MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

President Gerald R. 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 & TIME:

Tuesday - May 6, 1975

9:26 - 10:23 a.m.

PLACE:

The Oval Office

<u>Kissinger:</u> The Israeli strategy is to show that relations have improved and then they will go for the aid package.

President: I don't have any notion to change our line.

<u>Kissinger:</u> I wouldn't mention a commitment to the "security" of Israel, only "survival," and be a little cool. They will scream, but you will be better off.

President: I intend to.

Kissinger: There are inaccuracies in the Draper article in Commentary. About the blank check -- I told Israel we would have to vote for a cease-fire if it went to the UN. We stalled UN action by my Moscow trip. I told Israel I could delay for 48 hours so they better conclude their operations. I was in the air when Nixon sent a message to Brezhnev, without my knowledge, saying I had plenary powers. That was the night of the Saturday night massacre. It was 24 hours after the ceasefire that they trapped the Third Army.

President: Really? It was not before?

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FT. CHORLARS State Review 3/8/04

<u>Kissinger:</u> No. That was the key to the crisis. And Schlesinger, who hadn't discovered yet that he was pro-Israeli, wanted to airlift supplies to the Third Army. So we actually got Israel 96 more hours than they had any reason to expect.

President: Wasn't it a pedantic article?

<u>Kissinger:</u> Draper is a writer, an occasional teacher, and passionately Zionist. It is a curious phenomenon -- a former Communist being pro-Israeli and anti-detente.

On the new Ambassador to Israel, Scali is pushing for it. I think he would be bad. I think Toon would be better.

President: What about Geneva?

Kissinger: We could use Porter, Buffum or even Scali,

President: Let's go with Toon, but we should do it right away.

<u>Kissinger:</u> On the whole, I would rather have someone in Geneva we can trust.

Here are the Israeli supply figures. I will get you the dollar values.

President: What do we do on Jordan?

<u>Kissinger</u>: It isn't true that we have stopped shipments to Israel. We have stopped only on high technology items that would represent a major change in the military balance. Israel already has the items Jordan has and these negotiations have been going on for eight months.

President: We obviously haven't neglected them.

Rowling will bleed about Third World cooperation. You should tell him that is fine, but if we leave a vacuum, it will be filled and we first of all must be strong. If Indonesia goes neutral or like South Vietnam, Australia and New Zealand will be screaming for our asses.

<u>President:</u> Did you see the Democrats now saying they wouldn't now cut the defense budget more than 2-3 percent?

<u>Kissinger</u>: Yes. Reagan told me he is getting standing applause for being tough. I think the pay dirt is on the right, not the left.

President: Did you see the Charlotte trial acquittal?

Kissinger: I think the mood of the country is changing already.

<u>President:</u> The Nixon shenanigans are one of the stupidest things in political history.

Kissinger: Rowling is a lost cause. But I would be tough with Whitlam. Tell him we have to build a security structure in Asia based on Japan and China, with the Philippines. I wouldn't mention Taiwan.

With Wilson, I would ask what he thinks about the Middle East, but then be tough -- don't say it is a crappy proposal but ask for his support.

On SSCE, tell him we are getting a lot of pressure domestically and does he really think we should go through with it? He will plead to you to go through with it.

President: I see reports of the Soviet Union...

<u>Kissinger:</u> Giscard. Say you understand his reasons for not wanting to come, but the American people would never understand meeting with him if he didn't go to NATO.

I have arranged to meet with Gromyko on the 20th at Vienna, and I will go to Berlin on the 21st for a speech. I will tell them you are planning to go there in connection with the CSCE. Then I'll go to Turkey, then be back here the 24th-25th. Then I'll go to the IEA meeting on the 26th in Paris and meet you in Brussels.

Dobrynin told me they passed the North Vietnamese answer to us. He said he had told Brezhnev not to get involved but Brezhnev sent a strong note to the DRV and he thought it did some good. He complained that we criticized the Soviets who tried to help but haven't criticized the Chinese who didn't lift a finger.

I offered to delay the meeting with Gromyko a month, but he didn't want to.

I told him I couldn't discuss the Middle East. He will have a summit date.

I said there is no point in a summit unless there is a SALT deal. He agreed and asked for our positions to discuss at my meeting with Gromyko.

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Get his whole remarks,

9:26-10:-JPIR 6 May 25 K I strategy is to show that relation have improved & then they will go for a ond fatherye. I don't homon notion to change and him " I wouldn't whatin "security" only sommal, and I a little end. They will a cream, but you will - He with of 2 minutes. L'Thre on in a consein me Duge Out. ant a Hank Chah & Told I we would have to rote for a CF if it went & UN. by stalled UN atmin by a Sur trip, & told I & enall duly for 48 hours so they health conclude their opens. Levas in ain when N sent a plurary from any to Buy- That work myst of Saturdy myst missaure. It was zy his ofthe c CE that They layful c zar any P Really? It was not before? K do. That was hey to consis. and Schles, who hust choconing get he wa pro-I, wantel to only to sugglis to = 3 and ony, So we actually got I 96 were home them they had my reason to expert. of Warn't it a plantin article? K Deoper is a writer, some excasered ten her, possimited Zinnot. Stisa miras phenomen former Const. of hing pro I o certi dituti. On I amer Scali pushing for it. I think ho will le had. I think Toon would be button I what about Gruna K Des could use poster, Bufform de mon Scoti.

NEC MEMO, 11/19400, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Dev: au 3/8/04
BY NARA. DATE 5/14/04

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