

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Gerald Ford  
Mr. Max Fisher  
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: Monday, September 8, 1975  
1:55 - 2:00 p. m.  
[Before the President's meeting  
with the Jewish Leaders]

PLACE: The Oval Office  
The White House



Fisher: I have a most representative group -- thirty-six. This is the whole spectrum of the Community.

There are a couple of questions which will come up. One is your discussions with Syria. Then whatever discussion you can give.

I could open up with a statement of appreciation.

The President: Then I can say a few words and then let Henry describe the agreement.

Fisher: Then Rabbi Miller can end with some words of support.

Kissinger: On Syria I have to say this: They can blow it up if they want. If Israel keeps saying that nothing can be done, they will join the radicals.

Fisher: I would just say we hope something will come, but not by putting pressure on Israel on it. Can you also mention Israeli flexibility? Don't smile!

Kissinger: Will they support the agreement on the Hill?

Fisher: You better believe it!

[The President et al. proceeded to the Cabinet Room for the meeting.]

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5  
NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES  
BY DAJ, NARA, DATE 6/2/04 state de v. es 3/10/04

~~TOP SECRET~~  
CLASSIFIED BY HEAVY

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Gerald Ford  
 Max Fisher and American Jewish Leaders  
 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: Monday, September 8, 1975  
 2:00 p. m.

PLACE: The Cabinet Room  
 The White House

Max Fisher: I want to present to you, Mr. President, the president of virtually every organization in the Jewish community. I want to congratulate you and, first of all, say how pleased we are at your escape Friday. Prayers for you were said in every synagogue.

We are deeply grateful to you and the Secretary for what you have accomplished and the manner in which you did it. It was good for the country and world peace.

The President: Thanks, Max. It has been a tough year and this has been one of the principal issues. I don't know how many hours Kissinger and I have spent together and with foreign diplomats on this. But I think we have achieved a great step forward. Let me say right now that the one who deserves the credit is Henry. Without him it could not have been done and I want to thank you before your colleagues.

It is a good agreement, but we now need quick action. We need Congressional approval within ten days. We appear to be getting support from the Leadership of both Houses. The form is a simple concurrent resolution which doesn't require my signature. We need your help in getting Congress to act quickly, and the bigger the vote the more unanimity we will show.

Henry, why don't you describe some of the details.

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 12958, SEC. 1.6  
NSC MEMO, MARNO, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Dev. Co. 3/10/04  
BY [signature], MARA, DATE 4/2/04

~~TOP SECRET~~  
CLASSIFIED BY [signature]

Kissinger: I want to underline the importance of the President's words on getting a substantial vote. It shouldn't be a grudging vote after acrimonious debate. The Soviet Union is beginning to snipe and mobilize the radicals. We also need a substantial vote on the aid package, including that for Egypt.

I assume you know the basic provisions. Israel's dilemma is that it is asked to give up something tangible, which can't be taken back, for something intangible -- a promise -- which can be changed. The most attractive route would be an overall settlement, but even if it could be negotiated -- which is doubtful, because it would put the negotiations in radical hands -- there is no way to test it. This agreement gives us a chance to test Egypt's good faith without jeopardizing Israeli security.

[He describes its major provisions.]

This is the most far-reaching agreement ever made in the history of the Middle East conflict. They could turn into empty promises, but if they do, Israeli security will not have been threatened. I think this could be a hopeful beginning for a very long and complicated peace process.

The President: I had a difficult decision on the American technicians. First, both Israel and Egypt asked us to do it.

Kissinger: That in itself is really something.

The President: Many people have likened this to Vietnam. There is no analogy. In Vietnam we went in on one side against another side. Here the U. S. is asked to send people to a neutral zone by both parties who are not at war.

We will be working hard with the Congress and would like your support.

Rabbi Miller: I join Max in thanking the Almighty for your deliverance. During our Holy Days we appreciate what you have been able to achieve. These are days of sober hopefulness. We hope this is a giant step on the road to peace. This will give us a chance to gauge Arab and especially Egyptian intentions. Israel is taking risks for peace and we hope and pray that these risks will lead to that peace. We know there will be problems, both on the technicians and magnitude of assistance. Underlying the words of the agreement is agreement between Israel and Egypt that the U. S. will

have the major role in bringing peace. We know the technicians are not military. One of the things we are proudest of is that Israel can handle the military problem by itself.

As you know, this is but one of our concerns. One other is Soviet Jewry, and we are bothering the Secretary on this. Another is Syrian Jewry. I have 400,000 signatures asking that something be done. I just mention them to let you know our shopping list is long, but now on these holidays we come back to the gratitude we feel for you.

The President: We are conscious of these other problems. We must take one step at a time.

Kissinger: Whether anything can be done on Syrian Jews depends in part on what happens between Syria and Israel. We don't expect any dramatic results between Israel and Syria given the nature of the Golan problem. But if Syria feels there is no hope, they will line up with the radicals and could even pressure Egypt. But we have explained our views on this to all the parties.

We are doing what we can with Soviet Jewry, but we have little to offer them. They can't get credits, MFN, and now they can't get grain loaded. We raise it at every meeting, but thus far they haven't been too forthcoming.

Question: We certainly intend to help on the Hill. How have the Committees reacted and what are the negative arguments?

Kissinger: On the technicians, the basic question is the analogy with Vietnam and why the U.S. and not Sweden, and so forth. I point out that Sweden and many others have larger contingents than we will. Also they ask what will happen if the technicians get into trouble.

I get the impression that the aid figures are much more of a problem than technicians. On aid I have taken the position that we would be giving aid in any case and there is just a small differential for the agreement itself.

Question: Are you asking other groups for help? We can't do it all ourselves.

The President: We are mounting an all-out effort with the Congress.

Question: Has the reassessment period now concluded?

The President: In the broader sense, yes. We felt we had either to do what we have done, or go for a broad agreement.

Question: We pledge our support in Congress. The technicians will get through because it is easy for Democratic liberals. A harder bullet will be two-point-something for Israel and the hardest will be \$800 million for Egypt. We will be asked if the Saudis have gotten poor suddenly.

The President: The dollars will be the most difficult. We have held off sending the aid bill up to see what happened in the Sinai and with respect to Cyprus. The bill will contain two-point-something for Israel. We are still negotiating the details. It does contain something for Egypt. Israel has two and a half million people. Egypt has 40 million. Surely their allies will help, but this is one whole package.

One other point: Max hasn't given me authority to discuss this, but we have to solve Cyprus and to do that we have to lift the embargo. Try to get Ben Rosenthal to see the light. He is a good friend of mine, but he can really help and we need your help there.

Kissinger: In the 1973 war, we knew what the Soviet Union was doing -- because of Turkey. Also, if Turkey is rebuffed, it will turn to the radical Arabs. On aid for Egypt, Sadat wanted an agreement to demonstrate the benefits of working with the United States. He needs to show that there are benefits to cooperating with the United States. So it is not just the money, but where it comes from.

Fisher: You have been most generous with your time. You have our support.

The President: I think we need 75 percent of the vote in both houses.

I thank you for your sentiment on the little incident last Friday.

I want to reiterate that none of it would have been possible without Henry.

[Applause]

P/ May Fisher/K

8 Sept 75

3

F I have a vast exp. group - 36. This is a whole spectrum. ✓

There are a couple of questions which will come up. One is your determination of Syria. Then what ever discussion you can give.

I could give up w/ statement of appres.

P Then I can say a few words and then let K describe a deal agreement.

F Then Rabbi Miller can end w/ some words of support.

K On Syria. They can blow it up if they want. If I hope saying nothing can be done they will join a radicals.

F I would just say we hope something will come, but not putting pressure on I on it. Can you also mention I flinch. Don't smile.

K Will they support a agreement on it?

F You better outline it.

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5  
NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES state review 3/10/04  
BY WV NARA DATE 6/2/04

P/Jewish Leaders/K

8 Sept 75

✓

Thank you for your letter of 12th Sept. I am sure you will find every organization in Jewish community want to be represented on 12th Sept. I am pleased we are at your disposal Saturday. Please for you will find in my response. We are deeply grateful to you & Sam for what you have accomplished & commenced in which you led it. It was good for country & world peace.

P. I know how. It has been a tough year & this has been one of principal reason. I don't know how many houses K & I have got together & as I figure diplomats. But I think we have achieved a great step forward. Let me say right now that one who deserves credit is K. Also him it could not have been done & I want to thank you for your willingness.

It is a good agreement, but we now need quick action. We have long agreed w/in today. We appear to be getting support from a leadership of both houses. The form is a simple movement resolution which doesn't require any sig. We need your help in getting Cong to act quickly & a bigger & with a mass unanimity we will show them, why don't you describe some of details.

K. I want to make this statement of I would see getting a substantial vote. It shouldn't be a

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Dep. as 3/10/04

BY: [initials] NARA DATE 6/2/04



qualifying most of the economic details. The SV is  
beginning to suggest more realistic schedules. Also  
need a ~~substantive~~ substantive core and package, including  
that for E.

In summary, you have a basic provision.  
I's challenge is it is asked to give up something  
irrevocable which can't be taken back for something  
irrevocable - promise - which can be changed.  
Most attractive version would be overall settlement, but  
even if it could be negotiated (abolished because  
it would put negot in radical hands). There  
is no way to test it. This agreement gives no  
a chance to test E faith w/ a jeopardizing  
I security. ~~Final~~ (Describes major provisions).  
This is a real far reaching agreement now  
made in NE context. They could turn into  
empty promises, but if so I security would not  
have been threatened. I think this could be a  
hopeful beginning for every long & complicated peace  
process.

P I had a diff. decision on US behavior. I st,  
both I & E asked us to do it

R That in itself is not something.

P Many people have historical ties to UN. No  
analogy. In UN we want in on one side  
& against another side. Here US expects  
send people to neutral zone by both parties when  
we not at war.

We will be working hard w/ Congress & world

Ruth Martin

W/ your support

John Max in

We thank you for your dimensions.  
During our Holy Day we appreciate what  
you have been able to achieve. These are  
days of sober happiness. We hope this is a  
great step and a start to peace. This will give  
us a chance to gauge Andro's exp. E. conditions  
I is taking risks for peace + we hope & pray that  
these risks will bring back to this peace. We  
know there will be jobs, both on technicians &  
magnitudes of assistance. Underlying a world of  
a agreement is agreement but I & E that  
US will have major role in bringing  
peace. We know technicians not working. One  
of things we proudest of is that I can handle  
int. by itself.

As you know this is but one of our reasons.  
One is San Juan & we are looking for  
on this. Another is Syrian jury. I have  
40000 signatures asking something to be done.  
I just want them to know on stopping  
but so many, but some on these holidays  
we feel even back to a gratitude we feel  
for eyes

P We are worried of these other jobs. We  
must take one step at a time.

R Whether anything can be done on Syrian  
just depends in part on what happens  
bet Syria & I. We don't expect any dramatic

would bet I & Syria give a contract of a  
Golan peak. But if Syria feels there is  
no hope, they will have a contract &  
could even pressure E. But we have ~~agreed~~  
some ~~agreed~~ on this & all the parties.

We know what we can do for Syria, but  
we have little to offer them. They can't get  
wheat, NIKK, & now can't get grain loaded.  
We raise it at very high, but these few they  
haven't been too forthcoming.

Q We certainly intend to help one Hill. How have  
the contacts reacted & what are negative arguments.

R On a technical, basic position is availability of  
VN & why US & not Sweden, etc. I point out  
that Sweden & many others have larger contingents  
than we will. Also what will happen if technicians  
get into trouble.

I get impression that aid figures much  
more for prob than technicians. On aid I  
don't know position we would be giving aid  
in any case & there is just a small  
differential for career itself.

Q Are you asking other groups for help? We  
can't do it all ourselves.

P We are counting on all sort effort w/c Cong.

Q Has a ~~reassessment~~ period been concluded?

P In a broader sense, yes. We felt we had better  
to see what we have to go for a broad agreement.

Q We pledge our support in Cong. Technicians

will gather because it is easy for democratic  
thinkers. A middle budget will be two point  
something for I & the budget will be 800  
million for E. We will be asked if a Socialist  
move further goes suddenly.

P The dollars will be most difficult. We have  
held off sending a bill up to see what  
happened in Paris & w/ respect to Cyprus.  
The bill will contain 2 point something for  
I. We still negotiating a details. It does contain  
something for E. I has 2 1/2 mil; E has 40.  
Surely this will help, but this is one  
whole package

Q one other point. Max hasn't given me  
authority to discuss this, but we have to  
solve Cyprus & to do that we have to lift a  
 embargo. Try to get Ben Keenethal & me a  
light. He is a good friend of mine, but I can  
really help & we need your help there.

K Dec 23 was, we know what a SUI was doing  
because of Turkey. Also, if the Turkey is  
rebuffed, it will turn to a radical crisis.

Q demand for E. Sadat wanted an agreement  
to demonstrate a benefits of working w/ a US.  
He need to show that there are benefits to  
engaging w/ US. Not just a money but  
restoration come from

F You have most generous w/ your time. You  
have our support.



I think we need 75% of votes in both houses.

I thank you for your participation on  
with much love and love.

Want to return to that world if it would  
have been possible w/a R  
(Coplease)