

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

**DECLASSIFIED**  
E.O. 13526 SEC. 3.8

~~TOP SECRET/NODIS/XGDS~~

*MR 07-12 #32 State Res 3/8/04  
DOD RTU 5/22/09*

**BY LR NARA DATE 2/6/08**

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

**PARTICIPANTS:** Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs  
Dr. James Schlesinger, Secretary of Defense  
General John A. Wickham, Jr., Military Assistant to the Secretary of Defense  
Major General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

**DATE AND TIME:** September 5, 1973  
8:00 a.m. (breakfast)

**PLACE:** The Pentagon

Schlesinger: Our people don't know about the de-Mirved Poseidon for the Brits. They are therefore at a disadvantage. Can we tell our people?

Kissinger: I am worried about leaks.

Cotton: A de-Mirved Poseidon could cost more.

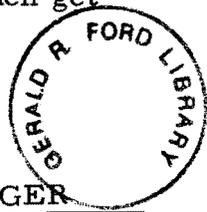
Kissinger: What could string it out the longest?

Kissinger: The French talks went well. The French have good ideas about MIRV. [Discussion] The real quid pro quo is the basic orientation of French policy. Galley said he understood but it would take them time.

Schlesinger: Pompidou is dying.

Kissinger: Brandt is closer to [Swedish Premier Olof] Palme than Pompidou. Egon Bahr would get our support for a neutral united Germany and then get us out. Don't conclude anything with Galley in September.

I will send you a transcript of my talks.



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CLASSIFIED BY HENRY A. KISSINGER  
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SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652  
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5 (b) (1, 3)  
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Schlesinger: Chaff we could give them with no sweat. When do you see a payoff this fall?

Kissinger: We may not want anything this Fall. It's better to drag it out to next Spring.

The Europeans have the idea that we need the Year of Europe to restore the President's popularity.

I want to discuss how we will make the NSC system work. Would you think it a good idea if you, I, Colby and Moorer had breakfast at the beginning of each week?

Schlesinger: Great. Every Tuesday.

Kissinger: Scowcroft can take notes.

On the NSC bodies, the only non-head of an agency is Clements. If you want to attend, it would be fine. I just want to be fair to you. There is no problem with Clements. I plan to let State handle the NSC business and I will just chair.

Schlesinger: Let's just do a Tuesday meeting and let the rest stay as it is.

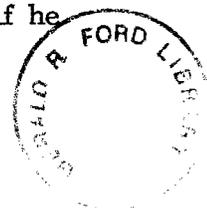
I think we maybe have too many meetings.

Should we send Clements to Saudi Arabia?

Kissinger: I think he has no foreign policy judgment. He has an oil man's view to get along with the Arabs.

I think the way to get along with the Saudis is to do something on the Arab-Israeli dispute. I am doing something, but we can't surface it now. The Saudis are least equipped to deal with the Arab-Israeli dispute. We want the Egyptians where we were with the DRV -- we have to get the thing past an unconditional surrender.

Egypt now wants Israel to withdraw and then negotiate with the Palestinians. That is insane. I am working to get a reasonable position out of them. If we get it, we can then put massive pressure on Israel. It will take massive pressure. Hussein will accept the Allon plan if he gets a piece of Jerusalem. This is similar to the Saudi position.



Clements is too much of a bull in a china shop. He would pour arms into Saudi Arabia, which would force them to engage in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Schlesinger: I agree 98%. Clements would just hold hands. I think we must keep the Persian Gulf issues away from the Arab-Israeli conflict. I would just send Clements to the Gulf area.

Kissinger: But do you think he can be controlled? He will just go out and do what he wants anyway.

Schlesinger: We need to hold Saudi hands. Let me test Clements in Korea. He goofed in Japan.

Kissinger: And in the Persian-Arabian Gulf.

Schlesinger: Let's talk contingency plans. The Iranians could take Kuwait but not cross the Gulf.

Kissinger: The Shah wants to know if the F-14 and F-15 mix. Rabin says he wouldn't have the F-14.

Schlesinger: We are running out of money for Cambodia. I would like to go to Stennis and ask him to let DOD draw down its ammunition account for the next year.

Kissinger: What are the disadvantages?

Schlesinger: None.

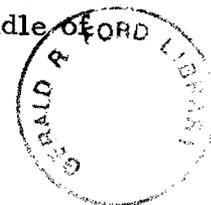
Kissinger: Okay.

Schlesinger: Australia. Whitlam is a bastard.

Kissinger: I agree.

Schlesinger: I would like to cool them a bit. There is an ANZUS intelligence conference. Whitlam is playing games. I would like to say to Kird thanks but Australia hasn't responded. I would like to say thanks, but until Australia makes a decision, a US answer would be premature.

Kissinger: Fine. Be careful, because Green will leak. Anything we do should be a response to provocation. Can you wait until the middle next week?



Schlesinger: Iceland. The British Ambassador doesn't think a new agreement could be gotten through Iceland parliament. This is different from the US Ambassador's assessment.

Kissinger: I think we should stay out of it.

Schlesinger: I agree.

Kissinger: On the Poseidon. We want to keep Europe from developing their unity as a bloc against us. If we keep the French hoping they can get ahead of the British, this would accomplish our objective. If we gave the British MIRV while the French were so far behind, it would be bad. If we could give the British the dispensing mechanism and hold open the MIRV for the French a few years, we could keep them even.

On Germany; Scheel and Leber are okay. Schmidt maybe, but the old German national Bolshevism is more compatible with the CDU than the SPD.

Schlesinger: The French are important.

SALT. DOD is ready on the ideas I outlined.

Kissinger: Okay, but hold now on the old position.

Schlesinger: Security assistance. We are in trouble. We don't have enough money for everybody. We must cut the Koreans or the Turks. The Turks need it more.

Kissinger: Okay. Can I sell this to the Chinese? When will you announce?

Schlesinger: It doesn't have to be announced. I want to go to Germany and Turkey.

Kissinger: Good, go to Greece also.

Schlesinger: Poseidon. Should we play the British along more? Let them know they have a clear shot at MIRV?

Kissinger: I told Sykes it was 51-49 with the President inclined to go to bat for it.



Schlesinger: Security Assistance. State and DOD have been at each other's throats for five years.

Kissinger: That will stop. What do you think of Tarr?

Schlesinger: He has brains but no drive or foreign policy sense.

Kissinger: What should be done?

Schlesinger: Stop the bickering at the middle levels.



HAK/Schwaninger/Winter/Seco

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

5 Sept 1973

8:00 am  
Pentagon

Western Possession

S - Over people don't know about  
Admiral Possession. They  
are at a disadvantage. Can  
we tell our people?

K - I am worried about leaks  
Carter - De-mised Possession could cost  
more

K - What could string it out longest

K - French talks went well. French  
have good ideas about M.I.R.V.  
(Discussed)

Real ground progress is a basic  
orientation of French policy. Colley  
said he understood but it  
would take them time.

S - Pompidou lying  
K - Brandt ~~is~~ order to Polmer Chare

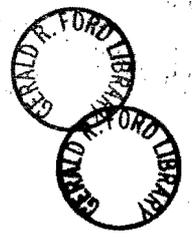
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E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

MR # 07-12 #32

State Rev 3/8/04; OSD etc 5/22/07

By dal NARA, Date 12/11/09



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Permydion. Baker would get some support for neutral until German & then get us out.

Don't conclude anything as/possibly in Sept.

→ I will send transcript of any talks

S - Chaff we could give them w/ no secret.

When do you see a payoff - this fall?

K - we may not want anything this fall, better to buy it but next Spring.

E says no home idea that we need open of E in to restore Pres. popularity.

R - want to discuss how we will handle a RSC system work



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would you think it good if  
you, I, Colby, Hoover had  
headprint at big of black work  
~~time~~

S - Grant. Every Tuesday

R - Success in talks with

R - On NSC basis, the only man  
head of agency is Belmont. If  
you want to attend, it would be  
fine. Just want to be fair  
to you. No problem as Belmont.

I plan to set state handle the  
NSC business as a first chair.

S - lets just do a Tuesday &  
let rest stay as it is.



THE WHITE HOUSE  
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S - I think we maybe have too many outp.

for Chomsky to the Saudi Arabian

K - I think he has no F.P. judgment  
Has oil more wire get along w/  
Saudi.

Think way to get along w/Saudi  
is to do something on A-I dispute  
I am doing something, but can't  
surface it now.

Saudis are least equipped to deal  
w/ the A-I dispute.

w/ w/c Egyptians where we were  
w/ DKV - hard to get things put  
unconventional surrender

E now wants to w/draw & then  
negotiate w/Palestinians. I want



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is wise. I am working to get  
a reasonable position out of them  
you get it, we can then put  
massive pressure on I. It will  
take massive pressure.

Hessner will accept other plan  
if he gets a piece of Jerusalem.

This similar to Santsi position

Elements is to build in Jerusalem  
He would pressure into S.I., which  
would force them to engage in A-I

S- The Ayub 98%. Elements would  
just hold hands. I think we  
must keep Persian Gulf issues  
away from A-I. I would just  
send Elements to Gulf area.

K- But do you think he can be



Is there a Saudi FM I can talk  
to at U.N.

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Controlled? He can't just go out  
+ do what he wants anyway

S - We need to hold Saudi hands.

Let me test Chamberlain in Korea

He didn't go far over Jay

K - And in Persian Arabian Gulf.  
(Contingency plans)

S - Iranians could take Kuwait &  
but not cross Gulf.

K - Shah wants to know F-14-15 miss  
Rabin says would buy some F-14

S - We ~~are~~ <sup>running</sup> out of money for  
Cambodia. I would like to go  
to Stennis + ask for ~~some~~ <sup>let</sup> God  
~~money~~ draw down its ~~drawn~~  
\* account for next year.

K - What are the advantages

S - none

K - DC



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S - Australia. Whitten is bustered  
K - I agree

S - I would like to cut down a little  
Congress intelligence conference.  
Whitten is playing games. I would  
like to say to Kite thanks but  
Australia hasn't responded. I would  
like to say that thanks but until  
Australia makes decision, US  
answer would be peremptory

K - Fine. Because, because  
Green will look. Anything we  
do should be response to  
provocation.

S - Whitten

K - Can you wait till middle of  
next week?



THE WHITE HOUSE

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S - Iceland. But Amb doesn't think  
~~the~~ there or out ~~lands~~ could be  
gotten. There Iceland parchment.  
This different from VS Amb.  
assessment.

K - I think we should stay out of it  
S - I agree.

K - On Potsdam. We want to keep  
France from unity case to  
oppose us. If we keep French  
hoping they can get ahead of Brit  
this would accomplish our objective  
I see your Brits M.R.O. while French  
was so far behind - bad. If we  
could give Brits, dispensing we have  
& hold open M.R.O. for a few  
years, we could keep them even



✓ Party week after next  
remember when started on SALT

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- K- On Germany, Stahl, Huber OK,  
Schmidt maybe, but old  
German with Bolshevism is  
more compatible w/ COO than  
~~SPD~~ SPD.
- S- French are important
- S- SALT. ~~is~~ DOD ready on ideas  
I outlined.
- K- OK but hold now on old pact
- S- Sec. Assist. we are in trouble.  
Don't have enough money for  
everybody. We must cut Koreans  
or Turks. Turks need it more
- K- OK. Can I sell this to the  
Chinese? When announce?
- S- Doesn't have to be announced



I must see Turk FM at VN

THE WHITE HOUSE  
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S - I want to go Germany, Turkey.

K - Good. Got Gower also

S - Pözeilon, also Play Brits along  
more? Let them know or  
clear that at M.I.V.?

K - I told Sykes 51-49 w/ Pres' medical  
to go to but for it

S - Security Assis. State + DoD have  
been at each others throats for  
5 yrs.

K - That will stop. What do you  
think of Tom

S - Bears out machine or FP sense

K - what should we do

S - Stop hissing at middle level

