THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

THE PRESIDENT

Dr. Henry A. Kissinger

Lt. General Brent Scowcroft

DATE AND TIME:

Wednesday, December 18, 1974

9:40 - 10:20 a.m.

PLACE:

Oval Office

Kissinger: Mahon is worried that we will load up the Senate bill.

Sadat's problem may be that we aren't giving him an agreement before Brezhnev comes.

The President How can we? I saw Israel released its proposals yesterday.

Kissinger: Tell Golda that if the Israeli Government doesn't improve its procedures, you don't see how we can continue its relationship. Dinitz said Sadat wants an excuse for going back to the Soviet Union. He said we are making it tough by saying that another war would be a tragedy and the whole world would gang up on Israel. Tell her about leaking in the strongest possible terms.

Wayne Hays said he gave a Chamber of Commerce speech and after it a banker stood up and said George Brown is one of the greatest Americans and is right and got a three-minute ovation.

I believe Israel is insane for not taking what they can get in a Sinai settlement.

If this negotiation blows up, we should move quickly to Geneva. We should either get a settlement fast or diffuse the responsibility by going to Geneva.

The President What is the Israeli reaction to going to Geneva?

Kissinger: They don't like that either. The first issue there would be the CLASSIFIED BY Henry A. Kissinger PLO.

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George Ball hurts us by saying we whould work it out with the Soviet Union. That means the '67 borders. If we are willing to do that, we don't need to do it with the Soviet Union.

Sadat is pissed off because we let him go naked into Rabat and now into a Brezhnev meeting.

Keep Golda to 45 minutes -- 30 minutes with us and 15 alone. She will be very emotional.

The Israelis told Rockefeller the three indispensables in the Cabinet are me. Schlesinger and Simon.

The Turks are sending an emissary to Cyprus and they'll talks start tomorrow.

The President: How about Markarios?

<u>Kissinger:</u> The Greeks are clever. He is less trouble there than elsewhere, and they can either make him support an agreement or stick him with the blame.

Clerides is now coming down from ten cantons to a few near the Rurkish zone.

The Hill staffers are saying our Turkish deal was a great victory.

Mansfield is doing well in China, but Teng Hsia-p'ing made a pitch for Diego Garcia.

The President How is Bush?

Kissinger: Bush is doing well now. He is exuberant but not self-serving like Richardson. He can be very useful in your second term.

Rockefeller is pushing Govenor Ray Shaffer.



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Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Sec. of State

and Assistant to the President.
Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy

Assistant to the President.

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5theba: c.s. 3/10/04

Oval Office

The President: Tell Mahon and Passman that I want the CRA on basis of the authorization. I would be happy to call Passman.

Kissinger: I promised Hays 15 minutes with you.

The President: Okay.

<u>Kissinger:</u> I think we are facing a major crisis with Sadat. Nixon promised to sell his arms. He doesn't have anything we promised. We have two problems with him: The Israeli negotiation and his general perception of us. I think you should send him a letter saying we would like to open our hearts with them. He could send Fahmy or his personal aide, Marwan, or as a last resort I could go.

If we could hold it to January until he goes to France, I could maybe meet quietly. We must get to him with someone he trusts.

The President: Can't we get something between Israel and Egypt within the next few weeks? Can't we act quickly on the Middle East package?

Kissinger: Yes. He said publicly yesterday that he would give us only a bit more time on step-by-step before turning to geneva.

The President: You got the consensus in the leadership meeting. It is not at all solid.



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<u>Kissinger:</u> I will talk to Dinitz today. Tomorrow we talk with Golda, and you talk to her at the end alone. If it blows up and gets to a war, you can't guarantee American support. Their constant nitpicking has brought us to the edge of disaster. You don't want to say this officially, but she should tell the leaders.

Six months ago the U.S. was a dominant figure in the Middle East, and a visit by me would quiet things. It's not so now. This stuff about cooperation with the Soviet Union -- They insist on the '67 borders. If you are willing to do that, there is no reason to do it with the Soviet Union.

We have got to tell Israel we need their maximum position. I am not sure the Israeli-Egyptian negotiation will succeed. Sadat seems to be posturing himself.

There are two alternatives: Let Geneva fail and at the blow up impose a settlement that is close to the 67 borders. The other way is to do it without provocation, but that will be tougher.

The President: Frances Knight wants to extend. I think we should stick with the rules. What do you think?

Kissinger: Whatever would be helpful to you. I will order it.

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BY MARA, DATE 5/10/04

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