

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

PLACE: Oval Office

DATE & TIME: Wednesday, September 25, 1974
9:30 a. m.

Kissinger: Karamanlis has now accepted the idea of a federal state for the first time. Now they want the territory to be in ratio to the population. I told him we wouldn't do anything until they got reasonable -- that the Turks would end up with much more than 20 percent but less than 40. Marcos said (?) he would tell Athens. They want all the refugees returned and the Turks to move. The Greeks want to be so friendly.

President: I was tough with the leaders yesterday, but sometimes the House acts like that.

Kissinger: I was tough with AHEPA last night. I said we would withdraw from the negotiations.

President: How about Iakovos? He could be helpful.

Kissinger: I will call him and make a meeting with you dependent on him doing something. The present climate is making foreign policy impossible.

President: But the Holtzman amendment was defeated yesterday.

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NSC MEMO, 11/24/96, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Review 2/19/04
BY: DA, NARA, DATE 5/5/04

Kissinger: No Latin is complaining about Chile. But the world is beginning to wonder about us.

The Turks want to make concessions but with the aid cut off no government could survive if it did it under pressure.

President: Ecevit can't get a coalition for elections.

Kissinger: They want to be in a coalition but they're afraid they would lost ground in the election and be out as coalition partners.

No Turk can accept American pressure on behalf of the Greeks. The Greeks have islands in the Aegean and they are drawing territorial seas around them that make Turkey a land-locked state. The Turks and Greeks have agreed that the negotiation should be a package deal -- offshore issues, overflight, etc. in addition to Cyprus. If we could wrap all these together, we would have more maneuvering room. I thought we were making good progress until the House vote.

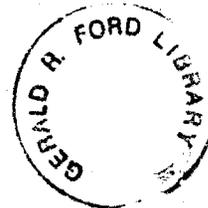
I am worried about the Middle East. The Jordanians now say Egypt is fed up and Syria won't renew the UNDOF mandate. We haven't given anything military to Egypt. I think Israel would just as soon see the negotiation break down. If the Arabs go back to the Soviet Union, it will be another 15 years before we have a crack at them. We have gotten away with murder with the Arabs with our oil prices. If we lose the oil thing apparently due to Israeli intransigence, Europe and the Japanese will be on us like a ton of bricks.

Your speech got a good reaction at the UN. Even the French agreed to your analysis, but wanted no confrontation.

President: What can we do with Israel?

Kissinger: They say you promised a long-term aid submission at the first of the year. You didn't. I will have to be tough on my trip. We have other good things going. The Soviet Union has cancelled two visitors to fit me in. Gromyko wants a proposal by 10 October. It is tough to do in the bureaucracy but I think chances with the Soviet Union are good.

President: Did Brent tell you about Detroit?



Kissinger: Yes. They are shits.

The Chinese have agreed to my trip. You will find you always have to have a card up your sleeve. You made an impact on Gromyko. He raved about you with Symington.

One problem with the Azorian. I want to send the sub, as a 40 Committee action. State disagrees. They always have. I haven't overruled at State. You might want to hear the arguments.

President: Maybe I should.

Scowcroft: This is just to take pictures and see the situation.

President: Send the sub and we will review the arguments before we authorize a follow-on.

Kissinger: Leone. He has a lot of authority because there is no majority so he has leeway.

Basically the Italians are bored with foreign policy. They have a vicious domestic policy. One of Kennedy's worst mistakes was to force the opening to the left.

One thing they must hear from you -- tough -- is that any Communists in government would change our relationship.

Moro's problem is he is bored with foreign policy. He has been Foreign Minister forever. That is the most important thing to do.

They are upset that they were not invited to Camp David. Stay out of that.

The problem is if we invite them, we must also invite the Canadians, Belgians, etc. I will try to pacify them.

The problem with Italy is that with Communists in government -- they would be competent -- it would make them irresistible in France, isolate Germany, give Papandreos an opening in Greece. The Socialists never would have gained power in Germany if that nice idiot hadn't taken them into a coalition. That makes them respectable. The same would happen in Italy.



The economic situation in Italy is terrible. They have a seven billion dollar oil deficit. The impact of the oil crisis could be the most revolutionary in history. The Foreign Ministers I talked to are very worried. Callaghan was most flippant -- he said if the Arabs will give aid to the world, what matters where it comes from? That would give them enormous power.



J P/K ~~Chapman~~
25 Sept 74

K Kara has never accepted idea of federal state for 1st time. Now they want tur. in sub ethnic pop. I told him we wouldn't do anything until they got us south - that Turks would end up w/ much more than 20 but less than 40. In answer said would talk to them. They want all refugees returned & Turks want Greeks want to be so finally

P I was tough w/ leaders yesterday, but sometimes House can't lie that

K I tough w/ Abuz last night. Said would w/ chair from report.

P Know about Fabrows. Could be helpful

K I call him & make not w/ you dependent on him doing something. Present climate is making FP impossible

P But Holtzman comment was deflected yesterday

K No Latin is everything about Chile. But world is beginning to care about us -

~~The Greeks~~ The Turks want to make decisions but w/ aid cut off no part could survive

P Egypt can't get a coalition for election.

K They want to be in coalition but fear they would be in election & want to coalition partners.

No Turk can accept US pressure on behalf of Greeks. The Greeks have islands in Aegean & are drawing territorial seas around them (makes 12 hundred states). Turkey & G have agreed that report should be a package deal - offshore, employment etc in addition to Cyprus. If we could say all these together we would have more maneuvering room. I that we making general prog until House vote.

I worried about ME. In answer may say E fed report I give report source in mandate. We haven't given anything to mil. to E. I think I just so soon report back down. If deals go back to SU, he another 15 yrs before we have crack at them - has

Sandra
and
dragging



have gotten away w/ members w/ assets w/ our
oil prices. If our low oil thing apparently due to it
entirely, E. & J. be on us like a ton of bricks.
Your speech got good reaction at U.M. Even French
agreed to your analysis, but wanted no compensation.

X What can we do w/ it

K They say your proposal buy time and submission
~~of~~ at 100 years. You didn't. I will have to
be tough on my trip. We have other good things going.
SO has camp 2 contracts to fit me in. Gougeon
would prefer by 1000. Tough to in bureaucracy
but I think chances w/ SO are good

P Did Burt tell you about Detroit?

K Yes. They are shits.

PRC have agreed to my trip. You will find your things
have to have a card by your side. You make an
visit to Gougeon. He reveal about you w/ S. Gougeon
One job w/ Aguirre, want to send out. 40 extra
action. State do agents. They always have. I
haven't commented at state. You might want to hear
arguments.

P Maybe I should.

S This is just to take pictures on a visit

P Some - sub & we will review arguments before
we change a follow on.

K Heine. He has lot of uncertainty because there is no
majority so he has leaving.

Basically Stokes are based w/ F.P. They have various
domestic policy. One of Kennedy's worst mistakes was
to force opening to left.

One thing they must hear from you - tough -
that any limits in your would change our relationship
Main problem is to beat w/ F.P. Has been F.P.
forever. That is most important thing to do.

They expect they will mount R.C.O. Stay out of that



Next is if we invite them we must consider, Belg etc
I will try to copy them.

Part of Italy is that w/ most in part - they would be
competent - it would make some mistakes
in Fr, isolate Germany, give Japanese opening.
Some might have given power in Germany
if that was about which taken them into coalition
that made them respectable. Some would happen in 1946.
Even in Italy trouble. I had a lot of quiet.

Impact of oil crisis would be most revolutionary in history.
FMI's I talked to very worried. Callaghan most
flippant - said if Arabs will give oil to world, what
matters when it comes from. That would give them
~~revenue~~

