

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

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WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford  
 Senator Jacob Javits  
 Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President  
 for National Security Affairs  
 Max Friedersdorf, Assistant to the President

DATE & TIME: Wednesday - April 14, 1976  
 4:30 - 5:10 p.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

Javits: I am ready to help your campaign whenever you push the button.

President: We had two good days in Texas. We had a little flap over Panama. Dan Flood and Snyder -- Reagan picked that up. It's sheer demagogery.

Javits: May I make a suggestion? I met with Torrijos at the State Department's suggestion. I think you should be very presidential about this. This is an important issue for the U.S., Panama, and Latin America.

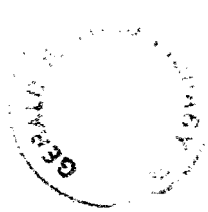
President: I thought I would lay the whole thing out. It is based on a purchase we made in 1903. In no circumstances will we go beyond the seven principles [of February 1974]. The reason we started negotiations in 1964 was we had riots in which both Americans and Panamanians were killed. Wave a paper on the riots and say we are negotiating to avoid a repetition of that. We also want to avoid losing all of Latin America, including Mexico with whom we have 6,000 miles of border.

Javits: I only have one suggestion. Instead of saying first that we will lose our friends, say first the importance is placed on this treaty -- then say we will lose all our friends.

President: I think we should take the offensive on this.

DECLASSIFIED  
 E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5  
 NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Review 3/12/04  
 BY: JAH, NARA, DATE 7/1/04

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CLASSIFIED BY Brent Scowcroft  
 EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION  
 SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652  
 EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5(b)(3)  
 AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON Imp to det.

Javits: I agree. Be the President.

I would like you to instruct me as I leave for the Middle East. I am the senior Jewish legislator. I must say you have an advisor who has his fingers on the Jewish pulse in Max Fisher. I will see all the Israeli leaders and I think I can be of help.

President: Let me break it into several parts. First Lebanon. We sent Dean Brown over there to take charge two weeks ago. Hussein told me the Christians would be wiped out and Asad would intervene within 48 hours. We thought Asad would be important in settling it but we didn't think military measures were the way because the Israelis would react. We urged them not to move -- they had troops there in disguise -- and we asked Israel not to do anything.

They are now working out the political arrangements. [Describes] Hopefully we can end up with a stable government in Lebanon. Please tell Asad we think he has been a real statesman. He has done a fine job -- he has reduced the power of the PLO. Tell him we will work with him for a good settlement.

Please also thank Rabin for his restraint. Even though 3,000 or so Syrian troops were there, the Israelis kept their cool. Sadat, while he backed the wrong guy, has not really jumped in. Tell Rabin there is no Administration that has given so much to Israel. We do have this difficulty of the Transition Quarter. Would you tell him that even though you don't agree, I have a paradox. With all the vetoes I have exercised on domestic programs I just can't support a Middle East increase. I just can't in principle give in.

Javits: Obviously you aren't going to give in. It isn't a matter of need -- Israel and Egypt both need it badly. I would hope you could look at some sort of minimal arrangement we might work out. The one thing I wish to avoid is a confrontation between you and the Jewish community this year. That is why we worked the C-130's. I think the Jewish community is going to have to assert itself. It is not that Israel isn't trying, but everyone at times needs a little Dutch Uncle talking. They are too close to the problem and it is their existence.

President: These West Bank elections the other day are ominous. I think that is a very troublesome development.

Javits: Yes. But you have to give Israel credit for being willing to hold them. There is one thing -- renewal of UNDOF. Isn't Lebanon an excuse for renewal?

President: Until Lebanon, we were trying to get something going which could serve as an excuse. Lebanon might be the vehicle. You can tell him we will work with him in Lebanon and elsewhere, but we think it essential that renewal take place.

Javits: Hussein and Asad are getting close. Is it possible that we could get a reversal of Rabat and have Jordan negotiate with Israel?

President: We explored with Rabin every option, including that one and a negotiation on all three fronts. Rabin didn't reject that possibility, did he?

Scowcroft: No. Hussein has greater problems with it than with Rabin.

President: Yes. Hussein can't negotiate unless the Arabs invite him to.

Scowcroft: Except as a tripartite negotiation.

Javits: You don't think we can't move in an election year?

President: I would prefer it.

Javits: That is my strong feeling. I think it would be good for everyone.

President: Didn't you advise against Solidarity Sunday?

Javits: That is right. I don't know the reaction, and it is a political campaign. The President shouldn't barge in on a Sunday of devotion.

President: I feel that strongly. I have seen politicians lose badly by barging in. How about Betty?

Javits: That would be divine.

I have two points: On the settlements you must be for individual rights however the territorial issue comes out. So the people will be protected whatever happens. The other is the economic future in the Middle East.



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You should say you see a Middle East future where it is one, a common market, all working for the progress of all.

President: That is a good idea.

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P/ Joants

17 Apr 76

4:30-5:10

J I am ready to help you campaign whenever you  
wish. brother

P As I had <sup>2 days</sup> in Texas. We had a little fling  
over Panama. Don Ford + Snyder - Reagan picked  
that up. Show demagogery.

J Why I make a suggestion. I met w/ Driggs  
at State suggestion - I think you should  
be very Presidential about this. This is an important  
issue for a US, Panama & LA

P I think I would buy the whole thing <sup>out</sup>. Based on a purchase  
in 1903. In no circumstances will we  
go beyond a 7 principle. The reason  
we started negot in 1964 was we had  
notes in which both Amos + Panama  
were killed. We are a paper <sup>\*</sup> saying on a note  
\* say we are negot. to avoid repetition of that  
but also want to avoid losing all of Latin  
America, incl. Mexico w/ whom we have  
6000 units of loans.

J Only one suggestion. Instead of saying 'it  
we will lose our friends, say 'it the negotations  
planned on this treaty - those say we will lose all  
our friends.

P I think we should take a offensive on this.

J Jayce. Be a Pres.

I would like you to instruct me as I were for a  
Min. I am a senior Jewish legis. I must  
say you have an advisor who has his fingers  
in a Jewish purse in Wm F. Foster. I will  
see all a \$ I leads & I think I can be of  
help.

P Let me break it into several parts - 1st



Belman. We sent Sean Brown over there to  
take charge of who gets. Harrison told me a  
Christmas would be wiped out & Assad would interview  
w/in 48 hrs. We ~~think~~ Assad would be important  
in settling it but didn't think real serious  
where way cause I would react. We  
urged them not to move (they had troops  
in disguise) & we asked I ~~was~~ not to do  
anything. #1

They are now making out a political  
analysis (Describes). Hopefully we are con-  
vincing w/ stable part in Belman.  
Please tell Assad we think he has been a  
statesman. He has done a fine job - made  
power of a P.O. Tell him we will work for  
a year settlement.

Please also thank Kabin for his restraint.  
Even tho 3000 or so Syrian troops were there,  
tho I kept them out.  
Sadat, while he has been a wrong guy, has not  
really jumped in.

Tell Kabin there is no Admin given so  
much to I. Tell do have this by an I.D.  
We've pointed him down the year but you  
I have a paradox. As public notes I have  
exercised on domestic prog, I just can't  
support a NE increase. I just can't in principle  
give in.

I obviously government going to give in. It  
isn't a matter of need - I + E both need it  
\* badly. I would hope you could look at some sort  
of informal arrangement that might work out.  
The one thing I would like to avoid is a confrontation

but you + Jewish entity this year. But why  
we ~~not~~ worked a C-120's.

I think a Jewish entity is going to have to assert  
itself. It's not that I isn't trying, but ~~they are~~  
~~to~~ beyond at times needs a little Dutch under  
talking. They are too close to a probe it is their  
x-estrate. ~~FB~~

P These elections the other day are ~~over~~. I think  
that is a very troublesome layout.

J Yes. But you have to give it credit for being  
willing to hold them.

There is 1 thing - universally CNDSE. Don't  
hesitate on a case for renewal?

P Until Lebanon we were trying to get something  
going which could serve as an example, Lebanon might  
be a viable. You + Cantell ~~will~~ and will  
work w/him in Lebanon + elsewhere but we  
think it essential that universal take place.

J Hussein + Assad are getting close. Is it possible  
that we could get a universal of Robert + have  
Jordan negot w/I.

P We + placed w/Robert many options, ~~the~~ will  
that one + a negot overall 3 parts. Robert  
didn't reject that possibility, did he?

S No, Hussein has greater part of it than Khomeini

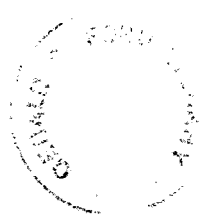
P Yes. Hussein isn't negot under a Arab's invitation  
him to.

S Except as a Tripartite negot.

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election year

P I would prefer it

J That is my strong feeling. I think it



Betty to solid Sunday

would be good for many.

P. Didn't you advise against Solidarity Sunday.

J. That is right. I don't know a nation, & it is a political campaign. The Pope should not bargain on a Sunday of devotion.

P. I feel that strongly. I have seen politicians like badly by bargaining. How about Betty?

J. That would be divine.

2 points: One is settlements. You must be for individual rights however, <sup>the principal issue</sup> it works out. So the people will be protected whatever happens. The other is a loose future in ME.

~~Case~~ You should say you see a ME future where it is one, ~~or~~ a common market, all working together for a progress of all.

P. That is a good idea.

