### Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document No. and Type</th>
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<tr>
<td>06. Memcon</td>
<td>Memorandum of conversation between President George Bush and Saudi Ambassador Prince Bandar (3 pp.)</td>
<td>11/19/91</td>
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**Collection:**

**Record Group:** Bush Presidential Records  
**Office:** National Security Council  
**Series:** Memcons, Presidential  
**Subseries:**  
**WHORM Cat.:**  
**File Location:** November 1991

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**MR Case #:** 2005-1153-MR (416)  
**MR Disposition:** Released in Part  
**MR Disposition Date:** 7/6/2011

**RESTRICION CODES**

**Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]**
- P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor’s deed of gift.

**Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]**
- (b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- (b)(5) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(5) of the PRA]
- (b)(6) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

**Document Partially Declassified**  
(Copy of Document Follows)  
*By SCS (NLGB) on 7/6/11*
MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Conversation of Meeting between Saudi Ambassador Prince Bandar and President Bush (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
John Sununu, Chief of Staff
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Richard N. Haass, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Near East and South Asian Affairs

Prince Bandar bin Sultan, Saudi Ambassador to the United States
Rihab Masoud, First Secretary, Embassy of Saudi Arabia

President Bush and Saudi Ambassador Prince Bandar met in the Oval Office at 4:10 p.m.

Prince Bandar: I had good meetings in New York with the American Jewish Congress and the Conference of Presidents. They went better than expected. (U)

The President: How did you happen to do it? (U)

Prince Bandar: They had invited me long before Madrid. It was good, though, that the meeting took place after Madrid as they were impressed with our performance there. I briefed them on Madrid and solicited their support to influence Israel and to support the U.S. position. I told them we trusted the Administration, which in our view is honest. They raised Zionism is Racism and the boycott. I raised settlements and urged a settlement freeze. I also suggested that the Arabs needed to keep a possible response on Zionism is Racism and the boycott in reserve for a trade on settlements. I suggested that Israel freeze settlements as Begin did and I did not hear any objection. The only heartburn that surfaced in the meeting was over Senator Lautenberg and the visa issue. I explained how he had made an issue of it for political purposes. I also explained how Senator Lieberman got a Saudi visa in a passport with an Israeli visa. I also told them that we have stopped the practice of refusing visas. (Ø)

SECRET
Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
PER E.O. 13526
2005-1153-MR
Sgs 7/16/11
His Majesty sends his regards. I am returning to Saudi Arabia Wednesday evening (November 20). He asked me to pass a message to you regarding Iraq. For the last two months we have done a lot on the peace process, but we should not forget we have a lot to do to finish with Iraq. ( washington)

The President: Tell him not to worry. We must do whatever it takes to get rid of the guy [Saddam]. Tell him we are not changing a bit. We are talking about ways of undermining him. There will be no letting up on sanctions or inspections. We are looking into what we can do with broadcasts. We will not go back to the status quo ante. ( washington)

Prince Bandar: At the time of the helicopter episode this fall, the question was to what end you would act. Planning air strikes and doing them is two different things. Also, limited attacks are not enough. His pain threshold is high. We must hit him where it hurts, at his personal security. The more we chip away at his sovereignty, the better. We Saudis are not bucking our responsibilities. We are willing to use all your assets in the Kingdom. ( washington)

The President: We need a peg to act. ( washington)

Prince Bandar: And we need to be ready. ( washington)

General Scowcroft: We are ready now. ( washington)

The President: Is Mubarak still firm? ( washington)

Prince Bandar: No. ( washington)

The President: Let me turn to Libya for a minute. This case is firm. But I gather most of the Arab world opposes our using force. ( washington)

Prince Bandar: Part of the problem is the peace process. Also, December 7 is the Islamic Summit in Dakar with all the radicals. That is why we need to hold the regional talks before them. Dakar will give Khadafi a platform he doesn't deserve. Khadafi is not Saddam. He is scared to death. Calling around and moving all the time. Tightening screws does not hurt us and gives us the breathing space we need. So military action now is not the best thing. ( washington)
The President: We are well aware of what you are saying. No decision to use force has been made, but we do have an airtight case. Syria was not involved in this incident. (况且)

Prince Bandar: On Iraq I want you to know that His Majesty is firm. (况且)

The President: There is no shift here on the basic objective. (况且)