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By PRO NARA Date 8/19/03

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CLASSIFIED BY Henry A. Kissinger
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5b (1,3)

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

Ambassador Sultan Khan of Pakistan
Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Henry Appelbaum, NSC Staff
Kathleen Anne Ryan, NSC Staff Notetaker

DATE AND TIME:

Wednesday, August 15, 1973
12:12 - 12:30 p.m.

PLACE:

Dr. Kissinger's Office
The White House

Kissinger: Do you mind if we have Miss Ryan here to take notes in order to refresh my memory?

Ambassador: Of course not, I met her when I was here before. I am sure you don't need notes to refresh your memory.

I was just telling Mr. Appelbaum that when I made a request to see you, we hadn't anticipated serious floods in Pakistan. The news is quite disturbing.

Kissinger: I didn't focus on that.

Ambassador: I thought before that I would mention that we are quite happy on economics and so on. Remember last time the question of wheat requirements was raised. Because of the floods our needs are more urgent than ever. In today's news, of the 19 administrative districts in Punjab, 16 districts are disaster areas. The remaining 3 are hill districts. The 16 districts under water are where wheat and rice are produced. The water is 4 to 12 feet

Kissinger: What happened?

Ambassador: Melting snows and rains in the Himalayas.

Kissinger: Does that mean there will be floods in India also?

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A/ISS/IPS, Department of State
E.O. 12958, as amended
October 11, 2007

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

-2-

Ambassador: Yes, India was hit first. But the channels are deeper on our side than on India's. We have never had such floods in the past 25 years. The crop was good and government procurements were made for urban areas.

Kissinger: Now the farmers' stock has been destroyed.

Ambassador: Completely.

Kissinger: Do they leave it out, or is it in a shelter?

Ambassador: Shelters, but they are made of mud and brick. So I request that our earlier requirement of wheat be given urgent consideration.

Kissinger: We are looking at it now. We were looking at it urgently without knowing about the floods. When did they occur?

Ambassador: Three days ago.

Kissinger: I have a good system here. My staff doesn't inform me.

We are doing our best; we are short of wheat.

Ambassador: You are not short of wheat, the world requirement has gone up. Priority is given to deficit areas, and famine areas.

Kissinger: I will look into it. [to Appelbaum: Get after Chuck Cooper on this.]

Ambassador: We were very happy until yesterday. I had a big celebration for the new constitution. This news of floods has cast a spell of gloom.

The other thing, I was wondering if you could tell me about the visit of the Shah.

Kissinger: He said he would send an emissary to see President Bhutto. We told him in very strong terms of our interest in the independence and sovereignty of Pakistan. He shared that view. He would try to be of maximum assistance to you in case of an attack. You should discuss this with Bhutto, I told him. We are strongly encouraging him to do that. We have always told him whatever military assistance was possible by transfers we would strongly favor.

Ambassador: Can we overcome the legal difficulties?

Kissinger: A difficult problem which we want to avoid in the present domestic situation.

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Authority E.O. 12958
By 780 NARA Date 8/19/03

TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE

-3-

Ambassador: In practical terms the Shah's willingness will be difficult.

Kissinger: He is also willing to work on joint planning with you. We don't want to raise the legal issue in Congress.

Ambassador: Yes.

Kissinger: I thought that when your President was here I should come to Blair House to see him.

Ambassador: Yes, certainly, let's do it as it was arranged before.

Kissinger: Yes.

Ambassador: I was hoping that between now and then you could give thought to the possibility of how the channel through Iran is going to be opened up.

Kissinger: Ambassador Helms is planning to visit Islamabad. You were kind enough to invite him. I understand your President is speaking at the UN at the end of September.

Ambassador: A continuation of the visit, after two days he will address the General Assembly. Otherwise the program is the same.

Any news about the appointment of an Ambassador?

Kissinger: We want to send Byroade.

Ambassador: Is he in the Philippines?

Kissinger: [Picks up the phone and asks--What happened to the appointment of Byroade to Pakistan. You mean State hasn't sent it over? You tell them we want it over in 2 days because of the arrival of the Pakistani President.]

Ambassador: Where is he?

Kissinger: We have complete confidence in him.

Ambassador: Is he now in Manila?

Kissinger: Between assignments.

Ambassador: He is very senior: His being there would be a great help.

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A/ISS/IPS, Department of State
E.O. 12958, as amended
October 11, 2007

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Authority E.O. 12958
By [redacted] NARA Date 8/19/03

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-4-

I will leave this note on our assessment of the New Afghan Cabinet. [Tab A].

Kissinger: We have told the Soviets we would not intervene in Afghan affairs, but that if Afghanistan intrudes in Pushtunistan we would have to consider it an international matter.

Ambassador: What comes out in our assessment of the personalities is that they are heavily loaded with elements that support Daud. There are two or three young army officers that helped plan the coup. Otherwise the cabinet is full of unknown entities. Those who are known have a strong pro-Pushtunistan bias. I am also sending a copy to Sisco. Some are not known in the political life of the country.

Coming back to defense needs of Pakistan. It is my understanding that so far, as a base, the Shah has agreed.

Kissinger: In principle.

Ambassador: That is my impression. He will communicate in greater detail with Bhutto. The Shah is buying arms, and I don't know how the laws will affect Iran in helping us.

Kissinger: He feels very strongly.

Ambassador: At the same time we can't plan our defense on what Iran might do.

Kissinger: What about the Chinese?

Ambassador: They have given us old MIG 19s and some tanks and infantry weapons. They are quite frank with us and we believe them; they don't have sophisticated weapons.

Kissinger: That is right.

Ambassador: So we don't expect much beyond what we have received from the Chinese. When it comes to inventory, it is not a great deal. But it helps. I hope the statement of the Shah to support Pakistan will not have an effect on other countries declining in helping these needs.

Kissinger: You know our problems here and it is not helpful for you if we force an issue.

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A/ISS/IPS, Department of State
E.O. 12958, as amended
October 11, 2007

DECLASSIFIED

Authority E.O. 12958
By 720 NARA Date 8/19/03

TO [REDACTED]

-5-

Ambassador: If the Iran channel could open you could help there.

Kissinger: I have had a long talk with the Shah, he knows our interest and I have the impression that he is sympathetic. You should have a long talk with him and let me know.

I had the distinct impression that he would stay in Europe for a few days after his visit here.

Ambassador: I asked him at the dinner at the Iranian Embassy and he said he would communicate with President Bhutto. He didn't say no in so many words. If the question of Iran as a third country for war supplies is backed, it might materialize.

Kissinger: He told me he would send an emissary. First it was going to be the Ambassador here and he was worried that that would be too obvious.

Ambassador: Well, thank you.

Kissinger: We will have a chance to talk before your President comes. He will have a chance to see the President two times--the 18th and the 19th.

Ambassador: I will keep in touch with Mr. Appelbaum on the question of wheat.

[Kissinger tells Appelbaum to call Cooper.]

When will you have lunch or dinner?

Kissinger: I am going to San Clemente. Let's have lunch the week I come back.

Ambassador: A week from now?

Kissinger: I will be gone for 2 weeks. I will be back the week of September 3.

Ambassador: And tonight we are having a party for American friends. It is a very historical day. We would be delighted to have you come.

Kissinger: What time?

Ambassador: 7 - 9.

Kissinger: I will do my best.

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-6-

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Ambassador: Your presence would be very beneficial.

Kissinger: I will do my best. Is it near the mosque?

Ambassador: On Massachusetts Avenue.

[The meeting then ends and there is small talk about Dr. Kissinger's past visits to Pakistan.]

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