

Scowcroft file

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~/NODIS/XGDS

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3  
MR # 08-82-#3

*date guidelines: CIA Ltr 8/18/10*  
By dal NARA Date 10/14/10

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PAR TICIPANTS: 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: Tuesday, June 17, 1975  
11:50 a. m. - 12:30 p. m.

PLACE: Oval Office



Kissinger: The press is trying to make something of our differing statements [on Cuba]. There is some movement and maybe we should send them a note offering private talks at the UN -- as being better than dealing through private Americans.

President: I didn't know about these moves. I can mention them at my next press conference.

Kissinger: The Italian elections were a disaster. The Kennedy Administration started most of our foreign policy disasters. He wanted an opening to the left to wean the Socialists from the Communists -- and also thought the Embassy was on the right. I told him then that it was a disaster. It undercut the Social Democrats, because it then became a centralist party and people voting left had to go to the Socialists. It also pushed the Liberals out to the right. Kennedy also took the missiles out of Italy after the right-wing Christian Democrats had waged a bitter fight with the Communists and Socialists over their installation.

[The Secretary read out the election results.] The Liberals were practically wiped out. We will have a complicated situation in Italy. This government will not survive into the fall.

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President: What about new elections?

Kissinger: Well... The Socialists will demand more to form a government and the Socialist Democrats may not go along.

President: It will hurt Fanfani.

Kissinger: Yes. And Rumor. It won't hurt Moro because he supports going to the left. It will have a terrible effect.

President: Won't this scare the other leaders -- Schmidt, etc.?

Kissinger: Yes. If the Communists do this well in the general elections, the Communists will have to be admitted to the government. The Christian Democratic party is not a single party. Some of the left wing is not Communist only because they are Catholic. Kennedy was responsible for this -- and basically set up the legitimacy of the SPD in Germany. And we are now doing the same thing in Chile.

The election is a disaster. It was all started by Kennedy who forced the Socialists into the government.

On the Middle East, Israel is on a kick. [He reads an FBIS report on the Rabin dinner.] They announced another settlement on the Golan Heights. That is provocative. Rabin said at the airport he brought Egyptian proposals but they weren't enough.

Greenspan's reaction [to the Iranian oil deal] is very favorable -- so much so that he thinks it may start a sequence of events which we must think through.

President: I will talk to him this afternoon.

Kissinger: Here is the Saudi reaction to our release of the Berbera photographs. [He hands a cable to the President.]

I met with 15 liberal senators on my OECD/IEA speeches. I got a strongly favorable reaction. It got a good reaction last week from the conservatives.

President: I had breakfast with Hugh Scott. He is going with a group to the Soviet Union. He asked if they could talk to the Soviets about trade. He said, "How about a letter to Ullman or Long asking if action couldn't be taken?" Javits was worried about Jackson's behavior toward Ceausescu. He said he was browbeating him.



Jackson is desperate. He's got money but he's going nowhere. He is not going up in the polls.

I told Hugh I would talk to you about a letter. Tell them we would have the specifics up there soon.

Kissinger: On the Middle East, we should play this string out before we decide what we do.

President: It looks to me like we will have to go for the overall.

Kissinger: I am reluctant to spill any blood on an interim.

On Turkey, our representations have worked. They have asked for formal renegotiations of all our relations -- beginning on July 15th. It is not a stupid move, because if we do something, they can claim....

I saw Clerides today and I said we are losing our leverage. I would be careful about promising a settlement if the embargo is lifted. Say the only way is to put them under an obligation by lifting the embargo.

President: I think you or I should summarize it at the meeting.

Kissinger: I could do that and the Turkish domestic situation.

[Discussion of who was coming to the meeting.]

President: Let's see what they come up with.

Kissinger: Yes. I think it's better for us to offer nothing -- just tell them our problem.

Fahd is unhappy about what he calls our foot-dragging on military equipment, at the same time we were bragging about what we are giving to Israel. [He reads a cable about Fahd complaining about the status of the arms.]

President: Is it true?

Kissinger: Well, the Saudis are Bedouins. They don't understand the operations of a bureaucracy.



President: Why can't we issue an order to get it taken care of?

Kissinger: Maybe Brent can talk to Wickham. If this Saudi group turns on us, it may take us a decade for us to get back in.

[Discussion of conventional versus nuclear naval ships.]





P What this said & other leaders - Schmidt, etc.

K Yes. If Christos does this well in general elections, a Christos will have to be admitted to a govt. The C D party is not a single party. Even if a left wing is not elected only because they are Catholics. Kennedy was responsible for this - and basically set up a legit. of a SPD in Germany. And we are now doing something in Chile.

The election is a disaster - started by Kennedy who forced a Socialist into a govt.

On a ME, I saw a book (quite FBIS report on a Kabin Drive). They announced another settlement on a Golan Heights. That is provocative. Kabin said at airport he brought E papers but they were empty. Gerson's reaction is very favorable - so much so that he thinks it may start a series of events which we must think thru.

P I will talk to him this afternoon.

K Here is Saudi reaction to an release of Berbera photos. (Humboldt).

I met w/ 15 <sup>liberal</sup> members on the OECD/IEA speech. Got through favorable reaction. Got good reaction but work from conversations.

P I had breakfast w/ Hugh Scott. Going w/ group to S.O. He asked if they could talk to Seco about trade. He said how about a letter to Allowan a long asking if any action couldn't be taken. Janits was worried by Jackson behavior toward Carson - said he was hounding him.



P Jackson is desperate. He got money but pin  
no where. Not going up in price.

I told Hugh I would talk to you about Western. We  
then we would have specifics by that ~~late~~ soon.

K On NE, we should play this strong and before we  
decide what we do.

P Looks to me like we will have to go default.

K I don't want to spill any blood on Western.

Don T, our representatives have worked. They have  
asked for formal negotiations of all relations - beg.  
on July 15. It not a stupid man, cause if we  
do something they can claim.

Some clericals beg & send me business leverage.

I would be careful about promising settlement if  
embargo lifted. Say only way is to put them under  
obligation by lifting embargo.

P I think you & I should summarize

K I could do that and c T domestic sit.

(Discussion of who was coming to mtg)

P Lets see what they come up w/.

K Yes. I think its better for us to offer nothing  
first till they are put.

Feld is unhappy about what he calls our purchasing  
oil equip, at some time we were bragging about  
what we going to I. (Reads cable about Feld  
complaining about status of army)

P Is it true.

K W.M., c Sandis are Bedominis. They don't understand



Cond Comments - Parents blamed a strain

Wray & others - See Fichols tell them what we doing  
on board

the ops of a bureaucracy.

P Why can't we issue an order & get it taken care

y.

K Maybe Burt can talk to Winton.

If this Saudi group turns on us, it may take us a  
decade to get back.

(Discussion of course no nuclear  
naval ships)

