

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

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 AND TIME: Wednesday, March 26, 1975  
9:22 - 10:18 a.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

[From 9:30 - 9:34 a.m., Secretary Kissinger stepped out to take a telephone call from Ambassador Eilts.]

Kissinger: Javits came in very threatening. If we went after Israel, he and Ribicoff would come after me. He said our interests were identical with Israel.

He wanted to introduce a resolution in both Houses to urge you to use the waiver on the Turkish issue.

President: That is stupid on the part of Israel.

Kissinger: We are in the position while three million Israelis and three million Greeks are running American foreign policy. We are giving aid to Israel at a rate which would be unbelievable for any other country.

I could keep the Middle East quiet through the '76 election. I did the same in '72, when Israel did the same thing to Rogers in '71. Then I cooperated to keep the Soviet influence out.

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On the Middle East, there is an option to let Geneva go on, get it all screwed up and have a stalemate. The other is to force the pace of events. I am afraid that a stalemate will radicalize the Arabs and lead to war. The European Ambassadors told me last night that we did our best and they would cooperate in a settlement.

But the press campaign is that this is just a minor misunderstanding and we can go back to business as usual.

President: We can't do that. We must move comprehensively. Let's get that speech under way.

Kissinger: If we stay steady, Israel may crack and give us something to get things under way.

President: We must stay steady.

Kissinger: They will come after me.

I am seeing Moynihan and I thought I would get him to head a group about behaving more aggressively at the UN.

President: How about appointing Pat at the UN?

Kissinger: Nixon offered it once and then gave it to Bush. He would be superb, but probably wouldn't take it.

President: Would he carry out orders?

Kissinger: You -- and the press -- would know when he disagreed. He would basically be with us and basically okay.

We could make Toon our Geneva Conference negotiator.

President: I thought it might appear we were blaming Keating.

Kissinger: No, but it would appear we are sending a tougher guy there. Toon is a smart guy -- he would carry out orders.

President: When would Geneva start?

Kissinger: May or June.



President: I think he would be good. Why don't we do that?

Kissinger: We could announce it. It would be a good signal.

At my press conference, I thought I would make a strong statement on Vietnam. I have a statement on Israel. Is it worth doing?

President: I gave a press conference. I said Israel is inflexible.

Kissinger: Good. They will attack you.

President: I know they will hit us, but I kind of enjoy a fight when I know I am right.

Kissinger: It is reaching impossible proportions. First, they ruin our trade relations with the Soviet Union. Rabbi Miller is demanding we hold up MFN to Romania until they agree to 9,000.

President: Did you see the emigration figures?

Kissinger: I will bring Fisher in.

We have a letter from Sihanouk. We ought to take advantage of the opening.

President: I agree. We have to take advantage of it.

Kissinger: Then you got a letter from Thieu. He wants B-52s and aid. I think Martin has flipped. Things are very bad.



Grand Prix - INR assignment of S.A. succession.

✓ P/K 26 Mar 75

Wednesday  
9:22 - 10:18 AM

[9:30-9:34 stepped out to take a call from bills]

K Janine came in very threatening. If we went after I, he + Rittick would come after me. He said some interests were identical w/I. He wanted to introduce resolution in both Houses to urge you to use a common tank - train.

P That stupid case part of I

K We are in position while I & 3 mil Guker running US F.P.

We are going and to I at a rate which would be unbelievable for any other country.

I could help ME point thru 76 election. I did some in 72, when I did something to Rogers in 71. Then I cooperated to help SC influence and

Pres eye ch on VP { 3 yrs aid to CV  
And to Turkey  
CIA would done early  
ME

On ME, there is an option to let Congress get all secondary & statements. The other is to force up our friends. I fear that statements will radicalize Arabs + lead to war. The Euro Arabs told me last night and did our best + they would carry out a settlement.

But a press campaign is this just a minor misunderstanding + we are back to business as usual

P We can't do that. We must move aggressively  
K to get that speed under way

R If we stay steady, I may crack + give us something to get things under way.

P We must stay steady.

K They will come after me



I seeing Wagoner + that I would get him to  
lead a group about behaving more aggressively  
at UN.

P How about that at UN

K Nixon offered it once + then gave it to Bush. He would  
~~be~~ be suggest, but probably wouldn't take it.

P Would he carry out orders?

K You - the press - would know when he disagreed. He  
would basically be w/ us + basically obey.

We could make Texas our American conf. negotiator.

P I think it might appear we were blaming Keating

K No, but it would appear as sending a tough guy  
there. Bush is a smart guy - he would carry out  
orders.

P When would America start?

K Way - pass.

P I think he would be good. Why don't we do that?

K We could announce - would be a good signal.

At any press conf, I think I would make strong statement  
on UN. I have a statement out. Is it worth doing?

P I gave a press conf. said I irrefutable

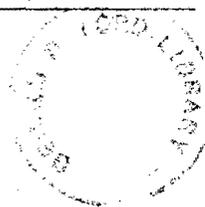
K Good. They will attack you.

P I know they will hit us, but I kind of enjoy  
a fight when I know I am right.

K It is reaching impossible proportions. 1<sup>st</sup> they <sup>using</sup> ~~work~~  
our trade relations w/ S. Rabi health is crumbling,  
we hold up MEX to Romania till they agree to  
Q 000.

P Did you see negotiation papers?

K I would like Foster in  
letter from Sibomak. We ought to take advantage  
of opening.



- Skills come to all out -  
- Check on it.

P I agree. We have to take advantage of it.

K Then you got a letter from Thomas - wants B-52's  
and aid.

I think Womack has flipped - trip was very bad.

