

S. Agiza

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GPS 1150  
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DESKBY 131230Z  
FM UKMIS GENEVA 131100Z JAN  
TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELNO 17 OF 13 JANUARY 1981  
INFO IMMEDIATE PRETORIA CAPETOWN PARIS BONN OTTAWA WASHINGTON  
CAIRO FOR PS: PRIORITY LUSAKA LUANDA MAPUTO GABORONE DAR ES SALAAM  
LAGOS SALISBURY ADDIS ABABA FREETOWN

FROM PIM DELEGATION

YOUR TELNO 8: NAMIBIA

The meeting has now in fact  
"fizzled out" in the words of the P.A.  
Lopez. It was the general feeling that  
a message from the Five would serve  
no purpose at this stage & it  
was not sent: I did not think you  
would necessarily regret this. Whether or  
not this was a definitive breakdown, we are in  
for a difficult time.

1. DISCUSSIONS ON 12 JANUARY CONFIRMED THE DEPRESSING TURN OF EVENTS REPORTED IN MY TELNO 15.
2. URQUHART SUGGESTED TO FOURIE IN THE MORNING THAT TWO IDENTICAL LETTERS OF INTENT TO ESTABLISH A CEASEFIRE EFFECTIVE ON 30 MARCH, SHOULD BE INITIALED ON 14 JANUARY IN GENEVA, AND CONFIRMED IN WRITING NOT LATER THAN 9 FEBRUARY. AN "IMPARTIALITY PACKAGE" WOULD COME INTO EFFECT UPON CONFIRMATION OF THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT, AND WOULD BE REFLECTED IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET OF UNTAG (TENTATIVE TEXT OF SUCH A RESOLUTION, WHICH THE FIVE CONSIDER THE FRONT LINE HERE WOULD ACCEPT AND COULD SWING IN NEW YORK AS PART OF THE AGREEMENT TO IMPLEMENT IS IN MIFT). FOURIE, MUDGE AND WE PRESUME SOUTH AFRICAN MINISTERS ARE AWARE OF THE BROAD LINES OF WHAT IS POSSIBLE, BUT THE FIVE CANNOT NEGOTIATE TO FIRM UP THE DETAILS WITHOUT AN INDICATION OF WILLINGNESS TO IMPLEMENT AND NOT TO RAISE FRESH PROBLEMS.
3. FOURIE REPLIED TO URQUHART TO THE EFFECT THAT HIS MINISTERS WOULD NOT ACCEPT SUCH A DEAL. IT WOULD BE A WASTE OF TIME TO TRY TO TAKE MATTERS FURTHER, AND HE DID NOT WANT TO RAISE FALSE HOPES. URQUHART THEREFORE LET IT BE KNOWN THAT HE WOULD CLOSE THE MEETING ON THE AFTERNOON OF 13 JANUARY, AFTER A SPEECH BY MUDGE IN THE MORNING AND AFTER HE HAD SOUGHT CLARIFICATION IN PLENARY THAT THE AG'S DELEGATION CANNOT LIVE UP TO THE PROPOSALS FOR IMPLEMENTATION IN WALDHEIM'S REPORT OF 24 NOVEMBER. GIVEN THE TOTAL ABSENCE OF EVIDENCE HITHERTO THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND INTERNALS ARE WILLING TO REACH AGREEMENT, OR EVEN TO SEEK A WAY THROUGH SHORT OF FULL AGREEMENT, OUR PARTNERS WERE NOT PREPARED TO DO MORE TO PREVENT COLLAPSE.
4. IN THE EVENING URQUHART AGREED TO MR LUCE'S REQUEST TO GIVE A LITTLE MORE TIME FOR A FINAL EFFORT TO FIND A FORMULA WHICH WOULD PERMIT THE MEETING TO BREAK UP WITH THE HOPE OF FINAL AGREEMENT PRESERVED. HE IS LIKELY TO CALL A FINAL MEETING ON THE MORNING OF 14 JANUARY. ON THE BASIS OF HIS CONFIDENCE IN FOURIE, HE IS DEEPLY PESSIMISTIC ABOUT THE CHANGES OF SOUTH AFRICA FACING UP TO THE INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF A LIKELY SWAPO VICTORY. MR LUCE SUGGESTED THAT IF SOUTH

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AFRICA SHOWED SUFFICIENT MOVEMENT TO ALLOW THE MEETING TO CLOSE WITH THE GROUND GAINED IN PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS AND THE GOODWILL OF THE FRONT LINE STATES INTACT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO BRING THE INCOMING US ADMINISTRATION'S INFLUENCE TO BEAR. URQUHART WAS CONTENT THAT WE SHOULD TRY TO BRING THAT ABOUT.

5. LATER MR LUCE WENT OVER THE GROUND IN DETAIL WITH MUDGE. MUDGE TOOK (UNDER PRESSURE) A SLIGHTLY MORE CONSTRUCTIVE LINE THAN HE HAD ON 11 JANUARY. HE GIVES CREDIT TO THE UN FOR WILLINGNESS TO BE IMPARTIAL, BUT MAINTAINS THAT EVEN WITH ELECTIONS AT THE END OF 1981, DTA WOULD NOT HAVE ENOUGH TIME TO QUOTE CORRECT UNQUOTE IN THE EYES OF THE ELECTORATE THE IMAGE OF SWAPO AS THE PARTY WHICH THE UN WANTED TO WIN. HE REAFFIRMED INTEREST IN WHAT THE UN AND THE FIVE COULD OFFER ON IMPARTIALITY AND AGREED TO CONSIDER INSERTING POSITIVE LANGUAGE INTO HIS SPEECH ON 13 JANUARY. HE COMPLAINED THAT THERE HAVE NOT BEEN SUFFICIENT WORKING SESSIONS AT WHICH HIS DELEGATION COULD GET TO GRIPS WITH

WHAT MIGHT BE ON OFFER ( COMMENT : BUT IT WAS HE WHO HAD ASKED FOR EARLIER PLANNED MEETINGS TO BE POSTPONED).

6. MR LUCE WENT OVER THE GROUND AGAIN WITH FOURIE ON THE MORNING OF 13 JANUARY EMPHASISING THAT IF THERE WERE NO MOVEMENT TODAY THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD IN ALL PROBABILITY COLLAPSE. SOUTH AFRICA AND THE INTERNAL PARTIES SHOULD PERMIT SUFFICIENT MOVEMENT TO ENABLE A PAUSE FOR REFLECTION, AND IF NECESSARY RESUMPTION OF DISCUSSIONS, ONCE SOUTH AFRICA AND THE INTERNAL PARTIES HAD STUDIED WHAT IS ON OFFER. FOURIE REPEATED EARLIER POSITIONS WITH THE SOLE DIFFERENCE THAT HE WOULD REPORT WHAT MR LUCE HAD SAID. HE HAD NO LATITUDE GIVEN THE POSITION OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE AG'S DELEGATION THAT GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS ON SWAPO ETC HAD TO BE RESCINDED BEFORE ANY DISCUSSION OF ANY IMPLEMENTATION DATE. WE STRESSED THAT WE WERE HOPING FOR SIMULTANEOUS AGREEMENT ON A DATE AND THE IMPARTIALITY MEASURES. WE READ HIM THE PROPOSALS (IN MIFT) WHICH THE UN AND THE FIVE MIGHT BE ABLE TO NEGOTIATE. FOURIE WOULD NOT BE DRAWN ON DETAILS BUT SAID THAT THE PACKAGE MIGHT AGGRAVATE MATTERS BY SEEMING TO REQUIRE THAT THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY BE SET ASIDE WE MADE IT PLAIN THAT THERE MIGHT BE GIVE ON THIS TOO BUT FOURIE DOUBTED WHETHER IT WOULD BE SUFFICIENT. HE WAS THINKING OF LEAVING ON THE EVENING OF 13 JANUARY.

7. WE TOLD THE UN AND THE FIVE THAT WE HAD GOT NOWHERE WITH FOURIE. URQUHART THEN SAID THAT WALDHEIM DID NOT WANT TO TABLE OR TAKE FURTHER THE POSSIBLE NEW SETS OF MEASURES ON IMPARTIALITY, GIVEN INTER ALIA (UNDERLINED) THE LIKELY REACTION AT THE RESUMED SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO AN INCONCLUSIVE ENDING TO THE PIM. URQUHART NOW PROPOSES TO END THE MEETING ON 14 JANUARY WITH A PASSAGE IN HIS CONCLUDING STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT

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WAYS FORWARD HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED WITH INDIVIDUAL DELEGATIONS, THAT SUGGESTIONS HAVE BEEN PUT FORWARD WHICH SHOULD MEET THE CONCERNS WHICH HAVE BEEN EXPRESSED, AND THAT SO SERIOUS IS THE JUNCTURE NOW REACHED, THAT TIME IS NEEDED FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF THE POSSIBILITY OF AGREEMENT.

8. THE FIVE ARE AT PRESENT (131230Z) MEETING THE FRONT LINE TO TRY TO PERSUADE THEM TO ACCEPT SUCH A FORMULA WHICH WE HOPE WILL KEEP THE NEGOTIATIONS ALIVE , (ALTHOUGH THERE IS VERY SCANT EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO SWAPO AND THE FRONT LINE THAT IT IS WORTH IT). IT MAY BE BETTER FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW NOT TO SEEK A MORE PRECISE BASIS FOR WINDING UP PIM, GIVEN THE PROBABILITY (PACE FOURIE IN PARA 6 ABOVE) THAT THERE WILL BE NO FURTHER MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICAN AND INTERNAL PARTY POSITIONS. AT PRESENT THE UN ARE PREPARED TO STAY IN THE GAME WITHOUT IT.

MARSHALL

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