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The Director of Central Intelligence
Washington, D.C. 20505

National Intelligence Council

NIC #01065-85
28 February 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

FROM: Frederick L. Wettering ²
National Intelligence Officer for Africa

SUBJECT: Namibia/Angola: Possible New US Proposals--
Comments for Your 28 February Meeting with Mr. McFarlane

1. Per your request, DDI/ALA is forwarding separately to you a typescript on the Angola negotiation scenario.
2. Assistant Secretary of State Chet Crocker will meet with Bud McFarlane Friday evening, 1 March, to discuss a new proposal to be passed to the relevant parties on Cuban troop withdrawal. It's my understanding that State will propose a formula stipulating a withdrawal of from 20-40,000 Cubans in parallel with the 9-12 month duration of implementation of UNSCR 435 in Namibia, with an explicit understanding on withdrawal of the residual Cuban force (10,000 or so) in the next 1-2 years.
3. Chet Crocker is likely to advance the following arguments:
 - The negotiations are at an impasse, and we need to advance new proposals or risk collapse of the entire negotiation.
 - All three parties--MPLA, UNITA, SAG--have authorized State to try and develop a new formula on Cuban troop withdrawal. During recent talks with UNITA and the SAG, neither objected to a new proposal entailing a Cuban residual force.
 - There is no White House prohibition on the question of raising proposals about a Cuban residual force. A reduced Cuban presence, limited by time, will not materially harm Savimbi's prospects.

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- The new formula will not be presented as a US position but rather a negotiating concept.
- MPLA-UNITA reconciliation talks, brokered by Zaire President Mobutu and encouraged by us, may soon begin.

4. I submit these arguments do not address the following counterpoints:

- Our analysis is that the current military situation is evolving in Savimbi's favor. Why should we not exercise patience and wait for the MPLA position to change rather than table a proposal of questionable value to our interests, while still keeping channels open by periodic shuttle diplomacy.
- Our analysis is that ultimately UNITA and the South Africans will oppose a residual Cuban presence.
- The nut of the question is whether UNITA is disadvantaged by a residual Cuban presence. The DDI analysis, with which I concur, says it will in the most likely scenario.
- Diplomatic niceties aside, we must be prepared to live with what we propose.
- Our analysis is that there is no real prospect for UNITA-MPLA reconciliation at this time and that any new talks will fail, probably quickly. Earlier talks in 1977 and 1981-82 followed this pattern.
- Additionally, the verification problem regarding Cuban withdrawal and continuing presence is formidable and should be seriously addressed prior to tabling a US proposal.

5. You may wish to pass the DDI memo and the foregoing to Mr. McFarlane.


Frederick L. Wetters

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NIO/AF/FLWettering:mj



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