MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:  
President Nixon  
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  
Bruno Kreisky, Chancellor of Austria  
Rudolf Kirchschlaeger, Foreign Minister

DATE AND TIME:  
Tuesday, June 11, 1974  
9:55 a.m.

PLACE:  
Schloss Klessheim  
Salzburg, Austria

The President:  
I knew several Austrian Ambassadors. Who was the last big one?

Chancellor Kreisky:  
Gruber.

The President:  
As you know, we are going to five countries in the Middle East now. They will be brief stops everywhere except in Egypt where we will stay two days -- not that we place it above the others, which are one-day stops. After that, after about five days we will leave for Moscow. It would be helpful to get your impression. You were there after Egyptian-Israeli disengagement.

Chancellor Kreisky:  
I had a long talk with Sadat. When I met with Nasser I tried to get him to understand he could have better relations with Social Democratic parties in Europe if he would have relations with the Israeli labor party. Nasser had asked me what to do about the European Social Democratic parties. Sadat is, I think -- he understands things better than Nasser. He is ready to play a decisive role. He has
an idea to establish better relations with the European socialist parties. He wants the European way to socialism. He wants aid from Europe. He doesn't want to replace his friends.

I was there only on a fact-finding mission. We had good talks. There is now a Egyptian high-level mission in Vienna.

I think Sadat wants a little peace but he is realistic enough to know it will take time. He knew it would be tough to get a disengagement with Syria. He thinks Asad has more internal troubles than he has. He is impressed that this is the first time Israel has accepted and kept a treaty. I know he hoped I would tell this to the Israeli Government. He knows that their technology and civilization are highly developed in Israel and it shouldn't be destroyed. (This was in a very confidential talk.) He said Egypt had lost $2.5 million a day in war preparations, and this can't continue. He thought he should step down, but others say it can't happen. He told me that Egypt is not an Arab state -- but they are surrounded by Arab states and must be a part of the Arab world.

He has excellent relations with Boumediene. An Algerian Minister told me that Nasser had to be replaced as moralistic leader in the Arab world. He will be replaced by Sadat or someone else in a short time and forgotten.

Qaddafi's position with the Arabs is weak. Sadat, Boumediene -- everyone dislikes him. Sadat has the 100% support of Boumediene. Boumediene has an excellent staff around him.

All the Arabs are in favor of a Palestinian state, because then things will go in a different direction. The first question is its relationship to Jordan. Then there are so many Palestinian groups who don't feel represented by the PLO that maybe there should be a Palestinian Congress to decide what the Palestinians want. Arafat is weak. I know underground movements; they can't cooperate because each wants a power position. If they select a leader, it would not be a strong man. They corrected Arafat in front of me, and so on. I was disappointed.

I talked to Ghanim [Head of the Arab Socialist Union in Egypt] and he said we are building up Arafat. This is an illusion. Kosygin said the Soviet Union had a good impression of him. But I doubt he will be the leader of the Palestinians. There is no leader -- not in the camps nor in Jordan. I think their latest declaration is hopeful, because they say they won't be classified as refugees. This is good, because Israel is wrong
to say the first question is whether there are Palestinians. If they want to be Palestinians, let them. The Palestinians have a strong position not only morally but inside some governments. Specially in Syria.

Secretary Kissinger: Dr. Elias -- he was probably in the meeting with you.

Chancellor Kreisky: In all countries but Egypt and Algeria there are big Palestinian groups.

The President: Libya is a Palestinian state.

Chancellor Kreisky: Kuwait, Lebanon, Jordan. It is unjust for Israel to ask Lebanon to do something against the Palestinians -- they can't act against themselves.

The President: Israel wanted Syria to do it, but they can't.

Secretary Kissinger: In Syria they can, but they can't say it. In Lebanon, they can't do it.

Chancellor Kreisky: I told Israel they would have to give back Kuneitra and he must send back 20-40,000 people to their village. At that time Israel wasn't ready to return Kuneitra. Rabin was the only one who pursued with me the Kuneitra issue. Sadat will tell you that without progress in the Palestinian case it will be difficult to go forward.

Sadat is willing to go forward, but he had to wait a bit for Syria. Now he must wait for the Palestinians.

I asked Kosygin about the Palestinians. He said "we have to support them but it is an intricate question to go further. We will support them in Geneva but we are cautious about the size, and so on, or how and where it should be conducted. We are ready to guarantee Israel."

I asked Arafat what was their goal. He said their goal is a bi-religious state; Israel is to disappear, the Jews who entered after 1948 must leave, and then all will live together peacefully. They all thought a bi-religious state of Palestine is the solution, but a Palestinian state on the West Bank would be a settlement. I am no specialist, but without discussing such a solution, I think it is impossible to get the Palestinians to join a conference. Israel is not ready to discuss it with the Palestinians at the moment.
Secretary Kissinger: Nor to the Jordanians.

Chancellor Kreisky: I asked Asad what Palestine means. He told me "Southern Syria." So that would be a problem.

Secretary Kissinger: The Syrians have their own group which is not part of the PLO.

Chancellor Kreisky: I have been told by the Jordanian Palestinians that there are two leading ideas in Jordan. Hussein wants the Palestinians to live in Jordan; Prince Hassan wants it as a buffer -- believing that Jordan can exist only if there is tension between the Palestinians and Israelis.

Sadat is a great statesman. All the support the democratic world can give him it should. He's the best chance in a half century in the Arab world. He is a cultivated, western man. After him, I wonder if there will be a chance. We can't make him too much a man of the West or we will destroy him.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, my German friends build up their ideas based on private information from the Soviet Union. There is no such thing as private information, but only what the Soviet Union wants to get out. Bahr is stupid to think otherwise. It is stupid to think that we weaken Brezhnev if we don't support his policy. The Soviets use this as a ploy. In the Soviet Union, the government means the security apparatus and the economy. There is no public opinion. The administration is handled by Kosygin; foreign policy, security, and politics are handled by Brezhnev. Podgorny is necessary because there must be a third man. He has no special charter.

Brezhnev wants CSCE to conclude at the summit. I think he needs it and I don't know why we refuse.

The President: You want it, even without substance?

Chancellor Kreisky: They will make some concessions.

The President: What good is it for the West?

Chancellor Kreisky: The substance we have already. There is no war in Europe. The Soviets are not interested in puppet regimes. They are
worried about the young men in the western governments because they
don't know what they think. The terms of trade are better for the Soviet
Union, and they have the Chinese -- it is a problem. I think nothing will
happen in Yugoslavia. We need visible concessions at CSCE, it is clear.
There are possibilities, but the fact we are willing to go to such a meeting
would give the world a sense of security.

The President: You mean the non-Communist world needs a sense of
security.

Chancellor Kreisky: Not military, but psychological. A general feeling.
The Third Basket.

Secretary Kissinger: The whole thing is massive hypocrisy. Being able
to buy the New York Times in Moscow won't change the Soviet system.

Chancellor Kreisky: I am not an appeaser. But detente creates liberalization,
not vice versa. The cold war climate creates a fortress internal climate
there but detente creates a liberal climate. They can't allow in the long run
more liberation in the satellites than in the Soviet Union. If it is possible to
give credit to the situation we already have and to get concessions on economic
cooperation and get promises on freer exchange of people and tourists, and
concessions -- smaller ones -- on disarmament problems, and if we can
agree on a follow-up to the Conference ... We should want a follow-up
so the situation doesn't get frozen. We should want a follow-up on contacts.
Bonn is obsessed with papers. We should have five to six papers. We can't
avoid going to a Conference in the long run, and if we do not do it now, we
will go without any concessions.

We are all waiting for your visit to Moscow.

The President: As you know, there are some leaders in the West who are
against such a Conference.

Chancellor Kreisky: Giscard has a new look. Schmidt is now the leader,
but Brandt still has a big influence. Wilson ...

The President: Wilson wasn't for it at Pompidou's funeral.

Chancellor Kreisky: Wilson should go along. Luns will oppose; he is in
the business to be opposed.
Secretary Kissinger: Our problem is how to manage it with Europe. If we support it, they will oppose it.

Chancellor Kreisky: I think a summit with five to six papers to sign would be good.

The President: Why does the Soviet Union want it?

Chancellor Kreisky: They want to confirm the status quo in Europe.

Secretary Kissinger: Also they started this idea ten years ago and don't have much to show for it.

Chancellor Kreisky: China is a problem. Also they see detente as a realistic situation. Coexistence they started with, now detente. Coexistence is too much a Soviet idea, but detente is good.

The President: Do the Europeans like it? They used to, but when we push it they oppose it.

Chancellor Kreisky: We have weak governments in Europe. Wilson and Giscard are strong persons but the government is weak. Italy is weak.

Minister Kirchschlaeger: Because the European governments are weak, the Soviet Union doesn't want to offer much.

Secretary Kissinger: Most of these ideas are eyewash. The Finns now have an idea for Basket III. There is little significance.

Chancellor Kreisky: There could be a paper on the Middle East.

Secretary Kissinger: It's risky. We have to keep the Arabs fluid. And the Soviet Union wants it all reduced to writing; the Arabs don't.

The President: Let me spend just a moment on how we see the Middle East. The Soviets, and perhaps the Syrians somewhat, insist on Geneva going forward to discuss everything -- the Palestinians, Jerusalem, and further disengagement. They want to put it all on the table. That is not our position. We are not trying to push the Soviets out, but the Arabs welcome us because we can give something the Soviets can't. The Soviets can give only war; we can give -- through Dr. Kissinger's diplomacy -- some
peaceful progress. The Arabs realize that it's to their interest to have the Soviets out and work through only the U.S. The reason they want us is they don't fear us.

Our Jewish community is constantly stirred up and wants to return to the old days -- with the U.S. being the only friend of Israel. In October we came in with a massive airlift, over the objections of our entire military. We called an alert. We did both of these things because we couldn't allow the Soviet Union to move in and dominate the area. But now there are Jews who resent our building friendship and aid to the Arabs. This is short-sighted. Israel can't win in the long run with the old policy. The danger in the long run is the Soviet Union. Only the U.S. can hold them out. The Arabs will be told we won't back down if the Soviet Union tries to move in. But Israel must realize that time is not on their side.

Where do we go from here? We will reassure them, and so on, but the main point is to keep Asad and Sadat especially from pushing too fast -- going to Geneva in a massive approach. It would blow up. We need to do it piece by piece. We will play a decisive role because of our special relation with Israel. We have some of the confidence of the Arabs; we are for Israel and support them. Israel's enemies must become our friends and we must talk to the Soviet Union. We will move step by step, and bring the Soviet Union in only to keep them quiet and where they can help. We won't bite the Palestinian bullet now. Israel, Jordan and probably Saudi Arabia don't want it yet. Who are the Palestinians? We must move slowly and not push it into an open forum. The same with Jerusalem. Patient diplomacy, with some movement, is in the interest of all. Israel must realize they can't freeze it in the old way.

By the way, we are in touch with the Palestinians.

Let me say one final word on the Soviet Union. There is growing concern in the American right. They think we are inferior and that we gave away too much in SALT I, which we did not. We are roughly equal and it doesn't matter -- 70 million killed on each side is no policy. So we are generally equal. There will be some bilateral agreements at this summit. Congress is arguing there should be no trade without emigration. I have gotten them to move from 400 a year to 35,000; to push them will only close the doors. We will work on it. We will give them other fish to fry, and hope.
In Europe, we think a move on MBFR is important, but we can't move unilaterally.

Overhanging it all is China. We have a dialogue with them -- not to push one against the other but because we are a Pacific power.

We will push for MBFR, and for CSCE to get some substance in it. On SALT we are having a difficult time because the weaponry we are talking about is at the heart of the security of each side. The military on both sides are hard line, but Brezhnev and I will get them in line if we work something out.

One note on Bahr and encouraging moderate groups. I was reading the State cables during Roosevelt's last days. They said Stalin was reasonable, if not for the hard liners back in Moscow. So we go in with our eyes open, not to embarrass them. We are not trying to push the Soviet Union out -- it is happening but we are not trying. The goal in the Middle East is working step-by-step on a bilateral basis. Kissinger's approach is correct -- not the Rogers plan. We support Geneva, but the timing is very important. We can't throw these things into Geneva now.

[The meeting ended.]
P. When are you in US - Fallburg 11.47-55. of October.

P. Yes. I know several Army Craft. Whose isn't my own.

Mr. Carter

I as you know we're 500 miles. They go each plane. They're 1 or 2 days. We play at shore stations which are 1 day apart. That's up for about 5 days, our will leave you Monday. I would be helpful to get you impressions. You were there on the E-I change.

Mr. All I can think of is our last time. When you are here.

I think it is important to know how better relations with the other countries in Europe. We would have relations if I take part.

We now need to know what to do about the European parties. The question is, in what way. He can see that a decision now. He has ideas for how to better relations if Europe terraced parties. He wants to have some idea of what to do. He wants to do for Europe. He doesn't want to rephase his friends. I mean that only one fact. He is seeing a Europe with a mission in Europe.

I think Salat is a little person, but is a little known. It will not change. He knows it is tough to get moving.

In this case, Ayad has made a difficult task. He is unusual.
I know he loved I would tell there is a part of him, one who
whom I thought too damages. (less with confidence with)
the one old in the mind, I am very prejudiced this
not wanting. He thought he should stop doing, but
other of it can't happen.

He feel man in that fact but the other
remembered that was on part of and until he
was equal, what is Bennarinda. The Alouan
members till use. Hassia had to replace the
monarchic order in a Arab world. He said
but will be replaced by Salbat or someone else in
what time forgotten.

Qalqiliya, Qalqiliya, Ararat is weak Salbat, Benna-
people are Arabs this. Salbat has 10% support
Benna, Benna has a Benna group, and
weak.

All this has in place for Kols. Kols, known than
thing is not in big numbers. 1st question is
relationship to Jordan. Then there are so many
living groups are not fulfilled by 20% that
maybe should be a lack or perhaps with what
sometimes want. Ararat is weak. I know understand
sentiments. They want other times and want a
poor nation. If the Araba middle, it would not be
a strong man. They now called Ararat in front
of me, etc. I am disappointed.

I talk to Cameron (Cameron), he said we are
hurting in my Ararat. This is an illusion. Kapsin
said he had good impression of him. But I
don't think will be called of Kapsin. This is not
better, not in a camps me in Jordan.

I think their latest declaration is hopeful, because
I don't know if I want to go there. Do I want to go there? To go there.

I'm not sure. I don't want to go there. I don't want to go there.

It's not clear. I don't know what to do. I don't know what to do.

I'm not sure. I don't know what to do. I don't know what to do.

It's not clear. I don't know what to do. I don't know what to do.

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It's not clear. I don't know what to do. I don't know what to do.

I'm not sure. I don't know what to do. I don't know what to do.
a settlement. I saw a report but it's obvious to me that there is a solution. I think it's possible to set up a
conflict, I think it is difficult to achieve a
peaceful solution.

K. We met at the jumran

K. Does he have a name? We told him
Samah Samara. So that would be a

K. The Samara have their own garrison which is part

K. I have been told by jumran people that there are a
number of jumran. Kastan wants to keep
the jumran. There are many Jumran who do not want
to Jumran can exist only if埃及 has

I.

Said that a part of the

A. We support the

A. I'm not sure how

A. In the end, in Amman, he is a

A. On him, I wonder if there was

A. We don't make another move

A. We are not attacking

A. As far as 50, my aim was to

A. They have the

A. The Syria is unstable. The

A. Syria is unstable. The

A. Government, the

A. Private sector, the

A. The main focus is to

A. The main focus is to

A. We must discuss

A. We must discuss

A. We must discuss
Hi. They will make some assumptions.

1. What good is it for the West?

2. Strategic we have already. What we need is a man in Europe who can work diplomatically. He needs to get a man in with you, but somehow, it’s got to work. I think China has it. It is a good idea. I think orthodoxy will happen in Japan. We need more convincing, but it is possible, but if we work to go to such a test, we must work with a sense of unity.

3. There is no modern world trade of sense of unity. We need nothing but people's insight. A good feeling. Templar.

4. This whole thing is massive. Importing yogurt. It's a real challenge. I don't know who will win.

5. What is the great pressure? But climate change, climate change, etc. And that creates a future where climate change, etc. Well, climate change, climate change.

6. I am not an expert. But climate change, climate change, etc. And that creates a future where climate change, climate change, etc. This is a real challenge. I don't know who will win.

7. Don't worry. I am not worried. But climate change, climate change, etc. And that creates a future where climate change, climate change, etc. This is a real challenge. I don't know who will win.

8. We should work to follow-up. We should work to follow-up. We should work to follow-up. We should work to follow-up. We should work to follow-up. We should work to follow-up. We should work to follow-up. We should work to follow-up. We should work to follow-up.

9. By the way, there are three ladies in Westphal.
Ke. Giovanni has a new index. Schmidt had been but
Brandeau still has. Any information.

P. Daniel won't be till Jan's funeral.

Ke. William Bradly's lawyer. Some will offer, he in
business is big party.

K. Don just Q is how to manage or fix. You are
your part at this. Then will offer.

K. I think Fannin's N. J. pages & sign would be just.

P. Why? Do want it?

K. Tony want something.

K. When they finished 10 yrs ago 1 don't have much
to them for it.

K. P.R. C. is a part. Also they are Bentley & Cahill

K. They since they started W. now Bentley,

K. Despite so much a Sun idea but definite gain.

K. Everwood, like it? Used to, but when we first got
it they offer.

K. We have worked great in Em. We have Frederick

K. Toby knew but said very. Italy was it.

K. Would be much and my great. In some times havre
some on side for loan. It. Foster Parent is

K. There could be 2 big on M.E.

K. Possibly We have to keep Anko firm or Anko want
not when Adolph is writing. Letter about.

P. Just a summary of how are the M.E. S.V. perhaps

P. J. says connected present on Geneva going
forward to doing Boston, France, further thing.

K. H. all on Lake. I had not any pointin

K. We will try to push S.V out,
but Arno welcome us because he can pop something down. Can't see any punch at all. We can't - then I dig up some phrase. Perhaps the Arabs may have it. There is nothing to hard US not to have them. Only SU. I mean to say we are not going to.

Any further comment? I can't really explain why I want to return to old days - anything my friend. Yet we came around pussy and get new reactions of entire society. We called about both some we couldn't allow SU at more in a fashion area. But now there are few who want our fandom." And it is a break. This is that...go...I can't remember that /day why anyone. Anyone in any time is SU. Only it is can hold them out. Arabs will kill we want to be done. If SU try to react on...the I must...go on at the time...time...it's the...where was from tea? We can't observe, etc., but many point to key and a sudden pop from gopher to fast going to camera in inverse approach. It could how to it. We need peace by peace. We will try...advanced role instead of special. But we. We have some confidence in Arabs. We can for it support them. If suicide must have peace. We must talk SU. We must try by step. SU isn't...go to buy them point at where they help. At the event hold false bullet room. So...just hold to SU. But don't want it yet. Where are fake? We must make Arno and don't push it open. Some of the patience of every one of some moment is in nature go off. I must make they can't keep in old way. Final word a SU. Gonna remain in US right.
We are talking about Palestine.

They think we improve your army too much in
Saddam, which we did not. We are not
agreed on. It doesn't matter - we will work on
such issue in my opinion to see fully agreed.

We will be unlimited summate. You're asking us
not to be country. We deny, but general idea. You
will find that a reason. I have felt from you to
the case. To find them will take a drug. We
will work on it. We give them certain facts for

They are, we think more on MBC for agreement, but
we aren't very unlimited. We change it all.
MBC is some dynamic not a push and jump.
Our fault. Because we have power.

We will push for MBC, for CEC to get
time substance in MBC. Our State will bring
time because it can lead for 20 year before.
But on both sides are hard land. If they do
will get them on land if we work smoothly.

Our notice both economic, military, energy,
summer and solar, during those last leg.
They said Israeli compensate if- not for hard
hates both in however. We go in all types open,
not to continue them. We start trying a push not
out - it happening don't last long. And
in MBC is working step by step every one collaborated.
Here, opposition crowd - are they plan.
We support because - but being so very important.
Can't have those things into their now.