



Université d'Ottawa | University of Ottawa

Département d'histoire | History Department

Faculté des arts / Faculty of Arts

HIS 4186 A00
Dr. Nicolas Lépine

Seminar in African History—Battleground Africa: Cold War Burning Hot?

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Classes on Zoom/Brightspace, Tuesdays 2:30-5:20PM.
Personal meetings during virtual class time/appointment.

Course Objectives

- Exploring decolonization, nation building and ideological struggle during the African Cold War;
- Defining the origins, structures and agendas of the two international orders at odds (liberalism vs. communism);
- Understanding the protagonists' intentions, may they be local, national, pan-national, continental or foreign;
- Becoming familiar with the transnational solidarist principles (internationalism vs. developmentalism), its incentives and initiatives;
- Further develop knowledge and mastery of digital humanities through involvement in the Recipro OMEKA website/exhibit;
- Gain experience in communitarian engagement through the Michaëlle Jean Centre for Global and Community Engagement and its Community Service Learning initiative;
- Further develop scientific research using solely internet databases;
- Improve oral presenting and debating skills, persuasive writing ability and advance analysis of primary sources;
- Improve resiliency in times of a pandemic.

General Description

This course explores the Cold War in Africa, a continent which has experienced reinvention more than any other area of the globe in the latter half of the 20th century. The relation between nativist and ideological struggles opposing local and foreign protagonists are of peculiar interest for this class.

The post-Second World War saw a new African intelligentsia influenced by Panafricanism or Marxist ideas, committing themselves to emancipation. While European colonial powers attempted to recast their empires at all cost. On their behalf, the emerging superpowers (the USA and the USSR) opposed colonialism and were not interested in Africa. However, all this was about to change in the course of the 1950s, as the area became a battleground for the “hot” Cold War in the Global South.

Students will research a pertinent topic of interest and contextualize it into the double context of decolonization and the Cold War. Ideally, the topic regards international solidarist initiatives from a peculiar country, area, or protagonist(s). For example, one could focus for the internationalist involvement of Cubans, or perhaps the Red Cross and the Save the Children funds. Contextualizing such topics locally, nationally and internationally will allow for a true understanding of the span, the

motives, the objectives and the shortcomings of such initiatives. Indeed, they were not unfolding in an isolated manner, but in the broader contexts of decolonization and the Cold War.

Two options: CSL or traditional.

a) CSL: students who chose to will sign up to Michaëlle Jean Centre for Global and Community Engagement and its Community Service Learning initiative (CSL). Through its CSL initiative, they will engage in community work for the Recipro Omeka website/exhibit on the history of international solidarity. The Recipro open source website is a joint digital humanity initiative between Ottawa and Carleton Universities' history departments, the result of a Shared Online Projects Initiative (SOPI) grant from vice-provosts. For those who choose the CSL option, the final assignment will consist in a five-page essay and a web page with entries (such as audiovisual). <https://biblio.uottawa.ca/omeka1/recipro/>

b) Final paper: students who opt for the traditional approach will hand in a final research paper of 15 pages on a pertinent topic of their choice, well contextualized with the Cold War and decolonization contexts in Africa.

Grading	10%	Presence/participation during virtual class time; assiduity on Brightspace.
	10%	Readings presentations and slides.
	10%	Meta-quiz on readings.
	30%	Research statement (5%), annotated bibliography (20%) and plan (5%).
	40%	Final assignment: either a webpage on Recipro or a paper handed in.

Participation

Your attendance to Zoom sessions is appreciated and graded, as in your assiduity on the Brightspace website where all lectures, presentations, discussions and extra content are posted.

Presentations with slides.

Every week, each volunteer will make a 15-minute presentation with slides on assigned readings from the outline: content, point(s) defended by the author(s), position within the existing historiography (when feasible), your opinion/critic, what especially drew your attention, or what is susceptible to be useful to your work as well as your peers'. Do provide related questions for us to engage with.

Regarding your slideshow, sent it beforehand to the professor, ideally in .pdf format, if not in PowerPoint, Google Slides or Keynote formats. Your slideshow is both explicit and succinct, encapsulating the core of the articles. Furthermore, it contains page numbers from the readings. The slides and recorded Zoom presentations are uploaded by the professor on the class' Brightspace website.

All readings are available on the library's website, namely on the OMNI, Historical Abstract, Jstor and CAIRN databases (be logged in). Links to other sources will be provided. Note that pages presented per student in class amount to circa 50.

Meta-quiz.

Toward the end of the semester, we will jointly create a meta-quiz on Brightspace. The quiz stems from multiple-choice questions you have created for each reading in the outline assigned to you.

For each reading, you will submit five questions to the professor for selection and adaptation. Questions should not be too hard, not too easy, and the answer findable in your slideshows, not on internet. The purpose is to make sure we understand the essence of each article.

—First assignment: research statement due for Jan. 31 (5%).

Think of a relevant topic that sparks your interest. Go through the existing literature on OMNI, Historical Abstracts, JSTOR and CAIRN databases. You can also search for available online archives. Be resilient: make sure to keep time in case you need to change topic in case of poor feasibility. Go for 1–2 pages.

Regarding the redaction of the statement:

- Find a succinct striking title which indicates your topic and era;
- Start your one-page essay with a bold sentence which immerses us in your topic;
- Describe your topic, its relevance and importance;
- Describe your question, hypotheses, possible thesis and answers;
- Finish with a foretaste of sources you intend on using.

—Second assignment: annotated bibliography involving 7–15 entries due for March 7th (20%).

The second step towards your final assignment or Recipro webpage essay, the annotated bibliography of more or less 10 pages. Its structure goes as follows:

- An update on your research and its question/thesis (+1 page);
- Description and structure of your final paper to be (+1 page);
- The annotated bibliography: for each source, write a half-page paragraph describing it, contextualizing within the historiography (when possible), your critic, and especially how you use it to defend your thesis.

*At this state of the class, your topic and bibliography are definitive.

—Third assignment: final plan due for March 28th (5%).

In one or two pages, make an arborescence of your work, insisting on how it supports your thesis.

*The research statement, the annotated bibliography and the final plan amount to 30% of the final grade. The per diem penalty for lateness is 5%. Papers are in either Times 12 or Arial 11, double-spaced with an inch margin all around.

—**Meta-quiz involving all presented readings from the outline. April 3–4 th (10%).**

You will send to the professor (date to be confirmed) five multiple-choice questions (not too easy nor hard) on each of your presented reading. The professor will select questions, modify them if need be, and create an online quiz on the Brightspace platform available for a two-hour block on April 3–4 th.

When making your questions, remember our goal which is not testing visual memory with precise details such as dates or objects, but understanding broader concepts, tendencies, debates, phenomenons, or the context at large.

This exercise is demanding and requires the mastery of each reading. It will, on the other hand, be useful, as you can integrate these sources to your final paper.

This quiz amounts to 10% of the final note.

—**Final assignment: webpage on Recipro website or written assignment for April 16th (40%).**

There are two options here:

- a) Recipro webpage including an essay of 5 pages of text (flush) on an internationalist or solidararian initiative, with plenty of extra audiovisual content and links.
- b) Research paper of 15 pages of text (flush). Research papers have a striking title on the cover page.

Page number 1 regards introduction. It contains a bold opening sentence, your objective, method and an explicit description of your thesis and the breakdown of how you will proceed.

Follow 13 pages of text which remind the reader of your thesis or point defended, all backed by sources which are solely mentioned in footnotes. The text is argued and supported consistently. Furthermore, make sure to include at least 4 readings seen in class, to which you will add your own from the annotated bibliography and archives (if any).

The last page is devoted to the conclusion, which a) summarizes your points and findings and how they backed your analysis b) provides an original closing line (which can ironically be an opening).

*Remember to compare your conclusion with your introduction and adjust if need be, as the former is often the zenith of our reflection.

The evaluation grid of final papers goes as follows:

- 1/3 clarity of writing;
- 1/3 strength and consistency of analysis;
- 1/3 evidence and how they are used to back your point.

The paper is 15 pages (not including cover nor bibliography nor footnotes), typed in Times 12 or Arial 11, double-spaced, with page 1 beginning at introduction, and with an inch margin all around.

You are allowed a maximum of four quotations (1–4 lines each) between quotation marks within the body of the text (not separately). Feel free to use footnotes to add extra comments, while keeping in mind that footnotes are not part of the page count, but extra.

Footnotes respect the Department's protocol (see end of outline), usually single-spaced and 1–2 police smaller, second mention of evidence is shortened, that's if you don't use the *Ibid/Ibid+name* system. Use a single system (unlike the current outline) and please no APA. Do ad extra information in the footnotes, but remember they are not part of the 15-page count.

Your final Zoom presentations without a slideshow will be made in the two final classes, this in order to vent topics and gain perspective.

CALENDAR, LECTURES AND READINGS.

(Please note the professor reserves the right to modify the calendar with notice).

Jan. 12—Outline, AEC, Recipro website and research tools.

- Presentation of outline, topics, objectives, tasks and the tools (databases and readings).
- Students research and present a topic they are interested in (this can be changed later on).
- Presentation of the Recipro website by Inés Petrazzini.
- Voluntaries for next week's readings presentation.

Jan. 19—Origins and structure of the Cold War in Africa.

Readings:

Westad, Odd. "Rethinking Revolutions: The Cold War in the Third World." *Journal of peace research* 29, no. 4 (November 1, 1992): 455–464. (8p.)

Bellucci, Weiss. *The Internationalization of the Labour Question: Ideological Antagonism, Workers' Movements and the ILO Since 1919. The Internationalization of the Labour Question*. Cham: Springer International Publishing AG, 2019, pp. 351–376. (23p.)

Kalu, Kenneth. "The Cold War and Africa's Political Culture." *Vestnik Rossiiskogo universiteta družby narodov. Seriiā Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniā* 20, no. 1 (December 1, 2020): 11–21. (8p.).

Austen, Ralph. "Africa and Globalization: Colonialism, Decolonization and the Postcolonial Malaise." *Journal of global history* 1, no. 3 (November 2006): 403–408. (6p.).

Houser, G. (1987). Assessing Africa's Liberation Struggle. *Africa Today*, 34(4), 17–32. (16p.)

James, Leslie. *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below: Pan-Africanism, the Cold War, and the End of Empire. George Padmore and Decolonization from Below*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, pp. 96–119. (23p.)

Jan. 26—The 1950s: Nasser, Mau Mau's, old and new colonial powers in the Cold War context.

Readings:

Darwin, John. *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830–1970. The Empire Project*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 590–631. (41p.)

Sayle, Timothy. “‘A Great List of Potential Mistakes’: NATO, Africa, and British Efforts to Limit the Global Cold War.” *Cold war history* 16, no. 1 (January 2, 2016): 19–36. (17p.)

Parker, Jason. “Cold War II: The Eisenhower Administration, the Bandung Conference, and the Reperiodization of the Postwar Era.” *Diplomatic history* 30, no. 5 (November 1, 2006): 867–892. (24p.)

Feb. 2—Algeria at the turn of 1960.

Readings:

Matthew Connelly, “Taking off the Cold War Lens: Visions of North-South Conflict during the Algerian War for Independence.” *American Historical Review* 105.3 (2000): 739-69. (31p.)

Imlay, Talbot. “International Socialism and Decolonization During the 1950s: Competing Rights and the Postcolonial Order.” *The American Historical Review* 118, no. 4 (October 2013): 1105–1009, 1115–1132. (21p.)

Goethem, Geert van, and Robert Anthony Waters. *American Labor's Global Ambassadors : the International History of the AFL-CIO During the Cold War* New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. Chap 12–13. (24p.)

*Feb. 5: Last day to withdraw from course or activity and receive a financial credit (less administrative fees).

Feb. 9—Ghana and Guinea at the turn of 1960.

Readings:

Schmidt, E. “Cold War in Guinea: The Rassemblement démocratique africain and the Struggle over Communism, 1950–1958.” *Jrl of African History* 48 (2007): 95–121. (26p.)

Biney, Ama. “The Legacy of Kwame Nkrumah in Retrospect.” *The Journal of Pan African studies* 2, no. 3 (March 15, 2008): 129–159. (21p.)

Telepneva, Natalia. “Saving Ghana's Revolution: The Demise of Kwame Nkrumah and the Evolution of Soviet Policy in Africa, 1966–1972.” *Journal of cold war studies* 20, no. 4 (February 1, 2019): 4–25. (23p.)

Feb 16—Reading week (no class).

Feb. 23—Congo 1960: the high point of the Cold War in Africa.

Readings:

Iandolo, Alessandro. “Imbalance of Power: The Soviet Union and the Congo Crisis, 1960–1961.” *Journal of cold war studies* 16, no. 2 (April 1, 2014): 32–55. (23p.)

Katsakioris, Constantin. “The Lumumba University in Moscow: Higher Education for a Soviet—Third World Alliance, 1960–91.” *Journal of global history* 14, no. 2 (July 2019): 281–300. (19p.)

Hollway, Don. “Mad Mike and his Wild Geese: In 1964-65 Soldier for Hire Mike Hoare and a Handful of Mercenaries Defeated a Horde of Drug-Addled Communist Simba Rebels-and Che Guevara-to Reclaim the Congo.” *Military history* (Herndon, Va.) 35, no. 6 (March 1, 2019): 54–61. (4p.)

Kent, J. (2017). The Neo-colonialism of Decolonisation: Katangan Secession and the Bringing of the Cold War to the Congo. *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 45(1), 93–130. (26p.)

March 2—Détente and the African Cold War’s second phase.

Readings:

Jeremy Friedman (2010): Soviet policy in the developing world and the Chinese challenge in the 1960s, *Cold War History*, 10:2, 247–272. (22p.)

Sousa, Julião. “Amílcar Cabral, the PAIGC and the Relations with China at the Time of the Sino-Soviet Split and of Anti-Colonialism. Discourses and Praxis.” *International history review* 42, no. 6 (November 1, 2020): 1274–1296. (17p.)

Telepneva, Natalia. “Mediators of Liberation: Eastern-Bloc Officials, Mozambican Diplomacy and the Origins of Soviet Support for Frelimo, 1958–1965.” *Journal of southern African studies* 43, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 67–81. (15p.)

MacQueen, Norrie. “Belated Decolonization and UN Politics Against the Backdrop of the Cold War: Portugal, Britain, and Guinea-Bissau’s Proclamation of Independence, 1973–1974.” *Journal of cold war studies* 8, no. 4 (October 1, 2006): 29–56. (25p.)

O’Sullivan, Kevin. *Ireland, Africa and the End of Empire: Small State Identity in the Cold War 1955 - 75*. Manchester University Press, 2013, pp. 108–128 (Biafra Crisis). (20p.)

March 9—Angola, Cubans and internationalist duty.

Readings:

Gleijeses, Piero. “Moscow’s Proxy? Cuba and Africa 1975–1988.” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 8, no. 2 (2006): 3–51. (48p.)

Hatzky, Christine. “‘Os Bons Colonizadores’: Cuba’s Educational Mission in Angola, 1976–1991.” *Safundi* (Nashville, Tenn.) 9, no. 1 (January 1, 2008): 53–68. (13p.)

Good, Kenneth. “Cuba’s Defence of Angola Against Pretoria and Washington: Big Successes and Great Costs.” *Journal of Asian and African studies* (Leiden) 52, no. 5 (August 2017): 657–669. (11p.)

March 16—Mozambique, Guinea, Cape Verde, Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe.

Readings:

Lazic, Milorad. “Comrades in Arms: Yugoslav Military Aid to Liberation Movements of Angola and Mozambique, 1961–1976.” In *Southern African Liberation Movements and the Global Cold War “East,”* 4:151—180. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2019. (27p.)

Kouki, Samia. “The Opening of Cold War Archives and the Rewriting of Jimmy Carter’s Policy in Africa: Reconsidering the Cold War Factor.” *Mediterranean journal of social sciences* 4, no. 4 (2013). (8p.)

Reis, Bruno. “Decentering the Cold War in Southern Africa: The Portuguese Policy of Decolonization and Détente in Angola and Mozambique (1974–1984).” *Journal of cold war studies* 21, no. 1 (April 1, 2019): 3–51. (48p.)

March 23—The Horn of Africa: Soviets on the offensive.

- Guest speaker: Professor Dominique Marshall from Carleton University. Lecture: the Red Cross and the Ogaden conflict.

Readings:

Van Hauwermeiren, Remco. “The Ogaden War: Somali Women’s Roles.” *Afrika focus* 25, no. 2 (2012): 9–30. (17p.)

Yihun, Belete. “Ethiopian Foreign Policy and the Ogaden War: The Shift from ‘containment’ to ‘destabilization,’ 1977–1991.” *Journal of Eastern African studies* 8, no. 4 (August 13, 2014): 677–691. (9p.)

Weldemichael, Awet. “The Horn of Africa from the Cold War to the War on Terror.” In *A Companion to African History*, 401–417. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2018, pp. 401–410. (13p.)

Westad, Odd Arne. *The Global Cold War : Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* Cambridge ; Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 250–287. (36p.)

March 30—South Africa, Namibia, the ANC and the global campaign to free Mandela.

Readings:

Van Wyk, Anna-Mart. “South Africa’s Nuclear Programme and the Cold War.” *History compass* 8, no. 7 (July 2010): 562–572. (8p.)

Saunders, Christopher. “The South Africa-Angola Talks, 1976–1984: A Little-Known Cold War Thread.” *Kronos* (Bellville, South Africa), no. 37 (November 1, 2011): 104–119. (16p.)

Hanhimäki, Jussi. *Neutrality and Neutralism in the Global Cold War: Between or Within the Blocs?* Neutrality and Neutralism in the Global Cold War. 1st ed. Routledge, 2016, 144–155. (11p.)

Lodge, O. (2020). Fraternal Friends: South African Communists and Czechoslovakia, 1945–89. *Journal of African History*, 1–21. (20p.)

Melissa Diane Armstrong, *An Ambulance on Safari: The ANC and the Making of a Health Department in Exile*, Montréal, McGill-Queen’s, pp. 16–44 (chapter 1). (27p). *Use this web link: <https://books-scholarsportal-info.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/en/read?id=/ebooks/ebooks6/upress6/2020-11-05/1/9780228003304>

*March. 26: Last day to withdraw from a course or an activity (no financial credit).

April 6—Presentations on final research.

- Meta-quiz on Brightspace (2h window on Brightspace April 3-4).

April 13—Presentations on final research.

April 16—Recipro web page completed or final paper handed in.

University and departmental guidelines and other technicalities.

- a. Official languages: You have the right to hand in assignments in the official language of your choice, as long as you master it, as this is not a language class.
- b. Late papers: Unless you have a valid reason (as outlined in the university calendar and discussed with me) incompletes will not be allowed. Each assignment is subject to a 5% deduction each day if handed in after the beginning of the class on the day it is due. No assignment will be marked if handed in one (1) week after the due date.
- c. Handing in all assignments: University regulations require that you hand in all assignments to get a grade in a course. Professors have no choice but to give a grade of “incomplete” to any student who is missing one assignment.
- d. Cellphones—recording devices: During class, students are required to have their cellular devices off to ensure a learning environment free of distraction. Failure to do so may negatively impact your participation mark. It is also forbidden to record the lecture. For the online format, a recorded lecture will actually be provided and posted on Brightspace, provided students do not share it outside of the virtual classroom (please don't). Students' presentations will also be recorded and posted if agreeing, and again not shared outside of the virtual classroom.
- e. Plagiarism and proper attribution (i.e.: proper footnoting): It is important that any history paper be properly footnoted. The source of all quotations, information, and any idea that is not yours needs to be indicated in a footnote. This includes internet sites. Even a discussion from a book which you summarize has to be footnoted. The use of outside sources does not in any way detract from the quality of your own work. Your contribution and originality lies in the way you put the information you have collected, and in the strength of your argument. We all learn from others and use their ideas, but this use must be acknowledged.

To use another person's ideas or wording without proper attribution is plagiarism, and any such cases will be automatically submitted to the disciplinary committee of the Faculty of Arts. For more information, and some examples that can help avoid inadvertent plagiarism, see <https://www.uottawa.ca/vice-president-academic/sites/www.uottawa.ca.vice-president-academic/files/academic-integrity-students-guide.pdf>