

University of Miami

Department of Political Science

Conflicts in the Middle East and Africa

The Red Sea Security Complex

Identity, Legitimacy, Security

Dr. Bradford R. McGuinn
Politics 586
Spring 2010

Description

This course takes up the Red Sea security environment. It takes as its analytical point of departure the “sub-regional security complex,” the notion of “neighborhood” in world politics. It is also a course on “cosmopolis”, places where difference has historically been negotiated in interesting ways, from Ismailia to Aqaba, from Port Sudan to Jeddah, from Aden and Massawa to Mogadishu, Mombasa and Dar es-Salaam. Alas, the neighborhood is also a place of pain, of conflicts, chaos and human trauma, as the careers of too many of its polities attest. The Colonial period and its Cold War sequel have given way to a period of intense paradigmatic and structural change in the region. It will be among the purposes of this course to engage this change, these questions of identity and legitimacy and security.

Office Hours

The office is located on the third floor of the Jenkins Building, 314S. Regular office hours are kept between 10:30 and 12:00 on Mondays and Wednesdays. Additional meeting times can be made by appointment and communication is possible at bmcguinn@miami.edu. Also, please check the blackboard before *each class session* for procedural and substantive information as the course goes along.

Reading Materials

Selected Articles [Available on Blackboard]

Grading

Abstract, Outline and Annotated Bibliography: 25%
Take-Home Final Examination: 25%
Research Paper: 40%
Participation and Attendance: 10%

Abstract, Outline and Annotated Bibliography

The preparation of a formal outline and abstract of the paper's scope and intention is meant to focus attention onto the subject early in the semester. It will also include a detailed bibliography with a short description of the items included.

Take-Home Final Examination

This assignment will involve responding to two of three questions based on lecture material and the readings. It will be submitted at the time scheduled for the course's final exam.

Analytical Paper

For this, class students will write an *analytical* essay of 25+ pages or so on a topic to be cleared with the professor. Its purpose will be less to describe a condition or set of questions and still less to offer opinions as such. Rather, its objective is to offer *explanation*. This is a difficult undertaking and requires engaging the substance of the paper topic in a vigorous fashion *early* in the semester. As the paper should adhere to the conventions of academic composition, more than a sneering acquaintance with Kate L. Turabian's *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* is to be desired.

Rules of Order

This class is meant to be a very positive academic experience. To make best use of it regular attendance is essential. The material necessary for the examinations and the frameworks for the papers will be presented in class. There will be little time during the semester to review or make up for lost time.

Make-up sessions for the mid-term and the final will require appropriate and lavish documentation. A deduction of half a letter grade will accompany late papers for each day beyond the agreed upon deadline. Plagiarism is a violation of University ethics policy and various copyright laws. Such behavior is also, alas, a sign of unforgivably bad manners. Much the same can be said about late arrivals, early departures and the use of telecommunications devices in class. Enough said.

Course Outline

The course will proceed along two arcs. The first, and principle one, will engage the Red Sea system, its mosaic, politics and security processes in ways that encourage our understanding of the subregion. The second and “thinner” arc will engage a very different story, that of Ghana, for what it can teach us about the evolution of the African political environment, its transition from the politics of charisma to its democratic consolidation.

Preface ...*the wars of Yemen*

Readings

- Michael Slackman, “Influence of Egypt and Saudi Arabia Fades,” *The New York Times*, 11 November 2009.
- “Yemen Summons Eritrean Ambassador for Alleged Arms Supply to Rebels,” *Xinhua*, 10 November 2009).
- “A Growing Worry for the West,” *The Economist*, 30 December 2009.
- Steven Erlanger, “Nigerian May Have Used Course in Yemen as Cover,” *The New York Times*, 1 January 2010.
- Mohammed Ibrahim, “Somali Rebels Pledge to Send Fighters to Aid Yemen Jihad,” *The New York Times*, 2 January 2010.
- Steven Erlanger, “Yemen’s Chaos Aids the Evolution of a Qaeda Cell,” *The New York Times*, 3 January 2010.
- Steven Erlanger, “Yemen Says It’s Arrested 3 Qaeda Militants,” *The New York Times*, 7 January 2010.
- Edmund J. Hull, “Al-Qaeda’s Shadowland,” *The New York Times*, 12 January 2010.
- Frederick W. Kagan and Christopher Harnisch, “How to Apply ‘Smart Power’ in Yemen,” *The Wall Street Journal*, 14 January 2010.
- Atul Aneja, “Al-Qaeda Spreads its Tentacles in Yemen,” *The Hindu*, 14 January 2010.
- Peter Baker, “Obama’s War Over Terror,” *The New York Times*, 17 January 2010.
- Adam Nossiter, “Lonely Trek to Radicalism for Terror Suspect,” *The New York Times*, 17 January 2010.
- “Iran to Send 5th Fleet of Warships to Gulf of Aden,” *Fars*, 18 January 2010.

Introduction ...*engaging the “regional security complex”*

Navigation ...the Red Sea littoral zone

Abstraction ...theorizing the security complex

Narrations ...history, colonialism and its Cold War sequel

Readings: navigations

- J. R. Wellsted, “Notes on Bruce’s Chart of the Coasts of the Red Sea,” *The Journal of the Royal Geographic Society of London*, V. 5 (1835): 286-295.
- A. S. Laughton, “The Gulf of Aden,” *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, V. 259, N. 1099 (7 April 1966): 150-171.
- Ieuan Griffiths, “The Scramble for Africa: Inherited Political Boundaries,” *The Geographical Journal*, V. 152, N. 2 (July 1986): 204-216.
- Jeffery Herbst, “The Creation and Maintenance of National Boundaries in Africa,” *International Organization*, V. 43, N. 4 (Autumn 1989): 673-692.

Readings: abstraction

- Thomas F. Homer-Dixon, "Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases," *International Security*, V. 19, N. 1 (Summer 1994): 5-40.
- S. N. Eisenstadt, "Some Observations on the Dynamics of Traditions," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, V. 11, N. 4 (October 1969): 451-475.
- Paul Shankman, "The Thick and the Thin: On the Interpretive Theoretical Program of Clifford Geertz," *Current Anthropology*, V. 25, N. 3 (June 1984): 261-280.
- Samuel P. Huntington, "Political Development and Political Decay," *World Politics*, V. 17, N. 3 (April 1965): 386-430.
- J. David Singer, "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations," *World Politics*, V. 14, N. 1 (October 1961): 77-92.
- Amitav Acharya, "The Emerging Regional Architecture of World Politics," *World Politics*, V. 59 (July 2007): 629-652.
- Jeffery T. Checkel, "The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory," *World Politics*, V. 50, N. 2 (1998): 324-348.
- Robert D. Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy," *The Atlantic Monthly* (February 1996).
- Martin van Crevelde, "The Fate of the State," *Parameters* (Spring 1996): 4-18.
- Robin Luckham, "The Military, Militarization and Democratization in Africa: A Survey of Literature and Issues," *African Studies Review*, V. 37, N. 2 (September 1994): 13-75.

Readings: narrations

- Peter Merrington, "A Staggered Orientalism: The Cape-to-Cairo Imagery," *Poetics Today*, V. 22, N. 2 (Summer 2001): 323-364.
- Chinua Achebe, "English and the African Writer," *Transition*, N. 75/76 (1997): 342-349.
- Julius Nyerere, "Freedom and Unity," *Transition*, N. 14 (1964): 40-45.
- Ali A. Mazrui, "Africa Between Nationalism and Nationhood: A Political Survey," *Journal of Black Studies*, V. 13, N. 1 (September 1982): 23-44.
- Rawson W. Rawson, "European Claims on the Coasts of the Red Sea," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, V. 7, N. 2 (February 1885): 93-119.
- Ritchie Owendale, "Macmillan and the Wind of Change, 1957-1960," *The Historical Journal*, V. 38, N. 2 (June 1995): 455-477.
- Michael Howard, "Britain's Problem East of Suez," *International Affairs*, V. 42, N. 2 (April 1966): 179-183.
- M. I. Lewis, "Italian Policy in Somalia," *The Journal of African History*, V. 8, N. 3 (1967): 553-554.
- David Killingray, "The Black Atlantic Missionary Movement and Africa, 1780s-1920s," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, V. 33, Fasc. 1 (February 2003): 3-31.
- Douglas H. Johnson, "Evans-Pritchard, the Nuer, and the Sudan Political Service," *African Affairs*, V. 81, N. 323 (April 1982): 231-246.
- Peter Schwab, "Cold War on the Horn of Africa," *African Affairs*, V. 77, N. 306 (January 1978): 6-20.
- Jesse Farris, "Soviet Support for Egypt's Intervention in Yemen," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, V. 10, N. 4 (Fall 2008): 5-36.
- Fouad Ajami and Martin H. Sours, "Israel and Sub-Saharan Africa: A Study of Interaction," *African Studies Review*, V. 13, N. 3 (December 1970): 405-413.
- Ethan A. Nadelmann, "Israel and Black Africa: A Rapprochement?" *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, V. 19, N. 2 (June 1981): 183-219.
- S. Neil MacFarlane, "The Soviet Conception of Regional Security," *World Politics*, V. 37, N. 3 (April 1985): 295-316.

Suggested

- Anthony D. Smith, "Culture, Community and Territory: The Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism," *International Affairs*, V. 72, N. 3 (July 1996): 445-458.
- Claude E. Welch, "Soldier and State in Africa," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, V. 5, N. 3 (November 1967): 305-322.
- Arnold Wilson, "The Suez Canal," *International Affairs*, V. 18, N. 3 (May-June 1939): 380-395.
- Giotto Dainelli, "The Italian Colonies," *Geography Review*, V. 19, N. 3 (July 1929): 404-419.

Wilfred Thesiger, "A New Journey in Southern Arabia," *The Geographical Journal*, V. 108, N. 4/6 (October-December 1946): 129-145.
Donald Crummey, "The Horn of Africa: Between History and Politics," *Northeast African Studies*, V. 10, N. 3 (2003): 117-138.

Ghana ...and the politics of Charisma

Readings

Eva L. R. Meyerowitz, "A Note on the Origins of Ghana," *African Affairs*, V. 51, N. 205 (October 1952): 319-323.
Kwame Nkrumah, "Movement for Colonial Freedom," *Phylon*, V. 16, N. 4 (4th Quarter, 1955): 397-409.
David Apter, "The Role of Traditionalism in the Political Modernization of Ghana and Uganda," *World Politics*, V. 13, N. 1 (October 1960): 45-68.
Barbara S. Monfils, "A Multifaceted Image: Kwame Nkrumah's Extrinsic Rhetorical Strategies," *Journal of Black Studies*, V. 7, N. 3 (March 1977): 313-330.

Identity ...the Red Sea mosaic

Place ...physical landscapes

People ...human landscapes

Group ...patterns of association

Readings: place

B.S. Hoyle, "East African Seaports: An Application of the Concept of 'Anyport'" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, N. 44 (May 1968): 163-183.
Gus W. van Beek, "Frankincense and Myrrh in Ancient South Arabia," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, V. 78, N. 3 (July-September 1958): 141-152.
Ulrike Freitag, "Hadhramaut: A Religious Center for the Indian Ocean in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries?" *Studia Islamica*, N. 89 (1999): 165-183.
Nancy Um, "Spatial Negotiations in a Commercial City: The Red Sea Port of Mocha, Yemen," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, V. 62, N. 2 (June 2003): 178-193.
Daniel Kendie, "Egypt and the Hydro-Politics of the Blue Nile River," *Northeast African Studies*, V. 6, N. 1-2 (1999): 141-169.
Taha Abdel-Alim, "Egypt's High Dam: 50 Years On: The Taming of the Nile," *Al-Ahram* (14-20 January 2010).
Dena Rashed, "Egypt's Life Line," *Al-Ahram*, 14-20 January 2010
George T. Renner, Jr., "The Geographic Regions of Sudan," *Economic Geography*, V. 2, N. 2 (April 1926): 256-273.
Patrick Gilkes, "National Identity and Historical Mythology in Eritrea and Somaliland," *Northeast African Studies*, V. 10, N. 3 (2003): 163-187.

Readings: people

Yael Katzir, "Preservation of Jewish Identity in Yemen: Segregation and Integration as Boundary Maintenance Mechanism," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, V. 24, N. 2 (April 1982): 264-279.
Madawi al-Rashid, "The Shi'a of Saudi Arabia: A Minority in Search of Cultural Authenticity," *British Journal of Middle East Studies*, V. 25, N. 1 (May 1998): 121-138.
John Morton, "Ethnicity and Politics in Red Sea Province, Sudan," *African Affairs*, V. 88, N. 350 (January 1989): 63-76.

R. S. O'Fahey, "Islam and Ethnicity in the Sudan," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, V. 26, N. 26 (August 1996): 258-267.

Bruce G. Trigger, "The Languages of the Northern Sudan: An Historical Perspective," *The Journal of African History*, V. 7, N. 1 (1966): 19-25.

Jon Abbink, "An Historical-Anthropological Approach to Islam in Ethiopia: Issues of Identity and Politics," *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, V. 11, N. 2 (December 1998): 109-124.

Steven Kaplan, "'Falasha' Religion: Ancient Judaism or Evolving Ethiopian Tradition?" *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, V. 79, N. 1 (July 1988): 49-65.

P. T. W. Baxter, "Ethiopia's Unacknowledged Problem: The Oromo," *African Affairs*, V. 77, N. 308 (July 1978): 283-296.

Edmund J. Keller, "The Ethnogenesis of the Oromo Nation and Its Implications for Politics in Ethiopia," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, V. 33, N. 4 (December 1995): 621-634.

Readings: group

Joseph Schacht, "Notes on Islam in East Africa," *Studia Islamica*, N. 23 (1965): 91-136.

F. J. Berg, "The Swahili Community of Mombasa, 1500-1900," *The Journal of African History*, V. 9, N. 1 (1968): 35-56.

Werner Ende, "The Nakhawila, A Shi'a Community in Medina Past and Present," *Die Welt des Islams*, V. 37, I. 3 (November 1997): 263-348.

Paul Dresch and Bernard Haykel, "Stereotypes and Political Styles: Islamists and Tribesfolk in Yemen," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, V. 27, N. 4 (November 1995): 405-431.

R. B. Serjeant, "The Zaydi Tribes of the Yemen: A New Field Study," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, N. 1 (1992): 16-21.

Yael Katzir, "Preservation of Jewish Ethnic Identity in Yemen: Segregation and Integration as Boundary Maintenance Mechanisms," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, V. 24, N. 2 (April 1982): 264-279.

R. B. Serjeant, "The Zaydi Tribes of the Yemen: A New Field Study," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, V. 55, N. 1 (1992): 16-21.

Alexander Knysh, "The Tariqa on a Landcruiser: The Resurgence of Sufism in Yemen," *The Middle East Journal*, V. 55, N. 3 (Summer 2001): 399-414.

Abebe Kifleyesus, "Cosmologies in Collision: Pentecostal Conversion and Christian Cults in Asmara," *African Studies Review*, V. 49, N. 1 (April 2006): 75-92.

Suggested

Ferki A. Hasan, "The Dynamics of a Riverine Civilization: A Geoarchaeological Perspective on the Nile Valley, Egypt," *World Archaeology*, V. 29, N. 1 (June 1997): 51-74.

A. H. Keane, "Ethnology of Egyptian Sudan," *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, V. 14 (1885): 91-113.

A. N. Tucker, "Survey of the Language Groups in the Southern Sudan," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London*, V. 7, N. 4 ((1935): 861-896.

Kassim Shehim, "Ethiopia, Revolution, and the Question of Nationalities: the Case of the Afar," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, V. 23, N. 2 (June 1985): 331-348.

David Welsh, "Ethnicity in Sub-Saharan Africa," *International Affairs*, V. 72, N. 3 (July 1996): 477-491.

Paul P. Dresch, "The Position of Shaykhs Among the Northern Tribes of Yemen," *Man, New Series*, V. 19, N. 1 (March 1984): 31-49.

Muhammed Haron, "Da'wah Movements and Sufi Tariqahs: Competing for Spiritual Spaces in Contemporary South(ern) Africa," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, V. 25, N. 2 (August 2005): 261-285.

Richard T. Mortel, "Zaydi Shiism and the Hasanid Sharifs of Mecca," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, V. 19, N. 4 (November 1987): 455-472.

Robert F. Worth, "Languishing at the Bottom of Yemen's Ladder," *The New York Times* (27 February 2008).

Ghana ...and the politics of civil-military relations

Readings

Valerie Plave Bennett, "The Motivation for Military Intervention: The Case of Ghana," *The Western Political Quarterly*, V. 26, N. 4 (December 1973): 659-674.

Eleanor E. Zeff, "New Directions in Understanding Military and Civilian Regimes in Ghana," *African Studies Review*, V. 24, N. 1 (March 1981): 49-72.

Legitimacy ...*authority, polity, process*

Authority ...patterns of leadership

Polity ...political systems and their discontents

Process ...negotiating difference

Readings: authority

Crawford Young, "Deciphering Disorder in Africa: Is Identity the Key?" *World Politics*, V. 54, N. 4 (July 2002): 532-557.

Christopher Clapham, "Imperial Leadership in Ethiopia," *African Affairs*, V. 68, N. 271 (April 1969): 110-120.

Fouad Ajami, "On Nasser and His Legacy," *Journal of Peace Research*, V. 11, N. 1 (1974): 41-49.

Gabriel Warburg, "Mahdism and Islamism in Sudan," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, V. 27, N. 2 (May 1995): 219-236.

Richard H. Dekmejian and Margaret J. Wyszomirski, "Charismatic Leadership in Islam: The Mahdi of the Sudan," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, V. 14, N. 2 (March 1972): 193-214.

Dunstan M. Wai, "The Sudan: Domestic Politics and Foreign Relations under Nimeiry," *African Affairs*, V. 78, N. 312 (July 1979): 297-317.

Robert L. Hess, "The 'Mad Mullah' and Northern Somalia," *The Journal of African History*, V. 5, N. 3 (1964): 415-433.

Readings: polity

Israel Gershoni, "The Evolution of National Culture in Modern Egypt: Intellectual Formation and Social Diffusion, 1892-1945," *Poetics Today*, V. 13, N. 2 (Summer 1992): 325-350.

Seth Kaplan, "The Remarkable Story of Somaliland," *Journal of Democracy*, V. 19, N. 3 (July 2008).

Kenneth John Menkhaus, "Governance without Government in Somalia: Spoilers, State Building, and the Politics of Coping," *International Security*, V. 31, N. 3 (Winter 2006-2007): 74-106.

Lloyd Ellingson, "The Emergence of Political Parties in Eritrea, 1941-1990," *The Journal of African History*, V. 18, N. 2 (1977): 261-281.

Edmond J. Keller, "Ethiopia: Revolution, Class, and the National Question," *African Affairs*, V. 80, N. 321 (October 1981): 519-549.

Mordechai Abir, "Education and National Unity in Ethiopia," *African Affairs*, V. 69, N. 274 (January 1970): 44-59.

Merera Gudina, "Ethnicity, Democratization and Decentralization in Ethiopia: The Case of the Oromia," *Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review*, V. 23, N. 1 (January 2007): 81-106.

Readings: process

Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal, "Somalia: Nomadic Individualism and the Rule of Law," *African Affairs*, V. 67, N. 268 (July 1968): 219-226.

Gilbert Ware, "From Trust Territory to Nation, 1950-1960," *Phylon*, V. 26, N. 2 (2nd Quarter, 1965): 173-185.

Abdi Ismail Samatar, "Destruction of State and Society in Somalia: Beyond the Tribal Convention," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, V. 30, N. 4 (December 1992): 625-641.
I. M. Lewis, "The Ogaden and the Fragility of Somali Segmentary Nationalism," *African Affairs*, V. 88, N. 353 (October 1989): 573-579.
Lidwien Kapteijns, "Review: State and Clan in Somalia," *African Studies Review*, V. 45, N. 3 (December 2002): 52-56.
Michael Slackman, "A Saudi Gamble to See if Seeds of Change Will Grow," *The New York Times* (19 November 2009).

Suggested

E. A. Stanton, "The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," *Journal of the Royal African Society*, V. 11, N. 43 (April 1912): 261-274.
Christopher Clapham, "Revolutionary Socialist Development in Ethiopia," *African Affairs*, V. 86, N. 343 (April 1987): 151-165.
Paulos Milkias, "Ethiopia, the TPLF, and the Roots of the 2001 Political Tremor," *Northeast African Studies*, V. 10, N. 3 (2003): 13-66.
Patrick Gilkes, "Building Ethiopia's Revolutionary Party," *MERIP Reports*, N. 106 (June 1982): 22-27.
Sarah Childress, "Somali Leader Pleads for More Help," *The Wall Street Journal* (16 January 2010).

Ghana ...and the politics of democratization

Readings

David Brown, "Who Are the Tribalists? Social Pluralism and Political Ideology in Ghana," *African Affairs*, V. 81, N. 322 (January 1982): 37-69.
Minion K. C. Morrison, "Political Parties in Ghana through Four Republics: A Path to Democratic Consolidation," *Comparative Politics*, V. 36, N. 4 (July 2004): 421-442.
E. Gymah-Boadi, "Another Step Forward for Ghana," *Journal of Democracy*, V. 20, N. 2 (April 2009): 138-152.

Security ...individual, group, system

Individual...between order and chaos

Group...the conflicts of association

System...the trials of a complex order

Readings: individual

Alex de Waal, "Tragedy in Darfur," *The Boston Review* (October/November 2004).
Kimberly Marten, "Warlordism in Comparative Perspective," *International Security*, V. 31, N. 3 (Winter 2006-2007): 41-73.
Stefan Elbe, "HIV/AIDS and the Changing Landscape of War in Africa," *International Security*, V. 27, N. 2 (Fall 2002): 159-177.
Gudrun Dahl, "The Beja of Sudan and the Famine of 1984-1986," *Ambio*, V. 20, N. 5 (August 1991): 189-191.
Britta Radike and Tobe Levin, "A Place to Call Home: Images and Interviews of Refugees from Ogaden," *Transition*, I. 100 (2009): 78-111.

Readings: group

David Kilcullen, "Three Pillars of Counterinsurgency," *U.S. Government Counterinsurgency Conference* (28 September 2006).

Markus Kornprobst, "The Management of Border Disputes in African Sub-Systems: Comparing West Africa and the Horn of Africa," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, V. 40, N. 3 (September 2002): 369-393.

James Jay Carafano, Richard Weitz and Martin Edwin Andersen, "Maritime Security: Fighting Piracy in the Gulf of Aden and Beyond," *Heritage Special Report*, SR-59 (24 June 2009).

Stig Jarle Hansen, "Piracy in the Greater Gulf of Aden," *Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research* (2009).

Getachew Woldemeskel, "The Consequences of Resettlement in Ethiopia," *African Affairs*, V. 88, N. 352 (July 1989): 359-374.

Gebru Tareke, "The Ethiopia-Somalia War of 1977 Revisited," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, V. 33, N. 3 (2000): 635-667.

Readings: system

"Americas Go A-Wooing," *The Economist*, 10 April 2008.

Robert D. Kaplan, "The Next Frontier," *The Atlantic Monthly*, 1 November 2007.

Barry Sautman and Hairong Yan, "Friends and Interests: China's Distinctive Links with Africa," *African Studies Review*, V. 50, N. 3 (December 2007): 75-114.

Gamal Nkrumah, "Facing the Fragility," *Al-Ahram*, 2-8 April 2009.

Steve Coll, "America and Africa," *The New Yorker*, 27 May 2009.

Raffaello Pantucci, "American Jihad: New Details Emerge About al-Shabaab Recruitment in North America," *The Jamestown Foundation, Terrorism Monitor*, V. 7, I. 37 (3 December 2009).

Richard Weitz, "Priorities and Challenges in China's Naval Deployment in the Horn of Africa," *The Jamestown Foundation, China Brief*, V. 9, I. 24 (3 December 2009).

Mustafa El-Labbad, "The Iranian Triangle," *Al-Ahram*, 14-20 January 2010.

Mark McDonald, "Record Number of Somali Pirate Attacks in 2009," *The New York Times*, 30 December 2009.

"A Long War of the Waters," *The Economist*, 7 January 2010.

Suggested

Robert Kaplan, "Sudan: A Microcosm of Africa's Ills," *The Atlantic Monthly* (April 1986).

John Kemoli Sagala, "HIV/AIDS and the Military in Sub-Saharan Africa: Impact on Military Organizational Effectiveness," *Africa Today*, V. 53, N. 1 (Fall 2006): 53-77.

E.H.M. Clifford, "The British Somaliland-Ethiopia Boundary," *The Geographical Journal*, V. 87, N. 4 (April 1936): 289-302).

Eric Schmitt, "U.S. Training in Africa Aims to Deter Extremists," *The New York Times*, 12 December 2008.

Jay Bahadur, "Heroes in a Land of Pirates," *The New York Times*, 4 January 2010.

Conclusions