

## THE WHITE HOUSE

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APPLY

## MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

## PARTICIPANTS:

Ambassador Rabin  
Henry A. Kissinger  
Peter Rodman, NSC Staff *PR*

MORI C03352108

## DATE AND TIME:

March 9, 1973  
6:00 - 6:20 p. m.

## PLACE:

The Map Room

Dr. Kissinger: When do you leave?Amb. Rabin: Tomorrow night.Dr. Kissinger: Really!Amb. Rabin: It's time to go home!Dr. Kissinger: You are one of the few people I will genuinely miss. I don't say this just to be polite. Your successor is not in your league, frankly. Tell him what we don't need is a clever Israeli. I mean, you are clever but steady.Amb. Rabin: You want me to tell him this.Dr. Kissinger: Tell him don't be cute, don't try to maneuver around town. You were reliable.Amb. Rabin: I maneuvered when I had to!

If you ask me what I worry about, it is the preparation for the Summit--the Middle East on one side and MFN.

Dr. Kissinger: I tell you, if the Jewish community blocks MFN, there will be violent reaction from the President.Amb. Rabin: I keep telling them at home, the security problem and the boundaries is not the issue. Relations with the U. S. and the wholeTOP SECRET/SENSITIVE/EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLYTOP SECRET - XGDS (3)  
CLASSIFIED BY: HENRY A. KISSINGER

philosophical problem, is the real issue we will face. If the President had not raised it with the Prime Minister, she would not have realized it.

Dr. Kissinger: Does she realize it now?

Amb. Rabin: I think so. I will tell my successor this is what he will face.

Dr. Kissinger: Did you see Marquis Childs today?

Amb. Rabin: Yes, and the Jackson people have 70 Senators.

Dr. Kissinger: If I were the Israeli Ambassador I would pray to lose this one.

Amb. Rabin: I will tell my successor this is what he will face.

On the aircraft, Rogers called Mrs. Meir and repeated the commitment.

Dr. Kissinger: I told you all that.

Amb. Rabin: Yes, but it was a good call. I got it in writing on production now. There is no clear-cut definition of what and what. But I lunched with Sisco. I asked him, "Are you going to sue it for blackmail?" He said, "There is no politics, this is the spirit of the instructions from the White House." On the planes, he had nothing in writing, but he repeated the commitment. Sisco said they were working on a projection for more than two years ahead.

Dr. Kissinger: I told him to do that.

Amb. Rabin: So it would take a few more weeks to do. I said fine.

On the political issue, what will happen?

Dr. Kissinger: That's what I want to talk to you about. I have told you what the situation is.

Amb. Rabin: I understand it, I understand it.

Dr. Kissinger: Does she understand it?

Amb. Rabin: Yes, she understands.

Dr. Kissinger: I have briefed you twice.

Amb. Rabin: Yes.

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Dr. Kissinger: You must not squander it. I have now defused the issue for you. When there is a Summit-- it will probably be in June; this is for your information only. Dobrynin came back and brought great pressure on the Middle East. I used the Egyptian thing against him: "The Egyptians don't want you in it. As long as we are talking to the Egyptians, we can't get into detailed negotiations with you without total confusion."

But they put it at the top of the agenda.

Amb. Rabin: Higher than trade?

Dr. Kissinger: Trade they regard as already settled. It's our obligation now.

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Amb. Rabin: Yes.

Dr. Kissinger: Let me show you the impressions of [redacted]

[redacted] You might take a look at it. [Rabin reads it.] This doesn't mean anything in itself, but... [Rabin continues reading, and hands it back.]

Let me tell you what my thinking is.

Amb. Rabin: I understood you would like...

Dr. Kissinger: I would like to have come out of the summit the same principles that came out of Moscow--or better ones. I would like to sell them the same principles again. But this time they may have to be public. This is an excuse, first of all, to stay out of detailed negotiations, and it could be an excuse for you and the Egyptians to have an interim agreement. This will take us through the fall. Then, given their reluctance to have full peace, we can have interim security arrangements--which I tried to tell them, and if we can believe this, has at least sunk in. This takes us to 1974.

Amb. Rabin: What we lose is the commitment of the United States to the sovereignty of Egypt. You use to say "rectification" in your principles. Knowing Egypt, rectification means no Gaza.

The Prime Minister asked you and she asked me--what do the Russians have on the Americans? What is it they have on you?

Dr. Kissinger: Mr. Ambassador, you will lose something. But you will gain time. You will not be able to maintain for the next four years the position that you can do nothing, that you can just stay where you are. I

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am being hit from every direction. When I get hit this much, it means the President is being hit ten times as much. But you can try the gamble.

Amb. Rabin: To come with principles publicly, say July or August, will be very unpleasant to the Prime Minister. That is two or three months before our election.

Dr. Kissinger: There is no countervailing influence on the President. The only thing restraining things is the belief that I will come up with some solution.

Amb. Rabin: But there is the belief that the U.S. has to make a serious effort to find a solution.

Dr. Kissinger: Nothing will happen until April 10 when Ismail comes back. He has never dealt with me; I can make him feel he's part of a profound operation. I can use him to kill the Gromyko talks but not to kill everything.

You can come in tomorrow to read through the transcripts. You will see that I just asked questions and evaded answers.

One thing which you should tell your successor he should not do is try to check up on me around town, or try to be clever.

Amb. Rabin: Oh no, we know your role. The Prime Minister knows your role. And we have no reason to destroy the one channel we can rely on.

Dr. Kissinger: Yes, but Dayan, for example, thinks he can manipulate everybody.

Amb. Rabin: One question the Prime Minister wanted to raise with you is Africa. Houphouet-Boigny sent a message to her saying that Africa will be lost unless the U.S. will do something.

Dr. Kissinger: He is coming here and the President will see him.

Amb. Rabin: So everything is fine.

For the next ten minutes Dr. Kissinger and the Ambassador conferred alone.

End of Memcon

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