MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President 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 AND TIME: Wednesday, March 26, 1975
9:22 - 10:18 a.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

[From 9:30 - 9:34 a.m., Secretary Kissinger stepped out to take a telephone call from Ambassador Eilts.]

Kissinger: Javits came in very threatening. If we went after Israel, he and Ribicoff would come after me. He said our interests were identical with Israel.

He wanted to introduce a resolution in both Houses to urge you to use the waiver on the Turkish issue.

President: That is stupid on the part of Israel.

Kissinger: We are in the position while three million Israelis and three million Greeks are running American foreign policy. We are giving aid to Israel at a rate which would be unbelievable for any other country.

I could keep the Middle East quiet through the '76 election. I did the same in '72, when Israel did the same thing to Rogers in '71. Then I cooperated to keep the Soviet influence out,
On the Middle East, there is an option to let Geneva go on, get it all screwed up and have a stalemate. The other is to force the pace of events. I am afraid that a stalemate will radicalize the Arabs and lead to war. The European Ambassadors told me last night that we did our best and they would cooperate in a settlement.

But the press campaign is that this is just a minor misunderstanding and we can go back to business as usual.

President: We can't do that. We must move comprehensively. Let's get that speech under way.

Kissinger: If we stay steady, Israel may crack and give us something to get things under way.

President: We must stay steady.

Kissinger: They will come after me.

I am seeing Moynihan and I thought I would get him to head a group about behaving more aggressively at the UN.

President: How about appointing Pat at the UN?

Kissinger: Nixon offered it once and then gave it to Bush. He would be superb, but probably wouldn't take it.

President: Would he carry out orders?

Kissinger: You -- and the press -- would know when he disagreed. He would basically be with us and basically okay.

We could make Toon our Geneva Conference negotiator.

President: I thought it might appear we were blaming Keating.

Kissinger: No, but it would appear we are sending a tougher guy there. Toon is a smart guy -- he would carry out orders.

President: When would Geneva start?

Kissinger: May or June.
President: I think he would be good. Why don't we do that?

Kissinger: We could announce it. It would be a good signal.

At my press conference, I thought I would make a strong statement on Vietnam. I have a statement on Israel. Is it worth doing?

President: I gave a press conference. I said Israel is inflexible.

Kissinger: Good. They will attack you.

President: I know they will hit us, but I kind of enjoy a fight when I know I am right.

Kissinger: It is reaching impossible proportions. First, they ruin our trade relations with the Soviet Union. Rabbi Miller is demanding we hold up MFN to Romania until they agree to 9,000.

President: Did you see the emigration figures?

Kissinger: I will bring Fisher in.

We have a letter from Sihanouk. We ought to take advantage of the opening.

President: I agree. We have to take advantage of it.

Kissinger: Then you got a letter from Thieu. He wants B-52s and aid. I think Martin has flipped. Things are very bad.
K swears come in every threat. Of the three options, I'm not sure which to take. The choice is up to us after that. The main points are:

1. We don't know what we're doing.
2. We are in a situation where we must decide on our own.
3. We have a 60-day window to decide.

We'll stay in for 60 days, then make a decision. I think the 60-day window is too short, but that's our decision. We'll stay in for 60 days, then make a decision.

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I am concerned that I would get him to speak about something more appealing.

K. You're very good at that, but he would speak on a subject, but just wouldn't talk.

P. Would he carry out what?

K. Yes, he would carry through what he suggested.

P. If he had some opinion or something, he would carry on.

K. He had an opinion on something, let's say.

P. He had an opinion on something. He was very strong there. He is a quiet guy - he would carry out others.

K. When would America act?

P. They're going.

K. So, I think he would be good. Why don't we sit down?

P. We would discuss that would be a good subject.

K. You're going. I don't think it would make for a better statement.

P. I have an opinion on it. What would they do?

K. Good. They will attack you.

P. I don't think they would let me, but I think I am going as we have a plan.

K. It's something we have in mind. They have some trouble with it. Reba is changing, is changing. We should go M to the meeting to talk about it.

P. Did you see the meeting in Japan?

K. David left today in

L. Have a nice trip.
I'm sorry, we have to talk about this.
I think you need a little for this work. If I did.
I think Washington has flight trip anyway, but