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 & TIME:
Monday - August 4, 1975

PLACE:

Kissinger: This is the old map. Sadat accepts this line but wants it out of the passes. It still leaves them the high ground. Here you must be as ruthless as necessary.

President: You mean off the crests?

Kissinger: No, only in the passes themselves.

He accepts the north line but wants a few hundred yards on the curve.

South of the passes he accepts whatever line we can get him. He accepts the whole coast road provided his people don't have to go through Israeli checkpoints. But I am going to block off the two stretches as UN or something so the line is continuous.

Rabin's actions make it look like Israeli-U.S. collusion, which will drive the Egyptians wild. Sadat says he needs a token two kilometers past the UN line. They want two stations in the north. They will give them Umm Khishiba if we supervise it. They won't let Israel man the south station but they will let the U.S. or UN do it. In the next round I will say that Egypt wants all the stations American and that they rejected all six stations. We could get two stations in the Giddi under the guise of checking access to Umm Khishiba.
Basically this negotiation is done unless Rabin is setting us up for a fall. Here is his letter. I think we should go back to him and say we won't pursue the matter further; that the European briefings contradict what he says, and that the President promised they would get out of the passes.

I would propose leaving the 18th or 19th, and hope to wrap it up by the 28th or 29th.

We couldn't have done it without you either.

President: We couldn't have done it without your strategy. No one else could have done it.

Kissinger: On SALT, we made no progress. And for him to say October is busy because he is seeing Giscard.... We should move now to the Chinese. I could go there around the middle of October. We could announce after my trip. Announce your trip after mine. I would call Dobrynin in and lay it on the table. Ask him what their intention is. They held us off in '71 and we moved to China. We could do the same thing again.

President: We have the grain thing too.

Kissinger: Yes. I see Butz says he stopped the sales. Can't he just shut up?

President: It's my thought exactly. DOD should prepare a program to present to the Congress on the assumption there is no SALT agreement -- a five-year projection. I want it in writing in a week. Send it through OMB.

Kissinger: I don't think Brezhnev is so strong any more that he can do what he did at Vladivostok.

President: That is what Tito and Ceausescu said.

Kissinger: So if they just say, "Hang tough, it's just Kissinger," they are just making you the fall guy. Defense has to get out ahead, not go along grudgingly.

President: The Senate vote should have scared Defense.
Kissinger: The Democrats can't hurt you from the right. But if SALT blows up they can hurt you from the left, which is where they would then move.

All those guys talking about Helsinki; what frontiers have been recognized? All the frontiers but the German one were signed in '47-'48 -- with participation by a Democratic administration. West Germany agreed to the German one.

President: We had more overtures from East European countries than ever before, I think.

Kissinger: Absolutely.

President: Why did the East Europeans want CSCE? To keep the Soviet Union off their backs.

Kissinger: Of course. And whose frontiers have been violated? And by whom?

President: If we lost SALT, etc., shouldn't we make a speech saying the borders were approved by the Democrats, and the East Europeans wanted inviolability to protect against the Soviet Union?

Kissinger: How about a 15 minute report to the Nation Thursday?

President: That has some merit. Let's think about it.

Didn't Tito go farther than ever before?

Kissinger: I wanted to mention that. Tito is a bellweather of European politics. He obviously liked you -- he hasn't gone to the airport for years. His assessment has to be that you are dominant in world affairs.

[There was more discussion of Tito.]

President: Let's make sure we deliver on the military equipment for Tito.

I have no hesitancy speaking up for CSCE and the whole thing.
Kissinger: Everything on this trip went right. Not a thing wrong. The Bresheev problem is not your doing; something is going on. But our SALT position is a disgrace. [Describes Backfire and cruise missiles.]

President: Give me what we have agreed, what is outstanding and what the issues are.

Kissinger: The Soviets don't know how to tackle the issues remaining. I don't either, but the Soviets have never come up with any idea to break a deadlock.

You have never seen Brezhnev the way he really was. Vladivostok was the last glimmer, but there he wanted an agreement.

President: On the international economic situation. Wilson, Giscard, Schmidt are concerned about their economic problems and the impact. I get the impression my economic advisors are too carried away with our program. I would like an EPB meeting to describe the European situation. Would you prepare a briefing paper on my talks, so I can explain, indicate my sympathy and desire for closer cooperation. If we recover and Europe's economies don't, we could be in big trouble.

Kissinger: I want to tell Dobrynin the Soviet oil isn't enough. It amounts to about 100,000 a day. The Iranian thing is set, but we don't know how to make it legal.

President: Give me a paper on it so I can see it in writing.
R. This is old stuff. Need to accept this line
not want it outside pages. It still shows
than a long span. This line must be
without an address.
I. So much off the west...
R. No, only on the west themselves.
Accept a south line but a few hundred yards
on a boat.
Something passes like a reconnaissance line as we can
got from the map is accepting a whole west read
provided we I check points. But I am going to
blank off the line. This does not become to a
land in continuous.

Hence the idea, it must be late like
I-US callahan which will be over a hill.
Accept range he takes on then 2 km past a UN line.
They want 2 stations in south. They will give
them via Kishin if we squeeze. They would
I won't south station but will vs a UN
Emb.
In August I will expand stations US and
that they rejected all to Kishin. We could get
2 stations via Kishin and the going of the ing access
via Kishin.

Basically this report is close unless Kishin to
meeting so easy a tall. This is big stuff.
I think we should go back to him and say we want
person on the meeting whether it's there. We're
contrasting what he says, then I should try
would not accept persons.
(I was pretty sure that they were going to spend 5 years in prison, wasting my time. Then
I would prepare leaving 15-17 and hoped to
make it up by 25-27.孔雀和他一起走。)

I couldn't decide what to do. Your starting
date was the
well time done it.

K: On Sept. 1st. We went to pray. And we
him to my Odi as busy as he was busy. I want
We should have the Chinese. I could go
around inside but it was easy. and around for
ten trips. Announce again tiny open mind.
I would tell him in 5 days. I was in CA. I
him what there was in there. They should off
in 11 and went to China. We could do some-
thing again.

P: We have a rain thing too.
K: Yes, I told him, and he stripped and, but he
felt sharp.

P: The next day. Do D should pay me a few (about)
K: I don't think I am to stay any more. But he can
do what he did at all.

P: I think what Tari & Green said.

K: Of the first time doing tough. The first, they
good, seeing someone fell, pay. Different
expected about, not expecting much.

P: The Senate notes should have read Jeff.

K: That Czech and found your piece might. But if
 Colt was by it can find your piece. Jeff, who
is when they would then said.

All times guy. Calling about Brecht. What feature
I don't mean it, it's a question of fairness. We need to work together, isn't it? I'd say it's a question of fairness. Everyone's country has a different view. We need to understand each other's views. We need to work together. Where we'll go from here is a question of fairness. Everyone's country has a different view. We need to understand each other's views. We need to work together.

How did everyone want CAR & CE to keep up with their books? Oh, by whom?

I see a lot of Salt, the, you know, the idea of making a speech saying that books were approved by the... E-Cars would immediately stop being used. So, what's going to happen to those books?

For democracy, can't we agree on something? Those who are concerned about it, please think about it. We need to go forward in time and find.

I think it's a question of fairness. This is a difficult situation.

If everyone's country has a different view, it's hard to agree on something. What's going to happen in world affairs? Those who are concerned about it, please think about.

P. I think we need to do something with... for those.

I think we need to speak now, aren't we? This is an interesting.

Everything on this trip went right. But a thing was wrong. They must be working something is going on. That's Salt position is adjacent to everyone, but we can't agree, it's interesting.
