Politics 314: Political Violence: Causes and Solutions

Fall 2017, Wednesday 1:15-4:05, Clapp 126 Professor: Andy Reiter Office Hours: Skinner 107, T 2:45-3:45, W 10:45-11:45, or by appointment

Course Description and Materials

This course is an introduction to political violence. Throughout the semester, we will examine the various manifestations of political violence, focusing on diverse topics such as genocide, terrorism, and civil war. We will explore the debates in the field of political science regarding the nature and causal factors behind these types of violence, with an eye toward understanding how to stop or prevent their occurrence. We will conclude the semester by looking more directly at how violence ends, how peace is maintained, and how societies attempt to heal from past violence. There are no texts to purchase for the course, all readings are provided electronically.

Course Requirements

This will be a hybrid seminar and semester-long simulation. Class participation in our seminar discussions is an important part of the course and is worth 20% of your final grade. A participation grading rubric can be found below. The main project for the course will task you with selecting an episode of ongoing violence somewhere in the world. You will research and follow this case throughout the semester, will be expected to add insights from this case into discussion where relevant, and write a 5,000-word policy brief (worth 30% of your course grade) that outlines the key issues, causes, and effects of this violence. Most importantly, it must also generate policy prescriptions for stopping and recovering from this violence. You will present and defend your analysis and recommendations during the final two weeks of the course with a professional presentation (worth 25% of your course grade) to our class and a panel of outside faculty and staff. Your case will also be the key component of your participation in our simulated NGO (25%). You will be required to maintain your country's webpage and complete in-class activities on a weekly basis. More details on all of the assignments can be found below. Failure to complete any of the assignments will result in an F for the course.

Grade Breakdown

Participation	20%
NGO Simulation	25%
Presentation	25%
Policy Brief	30%

Course Guidelines

Any cheating or plagiarism is a serious violation of the College's Honor Code and any instance will result in a zero for the assignment, and potentially for the course. You are required to complete the <u>College's Tutorial on the proper use of sources</u>. If you have <u>any</u> questions on what constitutes plagiarism, please ask; claiming that you did not know or understand the rules is not an excuse. In addition, late assignments are not accepted for credit unless there are extenuating circumstances and you obtain *prior* approval from me. If a class is canceled for any reason, such as Mountain Day; I will email modifications to this syllabus accordingly.

A Note on Course Content

While most of the readings are academic in nature, this is a course on violence, and as such, you will, at times, be exposed to descriptions of violent acts (including mass killings and sexual crimes), confessions of perpetrators, testimony of victims, and difficult moral and ethical questions. Some of you may also have experienced violence or are from a country in which mass violence occurred. So if at any point you anticipate that particular readings or discussions will be difficult for you, please contact me ahead of time. Similarly, if after readings or a discussion, you feel unsettled or troubled in anyway, please contact me. It is also important to respect the views of each other during discussions. For many of the questions we will engage, there is no right answer. For example, the debate on which individuals are guilty in a crime as large as the Holocaust will never be settled. So we will strive to take a step back and approach these questions analytically and seek to understand the reasons why different views exist and what implications each has for the study conflict and peace.

Case Selection

The following cases are not permitted because they are too internationalized, too complex, and covered to extensively already researchers: Syria, Ukraine, India and Pakistan (Kashmir), and Israel-Palestine.

You can choose any of the following cases, but everyone must have a unique case. The only other caveat is that no more than two of the four Boko Haram cases can be selected. If you have an idea that is not on this list, we can discuss it, but this is a very exhaustive list of the cases in the world where larger scale armed conflict is occurring between organized sides.

- Mexico violence committed in the fight between the state and drug cartels
- Central America (Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador? violence committed in the fight between the state and drug cartels
- Venezuela government repression, violent protests, and coup attempts
- Brazil systematic police violence
- Afghanistan Taliban
- Bangladesh JMB, ISIS, and groups against the government
- Burma (Myanmar) state violence against the Rohingya minority and regional wars in Shan, Kachin, and other provinces
- India regional conflicts in Assam, Tripura, Nagaland, Manipur and others, fight against the Naxalites
- Philippines ISIS and other Islamic groups in Mindanao, government's war on drugs
- Thailand military government repression and regional conflict in Patani
- Azerbaijan conflict in Nagorno-Karabkh with Armenia
- Turkey government repression, war against the Kurds, conflict with ISIS
- Egypt government repression against ISIS and others
- Iraq ISIS
- Libya civil war
- Yemen civil war
- Burundi government repression against a variety of opposition forces
- Cameroon Boko Haram
- Chad Boko Haram
- Central African Republic civil war
- Democratic Republic of Congo civil war
- Mali Tuareg rebels, Al-Qaeda
- Niger Boko Haram
- Nigeria Boko Haram
- Somalia civil war
- South Sudan civil war
- Sudan regional conflicts in Darfur, the Blue Nile states, and others

Course Schedule

Note: Complete readings/movies in the order they are listed for each week

Wednesday September 6 Introduction to the Course and Defining Violence

- ✤ Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," Journal of Peace Research 6:3 (1969), 167-91.
- Nils Petter Gleditsch, Erik Melander, and Henrik Urdul, "Introduction—Patterson of Armed Conflict since 1945," in *What Do We Know About Civil Wars?* edited by T. David Mason and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016), 15-32.

Monday September 11 **Case Selections Due**

Wednesday September 13 Is Violence Human Nature?

- Charles Tilly, *The Politics of Collective Violence* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1-25.
- Stanley Milgram, "Some Conditions of Obedience and Disobedience to Authority," *Human Relations* 18:1 (1965), 57-75.
- Gina Perry, Behind the Shock Machine: The Untold Story of the Notorious Milgram Psychology Experiments (New York, NY: The New Press, 2013), 203-227.
- ✤ Movie: The Stanford Prison Experiment (2015).
- Philip Zambardo, *The Lucifer Effect: Understanding How Good People Turn Evil* (New York, NY: Random House, 2008), 195-228.

Wednesday September 20 Who Participates in Violence?

- Daniel J. Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1997), 203-62.
- Christopher Browning, Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland (New York: Harper Perennial, 1998), 38-77.
- ✤ James Waller, Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 55-87, 133-135.
- Scott Straus, "How Many Perpetrators Were There in the Rwandan Genocide? An Estimate," Journal of Genocide Research 6:1 (2004), 85-98.
- ♦ Movie: *The Wave (Die Welle)* (2008) 107 minutes.
 - Optional: *The Wave* (1981) 47 minutes.

Wednesday September 27 Collective Action and Recruitment

- ★ Ted R. Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), 22-58.
- Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy M. Weinstein, "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War," *American Journal of Political Science* 52:2 (2008), [Excerpts, 436-43].
- Ashutosh Varshney, "Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict," in *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, edited by Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2007), 274-94.
- Jeremy Weinstein, Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1-24.

Wednesday October 4 Genocide

- Stathis Kalyvas, "Wanton and Senseless? The Logic of Massacres in Algeria," *Rationality and Society* 11:3 (1999), 243-85.
- Benjamin Valentino, *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the Twentieth Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), 66-90.
- Scott Straus, "Retreating from the Brink: Theorizing Mass Violence and the Dynamics of Restraint," *Perspectives on Politics* 10:2 (2012): 343-62.

Wednesday October 11 Terrorism

- Audrey Kurth Cronin, "How al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups," *International Security* Summer (2006), 7-48.
- ✤ Audrey Kurth Cronin, "ISIS is Not a Terrorist Group: Why Counterterrorism Won't Stop the Latest Jihadist Thread," *Foreign Affairs* March/April 2015.
- John G. Horgan, Max Taylor, Mia Bloom, and Charlie Winter, "From Cubs to Lions: A Six Stage Model of Child Socialization into the Islamic State," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 40:7 (2017): 645-664.

Friday October 13 **Policy Brief Drafts Due by 1:15 PM on Moodle**

Wednesday October 18 State Repression and Police Violence

- Jacqueline H. R. deMeritt, "The Strategic Use of State Repression and Political Violence," Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics (New York: Oxford University Press 2016).
- David T. Mason and Dale A. Crane, "The Political Economy of Death Squads: Toward a Theory of the Impact of State-Sanctioned Terror," *International Studies Quarterly* 33:2 (1989), 175-98.
- Radley Balko, *The Warrior Cop: The Militarization of America's Police Force* (New York, NY: PublicAffairs, 2013), 239-308.

WednesdayOctober 25Gender Dynamics of Conflict and Sexual Violence*Midterm Course Evaluations and Participation Grades**

- Erik Melander, "Gender and Civil Wars," in *What Do We Know About Civil Wars*? edited by T. David Mason and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016), 197-214.
- Elisabeth J. Wood, "Variation in Sexual Violence during War," *Politics & Society* 34:3 (2006), 307-41.
- Dara Kay Cohen, "Female Combatants and the Perpetration of Violence: Wartime Rape in the Sierra Leone Civil," *World Politics* 65:3 (2013): 383-415.
- Charli R. Carpenter, "Recognizing Gender-Based Violence Against Civilian Men and Boys in Conflict Situations," *Security Dialogue* 37:1 (2006), 83-103.

Wednesday November 1 Ending Conflict and Making It "Stick"

- I. William Zartman and Alvaro de Soto, "Timing Mediation Initiatives," *The Peacemaker's Toolkit* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2010).
- Lakhdar Brahimi and Salman Ahmed, "In Pursuit of Sustainable Peace: The Seven Deadly Sins of Mediation," NYU Center for International Cooperation, May 2008.
- Virginia Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerent's Choices after Civil* War (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 76-103.
- Barbara F. Walter, "Why Bad Governance Leads to Repeat Civil War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59:7 (2015): 1242-1272.

Wednesday November 8 Transitional Justice and Recovering from Violence

- ✤ Andrew G. Reiter, "The Development of Transitional Justice," in An Introduction to Transitional Justice, edited by Olivera Simic (London, UK: Routledge Press, 2016).
- Judy Barsalou and Victoria Baxter, "The Urge to Remember: The Role of Memorials in Social Reconstruction and Transitional Justice," Stabilization and Reconstruction Series No. 5., Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2007.
- Milli Lake and Marie Berry, "Women and Power After War," *Political Violence at a Glance*, June 6, 2017.

Wednesday November 15 Course Wrap-Up: Is Peace Near?

- Steven Pinker, *The Better Angels of our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined* (New York, NY: Viking Press, 2011), 1-30, 671-695.
- Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Action (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2011), 30-61.

✤ Joshua Goldstein, Winning the War on War: The Decline of Armed Conflict Worldwide (New York, NY: Dutton Press, 2011), 203-228.

Wednesday	November 22	No Class – Thanksgiving Break
Wednesday	November 29	Final Presentations
Wednesday	December 6	Final Presentations
Saturday	December 16	**Final Policy Briefs Due by 1:15 PM via Moodle**

Class Participation Grading Rubric

<u>A (4.0)</u>

An A is reserved for the few students who have done exceptionally well in discussion. Besides encapsulating everything described below for an A- student, these students are the ones that I have leaned on throughout the year. I never had any doubts that they had read and were prepared; when discussion stalled I could turn to them to get it started again; and when a particularly difficult question led to silence I could count on them to attempt to think it through and offer an answer.

<u>A- (3.67)</u>

Students who receive a grade of A- have gone above and beyond the description of a B+ student. Not only have they been present regularly and contributed often to discussion, they do so in a constructive manner and help aid the flow of discussion by bringing questions with them and offering answers and opinions when prompted. They always come to class prepared, having done the readings and ready to participate.

<u>B+ (3.33)</u>

Students who receive a grade of B+ have been present regularly and they have made solid contributions to discussion throughout the year. A grade of B+ is an excellent grade for this course.

<u>B (3.0)</u>

Students who receive a grade of B have been present regularly and have also contributed to discussion from time to time.

<u>B- (2.67)</u>

Students who receive a grade of B- have been present regularly, but have been quiet and have rarely contributed to discussion.

<u>C (2.0)</u>

Students who receive a grade of C have been absent numerous times and when present rarely contribute to discussion.

<u>D (1.0)</u>

Students who receive a grade of D have been habitually absent from class and have not taken this component of the course seriously.

<u>F (0.0)</u>

Students who receive a grade of F are rare. An F is only given if the student has missed many classes in a row, not contacted me, and has clearly decided not to engage this component of the course.

Guide for Policy Briefs and Presentations

You are required to complete a major research project this semester, culminating in a 5,000-word policy brief (approximate) and a class presentation of your findings. The goal of this assignment is to force you to apply the theories learned in the course to a contemporary case, to refine your writing and oral presentation skills, and to make you think about the potential policy implications of political analysis.

You must select one case of ongoing or recent political violence in the world. I need to approve all selections. The due date for you to get your case approved is September 11. Once your case is selected, you should set about becoming an expert on it. Read and research widely. You should aim to bring this knowledge of your case into the class discussions throughout the remainder of the semester.

Your final policy brief and presentation should contain four major parts. The first two are background; the second two are the analysis that should be the bulk of the paper.

First, briefly, what is the nature, extent, and origin of the political violence? In other words, what acts were committed, how many, who are the perpetrators and who are the victims?

Second, what is the current understanding of why this political violence is occurring? How has the issue been framed by actors such as politicians, the press, the perpetrators, and the victims?

Third, based on your understanding of political violence gained in the course, and your knowledge of the case, why do you think the political violence is occurring? This is the main analytical part of the paper. I want to see you apply the theories from the course to examine this case and develop a nuanced understanding of the origins of this political violence based on sound social science research.

Finally, drawing from the course and your knowledge of the case, what should be done to stop this violence, recover from its effects, and prevent its recurrence? Be sure to outline clear policy directions in your recommendations. Who will have to be involved? What will each actor need to do? What resources will be needed? How long will it take?

A 2,500-word draft is due on October 13, but I am happy to read multiple drafts of the paper before that date at any point throughout the semester—<u>the norm is for students to workshop at least</u> three to four drafts throughout the semester, or to get feedback on smaller sections as they complete them. The final policy brief should be submitted on Moodle no later than Saturday, December 16 by 1:15 PM. You are <u>required</u>, to format these like the policy brief examples found on Moodle. When you go to open a new document in Microsoft Word you can "search for online templates" and find hundreds that will do all of the design work for you. Typing in "report" is a good way to find the ones that would work best for this type of assignment. Familiarity with this process is a skill that is necessary for the workplace.

Presentations will take place in class on November 29 and December 6. They will be 10 minutes each, followed by 7 minutes of questions from me and the class and a panel of outside faculty. This will be a mock presentation to an NGO or government agency where you must convince a group of policymakers to support and implement your proposals. Signups for slots will take place later in the semester. In addition, each of you are required to meet with me individually in office hours prior to practice your presentation; I will hold extended office hours in the days prior to the presentations.

Pedagogical Reasoning

The majority of the students in the class have some interest in working on issues of human rights or peace and security in their careers, either from a non-profit/NGO position or from within government. The assignments are thus geared towards helping students begin to think about what a career in this field might be like, and to help juniors think about potential internships for the crucial summer before their senior year. Moreover, it aims to help students gain the skills necessary to succeed in a job or internship that involves researching and analyzing contemporary issues of violence, and presenting and writing policy-relevant recommendations based on that analysis.

The assignment serves a key pedagogical purpose of requiring students to apply to a particular case the many theories in political science on the causes of violence learned throughout the semester in the course. But beyond that it targets the development of several job-relevant skills.

First, it forces students to think about policy, something that too few assignments in our courses do. Each student must generate specific policy recommendations for how to stop the violence they are examining and prevent it from occurring. Depending on the case, these recommendations can range from large-scale international interventions to new national policies on resource sharing or electoral reform. In doing so, students must understand the risk and trade-offs of particular policies and contemplate the likelihood or willingness of actors to enact these policies. The focus of the assignment is on realistic policy recommendations. In other words, the student cannot just say that the UN should intervene in Syria with tens of thousands of troops to stop the violence there. They must realize that such a proposal would never pass the UN Security Council and that such an intervention comes with significant risks that could lead to even more violence in the region. In the assignment, students have to examine the interests of a variety of actors and contemplate the cost (political and economic) of any potential action in order to generate realistic policy prescriptions.

Second, the assignment aims to improve job-relevant writing skills. While learning to write academic research papers is vital, students also need to learn how to make writing accessible to a policy-oriented audience. To that end, the assignment is meant to represent a policy brief, position statement, or internal research memo. It is short (5,000 words) and concise. Students must be able to summarize the violence in just a few pages; highlighting the key events and actors. They are encouraged to use summary tables, bullet points, timelines, maps, and budgets throughout. Students read these types of reports regularly when doing their research, but often have no experience writing this type of document. This assignment aims to give them such an experience.

Third, the assignment aims to improve job-relevant oral presentation skills. Rather than just present their research or their findings at the end of the semester, this assignment requires students to convince the audience to support their policy recommendations. They must make a formal presentation using PowerPoint to an audience with little to no knowledge about their case that succeeds in teaching the audience the important aspects of the case, provides the audience with their succinct arguments for why the violence is occurring, and then "sells" the audience on their policy recommendations. Students come to understand that a failure to do well on the early portions of the presentation will weaken its prescriptive components—the audience needs to understand the conflict and believe the student has diagnosed the problem correctly before it will be willing to support their recommendations.

Following the presentation, students will be forced to handle a lengthy question and answer session from the audience and defend their arguments. Each student will be required to meet with me individually prior to the class presentation to practice the delivery and refine the PowerPoint.

Finally, the assignment also aims to improve the emotional preparation of students for work beyond Mount Holyoke. In the types of jobs that many of these students aspire to hold, analysts submit and present their findings to superiors. These superiors—whether in the form of government bureaucrats, politicians, or boards of trustees or directors—may or may not be familiar with the particular issue or case being presented. To mirror this, students for this assignment must present to a classroom full of individuals who are well trained in the general topic of political violence but not in their specific case (the other students in the course), one individual who will be knowledgeable about the topic and case (me), and a panel of individuals who are well trained in critical thinking and analysis but largely unfamiliar with the issues and cases involved (an outside panel of professors and staff). In particular, by bringing in outsider faculty and staff students are forced to present to people of rank and authority they respect but who they may not know. This will raise the pressure of the talk and better prepare students for future presentations in their careers.

The goals of the assignment are detailed in this assignment guide above, will be articulated orally by myself in class, and reinforced in further detail to students in comments on drafts and in one-on-one sessions throughout the semester. In particular, I will be working with individual students to tailor their projects to any potential career or internship goals they may have. In the end, papers and presentations will take different forms, with some geared towards specific governments (e.g. the US, India) and others specific organizations (e.g. the UN, Human Rights Watch).

Guide for the NGO Simulation

The policy brief and presentation assignments above have been very successful. Recent alumns have noted that this type of policy writing has helped them to be more competitive on the job market, with many using these briefs as their writing samples, and made the adjustment to "workplace" writing easier. In addition, the formal presentations have made high-pressure, in-person job interviews less stressful.

Yet other feedback from alums has convinced me that this is not enough to prepare students effectively. The NGO world where many of our students are placed requires more varied skills and much faster turn-around times. Students know the policy brief style and can conduct major research projects, but they are not ready for the day-to-day grind.

Major organizations conduct many rounds of interviews before hiring someone, and several are always timed tasks. Students have to write a 3-5-page analysis of a policy paper or create a summary guide of a collection of news articles, write an example acknowledgement letter to a fictional donor, draft an op-ed, format and copy-edit a fictional boss's document, and even translate documents and write reports in a second language if the job requires one. Students may be given only 20-30 minutes to complete each task with no

Our students are not yet prepared for such tasks in an interview, much less in the workplace.

After picking your case, you will thus be working on that country's "desk" in our organization for the remainder of the semester. You can be called on in class at any point in the semester to brief the table on events in your case. You will not be told ahead of time if you will be chosen that day in class or not. You are thus required to prepare every class.

Second, there will be another "activity" each day during the semester either at the beginning or end of class. You will be required to bring your laptops and complete the activities in set amounts of time. These will include writing in several different styles, reading large amounts of information and digesting it quickly, preparing presentations, and copyediting.

Third, you are required to maintain your page on our NGO's website. Each will have the same basic structure and you will be given tasks throughout the semester—again, without warning—that you will need to complete. For example, uploading a map, creating a "recent news" side bar, and creating a directory of other sources on your case. In doing so, you will gain some basic familiarity with WordPress and html—other skills that are expected in most office settings.

Andy's Guide to Resources for Peace and Conflict Studies

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Download 🖸

The UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Data Program 🗳 has an interactive global map with detailed histories, casualty figures (geo-plotted), types of violence, and a list of all armed actors involved. You should start here to orient yourself on cases.

The following four sources have detailed information on peace agreements, searchable by country:

- United Nations Peacemaker
- Ulster University's Transitional Justice Institute 🖸
- Peace Accords Matrix 🖾
- Uppsala Conflict Data Program 🖸

Within the United Nations, these three offices have the most relevant information related to peace and conflict:

- United Nations Peacekeeping
- United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights 🖾
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 🗳

The United States State Department produces annual reports on the status of human rights practices in each country in the world:

• United States Department of State Country Reports on Human Rights Practices 🗠

There are many think tanks and NGOs working on issues related to peace and conflict. The ones listed below are those that have significant country-specific coverage:

- Human Rights Watch
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace 🗹
- Open Society Foundation
- Freedom House 🗠
- Amnesty International
- International Crisis Group
- Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre 🖸

- Conciliation Resources 🖸
 - Including the open-access Accord Publication Series 🗠
- International Center for Transitional Justice 🗳
- Institute for War and Peace Reporting 🖸
- Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs 🗳
- Council on Foreign Relations
- Brookings Institute 🖸
- RAND Corporation 🖸
- Center for Strategic and International Studies
- Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars 🗳
- Stimson Center 🗳
- Stockholm International Peace Research Institute 🗳
- Foundation for the Defense of Democracies 🗳
 - \circ Including the open-access Long War Journal 🖾

There are many academic journals related to peace and conflict. The ones listed below are those that focus less on theoretical issues and more on empirical research on specific countries:

- Foreign Affairs 🗹
- Foreign Policy 🖸
- Terrorism and Political Violence \mathbf{C}
- Studies in Conflict and Terrorism
- Civil Wars 🗳
- Journal of Peace Research 🗹
- Peacebuilding 🖸
- Peace and Conflict Studies 🖸
- Journal of Peacebuilding and Development
- International Peacekeeping
- Security Studies 🖸
- African Conflict & Peacebuilding Review 🗹
- African Peace and Conflict Journal
- African Journal on Conflict Resolution
- International Journal of Transitional Justice 🗳

There are two major academic blogs that cover issues related to the study of conflict:

- Political Violence at a Glance
 - $\circ~$ Every Sunday there is a "Weekly Links" post that provides updates on issues around the world
- The Small Wars Journal and Blog 🗳

The following reputable news outlets provide regular coverage of global issues:

- BBC News 🗳
- New York Times 🗳
- Washington Post
- Al Jazeera 🖸
- The Guardian 🖸
- CNN World News 🗠
- Reuters 🖸
- The Economist 🖸
- All Africa 🖸
- Los Angeles Times 🖸
- San Francisco Chronicle 🖸

For comprehensive lists of country specific newspapers, see:

- The Guardian's World News Guide 🖸
- ABYZ's All Countries Newspaper and News Media Guide 🖾