

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET/NODIS/XGDS~~

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford  
 Kenneth B. Keating, U.S. Ambassador to Israel  
 Hermann F. Eilts, U.S. Ambassador to Egypt  
 Thomas R. Pickering, U.S. Ambassador to Jordan  
 Richard W. Murphy, U.S. Ambassador to Syria  
 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  
 Alfred L. Atherton, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Monday, April 14, 1975  
11:15 a.m. - 12:50 p.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office  
The White House

Kissinger: Mr. President, I thought I should outline what we have been talking about and then let each of my colleagues say what his dominant impression is. Then any instructions you may have.

We have looked at various choices: One is to resurrect the interim agreement.

Sadat said the setback was a humiliation for the United States. He said they couldn't understand how the United States, which supplies 98% of Israel's equipment, couldn't produce an agreement which was so close to being achieved. The consensus of these four is that if nothing happens, events will get out of control within six months. If there is any disagreement, please speak up.

~~SECRET/NODIS/XGDS~~

CLASSIFIED BY HENRY A. KISSINGER  
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 BY MA, NARA, DATE 5/19/04



President: I believe it. I would like to hear the views of each of you.

Kissinger: In a new crisis, the Europeans would back the Arabs, and the Soviet Union; Japan would move away. So, the various approaches are: first, to resurrect the interim agreement. It would clearly have to include the passes and a line including the oil fields. Sisco thinks the territory could be in the neutral zone going to the oil fields.

Eilts: I disagree.

President: How long and how wide would it be?

Kissinger: Two to three kilometers -- just one road. But they need a map that shows their access to their oil fields.

President: But the passes could be under the UN.

Kissinger: Yes. Probably we could keep the Egyptian advance limited to the edge of the UN zone. These would be bitter pills for Israel. We have seen nothing to indicate a changed position by Israel. Eilts thinks Sadat can offer nothing more; in fact he thinks Sadat has already gone a shade too far. So unless Israel caves -- and there is no indication of that -- an interim agreement is dead. Also one might have to pay a price of enormous economic aid, no demands for further withdrawal for three years, and we might just sell it in Israel. But it would become public, and that is intolerable in Syria. So I think we would have to do something on the Syrian front.

President: Do you mean a good faith effort, or actually doing something?

Kissinger: Things have changed. Before, I think a good faith effort would have done it, but Sadat has now been placed in a more difficult position, and the Syrians, who would have accepted most anything in March, are now in a stronger position. Therefore our effort would have to be as great as now. A shuttle wouldn't suffice because that has been depreciated now. Asad is under pressure at home for going too far. He told me his domestic situation will be impossible if Sadat gets something and he doesn't. I said the Israeli settlements were so far forward that we could get only a sliver, or else something greater in the context of peace. He said that in the context of peace he could assure there would be no Syrian troops forward of the line



looking into Israel. I reported this in Israel as a great achievement, but it was counterproductive because I think the last thing Israel wants is a negotiation with Syria.

Everyone now is telling us to go back to the interim agreement. We could probably do it, with the headaches noted above, but it would buy you maybe six months and further excite the Syrians.

The second idea is, Israel has floated the idea of nonbelligerency in exchange for moving half or two-thirds back in the Sinai. We studied this and tried to examine if there was a difference between nonbelligerency and peace. Sadat opposes giving nonbelligerency because if he gives up the main aspects, he has no bargaining power left to get them the rest of the way out. We could find no difference. Even the Israeli legal guy couldn't find any.

President: Publicly you could make a difference.

Kissinger: But they talk the El Arish line. I am sure they mean west of El Arish. Sadat I think wouldn't buy it, but this would upset Asad even further.

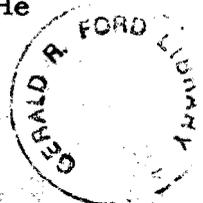
President: Didn't Egypt promise not to support a Syrian attack? Would Syria then attack?

Kissinger: You can't say that publicly. Syria calculates that if it attacked, it could drag the others in.

Eilts: I don't see how Egypt could stay out of a war more than a week. The pressures to save Syria would be overwhelming.

Kissinger: The consensus of this group is that Option Two is the worst because the negotiation would be even tougher, and it doesn't buy any more. I don't think we could get more from Egypt.

Eilts: I don't see how they could offer a great deal more until the final peace discussions. They offered three things in particular that I thought were beyond what they could do: an unconditional pledge to refrain from the use of force; agreement to leave the agreement open-ended in duration; and a commitment not to aid a Syrian attack. I thought these were beyond what was politically wise for him. He can live with the first, but the other two are bad.



President: Why did he just fire his cabinet?

Eilts: His economic problems are enormous. They have 37 million unemployed; the whole infrastructure is in disrepair. Hegazi has no political base. The cabinet hasn't been effective in the economy. Because so little has happened, the new cabinet was designed to assuage the people.

Kissinger: Sadat wanted an agreement to build his prestige and ease the pressure from the domestic side.

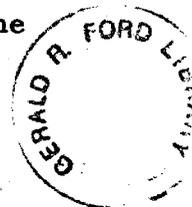
Three, probably the best is to come up with a comprehensive plan. It would give us something to stand on with the Arabs. We would be taking on the Israelis, but for something more significant than the line through the passes. It would make the interim stages easier under an overall umbrella. I had better stop here.

Keating: If something isn't done within six months or less.... If the Syrians are smart they will end the UN forces at the same time as Egypt. If they extend again, it would be short. I think it is best to go for an overall agreement. Politically, Rabin jumped from 46% to 92% in popularity for "standing up to the Arabs and the United States." The same poll that by 68% thought that Henry should come back. But this is heady stuff for Rabin. I think he wants an agreement, and do the other negotiation.

President: Do they know I think they were inflexible?

Keating: They do. Economically, they are in serious trouble. Forty percent of their budget goes to defense. Inflation is running 30-40%. They are tightening their belt and actually getting unemployment. They are stronger militarily than in '73. They are on alert and they are well led. They will not be surprised again, but I don't think they plan a preemptive strike. They have made so much at home about giving up only half the passes, that it will be very difficult to give up all the passes.

Kissinger: So much has been put out on the interim agreement, it is difficult to move. Except that Israel has lied so much about the Egyptian position that the real truth would appear a significant concession. They would need three to four years of guaranteed aid, and three to five years of no movement. We can't afford that in the Arab world.



President: We can't come out with \$2.6 billion for an interim agreement. Tip O'Neill pointed that out.

Keating: Humphrey and McGovern were good. I don't want to pretend we can sell a comprehensive plan to Israel. But Allon's departure statement leaves the door open. Eban said the same.

Kissinger: These are platitudes all depending on their definition of peace and security. If we don't support the '67 borders, with perhaps minor modifications, we will get no Arab support. Israel wants half the Golan, a third of the Sinai, and a third to a half of the West Bank. If we came up with the '67 frontier, demilitarized zones, limited armaments zones, we still have problems with the Arabs who would demand that they thin out on both sides. We can't keep the Arabs for less than the '67 borders. Jerusalem we should stay away from for now. If we do this, what trouble are we in with Israel?

[General Scowcroft leaves briefly to get a map of the Middle East and then returns.]

Kissinger: Israel, by border rectifications, means the El Arish line back to Sharm el Sheikh. When it gets to military limitations, they will want to keep Egyptian forces off the plain. In the Golan, I would be surprised if they would give up over half the Golan.

Keating: Perhaps some security agreement could be worked out.

Kissinger: The Arabs won't buy a security agreement with Israeli troops inside.

On the West Bank, they would permit a narrow corridor to the Arab population. If you declare you are for the '67 borders with some rational rectification, the Arabs will be back immediately to ask what. You have to decide before going public whether you will support essentially the '67 frontiers. That is the big issue. Dick?

Murphy: This is the bitterest relationship in the area. Asad has opened his country some to the other Arabs. He has turned the country around so they could talk of peace. His price for peace is precisely the '67 frontiers. He has indicated willingness to permit UN control of the areas from which Israel withdraws.



Kissinger: If it would happen when we still control events, we could probably sell half the Golan.

Murphy: He feels the Palestinian issue deeply. He is pleased at Secretary Kissinger's failure in the last shuttle because he feared we were taking Egypt out of the war and he was losing his leverage. He said the United States should stay engaged.

President: Does he want Geneva?

Murphy: Recently there have been the first hesitations. He wants quick agreement on an overall outline.

Kissinger: The dream of Israel is stalemate. Sadat is a bigger problem for Israel than Asad, because he is willing to move to peace. They want peace but aren't willing to pay the price. Tom?

Pickering: Hussein is our best friend. He knows he is knocked out and he has not much chance to go back in unless he's asked. We would insist on self-determination for the West Bank. He thinks he is a lamb among wolves. I can't go back there without something for him on air defense. There are other bilateral issues he will want to discuss with you when he comes. He thinks progress is possible only in steps, but he would buy a compromise now to get things going.

President: If war broke out, why would he be more involved this time?

Pickering: The last time he got in just a little. He doesn't think it would be over quickly this time and he thinks Israel next time would make a pincer through Jordan and Lebanon.

Kissinger: I think Israel would do something surprising next time.

Keating: I think they would go through Lebanon.

President: What is the significance of the disputes in Lebanon?

Kissinger: I think the Lebanese are trying to assert some control over Fatahland. Lebanon has been helpless in the fighting between Israel and the PLO. Lebanon wants a settlement to get rid of the Palestinians. They would be most aggressive if they went to Geneva, because of the Palestinians.



One other problem is that Iraq, freed of the problem of the Kurds, will now exert radical pressure on Syria and Jordan.

President: If we went to Geneva, would we have to have a comprehensive plan?

Kissinger: There are three possibilities: we could do nothing but be an honest broker; we could support the Israeli position; we could put forward a plan of our own. If we support Israel, the Arabs will decide the only way to move is to put enough pressure on what we are brokering. If we put out a plan, Israel will violently oppose. The Arabs may not accept it, but we can rest on it for several months. The Arabs, I think, gradually would come around to our mind.

Eilts: They would originally look askance at it. But if they see the final outline, they can more easily buy interim steps. That has been the problem with interim steps up to now.

President: Should that be at Geneva?

Eilts: Inside or outside Geneva. I would prepare to do it first before Geneva.

Kissinger: Hermann thinks it would be nice to have an interim agreement before Geneva but it is essential to have a plan.

Pickering: Jordan thinks Geneva would get out of hand if the U.S. goes in without a position.

Eilts: The same with Egypt. He would prefer an interim agreement before, but at least he would hope for some plan.

President: How would Israel react to a comprehensive plan and what could they try to do in the United States?

Keating: We are in trouble with the American Jews whatever we do. If we pursue interim measures I think we will get the same eventual flak as we would with the '67 borders modified.

President: You mean the Jews here would feel as strong about a pressured interim agreement as a comprehensive plan?



Kissinger: The Israelis have been specialists in stating something, which was unattainable, for which they would do something special. First they wanted a signature on a piece of paper. They said it would get us into the same room with the Arabs. We did both and they backed off right away. Now they say they want peace. But by coming out for '67 borders, the Jews will complain we have given away their leverage in advance. Roy, what do you think?

Atherton: I have come grudgingly to a comprehensive move because we can demand more from the Arabs. But Israel has sold the idea for eight years that the '67 borders are insecure.

President: My impression of the public reaction in the U.S. is it would be like the reaction to the leadership meeting when Henry came back. All the focus was on Israel's lack of realization of a different attitude in the United States.

Keating: But Dinitz tells them there is no different attitude. Hamilton will stand with you, but he is doubtful we can hold the line when the pressures come.

Kissinger: If you go the interim route, you can either say you would ask no aid unless there is an agreement. If they do, then you are up the creek with Syria; if not, Congress may pass the aid anyway. If there is a comprehensive plan, you can give aid in that context. Now, they want peace, they don't want to pay a price, and they think they can get the \$2.6 billion anyway.

President: I have a reputation as being pro-Israel. The situation in Congress is totally different now. Until we get progress there will be no request for Israeli aid. If Congress tries to force it, I will veto it.

Keating: They couldn't override a veto.

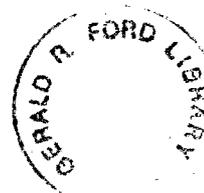
President: We have to decide which approach to pursue. This has been very helpful.

Kissinger: We think we need a letter to Sadat. Hermann is drafting it. I have told Ken that we would do more business through him and he should deal with as a foreign government--friendly but foreign.



President: That is the way I have told the bureaucracy to behave.

Eilts: It is important that Sadat be kept on a moderate route. The suspension has been a bitter pill. He desperately wants peace with honor. He made courageous moves during the negotiation. He is adrift right now. He will welcome American leadership -- he wants to work with us. I must get back before Fahmy leaves for the Soviet Union. We must use him to keep the Arabs from making asses of themselves. He wants to work with us.



P/K / Keating / E Jts / Pichering /  
Murphy / Arthurton 14 Apr 25

K I think I should outline what we have talked about  
I let each say what dominant impression is. Then  
any construction you may have.  
We have looked at various choices: investment contract  
agreement. Salant said <sup>perhaps</sup> that was <sup>not</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>best</sup> <sup>for</sup> <sup>US</sup>.  
He said they couldn't insist on US which supplies  
80% of spring couldn't produce an agreement which  
was so close. Consensus of that is that if nothing  
happens wants will get out of control. <sup>if/into me</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>disagree</sup>, phase  
pick up.

V I don't know it. Would like to hear <sup>of</sup> <sup>it</sup>.

K Funds would look at 50, from more away.

Various approaches: (1) Investment contract agreement -  
would have to include passes & a time including oil fields.  
Don't think the treaty could be neutral to oil fields

E I disagree

P Has long & wide.

K 2-3 km - just one road. But they need a map  
showing their access.

P But a passes could be under U.K.

K Yes. But could keep a E advance to - edge of U.K. zone.  
There would be better paths for I. We had seen nothing  
to indicate changed position by I. E Jts think  
Salant can offer nothing more - thinks he has already  
gone a ~~lot~~ <sup>far</sup> <sup>enough</sup> <sup>for</sup>. <sup>So</sup> <sup>under</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>I</sup> <sup>earls</sup>,  
<sup>no</sup> <sup>agreement</sup> <sup>is</sup> <sup>dead</sup>. Also one might have  
to pay a price of enormous sum oil, as demands  
for further oil/demand for 3 yrs, we might just sell  
it in it. But it would become public & that

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E.O. 12065, SEC. 2.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Rev. no 3/11/04

BY llh, NARA, DATE 5/14/04

leaves in my this afternoon.

involvement in Syria. So I think we would have to do something on Syrian front.

7 Deep means a good faith effort or actually doing something.

10 Things have changed. Before I think good faith effort would have done it, but Sadat has now been placed in more diff position - and Syrians, who would have accepted most anything in March, are now in stronger position. ∴ our effort would have to be as great as now. A shuttle would not suffice because that has been depreciated now. Assad is making pressure at home for going too far. He told me his domestic is impossible if Sadat gets something & I don't. I said I settlements were so far favored we could get away a strike or something greater in context of peace. He said in context of peace he could assume no Syrian troops forward of him looking into I. I reported this in I as great achievement, but it counterproductive because I think last thing I wants is negot w/ Syria.

Everyone now trying not to go back to intervention. We could push it w/ headaches noted above, but it would bring you right to us & further split Syria.

(2) I has floated idea of over-riding for moving 1/2 or 2/3 back in Syria. We examined if diff bet over-riding & peace. Sadat express over-riding because if he gives up civil aspects, he has no bargaining power to get them out of way out. We could find ~~out~~ no diff. Even I legal geny couldn't find any.

P Publicly you could make a bluff

K But they talk E I wish him. I saw they were great of E I wish. So but I think wouldn't buy it, but this would expect Assad even further.

P Didn't E promise not to support Syrian attacks? Would I  
Syria then attack

K You can't say that publicly. Syria calculates it could drag others in.

E I don't see how E could stay out of a war more than a week. Pressure to some Syria could be overwhelming

K Concerns of this group is that (2) is a worst because negot. environment, doesn't buy any more, I don't think we could get more from E

E I don't see they could offer a great deal more until find per a decision. They offered 3 things in particular. I don't know what they could do: unconditional refrain from use of force; leave agreement open ended; withdraw with and Syrian attacks. I don't think these were beyond what was politically wise. He can live w/ 1<sup>st</sup>, but other 2 are bad.

P Why fire his cabinet

E Economic problems enormous. 37 mil unemployed, infrastructure in disrepair. Hegazi has no political base. Cabinet hasn't been effective in a decade. Because so little has happened, a new cabinet designed to change a people.

K Sadaat wanted an agreement to build his prestige & ease a pressure from ~~the~~ domestic side.

(3) per a best idea was my w/ organizational plan.

Would give us something to stand on w/c Arabs. We  
could be taking on c I; but for something more sig  
than - line than pass. Would make interim steps  
easier would cover all umbrellas. I better stop here

Kenting If something isn't done w/c Arabs... if Syria  
are smart they will end UN pass at some time as E  
If they extend again it would be short. I think best to go  
for overall agreement. Politically, Rohin jumped from 46%  
to 72% popularity for "standing up to Arabs & US." Some  
poll that by 68% the that K should come back. But this  
is heavy stuff for Rohin. I think he wants an agreement,  
and do a other report.

P Do they know I think they were impressed!

Kenting They do. Econ, they are in serious trouble. 40% of budget  
is def - Inflation running 30-40%. They are tightening  
a belt & actually getting unemployment. They stronger  
initially than 73. They are an alert & well led. They  
will not be surprised again but don't think they plan  
preemptive strike. They have made so much noise  
about giving up on 1/2 passes, that it is very diff to give  
up all passes.

K So much has been put out on a interim agreement  
it diff to move. Except I has lied so about c position  
a real touch would appear sig concession. They would  
need 3-4 yrs guaranteed oil, 3-4 yrs no more  
movement. Oil can't afford that in Arab world.

P We can't come out w/ 2.6 bill ~~though~~ for interim  
agreement. Trip O' will present that out

Kenting It's a ~~the~~ decision was good. I don't want to pretend we



can sell crop plan to I. But Allen department statement  
leaves ~~some~~ door open. E has said some.

Start

K These are platitudes depending on their def of peace & security  
If you don't support 67 borders w/ minor Arab, we will  
get no Arab support. I wants 1/2 Jordan, 1/3 Sinai,  
1/2 - 1/3 W bank. If we come up w/ frontier, denied  
you, limited armaments, we still have Arabs w/  
Arabs ~~unless~~ who would demand them out on both sides.  
We can't keep c Arabs for less than 67 borders.

Jerusalem we should stay away from for now. If we  
do this, what would we see in w/I

Kenting

(I left for a minute to get a map)

I, by border rectification, means E Jewish kind border of  
Sham el Sheikh. When it gets to suit cutting they will  
want to keep E face of the plain. In Jordan, I be surprised  
if they would give up 1/2 Jordan.

Kenting Perhaps some security agreement could be worked out

K Arabs won't buy security w/ I troops inside. On W bank, they  
~~would~~ would permit narrow corridor to c Arab population. If  
you declare 67 w/ actual rectification, c Arabs will be  
back mined to ask what. You have to decide before  
going public whether you will support essentially 67  
frontiers. That is a big issue.

Wright

This is a bitterest relationship in c Arab. Arab has  
opened his country doors to c other Arabs. He has turned  
c country around so could talk of peace. His price for  
peace is precisely c 67 frontiers. He has indicated  
willingness to permit UN control of areas w/ dem

K If it would happen when we still control borders, we

could prob sell 1/2 c Eolan

Unruh He feels Paks, deeply. He pleased at K's fortune to see  
he found taking Eout, losing his leverage. He said US  
should stay engaged

P Does he want America?

Unruh Kennedy, 1<sup>st</sup> hesitation. He wants quick explanation  
and all matters.

K Dream of it is ~~stuck~~ stuck. Sad not to bring you back fast than  
Aard, because he's willing to work to please. They want peace  
but aren't willing to pay a price

Rehman ~~He's~~ <sup>He's</sup> a best friend. He knows he's been out a bit  
won't come to get back in unless asked. He would  
insist on self defense in W. Bank. He thinks he  
a bank among others. I can't go back of a security  
on an defense. There are other bilateral issues  
he will want to discuss w/ you. He thinks progress  
only in steps, but would by a long way to get things  
going.

P If you're back out, why would he be more involved this time?

Rehman Last time he got in just a little. He doesn't think  
it would be as good this time & he thinks I next time  
would be price than Jordan & Lebanon.

K I think ~~that~~ I could do something temporary w/ it this

Kathy I think then Lebanon.

P What sig of disputes in Lib

K I think Lebanon trying to assert some control over established  
Lebanon has been helpless in fighting bet I & PhO.  
Lebanon wants settlement to get rid of Paks. They would  
be most aggressive if they want to remove, because of Paks.

R One other point is that Iraq, freed of Khomeini will exert radical pressure on Syria & Jordan

P If we want to convene would we have to have a copy plan

K We could do nothing but be honest brokers; suggest a position; put forward plan for arm. If we suggest it, Arabs will decide only way to answer is to put long personal memo - like page 73; if we broker, eventually we have to say what we're brokering. If we put out a plan, I will make it of your. Arabs may not accept, but we can visit on it for several mos. Arabs, I think, gradually could come around to our view.

E-It They would originally look askance at it, but if they see a good outline, they can move easily by interim steps. That has been part of interim steps to some.

P Should that be at Geneva

E-It Inside or outside Geneva - I would prefer 1st before Geneva.

K Hussein thinks to visit & have interim <sup>agreement</sup> before Geneva but essential to have a plan.

Re-Itm Jordan thinks Geneva would get out of hand if it goes in w/o a position.

E-It Some of E. He would prefer interim agreement before, but at least he would hope for some plan.

P How would I accept to copy plan & what could they try to do in C/S.

Ken-It We're in for trouble w/ Am Jews whatever. If we pursue interim measures I think we will get some eventual flak as to brokering unaccepted.

P You mean Jews here would feel as though about proposed interim is a copy plan.

K I have been specialists in stating something unattainable

for which they would be meeting special. 1<sup>st</sup> they wanted signatures on piece of paper. They said get us into some room w/c Arabs. We did both + they back off right away, now they say they want peace. But by coming out for 67 borders. Jews will eventually we have given away their leverage in advance

Arthur

I have come gradually to comprehensive view because we can demand more from Arabs. But I have sold idea for 8 yrs that 67 borders are insane.

P My impression of pub reaction in US is would be like reaction to leadership w/ty when K came back. All focus was on I lack of realization of diff attitudes in US.

Kenting But Dimity tells them no diff. attitudes. Hamilton will stand w/ you, but he doubted we can hold his when C pressure come.

K If you go a interview with you can either say you would ask and unless there is agreement <sup>if they do</sup> then you say with w/ Syria; if not you say may pass and anyway. If a comp. plan, you can give aid in that context. They want peace, don't want to pay, & think they can get C 2.6 anyway

P I ~~can~~ have reputation as per I. Sit in Cong is totally diff now. To us get progress there will be no report for I and. If Cong tries to force it, I will veto.

Kenting they couldn't overrule a veto

P We have to decide which approach to pursue. This has been my hope.

K We think we need a letter to Sadat. Human dignity

I have told Khrushchev that we would do more business <sup>than</sup> him + he should deal w/ them as <sup>friendly</sup> partner <sup>friendly</sup> but foreign.

P That is a way I have told a business way to behave.

Eilat It is important that Sadat be kept in moderate state. Sadat has been a little wild. He doesn't want peace w/ Israel. He made outrageous moves during night. He is a diplomat right now. He will welcome US leadership - wants to work w/ us. I must get back before Fakhri leaves for SC. We must use him to keep Arabs from working across of themselves. He wants to work w/ us.

P Are we together