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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY



Director of Congressional Affairs

OCA#86-2499

16 July 1986

NOTE FOR: Ron Sable

Special Assistant to the President

and Senior Director, Legislative

Affairs, NSC

FROM:

Dave Grie

SUBJECT:

Angola

At Monday's meeting you asked for a list of who CIA had briefed. You also asked for a collection of classified and unclassified publications. Having none of the latter, I enclose the briefing list and a collection of classified publications.

Distribution: Original - Addressee - D/OCA OCA Registry

SECRET

TIME PLACE 25X1	EVENT	CIA PARTICIPANTS
13 Jan 1400 3F29, Hqs	Brf Sen Byrd's (D., WV) stfr D'Amato on Angola	
16 Jan 1400 S-406 Capitol	Brf HFAC, SFRC & SSCI stf on Angola	
28 Jan 1530 H-405 Capitol	Brf Rep Michel, (R., IL), House Minority Leader, and Rep Dick Cheney (R., WY) re Angola and Nicaragua	
30 Jan 1000 S-116 Capitol	Bfg SFRC on Angola	
30 Jan 1600 219 SHOB	Brf SSCI on Nicaragua, Cambodia and Yemen (plus Angola) (also Gerner, DO/EPS attended)	
31 Jan 1000 120 SROB	Brf Sen Mitch McConnell (R., KY) and SSCI stfr Cleveland on Angola	
31 Jan 1100 219 SHOB	Brf SFRC stfrs on Angola	
13 Feb	Brf Sen Glenn's (D., OH) stfrs Eckert	
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25X1 _{Mar}	
1300 119 SDOB	Staff Briefing on Angola PF for Shekmar of SAC Def Subcmte
12 Mar 1400 H-405 Capitol	Testimony on Angola for HPSCI (w/Sec State)
14 Mar 1030	Member Briefing on Angola for SSCI mbr Sen Boren (D., OK) (POSTPONED)
20 Mar 1400 219 SHOB	Staff Briefing on Angola for SSCI Stfr McMahon
21 Mar 1100 219 SHOB	Member Briefing on Angola for Sen DeConcini (D., AZ) of SAC
04 Apr 1000 6D01 Hqs	Staff Briefing on Afghanistan and Angola for Finn and Levine, SSCI stfrs
04 Apr 1330 3F29 Hqs	Staff Briefing on Angola and Mozambique for Philip Christenson of SFRC stf
15 Apr 1430 137 CHOB	Member Briefing on Angola for Rep Siljander (R., MI) of HFAC

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25X1 28 Apr 0800 DCI D.R.	Breakfast bfg on Nicaragua, Angola and Soviet activities abroad for Sens. Wallop (R., WY) and Quayle (R., IN) (Agency Seal Medallion to Wallop)
05 May 1045 219 SHOB	Member Briefing on Angola & Afghanistan for Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D., AZ) of SAC
09 May 1300 517 SHOB	Member Briefing on Mozambique & Angola for Senator Trible (R., VA)
16 May 1530 211 SHOB	Pre-trip staff briefing on Angola for Holliday, Cleveland, Kettlewell & Ockenden of SSCI
22 May 1500 3F45 Hqs	Staff Briefing on Ethiopia & Angola for Peckham, Pitchford, Loney, HFAC stfrs
18 Jun 1600 7B02 HQS	Staff Briefing on Angola for O'Neil and Giza of HPSCI

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Central Intelligence Agency



14 July 1986

Options and Scenarios for South African Actions Against Its Neighbors

South Africa's economic and military dominance of the region provides it with a broad range of options for actions against its neighbors, many of which it has exercised repeatedly. Pretoria's regional policy under State President P. W. Botha, who came to power in 1978 after 13 years as Defense Minister, has been especially prone to coercive measures, ranging from "economic pinpricks" such as recently restricted supplies of lubricants for Zimbabwean diesels to full-fledged support for Angolan insurgents. This memorandum:

- Provides a menu of South African economic and military options for each of Pretoria's neighbors, with actions listed in order of severity, including the probable impact on the country, the country's probable response, and an estimate, where possible, of the costs to the United States and the West of compensating a country for damage.
- Formulates several scenarios, starting with a baseline assessment, that project Pretoria's probable regional reaction to alternative US and Western initiatives toward South Africa, indicates the options and targets the South Africans are likely to choose, and assesses the impact on US and Western interests.
- Outlines briefly our understanding of the general priorities and factors that affect Pretoria's policies toward its neighbors.

We begin by examining the forces that affect Pretoria's calculus, reflecting our judgment that the evolving crisis inside the country has caused Pretoria to take an increasingly demanding and coercive stance in the region

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Section I

The View From Pretoria

We doubt that South Africa proceeds within the region from any "grand strategy" but rather believe that leaders in Pretoria react to events and seize opportunities as they present themselves. Nevertheless, the Botha government's decisions on dealing with individual black states appear to fall within a framework of general objectives and priorities. We believe, however, that several key factors, many of them reflecting domestic political conditions, critically affect how Pretoria implements its regional policy

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Attacking Anti-South African Insurgents. Pretoria's hostility toward a neighbor is directly influenced by the extent to which it supports—or is perceived to support—the African National Congress (ANC), the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), and the Pan-Africanist

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Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D. C. 20505

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

5 June 1986

Angola: Surge in Soviet Arms Deliveries	25 X
Summary	
Soviet ships and heavy-lift transport aircraft have delivered large amounts of military cargo to Angola over the past six months. We believe Moscow's increasing effort this year almost certainly is intended to replenish Luanda's supply of weapons and materiel before the government steps up the tempo of military operations against UNITA. The recent increase in deliveries adds to Moscow's already high level of military assistance for Angola over the last three years, when nearly \$2 billion in arms were provided. We believe the equipment received since November 1985 will significantly augment Angola's ability to prosecute the war this	
year, and additional improved weapons systems are likely to arrive in 1986	25 X
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Central Intelligence Agency



DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

25 March 1986

ANGOLA: UNITA Leader Savimbi Today--His Goals and Prospects

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Summary

The visit by Jonas Savimbi to Washington last January gave US officials a closer look at the longtime Angolan guerrilla leader and helped place him in current perspective. The UNITA leader's comments were largely consistent with his earlier statements and confirmed our view of him as a pragmatic African nationalist.

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Savimbi's goal is to force the Angolan Government to the bargaining table by waging a protracted war that convinces the MPLA regime that it cannot win and must negotiate. Confident of his staying power and South African backing, Savimbi believes UNITA can blunt this year's major offensive by the Angolan government, which managed to regain the military initiative in 1985 for the first time in several years. Savimbi calculates, by his own private admission, that several years of standoff will be necessary before negotiations with the MPLA are feasible.

In the near term—the next 12 to 18 months, we believe the fighting probably will be the most intense of the civil war, with tactical gains and losses on both sides, but that neither side will deliver a knockout punch. However, there is a

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Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D. C. 20505

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

8 July 1986

Angola-Zaire: An Uneasy Peace

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Summary

The traditionally uneasy relationship between Angola and Zaire has worsened noticeably in recent months as suspicions on both sides have mounted about each other's willingness to increase aid to dissident groups. The summit scheduled for 10 July in Luanda between Angolan President dos Santos and Zairian President Mobutu is unlikely to relax growing tensions, even though we expect both leaders to give lip service to improving diplomatic relations. Our reading of a large quantity of special intelligence leads us to conclude that Angola has already proceeded with a number of low-risk diplomatic and psychological measures in hope of inhibiting Zairian support to Jonas Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). Although we doubt that Kinshasa will reduce its involvement with UNITA, President Mobutu is working hard to reduce Zaire's regional isolation, project a more nonaligned foreign policy, and improve relations with Moscow in the unrealistic hope that such cosmetic moves will paper over growing difficulties with Angola.

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Should tensions continue to mount in the wake of the summit, we believe Angola will take limited military moves against Kinshasa, probably including increased hot pursuit operations against UNITA forces using Zaire as a sanctuary or limited cross-border raids by regular Angolan Army troops. We

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Angola: UNITA's Prospects in 1986

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An Intelligence Assessment

Top Secret

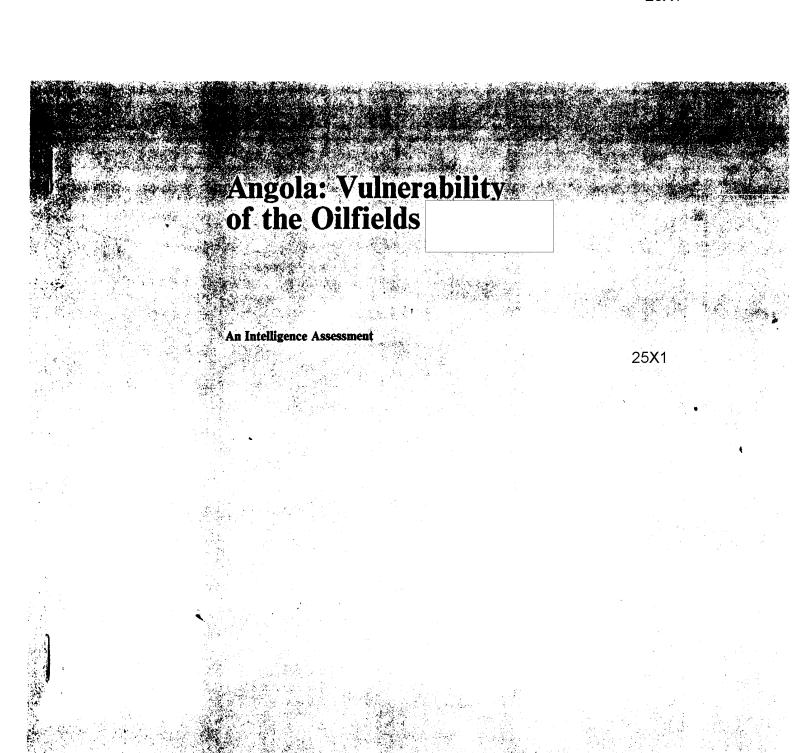
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January 1986

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Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D. C. 20505

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

29 November 1985

Angola: Dos Santos Up Beat Before Party Congress

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Summary

A Party Congress—only the third since the MPLA seized control in 1975 with Soviet and Cuban backing—is slated for 6-10 December. President dos Santos's position within the Party appears more secure than at any time since he came to power in 1979. On the eve of the Congress, the MPLA leadership, undoubtedly encouraged by its recent military successes against UNITA, appears even more determined to pursue a military solution to the insurgency. Although dos Santos is likely to gain increased personal power at the Congress, we believe his policy options are narrowed because of the regime's growing military dependence on the Soviets and Cubans. The Congress is likely to adopt some reforms to improve party discipline and to revive the economy, but we expect these measures will do little to broaden the regime's narrow base of support or to arrest the economic decline.

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The MPLA's current air of confidence could well be short-lived in our view. The regime still faces the difficult task of building on the momentum of the past year, as the government's improved performance against the insurgents in

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	TO ANGOLA: INTENTIONS	
	AND PROSPECTS	
	Information available as of 24 October 1985 was	-
	used in the preparation of this Estimate, which was approved by the National Foreign Intelligence Board	
	on that date.	
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