MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: Giovanni Leone, President of Italy
Aldo Moro, Minister of Foreign Affairs
President Gerald R. 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, September 25, 1974
11:30 a.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office
The White House

Leone: I would like to reiterate my gratitude for your kind invitation to visit. There is the importance of this visit as a first contact. I want to assure you of my interest in building better relations with the United States.

President: We treasure our ties with the Italian people and want to expand them. There are millions of Americans with Italian ancestry. We are anxious to build on this already warm relationship.

Leone: On the aircraft, the press asked me how we approach our dialogue with the United States. As we are both lawyers, we approach it as defending the same cause. I would like to talk however you would like. We can discuss European and world problems, or I will tell you the Italian scene.

[The press was admitted briefly for photos.]

President: How long were you in Parliament?

TOP-SECRET - XGDS (3)

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
NSC Memo, 10/24/98, State Dept. Guidelines (Seal)
By LCO1, NARA, Date 1/21/99

CLASSIFIED BY: HENRY A. KISSINGER
Leone: I was in the Constitutional Assembly in 1946. During the last term I was a lifetime Senator -- an honorary title that is given to only five people.

President: I was in Congress for 25 years.

[Kissinger and Moro come in.]

President: While chatting before the press, President Leone asked if I wanted his appraisal of the Italian scene. I was about to ask him to give us his views of the situation in Italy and the Mediterranean.

Leone: The situation, Mr. President, is as I discussed with Dr. Kissinger at our meeting in Rome last July, despite Cyprus. There has been the development that Southern Europe is revealed as the soft under-belly of Europe. There is concern over all the South European countries. Portugal, for example, fears a right-wing or a left-wing dictatorship; Spain has Franco. In France the socialists missed only by a hair. In Greece we got an appeal from the military to get the U.S. to get Turkey to make some step which will unblock the situation. They fear the left in Greece. I forgot Yugoslavia -- there are many problems there. What will happen when "our friend" Tito goes?

President: I wondered if you would mention Yugoslavia, because of Tito's age and what might happen when he leaves office.

Leone: Yugoslavia is a problem of universal concern which affects the national Communists in many countries. Yugoslavia consists of many nationalities with conflict among each other and who are held together only by Tito, and his passing can have a real threat to security in the Mediterranean.

President: Italy's participation in the security of this area of Europe is essential. I hope we can strengthen this in this vital area about which we are concerned.

Leone: What you said is very true. I left Italy to the end, and I will be brief -- though perhaps more eloquent. Many confuse the instability of our governments with political stability. That is not so. In fact, since 1946 we have been stable with a constant foreign policy. We have had centrist governments or center-left governments. One other illusion is that we will
be having talks with the Communists. All the center parties are against it. Even the Communists are, although they say otherwise. So we have been very stable and I would say there is no possibility of an opening to the left.

Kissinger: Moro is Secretary General of the Christian Democrats and he gave me a lesson in politics. I will never oppose him.

Leone: Italy in foreign policy has always been loyal to NATO. We deplored the French departure, and in a visit to France I urged Pompidou to return. We have never opposed the U.S. in Europe and have always supported the United States.

President: Your observations are very important to us. We have the view that the stability of Italy depends on the Communists not participating. If NATO is to be strong, we can't have the Communists participating in the political life of any member. It is reassuring to hear that the center and center-left won't take to the Communists. We laud your past exclusion of them and think it vital they continue to be excluded from your government as such.

Leone: This picture I painted applies to the present and I hope to the future. But we have to be realistic. We favor detente and appreciate the American role in achieving it, but there is a price, which is a slackening of democratic ideals and an increase in attacks on those ideals. When all the U.S.-Soviet meetings go on it is hard for us and others to say the Reds are the enemies of democracy. I will be candid: In your talks with the Soviet Union, is there no success in making the Soviet Union make a gesture toward detente? Can't the Soviet Union instruct the national parties to desist and not go on the attack to destroy the status quo? We made every effort with Minbff to keep Libya and the Soviet Union out of Malta. We think the U.S. could tell the Soviet Union to respect the status quo in Europe, because we are paying a stiff price. The things I used to say about the Communists just aren't accepted now.

President: We face the same problem. We think movement in the broad areas is beneficial, but we don't think detente will change the ideology of either. We hope for a change in the Soviet Union, but detente is not directed toward that. We are trying to make progress in detente for the welfare of the world. We don't know what kind of response we would get.
Kissinger: We have tried once or twice, but frankly we are more worried about a responsible than an irresponsible Communist party, because if they appear responsible they will be a bigger threat to democracy in the long run.

Leone: I agree with Secretary Kissinger that the more respectable the Communists appear the more dangerous they are. Presenting themselves thus is their present tactic all over Europe -- whatever the U.S. does. So we should take advantage of it. We have not interfered in Eastern Europe and I think the Soviet Union should instruct the Reds not to interfere in the conduct of our political system.

President: Do you find the Communists acting more responsibly?

Leone: The Communist Party in Italy appears to be more moderate and takes stands we appreciate, but is it not just tactics?

Moro: I think they are somewhat more independent.

President: By appearing responsible they could have an impact on Italian policies. We want to continue to cooperate with the center groups in the same way as we have done since 1946.

Kissinger: In fact, we could not exchange military information if they came into the Government. We have had to make such a change with respect to Portugal.

Leone: Perhaps we have spoken more about Italy than constitutionally permitted, but before Moro talks about the Arab world let me say a few words about the economy of Italy. We have taken stringent measures and the nation have taken them gracefully. But the situation is dangerous, and if there is a collapse, the political system may take a turn to a different form. That is why we need help from our friends. We need to redress the trade balance and export more and we need help here. Appraisals about Italy are black. The Federal Reserve Board's appraisal was bad, and others are adopting the same approach. The fact of the meeting of Foreign Ministers and Finance Ministers here without us at the time when our people are here is a matter of regret, for our image. I say this frankly. What do we need? Some obvious and open steps to reverse the Federal Reserve Board appraisal. Your speech took the same approach and I hope you will show this in your approach to Italy. These are words from a dear friend of the United States and the Atlantic Alliance. When Moro and I returned from
voting for NATO the Communists had black crosses saying we voted for war.

President: I appreciate this frankness among friends -- it is essential to the growth of friendship. As for the Federal Reserve Board, I have trouble with it too. It is autonomous, and their cooperation with the government is a judgment on their part about what their actions should be. I think it is unfortunate the Five are meeting here, but as I understand it it is a traditional group. I hope you and the Italian people won't feel excluded. We will continue the close cooperation we have always had with Italy. We admire your stand for NATO. I come from an isolationist area and know what you mean. It has been of great benefit to Italy and I am proud of my support. Historians will write that NATO was beneficial not just to the Atlantic Community, but to the world.

Leone: Can we continue?

President: It would be helpful if we could do it tomorrow. I would look forward to a resumption of the discussion tomorrow.

Leone: I think we must continue and I am grateful you agreed to another talk.

President: I am pleased you will be meeting with Secretary Kissinger. He is the most popular figure in America because of his accomplishments. He and I are continuing the policies which have been so successful. I am looking forward to the continuation of those policies in the months ahead.

Leone: I am very glad to continue with Dr. Kissinger and to talk to you tomorrow. I am glad to invite you officially to Italy.

President: I am honored, and I hope sometime in the future that will be possible.

Kissinger: The President lives in a modest little establishment.

Leone: It is a palace, but I am a prisoner. It was the Pope's palace. Will we have a communique tomorrow?

Kissinger: It would be better at the end of the visit.
P/Lake/Wall/K1
25 Sept 74

1. I like to indicate that in light of the most important
.features involved, it is not possible to accept your
proposal in writing without written addendum.

2. We understand the concerns of the Italian people and
want to speed the implementation of the Lake Treaty,
accepting, however, some changes that we consider
would strengthen our relationship.

3. Our efforts have met with no apparent
disagreement in U.S. As we both know, any opposition
on the part of the U.S. would only make it
more important for us to reach an agreement.

(Please)

4. Have long been Pushing

5. I am confident, as in the past, that
the present situation will be

6. I am sure for it you

7. While planning before press I asked if I could tie
appearance of Italian people to our right to
make use of mines of Italy and

8. At the time I asked about the use of Northern Italy
and the Italian shipyard. It was
understood as making only of E. L. E. powers over all
the E. E. based on the old German naval
rights. The only condition was that the ships would not
be armamentally superior. The German

9. I forgot Yoga—my parts then. What will happen
when "our friend" Tito goes.

10. I wandered if you would mention Yoga before
Tito a ye and what might happen then.
Yuga is part of a wider concern which affects all

countries. Yuga events are very rare, with activities in conflict

held together only by fish, and in passing our turn

and threat to erupt very well.

I only participate in its terrible shape and can

Therefore in the initial areas about which we

are concerned.

What you said is very true. I only remember it was

the only one other element. They consider something from

efforts of production which. That was to. In fact since we

have been studying our constant F L. We have had

vast, vast cost in extra lift parts. Or the illusion

is that will be having lots of parts. And there is

parts one against it. From costs are all the thing

my allowance. So as long as other things should

draw our possibility of saving the lift.

We are very good and of course some advantages in platform

would certainly spread them.

I pray in F L. has always been held up. N R T O. are

alleged. For determinant in West & of high

regime to review. We have what approved US

in G E R T have always supported US.

Your observations are very significant. As no, I mean

earn that stability of today. Again, about participating.

If N R T O. is doing, account, have

vast experiences of parts of many parts. It

necessary to have that. and that with lift and

direct cables. We heard your past definition to

this kind. They continue to be explained from

your part so much.

This furnishes I point applies to prevent a 9 base pattern. That

are lines to be specific. We have district - & approach

US not in a meaning it - but there is a time, which

is threatening of democratic values because in

attacks on these rebels. When all the US unit.
eto go on. At hand for us to try Redhead are

nothing of clumsy. I will be candid in your talk
with us. Let me stress in making us make a gesture
and without. But without some position to
devises not go on attack to substitute elicits p.s.
We made every effort to divorce to keep but get SO
right, we think the US with respect
through the idea, for us we are gaining a stiff
muse. The thing stands it will in time just
must accept me.

We face time quite, but we think moment in
"to the point. the" situation in
"to the point" situation in
-"to the point. the"
need to change matter if with. We hope for change in 19,
-"to the point. the"
need to change matter if with. We hope for change in 19,
-"to the point. the"
need to change matter if with. We hope for change in 19,
-"to the point. the"
need to change matter if with. We hope for change in 19,
-"to the point. the"
need to change matters if with. We hope for change in 19,
-"to the point. the"
need to change matters if with. We hope for change in 19,
-"to the point. the"
need to change matters if with. We hope for change in 19,
-"to the point. the"
need to change matters if with. We hope for change in 19,
-"to the point. the"
need to change matters if with. We hope for change in 19,
-"to the point. the"
need to change matters if with. We hope for change in 19,
-"to the point. the"
need to change matters if with. We hope for change in 19,
-"to the point. the"
need to change matters if with. We hope for change in 19,
-"to the point. the"
need to change matters if with. We hope for change in 19,
-"to the point. the"
need to change matters if with. We hope for change in 19,
Perhaps some temporary adjustment in the system is not too farfetched, but that we try for some sort of a system that is temporary and we have taken some steps towards increasing the tempo the system as we know it is a different system. This is how we will help from now on. We need to address these issues. 4. We must not use only a few times. 

Appreciate that the black & F & B approach could not continue and old time approach. First part of F & B. If we have some form of human rights, we need to matter of interest for instance. I say this partly, what does we need - some human rights steps to increase the F & B approach. In some approaches like this in some approach to study. Three weeks from a change of US & Atlantic alliance. What have I returned from meeting for NATO leaders round table number meetings with team.

I appreciate having many friends - it is essentially to some of my friends. For F & B, I have noticed, if it too. It is anti-war. So that's a great judgment on their part about what their rights should be. I think it unfortunate, a pity, there, but I understand it at a traditional guy. I hope you areFranklin feel included we will continue. They have some things, and we; study, use a human rights, stand for NATO. I have come from instance areas to know what you mean. I have been great benefit to stand & I feel if my association, support, instances will want that the F & B beneficial not part of Atlantic Community but we can.

I can in continue.

I would be impressed if we could do it tomorrow. I would like forward & a suggestion of a discussion tomorrow.

I think we must continue & grateful you agreed.
Farewell.

P. Please note with K. His great public papers in N.Y. because of his accuracy. He and the English papers have been so successful in duping abroad to maintain that public since months abroad.

K. Very pleased with K. Thanks to your support. I send to Montreal official for Italy.

P. Hand in your sentence in future that will be signed.

K. Pleasure would little be.

E. Get a public but it is a promise. Are you signed public communication tomorrow?

K. Better at end of week.

(1) Where am am on application

(2) Jackson and Henry