

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~SECRET/NODIS/XGDS~~

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Nixon
 Amb. Al Sowayel, Saudi Ambassador
 Major General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy
 Assistant to the President for National
 Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: February 7, 1974
 5:10 - 5:45 p.m.

PLACE: The Map Room

The President: General Scowcroft will make notes and give you a copy for yourself. I have written a note to His Majesty, which will be sent by cable, and I want to give you the original. I want to put it in context.

I would like you to talk to His Majesty personally so he knows from me, not just Secretary Kissinger. Tell him that I am talking to you as I would to him.

First, we have the disengagement agreement. We are working with the Syrians now, but there are prisoners and other knotty problems. We can't do it hurriedly.

You have my personal commitment to work for a disengagement with the Syrians. It should be fair to the Syrians, just as the Egypt-Israel agreement was fair to the Egyptians. It's the first time Israel has ever withdrawn.

This is a famous room. It's the Map Room. President Roosevelt used to plan the war here, during World War II.

What concerns me is, I know your government wants to normalize the situation, but you feel you can't get out in front of Algerians and the Syrians.

Sowayel: Or Kuwait.

President: Let me look at the big picture and see if there is a way to get it accomplished. Let me talk in terms of politics.

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DECLASSIFIED
 E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
 NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINE
 BY lab
 DATE 8/14/04
 State Div. on 3/18/04

I am the first President since Eisenhower who has no commitment to the Jewish community, and I will not be swayed.

I didn't do enough in the first term, but I am determined now that the Middle East be settled. I know His Majesty has a concern over Jerusalem. That is a very difficult problem. Also his concern over disengagement. I have written a commitment to 242, but that is gobbledygook. What I want you to know is I have made a commitment. We will work out a permanent settlement as quickly as possible. The full prestige of my office is dedicated to that. You should know that I will catch it from some groups here.

I think "blackmail" is unfortunate. I don't think His Majesty is blackmailing us. Whatever the embargo, I will continue to work for a just peace. I don't know what Jerusalem will be -- you don't. You probably want more than I can negotiate. But I will have great difficulty negotiating under the pressure.

I will have three years. My successor may be beholden to the groups here.

In summary, I want the embargo lifted. It is very important. But I will move to get a just peace -- it will be tough.

But my efforts are being hampered and will be seriously jeopardized if the embargo is the issue. The claim will be that we are moving only because of pressure from the Arabs. That is what Jackson and the others say.

There is no linkage. I will continue to work and the power of my office will be behind it. But any gesture His Majesty can make, even if he gets pressure from his Arab friends, will help me move a settlement along.

I will not drag my feet because of the embargo, but it will make it difficult for me to move it alone -- with Congress and the press.

Expectations were raised in the remarks I made in the State of the Union -- which I made based on letters from His Majesty. I am on a limb -- I have been there before -- but I want us to work together for settlement. His Majesty has my personal commitment to work for 242 or a settlement and my commitment to work on Israel. You know what a problem that is in this country.

If His Majesty could help in the next few days, so it doesn't look like the embargo is being held over our head; otherwise opinion could swing against the Arabs. I know that is not the case, but His Majesty should know he has a friend who will take great risks, but his movement on the embargo would be enormously helpful in helping me now.

Sowayel: Maybe I can go back personally to deliver the letter.

The President: Some have said to me that I should send a personal emissary. But we are good friends and I am doing this on my own. I am editing my letter. All this can't be put in a letter.

General Scowcroft has heard me say these things many times. I know some Arabs have said we have promised over the years, and nothing happened. But now, as a result of the war, it can be done, and it will be done. This is what I want His Majesty to know.

I don't know the Syrians or Sadat. But I do know His Majesty, who is so intelligent and has a sense of history.

Let me be candid. Gromyko was here. We are not trying to drive out the Soviet Union and establish our own hegemony, but I think it is better if the U.S. continues to play a role and not leave Israel the only force in the area to counter the Soviet Union. The key to the whole problem is progress at Geneva. I will do my best, and that is a lot, to move the Israelis.

It makes it terribly difficult to move as quickly as I want, with the embargo. I understand it, but with lines at gas stations, and so on, I don't want our people to start blaming the Arabs.

I know His Majesty can't deliver without a commitment, but if he waits until our performance, that could be months.

Sowayel: If the U.S. could promise that if Israel would withdraw within a specific time to the '67 line, that would be helpful.

The President: I won't promise what I can't deliver, but there will be a settlement. I can't draw a line, but there will be a settlement. His Majesty can hold me to my commitment. I wanted you to hear it from me so His Majesty can convey it that I will use the full power of my office.

Sowayel: Secretary Kissinger's statement was not useful.

The President: "Blackmail" is a bad word. It should not have been used. His Majesty is not a blackmailer. I won't link the two, but the fact is it will make it much more difficult. It will give me clout to say: "We have the cooperation of King Faisal, now let's get on with the settlement."

I would like there to be enough progress so I could visit the Middle East in the spring -- Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Israel (if they behave).

We need to keep the momentum so the situation doesn't freeze.

Sowayel: I will try to go myself.

The President: This conference /the Washington Energy Conference/ will not set up a confrontation with the producers. The consumers will just look at the problems to see what can be done to meet them.

Self-sufficiency is not designed against you. I want a world where we would trade with you. There are two threats in the area -- the radicals and the Soviet Union. It is in both our interests for the United States to play a role in the Middle East to keep these two forces under control.

Sowayel: Yes. South Yemen and Iraq.

The President: Yes, the Shah said they are stirring things up in Iran also.

Sowayel: I have been telling the General that in 1948 all of the Arabs were friends with the United States. Since the creation of Israel, the Soviet Union is saying the U.S. always supports Israel against us. Look at Iraq. I was there during the revolution. Things were much better before than afterwards.

The President: If you could go and present it to him, fine. But it would be best if you would amplify, based on our conversation. I can't put it all in a letter.

We can't let it get in a position where a confrontation would develop because of the embargo. Where I would be hamstrung because of the embargo.

I didn't do enough during my first four years, but I am personally committed now to a settlement.

5-10

Pres - Central Sewage ✓
7 Feb 1710-1745 74

P Small work note - give you enjoy for your full
Winter note to HM which sent by cable, & want
to give you original - want to put it in
context.

We would like to talk to HM personally so
he knows from me not K. Tell him
coming to you is to him.

1st we have done agreement. We
working w/ signers was but there
are pressures & other security parts, can't
do it honestly.

Personal commitment & disengagement
from to signers - or E-I was to
the E. 1st time I have ever withdrawn

Pictures

This called a program - program
Rosenfeld.

As not concerns me, I know your great work
to normalize situation but you feel
you can't get out in front of algorithm
signers.

S- de Kuwait

P let me look at big picture & see if a
way to get it accomplished. let me
look in terms of politics.

June 12th President Eisenhower who has
no contact to Jewish community & Small
will be swayed.

To don't do enough in context
but determined war that NFE be

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINE: State Rev. ew 3/8/04

BY WJ NARA DATE 9/4/04



settled. I know HM has known ever
since - that my opponent's father.
Also his concerns over driving against.
I have written of content to 242, but
that is good. I don't know what I want
you to know is I have made a
contract. All will work out a
permanent settlement as quickly as
possible and as smoothly as possible. I'll
justify my offer elsewhere to that
you should know that I will do it
for some years here.

I think blackmail is important. Don't
think that is blackmailing. Whether
or not I will continue to work
for a part piece. Don't know
what Jerusalem will be - you don't
you just want more than I can negotiate
but I will have great difficulty negotiating
under pressure.

I will have 5 yrs. by success.
I may be beholden.
I want to know about it. It's very important.
But I will have to get a first piece - it
will be tough.

But my efforts being hindered & will
be somewhat jeopardized if embargo
is raised. Claim will be made
involving only because of pressure from Arab

That what Jackson et al say.
There is no linkage - I will continue
to work & punch my office behind it.
But any gesture H.M. can make, even
if he gets pressure from Arab friends,
will help me move a settlement
along.

I will not change my feet because of
embargos, but it will make it
difficult for me to move it along - Craig
& press.

Expectation raised in S.O. - which
I would base on letters from H.M.
I am in a bind - have three hopes - can't
have it all to work together for settlement.
H.M. has my personal contact to work
for 242 or settlement & my contact
to work on I - you know what a
particular that is in this case.

If H.M. could help in next few
days, so doesn't look like embargos
being held over our heads; opinions
could swing against Arabs. I know
that is not a case, but

H.M. should know he has a friend who
could take great risks, but his movement
on embargos would be enormously helpful
and helping me move



S Maybe I can go personally & deliver a letter.

P Some time ago I should send personal message. But we are good friends & I am doing this in my own time editing my letter. All the rest to put in letter.

~~I~~ I have heard some say these things many times.

I know some Arabs have said we have promised over a year & nothing. But now as result of war, it can be done & it will be done. This is what I want HAN to know.

I don't know the Syrians or Sabat. But I do know HAN who is an intelligent & has sense of history.

Let me be cancelled. George was here.

We are not trying to drive out SU & let

beginning but I think it better if

US continues to play a role & not leave

I only feel some areas to control SU.

Next to which part is progress at Geneva

I will do my best & that is a lot, to
worse I



Analysing it truly difficult to move as quickly as I want w/c exchanges. I understand it, but w/ good limits, etc. I don't want our people to start blaming Arabs.

A know HM can't believe w/o contact, but if contact with performance, that could be months.

S If US could promise if I would w/draw w/in a specific time & 67 time, that would be helpful

P I want promise what can't deliver, but there will be a settlement. Don't know a kind, but there will be settlement. HM can hold me to my contract. Wanted you to hear it from me so HM can ensure it that I will use full power of my office

S K statement was not useful

P Blackmail is a bad word. Should not have been used. HM not black market. I don't know - 2, but fact is it will make it much more difficult. I will give you about to say we have copy of Faisal, now let's get over settlement.

I would like enough progress to I could visit in spring - E, J, S A, I (copy along behavior)

We need to keep momentum to
entirely doesn't freeze

S Try to go myself

P This conf will not set up cooperation
w/ producers. Consumers will just look
at problems to see what can be done to
meet them.

Self sufficiency is not designed against
you. I want a world where we would
trade w/ you. Two threats in and -
Russia & SU. In both are interests for US
to play within ME to help these 2 make
control.

S Yes. S. Yaman, Iraq.

P Yes, Shuh said they stirring up in
Iran also.

S I telling you that in 48 all friends w/ US.
Since I, ~~was~~ SD saying ~~that~~ US
always supports I against you. Look at
Iraq. I was there during revolution
much better before than after.

P If you could go present it to him, fine.
But at least if you could explain
based on our conversation. Can't
put it all in letter.

Can't let it get in position where
cooperation would stop because of
embargo. Where I would be harassing
because of embargo



Didn't do enough during ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~last~~ ^{last} ~~year~~ ^{year} ~~or~~ ^{or} ~~two~~ ^{two} ~~years~~ ^{years}, but I am personally
committed now to a settlement.

