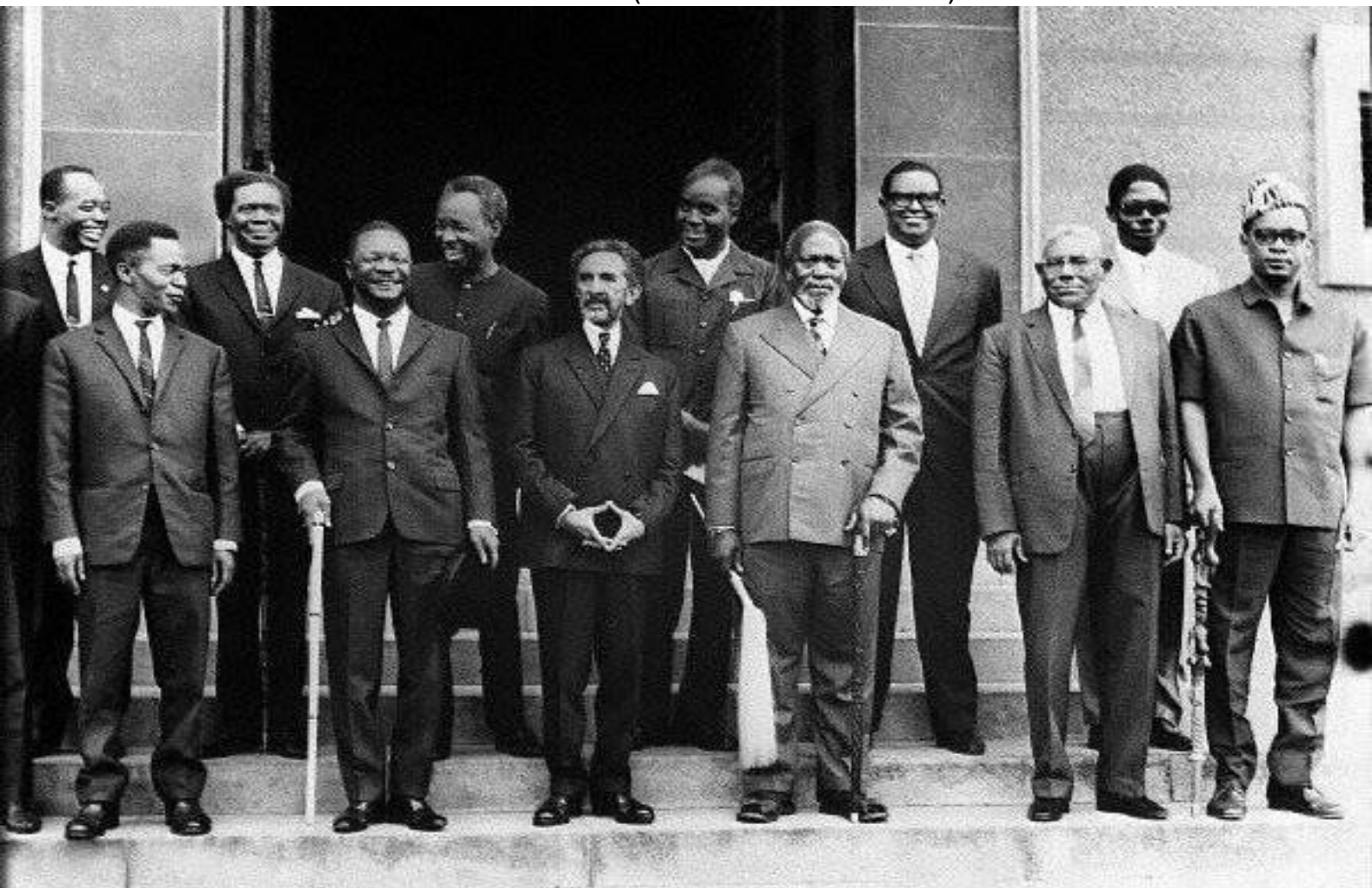




## **AFRICA'S DEFINING MOMENTS**

### **INTERSTATE WARS AND TERRITORIAL DISPUTES**

**POLITICS 2C (APRIL—JUNE 2024)**



**Department of Politics and International Relations**

**Prof Bhaso Ndzendze**

**University of Johannesburg**

## 1. COURSE DETAILS

**Lecturer:** Prof Bhaso Ndzendze – **Coordinator:** Ms Ndzali Mathebula

**Theme:** Interstate Wars and Militarised Interstate Territorial Disputes in the Second Independence/Postcolonial Era

**Urgent inquiries:** [ndzalamacleopat@uj.ac.za](mailto:ndzalamacleopat@uj.ac.za)

**Consultations only:** By appointment (email [bndzendze@uj.ac.za](mailto:bndzendze@uj.ac.za) directly)

**Lectures:** Tuesdays from **14:40 to 16:15** at APK Campus **D-Les 204**

## 2. COURSE OVERVIEW

Though typically seen as the continent of civil wars taking place within uniquely troubled states, Africa's second independence (or "post-colonial") era has been characterised by disputes between and among sovereign countries as well. The most common spark is territorial disputes, an outcome of the colonially determined nature of the continent's contemporary boundaries. Yet this is one cause among many; tied to the decision to go to war are such factors as regime types, civil-military relations, weaponry, economic differences, and developments outside the individual states. On a number of occasions, particularly in Eastern Africa, these have resulted in conventional war (defined as the death of 1,000 soldiers belonging to either or both warring countries within a space of twelve months). Yet in other instances it has been averted thanks to diplomatic efforts. What scholarly and policy insights have been drawn from these occurrences? Is the line between civil and interstate wars as clear and firm as assumed? Moreover, given the ongoing disputes on the continent today, to what extent have prior lessons from these defining moments been incorporated into policymaking by international and regional bodies and other interested parties? This term of the course will delve into these and many other relevant questions, with the aim of generating discussion and understanding of the significance of rivalries among African countries and the methods used to determine their trajectories. Each week will seek to highlight the following: the underlying and proximate

*causes* of the conflict in question, the *actors* involved, the role of *technology* in determining the outcome of the conflict, the current state of bilateral *relations* in Africa today, *lessons* institutionalised since the conflicts, and the *theoretical* lenses best suited to understanding these.

### 3. COURSE OBJECTIVES

By the time students complete the course, they will have acquired or deepened their competency in the following areas:

1. **Research, analysis** and **writing** at an advancing level using a variety of appropriate techniques and materials.
2. Knowledge of the fundamental and evolving **histories** that have shaped interstate war and territorial disputes in Africa since independence.
3. Knowledge and critique of **specialist language and theories** that are useful for engaging and communicating the phenomenon of interstate war and territorial disputes in Africa (and the rest of the globe).
4. In-depth and analytical understanding of the politics and international relations of **modern African states**, including its territorial disputes and the political economy of war and peace on the continent.
5. Ability to articulate, **debate** and defend a viewpoint on theoretical, historical and ongoing issues pertaining to interstate war and territorial disputes in modern Africa.
6. Subject matter **expertise** on key African regions, civil and interstate wars.

### 4. ASSESSMENTS (=52%)

- In-Class Quiz: 10% - 7 May 2024 during lecture slot
- Essay: 15% - 15 May 2024 (**23:59**)
- Debate: 7% - Make physical submission on 17 May at the Department of Politics and International Relations and prepare for debate to be held on 21 May 2024
- Exam: 20% - June 2024 (**Take-home for 1 week**)

*Please be reminded that there is **no opportunity for a supplementary exam** for this course. Please also note that the **rubric** according to which you will be marked is available to you at the end of this study guide.*

## 5. MUTUAL EXPECTATIONS

### 5.1. Students's Responsibilities

- All **lectures are compulsory** and a register is kept and reviewed on a regular basis.
- The **readings** for each week are listed below each lecture theme. The readings will be found online. It is your responsibility to arrange to access the readings, prepare for class each week and complete the assessments.
- **Plagiarism** should be avoided as it will result in a mark of 0.
- Please make use of **e-mail** and the course instructor will endeavour to respond as quickly as possible (within 24 hours).
- **Check your marks** and report any potential issues within 24 hours, otherwise they may not be amended.

### 5.2. Lecturer's Responsibilities

- Clearly communicate course **objectives** and make the purpose of this module clear.
- Provide clear **guidelines** on how you should **participate** in learning activities.
- Use tools and resources that **support** your learning.
- Make learning **material** available in an accessible format.
- Give timeous (< 2 weeks) **feedback** on assessments.
- Use **tools and technology** to explain concepts where relevant.
- Be available for **consultations**.
- Ensure that the **structure** of the course reflects course objectives.
- Be **knowledgeable** in the field of study represented by this course.
- Ensure that **course content** is **relevant** and current.
- Support and respond to **diverse** ways of learning by different students.

## LECTURE OUTLINE

1. Orientation/Induction – 2 April 2024
2. Introductory Lecture: Milestones and Theories in African Interstate War – 9 April 2024
3. The Ogaden (Ethio-Somali) War, 1977-1978 – 16 April 2024
4. The Kagera (Uganda-Tanzania) War, 1978-1979 – 23 April 2024
5. The Eritrea-Ethiopia (Badme) War, 1998-2000 – 30 April 2024
6. Contemporary Interstate Disputes in Africa – 7 May 2024
7. Guest Lecture by Professor Abebe Zegeye on 'The Horn of Africa Today' – 14 May 2024

## WEEK ONE (HISTORY AND THEORY)

- Henderson, Errol A. 2015. *African Realism? International Relations Theory and Africa's International Wars in the Postcolonial Era* (Rowman and Littlefield: London).
- Oduntan, Gbenga. 2017. 'Africa's border disputes are set to rise – but there are ways to stop them,' *The Conversation*. URL: <https://theconversation.com/africasborderdisputesaresettorisebuttherearewaystoptothem44264>.
- Seymour, Lee J.M. 2013. 'Sovereignty, territory and authority: boundary maintenance in contemporary Africa,' *Critical African Studies* 5(1), 17-31.

## WEEK TWO (OGADEN WAR)

- Ndzendze, Bhaso, Lesego Kraai, Amukelani Maluleke, Andiswa Matyolo and Naledi Mojaje. 2022 (May, 10). 'Complex ethics surround the creation of war video games from real African conflicts,' *Daily Maverick*. URL: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2022-05-10-complex-ethics-surround-the-creation-of-war-video-games-from-real-african-conflicts/>.

- Meredith, Martin. 'Death of an Emperor,' pp. 206-217. *The State of Africa*. Jonathan Ball: Johannesburg.
- Valeriano, Brandon. 2011. 'Power Politics and Interstate War in Africa,' *African Security*, 4(3), 195-221.
- Yihun, Belete Belache. 2014. 'Ethiopian foreign policy and the Ogaden War: the shift from "containment" to "destabilization," 1977–1991,' *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8(4), 677-691.
- Hauwermeiren, Remco Van. 2012. 'The Ogaden War: Somali women's roles,' *Afrika Focus* 25(2), 9-30.
- Ndzendze, Bhaso, Musonza, Ralph and Kunene, Katlego. 2022. 'Remembering the Ogaden War 45 Years Later: Four and a Half Lessons Towards a Peaceful Future,' *ACCORD Policy and Practice Briefs*. URL: <https://www.accord.org.za/publication/remembering-the-ogaden-war-45-years-later/>.

### WEEK THREE (KAGERA WAR)

- Ndzendze, Bhaso, Laurika Mashaba, Sisipho Mbalo, Thando Mncwango, Buhle Mnyanda, Ralph Musonza, Nasi-Sipho Vayeka and Noluthando Mncwango. (2022, October 18). 'Military capability in East Africa is growing,' *Mail and Guardian*. URL: <https://mg.co.za/opinion/2022-10-18-military-capability-in-east-africa-is-growing/>.
- Roberts, George. 2014. 'The Uganda–Tanzania War, the fall of Idi Amin, and the failure of African diplomacy, 1978–1979,' *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 8(4), 692-709.
- Mugabe, Faustin. 2015 (December 20). 'How bar fight sparked the 1979 Uganda - Tanzania war,' *The Nation* (Kenya).
- Mitchell, Sara Mclaughlin and Thyne, Clayton L. 2010. 'Contentious Issues as Opportunities for Diversionary Behavior,' *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 27(5): 461–485.

## WEEK FOUR (ERITREA-ETHIOPIA WAR)

- Strategic Comments. 2000. 'Ethiopia and Eritrea,' *Strategic Comments* 6(2), 1-2.
- Healy, Sally and Plaut, Martin. 2007. 'Ethiopia and Eritrea: Allergic to Persuasion,' Chatham House. URL: <https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Africa/bpethiopiaeritrea.pdf>.
- United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. 12 December 2000. Agreement between the Government of the State of Eritrea and the Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (Algiers Agreement). URL: [https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/ER%20ET\\_001212\\_AgreementEritreaEthiopia.pdf](https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/ER%20ET_001212_AgreementEritreaEthiopia.pdf).

## LECTURE FIVE – THE HORN OF AFRICA TODAY: ONLINE GUEST LECTURE BY PROFESSOR ABEBE ZEGEYE

- Pecquet, Julian. 2024. 'Ethiopia's Fano militias launch US lobbying campaign,' *Africa Report*. URL: [https://www.theafricareport.com/338583/ethiopias-fano-militias-launch-us-lobbying-campaign/?utm\\_source=emailing&utm\\_campaign=topstories\\_non\\_subs\\_editorial\\_29\\_02\\_2024&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_content=article1](https://www.theafricareport.com/338583/ethiopias-fano-militias-launch-us-lobbying-campaign/?utm_source=emailing&utm_campaign=topstories_non_subs_editorial_29_02_2024&utm_medium=email&utm_content=article1).
- Tamir, Zelalem. 2024. 'Somalia's Denial Won't Rewrite the Books: Somaliland Has Proven Itself a De Facto State Deserving Recognition,' *Modern Diplomacy*.
- Swain, Ashok. 2002. 'The Nile River Basin Initiative: Too Many Cooks, Too Little Broth,' *SAIS Review*, 22(2), 293-308.
- Kifle, Alagaw Ababu. 2024. 'Ethiopia's Pretoria Peace Agreement and the Fate of the 'Contested' Areas,' *SSRC*. URL: <https://kujengamani.ssrc.org/2024/03/20/ethiopias-pretoria-peace-agreement-and-the-fate-of-the-contested-areas/>.



- Islam, Salma. 2019 (April 8). 'The Ethiopians are building a massive dam, and Egypt is worried,' *LA Times*. URL: <https://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-egypt-ethiopia-nile-dam-20190408-story.html>.

## ACADEMIC CALENDAR SUMMARY

DATE	LECTURE TOPIC	ACTIVITY
2 April	Orientation and Grouping	Compulsory attendance and participation.
9 April	History and Theory	Compulsory attendance and participation.
16 April	Ogaden Case Study	Compulsory attendance and participation.
23 April	Kagera Case Study	Compulsory attendance and participation.
30 April	Badme Case Study	Compulsory attendance and participation and <b>voluntary weekend workshop on essay writing on 4 May 2024.</b>
7 May	No Lecture (Quiz in Class)	Completion of Quiz
14 May	Online Guest Lecture	Compulsory attendance and participation, and <b>essay submission.</b>
21 May	Debate and Exam Revision	Compulsory attendance and participation in <b>debate.</b>



## Essay Marking Rubric (B Ndzendze)

STUDENT NUMBER:

STUDENT NAME:

CLASS:

ASSESSMENT:

DIMENSION	WEIGHT [out of 100]	MARK AWARDED	COMMENTS [ <i>If applicable</i> ]
<p><b>[1] Presentation of Argument</b></p> <p><u>[1.1] Grasp of topic</u> <b>- 0 to 10%</b></p> <p>Clear demonstration of the topic being grasped as indicated by conceptualisation of the chosen topic in the Introduction and the presentation of a thesis (conclusion) <i>from the beginning</i>, with the remainder of the Essay serving to demonstrate the logic used to reach the thesis.</p> <p><u>[1.2] Flow of argument –</u> <b>0 to 30%</b></p> <p>Clear breakdown of Essay to follow, with various <i>subsections</i> being consistent components of the logical argument being presented, with seamless integration of different ideas or argument. Does not jump around topics incoherently. Includes presentation of <i>various sides of a debate</i> and ultimately presents the more convincing one with justification.</p>	60%		

<p><b>[1.3] Grasp of literature – 1 to 20%</b></p> <p>Clear grasp of the authoritative sources as demonstrated by the presentation of relevant and valid <i>peer-reviewed or otherwise authoritative</i> literature from reputable sources numbering <i>ten and above</i>. Exceptional marks for proven awareness of meta-analytical research and methodological issues in the living and evolving literature, including critique of sources.</p>			
<p><b>[2] Referencing*</b></p> <p>[2.1] Consistent and seamless intext referencing of ideas of others, use data in factual claims – <b>0 to 10%</b></p> <p>[2.2] Comprehensive bibliography and intext referencing with correct <i>format</i> – <b>0 to 10%</b></p>	20%		*In instances of plagiarism (i.e., Turnitin or SafeAssign score of 12% and above), all dimensions are rendered invalid and the student receives a final mark of 0%.
<p><b>[3] Writing</b></p> <p>[3.1] <u>Style – 0 to 10%</u></p> <p>Excellent (<i>university-level</i>) writing, with clear packaging and presentation of arguments and concepts.</p> <p>[3.2] <u>Grammar 0 to 10%</u></p> <p>Minimal to no spelling and punctuation errors. Deduction for every error made.</p>	20%		

“We are not makers of history. We are made by history.” – Martin Luther King Jr.

