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[Redacted]

The Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

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National Intelligence Council

NIC #03979-85  
8 August 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence  
FROM: Frederick L. Wettering *W*  
National Intelligence Officer for Africa  
SUBJECT: Response to DCI Questions on SWAPO and ANC

1. The following is in response to your queries on SWAPO strength and disposition and ANC presence/activities in Namibia, Botswana, and Lesotho. In general, our working knowledge of both is adequate and improving

[Redacted]

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SWAPO

2. While SWAPO has up to 8,000 men in its armed force (called PLAN), based primarily in Angola, at any given moment only 400 to 800 of these are present in southern Angolan locations preparing for missions into Namibia. The remainder are in more distant camps, with up to 4,000 of them serving in conventional military formations fighting UNITA insurgents in central Angola for the MPLA regime. [Redacted] indicates a new deployment of SWAPO fighters to southern Angola locations, taking advantage of both the recent South African withdrawal as well as current MPLA pique with South Africa. [Redacted] also indicates Angola-based SWAPO fighters may infiltrate into Namibia through Botswana with ANC assistance.

[Redacted]

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3. Attached is [Redacted] a definitive DDI analysis of SWAPO, published late last year but overall still quite valid. The map opposite page 1 is useful.

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ANC

4. The ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is increasingly active in Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland as it sends new cadres into South Africa. The ANC does not use Namibia, and its operations in Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland have been somewhat hampered by recent expulsions of ANC personnel by host governments who have acted to pre-empt a possible South African attack. The numbers of guerrillas/terrorists deployed operationally are relatively small, probably not exceeding 25 in South Africa and 250 in Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland.

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[Redacted]

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The ANC also maintains a political network in each neighboring state (except Namibia) which provides guerrilla support as well as recruitment, propaganda, and quasi-official contact with the host government. Attached is a brief DI assessment of ANC presence in Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland

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[Redacted]

*Frederick L. Wetters*  
Frederick L. Wetters

Attachments:

- A.
- B.
- C.
- D.

[Redacted]

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SUBJECT: Response to DCI Questions on SWAPO, ANC

NIO/AF/FLWettering

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**Directorate of  
Intelligence**

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# **Namibia: SWAPO's Army— Organization, Tactics, and Prospects**

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**A Research Paper**

**Secret**

*ALA 84-10103  
October 1984*

*Copy* **212**

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7 August 1985

## The ANC in Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia

Botswana. The ANC has focused on improving its infrastructure in Botswana since being expelled from Mozambique following the Nkomati Accord in March 1984.

on a buildup of ANC personnel in Botswana.

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Since the South African raid against ANC targets in Gaborone in June, Botswana has taken some actions against the group, but not enough to satisfy Pretoria.

- As many as 100 ANC guerrillas may be scattered throughout Botswana, mostly in Gaborone and other border towns.
- the group plans to maintain a lower profile in Botswana and have guerrillas infiltrate South Africa from Zambia via Botswana, using small transit facilities in the latter.

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Relations between the ANC and Botswana are approaching the breaking point.

- Even before the Nkomati Accord, ANC President Tambo had criticized Botswana President Masire for going out of his way to hinder the group's activities.
- Botswana lacks the security resources to eradicate the ANC presence, but may become more openly hostile toward the group to ward off another South African raid.

Lesotho. Lesotho, which is completely surrounded by South African territory, has long been a recruiting center for the ANC. No firm figures exist on the number of ANC personnel there, but we estimate there are well over 50.

- In 1983, most ANC cadre were located in Maseru but fled Lesotho when a South African raid appeared imminent;
- the cadre eventually returned in smaller numbers, spread out to towns other than the capital, and became much more clandestine.

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The South Africans have been playing a cat and mouse game with Lesotho Prime Minister Jonathan for the last few years.

- South Africa needs more water in the future and a project is under way to obtain it from Lesotho.

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- Nonetheless, Pretoria despises Jonathan and is rankled over the five Communist Embassies that have opened in Maseru since 1983.

Namibia. The ANC does not use Namibia in its military operations. [redacted] the group realizes that even a SWAPO-controlled government in Namibia would not allow the ANC to operate there because of its vulnerability to South African attacks.

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Swaziland. Over 100 ANC guerrillas entered Swaziland from Mozambique following the March 1984 Nkomati Accord which denied Mozambique to ANC military. Subsequently the Swazi Government expelled many of these, but in recent months the ANC has been reincreasing its presence in Swaziland.

- [redacted] notes that Swazi authorities estimate 39 ANC cadre in Swaziland and that several arms caches have been discovered in recent weeks.
- Swazi security authorities meet with and cooperate with South African security officials, but their capabilities to monitor and arrest ANC members have proven limited.

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