

THE ANGOLAN PROXY WAR: A STUDY OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION
AND ITS IMPACT ON WAR FIGHTING

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Strategy

by

BRIAN BISSONNETTE, MAJ, USA
B. A., Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio, 1991

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Name of Candidate: MAJ Brian Bissonnette

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Approved by:

_____, Thesis Committee Chair
Jack D. Kem, Ph. D.

_____, Member
Harold A. Laurence, M.B.A

_____, Member
Brian G. Blew, M.S.

Accepted this 13 day of June 2008 by:

_____, Director, Graduate Degree Programs
Robert F. Baumann, Ph.D.

The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the US Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. (References to this study should include the foregoing statement.)

ABSTRACT

THE ANGOLAN PROXY WAR: A STUDY OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION AND ITS IMPACT ON WAR FIGHTING

by MAJ Brian Bissonnette, 107 pages.

The ability to understand the impact of foreign intervention and its ramifications on conflict is a vital requirement for the United States military. As the United States continues to confront unconventional and irregular global threats, in conjunction with host nation military forces, the ability to understand its impact becomes paramount. This study examines the influence of foreign intervention on war fighting during the Angolan Civil War and analyses how the various levels of support impacted the successes and failures of the internal warring factions. Through a combination of descriptive and quantitative analysis conclusions are drawn to better understand the relationships between external support and the internal players during the Angolan conflict. These conclusions provide a framework to understand the impact of foreign intervention and how it impacted the prosecution and outcome of the Angolan Civil War. This study also provides a model which can be used to examine past, present and possible future conflicts. This model can be used as a tool for strategic planners to understand the impact of external support and how it can influence their operations. It also allows for the development of a strategic plan that uses the appropriate level of support to a faction or government engaged in conflict to create a strategic result that supports national foreign policy objectives.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE THESIS APPROVAL PAGE	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
ACRONYMS	viii
ILLUSTRATIONS	ix
TABLES	x
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION	1
Historical Background	3
1975-1976	3
1977-1980	6
1981-1988	7
Primary Research Question	8
Secondary Research Questions	8
Assumptions	9
Limitations	10
Scope and Delimitations	10
Significance of Study	11
Summary	12
Maps	14
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW	16
The United States	17
The Soviet Union	22
Cuba	24
South Africa	27
Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)	29
Zaire	30
CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY	32
Descriptive Analysis	33
Quantitative Analysis	35
Comparative Strength Analysis	36
Graphic Analysis	39

CHAPTER 4 ANALYSIS.....	41
1975-1976.....	41
The United States.....	42
The Soviet Union.....	45
Cuba.....	46
South Africa.....	47
Zaire.....	48
Quantitative Analysis.....	49
1977-1980.....	54
The United States.....	55
The Soviet Union.....	56
Cuba.....	57
South Africa.....	58
Zaire.....	58
SWAPO.....	59
Quantitative Analysis.....	60
1981-1988.....	63
The United States.....	64
The Soviet Union.....	65
Cuba.....	66
South Africa.....	66
Zaire.....	67
SWAPO.....	68
Quantitative Analysis.....	68
Comparative Strength Analysis.....	72
1975-1976.....	72
1977-1980.....	76
1981-1988.....	79
Graphic Analysis.....	83
Conclusions.....	85
CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	89
Recommendations.....	91
Proposed Future Research.....	92
Conclusion.....	92
REFERENCE LIST.....	95

ACRONYMS

ADA – Air Defense Artillery

FLEC – Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave

FNLA – National Front for the Liberation of Angola

MPLA – Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola

SADF – South African Defense Forces

SSM – Surface-to-Surface Missiles

SWAPO – Southwest Africa People's Organization

UNITA – National Union for the Total Independence of Angola

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
Figure 1. Neto, Roberto and Savimbi during talks in Mombasa.....	2
Figure 2. Map of Africa.....	14
Figure 3. Map of Angola.....	15
Figure 4. Cartoon.....	18
Figure 5. UNITA Soldier carrying an American M-79 grenade launcher.	20
Figure 6. Two Soviet advisors to the Angolan Army.	24
Figure 7. A Cuban and MPLA Soldier in Angola.....	25
Figure 8. Jonas Savimbi walks with a South African officer.....	28

TABLES

	Page
Table 1. External Support Descriptive Analysis Matrix	33
Table 2. Quantitative Analysis Matrix	36
Table 3. Descriptive Comparative Strength Analysis Matrix	37
Table 4. Quantitative Comparative Strength Analysis Matrix.....	38
Table 5. Graphic Analysis Matrix.....	39
Table 6. External Support Descriptive Analysis Matrix (1975-1976)	42
Table 7. Quantitative Analysis Matrix (1975-1976).....	50
Table 8. External Support Descriptive Analysis Matrix (1977-1980)	55
Table 9. Quantitative Analysis Matrix (1977-1980).....	60
Table 10. External Support Descriptive Analysis Matrix (1981-1988)	64
Table 11. Quantitative Analysis Matrix (1977-1980).....	69
Table 12. Descriptive Comparative Strength Analysis Matrix (1975-1976)	74
Table 13. Quantitative Comparative Strength Analysis Matrix (1975-1976).....	75
Table 14. Descriptive Comparative Strength Analysis Matrix (1977-1980)	77
Table 15. Quantitative Comparative Strength Analysis Matrix (1977-1980).....	78
Table 16. Descriptive Comparative Strength Analysis Matrix (1981-1988)	81
Table 17. Quantitative Comparative Strength Analysis Matrix (1981-1988).....	83
Table 18. Angolan Proxy War Graphic Analysis	84

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Angola is now a battleground for principles and policies largely irrelevant to her own desperate needs.

Editorial from the Nigerian Journal – West Africa (Klinghoffer 1980, 1-2)

Officials from Portugal and Angola met in the Portuguese town of Alvor in January 1975 to agree to terms that would hopefully begin a peaceful transition of authority in Angola (James 1992, 55). On January 15, 1975 the agreement was signed and a coalition government was formed. Angola was now finally in charge of its own destiny, or so it thought.

Under the guidelines of the Alvor Agreement three groups formed the coalition government. They were the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). The MPLA was mainly from the Kimbundu ethnic group from north central and coastal regions of Angola (Falk 1988, 1). The leader of the MPLA in 1975 was Agostinho Neto. The FNLA was primarily from the Bakongo ethnic group from Northern Angola (Falk 1988, 1). The leader of the FNLA in 1975 was Holden Roberto. UNITA was mainly from the largest ethnic group in Angola – the Ovimbundu of central Angola. The leader of UNITA in 1975 was Jonas Savimbi.

A time frame was set for elections to occur in October 1975 with November 11, 1975 set as the official Angolan Independence Day. The coalition government gave Angolans the opportunity to govern themselves, but within a year that opportunity had devolved into civil war.



Figure 1. Neto, Roberto and Savimbi during talks in Mombasa.
Source: (Spikes 1993, 127)

Following the formation of the coalition government numerous relationships formed or expanded between foreign governments/entities and the three internal actors in Angola. Multiple objectives began to emerge from these external players and that had a direct impact on how and to what extent they would influence the conduct and outcome of the Angolan conflict. These relationships and multiple objectives impacted the prosecution and outcome of the ensuing civil war in Angola because the foreign governments'/entities' success became reliant on the successes of the three coalition members. This created a symbiotic relationship between these organizations and expanded the Angolan Civil War into a Proxy War between multiple foreign entities. "A

quiet war for national liberation...was about to explode into a global contest involving all of Africa, Cuba, the People's Republic of China (PRC), the two superpowers, Europe, and most of the Third World" (James 1992, 59). Understanding the complexities of this global contest and quantifying the types of support provided to the separate movements will provide an understanding of the Angolan proxy war from the view point of the internal combatants.

Historical Background

To analyze the phenomenon of foreign intervention and its impact, it is imperative to look at the Angolan Civil War in separate and distinct time frames. Foreign influence and the levels of support changed over time. To get an accurate understanding of the impact, analyzing support over finite periods of time is required. The first time frame to be analyzed is 1975-1976.

1975-1976

In 1975, as the three groups began to prepare for elections, violent outbreaks in Luanda began to increase (James 1992, 57). In June of 1975 battles between the MPLA and the FNLA increased. The left wing factions of the Portuguese armed forces and the weapons provided to the MPLA from the Soviet Union gave the advantage in these battles to the MPLA. The Soviet Union had been supporting the MPLA since 1968 under the Brezhnev Doctrine, which stated "Moscow-style socialist states had obligations to intervene in similar states if the continuance of socialism was threatened..." (Bridgland 1990, 3).

This blatant interference in Angolan affairs caused South Africa to respond to the situation. Based on its objective in Angola, which was to facilitate the transition of an Angolan government that would adopt an accommodating approach towards South Africa, this interference had to be challenged (Hanf 1981, 73). In October 1975, South Africa sent troops to support the FNLA and UNITA. It also began conducting operations against the MPLA (James 1992, 62).

On November 11, 1975 the MPLA declared the independence of the People's Republic of Angola under Agostinho Neto, which was immediately recognized by the Soviet Union as the legitimate government of Angola (James 1992, 64). At the same time the FNLA and UNITA proclaimed independence of the Democratic People's Republic of Angola with a temporary capital at Huambo until they could liberate Luanda (James 1992, 64).

The MPLA takeover of Angola also brought Zaire into the conflict. President Mobutu feared a Soviet takeover in Angola which threatened his access to Angolan mineral wealth (James 1992, 60). President Mobutu threw his support behind Roberto and the FNLA (being related by marriage also had an impact on this support) (James 1992, 60).

The United States became involved towards the end of 1975 when a \$30 million covert aid package was approved by Congress. This involvement was based on Soviet support and recognition of the MPLA. This monetary support was provided by the CIA and through President Mobutu of Zaire. Most of this support never reached its intended target.

The Soviet Union supplied an estimated \$200 million in arms which included heavy weapons by the end of 1975. In December the United States congress voted to prohibit military aid or involvement in support of the FNLA or UNITA (Alexiev 1986, 2). Zaire also refused to send additional troops to support the FNLA, which left South Africa the lone foreign entity actively supporting the FNLA or UNITA by the end of 1975.

Cuba, in coordination with the Soviet Union, began to send troops to Angola in support of the MPLA. Military Advisors began to arrive between August and October 1975 to train MPLA forces at training camps inside Angola (Somerville 1990, 97). As South African Forces alongside FNLA and UNITA forces began conducting activities against the MPLA Cuban military presence grew dramatically. On 7 November 1975 there were approximately 480 Cuban instructors in Angola compared to 11 November 1975 when there were approximately 2,800 Cuban combat troops integrated into MPLA formations (Somerville 1990, 98). By January 1976 there were between 10,000 – 12,000 Cuban combat troops in Angola (Somerville 1990, 98). This massive build up shifted the balance of power to the MPLA.

The major combat action conducted by South Africa, Zaire, the FNLA and UNITA was initially successful against MPLA forces. However, as Cuban forces began arriving along with heavy equipment from the Soviet Union the tide began to change (Hanf 1981, 73). This caused the South African front to break even though it was never decisively defeated. By 1977 the South African government had retreated, the FNLA ceased to be a viable military organization and UNITA retreated into the heartland of Angola where its base of support existed.

1977-1980

The second time frame to be analyzed is 1977-1980. This time frame was the first time in centuries that the Portuguese were no longer present in Angola. The South African defeat in 1976 had dire consequences on the region. Many African countries who had supported South African policies in the region now found it necessary to follow an anti-South African stance (Hanf 1981, 73). Pressure to decolonize Namibia and Rhodesia grew by 1977 (Hanf 1981, 74). The Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) began to use Angola as a staging base to conduct military actions against South African Forces in Namibia. At the end of 1976 a new U.S. policy towards Angola was enacted (Falk 1988, 18).

The United States began to distance itself from South Africa and looked to negotiate with Angola. "The US position in Angola should be one which admits that we missed the opportunity to be a positive and creative force...the Russian and Cuban presence in Angola, while regrettable and counterproductive of peace, need not constitute a threat to United States interests" (Falk 1988, 19). In 1979 the United States initiated a series of talks with Angola but no real progress was reached until 1981 (Falk 1988, 19).

The Cubans and Soviet Union continued to support Angola and used its new power base in an attempt to spread its ideologies throughout Africa. Cuban forces were also becoming a drain on MPLA resources in Angola. The relationship between Angolans and Cuban forces became extremely strained in the late 1970s.

UNITA was able to strengthen its forces by reconstituting and acquiring assistance from South Africa and Zaire throughout the late 1970s. South Africa began to conduct raids against SWAPO in Angola and often conducted these activities with

UNITA forces. These operations along with the external support they received caused a growth in strength within UNITA by the 1980s and the conflict against the MPLA became significant once again. In September 1980 an engagement between UNITA and MPLA forces at Mavinga showed that UNITA was a capable military force (Falk 1988, 3). UNITA had used the late 1970s to gather support from foreign governments and as the new Reagan Doctrine came into play in the 1980s UNITA was a major player in Angola once again.

1981-1988

The final time frame that needs to be examined independently is 1981-1988. This time frame was the turning point in the proxy war between the United States and the Soviet Union. In January 1981 Ronald Reagan took office in the United States and in the first months in office implemented a tough foreign policy and made Africa a top priority (Falk 1988, 3). The new plan stated that the United States would serve as an intermediary between Angola and South Africa on the issue of Namibian independence (Falk 1988, 4). The new administration was also adamant that it would not recognize the MPLA until all Cuban troops were removed (Falk 1988, 5). They also began to politically support UNITA actions in Angola.

By 1984 the Soviet Union increased support to the MPLA in response to increased UNITA activities. The Soviets increase the amounts and type of sophisticated weapon systems to include MIG-23s, SU-22s and MI-24s (Alexiev 1986, 7). The equipment supplied by the Soviet Union to the MPLA from 1984-85 was estimated at \$2 billion (Alexiev 1986, 7).

In 1985 the United States, in response to the Soviet Union's increase in support, repealed the Clark Amendment. Once this amendment was repealed President Reagan signed the foreign aid authorization bill which allowed for military support to UNITA.

With the change of the strategic national policy of the Soviet Union in 1986 the conditions were becoming set to end the proxy war in Angola. In 1988 the signing of the Namibia agreement by the United States, South Africa, Cuba and the MPLA ended the proxy war phase of the Angola Civil War.

Primary Research Question

In the study of the Angolan Civil War it necessary to understand the relationship of foreign influence on the conflict. To do this it is important to look at the question - Did multiple objectives and significant supporting relationships between foreign governments and the Angolan internal players, following the signing of the Alvor agreement, impact the prosecution and outcome of the Angolan Civil War? The answer to this question will provide insight into the dynamics of the conflict.

Secondary Research Questions

To answer the primary research question a few secondary questions must be examined as well. The following secondary questions focus on the foreign players, their objectives and what impact and significance that entity had on the Angolan Civil War. These secondary questions will provide the framework that will assist in discovering the answer to the primary research question. The secondary questions are:

1. What were the objectives of the United States and how did they influence the prosecution of the Angolan Civil War?

2. What were the objectives of the Soviet Union and how did they influence the prosecution of the Angolan Civil War?
3. What were the objectives of Cuba and how did they influence the prosecution of the Angolan Civil War?
4. What were the objectives of South Africa and how did they influence the prosecution of the Angolan Civil War?
5. What were the objectives of Zaire and how did they influence the prosecution of the Angolan Civil War?
6. What were the objectives of SWAPO and how did they influence the prosecution of the Angolan Civil War?
7. What impacts of foreign influence were of greatest significance to the internal players during the Angolan Civil War?

Assumptions

To ensure a viable solution to the primary research question was developed in a concise and timely manner it was imperative to make one key assumption. The assumption was that the support to the various Angolan movements from other nations not discussed in this study had limited or no impact on the civil war. To cover every country that provided some limited amount of support would make the ability to research this problem in a concise study extremely difficult. James alone identified 32 nations and entities that provided various levels of support to UNITA between 1975 and 1988 (James 1992, 180-181). To address all of these nations would be impractical and it would be a detriment to the viability of this study.

Limitations

This study only looked at unclassified information. The majority of the relevant information on this topic was unclassified, but there was some information that has remained at the classified level. Due to the desire for this study to remain at the unclassified level, classified information was not included in this study.

Another limitation of this study was the inability to collect firsthand accounts from the key leaders of the various Angolan movements. The study relies on the interpretations for others who have had the opportunity to interview the various key leaders in Angola.

Overall the limitations of this study have not hindered the ability to derive solid conclusions based on facts gathered throughout the research process. The reader of this study should understand the impact foreign intervention had on the Angolan Civil War and apply the methodology used in other proxy war conflicts to draw similar conclusions.

Scope and Delimitations

Due to the complexities of this thesis it was impractical to cover every aspect of the Angolan Civil War from 1975-1988. The scope of this study examined the impacts of foreign influence on the Angolan Civil War. Other aspects were not considered in this research.

The time frame was finite as well. This study only reflected on foreign influence between 1975 and 1988. Foreign influences, such as Jonas Savimbi's studies with the Chinese or the Portuguese colonial impact, were not examined in this study. Much of the positioning of foreign government strategies in Angola were set prior to the signing of the

Alvor agreement in 1975. This study did not consider this aspect in Angola it solely focused on the proxy war time frame from 1975 until 1988.

This study also only examined various support provided by foreign governments as it impacted war fighting in Angola. Other foreign support that may have been provided for humanitarian or economic concerns was not considered in this study. The focus remained solely on impacts on war fighting.

Many factors not examined in this study impacted the Angolan Civil War in various ways. The failures of Holden Roberto as a military leader or the ethnic support given to Agostinho Neto and the MPLA from the Kimbundu people in Luanda was not examined. These and many other complex factors played a significant role in the Angolan Civil War, but due to time and scope these areas were not fully integrated into the study.

Significance of Study

The most significant reason for examining the foreign influences during the Angolan Civil War is to better understand the complex relationships between countries during times of conflict. Often foreign governments will become involved with internal disputes, within a less developed country, and not fully understand the impact. This interference usually occurs in order to achieve a foreign policy objective that may not be parallel with the players in direct conflict. At the extreme end of this phenomenon is a proxy war. This research will examine the relationships and impacts foreign involvement has on internal disputes. The significance of understanding these impacts is to provide the knowledge necessary to craft effective strategic goals and objectives in a proxy war scenario.

Another significant reason for conducting this research is that the continent of Africa has once again grown in importance to the United States. The creation of AFRICOM confirms this fact. Angola in particular has had a long and checkered past with the United States and understanding the approaches of the past will dictate future actions between the United States and Angola. Angola also has extremely rich oil reserves as well as lucrative diamond mines throughout the countryside. These are resources that impact not only the United States but also our allies and enemies throughout the world. For the month of January 2008 the United States received 550,000 barrels of crude oil per day from Angola (7th leading importer into the United States). The United States has also invested over \$4 billion into Angola's petroleum industry. Angola is also Africa's third largest diamond exporter. This is a country that deserves to be understood by the United States not only for what it provides, but also for the struggles it finds itself in today. The impact foreign government influences had during its violent journey to independence is partially the reason for this current struggle.

Summary

The Angolan Civil War was a struggle between three Angolan factions for control of a country full of resources. However, it would not be settled by these three factions alone. Many foreign nations and entities played key roles in the prosecution and eventual outcome of the war as they positioned themselves to reach their own strategic objectives in the region. This struggle between foreign governments and entities led to the expansion of the Angolan Civil War into a Proxy war between numerous external players. These external influences shaped the balance of power in Angola between 1975 and 1988. As foreign entities used Angola as the battlefield for their own conflicts the

internal players use the support from these foreign entities to improve their own ability to influence actions in Angola.

The study will attempt to breakdown the various key foreign entities' objectives in Angola and the support they provided to one or more of the Angolan internal movements. It will then attempt to measure that support with the level of comparable objectives between the foreign entity and its proxy. This study should serve as a model for identifying the impact of external influence on internal conflicts when players in conflict are being used as proxies.

The next chapter will discuss the current literature that addresses foreign intervention in Angola. It will examine the various authors that have analyzed this topic and it will capture their views on the subject. This information will provide the needed background to study the impacts of foreign intervention on the civil war in Angola.

Maps



Figure 2. Map of Africa

Source: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/reference_maps/africa.html



Figure 3. Map of Angola

Source: http://www.africa.upenn.edu/CIA_Maps/Angola_19838.gif

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

We will ally ourselves with the devil if necessary in as much as one is always the devil of someone.

Holden Roberto

To win our independence we should even take aid, as they say, from the devil himself.

Agostinho Neto

I am ready to eat with the devil, even if to do so I must use a spoon with a long handle.

Jonas Savimbi

The three major figures in Angola, after the signing of the Alvor Agreement, understood the necessity of acquiring external support as they began to fight for control of Angola. As these leaders began to gather needed support from external sources relationships began to build. The relationships, coupled with multiple objectives from these external players, had a significant impact on the prosecution and outcome of the Angolan Civil War. Foreign entities were now linked to the successes of the Angolan players to achieve their own strategic objectives. This led to significant support provided to these players which, in turn, changed the way the war in Angola was fought.

There has been an extensive amount of literature published on the topic of the Angolan Civil War. Much of the published literature looks at foreign involvement. Some look at all external involvement while other works look at a few or one specific external entity. From the published literature about the Civil War in Angola six external parties emerged as the most significant. These six are the foreign entities that will be analyzed in

this study. The six external players are The United States, The Soviet Union, Cuba, South Africa, SWAPO and Zaire.

The United States

The analysis and understanding of the policy and levels of support provided to Angola by the United States vary based on the Author and time period the literature was written. Specifically, two authors published works about the United States in Angola prior to the Reagan Administration taking office. Five other authors published works in the 1980s examining the United States involvement in Angola while three other authors published works in the early 1990's. These literary works discuss the amount of aid provided to the FNLA and UNITA as well the various policies of the United States towards Angola.

The early authors discuss the 40 Committee and what they approved in support of the FNLA in 1975. In January that year it approved \$300,000 as a covert grant to the FNLA, but disapproved a \$100,000 covert support package to UNITA (Marcum 1978, 257). John Marcum's *The Angolan Revolution: Exile Politics and Guerrilla Warfare* and Jay Klinghoffer's *The Angolan War: a Study in Soviet Policy in the Third World* both discuss the covert monetary support but it differs in later accounts. These two authors also discuss the extra \$32 million of covert monetary assistance provided to the FNLA. Later literary works to include Herbert Ekwe-Ekwe's *Conflict and Intervention in Africa* place the total in monetary support up to \$100 million. In *The Origins of the Angolan Civil War: Foreign Intervention and Domestic Political Conflict* published in 1998 by Fernando Andresen Guimarães the monetary support given to the FNLA and UNITA was great than official estimates. "Estimates made by the US Congress concluded that

materiel given ... came to US \$64 million – double the official figure of US \$32 million” (Guimarães 1998, 107). Still others capture the uses of the monetary covert aid packages which supported the FNLA in 1975-1976. William Blum’s literary work *The CIA: A Forgotten History* discusses the arms shipments made by the CIA as well as an aggressive mercenary program which cost the United States over \$1 million. The details vary on exactly what support was provided but they provide a clear picture of general US support to the FNLA in 1975-1976.



Figure 4. Cartoon.
Source: Dan Wasserman; the Boston Globe. (Falk 1988, 3)

The United States policy is another area where the literature diverges slightly as well. Most of the published works on the subject state that the US goal in Angola was linked directly to stopping the spread of communism. Basically, every government that was backed by the Soviet Union would be opposed by the United States. Marcum states that “the United States chose unilateral intervention to support a victory by anticommunist forces” (Marcum 1978, 257). Some authors dispute the simplicity of this view. In Kenneth Adelman’s 1977 published report titled *U.S. Security interests and options in central Africa* takes a slightly different view. Adelman states that it is important to prevent the Soviet Union and Cuba access to Angolan air and port facilities which would increase their ability to project power. The policy of the United States early in the conflict was about using this conflict to prevent the Soviet Union and Cuba from gaining a military advantage in the greater cold war. Other literature published more recently also focus on the United States involvement as a way to engage Soviet Interests in Africa.

The next major event discussed in some of the published literature was the passage of the Clark Amendment. This amendment changed the United States’ ability to support the FNLA and later UNITA. The book by John Prados, *Presidents’ Secret Wars: CIA and Pentagon Covert Operations since World War II* covers this amendment thoroughly. As Prados explains the passage of the Clark amendment cut the United States funding to the FNLA and significantly contributed to the failure of the FNLA and the eventual victory of the MPLA in 1976. Prados also explains the amendment cut off funding for the FNLA mercenaries lead by the infamous Costas Georgiou, better known as Colonel Tony Callan. The final CIA payments meant for this mercenary group were

kept by the intermediary - Joseph Mobutu (Prados 1986, 347). Other published works don't discuss it at all. In William Blum's *The CIA: A Forgotten History* much is discussed about the mercenary program supported by the CIA. Both Spikes and Klinghoffer mention the Clark amendment but not in detail. They both, however, discuss the impacts on the United States support to the FNLA.



Figure 5. UNITA Soldier carrying an American M-79 grenade launcher.
Source: <http://www.africancrisis.org/photos13.asp>

The final area discussed in the published literature is the United States policy and support under the Reagan Administration. Under President Reagan the United States changed its policy to what was referred to as constructive engagement. This policy is discussed in two specific literary sources. The first is a negative view of the policy published in 1986 by Alex Alexiev. This Rand Cooperation study titled *U.S. Policy in*

Angola: A Case of Nonconstructive Engagement characterized the study as an attempt to recognize and address regional actor's concerns (Alexiev 1986, 4). Specifically dealing with Angola this meant trading Namibian independence for Cuban withdrawal from Angola. Of course this was seen by the MPLA as a policy that would allow Jonas Savimbi and his organization UNITA, along with continued South African Support and possible increased U.S. support, to overthrow the MPLA and establish a pro-South African and U.S. regime in Angola (Alexiev 1986, 4). In the Pew case study published in 1988 by Pamela Falk and Kurt Campbell takes a similar view of this policy of constructive engagement. The only difference in this policy as discussed in the Pew study is that the policy was directly tied to the doctrine designed to stop the Soviet Union's communist growth in the third world (Falk 1988, 3). Falk also discussed the Clark Amendment and the process the Reagan administration went through to get the amendment repealed in Congress which happened in July 1985. Falk also describes the end of the constructive engagement strategy with the emergence of the new Reagan doctrine. This doctrine was outlined in October 1985 and fostered policies to support "anticommunist guerrillas in the third world with particular attention to Afghanistan, Angola and Nicaragua" (Falk 1988, 21). This change of policy and the repeal of the Clark Amendment enabled support once again flow to Angola. This time it would support UNITA not only with words but also with money. As James states in his book *A Political History of the Civil War in Angola 1974-1990* US aid began with a promise of \$10-\$15 million from President Reagan to Jonas Savimbi in 1986 (James 1992, 172).

The Soviet Union

The Soviet Union's policy in Angola was fairly consistent from 1975-1985. The policy changed soon after Mikhail Gorbachev became the Soviet Union's General Secretary. Three published works discuss the Soviet policy in detail. Roger Pearson's work published in 1977 titled *Sino-Soviet Intervention in Africa* looks at Angola from the point of the revolutionists. This is one of four Soviet leadership strategies implemented in Southern Africa according to Pearson. This Soviet policy believes in a communist dominated world, especially in Southern Africa, and the way to achieve this domination is through a strategy of violence (Pearson 1977, 20). Based on this strategy the Soviet Union supported the MPLA both economically and militarily. Ekwe-Ekwe also discusses Soviet policy, but from a different prospective. The difference is that instead of the spread of communism as the overall policy Ekwe-Ekwe describes it as resource grab. This resource grab is part of the East verses West conflict of the Cold War. Ekwe-Ekwe also states that the Soviet strategy is a zero-sum game. "Victory of a Soviet-supported liberation movement is a defeat for US (Western) interests and influence" (Ekwe-Ekwe 1990, 94). The other published work that discusses the Soviet Union's policy in Angola is the Pew case study. This report discusses the change of policy in southern Africa. The new policy attempted to reach a negotiated settlement in Angola (Falk 1988, 22). Mikhail Gorbachev wanted "to exclude southern Africa from the zone of superpower confrontation" (Falk 1988, 22). This is part of an overall policy change by the Soviet Union dealing with third world conflict.

The next area covered in numerous published works about the Soviet Union is the various types of support given to the MPLA to accomplish its national policy goals and

objectives. Some of the published works in this area are the Pew case study, Kenneth Adelman's 1977 published report titled *U.S. Security interests and options in central Africa*, Arthur Klinghoffer's 1980 publication titled *The Angolan War: A Study in Soviet Policy in the Third World*, Fred Bridgland's 1990 publication titled *The war for Africa: Twelve months that transformed a continent*, Herbert Ekwe-Ekwe's *Conflict and Intervention in Africa*, and Martin James' 1992 book *A Political History of the Civil War in Angola 1974-1990*. Most of the published works describe similar accounts of support given to the MPLA by the Soviet Union. Both Ekwe-Ekwe and Bridgland state that the United States estimated that by 1976 the Soviet Union had supplied the MPLA with \$400 million in weapons and equipment. Ekwe-Ekwe specifically mentions the types of weapons and equipment while Bridgland doesn't give the details. Ekwe-Ekwe also mentions Soviet advisors who were used to direct and coordinate the use of the weaponry and equipment on the ground. Bridgland discusses the number of advisors physically on the ground in 1987 along with what they did in support of the MPLA. Klinghoffer discusses that in March 1975 approximately 200 MPLA members went to the Soviet Union and East Germany for training. Simultaneously the Soviet Union sent advisors to Angola. Adelman also discusses advisors but only for the year 1977. Adelman further explains that these advisors trained the MPLA secret police force. Adelman also discusses specific amounts of equipment provided to the MPLA by the Soviet Union.

The Soviet and Cuban relationship is also discussed by Adelman. Specifically, the October 1976 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the MPLA, Soviet Union and Cuba is discussed. It goes on to explain the purpose of the treaty was for the three nations to "continue to develop cooperation in the military sphere" (Adelman 1977, 16).

The Pew case study also discusses the relationship between Cuba and the Soviet Union. The report states that the Soviet Union provided military hardware to Cuba for the use in supporting the MPLA in Angola. Between 1982 and 1984 an estimated value of \$2 billion in equipment was provided to Cuban forces in Angola (Falk 1988, 22). The Pew case study also gives an overall dollar amount estimate provided to the MPLA by the Soviet Union between 1976 and 1988.



Figure 6. Two Soviet advisors to the Angolan Army.

Source: <http://www.africancrisis.org/photos13.asp>

Cuba

The involvement of Cuba in the affairs of Angola has been a point of confusion. Did Cuba get involved on the behest of the Soviet Union or did it have its own national interests in mind? Two authors specifically take on this issue and both draw similar conclusions. Both Ekwe-Ekwe and Keith Somerville in his 1990 published work titled

Foreign Military Intervention in Africa state that Cuba had its own policy of supporting revolutionary movements throughout the developing world. Somerville states that many western analysts saw the cooperation between Cuba and the Soviet Union and concluded that Cuba was being used as a “mere proxy of the Soviet Union in Africa” (Somerville 1990, 176). He points to other revolutionary movements supported by Castro and Cuba, such as the FLN in Algeria, as evidence to an independent Cuban foreign policy. Ekwe-Ekwe takes a similar stance on Cuba but does make clear that Cuba and the Soviet Union had the same goal as it dealt with the MPLA in Angola.



Figure 7. A Cuban and MPLA Soldier in Angola.

Source: <http://www.africancrisis.org/photos13.asp>

The next element of Cuban involvement was the support it provided to the MPLA. Many published works discuss the specifics of the Cuban support in Angola. Some of the Authors who discuss the specifics are Bridgland, Ekwe-Ekwe, Falk, James,

Klinghoffer, Somerville and Fernando Guimarães in his 1998 published work titled *The Origins of the Angolan Civil War: Foreign Intervention and Domestic Political Conflict*. All of these authors discuss the Cuban troop deployments and numbers of Soldiers sent in support of the MPLA. Guimarães states the at least 10,000 Cuban troops were in Angola by the spring of 1976 (Guimarães 1998, 136). He states that the purpose for the large number of Cuban troops was to protect what they considered the legitimate government of Angola from the South African invasion which supported the FNLA as they attempted to seize control of Angola. Bridgland also examines the Cuban troop numbers in the spring of 1976. He actually states that Cuba had approximately 11,000 troops in Angola by mid-1976 (Bridgland 1990, 5). Bridgland also discusses the movement of 3,500 Cuban troops in 1988 to the southwest area of Angola and how that became a major concern for South Africa. Klinghoffer looks at the total number of Cuban troops later into the conflict. He states that in 1978 the Cuban combat troop strength in Angola was estimated at 19-20,000 (Klinghoffer 1980, 132). Somerville looks at the numbers but from an even later time in the conflict. The estimate stated by Somerville is that 15,000 of 50,000 Cuban troops had been withdrawn by 1989. Falk looks at the Cuban troop strengths in total at the time the Pew case study was completed, 1988. According to Falk Cuba had 25-30,000 troops, 5-10,000 civilian advisors and a number of Cuban military instructors on the ground in Angola (Falk 1988, 22). Finally some mention is made of Cuban military advisors; both James and Guimarães discuss these advisors whom were operating with the MPLA by the summer of 1976.

South Africa

There are two thoughts to why South Africa intervened in Angola. The first is discussed by Klinghoffer and by Theodor Hanf's 1981 publication *South Africa: The Prospects of Peaceful Change*. Both look at the South African involvement as a "clash between communist and western interests" (Klinghoffer 1980, 50). Klinghoffer suggests that the support given to SWAPO by the Soviet Union was of great concern for the South Africans. This condition, along with the ideological factors, lead to South Africa's involvement in the Angolan conflict according to Klinghoffer. Hanf takes a similar look, but states that South Africa was taking advantage of the situation to support the pro-western movements in Angola with the aim of putting a government into power that would be accepting of the South African approach in the region (Hanf 1981, 73). Ekwe-Ekwe, James, Somerville, and Spikes take a different view. These authors look at it from an operation originally designed to protect the Cunene hydroelectric project being escalated into full scale combat operations based on concurrent skirmishes along the Namibian-South African border. These authors argue that these two events caused South Africa to stray away from its regional policy of non-intervention to one that supported revolution in Angola. Both of these views also state that South African involvement escalated with the understanding that the United States would support pro-western movements. The belief that the United States would provide support to the same elements that South Africa was supporting lead to the development of a joint plan between the FNLA, UNITA and South Africa. This plan is discussed by Ekwe-Ekwe and Klinghoffer.



Figure 8. Jonas Savimbi walks with a South African officer.

Source: <http://www.africancrisis.org/photos13.asp>

The next area of interest was the military actions taken by the SADF in Angola. The six authors discussed earlier, along with the Pew case study by Falk, describe the military actions taken by the SADF. Early operations focused on supporting the FLNA and UNITA with the goal of overthrowing the MPLA. Ekwe-Ekwe and James discuss Operation Zulu which was a coordinated operation between FNLA, UNITA and South African Forces designed to challenge MPLA control in certain areas of the country (Ekwe-Ekwe 1990, 102). James also describes the compromise reached on the end state for the operation. Jonas Savimbi wanted to ensure that the SADF only assisted him in recapturing his traditional tribal locations since he had planned on reaching a settlement with the MPLA (James 1992, 145). In both published works it makes clear that South Africa was expecting United States support for this operation. Other literature discusses that the South African operation was conducted in conjunction, primarily, with the FNLA. What is certain is that initially Operation Zulu was successful and South African,

FNLA and UNITA forces pushed north. By 10 November 1975 the combined forces were only 200 km from Luanda (Ekwe-Ekwe 1990, 105). At this time Cuban forces backed by Soviet money and equipment entered Angola in large numbers. South Africa expected support from the United States and when it didn't come the SADF was forced to withdraw. As much of the published works on this subject state the FNLA and UNITA forces were soundly defeated by Cuban and MPLA forces.

Following this defeat the published works of Hanf and James discuss the change in regional policy by the South African government. This military operation weakened South African influence in the area and the conflict against SWAPO escalated by 1977. Falk discusses the increased military actions against SWAPO camps in Angola by the SADF in 1977. These actions continued until the late 1980s when South Africa would agree to a withdrawal from Namibia in exchange for Cuban troop withdrawal from the region. Falk also states that this conflict had raised South Africa to a position of a regional power that was willing and able to conduct military actions against the Soviet Union and undermine the United States attempts at negotiating a settlement in the region (Falk 1988, 23).

Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)

SWAPO intervention in the conflict in Angola was based on its own struggle for the independence of Namibia. Some of the published literature on the Angolan Civil War discusses SWAPO involvement. Falk, James, Klinghoffer, Somerville and Spikes all look at SWAPO in a similar context. These authors focused on SWAPO using its relationship with Angola to set up support and training base camps in Angolan territory. SWAPO would then conduct low-level guerrilla warfare in Namibia as it had since the 1960s

against the SADF (Falk 1988, 23). The published literature discusses when SWAPO became a major entity in the Angolan conflict. In 1977 Cuban troops conducted training of SWAPO forces in Angola. Angola also publicly stated in June 1977 it would fight in Namibia or South Africa in support of SWAPO if requested (Klinghoffer 1980, 137).

In the late 1980s SWAPO became a key negotiating element for other foreign players. The published literature makes clear that the international community understood that the creation of an independent Namibia was linked directly to a settlement in Angola and was a precursor for a Soviet and Cuban withdrawal. With support from Angola and Cuba, SWAPO became the target of the SADF which politically became a serious issue for the South Africans. Support for SWAPO grew and the agreement between Cuba, Angola and South Africa ended the infiltration of SWAPO forces from Angola into Namibia as well as it ended South African military actions into Angola.

Zaire

Zaire played a key role early in the conflict in Angola. Blum, Guimarães, James, Klinghoffer, Somerville and Spikes all focus on the time period of 1975-1976. Zairian President Mobutu continued to have contact with the FNLA and UNITA after this time frame but the amount of support waned after 1976. All the authors discuss Zaire being used as a sanctuary for UNITA and FNLA fighters. It was also being used as an intermediary for the United States so it could funnel money to the FNLA early in the conflict. James goes into more detail about Zaire and the reasons for its involvement in Angola. James discusses four primary reasons for Zairian involvement in Angola. The first reason was the relationship between Holden Roberto and Mobutu; second was that Zaire had provided sanctuary for the Bakongo people for years; third Zaire's lack of a

coastline created great interest in Angolan affairs; and fourth Mobutu was angry with the MPLA for its relationship with the Katanga Gendarmes. James and Guimarães also discuss the importance of the oil rich Cabinda region of Angola and Zaire's support of the FLEC.

Another area of support was the Zairian troops Mobutu provided to support early FLNA and UNITA operations against the MPLA. James and Somerville both discuss Zairian forces in Angola. Initially the joint FLNA-Zairian force was having success in northern Angola (Somerville 1990, 97). Somerville also discusses a Zairian troop increase in September 1975 to support the FLNA and at the same time Mobutu sent troops to support the FLEC (Somerville 1990, 98). This early success ended with the Cuban entrance into the war. Following this defeat most of the published literature about Zairian support clearly states that Zaire ended support to the FNLA because of this defeat. From 1977-1988 Zaire continue to support UNITA but that support was not as robust as the support given to the FNLA in 1975-76.

The next chapter will discuss the methodology that will be use to analyze the impact of external support in the Angolan Civil War. It will take the various views and ideas of the experts on this subject along with established facts about the conflict and apply them to a model that will be described in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

To effectively analyze how the external support provided to the three national movements in Angola impacted the prosecution and outcome of the Angolan Civil War it is imperative to develop quantitative ways to measure various relationships and external support. To be effective this methodology must take very complicated relationships and breakdown them down into understandable parts. Then it must take these parts and transform them into a quantitative analysis to fully understand the impact foreign involvement had on the prosecution and outcome of the Angolan Civil War. This type of methodology does rely on a singular interpretation of various relationships. Others using this methodology could develop different interpretations which may lead to different conclusions.

The method used in this study will first be descriptive in nature in order to develop a logical progression from a descriptive analysis to a definable relationship between national strategic objectives and the various types of external support provided to the three national movements in Angola. Secondly, it will take this definable relationship and qualitatively capture it to measure the levels of overall support provided to each of the movements in Angola. Next, it will conduct a comparative strength analysis of the three internal movements. Then this overall quantitative analysis will be combined with the comparative strength analysis and graphically portrayed. Finally, this graphically portrayed analysis will be examined and conclusions will be drawn on how foreign involvement impacted the prosecution and outcome of the Angolan civil war.

This methodology will analyze the three distinct time frames of the Angolan proxy war separately.

Descriptive Analysis

The descriptive analysis portion of this study's methodology will look at the six major external players that impacted the Angolan civil war from 1975 to 1988. The National Strategic Objectives of these external players, as they relate to Angola, will be examined first. The next area that will be examined is which Angolan movement or movements were supported by each of the external players. Finally, the type of support that was provided by each external player to each internal movement will be studied. This process will look at the three specific time frames (1975-1976, 1977-1980, 1981-1988) separately to examine how support changed over time.

Table 1. External Support Descriptive Analysis Matrix

<i>Timeframe</i>	National Strategic Objectives	Angolan Movement Supported	Political Support	Financial Support	Sanctuary Support	Material Support	Military Unit Support
The United States							
The Soviet Union							
Cuba							
South Africa							
Zaire							
SWAPO							

When evaluating various types of support provided by external players it is important to define categories. This study identifies five specific categories of support. The first is political support. Political support is defined as an external player acknowledging and supporting a group “in public and international forums” (James 1992, 5). This support involves some risk to the external player and can cause an international negative reaction as well as internal political strife. The next support category is financial support. Financial support is defined as an external player providing monies to a group to assist its capacity to conduct war fighting activities. This type of support is expensive to the external player and it does contain considerable political and financial risk. The next category of support is sanctuary support. This type of support allows for an external player to provide a safe area for a supported movement. In these safe areas, bases can be set up where arms caches, training, operations and possibly exiled governments can be established (James 1992, 6). Usually sanctuary support is given by a geographically close external player but this is not always a stipulation. Sanctuary support can be given by an external player that is not geographically close to the conflict. Another support category is materiel support. An external player using this type of support provides to the supported movement a variety of military related supplies. These supplies include food, medicines, training, weapons and other military related equipment (James 1992, 5). This type of support does involve substantial risk to the supporting player. It is an expensive proposition and comes with a political risk both internally and internationally. The final category of support used for this descriptive analysis is military unit support. This support is defined as an external player providing military units to a supported movement where

these units conduct combat operations against opposition internal movements. This type of support does come with the largest amount of risk both financially and politically for the external player.

Once each external player is analyzed using this descriptive analysis format in each of the three time frames of the Angolan proxy war the results are then quantitatively captured. This transition from a descriptive analysis to a quantitative analysis uses a logical progression to draw conclusions. These conclusions are then turned into a quantitative form of measurement to gage the impact external support had on the internal conflict in Angola.

Quantitative Analysis

The quantitative analysis portion of this study's methodology will examine how the level and type of support provided by external players impacted the three major internal movements of the Angolan civil war from 1975 to 1988. To do this a subjective but logical conclusion is made on what the commonality is between the external supporter and the internal player. Each external player will be rated as low, medium or high in its commonality to a particular internal movement. Once this rating is established the study will then examine the support given from each external player as analyzed in the descriptive analysis portion of this study. Then the commonality rating along with descriptive analysis of the various types of support provided to the internal players will be combined to establish a support value for each support category. Each support value will be given a value of 0, 1, 2 or 3. A rating of 1 would reflect a low level of impact of support for that particular support value while a 2 would be a moderate impact and 3 would be high impact. A 0 would reflect no impact in that support area. Once these

quantitative results are captured they would be combined for each internal player and an external support multiplier would result. This analysis will be conducted in each of the three identified time frames of the Angolan proxy war.

Table 2. Quantitative Analysis Matrix

Timeframe	Supporting Foreign Countries	Strategic Objective Support Commonality	Political Support Value	Financial Support Value	Sanctuary Support Value	Material Support Value	Military Unit Support Value	External Support Multiplier
MPLA								
UNITA								
FNLA								

Comparative Strength Analysis

The comparative strength analysis will examine the three major internal players in Angola in each of the three specified time frames. This analysis will be focused on each of the major Angolan movement's capabilities to conduct war fighting actions without external support. The comparative strength analysis will examine the number of troops each major internal player has available; type of equipment and weaponry available during each time frame; access to resources; and support of the population groups in the

country. This analysis will be descriptive in nature and that descriptive analysis will be converted, using a subjective but logical process, into a quantitative format.

Table 3. Descriptive Comparative Strength Analysis Matrix

<i>Timeframe</i>	Troop Strength	Equipment/ Weaponry	Resource Availability	Population Support
MPLA				
UNITA				
FNLA				

The quantitative strength analysis will examine the three internal players in each of the four categories. A rating of 1, 2 or 3 will be given to each movement in each category. A rating of 3 will indicate that internal player has the greatest advantage in that category while a 1 rating will represent the internal player with the lowest rating. If in a category multiple internal movements are rated equally then the values for the disputed comparative strength values will be added together and split equally amongst the equally rated players. This process will be repeated for each of the three identified time frames.

Once these ratings are established a comparative strength value is created by adding the ratings in the four categories for each of the internal players. This comparative

strength value will then be converted into a comparative strength multiplier. This is done by dividing the lowest comparative strength value of the internal players with the comparative strength values of all the internal players.

Table 4. Quantitative Comparative Strength Analysis Matrix

<i>Timeframe</i>	Troop Strength Value	Equipment/ Weaponry Value	Resource Availability Value	Population Support Value	Comparative Strength Value	Comparative Strength Multiplier
MPLA						
UNITA						
FNLA						

Example - If player A has a comparative strength value of three, player B has a value of six and player C has a value of nine then each player's value would be divided by three. Player A's value is used as the divider since Player A has the lowest comparative strength value. The comparative strength multipliers in this example would be 1 for player A, 2 for player B and 3 for player C.

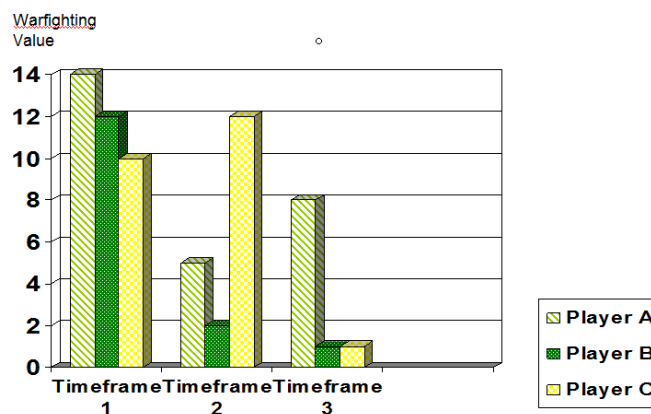
The comparative strength multiplier is then integrated into the quantitative analysis results. The external support multiplier and the comparative strength multiplier are the values used to conduct a graphic analysis. This is done by multiplying the two

values together which then becomes the internal player's war fighting value. This is conducted for each of the three identified time frames.

Graphic Analysis

The final step in the process is the graphic analysis. This takes the quantitative values and puts them into a bar graph to examine the relationships between the three internal players in the three distinct time frames. The graphic matrix will take the war fighting value for each internal player in each of the time frames to visually portray the relationships between external support and the various internal movements. Following this graphic portrayal, comparisons will be examined between these foreign support ratios and the events in the Angolan conflict. From this analysis, conclusions will be drawn about how foreign influence impacted the prosecution and outcome of the Angolan Civil War.

Table 5. Graphic Analysis Matrix



The model described in this chapter was developed by the Author. This model focuses solely on external support and excludes other outside influences that had an impact on the conflict in Angola. The final conclusions in this study can be challenged based on the validity of the results from this model because these other factors were not considered in the study. This was a decision made by the Author in an attempt to better understand the impacts of external support as it related to the prosecution and outcome of the Angolan Civil War. Also, the author used specific criteria to measure the impacts of external support. These criteria were developed based on the research conducted for this study, but the author selected which criteria from the research would be used in the model. Even though the criteria selected were taken from the experts in the area of foreign support and influence, selections were still based on what the author believed to be the most important and significant types of support. Also, the countries examined in this study were determined by the author. The six external players in this study were the players the author believed to be the most significant. Overall the model and the results can be challenged based on the complex environment it attempts to analyze. The next chapter will use the model discussed in chapter 3 to conduct an analysis of the external influences and the impact they had on the Angolan Civil War.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

If you are a drowning man in a crocodile-infested river and you've just gone under for the third time you don't question who is pulling you to the bank until you are safely on it.

Jonas Savimbi

The first step in conducting an analysis on how external support impacted the prosecution and outcome of the Angolan Civil War is to examine the support each major external player provided. This analysis will also examine each major external player during three distinct time frames. Once this is complete for each major player the external support will be quantified. This will be done through a subjective, but logical evaluation of the relationship between internal and external players and support provided. Once this is completed an analysis of each internal player will be conducted. This will be synthesized with the external support and comparisons will be drawn on how specific types of support impacted the three internal players of the Angolan conflict in each of the three distinct time frames.

1975-1976

Following the Alvor agreement on 15 January 1975 the world was unaware of what would unfold later that same year - a bloody civil war that brought in multiple players and objectives. This war became a battle ground, not only for control of Angola, but also of global ideology and regional power. No one could have foreseen the complexities of the Angolan Civil War or the developments that would follow when the MPLA declared the independence of the People's Republic of Angola on November 11,

1975. Following that date Angola was doomed to become a pawn to much more influential and powerful countries around the globe.

Table 6. External Support Descriptive Analysis Matrix (1975-1976)

1975-1976	National Strategic Objectives	Angolan Movement Supported	Political Support	Financial Support	Sanctuary Support	Material Support	Military Unit Support
The United States	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stop the spread of Communism in Africa - Prevent USSR/Cuban access to Angolan airport facilities - Prevent USSR/Cuba from gaining a military advantage in the greater cold war 	FNLA/UNITA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Publicly stated it supported the FNLA in an effort to stop the Marxist MPLA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Initial \$300,000 in covert aid to FNLA later possibly as high as \$100 million - Majority of funding was funneled through Mobutu and never reached FNLA 	None provided	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Military aid was sent through Mobutu. This included vehicles, missiles, heavy weapons, ammunition, Radio equipment. Majority never reached FNLA/UNITA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - CIA supported mercenary program to assist FNLA and UNITA
The Soviet Union	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support communism in Angola - Gain access to Angolan oil and other resources as well as access to Angolan facilities - Defeat US interest and influence 	MPLA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recognized MPLA as legitimate government - October 1976 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the MPLA, USSR and Cuba 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By 1976 USSR had supplied MPLA with over \$400 million in monies, weapons, and equipment 	None provided	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Trained approximately 200 MPLA members in USSR - Military Advisors in Angola - Supplied small arms, SAM-7s, rockets, T-34s, T-54s, BRDM-2s, Helo gun ships, arty artillery, aircraft 	None provided
Cuba	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support communism in Angola - Ideological policy to defeat imperialism where it is weak which was believed to be in Africa - Support MPLA Government to create fundamental change 	MPLA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recognized MPLA as legitimate government - October 1976 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the MPLA, USSR and Cuba - 10 year public relationship 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Minimal direct monetary support 	None provided	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 480 trainers arrived in 1975. Set up four training centers - Various military supplies provided to the MPLA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - By spring of 1976 Cuba had over 10,000 troops in support of MPLA operations
South Africa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Stop the USSR influence in Southern Africa - Support regimes in the region that would accept South Africa's approach in the region - Protect the Cunene hydroelectric project 	FNLA/UNITA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Publicly supported the pro-western liberation movements in Angola 	None provided	None provided	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Weaponry and military supplies provided to UNITA forces - Provided military training to FNLA and UNITA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - SADF conducted Operation Zulu - Approximately 3000 SADF troops conducted operations in Angola
Zaire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support FNLA based on personal relationship - Ensure supportive government in Angola for access to coastline - Support FLEC to access oil resources in Cabinda 	FNLA/UNITA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Public hatred for the MPLA - Relationship with Holden Roberto which leads to public support of FNLA - Support of FLEC in Cabinda 	None provided	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provided sanctuary to UNITA and FNLA members 	None provided	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Over 1000 Zairian troops supported the FNLA
SWAPO	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Note: Information used in this chart was derived from sources used throughout this study.

The United States

Soon after the Alvor agreement was signed the United States began to look at the situation and figure out the best way to proceed. The United States had a relationship with Holden Roberto of the FNLA through the CIA which had used Roberto as an intelligence source (Prados 1986, 339). The United States was also aware that the MPLA was receiving support from the Soviet Union. The United States decided to get involved.

Initially there was some argument on which way to proceed, as it related to Angola, following the 1974 coup in Portugal. The United States believed that based on the influence of President Mobutu of Zaire a political victory over the Soviet backed MPLA by the FNLA and UNITA coalition was ensured (Ewke-Ekwe 1990, 73). Soon after the Alvor agreement was signed it became apparent that a political solution was not possible and that this was another attempt by the Soviet Union to grab power in Africa. This led to the United States following a policy of stopping the spread of communism in Africa and this meant providing support to anyone to stop the MPLA from assuming power in Angola. This quickly became a battle ground in the overall ideological struggle of the cold war.

The United States had suffered a defeat when Saigon fell that same year. It was important, in the eyes of the United States Government, to stop the communist nations of the USSR and Cuba from gaining a military advantage in the greater cold war. It also had the practical reason of denying airport and seaport facilities to the USSR and Cuba. One, the United States decided to take a supportive approach to the situation in Angola. The 40 Committee began to look at what support and to whom that support would go. The decision of the 40 committee was that the FNLA under Holden Roberto would be the organization they would use to stop the Soviet Union from gaining control in Angola. The reason the United States was supporting the FNLA had nothing to do with the actual struggle in Angola. This is best shown by responses given by the head of the CIA, William Colby, in 1975. When asked to describe the differences between the three factions in Angola he said “They are all independents. They are all for black Africa. They are all for some fuzzy kind of social system, you know, without really much articulation,

but some sort of let's not be exploited by the capitalist nations" (Blum 1986, 285). Colby was then asked why the Chinese were supporting the FNLA or UNITA (Blum 1986, 286). He stated "Because the Soviets are backing the MPLA is the simplest answer" (Blum 1986, 286). Following the statement by Congressman Aspen about the United States reasoning for being involved in Angola sounding the same as the Chinese reason, Colby stated "It is" (Blum 1986, 286).

The 40 Committee decided that supporting the FNLA was the best approach to the problem in Angola. The United States policy was set following this meeting and it was "support for the FNLA in an effort to stop the Marxist MPLA" (Falk 1988, 14). This was the public stance of the Ford administration and even though the differences between the three factions were minimal this public stance, which had little to do with Angolan sovereignty, alienated the MPLA. At this time UNITA was not publicly supported by the United States. Later, when the FNLA-UNITA coalition formed covertly the United States supported both the FNLA and UNITA but publicly support was solely reserved for Holden Roberto and the FNLA.

Following the 40 Committee meeting in January 1975 the CIA was authorized to send \$300,000 to the FNLA. The 40 Committee also decided not to support the proposal to send \$100,000 to UNITA (Guimarães 1998, 101). The \$300,000 was for use in political action against the MPLA. Shortly following this monetary support the FNLA did engage in violent action against the MPLA. In July of the same year, as it became obvious that military force was the only answer in Angola, the 40 Committee sent approximately \$14 million worth of military supplies to support both UNITA and the FNLA. This amount continued to increase to between \$60-\$100 million which included

vehicles, machine guns, rifles, missiles, ammunition and radio equipment (Ewke-Ewke 1990, 81). Most of this aid was shipped through Zaire and never made it to its intended destination. This aid came to an abrupt end when the Clark Amendment was passed by the House of Representatives in late January 1976 (Prados 1986, 346). Prior to the Clark Amendment support was not limited to just monetary and military hardware support. The CIA also recruited mercenary fighters to fight alongside the FNLA and UNITA.

Approximately 300 former United States ex-service members and another 400 from various other countries who passed through Britain on their way to Angola were funded through the CIA (James 1992, 75). These individuals fought with the FNLA and UNITA but were not nearly as efficient as expected. Often the mercenary units were roundly defeated by Cuban and MPLA troops.

The Soviet Union

The Soviet Union had been supporting the MPLA for 14 years prior to the Alvor agreement. This relationship set the stage for a policy that would give them access to the rich resources of Angola. It also provided another stage in the ideological struggle between the west and communism. The Soviet Union was surprised by the United States' reaction and later involvement in the struggle in Angola (James 1992, 71). It didn't believe that Angola would become a contested battleground between the west and communism. However, once it did, Soviet policy became clear. It was going to support the Marxist regime in Angola and ensure unfettered access to its resources and facilities. It also gave the Soviets a chance to defeat the United States and further diminish its global influence. The Soviet Union saw the United States' powers diminish following

Vietnam and this became an opportunity to deal the United States another defeat in the this ideological struggle.

On 11 November 1975 the Soviet Union had the opportunity to publicly support the MPLA as the legitimate government of Angola, which it did forcefully. This political support was further reinforced when the treaty of friendship and cooperation was signed in October 1976. The Soviet Union did more than just talk about support it backed it with funding, materiel and advisors.

By 1976 the Soviet Union had provided over \$400 million in monies, equipment and supplies to assist the MPLA gain power and maintain it (Bridgland 1990, 5). Massive amounts of weaponry was sent in these aid packages to include T34 and T54 tanks, SSMs, SAM-7s, BRDM-2s, helicopter gunships, heavy artillery and fighter aircraft (Ewke-Ewke 1990, 86). The Soviet Union also brought about 200 MPLA members to the USSR and East Germany for military training. They also provided approximately 400 military advisors to work directly with the MPLA in Angola (Klinghoffer 1980, 23).

Cuba

The Cubans had a 10 year relationship supporting the MPLA prior to the signing of the Alvor agreement. Following that agreement Cuban policy goals in Angola began to take shape. Cuba was much more ideological in its efforts in Angola. It saw itself as a vehicle to spread communist ideals globally. It also saw Angola as a place where it could defeat imperialism in an area it was weak. For the Cubans, this was part of a global ideological struggle and Angola was just another battlefield.

Cuba, like the Soviet Union, recognized the MPLA as the legitimate government in Angola in November 1975. The following year it signed the treaty of friendship and

cooperation with the MPLA and the Soviet Union. This political support was significantly backed by practical support to include a large number of Cuban troops that fought beside the MPLA.

Cuba did provide significant monetary support to the MPLA but its most significant support was through advisors, trainers, and combat troops. By January 1976 Cuba had between 10,000 – 12,000 troops on the ground in support of MPLA combat operations (Somerville 1990, 98). By the end of 1976 Cuban troop strength had grown to nearly 17,000 (Klinghoffer 1980, 131). The Cubans also had 480 military trainers whom set up four training camps in Angola for MPLA troops (Klinghoffer 1980, 134).

South Africa

The major concern for South Africa in the 1970s was the continuous engagement of the Soviet Union in African affairs. When Angola found itself struggling to develop a government between the three factions that had challenged Portuguese rule, South Africa became extremely concerned with the MPLA and Soviet relationship. Based on this and the support a pro-Soviet Angola would provide to SWAPO the South African policy of non-intervention was ignored (Hanf, 1981, 72). In Angola the South African objective was to oppose Soviet influence in the region by supporting pro-western organizations. South Africa supported UNITA and the FNLA. Another area of particular concern was the Cunene Hydroelectric project in Southern Angola and the concern for the South African workers involved in the project. This gave South Africa a specific objective to assert its regional power in Angola.

South Africa publicly supported the pro-western factions in Angola, but was more about ensuring Soviet support in the region would be challenged. South Africa also used

this conflict to stifle Namibian independence through its continuous struggle with SWAPO, which was also supported by the Soviet Union.

South Africa initially sent a military force to secure the hydroelectric complex. Soon, they used this as a staging base to launch search and destroy missions into Angola to hunt down and destroy SWAPO camps (James 1992, 62). This expanded into conducting operations in conjunction with the FNLA and UNITA forces - the most famous operation being named “Operation Zulu”, in which South Africa committed approximately 3000 combat troops (James 1992, 149). South Africa also supported UNITA with weapons, ammunition and other military related supplies and both with military training. South Africa was mostly aligned with and had the closest working relationship with UNITA.

Zaire

President Mobutu became the middle man for the United States as it covertly supported the FNLA. However, Zaire did have its own objectives as it related to Angola. The two major objectives Zaire had as it related to Angola was to ensure a supportive government assumed power in Angola and to gain influence over the oil resources in Cabinda through support to the FLEC (Guimarães 1998, 104).

Publicly Zaire supported the FNLA based on the relationship between Roberto and Mobutu. Also, the animosity between Zaire and the MPLA over the oil rich Cabinda region lead to anti-MPLA rhetoric by Mobutu. Also, the ties with the United States played into the decision to support the FNLA.

Zaire had provided sanctuary support to the Bakongo people for years and once the conflict for control in Angola began Zaire continued to provide that sanctuary support

but expanded it to UNITA forces as well. This allowed for planning to take place in a safe environment and it also provided a safe area to conduct training of FNLA and UNITA forces.

Zaire also contributed troops to the conflict in Angola. Approximately 1000 Zairian troops conducted operations alongside FNLA troops (James 1992, 63). These troops had early success in Angola but were defeated soundly by MPLA and Cuban forces in early 1976.

Quantitative Analysis

As we examine this time frame it becomes clear that the MPLA had the preponderance of viable support from external players. The MPLA was supported by Cuba and the Soviet Union while UNITA and the FNLA were supported by the United States, South Africa and Zaire. The difference was the level and commitment of the support received by these internal factions.

Table 7. Quantitative Analysis Matrix (1975-1976)

1975-1976	Supporting Foreign Countries	Strategic Objective Support Commonality	Political Support Value	Financial Support Value	Sanctuary Support Value	Material Support Value	Military Unit Support Value	External Support Multiplier
MPLA	USSR	High	3	3	0	3	0	18
	Cuba	High	3	0	0	3	3	
UNITA	USA	Low	0	0	0	0	1	7
	South Africa	Low	1	0	0	1	2	
	Zaire	Low	0	0	1	0	1	
FNLA	USA	Low	1	1	0	0	1	10
	South Africa	Low	1	0	0	1	2	
	Zaire	Low	1	0	1	0	1	

The support received by the MPLA was evaluated as high for both external players when it came to the strategic objective support commonality. This was based on the fact that both external players had parallel goals with the MPLA. This then had a direct impact on the specific support areas.

The political support received scored a three for both external players. They both had historical ties with the MPLA and vocally supported their claim of being the rightful government of Angola. The Soviet Union saw this as a chance to once again create a communist state friendly to their ideology and Cuba saw this as an ideological struggle with the West. In both cases the support was powerful enough to have an impact that reached across the globe.

The financial support was also provided by the Soviet Union. This support was significant and the support value score of three was assessed. The money spent was

significant and played a major role in creating much needed capital that was used to increase the MPLAs war fighting capability.

The materiel support value given for both external players was a three. This was based on the materiel provided which had an immediate and significant impact on the MPLAs war fighting capability. This support advanced the MPLA much further than either of their two internal competitors was able to achieve.

The final area for the MPLA was military unit support. This was the turning point of the conflict and therefore also received a value of three. The number of troops provided at a critical point in time turned the tide of the tactical situation on the ground. The Cubans significantly contributed to the MPLAs success both tactically and strategically during this time frame.

The FNLA and UNITA received external support from three major contributors – South Africa, The United States and Zaire. The strategic objectives of these external entities did not have the same commonality as the external entities did in relation to the MPLA. All three entities in support of the FNLA and UNITA rated as low in this area. The United States was concerned about the Soviet Union and its influence, but there was no real concern for who was challenging the Soviet proxy. South Africa initially got involved to secure South African workers at the Cunene Hydroelectric complex. Later this became a staging base to challenge the MPLA and the Soviet Union, but also to conduct raids into Angola directed against SWAPO. This didn't match the FNLA strategic objectives. Lastly was Zaire. Zaire initially got involved to gain influence over the oil rich Cabinda region of Angola, but also to ensure access to the larger coastline

through Angola. There was an objective to ensure a supportive government took power in Angola, but this was a way to ensure the main objectives could be achieved.

The political support received by the FNLA was assessed as a one from all three external players. The United States did publicly state that they supported the FNLA but there was no real distinction between any of the three factions in the view of the policy makers in Washington. Also, the support began to dissipate later in 1976 and eventually political support was nonexistent from the United States. South Africa did publicly support all movements challenging the MPLA. This included being the only major foreign entity that supported UNITA. This didn't specifically provide the FNLA or UNITA with political support from South Africa. Zaire was tied to the FNLA tightly since Holden Roberto and Zairian President Mobutu were related through marriage. Zaire was also tied to UNITA since they had provided support for the Bakongo people for years. This initially looked like an area that would rate high in political support for both UNITA and the FNLA but Mobutu had his own objectives and often spoke disparagingly about Holden Roberto and ignored Jonas Savimbi. Overall the political support was not whole heartedly behind the FNLA or UNITA.

The financial support the FNLA received was solely from the United States and rated a one. FNLA support was minimal initially but grew to a substantial amount later in the conflict, however, most never reached FNLA or UNITA forces. President Mobutu, acting as the middleman for the United States, embezzled a large portion of the monies meant for the FNLA. Later, as the FNLA along with UNITA and South African forces advanced onto Luanda the United States cut off all funding to the FNLA.

Sanctuary support was provided by Zaire. The FNLA did use this during the conflict with the Portuguese prior to the independence of Angola, but during this time frame it was never a major factor therefore it was rated as a one. Both UNITA and FNLA troops used these safe havens for training early in the conflict but later it did not serve much value to either organization. Most of the FNLA and UNITA troops were engaged in direct combat operations during this time frame.

South Africa provided minimal materiel support and moderate military unit support to the FNLA and UNITA during this time frame. The impact of the materiel support was minimal though necessary. However, because it was not a robust support package it was rated as a one. The military unit support was significant in this operation. The SADF fighting alongside FNLA and UNITA forces was initially very successful. The support was low in number of troops conducting operations and for that reason military unit support from South Africa was rated a two.

The United States also provided military support in the form of Mercenary units operating with UNITA and the FNLA. These units were ineffective operating with both factions and often caused more problems than they solved. They did provide an additional fighting force and for that reason the support provided by the United States was rated as a one. Zaire also had forces operating directly with FNLA forces and in support of UNITA and the SADF. Their small number and eventual defeat at the hands of an overwhelming force consisting of MPLA and Cuban forces places this support at a rating of one as well. Overall the foreign forces were also less effective due to the fact that much of the operation named “Zulu” was based on continued support from the

United States. If that support had continued the outcome may have been different and the ratings of the SADF and Zairian forces may have also improved.

1977-1980

By 1977 the MPLA had soundly defeated UNITA and the FNLA through the support of the Soviet Union and Cuba. The commitment from both nations was firm while the support UNITA and the FNLA received was not nearly as committed. This, however, did not end the conflict in Angola. External players with their own objectives ensured the conflict would continue. Angola was to see that this bloody civil war would continue for the foreseeable future and that regional change was now linked directly to the conflict in Angola. The FNLA lost the majority of its support internally and externally and became a non-factor militarily, but UNITA was able to regroup and reorganize to continue the fight for control of Angola.

Table 8. External Support Descriptive Analysis Matrix (1977-1980)

1977-1980	National Strategic Objectives	Angolan Movement Supported	Political Support	Financial Support	Sanctuary Support	Material Support	Military Unit Support
The United States	-Passage of Clark Amendment takes away active support to FNLA/UNITA. -Focus on human rights issues, distance itself from S. Africa -Talk of MPLA recognition -Neutral in relation to Angola	None	None provided	-Attempts to repeal Clark Amendment failed. -None provided	None provided	None provided	None provided
The Soviet Union	-Support hard line communist approach in Angola. Gain access to Angolan oil and other resources. -Use relationship to sell military equipment in fight against UNITA.	MPLA	-Continued support of the MPLA but desired a more hard line approach. -Supported Nito Alves and may have assisted in coup attempt.	-USSR pledged continued financial support, however majority of support came as military equipment which the USSR sold to the MPLA. USSR demanded debt be repaid.	None provided	-Continued supplying military equipment to the MPLA, but demanded payment. -continued to support the MPLA with military advisors.	None provided
Cuba	-Support communism in Angola. -Ideological policy to defeat imperialism in Africa. -Support Neto and later Dos Santos MPLA Government. -Supported MPLA transition to a Leninist party.	MPLA	-Continued to publicly support the MPLA. -Long standing relationship of support.	-Minimal direct monetary support	None provided	-Over 5000 Cuban advisors in Angola. -A few hundred military instructors in Angola.	- By 1979 Cuba had over 20,000 troops in Angola.
South Africa	-Stop the USSR/Cuban influence in Southern Africa. -Destroy SWAPO safe havens in Angola. -Support UNITA to aid in the destruction of SWAPO and those that provide them safe havens.	UNITA	-Publicly supported UNITA in its struggle against the MPLA.	None provided	None provided	-Weaponry and military supplies provided to UNITA forces	-SADF conducted numerous raids into Angola against SWAPO.
Zaire	-Negotiate with MPLA to ensure access to coastline for the export of copper -Support FLEC to access oil resources in Cabinda -Maintain association with UNITA and FNLA	UNITA	-Diplomatic relationship with MPLA. -By reopening the Benguela Railroad Mobutu recognized MPLA authority in Angola -Support of FLEC in Cabinda.	None provided	-Provided sanctuary to UNITA members. -Continued to provide the Bakongo people sanctuary	None provided	None provided
SWAPO	-Creation of an independent Namibia	MPLA	-Publicly supported the MPLA	None provided	None provided	None provided	-Conducted operations with MPLA forces against South African and UNITA forces.

Note: Information used in this chart was derived from sources used throughout this study.

The United States

Support to Angola was no longer flowing from the United States based on the passage of the Clark Amendment. A new administration was in place in Washington and that brought with it a new policy towards Angola. The Carter administration's objectives, as it related to Angola, was one focused on human rights issues. It also wanted to distance itself from South Africa and begin negotiations with the MPLA (Falk 1988, 19). By 1979 President Carter initiated talks to discuss Angolan issues. The hope was that this would lead to the establishment of a UN Security Council resolution that linked the withdrawal of Cuban troops to Namibian independence (Falk 1988, 21).

The Carter administration did attempt to repeal the Clark Amendment to create the possibility of changing strategies to once again supporting anti-communist factions in

Angola (James 1992, 147). The thought was that the administration would have used this opportunity to send covert aid to UNITA as it began to regroup and challenge MPLA authority in Angola. President Carter was not successful in this endeavor and UNITA remained unsupported by the United States during this time frame.

The Soviet Union

In 1977 the Soviet Union saw itself victorious over western ideals. They had brought a socialist regime to power by assisting them in defeating two western supported factions. Of course now the Soviet Union wanted to ensure the ideals of communism were fully brought to bear in Angola. They also wanted to be repaid for the support they had provided to the MPLA over the past two years of conflict and civil war. These would become contentious issues over the next few years.

In 1977 the Soviet Union began to press Agostinho Neto to take a more hard line communist approach in his country. Neto did resist this, but did institute a program by creating the department of internal education. This institution was used to “promote more coordinated and intensive action in the political and ideological training of militants” (Adelman 1977, 15). The differences between the Soviets and the MPLA were significant enough to have possibly caused the Soviets to back a coup attempt by Nito Alves (Falk 1988, 20).

Despite the rifts between the Soviets and the MPLA support still came to the MPLA. The support was in the form of weapons and advisors. In 1977 the weaponry sent to the MPLA from the Soviet Union included 85 tanks, 33 MiG-17s/21s and some limited ADA equipment (Adelman 1977, 17). They also sent advisors to train the Angolan secret police.

The relationship between the two countries remained friendly throughout the late 1970s. Except for the coup attempt that may have involved the Soviet Union and the differences on communist re-education the goals still remained the same for both. It was about defeating the remaining opposition in the region and keeping a secure Angola under the control of the MPLA.

Cuba

The ideological reasons for getting involved stirred the Cubans to stay in Angola and even increase their troop levels until all challengers to the MPLA's authority were destroyed. Cuban troops, however, were struggling in a foreign land where culturally the differences with the Angolans caused major issues on both sides. The MPLA still needed the assistance of the Cubans to ensure success against the various threats they still faced. Relations between the Cubans and the Angolans, however, were tenuous. The Cubans believed that the Angolans were terrible fighters and cowards (Adelman 1977, 16). The Angolans viewed the Cubans as racist (Adelman 1977, 16).

Even with these issues on the ground the Cubans were supporting the MPLA with every element of national power they could bring to the fight. They continued to publicly support the MPLA as the rightful government of Angola. They continued to send advisors and trainers to Angola and in the late 1970s the Cubans had over 5000 military advisors and a few hundred military trainers/instructors in Angola supporting the MPLA. They also had over 20,000 troops on the ground conducting operations in Angola by 1979 (James 1992, 202). The support given by Cuba continued to be significant for the MPLA.

South Africa

In 1975 the SADF was all but ensured victory in Angola. They continued to win battles against the MPLA; they successfully integrated themselves with UNITA and FNLA forces. The Zairian military had also joined the conflict and was the middleman for US monies flowing into the area to support the FNLA and UNITA against the MPLA. This all came to a shocking end when the Cubans, with Soviet equipment and money, turned the tide dramatically in 1976 and the SADF made the decision to withdraw.

South Africa was now faced with diminishing power in southern Africa and an escalating problem with Namibian independence. Further, the United States was attempting to distance itself from the government of South Africa. To change the current pattern in southern Africa the government of South Africa focused on challenging Soviet and Cuban influence in the region, eliminating the SWAPO threat in Angola and supporting UNITA to aid in this fight against SWAPO and Soviet/Cuban influence in the region.

South Africa had continued to support UNITA and by 1977 the SADF had begun to conduct cross-border operations, against SWAPO safe havens, in conjunction with UNITA forces (Somerville 1990, 148). South African activity continued to increase in the late 1970s and continued into the 1980s. Their support had successfully revitalized UNITA and once again they posed a substantial challenge to the Soviet/Cuban backed MPLA.

Zaire

In 1976 Zairian forces under the command of the FNLA and Holden Roberto were soundly defeated by the MPLA and Cuban forces. Once this occurred President

Mobutu realized that a change in his own policies was necessary for his own survival. He began to negotiate with the MPLA to ensure he maintained access to Angolan ports to support Zaire's copper industry. President Mobutu still maintained his support for the separatists in the Cabinda region of Angola and still maintained an association with both the FNLA and UNITA.

Politically President Mobutu decided to establish a diplomatic relationship with the MPLA which, by default, lent to de-facto recognition of the MPLA as the legitimate government of Angola. This was due to his need for access to the Benguela Railroad. However, he did continue his support for the FLEC in Cabinda. His support to the FNLA was minimal but he still provided sanctuary support to the FNLA. He did the same for UNITA, but also covertly remained supportive of UNITA actions against the MPLA. Overall Zaire was looking to protect its own self interest in the region.

SWAPO

During the conflict in 1975-1976 SWAPO was operating in Angola but not in coordination with Angola. By 1977 that had changed. SWAPO was now working directly with the MPLA. SWAPO established safe havens with MPLA backing in Angola, conducted training in Angola and conducted raids into Namibia as it continued to strive to achieve its goal of creating an independent Namibia (James 1992, 146).

As South Africa conducted attacks into Angola to destroy SWAPO safe havens the MPLA began to assist SWAPO. South Africa also used UNITA forces to conduct attacks against SWAPO. This led to conflicts where South African forces and UNITA forces faced MPLA and SWAPO forces together. The impact was an increased combat capability due to the increased number of veteran troops which SWAPO provided. The

new player was now an integral part of the conflict in Angola just as the MPLA had become an integral part of the fight for Namibian independence.

Quantitative Analysis

As this time frame was examined it was clear that the dynamics in Angola had changed. The MPLA was the established government in Angola while UNITA and the FNLA had suffered significant defeats. Foreign influence had won the day for the MPLA and it continued to have significant impact on the continuing conflict in the country.

Table 9. Quantitative Analysis Matrix (1977-1980)

1977-1980	Supporting Foreign Countries	Strategic Objective Support Commonality	Political Support Value	Financial Support Value	Sanctuary Support Value	Material Support Value	Military Unit Support Value	External Support Multiplier
MPLA	USSR	Medium	2	0	0	3	0	17
	Cuba	High	3	0	0	3	3	
	Zaire	Low	1	0	0	0	0	
	SWAPO	Low	1	0	0	0	1	
UNITA	South Africa	High	2	0	0	3	3	9
	Zaire	Low	0	0	1	0	0	
FNLA	Zaire	Low	0	0	1	0	0	1

The support received by the MPLA from Cuba remained high when it came to the strategic objective support commonality. Soviet support was reduced somewhat and was assessed as medium. The reason for this was that Cuba was ideologically driven to support communist governments in Africa. The Soviet support was reduced since it

challenged the MPLA to take a more hard line approach to creating a truly communist nation. The tension and differences caused the Soviets to support challengers to Agostinho Neto, possibly being supportive of a coup attempt in Angola.

Zaire was another nation that was forced to work with the MPLA due to its own economic interests. However, Zaire never fully supported the MPLA and was still actively supporting other factions within Angola. Its commonality was rated as low.

The political support the MPLA received varied. The Soviet Union was rated as a two based on the disagreements about how to proceed ideologically. The hard line approach demanded by the Soviets did reduce the effectiveness of its political support to the MPLA. The Cubans didn't let troublesome issues impact their political support for the MPLA. In Angola there were major struggles with Cuban forces and their interaction with the Angolans but it never impacted the political level. Therefore, the Cuban political support was rated as a three. The final country was Zaire. The only support to the MPLA that Zaire provided was forced upon them based on Zairian interests. The de-facto recognition of the MPLA legitimacy did have an impact on the conflict in Angola. However, it was minimal and therefore rated as a one. SWAPO also provided political support to the MPLA. As a non state entity this support was not extremely significant and was rated as a one.

The materiel support was the next support area that was assessed as it dealt with the MPLA. Two countries continued to provide materiel support and they were the USSR and Cuba. The Soviet support was based on arms sales to the MPLA. Large amounts of military equipment and supplies were provided by the Soviets. This continued to support the MPLAs growing military and increased its capabilities. Cuba provided advisors and

instructors to the MPLA. This support was also critical for the advancement of the MPLA forces. Both countries rated a three in this area of support.

The final area for the MPLA was military unit support. This continued to be supplied almost solely by Cuba. Cuban troop strength doubled during this time frame and operations against UNITA and the SADF were common by these troops. This remained a major area of support to the MPLA and is rated as a three. SWAPO also assisted in operations against UNITA forces. This assistance was provided by necessity but it did impact operations. The impact was somewhat minimal so this support was rated as a one.

The FNLA and UNITA were soundly defeated by the MPLA and their backers in 1976. The loss of US support in the midst of the struggle with the MPLA and the increased support the MPLA received was devastating. The FNLA lost all but minimal support from Zaire. UNITA was forced to retreat into the Ovimbundu homeland of the central and interior portion of Angola. There they were able to regroup and show they could still be a viable fighting force against the MPLA. Because of this South Africa continued to support UNITA and in 1977 South Africa resumed operations against SWAPO in conjunction with UNTIA forces. The strategic objective support commonality was rated as high because of the goals of these joint operations. South Africa was not fighting against the MPLA directly but because operations against SWAPO included major contact with MPLA forces the commonality was significant to UNITA. The SADF and UNITA targeted the same locations and fought against the same elements and became perfect partners during this time frame.

The political support received by UNITA from South Africa was assessed as a two. South Africa publicly supported UNITA but its major focus was on SWAPO and its

MPLA connection. It was significant support to UNITA but not complete since the political issue was SWAPO and their desire for an independent Namibia.

Sanctuary support continued to be provided by Zaire. This gave an area for the Bakongo people to retreat to following the defeat of the FNLA and it also provided another safe haven for UNITA forces. It was only rated a one however, because the majority of UNITA occupied territory was not readily accessible by MPLA forces. Therefore the sanctuary provided by Zaire was not that significant.

South Africa provided significant materiel support and military unit support to UNITA during this time frame. Initially the materiel support enabled UNITA to regroup. Without the materiel support provided by South Africa UNITA would have struggled to be an effective force against the MPLA. Because of this and the continued support provided by South Africa throughout this time frame this support area was rated a three. The SADF resumed operations against SWAPO and fought alongside UNITA forces during these operations. This support allowed UNITA to conduct operations to legitimize its capabilities as a viable challenger to the MPLA government. Victories were also frequently based on the South African military unit support. Therefore this area of support was rated as a three and really allowed UNITA to become viable once again.

1981-1988

By 1981 the conflict in Angola had become extremely active and violent once again. The FNLA had been turned into a non-player in the conflict and became a minor political entity in Angola. The MPLA was in support of SWAPO and still received significant support from Cuba and the Soviet Union. UNITA had revived itself after its initial defeat and had legitimized itself as a prominent player in the conflict in Angola

with South African support. A resolution to the Angolan conflict didn't seem possible, but in this time frame major changes would occur that would begin to establish a framework for the end of the Angolan factions being used as proxies in a greater global ideological conflict between communism and the west.

Table 10. External Support Descriptive Analysis Matrix (1981-1988)

1981-1988	National Strategic Objectives	Angolan Movement Supported	Political Support	Financial Support	Sanctuary Support	Material Support	Military Unit Support
The United States	-Change of policy with the Reagan administration. -Southern Africa a focus to stop Soviet expansion. -Policy for Cuban troop withdrawal from southern Africa. -Clark Amendment repealed '85.	UNITA	-Initially supported compromise. -Later supported UNITA.	-None prior to 1985. -In 1986 provided \$15 million in support of UNITA forces and another \$15 million was provided in 1987.	None provided	-Provided Stinger Missiles to UNITA along with other military equipment and supplies.	None provided
The Soviet Union	-Support the MPLA. -Gain access to Angolan oil and other resources. -By 1985 shift to negotiations to end involvement and control of Angola.	MPLA	-Continued support of the MPLA.	-USSR provided over \$5 billion in aid to Angola in military hardware and supplies.	None provided	-Continued supplying military equipment to the MPLA. -Provided the MPLA with 960 military advisors during this timeframe.	None provided
Cuba	-Support the Angolan government. -Ideological policy to defeat imperialism in Africa. -Protect Angolan people from racist regional neighbor's aggression.	MPLA	-Continued to publicly support the MPLA. -Long standing relationship of support.	None provided	None provided	-Approximately 10000 Cuban advisors in Angola. -A hundreds of military instructors in Angola.	-By 1987 Cuba had over 37,000 troops in Angola. -By 1988 Cuba had over 50,000 troops in Angola.
South Africa	-Stop the USSR/Cuban influence in Southern Africa. -Destroy SWAPO safe havens And destabilize Angola. -Support UNITA to aid in the destruction of SWAPO and those that provide them safe havens.	UNITA	-Publicly supported UNITA in its struggle against the MPLA.	None provided	None provided	-Weaponry and military supplies provided to UNITA forces	-SADF conducted operations with UNITA against SWAPO, MPLA and Cuban forces.
Zaire	-Become major player in region as a negotiator -Support FLEC to access oil resources in Cabinda -Maintain association with UNITA	UNITA	-Attempted to garner a settlement between MPLA and UNITA. -Support of FLEC in Cabinda.	None provided	-Provided sanctuary to UNITA members.	None provided	None provided
SWAPO	-Creation of an independent Namibia	MPLA	-Publicly supported the MPLA	None provided	None provided	None provided	-Conducted operations with MPLA forces against South African and UNITA forces.

Note: Information used in this chart was derived from sources used throughout this study.

The United States

A new administration in Washington was about to bring changes to the United States policy and approach to southern Africa. Particularly in Angola the idea of constructive engagement was about to become a major foreign policy concept. The United States was attempting to stop Soviet expansion in southern Africa. The primary issue the United States was attempting to negotiate in Angola was to create a way to

establish an independent Namibia in exchange for Cuban troop withdrawal (Falk 1988, 21).

Continued failures in the negotiations dealing with Angola lead to a change in policy by the United States. The new Reagan Doctrine became the new policy for the United States. This doctrine stated that the United States would support anticommunist organizations in the third world (Falk 1988, 21). In the same year, 1985, the Reagan administration was able to repeal the Clark Amendment which allowed for monies to once again be used in support of rebel organizations that opposed communist regimes.

With this new freedom to support these organizations the Reagan administration quickly established a \$15 million support package for UNITA in 1986 and then again in 1987. This financial package allowed for the purchase of Stinger missiles by UNITA. The United States also supplied UNITA with other military hardware and supplies (James 1988, 172). With this support from the United States UNITA began a series of major combat operations against the MPLA and Cuban forces.

The Soviet Union

The Soviet Union in the early 1980s continued to support the MPLA and the Cubans as they continued to fight against UNITA and South Africa. From 1982-1984 the Soviet Union supplied the MPLA and Cuba with over \$2 billion to assist with the conflict in Angola (Falk 1988, 22). This financial commitment continued until the Cuban withdrawal of troops late in the 1980s. By the end of this time frame the Soviet Union had provided over \$5 billion in support to this conflict.

During the 1980s the Soviet Union continued to use its financial package to increase the military equipment being sent to Angola to increase the effectiveness of the

MPLA and Cuban forces. The Soviet Union also sent numerous military advisors to Angola. In 1987 the total number of Soviet military advisors in Angola was over 950.

The big shift in Angola was in 1985. This time not only brought US support to UNITA, but it also brought a new policy to Angola. This shift wanted to negotiate a solution to the Angolan problem so Soviet support could end in Angola. This shift in policy eventually led to the withdrawal of Cuban troops and the end of Soviet support to the MPLA. Once this began in 1988 the United Nations became the major player in the settlement between the MPLA and UNITA.

Cuba

As Cuban involvement moved into the 1980s their policy remained the same. Cuba was continuing to support the MPLA and actively fighting against what they saw as imperialism in Africa. They also saw themselves as protecting Angola from a racist regional neighbor (Falk 1988, 22).

The major support was provided through military advisors, instructors and most importantly combat troops on the ground. Approximately 10,000 Cuban military advisors were in Angola by the late 1980s (Falk 1988, 22). In 1987 Cuban had over 37,000 combat troops in Angola to conduct combat operations with the MPLA against UNITA and the SADF (Bridgland 1990, 18). By 1988 that number had increased to over 50,000 combat troops in Angola (James 1992, 231).

South Africa

In 1981 the SADF had seen considerable success militarily but the South African government had seen complete failure politically. South Africa had lost support from the

west due to its policy of apartheid. They also began to see the United States use Namibian independence as a negotiating point to force Cuban troop withdrawal. In the 1980s South Africa was a country that found itself, in their view, standing alone in the fight against communism and its influence in Africa. This did change when the United States repealed the Clark Amendment and provided support to UNITA.

South Africa continued to publicly support UNITA and aggressively attacked SWAPO elements within Angolan territory. They also continued to support UNITA with military equipment and combat troops. These troops were effective, but due to the structure of the SADF the majority of the combat troops were made up of young men fulfilling their national service obligation (Bridgland 1990, 225). Even with this constant turnover and inexperienced soldiers the combat troop support provided to UNITA was invaluable.

Zaire

The change from early in the Angolan conflict to the 1980s was dramatic. President Mobutu during this time frame wanted to change his image. He was trying to become more of a statesman who was a true power in southern Africa. The United States had been quite critical of his regime and he felt by assisting in the creation of peace in Angola he could stop or slow down the criticism from the United States (James 1992, 244). Of course he still supported the FLEC and maintained a relationship with Jonas Savimbi and UNITA. He also still provided sanctuary support to UNITA.

SWAPO

Throughout the late 1970s SWAPO had continued to fight for their goal of Namibian independence. They had gained popular support during this time frame as the world began to move away from support to South Africa. By 1981 even the United States, who had viewed the MPLA as a proxy of communist expansion, was supporting the idea of Namibian independence without a concern about the relationship they had with the MPLA. SWAPO had finally reached a position where Namibian independence looked inevitable.

As the conflict moved into the 1980s SWAPO elements continued to work directly with MPLA forces. Their manpower was limited but the relationship with the MPLA was beneficial to both. The MPLA was garnering support in Africa for its support of SWAPO (James 1992, 207). Of course, in the struggle against UNITA, SWAPO did benefit the MPLA as it continued to use outside military troop support to counter SADF and UNITA actions.

Quantitative Analysis

This time frame continued to see UNITA and South African forces aggressively target SWAPO and MPLA forces. Foreign influence by the two major countries of the cold war era had begun to change in some instances. This had a major impact on the internal conflict. The MPLA still controlled the country and they continued to grow in strength based on the support received from its two major supporters. UNITA, however, had also grown in strength based on the revitalized support it was receiving from its two major supporters.

Table 11. Quantitative Analysis Matrix (1977-1980)

1981-1988	Supporting Foreign Countries	Strategic Objective Support Commonality	Political Support Value	Financial Support Value	Sanitary Support Value	Material Support Value	Military Unit Support Value	External Support Multiplier
MPLA	USSR	Medium	2	3	0	3	0	19
	Cuba	High	3	0	0	3	3	
	SWAPO	Low	1	0	0	0	1	
UNITA	USA	Medium	2	2	0	2	0	15
	South Africa	High	2	0	0	3	3	
	Zaire	Low	0	0	1	0	0	
FNLA								0

The strategic objective support commonality between Cuba and the MPLA remained high and the Soviet support was assessed as remaining medium. Cuba was still ideologically driven to support communist governments in Africa and after five years of military support to the conflict they were completely invested in the outcome. The Soviet support was reduced since it challenged the MPLA to take a more hard line approach to creating a truly communist nation. The tension and differences caused the Soviets to support challengers to Agostinho Neto, possibly being supportive of a coup attempt in Angola. SWAPO also remained as a player in the Angolan conflict. Their objective was still about creating an independent Namibia which was different from the goal of the MPLA, but due to the common enemy of South Africa this created a commonality that was important. However, because of the goal differences this commonality was assessed as low.

The political support the MPLA received varied. The Soviet Union was rated as a two based on the conflicts with the MPLA government on how they would proceed as a government. Also, the Soviet Union changed its approach in 1985. Due to economic problems in the USSR the new approach focused on negotiations to solve the issues in Angola in hopes it would stabilize so they would be able to end the need for financial and materiel backing from the USSR. The Cubans continued to support Angola from an ideological perspective. This along with the current years of Cuban blood being spilled on the African continent rates this political support as a three. SWAPO continued to provide political support to the MPLA. It also continued to be rated a one since it was still a non-state actor and the political support wasn't very significant globally.

Financial support was provided, once again, by the Soviet Union. This financial support reached over \$5 billion in monies and materiel assistance. This allowed the MPLA to continue its modernization of its military and increase its troop levels significantly to counter the increasing strength of UNITA. This support was rated as a three based on its significance to the MPLA's military growth.

The materiel support was provided by its two major backers, Cuba and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union provided military materiel as discussed earlier, but also provided over 950 military advisors in support of the MPLA. For this, along with the equipment given to the MPLA, the materiel support value was rated as a three. Cuba provided approximately 10,000 advisors and hundreds of instructors to the MPLA. This was once again rated as a three just as it had been in the late 1970s because it continued to be a critical asset in the advancement of MPLA forces.

Military units support continued to grow in the 1980s. Cuban troop strength continued to grow and by the late 1980s had reached over 50,000. Cuba was the major contributor in this area to the MPLA and was therefore rated as a three. SWAPO also began to increase its troop strengths and it continued to conduct operations with MPLA forces. It was not nearly as significant as the Cuban support but it still played an important role in the overall conflict in Angola. Because of this SWAPO military unit support was rated as a one.

By this time frame UNITA was the only remaining major challenger to the MPLA. As a result the United States and South Africa began to look at UNITA as the preferred option in Angola. The support commonality was still not exactly aligned since the United States saw this as a way to defeat the Soviet Union and stop communist expansion on the continent. The United States also had major concerns about Cuban involvement. For the United States a UNITA victory wasn't integral to achieving its strategic goals. The commonality was similar enough however to stimulate enough support to back UNITA. Therefore the commonality was assessed as medium. South African commonality was also rated as medium. Similar to the United States it was also focused on stopping Soviet expansion. The other major strategic objective was to stop the SWAPO independence movement. Based on the way South Africa was approaching the problem it created a strategic commonality between UNITA and South Africa emerged.

Financial support was once again provided by the United States. This time it was solely provided to UNITA. This support didn't start until 1986 but when it did it became significant for the effectiveness of UNITA. This was rated as a two because the financial

support started late into the examined time frame but also because it was still woefully short of competing with the Soviet Union's support.

Sanctuary support continued to be provided by Zaire. This did provide a place to train UNITA forces and where senior leaders could go to recharge before returning to the fight in Angola. However based on the significance it was rated as a one.

Materiel support came from the two major entities in support of UNITA, the United States and South Africa. After the repeal of the Clark amendment the United States provided military equipment that had an immediate impact on combat operations. Also, the additional military supplies assisted UNITA operations significantly. South Africa was the other entity and without the materiel support provided by South Africa UNITA would have had trouble sustaining itself especially early in this time frame. Both were rated as a three in this support area due to the impact the military equipment had on the success of UNITA operations.

The last area is military unit support which was provided by South Africa. South Africa continued to provide effective military support through operations against SWAPO, the MPLA and Cuban forces. The SADF was a major military power in the region and was significant to UNITA's operations. It was rated as a three because of its importance to successful UNITA operations.

Comparative Strength Analysis

1975-1976

Following the signing of the Alvor agreement the three major factions began to position themselves to gain control in Angola. The agreement created an equal division of military personnel into the new coalition government. The agreement stated that each

group would have 8,000 troops in the new Angolan force. This was not followed by any of the groups in the coalition government. These internal developments had a direct consequence on the Angolan conflict and impacted the efficiencies of the external support received by the various players.

The first area of comparison is the troop strength levels. The coalition members were not supposed to exceed the prescribed 8,000 man force stated in the Alvor agreement. Soon after the agreement was signed all three began to establish a much larger force than was allowed in the agreement. The MPLA began to increase its strength and eventually achieved a military force of approximately 20,000 troops (Saunders 1983, 28). UNITA forces continued to expand as well and reached over 40,000 by 1975 (James 1992, 101). The FNLA reached approximately 21,000 in the same time frame (James 1992, 100).

Equipment and weaponry also impacted the capabilities of the internal factions. The MPLA was receiving massive support from the Soviet Union and their military became much more modern and capable because of this influx of equipment. UNITA and the FNLA did receive military hardware and supplies but most were small arms. These supplies and equipment were not as robust as what the MPLA received and neither the FNLA nor UNITA reached the level of effectiveness as did the MPLA.

Table 12. Descriptive Comparative Strength Analysis Matrix (1975-1976)

1975-1976	Troop Strength	Equipment/ Weaponry	Resource Availability	Population Support
MPLA	-20,000 man force	- Equipment and weaponry increased over time. The addition of tanks, aircraft, ADA, SSMs, and other related military equipment was received during this timeframe.	-Access to the northern portion of the country based on support base. -Controlled Luanda	-Support from the Kimbundu ethnic group from the northern and coastal areas of Angola
UNITA	-40,000 man force	-Majority of equipment was small arms and much never reach UNITA forces. -Heavier equipment was also received during this timeframe.	-Limited Access to resources	-Support from the Ovimbundu ethnic group from the center interior of Angola. -Largest ethnic group in Angola.
FNLA	-21,000 man force	-Majority of equipment was small arms and much never reach FNLA forces. -Heavier equipment was also received during this timeframe.	-Limited Access to resources	-Support from the Bakongo ethnic group from the northern part of the country. -Once MPLA gain control in the north much of FNLA's population support was suppressed.

Note: Information used in this chart was derived from sources used throughout this study.

Internal resources also become an important aspect to the internal players. The MPLA was from the northern and coastal regions. These areas are where the majority of the resources are found in Angola (except for diamonds, which UNITA leveraged later). As the MPLA gained control of those regions and eventually took control of Luanda they had a substantial advantage in the resource category.

The final comparative strength category is the population support. All three were backed by a specific ethnic group. The largest ethnic group, the Ovimbundu, supported

UNITA. The next largest ethnic group, the Kimbundu, supported the MPLA. The smallest of the three ethnic groups were the Bakongo. They supported the FNLA, but the majority of this group was quickly suppressed by the MPLA. Eventually, some Bakongo moved support to the MPLA.

Table 13. Quantitative Comparative Strength Analysis Matrix (1975-1976)

1975-1976	Troop Strength Value	Equipment/Weaponry Value	Resource Availability Value	Population Support Value	Comparative Strength Value	Comparative Strength Multiplier
MPLA	1.5	3	3	2	9.5	1.72
UNITA	3	1.5	1.5	3	9	1.63
FNLA	1.5	1.5	1.5	1	5.5	1

The troop strength value was led by UNITA. UNITA was able to establish a much larger force than either the MPLA or the FNLA. The MPLA and the FNLA were approximately equal when it came to troop strength levels. This equates to a value of three in this category for UNITA and 1.5 for both the MPLA and the FNLA.

The next category is equipment/weaponry. The MPLA was the faction that acquired the most modern equipment. It also received much heavier weaponry which

included aircraft and heavy artillery. UNITA and the FNLA did receive support in this area but they were equipped with older equipment and weaponry. Neither group had the equipment to challenge the equipment received by the MPLA. Therefore the MPLA received a value of three while UNITA and the FNLA received a 1.5 value.

The third category is resource availability. This was dominated by the MPLA. They controlled the oil rich north of the country. UNITA controlled the majority of the land but little in resources. The FNLA was unable to access what resources were originally in their areas of support due to the MPLA dominance in the north. The MPLA rated a three and the FNLA and UNITA received a value of 1.5 in the category of resource availability.

The final category is population support. UNITA had a much larger backing based on it being mostly comprised of the largest ethnic group in Angola. The MPLA was comprised of the most influential northern ethnic group and therefore also received significant internal support. The FNLA was from a smaller northern ethnic group. Once the MPLA took Luanda many of the Bakongo were unable to support the FNLA and others switched to supporting the MPLA. UNITA received a value of three, the MPLA received a value of two and the FNLA received a value of one in this category.

1977-1980

Following the MPLA victory in 1976 the dynamics between the three factions changed. The two defeated factions would have to regroup and reorganize while the MPLA became the recognized government of Angola. Only one of the two was able to do that effectively and that was UNITA. Once they were able to re-establish their capability they began to conduct actions directed against the MPLA. None of these attacks were

more than raids, but it did create issues within Angola for the MPLA. UNITA had become a viable fighting force once again during this time frame, but it was not nearly as strong as it had been in the past.

Table 14. Descriptive Comparative Strength Analysis Matrix (1977-1980)

1977-1980	Troop Strength	Equipment/ Weaponry	Resource Availability	Population Support
MPLA	-Approximately 50,000 man force	- Continued to modernize and equip military elements.	-Access to the northern portion of the country based on support base. -Controlled Luanda	-Support from the Kimbundu ethnic group from the northern and coastal areas of Angola
UNITA	-Forces grew to approximately 12,000 and continued to grow. By 1980 reached approximately 25,000	-Reorganized and regrouped in the interior of Angola. Military supplies were older and limited	-Limited Access to resources	-Support from the Ovimbundu ethnic group from the center interior of Angola. -Largest ethnic group in Angola.
FNLA	-Following defeat in 1976 majority of FNLA military began to disband. -No exact numbers but significantly smaller than previously.	-Equipment was old and FNLA had limited military equipment	-Limited Access to resources	-Support from the Bakongo ethnic group from the northern part of the country. -Once MPLA gain control in the north much of FNLA's population support was suppressed.

Note: Information used in this chart was derived from sources used throughout this study.

The only significant change in the comparative strength analysis was in the troop levels. The other categories remained relatively the same. The FNLA had lost credibility and a large number of its supporters lost the will to continue the fight. The majority of the elements in the FNLA began to disband and either became part of the political process or

jointed UNITA. UNITA had also suffered a major defeat in 1976 but was able to retreat into the interior of the country and regroup. The ability to recruit in the interior of the country also allowed for the formation of a reconstituted force. The force was not as large as it was initially in 1975. The MPLA, now the recognized government in Angola, was also able to establish a much larger force of approximately 50,000 troops (James 1992, 112).

Table 15. Quantitative Comparative Strength Analysis Matrix (1977-1980)

1977-1980	Troop Strength Value	Equipment/ Weaponry Value	Resource Availability Value	Population Support Value	Comparative Strength Value	Comparative Strength Multiplier
MPLA	3	3	3	2	11	2.2
UNITA	2	1.5	1.5	3	8	1.6
FNLA	1	1.5	1.5	1	5	1

The one changed value from the 1975-1976 time frame to this time frame was the troop strength value. The other three elements remained basically the same for all three internal factions. Since three of the four values didn't change only troop strength will be analyzed.

The troop strength value had changed from UNITA being the strongest to the MPLA becoming the most dominate internal player on the battlefield in this category. The MPLA was able to use its legitimacy to raise a larger military. UNITA used its support in the region where it was popular but it was not as quick and effective as the MPLA's recruiting methods. The FNLA was losing troops and there was no program to either stop the defections or to recruit others to fill the void. The values for each in this category were based on the size of the force. The MPLA rated a three, UNITA rated a two and the FNLA rated a one.

1981-1988

During this time frame there were more significant changes than in the earlier time frame. The first area where there were changes was in troop strength. The FNLA militia had been disbanded and Holden Roberto was in exile in France. Those that desired to continue to fight against the MPLA did so as members of UNITA. UNITA troop levels continued to increase. The exact numbers are questionable but there is no doubt that UNITA troop strength dramatically increased in the 1980s. It is possible that UNITA forces were upwards of 20,000 regular troops and 55,000 guerrillas (James 1992, 97). Best estimates place the total number at around 50,000 by the late 1980s. The MPLA also continued to grow and instituted a draft in order to obtain the 80,000 man military they had by the late 1980s (Falk 1988, 22). Overall troop strengths of the two remaining combatants had increased dramatically throughout the 1980s.

The next category that changed was in equipment/weaponry. The FNLA was a non-player and the MPLA remained on a steady track of modernization. The real change came within UNITA. The support provided early in the 1980s by South Africa and later

the United States enabled UNITA to obtain military hardware that enabled their force to become more modern and capable of conducting effective military operations. This enabled UNITA to move into the third stage of the Maoist strategic model (James 1992, 96).

The third area that changed was the resource availability category and once again the only faction that changed was UNITA. UNITA was able to take the lucrative diamond exports and use them as a source of income. UNITA targeted legitimate mining in the interior of the country. Once this was done UNITA was able to enter into the illegal diamond trade to finance their operations. This is best explained by Jonas Savimbi himself. He said “To get diamonds from up there to sell them to South Africa, that’s a long way. But there is a shorter way – and we are part of that process” (Bridgland 1986, 402). Diamonds became the resource that brought financial capital to UNITA.

The final category was the population support. This stayed relatively the same for UNITA but a dramatic shift took place in the 1980s that changed the dominance UNITA had enjoyed for over five years. The Bakongo ethnic group, that had supported the FNLA, was no longer supporting this defunct organization. The political support for the FNLA dwindled dramatically as well and this left the Bakongo people looking for leadership and guidance. They found it by looking at the historical ties and similarities with the Kimbundu. The cordial relationship these two ethnic groups have had for centuries was once again back in place. The Bakongo people were now supporting the MPLA as the rightful government of Angola.

Table 16. Descriptive Comparative Strength Analysis Matrix (1981-1988)

1981-1988	Troop Strength	Equipment/ Weaponry	Resource Availability	Population Support
MPLA	- Angolan government instituted a draft and size of force increased to over 80,000.	- Continued to modernize and equip military elements.	-Access to the northern portion of the country based on support base. -Controlled Luanda	-Support from the Kimbundu ethnic group from the northern and coastal areas of Angola. -Based on historic ties and a cordial relationship between the Kimbundu and the Bakongo ethnic groups a majority of the Bakongo switch support from the FNLA to the MPLA
UNITA	-Forces grew to approximately 50,000 combatants	-Began to acquire more advanced military equipment which began to modernize their military organization.	-Began to use illegal diamond trade to finance its cause. Diamond mine access was based on strongholds in the interior of the country.	-Continued to maintain the support from the Kimbundu ethnic group from the center interior of Angola. -Largest ethnic group in Angola.
FNLA	-Militia disbanded and FNLA became a minor political entity	-Turned over weapons or combatants became members of UNITA.	-Limited Access to resources	-Lost a majority of the support from the Bakongo ethnic group.

Note: Information used in this chart was derived from sources used throughout this study.

The MPLA had the most powerful force of the internal players. The MPLA had continued to increase the size and capability of its force; therefore it scored a value of three in this category. UNITA scored a two in this category since it had significantly increased its strength level and was able to conduct stage three insurgent attacks against the MPLA. However, UNITA was still not as strong as the MPLA force. The FNLA was basically a nonentity during this time frame and was rated a one.

The next category was also clearly an advantage to the MPLA. The MPLA scored a three in the equipment/weaponry category due to its increased modernization and capability. UNITA was gaining in this area as it began to modernize and become more efficient in guerrilla operations. It received a value of two in this category while the FNLA received a one.

Once again the resource availability value was topped by the MPLA based on the control of the oil rich northern region of Angola. UNITA began to take control of what was available to them in the heartland of their support. The diamond mines in the interior of the country increased the resource availability as they began to target this resource and control it. UNITA finally had a resource that brought in significant capital to their organization. This enabled UNITA to receive a score of two in this category. The FNLA remained inconsequential and received a one in this category.

In the evaluation of the final category both UNITA and the MPLA scored a 2.5. UNITA had dominated this area of support during the first two time frames but the demise of the FNLA provided an opportunity for the MPLA. This opportunity saw fruition when they began to see support from the Bakongo ethnic group which had been supportive of the FNLA. With this new support the country was basically split between support for the MPLA and support for UNITA. Obviously this had the reverse consequence on the FNLA which received a rating of one in this category as well.

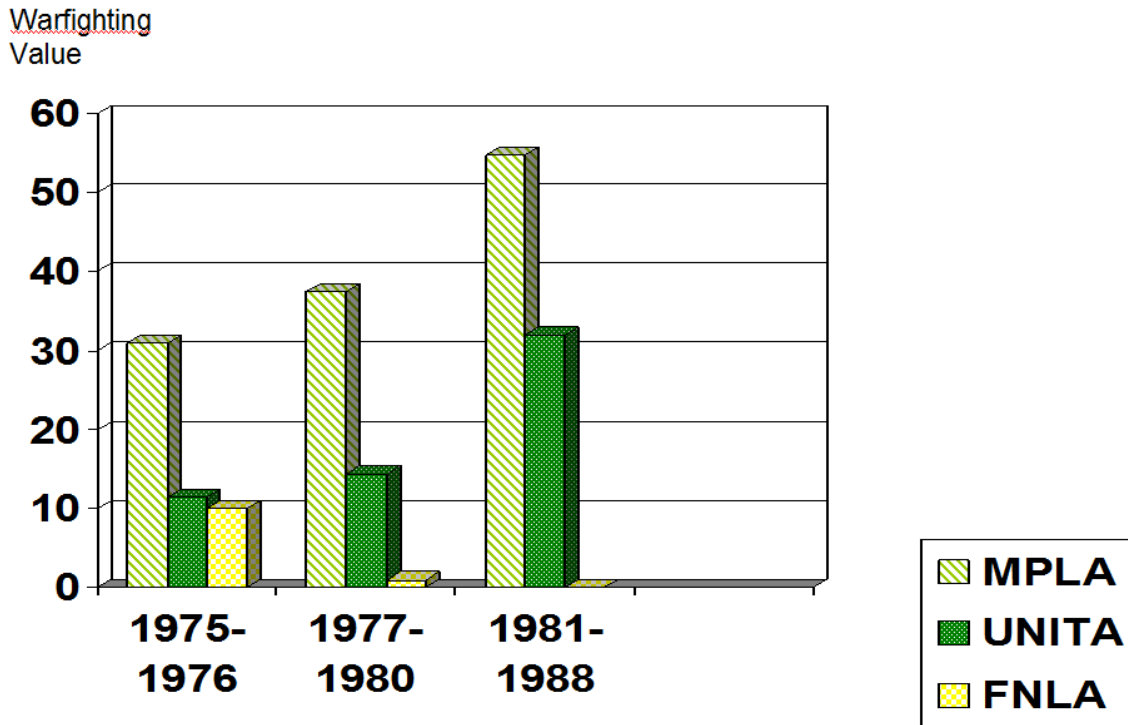
Table 17. Quantitative Comparative Strength Analysis Matrix (1981-1988)

1980-1988	Troop Strength Value	Equipment/ Weaponry Value	Resource Availability Value	Population Support Value	Comparative Strength Value	Comparative Strength Multiplier
MPLA	3	3	3	2.5	11.5	2.875
UNITA	2	2	2	2.5	8.5	2.125
FNLA	1	1	1	1	4	1

Graphic Analysis

A combination of the quantitative analysis of the external players and the internal players results is a war fighting value. The relationships between the war fighting values of the different factions gives insight into how external influence impacted the prosecution and outcome of the Angolan conflict between 1975 and 1988. By conducting a comparison between the various factions in the different time frames we can see clear patterns emerge. The successes and failures of each internal faction were directly linked to their war fighting value as it related to its opposing faction.

Table 18. Angolan Proxy War Graphic Analysis



In the first time frame (1975-1976) UNITA and the FNLA were in conflict with the MPLA. The war fighting value for UNITA was 11.41 while the war fighting value for the FNLA was 10. The MPLA had the most effective external support and the strongest internal dynamics. Its war fighting value was 30.96. These values resulted in a ratio of 3.1 to 1 between the MPLA and the FNLA with the advantage to the MPLA. The ratio between the MPLA and UNITA was 2.7 to 1 with the advantage, once again, to the MPLA.

The second time frame featured a demoralized FNLA and a regrouping UNITA. The MPLA had asserted itself as the legitimate government in Angola and looked in position to end future conflict. This however was only the case with the FNLA. UNITA

had different ideas for the future of Angola and was going to continue to fight for those ideas. The ratio between the MPLA and the FNLA was 37.4 to 1 while the ratio between the MPLA and UNITA was 2.6 to 1. In both cases the advantage remained with the MPLA.

The final time frame found only two internal players actively engaged in war fighting. The MPLA had an established government and was still receiving aid from its long time partners. UNITA continued its struggle against the MPLA and added new external players into their support operations. Also, they began to increase their own capabilities while the MPLA focused on gaining support from a larger portion of the civilian population. As a result the conflict continued to escalate and a military solution to the problem increasingly became impossible. The ratio between the MPLA and UNITA was 1.7 to 1 in favor of the MPLA.

Conclusions

This study examined the question, “Did multiple objectives and significant supporting objectives between foreign governments and the Angolan internal players, following the signing of the Alvor agreement, impact the prosecution and outcome of the Angolan Civil War?” Based on the analysis above the answer is it did have an impact. Through examination of the ratios between war fighting values and the results of the conflict in terms of outcomes and sustainability it becomes clear that external support had a direct impact on the conflict in Angola. The ratios are the key to the analysis. By identifying what occurred at different time frames the impact of the external support becomes clear.

In the first time frame the ratios were 2.7 to 1 with the advantage held by the MPLA over UNITA and 3.1 to 1 with the advantage held by the MPLA over the FNLA. These results were interesting. Both UNITA and the FNLA attempted to conduct conventional operations in a force on force conflict with the MPLA. They were soundly defeated as a result. The ratio was not nearly favorable enough to conduct such activities. Furthermore while UNITA was still able to regroup and reorganize following their defeat, the FNLA was incapable of regaining the strength they had prior to the beginning of the conflict. When you look at the ratios 2.7 to 1 is not strong enough to compete in a conventional fight but is strong enough to recover in a relatively short period of time. The 3.1 to 1 ratio was not only too disadvantageous to conduct conventional operations against a superior force it was also not strong enough to recover from the defeat. As a result the FNLA become a non-player as the conflict continued.

In the second time frame the MPLA held about the same ratio advantage over UNITA. That ratio was 2.6 to 1. The ratio between the MPLA and the FNLA was 37.4 to 1. This large disparity in the ratio resulted in the FNLA resistance coming to an abrupt end. Conversely UNITA was able to continue operations and changed tactics. They used more guerrilla style tactics against the MPLA. Both UNITA and the MPLA were successful at times throughout the late 1970s and they were both unsuccessful at times. However, both were able to sustain operations. The 2.6 to 1 ratio in this time frame resulted in enough combat power to sustain operations for an extended period of time to prevent the other side from emerging victorious. However, they were unable to conduct activities that would bring them a victory either.

The final time frame closed the gap between the MPLA and UNITA. The ratio between the two factions was 1.7 to 1. This ratio enabled UNITA to conduct more conventional combat operations in conjunction with guerrilla tactics. The MPLA found it much more difficult to achieve a tactical victory over UNITA based on its ability to recover from isolated defeats unlike in the first time frame where they had to retreat to the interior of the country to regroup and reorganize. In this time frame UNITA was able to continue operations as it reorganized and integrated new equipment and troops into the conflict. This time frame showed no clear winner and no faction was able to achieve an advantage over the other that was substantial enough to grasp victory.

From the analysis of the three time frames certain elements emerged. The first is that a ratio greater than 3.0 to 1 results in defeat for the weaker faction if they attempt to use more conventional tactics. Also, the weaker force in this ratio doesn't have the capability to regroup or reorganize following a major defeat and will eventually become irrelevant in the conflict. If the ratio is between 2.5 and 3.0 to 1 then results change. If the weaker force attempts to conduct more conventional tactics then they will also be defeated by the stronger force, however they will have the capability to reorganize and regroup. This will result in an absence of conflict while the weaker element regroups and reorganizes, but they will be able to return and continue the conflict. In this ratio window the weaker element can be successful if they rely on guerrilla tactics to fight against the stronger force. This will prevent the stronger force from achieving victory, but at the same time the weaker force will also be unable to achieve victory. If the ratio is less than 2.5 to 1 then the weaker faction can use conventional tactics and have enough sustainability that they can suffer defeats and continue operations without a significant

pause in operations. Neither side can achieve victory within this ratio window. The conflict will continue until either the external support changes enough to impact the ratio or diplomacy is used which results in a cease fire and eventual negotiations.

In Angola the significant external players and the supporting relationships they had with the Angolan internal players resulted in a conflict that couldn't be resolved militarily. The only way to end the conflict was through diplomatic measures. The internal elements continued to conduct combat operations against one another and each side began to limit or expand their tactics. They were forced to prosecute the war based on the external support they were receiving. This external support also ensured that a balance of power was achieved the longer the conflict continued.

The only exception that can be found is with the FNLA. They were quickly defeated by the MPLA and based on the limited support they had externally combined with their own internal strength they were unable to recover from a decisive defeat. This would suggest that in such a conflict the window to gain a military victory is extremely small. A victory must be achieved quickly and decisively before the external player's support can create a balance of power where neither side is capable of achieving a victory through military action alone.

The following chapter will discuss the conclusions derived from this study as it examined the question of how foreign intervention impacted the outcome and prosecution of the Angolan Civil War. Other research questions will be proposed and recommendations will be made that can help strategic planners develop contingency operations that will involve foreign intervention.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study examined the question, “Did multiple objectives and significant supporting objectives between foreign governments and the Angolan internal players, following the signing of the Alvor agreement, impact the prosecution and outcome of the Angolan Civil War?” Based on the analysis above the answer is it did have an impact. Through this study on the impact of external support specifically on the prosecution and outcome of the Angolan Civil War it is clear that the methodology could also be used to analyze the impact of external support to any proxy type conflict. This particular example is a great study of how external support impacts a conflict over time. Three specific time frames were examined and each had very different dynamics. The differences in each time frame allowed for an in-depth analysis that provided insight into how the various levels of support impacted the overall conflict. It also had three internal factions to examine, in which each faction had varying levels of successes and failures. For this reason the Angolan Civil war became an excellent vehicle to understand the relationships of external support to internal conflicts.

Some important results of this study also impact the United States Army as it reviews current operations and plans for contingencies. Those results have to deal with operational longevity and cost factors. These have impacts that change how an external player looks at support.

The first result of operational longevity is very interesting. In this study it became clear that if an internal faction can gain enough support to achieve over a 3.0 to 1 advantage and can hand that opposing internal faction a decisive defeat the chances of

that defeated faction becoming viable again are minimal. To gain this advantage would require complete upfront support in all support values, probably from multiple external sources. The result, if the required ratio and a tactical victory are achieved, is a quick victory. If a ratio between 3.0 and 2.5 to 1 is achieved then the opposing internal faction will maintain enough support to regroup and eventually resume operations. They will be forced to retire from conflict for a certain length of time as they regroup but a complete victory will not be possible to achieve. This would then result in a continuing conflict where victory looks certain, but can never quite be achieved. Then finally if a ratio of less than 2.5 to 1 is achieved then the opposing force will be able to absorb defeats and continue operations without a significant pause. The result is an unending conflict that will require other elements of national power to resolve the conflict.

The goal from the opposing side, which has a lower war fighting value, is to attempt to continue the conflict until the stronger side begins to lose external support due to the cost, both human and monetary. The idea is to keep the conflict going with just enough support to wear out the opposing force's external support players. This will cause the opposing side to withdraw support and at that time a shift in external support occurs. As one side loses that external support the weaker faction receives a large increase in external support in an attempt to reach a 3.0 to 1 ratio. In Angola we saw this occurring as the Soviet Union and Cuba became to face problems with maintaining support due to the cost. At that time UNITA attempted to step up the conflict and acquire more external support to overthrow the MPLA. It didn't happen since the involvement of the UN and the United States' involvement in negotiations reached a compromise that met a certain goal. This goal was the goal of the United States not the goal of UNITA. This is where

the support commonality for the internal player is so important to the achievement of their own goals.

Recommendations

From these conclusions a recommendation can be deciphered for strategic planners. The recommendation is to start all planning based on one of the two proxy war strategies. The first is full support upfront in an attempt to gain a quick victory and second, to provide only enough support to keep the supported faction viable until a time that forces opposing external support players to significantly reduce the support they are able to produce.

This recommendation deals with two approaches to conflict when supporting an internal faction in conflict. The strategic planner must make a decision on one of two ways of approaching the conflict where they are an external support element. The two recommended ways to proceed are either to provide maximum support from the beginning in an attempt to gain a quick victory or to provide just enough support to maintain a viable internal faction and then when their external support begins to waver quickly increase support to gain a significant advantage to achieve a victory shortly after. This decision can only be achieved once all the major external players are identified and what type of support is or potentially could be provided. The recommendation is that a plan, where the United States is an external support player, be created around one of these two approaches.

Proposed Future Research

This study was able to address the question of how external support impacted the Angolan Civil War up until 1988, but it also created more questions about the impact of external support on this entire conflict as well as other proxy conflicts. The following proposed research questions, if pursued, will answer some of the questions this study left unexamined. The proposed research questions are:

1. Conduct a study of foreign intervention and its impact on war fighting during the Angolan Civil War from 1989-2002.
2. Analyze other proxy war conflicts throughout history and apply this methodology to see if the results remain consistent.
3. Examine current conflict in Iraq and use the methodology to analyze where the Iraqi government is in this fight as it relates to external support.
4. Examine the United States strategy in Iraq and Afghanistan and based on the recommendations on proxy war strategic planning in this study determine if the current United States strategy is sustainable.
5. Conduct a study that looks at various ways to combat the flow of external support to an opposing faction to decrease its war fighting value.
6. Examine the impact of the cold war on current United States involvement in Africa.
7. Conduct a study on the Cuban-Soviet relationship in Africa during the cold war. Determine if the Cuban's were being used as a proxy force for the Soviet Union or if they had their own distinct foreign policy divergent from the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

Conclusion

In 1974 the Portuguese colonial rule had come to an end. Angola had finally won the struggle for independence, or so it seemed. The belief that the Angolans could finally create their own destiny was short lived. Unfortunately this was only the beginning of a

civil war that would engulf the country for over 25 years. Angola was pulled into the cold war and the ideological struggle between communism and western beliefs was fought on the battlefields of Angola.

This outside involvement in the Angolan Civil War had a direct impact on the outcome and prosecution of the conflict. The external players did influence the outcome of the conflict. In 1976 when the FNLA and UNITA, with South African support, advanced on Luanda only the influx of Soviet Equipment and Cuban troops enabled the MPLA to turn back the advance and achieve an initial victory over these two factions. Later, UNITA was able to regroup and reorganize based on the support it could acquire from outside sources. The external influence also escalated the conflict as the sides continued to engage in civil war. The prosecution of the conflict was directly impacted by the external players by the support they provided. The increased weaponry, training and troop support enabled these factions to conduct war fighting activities that would have been impossible without external support. The longevity of the conflict was another result of the external support. As the conflict continued the support from external sources began to create a balance of power and caused both the MPLA and UNITA to sustain operations indefinitely. Of course this also meant that victory was not possible through military action alone.

This study examined the impact of external support on the Angolan Civil war from 1975 – 1988. However, this study also developed conclusions, based on the model, to measure the impact of external support that can be useful as strategic planners look at possible future operations. It is also a baseline study that can be used to evaluate other

proxy conflicts to better understand how external support impacted the outcome and prosecution of those conflicts as well.

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100 Stimson Ave.
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DJIMO
USACGSC
100 Stimson Ave.
Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-2301

Mr. Brian G. Blew
CTAC
USACGSC
100 Stimson Ave.
Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-2301