

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~/XGDS

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AUTHORITY ISCAP Panel 2009-018, #2

BY dal NARA DATE 1/5/11

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Dr. James R. Schlesinger, Secretary of Defense
William E. Colby, Director, Central Intelligence Agency
Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
Maj. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE & TIME: Saturday - November 3, 1973
8:47 - 9:50 a.m. - Breakfast Meeting

PLACE: The Map Room
The White House

Schlesinger: What about the Saudis?

Kissinger: What I can do with them depends on what I can do with Sadat.

Schlesinger: The Saudis are getting heady over the power of oil. I am not sure they have a future aside from the West. They can't survive spitting fire and brimstone at the West.

Kissinger: The Shah would play that game. He is raring to go. The Saudis are having trouble surviving in this kind of world and they have to be more radical than the radicals.

How is the energy speech coming? Should be matter-of-fact.

Scowcroft: It's okay.



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Colby: Could I review my Meir scenario? I want to say that we can't humiliate Sadat.

Moorer: We have a CENTO exercise in November. A couple of destroyers, right at the entrance to the Gulf. We haven't gotten CENTO into this. It starts the 19th of November.

Kissinger: That is a good thing to have happen. Bill, you should stress the impact of what Europe and Japan will do if a crisis appears to be a result of Israeli intransigence.

Schlesinger: We need a public line on the Hancock when it arrives.

Kissinger: Routine. An exercise that we have been planning a long time.

I will discuss with the Shah. If he wants it in, I will let you know.

Schlesinger: No, off the coast of Oman.

Kissinger: Can it go into the Red Sea past the blockage?

Moorer: I don't know if there is a blockade.

Schlesinger: What do I tell the Dutch? They were brave and they are running out of fuel.

Colby: We could contribute oil.

Kissinger: I would tell them we will be sympathetic.

The Israelis are willing to negotiate on the ceasefire line and back off the roads if they can stay on the sides of the road.

Colby: The blockade is broken if Israel backs off. Could you leapfrog the short term and go to the long term?

Kissinger: They will be so easy on the long term!

My guess is the Israelis plan to stay on the West Bank as they did on the Canal.

Schlesinger: You have to keep the Third Army hostage to keep the Arabs in control.

Kissinger: Look at this -- they would agree in principle to go to the October 22 lines, they would pull back from the roads, let UN on the road; there would be an exchange of prisoners and a lifting of the blockade. I can get the blockade lifted maybe by telling Sadat the best thing is to get Israel into a withdrawal posture.

Colby: Can we get them across the Canal before the elections?

Kissinger: Only if Egypt withdraws too, and that they won't do.

I personally think the Sadat proposal is not bad: Egypt stays where it is and Israel pulls back 30 kilometers. Golda says that would be an Egyptian victory. If we had a demilitarized zone of 30 kilometers, Egypt couldn't cross it without leaving their SAM protection.

If Yariv would tell them Monday there will be no more convoys; they would look so bad that I can come in Tuesday with a proposal that will look good.

Schlesinger: Get Sadat to push Faisal.

Kissinger: I have to promise Israeli disengagement right after the first of the year. The Israelis will scream and we must have unity in the country to stand up for it.

Is the oil message going Tuesday night?

Scowcroft: Yes.

Kissinger: We have to start working on the Jewish lobby.

I am disappointed in Jackson. He threatened me with a low defense budget if I didn't go along.

Now to China. I have read all the papers you gave me.

Schlesinger: The best thing we could do and the thing the Soviet Union fears is early warning.

Kissinger: I think the Russians are fed up with me. The Middle East really shook them up with me. If I come back from China with something, that might break it. They have two times warned us about deals with China.



Schlesinger: In what way?

Kissinger: Brezhnev asked in June if we had a military arrangement with China. I said no. Brezhnev said if we did, they would take military action. Gromyko asked me about it that night. I said it was a strange statement, which we would ignore. Gromyko said Brezhnev meant any arrangement, and I said that was inadmissible. They then proposed an exchange of nuclear matters regarding China.

They may try to threaten us when I am in China.

Colby: They could easily make a move in the Middle East.

Kissinger: At that point we should walk out of CSCE, MBFR, etc. -- all talks. I don't think we should put troops into Israel if they go in. I don't think the U.S. would stand for it.

Kissinger: What can we do for China which would be useful and safe?

Colby/Moorer: Early warning.

Colby: We could establish a hot line and pass them intelligence of a strategic nature.

Kissinger: Those are two things we could do: strategic intelligence...

They are sending a five-man delegation to escort me in.

Colby: They are truly experts in diplomacy.

Kissinger: Is there someone we could send in to establish contact here -- like Packard?

A Sino-Soviet war is a real possibility.

Colby: A Soviet attack would be hard now.

Kissinger: Would the Chinese really risk millions of people by retaliating?

The best world for us is for the Soviet Union to think it too risky and the Chinese to think it is likely.

How about someone to give them early warning data? How about Packard?

Schlesinger: Johnny Foster.

Kissinger: How about Simon Ramo. We need to get someone in there who could tell them what they need.

Colby: Maybe the French would do it.

Kissinger: Or the British.

Scowcroft: A link through us would be a big help.

Kissinger: Good. We would have to establish a hot line through the accidental war agreement.

Colby: Can you get Bruce to put in that equipment?

Kissinger: Yes. I will take care of it.

The Russians may make a run at us while I am away. What can we do?

Schlesinger: Turn Israel loose on the Third Army and tell Sadat if he lets the Soviets loose, it will be very bad.

Kissinger: That Syrian is a real rug merchant. He asked for a piece of Mount Hermon in return for the prisoners. He wanted the Syrian bodies back. He offered a territorial split.

Colby: We could aid Israel to blockade Latakia.

Schlesinger: Or work with the Turks to close the Straits.

Colby: Yes. If the Turks think they are being enveloped...

Kissinger: We are making an impact on Europe. Brandt sent a good letter. The French are improving their NATO declaration.

Schlesinger: The French are shits. What about the British?

Kissinger: Let's do nothing until I get back. Then we will meet immediately. Brent, keep these people informed.

I think the Chinese will produce Sihanouk.

Colby: But he is splitting with the locals.

Moorer: There is a 50-50 chance they can survive the dry season.

Kissinger: Good. Then maybe we could get Sihanouk back in.

Schlesinger: At the NPC, I will be hard, but friendly with Leber.

Kissinger: Right. Being nasty has made us progress over the summer.

Brent, you keep them informed.

Schlesinger: I will be back on Thursday.

Kissinger: Let's work out a plan for grabbing some Middle East oil if we want.

Schlesinger: Abu Dhabi would give us what we want.

Kissinger: The Shah is cynical enough to discuss this with us.



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19th Dec

- K That is good thing to have together
Bill, you should stress impact
of Eme, Japan, etc if it appears
warrant of I intrusions.
- S- Public trial on Hancock when it
arrives.
- K Routine. Especial we have been
planning a long time
I would discuss w/ Shah. If he wants
it in, I will let you know
- S- No, off coast of Oman
- K- Can it go into Red Sea past
Chabahat?
- M- Don't know if this is a blockade
- S- What I talk about? we were blown
+ we running out of fuel.
- C- We could contribute oil.
- K- I would tell them we will be
trying to get it
- K- I have working to negotiate our oil
line



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and back off roads if they can stay
on roads of roads.

Black out is broken if I back off.
Could you help from short term
to go to long term

K - They will be so busy on long-term!
My guess is I plan to stay on w. bank
as they did on Canal

S - you have to help w. any hostage &
help Arabs in control

K - Look at this - Arabs in principle to
Oct 22, pull back from roads, let
UN on road; exchange of prisoners &
lift of blockades. I can get blockades
lifted maybe by telling Sadat the best
thing is to get I into a w/denial posture

Q: Can we get them across a canal before
elections

K - Only if E w/denies too, & that they can't
do it

I personally think Sadat proposal not
bad. E stays where it is & I pull back
30 to 40 miles. Could say that would be



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can E we try.

If we had a demilitarized zone of
30 km, we E wouldn't cross it w/o
having some some protection.

K - If you could talk them Monday we
will arrange; they would look so
bad that I can come in Tuesday
w/ a proposal that will look good.

S - Got Sadiq to push Faisal

K - I have to promise I change agreement right
after 1st of year. ~~the~~ The I's will
sustain & we must have unity in a
country to stand up to it.

Is our way going to be important?

S - Yes

K - We have to start working on Jewish
lobby.

I disappointed in Jackson. He threatened
we will have defense budget if I don't
do something.

K - Now A. Chinn. I have the all
a papers you gave me.



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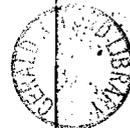
S - Best thing we could do & thing
SEC fears is EW.

K - I think Russians are fed up w/ us.
The NE really shook them up w/
us. If I were back from China
w/ something that might break it.
They don't 2 times warned us about
deal w/ China.

S - What way?

K - Bug asked in June if we had
trial arrangement w/ China. I
said no. Bug said if we did, they
would take trial action. Gromyko
asked me about it that night & I sent
a strange statement which we would
ignore. Gromyko said a voluntary
arrangement & I said inadvisable.
They then proposed a change of name.
another regarding China.

They may try to threaten us when I



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in China

- C They could easily make a move in MIE
- K at that point we should work out of CSCE, NBER, etc. - all talks. I don't think we should put troops into I if things are. Don't think US would stand for it.
- K - What can we do for China which is useful & safe
- C-M Early evening.
- C We could est. a hot line & pass them intelligence of strategic nature
- K - For one 2 things we could do: Strategic intel

They sending a Simon delegation

- C - They spent in diplomacy
- K - Is there someone we could send in to establish contact here - like Parkard.



Kept of Son agreement
were agreement for
trip

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K - @ Swiss - Son arm is a real possibility
C - @ Son attack hard now

K - would Chinese really risk millions
of people by retreating.

The best would for us is for SVK
think it too risky + Chinese to think
it is likely.

How about someone to give them EW
data. How about Parkard

S - Joshua Foster

K - How about Science Room?

we need to get someone in there who
could tell them what they need.

C - Maybe French would do it

K - Or Brits.

Sc - @ draw link there no would be
a big help.

K - Good. We would have to establish
hot line there ~~it~~ an ~~incident~~ was
agreement

C - Can you get Brund to put that
equip.

K - Yes. I can do it.



Be afraid on Sat a
an hour long.

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- K - Russians really make a run at us while I am in, what can we do?
- S - I know ^{I know} any & we Sadat if he lets go loose it will be very bad
- K - That ^{is} a real very much more, he ^{asked} a piece of that He is in return for ^{business} ^{cooperation} Syrian bodies back. I found a territorial spirit
- C - we could aid I to block back Entebbe
- S - work w/ Turkey to use strength
- E - Yes. If Turkey think they being developed
- K - we are making very act on E. Brant sent good letter, Fri. improving their NATO character
- S - For are about what about Brant?
- K - Let's do working until I get back Then we meet immediately Brant, keep them up informed



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K - I think the Chinese will produce
Submarine.

S - But ~~they~~ ^{the} plenty w/ boats.

M - 50-50 chance they can
summarize by summer

K - Good. Then we could get
Submarine back in

S - at NPC, I will be heard, but
probably w/ labor.

K - Right. Jimmy nasty has made
us progress over summer.

Brud - you buy these weapons.

S - I'll be back Thomas.

K - Lets work out a plan for getting
some ME oil if we want.

S - The Shah would give us what
we want

K - The Shah is cynical enough
to discuss this w/

