

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

Scowcroft
DECLASSIFIED w/ portions exempt

E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3

MR # 10-119: #17

CIA let 5/5/10; State let 9/3/10

By *del* NARA Date 10/12/10

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: The President
The Vice President
Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State
and Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant
to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Friday, March 28, 1975
9:25 - 10:10 a. m.

PLACE: The Oval Office
The White House

SUBJECTS: Middle East; Spain; CIA; Foreign Policy Speech

The Vice President: They really appreciated your sending me [to Faisal's funeral] as an expression of deepening the relationship between us. From protocol on up, they said what you have done we will never forget. The Europeans weren't going to send anyone. There is no question it is important from Sadat's standpoint. He was upset only because he hadn't heard from you or Henry. He wants to go all out, get the agreement done, and have Henry come over to finalize.

Kissinger: But as I told Max Fisher, we don't move this time without a signed Israeli guarantee.

The Vice President: He wants to get the Soviet Union out. The Soviet Union is putting pressure on Egypt. They won't give an interest moratorium; they won't repair their engines or send more equipment. They think things will be so bad in three months that they can throw him out and put a stooge in. I asked why he is not working with the Saudis. He said they had a billion dollar credit, but it wouldn't show for years. The next three months are critical.

Fahd was totally supportive.

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EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5(b) (3, 3)
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Kissinger: But Faisal would be supportive no matter what we did. Fahd is a more modern type.

The Vice President: Fahd said that for the first time all the states around Israel are ready to recognize Israel. But if nothing happens in a year, the radical Arabs backed by the Soviets will come back, the moderates will get arms from Europe, and it will be 130 million Arabs against three million Jews. We can wait a year, but not more.

Kissinger: They don't need a total settlement in three months -- just what I offered.

The Vice President: The Saudis want Army engineers to take over all construction projects in the country.

The President: Really?

Kissinger: They are Bedouins with a tremendous sense of trust and loyalty.

The Vice President: Fahd came to call on me.

Kissinger: The gesture of sending the Vice President at this emotional time was tremendous.

The President: The fact it was Rockefeller was helpful also.

The Vice President: The fact that I went as your representative, Henry's friend and David's brother was impressive.

The Saudis don't want Geneva.

The President: It is amazing -- everybody wanted it until we said we were ready!

Kissinger: Dobrynin is back and he wants preliminary talks about Geneva. We should keep Geneva dangling. We could set it for three months from now -- the Syrians will probably refuse. We need to put pressure on Israel. We can put forward an American plan. There will be no more shuttle diplomacy.

The President: I think my interview played well.



Kissinger: You really shook Max. He said he had never seen you this way. I had Brent call him to tell Dinitz of the President's mood. It was the President's most powerful performance.

The Vice President: I explained to the Saudis and Sadat what a strong powerful person you were when you thought you were right. I said there was no chance of a wedge between the three of us.

The President: We got a first class result from your going. I will make a decision on the tax bill. I think we should announce my foreign policy speech [for April 10]. We can work on it in Palm Springs.

The Vice President: I met with the acting Foreign Minister of Spain. He is worried that the Communists are infiltrating all over the world. They are worried about their own transition. [redacted]

The President: Is the [redacted] 40 Committee doing nothing on Spain?

Kissinger: In your speech, you should say the CIA arrangements with Congress must be changed. So long as you must report to 60 Congressmen, we can do nothing. We don't need money right now -- we need planning. I agree with Nelson -- the Communists are on the march.

The Vice President: In Latin America also.

Kissinger: I don't know how much you want to take on in your speech, but Chile is another case. Six Congressmen asked me not to visit there.

The President: To hell with that.

The Vice President: The whole MAP program, aid to police -- all these programs we used to have. These countries can't control their situation without dictatorship.

Kissinger: And now military dictatorships are radical because the rightist dictatorships are throttled by the U. S.

The President: I think we should do whatever we need to in Spain.

Kissinger: [redacted] contacting Dingell?



First, we need someone to run CIA. With a tough Director, we can start moving. [REDACTED]

I think your speech should wake up the country. We have to decide how to position ourselves in the speech on Vietnam. [He discussed Ban Me Thuot, the C-130's and the ARVN's strategic withdrawal.] The point to remember is that ARVN didn't collapse because of an attack but because of Thieu's fears about us. We need to see if it is salvageable, but the American people have to know who did it.

The President: My inclination would be to use specifics.

Kissinger: I agree. If resulted from American action. In the first battle, the South fought very well. But then he tried to consolidate his forces and they panicked.

The President: We can make the point these are a million refugees fleeing the North.

Kissinger: The force ratios are so bad I don't think Vietnam can make it. Cambodia certainly could have lasted had we not deserted them. It is a moral collapse of the United States. Reston is mad at me for saying it.

The Vice President: This is a time we separate the men from the boys.

The President: The speech must be very strong and specific.

Kissinger: The essential structure of our foreign policy is sound and we can build on it. These setbacks have been inflicted by Americans and must stop. We can recover in Turkey, Cyprus, etc.

The Vice President: How about the Asian Islands?

Kissinger: Thailand is gone, Malaysia, Indonesia is shaky.

The Vice President: The last time we talked, we talked about materials policy.

Kissinger: Are you getting that fixed?

Scowcroft: Yes. The paper I saw was limited to energy financing. I think we need that close knit to the whole materials financing. If there could be an umbrella, with the Domestic Council pulling together energy, materials, economic policy, and so on, it would help you pull it all together.



The President: There has been fragmentation. The Domestic Council was weak when I came in and I worked to move energy and the economy quickly. Now we need to pull them together.

Kissinger: I gather Sadat is with us but he needs something within three months to prove he got something from us while the Soviet Union is screwing down his industry. The Saudis are with us.

The Vice President: shouldn't say anything at the NSC. We shouldn't hint that there is any life in the step-by-step. I will put it on the basis that Sadat will have to move away. I will mention the Geneva options -- and they are real -- but none of what we spoke of here. The major thing for the NSC is to toughen the line toward Israel, not to punish them but to show them they can't control us.

On Vietnam, let's just have a briefing, between the WSAGs. If you just indicate it was our fault. If we have to liquidate, it has to be clear it was forced by the Congress.

The Vice President: The moral commitment came from the Peace Treaty which the U. S. has forgotten. The speech has to recall that.

Kissinger: We got our troops out, and now we are pulling the plug.

The President: I can use it as a kick-off for the speech. Call for Agency ideas. Make it a tough speech at the Congress and the American people.



NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 010810

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL National security restriction
 TYPE OF MATERIAL Memorandum of Conversation
 CREATOR'S NAME Ford/Rockefeller/Kissinger/Scowcroft
 DESCRIPTION handwritten version of memcon #010809
 CREATION DATE 03/28/1975
 VOLUME 6 pages
 COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 036600110
 COLLECTION TITLE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. MEORANDA OF
 CONVERSATIONS
 BOX NUMBER 10
 FOLDER TITLE March 28, 1975 - Ford, Kissinger,
 Rockefeller
 DATE WITHDRAWN 02/01/2000
 WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST LET

SANITIZED 01/03

* Fitzpatrick Call Shaker - Pres interview was completed before K. Hoover about it.

✓

P/V P/K
28 Mar 75

VP They really appreciated your sending me an expression of deepening relationship. From patrol up, they said what you have done we will never forget. Ennis wasn't going to send anyone he questioned it negatively from Sabat standpoint. He upset only because he hadn't heard from you or K. He wants to go all out, offer get a payment done, + K. Ennis to finalize but as I told Fisher, we don't want to sign it guarantee.

VP He wants to get a SD out - SD putting pressure on E. They want give interest consideration, want repair engine or send equip. They think things will be so bad in 3 mos that they can throw him out + put a storage in. I asked why he not working w/ Sanchez - He said they had a bad credit, but wouldn't show for eyes - ~~it~~ what 5 mos is critical.

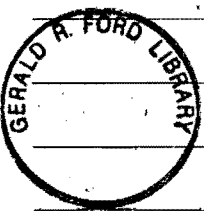
Fahd was totally supportive.

K But Ennis would be supportive no matter what we did. Fahd is more workman type.

VP Fahd said for 1st time all state around I am ready to engage. But if nothing happens in a yr, radial Arabs backed by law will ~~to~~ come back, + we will get arms from Ennis, + it will be 100 mil arms against 3 mil juvs. We can assist a yr, not more.

K They don't need total settlement in 3 mos - just what I offered.

VP Sanchez want Army engineers to take care all cost.



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E.O. 12958 Sec. 1.5 (C)

MR. 01-187-11 CIA-RDP11-05102, et. al. 11/20102

By date NARA Date 1/28/03

project in a country.

P Really?

K They are Bedouins w/ tremendous sense of trust & loyalty.

VP Faded wants to call on me

K The gesture of reaching a VP at this emotional time was tremendous.

P The fact it was Rockefeller was help, indeed.

VP Fact I went a year ago, K friend & David brother was impressive.

Sandoz client want Geneva.

P Amazing - ~~everybody~~ ^{everybody} wanted it until we said we were ready.

K Day back, wants further talks. We should keep Geneva changing. We could put it & me out - Syrians will just refuse. We need to put pressure on I. We can put forward a US plan - no more shuttle diplomacy.

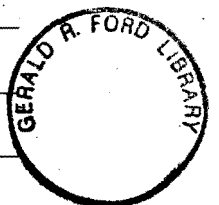
P I think my interview played well.

K If an really shock him. He said he had never seen you this way. I had Brent call him & tell him Dirinity of P was. It was a most powerful performance.

VP I explained to Sandoz & said what a strong powerful person you were when you that you were right. I said no chance of a bridge but - 3 of us

P We got a 1st class report from your going

~~It~~ I will make decision on tax bill. I think we



Ran announcement - Major & Palmer.

should announce my speech. We can work on it in Palm Springs

UP I met w/ acting FM of Spain. He worried about CIA infiltrating all over world. They worried about their own transition.

[Redacted]

P [Redacted] 40 units doing something for

K In your speech, you should say a CIA assessment must be changed. So long as you must report to US Congress we can do nothing. We don't need planning, money report now - we need planning. I agree w/ Wilson, a transition in a month.

VP L.A. also

K I don't know how much you want to take on in your speech, but Chile is another case - a Congressman asked me not to hint

P To hold w/ that

UP For which MAP prog, aid & police, all these prog we need to have. These countries exist without their set w/ a dictatorship.

K And now with dictatorships are radical, human rights dictatorships are throttled by a US.

P I think we should do whatever we want to in Spain

* K [Redacted] controlling things

I think we need someone to run CIA [Redacted]

K I think your speech should cover the country



How many Yugoslavs compared to total pop.

We had to decide how to partition ourselves ^{in speech} as K.H.
We had (Rumanian born met. mot, C-1900's & strategic
w/dromed). The point to remember is that AK & K
didn't collapse because of attack but because
of T. H. H.'s fears about us. We need to see if
it is a change or not but our people have to know
what did it.

P Any indication would be to use specifics.

K James reported from ^{US} some action. In
Athens, some report very well. But then he
tried to insert into his faces & they panicked,
what

P We can make just three and submit refugees
fleeing into.

K Force ratios are so bad I don't think UK can make it.
Cumbria certainly could have lasted had we
not departed there. It is a moral collapse
of a US. Reston would see.

OPT This is a time our reports - men from boys.

P Speech must be very strong & specific

K The essential structure of F.P. is sound &
we can build on it (Sutton) has been inspired
by Americans & must stay, we can succeed
in Turkey, Cyprus, etc.

VP How about Green Islands

K Thailand is gone, Malaysia, Indonesia is
stray.

VP has time to talk, we talked about material things.

K Are you getting that fixed?

S Yes.



The paper I saw was brought to energy financing
I think we need ^{don't} ^{have} ^{to} ^{use} ^{the} ^{whole} ^{material}
financing. If there could be an umbrella, w/
a domestic council pulling together energy, water, ^{resources}
etc, it would help you pull it all together

P. These business fragmentation. Domestic Council was
wrong when I came in + I would be more
energy & money quickly. Now we need to
pull them together

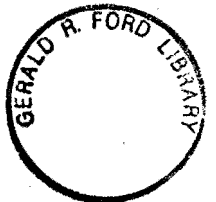
K. I got the salad in w/ us but he wants something
w/ in 3 weeks to prove he got something from us
what is it assuming down his industry. Saddam
and w/ us. U.P. shouldn't say anything at N.S.C.
We shouldn't hold any life in step by step.
I will put on basic. Sadat will have to move
away. I will mention Geneva options - and they
are real - but most of what we spoke of here.
The major thing for N.S.C. is to compare his track
I, not to provide but to show them they can't
control us.

K. O.K., let's just have a briefing, then w/ us
If you just indicate it are possible. If you
have to be gradual it has to be as forced
by a Congress

VP. The word constant comes from a Peace treaty
which US has forgotten. Special has to recall that

K. We got our treaty, + now we are putting a
phys. It is

P. I can use it as back off / a speech - Call for energy



Ellis, a true symbol of unity & US people.

