

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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E.O. 12958 Sec. 3.6

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

MR 01-56 # 24; At-Ltn 9/19/01  
By det NARA, Date 10/11/01

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

PRESIDENT FORD  
Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Sec. 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, February 20, 1975  
11:30 a.m. - 12:17 p.m.

PLACE:

The Oval Office

Kissinger: Ron just nabbed me on the special envoy. We are loading up foreign policy so much that a straw breaks it and then opponents just say they put a straw on it. If we use the special envoy idea to let Brademas go around saying he got me, I am undercut.

The outcome will be so unbrilliant for the Greeks that there is no glory in being associated with it.

I think Mike's original reaction was right. And I can't have your endorsement every day.

President: There is a chance it will leak. If it does, I can say I thought it up and will continue as we have been and we have confidence we can move. The other thing is we can say you are too busy and we want Bruce to take some of the burden.

Kissinger: We can't announce anything today. It would be the wrong signal, and Turkey won't meet anyway. If it leaks, we can say to keep it going we are assigning someone to work with me. I have no problem with Bruce. It's not the negotiation problem, it's the Congressional problem.

Mike's way is the best. Make Brademas fight the whole leadership. This is without prejudice to using Bruce.



CLASSIFIED BY Henry A. Kissinger  
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION  
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652  
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5(b) (1, 3)  
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON Imp. to det.

President: Why do anything until Congress undoes the damage it has done? It would do no good for anyone to go under these circumstances.

Kissinger: If we use an envoy as a price for getting a waiver, we are dead, because then they can get anything by making me move aside.

President: I think we should do nothing until Congress straightens itself out. I would get Mahon and Cederburg to move, with the support of the leadership. I will call them and the Speaker and Rhodes to try to get them to act. Then you talk to Dinitz.

Kissinger: McFall told the Vice President that the Jews were using the Turkish problem to keep me off Israel's back. I agree, because it corresponds with what happened when Israel decided to go into delaying actions.

President: Should we tell them what we agreed with Passman?

Kissinger: They are playing a dangerous game. They still have a 40% option of wanting the negotiations to collapse. It is not in the bag. Israel is not signed up. Nor is Sadat. I think Israel won't want to leave the passes for 18 months, even if they agree in principle. We have to keep the Syrians and Soviet Union off our back.

One of the profound concerns abroad is erosion of your and my authority.

If we had had to account for the Israeli-Arab negotiations the way we have with Greek-Turkish, we would have gotten nowhere.

President: Let's try to get it through a continuing resolution. We have time on our side. Let's get Mahon and Cederburg moving as soon as possible with both Leaderships.

Kissinger: You had rejected Shaefer for the UN. For everything?

President: He left the Governorship and went into business. He resigned after a year with allegations of illegality. That's the only problem.

Kissinger: I have no personal interest in him.

President: He is a friend -- this is the only problem.

Kissinger: Scranton is not rushing for the job -- not that it has been offered.

President: So let's not talk to Scali yet.



Kissinger: We have told the Indians about Pakistan. I thought we shouldn't raise it with the Leadership. You may catch some hell from the Indians.

Cambodia is sort of disintegrating, regardless of the money. We may have the problem of liquidating Cambodia over the next two weeks.

We also have an Ambassador who has gone wild and is writing for the record.

Giscard gave you wrong information about Hanoi cutting off supplies. He was right about Sihanouk's willingness, but as long as Khmer Communists are winning, there is no incentive to negotiate. I would expect Cambodia not to last past April.

President: If Cambodia gets knocked out of the appropriation, they will certainly collapse. But then it will be the Congress.

What will the Security Council action be on Cyprus? Condemnation?

Kissinger: We will say we are opposed to unilateral action. The Chinese, who is the Chairman, will agree to keep the Great Powers out. The Soviet Union will try to condemn and get involved.

The Turkish thing is the worst thing we have done since the Suez in '56. Even if we do it, we will suffer for years, even though you and I will be heroes in Turkey. The reaction among the Turkish military is unbelievable.

On CSCE, I think we should move for a summit in early July and a Brezhnev summit in September. You could visit Western Europe before and Eastern Europe after CSCE.

[There was additional discussion of whether additional help is needed. Whatever is needed, under the President's direction. Bruce could be kept available. First, the ban aid must be lifted, then we find a medium for continuing negotiations.]



✓ P/K  
20 Feb 75

Thursday  
11:36 AM - 12:17 PM

R Ron just married me on a spur of the moment.  
We are looking my F.P. to make that a shame  
breaks it + then opponents just say they just a  
shame it.

If we use spec. energy to let Bralman go around  
saying he got me, I am smells out.

The outcome will be so reluctant to face  
Guelb that no play being aware.

It's time Mike's orig. reaction was right. And  
I can't have your endorsement every day.

P Change it will look. If it fails, I am saying  
I don't want to wait to criticize as we have been  
+ have our own work. Other is our own day  
you too long & we want Bruce to take some  
of the burden

R Can't announce anything today. Be very quiet  
+ I won't meet anyone. If it looks necessary  
to help it going on we are carrying someone to work  
up me. I have no power / Bruce. It note we got  
past it & do long work.

Mike's way is best. Make Brad forget & what  
leadership. This is who people know & many know

P Why do anything until they makes damage it  
has done? Would be no good for anyone to go  
under those circumstances.

R If we use an image as a piece for getting a  
winner, we are dead because they can get  
anything by making the name aside

P I think we should do nothing until they get  
straighten it out. I would get Madam +  
Gedding to name as / sup part of leadership.  
I will call them + speak & check to try to get

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BY ll NLF, DATE 5/28/04



them to act. I have you talk to DeLoach.

K McFall told VP that Jones were using Trank job to beg me off ~~from~~ I back. I agree, because it encourages ac/when I expect to go with delaying action.

P Should we open talk them what we agreed at previous.

R They playing a longer game. Today still have a 40% option of being writing negot collapse. It is not in a bag. I not signed up, not signed. I think I want want to leave - pass ~~out~~ for CS was even if they agree in principle. We have to keep a system + SC off our back.

One of proposed courses ahead is erosion of your & my authority.

Jones had had to account for I-Card report the way we have w/G-T, and would have gotten nowhere.

P Let's try to get it through CL. We have time on our side. Let's get Workman + Belobony moving <sup>RIHPD</sup> ~~down~~ w/ both memberships.

K R You had rejected Shafer. For everything?

P He left Government & went to Catering. He resigned after a year w/ allegations of illegality. That is a only job.

K I have no personal interest in him

P He ~~is~~ friend - this is only job.

K Scantown is not working for a job not it been offered

P So let's not talk to Scali yet.

K We have told Indians about job. I think we should not resist it w/ leadership. You may catch some hell from Indians.

Columbian is sort of disintergrating, regardless



of a treaty. We may have to push for legislation  
Cumbria over next 2 weeks. We also have  
an Arab who has gone wild and is writing  
for a stand.

Cuscind gave you wrong info about Hanoi ending of  
negotiations. He was right about Sihanouk withdrawing  
but as long as the economy, there is no incentive to  
negotiate. Sihanouk needs

I would expect Cumbria not to last past April.

P If Cumbria gets knocked out of a support, they will  
certainly collapse. But then it will be a Corgy.  
What will SC action be on Corgy. Construction?

K We will say we oppose unilateral action. PRC also  
China will agree to help G.P.'s out. S.O. will  
try to end them + get involved.

The Turk thing is a worst thing we have done since  
Suez in '56. Even if we do, we will suffer  
for years, unless the zone is well to be seen in  
Turkey. The reaction among Turkish is  
unbearable.

On CSCE I think we should move for summit  
in July + summit in Sept.

You could visit W. Eur before + E. Eur after CSCE.

Seems abandonment of whether addition  
half possible. Cumbria needed under  
any direction. Bence could be cancelled  
First <sup>four</sup> ~~cancelled~~, then we find mechanism  
for existing negotiations

