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THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Political Science 359
African Studies 351
Office: 101B West Engineering
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Lectures: 2-3:30 p.m. T-Th
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The Struggle for Southern Africa

Southern Africa will be the last region on the African continent to attain formal political independence and Black majority-rule. Partly because of its contentious status the region is likely for the rest of this century to remain at the top of the Africa's, and the international community's, agendas as well as world news. For the same reasons the region will probably continue to be the most violent and most turbulent part of Africa — until Black-majority rule is introduced in the Republic of South Africa and formal political independence attained by Namibia.

However, in spite of the centrality of the Republic of South Africa and Namibia in the region this course will be broader in its scope encompassing all the nine or ten countries that normally constitute the region, "Southern Africa."

Integral to our exploration will be the events of the 1970s when some of these countries gained their political liberation (Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe). We will attempt to identify the factors that make Southern Africa a "region" - geographical, cultural, historical, economic, infrastructural, facets, etc. etc. Inter-related structures as well as perspectives would be of particular focus.

Students taking the course for credit will have to fulfill the following requirements.

- 1) Take a Midterm examination. This will be given no later than October 31, 1987.
- 2) Write up a solid research paper on a select aspect of the region of Southern Africa. The research paper should be ready by, at the latest, November 15, 1987.
- 3) Take a final examination. The examination will be based in part on what will be covered in class and partly on guided reading assignments and exercises which will be assigned as we move on.

The course will be taught by Omari H. Kokole and from time to time guest lecturers. We are also likely to view select portions of Dr. Basil Davidson's TV series, Africa, and Professor Ali A. Mazrui's (of The University of Michigan) PBS TV series The Africans: A Triple Heritage.

Kokole's contribution in this course will be partly through the oral presentation of lectures and partly in discussions with the students both in class and privately in his office (101B West Engineering) when so arranged with individual or more members of the class.

The following is a list of required text books which students are advised to purchase for their own use. [A few copies of the same books will also be placed on reserve in the Undergraduate Library (UGLI)]:

- a. Gwendolen Carter and Patrick O'Meara (Eds.) Southern Africa: The Continuing Crisis
- b. David Martin and Phyllis Johnson The Struggle for Zimbabwe
- c. Amilcar Cabral Revolution in Guinea [Bissau]
- d. South Africa: Time is Running Out

Below is a list of strongly recommended (albeit not required books):

- (i) B. Magubane, The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa
- (ii) David Harrison The White Tribe of Africa
- (iii) William Minter King Solomon's Mines Revisited
- (iv) Gwendolen Carter and Patrick O'Meara (Eds.) International Politics in Southern Africa

The following is a thematic guide to the field as it will be covered in this course.

1. Southern Africa: defining and introducing the region

Geographical contiguity

Historical coherence/continuities

Cultural coherence/continuities

Economic coherence/continuities

Infrastructural and communication's inter-relatedness

Racial homogeneity/heterogeneity

The White settler factor in Southern African politics

Apartheid as a vertical, segregative, exploitative, and racist,
system

2. Southern Africa and the concept of "Black-majority Rule."

Racial representativeness as a democratic principle

Between electoral, structural, and racial, varieties of democratic
governance

White Settlers as the most obstinate, anti-African group in Africa's
modern history

From Algeria to Kenya; from Zimbabwe to the Republic of South
Africa, to Namibia

3. The Republic of South Africa as a regional hegemonic power

Bases of regional dominance and tactics of perpetuating and
consolidating regional pre-eminence

Weapons of exercising regional dominance - from offering carrots to
threats to use the stick

Intimidation, rewards, and destabilization manoeuvres

4. Political Liberation in Southern Africa

Decolonization and Black-majority rule especially, but not exclusively, in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and the continuing struggles in RSA and Namibia

Guerrilla warfare as a form of unconventional conflict and counterinsurgency as unconventional response in Southern Africa

5. The regional Black-ruled African States vis-a-vis the Republic of South Africa

The "Frontline states" vis-a-vis The Republic of South Africa

The RSA as intimidator as well as regional economic and military power

6. Southern Africa in a global context

East/West rivalries in Southern Africa

Geo-strategic calculations and vested economic interests, as well as competitive imperialism in Southern Africa

The Soviet Union as an ally in the political liberation of Black Southern Africans

7. Southern Africa and Asia

Gandhi's ideas of "passive resistance" were initially developed in South Africa where Gandhi lived for over twenty years

Appeal of the "weapon" of peaceful resistance and love in Southern African political struggles

Albert Luthuli and Archbishop Desmond Tutu as winners of Nobel Peace Prizes

India was the first country to raise the apartheid issue at the United Nations in 1948. India was for a long time also a model

for liberation movements in Southern Africa e.g. the borrowing of the appellation "Congress" from the Indian experience etc., etc.

The rise and decline of the influence of Gandhi's ideas among Southern African liberation movements

Independent India as a model for decolonized states in Southern Africa

Immigrant Asians in Southern Africa - Malays, Indians, Chinese, etc.

The People's Republic of China (PRC) and Southern Africa

8. Southern Africa as the most semi-industrialized sub-region in Africa

The largest proletariat in Africa is lodged in Southern Africa

The role of the mining industry in Southern Africa

Socio - political implications of the massive proletarianization in Southern Africa

Between a male proletariat and a female peasantry in Southern Africa: genesis, implications and prospects

9. Southern Africa and the Nuclear Age

Role of Southern African uranium in the nuclear programs of the West and Israel (from 1945 to present)

Nuclear technology collaboration between the West, Israel and the Republic of South Africa. Is this a racial alliance? Or a nuclear axis? Or both?

Relevance and/or irrelevance of a nuclear arsenal in Southern Africa

RSA's nuclear bomb, will it be the Black world's first nuclear power when Black majority-rule takes over

10. The unprecedented role of the U.S. in the political decolonization of the Southern African States

How Kissinger "discovered" Africa in the mid - 1970s. Why so late?
Strategic calculations and economic interests at play; why the U.S. intervened

11. Southern Africa and the Organization of African Unity (OAU)

Between the-Pan Africanism of liberation and Pan-Africanism of unification

Southern Africa as a major unifying issue-area among Africans

12. Southern Africa at the United Nations

The RSA as a founder-member of the UN in 1945

The region as a recurrent item on the UN agenda from the early 1960s to present

The RSA in the UN from 1945 (UN formation) to 1974 (when the African and Arab States instigated its suspension from the General Assembly)

The UN General Assembly (Third World-dominated and anti-RSA) and the UN Security Council (big power-dominated and relatively pro-RSA)

From ostracism to economic/military sanctions. Why have punitive measures not brought apartheid down?

13. The Lusophone States

Portugal's colonies - imperial myths, repressive policies, economic exploitation, radicalization, resistance, and political liberation

Relative deradicalization of ex-leftist States in the late 1970s and 1980s

The "Nkomati Accords" as a symbol of capitulation and
deradicalization of Marxist States in Southern Africa.

14. From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe

Implications of Zimbabwe's political freedom for rest of Southern
Africa

15. Southern Africa and the Arab-Israeli conflict

From Israeli-RSA collaboration in counter-insurgency techniques to
the nuclearization of apartheid. Israel as a pro-South African
factor

Racial alliance? Or strategic partners? Or both?

The Arabs and Black Africans as strategic partners, from sharing
enemies to joint training of guerrillas

From North-South biased economies to strategies of South - South
horizontal interpenetration and the struggle for a new
international economic order (NIEO)

16. The Black Diaspora, Pan-Africanism, and Southern Africa

Between racism in North America and racism in Southern Africa

Building anti-racist bridges and alliances

Is racism indivisible?

The Black-led anti-apartheid movement in the diaspora - especially
in North America (e.g. Martin Luther King, Reverend Jesse Jackson,
Randall Robinson; leadership and groups, etc. etc)

Coincidence in time and thrust between the civil rights movement in
the U.S. and political decolonization in Africa

Trans-Atlantic Pan-Africanism and political independence.

17. Towards the future

Summing up the course

Past, present, and future prospects

South Africa, Namibia under Black-majority rule and the rest of
Africa

Southern Africa in the global system