

THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

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October 24, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Cyrus Vance *CV*

1. Namibia - We have still not received a satisfactory answer from the South Africans to the Contact Group proposal for a demilitarized zone along the Angola/Namibia border. We believe the best course now is to invite Angola, Zambia, Botswana and South Africa to hold technical discussions on the DMZ within the next several weeks. The talks would be at the sub-ministerial level and would include military officers -- we would hope in particular for the presence of General Malan, the South African Defense Chief whose influence on P. W. Botha will be crucial in a South African decision to go along with an international settlement. The Western five Contact Group would attend the meeting as observers, and the meeting would probably be chaired by UN Under Secretary General Urquhart.

Only the British are reluctant to agree to such talks now, saying that failure could have a negative effect on the Rhodesian talks. While we wish to do nothing to hurt the chances of success on Rhodesia, we are also concerned not to let the opportunity pass for talks on Namibia. I am contacting Peter Carrington and will ask him to support the proposal.

2. The Soviet Union - I am attaching a copy of a brief essay done by our Intelligence and Research people on the likely events in Moscow, should Brezhnev die in office. I found it interesting and worth reading.

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RDS - 2/3 10/24/99 (Vance, Cyrus)

**SECRET**

-2-

3. The Iranian Reaction to the Shah's Illness -

Iranian public reaction to the Shah's hospitalization in New York has been restrained. Tehran press reports have been straightforward and low-key, without any editorial comment. The PGOI's announcement that the Shah was "terminally ill" may have been an attempt to defuse emotions.

Embassy Tehran reports that the past two days have been calm. In response to our request, the security forces guarding our compound have been augmented. A demonstration from Tehran University is scheduled to pass by the Embassy on Friday.

4. Private Contacts with Nicaragua -

At the meeting last Friday on Central America, you raised the question of non-governmental contacts particularly with Nicaragua. A delegation of twenty-seven US businessmen sponsored by the Council of the Americas visited Managua earlier this month. Those whose firms have business interests in Nicaragua were persuaded by what they saw to continue their activities there despite the changes that have taken place. They were unanimous in their belief that we should continue our present policies toward Nicaragua. A number of them proceeded to Guatemala for similar contacts and a group of ten Nicaraguan business leaders is now in the United States to make private and public contacts here.

5. OAS -

In discussions at the General Assembly (GA) with Andean Pact and several other nations, I was pleased to learn that we shared the view that this GA provides an important opportunity to reexamine the purposes and functions of the OAS and to revitalize the organization to make it more relevant to the major global and regional problems of our day. The Andean countries worked with me on a draft declaration which will make that point and also state clearly the hemisphere's commitment to human rights and development. The Andeans came up with the idea for such a declaration because they wanted to issue "a democratic response to the Havana Declaration" and because they are disappointed that the OAS spends so much time on trivia and so little time on the important issues. After high-pressure lobbying, the OAS (and the US) voted for Orfila as Secretary General and Val McCommie of Barbados as Assistant Secretary General.

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*I want a  
broad-based,  
planned  
effort to  
cover all  
the countries  
+ all gov't &  
non gov't  
resources -  
Who is in charge of it?*

**SECRET**

-3-

A major issue of concern to the OAS this year is Bolivia's request for international support for its aspiration for access to the sea. I said we will work with Bolivia and the Andean group to support a resolution calling for a negotiated solution providing for access.

b.s. → I used the occasion of the GA to meet with the new Salvadorean Foreign Minister (an intelligent, well-regarded Christian Democrat), and assured him of our full support as the Junta implements its electoral reforms. In my conversation with the Venezuelan Foreign Minister, I expressed our surprise and concern with his criticism of the Caribbean initiatives taken as a result of your October 1 speech. He said that he raised the issue because he anticipated that several Caribbean nations would raise it, and he wanted to express sympathy for their position.

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6. Bolivia - I had a useful discussion with Bolivian President Walter Guevara, who described the precarious political situation in his country, urged us not to go forward with the disposal of tin, and asked us to support Bolivia's request for access to the sea. I told him that we would support Bolivia's desire to access to the sea. On tin, I gave Guevara your letter and requested his advice on ways we could dispose of the tin so it didn't have a negative impact on the Bolivian economy. On Tuesday, Ambassador Boeker hosted a lunch for me and virtually all of Bolivia's political and military leaders. I made clear that the US strongly supported the democratization process, and the move to civilian government which had taken place. I also made it very clear that any efforts to mount a coup would be viewed by the US and the international community with extreme disfavor. I urged them to put their joint support behind the democratic process. I encouraged the civilian leaders of the different political factions to help the Guevara administration to deal with the country's serious economic and political problems, rather than try to topple the government as several appear to be trying. The luncheon conversation succeeded in getting the various leaders to communicate with each other for the first time in a while. My hope is that the luncheon conversation will reduce the chances of a coup and provide the government with necessary support to continue its progress toward democratization.

**SECRET**

SECRET

-4-

7. The Shah's Operation - David Rockefeller's staff has informed us the Shah underwent an operation this morning. The operation removed a stone in the bile duct which was apparently the cause of his jaundice, and removed his gall bladder which had seven stones in it.

The operation also revealed an inflammatory polyp in the bile duct, an extraordinarily abnormal liver that could have a tumor and abnormal glands in the neck, all of which are now being analyzed. The Rockefeller people will keep us informed as the medical evaluation develops. We are referring questions on the Shah's condition directly to his entourage and the hospital.

Attachment:  
Soviet brief.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

S/S

October 23, 1979

State Dept. review completed

SECRET/WNINTEL/NOFORN  
NOCONTRACT/ORCON

TO : The Secretary *mr for*  
FROM : INR - William G. Bowdler

Soviet Trends No. 42

(S/WNTEL/NF/NC/OC) If Brezhnev Dies in Office

The report that Brezhnev suffered a stroke on October 17 remains for the moment neither confirmed nor disproven. This essay previews the likely events in Moscow if he should die suddenly.

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First, the Rumors

Brezhnev's death may be preceded, and certainly will be accompanied, by a blizzard of rumors in Moscow and in the West. The normally high level of concern of Moscow dissidents, among others, will intensify, and stories of harassment and repression, real or anticipated, should be expected. If the recent past is an indicator, we may expect breaches of discipline in some Soviet posts overseas and should regard with skepticism the more fanciful stories.

Politburo Meets

The first action after Brezhnev's death will be an urgent meeting of the Politburo members in Moscow. The first order of business will be to issue instructions to media officials on how to handle the news. TASS presumably will be empowered to make an announcement over radio and TV, when the Politburo has decided on its approach, and Pravda's front page will set the standard for the press.

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RDS-2 10/23/99