

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET/NODIS/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
Ambassador Kenneth Rush, Deputy Secretary
of State
Admiral Thomas Moorer, Chairman, JCS
William Colby, Director, Central Intelligence

DATE AND TIME: Tuesday, October 9, 1973
9:40 - 10:25 a. m.
11:55 a. m. - 12:20 p. m.

PLACE: Situation Room

SUBJECT: Special WSAG - Principals Only

Kissinger: This will be a preliminary discussion. Later we will meet with the President. The Israelis have called all night asking for deliveries. This morning they said they bombed Damascus hoping for a quick victory.

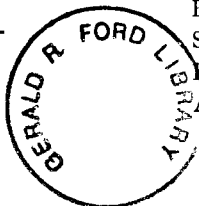
At 0800 they told me their losses in aircraft and tanks. Some of the tanks have broken down. The total of Arab resupply from other countries is 1,800.

They are desperate and they want help. They are willing to mobilize the aircraft and point out the El Al signs. They especially need anti-tank ammunition.

Schlesinger: That is strange. Yesterday they said the 30th was okay.

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MR06-04 #3
RAC Program 9/21/05
BY HR NARA DATE 4/16/07

Kissinger: I am just reporting what they said. Also Golda wants to come over here for one hour and return. That is unusual for just 100 tanks.

Let me give the problems. You all can think about this and we then will meet with the President.

Battles in the desert are like naval battles; you either win or lose. Their lines could crack, or there could be a stalemate. That too would give the Arabs a tremendous boost. If the Israelis can represent us as having screwed them in their hour of need, we lose any leverage we have.

Schlesinger: It also increases their need for us.

Kissinger: The best way would be for them to win without our help.

Schlesinger: That still may be okay.

Kissinger: We have to decide how to handle these requests -- we can meet them, deny them, meet them partially, or obfuscate. To meet them would immediately drive the Arabs wild.

Moorer: It would trigger the Soviets also.

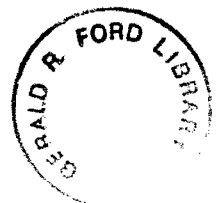
Rush: Also the Saudis.

Kissinger: They said they would do well with the Syrians today and hold against Egypt. They are scared that if their losses get out, all the Arabs would jump in.

Schlesinger: They still have a decisive edge in aircraft, and know that many can be repaired.

They are asking for two types of things. The ancillary equipment we can do, except some ECM with technicians. The major issue is tanks and aircraft. If we seem to turn around a battle that the Arabs are winning, we are in trouble. We should be willing to defend the Israeli borders ourselves, but not get involved now.

Their story has shifted in the last 24 hours. They either fibbed yesterday about the bridges down or today about the forces who got across.



Colby: They are doing okay in Syria. They have pushed them back.

Kissinger: But Syria didn't crack.

Moorer: The Israelis are out numbered four to one.

Colby: The Sinai is farther away and less accessible. Syria is an immediate threat.

According to the last reports they are doing well along the Canal. If the Egyptians have only gone 10-12 kilometers, that is not much.

Rush: The Israeli objective is to get us locked in. We can break with the Soviet Union.

Kissinger: As of last night we were in great shape.

Rush: This may be the Israeli scenario to lock us in.

Schlesinger: The situation has not changed that much. We want to see Syria and Egypt get their knuckles rapped. We have a chance that we may wind up with an Egyptian presence in the East Bank. We don't like it -- but is that enough to risk our new stature with the Arabs?

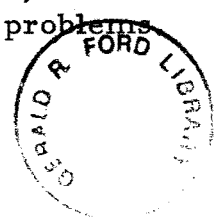
Kissinger: There are two interpretations of Soviet behavior: First, that they have washed their hands of the Arabs and hope they get kicked. That gets it for us. The second possibility is they knew about it all along and strung us along.

By tonight we will face a ceasefire resolution which we can veto, abstain or vote for. The present instruction is we should abstain. I don't see how we can veto it unless the Arabs object.

Schlesinger: Maybe we should vote for it. Who can object to a vote for peace?

Kissinger: If we vote for it, how can we avoid sanctions? Because Israel won't accept it, they will feel betrayed.

Rush: I think we should abstain. If we vote for it, or if we abstain, Israel will do what it wants anyway. If we veto, we face massive problems



Kissinger: It is possible the Arabs will couple a ceasefire with a return to the 1967 borders. We can probably start talking.

Colby: A couple of days would help.

Kissinger: That is a tactical problem. How about Golda coming? My judgment is that would be a mistake.

Rush: A mistake.

Kissinger: The President's first instruction is to give everything. I am leaning to give them as much of the consumables as possible that are of use in battle, and put the heavy equipment on a time schedule which would put it beyond the war. There are two F-4's this month, is that correct?

Schlesinger: They will be ready in a couple of days. We need to know about the bridges.

Kissinger: We should fly the SR-71.

Colby: The bridges can be put up and taken down.

Kissinger: They say they underestimated the Egyptians' capacity. They were cocky last night, pushing for aircraft, but I said yes, but after the battle.

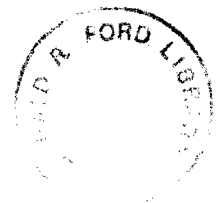
Moorer: They underestimated the Syrians and had to divert their air.

Kissinger: Maybe they will turn it today. But for Golda to absent herself, that is not an easy decision.

Colby: The long-term Israeli strategy is to lock us in. Their time clock is ticking. If they wrap it up in a few days, they will lose their chances to lock us in.

Rush: I think they are trying to lock us in. She wouldn't leave if the situation was desperate. This would be the worst thing for them to do.

Kissinger: That may be, but we don't know their objectives.



Colby: To lock us in is their objective; they need many appropriations.

Schlesinger: We can't replace the tanks without using the C-5.

Kissinger: If we can figure a schedule which we could fulfill after the war, that is the way I am thinking. We can't ship the tanks and a large number of aircraft during the battle.

Kissinger: But are there two or three F-4's lying around which are not in units which we could offer and say that is all we can do?

Schlesinger: I will check. The problem is to keep things quiet.

Kissinger: Can we keep ammunition quiet?

Colby: Sending anti-tank ammunition is defensive and can be justified.

Rush: How accurate is the estimate the Arabs only have two days of ammunition?

Schlesinger: If Henry's second thesis is right, the Soviets may have jumped in.

Kissinger: Let's meet at 11:30. Pick out of this list what can be reasonably related to defense and on-going operations.

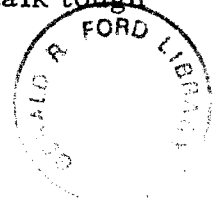
[The meeting adjourned at 10:25 and was convened again at 11:55].

Moorer: This is the intelligence assessment from our Defense attache. 48 hours ago there was gloom. 24 hours ago, they were euphoric. Now they have lost their air of exultation because of a change of attitude on inventories rather than tactically. They are pushing the Egyptians back. The DAO expects new requests for more consumables soon. The losses are stated as 150 tanks and 50 aircraft. He now feels the tank assessment is low and maybe the aircraft assessment is high. He says they will present their losses in a way as to put it in the best light.

Kissinger: There are two issues: supply and the indication the Soviet Union is stirring up the Arabs.

[He read out the Jordan and Algerian cables, and the Bhutto letter.]

We can't let the Soviet Union get away with this. We have to talk tough to them.



The President will meet with us at 4:00. I told the Israelis they would hear from us about 6-6:30.

Schlesinger: Option one [see attached paper] handles the request for consumables. It leaves out laser bombs -- they can't use them. [Tab A]

Kissinger: How quickly can we move?

Schlesinger: This evening.

Kissinger: Can you set up a procedure for keeping it secret?

Schlesinger: We will do our best.

Kissinger: Are we using one airfield or many airfields?

Moorer: Maybe two - _____ and Robbins.

Kissinger: I would promise them replacement without a firm promise on equipment with a schedule which would put deliveries after the battle.

Schlesinger: That is okay. If we don't, they may run out of ammo.

Colby: The Israelis have 14 days' supply for a whole army.

Kissinger: That's like the NATO assessments. If you run out of one item, you are out.

Moorer: Not really.

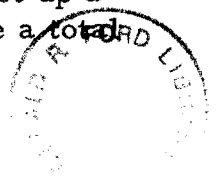
Kissinger: Option two is really option 1 plus lasers. You work out a schedule for the equipment.

Schlesinger: On the F-4, we can't give them any separately, but we can add to the delivery from McDonnell-Douglas. To give them 300 tanks, we would have to take them from the Army.

Kissinger: How can we do it over time?

Moorer: We can't do it without taking them out of inventory -- the modern ones.

Kissinger: We have two things -- get them over the crisis and set up a resupply schedule. We can't fly in tanks with a C-5. It would be a total



disaster. If they think they will get replacements, they may be more free in expending them.

Schlesinger: Tactically they are not doing badly. They are worried about supply.

Kissinger: I am outraged by the Soviet behavior.

Colby: That is cheap. It is not costing them anything.

Kissinger: But it is not what they promised the President.

Schlesinger: What we are seeing is not a tactical change, but ammunition shortages....

Kissinger: Something started during the night, because he was cracking at 1900. Then he called at 2:00 upset. Again at 3:00 and again at 6:35. The only information I have that you don't is these phone calls.

Moorer: I think they reassessed based on reports the Arabs are sending equipment and they are afraid of a war of attrition. The Arabs never before have been coordinated.

Schlesinger: They are crying wolf maybe because they want to lock us in.

Kissinger: I would agree, if they hadn't been euphoric yesterday. Why did they switch?

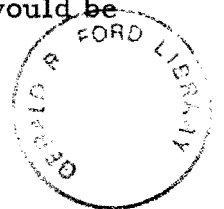
I think we should not surface anything in the UN and wait for someone else to do something.

Colby: Is there any kind of solution which would leave Egypt on the East Bank?

Kissinger: The best scenario is for Israel to push them across the Canal, but there would be severe strategic losses. We don't want an Arab debacle. Israel has suffered a strategic defeat no matter what happens. They can't take two-to-one losses.

Colby: But isn't that a reason they might agree to Egypt on the East?

Kissinger: The government couldn't survive that. The best would be a status quo. There are heavy Israeli losses.



Schlesinger: The Israelis don't have that faith. We have been giving them little, saying that if there is trouble we will pour equipment in.

Kissinger: My assessment is a costly victory without a disaster is the best.

Colby: Being thrown back across the Canal would be an Egyptian disaster.

Kissinger: Can you identify equipment now for movement after 4:00?

Schlesinger: We want to put the Roosevelt to sea.

Kissinger: Wait until 4:00.

Moorer: On the SR-71, can we get the paperwork done?



A



Option 0 is what we have been doing up to this point. It consists of regularly scheduled contractor deliveries plus minimum aid primarily to provide an indication of US support, but minimizing visibility of movements so as to preserve the image of even-handedness. Delivery on 8 October of one planeload of Sidewinders plus bomb racks is the additional aid provided so far.

Option 1 is provide consumables of the traditional types we have previously provided. This would be provided immediately, although responsibility for transportation would be theirs. Associated with Option 1 is the promise of future delivery of replacement equipment, but we are not going to provide that equipment -- tanks or aircraft, etc. -- during the crisis or current battle time-frame.

Option 2 would be Option 1 plus new types of expendables, such as laser bombs, etc. Delivery of replacement equipment would be provided after the crisis period.

Option 3 is essentially Option 2 plus delivery of replacement equipment "in the near future," depending on how well the current tide of battle goes. If it turns for the worse 48 hours from now, we begin to finalize plans for replacement equipment.

Option 4 -- immediate delivery of consumables plus replacement equipment on the basis of they can haul away themselves. This would include such replacement items as F-4s.



Option 5 is Option 4 plus use of US delivery means, including C-5As for M-60 tank delivery.



(1973)

Special NSAG / Principles only
9 OCT 9 40-1025
1155-1220

HTK
Schlitz
Kush
Kroger
Cilly

R Latin discussion, later meet w/ P
Born called all night asking for directions.
This morning they said bunched Denver
hoping for quick meeting.
at 8:00 they told me their loss —
— aft, tanks

Some of tanks have broken down, 1500 total
~~disposal~~ ^{with} Resupply from other countries
They are desperate + want help, wishing
to ~~get~~ ^{get} ~~out~~ ^{out} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~area~~ ^{area}. Exp need

S Strange. Yesterday they said 30 ~~th~~ th ~~ok~~
R I am just reporting. Also Golde wants
to come over for 1 hr return. Star Universal
for just 100 tanks

~~How~~ ~~are~~ ~~we~~ ~~let~~ ~~me~~ ~~talk~~ ~~you~~ ~~others~~ —
you all think of this + work then will
meet w/ P

Battles in desert are like naval battles — you
either win or lose. Their loss could
crack, or this could be statement, that
to world's ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~a~~ ^a ~~travelling~~ ^{travelling} ~~boat~~ ^{boat},
if ~~we~~ ^{we} ~~can~~ ^{can} ~~represent~~ ^{represent} ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~being~~ ^{being} ~~desired~~ ^{desired}
then in hr of need, we had overcap

S Also increases their need for us
K - Best way would be win w/ help

S Still way to go

K How to handle requests — meet them
deny them, meet, actually oppose.
Trust himself would give ambition

XI - Trigger Lines also
R - Also Search

DECLASSIFIED
AUTHORITY for ml 26-24 #3
BY h NARA, DATE 8/14/09



K ~~John~~ They said they would do well w/ Syrians
today + hold against E.

They sound if bases get out, all desks would
bring in

S They have efficient edge in air, & some
money can be utilized.

They are on being for 2 types of things.

Another thing is cards, except some
FLXII ~~is~~ w/ technicians

They have is tanks + aft. If we
submit to them around a better work
winning, we in trouble. We should be
inhibited Israeli borders ourselves, but
not get involved now

E Stay has shifted in last 24 hrs. They
within field eyes in about bridges down
a total about 4000 who get across

C They doing it in Syria. How fast it there
but

K Rent S about crack

M I am around 4-1

C Since is further way + has accessible
Syria is immediate threat.

According to last reports they doing well
along canal.

If ~~they~~ \Rightarrow have only gone 10-12 K, that
not much

R Israeli operation is to get us behind
we can of keep w/ SU

K And last night we were in great
shape



R This may be I believe to look us in
S Sit. has not changed that much
We want to see S & F get their
kneecaps capped.

We have choice on way around by a F
purchase in East bank - we don't like -
Cost is that thought with an over
situation in Arab

K 2 integrations of SU - They have worked
this hard of crypto + hope they get
bigger ^{think} ~~just~~ for ~~us~~
along + strong as along.

By tonight we will force a F withdrawal
which we can not obtain, we for
present instant is we should obtain.
Don't see how we can not make Arab
object.

S Zough we should work for it. We have no subject
to ~~work~~ with paper

K If ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~article~~, how can we avoid
conditions, cause I want a right. They

R ^{think} ~~we~~ ~~will~~ ~~ful~~ ~~betrayed~~
we should obtain, if ~~for~~ ~~it~~, if obtain,
~~we~~ I will ~~drunk~~ ~~it~~ ~~into~~ ~~anyway~~, if
into, we force business partners.

K It possible Arab will cough C.F. as return
to 67. We can probably start today

C Cough of days would help

R That is to their problem. How about Arab
suing? My judgement that a mistake

R a mistake



K I feel inclination to give everything
every thing is to give them as much
equipment as possible of use in
battle & put heavy emphasis on
a time schedule which would put
myself a war.

There are 2 F4s this month, yes?

S Be ready in couple of days.
We need to know about bridges

R Should fly U.S.R-71

C Bridges can be up and down.

R They say they unobstructed E capacity
They were only last night - pushing for
a ft, but I said yes, but after a while

R They unobstructed a Super & had to divert
this air.

R Maybe they will turn it into. Best for hold
to about ~~the~~ base, that sort of way
choice

C long term I strategy, not look as in,
Their time of use is taking. If they were
it again a few days, they will be
think chances to look as in

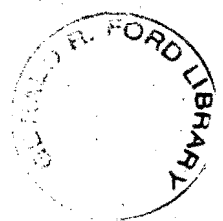
R I think they trying to look as in. She
would be hard if not. was objects

That would be worst thing for them to do

^{through the}
K We don't have their expertise
S Look in as objective, not my affection
also want expose the tanks w/ 5-5

R If we can figure out a schedule which
we could fulfill after war, that may
I thinking.

Can't strip tanks & large # of aft during attack.



R But on this 2 or 3 F 4 is being around
which not in units which we would
offer + say that all we can do

S I would check. Perhaps is to keep things
joint

R Can we bring around joint?

S Much of money different. But would
be happy if they at joint.

C Seeking out truck money is expensive and
unjustified.

R How accurate is estimate. Arabs only have
been 2 days ago

S By R. 2 rel thesis right, SU may have
puzzled in

R met at 11 30

Pick out of this but what can be reasonably
related to present on going pros.

Meeting adjourned at 10:25

1155

Initial access from DAO

Adm-

48 hrs ago there was glow. 24 hrs ago they
were emphatic. Now they lost air of hesitation,
because of change of attitude on inventors rather
than actively. They are pushing E back. DAO
expects very ~~say~~ reasonable agreements soon.
Losses: 1/50 trucks / 50 aft. He ~~is~~ now feels
truck assessment low & maybe aft is high.
He says they will present their losses in some
or to put it in best light

R 2 issues - Supply & indication SU is
stirring up Arabs.



(Real ~~How~~ Jordan + Algeria ^{calls} ~~is~~, Bhatta
better).

W> can't let SV get away w/ this. Have to talk
Troy to them.

PLD will meet w/ us at 4:00, I told Israeli
they would hear about 6-6:20.

S Option 1 handles request for command. It
leaves out laser bombs - they can't use them -

K How quickly can we move

S This evening

K Can you set up procedure for keeping secret.

S Do some list.

L One or many airfields

M Maybe 2 - Buena + Robbins

K I would provide replacement w/o firm
promise on timing w/ schedule which would
put decision off the table

S That is okay. If we don't, they may get run
out of our mind

C Israeli's have 14 days supply for whatever.

K That's like NATO. If you run out of oil, you
are out.

M - hot war.

K Option 2 is really option 1 plus lasers.
You work out schedule for ~~it~~ equipment

S One F-4, emit guns them ~~any~~ separately,
but can add to a ~~schedule~~ from McD's.
To give them ~~3~~ 20 tanks, we would have to
take them from Army

K How can we do it over time

M Emit w/o taking them from inventory -
working on



K We have 2 things - put them on a crisis and set up supply ~~of~~ ^{to} ~~them~~. Put fly in tank w/c - 5 ^{level} ^{of} total division if they think will get replacements, they may be more free in expanding

S Tactically they not doing badly. They worried about supply

K Lane outraged by SU behavior

E That's cheap - they not eating anything

K Best not what promised.

S What we seeing is not tactical change, but around ~~the~~ shortages - - -

R Something should ~~be~~ ~~done~~ ~~at~~ ~~night~~, could be crisis at 1900. Then called at 2:00 report. Again at 2:00, at 6:55. Only info I have you did ~~is~~ ~~over~~ phone calls.

W. Think they ~~used~~ ~~based~~ ~~on~~ reports Arabs are smoking opium & they fearing w/ attrition. Arabs ~~will~~ ~~have~~ ~~been~~ ~~crushed~~.

S They crying wolf maybe because they want to withdrawal.

K ~~It~~ I would agree if they hadn't been engaged yesterday. Why did they ~~withdraw~~.

I think we should not expand anything in VN + wait for someone else to do something

C Is there any kind of solution which would show E on east bank

K Best scenario is for I to push them across Canal, but some strategic bases. We don't want ~~debt~~ ~~debunk~~. I has suffered



strategic aspect was whether what happens. They
can't take 2-1 losses.

C But isn't that a reason they might agree to
E or last?

R That's I don't think would surprise that. But
would be status game w/ having I losses.

S I don't think we have faith! We've been giving
them little saying if trouble we will pour
equipment in.

R My assessment is a costly victory w/out a
reaction is best.

C Being thrown around would be E desirable.

R Can you identify equipment for movement
after 4:00

S Want to put Roosevelt to see

R Want to 4:00

W SR-71 can not yet be operational.

