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The USSR and Africa: New Dimensions of Soviet Global Power

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contributors directed their attention to "those 'conditions' which define navies" and thus often dictate victory or defeat at sea. Somewhat less than half wrote on the U.S. Navy. To this reviewer, the more rewarding papers were commonly those dealing with non-American navies. Institutional history is especially well represented. Happily, most contributions are commendably short, straightforward, and fresh.

This review can only suggest the variety of materials in the volume by pointing to a few representative essays, necessarily omitting many of considerable merit. The tone is established by the fine initial essays by J. Richard Sheffley on Greek ship construction as revealed in nautical archeology and by Laurence Evans on the maritime logistics that provided the food essential to support the urban populations of the Roman Empire. A half dozen pieces deal with British and French naval institutional operations during the early modern period. Joel Best is enlightening on three types of English piracy 1550-1750. Peter G. Cornwell's research on training in the Japanese Navy and Daniel C. Evans' observations on recruitment of Japanese naval officers during the Meiji Period are important both for what they reveal about the Japanese Navy and for the comparisons that readers will inevitably draw with 19th century Western practices. Among the American chapters, Robert Seager's elucidation of Alfred Thayer Mahan's difficulties with Nelson's morals is an entertaining reading as it was hearing. Whereas Jeffrey Dorwart's appreciation of American naval intelligence in the New Navy includes a deft critique of Peter Karsten's *Naval Aristocracy*, John C. Reilly enthusiastically invites research in the little used naval attaché reports at the National Archives, and William Heimdahl and Geraldine Roberts review the recently opened records of the Pearl Harbor Liaison Office as sources on the Pearl Harbor

investigations. There are also authoritative observations on the influence of radio intelligence on the Battle of the Atlantic from British (Patrick Beesley), German (Jürgen Rohwer), and American (Kenneth A. Knowles) points of view.

Professor Love and his associates see the essays as a "benchmark" demonstrating the breadth and professionalism of naval historians today. They confirm that naval history is alive with new approaches and interpretations. Moreover, the variety of the materials notwithstanding, the essays often interplay with each other, providing sources of comparison, contrast, and continuity between the various naval services of different ages.

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Rothenberg, Morris. *The USSR and Africa: New Dimensions of Soviet Global Power (AISJ Monographs on International Affairs)*. Washington: Advanced International Studies Institute, 1980. 288pp.

Considering the intensive and persistent pattern of activities conducted by the Soviet Union and its surrogates across the vast African continent beginning with the Angolan conflict of 1975-1976, this work has particular value as a timely and incisive assessment of Soviet strategic goals and interests focused on that resource-rich and politically volatile region. A former U.S. Foreign Service Officer with diplomatic experience both in the U.S.S.R. and at Third World posts, Rothenberg contends that these post-1975 Soviet efforts in Africa represent the most sophisticated and multifaceted campaign mounted to date in furtherance of its global strategy to minimize or deny U.S. and Western interests in the Third World, while simultaneously accruing influence and advantage for its own policies among the world's lesser-developed countries. Just

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as Soviet pronouncements have consistently portrayed the oil-rich Middle East as a "strategic backdoor" to secure advantage over the industrial West, he argues that post-1975 Soviet initiatives on the African continent, also with a vast wealth of resources, stand as yet another variation of that indirect, though potent, challenge to the politicoeconomic well-being of Western Europe and the United States. As an end-game objective in Africa, Rothenberg also maintains that the ultimate Soviet goal is the neutralization and eventual elimination of the Republic of South Africa as a key regional anti-Soviet bastion in the broader fabric of the East-West struggle.

In his comprehensive introduction, AISI Director Mose Harvey takes note of a recent Soviet work on contemporary national liberation movements in which Karen Brutents, a leading CPSU theoretician, characterizes the ongoing Soviet ventures in Africa since 1975 as "a total offensive against imperialism and world capitalism as a whole in order to do away with them" (pp. vii-viii). Both Harvey and Rothenberg furnish succinct outlines for the structure and dynamics of this broad, multifaceted Soviet thrust into Africa's regional and internal affairs in their respective introductions. For his part, Rothenberg perceives post-1975 Soviet/surrogate efforts in Africa as a qualitatively refined campaign that both differs from, and, yet furthers, the U.S.S.R.'s Third World policies already underway since the immediate post-Stalinist period, and his 11 chapters progressively develop the specific goals of these recent efforts. Successive chapters in the initial section (Chapters II-V) cover the Soviet/Cuban interventions in the Angolan conflict of 1975-1976 and the Ethiopian-Somali clash on the strategic Horn of Africa from early 1977, the Soviet/Cuban-assisted incursions into Zaire's Shaba Province in both 1977 and 1978, along with the continent-wide array of Soviet-led programs and activities over the

latter half of the 1970s. In assessing their cumulative effect, Rothenberg clearly indicates that the U.S.S.R. has achieved a firm strategic foothold, with the potential for further gains, throughout Africa.

In the following section (Chapters VI and VII), the author examines the nature of "consolidation" measures that the Soviet Union and its surrogates have planned and executed to guarantee their presence in those African LDCs where a foothold has been gained and, conversely, to preclude any recurrence of the reversals suffered in earlier Soviet relationships with Egypt, Somalia, Ghana and Mali. Chapter VI, for example, features a number of somewhat cautionary Soviet writings of recent vintage that openly admit to inherent risks and hazards in its ongoing relations with various types of Third World political regimes while also suggesting a fair combination of possible political, economic and military programs designed to assure continued Soviet influence with these young nations. Recent applications of these consolidation activities are then discussed in the following chapter with respect to Mozambique, Angola and Ethiopia. Rothenberg next explores further horizons of the Soviet Union's African campaign, particularly Rhodesia in its perspectives on Zimbabwe, Namibia and the Republic of South Africa, in his final section (Chapters VIII-X) as he emphasizes that the RSA marks the final Soviet target for conquest on the African continent in the years ahead.

Assessing Soviet advances in Africa as a "challenge of new dimensions," Rothenberg presents an excellent case in his concluding chapter for the meaningful viewpoint that the U.S.S.R. no longer perceives its Third World activities, especially its firm and consistent support for radical political regimes and national liberation movements, as anything less than a righteous, all-out

offensive against the West. In highlighting the predominant post-1975 Soviet propensity to intervene in the internal and regional affairs of African and other Third World states with large contingents of surrogate military forces that are underwritten with considerable amounts of Soviet arms aid under the dubious guise of "proletarian internationalism," the author clearly sets forth the broadest possible bounds for this new Soviet challenge to both the West and the young nations of Africa. If he does stop short of offering any policy options, it becomes obvious that the United States and the nations of both Western Europe and Africa must cooperatively generate an innovative, dynamic set of programs that assure African development, while meeting and defeating this huge and sophisticated Soviet campaign. With extensive Soviet and regional source materials along with a strong array of useful tabular data, this volume is at once a timely and valuable analysis that deserves both careful reading and thoughtful consideration for its treatment of the massive Soviet offensive now underway against both the young and older nations of the free world.

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Smith, Myron J., Jr. *The Soviet Navy, 1941-1978: A Guide to Sources in English*, The War/Peace Bibliography Series, R.D. Burns, ed. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clío, 1980. 211pp.

Bibliographers, like translators, are insufficiently honored in our land. Both crafts involve a large measure of art and intellect; both perform an inestimable service; but both are, for the most part, taken for granted.

That I have bracketed the two together may seem curious as they require widely different talents, but the bibliographer, Myron Smith inevitably reminds us of the material in Russian

that we probably have not read.

The work at hand is exceptionally fine. A bibliography should be judged on completeness, accuracy, organization and usefulness. This one, on all counts, belongs in the first rank. In a random way of checking, I have not thought of a single article that is not listed and I have noticed several translations from Russian that I did not know were available in English; and there are many, many entries for articles that I did not know (some with titles I cannot understand such as "Castration Round and Tattletale Ships: Big Russian Cruisers Beefing Up Carriers," entry number 1371).

This bibliography, then, inspires confidence, which is a necessary function of bibliographies. As to the other functions, being handy and well organized, it also wins top honors. The entries are numbered so that they are easily found. They are organized into chapters with sensible subheadings so that no one can look up specific subjects, and they are indexed according to author so that one can look up one's friends. (In saying so, I just noticed that Leon Martel is missing, perhaps justified on the grounds that he wrote about the merchant fleet.)

Certainly that is all that a bibliography is required to do unless it is a critical bibliography, containing commentary by the author on the value and relevance of the entries. But in a book of this scope, that would be an impossible, and unwelcome, addition. This book, however, contains several delightful surprises. There is an article by Steve Kime at the beginning, written with his usual brilliance and insight, "The Soviet Navy, Present and Future." There is also a very helpful guide to research containing the most standard reference works for this sort of study. Each section is introduced nicely and briefly and there are appendixes, one of which contains a very useful brief listing of naval biographies. The latter is very helpful to those of us who need