

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS



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: Thursday, June 5, 1975
2:00 p. m.

PLACE: The Oval Office
The White House

President: Pete Dominick said he just couldn't carry on.

Kissinger: The Middle East. I think we can work it. Israel is making noises like they are going to cave.

President: They know they haven't pushed it one inch.

Kissinger: I told Dinitz they had said there were three areas they knew there had to be movement in -- duration, warning sites, and boycott. You must be firm because they will try to rattle us. Now they have Joe Kraft saying I shouldn't be the negotiator. That is another ploy.

I think you should hit Rabin between the eyes -- your extreme concern over what happened in March, over the leaks, and over their trying to win public opinion here. This will actually give him something to sell at home. Tell him if there is no movement we will go to Geneva with a comprehensive proposal.

President: There are about ten things which related to a comprehensive proposal we would raise at Geneva. I wouldn't tell him what position, just what we needed positions on.

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

CLASSIFIED BY HENRY A. KISSINGER
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5 (b) (1, 3)
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON Imp. to det.

DECLASSIFIED
JFK Assass. Rec. Collection Act of 1992
State, NSC, CIA Reviews 17810004/0297
NARA date 4/2/02 By KSH

Kissinger: You could suggest that he and I work out something that Israel can support. I will then try to move him toward the Egyptian positions without telling him about them. Then you tell him to go home and see if he can sell it to the Cabinet, and if he can, I will go to Egypt to sell it. If you give it as an Egyptian proposal, they will play it as Egyptian-American collusion.

President: This would be while he is here.

Kissinger: In between your meetings with him. I will tell him he has got to go East of the passes and have an unbroken line to the oil fields. I don't know how to work the duration -- probably we can bargain. On the warning stations, I would leave the manning of them open. If they offer American manning, we can say we have to run it by the Egyptians. Then he would run this past the Cabinet and I would go out a week later. We'd get it done before the Soviet Union and Syria get set.

I think you have got to show you are determined and won't tolerate a stalemate. My impression from Dinitz -- unless they are setting us up.... I asked Bryce Harlow what kind of flak we would take in a confrontation. He said "Go on television to explain it and you would get overwhelming support." I think you can get an agreement, based on your Salzburg meetings.

President: It would put some meat on the bones.

Kissinger: I think this is the way we can do it.

President: I liked the Gromyko comment about how cumbersome democracy is in foreign policy.

Kissinger: My strong recommendation is to keep the Rabin dinner as much a working dinner as possible -- even if it hurts Max Fisher's feelings. The essence of a working dinner is that it's only the Executive Branch plus some from Congress.

President: Okay -- about 32. No Jewish leaders.

Kissinger: Rabin will want an assurance that you won't press him on Syria and at Geneva.

President: We can't promise that.



Kissinger: They will say they would be pressed at Geneva anyway, so why make a deal before hand? You could say we do it to defuse the Soviets....

One other point on Soviet intercepts. The Vice President wants to get it out. We would have an explosion, and arguments about why we are having detente with an outfit like this -- and we are doing it with the Soviet Union also.

President: There are two problems. His commission insists there be something in the report.

Kissinger: That is the Vice President insisting, not the commission.

President: Then it is a matter of classification and we can decide whether or not to declassify it.

They can't tell our methods in the report -- and the defector statement is. In a classified report, the truth would be told.

Kissinger: The Vice President has to be slowed down on this. This would be bad from a foreign policy and political point of view. It is not necessary for you to intervene at this point.

[Discussion of the classification of the Rockefeller Report and what has been going on.]

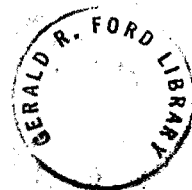
President: I am concerned at Church trying to sensationalize by focusing on the assassinations. From what I am told, we made some clumsy attempts. From what I see, if he pushes it, it could make Kennedy look bad. But at the same time, it is so clumsy that it makes CIA look bad.

Kissinger: I don't think you should do it. You could let Church push you into it -- say it happened 15 years ago and why go back.

President: No, I wouldn't get into it.

Kissinger: I think if everything were known, Kennedy and Johnson did far more than Nixon did. Bill Sullivan told me the things the Kennedys did with the FBI that aren't to be believed. I think you could say it could not happen now.

President: You have to be careful because Church could write it into law.



Kissinger: Not since I have been here has there been anything even thought of. There was the killing of the Chilean Chief of Staff, but we had dissociated from that group when we heard they were plotting to kidnap him.

This is sort of a phenomenon of the Kennedys.

Scowcroft: You will get the assassination data.

President: I will say I got it, I have looked at it, it was 15 years ago, and I don't think we should go back. If I start leaking it, Kennedy will be a martyr.

Kissinger: I think it's best to cover up a little for Kennedy,

President: I am not going to second guess my predecessors. If Church wants to, let him. The Kennedys will get him.

That Safire article was fascinating.

Kissinger: Your pardon is looking better and better. It looks of a piece with the Mayaguez, etc., of your acting decisively and doing what is right whether it is popular or not.



Fat post with involved in 2 days ago.

P/K 5 June 75 ✓

P. Pat Dornick said he just couldn't carry on

K. Two things I wanted to do was.

M.E. I think we can crack it. I working various like
they going to work

P. They know they haven't pushed us, in

K. I did the Dinty they had said there were 3 areas they
knew there had to be movement in - direction, warning
sites, they will. You must be firm because they will
try to catch us. Now they have Joe kept saying I shouldn't
be a cog. That another play.

I think you should hit Lavin but a byps - you
extreme concern over March, over leaks, & see
their trying to win job giving. This will actually
give him something to sell at home. Tell him if
no movement we will go to Geneva w/a comp.
proposal.

P. There are about 10 things which relate to comp. proposal
we could use social Geneva. I wouldn't tell him
what position, just what we needed position on.

K. You could suggest he & I work out something I can
support. I will then try to move him toward E
position w/o telling him about them. Then you
tell him to go home & see if sell it to cabinet &
if so I will go to E to sell it. If you give it to
E proposal, they will play it as E-US collusion.

P. This would be while he is here.

K. In bet, you work w/ him. I will tell him he gets to
go E of passes & have unbroken line to out. Don't know
how to work a situation - probably bargain. On working
stations, I would have morning job. If they offer US training
we say we have to run it by E. Then he see this
part of cabinet & I would go out a work letter - get it
done before SO & Syria get set.

I think you got to show you determined & want
about a settlement. Try negotiation from Dinty -



DECLASSIFIED
JFK Assass. Rec. Collection Act of 1992
State, NSC, CIA Review
NARA date 4/12/02 By KSH

unless they setting us up....

Jack &

Buy a Howler what kind of flak we could take in a
confrontation. He said go on TV to explain it & you
would get overwhelming support. I think you can get
an agreement, based on your Solzberg notes.

P It would put some meat on the bones.

K I think this is a way we can do it.

P I liked George's comment about how cumbersome
Duro is in F.P. >

K They they mean is to ^{help} turn Robin dinner as
much a working dinner as possible - even if it hurts
Max Fisher's feelings. The essence of working dinner
is only beer lunch plus Corg.

P OK - about 32. No Jewish leaders.

K Robin will want assurance you want press him on
Syria & at Geneva.

P We can't promise that

K They will say they be pissed at Geneva anyway so why make
deal beforehand. You could say it to dispose of Suez...

One other point - on Suez intercepts. VJ wants to get it out.

We would have an explosion, arguments about why we having
differences w/ an outfit like this, and we are doing it in 5 weeks.

P There are 2 parts. ~~There~~ exists there be something in report

K That is VP insisting, not a cross

P Then it's a matter of classification & we can decide whether
is not to declassify it.

They could tell an intricate in a report - and despite
statement is.

In our classified report, the truth could be told.

K The VP has to be slowed down on this. This would be bad
from F.P. & pol. point of view.

It is not necessary for you to intervene at this
point.

(Discussion of a classification of Rusk Report
& what has been going on.



P I concerned at Church trying to sensationalize by focusing on a assassination. Even what I told you make some clumsy attempts. Even what I see, if he pushes it, it ^{could} make Kennedy look bad. But at some time, it is obvious that it makes L.A. look bad

K I don't think you should do it. You could let Church push you with it - say it 15 yrs ago + why go back.

P No, I wouldn't get into it.

K I think of all ever known, Kennedy + Johnson did far more than Nixon. Bill Sullivan told me things Kennedy did w/c FBI assist to be behind.

I think you could say it could not happen now.

P Have to be careful cause Church could write it into law.

K Not since I have been here has there been any thing even that of. (Described killing of Chilton C of S).

This is sort of phenomenon of a Kennedy's

S You will get assassination data

P I would say I got it I have looked at it, it 15 yrs ago, I don't think we should go back. If I start looking it, Kennedy will be mounted

K I think it best to cover up a little for Kennedy

P I not trying to 2nd guess my predecessor. If ~~Kennedy~~ Church wants to, let him - the Kennedy's will get him.

That Sapine article was fascinating.

K Your position is looking better & better. looks of a piece w/ Mayaguez, etc of your acting decisively + doing what is right whether it popular or not.

I think

