MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:
President Ford
Amb. Malcolm Toon, U.S. Ambassador to Israel
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 26, 1975
10:10 - 10:25 a.m.

PLACE:
The Oval Office

The President: When are you actually leaving?

Ambassador Toon: Saturday. I am stopping to pick up my daughter in Rome.

The President: Are you going to straighten out Italian politics?

Ambassador Toon: I'll leave that to Volpe.

The President: We certainly want to maintain a friendly relationship with Israel, but it must be on the proper basis. We are having problems with them. The proper attitude is to keep them at arms length but on a friendly basis. You will have a greater role than some of your predecessors.

If we don't get an agreement, we will have difficulty both with Israel and with the Jewish Community here. I am willing to take them on because I think we are right and I am disillusioned with how they have behaved in March and now.

Secretary Kissinger: Are you up to date?

Ambassador Toon: I don't know.
Secretary Kissinger: The map we got was no different from the one we saw here. You saw the letter?

Ambassador Toon: Yes. It was very good. I am in thorough agreement. I read the record and I agree with you on their lack of flexibility. What I don't see is where we go. I think you have to take on the Jewish Community.

Secretary Kissinger: The Jewish Community is getting very uneasy. Max Fisher and Len Garment, and even Danny Kaye, who is an all-out Israeli supporter but knows nothing about the past.

The President: If the record gets published, the zealots will be shocked. It is a record that our government can be proud of. I hope it doesn't have to take place. If there is a confrontation, your job will be tougher. We recognized this possibility when we picked you.

Ambassador Toon: I appreciate your confidence. I hope I will be kept abreast of everything happening.

Secretary Kissinger: You will know everything they know.

Ambassador Toon: The Hill is getting uneasy. I think you should talk to them.

Secretary Kissinger: We will, it is a matter of timing. We have to know something before I meet with Gromyko on the 10th and 11th of July.

The President: I think Israel is totally misreading the letter from the 76 Senators. Several of them have written qualifications, and it doesn't really commit them to any specific proposals. When it gets to dollars, many of them will have a different attitude.

Secretary Kissinger: If Israel won't agree with the letter, I think there is no choice but to go for an overall settlement.

Ambassador Toon: One thing I regret is that I won't be in Belgrade when you are there. I hope you can spend more time there than in Poland and Romania. I think it is as important to have an independent Yugoslavia as Israel.

The President: What is the plan?

Secretary Kissinger: The problem is timing. If it slips to the 28th, you will be backed up against the Japanese visit. You may have to go to Warsaw before.
MEETING WITH MALCOLM TOON
US AMBASSADOR TO ISRAEL
Thursday, June 26, 1975
10:00 a.m. (10 minutes)
The Oval Office

From: Henry A. Kissinger

I. PURPOSE
Malcolm Toon was confirmed as Ambassador to Israel on June 9; he will be departing for Tel Aviv shortly. His meeting with you is primarily a courtesy call, but it will serve to demonstrate the concern with which we regard the Middle East in general and Israel in particular, and will permit you to give Ambassador Toon final guidance before his departure.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS ARRANGEMENTS
A. Background: Ambassador Toon is a career Foreign Service Officer with a solid reputation for toughness and long record of achievement in difficult assignments. His area of specialization is east-west relations: he served twice in Moscow and was assigned as Director of Soviet Affairs in the Department of State before being named as Ambassador to Czechoslovakia (1969-1971) and Yugoslavia (1971-1975).

Since his nomination as Ambassador Keating’s successor in Tel Aviv, Ambassador Toon has been on consultations in Washington. He is fully aware of the current state of play in our talks with both Egyptians and Israelis and participated in our discussions with Prime Minister Rabin two weeks ago.

B. Participants: Ambassador Toon and Henry A. Kissinger.
C. **Press Arrangements:** Ron Nessen will announce the visit; White House photo session at the beginning of the meeting.

III. **TALKING POINTS**

1. Let me congratulate you on your assignment to Tel Aviv. You are leaving at a critical time in our relationship with Israel and in the development of our policies toward all Middle East countries.

2. You have been chosen as Ambassador because of your excellent record as a tough, thoughtful diplomat. Henry and I shall depend upon you to keep us closely informed of the mood, conditions, attitudes in Israel and within the Israeli government.

3. Before you leave, I would like to share with you some of my own thoughts about the conduct of our diplomacy in general and your mission in particular:

   **-- As you know,** I am committed to further movement in the peace process. Without this, our own interests in the Middle East will be compromised. A war would be disastrous, for ourselves, and I believe, for Israel.

   **-- We cannot permit Israel's intransigence to create stalemate. In the absence of cooperation between ourselves on this essential point, Israel cannot assume that our bilateral relations will remain unchanged. At the same time, Israel must understand our intentions as a friend. We shall not let Israel's survival be endangered. We intend to maintain our close relationship as much as reciprocity will permit.**

4. Regarding your own conduct in Israel, it should be in accord with the overall tone of our relationship. You will be a primary channel of communication to the highest levels of the Israeli Government and your comportment and that of your Embassy should convey the quality of this relationship to them. With this
thought, I hope you will be able to develop the best possible information on Israel's decision processes and the role of individual Israeli leaders in these processes.

5. You go with my best wishes for success in your task.

Tab A: Biography
Malcolm TOON

Ambassador-designate to Israel

Addressed as:
Mr. Ambassador

Prior to his present appointment, Malcolm Toon served as U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia from October 1971 to May 1975 and from June 1969 to October 1971 as U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia. Previous service included assignments to our Embassies in Warsaw, Budapest, Rome, London, Moscow (twice) and the Department of State as Director of Soviet Affairs in 1965-68 and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs in 1968-69.

Born in Troy, New York on July 4, 1916, Ambassador Toon was educated at Tufts University, receiving a B.A. in 1937, and at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, receiving an M.S. in 1938. He did graduate work at Middlebury College in 1950 and at Harvard University in 1950-51.

From 1942 to 1946, Ambassador Toon served in the Navy, principally as a PT-boat skipper in the South Pacific. He attained the rank of Lieutenant Commander and was awarded the Bronze Star. Ambassador Toon joined the Department of State in 1946.

In 1965, Ambassador Toon received the Department's Superior Honor Award. On July 18, 1973, he was promoted to the rank of Career Minister.

Ambassador Toon is married to the former Elizabeth Jane Taylor. They have a son, Alan, and two daughters, Barbara and Nancy.

28 May 1975
P. Between you and I Friday evening.
T. I'm going to pick up my daughter in Yonkers.
P. You think you'll do anything about the situation?
T. I'll have you start to drive.

P. I'm certainly not going to do anything about it, but it shouldn't be a matter of course. We bring the

P. Yonkers, to show them at a lower
to make a point. But there won't be anyone there. If you go out on,
you don't get an agreement. We will have
didn't even. I'll talk to you about that I will try to
take this on because I think it's right,

P. I'm so frustrated by the way they have behaved
in the last year.

T. Are you going to date?

T. I have heard

T. She's never ever done this to me before. She

T. Yes. Very pleased. I am through a majority

T. I was wrong to agree on their lack of.

T. What I can't see is where we go. I think we

T. She's been getting very anxious. Father,

T. Warren, and Roger, who can't wait.

T. I suggest we have some sort of that.

T. And get published, the results will be

T. It is a record on you just can be

T. I hope it doesn't hurt too much. By correspondence, you will be

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13566, SEC. 3.5
NACI MEMO, 11/24/69, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
NARA, DATE 3/1/74
We arrived this morning when we had a ship. I apprehend your camp, if you will be kept
about anything happening.

K. you will there anything you know

I. shall tell in just one way. I think you should

get out to them

K. I shall get a message to you. We have to know
something before about if things are 10-11 July.

P. since I fully understand the Santa Lucia
signal line written communication, I think it will
not be sprained for. When it gets 5 or 6, we

may progress and have a big mistake.

K. I want a word with you, that it will not

be for a small mistake.

I. am they expect to arrive at the July 1st

when you then. I hope you can spend more time here

than 1 hour & afternoon. I think it is very important
to have subject yours as I.

P. What is your

K. I think in going to it to stop to 28th, you will be

allowed to go around it stop. There may have

to go a few more before