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Lyman B. Kirkpatrick

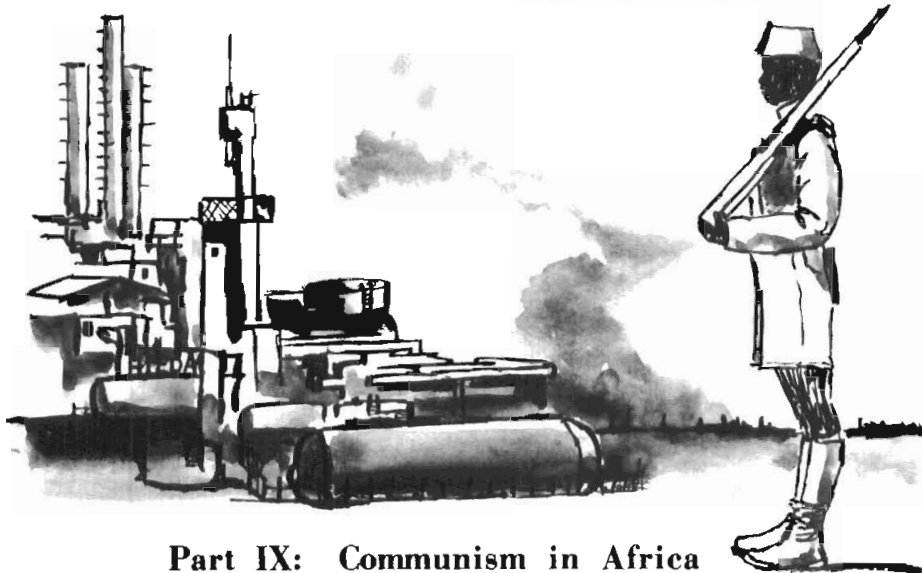
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COLD WAR OPERATIONS: THE POLITICS OF COMMUNIST CONFRONTATION



Part IX: Communism in Africa

by

Professor Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr.

(A series of lectures by Professor Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr., of the Political Science Department, Brown University, given at the United States Naval War College as a part of the Electives Program. These lectures are selected from those in a course entitled *Cold War Operations* which Professor Kirkpatrick presents at Brown. The original series, which consisted of eight lectures, was given during the 1966-67 term. For the present term, Professor Kirkpatrick presents four additional lectures. Thus, the series is expanded to twelve lectures. This is the ninth lecture, and the others will appear in the next three issues.)

Africa has been a turbulent continent in the 1960's. While six new nations were born in the 1950's--Libya in 1952, Sudan in 1955, Tunis and Morocco in 1956, Ghana in 1957, and Guinea in 1958--the year 1960 saw an explosion of new nations with 17 gaining independence, and 11 more have been added since. Today only the colonial territories of Spain and Portugal and South-west Africa, under dispute between

South Africa and the United Nations, remain as important nonindependent territories.

Independence has brought many things to Africa as well as the privilege of controlling its own destiny. Many of the geographical areas that became new nations were neither political entities nor economically viable units. In many cases their boundaries had been established by the European colonial powers

drawing lines on maps. In one instance, the Gambia, the country was deliberately designed as a colony to be as wide as a river delta and as long as the river is navigable.

Africa did not bring to its independence status much in the way of human assets. What the colonial powers gave or permitted in the way of education and training for nationhood varied. But, despite specific advance planning on the part of some like the British, no territory had an adequate number of university graduates, of doctors, engineers, or trained civil servants. None had a sufficiency of even secondary school graduates. This, of course, provided a poor base for stability and development.

As was predictable in 1960, there have been two consistent factors throughout Africa: political instability and intense competition among non-African nations for influence.

There have been few moments in the past decade when there has not been bloody fighting in some part of Africa: the Algerian war of independence from 1954 to 1962; the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya, 1952 to 1960; the war of the Katanga secession in the Congo, 1961 to 1963, and the sporadic civil war since; the rebellions against Portugal in Angola since 1961 and Mozambique since 1964; civil war in Nigeria since 1967; tribal wars in Burundi and Rwanda between the Bahutus and Watusis; and coups too numerous to mention.

The competition for influence has been intense. The former colonial powers have tried to maintain some influence with varying degrees of success, ranging from France casting Guinea adrift in 1958 because of a "no" vote on the referendum on the French Union, to Portugal using 70,000 troops and spending \$100 million annually to hold on to Angola and Mozambique. The United States has offered the Africans aid and assistance. Israel, the United Arab Republic, and West Germany have been very active in the area,

and all of the Communist countries led by the Soviet Union and China have been very aggressive.

If the external nations were hopeful of exporting their political systems to the new African states, most have been doomed to disappointment. Skepticism in the United States that the Africans had the political sophistication to be able to accept assistance from the Communist countries without eventually succumbing to their ideology was also proven wrong. At this writing the Africans have succeeded to an almost unbelievable degree in accepting assistance from many, advice from some, but direction from none. In no other area of the world have the Communist powers been thrown out of so many countries, especially the Soviet Union and China. The Russians have been expelled from the Congo twice, had their Ambassador declared persona non grata by Guinea, and hundreds of technicians sent home by Ghana. The Chinese have suffered a similar fate in several countries and rather than being accepted and imitated --as they had hoped--are viewed with concern and suspicion even in those areas where their aid is welcomed.

Part of the reason why the Communists have not achieved greater successes in Africa is ideological. While there may be many Africans who call themselves Socialist, or even Marxist, there are few who accept all of either the Russian or Chinese systems. Nkrumah, the former leader of Ghana, Senghor of Senegal, Touré of Guinea, and Nyerere of Tanzania have identified themselves as Socialists of conviction. Nkrumah's emphasis on state-controlled institutions was a disaster, plunging Ghana into a debt of close to a billion and a half dollars. Touré has retreated some from state control of all industry, and most African leaders are frank in acknowledging that state ownership of production inhibits private investment which they need. In fact, the Russian expert on Africa, I.I. Potekhin, agrees that it is

still necessary to attract foreign investment to obtain capital and describes the African system as state capitalism in which the state owns some production and controls private industry.

It should also be recognized that Africa has always had an indigenous socialism with communal ownership of land, an egalitarian quality to its society, and some cooperative effort. Religion is deeply ingrained in the social fabric of Africa and is accepted as a necessity, opiate or otherwise, by the Socialists and Communists.

Communist activity throughout Africa has been intense and highly competitive. The relatively small size of the indigenous Communist Parties and the fact that in nearly every country the Party is illegal should not be taken as true indicators of Communist influence. The Communists are very active with direct aid and assistance. Extensive scholarship programs are offered to students throughout the continent. There is extensive recruiting among labor. There are vast information and propaganda efforts. The extent of their official activity is indicated in the chart at the end of the article showing where China and the Soviet Union have diplomatic missions. This reveals only part of the picture, for in 1 year the Soviet Union had over a hundred diplomatic groups and some 70 trade and cultural missions in Africa.

African students are offered all-expense scholarships in the Soviet Union, the Eastern European countries, and China. As many as 8,000 Africans each year are studying in the Soviet Union and another 4,500 in Eastern Europe. The internal turmoil in China and the closing of the schools have stopped their program in the last 2 years, and most of the hundreds of African students there have returned home. The Communist-dominated World Federation of Democratic Youth has affiliates in 29 countries.

In 1961 the Communists helped to

organize the all-African Trade Union Federation. They have paid close attention to the developing trade unions and to recruitment in labor circles. Typical of such activity was the use of the teachers' union in Guinea to attack the Sekou Touré Government, an attempt which backfired and resulted in the expulsion of the Soviet Ambassador.

Communist economic aid takes a wide variety of forms. The Russians offer loans at 2 1/2 percent interest repayable over 12 years. The Chinese offer interest-free loans repayable in 10 years. The Russians specialize in big dams such as the Aswan in Egypt and the Konkouré in Guinea, port development in Conakry and Alexandria, clearing sand bars on the Niger in Mali, and the purchase of principal products such as Egyptian cotton, cocoa from Ghana, and bananas from Guinea. Chinese aid is neither on such a large scale nor to as many countries. In 1964 *Izvestia* reported that China was providing only 8 percent of the total Communist aid to Afro-Asian countries, helping 10 African and 8 Asian countries, while the Russians assisted 45 countries; the Chinese had 100 projects while the Russians had 1,222.

There is intense and often bitter competition between the Chinese and the Russians. There are mutual attacks and recriminations on both the quality of the aid and motivation behind the assistance. In 1964 the *Ghanian Times* described the conduct of the Chinese and Russian delegates to the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference in Algeria as a "disgraceful display of hatred and animosity."

The covert political activities of the Chinese Communists in Africa have been much more apparent than those of the Russians. Tanzania is the primary base for Chinese activity in East Africa with Mozambique and Zambia as principal targets. They have been training terrorists in Cameroun, supporting a pan-Somalia group (with designs on

parts of Kenya, Ethiopia, and all of French Somaliland), encouraged tribal warfare in Burundi, and have been accused of meddling in the politics of Kenya. Their influence in Ghana and the Congo (Brazzaville) has diminished in recent years, to be replaced in the Congo by the Cubans who are reported to have several hundred activists operating out of Brazzaville.

It is hard to pinpoint the precise centers of Communist activities, but Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, would stand high on the list. There is considerable activity out of Brazzaville and also across the Congo River at Kinshasa (the former Leopoldville), although not all of the machinations out of the latter are Communist-inspired. Conakry in Guinea, Khartoum in Sudan, and Algiers and Cairo are also the scenes of much activity—some overt, some covert.

Finally, the indigenous Communist Parties of Africa have achieved very limited success as will be readily apparent from the summary which follows and the chart at the end of this article. As an ideology, communism has limited appeal when competing with the African brand of socialism. Most African nations now have one-party systems. Many have military governments. The tribal structure is still an important factor. And there is a continental allergy to non-Africans.

The next section summarizes Communist activity in those areas where it is of importance in Africa. Details on all African countries may be found in the chart at the end of the article.

Algeria. The Communist Party was outlawed by Ben Bella in 1963 and is still illegal. There are probably fewer than 1,000 members, a good proportion of whom are Europeans. Since 19 June 1965, when Boumediene replaced Ben Bella, the National Assembly has been suspended and the country has been ruled by a Revolutionary Council. Algeria has diplomatic relations with all

of the Communist countries except East Germany.

Angola. There has been civil war in this Portuguese colony since 15 March 1961 involving an estimated 7,500 guerrillas and 40,000 Portuguese troops. The guerrillas are primarily those of the Angolan Army of National Liberation which is the military arm of Holden Roberto's Union of the People of Angola (UPA) which is based in Kinshasa in the Congo along with five other Angolan nationalist parties and an estimated 250,000 refugees. The UPA is formally recognized by the Organization for African Unity and is openly assisted by the Governments of both of the Congos and Tanzania and has obtained Czech arms. There has been sporadic fighting in Angola, especially in the enclave of Cabinda (north of the Congo River), and along the northern border with the Congo and in the eastern district of Cazombo (between the Congo province of Katanga and Zambia). The Portuguese claim that Cabinda has been shelled by the rebels from the Brazzaville side of the Congo. The war costs Portugal \$100 million a year and has taken some 2,000 European and 50,000 African casualties.

Burundi. Since obtaining its independence on 1 July 1962, this former Belgian mandate has had a turbulent history as might be expected in a new nation which had one African doctor, one lawyer in exile, 13 college graduates, and 125 individuals with secondary school certificates out of a population of three million. A four-century-old monarchy was deposed in 1966 and a military government established which runs the country through a National Revolutionary Council and permits only one political party, the Uprona. In 1964 an attaché of the Chinese mission in Kampala, Uganda, was in an automobile accident, and documents were discovered which linked the Chinese with supplying arms to Watusi rebels and stirring

up trouble between the Bahutus (in power in Rwanda and 85 percent of the population of Burundi) and the Watusi who are only 15 percent of the population but who have always held the Bahutus as serfs. The result was tribal warfare with thousands of Watusi killed. In November 1966 the Bahutus in the army and gendarmerie mutinied, and some were executed which caused a resumption of the tribal war. Burundi broke diplomatic relations with China in 1964 and expelled its mission.

Cameroun. Since 1965 there has been a Communist terrorist organization, the Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC), in the western Cameroun whose leaders are supported and trained by the Chinese. Government security forces have effectively contained this movement, permitting only one political party, the Union Nationale Camerounaise, to be active.

Congo. (Brazzaville). While there is no Communist Party, the Chinese are active in the Mouvement National de la Revolution (MNR), the only political party permitted, and there are numerous Congolese in Communist countries. Brazzaville is one of the principal centers of Communist activity in Africa. China, the Soviet Union, North Korea, North Vietnam, and Cuba all have missions there. The Cubans have the largest and provide paramilitary training to the Congolese, and probably to other African Communists.

Congo (Kinshasa). Since the coup of November 1965 which established the military government of Gen. Joseph Mobutu, the activities of all political parties have been proscribed. While there is no overt Communist Party, the leaders of the 1964 rebellion continue to seek Communist aid, especially from the Soviets and the Chinese. The Russian mission has been expelled twice, in September 1960 and November 1963. Diplomatic relations exist with Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

Dahomey. In 1965 the Army Chief of Staff assumed power, suspended the Constitution, and dissolved the Assembly. While no Communist Party is permitted, a number of the Communist countries have missions accredited to Porto Novo, and there are cultural and educational agreements with most of them. The Soviets have had a resident ambassador since July 1966, while Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Yugoslavia have nonresident ambassadors. In November 1964 diplomatic relations were established with Communist China. The Chinese Nationalists were expelled in April 1965. The Chinese Communists were expelled in January 1966. Diplomatic relations were reestablished with the Chinese Nationalists.

Ethiopia. While no political parties, including the Communists, are permitted, the Communists have been very active in Eritrea and make a concentrated effort against the United States communications center in Asmara. It is predictable that there will be greatly increased activity when Emperor Haile Selassie passes from the scene and his tight personal control is relaxed.

French Somaliland. There is Communist influence in the Parti du Mouvement Populaire which is proindependence. Principal Communist influence is in the Front de Liberation de la Cote des Somalis which is based in Somalia and receives assistance from the Soviets and Chinese.

Ghana. This was the first black African state to become independent after World War II, as the British believed it had the best prospects for prosperous, healthy political, and economic success. It is an area rich in natural resources, and it had a better educated and more professionally skilled population than its neighbors. It became independent on 6 March 1957 and elected to become a Republic on 1 July 1960. Kwame Nkru-

COMMUNIST ACTIVITY IN AFRICA

Area	Legal	Students	Active		Missions		Guerrillas	(Where no entry-nil) Est. Party Members
			Labor	Rural	Russian	Chinese		
Algeria	No	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes		1,000
Angola	No				No	No	Yes	
Botswana		Yes			No	No		
Burundi	No			Yes	Yes	No		
Cameroun	No	Yes			Yes	No	Yes	
Central African Republic	No	Yes			Yes	No		
Congo (B.)	No	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes		
Congo	No	Yes	Yes		Yes	No		Small
Dahomey	No	Yes			Yes	No		
Ethiopia	No				Yes	No		
Fernando Po	No				No	No		
Fr. Somaliland	Yes	Yes	Yes		No	No		
Gabon					No	No		
The Gambia					No	No		
Ghana	No				Yes	No		
Guinea					Yes	Yes		Small
Ifni					No	No		
Ivory Coast					Yes	No		
Kenya					Yes	Yes		
Lesotho					No	No		100-300
Liberia					Yes	No		
Libya	No				Yes	No		Small
Malagasy	Yes	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes		1,000
Malawi					No	No		
Mali					Yes	Yes		

COMMUNIST ACTIVITY IN AFRICA (Cont'd)								
Area	Legal	Students	Active		Missions		Guerrillas	(Where no entry-nil) Est. Party Members
			Labor	Rural	Russian	Chinese		
Mauritania	No				Yes	Yes		
Morocco	No				Yes	Yes		500
Mozambique	No				No	No	Yes	
Niger	No				No	No		
Nigeria	No				Yes	Yes		1,000
Port Guinea	No				No	No		
Reunion	Yes				No	No		
Rhodesia					No	No		
Rio Muni					No	No		
Rwanda					Yes	No		
Senegal	No				Yes	Yes		Small
Sierra Leone		Yes			Yes	No		
Somalia					Yes	Yes		
South Africa	No				No	No		
S.W. Africa					No	No		
Spanish Sahara					No	No		
Sudan	No				Yes	Yes		8,000
Swaziland					No	No		
Tanzania					Yes	Yes		Small
Togo	No	Yes			Yes	No		
Tunisia	No				Yes	Yes		250
Uganda					Yes	Yes		
U.A.R.	No	Yes	Yes		Yes	Yes		1,000
Upper Volta		Yes			Yes	No		
Zambia		Yes			Yes	Yes		

mah's Convention People's Party polled 57 percent of the vote and won 67 percent of the seats in the National Assembly. From the start Nkrumah developed tight authoritarian rule, openly proclaiming that Ghana could not afford democracy at that stage in its development. In 1958 a Preventative Detention Act gave Nkrumah almost unlimited ability to suppress political opposition. In 1960 he put the Industrial Development Corporation under Government control and formed the "Young Pioneers." In 1962 the National Assembly voted Nkrumah a life term. All Government officials were required to attend the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at Winneba. While Nkrumah sought and accepted aid from the West--the United States put more than \$150 million in the Volta River project to develop hydroelectric power and mine bauxite, and the British developed port facilities--the Communist countries poured aid and assistance into Ghana. By 1966 there were 1,122 Russian advisers and technicians and 207 Chinese. The Russians supplied arms for four battalions of Presidential guards and provided training for the intelligence and security forces. While Nkrumah had established absolute political control over the country, the economic situation deteriorated. Ghana had the heaviest tax burden in Africa; the price of food quintupled; all but one of the 52 state enterprises lost money; and Nkrumah sent an estimated \$50 million out of the country to be placed in his personal bank accounts. In February 1966 Nkrumah was overthrown by what is described as an authentic popular revolt against tyranny led by the Army and police. All Soviet and Chinese technicians were expelled from the country and the Embassies of Albania, China, Cuba, North Korea, and North Vietnam closed. Nkrumah sought refuge in Guinea.

Guinea. When Guinea opted to leave

the French Union and was refused the status of an associated state and had all aid cut off, it turned to the Communist countries for aid and assistance. The Communists were not very successful in delivering material which could stand up to the climatic conditions and fulfill the country's needs. The material was generally inferior to that previously provided by the French, and after the resumption of relations with France in 1963 there has been an appreciable shift back to trade with the West. In November 1961 Soviet Ambassador Daniel Solod was expelled for interfering in the internal affairs of the country after Sekou Toure denounced the teachers' union for high treason, and several members of the union's executive committee who were Communists with close ties to the Soviet Embassy received heavy sentences. It is a one-party state with the Parti Democratique de Guinée (PDG), an organization built up over the years by Sekou Toure, representing a coalition of the Malinke and F'onlah tribes and rigidly controlling the country.

Kenya. Since achieving independence in December 1963 the country has been dominated by the Kenya African National Union (KANU) of President Jomo Kenyatta. In 1966 former Vice President Oginga Odinga broke with KANU and established the Kenya Peoples Union. He has since been involved in incidents involving contacts with Communist missions in Kampala, Uganda. The Communist Embassies in Nairobi also have been accused of giving aid to Kenyatta's political opponents. There is no Communist Party.

Malawi. Prime Minister Hastings Banda has accused both the Chinese Communists and the United Arab Republic of trying to overthrow his government. In the former instance, in 1965, the list of conspirators included 10 trained in China and identified and operational base in Tanzania. In the latter case, in February 1966, Banda

expelled the U.A.R. Ambassador and his staff of 12 and claimed that Malawi rebels were trained in Algeria and transported by U.A.R. aircraft to a base in Tanzania. The only legal party in the country is Banda's Malawi Congress Party.

Mozambique. A sporadic civil war between the Mozambique Liberation Front (MLF) and the Portuguese Army has been in progress since 1964. The MLF is directed by Dr. Eduardo Mondlane from Dar es Salaam. Mondlane is a graduate of Northwestern and taught at Syracuse and is described as non-Communist and pro-Western. The number two in the MLF is Uriah Simango, who is pro-Chinese, and the number three is Marcelinos dos Santos who is allied with the Communist Party of Portugal. The MLF has nine bases in Tanzania with an estimated 3,500 guerrillas mainly of the Makonde tribe who raid into the two northern provinces of Nyasa and Cabo Delgado. Some 30,000 troops of the Portuguese Army are deployed to suppress the rebellion which is supported by arms from the Communist countries, the Tanzanian Government, and the Organization of African Unity.

South Africa. The South African Communist Party is illegal, most of its leaders are in exile, and it operates clandestinely or from third countries. Since the early sixties the Government has aggressively curbed all suspected Communist activities or, for that matter, all activities not in accord with Government policy. The Communists devote the bulk of their efforts to attempting to exploit the race situation and the policy of apartheid. Most of the leadership of the African National Congress is believed to be linked in some way to the South African Communist Party.

The Sudan. Independent since 1956, the Sudan has been beset with political

problems since a civilian revolt toppled the military government of Gen. Ibrahim Abboud in 1964. A considerable portion of these difficulties must be

BIOGRAPHIC SUMMARY



Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr., was born in Rochester, N.Y., educated in public schools there and at Deerfield Academy, Deerfield, Mass., and graduated from the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and

International Affairs of Princeton University in 1938.

After graduation he worked for the U.S. News Publishing Corporation in Washington, D.C., as an editor and personnel director. In 1942 he joined the Office of Strategic Services and served in Europe with that organization and as a military intelligence officer on the staff of Gen. Omar Bradley's 12th U.S. Army Group where he was the G-2 briefing officer. He left the military service with the rank of major, and for his service received the Legion of Merit, Bronze Star, French and Belgian Croix de Guerre, and the European Theater Ribbon with five battle stars.

After the war he returned to the U.S. News as an editor of *World Report Magazine*. In 1947 he went to work for the Central Intelligence Agency where he served in a variety of positions, including Division Chief, Assistant to the Director, Assistant Director, Inspector General, and from 1962 to 1965 was Executive Director-Comptroller. In September 1965 he resigned from CIA to accept an appointment on the faculty of Brown University in Providence, R.I., as Professor of Political Science and University Professor. His courses at Brown University include one on *Communist Cold War Operations* and one on *American Security Policy*.

In 1960 he received the National Civil Service League annual award as one of the 10 outstanding career employees of the Federal Government. In 1964 he received the President's Award for Distinguished Service, the highest award that can be given a civilian in the Federal Service.

He is the author of *The Real CIA*, published by Macmillan in January 1968, of numerous articles, and has contributed to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica Yearbook*.

attributed to the characteristics of the country.

Geographically the Sudan is the largest country in Africa with an area of nearly a million square miles. It is a classical example of a country created by the European powers drawing lines on a map to create colonies. It stretches from the deserts of southern Egypt to the forests of equatorial Africa bordering the Congo and Uganda at the headwaters of the Nile. Its 13,000,000 people are of different origins, races, religions, languages, and ways of life. Most severe of the conflicts is an actual rebellion of the Negroid (pagan and Christian south) against the Arab Moslem north.

For a year after the overthrow of the Abboud Government the Communist Party was legal-the only one with that

status in Africa at that time--and had eight seats in the National Assembly and four of the 15 positions in the Cabinet, even though it was able to poll only 70,000 votes out of 5,000,000 cast in the national election. In December 1965 the National Assembly enacted a Constitutional Assembly banning the Party, but the Party was reinstated by the courts in late 1966, although the Government refused to accept the courts' decision.

The party operates clandestinely and controls a number of labor and professional organizations and is active in student and youth groups. It has tried to proselyte in the army. It has attempted in recent years to work with other parties in "popular front" movements.



An army of deer led by a lion is more to be feared than an army of lions led by a deer.

*Attributed to Chabrias, 410-375 B.C.
(also attributed to Philip of Macedon)*