

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

**DECLASSIFIED**

E.O. 13526 SEC. 3.8

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

~~TOP SECRET/NODIS/XGDS~~

**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.

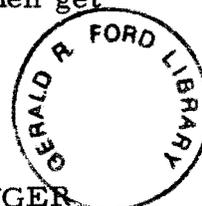
Kissinger: What could string it out the longest?

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.



~~TOP SECRET/NODIS/XGDS~~

CLASSIFIED BY HENRY A. KISSINGER  
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION  
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.

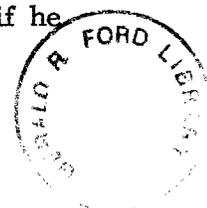
I think we maybe have too many meetings.

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.

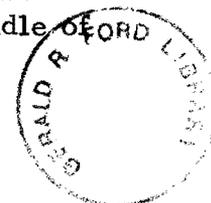
Kissinger: Okay.

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 of 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/Schwartz/Walt/Sec

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

5 Sept 1973

8:00 am  
Pentagon

Interim Possession

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

K - Don't worried about leaks

Carter - Devised Possession could cost  
more

K - What could string it out longest

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

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

S - Pompidou lying

K - Brant order to Palmer Chase

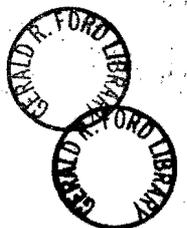
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E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

MR # 07-12 #32

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

By dal NARA, Date 12/11/09



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Pompidou. Baker would get some support for neutral until German & them 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 out next Spring.

E suggests some idea that we need some of E in to restore Pres. popularity.

R - want to discuss how we will make a KSC system work



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would you think it good if  
you, 2, both, however had  
headprint at top of each work  
item

S - Grant. Every Tuesday

K - Success can take notes

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

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.



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S- I think we maybe have too many mtgs.

for Clements & Sambi Amari

K- I think he has no F. P. judgment  
Has oil now were forget along w/  
Sambis.

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

Sambis are best equipped to deal  
w/ the A-I dispute.

we w/c Egyptians where we were  
w/ DKV - Have to get things put  
unconventional surround

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



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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.

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

This similar to Santipatria

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

S- the Ayer 98%. Elements would  
just hold hands. I think we  
must keep Persian Gulf issue  
away from A-I. I would just  
send Elements to Gulf area.

K- But do you think he can be



Is there a Saudi F-111 I can talk  
to at U.N.

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- Can't talk? He can't just go out  
+ do what he wants anyway
- S - We need to hold Saudi hands.  
Let me test Chomsky in Korea  
He didn't goofed over Jay
  - K - And in Persian Arabian Gulf.  
(Contingency plans)
  - S - Iranians could take Kuwait &  
but not cross Gulf.
  - K - Saudi wants to know F-14-15 miss  
Robert says would have F-14
  - S - We ~~running~~ running out of money for  
Cambodia. I would like to go  
to China + ask for <sup>let</sup> see God  
~~money~~ draw down its amount  
\* account for c. next year.
  - H - What are deadweight?
  - S - more
  - K - etc



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S - Australia. Whitten is busterd

K - I agree

S - I would like to cool down a little. Angus intelligent performer. 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 permissive

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?



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S - Iceland. But Amb doesn't think  
~~the~~ there as out lands could be  
gotten thru Iceland parliament.  
This different from US Amb.  
assessment.

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

K - On Poddick. We want to keep  
France from unity case law  
against us. If we keep French  
trying they can get ahead of Brit  
this would accomplish our objective  
I am sure Brits M.R.O. while French  
was so far behind - had. If we  
could give Brits, dispensing we have  
& hold open M.R.O. for Fr. a few  
years, we could keep them out



✓ Party week after next  
remember when stand on SALT

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K - On Germany, Stahl, Weber OK,  
Schmidt maybe, but old  
German with Bolshevism is  
more compatible w/ COO than  
SPD.

S - French are important

S - SALT, ~~to~~ 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

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S - I want to go to Germany, Turkey.

K - Good, but Gower also

S - Position ~~also~~ Play Brits along  
more? Let them know or  
clear that at MIAV?

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

S - Security Assoc. 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 F sense

K - what should ~~be done~~

S - Stop hickering at middle level

