MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: NATO Secretary General Joseph Luns
NATO Assistant Secretary General Jorg Kastl
President Gerald R. Ford
Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Amb. Donald Rumsfeld, Assistant to the President
Amb. David Bruce, Permanent Representative to NATO
Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Monday, February 24, 1975
3:00 - 3:45 p.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office
The White House

[Press and photographers were admitted briefly.]

Luns: The first time I was in the Oval Office was under President Truman.

[Press and photographers were ushered out.]

President: When I was in Congress I represented more people of the Dutch descendance than any other Congressman. I represented Holland, Ireland -- right down the line.

Luns: May I say how grateful we are to be received. I know how valuable your time is but I think it is important that the Secretary General from time to time have contact with the heads of state.

President: I have heard wonderful things about you from Henry and Don Rumsfeld and I am happy to meet you.
Luns: We are in a difficult period. Every country seems to be governed by a delegation. The greatest thing de Gaulle did was to allow France to be governed. Parliament should rule but not get into details.

The Turkish Government is paralyzed. I have just heard that Turkey has withdrawn from the joint exercises. Turkey needs spare parts. Without Turkey we can give up on the Eastern Mediterranean.

In Italy, 60,000 troops are being taken from active units to the reserves. Canada is getting weaker and weaker. Their pay is up 60% but not the budget.

The whole Alliance is very much weakened by what happened in Turkey. Should I use strong language with the Foreign Affairs Committee? I want to talk about the disaffection in NATO and the affect on Greece and Turkey, that comes from this Congressional action.

President: I didn't know you planned it -- I was going to suggest it. A view from outside would be very valuable. I think there is something of a turnaround. The cutoff has had the opposite effect. But the Hill finds it difficult to reverse itself, yet the factual situation is such that they should, for the benefit of everyone involved, including Greece and Cyprus and NATO.

I would hope you would testify from an outsider point of view.

Kissinger: I am seeing Brademas, Sarbanes and Rosenthal. I will ask that they see Luns and Bruce.

We heard today of a coup attempt in Greece.

Luns: I am not surprised. I have warned that this would happen.

Kissinger: This undermines Karamanlis. But Brademas says, "You're lying." The fact is that Karamanlis can't ask us to give aid to Turkey.

Luns: If there is a face-saving formula that is acceptable to Congress, I would be happy to talk to the Turks.

Kissinger: The Turks won't talk beforehand.
President: We are hoping to have a waiver introduced tomorrow. We have full cooperation of the leaders in the Senate and good support in the House. If we could get this through this week, it would allow us to go forward.

There has been a change in the press and somewhat on the Hill.

Kissinger: Are you having a press conference?

Luns: Yes. But the Greeks say I can’t speak out in favor of the Turks. Turkey asks if I can’t say the U.S. is violating the charter. I say it is not an obligation what exactly must be done.

Kissinger: The tragedy is that the pro-Greeks are producing a calamity for Greece.

President: Anything you can do in the next 48 hours in the House or Senate would be helpful.

Luns: I see Sparkman and Humphrey, and I have a press conference Thursday.

Bruce: How about Agronsky tonight?

President: That would be very helpful.

Luns: I spoke with Giscard and Sauvagnargues and others. All of them are much mellowed. Giscard is friendly to the U.S., pleased with Martinique, and not at all opposed to NATO. He gives the impression he wants to get closer -- also on energy.

Kissinger: I got the same impression.

President: And I got that impression from Martinique.

Luns: Their fleet will move to the Mediterranean.

The French are working well with NADGE. They put on a good show.

I want to say something about the American attitude toward Holland on air traffic. If these lines go out of business, it will hurt badly. The U.S. looks mostly at the size of a country to judge the size of traffic. It would be a big blow to the Dutch if the plans of your agency would be successful. Holland is very important to the U.S.
Kissinger: I have asked the CAB not to make a final decision without your seeing it, Mr. President.

Luns: We are one of the greatest importers of commercial aircraft in the world -- from you. There is also the question of military aircraft -- but that is not linked.

We are worried about Portugal. 200 faceless officers want to retain power. There are seven top leaders, four of whom are very left-wing. If Portugal falls, it will be very hard on Spain.

President: Is there any significance to the postponement of the vote?

Luns: The earlier the better.

Kissinger: They have arranged it so the Armed Forces Council has a veto over all laws and appointments. Soares is becoming someone like Masaryk -- a facade of democracy behind which the Communists control things.

As Luns says, it will put pressures on Spain; if they stay in NATO it will lead to a "historic compromise" in Italy.

Luns: I told Soares he needed someone on his right. He couldn't resist the Communists by himself.

President: What could we do?

Luns: I think you must speak out about what is happening.
I think the French will also. You should support Spain.

Kissinger: I agree. The situation in Spain is very worrisome.

Luns: In the worst of cases, we risk losing the whole southern tier. Fortunately, something usually turns up to plague the Soviet Union also.

In NATO we are also worried about Yugoslavia. In '68, the Romanian Ambassador asked what NATO would do if Romania was attacked like Czechoslovakia. I said nothing. The Yugoslav Ambassador asked me the same. To be frank, I said, "If you can hold out for six weeks, maybe; if only ten days, nothing."

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Kissinger: The danger is the Soviets will use one region against another to break up the country.

Luns: But the Army does not want the country to break up.

Kissinger: The possibility of an international crisis in Yugoslavia is very great.

Luns: The Romanian Ambassador then said he was happy about what I told the Yugoslav Ambassador -- which shows there are arrangements between the two.

President: Do you have any thoughts on MBFR?

Luns: The Soviet Union has proposed equal reductions, which is not reasonable.

The tactical nuclear force issue is linked. Several of us are nervous that you will weaken the shield. Your efforts seem to be strategic weapons, but the problem in NATO is tactical.

I don't think the Soviet Union will plan a war in NATO. The outcome is too uncertain. I think the Soviet Union will wait to see the outcome of SALT and CSCE. I think we are in the position that CSCE will be a summit.

Kissinger: Thanks to the Europeans.

Luns: We must think about the possible euphoria and guard against it.

President: How about a Western Summit beforehand?

Luns: I think it is a good idea. The French were cool to the idea.

Kissinger: It is ridiculous to think the East and West can meet and consumer and producer, but not the NATO allies.

On the nuclear package, we won't press it as our solution. It is up to the Alliance whether it is to be presented to the Soviet Union.

President: I wanted to suggest that this spring the NAC visit here. I would like to meet with them.

Luns: The Council will appreciate that very much. Finally, we all hope the efforts of Secretary Kissinger in the Middle East will be successful.
P.J.H.\r\nK/Rennfeld/Berne\r\n29 Feb 75\r
\r
Recall: I spent time down in Bern and spoke with the Swiss Amb.\n
(Oct. 1974) Bill Bryan (?)\n
P.S. We have a great conference on the Swiss government, independence, changes in the European Economic Community, history, and culture. I think it might inspire you to speak about that.\n
Best regards,

[Signature]

[Handwritten note:]\n
Also, I heard about the Swiss army and the role of women in it. It was quite interesting. I think it might be relevant to your talk.\n
[Handwritten note:] \n
Declassified
E.O. 13526, SEC. 3.a
NAC Memo, APR, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, 3/1/12
By: , NARA, DATE: 6/6/14
I am not surprised. I have known this would happen.

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For extra urgency te want to get claim ske on end
k I got some urgency
l And some instructions
m Then flat with man to book

Funds now working well w/ Wade. Frank got them
put everything there.

US traffic started towards
Hollander, Tommy (footer). If they have point of
domination at and don't let
US boats move get a chance to control after world's
traffic. 
It would be a big chance to make such thing work
be successful. Holland is very big to the US

K I have asked FBI with make final decision
on your serum

l We are a quarter of sound and well from you.
Then also quintal of milk after that does not hinder.
We worked until last few people think want to return power. There are 2 big bodies, 41 when
and very left wing. If last falls they may head to

Spain.

V Any way to postponement of vote

l The embassy letter

K They have arranged it to AEC bought all
most appliances. Some items remain like

Royal stove - a flat of equipment which is easy to install

As long etc. 

It will just pressure on going if

they bring MIME it will lead to


I told Soma he needed someone on his right. He

needed next a count by himself.
What will we do?

1. I think you must speak not about what is happening.
2. I think this will also, you should say at Spain.
3. We agreed to speak on at least one occasion.
4. In case of war, we should be told.
5. Fortunately, something cannot happen to
6.玩家可自由选择
7. We will also need about your. In any case, a man cannot
8. Each must speak.
9. Your attitude should be trying what I did! Yugo
10. With which others, who may be permanent.

1. Any idea on NATO
2. Our prize is a victory, which is reasonable.
3. The two men you want is correct. Several for
4. The reason that you will write a child. Your
5. Myself, but a few, but a few in
7. I don't think so will plan a war in NATO. The
8. Continue to the Children.
9. I think we will talk to see another. Such-
10. The other that we will speak.

K Thanks to Em.
1. How about a Western Summit Logos?
2. I think it's a good idea. The French may need
   to be led.
3.Regarding to that, we can meet 2-3 P.M., but
   not on a Monday.
4. An immune package, we won't pass it across Europe. It
   goes a different solution, it be presented to C.U.
5. I wanted to suggest that this evening the N.A.T.O. and
   her, I would like to meet with them.
6. The Council will approve that approach.
   Finally, we all hope it's effective. It will be
   understood.