

Sergio Díaz-Briquets, ed. *Cuban Internationalism in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1989.

Owen E. Kahn, ed. *Disengagement from Southwest Africa: Prospects for Peace in Angola and Namibia*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1991.

When one conjures up images of superpowers in this, or in the previous, century one thinks in terms of ubiquity or global presence. The emblem of the United States Marine Corps and its well-known song (called a hymn) stresses the images of “the halls of Montezuma” in Mexico as well as “the shores of Tripoli” in North Africa. Cuba, it seems, has attempted to be an Hispanic variant of the US Marine Corps although it has a wider, more inclusive ideological base and a borrowed or rented transport capability, along with a civic action component. Cuban internationalism is evangelism in Marxist-Leninist garb which has its own special twist to liberation theology.

The first volume, which is edited by the Research Director of the Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Development (Sergio Díaz-Briquets), includes seven substantive chapters dealing with the Cuban presence in sub-Saharan Africa. The editor has written a brief introductory chapter and has added an excellent bilingual bibliography on English- and Spanish-language sources. Two of the chapters are devoted to Angola (either by itself or in conjunction with Namibia), while one concerns Mozambique. Another is devoted to the analysis of emigré interviews (reminiscent of an earlier epoch in social science research which explored the political attitudes of defectors and refugees from the Soviet bloc). Of the three remaining chapters, one (co-authored by the editor) provides a rich menu of data on Cuban civilian aid personnel and programs in sub-Saharan Africa, another focuses on the military presence of Cuban units in African states, and the third on Cuban-African relations in general.

Cuba is a fascinating relic of the Cold War and a monument to impassioned oratory, as well as the self-styled catalyst of the political left. It attempted to develop centripetal forces in the global South so that all political roads could lead to Havana, which would become the center of a neo-Cominform. Like some of the more advanced members of the Warsaw Pact, it did have civil and military exports and could sustain a modest level of international trade despite the US trade embargo. The Cuban military forces were a significant element in the Angolan defense configuration, and Olga Nazario (author of the chapter on Angola) pointed out that 300,000 Cubans had served in Angola. Of these, 10,000 were casualties. (p. 122) The Soviet Union, though, as William Ratliff of the Hoover Institution reminds us (p. 46), served as the banker for Cuba with \$4 to \$6 million in annual subsidies and a further \$1 billion in military assistance. Whether the Cuban tail wagged the Soviet dog is a vital question, particularly with respect to the Angolan involvement.

The second book, edited by Owen Kahn of the University of Miami (Florida), contains nine chapters, including an excellent one on Cuba by Pamela Falk of Columbia University. The contributors to this volume have greater name recognition than those in the first volume. Neither volume can be said to reflect a liberal or radical perspective, although the Kahn work can be said to be closer to the political center than the Díaz-Briquet one. The principal drawback of the volume on Cuba is its lack of maps, a chronology, and an index. The Kahn volume, though, has maps, but no chronology, and a rather anemic index. In addition, the Kahn volume (which emerged from a December 1988 symposium at the University of Florida) is not consistently well documented, while the Díaz-Briquet one is. The quality of analysis in the Kahn volume, however, is exceptionally noteworthy; the various authors are able to provide a rich, contextual view of the South African and Cuban withdrawal from Namibia and Angola, respectively. There is a great deal of attention paid to the incremental change in Soviet thought, doctrine, and policy which permitted the USSR to pull the ideological and financial rug out from under its Cuban and Angolan clients, thus facilitating a South African exit from Namibia and Namibian independence thereafter.

Owen Kahn, a South African educated at Oxford and the University of California at Berkeley, has done an exemplary job synthesizing the findings of the 1988 symposium, and his chapter is superior to Jeffrey Herbst's rather hastily written chapter on the Namibia-Angolan accords in the Díaz-Briquets' book on Cuba. These accords were the result of hard bargaining and hard fighting combined with years of convoluted negotiating tracks and ploys (well described in an extensive chapter in I. William Zartman's classic study, *Ripe for Resolution: Conflict and Intervention in Africa* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1985]). Vernon Aspaturian, Colin Legum, and Peter Vanneman provide three sharply focused essays on the shift in Soviet ideology and Southern African policy, while Scott Thompson and John Marcum examine the 1988 agreements with particular attention to South Africa. An interesting feature of this volume is the inclusion of remarks by the Soviet and UNITA (Union for the Total Liberation of Angola, the Angolan counterelite) representatives at the Miami conference. Two other chapters consider the Angolan-Namibian agreements from the perspective of the Third World and in terms of the long-range results and implications.

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