SECRET



TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

THE SECRETARY'S STAFF
MEETING - Friday, 3/26/76

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C.

SECRET

Secretary Offstatate Kissinger - Chairman

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          Mr. Ingersonoll
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          Mr. Sisco
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          Mr. Robinson
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          Mr. Maw
          Mr. Eaglebabyerger
    M
          Mr. Mulcary (Acting)9)
   AF
          Mr. Rogers
  ARA
          Mr. Habibb
   EA
          Mr. Armiatage
  EUR
  NEA
          Mr. Atheron
  TWR
          Mr. Saunders
  S/P
          Mr. Lord
          Mr. Katz (Acting)g)
Mr. Funsenth
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          Mr. Vest
          Mr. Lewiss
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          Ambassador McCloskyey
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          Mr. Leigh
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          Mr. Spriggesteen
          Mr. Barbhan
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PROGEEDINGS

's Staff Meeting was convened at 18: 12 alm., Secretary of State at a Kissing appresiming siding as Chairman.)

MR: INGERSOLL: Goodmontagi, Henry Henry.

(Diseasion of the record.)

MR: INGERSOLL: The beyone of the serious implications. We'll have a paper of you on that, and that, and we can't find bit about hing about it --

SECRETARY KISSINGERR: What is it is ? The sustice Department --

MR: INGERSOLL: Yes.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: is investigating the bit good companies reignification the bit good companies reignification and the concernment of the conce

MR: INGERSOLL: Well, inputy not be limited in that ferroa ring that starts there.

SECRETARY KISSINGERR: One time they kept kept every body going by patting of the date big pool, and they attisquenti-trust.

MR. LEKTH: Well, the women litested us very much about thit, Mr. Secretary ary. That why way we need your help on a recipie the grand jury is concentened. Now, this is

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is not fitst ajust a givil invess . Once that satisfy done, we would not able to say anything ay anything.

MR. INGERSOLL: That's whywhere we think we we have no to move on it, and they say he we so it it is very confidential. They just to detail about it. They was relitue anything anything about the details the thirts 'consultation' (language).

I will have ave you today.

One otherpoint in the to make is this may be many has staff Meeting, entiry, and liberthinking thinking of all of you fon the slopes of Aspending be next week.

(Laughte 9...)

MRIR. MANW: The supplementages lope.

WR. INGERSOLL: Yes.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Bob, we're going to have a socktain party on, for you, where, I suppose, most of these people are going to be; but I need noted you how much you will be missed.

MR: INGERSOLL: Thankyonou. III his miret you! of you.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I wante tell you! You

that with it is indeally you be from the day in the comment of this job -
and even apploinal with her say this of me when I

leave. Keepyon thughay whin alimits. (Laugheter.)

MR. EAGLEBURGER: He's note a diplomate to intendinting

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tomer. Leight).

MR: SISCO: I haven partything. thing.

MR: ROBINSON: I just tame backfrom New York,

Association. I want to topolitical they thind unbody announced your forthcoming speech before that group on the Law of the Isea and everyone became very excited. Two women familed and the troth ow front row (has not peak it was very shattering. My interprise complex was with me just be fore I was to speak ak. But I just want you to know that they be very excited about your coming up.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Why onlyweive? (Laughter.)

MR. INGERSOLL: That's all thele we here were. (Laughterer.)

MR: ROBINSON: Theyrevery preased had sed, and I just warmed to dil you how excited they were about your fortheothing speech.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Arewer getting a dranfit?

In that boy draw as well as he talks, it's going to be the greatest speech since the Gettysburg Landress type and Address.

MR. EAGLEBURGER: It will be longer. longer. (Laughtet.e)r.)

SECRETARY KISSINGER: We carpurate one of the definity depending on the definity depending on the definity of the definity depending on the definition of the definity depending on the definition of the definitio

most of our proposals.

MR. LORD: I think we we can get certain by enough the with that beeck peech.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: 0.K.

MR. MUICAMY: Now, this day day, the suspense of the tanks in Linsaka unakwe that we attached pulterauite a bit of importance of broke up without a stackement.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Thetalia Whereinere?

MR: MUICAMY: This was the Four Propertains wer talks—
Presidents Machel, Khama, Nyererand Kudindameding meeting
in Listraba where whey could go from here with the
Roddies ian situation. They had both problemation here with the
Roddies ian situation. They had both problemation design
hat one is the first ind Nkohore and Nkomo apparency, tly,
according to the press. No reconstration to keptaceook place
between kokomo and Nyeres which was the write purposes the purposes
of the bring.

Also, it broke in without in the communique, which is not a good in and --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Why?

MR. MUICAHY: Well_---

SECRETARY KISSINGER: It means --

MR. MUICAMY: Well, it means that Nkomo Nkomo and Kkanua, who who generally remains all Yar as the able as far as the

line and the tions are concentrated,

per the stat they --

that the side is didn't persuade them that there

tt be megotia

MR. MULCAHY: Yes, that right. If you puante an st, you take that bet, view.

SECRETARY KISSINGERR: If yourere a readist

-- I mean, whateselse carnit it mean? Itemanans they could

MR: MULCHHY: Yes, si.r.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Butwhits more mery likely

**The Property of the Property

MR. MULCAHY: Well, I thinki if --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Wheres the Assistants sistant Secretary and identify indentally?

MR. MULCATY: He's on an whip backarromack from Parkis. He wento the reinforced NAC in Brasses, and hell bloke this afterhoods afternoon.

SECRETARY KISSINGERR: Go ahead.d.

MR. MULCANY: Butwish probably with happen is that this thow with resisting ships on Smith that -- SECRETARY KISSINGER: Only in jour wind. Since

Authority MAIN

heboke off the talks, why should inite as the pressure on nim nim?

MR. MULCANY: Well, because they all how agree that the gherring warfare will continue and be stepped of. up.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I thoughthey the midall said that already.

MR. MULCANY; They have, who there's been realized ynthey of it. But I think how with which the rainy season were seen'll see a greate a for all infiltration across to be derived to the content of the season were seen'll see a greate a for all infiltration across to be derived to the content of the season were seen as a great that it is not a cross to the content of the content o

One of the phoposal subservious median was ideration was to put a railway/system through Bouwan Potswan Africa. The principal impline will also tause un sanctions ons. It's as a knowly promember where the property of the Rhodesian code minent. Government. We think that this this was one of the first less wides work identified. Consideration.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Can I get a paperty by the middle of next week of work glory two different neither to get from here to the heart what AF Visalized is going to happen to happen now and what we candon whow, other hard what wright wringing?

MR: MULCAHY: Yes, si.r.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: And exactly what webst steps

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should be harentaken -- hopenfly! that are within the realm of realismalism -- by weadersday?

HR: MUICAMY: Yes, sit.r.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Phil?1?

We've opened a new chapter of diplomaty, as far as as I can see. We now have, on the Troth page of the Post, to a not we've haven teven summy effect yet.

MR. HABIB: That story way bash all pariety by two days old. It teams --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Has the fote been been sent?

MR: HABIB: Yestery ay.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I thought I told you, ou, Larry, what that I disproved yet it.

MR. HABIB: It were not you. It were not last last night, I was told. I got a phone caral \$:30 t:00 olock:00 o'clock tellinging me it gong because presente to we have the comeback copy this his ning raing.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Well, at 5:30-6:00 0-6:00 I sure as as hell-wasn's approving anything.

MR. HABIB: We did't intaciondance with your changes:

MR. BARBIAN: That right Two calleses.



MR. HABIB: One didn't go.t go.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: There may ay have been two cables, but I didn's them. Them. May I see them now?

(Mr. Barbhahanahasseletalgaretary a document toperase.)

MR. HABIB: The last agraph agraph.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: O:K.

Go alhead.d.

MR. HABIB: The other thing to the you have appropriate first stage of the That washer and the That withdrawal actoions.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Yes, bubut I wanto havehave a significant capals of the hard radioes. military advisers.

MR. HABIB: Yes. The confidence is 270. We're down around 200.00 now. We're supposed of below and the low that before the of the --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I wanthe Trais to see a withdrawayal. The Trais don't know twhat our ceiling is.

Thereofe, rewe if we just keepep it --

MR. HABIB: No. They/sepane ching.ceiling. The sepind of 270 issa a sepind which --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Havewe pulled out 70



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Orhave we simply not replaced 70?

MPH. HABIB: Well, the 9070 are nonthere there.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: They have yever byen there?

MR. HABIB: No. They have been temporarily withdrawn, and the was some thought be pulling it down to wer.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I Woulddike the Thanse Thais to see that, the their tersion, there is some reduction in the part they want as to have you stay --

MR. HABIB: I understantand.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: = and we cankeep the the centile and part must people rate on appropriate on if they ask for it.

MR. HABIB: Well, what we want to don't keep do is keep the certain is interest, at later on, if twee need to, to would be interested people, and was it with the that MAC.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: That fine.fine.

MR. HABIB: That what we had in ining ind.

Also, we we have a how have very toughter is to have decisions on such things has purpling souther him number whe amount ion we have stored a place. That's going a really showered that show the Thais what this is sting seemts ince vegetable we multion of about 60 million



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dollars worth of armunition -- which, under present hav, there. And we carreine then to lit to them or aketalon. it out. They is not gonty to bight, to buy it; they is gong want to toward it there and give it to the her which would how be possible. That's going oing to have.

So the reging to be a serior actions which I hope very thankly reprather not take on some of the handli the elections of the way -- until the elections of the way -- until the elections in order the way -- which is eight more days, nine hope there are days. If we gother deciration of the way we may have a new government, we may not have a new government.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I forgotot. IsthetwaceVice
Presainsopphymmethere or not?

MR. HABIB: No, sirrbecause of the election.

The other thing is that the Korelans have now intricted respectively and the last toppical statement, and the proving the first and a less severe were an and the Smight state but them under a less severe were an and the Smight state but them under.

Now, whether hat that's the kind of reactantion taken responses not of protest, I don't know we will be a supposed to the skind of protest, I don't know we will be a supposed to the skind of protest.



Atthelameame time, there reindereindicted a rather wellwellknown intertainment bittend, who, ficial, who, under a law,
would be matthein to be menter him to death. This is a guy who salready sentenced to the impresonment if e imprisonment
under a previous common whitment.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Where is he? Ishehe in pristing on?

MR. HABIB: He's in phisophideen under a lifefe
sentence, and they've just a line re-indicted him
under inother take which perwitts them possentence him to
dentth.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: They Modern to any shares each they? (Lalente er.)

MR: HADIB: They do do take a type thances y chances. The guy is very very besides. He won't that wake it for very a right. I leave the property of the state of the work that the branches is up on the hall. Hill. They well all me they have a really written leave a real restriction of the second o

I have to appearment the Thompson's Subcommittee

OF Kora and to summittee Tring one to give

The a very back and the But I thinks we have to have

But I thinks we have to the

Bostion on.



MR. MAN: I got a prent bad indentime on it before the Hollswife Inte on Relationst committee on Monday, and your going we get a today.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Immglatily of laterheaded them

schedule me sonitely before these continues. Committees. (Laugheter.)

Go ahaad.

MR. ARMITAGE: ArtHalmanman the dotter of the dotter in the infining orning. He libe here the mandale of the morning of the mor

We'vegoust a coupled helpfuldershipments of protection tristion of Some semena Moscow. There was a bomb theat gesterasterday. Part of the Ethbass F was sevanted but no but mire abomb was found.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Butthatwas aneadyalready in the papers yesterday, or was the another their one?

MR: ARMITAGE: No. Thatwayas the same.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: There are no statements to be made when so the Union that I do not personally eleman. We cannot tark the so the experimentally single bloody day with the some total malk to we further that all the penethers in a building, and we mish and the enth is one business. There's is no needed itse shoot to the hope the day it happened. We could have any yesterday extenday "We are structured in the in that

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We are asking for a full report.

MR. FUNSETH: That guillaine that I used in in going out to Moscow is spress guillaine in and so before.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I didn't approve it either. That how the other has stell appetred. happened. That we we that as presequitare small always immediately.

MR: ARMITAGE: We now have nother New York,

Mr: Secretary The New York Police Department dis
maintelande tour bomb stored out or Amrofg Jester Lay, Merchegarday, thereby --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Arewer going to protest to the soversimes at they struct they did it?

MR. ARMITACE: No. sit. The search had been made affice and increasing with mingelephone warning found hountshing.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: The presentance demonstrate moscow must be be another one another one

MR. FUNSETH: Alleight, sht, sir.

MR: ARMITACE: The bond way as actually found ound by sometimets oned, subminded by the police. And it's t's just possible that is the police would have been a little the more vigilant they could have been a little the more vigilant they could have been a little the because that they could have been a little the because that they could have been a little the because that they could have been a little the because that they could have been a little the because that they could have been a little the because that they could have been a little the because that they could have been a little the because that they could have been a little the because that they could have been a little the because that they could have been a little the because they are the search.



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| | MR. LEWIS: There another even more |
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| who were e | first to the |
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| | New York, sthe state this |
| | girl. |
| · | |
| | SECRETARY KISSINGER: We alesoso with |
| | , capwe make a statement |
| | all ===== ============================= |
| | MP. FUNCETH: Ves. sir. |

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SECRETARY KISSINGERR: -- and Carling of the ng on the New York Police introduction state? s to assist?

MR. SISCO: Ill see where we hat we can do do the that.

MR: INGERSOLL: I called the Mayor, Mayor, and the Mayor, M

MR: ARMITAGE: No.Shbothgintotherstverdille Riverdale and the bombomb arounderoffsoflot. Butthey say they haven't been able to divide durit op durit op

MR: INGERSOLL: Butsomene these hahasmenharassments that take place - planew -- the New York police inchange them and let the taken go.

MR. L.EWISS: Forexample polecurying signs, independent of the makes of

MR. ARMITAGE: We've gotten the advisers and we have the best of the anything ind anything.

SECRETARY KISSINGERR: YOU can protective somebody



who publicly saly somebody else is going to kidnap somebody?

MR. ARMITACE: Apparently the Indicate they attribute it to some body bream they make a state method makes makes it their without will do it. They usually couch from the it in that way ay.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: And gwing publicate to such a threates does not --

MR: LEIGH: I doube that that could possibly be considered panels ineconspirately considered panels ineconspirately considered panels ineconspirately considered panels in the constant in the

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Well, the Shere are bound to so her impetal it squist and cent of us toward indigital when the Yorkeck wark below been harded in the find path in the professional way and the hor us to be so so it is the first blank or givable way and the hor us or us to be so so it is the first blank or givable way and the hor us or us to be so so it is the first blank of the first bla

On this issue they re right. There is a limit to the domestic possessive politics we camplaylay. You know damn were that the people in Mostoke—that Mostoke—that Mostoke—that is one thing they worked: to: has a sment particularly uitously. But what are we going to do? Can we make he a statement of day to day condemnique stipese?



MR. FUNSETH: Yes., Sit. r.

MR. EACLEBURGER: I bestet see if we if we can get some more people back. We've had so 80 84 agents. We just haven't got any more -- that the real problem.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Areany of them help then ear the Missions?

MR. EACHEBURGER: Yes. We've had then them near the so we've had then them near

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Well, could sold be be only give the the test a summary or has sold be depended and done that -- of white the doing for hear? for them?

MR. ARMITAGE: Oh, yes, sitryes, sites, sir -repeatedly.dly. And were also asked very strong
depiding statement before when there while statement have happened new New York.

MR. FUNSETH: Our grading and that jesterbay! yesterday.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I do not want but all the all the aus to

Further with own and decemberate and all and one day we regoing to have a major erist and everyone with his problem.

And one day we regoing to have a major erist and everyone with his problem.

MR. LEWIS: There were some demonstrations by the DIDL against Ambassacs Mainright with his washen he was in the



incidents. And apparently Malik Waslik was pretty wenell satisfied—arleast, oheren becasion that occasion -- with the Rendkind of responsenes gothe got.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: O.K. Areyotomished: shed?
(Address w. Armidge: tage.)

MR. ARMITAGE: Yes, sir.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Bibl?

MR. ROCHERS: The chief reformed has a in Panama has resigned on the chief reformed has resigned and the chief the ch

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I don'thinkhink Tacca is Suchha a greantsslass? is he?

MR. ROCHERS: No, sit.r. It would be in the way that way = even Var Pariam Panama.

In A year and in the joing has had junta has had some press to seeds, swere as you wante whatever to make whatever estimates we can abobt what who in go napped to happen. We'we asked to hate Misson Mina with inglish the hieration to do their own viscal ations the compare them compare them. But I think the the nity estimates his got to be that a cot of go

downhin.ll. This juncta is testing the basic projesing position that Argendanis in a governable, so they regarding to successful the every body explastrances has failed. I think that a's a districting old work of second choice.

I thinkwe'wegong to dock for a constituenceable effore to the chiral states upinted and the constituence of the constituence o

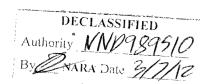
SECRETARY KISSINGER: Yes, but that and our indexest.

MR. ROCHES: If the bear's a chance of if it
succeeding and imply refrot asking is to put too hier us to put too much
up on the table. What were going to try to the, when to do, when
and if they then come up with the bauch a plant, what what we were
prepared to do too desir hours ago. We hardworked
out as intermediance instance in the private banks and
monetay institutions.

Whetherwewe campullish offraginoff again, I don't know; but I thinkwewegong when grown then very early on innering of a film and frograms and all programs.

I think howeve you to expect a fariam amount of repression probably a good destribute, his agentina Argentina





before to long. I think they begoing to have to conome down very had not only on he tenorists but to the distributions and their parties.

SECRETARY KISSINGERR: BUIL --

MR: ROGERS: The point intending in that all though the good press to add, the passe likeday, the basic line of all the intercence was the radio do to be classe; t because she condition the country the country. So I think the point is that we ought to apphisation this running to rush out and entire the residence what are even and there exist months the following the country that there is a month of the country the popular with the press.

SECRETARY KISSINGERR: Butwee should do the opposite ther.

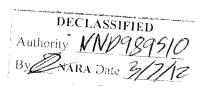
MR. ROGERS: Oh, no; obviouslyshow not.

MR. McCLOSKEY: Whatdodge we say Xabah 924 5 gring of gnition?

MR: ROGERS: Well, we're some tore engine or recognize
this morning a formulable in tespoinse to their request
for techenias in the virtuals all the other
countres be Eath formulable. America. But be sourced, Hillaria Hill will
keep his month what shut.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Yes, but what west had oes that mean concern tely? Whatever and me fave, the win held need





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a little encongenement ufrom us.

What is he telling them ing them?

MR. ROGERS: What? Oh, nothing He hashonot been raiking with the mitch them yet. He has no poet n hone invited He's reary rody intendral k with and talk with totalkawith twenth them. them whehend and it is it is request a meaning. Butthethe General who we now presently overpring the Ministerial posts ate the the retreatment will be the week week robably for the week =until nte junta ban make the finance as to whom the regarding to infoint appoint. They win in lake the knowle cisions on who the will appling print a week.

We think we who was the Portigit Wanister = which is the key appointment. appointment.

SECRETARY KISSINGERR:

MR: ROGERS:

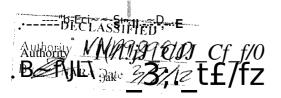
Probably a fell-wamened Litella Who we have worked kind in the past. And if he is happing appointed, there I thinkwe'wen'te in a postiotion or with him.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Butcacan I seeonsome institutions to want you're boing you'll find going to tell Hill if some baydynoshi ethid income in --

> MR: ROGERS: Yes.

SECRETARY KISSINGERR: = bechasquise I downant to encongagementhem. I don't wan won twethe stake that





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| MR. LEWIST | |
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| Russians don't. West of the Africans don't; | |
| someso. Soitista's a bag. | |
| Do you, Mr. wantusus to ments | |
| any the same astoto whether | |
| a beuseseful ornotot? | |
| SECRETARY KISSINGER: I don't teesee | |
| We can gain by a man. | |
| MR. LEWIS: The The Reserve at the Attention | |

beonut by tomorrow. That's now powicy who wally known everywhole re. If a debate take place, it will focus on the South Afficani presence in Nancina in the Table and the Table and the Table and the Table are the folly the ignly foreign to be the Table and any ola, so the tenine is a second to hit the Table and in the Table are some and we carral old other and is a south the area to each and we carral old other and is a south the area to each and we carral old other and is a south the area to each and we carral old other and is a south the area of the a

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Well, I Would generally think we've better one with no debate. We've and added out point on targola second in serveral times.

MR. LEWIS: Yes, sier.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: But I wouldn't spin blood boods over it. If the barweis, we should the being foreign introduced that angula and ask for the wither was the withdrawal of Cubartobarops.

MR. LEWIS: Allightght.

That's's all.1.

SECRETARY KISSINGERS: Halp?

MR: SAUNDERS: Since Eclimbanan mentioned, I wanto hen wan taioner and be approached inches weeks from the academic community, y, and this is the reast the Rest of Center at

SECELLI

Harvard.d.

As youknow, they we been coming on increasingly no difficultumes find metally to the point where Mathed point where Harvard look file it's meeting about orientables to planned but gettext year.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Arethey financed mostly by the Government?

MR. SAUNDERS: They were to reterve Defense Defense money. When the received abyour emember, remember, large are, we put some project himse impather than program type money. And the approach that will be made to usuffict this year is for the State Department a sterent tongress the authory to provide basis grant honey to perhaps as many as 30 for these tenthes around the country -- some or which is a are intalged at the fing there does their doors.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: And how much worm we meed? It's a lotten fine yoney.

MR. SAUNDERS: Fourand a halfnimin dinas dollars?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Millibipn?

MR. SAUNDERS: Millibi, yes - 10 Fourse. of course.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: For 3030 in a finite instinctions.

MR. SAUNDERS: You would dight igure, just typhynent direction, to two would be that the would be maximum. No body

The state of the s

has coses this out yet, and I mysting you an outside figurere. It consoled less.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: But what at they do do with \$260.000?

MR. SAUNDERS: At the Har Variet Center then tenter the budgets \$150,000 for Next year, so we're really talking per center about relatively small amounts of money. They have we a research contract with the center for stay thousand this year.

SECRETARY KISSINUER: Studyng what?

MR. SAUNDERS: Dynamics of Soviet --

SECRETARY KISSIMPER: And who's doing ging it?

Firmon stresure. Its not many governments who find the studies white demonstrated representations their incompetence.

(Laughteer.)

Whatdolpownhktheinkgoing to get out of a Harvart study told the Soviet Union?

MR. SAUNDERS: It necessions busic dynamics of defisions ricking processes.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Inthe Sovie Duion?

MR. SAUNDERS: Right.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: On the one of the one o



to common of it.

MR: SAUNDERS: No. I thinkwe realize thell in the same baret. The questo tis really whener the Covernment should depose the time be instituted in the institution in the county by. And there are now any sor young about it ——

one, the national Deschie Constant and make, where HEW concernment in boar care to encounter the specialized centers. And thee allemance with the performance of the specialized centers. And thee allemance with the Department to concernment to concernment to the performent of the performance of the performent of the performent of the performent of the performance of the performance of the performance of the performent of the performance of the perfor

We'll sent you a memo on this diffinite lining the province cons.

There are a lost other people to be where the worked into the process, but we've heard that some people are going to approach you who way or another ther -- or Largery.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: They have to be the sperate. (Lauguleter.)

MR. EAGLEBURGER: We'll never get it from Congress. I hopeyou and endourned are that.

MR. SAUNDERS: Well, I suppose that sheet, but true, but

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Why work to we geth?it? Is that hat under Hayays too?

CHARLE.

MR. EACHEBURGER: Yes. Hayswood be alteight, 1 right, but I thinkstack would be opposed.

MR. SAUNDERS: The position twick in now, asyon read 1 -- we concentrated in a during a leas of research, after an approach to you about a year and a half ago, 90, as I understant and it. And were now now funding research places party for the sale of the research but party to the sake of the institutional support involved.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I hopeyousehize that Joe (reteining forms. to Mr. Siscopo) needs a slay of this this money.

MR. SISCO: Well, I realize it. (Laughter)

MR. HABIB: You carrant to institute, joe, titute, joe, nightawayway. (Laughterer.)

MR. SAUNDERS: It's just identhing mathing that has to be explored with inche Covernment. A decision in has to be made undway be another. or another.

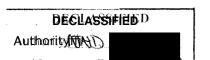
I just wanted to bring this forward to you;

I just wanted to you alerted.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: O.K.

₹0¥?

MR. ATHERION: Well, I guess the test thing to thing to



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besafe about best highly diffused. (Laughter).)

SECRETARY KISSINGER: That's the advanagese of havings a professional organization study by this.

(Laughter:) Cutthibuga we to to reality.

MR. ATHERTON: Well, the ministry states of trustion, as far as we can tell this mothing morning — there has been tan been any significant moveve on the ground, but there has been heavy shell he can dive as well this are high.

On the political side, several things: First of all possibly the independent development — Jung Berry Jim Block has old as he would be browned to Danaise as to Danaise as

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Which is when?

MR. ATHERION: Sentanter.

The Syran formula knude it has at his at his at his at his an amendment in the bons of the first which would problem that any ide for -- make it possible for the President Possible for the Possible f



Offtime.me.

Whathersaying publicy makes it was a from this hier idea.

The Christians are obviously reling the feeling more desperate to We've had approaches now from them.

has asked for U.S. elastication, stages in special possibly going to the Starity Council.

Charles Walkshai approacher is, antiough Ius, although I largers discoling in the importance of the charles now effectiveness now in the simulation.

The Symmians --

SECRETARY KISSINGER:

Fighthwing ing

isnaht? he?

MR. ATHERTON: SOFFY?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Sham

Shumun is right white? wing?

MR. SISCO: Former.r.

MR. ATHERTON: FORMER. ..

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I know.

MR. ATHERTON: The Synamicians: The signal army are somewhathmixed in the Lenhangself, the Syfian they Syrian army officer who who have been part of the mediating team for the rediating team.

For the Edward of the symmetry of the symmetry

Authority AJNB 189505



from the sort of preacekeeping and sometime they we had.

On the other hand, hand, they to deem note continuing on tinuing on the hand of the hand o

Khaddann, who gotyouphiessage --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I understate and.

MR: ATHERTON: -- has indicated there's there's no pressing densil. Attribute the report from the Saudis. The Saudis production of your the sage that you somether them.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I haven seen to but I will be the end of the day.

All light -- lett discuss manns that in a separate meeting--

MR. ATHERTON: All right. ght.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: =whehen I carassandedle all theningings.

MR: ATHERTON: Well, I think hat be a stant reported things.

Could I say York more things the Cthros C-130s --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Yes.

MR. ATHERTON: -because autimy it may come upp --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Have I hearthoffnerethoffare gyptians

On that nat?



MR: ATHERTON: NO=-

MR. SISCO: No.

MR: ATHERTON: -- but there are 's a lot in the the press to day charwithen twindstident when governing when you appearate the Trumbure House bimant to end committee.

The thus of the presence is that we are learning toward welling the divided version of the C-130, and the is a confision.

The problem is this: Defense womened like

Very much the self he export hoder which to med of of the

production into, under which the first two words be available

in Deen before. I think had position we have take

is that we we ought to keep be orthoppronting that ion and that

we've normatic made a decision ontil wetil we can discuss which the the

Egyptians what whey twantey want.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: We have promined to the Egyptinisms Athrore model.

MR. ATHERTON: Yes.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Now, there is no other option to be disposed, scussed. There will be do be no other option to be disposed, roysed, roy.

MR: ATHERION: No -we've been making that

REDEBINISED OF THE ENGINEERING STREET, ST.

The state of the s

pointwith Defendentiance that we cannot breen sew has we what we have already promised the Egyptians.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: They cannot note like: Choice.

MR. ATHERION: We have triedvery hardhard to make --

What's the thickemedel-A, etter -- A, B, C, D, F?

Do you'know what haddenedel? There are some problems to blems.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Therewere pecific promises a made. I do not a technology to the promises a made a promise a made a promise to a satisfact secretaries. The present dant made a promise to satisfact which will the kept lumbers in the congress while so the Congress steps. it. There is no possibility of delivering it implements when we promise a delivering it in April.

MR. ATHERTON: This is what we expect. We have been coning Defines a Define they would not go public which whe wanted as dw, anted to do, saying that the it was going to be the experience and or model.

MR. SISCO: Thatkilkeliked it. Why don't I give Clemensts a call and and preakely recisely --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: And tenhimbinat vehicingehlesinger

with the President.

MR. SISCO: Yes. Ill 11 call & Roy,

Usto to meane out

-- meant that we would

-- which I knew was

the water that had been made. Sowe killed it.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Butwhy doesnote one

the facts?

MR. ATHERION: Well, we've it yesternday.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Yes, e e theyy'll stantakingaking it now.

MR. SISCO: They verimen the prest hery press story allewaydy.

MR. ATHERION: Integral the mestions. questions.

MR. FUNSETH: Theyalfeldered was it to the presentation of the pres

MR: SISCO: I know.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Go aheadd. Judgs?

WR. KATZ: The Second session of the Commission on endstodayday. Also, the description a copper consumated to Genevain Geneva that been been appears, all week, and that being at well.

On thee CTAC Commission, after a slow tartary vehey ve



hat some very good discussions this week in detail.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: On whatsubjects?

MR. KATZ: Well, inthe brergy a Eather they've been taking about the creates of oil prices, for example the mathreconomic effects of oil prices.

The prodders have have questioned about how to protect the value better feathers, but these discussions are enacted by a minimum of the tothe toric. And conner ary to the thest session, there in the participation by all of the method recombistion. Commission. All of the Libes LDCs are now walking interventions.

Similarly, the Raw the Raw Materials Commonni, ssion, affer a very slow want and ney rands the grave being quite sure how to proceed, and to gotten into densite questions detailed questions now.

Where this all reads to reads clear. Is not clear. I think it's useful, in an educational sense, and people are not making species, they is taking about the real analytical sales in the are involved.

Henry edurse I think bitones apprenty political.

Similarly, rhythe copper this cussions, this is the first constitution of the distance of the constitution of the constitution



Therepore we have sinar they have have sinar they have have said iter's "the discussing" the problem before we talk book measures, as ures," and he problem that.

The only problem of the copper talks has been the ton CINTIAD Secretariar in their will be getting which will be getting which will be getting which we said, d'we we don't need the facts, we know what the facts are:

SECRETARY KISSINGER: With Film She UNCTAD AD Secretariat?

MR. KATZ: A marby the three of Corre; and I
think he's been doing some consultations around the world
on the return the secretarian and the professional
staff see themselves and very as an LDC secretarian and they renote they renote object in any sense of the term.

I think his the beat of the real of tithe on all institutional problems with the TANKTAD. Some people will have to be --

MR. LEWIS: One of the things that may be a more danced time of the parameter of the parameters of the

Kebroomson amone conservation



MR. LEWIS: That may ay happen.n.

SECREPARYKISSINGER: What?

MR. MAW: We will-have two 17/7/Sespectations riats.

MR. KATZ: Well, I don't think so. I think the so. I think the so. I think the solution of the second of the second

Mr. Secretary, the other point point: I think
the your Rhow mannet presidence speech to the
text tell housing down to probably will make the reference

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I was told would be taken ougut.

MR. LORD: It's as a memo touth-tresRumsiding t saying
youroppose any reference to it, the Baker and Morton and Dent
are more for a compromise angliage quage.

SECRETARY KISSIMER: There is compromise language possible. Once the presidential months mentions the PRC = normatter new row softy like's goldam select himself a major problem.lem.

MR. LORD: I couldn't agree more. I think you ou besterell the President. President.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Well, I called Soo woo mcroft



andherolded me it would be taken out.

MR. LORD: The other positions are also on the table ble.

MR. HABIB: This is as of yesterday evening -- they were still liaving it in.

MR: KATZ: Well, as or about a quarterer to seven has inght, night, I was tool that have not in to the President with the state heat that more and Dent and Baker wanter in in and you were prosed. And I assume Secure that upposed.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Who's Bareloer? Whats's his standing the more in there?

MR. KATZ: No. 2 incommerce.ce.

MR. HABIB: No mater how have adjust the disk the disk the disk the disk the worthights sith the tack.

MR. LORD: And, as I understant and only county fixed principle speech --

MR. KATZ: It's the only country where there is a problehem.

MR. LORD: Yes, but you can takk in general terms about the problem.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: YOU cambotic man the prohe PRC

Withburnaving Ning a major erist with the PRC. And it will hot be to he without an absolute up to act of the building and notody about it is building, and notody about it is cooperate with the tore of approach.

MR. HABIB: I think Morton is going to take the call from you.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Hashbeechennting it?

MR. HABIB: Yes.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: III plu in a call definition in a call definition. In face, pt., I have a tall the Plesident. President.

Larry, xan can I see you got a for a minute?

MR. EACHEBURGER: Yes, si.r.

(Whereporn, ats: \$6 5.fm., ahersocrathy's Staffetary's Staff
Meeting was concluded.)



TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS

THE SECRETARY'S STAFF
MEETING - Friday, 3/26/76

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C.

SECRET

In Attendance - Friday, March 26, 1976

Secretary of State Kissinger - Chairman

- D Mr. Ingersoll
- P Mr. Sisco
- E Mr. Robinson
- T Mr. Maw
- Mr. Eagleburger
- AF Mr. Mulcahy (Acting)
- ARA Mr. Rogers
- EA Mr. Habib
- EUR Mr. Armitage
- NEA Mr. Atherton
- INR Mr. Saunders
- S/P Mr. Lord
 - EB Mr. Katz (Acting)
- S/PRS Mr. Funseth
 - PM Mr. Vest
 - IO Mr. Lewis
 - H Ambassador McCloskey
 - L Mr. Leigh
 - S/S Mr. Springsteen
 - S Mr. Barbian

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PROCEEDINGS

(The Secretary's Staff Meeting was convened at 8:12 a.m., Secretary of State Kissinger presiding as Chairman.)

MR. INGERSOLL: Good morning, Henry.

(Discussion off the record.)

MR. INGERSOLL: The boycott could have serious implications. We'll have a paper to you on that, and we can't find out anything about it --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: What is this? The Justice Department --

MR. INGERSOLL: Yes.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: is investigating the big oil companies for their conduct during the boycott -- the one time they behaved in a patriotic fashion.

MR. INGERSOLL: Well, in may not be limited in that period, but it starts there.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: One time they kept everybody going by putting oil into one big pool, and that's anti-trust.

MR. LEIGH: Well, they won't tell us very much about it, Mr. Secretary. That's why we need your help on it before the grand jury is convened. Now, this

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is not just a civil investigation. Once that's done, we wouldn't be able to say anything.

MR. INGERSOLL: That's why we think we have to move on it, and they say it's very confidential. They just told us about it. They won't tell us anything about the details -- if that's 'bonsultation' (laughter).

I will have it to you today.

One other point I'd like to make is this
may be my last Staff Meeting, Henry, and I'll be thinking
of all of you on the slopes of Aspen maybe next week.

(Laughter.)

MR. MAW: The slippery slope.

MR. INGERSOLL: Yes.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Bob, we're going to have a cocktail party for you, where, I suppose, most of these people are going to be; but I need not tell you how much you will be missed.

MR. INGERSOLL: Thank you. I'll miss all of you.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I want to tell you that with dignity and calm you performed this job -- and even diplomats will not say this of me when I leave. Keep your laughing within limits. (Laughter.)

MR. EAGLEBURGER: He's not a diplomat (pointing

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to Mr. Leigh).

MR. SISCO: I haven't anything.

MR. ROBINSON: I just came back from New York, where I gave a speech before the Foreign Policy
Association. I want to report that they announced
your forthcoming speech before that group on the Law
of the Sea and everyone became very excited. Two
women fainted in the front row (laughter), and it was
very shattering. My inferiority complex was with me
just before I was to speak. But I just want you to know
that they're very excited about your coming up.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Why only two? (Laughter.)

MR. INGERSOLL: That's all there were. (Laughter.)

MR. ROBINSON: They're very pleased, and I just wanted to tell you how excited they were about your forthcoming speech.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Are we getting a draft?

If that boy drafts as well as he talks, it's going to be the greatest speech since the Gettysburg Address.

MR. EAGLEBURGER: It will be longer. (Laughter.)

SECRETARY KISSINGER: We can put in some of the details, depending on the discussions with Treasury, but I had the sense yesterday that we were going to get

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most of our proposals.

MR. LORD: I think we can get certainly enough with that speech.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: O.K.

MR. MULCAHY: Now, this day, the suspense of the talks in Lusaka that we attached quite a bit of importance to, broke up without a statement.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: The talks where?

MR. MULCAHY: This was the Four Power talks—
Presidents Machel, Khama, Nyerere and Kaunda meeting
in Lusaka on where they could go from here with the
Rhodesian situation. They had both Rhodesian
nationalist factions there and Nkomo apparently,
according to the press. No reconciliation took place
between Nkomo and Nyerere, which was one of the purposes
of the thing.

Also, it broke up without any sort of communique, which is not a good sign, and --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Why?

MR. MULCAHY: Well --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: It means --

 $$\operatorname{MR.}$$ MULCAHY: Well, it means that Nkomo and Kaunda, who are generally reliable as far as the

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battering line and further negotiations are concerned, would persuade the others that they --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: But it also means that the radicals didn't persuade them that there shouldn't be further negotiations.

MR. MULCAHY: Yes, that's right. If you're an optimist, you take that view.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: If you're a realist
-- I mean, what else can it mean? It means they could
agree neither on one formal line or on the other.

MR. MULCAHY: Yes, sir.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: But what's more likely to happen?

MR. MULCAHY: Well, I think if --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Where is the Assistant Secretary, incidentally?

MR. MULCAHY: He's on his way back from

Paris. He went to the reinforced NAC in Brussels, and
he'll be back this afternoon.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Go ahead.

MR. MULCAHY: But what probably will happen is that this now will increase the pressure on Smith that -- SECRETARY KISSINGER: Only in your mind. Since

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he broke off the talks, why should it increase the pressure on him?

MR. MULCAHY: Well, because they all now agree that the guerrilla warfare will continue and be stepped up.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I thought they all said that already.

MR. MULCAHY: They have, but there's been relatively little of it. But I think now with the rainy season we'll see a great deal of infiltration across the border.

One of the proposals under consideration was to put a railway system through Botswana to South Africa. The principal rail line will also cause UN sanctions.

It's a knotty problem because the rail line is the property of the Rhodesian Government. We think that this was one of the issues under consideration.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Can I get a paper by the middle of next week of how we're going to get from here to there --I mean what AF visualizes is going to happen now and what we can do now, other than hand-wringing?

MR. MULCAHY: Yes, sir.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: And exactly what steps



The state of the s

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should be taken -- hopefully, that are within the realm of realism -- by Wednesday?

MR. MULCAHY: Yes, sir.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Phil?

We've opened a new chapter of diplomacy, as far as I can see. We now have, on the front page of the Post, a note we haven't even sent yet.

MR. HABIB: That story was basically two days old. It came --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Has that note been sent?

MR. HABIB: Yesterday.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I thought I told you, Larry, that I disapproved it.

MR. HABIB: It went to you. It went out last night, I was told. I got a phone call at 5:30-6:00 o'clock telling me it's gone, because I've got the comeback copy this morning.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Well, at 5:30-6:00 I sure as hell wasn't approving anything.

MR. HABIB: We did it in accordance with your changes.

MR. BARBIAN: That's right. Two cables.



MR. HABIB: One didn't go.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: There may have been two cables, but I didn't see them. May I see them now?

(Mr. Barbian hands Secretary a document to peruse.)

MR. HABIB: The last paragraph.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: O.K.

Go ahead.

MR. HABIB: The other thing is that you have approval of the first stage of the Thai withdrawal actions.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Yes, but I want to have a significant cut also in the military advisers.

MR. HABIB: Yes. The ceiling is 270. We're down around 200 now. We're supposed to go below that before the end of the --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I want the Thais to see a withdrawal. The Thais don't know what our ceiling is.

Therefore, if we just keep it --

MR. HABIB: No. They set the ceiling. The ceiling of 270 is a ceiling which --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Have we pulled out 70



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or have we simply not replaced 70?

MR. HABIB: Well, the 70 are not there.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: They have never been there?

MR. HABIB: No. They have been temporarily withdrawn, and there was some thought of pulling it down lower.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I would like the Thais to see that, after their decision, there is some reduction in the part they want us to have stay --

MR. HABIB: I understand.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: -- and we can keep the ceiling and put in more people later on if they ask for it.

MR. HABIB: Well, what we want to do is keep the ceiling so that later on, if we need to, it would be intelligence people, not MAG people, and vary it with the MAG.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: That's fine.

MR. HABIB: That's what we had in mind.

Also, we have to now take very tough decisions on such things as pulling out the ammunition we have stored in place. That's going to really show the Thais what this is costing because we've got about 60 million



dollars worth of ammunition -- which, under present law, we cannot leave there. And we can either sell it to them or take it out. They're not going to buy it; they're going to want us to leave it there and give it to them -- which would not be possible. That's going to hurt.

which I hope, very frankly, I'd rather not take on some of them until the election is out of the way -- until the election is out of the way -- which is eight more days, nine more days. If we get the election out of the way we may have a new government; we may not have a new government. We'll see what happens, so we'll try to keep you informed.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I forgot. Is the Vice President stopping there or not?

MR. HABIB: No, sir -- because of the election.

The other thing is that the Koreans have now indicted 18 people, from the last official statement, and they've indicted them under a less severe act than they might have put them under.

Now, whether that's the kind of reaction taken in response to the kind of protest, I don't know.



At the same time, the 've re-indicted a rather well-known international official, who, under a law, would permit them to sentence him to death. This is a guy who's already sentenced to life imprisonment under a previous commitment.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Where is he? Is he in prison?

MR. HABIB: He's in prison under a life sentence, and they've just re-indicted him under another law which permits them to sentence him to death.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: They don't take any chances, do they? (Laughter.)

MR. HABIB: They don't take any chances. The guy is very sick, besides. He won't make it for very long. (Laughter.) But the rumble is up on the Hill. They tell me they have actually written letters themselves. They have written letters to Parker to see what he can do about the situation.

I have to appear before the Humphrey Subcommittee on Korea at 4:00, and I'm sure they're going to give me a very bad time. But I think we can hold to the position.



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MR. MAW: I got a pretty bad time on it before the House International Relations Committee on Monday, and you're going to get it today.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I'm glad you let them schedule me so nicely before these Committees. (Laughter.)

Go ahead.

MR. ARMITAGE: Art Hartman had to go to the doctor this morning. He'll be here the middle of the morning, Mr. Secretary.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: But that was already in the papers yesterday, or was that another one?

MR. ARMITAGE: No. That was the same.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: There are no statements to be made on the Soviet Union that I do not personally clear. We cannot harass the Soviets every single bloody day with some other tough talk out of this building, and we mishandled the three Missions business. There's no need for us to shoot at them the day it happened.

We could have said yesterday "We are studying it" -- that



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we are asking for a full report.

MR. FUNSETH: That guidance that I used in going out to Moscow is press guidance two days before.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I didn't approve it either. That's how the other disaster happened.

That went out as press guidance immediately.

MR. ARMITAGE: We now have one in New York,

Mr. Secretary. The New York Police Department dismantled the bomb stored out of Amtorg yesterday, thereby -
SECRETARY KISSINGER: Are we going to protest to
the Soviets and say they did it?

MR. ARMITAGE: No, sir. The search had been made earlier after the telephone warning found nothing.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: The press guidance to Moscow must be cleared now here. There's not to be another one that I don't see.

MR. FUNSETH: All right, sir.

MR. ARMITAGE: The bomb was actually found by Soviet personnel, disarmed by the police. And it's just possible that if the police would have been a little more vigilant they could have been caught by this time, because they didn't leave anybody around after the search.



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We tried to cast around to try to find out what else we can do to counter the situation up in New York, and we can possibly explore the possibility of sending somebody from my own Security Office to the Mission simply to follow through on the cases there.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Well, it's an intolerable situation, and we are much more to blame than the Soviets.

MR. LEWIS: There's another even more disturbing

-- or as disturbing -- issue yesterday. The JDL called

a press conference last night and read from what was

alleged to be a letter from another Jewish organization

to the assembled correspondents and FBI agents

who were there in numbers, first taking credit

for the pipe bomb -- which didn't go off -- and,

second, threatening to kidnap the child of a Soviet

diplomat in New York, unless the Soviets released this

10-year-old girl.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Since we are so ready with protesting, can we make a strong statement condemning all these actions--

MR. FUNSETH: Yes, sir.



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SECRETARY KISSINGER: -- and calling on the New York Police and others to assist?

MR. SISCO: I'll see what we can do with that.

MR. INGERSOLL: I called the Mayor, and the Mayor said the Commissioner was going to call me back. They were going to get some Federal indictments. I don't think they have done anything yet, have they?

MR. ARMITAGE: No.Shooting into the Riverdale and the bomb around Aeroflot. But they say they haven't been able to turn up any leads yet.

MR. INGERSOLL: But some of these harassments that take place -- the New York Police arrest them and let them go.

MR. LEWELS: For example, on carrying signs, they insist they have no legal right to arrest people for carrying nasty signs. And the FBI claims it's doing everything it can, and we've been at them at high levels. But this kidnapping is really scary. They really have a capacity for doing it.

MR. ARMITAGE: We've gotten all our advisers and we haven't been able to find anything.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: You can't prosecute somebody



who publicly says somebody else is going to kidnap somebody?

MR. ARMITAGE: Apparently not -- if they attribute it to somebody else and they make a statement that makes it clear they will do it. They usually couch it in that way.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: And giving publicity to such a threat does not --

MR. LEIGH: I doubt that that could possibly be considered part of the conspiracy -- to kidnap, or a threat to kidnap.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Well, the Soviets are bound to do something, and it's just indecent of us to wax so indignant when they for weeks have been harassed in the most unforgivable way and then for us to be so self-righteously indignant yesterday. That's really distressing.

On this issue they're right. There's a limit to the domestic politics we can play. You know damn well that our people in Moscow -- that's one thing they don't do: harass them gratuitously. But what are we going to do? Can we make a statement today condemning these?



SECENT.

MR. FUNSETH: Yes, sir.

MR. EAGLEBURGER: I better see if we can get some more people back. We've had 80 SY agents. We just haven't got any more -- that's the real problem.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Are any of them near the Missions?

MR. EAGLEBURGER: Yes. We've had them near the Soviets.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Well, could somebody give the Soviets a summary -- or has somebody done that -- of what we're doing for them?

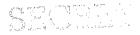
MR. ARMITAGE: Oh, yes, sir -- yes, sir -- repeatedly. And we've also issued very strong deploring statements before when these things have happened in New York.

MR. FUNSETH: Our guidance said that yesterday.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I do not want Bureaus to

run their own anti-detente campaign and everyone trying to prove how tough they are. And one day we're going to have a major crisis and everyone will run for the foxholes.

MR. LEWIS: There were some demonstrations by the JDL against Ambassador Malik when he was in the



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hospital. The police, fortunately, provided very good protection and there was no serious difficulty or incidents. And apparently Malik was pretty well satisfied -- at least, on that occasion -- with the kind of response he got.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: O.K. Are you finished? (Addresses Mr.Armitage.)

MR. ARMITAGE: Yes, sir.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Bill?

MR. ROGERS: The chief negotiator in Panama has resigned. It looks as though for personal reasons he's going to be succeeded, in all probability, by

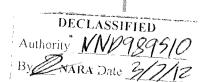
Guerra, who's a former Foreign Minister.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I don't think Tacca is such a great loss, is he?

MR. ROGERS: No, sir. It wouldn't seem that way -- even in Panama.

In Argentina, although the junta has had some pretty good success, we're trying to make whatever estimates we can about what's going to happen. We've asked both the Mission and Washington to do their own visualizations -- to compare them. But I think the preliminary estimate has got to be that it's going to go





downhill. This junta is testing the basic proposition that Argentina is not governable, so they're going to succeed where everybody else has failed. I think that's a distinctly odds-on choice.

I think we're going to look for a considerable effort to involve the United States -- particularly in the financial field. I think we're going to see a good deal --

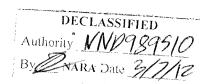
SECRETARY KISSINGER: Yes, but that's in our interest.

MR. ROGERS: If there's a chance of it succeeding and if they're not asking us to put too much up on the table. What we're going to try to do, when and if they come up with such a plan, is what we were prepared to do about six months ago. We had worked out as intermediaries a sensible program for international assistance, using the private banks and monetary institutions.

Whether we can pull that off again, I don't know; but I think we're going to hear from them very early on in terms of financial programs.

I think also we've got to expect a fair amount of repression, probably a good deal of blood, in Argentina





before too long. I think they're going to have to come down very hard not only on the terrorists but on the dissidents of trade unions and their parties.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: But --

MR. ROGERS: The point I'm making is that although they have good press today, the basic line of all the interference was they had to do it because she couldn't run the country. So I think the point is that we ought not at this moment to rush out and embrace this new regime -- that three-six months later will be considerably less popular with the press.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: But we shouldn't do the opposite either.

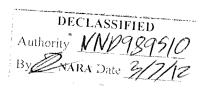
MR. ROGERS: Oh, no; obviously not.

MR. McCLOSKEY: What do we say about recognition?

MR. ROGERS: Well, we're going to recognize this morning a formal note in response to their request for recognition -- as have virtually all the other countries of Latin America. But beyond that, Hill will keep his mouth shut.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Yes, but what does that mean concretely? Whatever chance they have, they will need





a little encouragement from us.

What is he telling them?

MR. ROGERS: What? Oh, nothing. He has not been talking with them yet. He has not been invited to talk with them. He's ready to go in and talk with them when and if they request a meeting. But the Generals who are now presently occupying the Ministerial posts are there very temporarily -- probably for the week -- until the junta can make its final decisions as to whom they're going to appoint. They will make decisions on who they will appoint within a week.

We think we know who's the Foreign Minister -- which is the key appointment.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Who?

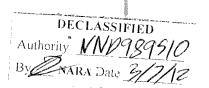
MR. ROGERS: Probably a fellow named Litella, who we have worked with in the past. And if he is appointed, then I think we're in a position to work with him.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: But can I see some instructions on what you're going to tell Hill if somebody should come in --

MR. ROGERS: Yes.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: -- because I do want to encourage them. I don't want to give the sense that





they're harassed by the United States.

MR. ROGERS: No. What I was basically concerned about in the first instance was the public posture.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I agree with that.

MR. LEWIS: There are going to be informal consultations this afternoon at the Security Council about this Angolan debate, which has been appearing on the horizon for the past two weeks. There will be lay representatives in New York. Most of the Africans don't want to have the debate, but there's still some pressure to have it by members of the Council. There could conceivably be an informal debate after the discussion this afternoon.

The Chinese want to have a debate; the Russians obviously don't. Most of the Africans don't; some so. So it's a mixed bag.

Do you, Mr. Secretary, want us to express any preference, in the informal consultations, as to whether a debate would be useful or not?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I don't see anything we can gain by a debate.

MR. LEWIS: The South African troops are to



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be out by tomorrow. That is now publicly known everywhere. If a debate takes place, it will focus on the South African presence in Namibia rather than Angola. On the other hand, the Cubans are the only foreign troops now in Angola, so the Chinese are going to hit the Russians very hard in the debate next week, and we can also do the same; so there are some arguments either way.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Well, I would generally think we're better off with no debate. We've made our point on Angola several times.

MR. LEWIS: Yes, sir.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: But I wouldn't spill blood over it. If there is, we should hit foreign intervention in Angola and ask for the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

MR. LEWIS: All right.

That's all.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Hal?

MR. SAUNDERS: Since Lebanon was mentioned, I want to mention another issue on which you may be approached in the next few weeks from the academic community, and this is the Russian Research Center at



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Harvard.

As you know, they've been coming on increasingly difficult times financially to the point where Harvard looks like it's meeting about one-fifth of its planned budget next year.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Are they financed mostly by the Government?

MR. SAUNDERS: They were to receive Defense money. When that receded, as you remember, last year, we put some project money in rather than program-type money. And the approach that will be made to us this year is for the State Department to seek from Congress the authority to provide basic grant money to perhaps as many as 30 of these centers around the country -- some of which are in danger of closing their doors.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: And how much would we need? It's a lot of money.

MR. SAUNDERS: Four and a half million dollars?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Million?

MR. SAUNDERS: Million, yes -- of course.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: For 30 institutions.

MR. SAUNDERS: You would figure, just hypothetically, to two hundred thousand -- that would be maximum. Nobody



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has costed this out yet, and I'm giving you an outside figure. It could be less.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: But what do they do with \$200,000?

MR. SAUNDERS: At the Harvard Center the budget is \$150,000 for next year, so we're really talking per center about relatively small amounts of money. They have a research contract with the center for sixty thousand this year.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Studying what?

MR. SAUNDERS: Dynamics of Soviet --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: And who's doing it?

I'm not sure. It's not many governments who
finance studies that demonstrate their incompetence.
(Laughter.)

What do you think you're going to get out of a Harvard study on the Soviet Union?

MR. SAUNDERS: It needs some more basic dynamics of decision-making processes.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: In the Soviet Union?

MR. SAUNDERS: Right.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: On this one I'm basically sympathetic, though I have no illusions about what's going



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to come out of it.

MR. SAUNDERS: No. I think we're all in the same boat. The question is really whether the Government should support this kind of institution in the country. And there are two ways of going about it -- one, the National Defense Communications Act, where HEW concentrates mainly on broad citizen education and tends not to concentrate on the specialized centers. And the alternative would be for the Department to concentrated on the specialized centers.

We'll send you a memo on this outlining the pros and cons.

There are a lot of other people to be worked into the process, but we've heard that some people are going to approach you in some way or another -- or Larry.

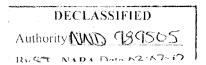
SECRETARY KISSINGER: They have to be desperate. (Laughter.)

MR. EAGLEBURGER: We'll never get it from Congress. I hope you understand that.

MR. SAUNDERS: Well, I suppose that's true, but

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Why won't we get it? Is that under Hays too?





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MR. EAGLEBURGER: Yes. Hays would be all right, but I think Slack would be very opposed.

MR. SAUNDERS: The position we're in now, as you recall -- we concentrated in four main areas of research, after an approach to you about a year and a half ago, as I understand it. And we're now funding research projects partly for the sake of the research but partly for the sake of the institutional support involved.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I hope you realize that Joe (referring to Mr. Sisco) needs a slug of this money.

MR. SISCO: Well, I realize it. (Laughter.)

MR. HABIB: You can start an institute, Joe, right away. (Laughter.)

MR. SAUNDERS: It's just something that has to be explored within the Government. A decision has to be made one way or another.

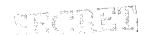
I just wanted to bring this forward to you;

I just wanted you to be alerted.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: O.K.

Roy?

MR. ATHERTON: Well, I guess the best thing to



be said about Lebanon is it's highly diffused. (Laughter.)

SECRETARY KISSINGER: That's the advantage of
having a professional organization studying this.

(Laughter.) Cut through the fog to reality.

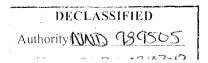
MR. ATHERTON: Well, the military situation, as far as we can tell this morning -- there hasn't been any significant move on the ground, but there has been heavy shelling and casualties are high.

On the political side, several things: First of all, possibly the most significant development -
JUNBERT Jim Block has told us he's going to Damascus tomorrow and has indicated he's prepared to talk about a constitutional transition, providing it happens quickly. On the other hand, Franjiyah has announced that he will never ever resign until expiration of his term.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Which is when?
MR. ATHERTON: September.

The Syrian formula is that it has an amendment in the constitution which would provide for -- make it possible for the President to resign six months before the termination of his term and then agree on a successor -- and then he would resign all within a very brief period





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of time.

What he's saying publicly makes it look as though he has backed away from this idea.

The Christians are obviously feeling more desperate. We've had approaches now from them. Shamun has asked for U. S. clarification, suggesting possibly going to the Security Council.

Charles Malik has approached us, although I largely discount his importance or effectiveness now in the situation.

The Syrians --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Shamun is right wing though, isn't he?

MR. ATHERTON: Sorry?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Shamun is right wing?

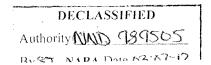
MR. SISCO: Former.

MR. ATHERTON: Former.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I know.

MR. ATHERTON: The Syrtians: The signals are somewhat mixed. In Lebanon itself, the Syrian army officers who have been part of the mediating team returned to Damascus. And there's some indication that some of the Syrian-controlled PLA and Cyprians are disengaging







from the sort of peacekeeping mission that they've had.

On the other hand, they do seem to be continuing on the diplomatic track, calling people from Damascus.

Khaddam, who got your message --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I understand.

MR. ATHERTON: -- has indicated there's no pressing detail. You'll see the report from the Saudis. The Saudis responded promptly to your message that you sent them.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I haven't seen it, but I will before the end of the day.

All right -- let's discuss that in a separate meeting--

MR. ATHERTON: All right.

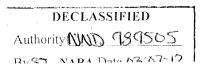
SECRETARY KISSINGER: -- when I can assemble all the things.

MR. ATHERTON: Well, I think that's sort of a status report on the things.

Could I say one more thing on the C-130s -- SECRETARY KISSINGER: Yes.

MR. ATHERTON: -- because it may come up --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Have I heard from the Egyptians



on that?



MR. ATHERTON: No--

MR. SISCO: No.

MR. ATHERTON: -- but there's a lot in the press today that will lead to questioning when you appear before the Humphrey Subcommittee.

The thrust of the press stories is that we are leaning towards selling the civilian version of the C-130, and this is a confusion.

The problem is this: Defense would like very much to sell the export model which comes off of the production line, under which the first would be available in December. I think what position we have to take is that we ought to keep open the option and that we've not made a decision until we can discuss with the Egyptians what they want.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: We have promised to the Egyptians the Air Force model.

MR. ATHERTON: Yes.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Now, there is no other option to be discussed. There will be no other option to be discussed, Roy.

MR. ATHERTON: No -- we've been making that



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point with Defense that we cannot foreclose what we have already promised the Egyptians.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: They cannot foreclose it. They have no other choice.

MR. ATHERTON: We have tried very hard to make --

MR. HABIB: There is a technical thing. What's the model letter -- A, B, C, D, F?

Do you know what model? There are some problems.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: There were specific promises made. I do not accept the proposition that we settle national policy by negotiation among Assistant Secretaries. The President made a promise to Sadat -- which will be kept -- unless the Congress stops it. There is no possibility of delivering it in December when we promised to deliver it in April.

MR. ATHERTON: This is what we expect. We have been telling Defense so that they would not go public -- which they wanted to do, saying that it was going to be the export model.

MR. SISCO: That killed it. Why don't I give Clements a call and say precisely --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: And tell him what Schlesinger





agreed with the President.

MR. SISCO: Yes. I'll call Clements, Roy, because these damn fools wanted us to come out publicly on the other -- which meant that we would deliver it in December -- which I knew was contrary to the promise that had already been made. So we killed it.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: But why doesn't one get Scowcroft involved in this -- or me -- who know the facts?

MR. ATHERTON: Well, we killed it yesterday.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Yes, except they'll start leaking it now.

MR. SISCO: They've written the press story already.

MR. ATHERTON: It could lead to questions.

MR. FUNSETH: They already leaked it to the press this morning.

MR. SISCO: I know.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Go ahead. Jules?

MR. KATZ: The Second Session of the CHAC Commission ends today. Also, there's a copper consultation in Geneva that's been going all week, and that ends today as well.

On the CTAC Commission, after a slow start they've





had some very good discussions this week in detail.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: On what subjects?

MR. KATZ: Well, in the energy area they've been talking about the effects of oil prices, for example -- the macro-economic effects of oil prices. The producers have raised questions about how to protect the value of their earnings, but these discussions are characterized by a minimum of rhetoric. And contrary to the first session, there's full participation by all of the members of the Commission. All of the LDCs are now making interventions.

Similarly, in the Raw Materials Commission, after a very slow start and they're not being quite sure how to proceed, the've gotten into detailed questions now.

Where this all leads to is not clear. I think it's useful, in an educational sense, that people are not making speeches; they're talking about the real analytical issues that are involved.

If you go into the next meeting with UNCTAD, then of course I think it becomes all highly political.

Similarly, in the copper discussions, this is the first consumer/producer meeting we've had on the





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The report we have is that they have really been quite serious. We have said, "Let's start discussing the problem before we talk about measures," and they've accepted that.

The only problem on the copper talks has been the UNCTAD Secretariat -- which will be getting worse in '77. We said, "We don't need the facts; we know what the facts are."

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Who runs the UNCTAD Secretariat?

MR. KATZ: A man by the name of Corre; and I think he's been doing some consultations around the world on the future of UNCTAD; and he's recognized this problem -- that the Secretariat and the professional staff see themselves as an LDC Secretariat, and they're not objective in any sense of the term.

I think this is one of the real institutional problems with UNCTAD. Some people will have to be --

MR. LEWIS: One of the things that Korea has proposed -- that may very well happen -- is that they're going to set up their own Secretariat separately. And in UNCTAD he wants to be a more balanced negotiator in Secretariat form.



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MR. LEWIS: That may happen.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: What?

MR. MAW: We will have two '77 Secretariats.

MR. KATZ: Well, I don't think so. I think that might be a good point -- I don't know. The question is: Who will pay for that? The UN Secretariat has to pay for that '77?

Mr. Secretary, the other point: I think that you know that the President's speech to the textile industry today probably will have the reference

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I was told it would be taken out.

MR. LORD: It's a memo to the President saying you oppose any reference to it, but Baker and Morton and Dent are more for a compromise language.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: There is no compromise language possible. Once the President mentions the PRC -- not matter how softly -- he's got himself a major problem.

MR. LORD: I couldn't agree more. I think you better call the President.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Well, I called Scowcroft



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and he told me it would be taken out.

MR. LORD: The other positions are also on the table.

MR. HABIB: This is as of yesterday evening -- they were still having it in.

MR. KATZ: Well, as of about a quarter to seven last night, I was told that it went in to the President with the statement that Morton and Dent and Baker wanted it in and you were opposed. And I assume Scowcroft was opposed.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Who's Baker? What's his standing in there?

MR. KATZ: No. 2 in Commerce.

MR. HABIB: No matter how they adjust the wording, it's still the tage.

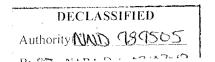
MR. LORD: And, as I understand, the only country (mentioning) the speech --

MR. KATZ: It's the only country where there is a problem.

MR. LORD: Yes, but you can talk in general terms about the problem.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: You cannot mention the PRC





without having a major crisis with the PRC. And it will not be done without an absolute uproar out of this building, and nobody is going to cooperate with that sort of approach.

 $$\operatorname{MR.\ HABIB:}$$ I think Morton is going to take the call from you.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Has he been inviting it?
MR. HABIB: Yes.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I'll put in a call right now. In fact, I have to call the President.

Larry, can I see you for a minute?

MR. EAGLEBURGER: Yes, sir.

(Whereupon, at 8:56 a.m., the Secretary's Staff Meeting was concluded.)

SECHET