Memorandum

The White House
Washington

Secret/Nodis

Memorandum of Conversation

Participants:
President Ford
Senator Jacob K. Javits (Republican - New York)
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 & Time:
Friday - June 27, 1975
10:23 - 10:45 a.m.

Place:
The Oval Office

President: Are you going both to Moscow and China?

Senator Javits: Yes. With the first group. Under Henry's tutelage, I
have been wooing them and got invited.

I have been studying the Jackson Amendment. It hurts my heart that it
was fumbled -- it would have been a great achievement.

Kissinger: I think he kept it quiet...

Senator Javits: I agree. And if we had kept the Ex Im limit off. That
did it. I voted against that.

President: We didn't focus on it enough.

Senator Javits: It's water over the dam. I think the Romanian agreement
has an excellent chance. We are working on it. They have stepped up the
number in June and July. The Jewish group in July is going over and I
think then it will fly.
President: I hear Scoop was almost discourteous with Ceausescu.

Senator Javits: I poured oil on the waters. It was calling a spade a spade, but you don't do that to foreigners. Ceausescu was very surprised, but took it very well. Jackson wasn't rude, but it was very uncomfortable. Jackson thought it would help to call a spade a spade.

I told Henry I wanted five minutes to give you the feeling of the American Jewish Community. It is deeply devoted to Israel. Consistent with that, it is deeply devoted to America. If the President would lay it on the line and say this is in the American interest, it would be agonizing. If there is no doubt that we will provide Israel with military equipment immediately. Their worry is we will use military equipment as leverage and undermine what they think they need for their defense. If that is laid to rest, I think the rest is manageable.

At least 15 years ago I was in the office of Chief of Protocol in Israel and they began to talk sensitive matters. I reminded him I was an American Congressman and they shouldn't discuss anything in front of me they wouldn't say before any other Congressman.

President: I think you know the way I have voted and spoken. I am a firm friend of Israel.

Senator Javits: I know.

President: I have hundreds of Jewish friends. I am deeply convinced an interim agreement is the best. But it may fail. The odds are not good because of the problem of the passes. To make certain that Israel is strong unilaterally and secure, I was far more generous than my advisors recommended. The result is that Israel is far more secure than before the war or at any other time. They will tell you that. There has to be flexibility on the passes. Without them, they will be more secure than they were before. There is no question about their military security. I don't understand their lack of flexibility. I don't want to have to go to Geneva but we can't have a stalemate.

I hope our good friends here and in Israel know we think it is in their and our best interests. It is in our mutual interest to get an interim settlement.

Senator Javits: Are the Egyptians just sweetening us for the eastern end of the passes?
President: They want our friendship and help. They want to show independence. If they don't get it, they will be forced to go elsewhere.

Kissinger: Remember that Egypt isn't asking for the passes for themselves. They would be UN.

Javits: I assume that all the variables are within your command.

Kissinger: I think we can find a solution. Sadat made some additional concessions at Salzburg to get Israel out of the passes -- including electronic surveillance. He now thinks Israel has just pocketed these concessions and not moved.

Javits: The American Jews think Israel is so exposed that they would fall on the Israeli side on anything that Israel thought it needed for its security. You have to be thoughtful on this point. American Jews have thought that Israel was being asked to be given up ground for paper. Israel must be in harmony with the U.S. and American Jews haven't grasped that. They fear that our interest in the Arabs will lead us to ask Israel to make concessions in exchange for an American moral commitment. So there is no pressure from American Jews to push Israel to make concessions relating to security.

President: If we don't get some movement, I have to lay the record out -- that is not good.

Javits: Rabin said they would have to reconstruct their whole defense line. Would we help them -- give them enough to do that?

President: They would still have their main line.

Kissinger: The side issues have all been sorted out. Their mines, forward lines and logistic installations would have to be moved -- but we would support a jog in the line so the logistic installations wouldn't have to move. We would support a six-month transition in the north to give them time to reconstruct the line.

Javits: How long would it last?

Kissinger: There are two aspects. The first is that the agreement would last until it is superseded by another agreement. That Israel knocks aside -- and shouldn't. The other is UNEF. We can get three years there.
Javits: The crisis for Israel is the United States. It is extremely desirable to have a settlement and not to go to Geneva. Those are the two real points for American Jews.

Kissinger: Geneva is a lousy way to have to go. You know, it brings all the Arabs together, brings the Soviet Union in, and forces a consideration of all issues comprehensively.
P  Are you going back to Brown & Brey?
Q  Yes, he's going. Under K's direction, I have been working close with him.
R  I mean, the one he's named. It turns out, my heart was just right - it would have been a good place.

X  I think I'll keep it straight ...
Y  And if we had kept X in, Fig. Front didn't. I voted against that.
Z  We didn't know the meaning.

M  Afternoon, dear. I tried to resign against this. We may still have it against us. If I have to resign, I'll resign in July. My views are I didn't think it was right.

P  There's a report about elections over here.

Q  I pointed out another. If we really wanted to resign, but you can't do that to resign. Exonerated - too many wounded, but they're not going to demand what they want. But not any sort of the Jackson that 

W  Would help to call up a gadget.

I told K I would try to get you. Us joint. I'm feeling, if so closely involved in the cartoons - well. It legally

D  Declassified
E  Declassified
F  Declassified
G  Declassified
from your comment. I'm just trying to understand your perspective on the issue. I have been researching the topic extensively and I wanted to ask you some specific questions about your experience.

I think your idea of using simulation models to predict outcomes is very interesting. I agree that it's important to be thorough in our approach. However, I'm not sure how practical it is to implement simulation models in a real-world setting. Have you considered any potential obstacles or challenges that might arise?

I've been doing some preliminary research on this topic, and I think it's promising. However, I'm also aware of the potential drawbacks, such as the cost and time required to develop and maintain the models. I think it's important to carefully consider these factors before proceeding.

I'm really interested in hearing your thoughts on this matter. I think it's crucial for us to have a collaborative approach and to be open to different perspectives. I appreciate you taking the time to share your insights with me.
Dear Jim,

Please let me know if you will be able to join us in [City].

The trip will involve traveling with all demands met. It is clear that you and I need to discuss logistics, and it would be best to proceed with caution. However, we would support a joint team for a log rolling event that needs to move. We would support a more traditional way to use them time to maintain the line.

How long would it last?

We agree, it would last till 1000.

That is understood - the date.

We can get figures then.

The event for U.S. is [details].

It has entitlement and cost. Currently, there are 2 red points for US teams.

This seems to have an obvious way to have.

Yours, (description of details provided)