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THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

October 13, 1977

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Cyrus Vance *CV*

1. Angolan Reconciliation. I told you earlier that we planned to meet UNITA Secretary of Information Jeremias Chitunda in the Department and would also ask Houphouet-Boigny to brief us on his efforts to promote Angolan reconciliation. Dick Moose discussed the question of Angolan reconciliation with the Ivory Coast Foreign Minister on October 5 at New York.

As for UNITA's position on reconciliation, Chitunda's main points in a meeting with us on October 3 were:

- a total military victory by either side is out of the question. There must ultimately be a political settlement, worked out between UNITA and MPLA;
- from UNITA's point of view, withdrawal of Cuban troops is a prerequisite to such a reconciliation.

Chitunda indicated, however, that UNITA may be more flexible than his instructions permitted him to say. We believe UNITA might be able to begin talks with the MPLA before all the Cubans are actually out of Angola.

In his conversation with Dick Moose, the Ivorian Foreign Minister said that Savimbi still lists Cuban withdrawal as a precondition for reconciliation. Nevertheless it may be worth exploring the possibility of Cuban withdrawal to the Luanda region. A partial withdrawal would permit the Cubans to maintain their commitment to Neto while reducing their combat losses. Savimbi

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might see the step as a partial victory. A withdrawal of this sort would assist us in the Contact Group's Namibian talks. A Cuban withdrawal could be used to persuade the South Africans to reduce substantially their forces in Namibia. Ake is disposed to pursue his idea and Dick Moose promised to stay in touch.

2. Rhodesian Negotiations. Dick Moose will meet Friday in London with British officials to work out an agreed position on strategy for the Rhodesian negotiations to be conducted by Lord Carver and UN Representative Chand. Among the issues Dick will discuss are venue for the talks, agenda, US representation in the negotiations, and participation of the nationalists. We want to keep all of the nationalists involved in the settlement effort. Nkomo and Mugabe will press for exclusive negotiations with them. To accede to this would run the risk of losing Muzorewa or Sithole to Smith's blandishments on an internal settlement.

3. NATO Cooperation in Arms Development and Production. Reports from NATO indicate our European allies have agreed to open conversations with us and Canada on improved cooperation in NATO arms development and production. They have thereby responded positively to the Third Defense Initiative which you proposed at last May's NATO Summit, i.e., to undertake such a dialogue, along with increased US purchases of European-produced defense equipment and rationalization of the European defense industry to strengthen NATO defenses.

The allies will formally notify us of their decision at the NATO Conference of National Armaments Directors' semi-annual meeting in Brussels late this month.

4. Middle East Working Paper. Dobrynin has asked us for a copy of the Middle East working paper which he has seen mentioned in the press. I called Dobrynin this morning and told him that we would provide a copy of the paper to him after it had been delivered to the Arab

leaders. I will be seeing Dobrynin on Monday afternoon and may use that as an occasion to hand it over to him. In addition, I would plan to make copies available to the British and French, whose understanding and support for our efforts could prove quite useful.

5. "Meet the Press." I wanted you to know that I will be appearing on "Meet the Press" this Sunday. This will be a good occasion to provide an assessment of where we stand on the Middle East, SALT and other priority areas.

6. My Visit to Argentina. You will recall that the Argentine President pressed hard for me to make a trip to Buenos Aires during his visit to Washington last month. We informed the Argentinians that I would do so in connection with my visit to Brazil. Since the Argentines remain keenly interested in my paying a call in Buenos Aires, I have informed them that I will visit there on November 21. I will depart from Buenos Aires in time to meet you on your arrival in Caracas on November 22.

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