
Issues and Debates Surrounding the Cold War era in Africa

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Abstract

This paper argues that Cold War politics in Africa prioritised superpower geopolitical interests over local sovereignty which promoted corruption, political instability, and the entrenchment of authoritarian regimes. It examines how United States and Soviet Union support for dictatorial governments impacted state-building processes, governance, and human rights in post-colonial Africa. The primary objectives are to analyze the influence of U.S. and Soviet support on authoritarian regimes, assess the implications for human rights and democracy, and investigate the enduring legacy of these interventions in post-colonial Africa. Utilizing historical methodology, the study relies on secondary sources, including books, journals, and online resources, to provide analysis. The findings reveal that Cold War patronage not only entrenched dictatorial regimes but also hindered the development of independent political institutions, leading to persistent challenges in governance. The paper concludes that understanding the implications of Cold War for Africa is germane for addressing contemporary issues of democracy, human rights, and development, emphasizing the need for a reassessment of external influences in influencing African political trajectories.

Keywords: Cold War, Geopolitics, Superpower rivalry, Africa, Proxy conflicts

Introduction

The Cold War, a global conflict between the capitalist West led by the United States and the socialist East led by the Soviet Union greatly influenced the political, economic, and social scenery of Africa during the mid-20th century. As African nations emerged from colonial rule, they found themselves caught in the ideological and geopolitical rivalry of these two superpowers, both of

whom sought to influence the future of the continents. Scholars such as [18]. argue that the Cold War in Africa was not merely an external conflict imposed on the continent but was also intimately connected with internal struggles for power, governance, and identity. Others like John [17]. contend how the strategic interests of the superpowers exacerbated local conflicts leading to proxy wars that further destabilized African nations.

The ideological divide between capitalism and socialism forced African leaders and intellectuals to maneuver through challenging choices about political alignment, with some aligning with the socialist bloc like Angola and Mozambique, while others leaned towards the capitalist West, such as Zaire under Mobutu Sese Seko. Meanwhile, scholars from the Non-Aligned Movement including Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere argued for a third path neutrality emphasising the importance of Africa charting an independent course free from foreign domination [32] This paper examines these multifaceted debates and the complex interaction between external interventions and internal political dynamics, focusing on the role of proxy wars, the struggle for development, and the influence of foreign aid on African governance. This study sheds light on how Africa was both an arena for Cold War competition and a site of resistance where local actors attempted to resist and reconstruct external influences.

Decolonization and Superpower Involvement in Africa

The period of decolonization in Africa, beginning in the late 1950s and continuing through the 1970s, brought about a dramatic change in the world political system. As European colonial powers relinquished control over their African colonies, the continent became a theatre for Cold War competition between the United States and the Soviet Union. Both superpowers sought to extend their ideological influence over newly independent African states, offering economic, military, and diplomatic support to win the loyalty of African leaders [5]. Since the USSR promoted socialism as an alternative to colonial capitalism, the United States, which was aligned with capitalist democracy, saw the expansion of communism in Africa as a danger to its worldwide strategic interests. On the other hand, the Soviet Union, which supported Marxist-Leninist doctrine, positioned itself as a supporter of liberation forces and frequently presented its assistance as a component of a larger anti-imperialist campaign [11]. Therefore, the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism became intertwined with post-colonial issues of Africa's political sovereignty, economic growth, and nation-building.

African leaders fully aware of the geopolitical realities of the Cold War faced intense pressure to align with either the capitalist West or the socialist East. This dilemma sparked serious debate among African intellectuals, political leaders, and scholars regarding how best to approach relations with the superpowers without compromising their newly gained sovereignty. Leaders like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania advocated for non-alignment, arguing that Africa should reject dependence on any external bloc and instead focus on building an independent path free from neo-colonial control (Nkrumah, 1965; [24] On the other hand, some leaders such as Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire opted for close alliances with the West believing that

economic aid and political backing from capitalist nations would secure their regimes and national stability [17]. These diverging views elucidate the deep divisions within the continent over the most effective way to maneuver Cold War pressures while safeguarding African sovereignty. Several African states/nations saw the socialist model with its emphasis on state-led development and central planning as more compatible with their aspirations for rapid modernization and economic self-sufficiency. The Soviet Union and its communist ally Cuba provided magnanimous support to African liberation movements and newly independent states [12]. Similarly in Ethiopia, after the 1974 overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie, the new military government (Derg) led by Mengistu Haile Mariam aligned with the Soviet Union and adopted Marxist-Leninist policies. The U.S., which had supported Selassie's regime, lost influence as the Derg received extensive Soviet military and economic assistance to suppress internal rebellions and counter Somalia's invasion during the Ogaden War, 1977-78 [27].

Some African nations opted to align with the capitalist West, particularly the United States, which offered economic aid and political support in exchange for opposing communism. Many leaders who chose this path believed that Western investments and free-market principles could spur development and ensure access to global markets. A clear example is Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo), President Mobutu Sese Seko rose to power in a U.S. backed coup in 1965. Mobutu established a pro-Western authoritarian regime presenting himself as a bulwark against communist expansion in Central Africa. The U.S. provided substantial financial aid and military support to Mobutu throughout the Cold War, despite his repressive governance and corruption, because of his anti-communist stance [6]. Zaire became a momentous ally of the West on the African continent; this exemplifies the pattern of U.S. backing for authoritarian regimes as long as they opposed communism.

Many African leaders, however, rejected the idea of aligning strictly with either the capitalist West or the socialist East. This led to the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). It is important to reiterate that the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) emerged during the Cold War as a coalition of states that sought to avoid direct alignment with either the Western capitalist bloc led by the United States or the Eastern socialist bloc led by the Soviet Union. Founded in 1961 at the Belgrade Conference, the NAM was driven by the desire of newly independent nations, particularly in Africa and Asia, to assert their sovereignty and advocate for their interests without being drawn into the ideological conflicts of the superpowers [9]. The movement represented a collective effort to forge a path based on mutual cooperation, respect for territorial integrity, and the principle of self-determination. Several African leaders were instrumental in advocating the principles and direction of the NAM.

Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser, for instance, was a gigantic advocate of non-alignment, using the NAM as a platform to strengthen the independence of Egypt from foreign interference. His handling of the 1956 Suez Crisis, during which Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal and faced invasion by Britain, France, and Israel, demonstrated his commitment to non-alignment, though he pragmatically sought Soviet support in the process [22]. Similarly, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana

was a fervent believer in African socialism and Pan-Africanism. He saw the NAM as a means for African countries to resist neocolonialism and forge their own path, unburdened by superpower rivalries. Nkrumah advocated for a united Africa that could confront the legacies of colonialism and external control [23]. Julius Nyerere of Tanzania also exemplified the non-aligned stance through his policy of Ujamaa, or African socialism, which aimed at promoting self-reliance and rural development. Nyerere's leadership, particularly his support for liberation movements in neighboring countries, further reinforced Tanzania's dedication to the principles of non-alignment [24].

Non-aligned African countries often used their collective influence to advance their interests on the international stage, particularly through the United Nations. The NAM was instrumental in advancing resolutions pertaining to disarmament, economic inequality, and decolonization. One significant achievement was the adoption of the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [31]. African nations also supported liberation movements in Southern Africa and elsewhere providing political, economic, and sometimes military support to groups fighting against colonial and racist regimes. Under Nyerere, Tanzania was instrumental in aiding the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa as well as the liberation struggles in Zimbabwe and Mozambique [2].

However, the NAM in Africa was not without its challenges. While many leaders were committed to non-alignment, the reality of economic dependence often complicated their positions. Newly independent African nations frequently found themselves reliant on foreign aid and investment, which came from both Western and Eastern blocs, making it difficult to maintain true neutrality. For instance, despite Nyerere's emphasis on self-reliance, the economic struggles of Tanzania led to increased dependency on foreign aid, which somewhat weakened the country's ability to remain non-aligned in practice. Moreover, internal conflicts and rivalries within African states sometimes drew the attention of superpowers leading to interventions that undermined the NAM's principles. The civil wars in Angola and Mozambique for example, saw both the United States and the Soviet Union supporting different factions complicating the countries' positions within the NAM and prolonging their internal conflicts [19]. Arising from the above, there was a debate about how effective and realistic the non-aligned position was. Some African leaders argued that true neutrality was impossible as superpower involvement in African affairs continued through aid, military support, or covert operations.

Proxy Wars and Military Interventions

The Cold War era in Africa was marked by a series of proxy wars and military interventions. These conflicts were often driven by the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, both seeking to extend their influence over strategically important areas. As a result, several African nations found themselves embroiled in violent struggles that prioritized superpower interests over local sovereignty and development, leading to devastating consequences. The Congo Crisis (1960-1965) exemplifies how Cold War politics could quickly escalate into violent conflict. After gaining

independence from Belgium in 1960 the newly formed Democratic Republic of the Congo (then Zaire) plunged into chaos [21]. The U.S. and the USSR supported different factions in a bid to secure influence over the vast country's mineral resources. The U.S. backed Joseph Mobutu who staged a coup in 1965 with the support of the CIA, while the Soviet Union supported the forces loyal to the assassinated Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba [33]. This involvement exacerbated internal divisions leading to prolonged state of instability that would last for decades. The Congo Crisis showed how external interference often undermined local governance and contributed to ongoing violence, raising questions about the legitimacy of foreign involvement in African conflicts.

The influence of Cold War politics on African conflicts is further demonstrated by the Ogaden War (1977–1978) between Ethiopia and Somalia. When Somalia attacked Ethiopia with the intention of annexing the Ogaden region which was populated primarily by Somalis, the war broke out. After providing ammunitions and military advisers to the Mengistu administration in Ethiopia, the Soviet Union subsequently abandoned its assistance for Somalia. Meanwhile, the United States started to back Somalia out of fear over the Soviet Union's growing influence in the Horn of Africa. Both countries suffered heavy losses and suffering as a result of the fighting, which also caused starvation and displacement in the surrounding area [8]. The shifting allegiances of the Superpowers and military actions transformed a territorial issue into a more extensive ideological conflict, thwarting efforts at achieving peace and extending the humanitarian crisis.

The consequences of these proxy wars extended beyond immediate violence; they contributed to long-term instability and underdevelopment across the continent. It prioritizes superpower interests which made African countries faced weakened state institutions, increased corruption, and deepening social divisions. The emphasis on military solutions over diplomatic negotiations resulted in entrenched conflicts that hindered development efforts and perpetuated cycles of violence. Moreover, the legacy of these conflicts continues to affect contemporary African politics. The external interventions during the Cold War left behind a complex web of alliances, grievances, and unresolved issues that continue to fuel instability in regions like the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa. For instance, the fallout from the Ogaden War can still be seen in the ongoing tensions and conflicts in the area today.

Economic Aid, Development, and Dependency

The provision of economic and military aid to African nations during the Cold War was a strategic move employed by both the United States and the Soviet Union to gain influence and secure alliances on the continent. This aid came with distinct ideological frameworks and conditions, which in turn sparked debates about the long-term implications for African development and dependency. The United States primarily approached aid from a neoliberal perspective, advocating for market liberalization, private enterprise, and the establishment of democratic institutions. Programs such as the Marshall Plan (though primarily focused on Europe) set a precedent for American foreign aid as a tool for economic recovery and political stability. In Africa, the U.S.

sought to counter Soviet influence by promoting economic policies that aligned with capitalism. A notable example is the aid provided to countries like Kenya and Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo), where the U.S. invested in infrastructure, agriculture, and education with the expectation that these investments would lead to stable, pro-Western regimes [28]. However, the conditions tied to this aid often required recipient countries to implement economic reforms that favored Western interests. For instance, in the late 1980s, the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) implemented by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank compelled many African countries to adopt austerity measures, privatize state-owned enterprises, and deregulate their economies. While these measures were intended to stimulate growth, critics argue they led to social unrest, increased poverty, and weakened state capacity. In countries like Tanzania and Ghana, the implementation of SAPs resulted in the reduction of public spending on essential services such as health and education, exacerbating existing inequalities and undermining long-term development [26].

Conversely, the Soviet Union promoted state-led economic models as part of its support for African nations/states. The USSR's assistance often involved substantial military aid and support for industrialization efforts. Countries like Ethiopia, Angola, and Mozambique received military and economic support from the Soviets, who provided weapons, technical expertise, and financial aid to bolster revolutionary movements and socialist governments (CIA, 1990). For example, the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola, which translates to People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in Angola became a vital Soviet ally after achieving independence in 1975 and received military training and weapons that allowed it to hold its own against União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola, which translates to National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) forces supported by the United States and South Africa [29].

However, the Soviet model also came with challenges. The emphasis on central planning and state control over the economy often led to inefficiencies and corruption. In Angola, despite substantial Soviet support mismanagement and civil conflict stymied economic growth and development. The dependency on Soviet aid created a reliance that stifled local innovation and entrepreneurship. The collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s left many African nations that had depended on its support in a precarious position, struggling to adapt to a new global economic order without the resources and support they had previously relied upon.

The reliance on external aid during the Cold War gave rise to a critical debate among African leaders, intellectuals, and activists regarding the implications of this dependency. On one hand, proponents of external aid argued that it was necessary for addressing the immediate challenges of poverty, infrastructure deficits, and health crises. They maintained that with proper management and governance, foreign aid could be harnessed to foster genuine development. On the other hand, critics contended that both U.S. and Soviet aid strategies primarily served the interests of the superpowers rather than the needs of African countries. The conditions attached to aid often prioritized the geopolitical goals of the donors over local development. African leaders like Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso criticized the dependency created by foreign aid [15] arguing

that it undermined national sovereignty and stunted economic growth. Sankara advocated for self-reliance and rejected the notion that African countries should be dependent on foreign assistance.

Human Rights and Cold War Dictatorships

The Cold War period in Africa witnessed the emergence of several authoritarian regimes that used the backing of either the United States or the Soviet Union to justify repressive domestic policies. This phenomenon was particularly pronounced among leaders who aligned themselves ideologically with one of the superpowers, often prioritizing the stability of their regimes over the promotion of human rights and democratic governance. The complexities surrounding the support for these dictators raised critical questions about the morality of Cold War geopolitics and its implications for human rights in Africa. Nigeria provides an illustrative case of how Cold War politics influenced the political atmosphere and human rights issues. The Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970) emerged within the period of the Cold War tensions, with both superpowers seeking to extend their influence in the country. The U.S. and the U.K. supported the Nigerian federal government which was attempting to quell the secessionist Biafran state. While the Nigerian government received military assistance from the West, it was also marked by authoritarian practices under leaders like General Yakubu Gowon and later General Muhammadu Buhari, who imposed strict censorship, limited political freedoms, and detained political opponents [7]. Following the civil war, Nigeria experienced a series of military coups, resulting in regimes that often resorted to repressive measures to maintain control. The military rule of General Sani Abacha (1993-1998) is particularly notorious for human rights abuses, including extrajudicial killings, torture, and the suppression of political dissent. Abacha's regime received tacit support from Western powers due to Nigeria's strategic importance in the oil sector, despite widespread international condemnation of his human rights record [14]. The Cold War context with its focus on geopolitical interests, often overshadowed the need for accountability and respect for human rights, further entrenching authoritarian practices in Nigeria.

Another of the most notorious examples of this phenomenon is Mobutu Sese Seko, who ruled Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo) from 1965 until 1997. Mobutu came to power with U.S. support after a coup that ousted democratically elected Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba. During the Cold War, Mobutu cultivated a close relationship with Washington, which viewed him as a bulwark against the spread of communism in Africa. His regime, characterized by corruption, nepotism, and gross human rights abuses, received substantial military and economic aid from the U.S. and its allies, which enabled him to maintain a repressive grip on power. The government of Mobutu utilized a combination of brutal repression and populist rhetoric, branding dissenters as "enemies of the state" (<https://www.thecollector.com/mobutu-congo-great-dictator/>). Political opposition was systematically suppressed, media censorship was rampant, and political prisoners were common. The United States, prioritizing stability over democratic governance, often turned a blind eye to these abuses, raising ethical concerns about the consequences of Cold War patronage. Critics argued that the support provided to Mobutu by the

West not only bolstered his authoritarian regime but also set a precedent for similar behavior among other leaders who sought to retain power by any means necessary.

In Ethiopia, Mengistu Haile Mariam emerged as another prominent figure who exemplified the repressive tendencies of Cold War dictatorships. After the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974 [16]. Mengistu established a Marxist-Leninist regime that received extensive support from the Soviet Union. His government engaged in brutal campaigns against perceived opponents, most notably through the Red Terror campaign during the late 1970s, which resulted in thousands of extrajudicial killings and widespread human rights violations [10]. Mengistu justified his repressive measures as necessary to defend the revolution and combat counter-revolutionary forces. The Soviet Union's support provided him with military aid and political legitimacy despite the growing international outcry against his regime's atrocities.

The debate surrounding the support for these dictators explains the moral ambiguity of Cold War geopolitics. While superpower backing was often justified as a means to combat communism or ensure stability, it frequently resulted in the endorsement of regimes that perpetrated human rights violations against their citizens. This complicity raised critical questions about the ethical responsibilities of external powers in promoting democracy and human rights in Africa.

Post-Colonial State-Building

Post-colonial state-building in Africa was a difficult and fraught process, subjected to both internal dynamics and external pressures from the Cold War superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. As newly independent nations sought to create stable political systems, they were often caught in the crossfire of Cold War rivalries, with both superpowers seeking to influence the political and ideological direction of these emerging states. The strategies employed by the U.S. and USSR to secure allies in Africa often involved the promotion of single-party regimes, military governments, or authoritarian leadership, all of which had serious implications for state-building efforts.

In West Africa, many regimes were influenced by superpower rivalry. In Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah sought to build a strong, independent, and socialist-oriented state, heavily impacted by his Pan-African vision. Initially, Nkrumah pursued a non-aligned stance in the Cold War, aligning himself neither with the U.S. nor the USSR, but focusing on African socialism and advocating for African unity [20]. However, as the Cold War intensified, Ghana became a strategic battleground for Cold War influence. The U.S. viewed Nkrumah's socialist policies and his growing ties with the Eastern bloc with suspicion. In 1966, a CIA-backed coup removed Nkrumah from power, signaling the extent to which Cold War superpowers were willing to interfere in West African political affairs to prevent the spread of socialism [30]. The coup severely disrupted Ghana's post-colonial state-building efforts, replacing Nkrumah's socialist-oriented policies with a military government that was more aligned with Western interests.

Liberia, on the other hand, avails a different example of how Cold War alliances impacted post-colonial governance. Historically tied to the U.S. through its founding by freed American slaves, Liberia was seen as a reliable ally of the West during the Cold War. The U.S. provided extensive military and economic aid to Liberia, reinforcing the regime of President William Tubman, and later, William Tolbert. Both leaders maintained pro-Western policies, benefiting from U.S. support in exchange for hosting strategic American military installations and intelligence facilities. However, the reliance on U.S. support entrenched authoritarian governance and stifled political pluralism, as the ruling elites used external backing to maintain control. This dependency on external powers also undermined Liberia's attempts to develop a stable and independent political system. The eventual coup in 1980, led by Samuel Doe, marked a shift in the country's internal dynamics, but Liberia's Cold War alliance with the U.S. continued, as Doe sought American support to maintain his grip on power. Liberia's reliance on external aid left the country vulnerable to political instability and ultimately contributed to the civil wars that plagued the nation in the 1990s [4].

A significant critique of Cold War interventions in West Africa is the argument that these alliances hindered the development of genuinely independent political institutions. Instead of allowing African leaders to build political systems that reflected local traditions and needs, Cold War rivalries often forced West African states to adopt foreign political models that served the interests of external powers.

Conclusion

The Cold War era was a transformative period for Africa. As African nations emerged from colonial rule, they were thrust into a complex web of ideological alignments and external interventions that often-prioritized superpower interests over local sovereignty and development. The discussions around decolonization, proxy wars, economic aid, human rights abuses, and state-building efforts reveal the multifaceted nature of Africa's Cold War experience. While some leaders sought to forge paths of independence through non-alignment or Pan-Africanism, others became entangled in authoritarian regimes supported by foreign powers, leading to lasting challenges of governance, economic dependency, and social division. African societies today remain impacted by the aftermath of the Cold War, which has repercussions on ongoing discussions about democracy, human rights, economic growth, and regional cooperation. The resilience of African peoples and their continuous battles for justice, autonomy, and sustainable development must be acknowledged as the continent wrestles with the historical consequences of this age.

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