

FOR MEETING WITH NEIL VAN HEERDEN - MONDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1988 - PRETORIA

SOUTH AFRICA/ANGOLA/CUBA

- ° Vasev called on Assistant Secretary Crocker, October 13, to discuss state of play following New York.
- ° Crocker started by saying November 1 is coming quickly; the New York meeting had been disappointing; the United States had been frustrated with Angolan/Cuban refusal to offer any new flexibility on the total Cuban troop withdrawal calendar; especially number of troops to be withdrawn first year and date when all Cuban troops would be redeployed north of parallel 13.
- ° South Africans had been ready to discuss tradeoffs that would be necessary to close the gaps.
- ° Unless Angolans and Cubans quickly demonstrated similar flexibility they risk paralyzing the mediator and driving negotiations into impasse which they have created. In this connection, Crocker noted Angolans and Cubans were making their case in the media and other parties at New York were more restrained but could change if Angola and Cuba started a sustained disinformation campaign.
- ° Vasev, responding, noted Angolans and Cubans were speaking publicly and privately about an impasse following New York but believed current deadlock would be overcome.

° He said Angolans and Cubans wanted to continue search for solution. Crocker stressed urgency of rapid Angolan/Cuban movement since we had asked parties to inform us by October 12 whether they accepted package of compromise ideas on total Cuban troop withdrawal that had emerged at New York or whether they wish to table new ideas of their own. Crocker said we had received timely and positive response from South Africa. If a similarly constructive response from Angola/Cuba was received, we could quickly proceed to another round of informational consultations setting the stage for signature of an agreement at Brazzaville IV.

° Vasev did not deny that the ball was in the Angolan/Cuban court and undertook to relay Crocker's message immediately.

° Again, Crocker stressed that the South African response had been positive and that the compromise package represented a major opportunity. Crocker said he was convinced that the South African response had the approval from the highest political levels in South Africa.

° Crocker believes that Vasev got the point about the opportunity present.

° Following Crocker's meeting with Vasev, and a later meeting with Soviet Embassy Minister Counselor Chetverikov, the United States received a communication from Luanda formally reiterating many of the points made by the Angolan/Cuban side at New York. At the same time, the Angolan response hints at interest in the meaning of a South African response and leaves the door open for further contact. Crocker immediately decided to inform Luanda and Havana of new South African response and to propose an informal meeting in Geneva beginning October 21.

- Crocker has sent the following personal message to Vasev:
 - Fast moving events since we met last have further underscored that we are at a critical juncture.
 - I reiterate that I have information that South Africa accepts the compromise ideas from New York, ^{as} the basis for settlement. The UN Secretariat has informed me that the South African Mission in New York has made similar formal demarche to the United Nations,
 - Crocker informed your Minister Counselor in Washington of these developments on October 15.
 - Following Crocker's meeting with the Minister Counselor Chetverikov, a communication was received from Luanda that was described as their formal response to the New York ideas.
 - This response was disappointing; it reiterated many of the inflexible positions taken by the Angolan/Cuban side in New York.
 - Angolan/Cuban acceptance of the New York ideas would remove the risk that either side would be held responsible for an impasse or breakdown of negotiations.
 - In short, the way to a settlement is now open if Angola and Cuba will take it. I look to you to help secure their agreement to informal consultations at Geneva beginning October 21 for the purpose of bringing these negotiations to a successful conclusion.
 - I hope that notwithstanding your need to prepare for President Dos Santos' visit to Moscow, you will find it possible to travel to Geneva for these consultations.