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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford
Amb. Malcolm Toon, U.S. Ambassador to Israel
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: Thursday, June 26, 1975
10:10 - 10:25 a.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

The President: When are you actually leaving?

Ambassador Toon: Saturday. I am stopping to pick up my daughter in Rome.

The President: Are you going to straighten out Italian politics?

Ambassador Toon: I'll leave that to Volpe.

The President: We certainly want to maintain a friendly relationship with Israel, but it must be on the proper basis. We are having problems with them. The proper attitude is to keep them at arms length but on a friendly basis. You will have a greater role than some of your predecessors. If we don't get an agreement, we will have difficulty both with Israel and with the Jewish Community here. I am willing to take them on because I think we are right and I am disillusioned with how they have behaved in March and now.

Secretary Kissinger: Are you up to date?

Ambassador Toon: I don't know.



DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/68, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, *State Sec. Co. 3/9/04*
BY *DM* NARA, DATE *5/20/04*

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~~SECRET~~ XGDS (3)
CLASSIFIED BY: HENRY A. KISSINGER

Secretary Kissinger: The map we got was no different from the one we saw here. You saw the letter?

Ambassador Toon: Yes. It was very good. I am in thorough agreement. I read the record and I agree with you on their lack of flexibility. What I don't see is where we go. I think you have to take on the Jewish Community.

Secretary Kissinger: The Jewish Community is getting very uneasy. Max Fisher and Len Garment, and even Danny Kaye, who is an all-out Israeli supporter but knows nothing about the past.

The President: If the record gets published, the zealots will be shocked. It is a record that our government can be proud of. I hope it doesn't have to take place. If there is a confrontation, your job will be tougher. We recognized this possibility when we picked you.

Ambassador Toon: I appreciate your confidence. I hope I will be kept abreast of everything happening.

Secretary Kissinger: You will know everything they know.

Ambassador Toon: The Hill is getting uneasy. I think you should talk to them.

Secretary Kissinger: We will, it is a matter of timing. We have to know something before I meet with Gromyko on the 10th and 11th of July.

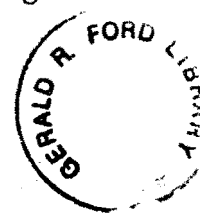
The President: I think Israel is totally misreading the letter from the 76 Senators. Several of them have written qualifications, and it doesn't really commit them to any specific proposals. When it gets to dollars, many of them will have a different attitude.

Secretary Kissinger: If Israel won't agree with the letter, I think there is no choice but to go for an overall settlement.

Ambassador Toon: One thing I regret is that I won't be in Belgrade when you are there. I hope you can spend more time there than in Poland and Romania. I think it is as important to have an independent Yugoslavia as Israel.

The President: What is the plan?

Secretary Kissinger: The problem is timing. If it slips to the 28th, you will be backed up against the Japanese visit. You may have to go to Warsaw before.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~ (GDS)

MEETING WITH MALCOLM TOON
US AMBASSADOR TO ISRAEL

Thursday, June 26, 1975
10:00 a.m. (10 minutes)
The Oval Office

From: Henry A. Kissinger *HK*

I. PURPOSE

Malcolm Toon was confirmed as Ambassador to Israel on June 9; he will be departing for Tel Aviv shortly. His meeting with you is primarily a courtesy call, but it will serve to demonstrate the concern with which we regard the Middle East in general and Israel in particular, and will permit you to give Ambassador Toon final guidance before his departure.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS ARRANGEMENTS

A. Background: Ambassador Toon is a career Foreign Service Officer with a solid reputation for toughness and long record of achievement in difficult assignments. His area of specialization is east-west relations: he served twice in Moscow and was assigned as Director of Soviet Affairs in the Department of State before being named as Ambassador to Czechoslovakia (1969-1971) and Yugoslavia (1971-1975).

Since his nomination as Ambassador Keating's successor in Tel Aviv, Ambassador Toon has been on consultations in Washington. He is fully aware of the current state of play in our talks with both Egyptians and Israelis and participated in our discussions with Prime Minister Rabin two weeks ago.

B. Participants: Ambassador Toon and Henry A. Kissinger.

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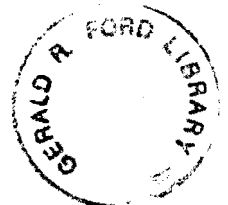
NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, state ltr. cw 3/9/04
BY *DK* DATE 5/20/04



- C. Press Arrangements: Ron Nessen will announce the visit; White House photo session at the beginning of the meeting.

III. TALKING POINTS

1. Let me congratulate you on your assignment to Tel Aviv. You are leaving at a critical time in our relationship with Israel and in the development of our policies toward all Middle East countries.
2. You have been chosen as Ambassador because of your excellent record as a tough, thoughtful diplomat. Henry and I shall depend upon you to keep us closely informed of the mood, conditions, attitudes in Israel and within the Israeli government.
3. Before you leave, I would like to share with you some of my own thoughts about the conduct of our diplomacy in general and your mission in particular:
 - As you know, I am committed to further movement in the peace process. Without this, our own interests in the Middle East will be compromised. A war would be disastrous, for ourselves, and I believe, for Israel.
 - We cannot permit Israel's intransigence to create stalemate. In the absence of cooperation between ourselves on this essential point, Israel cannot assume that our bilateral relations will remain unchanged. At the same time, Israel must understand our intentions as a friend. We shall not let Israel's survival be endangered. We intend to maintain our close relationship as much as reciprocity will permit.
4. Regarding your own conduct in Israel, it should be in accord with the overall tone of our relationship. You will be a primary channel of communication to the highest levels of the Israeli Government and your compartment and that of your Embassy should convey the quality of this relationship to them. With this

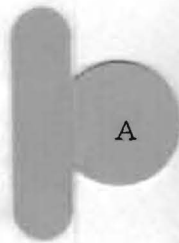


thought, I hope you will be able to develop the best possible information on Israel's decision processes and the role of individual Israeli leaders in these processes.

5. You go with my best wishes for success in your task.

Tab A: Biography





A



Malcolm TOON

Ambassador-designate to Israel

Addressed as:
Mr. Ambassador



Prior to his present appointment, Malcom Toon served as U.S. Ambassador to Yugoslavia from October 1971 to May 1975 and from June 1969 to October 1971 as U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia. Previous service included assignments to our Embassies in Warsaw, Budapest, Rome, London, Moscow (twice) and the Department of State as Director of Soviet Affairs in 1965-68 and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs in 1968-69.

Born in Troy, New York on July 4, 1916, Ambassador Toon was educated at Tufts University, receiving a B.A. in 1937, and at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, receiving an M.S. in 1938. He did graduate work at Middlebury College in 1950 and at Harvard University in 1950-51.

From 1942 to 1946, Ambassador Toon served in the Navy, principally as a PT-boat skipper in the South Pacific. He attained the rank of Lieutenant Commander and was awarded the Bronze Star. Ambassador Toon joined the Department of State in 1946.

In 1965, Ambassador Toon received the Department's Superior Honor Award. On July 18, 1973, he was promoted to the rank of Career Minister.

Ambassador Toon is married to the former Elizabeth Jane Taylor. They have a son, Alan, and two daughters, Barbara and Nancy.

28 May 1975

Call Dr. D. P/Ann Tom, R

26 June 75

10:10 - 10:25

P When you actually leaving

T Saturday, stopping to pick up daughter in Park

P You also going to the other end I believe probably

T I'll have that & Dodge

P As certainly want to enter friendly relationship w/I, but it must be on proper basis. We having problems w/Ann. Roger attitude is keep them at arms length but on friendly basis. You will have a greater role than some of your predecessors. If you don't get an agreement we will have dig both w/I & w Jewish community here. I willing to take them on because I think we right & I disillusioned w/ how they have behaved in March & now.

R Are you up to date?

T I don't know

R The map was in dig from the one here. You sure a little?

T Yes. Very good. I am in through agreement. I made record & agree on their lack of play. What I don't see is where we go. I think you have to take on Jewish community.

R Jewish community getting very uneasy. Foster & Gannett, & even Downing Kage, who are all out. I suggest that ~~we~~ know nothing about part

P If the record gets published, the results will be shocking. It is a record one part can be proud of. I hope it don't hurt the place. If compensation, your job will be tougher

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NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES state review 3/9/04

BY MM, NARA DATE 5/20/04



10-11 July

- We can cope this possibly when we pick up.
- T I appreciate your coop. I hope I will be kept
aware of anything happening.
- K You will know anything they know
- T That all is getting uneasy. I think you should
~~go~~ talk to them
- K We will, it a matter of timing. We have to know
something before sunset of roughly 10-11 July.
- P I think I totally misread the 76 Senate letter.
Several have written qualifications, & it doesn't really
cut to specific points. When it gets to cut, ~~the~~
many of them will have a big attitude.
- K If I want agree with letters, I will machine but
to go for overall settlement.
- T One thing I suggest is I want to see Belgrade when
you there. I hope you can spend more time there
than I did in Rome. I think it is important
to have insight you as I.
- P What is a plan
- K But is thing if it slips to 28th, you will be
backed up against a Jap visit. You may have
to go to Warsaw before.

