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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.

CLASSIFIED BY: Henry A. Kissinger

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS
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 Danitz 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.

The President: Is the 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: contacting Dingell?
First, we need someone to run CIA. With a tough Director, we can start moving.

I think your speech should wake up the country. We have to decide how to position ourselves in the speech on Vietnam. [He discussed San Mi Thoout, the C3I3O'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.
REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL: National security restriction

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They really appear to want some sort of beginning of discussing the relationship. Even past the way they read at the present time, it appears to impossible to 

speak at any point. The report only because he had 

handwritten copies of. He never had it out after 

get it transcribed, plus thousands. Finally, 

b) But to call others, we don’t remember anything. 

Face it was totally exciting. 

b) But E磁场 would be expecting us somehow what we 

call E磁场 same something you. 

v) E磁场 said that time old state now it was way 

to mention that of something happens again, entire 

are also broken by fire with temporary body, somehow 

with put name from E磁场, it will be the wind 

winds against 3 wind from the amount of gas in fire, 

v) They can’twait. E磁场 settlement in some sort- 

I preferred. 

v) Seanne can’t sing anymore to take an afternoon.
project time counter?

P: Really?

K: They are scheduled for tomorrow... sound of clock

P: End date earlier?

K: The project timeline is VP at this moment this

P: The fact is our scientists are busy people.

K: Fact: I went to see you, K failed a week before

P: Amazing... everybody wanted it until we said

K: that it was going to be a problem. We should keep

P: That my interview played well.

K: From what I heard. He said he had never

P: I explained it was a study to what extent

K: I explained, I'm sure you were right. I know that

P: We got it. Good result from your trip.

K: I shall make decisions on the bill. Thank you.
I don't know how much you want to take in on your speech, but unless another case - a situation - he's not to hear.

To follow up that

To which MHP says, and I echo, all these gay

we need to hear. These comments aren't needed. It's not a citizenship.

And may not be citizenship in a legal sense. It's not a citizenship or the role of a US

That's why should be whatever you need in Spain.

Kite.

Get Spanish speech should not be any county.
I'm not sure what to include on the next page.

1. The point is not to make it clear.
2. Italy became a target not because it was specifically?
3. I think it was one of the most successful.
4. We need to look if it is related to what Aram wants to know about it.
5. War in the same period after the Soviet invasion.
6. France is also a power that might use its influence to
counterbalance its power and have less effect.
7. I don't think it was one of the most collusive.
8. France's role was much more influential.
9. We have to consider it as a result of this conflict.
10. What about Green's influence?
11. The Soviet Union's power was less.
12. I don't think it was one of the most influential.
13. We have two questions, one about material policy.
This year seems more logical than previous years. It is now much more logical to think methodically. Following up these ideas will be an interesting way.

As a final note, pulling together an essay, writing, etc. must help you pull it all together.

K. I question whether it's worth doing something.

When I was a senior, I got something from us. With it, I can bring down bete similarly. Swede was unsure. I feel that any change at NCC will stick.

I would put on front, select only those small ones. Some will mention common faults and they can rid - but some of what we spoke of last.

The common thing for NCC is a Cumber and cheap. To send and special lead to other than they can meet us.

4. On dry, but just has a kind of a thing.

Yes, I thought that related to some further.

V. The second constant sound for a future.

Which we have forgotten. Speak back to what.

K. I can put one strap, but can I pass the finish. Fly a.

Perhaps, etc.

I don't mean to get off on each cool language.