

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~/NODIS/XGDS

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958 Sec. 3.8

MR. 01-39, #9; as ltr. Mod 7/30/01

By dal NARA, Date 9/25/01

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford
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: Thursday, March 27, 1975
9:30 - 10:32 a.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office



Kissinger: I have the uneasy feeling Egypt is ready to cave and we don't want that. Israel would get out of control.

The President: They would claim they were right.

Kissinger: We plan to say the maps Dinitz is putting out are inaccurate.

The President: If it is the truth.

Kissinger: I am glad I read the text of your Hearst interview. You blame them for being inflexible. You should tilt a little against Israel.

The President: That is not hard.

Kissinger: Here are two cables I want to show you. King Hussein despairs of the U.S. and the Middle East -- we aren't even prepared publicly to say Israel is to blame. War is inevitable.

In one way our withdrawal is good, because everyone now sees the important role we play.

~~SECRET~~/NODIS/XGDS

CLASSIFIED BY Henry A. Kissinger
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5(b)(3)
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON Imp. to Det.

I think we need psychological warfare against Israel. We may yet get an agreement.

The President: I have had it in the back of my mind that if we play brinkmanship, we may get something. But we shouldn't talk about it. I thought you were too unhappy to entertain it.

Kissinger: Not so much that as the unravelling of our Middle East policy, and Israel has treated us as no other country could.

The President: Should we tell Max that?

Kissinger: Max must know. It is not just a friendly misunderstanding. If the Jewish Community comes after us, we will have to go public with the whole record.

Tell the NSC that Israel behaved recklessly. You are trying to create a state of mind in Israel that if we have to run the risks of war for them, they have to run the risks of peace for us.

The President: Did the interview go too far?

Kissinger: Nope. It was a good, strong interview. They will put heat on you anyway, so there is little to lose.

We may yet get an agreement within a couple of months, and it may be a lesson -- even to the Arabs.

Tell Max Fisher that Israel misled us. Moynihan said Israel really let the President down, didn't they? They attempted to blow up our Middle East strategy. Now they are dumping on Geneva.

On the Chinese song incident. We cancelled the visit. It was a silly issue, but once we made it an issue, your instinct was right, we couldn't cave.

On the Clements/Brown thing. [He explained the situation re their proposed visit to Riyadh.] This never was my project -- it was Clements. I backed it when the Saudis were so enthusiastic.

The President: I think you can make the case that with the new government, it is important to go. I think Brown should go.



Kissinger: We got a Turkish vote yesterday. Now they want a resolution letting you use the waiver.

The President: How about if we could get both bills through the Senate?

Kissinger: That would be fine. But I don't think we can get Turkish concessions which Sarbanes will accept -- because I think it will be a package deal mostly for the whole thing. The constant intervention by Congressmen in our ongoing negotiation when they don't know what is going on.

The President: How much aid was shipped to Israel? I will ask for a list at the NSC meeting.

Kissinger: On Vietnam, I think we are on the wrong wicket. They seem to have lost four divisions, except for the people themselves, who are now a rabble. They have lost massive amounts of materiel. Talking \$300 million in these circumstances is nonsense. A three-year program is nonsense -- three years to what?

Subject to Weyand's views, it looks like they have lost virtually everything and North Vietnam has suffered very little. You may wind up with this option: to pour in massive amounts of equipment, or to go for a one-year appropriation and see what happens. I say this with a bleeding heart -- but maybe you must put Vietnam behind you and not tear the country apart again.

The Vietnam agreements were based on two things: our threat of military support and the continuation of aid. In July '73 we stopped our support, and we also cut the aid below the minimum they needed. Now we are faced with a desperate situation. I think -- I defended a three-year program -- but I think it is beyond that.

[There was some discussion of personnel matters. HEW, Defense, CIA.]

Brandt -- it depends on his mental state. He may just sit. He has Portugal on his mind. He says the Portuguese need some money. We would give it to the Ava Foundation. They would like \$100,000. The Europeans have set themselves two objectives: elections, and no Communist takeover. I think we could get both those and still lose the country --



because they will rule through the AFM. What do we do if this kind of government wants to stay in NATO? What does this do to Italy? France? We probably have to attack Portugal whatever the outcome and drive them from NATO.



✓ P/K 27 Mar 75

Thursday
9:30 - 10:32 AM

K I have a uneasy feeling E is ready to come. We don't want that. I would get out of control

P They would claim they were right.

K We plan to say a message & unity is putting out all innuendoes.

P Get a truth

K I glad I read your heart text. You blame them ^{to} being inflexible. You should tell a little against I

P That is not hard

K Here are 2 cables. A Russian dispatch of US + ME - we aren't even prepared publicly to say I is to blame. War inevitable. In ~~the~~ are any one w/ channel is good, because they are all see a important role we play.

I think we need psy warfare against I. We may get an agreement.

P I have had it in back of my mind that if we play brinkmanship we may get something. But we shouldn't talk about it. I think you were to unhappy

~~to~~ to entertain it.

K Not so much that as a misunderstanding of our ME policy + I has treated us as no other country could

P Should we tell Erwin that

K ^{Mag must know} that just friendly misunderstanding. If Jewish country comes after us we will have to go public w/c whole record.

Tell NSC I behaved recklessly. You trying to create state of mind in I that if we have to run risks of war for them you have to run risks of peace for us.

There will be quite a little flash

P Did interview go to far

K Nope. It was a good, strong interview.

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AUTHORITY per ml 01-39, #9, 5th Ed. 7/20/01

BY llh NLF, DATE 5/26/04



~~Send~~ Send Brown to Turkey What Brown's
elements think

They will just beat on you anyway, so there is
little to lose.

We may yet get an agreement w/ in a couple
of months and it may be a lesson - even to Arabs.

Field Fisher I misbelieve. Inquisition said I will
bet a few down, didn't they? They attempted to
blame my own ME strategy. Now they dropping on
Cassan.

On a PRC thing, we can't visit. It was
a silly issue, but once we made it an issue,
your initial error right, we could not come.

On a Clements/Brown thing (explained a bit)

This was my project - it Clements. I backed it
when Santos were so enthusiastic

P I think you can make a case that w/c new part
it important to go. I think Brown should go.

K We got a Turk note yesterday. Now they want
a resolution letting you use words.

P How about if we could get both bills thru Smith

K That is fine. But I don't think we can get
enough which Santos will accept - because I think
it will be a package deal ~~over~~ mostly for a whole thing.

The constant intervention by Congressmen in our ongoing
negotiations when they don't know what is going on.

(Aid to Israel, how much was shipped)

x (Pers will ask for list at USC mtg)

On UN, I think we are the victim of a bit. They
seem to have lost 4 days, except for a people themselves,
who are a cable. They have lost massive amounts
of material.

Talking 300 mil in these circumstances is nonsense.

Q 3 yr prep is nonsense - 3 yrs to what?



Weyand - West in California or East.

Subject to Weyand views, it looks like they have lost virtually everything + NVN has suffered very little. You may wind up w/ this option: pour in massive amounts of money, or to go for 1 yr approx + see what happens. I say this w/ bleeding heart - but maybe you must put VN behind you + not turn a country behind.

X
Speech

VN experiments based on 2 things: our support and continuation of aid. In July 73 we stopped our support, + since we also cut aid below minimum. Now we are faced w/ a desperate situation. I think - I'd probably a 3 yr prog - but I think it beyond that.

Discussion of personnel
Dellon
McNamara
Packard
Schlesinger

HEW
Defense
CIA

Brandt. it depends on his mental state, He may just sit. He has Portugal on his mind. He & comp Portuguese ^{had some money. we would give it to} ~~Europe~~ for a foundation. They would like 100 mil. ~~to~~. Funds have set 2 objectives: elections, and no Communist takeover. I think we could get both those + still lose a country because they will only turn a AFM. What do we do if this kind of just wants to stay in NATO? What does this do to Italy? France? We probably have to attack Portugal whatever the outcome + drive them from NATO

