MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:  
President Ford  
Yigal Allon, Deputy Prime Minister and  
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Israel  
Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State  
Simcha Dinitz, Israeli Ambassador to the U.S.  
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME:  
Monday, October 11, 1976  
10:30 a.m.

PLACE:  
The Oval Office  
The White House

[The press was admitted. There was small talk, including vague references to the arms decision. The press left.]

The President:  
Were you one of Henry's pupils?

Allon:  
Yes I was -- but don't blame him.

Kissinger:  
He and Ecevit were in the same class. It was 1956.

The President:  
It is good to see you again. I would like to visit the area after the present problems are over, the sooner the better.

I would like your appraisal of Lebanon and what you think is going to happen.

Allon:  
From the beginning, we coordinated closely with Henry.

Many of our early predictions have come true. It appears that neither side has the means to prevail. Until February the Syrians...
backed the radicals, but when they wouldn't support the February compromise, the Syrians began to back the Christians who had been on the ropes. We realized this was only a tactical move on their part, so we provided Soviet arms and some of our old arms to the Christians. They fought very well.

Kissinger: You recall we were afraid if Syria beat the Palestinians and radicals they would turn on the Christians.

Allon: Once the situation changes, we are afraid the Syrians will once again back the radicals against the Christians -- after all the Ba'athists are Arab radicals. The PLO itself is in a great mess. There has been a massacre of PLO. Only the Arabs are killing the PLO. Syria wants to replace the PLO leadership to get people they can control.

Kissinger: That is not against our interest.

Allon: I am just stating the facts. They want to replace Arafat and all the others. We understand the Soviet Union may be going along with the Syrians.

Kissinger: We have a report that the Soviet Union has cut off Syrians spare parts. They are very clumsy. Syria won't forget -- you can't humiliate Arabs.

Allon: If the PLO is destroyed, the Soviets will have lost a great vehicle to intervene in the Middle East. It is hard to understand why they are doing it. Even their moves toward us are clumsy, because they are playing a more and more minor role.

In South Lebanon we have opened some border points to cooperate with the Lebanese Christians. It has made a good impact on the Arabs. We have unofficial contacts with the Shia minority also. It is very quiet in Southern Lebanon, and the PLO's attempts to return to there and to close the border points are being resisted by the local people themselves.

The President: How about the airfields?

Allon: We saw one night landing there. We are trying to get more information. The other one is farther north. We can hit with artillery the South one, but we don't want to cross the border at all.
Kissinger: They aren’t using the fields very much.

Allon: Iraq is very active with the help of Egypt. I don’t understand them because if the PLO is a threat to anyone, it’s a threat to Egypt.

Kissinger: Egypt wants to break its isolation and the hatred between Sadat and Asad is extreme now.

Allon: There are now over 5,000 Iraqis in Lebanon, who got there through Egypt. We are watching the situation now. There is an attempt for an Arab summit but they can’t agree on Sarks or Hussein.

Our estimate, is that because of the deep disappointment of Syria and West Bankers in the PLO -- even the radical West Bankers are queuing up to visit Amman -- it is not excluded that Syria will back some Jordan/Palestinian negotiation to go around the Rabat decision.

Dinitz: They won’t repudiate Rabat, but just get some negotiation going with Jordan.

Allon: In this crazy Middle East, this could happen.

I hear from Henry the Soviets are propagating the idea of a Geneva Conference, first without the PLO and then will the PLO in one of several negotiating groups. So I told Gromyko thank you, but not the PLO in any forum or arrangement. I am not going to respond officially to the Soviet Union but I called attention to a passage of my UN speech.

Kissinger: Interestingly enough, no Arab has responded. Let’s see what they do.

Allon: The next couple of years will be decisive in the Middle East, so there is one crucial point I want to raise -- defensible frontiers. We would like to be able to defend ourselves by ourselves, so we need some changes in the Green Line. I will discuss this with Henry, but I wanted you to know that even moderate people in Israel will insist on the ability to defend. We know with whom we are dealing. I wrote an article in Foreign Affairs. I was trying to say that the terrain is important even in the modern age.
The President: You talk to Henry about it. I am interested in hearing what you propose.

Allon: We have differences among ourselves, but the debate is about giving less, not more.

The President: Is there anything else we should discuss?

Allon: With your permission. We are very grateful for the equipment you have agreed to give us. I hope the bureaucracy will be urged to proceed expeditiously.

I know your budget is being formulated. I would hope that you could tell your people not to reduce the budget below $1.5 billion plus $750 million in economic aid. If I could tell my Prime Minister you are considering favorably the idea of granting this much aid, it will be as good news as the arms decision itself.

The President: We are not really in that cycle yet -- I haven't seen either our defense budget or the aid budget. You know my record, and all I can say now is we will do the best we can. I don't want to mislead you, but I will do my best.

Allon: One other thing we have pressed for years, with the former President as well. It is a small point for you to have to deal with but it is big for us. That is additional landing rights. It would be especially helpful to get them in Miami because we have fortunately -- and amazingly -- gotten them in Mexico City. That is being inaugurated in November, and it is an interesting change in our relationship.

The President: How would you do it otherwise?

Allon: Through Montreal. It would be a logistical difficulty.

Kissinger: You would reciprocate with Beersheba.

Allon: Or Sharm el-Sheikh. That, incidentally, was very helpful for Entebbe.

The President: Congratulations on that operation. It was great. Was the television story fairly accurate?
Dinitz: It was.

Allon: If you could consider favorably the landing rights.....

The President: It hasn't come to me but I will talk to Henry about it.

Have you met the new Mexican President?

Allon: No. He was out campaigning when I was there.

The President: I was very impressed with him. I think he can do a lot to straighten out Mexico, especially economically.

Allon: We are doing fairly well in Latin America.

There is an improvement also in Africa. After Angola they got scared, and they are very disappointed in the Arab oil producers.

The President: They should. Henry has done a superb job in pulling these people together.

[General discussion of the difficulty of negotiating with Africans and the gulf between their public and private utterances.]

Kissinger: But even though they contradict themselves and don't keep their promises, they are moving toward you [Israel] and toward a settlement on Rhodesia. For example, they have gotten rid of Muzorewa but the British say he has to be there. At some point we have to say no further.


Kissinger: It is indeed. But success in Rhodesia and Namibia will at least buy us some time to work on it.
Dear Sir,

(Small talk and vague references to a recent decision)

Dear Sir,

When you met with people in the last few days, you left
impressions on a few people, I would
think. It is true that a recent project under way, a recent
decision, will bite you in the ass. I wonder if you think you're a
sage.

From a legal standpoint, where is [X]? When
we met, he had a big, round head, but now appears to have
an extended, rectangular head. We wonder if this
represents a technical error or their fault. Some
questions I've come to mind are: Are they putting
your ideas to work?

If you would be kind enough to send me a
quote they would have from one conversation

A few weeks ago, we had a meeting with a
number of people who expressed their
wishes and concerns. The main themes were:
- The reduction in a number of tasks.
- The perception of a lack of leadership. People feel they are
unheard.

I have not yet received a report. They went through

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
NSC MEMO, 11/24/94, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY: [Signature], NSA, DATE 11/24/94
f. So you get a bit of a battle in Ph.D. Then
and you had one or two people that you
would work with. It was just that you had
someone that you could go around Robert.
D. They won't sign or draft, but just get
your work done! F. Jordan
A. In this very, very, very
barbarous and unsightly view of
Georgia, it's a 1920s town. This in one
of these very long gaffes. So I told Gopas to
think
B. But not itself in any form or arrange-
ment. Just give it a good push, especially
to 50, and it would introduce to a purpose of
my very youth.
K. Interestingly away, no Gopas has regarded
between what he did.
A. West camp of years will be decisive in NC,
so there I should point here to racist
affiliates. We would like to have a dollar
change for something, so one will thus
change in a certain time. I could discuss
with that wanted you to know... non-
functioning people will not be allowed to digni-
ties because. Where are drinking? I wrote
our options. A. Ever trying to say that
function is important and in a manner
again.
B. You talk to the boy. I'm interested in
learning what you propose.
A. We have done many decisions, but what
going back and never...
Any idea, Mrs. Wilson? We're very grateful for your support and I hope a donation will be possible.

If you're able to visit your local church, I would be very grateful.

I know our budget is very low but I would hope that you could help us.

I'm not sure what the budget is but I estimate it to be around £500.

If I could tell you how much you would be contributing, it would be quite helpful.

We're not really in that style yet - I haven't done either of my budgets this year.

It's been very difficult and I can't really say how much we would have done.

I hope this will help you in your decision.

Another thing we have just found out is that we have to deal with a very big issue. I wish I could tell you more but it's a very sensitive subject.

I don't want to upset you but I need to tell you.

How would you feel otherwise?
A: They wanted it would be done, that's why.
B: I was very, uhh, Belinda
A: So Sharron and Sharron. Frank, yesterday,
were very helpful for Entebbe.
I: Compactly on that topic, it was great, was it
I: They fairly accurately
D: It was
A: If you call it with family e laconic
B: It hasn't come to me but I will take
it around.
I: How nice and their enthusiasm.
A: How? No. It was not encouraging when I was there.
I: I was very impressed of him. I think he
can do a lot to strengthen our Waging, say, there.
A: We don't, family will work.
B: There's an argument that in Africa. After
Bogota, they got turned, & they change in a
different pattern.
I: They plan to K. they have a superb job in
pulling these people together
(African, pls. of President of African
I: & public we prime ministers).
B: Between the City, went, and the she
& she looked promising. They are coming
toward you (I) and toward a settlement.
And let me say, they have gotten rid of M. Varrone, but I think they have a plan. At some point we have to say no further.

A: What about S. Agrippa. That's a comment.

K: It is indeed. But success in Agrigento and Numidia will not bring
us time to work on it.