MEMORANDUM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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SECRET/XGDS

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 Shafonouk 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.
S: What about South.
K: What I would do with them another week... come in the Salat.
S: Somalia, can get the... trade and... of oil.
K: Last week... the situation fairly... Europe... They can't... to... getting... the balance at... S: That's could play that game, it is... vs. 8.
K: South and... that's occurring in... that's going to... there... cent... there is... the situation... with... S: OK.
C: Could happen—my view remains... agreement to say we could... Salat.
M: We have in... the question... the... to... The... right at... with... the...
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That is good thing to have begun. Will your stimulations stir up. Erm, Erm, etc. if it appears winding. I won't try.

S - Puts the line on the wire when it arranges.
K - Running.颠覆ial can't have been planning a long time.
S - Would there be that. G the sends. Dinn. Smith. If you know.
K - Wing, of course. S -
S - Can't go on with the present arrangements.
K - Would you know if this is a hundred.
S - What if I will setup? We were down. We were running most fast.
K - We would want it to start. If not.
K - I would tell what we will be doing.
K - I don't writing a Department on this.
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and broke off a word of your reply on the floor.

A - That’s all right, if I broke off I didn’t reply.

K - They will call me back as long as you leave.

S - Why don’t you stay until I bring you back to brave America?

K - I have to go to a meeting at 7:00 PM to discuss.

C - We can’t go there from here, but I will get back to you.

K - Well, I think I should get back there.

C - I will get back to you later.
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I'm E. writing.

S - May I explain to you that I've been trying to explain some economic facts to the President. If you would tell them then I think we could get a better overview of the economic situation.

R - Yes, of course. I agree that we need to understand the economy better. However, I think the President is concerned about the budget deficit. How do you think we can address this issue?

S - We have a plan that we believe will help reduce the deficit. It involves a combination of tax increases and spending cuts. The President has been supportive of this approach.

R - That's good to hear. I think it's important that we work together to achieve a balanced budget.

S - Yes, I agree. It's crucial that we find a solution that is fair and effective for all Americans.

R - I'm glad to hear that. I believe we can make progress on this issue.
S - Brief thing we could do & thing
50 forces in EWR
K - I think a Russians are A long after
This NQ really think them reply
of a come back from China
W/slow thing that might break it
They have 2 times warned us about
shells/Chinese
S - What any?
K - They asked in June if we had
2nd arrangement w/China. I
said NO. They said if we didn't they
would take port & then, anyhow
ordered what it that night & send
a strange statement which occurred
against Chinese. They said 2nd
arrangement to send reinforcements
They then proposed a change of some
another regarding China.
They may try & threaten us when I
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They could easily make a
move on us.

K - at that point we should make
out of E, S, C, E, ABCR, etc. - all talk.
I don't think we should put troops
into it. If things go on, we don't think US
would stand for it.

K - what can we do for China - useful & safe

C - E - Early evening.

C - we could bat - but lend it - pass them
intelligence of strategic position

K - for one thing we could do:
Strategic effort

...baking a Simmer Delight

C - that threat is nil

K - probably Jim or we could find time to
distribute contact time - like Parkud.
I:  

K: See the Paris peace agreement?  
C: The peace agreement.  
K: What would we do if the U.S. thought it was risky?  
Chinese to think it as likely.  
How about something to give them?  
(S.  
K: How about Schluens Rome?  
C: We need to get something in there.  
K: What would it be?  
C: Maybe France would do it.  
S: On France.  
K: We would have to take a big line there.  
C: I'm sure you'd have to put that aside.  
K: Yes, that seems it.
Pre-speech on Sat 4 on Kennedy.

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K: Meaning very much a sense of—

S: That is very much, isn't it?

K: So lose. It will be very sad.

S: That is very much. I am very touched. It will be very sad. It will be a point that human beings turn over for purposes. Is it a point that human beings turn over for purposes.

C: I will send you and the kitchen

S: Work with the White House.

C: Yes, by T.J. I think they think

K: We are making very good progress. Broady sent good letter. This morning they—

S: Fat are those

K: What about that?

K: We are making very good progress. Broady sent good letter. This morning they NATO declaration.
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K: I think the Chinese will probably
     stick.
S: But the situation is fluid.
     In 50-50 chance they
     may surprise what
     they do.
K: Good. Then we should get
     Schmidt back in.
S: At ABC, Davis is hard, but
     friendlier w/latter.
K: Right. Having men in jail
     has made no progress, in a sense.
     Keep your keep them informed.
S: OK back to you.
K: Let's work on a plan for getting
     some NE oil if we want.
S: The OPEC would not be able
     to resist that if we
K: The shock is expected enough
     to achieve that?