

*Scowcroft file*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET/NODIS/XGDS~~

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

'Umar al-Saqqaf, Minister of State  
for Foreign Affairs, Saudi Arabia

Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State  
and Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs

Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant  
to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME:

Saturday, June 15, 1974  
9:30 a.m.

PLACE:

Royal Guest Palace  
Jiddu, Saudi Arabia

Saqqaf: Did you have a good sleep?

Kissinger: The best on the trip. I might stay here.

Saqqaf: I have heard much about you, your personality, intuitions, etc.  
You have done well.

Kissinger: I told the King that some promised more than they could  
deliver and some deliver more than they promise. I know you are active  
behind the scenes.

Saqqaf: Syria is the center of Arab nationalism.

Kissinger: They are conscious of that more than Egypt is; what they do  
is for the Arab world. That is why talking with Asad is more an emotional  
experience than with Sadat. And of course, Khaddam is even more so.

Saqqaf: He is okay but not in that job. Confidentially.....

~~SECRET/NODIS/XGDS~~

DECLASSIFIED

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MADE DATE 3/6/04



Kissinger: I wanted you to meet General Scowcroft. He handles all the sensitive business in the White House for the President and for me.

Will I see Fahd?

Saqqaf: He will be at the meeting.

Kissinger: I wanted to see him because someone made him pay in Washington. It is stupidity.

Saqqaf: It doesn't matter.

Kissinger: I must see you during the summer. We must plan the next phase and we can't without you.

Saqqaf: Yes, I think we must go forward soon. We must have some points of agreement. We Arabs are emotional, and we give more in words sometimes than we can afford. The Saudis less so than others.

Kissinger: But you are loyal.

Saqqaf: We mean well. But we sometimes take things for granted.

Kissinger: What are you thinking of in particular? Has too much been promised?

Saqqaf: I can't say. But everything is related in the area. The King accepted the Algerian summit agreement and kept it responsible. I attacked Qaddafi and Iraq.

We appreciate what you have done. We are cooperating with you in all fields. But we can't swallow all this at once.

Kissinger: We will move at your pace.

Saqqaf: Some are impatient to make Saudi Arabia a modern country. But we need time.

Kissinger: My idea is that you move slowly enough to keep your political structure.



Saqqaf: Yes. We get money by the billions -- but what for? We need experts in all fields. And what cooperation is expected from our side?

Kissinger: In defense, we expect none. We will cooperate with you but we expect no help in our battles. You can help by being strong.

Saqqaf: We agree. We will help in South Yemen and have helped in Syria.

Kissinger: I wanted to tell you we have been approached by the Iraqis. I sat next to an Iraqi at a UN lunch -- I told him we didn't discriminate against any Arab nation which was independent. We got a message last week saying they were independent and want to have contact.

Saqqaf: I hope that is right, but some days they are good, some days they are bad.

Kissinger: We consider them Soviet clients and your enemies-in-arms. Some want me to have close relations with South Yemen, but we will move at your pace.

Saqqaf: We are not worried about North Yemen. That is helpful. The real leaders of the coup are not yet public.

Kissinger: We will recognize them a few days after you.

Saqqaf: We will as soon as they ask.

I have to say something about the Arab cause: You know it means evacuation from all the territory captured in '67. Now we get reports there are deals for arms, etc., to be sent by you to Israel. This would be a hindrance to peace. I don't know if it's true. You know that Egypt has received so many offers from the USSR, and if Israel gets these new arms it would be bad. The Arabs don't intend to destroy Israel. We want a negotiated peace.

Kissinger: We will continue our step-by-step efforts. We won't publish an overall plan because the American Jews would rise up against it. We are pushing them back bit by bit, and each bit breaks the back of some of the opposition in Israel. The attacks on me are partly by the Jews. We push them more every 3-6 months. We know there will be no peace until the '67 borders, but we can't say it.

Saqqaf: I don't ask you to adopt what I said. I want to put over my point of view.

Kissinger: We can get Israeli agreement only by giving them security. We won't give them new sophisticated or massive arms. You may hear of a long-range arms agreement, but that is not new because the Congress passes it every year anyway.

Saqqaf: The implementation of the cooperative agreement will depend on the general progress and developments in the area, in other words the progress towards peace.

Kissinger: We can even give a ceiling on it, and it will be about the same. Nothing will be done that the Soviets haven't been doing. If you hear of a long-term agreement when the President is in Israel, it is nothing new. It's just what we have been doing.

Saqqaf: King Faisal stands for his ideas and he wouldn't be Faisal if he changed. He was happy to receive the President. He was gay and happy in the office and went from here to the office last night. He is very happy. He suffered inside from what happened. He suffered from the neglect and from what the Arabs were trying to do against the United States. Ten years ago we were weak -- we said we couldn't stand against Nasser -- Faisal did. He keeps everything in, and that is why he is tired. We have the Arab summit on the 3rd in Rabat. They will attack us, Egypt and Syria. We don't want pressure from the Arab countries. We used oil and it was effective, but it is not a game to use again and again.

Kissinger: It is too dangerous.

Saqqaf: I told you when I thought the embargo should be lifted.

Kissinger: Yes, you said when it shouldn't and when it should.

Saqqaf: We speak no more about an embargo. If we feel desperate, that is something else, but not now.

Kissinger: I don't think you will feel desperate.



Sagqaf: I think public opinion is more favorable to the Arabs.

Kissinger: This trip will help the American people to think of the Arabs as friends, not as in the time of Nasser.

Sagqaf: We know what you yourself have done in this regard and we greatly appreciate it.

K/Saggaf  
Sat 0930

June 15, 1974  
Jidda



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- K Best on trip. In fact stay here
- S Heard much about you, your personality, intentions, etc.  
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S. US want moved about 14 years. That is  
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→

S The implementation of cooperative agreements will depend on a good purpose & direction in career (i.e., toward peace).

anyway. We can overcome or ceasing out it & it will be about the same. Nothing to do or least I am haven't been over.

If you hear anything from a government when P in F, it is nothing new. Just what we have been doing.

S Farid stands for his ideas & he wouldn't be Farid if he changed. Happy to receive P. He was gay & happy in office & went from here to office last month. He was very happy. He surprised me with from what happened. He suffered from neglect & from what Arabs were trying to do against US. 10 years ago we were - some could stand against Nasser. Farid did.

He keeps everything in & that's why he's tired.

We have Arab summit on 3rd in Beirut. They will attack us, Egypt, Syria. We don't want pressure from Arab countries.

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