

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford  
 Prince Saud ibn Faisal, Minister of State  
 for Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia  
 Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State  
 and Assistant to the President  
 for National Security Affairs  
 Amb. Ibrahim Al-Sowayel, Saudi Ambassador  
 to the United States  
 Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant  
 to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Thursday, September 18, 1975  
 12:45 - 1:35 p.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office  
 The White House

[The press was admitted briefly for photos. There was small talk about Saud's familiarity with the U. S., his English accent, the Secretary's UN speech, etc. The press was then ushered out.]

The President: We worked very hard on the UN speech.

Saud: I think the reaction was every good. I hope it will be reflected in further meetings of developed and undeveloped nations.

The President: I am pleased to have the opportunity to meet you. I regret I never met His Majesty King Faisal and I look forward to meeting King Khalid. I think personal relations are extremely important.

Let me first clarify a couple of points which may be of concern.

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CLASSIFIED BY HENRY A. KISSINGER  
 EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION  
 SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652  
 EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5 (b) (1, 3)  
 AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED Imp. to det.

DECLASSIFIED  
 E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5  
 NSC 68002, PARAGR. 3, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Review 3/11/04  
 BY [Signature], MARA, DATE 6/3/04

Ambassador Porter is one of our very top diplomats. He is going there because we are upgrading our representation there with one of our very best people. It's for no other reason. Replacing Akins with Porter has no other meaning. We think Porter will be able to upgrade our relations.

Saud: I convey the greetings of His Majesty King Khalid and I thank you for the opportunity to convey them. We agree on the closeness of our relations. The closeness of our relations is such that if there are any problems, we can discuss them frankly and openly. We hope the intensity of our relations will continue to grow.

The President: So do we. As you know, we tried very hard to keep the Middle East from stagnating. We think what we have achieved has been in the interest of world peace. I assure you that we will not stop here. This is just a building block towards peace. We will keep working for further steps. We will not back out, but we will be active toward our common goal.

Saud: We put tremendous weight on your efforts, Mr. President. There is anxiety in the Middle East as to where we go from here. Most would accept a step-by-step approach if only they knew where they were taking us. President Sadat has put his entire faith in you and has taken immense risks for peace --- with the other Arabs and with his army. Where is the balance? We see reports from Israel that this is the last move, that the settlers on Golan won't be moving, etcetera. That also causes concern.

The President: I developed a very fine relationship with President Sadat at Salzburg. I feel a personal commitment to him to see that this agreement is carried out. I look forward to meeting President Asad. I tried to meet him in August but it didn't work out. Secretary Kissinger has spoken highly of him and I look forward to meeting him.

Kissinger: Do you know him?

Saud: Yes. I think he is realistic and truthful in his presentation. Syria has more territory under Israeli occupation since '73 than before.

Kissinger: They got it back in the disengagement, plus a sliver at Kuneitra. But I agree with His Highness that President Asad is a man of moderation.

Saud: Syria has accepted Resolution 242 as the basis of a settlement, but Israel has not. If peace is to be achieved, it can come only through the exercise of America's persuasive powers on Israel.

The President: I can assure you we used them to the utmost. And we will continue to do so as we move down the road of peace.

I took some personal risk in agreeing to the request from Sadat and Rabin for American technicians. It helps me if we can have as much support as possible in the Arab world for the agreement. It helps us in continuing our pressure to keep things going. When the Arabs raise questions, it makes it harder for me.

Kissinger: It is the perception here that we brought pressure on Israel. If, having paid the price with the Jews here, we are attacked by the Arabs abroad, many Americans will think there is no point in engaging. This is the first time we have had movement in peacetime and it sets the path for further steps. I will talk further with you on this.

Saud: We don't see why the people should attack it, because it is like the previous one.

Kissinger: It is more significant.

Saud: What worries us is the promise of new military equipment and unusual equipment -- like the Pershing. When Secretary Kissinger was in Saudi Arabia, we considered the agreement a positive step. We continue to hold that view, but we need assurances that Israel looks at it that way. The demand by Israel for equipment indicates they are not seeking peace but more American aid.

The President: You should know that we qualified the words, and the commitments we made very carefully. I said we promised to study them.

Kissinger: The F-16 can't be delivered before 1979. We will study the Pershing very carefully. These things we will hold as a condition for movement. If we have not made a dramatic movement toward peace by 1979, we will be in a very difficult situation. There is no commitment at all on the Pershing.

Saud: Is it true that there is no agreement until the Congress approves?

Kissinger: Only on the technicians, not the aid.

The President: Israel understands the military and economic assistance will come in the annual foreign aid legislation and probably won't be considered for a month or two.

Kissinger: The drafting in Geneva is not finished yet. By the time it is, we hope to have the technicians approved.

Saud: There is one point that Prince Faud wanted to be raised -- the Palestinians. Recognition of their rights in peace is important. They have a destabilizing capability now. Secretary Kissinger mentioned the possibility of contacts with them.

Kissinger: It would have to be done carefully.

The President: It would have to be held very closely because it is a sensitive issue in the United States. We recognize the Palestinian interests but we must be careful. Private talks would be helpful -- if it became public, it would make it difficult to make more movement.

Saud: Just one more point that His Majesty asked me to raise -- the information on companies which is now coming out in this country. We would like to know what it is coming out. One is the legal aspects of bribery -- which should be dealt with in the committees. The commissions that people used is added to the government-to-government price. Our government will take the position that it will not pay these charges.

If names get thrown around in these hearings, it would have a very bad influence.

The President: I deplore the publicity this is getting. We will do whatever possible to protect individuals. And we don't condone any illegal acts any more than you.

We don't control the press so I can't guarantee what they will do.

Kissinger: We give no names, but we can't control what the companies give to the committees.

Saud: If it was names with proof, but these are just wild allegations.

The President: As your Ambassador knows, we are going through a difficult period here, with the media interested in news more than in fact. We will do whatever we can, but we can't guarantee it.

Saud: We appreciate that. If there is proof, His Majesty wants it, but not this kind of irresponsible allegation.

Kissinger: We have discouraged the turning over of names and I have told Senator Church that it is unfair to put out names.

✓ P/Prince Sand/ Arab Sewage  
18 Sept 75

Persian

(Small talks about Saudi familiarity w/OS, English accent, ~~etc~~ UK speech, etc)

Pers out

P We washed my forehead UK speech

S I think reaction was very good. Hope it will be reflected in ~~the~~ further writings of alleged-embassy ~~written~~

V I am pleased to have opp. to meet you. Regret ~~wasn't~~ met Fawad + look forward to meeting Khalid. I think personal relations are extremely important.

But we clarify a couple of points which may be of concern.

Arabic: Pasha is one of our very top diplomats. He is going there because we are upgrading our representation w/ one of our very best. For no other reason. Replacing him w/ Pasha has no other meaning. We think Pasha will be able to upgrade our relations.

S I am very grateful of Khalid + thank you for opp. to say anything. We agree on a number of our relations. ~~Clarity~~ is such that if any jobs we can discuss them publicly & openly. We hope a ~~strong~~ friendly relations will ~~continue~~ to grow

P So does. As you know, we tried very hard to buy UK from stagnating. We think what we have achieved has been in int. of world peace. I assure you that we will not stop



here. This is just a building block towards peace.  
We will keep working for further steps. We will  
not be hurt but will be active towards our  
common goal

S We put tremendous weight on your efforts.  
There is anxiety in the ME as to where we go  
from here. Most would accept a 4 to 5 approach  
if only they knew where they were taking us.  
Sadat has put his entire faith on you &  
has taken immense risk for peace - w/c  
extra cards & his army. Where is balance?

We all expect from it that this is last move,  
that settles for Oslo won't be moving, etc.  
That also causes concern.

P I enjoyed a very fine relationship of Sadat at  
Solz. I feel personal comfort to him to see this  
agreement is carried out. I look forward to  
meeting Assad. I tried in any but it didn't  
work. K has spoken highly of him & I look  
forward to meeting him

K Do you know him?

S Yes, I think he is realistic & thoughtful in his  
presentation. Syria has more territory in the  
Levant since 73 than before.

K They got it back in exchange plus a share  
of Kerak. But I agree w/ H.H. that Assad  
is a man of moderation.

S Syria has accepted 24% as basis of settlement  
but I have not. If peace is achieved,



it can come only through exercise of US prisoners  
prisoners on I

V I can assure you we will then be a witness.  
And we will continue as we have done  
- road to peace.

I took some personal work in agreeing to Indat/  
Rabin request for technicians. It helps out if  
we can have as much support as possible in  
Arab world for a agreement. It helps us in  
continuing our presence to keep things going. When  
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K It is perception here we brought presence on  
I. If, having paid price w/ Jews here, we are  
attacked by Arabs abroad, many Arabs will think  
there is no point in engaging. This is 1st time  
for movement in peace - set path for further  
steps. I will talk further w/ you on this.

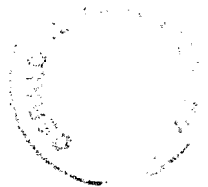
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would acknowledge that I look at it that way.

I ~~was~~ dismayed by it for eqrip indicates they  
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a contracts we made very carefully. I don't see





promised to study them.

K F-16 unit we claimed before 1979. We will study  
proving very carefully. These things we will hold  
as condition for movement. If we have not  
made dramatic movement toward peace by 1979, we  
will be in a very tight spot. There is no contract  
at all on a fishing.

S but there was a question till long ago

K Only a technicians, not a civil.

P I understand the unit + some issues will come  
in a manual for and legis + part will be  
examined for months 2.

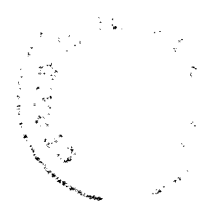
K The drafting in Geneva not finished yet. <sup>By</sup> ~~July~~  
time it is, we hope to have tech. approach

S There is one point F-16 would be raised - the  
Poles. Keep their rights in place is important.  
They have distorting capability now. I mentioned  
possibility of contacts w/ them

K Would have to be done carefully

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a sensitive issue in US. We recognize ~~Kat~~  
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Perron talks helpfull - if become public it  
would make it big to make some movement.

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in a contract. The names people used is added  
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it will not pay these charges.

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do whatever is possible to protect ourselves, but  
~~in fact~~ we don't intend any legal acts any  
more than you.

We don't control a press so I can't guarantee  
what they will do.

K We give no names, but we can't control what  
congressmen give to courts.

S If it was names of prof, but these are just  
wild allegations.

K As you know, however, as going thru a brief  
period here, we <sup>media</sup> papers interested in news  
more than fact. We will do whatever  
we can, but can't guarantee.

S we appreciate that. If there is proof, I'll write  
it, but not this kind of essay.

K We have discouraged turning over of names &  
told Church it is unfair to protect names - it

