

In Attendance - Monday, April 28, 1975

Secretary of State Kissinger - Chairman

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| D | Mr. Ingersoll |
| P | Mr. Sisco |
| E | Mr. Robinson |
| T | Mr. Maw |
| M | Mr. Eagleburger (Acting) |
| C | Mr. Sonnenfeldt |
| AF | Mr. Davis |
| ARA | Mr. Rogers |
| EA | Mr. Habib |
| EUR | Mr. Lowenstein (Acting) |
| NEA | Mr. Atherton |
| INR | Mr. Hyland |
| S/P | Mr. Lord |
| EB | Mr. Katz (Acting) |
| S/PRS | Mr. Anderson |
| PM | Mr. Vest |
| IO | Mr. Buffum |
| H | Mr. McCloskey |
| L | Mr. Leigh |
| S/S | Mr. Springsteen |
| S | Mr. Bremer |
| S | Mr. Gompert |

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By MAZ NARA Date 4/7/01

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week after week. It's an amazing stand, considering what they had.

MR. HYLAND: I think Tansonnhut will remain open.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: For how long?

MR. HYLAND: Well, I think it could remain open indefinitely. I don't think the attacks are against Tansonnhut for various reasons -- including political ones -- but the sense of panic is more dangerous.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Yes, but we may not be able to get in there.

MR. HABIB: My feeling is that the panic will begin to rise in the city now. It will be complicated by the fact of bombings by the Vietnamese air force itself. That is going to cause a degree of panic.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Well, it's bound to create a certain sense of insecurity when you get attacked by both sides. That would do it even. (Laughter.)

MR. HABIB: War is hell on civilians.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Roy?

MR. ATHERTON: Well, we have taken a look at what Iraq has been up to lately. And, in looking at it, it's rather phenomenal. The Iraqi air force is rather traumatic.

SECRET

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Hussein is going to Tehran tomorrow for meetings with the Shah, but also they've been patching things up on various very specific issues -- border disputes and so forth -- with Saudi Arabia. They've made an offer to Kuwait. They've been moving closely to the Egyptians and the Jordanians and altogether suddenly projecting the image of a country that wants to play a very dynamic and accurate role in the Arab World.

The one worrisome thing, of course, is they still remain dedicated to the overthrow of President Asad as their rival throughout the party.

Now, whether some of these other relationships will tend to inhibit efforts against Asad -- that's the one hopeful aspect of it -- but I think it also does have risks from the point of view of Syria.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: When is he going to be in Tehran?

MR. ATHERTON: He's going tomorrow. The Shah is going to Saudi Arabia today. He's been busy. Yet Daoud from Afghanistan was in Tehran over the weekend. Hussein goes to Tehran tomorrow.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: For a day or what?

MR. ATHERTON: I think it's two days.

SECRET

Hussein is a rather remarkable person. We have to look more closely into his background. He's 38 years old and he holds no government position. He's the Vice President of the Command Council, but he is running the show; and he's a very ruthless and -- very recently, obviously -- pragmatic, intelligent power. I think we're going to see Iraq playing more of a role in the area than it has for many years.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: That was to be expected anyway when they cleared --

MR. ATHERTON: Yes. Once the agreement was made on the --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Kurdish thing.

MR. ATHERTON: -- Kurdish thing.

And, of course, they've gotten organized --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: As long as they're playing, Syria may be more cautious with Israel.

MR. ATHERTON: I think that's possible.

The Iraqi bloc has got a lot of sympathizers in Syria who are waiting to get a chance to get at Asad.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: That's clear.

MR. ATHERTON: Yes.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: After Asad gets overthrown

and the more radical regime comes in at Damascus, that will produce reverberations in Jerusalem. Then I think they'll cooperate.

MR. ATHERTON: But there are some inhibitions. I mean as long as Arafat wants to mend fences -- he wants to mend them with Sadat -- Saudia Arabia also -- I think they will try to put some brakes on it as far as Syria goes.

I'm not sure how successful they'll be. Asad, of course, is aware of this; and he's turning more and more, particularly, to Egypt. I think this is one of the principal things that motivated him to take the initiative to meet with Sadat -- to counterbalance the threat from Baghdad.

MR. SISCO: Then there was this press report this morning where Iraq is offering to Kuwait to settle its border dispute, which is another kind of indication --

SECRETARY KISSINGER: Are they going to settle their border with Saudi Arabia too?

MR. ATHERTON: I'm sure they have severe problems with Saudi Arabia too. But Arafat plans to go. He was talking about posponing his visit because of the fight with Faisal.

MR. SISCO: I think also we're seeing a Saudi dynamism and activism that we didn't see before in South