

Scowcroft file

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, June 25, 1975
11:17 a.m. - 12:24 p.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office



Kissinger: I gave that speech in Atlanta yesterday. The Mayor and the Governor were hanging around. I couldn't have a picture taken without the politicians crowding around. This morning at the SOS Club and Chowder and Marching Society, four of them asked me to talk in their districts.

President: I am convinced what you have done in these speeches....

Kissinger: I have the format better now. It is 90 percent boiler-plate with two or three headline getters thrown in. The L.A. and Houston speeches were too intellectual and boring.

[Congressman Rhodes calls.]

Several of them said I should go to Minneapolis to take on Fraser. I agree.

President: The polls and the crowds show you have the strength. That eventually will show in the Congress.

Kissinger: You made a real impact in Atlanta. Busbee said you are unbeatable in Georgia. Only Kennedy of the present candidates has

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
NSC MEMO, 11/14/08, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Dep. ex 3/9/04
BY llg, NARA, DATE 5/29/04

any chance. The Mayor said even among the blacks you will do better than anyone expects.

President: Did you see that comment in the Christian Science Monitor? I just saw the headline.

Kissinger: I wish they wouldn't make it so obvious.

President: I don't think it is harmful that Congress knows you are in their home towns.

Kissinger: Every time I mention you, there is applause. Your human touches are very effective. Busbee says he now knows you know more about energy than anyone else, and he is supportive.

President: We just have to keep pushing.

Kissinger: Yes. The impression now is of dynamism.

My format now is to meet with the private power groups, speak, and give a press conference. It is not like Watergate -- playing me against the President. It is all supportive, and references to you bring real response.

Busbee won't really give you any opposition next year.

President: I am convinced we have made a helluva lot of progress. We still have a long way to go.

Kissinger: That gets us back to our friends. This is one of the most inconceivable things I have ever seen. With their support, with the upturn here, they could put you over the top. Rabin complained to Marquis Childs about our giving things to Jordan and not Israel. We gave them 200 tanks in April -- that's more than we give in two years for Jordan.

[He shows the map.]

Egypt now can't accept, and this freezes the Israeli position. It makes us look like liars to the Syrians. This is a confrontational position. They are hitting the Jewish community. My children will suffer. They are gambling on being able to take us domestically.



Dean Rusk said if what is presented in this country is Semitism, then the only counter is anti-Semitism. If it is true that Israel is not a satellite of the U.S., neither is the U.S. a satellite of Israel. He got tremendous applause.

President: This is a crass effort to undermine our foreign and domestic policy.

Kissinger: Javits is willing to support lifting the Jackson amendment, if they will just give a token increase in emigration. Last year 38,000 wasn't enough. He said he wanted five minutes with you -- he said he knows you are mad at him, but he wants to tell you as long as you promise you won't let Israel be destroyed, you can do anything else.

President: Why not show him the map?

Kissinger: I think you shouldn't bargain -- these guys know the country isn't with them.

President: But if one of them knows what the Israelis are really doing....

Kissinger: I would do it with Ribicoff then. He is more honorable. Javits is too opportunistic. When I was on the ropes he ignored me. I don't trust him. Let him come in; hear him for ten minutes. Tell him you support the existence of Israel but they cannot run our foreign policy.

President: Let's get somebody down here who is Jewish and respected so someone knows the facts.

Kissinger: Javits will want to appear as the moderator. We shouldn't bargain with them.

We have heard from the Egyptians. Their answer is very tough.

[He reads from Eilts' cables.]

President: Where does that leave us?

Kissinger: We have drafted a letter to send to the Israelis. I recommend you give it to Dinitz Friday. That would keep it out of the press for a day or so in Israel, and Congress will be out here.

[General Scowcroft left briefly and returned.]



You think about the letter. I don't want to rush it by you. I think we should not give Israel the Egyptian counterproposal; we should not tell him we will ask for reconsideration.

Tell Dinitz he is accredited to the President of the United States. If this continues you will have to take it to the American public. Be icy cold. You have no other choice. I think the tougher you are, the more chance there is to move them. Only you can do it. We have to know by the time I meet Gromyko. I think they will cave.

President: You are more optimistic than I am. I think we have to present them something which they accept or reject.

Kissinger: I think your view is the right one. I think Brent should protest to Dinitz in the sharpest terms today.

President: I should be prepared for a press conference question.

Kissinger: I would be as icy as can be. I would stick to the outline of our policy as I gave it in Atlanta.

[General Scowcroft hands the President a copy of the Atlanta speech. He leaves briefly, and returns.]

President: I would send a letter to Banking, Ways and Means -- four committees -- saying that shortly after recess we are prepared to move.

Kissinger: We'll do a draft and clear it with Simon. I don't think it is bad to get Simon out ahead on this.

On the letter, I think we need enough of the history in, so if it is leaked it is all there.

President: I agree. We may even have to release the letter.

Kissinger: If Israel had done this gracefully, think what a good position we would now be in.

President: I like the letter. It is firm, not belligerent. I will study it.

Kissinger: Do you agree on having Dinitz in?

President: Let's make it Friday morning.



✓ P/K ^{Wed} 25 June 75

11:17 - 12:24

K The Mayor & Council were hanging around, I could not have a picture taken w/o politicians crowding around. This morning at SOS/CSM, 4 of them asked me to talk in their district.

P I'm interested what you had done in these speeches

K I have a present letter now. It is 90% handwritten w/ 2 or 3 headlines gotten through in LA & Houston speeches were too intellectual & boring.

(Rude calls)

Several fail to go to Amoyahis to take a French Jan.

P The polls & crowds show you have a strength that eventually vote will show in a way

K You made a real impact in Atlanta. Bush said you are unbeatable in Georgia. Only Kennedy of present candidates having chance. The Mayor said even among blacks you will do better than any other efforts.

A P Did you see this in CSM? I put some headline

K Wish they wouldn't make it so clear

P I don't think it is enough that they know you are in their heavens.

K Every time I mention you there is a ~~response~~ response. Your human touches are very effective. Bush says he can hear you better than about energy than anyone else & he says that.

P ~~You~~ We just have to keep pushing.

K Yes. The expression now is of determination.

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/08, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES *State Dept. 11/24/04*
BY *[initials]* NARA DATE 5/22/04



K. My present move is to meet w/ private power groups,
oplate, & quiet press conf. It's not like Watergate -
playing me against CP - it is all suggestive &
spleenish you bring real exposure.
Books won't really give you any opposition with
year.

P. I examined all those small hellena lot of party.
Still have long way to go.

K. That gets no back to arm friends. This is one
of most unmeasurable things I have ever seen.
w/ their support, w/ a capture here, they could
put you on top. Rabin compromised to Childs
about giving things to Jordan - not I. Hell,
we gave them 200 tanks in April - more
than 2 yrs for Jordan
(Shows map)

E now can't accept + this fuzzy situation.
It makes us look like liars to Syrians.
This is a important position. They are
killing killing - Jewish unity. Any children
will suffer. They are gambling of being able
to take us down. The Dec look said if what is
presented in this country is something then a only
counter is Anti-Semitism. If it is true I want a
state of US, - within is US a satellite of I. He
fast to members of place

P. This is a mass effort to ~~undermine~~ ^{undermine} ~~over~~
foreign & domestic policy.

K. Janis willing to suggest trying Jordan around.



Tapping in Court
5 points for speech

As E country agreed, but all this we will
ask for recommendations.

All dignity has been accorded to P of U. If this
sometimes you will have to submit to a
public hearing. You have no other
choice. I think a tough job you are a
chance there is to succeed. Only you can
do it. We have to know by a time I want
Groups. I think they will care.

P You were optimistic than I. I think we have

K I think you were wrong to present them
something which they accept or reject.

L I think your view is a right one.

I think but should protest to dignity in a
sharper tone today.

P I should be prepared for a P.C. question

R I would be as nice as can be. I would stick
to a outline of our policy as I gave it in
Atlanta. (I had him speech)

(Sleep)

** P Letter to Boeing, Washington saying shortly
after we are prepared to move.

** K We will do a draft & clear it w/ Simon
I don't think it is bad to get Simon out ahead
on this.

Once letter, I think we need some history in
so if it is leaked it is all there

P I agree. We may even have to release a letter.

K If I had done this gracefully, think what a good



position we would never be in.

Q

P I like a letter - It is fine, but ~~it~~ celebrates
I would study it.

K Do you agree on having definition?

* * P Let's make it Friday a.m.

K Let him see.

