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Foreword

In more than one respect, this edited collection covers important ground and opens new perspectives for the study of the Southern African liberation movements and their global networks. It develops a history of the manifold entanglements of these liberation movements with Eastern Europe, with an interest in the actual networks and connections these movements shaped with their individual movements and ideas. This is done from a global history perspective and with a view to firmly embed Southern Africa in the field of scholarship that has become known as Cold War Studies.

The many entangled and contradictory histories of Southern Africa during the Cold War, say between 1947 and 1989, have been recollected a number of times. Early writing was informed by the geopolitics of the times that pitched the United States against the Soviet Union in regions that had not previously been considered central to their foreign policy interests.¹ One can suggest that the Cold War started to come to an end in Southern Africa, as settlements took Namibia to independence and ended the wars fought in Angola and Mozambique.² Post-mortems were then produced that were concerned about the region's future place in a post-Cold War order still to emerge.³ More recently, new perspectives on the past and new sources were introduced.⁴ However, as a re-

1 See T. Borstelmann, *Apartheid, Colonialism and the Cold War: The United States and Southern Africa, 1945–1952*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990; F. Marte, *Political Cycles in International Relations: The Cold War and Africa 1945–1990*, Amsterdam: VU Univ. Press, 1994.

2 Cf. K. O'Neill and B. Munslow, "Ending the Cold War in Southern Africa", *Third World Quarterly* 12 (1990/91) 3–4, pp. 81–96; S. Onslow (ed.), *Cold War in Southern Africa: White Power, Black Liberation*, London: Routledge, 2009.

3 Cf. J.S. Saul, "From Thaw to Flood: The End of the Cold War in Southern Africa", *Review of African Political Economy* (1991) 50, pp. 145–158; S.M. Rugumamu, *Post-Cold War Peace and Security Prospects in Southern Africa*, Harare: SAPES Books, 1993.

4 Cf. G. Baines (ed.), *Beyond the Border War: New Perspectives on Southern Africa's Late-Cold War Conflicts*, Pretoria: UNISA Press, 2008; I. Filatova and A. Davidson, *The Hidden Thread. Russia and South Africa in the Soviet Era*, Roggebaai: Jonathan Ball, 2013; H. Sapire and C. Saunders (eds.), *Southern African Liberation Struggles. New Local, Regional and Global Perspectives*, Cape Town: UCT Press, 2013; V. Shubin, *The Hot "Cold War": The USSR in Southern Africa*, London: Pluto Press, 2008.

gion, Southern Africa has yet to become a central part of the growing field of post-Cold War studies.⁵

What is new in this edited collection is its transregional scope and content, as well as the discovery and use of interesting sources to narrate these stories of entanglement and encounter. Previous scholarship has of course already sketched the main lines of the Cold War in the Southern African region (often-times taken as the countries on the continent that nowadays make up the Southern African Development Community (SADC), though that terrain has shifted over time). These accounts looked at apartheid in South Africa, white settler minority rule in Angola, Mozambique, and Southern Rhodesia as well as what came to be considered to be the illegal South African occupation of Namibia, and the way “the international system” responded to these issues. This scholarship has also addressed how the struggles against white settler rule have unfolded, produced their own contradictions, and entered various alliances with regional, continental and global players to further their course – Eastern Europe being one of these.⁶ While some of these aspects have been noted by scholars (think of Willetts’ history of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), or the work of Reed on the international relations of ZANU PF in Zimbabwe, to name but two),⁷ this volume goes beyond this research tradition.

The intellectual perspective developed in this edited collection is embedded in a global history perspective. The interest is on the manifold entanglements and transnational, and in this case often transregional, encounters. The editors promote an approach that is actor-centred, with an interest in the actual networks and connections that individual actors shaped with their movements and ideas, both at leadership and grass-roots levels. This volume focuses on the interplay between local contexts and global processes, including personal agendas and internal conflicts. The dynamics described in this collection are characterized by the multiplicity of connections of national liberation movements to each other, but also to the outside world and the complex geographies

5 See O.A. Westad, “Rethinking Revolutions: The Cold War in the Third World”, *Journal of Peace Research* 29 (1992) 4, pp. 455–464; O.A. Westad (ed.), *Reviewing the Cold War. Approaches, Interpretations, Theory*, London: Frank Cass, 2000; R. Van Dijk et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Cold War*, 2 vols., New York: Routledge, 2008; M. Graham, “Cold War in Southern Africa: Review Article”, *Africa Spectrum* 45 (2010) 1, pp. 131–139.

6 On East Germany see, for instance, H.-G. Schleicher and I. Schleicher (eds.), *Special Flights to Southern Africa*, Harare: SAPES Books, 1998; H.-G. Schleicher and I. Schleicher (eds.), *Die DDR im südlichen Afrika: Solidarität und kalter Krieg*, Hamburg: Institut für Afrika-Kunde, 1998.

7 P. Willetts, *The Non-Aligned Movement. The Origins of a Third World Alliance*, New York, NY: Frances Pinter, 1978; W.C. Reed, *From Liberation Movement to Government: ZANU and the Formation of the Foreign Policy of Zimbabwe*, Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University, 1990.

of connections and multipolarity emerging from their transactions in the search of various forms of support – diplomatic, financial, social, and by way of military training. None of these relations remained stable over time. Rather fluidity and various repositionings became characteristic of the relationship of Southern African liberation movements and Eastern European countries. Including Yugoslavia in this collection adds an important dimension to deconstructing “Eastern Europe”, as this country was a founding member of the NAM that, for instance, supported ZANU PF rather than ZAPU. By introducing a wide range of unconventional sources, this volume’s perspective on sites of diplomatic struggle or exile is innovative, as is its concentration on the lived experiences in exile and its reporting from sites of struggle in Southern Africa. And, finally, the contributors to this volume emphasize the way that lessons, practices, and, languages that were derived from often contradictory encounters were critically reflected by the various actors involved.

All in all, this is a highly relevant contribution to a number of academic fields. It is also relevant to today’s relations between the various liberation movements now in power in Southern Africa and their previous supporters, in what today is a very different political landscape of “Eastern Europe”.

