

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

CIA HAS NO OBJECTION TO
DECLASSIFICATION AND/OR
RELEASE OF THIS DOCUMENT
DATE: AUG 2007
BY: 0664393

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
Amb. Kenneth Rush, Deputy Secretary of State
William Clements, Deputy Secretary of Defense
Adm. Thomas Moorer, Chairman, JCS
William E. Colby, Director of Central Intelligence

DATE AND TIME:

Saturday, October 13, 1973
10:45 a.m.

PLACE:

Situation Room

SUBJECT:

Special WSAG -- Principals Only

Kissinger: The President said if there are any further delays in carrying out orders, we want the resignation of the officials involved.

We had two objectives in the war; to maintain contact with both sides. For this the best outcome would be an Israeli victory but it would come at a high price, so we could insist that they ensure their security through negotiations, not through military power. Second, we attempted to produce a situation where the Arabs would conclude the only way to peace was through us. But during the war we had to show the Israelis they had to depend on us to win and couldn't win if we were to recalcitrant.

On Tuesday, we told the Israelis that we would give them the consumables they needed.

Schlesinger: That's wrong. We said they'd get the consumables that were available and they'd attempt to get charters.

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

CLASSIFIED BY HENRY A. KISSINGER
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5 (b) (1, 3)
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON Imp. to det.

Kissinger: Okay, but we needed to get the stuff in when we needed an offensive. Now it is going in afterwards, when we want the diplomacy to work. We are in active diplomacy with all of them. Our thinking is that the bureaucracy is dragging its feet on the grounds that we are going in on the Israeli side. Now we are being forced to take actions which do run a risk.

Israel has been hurt. But can we hold the Arabs still, and can we cover our present high-profile operation?

Schlesinger: Where did we screw up?

Kissinger: We should have forced the charters.

Clements: I agree. But we didn't know it was urgent.

Kissinger: The Arabs may even be smelling a victory, not a stalemate. That means the Soviet Union has won. For us to have gone in to have saved the Arabs' ass would have been perfect. The Saudis, for example, want a situation where the Soviet Union is humiliated and the Arabs turn to the United States. An Arab victory, even with American acquiescence, will look like American weakness. The Israelis have now slowed because of the shortages; now they might crank up when we want them to stop.

Schlesinger: We weren't asked to get in until Thursday night. The Israelis never told us they had shortages.

Kissinger: I am sure the history books will show Israel was defeated by poor planning and lousy tactics. But right now, I have the diplomacy going, and I can't make it work unless the Arabs are sweating. It took me two days to line up Israel, and they are now starting to drag their feet. We might lose the Soviets. We hoped to have the Syrians and Egyptians at each other's throats because Israel would have captured Syrian territory.

Clements: How can we help now?

Kissinger: Let's fly in some US planes. Let's get the charter going.

I want the Arabs to think the Israelis may go wild when they get equipment.

Schlesinger: We are 5,000 miles away. For refueling, we are using Torrejon, and we can't do that massively without the Spanish.

Kissinger: How bad off are the Israelis?

Colby: They are slowing down. They are telling their pilots to conserve fuel and ammo.

Schlesinger: There is ammo on the way.

Kissinger: Golda was coming on Tuesday. I turned her off by providing the consumables.

What I am afraid of is if I kick off the diplomacy, and the Egyptians take the Mitla pass, we are in a mess,

Our problem is to get the war over in a way the Arabs have to come to us, and then turn on the Israelis. If Israel feels we have let them down and the Arabs think they have done it themselves, we are sunk.

Colby: Israel wanted to wipe out Syria and then turn on Egypt, and this can still work on the Arabs.

Clements: We should now go in with a massive airlift.

Kissinger: No, we will lose all our Arab friends.

Schlesinger: How much different is a US airlift from commandeered charter flights.

Clements: We are already pregnant with the C-5's.

Moorer: They have gotten 7,500 rounds of 105 mm ammo. Also 175's, chaff, LAW's.

Schlesinger: We can just use Lajes and let the Portuguese protest to us.

Kissinger: It has taken a week to get us to the point where this was jelling. I don't want to blow it all in a spasm. Doesn't it make a difference if it's charter versus an American airlift?

Colby: It gives them a face-saving device if they want to.

Kissinger: I agree. If they want to blow it up, they will. If they don't want to, this gives them the hope.

Moorer: The F-4's will blow them more than an airlift.

Colby: I think we should just use Lajes.

Kissinger: They want HAWK missiles. We can't lose all the Africans for Israel.

Schlesinger: We need a base. Either Lajes, Spain, or Italy.

Kissinger: In the next three days, Israel should be on the attack but without rupturing it with the Arabs.

Clements: That means consumables.

Schlesinger: The F-4's are moving. They will have 10 by Sunday night and 14 by Monday.

Kissinger: Our interests are not identical with Israel's. We want Israel to win so the Arabs will turn to us. Israel wants us locked in.

Let's use the C-5's to go in until we can get a charter going. That is at least fewer planes.

Schlesinger: The Chicago convention requires prior approval.

Colby: I think we should get some ships, too, so the Israelis will know we are working on it.

Kissinger: With luck we may have a ceasefire by Monday night. [He outlined the scenario.] I've got three Arab Foreign Ministers coming Tuesday to see the President.

Schlesinger: We have to have Lajes for a charter. We have the 141's at Lajes now. Let's move it in.

Kissinger: Okay.

Clements: The C-5's could have a salutary effect by going in.

Schlesinger: It is more complex. Henry's leverage with the Arabs depends on showing he can keep....

Kissinger: I need the flight times when they will get there. I will tell Ismail after they get there. Bill, will you organize the charter?

Schlesinger: We've got to get Lajes.

Kissinger: That is my problem. Get two ships loaded, too. Let Brent know when everything will arrive. I will send a note to Egypt that we have been restrained. If the Arabs see that things will get worse if they don't get a ceasefire, we may be okay. How bad off are the Israelis?

Colby: They are not too bad but they are rationing ammo.

Moorer: Israel seems to be turning south in Syria.

Clements: There are four divisions there. That will take time. Iran.

Kissinger: We'll tell them we have been restrained for four days in the face of a massive Soviet resupply. We are now providing only emergency items and we continue to seek the earliest possible ceasefire.