MEMORANDUM
THE WHITE HOUSE
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 AND TIME:  Monday, June 16, 1975
                9:22 - 10:24 a.m.

PLACE:  Oval Office

Kissinger: I met with Rabin yesterday in New York. He didn't change
his position. He said he couldn't. He can't ignore what you have said,
but I think now we shouldn't spill too much blood over an American
interim plan. If you have to cram it down their throats, it may be
better to go all the way.

President: When will we hear?

Kissinger: They will send someone back from Jerusalem with a map
on Wednesday, after they have a Cabinet meeting on Tuesday. Even if
they change, I would send the first position to Sadat, unless Eilts thinks
it would cause a blowup.

We have problems with Turkey. [He describes his conversations
with Esenbel and his cable to Demirel]. Esenbel says they don't listen to
him anymore. I'm afraid Demirel has decided he has to gain support
by some anti-American moves. I'm afraid they may do something today --
perhaps close down our five bases that we have against the Soviet Union.

President: I talked to Rosenthal. He will bring in Hamilton, Fascell,
Whalen, and we will try to set up something tomorrow morning. Could
I have a paper?
Kissinger: I have an options paper. I think even if they close the bases, we ought to get the embargo lifted.

President: I think that is best. If you propose something, they immediately will start bargaining.

President: Rosenthal told me they were trying to find some way to move.

Kissinger: It is a silly thing. The Laurence Stern article in Foreign Policy...

President: It was a total distortion.

Kissinger: Yes. The Europeans were not willing to use force, and we weren't about to recognize Sampson. What we wanted to do was avoid giving a legal excuse for intervention. There were soreheads in State -- I got rid of them -- who wanted right away to pressure the Junta. Had we done that, we would now be pressuring Greece to make concessions.

[He describes the line on the Israeli map at considerable length.]

[He reads the message from Caglayangil.]

I think it is largely the domestic situation there. Ecevit is trying to push them into a corner. If Demirel settles, Erbakan will leave the coalition and Ecevit will push for elections.

I want to discuss Angola for a bit. There are three groups there. With the aid of Portugal and the Soviet Union, the MPLA is on the offensive and may even take Luanda. We have been dawdling around. We have given Roberto a bit, but he needs weapons and discipline. Kaunda doesn't have the horsepower. Mobutu is a bloody bastard but he is the only hope.

We don't want to see a Communist government in Angola. It is not in our interest to knock off a white regime right now, which is what would happen with a Communist Angola. I think we should have a meeting over the next two weeks to discuss it. No agency supports doing anything -- State, JCS.

President: CIA?

Scowcroft: They haven't a position really.
Kissinger: That is another problem. Colby is a disaster. [He describes the NIE problem. Colby promised Church to give him documents which we were discussing whether to give.]

President: I think we can move quickly now that the report is in.

Kissinger: On the Scheel visit: His constitutional position is non-political, so the conversation must be in general terms. He's a good friend of the U.S. A little weak. I don't know what he will raise -- the nuclear reactor business perhaps; the unity of Europe. He will announce at the McCloy ceremony $1 million for the Fund and then four million tonight at the toast.

President: He is speaking to a Joint Session tomorrow.

Kissinger: He will give a supportive speech. He is probably bored now. Just do a general review of American policy.

President: Where is he from? Isn't his party on the right wing?

Kissinger: I am not sure. Yes. It is right of the Socialists and used to be right of the CDU, but now I am not sure.

Let me read you the Thursday night memcon so you see how I pulled it out of them. [He reads parts of the memcon of the meeting Thursday night June 12, at Dinitz's residence.]

President: How did the lunch in New York go?

Kissinger: Extremely well. It's the best meeting with a Jewish group I have had. I told them that Jewish groups take the position that the U.S. is never right and Israel always is, and that is laying the basis for massive anti-Semitism here. I said: "You should be here as Americans, not as Israeli supporters." I think two-thirds of them were enthusiastic. I will meet with them again and maybe you should meet with them.

President: I would like to.

Kissinger: Klutznick -- the organizer -- is something of a renegade.

President: Did you see what Jackson said to Ceausescu?
Kissinger: I'm afraid he will decide that the U.S. can't be a counterweight to the Soviet Union because we are subjected to too much pressure. I also told the group they couldn't attack American power everywhere in the world except with respect to Israel.

President: What are the chances for Romania on the Hill?

Kissinger: They can drag into September. There are only ten months left. The Soviets saved us. If we had MFN, Jackson would be holding hearings on it all year building the campaign platform.

I think we have a SALT fight brewing. The New York Times has a front page article on the cruise missile. [Discuss the cruise missile problem.] We either must count them or do away with them -- at least on ships. Maybe on bombers.

President: Who generated the story?

Kissinger: DOD. I don't know whether it's Schlesinger himself. I don't know how he feels about it. Schlesinger has Kaufman working for him. What he would really like is to move nuclears out of Europe and do that function from offshore -- the cruise missile might be good for that.

[Mrs. Ford calls.]

It is now 50-50 about CSCE. The Europeans are toughening their position for 50 kilometers. We should stay out of it. I have said if there is no SALT agreement, there is no point in having a summit.

President: I agree with that.

Kissinger: On cruise missiles, I proposed a 2500-kilometer limit on missiles carried on planes, and counting them on ships. We can't get away with keeping them free. Then there is the Backfire problem. We maybe can't solve them all -- in which case there is no point in having a summit.
K. They will send someone w/on May or mid-June. Even if they change, 2 weeks and it position to start unless asks. Check it w/advance as they do.

We have passed w/Turkey. They had agreed to meet with them (E&M and a cabinet member). After meeting, they decided he has to be seen against current US stance. I hear they may do something today.

A. P. recommended he give us a lead.

P. They will drop any E.U. support against S.U.

K. They have some options open. I think their level of support might get stronger.

P. I think we should get心灵 the time just to see what they come up w.

K. I think that is likely if you press something, the animosity will start building.

P. Keown told me they were trying to find some way to move.

K. It is a silly thing. The Stuxn attack.

P. It was a total distortion.

K. Yes, The E.U. were not ready to move. And
Rampart wall for 5 nice folks.

We were talking about the way we combed. What we wanted to do was avoid any kind of force. There were several options: split off, then we might have to use a jury; split off, we would decide to split off. (Banana line our I synthesize considerable length).

(Keeks away from the word) I think it is not a domestic act. Escinck is trying to push us into a corner. If we settle, Escinck will lose evidence and Escinck will push for election.

Worth choosing Angola for a bit. There are 5 years.

We need to get out of S.U. MPIA is an offensive and can even take him away. We have been trying to get a list, but the state against exchange. Kindly doesn't have a three-point. We think it is a very bad act. We can only hope.

We don't want to see a labor joint in Angola. It is not in our interest to turn off a white regime right now when it is what would happen at a Great Angle. I think we should have no confidence in what we do to Angola. It is a very serious step. We need to decide it. This is very 30%.
P. I think we can make pretty near that epitome.

K. Schell, his recent position is the potential re-creation of the past. He is a good friend of U.S. A little while. I don't know what he will pursue, may lose whatever status he has. He will announce his thinking tomorrow. I will talk tonight to Tint.

P. He pretend to point especially tomorrow.

K. He will point specifically tonight. He just made sure just now good news of U.S. policy.

P. What he plan. Don't he just pretend to plan?

K. I don't know. Yes, it is just if so would need to be repeated. I don't want to, but I'm real you the thing might happen again. I see how I felt last night if then (what you mean)?

P. How did we lunch go?

K. Everything well. But only if a French guest was there. I think, French guests take secret's office now. It is not always so that buying basis for reason with them. I hope they be here as Am, not I suggest. I think it's of them can't enthuse to. I will meet them again maybe you should twist of them.

P. I will do it.

K. Khutsehie see, organize, is something a repake.

P. Did you see what Jackson said to Congress?

K. I found it be will decide that U.S. cannot be
a committee by 3:45 because we had to be in much person. I also told a group they wouldn't attack US forces because there would be no respect to it. What are chances for Iran or Oil?

I think we have a 40% chance this week. NYT has front page article on missile defense. Discuss missile defense with him. We should not count on them or assume they won't attack if they change our border.

D: We will not stay

D: I don't know what the Soviets know about how to handle about it. Schles has Mayflower

What will really like to worry about is if I can put on Earth or do that from off-shore. Missile might be good for that.

Mrs. Ford asked.

If we put on 80-90 about 55% a few are stopping their position for so long. We should do that if it. I have talked to the fact agreement not much point in being a demand.

I agree with that.

Our own missiles. Proposed 2500 think on planet countries on ships. We can put away if talking them false. Then talk no backfire. We might not have them all. In which case we want in a summit.