

MEMORANDUM
 Authority Sul/2958
 By D NARA Date 4/10/88

SECURITY COUNCIL

CONFIDENTIAL/EYES ONLY

July 16, 1973

1973-7-16, Shah, Kissinger, Amb.

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

Ardeshir Zahedi, Ambassador of Iran
 Henry A. Kissinger, Assistant to the
 President
 Harold H. Saunders, NSC Staff

DATE AND PLACE:

3:00 p.m., Monday, July 16 in Dr. Kissinger's
 Office

After an exchange of greetings, Ambassador Zahedi commented that he liked Dr. Kissinger's office with its daylight and high ceilings.

Dr. Kissinger:

I agree. The high ceilings made an office very pleasant.

Ambassador Zahedi:

I am grateful for the opportunity to see you. I have wanted to call on you since arriving but knew you were very busy and have been travelling a great deal. I did not want to press for an appointment. But now, on the eve of the Shah's visit, this seemed a good time to have a meeting.

Dr. Kissinger:

I am glad to meet you. Yes, this is a most desirable time to get together.

Ambassador Zahedi:

I told Mr. Saunders Saturday that the Shah when he heard of the President's illness telephoned me and instructed me to go to Bethesda Naval Hospital and offer the Shah's wishes for a fast recovery. I also reported to Mr. Saunders that the Shah wanted the President to know that he would be quite willing to postpone his visit if the President would find a later

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 EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
 SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
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date more comfortable. [A memo had been sent to Dr. Kissinger earlier in the day conveying this message.]

Dr. Kissinger:

We think the visit can come off as scheduled. The present plan is for the President to leave the hospital Friday or Saturday (July 20 or 21). A few of the minor protocol aspects of the visit might have to be curtailed. These would be such events as the President greeting members of the whole party immediately after the arrival ceremony or the President greeting the after-dinner guests at the White House dinner. In any case, the activities to be curtailed would be minor ones.

Ambassador Zahedi:

When will the final decision and final arrangements on such things be known?

Dr. Kissinger:

I will have to wait until I can talk with General Haig. I think I can give you an answer "tomorrow." Only minor things, if any, would need to be cut off. You can regard the visit as firm unless there are some unforeseen complications in the President's medical condition.

Ambassador Zahedi:

I understand, then, that the events that might be curtailed would be lesser ones--not, for instance, the President's attendance at my dinner for the Shah and the President.

Dr. Kissinger:

I know how important this is to the Shah. I understand it could not be considered "a small change" in the schedule if the President were unable to attend that dinner.

Ambassador Zahedi:

I understood from Secretary Rogers that it was very unusual for the President to attend such a return dinner. It had initially not been on the schedule.

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Dr. Kissinger:

The White House had made the change in the schedule. The Minister of Court in Tehran had approached Ambassador Helms on this subject and Helms had sent me a telegram. It is not important exactly how the arrangements had been made. The point is that the President has accepted the Shah's kind invitation, and we realize in reviewing the arrangements for the visit that this is a significant event on the schedule and that if the President's health required a change on this point, it would not be regarded as "small."

Ambassador Zahedi: What can you tell me on the Brezhnev visit? I would like to report to His Majesty.

Dr. Kissinger:

We sent a letter to the Shah telling about the summit meetings. We would be happy to go into more detail when the Shah is here. There really is not much to add to what has been said already.

How do you think the meetings with the President should be conducted? The President normally has me sit in with him.

At the moment the schedule calls for two substantive meetings between the Shah and the President.

Ambassador Zahedi:

I have been discussing with State/Protocol the possibility of a third meeting, a farewell call on the last day of the visit. The Shah will spend part of Thursday looking at the F-14 and F-15 aircraft. We would prefer that the final meeting take place on Friday.

Dr. Kissinger:

[To Mr. Saunders] What is the present schedule?

Mr. Saunders:

The present schedule includes two substantive meetings, one on Tuesday the day of arrival and the second on Wednesday. There had been discussion as to whether that second meeting should be moved to Friday so that it could also serve as a farewell call.

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Dr. Kissinger:

I will have to take this up with the people who manage the President's schedule. Are you talking about a third appointment?

Ambassador Zahedi:

In view of the very special relationship between His Majesty and the President, I thought it would be appropriate to have a farewell call on Friday before His Majesty leaves.

Dr. Kissinger:

I will have to raise this with the President. There is no point in talking with the State Department about this. Be patient and leave the issue to me. I will try to arrange it with the President.

Ambassador Zahedi:

Fine. What do you have in mind for your meeting with the Shah?

Dr. Kissinger:

I thought it would be useful to have a personal meeting with the Shah. I usually see him when he comes. There are a number of details that might be taken care of in such a conversation so that these would be certain to be covered in case the President should decide to curtail the length of his meetings. It would probably be desirable for him to see the Shah early in the visit, perhaps on Tuesday, the day of the Shah's arrival. He said he would like to discuss some sensitive issues which the President might not wish to go into in detail. He would want to talk about Saudi Arabia, India and Pakistan. He suggested Tuesday afternoon any time from 3:00 p.m. on. The Shah is one of the most interesting statesmen I have met and in an absolutely key position.

Ambassador Zahedi:

How long do you feel should be blocked out for your meeting with His Majesty?

Dr. Kissinger:

I would be happy to stay as long as the Shah wishes. Perhaps 90 minutes would be a good starting point.

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Ambassador Zahedi:

That's good. If you take less time, that is all right. You want to talk about Baluchistan, the Persian Gulf, Saudi Arabia?

Dr. Kissinger:

Yes. And Pakistan. We do not put all of our policies into cables. I also want to discuss some Chinese problems.

Ambassador Zahedi:

President Bhutto [of Pakistan] is in Switzerland. He and the Shah might be meeting somewhere in Europe as the Shah passes through on his way to the US.

Dr. Kissinger:

The Shah is a very important leader. I recall some of the proposals the Shah made several years ago on supplying oil imports to the United States. If the US had accepted his proposals when they had been offered, we would be in a better position today. The Shah was more farsighted than our own experts. His vision was superior to ours. I was not confident enough on this subject among experts to press for a different view from theirs.

I would like to bring Ambassador Helms to participate in my talk with the Shah if the Shah had no problem with that. Ambassador Helms will be the man to follow through on anything that we agree to during our conversation.

Ambassador Zahedi:

I am sure that there would be no problem at all.

Dr. Kissinger:

I have the warmest recollection of my stay in Tehran.

Ambassador Zahedi:

I was sorry I could not participate. I had had a clash with the Prime Minister and had resigned. I thought it best that I just stay at home during the visit.

Dr. Kissinger:

It was my impression that the Shah really handles foreign affairs himself. The Shah is one of the most acute observers on the world scene today. I am not saying this to be polite. I have found very few leaders who have the comprehensive picture of world affairs that the Shah has. Other leaders are good tacticians but they do not

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have the broad view of the Shah. He is also a very close friend of the US. I would like to have a frank review with him of the whole situation.

Ambassador Zahedi: Good. I understand then that the visit will take place.

Dr. Kissinger: Yes. It will unless there are complications. I will be in touch later with you to confirm any changes in the schedule necessitated by the President's health.

Ambassador Zahedi: I have one other question. Should I invite Pearl Bailey to perform at my dinner? She has recently been in Iran and had an audience with the Shah. I am trying to keep the entertainment to 15 minutes. I have some Persian dancers coming. I was wondering what you advice would be.

Dr. Kissinger: The entertainment after that dinner should be short. It would be difficult to limit a performance by Pearl Bailey. I would drop it.

Ambassador Zahedi: I agree. Drop it. I had planned to fly over some Persian dancers for a brief entertainment after the Shah's dinner. That will be all right. I can keep that short.

Dr. Kissinger: How many will be at that dinner? Are you bringing the belly dancer who sat in my lap?

Ambassador Zahedi: No. I know her. She is a nice girl.

Dr. Kissinger: I wouldn't know. I didn't get that far.

Ambassador Zahedi: I am having 64 people for dinner. That is about all I can manage.

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Dr. Kissinger:

I understand you are quite a party-giver.

Ambassador Zahedi:

I just try to see that proper hospitality is extended. I particularly want this to be a happy occasion for the Empress. She had not enjoyed her visit in 1962, largely because of some of the demonstrations against the Shah's party. She had not wanted to come to the United States since then. She had almost had an obsession about not coming. Therefore, I want things to go well for her this time. On the third night, I have arranged to take the party to the Kennedy Center with a supper afterwards. I have bought 300 tickets at the Kennedy Center. This makes security easier. Also, I can meet a lot of obligations among the diplomatic corps for those I can't include in other events.

After the Shah's departure, I will have the Crown Prince and his sister for 10-12 days on a private visit to the US. I'll take them to Florida, California and a few other places.

The meeting concluded with expressions of pleasure that the meeting had taken place. Dr. Kissinger said he looked forward to the coming visit.

H.S.

Harold H. Saunders

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