

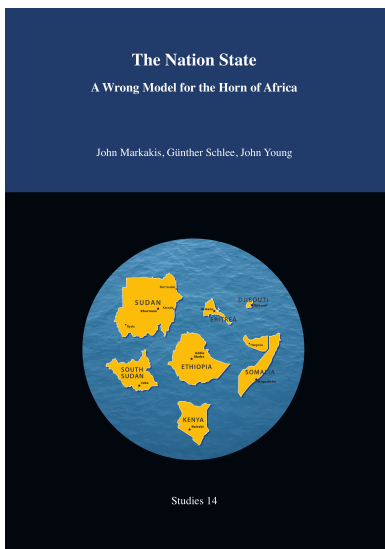
Max Planck Research Library for the History and Development of Knowledge

Studies 14

John Markakis, Günther Schlee, and John Young:

References

DOI: 10.34663/9783945561577-10



In: John Markakis, Günther Schlee, and John Young: *The Nation State : A Wrong Model for the Horn of Africa*

Online version at <https://www.mprl-series.mpg.de/studies/14/>

ISBN 978-3-945561-57-7, DOI 10.34663/9783945561577-00

First published 2021 by Max-Planck-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften, Max Planck Research Library for the History and Development of Knowledge under Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License.

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>

Printed and distributed by:

epubli/neopubli GmbH, Berlin

<https://www.epubli.de/shop/buch/111400>

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>

References

- Aalan, Lovise (2006). Ethnic Federalism and Self-Determination for Nationalities in a Semi-Authoritarian State: the Case of Ethiopia. *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 13:243–261. DOI: DOI: 10.1163/15718110677909849.
- Abbink, Jon, Kelly Askew, Dereje Feyissa, Elliot Fratkin, Echi Christina Gabbert, John Galaty, Shauna LaTosky, Jean Lydall, Hussein A. Mahmoud, John Markakis, Günther Schlee, Ivo Strecker, and David Turton (2014). Lands of the Future: Transforming Pastoral Lands and Livelihoods in Northeast Africa. *Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology Working Papers* 154.
- Abrahamsen, Rita (2000). *Disciplining Democracy: Development Discourse and Good Governance in Africa*. London: Zed Books.
- Abu-Manga, Al-Amin (1999). Socio-Cultural, Socio-Economic and Socio-Linguistic Diversity among the Fulbe of the Sudan Republic. In: *Pastoralists under Pressure? Fulbe Societies Confronting Change in West Africa*. Ed. by Victor Azarya. Leiden: Brill, 51–68.
- (2009). The Rise and Decline of Lorry Driving in the Fallata Migrant Community of Maiurno on the Blue Nile. In: *Changing Identifications and Alliances in Northeast Africa II: Sudan, Uganda and the Ethiopia-Sudan borderlands*. Ed. by Günther Schlee and Elisabeth E. Watson. 3rd ed. Integration and Conflict Studies. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 139–156.
- African Rights (1997). *Food and Power in Sudan: A Critique of Humanitarianism*. London: African Rights.
- Ahmed, Abdel Ghaffar (1974). *Shaykhs and Followers: Political Struggle in the Rufa'a al-Hoi Naazirate in the Sudan*. Khartoum: Khartoum University Press.
- (2008). *Transforming Pastoralism: A Case Study of the Rufaca al Hoi Ethnic Group in the Blue Nile State, Sudan*. Khartoum: Chr. Michelsen Institute.
- Ahmed, Hussein (2006). Coexistence and/ or Confrontation?: Towards a Reappraisal of Christian-Muslim Encounter in Contemporary Ethiopia. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 36:4–22. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/157006606775569622>.
- Alier, Abel (1999). *Too Many Agreements Dishonoured*. Oxford: Ithaca Press.
- Alkarim, Awad and Günther Schlee (2013). *Pastoralism in Interaction with other Forms of Land Use in the Blue Nile Area of the Sudan II: Herbarium and Plant Diversity in the Blue Nile Area, Sudan*. Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Department 'Integration and Conflict' Field Notes and Research Projects III. Halle (Saale): Department 'Integration and Conflict', Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology.
- Ashraf Ghani and Clare Lockhart (2008). *Fixing Failed States. A Framework for Rebuilding a Fractured World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Assefa Fiseha (2015). Ethiopia: Development with or without Freedom? In: *Human Rights and Development: Legal Perspectives from and for Ethiopia*. Ed. by Eva Brems, Christophe Beken, and Solomon Abay Yimer. Leiden: Brill, 99–138.
- Badie, Bertrand (2000). *The Imported State: The Westernization of the Political Order*. Stanford: Stanford University.
- Bahru Zewde (1976). *Relations between Ethiopia and the Sudan on the Western Ethiopian Frontier 1898–1935*. PhD thesis. London: University of London.
- (1991). *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1991*. Oxford (London): James Currey.
- Balcha Berhanu (2007). *Restructuring State and Society: Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia*. Spirit PhD Series, No. 8. Aalborg: SPIRIT.
- Balsvik, Randi Rønning (1985). *Haile-Selassie's Students: The Intellectuals and Social Background to a Revolution, 1952–1977*. East Lansing, MI: African Studies Center, Michigan State University.
- Bayart, Jean-François (1993). *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly*. London: Longman.
- Bayne, Edward A. (1965). *Four Ways of Politics: State and Nation in Italy, Somalia, Israel, Iran*. New York: American Universities Field Staff.
- Beck, Kurt (2004). Die Massaker in Darfur. *Zeitschrift für Genozidforschung* 5:52–80.
- Behnke, Roy and Carol Kerven (2013). Counting the Costs: Replacing Pastoralism with Irrigated Agriculture in the Awash Valley. In: *Pastoralism and Development*. Ed. by Andy Catley, Jeremy Lind, and Ian Scoones. London: Routledge, 57–70.

- Bendaña, Alejandro (2003). *What Kind of Peace is Being Built? Critical Assessments from the South*.
- Berger, Carol (2014). South Sudan: Kith, Kin and Peace Agreements. *African Arguments*.
- Berhe, Aregawi (2008). *A Political History of the Tigray People's Liberation Front (1975–1991): Revolt, Ideology and Mobilisation in Ethiopia*. PhD thesis. Amsterdam.
- Beshir, Mohamed Omer (1968). *The Southern Sudan: Background to Conflict*. New York and Washington: Boston University, African Studies Centre.
- (1974). *Revolution and Nationalism in the Sudan*. London: Rex Collins.
- Besteman, Catherine and Lee Cassanelli (1996). *The Struggle for Land in Southern Somalia: The War Behind the War*. Boulder: HAAN.
- Blaut, James M. (1987). *The National Question: Decolonizing the Theory of Nationalism*. London: ZED Books.
- Bookchin, Murray (1994). Nationalism and the “National Question”. *The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy* 2.
- Boswell, Alan (Aug. 20, 2012). American Expelled from South Sudan for Anti-Corruption Work. *McClatchy Newspapers*.
- Botterli, Ane (2015). *Adapting to Climate Change through Villagization. The Context of Sedentary Vulnerability in Afar Region of Ethiopia*. PhD thesis. Ås: Norwegian University of Life Sciences.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1994). Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field. *Sociological Theory* 12:1–18.
- Brass, Jennifer N. (2008). Djibouti's Unusual Resource Curse. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 46:523–545. ISSN: 0022-278X 1469-7777. DOI: 10.1017/s0022278x08003479.
- Brockmann, Miguel (July 28, 2009). *Thematic Dialogue, lecture delivered to UN General Assembly, July 28*.
- Brown, Archie (1996). *The Gorbachev Factor*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew K. (1963). *Africa and the Communist World*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Calkins, Sandra (2014). Gaining Access to Land: Everyday Negotiations and Rashaida Ethnic Politics in North-Eastern Sudan. In: *Disrupting Territories: Land, Commodification and Conflict in Sudan*. Ed. by Jörg Gertel, Richard Rottenburg, and Sandra Calkins. Woodbridge: James Currey, 181–206.
- Castagno, A. A. (1959). Somalia. *International Conciliation* 522.
- (1971). Interview with Siad Barre. *Africa Report* 9.
- Catley, Andy, Jeremy Lind, and Ian Scoones (2013). Development at the Margins: Pastoralism in the Horn of Africa. In: *Pastoralism and Development in Africa. Dynamic change at the margins*. Ed. by Andy Catley, Jeremy Lind, and Ian Scoones. London: Routledge, 1–26.
- Clapham, Christopher S. (2002). Controlling Space in Ethiopia. In: *Remapping Ehtiopia: Socialism and After*. Ed. by Donald L. Donham, Eisei Kurimoto, and Alessandro Triulzi. Oxford: James Currey, 9–32.
- (2017). *The Horn of Africa: State Formation and Decay*. London: Hurst.
- Cossins, N. J. (1981). *New Ways for Old Worlds: Development and Research. A New Approach to the Ethiopian Rangeland Development Project*. Addis Ababa: Third Livestock Development Project (TLDP).
- Davidson, Basil (1992). *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State*. New York: Time Books/Random House.
- de Waal, Alex (2004). Who are the Darfurians? Arab and African Identities, Violence and External Engagement. *Contemporary Conflicts*.
- (2015a). *The Real Politics of the Horn of Africa: Money, War and the Business of Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- (2015b). *The Real Politics of the Horn of Africa: Money, War and the Business of Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Dejene Gemechu (2011). *Local Response to the Ethiopian Ethnic Based Federalism: Conflict and Conflict Management among the Borana and their Neighbors*. PhD thesis. Halle (Saale): Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg.
- Diallo, Youssouf (2008). *Nomades des espaces interstitiels: pastoralisme, identité, migrations (Burkina Faso - Côte d'Ivoire)*. Köln: Köppe.
- Diallo, Youssouf, Martine Guichard, and Günther Schlee (2000). Quelques aspects comparatifs. In: *L'ethnicité peule dans des contextes nouveaux*. Ed. by Youssouf Diallo and Günther Schlee. Paris: Karthala, 225–255.
- Diallo, Youssouf and Günther Schlee (2000). *L'ethnicité peule dans des contextes nouveaux*. Paris: Karthala.
- Draft Final Report (2005). *Sugarcane Production Agronomy and Farm Machinery (Section 007)*. Addis Ababa: prepared by Water Works Design & Supervision Enterprise, Water Power Consultancy Service (India) LTD, and Hora Agroindustry PLC.
- Dreef, Sofie and Wolfgang Wagner (2013). *Designing Elections in Conflict-Prone Divided Societies: The Case of South Sudan*. Frankfurt (Main): Peace Research Institute.

- Dyson-Hudson, Neville (1985). Pastoral Production Systems and Livestock Development Projects: An East African Perspective. In: *Putting People First. Sociological Variables in Rural Development*. Ed. by Michael M. Cernea. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 157–186.
- Eidson, John R., Dereje Feyissa, Veronika Fuest, Markus Virgil Hoehne, Boris Nieswand, Günther Schlee, and Olaf Zenker (2017). From Identification to Framing and Alignment: A New Approach to the Comparative Analysis of Collective Identities. *Current Anthropology* 58:340–359. DOI: DOI:10.1086/691970.
- Englebert, Pierre and Denis M. Tull (2008). Postconflict Reconstruction in Africa: Flawed Ideas about Failed States. *International Security* 32:106–139.
- Eno, Mohamed A. (2017). Sowing Seeds of Subalternity in Somali Studies: A Literary Perspective of the Social, Political and Cultural Dimensions. *Research Journal of English Language and Literature* 5:138–152.
- Eno, Omar A. and Mohamed A. Eno (2014). The African Diaspora within Africa and the Impact of Slavery and Stigma in the Islamic Society: A Case Study of Somalia. *Journal of Somali Studies* 1:61–89.
- Ethiopian Red Cross (ERC) (1988). *Even After Good Rains. Afar Pastoralists Remain Vulnerable*. Addis Ababa.
- Eulenberger, Immo (2013). Pastoralists, Conflicts, and Politics: Aspects of South Sudan's Kenyan Frontier. In: *The Borderlands of South Sudan: Authority and Identity in Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*. Ed. by Christopher Vaughan, Mareike Schomerus, and Lotje De Vries. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 67–88.
- Evans-Prichard, E. E. (1940). *The Nuer*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Farah, Nuruddin (1986). *Maps*. London: Picador.
- Fekadu Adugna (2009). *Negotiating Identity: Politics of Identification among the Borana, Gabra and Garri around the Oromo-Somali Boundary in Southern Ethiopia*. PhD thesis. Halle (Saale): Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg.
- Feyissa, Dereje (2011). *Playing Different Games: The Paradox of Anywaa and Nuer Identification Strategies in the Gambella Region, Ethiopia*. Integration and Conflict Studies. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books.
- Feyissa, Dereje and Günther Schlee (2009). Mbororo (Fulbe) Migrations from Sudan into Ethiopia. In: *Changing Identifications and Alliances in Northeast Africa II: Sudan, Uganda and the Ethiopia-Sudan Borderlands*. Ed. by Günther Schlee and Elisabeth E. Watson. Integration and Conflict Studies. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 157–178.
- Fiseha, Assefa (2006). Theory vs. Practice in the Implementation of Ethiopia's Ethnic Federalism. In: *Ethnic Federalism: The Ethiopian Experience in Comparative Perspective*. Ed. by David Turton. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 131–164.
- Frank, Andre Gunder (1966). The Development of Underdevelopment. *Monthly Review. Independent Socialist Magazine* 18:17–31. DOI: https://doi.org/10.14452/MR-018-04-1966-08_3.
- Fricke, Werner (1969). *Rinderhaltung in Nordnigeria und ihre natur- und sozialräumlichen Grundlagen*.
- (1979). *Cattle Husbandry in Nigeria. A Study of its Ecological Conditions and Socio-Geographical Differentiations*. Heidelberg: Geographisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg.
- Furr, Grover C. (2011). *Khrushchev Lied: The Evidence That Every 'Revelation' of Stalin's (and Beria's) 'Crimes' in Nikita Khrushchev's Infamous 'Secret Speech' to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on February 25, 1956 is Provably False*. Ketterin, OH: Erythros Press and Media.
- Gebrehiwot, Mulugeta and Firehiwot Sintayehu (2014a). Land Use, Pastoralism and Transformation Challenges in the Afar Regional State of Ethiopia. In: *A Delicate Balance: Land Use, Minority Rights and Social Stability in the Horn of Africa*. Ed. by Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University, Institute for Peace and Security Studies., 92–116.
- (2014b). Land Use, Pastoralism and Transformation Challenges in the Afar Regional State of Ethiopia. In: *A Delicate Balance: Land Use, Minority Rights and Social Stability in the Horn of Africa*. Ed. by Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University, Institute for Peace and Security Studies, 92–116.
- Getty, John Arch and Roberta T. Manning (1993). *Stalinist Terror: New Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- GlobalSecurity (2014). *Beja Congress*.
- González-Ruibal, Alfredo (2014). *An Archaeology of Resistance: Materiality and Time in an African Borderland*. Lanham, MD: Bowman & Littlefield.
- Gramsci, Antonio (1971). *Selectinos from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. New York: International Publishers.
- (1992). *Prison Notebooks*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Griefenow-Mewis, Catherine (2009). *On Results of the Reform in Ethiopia's Language and Education Policies*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- Gudina, Merera (2003). *Ethiopia: Competing Ethnic Nationalism and the Quest for Democracy, 1960–2000*. The Hague: NP Shaker Publishing.
- Hadi, Mutasim Bashir Ali (n.d.). *The Impact of the Darfur Peace Agreement on Local Politics in Darfur: The Case of South-East Darfur*. Khartoum: University of Khartoum.
- Hagmann, Tobias and Markus Virgil Hoehne (2009). Failures of the State Failure Debate: Evidence from the Somali Territories'. *Journal of International Development* 21. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1002/jid.1482>.
- Hill, Ruth and Eyasu Tsehaye (2014). *Ethiopia – Poverty Assessment (English)*. Washington DC: Worldbank Group.
- Hoehne, Markus Virgil (2009). Mimesis and Mimicry in Dynamics of State and Identity Formation in Northern Somalia. *Africa* 79:252–281. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3366/E0001972009000710>.
- Holt, Peter Malcolm (1961). *A Modern History of the Sudan from the Funj Sultanate to the Present Day*. The Weidenfeld and Nicholson Africa-Asia Series. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson.
- Hussein, Jeylan Wolyie (2016). Examining the Nature of Defensively Situated Politics of Difference, Identity and Essentialism in Ethiopia. *International Area Studies Review* 19:340–354. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F2233865916666763>.
- Hutchinson, Sharon (2009). Peace and Puzzlement: Grass-Roots Peace Initiatives between the Nuer and Dinka of South Sudan. In: *Changing Identifications and Alliances in Northeast Africa II: Sudan, Uganda and the Ethiopia- Sudan Borderlands*. Ed. by Günther Schlee and Elisabeth E. Watson. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 49–71.
- Interim Report (2005). *Environmental Impact Assessment*. Addis Ababa: prepared by Water Works Design & Supervision Enterprise, Water Power Consultancy Service (India) LTD, and Hora Agroindustry PLC.
- International Crisis Group (Sept. 4, 2009). Ethiopia: Ethnic Federalism and its Discontents. *Africa Report* 153.
- James, Wendy (2013). Whatever Happened to the “Safe Havens”? Imposing State Boundaries between the Sudanese Plains and the Ethiopian highlands. In: *The Borderlands of South Sudan: Authority and Identity in Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*. Ed. by Christopher Vaughan, Mareike Schomerus, and Lotje De Vries. New York: Palgrave, Macmillan, 213–233.
- Janssen, Volker (1992). Monopolmechanismus und “Transkontinuität” in Äthiopien. In: *Soziologentag 1991. Soziologie in Deutschland und die Transformation großer gesellschaftlicher Systeme*. Ed. by Hans Günter Mayer. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- John, Jonathan Di (2008). Conceptualising the Causes and Consequences of Failed States: A Critical Review of the Literature. *Crisis State Research Centre, School Oriental and African Studies, Working Paper* 25.
- Johnson, Douglas (2009). The Nuer Civil Wars. In: *Changing Identifications and Alliances in Northeast Africa II: Sudan, Uganda and the Ethiopia- Sudan Borderlands*. Ed. by Günther Schlee and Elisabeth E. Watson. Oxford, New York: Berghahn Books, 31–47.
- Jok Madut Jok (2014). *South Sudan and the Prospects for Peace Amidst Violent Political Wrangling*.
- Kasprzak, Michal (2012). *Nationalism and Internationalism: Theory and Practice of Marxist Nationality Policy from Marx and Engels to Lenin and the Communist Workers’ Party of Poland*. PhD thesis. Toronto: University of Toronto.
- Kello, Abdulhamid B. (1989). Settling Semi-nomadic Pastoralists in the Awash Valley. *Ethiopian Journal of Development Research* 11:95–118.
- Kilson, Martin (1963). African Political Change and the Modernisation Process. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 1. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X0000135X>.
- Kissinger, Henry (2014). *World Order*. New York: Penguin Press.
- Kloos, Helmut and Aynalem Adugna (1989). The Ethiopian Population: Growth and Distribution. *The Geographical Journal* 155:33–51. DOI: 10.2307/635379.
- Knighton, Ben (2003). The State as Raider Among the Karamojong: 'Where There are No Guns, They Use The Threat of Guns'. *Africa* 73:427–455. ISSN: 0001-9720. DOI: 10.3366/afr.2003.73.3.427.
- Kohn, H. (1933). *Nationalism in the Soviet Union*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Komey, Guma Kunda (2013). The Nuba Political Predicament in Sudan(s): Seeking Resources Beyond Borders. In: *The Borderlands of South Sudan: Authority and Identity in Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*. Ed. by Christopher Vaughan, Mareike Schomerus, and Lotje De Vries. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 89–107.
- Lapidus, Gail Warshofsky (1978). *Women in Soviet Society: Equality, Development, and Social Change*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Larebo, Haile M. (1994). *The Building of an Empire: Italian Land Policy and Practice in Ethiopia, 1935–1941*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Latta, Leenco (2009). “Peacekeeping as State Building: The Challenge in the Horn of Africa.” unpublished manuscript.
- Legum, Colin (1974). *Africa Contemporary Record: 1969–1970, 1973–1974*. London.

- Lenin, Vladimir I. (1913). Critical Remarks on the National Question. *Journal Prosveshcheniye* 10, 11 and 12.
- (1917a). *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Moscow: Progress Publishers.
- (1917b). *The State and Revolution. The Marxist Theory of the State and the Tasks of the Proletariat in the Revolution*.
- Lewis, Ioan M. (1980). *A Modern History of Somalia*. London: Longman.
- Leys, Colin (1966). The Political Climate for Economic Developmen. *African Affairs* 65:55–66.
- Linke, Janka (2014). Oil, Water and Land: Chinese Impact on Sudanese Land Use. In: *Disrupting Territories: Land, Commodification and Conflict in Sudan*. Ed. by Jörg Gertel, Richard Rottenburg, and Sandra Calkins. Woodbridge: James Currey, 77–101.
- Lovell, Stephen (2009). *The Soviet Union: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Makki, Fouad (2014). Development by Dispossession: *Terra Nullius* and the Social-Ecology of New Enclosures in Ethiopia. *Rural Sociology* 79:79–103. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/ruso.12033>.
- Malwal, Bona (1981). *People and Power in the Sudan*. London: Ithaca Press.
- Mamdani, Mahmood (2014). *A Separate Opinion*.
- Markakis, John (1987). *National and Class Conflict in the Horn of Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (1994). Ethnic Conflict and the State in the Horn of Africa. In: *Ethnicity and Conflict in the Horn of Africa*. Ed. by Katsuyoshi Fukui and John Markakis. London: James Currey, 217–237.
- (2011). *Ethiopia. The Last Two Frontiers*. Eastern Africa Series. Woodbridge: James Currey.
- Martin, Terry (2001). *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels (1848). *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.
- Mazower, Mark (1998). *The Dark Continent: Europe in the 20th Century*. New York: Knopf.
- Medhane, Tadesse and John Young (2003). TPLF: Reform or Decline. *Review of African Political Economy* 30: 389–403.
- Miliband, Ralph (1989). *Divided Societies: Class Struggle in Contemporary Capitalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Milkias, Paulos (2006). *Haile Selassie, Western Education and Political Revolution in Ethiopia*. Amherst, NY: Cambria Press.
- Ministry of Federal Affairs (Mar. 2002). *Statement on Pastoralist Development Policy*. Addis Ababa.
- Mishra, Pankaj (2015). Bland Fanatics. *London Review of Books* 37:37–40.
- Mohan, Jitendra (1966). Varieties of African Socialism. *The Socialist Register*.
- Mossa Hamid Wassie (n.d.). *Group-Relations and Conflict Dynamics in Gambella, Southwest Ethiopia*. PhD thesis. Halle (Saale): Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg.
- Mukhtar, Ahmad Ali (1974). *Communalism in the Northern Sudan*. PhD thesis. University of Khartoum.
- Musa Adam Abdul-Jalil (2014). Nomads-Sedentary Relations in the Context of Dynamic Land Rights in Darfur: From Complementary to Conflict. In: *Disrupting Territories: Land, Commodification and Conflict in Sudan*. Ed. by Jörg Gertel, Richard Rottenburg, and Sandra Calkins. Woodbridge: James Currey, 102–120.
- (2015). Darfur Land Tenure Issues: Features, Problems and Prospects for Sustainable Peace. In: *Darfur Political Economy. A Quest for Development*. Ed. by Hamid Eltgani Ali. Abingdon, New York: Routledge, 22–42.
- Myrdal, Gunnar (1968). *Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations*. London: Penguin Press.
- Nkrumah, K. (1964). *Conciencism*. New York: International Publishers.
- Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) (1976). *Political Program*. Addis Ababa: Oromo Liberation Front.
- Osman, Elhadi Ibrahim (2009). The Funj Region Pastoral Fulbe: From 'Exit' to 'Voice'. *Nomadic Peoples* 13:92–112. DOI: 10.3167/np.2009.130106.
- (2013a). Shifting Loyalties and Ethnic Violence: The Case of the Fulbe in Southern Blue Nile. In: *Sudan Divided: Continuing Conflict in a Contested State*. Ed. by Gunnar M. Sørbo and Abdel Ghaffar M. Ahmed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 223–240. ISBN: 978-1-137-33824-2.
- (2013b). *The Pastoral Fulbe in the Sudan Funj Region: A Study of the Interaction between State and Society*.
- Osman, Elhadi Ibrahim and Günther Schlee (2014). Hausa and Fulbe on the Blue Nile: Land Conflicts between Farmers and Herders. In: *Disrupting Territories: Land, Commodification and Conflict in Sudan*. Ed. by Jörg Gertel, Richard Rottenburg, and Sandra Calkins. Woodbridge: James Currey, 206–225.
- Ottaway, Marina (1995). The Ethiopian Transition: Democratization or New Authoritarianism. *Northeast African Studies* 2:67–84.

- Pantuliano, Sara (2014). Entangled Land and Identity: Beja History and Institutions. In: *Disrupting Territories: Land, Commodification and Conflict in Sudan*. Ed. by Jörg Gertel, Richard Rottenburg, and Sandra Calkins. Woodbridge: James Currey, 152–179.
- Petterson, Donald (1999). *Inside Sudan: Political Islam, Conflict and Catastrophe*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Pye, Lucian W. (1963). *Aspects of Political Development*. Boston: Little Brown.
- Rahmato, Dessalegn (2011). *Land to Investors: Large Scale Land Transfers in Ethiopia*. Paper for IS Academy. Addis Ababa: Forum for Social Studies.
- Robinson, William I. (1996). *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, US Intervention, and Hegemony*. Cambridge Studies in International Relations. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rodney, Walter (1972). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Dar-es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House.
- Rolandsen, Øystein H. (2013). Too Much Water under the Bridge: Internalization of the Sudan-South Sudan Border and Local Demands for its Regulation. In: *The Borderlands of South Sudan: Authority and Identity in Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*. Ed. by Christopher Vaughan, Mareike Schomerus, and Lotje De Vries. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 23–43.
- Roro, Ameyu Godesso (2017). *Transformation in Gumuz-Oromo Relations: Identity, Conflict and Social Order, Western Ethiopia*. PhD thesis. Halle (Saale): Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg.
- Rosen, Jonathan W. (2016). Made in Africa: Will Ethiopia's Push for Industrialization Pay Off? *World Politics Review*.
- Rostow, W. W. (1960). *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rotberg, Robert I. (2003). *When States Fail. Causes and Consequences*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Sahlins, Marshall D. (1961). The Segmentary Lineage: An Organization of Predatory Expansion. *American Anthropologist* 63:322–345. ISSN: 00027294, 15481433.
- Samatar, Said S. (1983). "Somalia into the 1980s: Problems and Possibilities of Social Transformation." Second International Congress of Somali Studies. University of Hamburg.
- Schlee, Günther (1992). Ritual Topography and Ecological Use: The Gabbra of the Kenyan/Ethiopian Borderlands. In: *Bush Base, Forest Farm: Culture, Environment and Development*. Ed. by Elisabeth Croll and David Parkin. London; New York: Routledge, 110–128. ISBN: 978-0-415-06657-0.
- (2001). *Language and Ethnicity*. In: *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*. Ed. by Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes. Elsevier, 8285–8288.
- (2002). Regularity in Chaos: The Politics of Difference in the Recent History of Somalia. In: *Imagined Differences: Hatred and the Construction of Identity*. Ed. by Günther Schlee. Market, Culture and Society 5. Münster; New York: LIT; Palgrave, 251–280. ISBN: 3-8258-3956-7.
- (2008). *How Enemies Are Made. Towards a Theory of Ethnic and Religious Conflicts*. Integration and Conflict Studies 1. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- (2011). Territorializing ethnicity: the imposition of a model of statehood on pastoralists in northern Kenya and southern Ethiopia. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36:857–874. DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2011.626058.
- (2013). Why states still destroy pastoralism and how they can learn that in their own interest they should not. *Nomadic Peoples* 17:6–19. DOI: 10.3167/np.2013.170203.
- (2014). Regional Political History and the Production of Diasporas. In: *Diasporas, Development and Peacemaking in the Horn of Africa*. Ed. by Liisa Laakso and Petri Hautaniemi. Africa Now. London: ZED, 28–50. ISBN: 978-1-78360-097-7.
- (2017). Customary law and the joys of statelessness: Somali realities beyond libertarian fantasies. In: *On retaliation: towards an interdisciplinary understanding of a basic human condition*. Ed. by Bertram Turner and Günther Schlee. Integration and Conflict Studies 15. New York; Oxford: Berghahn, 208–235. ISBN: 978-1-78533-418-4.
- Schlee, Günther and Alexander Horstmann (2018). *Difference and sameness as modes of integration: anthropological perspectives on ethnicity and religion*. Integration and Conflict Studies 16. New York; Oxford: Berghahn. VI, 262 p. ISBN: 978-1-78533-715-4.
- Schlee, Günther and Abdullahi A. Shongolo (2012). *Pastoralism & politics in Northern Kenya & Southern Ethiopia*. Eastern Africa Series. Woodbridge: James Currey. IX, 179 p. ISBN: 978-1-84701-036-0.
- Schlichte, Klaus (2004). Staatlichkeit als Ideologie. Zur politischen Soziologie der Weltgesellschaft. In: *Ideologien in der Weltpolitik*. Ed. by Klaus-Gerd Giesen. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 149–166.
- Schomerus, Mareike, Lotje Vries, and Christopher Vaughan (2013). Introduction: Negotiating Borders, Defining South Sudan. In: *The Borderlands of South Sudan: Authority and Identity in Contemporary and His-*

- torical Perspectives*. Ed. by Christopher Vaughan, Mareike Schomerus, and Lotje Vries. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1–22.
- Scott, Helen (2008). *The Essential Rosa Luxemburg. Reform or Revolution. The Mass Strike*. Chicago: Haymarket Books.
- Scott, James C. (1998). *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Seidel, Katrin and Timm Sureau (Oct. 2, 2015). Introduction: Peace and constitution making in emerging South Sudan on and beyond the negotiation tables. *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 9:612–633. ISSN: 1753-1055. DOI: 10.1080/17531055.2015.1105438.
- Shanmugaratnam, Nadarajah and Alfred Sebit Lokuji (2012). *Interim Evaluation of the Project 'Securing Rural Land Rights in Southern Sudan in a Context of Large-Scale Land Acquisitions'. A Report for Norwegian People's Aid*. Aas, Norway: Norwegian University of Life Sciences (UMB), Department of International Environment & Development Studies.
- Simon, Gerhard (1991). *Nationalism and Policy Toward the Nationalities in the Soviet Union*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Slezkine, Yuri (1994). The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism. *Slavic Review* 53:414–452. DOI: DOI:10.2307/2501300.
- Smith, Jeremy (1999). *The Bolsheviks and the National Question, 1917–1923*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Sørbo, Gunnar M. (1985). *Tenants and Nomads in eastern Sudan: A Study of Economic Adaptations in the New Halfa Scheme*.
- Soulé, Aramis Houmed (2005). *Deux vies dans l'histoire de la Corne de l'Afrique: les sultans 'Afar Maḥammad Ḥanfaré (1861-1902) & 'Ali-Miraḥ Ḥanfaré (1944-2011)*. Addis Abeba: Centre Français des Études Éthiopiennes.
- Stalin, Josef V. (1913). *Marxism and the National Question*.
- Stiglitz, Joseph E. (2002). *Globalization and its Discontents*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc.
- Sureau, Timm (2017). "The Last Bullet": South Sudan's Emerging State. PhD thesis. Halle (Saale): Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg.
- Tadesse, Medhane (2016). *The Developmental State Discourse in Ethiopia: Congenital Anomalies or Inertia?* PhD thesis. Mekelle: Mekelle University.
- Tadesse, Medhane and John Young (2003). TPLF: Reform or Decline. *Review of African Political Economy* 30: 389–403.
- Tilly, Charles (1975). Introduction. In: *The Formation of National States in Western Europe*. Ed. by Charles Tilly. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Touval, Saadia (1967). The Organization of African Unity and African Borders. *International Organization* 21: 402–127. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300013151>.
- Transitional Government of Ethiopia (1991). *Statement of Economic Policy*. Addis Ababa.
- Trimingham, J. Spencer (1952). *Islam in Ethiopia*. London, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Triulzi, Alessandro (1981). *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy: Prelude to the History of a No-Man's Land ; Belā Shangul, Wallaggā, Ethiopia (ca. 1800-1898)*. Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario di Studi Africani.
- Umbadda, Siddig (2014). Agricultural Investment Through Land Grabbing in Sudan. In: *Disrupting Territories: Land, commodification and Conflict in Sudan*. Woodbridge: James Currey, 32–52.
- United Nations (1950). *Report of the United Nations for Eritrea*. New York: United Nations.
- Vihavainen, Timo (2000). Nationalism and Internationalism. How did the Bolsheviks Cope with National Sentiments? In: *The Fall of an Empire, the Birth of a Nation*. Ed. by Chris J. Chulos and Timo Piirainen. Aldershot: Ashgate, 75–97.
- Vries, Lotje (2013). Pulling the Ropes: Convenient Indeterminacies and the Negotiation of Power at Kaya's Border Checkpoint. In: *The Borderlands of South Sudan: Authority and Identity in Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*. Ed. by Christopher Vaughan, Mareike Schomerus, and Lotje Vries. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 153–172.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel (1974). *The Modern World System*. New York: Academic Press.
- Walraet, Anne (2008). Governance, Violence and the Struggle for Economic Regulation in South Sudan: The Case of Budi County (Eastern Equatoria). *Africa Focus* 21:53–70. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21825/af.v21i2.5044>.
- (2013). State-Making and Emerging Complexes of Power and Accumulation in the Southern-Sudan-Kenyan Border Area: The Rise of a Thriving Cross-Border Business Network. In: *The Borderlands of South Sudan: Authority and Identity in Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*. Ed. by Christopher Vaughan, Mareike Schomerus, and Lotje De Vries. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 173–192.

- Wassara, Samson S. (2015). South Sudan: State Sovereignty Challenged at Infancy. *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 9:634–649. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2015.1105439>.
- Watson, Elizabeth E. and Günther Schlee (2009). Introduction. In: *Changing identifications and alliances in North-East Africa: 2; Sudan, Uganda, and the Ethiopia-Sudan borderlands*. Ed. by Günther Schlee and Elizabeth E. Watson. Integration and Conflict Studies 3. New York; Oxford: Berghahn, 1–27. ISBN: 978-1-84545-604-7.
- Webster, Andrew (1990). *Introduction to the Sociology of Development*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Yasin, Mohammed Yasin (2010). *Regional Dynamics of Inter-Ethnic Conflicts in the Horn of Africa: Analysis of the Afar-Somali Conflict in Ethiopia and Djibouti*. PhD thesis. Hamburg: University of Hamburg.
- Young, John (1997a). Development and Change in Post-Revolutionary Tigray. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 35:81–99.
- (1997b). *Peasant Revolution in Ethiopia: Tigray People's Liberation Front, 1975 - 1991*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (1998). Regionalism and Democracy in Ethiopia. *Third World Quarterly* 19:191–204. DOI: 10.1080/01436599814415.
- (2004). Sudan's South Blue Nile Territory and Its Struggle Against Marginalization. In: *States Within States: Incipient Political Entities in the Post-Cold War Era*. Ed. by Paul W. T. Kingston and Ian S. Spears. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 67–80.
- (2005). *South Sudan Defence Force: A Challenge to the IGAD Peace Process*.
- (2006a). Eastern Sudan: Caught in a Web of External Interests. *Review of African Political Economy* 33: 594–601. ISSN: 03056244, 17401720.
- (2006b). *The South Sudan Defence Forces in the Wake of the Juba Declaration*.
- (2007). *The Eastern Front and the Struggle against Marginalization*.
- (2008). Sudan: The Incomplete Transition from the SPLA to the SPLM. In: *From Soldiers to Politicians: Transforming Rebel Movements After Civil War*. Ed. by Jeroen Zeeuw. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 157–178.
- (2010). *Jonglei 2010: Another Round of Disarmament*.
- (2012). *The Fate of Sudan: The Origins and Consequences of a Flawed Peace Process*. London, New York: Zed Books. ISBN: 978-1-78032-326-8.
- (2015a). *A Fractious Rebellion: Inside the SPLM-IO*.
- (2015b). Southern Kordofan State Elections, May 2011. In: *Conflict in the Nuba Mountains*. Ed. by Samuel Totten and Amanda F. Grzyb. New York, London: Routledge, 163–177.
- (2016). *Popular Struggles and Elite Co-Optation: The Nuer White Army in South Sudan's Civil War*.
- (2019). *South Sudan's Civil War: Violence, Insurgency and Failed Peacemaking*. London, New York: Zed Books.
- Zezeza, Paul Tiyambe (2003). Academic Freedom in the Neo-Liberal Order: Governments, Globalization, Governance, and Gender. *Journal of Higher Education in Africa* 1:149–194.
- Zerihun Abebe Woldeeslassie (2017). Ethnicity, Belonging and Identity Among the Eastern Gurage of Ethiopia. *Ethnicities* 17:418–14. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1468796815588619>.
- Zubok, Vladislav M. (2009). *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.