

**THE DECISION TO APPLY A MODIFIED REAGAN DOCTRINE TOWARD  
MOZAMBIQUE: A CASE STUDY OF THE BUREAUCRATIC POLITICAL  
MODEL**

**By**

**ROBERT ANDREW VENABLES**

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**Supervisor: Jo-Ansie Van Wyk**

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## SUMMARY

The Reagan Administration took office in 1981 and began to implement against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), what became known as the Reagan Doctrine. This was an effort to break with previous the previous presidential administration's policies toward the USSR and would involve the rollback of Communism, instead of simply just co-existing with Communism (Détente) or containing the spread of it. Part of the area that was subject to the Reagan Doctrine included the volatile southern African region, which had two Marxist-Leninist Regimes, namely Angola and Mozambique. Using Graham Allison's bureaucratic political model, this study attempts to answer the question: "Even when all the prerequisites were met, why was there a decision to only implement a modified form of the Reagan Doctrine in Mozambique, instead of a full-blown effort, such as in, for example Angola or Afghanistan?" As will be shown in the research, the Reagan Doctrine was not a written doctrine, but had many different facets, as will be shown. The most significant part of the Reagan Doctrine was the recognition and arming of insurgents who confronted the Soviet backed regimes including RENAMO. There have been claims that the US Government did not recognize RENAMO. This is false as will be shown by the fact that President Reagan urged FRELIMO to negotiate with the RENAMO resistance. The real significance of this is that even if all prerequisites were met, why was there such reluctance to apply the doctrine with the veracity as compared to the effort in Angola and Afghanistan in arming RENAMO. Was the United States Government still trapped in the "Vietnam Syndrome"? Did the Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO) have the

same political and charismatic qualities as the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)? Were special interests or lobbyists influencing government bureaucrats to view decisions in a specific way? A significant part of this study is devoted to the question of how much influence did the bureaucracy and the politicians (both appointed and career) had on the important national security decision-making process involving Mozambique. Another question that could be asked is: Was the doctrine indirectly applied through third parties? In 1989 when the Reagan Administration ended, did President Reagan and the Reagan Administration achieve their objectives toward Mozambique. If so, was this due to the Reagan Doctrine or other factors? If not, did any actors or events interfere with the strategy?

## KEY TERMS

### THE DECISION TO APPLY A MODIFIED REAGAN DOCTRINE TOWARD MOZAMBIQUE: A CASE STUDY OF THE BUREAUCRATIC POLITICAL MODEL

The following are key terms:

- 1) President Reagan – Reagan Doctrine-Mozambique (1981-1989)
- 2) President Reagan – RENAMO (1981-1989)
- 3) U.S. Foreign Relations-Southern Africa (1981-1989)
- 4) President Reagan-Foreign Policy-Southern Africa
- 5) Chester Crocker-South Africa
- 6) U.S. Foreign Relations-Reagan Doctrine
- 7) Reagan Doctrine-RENAMO
- 8) Heritage Foundation-RENAMO-Mozambique
- 9) Reagan Doctrine-USSR-Southern Africa
- 10) Reagan Doctrine-Angola-Mozambique
- 11) Reagan Doctrine-insurgency-southern Africa
- 12) RENAMO
- 13) Samora Machel-Ronald Reagan

## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (of the United States of America)
CIO	Central Intelligence Organization (of Rhodesia)
CMEA	Council of Mutual Economic Assistance
CBC	Congressional Black Caucus
CWIHP	Cold War International History Project
DCI	Director of Central Intelligence (of the Central Intelligence Agency)
DOD	(United States) Department of Defense
DOS	(United States) Department of State
FNLA	Front for the National Liberation of Angola
FPLM	Popular Forces of Mozambique ( <i>Forças Populares de Libertacao de Mocambique,</i> )
FRELIMO	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique ( <i>Frente de Libertacao de Mozambique</i> )
FLS	Front Line States
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KGB	Committee for State Security (of the USSR)
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NSC	National Security Council (of the United States of America)
NSDD	National Security Decision Directive
NSSM	National Security Study Memorandum
NSPG	National Security Planning Group
NSWP	Non Soviet Warsaw Pact Country
RENAMO	Mozambique National Resistance ( <i>Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana</i> )
OAU	Organization for African Unity
OSA	Open Society Archives
POTUS	President of the United States
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SAG	South African Government
SNASP	Mozambique National Security Service ( <i>Servico Nacional de Segurance Popular</i> )
STASI	German Democratic Republic Intelligence Service
UN	United Nations
UNITA	Union for the Total Independence of Angola ( <i>Uniao das Populacoes de Angola</i> )
US	United States of America
USG	United States Government
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WB	World Bank
WP	Warsaw Pact

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## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

President Ronald Reagan came into office in 1981 vowing to fulfill his 1980 campaign promises, which were to become his Administration's policies, namely to contain the spread of, and rollback, expansionist Soviet style communism, particularly in African, Asian, and South American states (then referred to as the Third World). According to the National Security Decision Directives (NSDDs), which will be studied, the strategy to implement these policies was to be accomplished by: 1) Providing covert and overt aid to the anti-communist resistance (guerrilla or insurgent) forces, 2) which would enable them to destabilize the Soviet Union backed/supported governments. His doctrine toward rolling back Communism would eventually be called the Reagan Doctrine, which will be discussed further in this dissertation.

Portugal colonized present day Angola and Mozambique in the 1400s. In the 1960s and 1970s anti-colonial uprisings began in these colonies. With the rising casualty and monetary costs, the Portuguese Army became dissatisfied with the colonial costs and initiated a coup d'état in 1974. After 400 years of colonial rule, Portugal granted independence to Mozambique on June 1, 1975. The Marxist-Leninist Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) party became the governing body, but almost instantaneously a civil war broke out between FRELIMO and RENAMO. The Soviet Union and Cuba sent military troops as advisers to the Mozambique Armed Forces. The white-minority ruled Rhodesian and South African Governments supported the resistance

movements to prevent black guerilla assistance to the Rhodesian guerillas. In 1977 Mozambique and the Soviet Union signed a twenty-year friendship treaty.

By 1989 the Reagan Doctrine, as applied toward the southern African region resulted in stunning political victories. President Reagan could claim credit for the Accords governing the withdrawal of Cuban and Soviet troops from Angola, the independence of Namibia from the South African Government Mandate, and the beginning of the end of apartheid in South Africa. General Jannie Geldenhuys, Chief of Staff of the South African Defense Forces called President Reagan one of the most important figures in southern African history, along with Prime Minister John Vorster, Prime Minister (later State President) P.W. Botha and Namibian politician Dirk Mudge. (Geldenhuys, 1994, xii)

Using the Rational Actor model, the decision to apply the Reagan Doctrine against the Marxist-Leninist oriented FRELIMO Mozambique government should have been quite simple, because this would have been in support of the Reagan Doctrine. But the Doctrine was not applied (or at least not with the veracity) as it was applied toward the Communist governments in Afghanistan, Angola, and Nicaragua. As an example anti-government movements in Afghanistan and Angola received high technology weapons from the United States, such as the Stinger missile, but the Mozambique resistance did not. Therefore, an investigation is called for to determine 1) whether or not the Reagan Doctrine was applied to Mozambique, and 2) despite there being no “standards” for the Reagan Doctrine, why was there no overt lethal arming of RENAMO. . In addition, because of underlying governmental bureaucratic political posturing and possible interest group pressures, an examination of the implementation of the Reagan Doctrine toward

Mozambique using the bureaucratic political model is called for.

This study will apply Graham Allison's (1971) bureaucratic politics model to answer the question on why there was a decision to only implement a modified form (if it could even be called that) of the Reagan Doctrine in Mozambique, instead of a full blown effort. Graham Allison's (1971) *Essence of Decision* was about President John Kennedy's handling of the Cuban Missile Crises. Allison analyzed Kennedy's handling of the crises and came to the conclusion that government action and decision are not chosen, but come about as a result of compromise, conflict, and confusion with diverse interests and unequal influence. Political interactions between actors, including the President, the Congress as a whole and certain portions of Congress, (i.e. the Congressional Black Caucus) will be examined. Interactions between the President, the State Department and non-governmental special interest groups will be studied. The impact of these organizational routines and interests and the individual beliefs will be examined, to determine how the decision was made. In addition, the role that foreign government entities bodies had the decision-making process will be reviewed, because of sensitivities of foreign policy. Due to South Africa's apartheid policy, did the United States (US) Government go through foreign governments to aid the Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO), so as not to bring scrutiny by anti-apartheid organizations?

## **1.2 Statement of the Research Problem**

The literature reviewed does not include any studies on decision-making process vis- a -vis Mozambique. Using Graham Allison's (1971) bureaucratic political model, this study will attempt to answer why: Even when all the prerequisites were met, why

was there a decision to only implement a (very) modified form of the Reagan Doctrine in Mozambique, instead of a full blown effort, such as in Angola or Afghanistan? The significance of this is that even if all prerequisites were met, why was there such reluctance to apply with the veracity as compared to Angola. Were special interests or lobbyists influencing government bureaucrats to view decisions in a specific way? Did the decision include aid sent through third parties to provide a plausible denial for the US Governments support for RENAMO? A significance of this is how much influence the bureaucracy has on important national security decision-making.

### **1.3 Literature Review**

Most of the secondary literature on the proposed thesis statement regarding President Reagan and the Reagan Doctrine is widely available to the public in the US and foreign countries. Literature on the Reagan Doctrine focuses on the doctrine's planning, development, execution and results. Material on the actual implementation and conduct of the Reagan Doctrine primarily focuses on the Afghanistan and Angolan insurgencies. Material on the doctrine as applied to Mozambique has not been widely studied and consequently is not as available as on such insurgencies as Afghanistan, Angola and Nicaragua.

#### **1.3.1 Primary Sources**

There are many Reagan Administration documents that are still classified and not available to the general public. Until these documents are fully declassified and released academic conclusions will have to be drawn.

There have been numerous books, articles and other media written about the Mozambique Civil War, apartheid South Africa (from 1948-until the collapse), South

Africa and its foreign relations with Southern African states, the Namibian struggle for independence, the fall of the Soviet Union, the Soviet involvement in Africa and Southern Africa, the Cold War (1945-1991), and the Reagan and (George H.W.) Bush Administrations, especially compilations of their Presidential documents. The material reflects all viewpoints across the political spectrum. Several books and material were written by high-level officials who have an interest in how the events are perceived and how their positions are recorded in the historical setting.

Primary source (official government documents and recordings) include the study, analysis, and interpretation of documents from open sources. Documents that were studied are available from the Presidential libraries and other government files, such as the Pentagon library. These items will be studied for appropriate content and bias toward a particular political viewpoint. Personal bias by the author will have to be noted. This is important because many of the actors would want to be portrayed or have themselves portrayed in the best possible light, especially if any actors were to seek a higher office. They would not want their actions to come back and haunt them or be second guessed by historians. The intended audience for documents will also be studied because many actors and organizations were oriented toward a particular ideology or voting bloc (conservative, liberal, etc).

### **1.3.1.2 Official Government Documents**

The US foreign policy in the 1980's was set by the President and the Congress. President Reagan articulated the nation's security interests and proposed policy in the National Security Study Memorandums (NSSM). These Memoranda were published as the need for a policy decision was required. The President then issued



National Security Decision Directives (NSDD) to implement his policies. These documents were the foundation for the Administration's policy and strategy to implement its policies.

### **1.3.1.3 Secondary sources used.**

Secondary sources to be studied and analyzed will include newspaper and journal articles, books, and magazine articles from the appropriate time periods mentioned in the thesis. Most of the senior governmental officials in the Reagan Administration wrote about their experiences during the time period 1981-1989. Memoirs were written by for example: President Reagan, Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger, Secretary of State George Shultz, Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker, The Director of the CIA Robert Gates, the National Security Advisors William Clark and McFarlane, etc. Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev also wrote several books on his time as the USSR leader.

All written articles have the possibility of reflecting the authors biased political viewpoints toward the situation. All material will be drawn from open sources. In addition several of the works were written before any of the relevant material was declassified and subsequently may not be accurate. Likewise, there may also be speculation of what some writers wrote because the material is still classified as of this date.

Some of the more prominent secondary sources available on the subject include Former Assistant Secretary of State (African Affairs) Chester Crocker's (1992) book *High Noon in Southern Africa: Making Peace in a Rough Neighborhood*, which is mostly about South Africa, Cuba, Namibia, and Angola describes how he was able to bring all parties

to the negotiating table, which resulted in the New York Accords in December 1988. These accords governed the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola. In addition to the Reagan Doctrine, Constructive Engagement was to become a diplomatic term, which emphasized South African security. This was also a factor with Mozambique. If South Africa was not secure, its neighbors would not be secure. Mr. Crocker was the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs and the point man responsible for actually executing President Reagan's foreign policy toward Southern Africa from 1981 until 1989. His book demonstrates that sometimes the biggest battles were between US Governmental agencies in "turf battles."

Former Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen, who succeeded Chester Crocker as the Assistant Secretary of State (African Affairs) during the George H.W. Bush Administration authored *Intervening in Africa*, which describes his experiences both on the National Security Council (NSC), and as the Assistant Secretary. Some of his comments directly contradict what Chester Crocker has said about RENAMO.

Other source material focuses on the study of US and USSR economic, military and political strategy during the Cold War. Examples of such material follow. Norman Friedman's (2000) *The Fifty Year War: Conflict and Strategy in the Cold War*, describes the US' strategy toward the Soviet Union, in general, during the Cold War. He does not cover regional strategy in any specific detail, just a general overview. It is an excellent primer on the strategic level of thinking of sovereign states.

Daniel R. Kempton's (1989) *Soviet Strategy Toward Southern Africa: The National Liberation Movement Connection* describes the Soviet Union's political strategy

toward the Southern African region. Kempton explains how the Soviet Union decided which national liberation movement to back in the region, which movement would become the “vanguard” party. The FRELIMO party, for example was identified as the “vanguard” party in Mozambique.

Kenneth Mokoena (1993) has edited *South Africa and the United States: The Unclassified History*, reflects many USG that were declassified as of the date. Since 1993 many of these partly classified documents were fully declassified. While these historical documents are still relevant in this form, there has been more information released for a better understanding of decision-making process

From the Soviet side Yuri Pavlov’s (1994), *The Cuban-Soviet Alliance 1959-1991* describes the Cuban involvement in Southern Africa in greater detail than most books. Mr. Pavlov was a Soviet specialist in Latin American Affairs during the time period. This book was written after the fall of the Soviet Union. He would have had knowledge of Soviet-Cuban involvement in Africa and have been knowledgeable of Soviet/ Cuban strategy toward Southern Africa. This is important because it is well known and considered that the Cubans were considered proxies for the USSR in cases like Angola.

There have been numerous books written about Mozambique and RENAMO, including Alex Vines’ (1991) *RENAMO: Terrorism in Mozambique* which describes RENAMO’s has terror campaign in Mozambique. Vines traces the origins of RENAMO from its founding by Rhodesia to its eventual sponsorship by the South African government. While pointing out FRELIMO’s shortcomings, it also makes a case against RENAMO for the atrocities committed. Vines’ book was cited by Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker to document findings of how the US State Department

came out against RENAMO. In addition to these specific books, there are a number of books written by authors that participated in the South African invasion of Angola (Operation Savannah) These are mostly oriented toward the tactical and operational levels of war and not the strategic level.

There is much material that describes the Reagan Doctrine and while it may not have been written specifically about Mozambique, such books as Steve Coll's (2004) the *Ghost Wars* gives an excellent overview of how the Reagan Doctrine was applied to Afghanistan. While it was applied to Afghanistan, the similarities between Afghanistan, Angola and other countries would have been similar. After all the objective was the same: To drive the Soviet Union out of the sovereign nations of Afghanistan and Angola.

#### **1.4. Analytical Framework and Methodology**

##### **1.4.1 Analytical Framework:**

The bureaucratic politics model is used. This is also called the Governmental Politics model. This model was developed by Graham Allison's (1971) Allison's publication, as indicated earlier, dealt with President John Kennedy's handling of the Cuban Missile Crises in 1962. Allison analyzed President Kennedy's handling of the crises and came to the conclusion that government action and decision are not chosen, but come about as a result of compromise, conflict, and confusion with diverse interests and unequal influence. The bureaucratic model does not focus on a single actor (in the case of this thesis the main actor would be President Reagan), but on many actors, who are viewed as the players. The bureaucratic model focuses on the individuals within a government and actions taken among them. The US Government is made up of career civil servants, elected officials and political appointee individuals, who may be pursuing

widely differing, maybe conflicting goals. Conflicts among these personnel may or may not lead toward achieving the strategic objective, which is political output. This is because the decisions leading to the recommendations are so numerous that one organization may not be able to handle it and the process is decentralized. The process then becomes as, Allison (1971) describes it, one of bargaining, pulling, and hauling.

The US Government, itself does not make theories or process decisions, the people who make up the governmental bodies (leaders and bureaucrats) do. As previously stated these persons may be elected, appointed, or career government officials who bring their beliefs and routines with them. Very often these actors are also susceptible to other (or new) influences, such as lobbyists, the media, and other actors. This is especially prominent in the US Congress, whose members are responsible to their constituents and are in need of funds to get reelected.

The primary characteristic of bureaucratic politics is that the decisions are best understood as a result of bargaining among the actors in the decision-making process, resulting in compromises. Whether or not a compromise was reached will be examined, and if so the results that the bureaucracy played in it.

#### **1.4.2 Research Methodology**

This study applies predominantly a qualitative approach and presents a descriptive analysis. The emphasis on qualitative research is on methods of observation, interviewing and analysis of selected primary (governmental) and secondary documents. This study will rely exclusively on primary and secondary sources, such as previously described official government documents.

The study draws upon data from both primary and secondary sources as described in the

literature review. The Reagan Administration left office in 1989, which is over 20 years ago, and the official government material is starting to become available to researchers through automatic declassification.

### **1.5 Conceptual Clarification**

The following terms related to the study are now defined.

Reagan Doctrine, according to: Evans and Newnham (1998) 464-465 is a term used to describe the foreign policy of the Reagan Administration from 1980 to 1988. This Doctrine was never officially proclaimed as a series of coherent policy initiatives in the sense of the earlier Truman or Nixon Doctrine. The essence of the Reagan Doctrine was the active destabilization of selected target states held to be following policies and ideologies which were Marxist-Leninist and pro-Soviet. Further definitions of the Reagan Doctrine follow in the text.

Modified Reagan Doctrine: the *full* Reagan Doctrine was generally considered as one where full measures would have been applied, such as Afghanistan, Angola, and Nicaragua. Arming the insurgents would be a good example of the full Reagan Doctrine. Not sending government sponsored arms to insurgents would be a good example of a modified doctrine.

In the Cold War period the Soviet Union had reasserted its dominance over the Eastern European satellite states with invasions of, for example, Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968. After the latter, Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev declared that the Soviet Union claimed the right to intervene in Warsaw Pact nations to protect their people and orthodox communism. This became known as the Brezhnev Doctrine (Friedman, 2000, 453-454)

The term Cold War according to Evans and Newnham (1998, 70) was a term coined by the American journalist H.B. Swope and subsequently popularized by Walter Lippman which was used to describe the state of “neither war nor peace between the Western (non-communist) and Eastern (communist) blocs after the Second World War.

Communism is here defined as a political ideology aimed at the common ownership of land and capital and elimination of the coercive power of the state: Evans and Newnham (1998, 86)

Vanguard Party refers to a socialist/communist party that received the attention of the Soviet Union, because of their strict adherence to Soviet style (version) of Marxist-Leninism

Evans and Newnham, (1998, 252) defines insurgency is an armed insurrection or rebellion against an established government in a state.

A civil war is protracted internal violence aimed at securing control of the political and apparatus of a state Evans and Newnham (1998, 64).

According to Evans and Newnham (1998, 546-547) trusteeship refers to the notion of international supervision of colonial territories. The purpose was to prevent annexation of territories previously controlled by defeated states. South Africa controlled South West Africa (Namibia) from 1919 until 1989.

The Rational Actor Model as defined by Dr. Henry Damerow of the Union County College (New Jersey) Department of Economics, Government and History on their website as requiring:

- 1) Problem recognition and Definition
- 2) Goal Selection
- 3) Identification of Alternatives

- 4) Choice. Selection of the single alternative with the best chance of achieving the desired goal(s)

## **1. 6. Importance of the Study**

This study will fill a knowledge gap with regards to the Reagan Doctrine application toward Mozambique. Most Reagan Doctrine studies concentrate on Afghanistan, Angola and Nicaragua. The most important reason for this study is that it determined how and why bureaucratic politics influenced the Reagan Administration to modify the Reagan Doctrine implementation toward Mozambique. The study determined that President Reagan did urge FRELIMO to negotiate with RENAMO. The study examined which individuals in the US Government acted in accordance with their particular positions within the bureaucracy or in the best interests of the US national security interests. This study also provides insights into the national (or strategic) level decision-making process needed to support an insurgency. Another reason for the study, is that even though an insurgency may, in terms of US' foreign policy, meet the prerequisites for foreign assistance, other factors may conspire to prevent the movement from receiving the foreign aid that is required or desired. The US Government engages insurgencies covertly and overtly. An attempt is made to answer the question: Did the US Government funnel aid to RENAMO secretly through third parties for plausible denial?

Finally, this study can also be viewed as a national security decision-making study of implementing the best policy action based upon recommendations. The study can be viewed from conception to implementation. The final reason for this study is to examine what, if any implications that US policy toward Mozambique during the Reagan Administration still lasts today.



## **1.7. Scope and Limitations**

The scope of this study is limited to the time frame that President Reagan was in office (1981-1989). Events that happened before and after his administration will be examined as necessary to relate to this thesis statement. The study concentrates on the Reagan Doctrine decision-making process as it was applied toward the African state of Mozambique. Comparisons with the Reagan Doctrine application toward Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua and other states will be made as appropriate. This study will primarily focus on the US national security and foreign policy decision-making process.

## **1.8. Summary and content of each subsequent chapter**

The following is the summary of each thesis chapter:

### **1.8.1 The Strategic Situation in Southern Africa until 1981**

Chapter 2 contains information on the key state actors involved and their involvement the strategic situation in southern Africa from Mozambique's June 1975 independence until January 1981 when President Reagan took office. The strategic situation is important as it set the stage for why certain Reagan Administration decisions were or were not made and most importantly why they were made. This background chapter will primarily focus on the political/ military situation in Mozambique, Soviet/Cuban support for the FRELIMO vanguard political party, and the ongoing civil war. The reasons for the civil war between FRELIMO and RENAMO are covered. The situation in the countries surrounding Mozambique and their involvement regarding the situation in Mozambique is covered.

### **1.8.2 The Reagan Doctrine and its Formulation**

Chapter 3 details how the Reagan Doctrine came into existence as a result of the administration's desire to contain and eventually reverse the spread of Communism. President Reagan's NSDM and NSDD toward southern Africa, particularly, in relation to Mozambique, are analyzed. These directives need to be studied in depth because they describe how and why the doctrine developed and was implemented. The role of the US State Department and Defense Department bureaucratic actors in developing the Reagan Doctrine are examined. The effects that non-governmental organizations (specifically think tanks and lobbyists) are examined. Think tanks and lobbyists are particularly important, since many governmental officials either: a) come into presidential administrations to help make and execute policy or b) leave the presidential administrations and join the think tanks as researchers or lobbyists.

### **1.8.3 The Congressional and Non-Governmental Response to the Reagan Doctrine**

Chapter 4 analyzes the Reagan Doctrine and the U.S. Congress and non-governmental agencies. Congress controls the funding, enacts laws, and provides oversight. The Congressional effects on the implementation of the Reagan Doctrine is examined. The key actors would be the members of Congress, congressional staff members and the professional staffers. Certain congressional committees, such as the Armed Services and Foreign Relations will be examined. Bureaucrats' sympathies with and toward FRELIMO and RENAMO are examined. Interactions between the Congress and the Executive Branch are discussed. Bureaucratic politics in the form of Congressional oversight will be examined.

The response of non-governmental agencies, particularly think tanks and

lobbyists are examined and analyzed. Powerful right wing think tanks, particularly the Heritage Foundation waged an all out lobbying effort to fully implement the Reagan Doctrine in Mozambique and fully support RENAMO. The key actors are the think tank members. This is because of reasons, such as explained earlier.

Organizational influences from, for example TransAfrica and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is also studied. Mozambique's influence on African-American organizations and actors are examined. This is because many of these organizations were involved in the fight against South Africa's apartheid Policies. Many African-American organizations did not support RENAMO, simply because South African Government supported RENAMO. Foreign governments lobby too. These actors as constituencies will be studied.

#### **1.8.4 The Reagan Doctrine and the Executive Branch**

Chapter 5 analyzes the Executive Office of the President, the NSC, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Department of Defense and Department of State's role in recommending doctrine strategy and implementation. These departments contain the true bureaucrats (both political appointees and career civil servants) Materiel aid to the anti-communist forces, particularly high technology weapons transfers (such as arms and the Stinger missiles), was a great source of intra and interdepartmental friction and tension. Materiel aid also had international repercussions, is examined. The impact of the Iran-Contra scandal is examined. The Iran-Contra scandal fallout had more to do with the collapse of the Reagan Doctrine and the bureaucratic approaches to the Socialist/communist countries than is given credit for. The Iran-Contra crises forced a great turnover of Reagan Administration officials through resignations and the judicial

process.

### **1.8.5 Analysis of the Reasons for Modified Reagan Doctrine Implementation toward Mozambique**

Chapter 6 culminates with an analysis on how bureaucratic politics influenced President Reagan's decision to implement a modified doctrine toward Mozambique and the strategic consequences in Mozambique and southern Africa.

### **1.9 Summary**

Chapter 7 provides a summary of the research thesis on the question of why, despite meeting prerequisites for implementation, the Reagan Doctrine was not fully implemented toward Mozambique and RENAMO. A brief synopsis of the research will be covered. Recommendations are made to the process that could result in a better decision-making process for future scenarios. Some suggestions for further areas of study as it relates to questions that develop out of this study will be made. Some of these questions will deal with way the Soviet Union acted toward sub-Saharan Black Africa. Other possible research questions will be about how the USG interacted with sub-Saharan Africa.

## Chapter 2

### The Strategic Situation in the Southern African Region until 1981

#### 2.1 Introduction

A complete understanding of President Ronald Reagan's policy towards southern Africa and, specifically, Mozambique cannot be properly understood without a thorough understanding of the southern Africa's economic, political, diplomatic and military strategic situation that would eventually lead to his national security decision directives and other key decisions toward the region. Also how governmental legitimacy would be determined is important. This would be the key to receiving aid. The situation in Southern Africa until President Reagan took office on January 20, 1981 could easily be described as volatile, chaotic and politically unstable due to many factors including:

- the apartheid government of the Republic of South Africa (RSA)
- the South African Liberation movements and their fight against apartheid. The African National Congress (ANC) would use Mozambique as a staging area for operations against the RSA government until 1984.
- the military and economic sanctions against the apartheid RSA
- South Africa's destabilization efforts against the majority ruled Front-Line States
- South Africa's war against Cuban/Soviet combat troops and advisors in Angola
- Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique, and the 25 April 1974 Portuguese coup,
- Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) and the effect of Zimbabwean independence on Mozambique and
- The subsequent wars of national liberation and civil wars in Angola and Mozambique.

The political environment in the region was unstable and constantly evolving. All of these factors contributed to the southern African regions volatility, instability and also to

the strategic importance to of the region to the USG strategy against the Soviet Union.

## **2. 2 Rules for Revolution**

Former South African Defense Chief Jannie Geldenhuys (1994) writes in his memoirs *At the Front* that the insurgency in southern Africa as well as in other parts of the Third World focused on legitimacy of the government and the insurgents. Each struggled to be seen as the authentic representative of the people. While this applied to all insurgencies/counter-insurgencies, some of the important points about the FRELIMO-RENAMO civil war were:

- A revolutionary war is a political war
- The aim of both sides in a revolutionary war is to win the support of the population, their approval, sympathy and active participation
- The government must win the political initiative by propagating a more attractive cause than that offered by the insurgent
- The danger of complacency (a refusal to acknowledge the real situation) must be avoided before and during a revolution
- The existence of an outstanding intelligence organization is essential
- In revolutionary warfare, bureaucratic delays are as dangerous as subversion itself the best counter-measure to a revolution-is good government (Geldenhuys, 1994, 87-88)

These rules are important to keep in mind as the legitimacy of the RENAMO guerillas was constantly called into question by the U.S. State Department and other agencies, despite the fact that RENAMO had a Manifesto and had some popularity among the population. This was not proven until 1992 when RENAMO, while losing the elections, won 35% of the popular vote (Cohen, 2000, 181-183).

Legitimacy of the guerilla movement was a key factor in the decision of the Reagan

Administration in giving aid. It is important to keep these factors in mind as the other actors struggled to keep or pull Mozambique in their respective orbit. It is also important to understand the importance of intelligence, as the CIA was in charge of covert operations when directed by proper authority.

### **2.3 The Key State Actors and political figures in the southern African region.**

A short understanding of the major state and non-state actors and their roles, means and strategic objectives in the southern African region is needed to understand the situation as it evolved from the mid 1970s when Portugal underwent a political coup d'état and resulted in the decolonization of Angola and Mozambique to when Ronald Reagan became president in January 1981.

#### **2.3.1 Cuba**

Cuba's strategic objective was to advance the Socialist/ Communist revolution in Africa and other countries, especially in Latin America "to promote other Cubas." (Gleijeses, 2002, 202). For Cuba only through armed struggle could Latin Americans attain social justice and national sovereignty (Gleijeses, 2002, 22) Cuba had an active presence in third world Africa and Central America spreading the revolution. Under Cuban President Fidel Castro, Cuba sent military advisors and eventually combat troops to sub-Saharan Africa, notably Angola and Ethiopia. During the Angolan civil war, Cuban troops battled the UNITA and Front for the National Liberation of Angola guerrilla movements to help bring about Agostinho Neto's Marxist-Leninist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) party to power on November 11, 1975. After the successful installation of the Neto government, the Cuban's objective focused on providing security for Angola and the Neto government.

From October 1975, the Cubans battled South African troops and UNITA guerrillas in Angola and South West Africa (Namibia). The first was Operation Carlota, supposedly launched in response to South Africa's Operation Savannah. The overall objective for South Africa was to have a government in Luanda that supported South Africa and would not allow operations against the RSA. It was estimated that at the height of the conflicts over 50,000 Cuban troops were deployed to Angola. The numbers ranged from 20,000 in 1978 to the 50,000 in 1988 (Diggins, 2007, 244) Castro's Cuba also supplied military weapons to Angola and Mozambique to give the Marxist-Leninist governments indigenous force the ability to fight the guerrillas. After 1975 Cuba had military advisors in Mozambique to advise the FRELIMO Armed Forces on defending against South African aggression, destabilization, and the RENAMO guerrillas fighting to overthrow FRELIMO. When President Ronald Reagan was inaugurated in January 1981 the Cubans were very involved in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and other countries in southern Africa both with military and civilian advisors and foreign aid. Cuban and Soviet pilots allegedly flew many of the MiG aircraft and taught the Mozambican personnel in weapons use and counterinsurgency doctrine. (Nelson, 1984, 236-238) There were also reportedly a 1,000 Cuban military advisors in Mozambique, assisting the FRELIMO army and that the Cuban military engineers had built the military airfields near Nicola and Beira (Nelson, 1984, 271-272)

Therefore getting the Cuban military and Cuban influence out of Sub-Saharan Africa, in order to promote southern African regional security and stability became a top priority for the Reagan Administration after it took office in 1981. President Reagan believed that the security of the region would only be improved if Cuba withdrew its military



forces, restoring a balance of power in the region, and providing security for South Africa. As will be seen this was easier said than done.

### **2.3.2 Mozambique**

During the time that Portugal ruled Mozambique as a colony, FRELIMO's strategic objective was to gain independence from Portugal by engaging in a classical guerrilla style war and eventually establish an independent state. The state was to become a "Marxist-Leninist State based upon the principles of scientific socialism (Norval, 1988, 40) The People's Republic of China had originally provided aid to the FRELIMO movement. After the April 1974 coup in Portugal and the subsequent Lusaka Accords, FRELIMO's objective was to consolidate the gains of the revolution by nationalizing the means of production, (Hanlon, 1993, 22) The Lusaka Accords can be considered part of the starting of opposition to the FRELIMO party, because the accords gave power to FRELIMO, without the benefit of popular multi-party elections (Cain, 1985, 38) Until June 1975, the colony of Mozambique was part of Greater Portugal. After June 1975, the Portuguese Government totally abandoned Mozambique and when independence came, FRELIMO did not have the managerial assets or experienced bureaucracy to govern the newly independent state.

Mozambique was one of the poorer countries in Africa not because it lacked natural resources, nor because Portugal left it undeveloped, but rather because Portugal actively underdeveloped it (Hanlon, 1993, 22) Portugal did this by not involving the indigenous population in the government. The Portuguese ran everything in the colony, including the important bureaucracy. But in June 1975, Mozambique with FRELIMO, under President Samora Machel became a sovereign state, and soon after, the civil war

began between FRELIMO and RENAMO began, as Rhodesia's national interest demanded that the new FRELIMO government in Mozambique be tied up fighting an insurgency, so that the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front not have a safe haven and not be able to effectively operate against the Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia. Cuba sent military advisors to Mozambique to train FRELIMO on internal security.

Both the US, under the Ford Administration and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) established diplomatic relations with Mozambique immediately after the June 1975 independence. After independence FRELIMO had to then battle the RENAMO guerrillas for control of the government in Maputo and for control of the countryside. In 1977 the Mozambique Government entered into a 20-year treaty of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. FRELIMO also entered into similar agreements with Cuba, Bulgaria, East Germany, North Korea (Nelson, 1984, 46) The Mozambique Government also sought membership in the USSR controlled Council of Mutual Economic Assistance. Mozambique provided safe havens and sanctuary to the African National Congress for their raids into South Africa. Samora Machel vowed that Mozambique and the African National Congress (ANC) would "stand shoulder to shoulder until apartheid fell." (Nelson, ed, 1984, 251) However as we will see, after Nkomati, this would not be.

FRELIMO led Mozambique essentially went from a war of national liberation against Portugal to a civil war against RENAMO. The war was continuing when President Reagan was inaugurated in 1981. Both the FRELIMO ruling party and the RENAMO parties were to become major players in courting public and bureaucratic opinion for their respective causes. This would help establish their legitimacy under

international law.

### **2.3.2.1 FRELIMO**

FRELIMO was founded in 1962 in Tanzania at a conference sponsored by Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere. FRELIMO was formed by combining three previously independent organizations. This was during the height of the African Nationalism and self-determination (decolonization) movement. FRELIMO was formed from three separate organizations and gained the recognition of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) as the legitimate representative of the Mozambican People (Nelson, 1993, 49). The first FRELIMO President was Eduardo Mondlane, who was assassinated in 1969. After a while the FRELIMO Central Committee eventually elected Samora Machel President in 1970. FRELIMO became the governing body upon independence from Portugal in 1975. Due to FRELIMO's Communist/Socialist leanings, the USSR and Cuba recognized them as the legitimate governing body and began nationalizing the country's economic systems. FRELIMO was also considered a vanguard party by the USSR, in that it subscribed to the USSR's Communist Party ideas and objectives. According to Cain (1985, 40) Mozambican President Samora Machel intended to make Mozambique "the first fully Marxist State in Africa." In addition, according to Cain (1984, 40) Machel declared: "Our struggle is to destroy all vestiges of feudalism and colonialism, but fundamentally to crush capitalism, which is the most advanced form of exploitation of man by man." FRELIMO's strategic objective was to keep control of the Mozambican Government and defeat the RENAMO insurgency. Under President Machel, the FRELIMO Government signed a Treaty of Friendship and Assistance with the USSR in 1976. The South African Government viewed the FRELIMO administration

as “politically inept.” (Hamann, 2001, 104) In addition to the civil war in Mozambique, there were FRELIMO fighters in Angola during Operation Savannah which were discovered by the South Africans (Steenkemp, 2006, 73). Cuba and East Germany provided training for the Mozambican security forces (the Police and Armed Forces) the biggest problem with the Mozambican Armed Forces was that there were not enough government soldiers to combat the insurgency. Military analysts estimated that the Mozambique Armed Forces would need 85,000 soldiers to suppress RENAMO (Nelson, eds, 1984, 244). The total armed forces never numbered more than 26,000 (Nelson, eds, 1984, 244) FRELIMO was governing Mozambique and Samora Machel was the Mozambican President in 1981 when President Reagan was inaugurated.

#### **2.3.2.2 RENAMO**

RENAMO was founded by the Rhodesian Central Intelligence Organization (CIO) in 1976 and consisted of former FRELIMO officers. This association with Rhodesia formed the basis of the question on RENAMO’s legitimacy as an insurgency. The questions was would any sovereign states recognize RENAMO based on being allied with Rhodesia? RENAMO’s original purpose was to keep Marxist-Leninist FRELIMO governed Mozambique from interfering in the Rhodesian civil war. This was done by keeping the Zimbabwean insurgents tied up, preventing them from launching attacks into Rhodesia and disrupting the Zimbabwean insurgency sanctuaries in Mozambique.

Until 1979 RENAMO had sanctuaries in Rhodesia and after 1979, the sanctuaries were relocated into South Africa because Zimbabwe became independent and the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front Party would not allow RENAMO to operate. The group carried out the guerrilla warfare and insurgency since 1976 in

opposition to FRELIMO with backing from the Rhodesian government and after Rhodesia's fall in 1979, the South African Government and former wealthy residents of Portugal, who had lived in Mozambique and lost property to FRELIMO (Nelson, eds, 1984, 327) Some conservative movement in the US took an interest in RENAMO, due to their anti-communist philosophy. There was also a dispute as to how legitimate RENAMO was, as compared to the insurgency movements in Angola, like UNITA. RENAMO's strategic objective was to either take control of the Mozambican Government or at least gain a power sharing agreement with FRELIMO. According to Norval (1988, 190) RENAMO spent a lot of time and energy to win the hearts and minds of the Mozambican masses. The message was one of Mozambican nationalism instead of trading one colonial master-the Portuguese-for a far worse one-the Soviets; defending and respecting the traditions of the various Mozambican cultures and religions versus Marxist dictatorship; and freedom and the right of every Mozambican to earn his living as he saw fit, instead of the forced slavery of communism.

This would enhance RENAMO's legitimacy as a political body. There has always been criticism of RENAMO as a political party. Some diplomats in the US State Department maintained it was not a legitimate political movement (Cohen, 2004, 181-183). This can be considered false. RENAMO did have a Manifesto, describing its objectives and political platforms. (Norval, 1988)

## **2.4 Portugal**

Portugal's strategic objective until 1974 was to retain control of her African colonies, and after 1974, the strategic objective was to decolonize, but maintain diplomatic relations with the former colonies (Mokoena, ed, 1993, 18)

In southern Africa, Portugal had colonized the areas of present day Angola and Mozambique in the 1400s and ruled them with an iron-fist until 1975. Successive Portuguese Governments exploited these colonies population and resources. During the Portuguese rule, the colonies were not allowed to develop an indigenous bureaucracy or an efficient education system. This would provide for the multitude of problems that encased Angola and Mozambique after independence. Then the Portuguese for all purposes just abandoned both of these colonies after the 1974 coup in Portugal.

The indigenous Angolan people started their guerrilla style war against Portugal in 1962. The indigenous Mozambicans had launched a guerrilla style war against the Portuguese starting in 1964. The main Mozambican guerrilla organizations combined and formed what was to become FRELIMO) which fought against the Portuguese Government and took over after independence. Mozambican guerrilla movements could not militarily defeat the Portuguese Army in a conventional war, but they could effectively use guerrilla tactics to harass the army and make the Portuguese people in Lisbon and the colonies war weary.

There was a problem that enraged the Africans, both in the colonies and in the independent African states and that was that Portugal was a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member and US arms to Portugal were used in the fight against the guerrillas. Portugal fought a costly war against the guerrillas until a coup overthrew the Marcelo Caetano government in April 1974. The economic and political costs of the drawn out conflicts in Africa were cited as a major factor for the coup against the government. The new Portuguese Government under General Spínola eventually agreed to independence for colonial Angola and Mozambique. Independence

was granted in June 1975 to Mozambique and in November 1975 to Angola. Portugal eventually recognized the Marxist-Leninist governments in both states.

When President Ronald Reagan was inaugurated in 1981, Portugal was still a member of NATO and economically and politically involved with her former colonies.

## **2.5 South Africa**

South Africa's strategic objective was to be the hegemonic power in Southern Africa and to maintain the rigid doctrine of the apartheid state, which enforced segregation throughout virtually every facet of professional and personal life (Mokoena, 1993, xix) South Africa was by far the dominant economic and military power in the region.

Beginning in 1961, after the Sharpeville massacre, the official South African Government's apartheid racial policies started angering the world. South African blacks began to demonstrate for changes to the apartheid laws. In 1960 anti-apartheid demonstrations resulted in the South African Police shooting and killing 69 black demonstrators in the town of Sharpeville. The United Nations (UN) condemned the massacre and began the economic, military and political sanctions process, but since the west was dependent on South Africa's mineral wealth for its industries, and consequently the sanctions were not vigorously enforced. In 1966, after Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd was assassinated, John Vorster became Prime Minister. Vorster faced up to the need to do business with South Africa's black neighbors, by launching a policy of détente with alternate bullying and friendship (Sampson, 1987, 90) The strong South African economy propped up the ruling party's apartheid regime and slowed the sanction's effects

In 1976 the Soweto township riots broke out when the blacks began protesting the Bantu Education system and other inequalities under the apartheid system. The police opened fire on students, killing several people. The UN condemned these Actions (Mokoena, eds, 1993, 21). After Angola and Mozambique achieved independence, the South African government started work on a nuclear and chemical weapons program. (Mokoena, eds, 1993, 23, 27) The UN also condemned this action. When the Cubans and Soviet Union began arming the radical groups such as the Angolan MPLA, Zaire and Zambia turned to the US and reportedly South Africa for assistance against the communist backed insurgencies. (Mokoena, 1993, 221, 224) Many of the southern African states, such as Zaire and Zambia feared the Soviet backed Marxist-Leninist governments. This could be thought of as an African “domino effect.” Once one country fell to Communism/Socialism, then the revolution would be exported to the neighboring countries. Eventually all the southern African states would be Communist controlled. The SAG would have to fight insurgencies on all fronts

After the U.S. Congress passed the Clark Amendment in 1975, which banned aid to the Angolan insurgents, the apartheid SAG feared a “total onslaught” by its majority ruled neighbors and Cuba/USSR. The SAG then began destabilization tactics against the Front-Line States (FLS) and also launched limited military incursions through SWA (later Namibia) into Angola in 1975. SouthWest Africa was a South African administered mandate from the League of Nations, which was eventually declared illegal. This would become the centerpiece of Chester Crocker’s (1993) “Linkage” which will be discussed throughout this thesis. The SAG in an effort to stave off majority rule in South Africa and Namibia backed UNITA in Angola. In an effort to hinder the Mozambican



FRELIMO government, the SAG backed RENAMO. Moreover, South Africa viewed Angola and Mozambique as “buffer states” against guerrilla attacks and infiltration on their soil. When Portugal withdrew from Angola and Mozambique, the buffer zone strategy was finished and the RSA had a vested interest in keeping Mozambique destabilized. As stated the RSA had also tried détente with the majority rule states with economic aid and trade concessions (Mokoena, eds, 1993, 274) This failed and the SAG sent troops into Angola several times between 1975 and 1981.

The SAG also had differences with the USG when the Carter Administration took over in 1977. The Carter Administration, emphasizing human rights, was putting pressure on the SAG to abolish apartheid and establish majority rule in the soonest time possible. In 1978 Prime Minister Vorster was ousted after a scandal and was replaced by his Defense Minister Pieter W. (P.W.) Botha, who later became State President in a governmental reorganization.

When President Reagan was inaugurated in 1981, PW Botha was the South African State President and Pretoria was looking forward to better relations with the U.S. after a low point with President Carter. Botha went on to describe this as a more realistic policy. Commenting on this, General Jannie Geldenhuys (1994, 154) wrote that Ronald Reagan’s election as president signaled a new direction for South Africa.

## **2.6 Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)**

The strategic objective of the USSR was to expand communist influence throughout the third world by promoting the spread of their socialist political and economic model. The third world socialist/communist parties adopting the Soviet model were called Vanguard Parties and were given preferential treatment by the USSR.

The USSR perceived a security threat against socialist parties in the third world, which led to a quest for allies who could help weaken or restrain the West (Kempton, 1989, 10). The Soviet Union would end up spreading more military aid than economic aid to the socialist countries, which would eventually become a source of problems. Also involved was the Brezhnev Doctrine, which stipulated that once a country was socialist, there was no backsliding out of the camp. The USSR actively enforced this doctrine with the invasions of Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968) and a possible invasion of Poland looming in 1980 when the independent Polish trade union Solidarity started vying for power against the Soviet backed Polish regime. Since the end of World War II, the Soviet Union was the economic, military and diplomatic superpower rival to the U.S. The Soviet Union, under Nikita Khrushchev actively supported Anti-Colonial Wars of National Liberation throughout the third world.

After Khrushchev was deposed in 1964, Leonid Brezhnev became Chairman of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and continued support for Wars of National Liberation. The Wars of National Liberation focused on installing Soviet backed vanguard parties in the third world. Despite this active support for liberation movements, relations between the USSR and US engaged in dialogue to reduce the possibility of nuclear and non-nuclear warfare, especially in Europe. This was known as Détente. During the 1960s and early 1970s, especially during the Nixon and Ford Administrations, Détente between the U.S. and USSR was at its height. The U.S. and USSR signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) in 1972 in an attempt to control the arms race. More nuclear arms reduction and elimination (SALT II) talks were planned when President Carter took over in 1977. There was debate in the US about the Soviet military

buildup and how massive it was. It was known that the Soviet Union had been a major arms supplier to Marxist-Leninist Regimes in Africa. But after the USG pulled out of Vietnam in 1975 the Soviet Union began an expansionist role throughout the third world including Africa. They supported the winning national liberation movement parties. In the 1970s, the USSR made great strides in the southern African region, with their surrogates winning Somalia, Ethiopia, Angola, and Mozambique. It was because of Soviet Union's advances in Angola that President Ford declared the end of détente. The USSR also believed that the US was hamstrung by the specter of defeat in Vietnam and southeast Asia and would not act to protect their interest out of fear of becoming entangled in another third world conflict. The USSR backed the Cuban invasion and assistance to the MPLA in Angola in 1975.

When President Reagan was inaugurated in 1981, Leonid Brezhnev was Chairman of Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was actively fighting a war in Afghanistan to keep the USSR installed communist regime from falling. The USSR was also expanding its military, political, diplomatic and economic contacts in the southern African region.

## **2.7 United States of America (USA)**

The strategic objective of the US in southern Africa was to contain communist influence, promote racial justice/ majority rule prevent racial violence, spread democracy, and protect US access to southern Africa's strategic minerals. The United States also had extensive economic, military, scientific and political interests in the Republic of South Africa. The USG's policy toward the RSA and southern Africa generally followed a pattern defined by the Cold War rivalry with the Soviet Union. The USG could ill afford

to have the RSA fall under Communist control.

The USG had also angered many newly decolonized majority ruled African states when President Richard Nixon called for a review of USG policy toward southern Africa. National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger (Rodman, 1994, 181) did the study and the infamous Option 2 came about: “The premise was that the whites are here to stay and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them. There is no hope for the blacks to gain the political rights they seek through violence, which will only lead to chaos and increased opportunism for the communists. We can, by selective relaxation of our stance through the white regimes, encourage some modification of their current racial and colonial policies and through more substantial economic assistance to the black states (a total of \$5 million annually in technical assistance to the black states) help to draw the groups together and exert influence on both for peaceful change. Our tangible interests form a basis for our contacts in the region and these can be maintained at an acceptable political cost.” (Mokoena, eds, 1993, 178) In Cold War terms the southern African cape was vital in keeping commerce between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans open. The USG could ill afford to have the Soviet Union controlling the cape and the vital shipping routes. This would have a dramatic effect on commerce. According to Norval (1988, 17) Twenty percent of the American oil requirements passed via the Cape route within 20 miles of Cape Town. Norval (1988, 17) also mentioned that the West, especially the European NATO allies depended on the following goods that traveled the Cape sea route:

- 60 percent of their total oil consumption
- 70 percent of their strategic minerals
- 25 percent of their food supplies.

The USG also consistently vetoed UN Resolutions condemning South Africa for

its actions in the region. Due to the Watergate scandal, Vietnam and President Nixon's resignation, Gerald Ford became the first unelected US President in August 1974. It was at this time that USG policy toward Africa started to become more active. After the power sharing Alvor Accords agreement fell apart in Angola, the three political parties were engaged in a Civil War for control of the government. The parties were the MPLA, the Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), and UNITA. The Ford Administration initially backed the FNLA, then the UNITA guerrilla movement in an effort to either keep the MPLA out of power or at least have them engage in a power sharing agreement. However due to the Watergate scandal and the specter of Vietnam, the US Congress did not want to get involved in any covert/overt operations. The USC, in passing the Clark Amendment, cutoff all funding for Angola. While condemning the Soviet Union and Cuba for assisting the MPLA, the USC specifically mentioned *military and para-military activities*. This was one of the first times that the U.S. Congress specifically tied the hands of the President and the Executive Branch (Sarkesian and Vitas, 1988, 407-408) Ironically, while this was happening, the FREMILO Marxist-Leninist government in Mozambique was immediately recognized by the USG. During the 1976 Republican presidential primary, candidate Ronald Reagan ran against incumbent Republican President Gerald R. Ford on a promise to aid the anti-communist guerillas. Ronald Reagan was appealing to the conservative Republican base.

President James Carter came into office in 1977. He was a Democrat, who interjected human rights into the fray, particularly against apartheid South Africa. Relations with the USSR were a top priority, President Carter did not view the USSR as a communist threat. This was his famous "there is an inordinate fear of communism"

speech. However the Carter Administration did not recognize the MPLA Angolan Government. In December 1979, the USSR invaded Afghanistan and President Carter was forced to reassess the USG relations with the USSR. Due to the deteriorating economic situation in the US and the perceived weaknesses of the US military, candidate Ronald Reagan campaigned on a platform of building up America's domestic and military might. President Ronald Reagan was elected to the US presidency, partly on a platform to confront the expansionist Soviet Union policies.

## **2.8 Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)**

The strategic objective of Rhodesia's white-minority Ian Smith Government was to maintain/preserve white control and dominance in the country. With regard to Portuguese ruled Mozambique, the strategic objective was to maintain a route to the Mozambican seaports on the Indian Ocean for economic reasons. (Norval, 1988, 187) Due to the Mozambican civil war, as well as international pressure and sanctions, the white ruled Rhodesian government eventually fell in 1979. The strategic objective of Zimbabwe, after Robert Mugabe became President was to consolidate majority rule with a Marxist-Leninist style government.

Rhodesia was part of the British Empire until the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965. The racial policies of Rhodesia were similar to South Africa. After Prime Minister Ian Smith declared UDI, guerrilla wars broke out between the Rhodesian Government, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), under Robert Mugabe and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) under Joshua Nkomo. The two fronts merged to become the Patriotic Front (PF). The UN then declared sanctions against the Rhodesian Government.

In the U.S., politics interfered with the sanctions, setting a common theme for southern Africa, politics vs. reality. Because of vital minerals, specifically Chromium, the USG did not enforce strict sanctions against Rhodesia. It was not until 1977, after President Carter took over, that the USG banned Rhodesian Chromium (Wilentz, 2008, 103). It is important to note that Rhodesia/Zimbabwe was dependent on Mozambique and South Africa for access to the sea for trade and communications. Due to South Africa's hegemony, political considerations forced Zimbabwe to accept South Africa as a neighbor.

Until 1975, ZANU could not operate in neighboring Mozambique because the Caetano Portuguese government would not permit it and also supported white-ruled Rhodesia. After 1975 the Zimbabwe guerrillas could operate in Mozambique, using the country as a supply base and sanctuary against the Rhodesians. The political tide began to turn against the Ian Smith government. The Machel Government sealed Mozambique's border with Rhodesia, cutting the Rhodesian's economic routes to Mozambique's ports. (Norval, 1988, 187) In 1979 Rhodesia became majority ruled Zimbabwe under President Robert Mugabe. Just as President Reagan entered office; Zimbabwe concluded a defense and security agreement with Mozambique in January 1981 which covered "all the vital areas of defense and security" (Nelson, eds, 1984, 275) Zimbabwe was concerned with keeping FRELIMO in power, so that they could maintain access to the Mozambican port of Beira. The Port of Beira in Mozambique controlled the major rail line which ended in Zimbabwe. With the port open, Zimbabwe was economically less dependent on South Africa. With the inauguration of the Reagan Administration, relations with Zimbabwe would start to cool down.

## 2.9 Summary

The incoming Reagan Administration had to deal with the chronic violence, political instability and civil war in southern Africa due to the battles between the South African apartheid white ruled government and African Nationalists fighting for majority rule/liberation when President Reagan took over on 20 January 1981. The Reagan Administration also had to deal with the destabilization of governments, both by South Africa against the FRELIMO in Mozambique, the MPLA in Angola and the attempts by the Soviet Union to dominate South Africa by military and economic warfare. Other foreign governments were also actively involved in promoting their own national interests in the southern African region, especially the Communist Bloc which consisted of Cuba and the Soviet Union. This was the bloc that President Reagan was to wage an offensive struggle against. The Soviet Union was keen on expanding its influence in the region, especially with regard to Angola and Mozambique.

The USG believed that the situation in Southern Africa was a result of the USSR and Cuba exporting their versions of Socialism/Communism in the former Portuguese Colonies of Angola and Mozambique. South Africa was actively working to destabilize MPLA ruled Angola to keep South West Africa (Namibia) under control and as a buffer against guerilla infiltration into South Africa. South Africa was also actively destabilizing FRELIMO ruled Mozambique to keep it's eastern border secure and prevent the ANC infiltration. FRELIMO was a vanguard Marxist-Leninist USSR- backed government and this was cemented by the 20-year Treaty of Friendship with the USSR. The USSR also wanted to use Mozambique's ports for its naval vessels and also airfields for aircraft use. This had the possibility of interfering with commercial and military shipping around the



African cape. The RENAMO guerrilla movement was formed as an alternative to the FRELIMO government. The center of debate then focused on the issue of legitimacy. Who was the authentic representative of the Mozambican people? Was it FRELIMO or RENAMO? More of this will be discussed later, as the issue had to do with aid, inter alia, to the southern African countries.

President Reagan took over in 1981 proclaiming an unabashed support for anti-Communist revolution. Reagan intended to establish a new doctrine for such supporting Anti-Communist insurgents and governments by declaring equally worthy all armed resistance to communism, whether foreign or indigenously imposed. In an effort to combat Soviet expansionism in the Southern African region, bureaucratic politics were to play a role in trying to stop the Soviet/Cuban expansion in the Southern Africa region. The Reagan Administration would go on the offensive to stop and roll back Communism. While the objectives were the same, the strategic ways and means were entirely different. The next chapter will be about the start of the Reagan Doctrine.

## **Chapter 3**

### **The Reagan Doctrine and its Formulation**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter details how the Reagan Doctrine came into existence as a result of the administration's desire to contain and most significantly, attempted to reverse the spread of communism, especially in southern Africa. It is important to know that the Reagan Doctrine was a culmination of President Reagan's and his Administration's political thought and actions throughout his political life. Robert C. ("Bud") McFarland, who succeeded Judge William Clark as the national security advisor in October 1983, recalls that there was no well-thought-out strategy or concept behind the new policy that began to be enunciated on his watch in early 1985 and that became known as the "Reagan Doctrine" (Rodman, 1994, 259) There was no specific book or manual of instruction on the Reagan Doctrine. As Peter Rodman, a staffer on the National Security Council writes: Reagan never gave McFarlane any instruction or uttered any word, that such a strategy should be developed. There was no National Security Study Directive (NSSD) asking for an interdepartmental review of the subject, nor any National Security Decision Directive (NSDD) in the president's name setting forth a new policy-The procedures commonly followed for major initiatives. "Not one nano-second" went into any analysis or planning, McFarlane has scathingly recounted (Rodman, 1994, 259) While there was no specific "Reagan Doctrine," NSSD or NSDD, there were other political decisions made through his presidency were expressed as National Security Decision Directives. Therefore, President Reagan's National Security Decision Memorandums and Directives toward the southern African

region, particularly Mozambique, are analyzed for their content toward FRELIMO, RENAMO, the USSR and Cuba. President Reagan also made numerous speeches reflecting anti-communist/ Soviet sentiments, which can be taken as official policy, simply because the President decides and implements policy. Former CIA Director Robert Gates wrote that President Reagan first announced what amounted to the Reagan Doctrine in his May 9, 1982 speech at Eureka College, where “The President declared war on the Soviets in the Third World, pledging that the United States would support people fighting for freedom against communism, wherever they were.” (Gates, 1997, 256)

The role of key officials in the US State Department and Defense Department bureaucratic actors in developing the Reagan Doctrine will be discussed, to determine how and why they came to their decisions, and the influence that they held over President Reagan.

Sometimes there were “pushbacks” against the Reagan Doctrine and these will be discussed here and in other chapters. Private lobbyists are an important factor in bureaucratic politics, because they represent “special interests.” The effects that non-governmental organizations (specifically think tanks and lobbyists) are examined.

### **3.2 The Reagan Doctrine and the National Security Decision Directive Documents**

As indicated earlier, there was no written policy or a so called trigger action or mechanism that would cause the Reagan Doctrine to be implemented (a so called trigger action or mechanism), what actually made up the Reagan Doctrine, or how to implement it (with or without Congressional assistance or other assistance, such as the CIA.) The origins of the Reagan Doctrine can be said to begin with Ronald Reagan’s desire to run

for the US Presidency in 1976 and in 1980. In 1976 Reagan was defeated during the Presidential primary by incumbent President Gerald Ford, who went on to lose to President Jimmy Carter. In 1980 Ronald Reagan secured the Republican Presidential nomination by running on a strong anti-communist platform and anti-Soviet Union platform. In its simplest form, the Reagan Doctrine was basically overt and covert support for anti-communist guerilla insurgencies and friendly governments. However there was no official or unofficial manual or document formally published that described the Reagan Doctrine. The closest written documents that described the Reagan Doctrine could be considered the compilation of his National Security Study Directives (NSSDs) and his National Security Decision Directives (NSDDs).

These directives need to be analyzed in depth because they describe how and why the doctrine developed and influenced by those closest to the president. This would be the so-called “inner circle.” President Reagan also believed that the bureaucrats acting on their own or bureaucratic inaction also caused tyranny to flourish. In a speech he said: “It was C.S. Lewis who in his unforgettable *Screwtape Letters*: wrote: “The greatest evil is not done now in those sordid ‘dens of crime’ that Dickens loved to paint. It is not even done in concentration camps or labor camps. In those we see its final result. But it is conceived and ordered (moved, seconded, carried and minted) in clean, carpeted, warmed, and well lighted offices, by quiet men with white collars and cut fingernails and smooth shaven cheeks who do not raise their voice.” (Diggins, 2007, 223)

There are several theories as to how the Reagan Doctrine was actually named. President Reagan talked about support for those fighting against Communism in 1982 in a speech to the British Parliament where he vowed support for “those fighting for

freedom against communism wherever we find them.” (Diggins, 2007, 223) The first mention of the term Reagan Doctrine was officially proclaimed by newspaper columnist Charles Krauthammer (Scott, 1996, 1). President Reagan formally called for support for “Freedom Fighters” during his 1985 State of the Union speech, stating that “We must not break faith with those who are risking their lives on every continent from Afghanistan to Nicaragua to defy Soviet supported aggression and secure rights which have been ours from birth...Support for freedom fighters is self-defense.” Reagan also declared, “Time and again we’ve aided those around the world struggling for freedom, democracy, independence and liberation from tyranny...In the 19<sup>th</sup> century we supported Simon Bolivar, the great liberator. We supported the Polish patriots, the French resistance and others seeking freedom. It’s not the American tradition to turn away (Scott, 1996, 23). It was after this speech that the Reagan Doctrine was officially proclaimed by the media.

In addition to President Reagan, himself there were many of his advisors that contributed to the Reagan Doctrine theory and ideas. The most prominent would have been Harvard University Professor Dr. Richard Pipes, who worked on the National Security Council Staff during the Reagan Administration, if only for a short time. (Bailey, 1999, 13, Friedman, 2000, 453-454). Another was Fred Ikle, who served as an Assistant Secretary in the Defense Department.

According to US Ambassador to the UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick (A Democrat in President Reagan’s Republican Administration) and US Mission to the UN member Alan Gerson there were three requirements for the Reagan Doctrine to be considered:

1. An indigenous, independent democratic insurgency (democratic resistance”)

2. A government relying on arms, personnel, and advisers from the Soviet Bloc to maintain it (“Soviet Client”)
3. A population denied participation in their own government (“illegitimate government”) (Scott, 1999, 31)

Based upon this criteria, it can be definitely stated that, with regards to Mozambique, the RENAMO anti-government movement met the criteria for assistance against the governing FRELIMO regime.

### **3.3 The National Security Decision Directive Documents**

The National Security Study Directive (NSSD) is the study of a situation and factors contributing to a specific problem, which needs to be resolved, the study results in proposed policy options to be brought to the president for a decision. The National Security Decision Directives (NSDD) is a decision, which conveys the President’s chosen policy to the Executive Branch and to the nation for implementation and, if necessary Congressional or other further action. An NSSD is prepared when the President begins his administration or when a situation and/or a policy needs to be reviewed. As stated the NSSD is staffed at all levels, where bureaucratic interaction takes place. Usually the National Security Council (NSC) prepares the NSSD and the National Security Advisor (NSA) presents the options/ recommendations to the President. The NSA is formally called the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (APNSA). The President then makes the decision, signs the document and orders its implementation. The President’s NSA is usually a close advisor to the President and has influence and most importantly the President’s attention. The NSA position is not subject to the Senate confirmation process, so the President can choose his NSA without fear of failure. The NSAs to President Reagan were Richard Allen, William Clark, Robert McFarlane, Vice

Admiral John Poindexter, Frank Carlucci and General Colin Powell. President Reagan had the most NSAs of any president since the position was established in 1947. This was to be a problem since there was no continuity. The NSAs were instrumental in preparing the documents that would implement the Reagan Doctrine. The NSC will be covered as part of the bureaucratic process. Several of the most important Reagan Administration NSDDs will now be covered. The NSDD involve decisions regarding policy toward the Soviet Union and the southern African region and what the final end-state was to be. The NSDDs are the result of bureaucratic interactions and do not necessarily cover a single topic.

### **3.3.1 NSDDs 32 and 75**

Several of President Reagan's NSSDs set the stage for implementing the Reagan Doctrine by aiding resistance movements, as well as implementing other actions against the Soviet Union and the communist bloc. NSSD 32 was the first Reagan Administration U.S. National Security Strategy toward the USSR. (Part of NSSD 32 remains classified today). This outlined the US national and international strategic objectives. One of NSSD 32's objectives was "To contain and reverse the expansion of Soviet control and military presence throughout the world, and to increase the costs of Soviet support and use of proxy, terrorist, and subversive forces.

The second NSSD was NSSD 75, which outlined "US Relations with the USSR. Parts of NSSD 75 remains classified today. This NSSD directed US strategy toward the USSR in the areas of diplomacy, propaganda, economics, subversion, military display, and war (Bailey, 1999, 14) The bureaucratic political strife was about to begin. Some inside the Reagan Administration were opposed to these measures (Bailey, 1999, 9) This

was because of restrictions put on US companies doing business with the USSR.

Of particular note, NSDD 75 paragraph 3(d) reads: “U.S. policy will seek to limit the destabilizing activities of Soviet Third World Allies and clients. It is a further objective to weaken and where possible, undermine the existing links between them and the Soviet Union. U.S. policy will include active efforts to encourage democratic movements and forces to bring about political change inside these countries. This paragraph was originally classified SECRET. This was the source for aiding anti-communist insurgents such as UNITA and RENAMO, which would start the bureaucratic wars in Washington. Subsequently bureaucratic politics started to paralyze American Foreign Policy toward Mozambique (Ofcansky, 1988, 118)

### **3.3.2 NSDD 166**

NSDD 166 can be considered the first document that implemented the Reagan Doctrine (Coll, 2004, 127) Entitled “Expanded U.S. Aid to the Afghan Guerillas,” it was published in March 1985. It is worth looking at this document because this would be the model for assistance to anti-Soviet movements. This document was produced by Fred Ikle and Michael Pillsbury. Fred Ikle was an Assistant Secretary in the Defense Department and an ardent anti-communist hardliner (Coll, 2004, 126) Fred Ikle was willing to push the Reagan Doctrine to the limits against the Soviet Union. During an Interagency meeting in the spring of 1985, when someone asked him: What if the Russians begin shooting down the U.S. planes and ignite World War III, Ikle answered, according to Thomas Tweeten, a senior officer in the CIA’s clandestine service. “World War III. That’s not such a bad idea.” If he said such a thing, Ikle said later, he must have been kidding. But Tweeten remembered “a roomful of dumbstruck people.” (Coll, 2004,



128) With Ikle's support, Pillsbury pushed a draft of NSDD-166 for Reagan's signature. To help Afghan rebels overcome rising Soviet military pressures, he wanted to provide them with the best guerilla weapons and satellite intelligence. To do this Pillsbury needed new legal authority for CIA covert action that went beyond the Carter-era policy goal of "harassing" Soviet occupation forces. He sought to expand dramatically the stated aims and military means of the CIA's Afghan jihad. (Coll, 2004, 127) President Reagan signed the classified NSDD-166 document in March 1985, formally anointing its confrontational language as covert U.S. policy in Afghanistan (Coll, 2004, 127) The confrontational policy was the most far reaching and controversial position to the bureaucrats.

### **3.3.3 NSDD 187, 212 and 272**

The NSDD 187 was written in 1985 and while it primarily reflected US policy toward South Africa, there was mention of the southern African region. Both NSDD 212, (written in 1986) and NSDD 272 (written in 1987) reflect an updated policy toward the southern African region. These NSDDs were written especially to bring about change in South Africa and southern Africa, especially due to the US public pressure with regards to apartheid South Africa. These three (3) NSDDs reflect the State Department's view that regional security could not be obtained while South Africa was the regional power and there was instability in the region. While the insurgents in southern Africa were anti-South African Government (SAG) in South Africa, in Angola and Mozambique the insurgents were anti-communist, anti-government forces. It is important to note that all three NSDDs called for negotiations, as part of the approach to peace in the region. This is an important part of the Reagan Doctrine. All insurgencies could NOT be won militarily, therefore negotiations with the Governing party in power were essential. This

applied both to the anti-communist SAG and the communist Governments of Angola and Mozambique. These documents reflect both a combination of Defense Department and State Department input (both pro and anti Reagan Doctrine implementation) The important event to realize is that all documents recognize negotiation as the way to peace and power sharing. The timing of the NSDDs were also important. NSDD 187 was published September 7, 1985 and NSDD 212 was published February 10, 1986, before the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 (CAAA-1986). NSDD 272 was published on May 7, 1987 after the CAAA of 1986, when the pressure was on South Africa to abandon apartheid. NSDD 212 specifically states “While the fundamental objectives set forth in those objectives remain valid, U.S policies should accommodate new realities in southern Africa and the United States”. Paragraph 1.1 reads Avoidance and prevention of a scenario in South Africa of revolutionary violence and expanded Soviet influence through exploitation of internal and regional conflict. Paragraph 2. reads Reduction and elimination (to the greatest possible extent) of Soviet and Cuban military presence, access, and influence in Angola and elsewhere in the southern African region. The post CAAA 1986 period clearly reflected the desire for reaching objectives of removal of Soviet influence and negotiations between all parties involved for power sharing. While the CAAA of 1986 involved South Africa, any actions involving South Africa involved the surrounding states due to South Africa’s hegemony. The only way toward successful negotiations was to have all parties involved. The Defense Department under Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger opposed military action (the use of US troops) to assist the insurgencies, but never the less favored limited military aid to the Mozambique Government (Ofcansky, 1988, 118).

The State Department was opposed to aiding resistance movements and instead focused on weaning the governments away from communism. While Shultz favored covert action, he believed the administration should have had a diplomatic or negotiating track as well in order to succeed in Central America, and also to build congressional and public support. (Gates, 1997, 295) The aid to RENAMO in particular was to become particularly contentious.

### **3.4 President Reagan's Objective Toward Mozambique**

As with all policy decisions, there must be objectives, otherwise there is no point in trying to devise, develop and implement a policy, it will just get bogged down. Staying on course toward the meeting objectives would help gain the overall desired end state of a multiparty state(s) and peace in the southern African region.

The Administrations Objective's [Toward Mozambique] were:

1. Replace Soviet influence with the U.S.
2. Reduce regional conflict vis-à-vis South Africa,
3. Induce Machel's FRELIMO Government into substantive negotiations with the very active RENAMO insurgents (Mokoena, ed.1993, 278)

### **3.5 President Reagan's First Mention of Mozambique**

President Reagan's first reference to Mozambique was on 15 December 1982, when he met with the Portuguese leadership. In his diaries, President Reagan writes on Wednesday, 15 December (1982): "A visit from Prime Minister Francisco Pinto Balsemao of Portugal, who expressed doubt that Angola and Mozambique would continue to maintain relationships with the USSR." (Reagan, 2007, 119) From this, one can deduce that in accordance with President Reagan's

determination to bring an end to Soviet expansionism in southern Africa, that aiding OR at least the threat of aiding the RENAMO insurgents would entice the Mozambique Government to negotiate a political settlement. This was reinforced almost one year later when President Reagan again met with the Portuguese leadership. Writing in his diaries, President Reagan mentioned in his diaries that on Thursday, September 15 (1983): “meeting with Pres. Antonio dos Santos Eanes of Portugal, who maintained that former Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola were ready to move away from Soviet influence.” (Reagan, 2007, 179)

### **3.6 Summary**

The Reagan Doctrine was not developed during President Reagan’s term in office. Rather, it was a culmination of anti-Communist and anti-Soviet beliefs and actions throughout President Reagan’s political life. The Reagan Doctrine was not a single unified document, or a single decision that occurred at a particular time, that planned for the overthrow of the Soviet Union or Communism. Instead, it was a compilation of policies designed to reverse (rollback) the expansion of Soviet Communism, and stop the spreading of communism into independent sovereign states like Mozambique.

The Reagan Doctrine was developed, written, and executed by bureaucrats in both governmental and non-governmental bodies. The individuals had similar political beliefs and attitudes towards the Soviet Union that mirrored President Reagan’s. These governmental bodies primarily were the NSC and the policy making bodies of the Executive Branch Departments. The documents executing President Reagan’s policies were called National Security Decision Directives (NSDD) These NSDDs reflected the

hashed out process and political philosophies. The Executive Branch also executed the policies involved in implementing the Reagan Doctrine. The Departments to execute the Reagan Doctrine were primarily the Defense and State Department. The Reagan Doctrine was not a smooth policy, it was opposed by the bureaucrats in the State Department as an intrusion upon diplomacy.

The non-governmental organizations that heavily influenced execution of the Reagan Doctrine and lobbied toward application in Mozambique were mostly conservative oriented, the likes of the Heritage Foundation and others. The Heritage Foundation was probably the most important, because of the influence it had over the governmental organs. More on these groups and their influence toward a Mozambique policy will be covered later.

There were many liberal special interest groups that were opposed to the Reagan Doctrine, or more specifically to where the aid was to be provided. The liberal group Trans Africa, for example, was opposed to President Reagan aiding the UNITA insurgency, but was not totally opposed toward President Reagan's policy toward Mozambique. The policy of diplomacy was paramount. The Trans Africa Director Randall Robinson even supported Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker (Baker, 1989, 56-58)

Chapter Four covers the bureaucrats in Congress and the Non-Governmental Agencies and how they either supported or opposed the Reagan Doctrine and the implementation.

## Chapter 4

### The Congressional and Non-Governmental Response to the Reagan Doctrine

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on how the US Congress and non-governmental agencies dealt with the Reagan Doctrine and the decision-making process pertaining to the US' policy toward Mozambique in particular. It is important to remember that it is hard to separate the application of the Reagan Doctrine to Mozambique from its application to other countries and the overall objective of containing and rolling back Soviet expansion in the Third World. Southern Africa, was at least, partly of interest to the US Congress because of several factors, including: a) the duties of the Congress as specified in the US Constitution, especially dealing with the power of the purse (monetary duties), b) the concerns of congressional constituents, especially among key voting blocs, such as conservatives, black (African-American), and liberals, and c) the CBC. Most of the interest in the region was due to South Africa's apartheid policies and that spilled over to the region. Another concern was, the Soviet/ Eastern Bloc's presence in southern Africa. The Congress split over the Reagan Doctrine by which country to apply the doctrine to, the role of South Africa as the regional power and the role of the United States in general. The US Congress did not vote any military / armament assistance to RENAMO, like they did in the case of UNITA. The US Congress was suspicious of covert operations after Vietnam, as shown by the votes to cut-off aid to the anti-Nicaraguan Government rebels, the Contras. In 1985 Congress repealed the Clark Amendment, which allowed arms transfers to UNITA. In UNITA's case, they voted to supply equipment such as, for example,

Stinger anti-aircraft missiles. Policies in Congress were decided upon by such matters as the particular piece of legislation and the political party controlling Congress.

This chapter also deals with the application of the Reagan Doctrine toward Mozambique and the role of non-governmental agencies, especially “special-interest groups.” As mentioned in Chapter 3, special interest groups were regarded as more responsible than any other group when it came to garner support for the Reagan Doctrine being applied to Mozambique. The influence of such groups was astounding. This has been illustrated, for example, by the Heritage Foundation, and the Free the Eagle Foundation, which could mount a formidable lobbying campaign that could influence the President of the United States (POTUS). As former Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen (2000, 183) observed: “Political conservatives maintained pro-RENAMO pressure fairly steadily during the last two years of the Reagan Administration, but not enough to force the issue to resolution at high levels. One of the rare briefings I was asked to give President Reagan on an African subject concerned RENAMO (apart from Routine briefings, he received an hour-long briefing prior to visits by African heads of state.” This is consistent with other sources on the Reagan Doctrine toward Mozambique, but according to President Reagan’s diaries, he (Reagan) encouraged FRELIMO to negotiate with RENAMO (Reagan, 2007, 536).

#### **4. 2 Congress and Southern Africa**

Contrary to what is heard about lack of concern about Africa, the US Congress was concerned about southern Africa, but as with the US Senate most of the attention focused on the apartheid policies of the RSA, and the presence of Cuban troops and Soviet Advisors in Angola. Within the sphere of South Africa, the US civil rights

demonstrations against apartheid were probably the largest since the civil rights marches that brought the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Acts, which ended segregation in the US. Enacted in 1976, the Clark Amendment prohibited aid to guerilla movements, most notably UNITA, in Angola. During this time Mozambique was almost of secondary importance to the US.

The State Department engaged in politics against the Congress, when Chester Crocker criticized Congress over the Comprehensive Anti Apartheid Act of 1986. Chester Crocker (1992, 268) writes: “that the HOR represents their (US) constituents and not foreigners 8,000 miles away.” The criticism that Assistant Secretary of State Crocker brought against the U.S. Congress was important, because even though it involved sanctions against South Africa, it impacted southern African policy. The basic premise was that South Africa’s security was threatened by the Cuban and Soviet military presence, particularly in Angola. Without South Africa feeling secure from the communist threat, there would be no peace in the southern African region. This was particularly important toward Mozambique, because of RENAMO and one of the major South African liberation movements, the ANC bases in Mozambique. As mentioned earlier, it can also be argued that the US Congress also supported RENAMO by cutting the military and non-military aid to the government of Mozambique. But, as President Reagan urged Mozambique President Chissano to negotiate with RENAMO, and as FRELIMO was coming out of the Soviet orbit, Mozambique became the largest recipient of US aid in the southern African region. (Baker, 1989, 58)

In regards to covert action, most of the attention focused on Angola, because this was the biggest conflict in southern Africa. While this study focuses on Mozambique, the



decisions made toward southern Africa by the US Congress cannot be taken in a vacuum, because the idea of the Reagan Doctrine was to extract a toll on the Soviet Union by supporting the anti-communist so-called “freedom fighters.” The Soviets were most active in Angola, and eventually the U.S. Congress set politics aside and repealed the Clark Amendment on August 8, 1985. On November 12, 1985, just a week before his first summit meeting with USSR President Gorbachev, Reagan signed a presidential finding authorizing covert lethal assistance to UNITA. The CIA formed a special task force to administer the program, and weapons and other military equipment were soon flowing to Savimbi-though at a fraction of the level of Soviet assistance to the MPLA. (Gates, 1997, 347). Another possible scenario is that the US Government covertly sent aid to RENAMO through third parties for plausible deniability.

### **4.3 The Duties of the Congress**

As governed by the US Constitution, the US Congress is the government’s legislative branch, constituted with (enacting) making the laws of the US. Perhaps, most importantly within the bureaucracy, the Congress also controls the “power of the purse,” which determines how public (taxpayers) money will be allocated to the USG agencies and for what programs and activities. This is perhaps the most important part of any bureaucratic power- the power to control spending and budgeting, who pays and who gets what. Without funding resources, it is almost impossible to get the tools to accomplish the necessary missions to execute and implement the policy. The Congress also provides oversight on spending and policies. If the Congress is of the opposite party as the President, then the oversight is tougher. The US Congress is composed of the House of Representatives, elected on proportional representation from

the states, and the US Senate, which comprises two senators from each state.

#### **4.4 The US Senate**

The US Senate is the upper body of the legislature and is charged with legislating laws in conjunction with the House of Representatives. The US Senate body that deals with foreign affairs is the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. During the Reagan Administration, this body was chaired by the arch-conservative Jesse Helms (Republican) from North Carolina. There will be more on his support for RENAMO, in this chapter. Additionally the Senate has the responsibility to confirm all presidential appointments, including the Cabinet officers and ambassadors and ratifies the international treaties, which the US will become a party to. With respect to policy, the decision to implement and what forms of the Reagan Doctrine would be then influenced by whom President Reagan appointed to positions inside the various departments, including the Departments of Defense and State and other executive branch agencies. The US Congress would then have to confirm (by simple majority) the governmental officials involved in the decision-making process, including the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of State, the Director of the CIA. Since the Senate was a majority of the Republican Party, the confirmation process was easier, but never the less President Reagan had problems with some appointees because they were not considered sufficiently ideological (Crocker, 1992, 88-91).

Conservative senators such as, for example, Senator Jesse Helms were instrumental in shaping the Reagan Doctrine with regards to southern Africa and Mozambique by holding up or denying nominations of suspected “non-ideologues”-i.e. persons who did not sufficiently espouse anti-communism. At the beginning of the Reagan

Administration, Senator Helms even held up the nomination of Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs- Chester Crocker on the account of Crocker perceived as not being a true Reagan conservative, but rather a regional specialist who would be overly sympathetic toward black Africa (Baker, 1999, 8, Crocker, 1992, 88, 91) Senator Helms directly also influenced President Reagan's nomination for the U.S. Ambassador to Mozambique. In support of RENAMO, he "held" the nomination of US Ambassador to Mozambique, Melissa Wells, ending in the fall of 1987, until Helms was satisfied that progress was being made in Mozambique (Crocker, 1992, 260), and Senator Jesse Helms was from the same party as President Reagan!

The Senate also failed to give non-lethal military aid to the Mozambique Government (Crocker, 1992, 249). This can be considered part of the Congressional support for RENAMO, because they were denying support to the sovereign, legitimate, Mozambique Government. Despite these individual examples of Congressional support for RENAMO, they mostly dealt with the southern African issues and particularly South Africa with regards to economic sanctions and other forms of legislation to combat Apartheid. This will be covered later.

#### **4.5 The US House of Representatives (HOR)**

The members of the US HOR, elected every two years, are elected from each state proportional to the state's population. The HOR is considered the lower body and is important because all appropriations must originate from the HOR, as specified in the US Constitution. There was dissention within the HOR about the Reagan Doctrine toward southern Africa, particularly toward Angola and the RSA's involvement with anti-Communist resistance movements. With the HOR representing

individual districts, it is their constituents' views that they must represent or be voted out of office. The most influential Republican was Representative Dan Burton (Republican, Indiana) On the Democratic side there was considerable perception that the Democratic Party was "soft" on Communism. To fight this perception Representative Stephen Solarz (Democrat-New York) (in Rodman, 1994, 269 maintained that: "Despite our long and honorable tradition of anti-Communism, Democrats have tended in recent years to refrain from forthrightly expressing our view of the inherent immorality of the Soviet system... But a resolute anti-Communist policy for the Democrats requires more than simply denouncing Communist tyranny. It means, for a start, being just as vigorous in advocating legitimate defense spending as we are in denouncing Pentagon waste...It means resisting Communist expansion in the third world by providing arms and aid to non-Communist forces, such as those in Afghanistan and Cambodia, resisting Communist invasion and occupation of their countries"

#### **4.6 The Congressional Constituents**

Since the congressional residents elect their congressperson, members of Congress must be responsive (or at least appear to be responsive) toward them. The ethnic and political composition of Congress also plays an important factor. This involved the pitting liberal northern states against the conservative southern states, Democrats against Republicans, liberal urban cities against conservative's rural areas. Sometimes political parties were pitted against each other, such as conservative democrats against liberal democrats. The college student campus protests against private and local government investment in South Africa also played to Congress. As a result it was hard to mold a congressional policy toward southern Africa, except for the proposed

economic and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa. Many individual states and cities favored the economic sanctions against South Africa and would advocate divestment and disinvestment from US businesses that had offices in South Africa (Massie, 1997, 523-557).

While it is not the purpose of this dissertation to cover South African sanctions, the economic, political, and military security for South Africa was a key point of the Reagan strategy. The more secure South Africa was, or at least felt, the less South Africa had to worry about its Communist neighbors and the spread of communism. When Mozambique signed the Nkomati Accords in 1984 for security purposes, this also gave security to South Africa's eastern flank by stopping the infiltration of the ANC agents into South Africa.

#### **4.7 The Congressional Black Caucus (CBC)**

The CBC includes African-American congresspersons that represent the interest of the African-American constituency in the US and also to promote better relations with African majority ruled countries. The CBC can also be considered almost a special interest group, except it is made up of public (Congresspersons), instead of private persons. By the mid 1970s and 1980s, members of the of the CBC were predominantly liberals from the urban areas, such as, for example, New York City, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and Los Angeles and Philadelphia. The CBC's African political agenda was very different from President Reagan's resulting in a clash between President Reagan, the Executive Branch, and even cause deep divisions between the US Congress members, because of the actions of the CBC toward Africa (Crocker, 1992, 253-255).

The CBC was totally against aid to RENAMO and UNITA, and also wanted total sanctions against South Africa and the termination of diplomatic relations with South Africa. The CBC's support for the cutoff of aid to RENAMO and UNITA was based upon the fact that the South African Government aided and supported these insurgencies against the majority rule governments. The CBC supported Trans Africa when there were demonstrations and arrests at the South African Embassy in Washington D.C. Protests by the CBC hampered President Reagan's strategy toward southern Africa by tying his hands with the enactment of sanctions and the opposition of aid to RENAMO and UNITA. The worst part of this, is that this was strictly based upon racial politics and the fact that South Africa was supporting these two resistance movements. The CBC was concerned about the fact that the US was either backing or seemed to be backing the racist SAG.

#### **4.8 The Non-Governmental Organizations and The Reagan Doctrine**

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) were primarily divided into liberal and conservative organizations. The power of an NGO or a special interest organization lies in the fact that it can mobilize members and the public to oppose or support a policy or legislation. The more members calling the congress, the more likely a vote will be swayed. Moreover, NGOs also have the power to influence the bureaucracy. NGOs, specifically think-tanks, such as the Heritage Foundation made the largest contribution to support of RENAMO. This support included material, monetary, as well as moral and political backing. Probably the most influential conservative NGO/special interest group, the Heritage Foundation, was well connected to the US Congress and its members such as Senator Jesse Helms (Republican-North Carolina) The

Heritage Foundation was strongly anti-Communist and saw the southern African struggle in terms of East versus West. At the end of 1986, two powerful conservative lobby groups, Free the Eagle and Conservative Action Foundation, helped RENAMO set up two offices in Washington, D.C., to disseminate information about the war in Mozambique. These organizations had a significant influence in the move to provide aid to RENAMO. The organization has the ability to influence governmental bodies beyond normal means. (Ofcansky, 1988, 118)

The most liberal special interest group was TransAfrica headed by Randall Robinson, which favored the governments such as the MPLA and FRELIMO governments over the UNITA and RENAMO. This was due to apartheid South Africa's support for the anti-communist resistance movements. It did not matter whether the movements were indigenous or not. The politics of apartheid took precedence. As long as these movements were aided or backed by apartheid South Africa, then TransAfrica opposed them. TransAfrica was mostly responsible for organizing the political initiative to lobby for congressional support to pass the CAAA-1986. TransAfrica was also not in favor of the Reagan Doctrine.

The White House supported by the State Department hoped to "wean away" Mozambique from the Soviet Union by arranging a meeting between President's Machel and Reagan, which occurred on 18 September 1985. In response many American Conservatives spoke out against what they perceived to be "a highly questionable policy (Ofcansky, 1988, 118). The State Department further opposed the Reagan Doctrine as applied to RENAMO. As far as aid for the RENAMO was is concerned, US Assistant Secretary of State for Political Affairs Michael Armacost told a group of reporters in

Maputo on 18 December 1986 that the American Government did not support RENAMO (Ofcansky, 1988, 118).

Former Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen (2000, 284) further writes about special interest influence: ‘The president said he received many letters from his friends in Orange County, California, urging him to recognize RENAMO’s anti-communist credentials. He asked my opinion as to why he should not listen to his friends. I explained that RENAMO was totally dependent on South African military support and had gotten its start with the indispensable assistance of the white-minority Rhodesian regime, defunct since 1980. We lacked substantial evidence of a popular RENAMO base within Mozambique. In contrast to Angola, where the popular UNITA was led by his good friend Jonas Savimbi. The president’s reaction to my briefing was comforting in that he was unwilling to be rushed into applying his famous “doctrine” to a country, just because of a “Marxist” label. He was also telling me, however, that he needed breathing space, I believed, was to persuade President Chissano to accept negotiations aimed at transforming RENAMO from a guerrilla army into a political competitor.’”

President Reagan did show support for this position when he urged Mozambican President’s Machel and Chissano to negotiate with FRELIMO. Never the less the simple threat of recognizing RENAMO eventually started the negotiations between FRELIMO and RENAMO. This showed the RENAMO was a viable political movement.

#### **4.9 Issues of Secrecy and Interest Groups**

Special interest groups have to answer to their constituents and it does not matter if it interferes with policy. Since many special interest groups and influential individuals are



usually regular civilians and therefore are not eligible for access to classified governmental information, they do not have a full idea of what the government is trying to accomplish or has actually accomplished in many situations. Without access to information, interest groups may publish incorrect information. This was mentioned by President Ronald Reagan (2007, 595) wrote in his memoirs, "At 11: 30 another meeting with leaders of hard core Conservative Leaders Paul Weyrich, Gen. Graham etc. Half hour meeting became an hour. As usual they had us on the wrong side in Afghanistan settlement, Mozambique, Chile & Angola. It is amazing how certain they can be when they know so d—n little of what we are really doing."

Secrecy was also part of the bureaucratic problems between agencies (inter-agency) and even within the same agency (intra-agency) This had the possibility of hampering decision-making as "the left hand does not know what the right hand is doing."

Secrecy is also a vital part of covert operations. DCI Casey persuaded President Reagan to put an absolute premium on secrecy. On this Schweizer (1994, 19) maintained, "Not only would the NSPG alone discuss proposed operations but members of the group would not be given advanced notification that proposed covert operations were going to be discussed. Papers prepared by Casey's aides would be passed out at the end of the meeting and discussed on the spot. Decisions would be made by the NSPG alone-without any support staff input. They did not want any leaks." While leaks were not a big part of demonstrations against foreign policy, such as when the CIA Operations against the MPLA were exposed in 1975, they have to be considered. This is where the issue of sending aid to RENAMO covertly through third parties comes up for discussion. While there is no current evidence of the US Government giving covert lethal aid to RENAMO,

either directly or indirectly, this scenario cannot definitely be ruled out. With the direct evidence of the US Government illegally aiding the anti-Sandinista Contras, there is just too much circumstantial evidence to ignore this.

#### **4.10 Interest Groups Protest Against President Samora Machel**

In 1985, Mozambique President Samora came to the United States seeking US governmental aid for Mozambique. The visit provided a forum for RENAMO to present its case to President Ronald Reagan, the US Congress, the American people, and the world. As Alex Vines (1991, 43) writes, “The major catalyst for the emergence of an active RENAMO presence in the US was, however the visit of President Machel to Washington D.C in 1985. Machel’s appearance as an official guest was distasteful to a right wing used to seeing Machel portrayed as a ruthless pro-Soviet, anti-American Marxist dictator.” This led to a campaign, mobilized and funded by an organization called the “Conservative Caucus,” to prevent Machel’s visit. Unable to stop it, the Caucus organized a series of anti-Machel meetings during his visit. All of this helped to mobilize support for RENAMO among Senators and Congressmen.’ (Vines, 1991, 43) Secretary Shultz (1993, 1111-1116) has admitted that he was afraid of the special interest group influence. Special interest groups took every anti-American word and every pro-Soviet word that President Machel ever said and took out newspaper ads against him. However, at the end of the meeting, President Reagan had a favorable view of Machel. After his visit with President Machel, President Reagan (2007, 354) commented in his diary, “A busy one-A State visitor – Pres. Machel of Mozambique. Turned out to be quite a guy & I believe he really intends to be “non-aligned” instead of a Soviet patsy. We got along fine.”

#### **4.11 The Gersony Report and Special Interest Groups**

The Official State Department report on RENAMO, called the Gersony Report, for its author Robert Gersony pitted the (especially conservative) special interests groups against the State Department and even Reagan Administration officials against the State Department and each other. Liberal special interest groups (especially those supporting human rights) were supportive of the report and used it to bolster their cause against supporting RENAMO. The most virulent part of the report mentioned that “100,000 civilians may have been murdered” as a result of widespread violence and brutality by the rebel group. Victims were beaten, mutilated, starved, shot, stabbed or burned to death, the report said. (Pear, 1988, 1) There were even thoughts that the report was rigged to favor the State Department’s approach and that this has hampered the peace process (Cohen, 2000, 182) The document infuriated conservative American lobbyists for RENAMO, who said it was politically motivated and intellectually dishonest. (Pear: 1) In Congress, Congressman Burton of Indiana denounced “liberal appeasers in the State Department” for their refusal to deal with RENAMO (Pear, 2000, 3) Eventually Assistant Secretary of State Cohen admitted that the report’s analysis was erroneous (Cohen, 2000, 183) This may have also caused a backlash amongst conservatives. But by the time that the report was released, the Reagan Administration was leaving office. This report hampered full aid to RENAMO.

#### **4.12 Non-Governmental/ Special Interest Aid to RENAMO**

Non-Governmental aid to Mozambique was as simple as providing desks, office space and the use of telephones to the Mozambique Research Center to efforts to supply radios and medical supplies (Pear, 1988: 1) As with any endeavor, some interest groups

literally put their money where their mouth is. James Blanchard, a Louisiana businessman, for example, said that he started providing assistance to RENAMO in 1986 by purchasing medical supplies and radios for the rebel group. He has contributed about \$3,000 a month to advance the guerilla groups interests. He has also funded, the Washington operations of the Mozambique Research Center and provided cash payments to prominent Mozambican refugees sympathetic to RENAMO. Mr. Blanchard estimated that he had donated a total of \$50,000 to \$75,000 to RENAMO in the last two years. (Pear, 1988, 2) Freedom Inc., for example, donated \$15,000 to the Mozambique Research Center in March of this year (1988) (Pear, 1988, 2) Freedom Inc. also admitted it they had entered Mozambique from Malawi in September 1986, bringing knives, walkie-talkies and other supplies to the rebels. The groups also met with Mr. Dhlakama, the rebel leader (Pear, 1988, 2) American private aid, while separate from the government can be considered a good gauge of support. Special interest groups played a very important part in the U.S. government toward RENAMO. As Minter writes: ‘...And despite RENAMO’s failure to win the same failure to win the same level of official approval, private networks with semi-official links significantly added to RENAMOs base of external support.’ (Minter, 1994, 156) While there is no evidence of private American groups providing lethal aid (weapons) to RENAMO, if any was provided this might be a violation of neutrality laws.

Liberal special interest groups like, for example, Trans Africa, headed by Randall Robinson were anti-RENAMO, simply because RENAMO was viewed as a tool of the racist South African apartheid regime (Baker, 1989, 56-59) Most of Tran Africa’s campaigns focused on political, economic, and military sanctions against South Africa

and the apartheid government. The “one man-one vote” issue was also a prominent issue among TransAfrica members.

#### **4.13 Summary**

There was substantial bureaucratic division among the US Congress about the events and developments in southern Africa. Most of it was due to President Reagan’s strategy toward the southern African region in the effort to prevent South Africa from becoming a communist state or another Vietnam style entanglement for the U.S. This went as far back as 1975 when the Clark Amendment was adopted to prevent aid from going to UNITA in Angola. There was much division about applying the Reagan Doctrine toward Angola, and also applying it to Mozambique. There was also a concern about RENAMO’s political legitimacy. Overall in the southern African region there was particular concern about sanctions against South African sanction problem and whether or not to institute economic sanctions against South Africa for its apartheid policies.

These congressional divisions started back in 1975/1976 when the Clark Amendment banning foreign military and paramilitary operations and aid to UNITA and Angola took effect. Politics played apart because many in Congress were afraid of another protracted conflict like Vietnam. While the conflict in Mozambique did not end until 1992, there was to be no introduction of U.S. troops.

The most influential Senators pertaining to the RENAMO issue were Jesse Helms and Robert Dole. Without Senator Helms making RENAMO a cause célèbre, Mozambique would probably not even have been on the radar. With his chairing the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, being a Republican, spokesman for conservative causes, the Reagan Administration could not afford to ignore him. His holding up President

Reagan's nominations for the southern African regions representatives made him a powerful player. Senator Helms was also responsible for the decision to terminate aid to Mozambique. A case can be made that the termination of aid to Mozambique could be considered part of the Reagan Doctrine, because it undercut the Government of Mozambique. The CBC was also instrumental in focusing attention on South Africa, especially with the sanctions issue. The CBC supported the Governments of Angola and Mozambique, while being against aiding the UNITA and RENAMO resistance movements. However the CBC did not have the votes to stop the repeal of the Clark Amendment or termination of aid to the Government of Mozambique.

While it can be argued that the U.S. Congress also supported RENAMO by cutting the military and non-military aid to the government of Mozambique, the U.S. Congress also never passed any formal type of aid on RENAMO. This shows the depth of divisiveness of the issue of aid to the Government of Mozambique and aid to the RENAMO resistance movement. Generally Republicans favored the aid to RENAMO, while Democrats favored aid to the Government of Mozambique. But this could put the Republican Congresspersons at odds with the Reagan State Department, who were basically opposed to RENAMO. Though there were problems with particular votes to support the anti-communist freedom fighters or rebels, the U.S. Congress was generally helpful in supporting the President. According to former CIA Director Gates: "It was, after all, the Democrats in Congress who provided Reagan the critical votes on defense spending and for covert actions in Afghanistan, Angola, and even in Central America (a fact that neither Democrats nor Republican like to acknowledge). (Gates, 1997, 558) In the final analysis, though, for all its obstructionism, criticism, and complicating actions, Congress

approved the weapons programs, covert actions, arms control agreements, and other measures requested by Presidents to pursue-and control-the struggle with the Soviets.

(Gates, 1997, 559)

This chapter also showed the enormous influence of the non-governmental agencies and special interest groups. Both Assistant Secretaries of State for African Affairs Crocker and Cohen specifically mentioned the influence of the special interest groups toward anti-communist attitudes toward FRELIMO and toward Communist Mozambique. Even President Reagan mentioned their influence and lobbying him toward a favorable view of RENAMO. Secretary Shultz mentions in his book about the influence of interest groups toward both helping RENAMO and working against President Machel during his official state visit with President Reagan.

Special interest groups were more responsible than any other group when it came to canvassing support for the Reagan Doctrine being applied to Mozambique. In addition to lobbying for governmental aid and recognition toward RENAMO, non-governmental organizations and special interest groups gave money and some materiel aid, such as radios to them. This can be the greatest attribute to an organization-putting their money where their mouth is. If the organizations paid, they probably expected to get something in return. The bureaucratic downside is that this involved private individuals giving aid to a foreign movement, of which the aid might be contrary to the government policy. But unless there were weapons or some dangerous materiel involved, there was probably nothing illegal from the USG standpoint. The next chapter will discuss the Executive Branch which implements the President's policies.

## **Chapter 5**

### **The Reagan Doctrine and the Executive Branch**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

The President is head of the Executive Branch of the USG which executes the laws that the Congress legislates. The President also has some authority to make policy by issuing an Executive Order. There is sufficient evidence to suggest that President Reagan was very aware of all that was transpiring in southern Africa and Mozambique. There are eight (8) entries in the Ronald Reagan diaries (2007) that specifically mention Mozambique. The earliest entry was 1982, and the last entry was 1988. It can be concluded from the evidence and wording that President Reagan fully intended to support or at least show support for RENAMO, by encouraging FRELIMO Mozambique Governmental leaders to negotiate with the RENAMO leaders to obtain a political settlement to a) come out of the Soviet orbit, and b) end the internal civil war. The results of the political settlement would bring about an end to the Mozambique Civil War and bring an end to Soviet influence in Mozambique.

The President also appoints the cabinet secretaries to carry out his policies and the laws that Congress legislates. President Reagan initially appointed Caspar Weinberger as his Defense Secretary and Alexander Haig as his Secretary of State in 1981. After a year, Secretary Haig resigned and George Shultz was appointed until the completion of President Reagan's term in 1989. President Reagan's Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs was Chester Crocker. He was an African expert, being a Professor at Georgetown University in Washington D.C. Bureaucratic politics played a part in Crocker's confirmation process, because Crocker almost was not confirmed, not being



considered sufficiently ideological by the US Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Jesse Helms, who held his nomination and confirmation until August 1981.

In the Executive Branch, there was tension between the Secretary of Defense (Caspar Weinberger) and Secretary of State (George Shultz) Since the Department of State emphasizes diplomacy to solve a critical incident and the Department of Defense prepares military options for the President, there can be bureaucratic conflict. As former Secretary of Defense Harold Brown wrote: Conflicts between secretaries of state and defense tend to be partly personality conflicts with the secretary of state usually, because that is his function, emphasizing diplomacy and the secretary of defenses' responsibility is emphasizing military capability. Now both diplomacy and military capability are ways of dealing with national security. That was the rationale behind the establishing of the NSC in the first place. You would expect the secretary of state to argue against the use of force and the secretary of defense to argue for it. There is sometimes a situation in which the positions are the reverse of what you expect. This was what happened with Shultz and Weinberger for example. It is usually so, by the way, that the White House people overestimate the utility of military force. I think Shultz was one of those who also overestimated the value of military force. (Rothkopf, 2005, 229)

## **5.2 President Reagan and Mozambique**

President Reagan also was sympathetic to the plight of individual persons. He was not a mean person as many historians have made him out to be as Menges, (1988, 385) indicated. Menges (1988, 385) writes that President Reagan was a good natured and humored man. Reagan seemed to care deeply about the foreign policy goals that he espoused. This implies that President Reagan was able to think about using the carrot and

stick approach to Mozambique. During the Mozambique drought of 1984 President Reagan seemed to think that US aid to Mozambique will further entice them out of the Soviet orbit. In his diaries, President Reagan (2007, 213) writes that on Wednesday, January 18, (1984) that “Sen. John Danforth has returned from his African trip. He brought over some slides of the starving people principally in Mozambique. He plead for immediate help for these people. The govt. of Mozambique had thrown its lot with the Soviets. Now the Soviets have failed them. I told our gang to get underway & we’ll ride to the rescue.”

President Reagan was also more supportive of anti-Communist regimes, some, like South Africa, despite its human rights record. Reagan (in Anderson, 2009, 35) was quoted as saying: “We don’t throw out our friends just because they can’t pass the “saliva test” on human rights. I want to see that stopped. We need people who recognize that philosophy. In Angola, for example, Savimbi holds a large chunk of Angolan Territory. With some aid, he could reverse the situation.” With regard to President Reagan’s anti-Communist stance, his position on anti-communism was very firm. He supported the Angolan UNITA and Jonas Savimbi, even when they supposedly burned down a Red Cross hospital and prosthetic factory. Reagan also supported the Nicaraguan Contra’s when they were suspected of committing atrocities, as well as the Philippines dictator Ferdinand Marcos. (Diggins, 2009, 223-224) Based upon this research, it would not be surprising that his firm anti-Communist position extended to apartheid South Africa.

President Reagan was involved with and in charge in international affairs more than many historians admit. According to Anderson (2009, 13) in *Reagan’s Secret War* that:

“...And when I’ve heard all that I need to make a decision, I don’t take a vote. I make the decision. Then I expect everyone of them, whether their views have carried the day or not, to go forward together in carrying out the policy.” Reagan’s diary makes several mention of these events. As President Reagan (2007, 303) wrote on Wednesday, February 27, 1985, “Geo Shultz came in with Bud. He was reporting on what our man is reporting from S. Africa about the Namibia and Angola situation. Angola has made an offer about sending Cuban troops home, but it’s not a good one. We’re proposing a counter which also has the approval of Savimbi-head of the UNITA faction, which is in revolution against the Angolan govt. He’s a good man & has offered a plan for peaceful settlement in Angola. We’re also stepping up our help to Mozambique: Some of our Congressmen and Sen’s. are upset by this since that country has been in the Soviet camp. What they don’t know is that Mozambique wants out of the Soviet connection.”

### **5.3 The State Department and Mozambique**

As previously mentioned there was substantial bureaucratic division in the State Department over the Reagan Doctrine and Mozambique. It can be said that it was the CIA and DOD against the State Department. The two Assistant Secretaries of State for Africa, Chester Crocker and Herman Cohen both comment about the problems between the State Department and the other governmental agencies about the Reagan Doctrine and Mozambique in particular. In *High Noon in Southern Africa*, Chester Crocker (1992, 249) wrote “In Washington, partisan strife over Mozambique became one of our biggest headaches during most of the second Reagan term. In my eight and a half years at the helm of the African bureau, no policy battle was more bitter. Few presidentially approved policies were more shamelessly undercut by people in the President’s own party, his own

administration and even his own White House Staff.” Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen (2000, 181) writes in his book *Intervening in Africa*, “Before we could intervene in the fifteen-year old Mozambique civil conflict; we had to resolve the dispute within the US government as to who were the good guys and who were the bad guys. During the last two years of the Reagan Administration (1987-1988), when I was senior director for Africa on the National Security Council staff, bureaucratic tensions over Mozambique among the national security agencies were about the worst I had seen in thirty years.”

George Shultz was President Reagan’s Secretary of State from 1982 to 1989, after Alexander Haig left the office. Shultz (1993, 1112) reiterated the southern African objectives as given to him by President Reagan. The strategic objectives were:

- reduced cross border violence,
- a reduction of Soviet –Cuban meddling, an end to South African attacks on its vulnerable neighbors, and
- an end to internal conflicts fueled by racism and Marxist Dictatorships.

Secretary Schultz also challenged the Brezhnev Doctrine in that there was no longer a reason for us, or anyone else, to accept the legitimacy of tyrannical rule: “So long as Communist dictatorships feel free to aid and abet insurgencies in the name of “socialist internationalism,” why must the democracies, the target of the threat, be inhibited from defending their own interests and the cause of democracy itself? How can we as a country say to a young Afghan, Nicaraguan, or Cambodian: “Learn to live with oppression; only those of us who already have freedom deserve to pass it on to our children.” (Rodman, 1994, 274) However Secretary Shultz also makes it plain that DCI

Casey was playing his own politics when it came to aiding the anti-communist insurgents. According to Schultz (1993, 1113) “Bill Casey’s pursuit of different foreign policy goals, using the CIA, as his platform and his source of influence, was also a continuing problem for Crocker and me as we pursued what had been approved administration policies.”

The former CIA Director Robert Gates (1997) notes that Shultz did support the Reagan Doctrine. Gates (1997, 339) wrote “On February 22 (1985), three weeks before Gorbachev became General Secretary, Shultz (the administration “moderate”) gave a speech in San Francisco in which he spelled out the real content of the “Reagan Doctrine”: insurgencies fighting against communist domination across the globe would have American help. While Shultz supported the Reagan Doctrine he was also pragmatic. When Mozambican President Machel came for his official visit to the US, was when the struggle for the policy toward Mozambique came to head. Shultz 1993, 1116) reported that the news came at a time when South Africa, with Bill Casey’s encouragement, was particularly vigorous in supporting South Africa’s surrogate force, RENAMO, against the Machel government. Shultz also accused the CIA and their covert action of undermining his diplomacy in Angola and Mozambique, and of pursuing their own agenda.

(Gates, 1997, 337)

### **5.3.1 The Assistant Secretary of State (African Affairs) Position on the Reagan Doctrine**

The State Department’s Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker opposed aid to the RENAMO except as an incentive to negotiate. Crocker noted that when President Reagan took office there was no peace process at all underway in southwestern Africa. The quest for Southwest Africa’s independence was moribund;

South Africa sat seemingly unmovable on its side of the Angolan-Namibian border while some 30,000 Cubans sat across on their side of the same border. UNITA was fighting an apparently endless civil war. No one was talking to anyone else. (Sarkesian and Vitas, 1988, 370) The State Department helped to broker the 1984 Nkomati Accord to bring peace between the Republic of South Africa and Mozambique. Regional, and, to a lesser extent superpower considerations have been the basis of American policy towards Mozambique's low-intensity conflict. At the time, the US government's thinking was that by endorsing the sovereignty of South Africa and Mozambique, hopefully the former would stop aiding RENAMO, thereby bringing an end to the war (Ofcansky, 1988, 118).

Later in 1985, American concern about Mozambique focused on that country's role in the superpower rivalry. The White House supported by the State Department hoped to "wean away" Mozambique from the Soviet Union by arranging a meeting between President's Machel and Reagan, which occurred on 18 September. In response many American Conservatives spoke out against what they perceived to be "a highly questionable policy" (Ofcansky, 1988, 118). The State Department further opposed the Reagan Doctrine as applied to RENAMO. "As far as aid for the RENAMO is concerned, US Assistant Secretary of State for Political Affairs Michael Armacost told a group of reporters in Maputo on 18 December 1986 that the American Government did not support this organization." (Ofcansky, 1988, 118). This would be consistent with the State Department's engaging in diplomacy to resolve the situation between FRELIMO and RENAMO and to get Mozambique out of the Soviet orbit and into the western orbit

### **5.3.1.2 The State Departments objectives for the 1985 President Machel visit**

While the State Department supported peace in the region, it differed on how to reach them. The State Department wanted to “wean” the FRELIMO government from the Soviet Union and communist bloc. (Mokoena (1993, 279) indicates that the State Department objectives were:

1. Improve FRELIMO government image in conservatives’ eyes.
2. Encourage continued adherence to the U.S. brokered Nkomati Accord with South Africa, which specifies non-interference in the other’s internal affairs (Mozambican support of the ANC; South African support of RENAMO)
3. Encourage FRELIMO to negotiate power sharing with RENAMO
4. Seek FRELIMO cooperation in achieving an Angola/ Namibia settlement
5. Achieve a renewed CIA liaison presence
6. Press FRELIMO toward serious economic reform and greater cooperation with the IMF and World Bank; and
7. Moderate Mozambique’s anti-U.S. votes in the United Nations

### **5.4 Impact of the State Department’s Gersony Report on the Executive Branch**

As previously stated the Gersony Report, written by US State Department Officer Robert Gersony, inflamed the rhetoric between the State Department and the pro RENAMO lobby. Amid accusations of a State Department cover-up, Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker (1992, 250) maintained “Gersony spent weeks in the refugee camps ringing Mozambique, systematically interviewing their inhabitants in order to compile a profile of the conditions from which they had fled. When his horrifying results became available to top levels within the administration in April 1988, we quickly decided to brief the Congress and publish the report before it leaked and we faced

accusations of “suppressing “it. According to Crocker (1992, 250) the report painted a picture of rural catastrophe, forced labor, degradation of women and youth, and the death of perhaps 100,000 civilians; it was worse than we imagined RENAMO’s open and closet admirers in Washington made a fierce, but futile effort to discredit the report.” President Reagan was also briefed on the Gersony Report and there is evidence that he did modify his stance on RENAMO, but the report came toward the end of his administration.

President Reagan (2007, 616) wrote in his diaries that on Tuesday, June 7 (1988) “NSC-Colin brought in an NSC board member Amb. Cohen to give me a rundown on Mozambique & the Renamo. He’s really an expert & he convinced me we should not look kindly on Renamo. They are well organized & and in some sectors are very kind to the people but in others they pillage and massacre.”

Despite all the uproar about the complaints against RENAMO and the special interest groups opposing the State Department, President Reagan, somewhat, backed the State Department and their handling of the situation.

The Gersony report did not go over well with Congress. In addition to the Gersony Report, the views of State Department officials upset Congress. After Senators Dole and Helms initially held up the nomination of Melissa Wells to be Ambassador to Mozambique, because during her confirmation hearings, Wells (in Maren, 1987) called RENAMO “bandits, “President Reagan (2007, 498), again, commenting on Mozambique, wrote in his diaries that on Wednesday May 20 (1987) “And finally a problem with our designated Ambassador to Mozambique-Melissa Wells a Foreign Service Officer. Sen Helms is blocking her approval by Sen. Committee. I want her approved.” Eventually Wells was confirmed as Ambassador to Mozambique even



though 28 Senators wrote a letter denouncing her (Maren, 1987, 2).

### **5.5 The Defense Department and Mozambique**

It is well known that President Reagan's first Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger was very much in favor of the Reagan Doctrine and aiding anti-Communist resistance movements. This was because using indigenous forces would help stop the introduction of U.S. troops into combat zones. The US DOD was heavily involved operationalizing the Reagan Doctrine because military advisors maybe appointed to help train and advise the insurgents, plus military intelligence is very important to national security decision-making. The DODs main concern was rebuilding to possibly fight a war against the Soviet Union in the European Theater.

As to the appointment of hard- line Caspar Weinberger as the Secretary of Defense, Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen, acknowledges the closeness of President Reagan and Defense Secretary Weinberger, Cohen (2000, 198) writes: "his bureaucratic tactic in 1987 was to avoid confronting DOD on the Mozambique issue, because it would have been unwise to take on Weinberger directly. He wielded considerable clout on national security issues, especially ones espoused by conservatives." Cohen (2000, 198) then played politics, writing "Instead I stirred up anxiety among conservative supporters of UNITA in the White House and the Congress, declaring continued US support for UNITA our first priority."

Secretary Weinberger was a longtime friend and aide of President Reagan and also had a strong dislike for Communism. (Schweizer, 1994, xvii) After Secretary Weinberger was appointed as Secretary of Defense, he surrounded himself with other right wing conservative thinkers in the Defense Department including Under Secretary of Defense

(Policy) Fred Ikle, and Richard Perle, whom author Alan Weisman (2007, 66) called: “The Prince of Darkness” Assistant Secretary Richard Perle was a wily defense intellectual who wanted to take a tough anti-Soviet line on everything (Schweizer, 1994, 44). Perle was appointed to the Assistant Secretary’s job after turning down other job offers in the Reagan Administration. As Weisman (2007, 66) wrote about Perle “The lure of a like-minded administration began to play on Perle’s ego and imagination. This was one of the opportunities that played to Perle’s strength: his ability to place those who shared his views in positions that mattered. While ideological opponents saw a dark conspiracy in this spreading of likeminded bureaucrats, the fact is virtually everyone who lands a job of any import in Washington is part of some sort of cadre-political, ideological, fraternal, or social.”

In early 1981, Undersecretary of Defense Fred Ikle convened a group of Pentagon specialists to put together a “defense guidance” that remains classified to this day. Parts of it that were supposed to contain information that started the changes known as the Reagan Doctrine. (Kengor, 2006, 72-73) While the Reagan Doctrine was applied with veracity to Afghanistan, Angola, and Nicaragua, with the insurgents receiving U.S. arms (like Stinger Missiles) there is so far no evidence that actual military or lethal aid was given to RENAMO. The U.S. Congress also became involved in the issue, and directed the Defense Department not to give any aid to Mozambique in budget year 1986, by cutting the aid, contained in the budget to Mozambique. This would indicate support for RENAMO and the decision for FRELIMO to engage them in peace talks to end Marxism-Leninism and end the civil war.

## 5.6 The CIA and the Reagan Doctrine

The State Department was charged with collecting, processing, analyzing and disseminating intelligence about the Soviet Union's capabilities and intentions. In 1981 President Reagan chose William Casey to be Director of Central Intelligence (DCI). Casey is generally considered to be the most powerful DCI since the founding of the CIA in 1947 (Schweizer, 1994, xvi, 14, Freidman, 2000, 453). Casey was known to have close personal ties with President Reagan, supported freedom fighters and most importantly had unimpeded access to him. As Kengor (2006, 120) observes: "Because of his vehement anti-Communism and strategic insight, Reagan found a soul mate in Casey, a man who like Reagan saw the Soviet Union as vulnerable to pressure. Reagan unleashed Casey, picking his brain for ideas, placing tremendous confidence in him, and then signing off on dangerous initiatives that exploited Soviet vulnerabilities." DCI Casey also had influence on President Reagan's national security decision-making process. Commenting on this, Kengor (2006, 120) maintained "He [Reagan] did this discreetly, often in closed-door meetings that involved only him, Casey, and the National Security Advisor (Clark in the most crucial years). As Bill Clark (in Kengor, 2006, 120) acknowledged "Few of these initiatives were discussed at cabinet meetings. The president made his decisions with two or three advisors in the room"

Immediately after taking control of the CIA, Casey began looking at the vulnerabilities of the Soviet Union and the lack of CIA analysis. Casey, according to Gates (1997, 203) ordered the Deputy Director of the CIA, Admiral Bobby Inman:

- To pay attention to the worldwide "intangible threat" to U.S. interests-propaganda attack, subversion, terrorism, espionage, "with special attention to the degree to

which it may be organized, supported, directed and coordinated by forces hostile to us in the world,” and

- Casey wanted a new intelligence estimate on (a) economic forces in the world either as a threat to our security or in terms of the political leverage they might afford for or against us; and (b) “instabilities and the potential for developing instability in those areas of the world which are of geopolitical importance and other areas of special interests to us.”

According to Gates (1997, 202) Casey quickly put his finger on a serious deficiency in the CIA’s collection and analysis of the Soviet Union. Surprisingly as it may seem-shocking-in fact, while the Directorate of Operations collected information on Soviet covert actions around the world, the Soviets’ espionage activities against others (non-NATO), and their propaganda networks, these reports were regarded as “operational”-not substantive-were rarely shared with analysts; even more rarely was this information circulated outside the operations directorate. These were the tools of Soviet subversion, their efforts to destabilize Third World countries and we hardly paid attention. We tracked military and economic assistance and Soviet activities around the world. This reflected, all too often, a lack of background in Soviet history, a mind-set about Soviet behavior, and a lack of information from the clandestine service.”

CIA Director Casey called attention to the Soviet vulnerabilities in the third world client states. In a January 9, 1985 speech he said: “There are over 100,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan, 170,000 Vietnamese troops in Cambodia, and 40, 000 Cuban troops in Africa. This is a worldwide military aggression directly and by proxy. That and the horror of it is the bad news. The good news is that the tide has changed. Today in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Ethiopia, and Nicaragua, to mention only the most prominent arenas, hundreds of thousands of ordinary people are volunteers in irregular wars against the Soviet Army or Soviet supported regimes. Whereas in the 1960s and 1970s anti-Western

causes attracted recruits throughout the Third World, the 1980s have emerged as the decade of freedom fighters resisting Communist regimes.” (Rodman, 1994, 271)

Mozambique can be interpreted to be part of this speech.

Director Casey was also considered to have rewritten his own presidential authority. This was especially in consideration in regards to Afghanistan although it can be inferred to general Soviet expansion. Casey had wanted to stretch the war’s [Afghanistan] ambition to a similar degree. “Unless U.S. policy is redesigned to achieve a broader attack on Soviet vulnerabilities it cannot restore independence to Afghanistan” Casey wrote in a classified memo to McMahon and other senior CIA officers on December 6, 1984. Continuation of the current U.S. program will allow the Soviets to wear down the Afghanistan resistance at a cost affordable and tolerable to themselves.” He insisted that the CIA take a close look at the Pentagon’s latest proposals to provide satellite intelligence about Soviet targets in Afghanistan. Casey concluded: “In the long run, merely increasing the costs to the Soviets of an Afghan intrusion, which is basically how we have been justifying the activity when asked, is not likely to fly.” (Coll, 2004, 102) “Restoring independence to Afghanistan” was not a goal spelled out for CIA covert action in the January 1980 presidential finding renewed by President Reagan. Nor was it a possibility deemed plausible by many of Casey’s own Soviet CIA analysts. No longer would the CIA be content to tie the Soviets down, Casey was saying. They were going to drive them out. (Coll, 2004, 102)

The CIA under Director Casey was also constantly engaged in covert operations in southern Africa. While most of this was in Angola and South Africa, it cannot be ruled out that it was expanded to Mozambique. As former CIA Director Gates (1997, 560)

recalled: “Operationally it had important successes. The greatest of them all was the war in Afghanistan where, under CIA management, the United States and its partners funneled billions of dollars in supplies and weapons to the Mujahedin. The resistance was thus able to fight the vaunted Soviet army to a standoff and eventually force the political decision to withdraw. And both the costs and the stalemate had a real and broad political impact domestically in the Soviet Union. Similarly, covert actions in Angola and even in Nicaragua produced sufficient pressure on the Soviet clients to make them seek a political solution. Elsewhere in the Third World, CIA worked successfully with governments friendly to the United States to combat subversion by the Soviets or their surrogates. This showed the value of covert operations and can be construed as showing the Reagan Doctrine was applied to Mozambique. After all the strategy was the same. DCI Casey was well known for his access to

President Reagan and it is possible that he discussed aiding RENAMO. This would fit in with his penchant for covert operations. In March 1982, Casey (Scott, 1996, 22) observed that “it is much easier and less expensive to support an insurgency than it is for us and our friends to resist one. It takes relatively few people and little support to disrupt the internal peace and economic stability of a small country.” Casey (in Scott, 1996, 22) further explained that “the 1980s have emerged as the decade of the freedom fighters resisting communist regimes” and that the U.S. should aid them because they only “need modest support and strength of purpose from nations that want to see freedom prevail (Scott, 1996, 22-23). While it is still unknown if the CIA actually provided covert aid to RENAMO, it is suspected, in fact, Casey also backed up his words with deeds, he shared intelligence with his South African counterparts in Pretoria (Schweitzer, 1994, 114) It

was thought that the intelligence was related to Cuban and Soviet movements, capabilities and intentions in southern Africa, especially South Africa and Angola. (Schweitzer, 1994, 114)

It is unknown whether or not the CIA had any assets in either the FRELIMO or RENAMO movements. This would have made knowing intentions and warnings easier. With the proper intelligence the politicians can make better decisions. In March 1984, a month after USSR President Andropov's death, the Centre [KGB Headquarters] was taken by surprise when Samora Machel and the South African President P.W. Botha signed the Nkomati non-aggression agreement (so called after the town in Mozambique where the signing took place). Photographs of the tall figure of the notoriously short-tempered Botha, nicknamed *die Groot Krokodil* (The Great Crocodile) towering over the much smaller Machel seemed to symbolize the triumph of Pretoria's bullying power. In return for FRELIMO's agreement to cease providing bases for the ANC, Pretoria promised to withdraw support for RENAMO (though in reality, South African military intelligence continued to provide it with some covert assistance). A dismayed ANC declared that the agreement had surprised the progressive world! Soon afterwards N.V. Shishlin, foreign affairs consultant to the International Department (and later to Gorbachev), told the London Embassy and KGB residency in a private briefing that saving Mozambique was beyond Moscow's power; its economy had virtually collapsed and FRELIMO was riven with internal rivalries (Andrews and Mitrokhin, 2004, 468)

It is known that the KGB had an asset named TSOM within the FRELIMO hierarchy, because according to Markus Wolf, (in Andrews and Mitrokhin, 2004, 467) the long serving head of the Stasi's foreign-intelligence arm; "Internal power struggles in the

[FRELIMO] government were exacerbated by debates between the Soviet military and the KGB over the proper way to handle a conflict careering out of control.” William Casey became ill in December 1986 due to a brain tumor. Even though he did not pass away from the brain tumor until May 1987, Casey was forced to resign, thus depriving President Reagan of a skilled DCI. Casey was temporarily replaced by Deputy Director Robert Gates until William Webster, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) became the new director.

### **5.7 The National Security Council (NSC)**

The National Security of 1947 authorized the NSC to assist the President with making national security policy and providing the president with recommendations to make a decision on a particular issue. The actual function of the NSC was to advise the President with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies relating to the national security, so as to enable the military services and other departments of the Government to cooperate more effectively in matters involving the national security. (Menges, 1988, 385) The statutory members of the NSC at the time President Reagan was in office were: 1) The President, 2) The Vice-President, 3) The Secretary of Defense, and 4) The Secretary of State. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff served as the principal military advisor, while the Director of Central Intelligence served as the intelligence advisor. President Reagan structured the NSC to support his policies. The NSC has both professional staffers and political appointees. It was at the NSC that the heart of bureaucratic politics took place.

The Reagan NSC played the strongest role in formulating policy and strategy. Inside the Reagan NSC were such conservative anti-communist staffers as John Poindexter,



Roger Robinson, Richard Pipes, Bill Martin, Donald Fortier, and Vincent Cannistaro.

(Schweizer, 1994, xviii) President Reagan had many NSA during his term in office. By contrast President George Bush only had two during his eight years in office:

Condoleezza Rice and Stephen Hadley.

As it was focused primarily of the Soviet Union and eventually separating client states such as Mozambique from Soviet influence, it is important to review The NSC policy and strategy toward the Soviet Union with respect to separating the Soviet Union from its Third World clients, such as Mozambique

- Covert financial, intelligence, and logistical support to the Solidarity movement in Poland that ensured the survival of an opposition movement in the heart of the Soviet empire
- Substantial financial and military support to the Afghan resistance, as well as supplying of mujahedin personnel to take the war to the Soviet Union itself.
- A campaign to reduce dramatically Soviet hard currency earnings by driving down the price of oil with Saudi cooperation and limiting natural gas exports to the west
- A sophisticated and detailed psychological operation to fuel indecision and fear among the Soviet leadership
- A comprehensive and detailed global campaign, including secret diplomacy, to reduce drastically Soviet access to Western high technology
- A widespread technological disinformation campaign, designed to disrupt the Soviet economy
- An aggressive high-tech defense buildup that by Soviet accounts severely strained the economy and exacerbated the resource crises (Schweizer, 1994, xix)

Probably the most prominent staffer on President Reagan's NSC was Richard Pipes. Of Polish origin and a prominent anti-Communist, who wanted to shatter the myth of Soviet invincibility. He is also identified as the author of NSDDs-32 and 75 (Schweizer,

1994, 69, 130-131) Again, a premium was placed on secrecy. To this date part of NSDD 32 remains classified.

The Andersons (2009, 178) wrote in Reagan's *Secret War* that: "At the end of his first term, President Reagan had one of the most powerful groups of advisers ever put together in the White House. They were smart, tough, and precise."

However, according to CIA Director Gates (1997, 285), the National Security Advisor did not play such a role during the first six years of the Reagan administration, partly for structural reasons, partly because of deficiencies of those who would hold the job.

Downgraded in 1981, a weak and often incompetent Reagan NSC removed from the bureaucratic equation a powerful protection for the President—a potent personal representative who could bring the national security mandarins together, develop agreements and compromise when possible, and crystallize disputes into manageable alternatives for presidential decision. During the first six years of the Reagan administration, there was no one at the NSC whom Cabinet Officers would keep regularly informed of their activities and who could, as necessary, coordinate those activities and make sure all were adhering to the policies determined by the President

According to Gates (1997, 285) the position of National Security Advisor to the President is a complex and difficult one in the best of circumstances. Presidents have been best served by individuals with substantive expertise and/or experience in the national security arena, practical policy and government experience, the complete confidence of the President, and the confidence of the other members of the national security team. Gates (1997, 285) maintained that this did not happen with President Reagan's National Security Advisors and as a result there was more in-fighting,

quarreling, back-biting, and jockeying for advantage among the senior members of the Reagan national security team than in the Carter Administration. This would definitely hamper presidential decision-making. All of this would unravel after the Iran-Contra Scandal became public and nearly brought down the Reagan Administration. As Rothkopf (2005, 258) wrote “The Reagan Administration produced six national security advisors. Of the first four, the one who was probably the smartest-Poindexter- lasted the shortest time and got into the most trouble; the one who was the least experienced-Clark- was probably the most successful; the one who was the best known and best liked in foreign policy circles-Allen- became a nonentity in the job; and the one who was the most competent-McFarlane- ended up evoking the tormented ghost of James Forrestal (The first US Secretary of Defense, who committed suicide), one of those most responsible for creating the post in which he served by attempting suicide in 1987 because he felt he had completely let down his commander-in chief. But it was the last two who redeemed the process and set the stage for the shape and function of the function of the Post-Cold War NSCs even as the Cold War itself was winding to an end.”

### **5.8 Impact of the Iran-Contra Scandal**

The Iran-Contra scandal of 1986/1987 during President Reagan’s second term (1985-1989) definitely impacted the veracity of the Reagan Doctrine by forcing many key anti-Communist hard line persons in President Reagan’s cabinet and the staff members instrumental in assisting with the creation and execution of the Reagan Doctrine to resign. Some were also indicted. While the story of Iran-Contra is not part of this study, the effects of the scandal of Iran-Contra definitely impacted the Reagan Administrations southern African region and Mozambique more than most observers give credit for. With

the key players gone, decisions to forcefully and fully implement the Reagan Doctrine could not be made.

The background of the scandal is that the Iran-Contra rebels was basically selling arms to the Iranian Regime in exchange for the release of Americans being held hostage by Islamic Terrorists in Lebanon. The proceeds from the sale of the arms were sent to the Nicaraguan Contras (The USG supported insurgency fighting to overthrow the pro-Cuban Sandinista Regime) The USG was prohibited by the U.S. Congress from aiding the Contras due to the Boland Amendment, which prohibited USG from aiding the warring parties in Central America. The Boland Amendment was the Central American equivalent of the Clark Amendment that affected Angola, which prohibited the USG from aiding UNITA (Sarkesian and Vitas, 1988, 396, 410-411).

Defense Secretary Weinberger, National Security Advisor Poindexter and National Security Council Staffer Oliver North were among the most prominent officials that were forced to resign along with several other Reagan aides who were more strident in implementing the Reagan Doctrine. The full extent of the cover up is not known to this day. President Bush used his presidential authority to pardon and legally protect from prosecution, many officials involved in this scandal While the Iran-Contra scandal controversy is still being debated; it was assumed that DCI William Casey seemed to be the only one in position with enough authority to bypass President Reagan and run a “rogue operation.” (Anderson, 2009, 322)

The Iran-Contra scandal was a turning point for the Reagan Administration and for the National Security Council system. For the President and his team, it was a black mark that they survived but never fully recovered from (Rothkopf, 2005, 247-248) The Iran-

Contra scandal happened just as the issue of aid to RENAMO and Mozambique was becoming more heated and events distracted President Reagan from making a decision and fully implementing the Reagan Doctrine.

### **5.9 Summary**

Bureaucrats in the Executive Branch were split over the application of the Reagan Doctrine towards Mozambique. It was the CIA and the DOD against the DOS. The NSC was operating by itself and could not effectively unite the cabinet departments and get them on the same sheet of music. It was even the CIA vs. the CIA with Director Casey favoring aid to the resistance movements, while the career assistants were more cautious. The reasons for caution varied, but fear of war against the Soviet Union was mentioned. The CIA was also viewed as a rogue agency or any agency out of control. The NSC which was made up of members of each organization plus professional staffers would have been caught in the middle. State Department officials assigned to the NSC would have been against the Reagan Doctrine, while Defense and CIA officials would have been for it. It is (still) unknown if the principals went to President Reagan with their recommendations for an actual decision on RENAMO, but the evidence suggests that since he told President Chissano to negotiate with RENAMO, despite all evidence to the contrary, some decision was reached.

The impact of the Iran-Contra scandal on the administration and its effect on the Reagan Doctrine cannot be overestimated. This had a devastating impact on the administration in senior personnel turn-over. In 1987 several of President Reagan's top advisors were forced to resign and/or were indicted as a result of the scandal. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, a conservative hardliner, was among them. This definitely

had an impact on the political advice given to the president regarding military support to and in support of covert operations.

The State Department was virulently opposed to aiding the RENAMO insurgents or “bandits” as US Ambassador to Mozambique Melissa Wells called them during her confirmation hearings. Menges (1988, 394) wrote about the State Department, quoting Henry Kissinger: “The outside believes a Presidential order is consistently followed out. Nonsense. I have to spend considerable time seeing that it is carried out, and in the spirit, the President intended. Inevitably, in the nature of bureaucracy, departments become pressure groups for a point of view. If the President decides against them, they are convinced some evil influence worked on the President. If he only knew all the facts he would have decided their way.” The next chapter will be an analysis of the Reagan Doctrine implementation.

## **Chapter 6**

### **Analysis of Implementation of the Reagan Doctrine**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

It can be concluded by the analysis in previous chapters that a modified Reagan Doctrine was implemented toward Mozambique. Even though there is still no official declassified documentation of hard evidence, such as direct or indirect arms or lethal military aid transfers, to support this notion, President Reagan urging the FRELIMO political leadership to enter into negotiations with RENAMO to end the civil war and bring about a settlement advancing peace and stability in Mozambique can be viewed as recognizing the existence of RENAMO as an anti-Communist ally of the US. Since the President formulates US foreign policy, this provides more evidence. This would fit with the theory that President Reagan, while being an ardent anti-Communist, supported negotiations between Communist governments and anti-Communist movements with the purpose of forming governments that granted peoples basic freedoms. In Mozambique's case this would be negotiations between FRELIMO and RENAMO, the purpose would be to form a power sharing government, possibly a government of national unity. A "full" Reagan Doctrine, (as opposed to a modified Reagan Doctrine, which aimed at arming and providing possible military aid to the RENAMO insurgents would have happened if the Iran-Contra scandal had not forced the resignation or indictments of the key foreign policy actors in the Reagan administration. The Iran-Contra scandal forced the resignation of Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, National Security Advisors Robert McFarlane and John Poindexter, and several key CIA officials. This devastated

the administration's strategic planning ability. This happened in 1985-1987 at the beginning of President Reagan's second term and hamstrung Reagan's ability to further implement foreign policy decisions. It appears that in asking FRELIMO to negotiate with RENAMO, Reagan overruled his State Department, who wanted nothing to do with RENAMO.

President Reagan left office in January 1989 and even though events carried over to the George H.W. Bush Administration, the USG's strategy toward Mozambique eventually produced concrete results. In 1992, for example, the Rome Accords between FRELIMO and RENAMO were signed, which eventually led to, by all accounts, free and fair elections. The elections were supervised by the United Nations with civilian and military observers the presiding. The FRELIMO Government won the election, but RENAMO had a fairly good showing at 35% of the votes. This was to eventually dispel the myth that RENAMO were not merely "bandits", but was a serious, legitimate political movement.

The USG's strategy toward southern Africa, particularly towards Angola, Mozambique and South Africa took years to yield results. The fall of the Soviet Union and two US presidential administrations later, the strategy and means eventually resulted in a successful end. Other factors contributed to the success of this strategy. This includes, for example, the inability of both FRELIMO and RENAMO to win an outright military victory. In addition the CIA Director Casey, for example, never stopped coming up with ideas-or forwarding those of others -for waging war against the Soviets more broadly, more aggressively and more effectively (Gates, 1997, 256). Casey's strategy added pressure on the Soviet Union to negotiate with the USG on Soviet support to the



Third World Communist governments and ending the conflicts in Third World countries. The Reagan Doctrine essentially made the Third World, which would include Mozambique, a Soviet liability. This was a dramatic reversal from the USSR's dominance in those countries in the 1970s.

## **6.2 Putting Pressure on FRELIMO to Start of Serious Negotiations**

According to Ambassador Cohen (2000, 185): "To satisfy President Reagan's desire to see FRELIMO-RENAMO negotiations begin, we decided to jump start the process by bringing Chissano to Washington for an official visit and exposing him to Reagan's charm. Assistant Secretary Crocker, his principal deputy Charles Freeman, my deputy at the NSC Alison Rosenberg, and I worked out the details. Together we succeeded in getting Chissano invited for a working visit on 7 October 1987."

President Reagan, as indicated earlier, had a passionate dislike for Marxism-Leninism and the Soviet "experiment." Reagan believed that Communist regimes were not "just another form of government," as George Kennan (in Schweizer, 1994, xiii) put it, but a monstrous aberration. As confirmed in President Reagan's diaries, he wrote that he urged President Chissano to negotiate with RENAMO. The NSDDs signed by President Reagan can also be construed as supporting aid to the RENAMO insurgents. As was also shown the Reagan Administration's support for the SAG against the Cubans and Soviets can definitely be construed as support for RENAMO. Those who say that aid to the SAG did not constitute aid to RENAMO are wrong. Aiding the SAG, so as to keep pressure off their eastern flanks, by supporting the insurgency, was definitely aiding RENAMO. Aid to the SAG was primarily done before the 1986 sanctions. From a strategic point of view, aiding RENAMO would have forced

FRELIMO to battle the insurgents and militarily tied up FRELIMO. This would have freed the South Africa's Government troops from being tied down along the Mozambique border.

While the President is the ultimate decision making authority in the US, he is also guided by advisors, and by either legislative actions enacted by the Congress, or judicial limits enacted by the US Supreme Court. There were no judicial actions concerning Mozambique. It can be deduced that President Reagan's advisors were not following his policies to either the spirit or the letter of the law.

Secretary of State George Shultz was duty-bound to give President Reagan the best advice possible to make a decision. If Secretary Shultz and his Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker gave him the best advice toward Mozambique, then they did their duty. If the Secretary and the Assistant Secretary were misled by their own advisors regarding RENAMO and the Gersony Report, as indicated by Ambassador Cohen, then they had the duty to return to President Reagan and make corrected recommendations.

President Reagan's DCI William Casey also was duty bound to give the best advice regarding the RENAMO movement for President Reagan to make a decision. If Casey either disregarded President Reagan's orders or knowingly went ahead and supplied RENAMO, beyond the President's orders, then he too, was disloyal. There was no law prohibiting support to RENAMO, like the Clark Amendment (until it was repealed in 1985) which prohibited aid to UNITA or the Boland Amendment prohibited aid to the Nicaraguan Contras. As was previously mentioned there was no set of standards actually defining the Reagan Doctrine nor was it evenly applied to all countries that warranted it.

### **6.3 Reasons for President Reagan's action toward Mozambique**

The Reagan Doctrine did not have a published set of guidelines. It was implemented in countries such as Afghanistan, Angola and Nicaragua, each with different standards, strategies and results. President Reagan's strategy toward southern Africa was to engage in "Constructive Engagement" to reduce Soviet and Cuban influence in the region and end the region's civil wars. The civil wars in Angola and Mozambique were devastating toward the civilians. Reducing the Soviet and Cuban influence would aid in South Africa's security situation, so the scourge of apartheid could be eventually dismantled. In the long run the Reagan Administration's strategy worked. Despite all the bureaucratic infighting between the President Reagan and Congress, the President and special interest groups and in-fighting among the President's staff, peace in the region would eventually come and the Soviet Union would disappear.

This was in spite of the early problems that RENAMO faced. Many in the State Department viewed RENAMO as "bandits," and subordinate to the South African regime. Massie (1997, 499), amongst others reinforced this by observing "During the Rhodesian Civil War South Africa and Rhodesia setup bases for them in the eastern Transvaal, provided them with weapons, and unleashed them, RENAMO troops crossed into Mozambique at will and wreaked havoc with the economy by blowing up roads, bridges, power lines, and railways and by terrorizing tens of thousands of rural residents." In 1992, elections were held in Mozambique. In 1994, elections were held in South Africa, which resulted in Nelson Mandela becoming South African President and the ANC gaining majority rule in Parliament. Mozambique did not have the same number

of Cuban and Soviet troops and advisors as Angola did. The Soviet Union did not prioritize support for FRELIMO and the Government of Mozambique. Initially South Africa was concerned about the ANC bases in Mozambique. Actions by the SAG to destabilize the FRELIMO Government eventually brought South African President Botha and Mozambican President Machel to the negotiating table and the signing of the Nkomati Accords, which were brokered by the USG. The issue of FRELIMO being a vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party dedicated to “Scientific Socialism” factored into President Reagan wanting RENAMO to negotiate with FRELIMO. While this was going on the key decision-makers in President Reagan’s cabinet were continuing with the mission to free southern Africa from Cuban-Soviet meddling and ending the region’s civil wars. Having FRELIMO negotiate with RENAMO, it was argued would achieve those goals.

#### **6. 4 Summary**

It can be concluded that a modified Reagan Doctrine was implemented toward Mozambique. President Reagan wanted a negotiated settlement to the Mozambican civil war, as well as getting rid of the Soviet and Cuban influence in southern Africa. The only way to achieve this was by pressurizing the FRELIMO government to negotiate with RENAMO and possibly form a type of government of national unity. Both FRELIMO and RENAMO were not strong enough to gain an outright military victory. Until all of President Reagan’s records are declassified; there will probably be no documentation of hard evidence, such as arms transfers or other materiel going to RENAMO. If any US or allied arms were sent through South Africa to RENAMO, it will be hard to document. What is evident, however, is the fact that RENAMO was able to

wage an insurgency against FRELIMO from 1975 until the 1992 elections in Mozambique. Waging the insurgency CANNOT be done without materiel assistance. The insurgents needed food, arms, shelter, clothing, etc. Even if RENAMO obtained weapons from raids against FRELIMO, their strength was too great to obtain them all from hit and run raids. It is known that Rhodesia and South Africa supplied some weapons to RENAMO.

President Reagan urging the FRELIMO leadership to enter into negotiations with RENAMO to end the civil war and bring about a settlement advancing peace and stability in Mozambique can be viewed as recognizing the political existence of RENAMO.

Those who say that aid to the SAG did not constitute aid to RENAMO are wrong. Aiding the SAG, to keep pressure off their flanks, especially if it freed South African troops from the border with Mozambique can be definitely seen as support for both South Africa and RENAMO. Supporting the insurgency, was definitely aiding RENAMO. US aid to the SAG was primarily done before the 1986 sanctions.

While the President is the ultimate decision making authority, she/he is also guided by his advisors, and by either legislative actions enacted by the Congress, or judicial limits enacted by the US Supreme Court. There were no judicial actions concerning Mozambique, so that is not a problem. It can be deduced that his advisors were not following his policies to either the spirit or the letter of the law. Bureaucratic politics also prevented the President's advisors from giving him accurate information for a decision. The Secretary and the Assistant Secretary were misled by their own advisors regarding RENAMO and the Gersony Report, as indicated by Ambassador Cohen, then they had the duty to return to President Reagan and make corrected

recommendations.

Regarding the CIA involvement. When William Casey took over the CIA, the USSR believed that the US was suffering from not only the “Vietnam Syndrome, but also the “Angolan Syndrome.” (Andrew and Mitrokhin, 2005, 453) Casey was determined to rid the CIA of the syndromes and bring them back into the world of covert operations. It is well known that the CIA under Casey supported South Africa with intelligence products. It is uncertain if the CIA provided lethal aid to the South African Security Services. This would have been in violation of US law, specifically the CAAA-1986. Never the less in the view of Iran-Contra, since the CIA supplied aid to the Nicaraguan Contras in violation of the law, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that DCI Casey either disregarded President Reagan’s orders or knowingly went ahead and supplied lethal or military aid to RENAMO, beyond the President’s orders. This can be deduced, as by the previous comment in Anderson’s book, where they wrote that DCI William Casey was the only administration figure capable of running a rogue operation. This can only be resolved when and if the CIA’s files are ever opened to the public. However former CIA Director Gates (1997, 359) writes that “None of these or myriad or other covert propaganda activities determined the outcome of the Cold War. Some may have been counterproductive by making diplomatic efforts to reach out to the Soviets more complicated or harder. But most particularly those associated with publicizing the Soviets’ human rights record and the cases of specific individuals, and those in support of Poland’s Solidarity, served a useful purpose in my view in keeping the world’s attention on Soviet behavior and bringing pressure on them to change that behavior. We kept a bright worldwide spotlight on nefarious Soviet activities at home, in Eastern Europe, and

in support of Third World surrogates that otherwise have remained largely unknown or neglected.”

## **Chapter 7**

### **Summary**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

President Ronald Reagan came into office in 1981, vowing to fulfill his election promise to contain the spread of, and rollback, expansionist Soviet style Communism, particularly in African, Asian, and South American states. According to the NSDDs, the strategy to implement the Reagan Administration policies were to be accomplished by:

- Providing covert and overt aid to the anti-Communist resistance (guerrilla or insurgent) forces,
- which would enable them to destabilize the Soviet Union backed/supported governments.
- This doctrine calling for the containment and reversing Communism would eventually be called the Reagan Doctrine.

Using Graham Allison’s (1971) bureaucratic political model, this study presented evidence to answer following question: “Even when all the prerequisites were met, why was there a decision to only implement a very modified form of the Reagan Doctrine in Mozambique, instead of a full- blown effort, such as in Angola or Afghanistan? The research showed that all prerequisites for a full implementation of the Reagan Doctrine, were met, but there was a reluctance to apply this doctrine with the veracity as compared to Afghanistan or Angola.

The research showed that despite bureaucratic politics and undermining of his own presidential polices, President Reagan did urge the FRELIMO governments of Presidents

Machel and Chissano to negotiate with RENAMO to end the civil wars that had devastated Mozambique. The research showed special interests and lobbyists influenced government bureaucrats to view decisions to view the FRELIMO government and RENAMO resistance in a specific way and for specific reasons. The research further showed that non-governmental organizations gave aid, albeit non-lethal aid, to RENAMO. This investigation also measured how much influence the USG's bureaucracy had on important national security decision-making processes.

## **7.2 Summary of the main research findings and implications**

The decision to apply a modified Reagan Doctrine toward Mozambique was based on President Reagan's desire to meet the twin objectives of ending Soviet and Warsaw Pact influence in the southern African region and ending civil wars in the region, including that in Mozambique between governing FRELIMO and the insurgent RENAMO movement. President Reagan also had to provide for the region's security and stability to pursue a future peace in South Africa and gain independence for Namibia.

In order to accomplish his objectives, President Reagan had to get FRELIMO to negotiate with RENAMO to begin moving the peace process forward. In order to achieve this goal President Reagan would have to give either some incentive or punishment toward the ruling FRELIMO party. The threat of aid (military or non-military) to RENAMO would be a viable strategy toward achieving this objective. Eventually both FRELIMO and RENAMO would have to negotiate to bring the conflicts to an end. This was because neither movement was strong enough to win an outright military victory and the Mozambican civil war would just become a never ending stalemate. The conflicts



would continue to bring death and destruction to Mozambique and the southern African region. President Reagan also had to get Mozambique out from the Soviet Bloc's military and political influence, including the Cuban/ Soviet advisors, who trained the country's vital security forces such as the police and the armed forces.

Another reason for these twin objectives to be met was to provide security for Republic of South Africa. South Africa had the siege mentality, the so called "Total onslaught" fearing being surrounded by Communist governments. In addition to Mozambique, the SAG was also fighting the Angolan army (The FAPLA), the Cuban Army and Soviet Advisors in Angola. To do this, there was aid given to the SAG, at least in the form of intelligence information on the status of communist forces. The research showed this intelligence was personally given to the SAG by US CIA Director William Casey.

It has been indicated that President Reagan personally asked the Mozambican leadership (President's Machel and later Chissano) to negotiate with RENAMO to achieve peace and security in Mozambique. Since the president sets foreign policy, it can be shown that President Reagan's intent was to achieve a negotiated settlement between FRELIMO and RENAMO. The threat of the USG aiding RENAMO was enough to eventually force the peace process to commence. Generally opposition to aiding the anti-Communist resistance movements involved fearing a general war (and possibly a nuclear war) against the Soviet Union.

Some of the movements and individuals supported by the USG did not have stellar human-rights records, yet being anti-Communist gained them USG support. Some of these insurgents were RENAMO, UNITA, the Nicaraguan Contras and Philippines' Ferdinand Marcos. It has been proved that President Reagan's NSDD reflected an anti-

Communist view. Since these NSDD were prepared by his advisors, they can cast in a light most favorable to anti-Communism. It has been proven that RENAMO was also a favorite for conservative US Congressmen including for example North Carolina Republican Jesse Helms and Kansas Republican Robert Dole. Senator Helms was the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and using this position he actively lobbied for anti-Communist causes and movements. Being senior in Congress also counted as Senator Helm's achieved his position through seniority. The US Congress has control of the governmental purse strings and through this approves all foreign aid. While conservative Congresspersons supported RENAMO, liberal Congresspersons generally opposed aid to RENAMO, simply because the movement was aligned with the South African apartheid regime. Even though the SAG allegedly cutoff all aid to RENAMO after the 1984 Nkomati Accord, the CBC still opposed RENAMO. The CBC was the prime mover for economic, political, and military sanctions against the SAG. These issues were based on liberal, conservative, urban, rural, and Democrat and Republican politics.

The Executive Branch of the USG had a mixed record on supporting the RENAMO movement. Some departments, especially the CIA were very active in supporting anti-Communist insurgents. With William Casey as the CIA Director, this followed the lines of President Reagan. As long as a movement was ant-Communist, that was all that counted. It did not matter what its human rights record was. It has been suggested that the CIA went "rogue" supporting insurgent movements beyond the scope of authorization or the law. Aid to the Nicaraguan Contras, for example, was provided despite being expressly prohibited by the Boland Amendment. Aid to the Afghanistan rebels, for

example, went beyond the scope and involved attacks in Termez, against the Soviet Union itself, even though the CIA denied that particular part (Coll, 2004, 161-162) There is no reason to believe that the CIA did not aid RENAMO, even though there was no specific authorization or prohibition. Civil servants or career officials at the CIA were also afraid that giving aid (primarily military or lethal) to anti-Communist insurgents would trigger a general or possibly nuclear conflict with the Soviet Union. The US State Department was not very sympathetic toward the Reagan Doctrine and RENAMO and almost overruled President Reagan's policies in regard to supporting anti-Communist movements in the Third World. The US State Department also opposed the military aid to UNITA in Angola. Both Assistant Secretaries of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker (1992, 249) and Herman Cohen (2000, 181) confirmed that bureaucrats tried to undercut President Reagan's political positions. Chester Crocker, a former professor at Georgetown University was very much opposed to RENAMO, but still seemed neutral toward the Reagan Doctrine. It would fit that he supported threatened possible implementation of the Reagan Doctrine, as an incentive for the insurgency to negotiate a diplomatic settlement.

Non-governmental organizations were most vocal in their support for RENAMO and pressured the Reagan Administration to provide all kinds of aid to RENAMO publicly, including military and lethal aid. The most vocal NGO was the Heritage Foundation which published a series of papers supporting RENAMO. The papers were;

1. "In Southern Africa, The State Department Bets Against the Reagan Doctrine (February 12, 1988)
2. "The Controversial State Department Report on Mozambique (5/4/88)

Other NGOs donated monetary and non-lethal aid to RENAMO. It would be prohibited

by US law for an NGO to give lethal aid to a foreign movement. Giving aid would be the highest form of assisting a cause that the organization believed in.

At the end of Reagan's successor's (President George H. W. Bush's') term, the Rome Accords ending the Mozambique civil war would be signed in October 1992 by FRELIMO and RENAMO. The UN would send a peacekeeping/ security force to Mozambique. Eventually free and fair elections would be held in 1994 and FRELIMO would emerge the undisputed winner. RENAMO accepted the elections and also carried a significant percentage (35%) of the vote. This established political legitimacy for both political parties. This significant percentage would dispute the previous U.S. State Department's view that RENAMO was not a legitimate political organization.

### **7.2.1 The Significance of this Research**

The significance of the research cannot be overstated. The main significance is that the Reagan Doctrine, while being successful, was not a recipe for the outright military defeat of the Soviet Union or the Soviet Union's political allies in southern Africa. This is significant because almost to a person, President Reagan's advisors agreed that the USSR must be confronted, but they were just not sure how to accomplish it (Strategy), The resources to accomplish this (Means) and how to do it (Ways). Bureaucratic politics were to play a big part in how, when and where to implement the Reagan Doctrine and the logistics needed to accomplish this. In sum, while the US politicians decided that the Soviet Union needed "bleeding," they were just not sure where, when and how to do it.

All of the communist countries subjected to the Reagan Doctrine including Mozambique had different characteristics. The primary way to accomplish the Reagan

Doctrine was the anti-communist “Freedom Fighter.” Mozambique was to be the most controversial decision. This was due to the “Freedom Fighters” and without a doubt RENAMO was subject to the most heated debate. While it has been shown proved that President Reagan was a devoted anti-communist; he also realized that there were situations where the communist governments (like FRELIMO) and anti-communist insurgents (like RENAMO) could not possibly win outright military victories. The death and destruction would go on and on, as in a stalemate. Even more intensive aid to the anti-communist insurgencies, such as UNITA, did not result in outright military victories. The best the USG could hope for was political negotiations with the objective of including ALL parties in the government, or at least securing anti-Communist parties’ participation in multi-party democratic elections. President Reagan’s successor President Bush proved this when he went on a tour of Poland and Hungary in 1989 and urged the US backed Polish Solidarity labor union to agree to serve with, instead of replace, the Polish Communist Party. This was fiercely denounced by the Polish Solidarity Union (Sebestyen, 2009, 301-311) Military force or aid is to be used to supplement, not supplant diplomacy. This was proved when FRELIMO and RENAMO signed the Rome Accords in 1992 ending the wars. In the aftermath FRELIMO won the 1992 elections fair and square and this was under the supervision of the UN and foreign election monitors.

Another significance of the research is that it proves that President Reagan was involved in making foreign policy. It has been argued that President Reagan was “out of touch,” “hands off,” could not make a decision, etc. This is patently false. His own record contradicts this argument. It has been proved that he personally was involved in asking Mozambican Presidents Machel and Chissano to negotiate with RENAMO. He

has also written in his diaries about what foreign policy actions he took. This does not suggest a hands off approach. While it has been shown that President Reagan was a hands on foreign policy President, it has also been shown that some of his advisors did not serve him well. Iran-Contra was the high point of this argument. It almost brought down his administration. Top officials including Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane were forced to resign over this. These actions forced President Reagan to lose the advice of individuals that he trusted for years and had served him since he was Governor of California from the 1967 to 1975. This leads into the argument on whether or not the CIA went rogue in Mozambique as it did in Nicaragua. It has been determined that the CIA provided aid to the Nicaraguan Contras when it was expressly banned by law. There is no reason to believe that this was not the case in Mozambique. The RENAMO movement was very well equipped and while they were not able to militarily defeat FRELIMO, they were able to hold and control large areas of the country. This would not be able to be done without some lethal military assistance.

The final significance of the study is that it shows that bureaucrats do act in their own interests and appoint officials who implement their views and visions. The Reagan Administration came into office with the express promise to roll back Soviet backed Communist governments in the Third World. President Reagan appointed political officials that he knew were in line with his view of achieving this objective. But since each individual is different, tensions resulted, not from wanting to achieve the objective, but how to do it. Hard liners such as Caspar Weinberger, William Casey, Richard Pipes and Fred Ikle prove this. Career bureaucrats, such as those at the CIA, demonstrated

reluctance to aid the anti-communist guerillas for fear of starting a war with the Soviet Union.

### **7.3 Further Suggestions for Study**

In order to fully comprehend the situation in the southern African region during the Cold War, there are other studies that must be done to fill gaps in the knowledge. There are several possible involved topics that requires further study in this area. This list primarily covers the period 1974-1992. Some possible research titles in the area for study are:

#### **7.3.1. The Strategic Economic Situation in Southern Africa**

What was the political decision-making process that led to the Soviet Union Government not (partially or fully) integrating (and making full economic partners) Mozambique and Angola into the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA)? The reason for this investigation is that the economies in southern Africa were very backward, just coming from being Portuguese colonies. The Portuguese had not prepared the colonies for liberation and there were a multitude of problems. There was no way that Angola and Mozambique were ready for Communism/Socialism, when they were just an agricultural society, as well as a commodities supplier to the industries of Europe. It would be insightful to study why the Soviet Union was not willing to integrate Angola and Mozambique into their economic fold and provide economic, in addition to military aid. This would have had the advantage of reducing Angola and Mozambique's dependence on South Africa since the FLS were totally dependent on South Africa as the regional economic power. This was true with transportation. The Soviet Union did not supply aircraft necessary to conduct an airlift or trains necessary to conduct line or local

haul operations. The Soviet Union did nothing to challenge the economic hegemony and maybe even prolonged the wars in southern Africa by not doing enough to “go after South Africa.” It was known that the Soviet Union was never very generous with economic aid, or at least as generous, as they were with military aid. Military aid can only go so far, because once the wars are negotiated and settled, the economic progress must begin to settle the peace.

### **7.3.2 The Strategic Military Situation in Southern Africa:**

Why did the Soviet Union not exploit the gains it made with the liberation of Mozambique and instead focus on the Angolan conflict? The Soviet Union could have had better political mileage out of Mozambique than Angola. Witness the fallout from the Robert Gersony Report (Crocker, 1992, 250) There was never any type of Gersony report written about UNITA even though the USG banned aid to UNITA between 1976 and 1985 through the Clark Amendment. A separate investigation on why the Soviet political leadership not capitalize on the Gersony report would also be in order.

The Soviet Union and Cubans focused on Angola, but Mozambique was wide open politically, economically and militarily for the communists taking. Mozambique was also logistically closer to the Soviet Union, so the lines of communication would not be as long, along the Indian Ocean. While Cuba was closer to Angola, they were both totally dependent on the Soviet Union for their armaments, so it would not matter whether the armaments came from Cuba or directly from the Soviet Union. Mozambique became independent of Portugal before Angola, even if it was only five months (June 1975 versus November 1975) The only political party in Mozambique was FRELIMO. It has been determined that RENAMO was not formed and organized until after the FRELIMO



government was in power, unlike Angola where the MPLA, UNITA, and the FNLA were engaged in a full scale civil war prior to the November 11, 1975 independence date. Had the Soviet Union engaged Mozambique economically, politically and militarily, as they did Ethiopia and Somalia, then the whole eastern coast of Africa could have become “Sovietized.” In addition the Soviet Union was always using propaganda offensives against the west, but for some reason they never capitalized on the US State Department’s Gersony report.

This was a USG report which condemned RENANO. It should have been high on the Soviet Union’s targets of opportunity. The investigation should also focus on the amazing lack of Soviet strategy toward southern Africa. There was effectively no strategy between the Soviet Union, their African allies, and the Cuban Government. This leads to the next possible investigation.

### **7.3.3 The USGs recognition of Mozambique’s independence, but not Angolan independence**

Angola was not recognized until President Bill Clinton took office in 1993. Why did the Carter and George H.W. Bush’s Administration not recognize Angola? Why did special interests like the CBC, for example, not apply more pressure to the Carter Administration or did they and the Carter Administration resist the CBC? What role did the special interest groups, for example, TransAfrica play in the eventual recognition of Angola? This is probably the most interesting investigation to undertake for US scholars. It would be interesting to understand President Fords and the US State Department’s thinking and decision-making process to understand why Mozambique was immediately recognized on June 25, 1975, but not the MPLA government in Angola. The circumstances were virtually identical.

Both were Portuguese colonies released after the Portuguese Armed Forces launched a coup against Prime Minister Caetano. Both become Socialist (Communist) countries, both were backwards. While FRELIMO was not “created” until 1976, the Ford Administration could have sought to counter FRELIMO with aid, instead of letting it go initially into the Soviet orbit. It is well known that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was behind the US efforts to install the FNLA in Angola, and later it would be UNITA after the FNLA military defeat, but nothing of the sort happened in Mozambique.

#### **7.3.4 President Ford’s engagement with southern Africa**

President Ford was hesitant when it came to defending South Africa’s position in the region, yet President Reagan was not. This investigation would focus on why President Ford let Angola “slip away” into the Communist orbit and whether or not the Ford Administration really backed South Africa’s invasion of Angola during “Operation Savannah.” This is supposedly the whole crux of the argument that led the South African Government to launch Operation Savannah.

President Ford was not a caretaker president or a do nothing president (DeFrank, 2007, 5). While Ford did lose the presidential election to Jimmy Carter in 1976, it was not by a wide margin, such as the 1972 reelection of President Richard Nixon or the 1980 and 1984 Ronald Reagan wins. Presidential candidate Ronald Reagan vigorously fought for aid to the FNLA and UNITA during the 1976 Republican presidential primary. President Ford could have capitalized on this and probably prevented the Clark Amendment, banning military aid to insurgent movements in Angola, from even happening in the first place. Even President Carter was not in favor of the Clark Amendment, because it encroached on Executive Branch authority.

It would be insightful to investigate why President Ford was not more aggressive in forcing the Soviet Union to “crack down” on Cuban adventurism. The Soviet Union was making tremendous gains from détente, and was not willing to give it up. Even during the height of the Middle East Crises, (the 1973 Yom Kippur War, the Soviet Union did not fully back Egypt and Syria in their invasion of Israel at the expense of détente. President Reagan did not hesitate to stand up for South Africa, why did President Ford not do the same? Another significant point is that since the President is responsible for setting foreign policy, did he direct the US State Department to recognize Mozambique?

### **7.3.5 The Soviet View of the Reagan Doctrine**

An investigation to find out why or how the Soviet Union reacted to the Reagan Doctrine in southern Africa and Mozambique would also be in order. This would fill a knowledge gap. While most of the Reagan Doctrine’s emphasis was focused on Afghanistan and Angola, it can be reasoned that comments regarding the doctrine can be applied to southern Africa and specifically Mozambique. Rodman wrote: Two Soviet writers in 1988 conceded the point, citing the \$8 billion figure for Afghanistan alone: The USA skillfully exploits the fact that in “low-intensity conflicts” it is much cheaper to support the guerillas than the government...The USSR spent on military operations in Afghanistan five billion rubles annually, while the USA spent not more than one billion dollars annually on its support for the Afghan anti-governmental forces, or almost six to eight times less. According to Western estimates, approximately the same ratio of American and “induced” Soviet expenditures exists in conflicts involving Nicaragua, Kampuchea, Ethiopia, and Angola. (Rodman, 1994, 284)

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**ADDENDUM**

- A. Timeline for Important Events for the Government of Mozambique, RENAMO and the Cold War**
- B. Key Persons involved in the Reagan Doctrine and Mozambique**
- C. National Security Documents involving Southern Africa**

## **ADDENDUM A. Timeline for Important Events for the Government of Mozambique, RENAMO and the Cold War**

In order to better understand the events between the US, USSR, and Mozambique this timeline is included:

**1490s**- Portugal begins the colonization process of what today is Mozambique

**1885-1890**- “Scramble for Africa” and the Berlin Conference- Colonial powers “divide” up the African Colonies. Portugal retains Angola and Mozambique in southern Africa. Administers Mozambique until 1975.

**1945**-September-Historians agree this is the beginning of the Cold War.

**1962**- Initial guerilla/ insurgency training for what will become FRELIMO starts in Algeria

**1964**- FRELIMO starts war of War of National Liberation against Portugal

**1969**- February- Eduardo Mondalane is assassinated. There are still questions as to who actually carried out the assassination (Portugal or FRELIMO)

**1970**- February- Samora Machel becomes the FRELIMO Leader

**1974**- April 25- The Portuguese Government of Antonio Spinola is overthrown

September 6 - The Lusaka Accords are signed by Portugal, granting Mozambique independence in 1975.

**1975**- June 25- Mozambique Independence- The Portuguese Government turns over Mozambique to FRELIMO

US Government led by President Gerald Ford establishes diplomatic relations with Mozambique. President Ford nominates Williard A. DePree to become Ambassador.

RENAMO is formed by the Rhodesian Central Intelligence Organization (CIO) to begin an insurgency against FRELIMO. The original purpose of RENAMO was to provide relief for Rhodesia against Zimbabwean guerillas operating against the Ian Smith white-minority government. Andre Matsangaissa becomes the first leader

**1977**- March 31- Mozambique signs a 20 year Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union

**1979**- June-RENAMO Leader Andre Matsangaissa is killed leading a raid.

Rhodesia becomes Zimbabwe. South Africa will begin backing and funding RENAMO to keep Mozambique unstable and provide a buffer for South Africa.

**1980-** Orlando Cristina becomes the Secretary General of RENAMO  
November- Ronald Reagan is elected 40<sup>th</sup> President of the United States

**1981-** January 20- Ronald Reagan is sworn in as President of the United States

August- RENAMO's "Manifest and Programme" appears-This describes RENAMO's political agenda.

**1982-** May 20- President Reagan issues NSDD 32, U.S. National Security Strategy. Included in this NSDD is how the U.S. will deal with regional conflicts like southern Africa.

15 December-President Reagan meets with Portuguese Prime Minister Francisco Pinto Balsemao, who expresses doubt that Angola and Mozambique would continue to maintain relationships with the USSR.

**1983-** January 14- President Reagan issues NSDD 75- U.S. Relations With The USSR. This NSDD mentions limiting Soviet influence and aiding resistance movements in the Third World.

15 September- President Reagan meets with Portuguese President Antonio dos Santos Eanes, who maintains that the former Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola were ready to move away from Soviet influence

**1984-** Evo Fernandes becomes Secretary General of RENAMO after Orlando Cristina is assassinated.

March 16- The Nkomati Accords are signed between Mozambique and South Africa

November 6- President Ronald Reagan is elected to a second four-year term.

**1985-** September 7-President Reagan issues NSDD 187- U.S. Policy Toward South Africa. This NSDD articulates President Reagan's strategy toward peace and stability in the region. The NSDD also articulates President Reagan's strategy for ending apartheid in South Africa.

September 19-President Reagan meets with Mozambique President Samora Machel of Mozambique at the White House. Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano accompanies Machel to Washington DC.

September 20- Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger meets with Mozambique President Machel

**1986-** February 10- President Reagan issues NSDD 212- United States Policy Toward Angola. This NSDD updates President Reagan's strategy toward the southern African region and Angola in particular.

October 16- The Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAA) 1986 is enacted over President Reagan's Veto

October 16- President Samora Machel dies in a plane crash. Foreign Minister Chissano becomes President

December 1986-January 1987- CIA Director William Casey Falls in with a brain tumor and is forced to resign due to ill health. Deputy CIA Director Robert Gates is appointed Acting CIA Director.

**1987-** May 7- President Reagan issues NSDD 272- United States Objectives In Southern Africa. This NSDD updates President Reagan's objectives and strategy in the southern African region

May 7- President Reagan also issues NSDD 274- United States Policy Toward Angola. This NSDD updates US policy toward Angola

October 5- President Reagan meets with Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano at the White House

**1988-** April 16- The Gersony Report comes out

June 7- President Reagan briefed on the Gersony Report by the NSC

November- George Bush is elected 41<sup>st</sup> President of the United States.

**1989-** January 20- George Bush becomes the 41<sup>st</sup> US President

**1992-** October 4- Rome Peace Accords signed by FRELIMO and RENAMO ending Civil War.

## **ADDENDUM B. Key Persons involved in the Reagan Doctrine and Mozambique:**

### **Mozambique**

#### **a. FRELIMO**

1. Chipenda, Alberto- FRELIMO Minister of Defense
2. Chissano, Joaquim-President of Mozambique after the death of Samora Machel in 1986
3. Machel, Samora-President of Mozambique until his death in 1986

#### **b. RENAMO**

1. Cristina, Orlando- Secretary General of RENAMO (Murdered in 1983)
2. Dhlakama, Alfonso- President of RENAMO
3. Lemane, Artur-RENAMO Representative to the United States
4. Andrew Matsangaissa-President of RENAMO (Killed in 1979)
5. Seffu, Julius-RENAMO Representative to the United States
6. Serapiao, Luis-RENAMO Representative to the United States

### **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**

1. Andropov, Yuri, Chairman of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union-1982-1984, former Chairman of the KGB
2. Brezhnev, Leonid-Chairman of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1964-1982
3. Chernenko, Constantin-Chairman of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union-1984-1985
4. Gorbachev, Mikhail-Chairman of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union-1985-1991

### **United States of America**

1. Allen, Richard-National Security Advisor -1981-1982
2. Bush, George-President of the United States-1989-1993
3. Carlucci, Frank-Secretary of Defense-1987-1989
4. Casey, George-Director of the Central Intelligence Agency-1981-1987
5. Clark, Richard- National Security Advisor-1982-1983
6. Cohen, Herman-Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs-1989-1993
7. Crocker, Chester-Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs-1981-1989
8. Haig, Alexander-Secretary of State-1981-1982
9. Helms, Jesse-Republican Senator from North Carolina, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee
10. McFarlane, Robert “Bud”- National Security Advisor-1983-1985
11. Poindexter, John-National Security Advisor-1985-1987



12. Powell, Colin-National Security Advisor, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
13. Reagan, Ronald-President of the United States-1981-1989
14. Schultz, George- Secretary of State-1982-1989
15. Weinberger, Casper-Secretary of Defense-1981-1987

**ADDENDUM C National Security Decision Directive (NSDD) Documents involving Southern Africa**

- 1. NSDD 187-US Policy Towards South Africa**
- 2. NSDD 212-US Policy Towards Angola**
- 3. NSDD 272-US Objectives in Southern Africa**
- 4. NSDD 273-US Policy Toward South Africa**
- 5. NSDD 274-US Policy Toward Angola**