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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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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: Thursday, July 24, 1975
9:25 - 10:22 a.m.

PLACE: Oval Office
White House



Kissinger: If you bring someone from Defense in the Brezhnev meetings, it will be taken....

President: It must be clearly understood that no Defense representative will be in the meetings. They can go to Helsinki but not to the meeting.

Kissinger: Will you tell the Department of Defense that the meetings are usually restricted to the President, me, the NSC staff and a notetaker?

Scowcroft: Yes.

Kissinger: I met with Dinitz yesterday. It was very unpleasant. I think they want to turn the Arabs against us. They liked it between '67 and '73 when we were isolated from the Arabs.

Rabin said publicly that there could be no agreement without direct negotiations. Then he sent a letter saying he didn't mean it.

I turned off having a meeting with you and Rabin on the trip. The only real possibility would be Bonn. To do it in Bucharest would be bad and Helsinki provocative.

President: I would meet only if he would accept the line and settlement we would propose. Under no other conditions.

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Kissinger: How about the six stations?

President: Drop them.

Kissinger: I will tell Dinitz. That is a good idea. I think the six stations would be an albatross. The Lavon affair in the '50s was about Israelis blowing up American installations in Cairo and blaming it on the Arabs. They could do the same with one of these stations and blame it on the PLO.

The outline of a deal is there, if we can get inclusion of the six stations. We can do it in August if the Israelis play ball.

President: The American public won't buy the six stations.

Kissinger: I agree, especially since we have offered to man the other four. Though we may end up with the UN then.

President: But keep offering an American role there. I will meet Rabin if necessary, but it must be predicted on his accepting our best judgment. We must do it in August.

Kissinger: If the negotiations fail, we don't have to blame Israel, but we can say it failed for lack of a common concept.

President: I went up to the Hill for their gym contest and put the squeeze on about 100 of them on Turkish aid. Conte I ended up talking into saying we wouldn't lose because of his vote. Also Dan Flood.

Scowcroft: Max said you were great, but we right now are 20 votes short.

Kissinger: When you think that at one time we are pushing Turkey away, and Jordan, and Egypt....

If we lose, you should be very cool to Karamanlis and say we are out of it, and tell Demirel we are out of Cyprus and whatever he wants to do is O.K.

On Angola, Mobutu is giving much of his stocks to Angola and wants us to replace them.

President: How are your buddies at State?

Kissinger: I don't know if he [Nat Davis] even has guts enough to quit. Our Ambassador in Zambia screwed things up royally, but Kaunda is still interested and I think we are making progress.



President: I have spoken to Brent about Portugal. If the triumvirate takes over, that is bad. [redacted]

Kissinger: I agree. [redacted]
[redacted]

Scowcroft: [redacted]
[redacted]

Kissinger: Let's get a plan, but don't get Defense involved yet. They will leak.
[redacted]

President: Let's get all ready to go.

Kissinger: On SALT, I think if we want to move we must move on cruise missiles. We could offer 2400 kilometers and go down to 2000 as a last resort.

[Sauvagnargues calls HAK.]

President: Are the French O.K.?

Kissinger: Yes. There is such a change since Martinique. We have planned three commissions for the consumer-producer dialogue. The Saudis want a fourth one on monetary matters. Simon doesn't want it. He wants to do it in his forums.



