. Go to the right side bar and scroll down about three-quarters of the way until you reach "Miscellaneous." Go to the last item and hit "US Policy Themes in Sub-Saharan Africa."

"Obama and Africa: Lots of Hope, Not Much Change" by Nicolas van de Walle in Foreign Affairs (September/October 2015). Link: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/africa/obama-and-africa>.

"U.S. Strategy toward Sub-Saharan Africa" by The White House (June 2012). Link: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/africa_strategy_2.pdf.

Reference Material:

"U.S. Africa Partnership: The Last Four Years and Beyond," statement by Assistant Secretary of State Johnnie Carson, 16 January 2013.

Africa and the War on Terrorism by John Davis (2007).

Jimmy Carter and the Horn of Africa by Donna R. Jackson (2007).

Chapter 4 "U.S. Intervention in Postcolonial Africa" by F. Ugboaja Ohaegbulam in U.S. Policy in Postcolonial Africa (2004).

"Irrational Exuberance: The Clinton Administration in Africa" by Peter Rosenblum in Current History, v. 101, no. 655 (May 2002), pp. 195-202.

"Compassionate Conservatism Comes to Africa" by Salih Booker and Ann-Louise Colgan in Current History, v. 103, no. 673 (May 2004), pp. 232-36.

The African Foreign Policy of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger ed. by Hanes Walton Jr., Robert Louis Stevenson, and James Bernard Rosser Sr. (2007).

Chapter 1: "US Foreign Policy Making and the Horn of Africa" in US Foreign Policy and the Horn of Africa by Peter Woodward (2006).

"America and Africa: Beyond the Double Standard" by William Minter in Current History (May 2000).

"From Neglect to 'Virtual Engagement': The United States and Its New Paradigm for Africa" by Chris Alden in African Affairs (July 2000).

"U.S.-Africa Policy as Conflict Management" by Herman J. Cohen in SAIS Review (Vol. 21, 2001), pp. 239-44.

The Evolution of US Peacekeeping Policy under Clinton by Michael G. MacKinnon (2000).

Chapter 1: "Forging a New US Policy for Africa" in Intervening in Africa by Herman J. Cohen (2000), pp. 1-16.

"Forget the Rhetoric and Boost the Geopolitics: Emerging Trends in the Bush Administration's Policy Towards Africa, 2001" by Peter J. Schraeder in African Affairs (Vol. 100, 2001), pp. 387-404.

Africa Policy in the Clinton Years: Critical Choices for the Bush Administration ed. by J. Stephen Morrison and Jennifer G. Cooke (2001).

JFK: Ordeal in Africa by Richard D. Mahoney (1983).

Chapter 12 "Removing the Shackles? US Foreign Policy toward Africa after the End of the Cold War" by Peter J. Schraeder in Africa in the New International Order (1996) by Edmond Keller and Donald Rothchild, pp. 187-205.

Chapter 1 "The Character of American Interests in Africa" by Rupert Emerson in the United States and Africa (1958) by American Assembly, pp. 1-24.

Chapter 7 "US Policy toward Africa" by Jennifer Whitaker in Africa and the United States: Vital Interests (1978) by Jennifer Whitaker, pp. 212-44.

"The Making of US Policy toward Africa" by Helen Kitchen in *Africa in the 1990s and Beyond: US Policy Opportunities and Choices* (1988) by Robert Rotberg, pp. 14-27.

"Containment in Africa: from Truman to Reagan" by F. Ugboaja Ohaegbulam in *Transafrica Forum* (Vol. 6, No. 1, Fall 1988), pp. 7-33.

"US Foreign Policy toward Southern and Central Africa: The Kennedy and Johnson Years" by David A. Dickson in *Presidential Studies Quarterly* (Vol. 23, No. 2, Spring 1993), pp. 301-315.

September 18: Sierra Leone Lecture and Class Discussion.

Required Reading:

"Prospects for Peace in Sierra Leone" testimony by Susan E. Rice, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, before the House International Relations Subcommittee on Africa on March 23, 1999. Blackboard.

"War in Sierra Leone" by John L. Hirsch in *Survival*, v. 43, no. 3 (Autumn 2001), pp. 145-62. E-Journal Finder. (Taylor and Francis Online)

"Conflict Resolution and Lessons from Sierra Leone" statement by Richard S. Williamson (July 18, 2002). Blackboard.

"Sierra Leone: A New Era of Reform?" by International Crisis Group, *Africa Report* No. 143 (31 July 2008), pages 1-8 ONLY. Blackboard.

Reference Material:

Chapter 12 "Sierra Leone: A Vote for Better Governance," by Christopher Wyrod in *Democratization in Africa* edited by Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner (2010).

Chapter 10 "Justice for Whom? Assessing Hybrid Approaches to Accountability in Sierra Leone," by Chandra Lekha Sriram in *Security, Reconstruction, and Reconciliation* ed. By Muna Ndulo (2007).

"Liberia and Sierra Leone—dead ringers? The Logic of Neopatrimonial Rule" by Morten Boas in *Third World Quarterly* (Vol. 22, October 2001), pp. 697-723.

Peacekeeping in Sierra Leone: The Story of UNAMSIL by 'Funmi Olonisakin (2007).

Chapter 4 "Sierra Leone's Transition to Warlord Politics" in *Warlord Politics and African States* (1998) by William Reno.

Chapter 14 "A Sustainable Peace? Sierra Leone" by Bruce Baker and Roy May in *Ending Africa's Wars* ed. by Oliver Furley and Roy May (2006).

"Reconstructing Sierra Leone" by Bruce Baker and Roy May in *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* (Vol. 42, No. 1, March 2004), pp. 35-60.

A Dirty War in West Africa: The RUF and the Destruction of Sierra Leone by Lansana Gberie (2005).

Chapter 5: "Sierra Leone" by W. Ofuatey-Kodjoe in *Dealing with Conflict in Africa* ed. by Jane Boulden (2003), pp. 127-52.

"Sierra Leone - Pregnant with Lessons?" by David Richards in *Global Challenges and Africa: Report of the 2004 Tswalu Dialogue* (2004), pp. 9-21.

Chapter 4: "Controlling the Warlords: West Africa" in *United Nations Peacekeeping in Africa since 1960* by Norrie MacQueen (2002), pp. 180-95.

Sierra Leone: Diamonds and the Struggle for Democracy by John L. Hirsch (2001).

"Nigeria and the Failure of Peace-Making in Sierra Leone" by W. Alade Fawole in *Africa Insight* (Vol. 31, September 2001), pp. 11-18.

"War and Peace in Sierra Leone" by Paul Richards in *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* (Vol. 25, Summer 2001), pp. 41-50.

"Diamonds, Ethnicity, and Power: The Case of Sierra Leone" by J. Anyu Ndumbe in *Mediterranean Quarterly* (Vol. 12, Fall 2001), pp. 90-105.

"No Peace for Sierra Leone" by William Reno in *Review of African Political Economy* (No. 84, 2000), pp. 325-28.

Chapter 6 "Sierra Leone: Weak States and the New Sovereignty Game" by William Reno in *The African State at a Critical Juncture* (1998) by Leonardo Villalon and Phillip Huxtable, pp. 93-108.

"Mercenary Intervention in Sierra Leone: Providing National Security or International Exploitation?" by David J. Francis in *Third World Quarterly* (Vol. 20, No. 2, April 1999), pp. 319-38.

"War without End and an End To a War: The Prolonged Wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone" by Yekutiel Gershoni in *African Studies Review* (Vol. 40, No. 3, December 1997), pp. 55-75.

Chapter 8 "From ECOMOG to ECOMOG II: Intervention in Sierra Leone" by Robert Mortimer in *African World Politics* (2000) by John Harbeson and Donald Rothchild, pp. 188-207.

"Achieving Peace and Justice in Sierra Leone" testimony by Assistant Secretary Susan Rice before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on African Affairs on October 11, 2000.

Blood Diamonds: Tracing the Deadly Path of the World's Most Precious Stones by Greg Campbell (2002).

Military Power and Third Party Conflict Mediation in West Africa: The Liberia and Sierra Leone Case Studies by W. Alade Fawole (2001).

September 25: Angola Lecture and Class Discussion.

Required Reading:

"International Credibility and Political Survival: The Ford Administration's Intervention in Angola" by Thomas J. Noer in *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, v. 23, no. 4, (Fall 1993). Blackboard.

"Angola: The Past, Present and Future in US-Angolan Relations" by Witney W. Schneidman (November 13, 2002). Blackboard.

Chapter 4: "Angola: From Euphoria to Tragedy" by Herman J. Cohen in *Intervening in Africa* (2000). Blackboard.

Reference Material:

Chapter 23 "Angola's Façade Democracy," by Paula Cristina Roque in *Democratization in Africa* edited by Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner (2010).

"Angola's Political Economy of War: The Role of Oil and Diamonds, 1975-2000" by Philippe Le Billon in *African Affairs* (January 2001). pp. 55-80.

Toward an Angola Strategy: Prioritizing US-Angola Relations by the Council on Foreign Relations (2007).

High Noon in Southern Africa: Making Peace in a Rough Neighborhood by Chester A. Crocker (1992).

Chapter 9 "Elusive Settlement: Angola's 'Peace Processes', 1975-2002" by Norrie MacQueen in *Ending Africa's Wars* ed. by Oliver Furley and Roy May (2006).

Chapter 6 "UNAVEM and Angola, 1988-1997" in *United Nations Peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era* by John Terence O'Neill and Nicholas Rees (2005).

Engaging Africa: Washington and the Fall of Portugal's Colonial Empire by Witney Schneidman (2004).

Chapter 7 "U.S. Role in the Angola Conflict, 1975-2002" by F. Ugboaja Ohaegbulam in *U.S. Policy in Postcolonial Africa* (2004).

Chapter 9 "Angola: The End of an Intractable Conflict" by Paul Hare in *Grasping the Nettle* (2005), pp. 209-30.

"The Clinton Administration's Policy toward Angola: An Assessment" by George Wright in *Review of African Political Economy* (December 2001), pp. 563-76.

Angola's War Economy: The Role of Oil and Diamonds ed. by Jakkie Cilliers and Christian Dietrich (2000).

"Angola: Exorcising Savimbi's Ghost" by International Crisis Group in *Current History* (Vol. 102, No. 664, May 2003), pp. 206-14.

"Diamonds Are a Guerrilla's Best Friend: The Impact of Illicit Wealth on Insurgency Strategy" by Assis Malaquias in *Third World Quarterly* (Vol. 22, June 2001), pp. 311-25.

"Great- and Medium-Power Mediations: Angola" by Donald Rothchild and Caroline Hartzell in *The Annals* (Vol. 518, November 1991), pp. 39-57.

"The US, Soviet Union, Cuba and South Africa in Angola: Negotiator's Nightmare; Diplomat's Dilemma, 1974-80" by Pamela Falk, Case Study 405 (1988), Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy.

"Angola's Elusive Peace" by John Prendergast and David R. Smock in CSIS Africa Notes (March 1996).

"The Neglected Tragedy: The Return to War in Angola" by Anthony W. Pereira in the Journal of Modern African Studies (Vol. 32, No. 1, March 1994), pp. 1-28.

"Angola's Future: War Or Peace?" by Mohamed A. El-Khawas in Journal of the Third World Spectrum (Vol. 6, No. 1, Spring 1999), pp. 1-32.

"Constructive Engagement in Angola and Namibia: The Ethics of Coercive Negotiation" by David Fairman in the Kennedy School of Government Case Study Series (C-16-90-969.0, 1990). pp. 1-5.

Chapter 6 "American Policy toward Angola: A History of Linkage" by Gerald Bender in African Crisis Areas and US Foreign Policy (1985) by Gerald Bender, James Coleman and Richard Sklar, pp. 110-128.

Angola's Last Best Chance for Peace: An Insider's Account of the Peace Process (1998) by Paul J. Hare.

Chapter 5: "Constructing a Conflict Management System in Angola, 1989-97" in Managing Ethnic Conflict in Africa by Donald Rothchild (1997), pp. 111-45.

"Angola: what next?" by Paul Hare in Perspectives on Africa: A Quarterly Journal of Dialogue and Opinion (Fall 1999), pp. 6-11.

"The Eagle and the Bear in Angola" by Gerald Bender in The Annals (No. 489, January 1987), pp. 123-32.

The Future of U.S.-Angola Relations by Center for Strategic and International Studies (June 12, 2001).

"Kissinger and Angola: Setting the Record Straight" by Nathaniel Davis in the Foreign Service Journal (Vol. 77, No. 1, January 2000), pp. 36-40.

October 2: Sudan Lecture and Class Discussion.

Required Reading:

"Sudan: From Conflict to Conflict" by Marina Ottaway and Mai El-Sadany, the Carnegie Papers (May 2012). Link: www.carnegieendowment.org/2012/05/16/sudan-from-conflict-to-conflict/as7w.

"Evangelists, Oil Companies, and Terrorists: The Bush Administration's Policy towards Sudan" by Asteris Huliaras in Orbis, v. 50, no. 4 (Fall 2006), pp. 709-24. Blackboard.

"Some Assembly Required: Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement" by Timothy Carney, United States Institute of Peace Special Report no. 194 (November 2007). Link: www.usip.org/publications/some-assembly-required-sudans-comprehensive-peace-agreement.

"Message to Congress on Sudan from the President" signed on November 3, 1997. Blackboard.

"Press Statement on Sudan" by Secretary of State Albright to the Sudan Summit on November 9, 1999. Blackboard.

Reference Material:

South Sudan: A Slow Liberation by Edward Thomas (2015).

South Sudan: From Revolution to Independence by Matthew LeRiche and Matthew Arnold (2012).

"Politics and Transition in the New South Sudan," International Crisis Group, Africa Report No. 172 (4 April 2011).

"Divisions in Sudan's Ruling Party and the Threat to the Country's Future Stability," International Crisis Group, Africa Report No. 174 (4 May 2011).

"Toward a New Republic of Sudan" by Jon Temin and Theodore Murphy, USIP Special Report (June 2011).

"The First Crack in Africa's Map? Secession and Self-Determination after South Sudan," by Terence McNamee, The Brenthurst Foundation Discussion Paper 2012/01.

Sudan by Richard A. Lobban, Jr. (2010).

The First Sudanese Civil War by Scopas S. Poggo (2009).

Sudan: The Elusive Quest for Peace by Ruth Iyob and Gilbert M. Khadiagala (2006).

"South Sudan: Origins and Implications of Emerging Insecurity Dynamics by Andrews Atta-Asamoah, Roba D. Sharamo and Philip M. Mwanzia, Institute for Security Studies Situation Report, July 29, 2011.

"Toward a New Republic of Sudan" by Jon Temin and Theodore Murphy, USIP Special Report, June 2011.

"Politics and Transition in the New South Sudan," International Crisis Group Africa Report No. 172, April 4, 2011.

Chapter 6 "The Failure of Making Unity Attractive," by Aleksi Ylonen in Regional Security in the Post-Cold War Horn of Africa edited by Roba Sharamo and Berouk Mesfin (April 2011), pp. 147-188.

Chapter 7 "Southern Sudan," by Lesley Anne Warner in Regional Security in the Post-Cold War Horn of Africa edited by Roba Sharamo and Berouk Mesfin (April 2011), pp. 189-220.

"Divisions in Sudan's Ruling Party and the Threat to the Country's Future Stability," International Crisis Group Africa Report No. 174, May 4, 2011.

"Sudan: Assessing Risks to Stability," by Richard Downie and Brian Kennedy, Center for Strategic and International Studies, June 2011.

Chapter 3: "Sudan: Total North-South Incompatibility" by Herman J. Cohen in Intervention in Africa (2000), pp. 60-86.

Chapter 11 "Peacemaking in Sudan" by Peter Woodward in Ending Africa's Wars ed. by Oliver Furley and Roy May (2006).

Chapter 6: "Sudan, 1983-1993" by Mohammed O. Maundi, et. al. On Getting In: Mediators' Entry into the Settlement of African Conflicts (2006), pp. 123-51.

US Foreign Policy and the Horn of Africa by Peter Woodward (2006).

"Civil War in Sudan: Paradox of Human Rights and National Sovereignty" by Judith Mayotte in the Journal of International Affairs, v. 47, no. 2, (Winter 1994), pp. 497-524.

"Sudan and the United States: Is a Decade of Tension Winding Down?" by Yehudit Ronen in Middle East Policy, v. 9, no. 1, (March 2002), pp. 94-107.

Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement: The Long Road Ahead by International Crisis Group (31 March 2006)

Chapter 3: "Foreign Relations: Complex Geopolitics and Domestic Instability" in Sudan by Abdel Salam Sidahmed and Alsir Sidahmed (2005), pp. 65-81.

Chapter 7 "Can Sudan Escape Its Intractability?" by J. Stephen Morrison and Alex de Waal in Grasping the Nettle ed. by Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall(2005), pp. 161-82.

"Sudan: Oil and War" by Jemera Rone in Review of African Political Economy (Vol. 30, No. 97, September 2003), pp. 504-10.

Chapter 7: "The Sudan" by Monica Kathina Juma in Dealing with Conflict in Africa ed. by Jane Boulden (2003), pp. 185-214.

"Chemical Weapons in the Sudan: Allegations and Evidence" by Michael Barietta in The Nonproliferation Review (Fall 1998).

"U.S. Policy to End Sudan's War" Report of the CSIS Task Force on U.S.-Sudan Policy (February 2001).

"Sudan: Liberation Movements, Regional Armies, Ethnic Militias & Peace" by John Young in Review of African Political Economy (Vol. 30. No. 97, September 2003), pp. 423-34.

The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars by Douglas H. Johnson (2003).

"The Dynamics of War and Peace in Sudan" by John G. Nyuot Yoh in Conflict Trends (No. 4, 2001).

"Dealing with Al Shifa: Intelligence and Counter proliferation" by Eric Croddy in International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence (Vol. 15, No. 1, Spring 2002), pp. 52-60.

Chapter 8: "Coalition Efforts to Repair Internal Conflict Management in Sudan, 1971-72" by Donald Rothchild in Managing Ethnic Conflict in Africa (1997), pp. 212-42.

"Sudan-Civil War and Genocide" by Francis M. Deng in Middle East Quarterly (Vol. 8, Winter 2001), pp. 13-21.

"Sudan's Perfect War" by Randolph Martin in Foreign Affairs (Vol. 81, March/April 2002), pp. 111-27.

"Rogue States and Radicals: The United States and Sudan" in The Skull Beneath the Skin by Mark Huband (2001), pp. 253-76.

God, Oil & Country: Changing the Logic of War in Sudan by the International Crisis Group (2002).

"Civil War and Failed Peace Efforts in Sudan" by Taisier M. Ali and Robert O. Matthews in Civil Wars in Africa ed. by Taisier M. Ali and Robert O. Matthews (1999), pp. 193-220.

"Islam and Democracy: The 1999 Palace Coup in Sudan" by Stefano Bellucci in Middle East Policy (Vol. 7, June 2000), pp. 168-75.

Part II "Sudan: Endless Crusade" by Scott Peterson in Me Against My Brother: At War in Somalia, Sudan and Rwanda (2000), pp. 173-244.

Inside Sudan: Political Islam, Conflict and Catastrophe (1999) by Donald Petterson.

Requiem for the Sudan: War, Drought, and Disaster Relief on the Nile (1995) by J. Millard Burr and Robert O. Collins.

The Southern Sudan: The Problem of National Integration (1973) edited by Dunstan M. Wai.

Chapter 6 "Sudan: A New Political Character?" by Peter Woodward in The Horn of Africa (1994) by Charles Gurdon, pp. 76-89.

Chapter 7 "Sudan's Political and Economic Future: A Southern Perspective" by Bona Malwal in The Horn of Africa (1994) by Charles Gurdon, pp. 90-104.

Chapter 8 "Sudan's Political Future" by Charles Gurdon in the Horn of Africa (1994) by Charles Gurdon, pp. 105-114.

Chapter 11 "Adding Fuel to the Conflict: Oil, War and Peace in the Sudan" by Peter Nyot Kok in Beyond Conflict in the Horn (1992) by Martin Doornbos, Lionel Cliffe, Abdel Ghaffar M. Ahmed and John Markakis, pp. 104-113.

Chapters 10-11 "The United States and Sudan" in the United States and the Horn of Africa (1997) by Okbazghi Yohannes, pp. 261-333.

Civil War in Sudan (1993) by M.W. Daly and Ahmed Alawad Sikainga.

"The Use of Force to Respond to Terrorist Attacks: The Bombing of Sudan and Afghanistan" by Jules Lobel in the Yale Journal of International Law (Vol. 24, No. 2, Summer 1999).

"Africans, Arabs, and Islamists: From the Conference Tables to the Battlefields in the Sudan" by Robert O. Collins in African Studies Review (Vol. 42, September 1999), pp. 105-23.

"Somalia's and Sudan's Race to the Fore in Africa" by J. Stephen Morrison in The Washington Quarterly (Vol. 25, Spring 2002), pp. 191-205.

"Crisis in Sudan and northern Uganda" statement by Assistant Secretary of State Rice before the Subcommittee on Africa and on International Operations and Human Rights of the House International Relations Committee, July 29, 1998.

"Addis Ababa Agreement: Was It Destined to Fail and Are There Lessons for the Current Sudan Peace Process?" by David Shinn in *Les Annales d'Ethiopie* (Vol. 20, 2004), pp. 239-59.

Southern Sudan: Too Many Agreements Dishonoured by Abel Alier (1990).

October 16: Sudan Small Group Briefing.

The class will be divided into small groups of students. Each group will have a different scenario and, based on assignments the previous week, will present an oral brief to a fictional assistant secretary of state for African affairs. The briefings should contain a brief background of the situation, a statement of the current problem, options for resolving the problem and a recommendation to the assistant secretary. Each group can divide up the presentation as it wishes. Grades are based individually, not as a group.

Required Reading:

"Sudan: Humanitarian Crisis, Peace Talks, Terrorism, and U.S. Policy" by Ted Dagne (April 12, 2006). Link: <http://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/IB98043.pdf>.

"Remarks on Darfur and Sanctions" by John D. Negroponte, Adam Szubin, and Andrew Natsios (May 29, 2007). Link: <http://2001-2009.state.gov/s/d/2007/85716.htm>.

"Hearing on Sudan" by David H. Shinn (30 July 2009). Go to my blog at <http://davidshinn.blogspot.com>. Then go to Hearing on Sudan under Horn of Africa on the right side bar.

"Stuck in the Mud - The Obama Administration's Civil War over Sudan," by Josh Rogin in *Foreign Policy* (29 January 2010). Link: http://thecable.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/01/29/inside_the_nsc_deputies_meeting_on_sudan.

"US-Sudan Relations" by Princeton N. Lyman, US Special Envoy for Sudan and South Sudan, Address to the Atlantic Council on 1 August 2012. Link: <http://photos.state.gov/libraries/sudan/733609/diraram/US-Sudan%20speech072312.pdf>.

"Unmade in the USA: The Inside Story of a Foreign Policy Failure," by Ty McCormick in *Foreign Policy* (25 February 2015). Link: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/02/25/unmade-in-the-usa-south-sudan-bush-obama/>.

October 23: Eritrea/Ethiopia Lecture, Class Discussion and Designation of Embassy Positions for Role Playing.

The policy paper is due today.

Required Reading:

"The War between Ethiopia and Eritrea" by Patrick Gilkes and Martin Plaut in Foreign Policy in Focus (11 October 2005). Link: <http://fpif.org/the-war-between-ethiopia-and-eritrea/>.

"Eritrea's War against Ethiopia - IV - The American Role" by Paul B. Henze, personal paper (June 27, 2000). Blackboard.

"The Ethiopian-Eritrean War: US Policy Options" testimony by Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Susan Rice before the House International Relations Africa Subcommittee on May 25, 1999. Blackboard.

"The Ethiopia-Eritrea Border Conflict and the Role of the International Community" by Siphamandla Zondi and Emmanuel Rejouis in Accord (2006). Link: <http://www.accord.org.za/ajcr-issues/%EF%BF%BCThe-ethiopia-eritrea-border-conflict-and-the-role-of-the-international-community/>.

US Organizations and Roles: Embassy Organization. Link: www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/policy/army/fm/90-29/Ch2.htm.

Reference Material:

The 1998-2000 War between Eritrea and Ethiopia: An International Legal Perspective (2009) by Andrea De Guttry, Harry H.G. Post and Gabriella Venturini.

"Beyond the Fragile Peace between Ethiopia and Eritrea: Averting New War" by the International Crisis Group (2008).

"Towards New Peacekeeping Partnerships in Africa? The OAU Liaison Mission in Ethiopia-Eritrea" by Festus Aboagye in African Security Review (Vol. 10, 2001).

Eritrea's War by Paul Henze (2001).

UN Security Council, "Report of the Secretary-General on Ethiopia and Eritrea", November 1, 2007.

"Ethiopia-Eritrea Ties: Past, Present, Future," by M. Venkataraman, Africa Quarterly, vol. 47, no. 1 (February-April 2007), pp. 52-61.

"Briefing: The Eritrean-Ethiopian Border Dispute" by J. Abbink in African Affairs, v. 97, no. 389, (October 1998), pp. 551-565.

Chapters 3 & 10 from War in the Horn: The Conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia (1999) by Patrick Gilkes and Martin Plaut.

"The Ethiopia-Eritrea Border Conflict and the Role of the International Community" by Siphamandla Zondi and Emmanuel Rejouis in African Journal on Conflict Resolution (Vol. 6, No. 2, 2006).

Chapter 5: "New Friends for the US? Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti" in US Foreign Policy and the Horn of Africa by Peter Woodward (2006).

Chapter 7: "Ethiopia-Eritrea, 1998-2000" by Mohammed O. Maundi, et. al. in Getting In: Mediators' Entry into the Settlement of African Conflicts (2006), pp.153-73.

"Ethiopia and Eritrea at War: Saga of Triumph and Tragedy at the Dawn of the Millennium" by Paulos Milkias in *Horn of Africa* (Vol. 17, December 1999), pp. 33-71.

"The Ethiopia-Eritrea War" by Leenco Lata in *Review of African Political Economy* (Vol. 30, No. 97, September 2003), pp. 369-88.

Chapter 5: "Reconstructing and Defining the Post-Cold War State: The Horn of Africa" in *United Nations Peacekeeping in Africa since 1960* by Norrie MacQueen (2002), pp. 221-31.

Chapter 6: "The Ethio-Eritrean 1998-2000 War: Origins and Effects" in *Anatomy of an African Tragedy* by Kidane Mengisteab and Okbazghi Yohannes (2005), pp. 229-64.

"Ethiopia-Eritrea: Proxy Wars and Prospects of Peace in the Horn of Africa" by Jon Abbink in *Journal of Contemporary Studies* (Vol. 21, No. 3, September 2003), pp. 407-25.

Chapter 6: "The Ethiopia-Eritrea War" by Leenco Lata in *Dealing with Conflict in Africa* ed. by Jane Boulden (2003), pp. 153-84.

Shattered Illusion, Broken Promise: Essays on the Eritrea-Ethiopia Conflict (1998-2000) (2002) by Tekie Fessehazion.

"Ethiopia and Eritrea: Fratricidal Conflict in the Horn" by Richard Cornwell in *African Security Review* (Vol. 7, 1998).

"The Ethiopia-Eritrea Conflict: A Fragile Peace" by Fiona Lortan in *African Security Review* (Vol. 9, 2000).

"Some Latent Factors in the Ethio-Eritrean Conflict" by Kidane Mengisteab in *Eritrean Studies Review* (Vol. 3, 1999), pp. 89-106.

"The Eritrea-Ethiopia Border Arbitration" by Philip White in *Review of African Political Economy* (Vol. 92, No. 92, June 2002), pp. 345-56.

"Explaining the Unexplainable: The Eritrea-Ethiopia Border War" by Tekie Fessehazion in *Eritrean Studies Review* (Vol. 3, 1999), pp. 227-41.

Chapter 6 "The International Context of Internal War: Ethiopia/Eritrea" by Terrence Lyons in *Africa in the New International Order* (1996) by Edmond J. Keller and Donald Rothchild, pp. 85-99.

"Ethiopia and Eritrea: From Cooperation to Competition" by Tekeste Negash in *Ethiopian Review* (Vol. 8, No. 3, July-August 1998), pp. 34-37.

Unfinished Business: Ethiopia and Eritrea at War ed. by Dominique Jacquin-Berdal and Martin Plaut (2004).

"Reflections on Ethiopian and Eritrean Relations" by Mesfin Araya in *Ethiopian Review* (Vol. 8, No. 3, July-August 1998), pp. 37-40.

Chapter 8 "The American Dilemma on the Horn" by Bereket H. Selassie in *African Crisis Areas and US Foreign Policy* (1985) by Gerald Bender, James Coleman and Richard Sklar, pp. 163-177.

Chapters 1-6 "The United States and Ethiopia" and "The United States and Eritrea" in *The United States and the Horn of Africa* (1997) by Okbazghi Yohannes, pp. 13-196.

Chapter 3 "The Ethiopian-Eritrean War of 1998-2000," by Kidist Mulugeta in *Regional Security in the Post-Cold War Horn of Africa* edited by Roba Sharamo and Berouk Mesfin (April 2011), pp. 31-64.

"Towards a Cold Peace? The Outcome of the Ethiopia-Eritrea War of 1998-2000" by Martin Plaut in *Review of African Political Economy*, v. 28, no. 87 (March 2001), pp. 125-29.

Chapter 4 "The Causes and Consequences of the Eritrean-Ethiopian Border Conflict," by Daniel R. Mekonnen and Paulos Tesfagiorgis in *Regional Security in the Post-Cold War Horn of Africa* edited by Roba Sharamo and Berouk (April 2011), pp. 65-94.

October 30: Eritrea/Ethiopia Role Playing.

Members of the class will have been given assignments to play the role of an official (ambassador, political officer, security officer, intelligence officer, defense attache, USAID chief, information officer, etc.) at the American Embassy in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, or the American Embassy in Asmara, Eritrea. Starting with the beginning of the dispute in May 1998 and continuing chronologically, I will describe the policy dilemma facing the US and then call on an embassy officer in Addis Ababa and Asmara to propose a response to Washington or to the ambassador. Each student (officer) will be asked to respond to two situations by the time we have completed the role-playing. The responses should provide solid advice for American policy, taking into account the bilateral relationship with Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Required Reading:

"Ethiopia and Eritrea: Allergic to Persuasion" by Sally Healy and Martin Plaut, Chatham House Briefing Paper (January 2007). Link: https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/public/Research/Africa/bpe_thiopiaeritrea.pdf.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1312 To Establish United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (July 31, 2000). Link: <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/resolutions/SC00/1312SC00.html>.

"Eritrea and Ethiopia: Beyond the Impasse," by Jason Mosley (April 2014).

Link:

<http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/20140410EritreaEthiopiaMosley.pdf>.

"Ethiopia and Eritrea in Turmoil: Implications for Peace and Security in a Troubled Region," Institute for Security Studies Situation Report (1 December 2008). Link: <https://www.issafrica.org/uploads/SITREPETHERIT301108.PDF>.

November 6: Somalia Lecture, Class Discussion and Designation of Positions for Role Playing.

Required Reading:

Report to the Congress on US Policy in Somalia dated October 13, 1993. Blackboard.

"Some Observations on Somalia's Past and Future" by Thomas J. Callahan in CSIS Africa Notes, (March 1994). Link: https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy_files/files/publication/anotes_0394.pdf.

Chapter 9 "US Government Decisionmaking Processes during Humanitarian Operations in Somalia" by James L. Woods in Learning from Somalia (1997) by Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst. Blackboard.

Chapter 10 "Relations between the United States and United Nations in Dealing with Somalia" by Jonathan T. Howe in Learning from Somalia (1997) by Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst. Blackboard.

Chapter 11 "Congress and the Somalia Crisis" by Harry Johnston and Ted Dagne in Learning from Somalia (1997) by Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst. Blackboard.

Reference Material:

The Roots of Somali Political Culture (2015) by M.J. Fox.

Governance: The Scourge and Hope of Somalia (2010) by Ismail Ali Ismail.

Somalia at the Crossroads: Challenges and Perspectives on Reconstitution a Failed State (2007) by Abdulahi A. Osman and Issaka K. Souare.

"Curing the Somalia Syndrome Analogy, Foreign Policy Decision Making, and the Rwandan Genocide" by Darren C. Brunk in Foreign Policy Analysis, vol. 4, issue 3 (July 2008), 301-320.

Humanitarianism under Fire: The US and UN Intervention in Somalia by Kenneth R. Rutherford (2008).

"Somalia: Current Conditions and Prospects for a Lasting Peace," by Ted Dagne, Congressional Research Service, June 29, 2011.

UN Security Council, "Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea," July 13, 2012.

"Al-Qaeda in East Africa and the Horn," by David H. Shinn in The Journal of Conflict Studies, vol. 27, no. 1 (summer 2007).

"Al-Shabaab's Foreign Threat to Somalia," by David H. Shinn in Orbis, vol. 55, no. 2 (Spring 2011), 203-215.

Chapter 4 "Somalia, 1988-1993" by I. William Zartman in Cowardly Lions (2005).

US Foreign Policy and the Horn of Africa by Peter Woodward (2006).

Chapter 6: "From Famine Relief to Humanitarian War: The US and UN Intervention in Somalia" by Nicholas J. Wheeler in Saving Strangers (2000).

Chapter 5: "UNOSOM and Somalia, 1992-1995" in United Nations Peacekeeping in the Post-Cold War Era by John Terence O'Neil and Nicholas Rees (2005).

"Peace-Building and Democracy - Lessons of Somalia and Somaliland" by Rakhiah Omaar in *Global Challenges and Africa: Report of the 2004 Tswalu Dialogue* (2004), pp. 83-92.

Chapter 20: "Somalia: 1992 to 1993," in *Behind Embassy Walls* by Brandon Grove (2005).

Chapter 5: "Somalia" in *Battle Ready* by Tom Clancy, Tony Zinni and Tony Koltz (2004).

The Effort to Save Somalia: August 1992 - March 1994 by Walter S. Poole (2005).

"Peacekeeping and Policing in Somalia" by Lynn Thomas and Steve Spataro in *Policing the New World Disorder* ed. by Robert B. Oakley, Michael J. Dziedzic and Eliot M. Goldberg (1998), pp. 175-214.

"State Collapse in Somalia: Second Thoughts" by Ken Menkhous in *Review of African Political Economy* (Vol. 30, No. 97, September 2003), pp. 405-22.

"Sources of Humanitarian Intervention: Beliefs, Information, and Advocacy in the U.S. Decisions on Somalia and Bosnia" by Jon Western in *International Security* (Vol. 26, No. 4, Spring 2002), pp. 112-42.

Chapter 5: "Reconstructing and Defining the Post-Cold War State: The Horn of Africa" in *United Nations Peacekeeping in Africa since 1960* by Norrie MacQueen (2002), pp. 197-221.

Chapter 14: "UNOSOM II: Not Failure, Not Success" by Gary Anderson in *Beyond Traditional Peacekeeping* ed. by Donald C.F. Daniel and Bradd C. Hayes (1995), pp. 267-81.

"Somalia: Alternative Scenarios for Political Reconstruction" by Martin Doornbos in *African Affairs* (Vol. 101, January 2002), pp. 93-107.

Chapter 8: "Introduction to Anarchy: Humanitarian Intervention and State-Building in Somalia: by William J. Durch in *UN Peacekeeping, American Politics, and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s* ed. by William Durch (1996).

Chapter 8: "Somalia: Better Late than Never" in *Intervening in Africa* by Herman J. Cohen (2000), pp. 197-217,

Chapter 12: "The Mogadishu Line: The United Nations and Somalia" in *The Skull Beneath the Skin* by Mark Huband (2001), pp. 277-306.

"From Peacekeeping to Peace Enforcement: The UN Operation in Somalia" by Ramesh Thakur in *The Journal of Modern African Studies* (Vol. 32, No. 3, September 1994), pp. 387-410.

"The US Military Intervention in Somalia: A Hidden Agenda?" by Jeffrey A. Lefebvre in *Middle East Policy* (Vol. 11, No. 1, Winter 1993), pp. 44-62.

"Part I: Somalia: Warlords Triumphant" by Scott Peterson in *Me Against My Brother: At War in Somalia, Sudan and Rwanda* (2000), pp. 3-169.

"Television News and American Intervention in Somalia: The Myth of a Media-driven Foreign Policy" by Jonathan Mermin in *Political Science Quarterly* (Vol. 112, No. 3, Fall 1997), pp. 385-403.

Chapter 4 "Somalia" by Ioan Lewis and James Mayall in *The New Interventionism 1991-1994* (1996) by James Mayall, pp. 94-124.

"A 'Seamless' Transition: United States and United Nations Operations in Somalia--1992-1993 (A)" Kennedy School of Government Case Program (C09-96-1324.0, 1996), pp. 1-52.

Chapter 4 "Descent into Chaos: Somalia, January 1991 - December 1992" by Patrick Gilkes in *The Horn of Africa* (1994) by Charles Gurdon, pp. 47-60.

Chapter 10 "Somalia and the United States, 1977-83: The New Relationship" by Donald K. Petterson in *African Crisis Areas and US Foreign Policy* (1985) by Gerald Bender, James Coleman and Richard Sklar, pp. 194-204.

Chapter 4 "Somalia: The Structure of Dissolution" by Anna Simons in *The African State at a Critical Juncture* (1998) by Leonardo A. Villalon and Phillip A. Huxtable, pp. 57-73.

Somalia: The Missed Opportunities (1994) by Mohamed Sahnoun.

Chapters 7-10 in *Peace Operations: Tackling the Military, Legal and Policy Challenges* (1997) by Major Michael Kelly.

Losing Mogadishu: Testing US Policy in Somalia (1995) by Jonathan Stevenson.

Chapter 13 "In the Name of the Cold War: How the West Aided and Abetted the Barre Dictatorship of Somalia" by Mohamed Diriye Abdullahi in *Genocide, War Crimes and the West* edited by Adam Jones (2004).

"Somalia: Political Order in a Stateless Society" by Ken Menkhaus in *Current History* (Vol. 97, No. 619, May 1998), pp. 220-225.

"With the Best of Intentions: Lessons from UNOSOM I and II" by Paul F. Diehl in *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (Vol. 19, No. 2, April-June 1996), pp. 153-177.

"Somalia and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention" by Walter Clarke and Jeffrey Herbst in *Foreign Affairs* (Vol. 75, No. 2, March-April 1996), pp. 70-86.

The United Nations and Somalia, 1992-1996 (1996) by the Department of Public Information of the United Nations.

Chapters 7-9 "The United States and Somalia" in *The United States and the Horn of Africa* (1997) by Okbazghi Yohannes, pp. 199-257.

"Operation Restore Hope: The Bush Administration's Decision to Intervene in Somalia" by Maryann Cusimano, Case Study 463 (1995), Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy.

"Key Decisions in the Somalia Intervention" by Ken Menkhaus and Louis Ortmyer, Case Study 464 (1995), Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy.

"The Clinton Administration and Multilateral Peace Operations" by Ivo Daalder, Case Study 462 (1994), Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy.

Chapter 4 "The United States, the United Nations and Somalia" by Jonathan Howe in Conflict and Its Resolution in Contemporary Africa (1977) by Harry West, pp. 55-72.

Chapter 5 "Peacekeeping and Humanitarian Crises" by Robert Oakley in Conflict and Its Resolution in Contemporary Africa (1977) by Harry West, pp. 73-92.

"Somalia: Options for Congress and US Policy" by Richard P. Cronin in CRS Report for Congress (October 15, 1993).

November 13: Continue Somalia Lecture and Discussion Followed by Role Playing.

The role play exercise will be organized on a chronological basis beginning in the fall of 1992 and continue until early in 1994. Each student will play the role of an actual participant in the Somalia intervention. I will set the scene and then ask what the actual participant did or probably did in that situation. Each student will be asked to intervene two times by the time the role play is completed.

Required Reading:

"The Problems of Doing Good: Somalia As a Case Study in Humanitarian Intervention" by Alberto Coll, Case Study 518 (1997), Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy. Purchase on-line as noted p. 1.

"President Bush's Decision to Protect Humanitarian Operations" in Somalia and Operation Restore Hope: Reflections on Peacemaking and Peacekeeping (1995) by John L. Hirsch and Robert B. Oakley. Blackboard.

"A 'Seamless' Transition: United States and United Nations Operations in Somalia--1992-1993 (B)" Kennedy School of Government Case Program (C09-96-1325.0, 1996). Blackboard.

November 20: Continue Somalia Role Playing.

Required Reading:

"Somalia" testimony by David Shinn, Director, Office of East African Affairs, before the House Subcommittee on Africa on March 16, 1994. Blackboard.

"American Post-cold War Images and Foreign Policy Preferences toward 'Dependent' States: A Case Study of Somalia" by Dorcas Eva McCoy in World Affairs, v. 163, no. 1, (Summer 2000), pp. 39-47. E-Journal Finder.

"Securing the Theater of Operations: Peacekeeping Communications" in Managing Communications: Lessons from Interventions in Africa by the United States Institute of Peace. Blackboard.

November 27: Rwanda Lecture, Discussion and Explanation of Ground Rules for Rwanda Debate.

The embassy telegram is due today.

Required Reading:

"Explaining the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda" by Helen M. Hintjens in the *Journal of Modern African Studies*, v. 37, no. 2 (1999), pp. 241-86. E-Journal Finder. (J-Stor)

"Department of State Legal Analysis of 1994 Genocide in Rwanda" in *The American Journal of International Law* (2002). Blackboard.

Chapter 4 "From Indifference to Compassion" in *Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century* (1995) by Alain Destexhe. Blackboard.

"Watershed in Rwanda: The Evolution of President Clinton's Humanitarian Intervention Policy" by John Ausink, *Case Study 374* (1997), Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy. Purchase on-line as explained on p. 1.

Chapter 16 "Genocide Denied" by Scott Peterson in *Me against My Brother: At War in Somalia, Sudan and Rwanda* (2000). Blackboard.

Reference Material:

Rwanda's Popular Genocide: A Perfect Storm (2015) by Jean-Paul Kimonyo.

"Rwanda and Darfur: A Comparative Approach to Two Peacekeeping Failures," by Gérard Prunier in *Journal of International Peacekeeping* (Vol. 14, 2010), pp. 117-133.

"Reading the Rwandan Genocide" by Peter Uvin in *International Studies Review* (Vol. 3, fall 2001), pp. 75-99.

The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda by Scott Straus (2006).

Silent Accomplice: The Untold Story of France's Role in Rwandan Genocide by Andrew Wallis (2006).

Chapter 2: "Rwanda, 1990-1992" by Mohammed O. Maundi, et. al. in *Getting In: Mediators' Entry into the Settlement of African Conflicts* (2006), pp. 31-55.

In the Aftermath of Genocide: The U.S. Role in Rwanda by Robert E. Gribbin (2005).

Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda by Romeo Dallaire (2003).

Chapter 8: "The United States and the Genocide in Rwanda, 1994" by F. Ugboaja Ohaegbulam in *U.S. Policy in Postcolonial Africa* (2004).

A People Betrayed: The Role of the West in Rwanda's Genocide by Linda Melvern (2000).

Rwanda's Genocide: Looking Back. Hearing before the House Subcommittee on Africa, Committee on International Relations (April 22, 2004).

Chapter 2: "Patrolling the Ethnic Frontier: Central Africa" in *United Nations Peacekeeping in Africa since 1960* by Norrie MacQueen (2002), pp. 60-85.

Chapter 6: "NGOs and Early Warning: The Case of Rwanda" by Bruce Jones in *Early Warning and Early Response* ed. by Susanne Schmeidl and Howard Adelman (1998).

Chapter 8: "American Network Coverage of Rwanda in the Context of General Trends in International News" by Steven Livingston and David Stephen in *Early Warning and Early Response* ed. by Susanne Schmeidl and Howard Adelman (1998).

"Rwanda at the End of the Transition: A Necessary Political Liberalization" by International Crisis Group (November 13, 2002).

Eyewitness to Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda by Michael N. Barnett (2002).

Origins of the Rwanda Genocide by Josias Semujanga (2003).

"Disconnecting the Threads: Rwanda and the Holocaust Reconsidered" by Rene Lemarchand in *Journal of Genocide Research* (Vol. 4, No. 4, December 2002), pp. 499-518.

"The Rwandan Experience" by Romeo Dallaire in *The New Peacekeeping Partnership* ed. by Alex Morrison (1995), pp. 14-25.

Chapter 9: "The Politics of Genocide: Peacekeeping and Disaster Relief in Rwanda" by J. Matthew Vaccaro in *UN Peacekeeping, American Politics, and the Uncivil Wars of the 1990s* ed. by William J. Durch (1996).

"Rwanda's Hutu Extremist Genocidal Insurgency: An Eyewitness Perspective" by Rick Orth in *Small Wars and Insurgencies* (Vol. 12, Spring 2001), pp. 76-109.

Chapter 5: "The Failure to Communicate: UNAMIR in Rwanda, 1994-95" in *Peacekeeping and Public Information* by Ingrid A. Lehmann (1999), pp. 84-109.

Chapter 7: "Global Bystander to Genocide: International Society and the Rwandan Genocide of 1994" in *Saving Strangers* by Nicholas J. Wheeler (2000).

Chapter 3: "Civil War, the Peace Process, and Genocide in Rwanda" by Bruce D. Jones in *Civil Wars in Africa* ed. by Taisier M. Ali and Robert O. Matthews (1999), pp. 52-86.

The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention: Genocide in Rwanda by Alan J. Kuperman (2001).

Chapter 4: "The End of Innocence: Rwanda 1994" by Romeo A. Dallaire in *Hard Choices* ed. by Jonathan Moore (1998), pp. 71-86.

Chapter 9: "Hard Choices after Genocide: Human Rights and Political Failures in Rwanda" by Ian Martin in *Hard Choices* ed. by Jonathan Moore (1998), pp. 157-75.

"The UN Security Council, Indifference, and Genocide in Rwanda" by Michael Barnett in *Cultural Anthropology* (Vol. 12, No. 4, November 1997).

"Understanding Genocide" by David Newbury in *African Studies Review* (Vol. 41, No. 1, April 1998), pp. 73-97.

Genocide: Rwanda and Burundi (1998) by Edward L. Nyankanzi.

"Rwanda: The Perils of Peacemaking" by Christopher Clapham in the *Journal of Peace Research* (Vol. 35, No. 2, March 1998), pp. 193-210.

"The Other Lesson of Rwanda: Mediators Sometimes Do More Damage Than Good" by Alan J. Kuperman in *SAIS Review* (Vol. 16, No. 1, Winter-Spring 1996), pp. 221-240.

"Genocide in the Great Lakes: Which Genocide? Whose Genocide?" by Rene Lemarchand in *African Studies Review* (Vol. 41, No. 1, April 1998), pp. 3-17.

"All the Bourgmestre's Men: Making Sense of Genocide in Rwanda" by Michele D. Wagner in *Africa Today* (Vol. 45, No. 1, January-March 1998), pp. 25-36.

The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide (1995) by Gerard Prunier.

Preventing Genocide: How the Early Use of Force Might Have Succeeded in Rwanda by Scott R. Feil (1998).

Chapter 8: "Genocide in Rwanda and the International Response" by Alison L. Des Forges in *Conflict and Its Resolution in Contemporary Africa* (1997) by Harry West, pp. 123-40.

Chapter 18: "State, Civil Society, and Genocide in Rwanda" by Timothy Longman in *State, Conflict, and Democracy in Africa* by Richard Joseph (1999), pp. 339-58.

"Responding to Rwanda: Accountability Mechanisms in the Aftermath of Genocide" by Michael P. Scharf in *Journal of International Affairs* (Vol. 52, No. 2, Spring 1999), pp. 621-38.

Chapter 9: "Making Noise Effectively: Lessons from the Rwandan Catastrophe" by Alison L. Des Forges in *Vigilance and Vengeance: NGOs Preventing Ethnic Conflict in Divided Societies* (1996) by Robert Rotberg, pp. 213-32.

Rwanda Conflict: Its Roots and Regional Implications by Dixon Kamukama (1997).

Peacemaking in Rwanda: The Dynamics of Failure by Bruce D. Jones (2001).

Re-Imagining Rwanda: Conflict, Survival and Disinformation in the Late 20th Century by Johan Pottier (2002).

Genocide and Crisis in Central Africa: Conflict Roots, Mass Violence, and Regional War by Christian P. Scherrer (2001).

"Rwanda, Ten Years On: From Genocide to Dictatorship" by Filip Reyntjens in *African Affairs* (April 2004), pp. 177-210.

"Comment: The Rwandan Genocide: How the Press Missed the Story" by Richard Dowden in *African Affairs* (April 2004), pp. 283-90.

When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism and the Genocide in Rwanda by Mahmood Mamdani (2001).

Journey into Darkness: Genocide in Rwanda by Thomas P. Odom (2005).

Genocide in Rwanda: Complicity of the Churches ed. By Carol Rittner, John Roth and Wendy Whitworth (2004).

"Curing the Somalia Syndrome: Analogy, Foreign Policy Decision Making, and the Rwanda Genocide" by Darren C. Brunk in Foreign Policy Analysis, vol. 4, issue 3 (July 2008), pp. 301-320.

December 4: Rwanda Class Debate.

The debate question is "should the US have committed military resources to stop the genocide in Rwanda?" The class will be divided in half, one side taking the pro position and one side the con. A representative from the pro side will make a brief opening statement followed by a brief response from a representative on the con side. I will then rotate back and forth between the pro and con teams for argumentation supporting your side of the argument. In order to ensure equal participation, I will call on students to respond. All students should be prepared to intervene at least twice.

Required Reading:

"Rwanda in Retrospect" by Alan J. Kuperman in Foreign Affairs, v. 79, no. 1, (January/February 2000), pp. 94-118. E-Journal Finder.

"Shame: Rationalizing Western Apathy on Rwanda" by Alison L. Des Forges in Foreign Affairs, v. 79, no. 3, (May/June 2000), pp. 141-44. E-Journal Finder. (Page 2)

"Report Says US and Others Allowed Rwanda Genocide" by Barbara Crossette in The New York Times (July 8, 2000). Blackboard.

"Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen" by Samantha Power in The Atlantic Monthly, v. 288, no. 2 (September 2001), pp. 84-108. E-Journal Finder. (Page 2)

December 11: Summing Up and Conclusions.

Following a brief lecture, I will ask a series of questions based on the case studies in an effort to draw conclusions from what we have studied. In each case, I will ask for volunteers to answer the questions. The goal is to stimulate discussion, debate and disagreement. I will also return your policy paper today.

Required Reading:

Chapter 4 "The US Role in Managing African Conflicts: Lessons from the Past" by Donald Rothchild in African Conflict Resolution: The US Role in Peacemaking (1995) by David R. Smock and Chester A. Crocker. Blackboard.

"U.S. Policy in the Horn of Africa" by David Shinn (paper delivered in Moscow in May 2014 at the 13th International Conference of Africanists.) Go to the right side of my blog at <http://davidshinn.blogspot.com> under Horn of Africa.

"Extended Ground for U.S.-China Competition? Comparing China's and the U.S.' Engagement with Africa" by David Shinn. *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies* (2016). Blackboard.

Reference Material:

"The Crisis in Africa: Local Wars and Regional Peace" by Strobe Talbot in *World Policy Journal* (Summer 2000), pp. 21-25.

Chapter 2 "Pattern and Process in US Foreign Policy toward Africa" in *United States Foreign Policy toward Africa* (1994) by Peter J. Schraeder.

"Ending Africa's Wars" by John Stremlau in *Foreign Affairs*, v. 79, no. 4 (July/August 2000), pp. 117-32.

Chapter 10: "Conclusion" by F. Ugboaja Ohaegbulam in *U.S. Policy in Postcolonial Africa* (2004).

"Regional Studies: Africa's Security Issues Through 2010" by William Thom in *Military Review* (Vol. 80, No. 4, July/August 2000), pp. 2-11.

"War and Mercy in Africa" by William DeMars in *World Policy Journal* (Vol. 17, No. 2, Summer 2000), pp. 1-10.

"African Encounters" by Alex de Waal in the *Bulletin of the Association of Concerned Africa Scholars* (No. 48/49, Fall 1997), pp. 6-14.

"Conflict Resolution in Africa: Insights from UN Representatives and US Government Officials" by Mary Spear and Jon Keller in *Africa Today* (Vol. 43, No. 2, April-June 1996), pp. 121-139.

Chapter 12: "Africa's Ethnic Conflicts and Their Implications for United States Policy" by Donald Rothchild in *Africa in the 1990s and Beyond* (1988) by Robert Rotberg, pp. 265-85.

Free at Last?: US Policy toward Africa and the End of the Cold War (1992) by Michael Clough.

U.S. Africa Policy beyond the Bush Years: Critical Challenges for the Obama Administration (2009) edited by Jennifer G. Cooke and J. Stephen Morrison.