

Scowcroft file

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET/NODIS/XGDS~~

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12953 (as amended) SEC 3.3

MR # 08-82-#3

etate guidelines: CIN-LTR 8/16/10

By dal NARA Date 10/14/10

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

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.

~~SECRET/NODIS/XGDS~~

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: 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.]



~~Schuyler~~ ~~over~~ ~~over~~ ~~over~~ of Horace Wagner Bay  
✓ P/K 17 Jun 15

11:50 AM - 12:30 PM  
Tuesday

K Peas is trying to make something from differing statements. There is some movement and we believe shall send them a note saying offering private talk at UK - or being better than during other private chans.

P ~~Does~~ didn't know about these moves. I can mention them at my next P.C.

K The Italian election were a disaster. Kennedy Admin started mostly on CP direction. He wanted one going to a left to wear a <sup>socialist</sup> coat for a Marxist - & also that a ~~so~~ <sup>left</sup> wing was on a right. I told him then it was a disaster. It undercut a Social Demov, because it then became a centrist party and people voting left had to go to a Socialist. It also pushed a liberal out to a right. Kennedy also took visits out of Italy after 2 years & after a right wing CD's had won a bitter fight w/ Communists & socialists (Gave the election results) over their installation. These liberals were practically wiped out.

We will have a complement sit in Italy. This Compt will not come into conflict with our elections

K Well... The Socialists will demand more to form a govt & a Soc. Demov may not go along.

P It will hurt Comfoni.

K Yes. ~~And~~ And Rumor. Won't hurt him because he suggests going to - left. So no count around ~~comfoni~~. It will have a trifl off it.

DECLASSIFIED  
EO 12958 (as amended) SEC 3  
MR # 08-825 #3  
Declassified: CDA Rev E/18/10  
Data: DIA Date: 01/14/10



P Wrote this sent a other letters - Schmidt, etc.

K Yes. If Brooks does this and in general elections, Christians will have to be admitted to a govt. The CDU party is not a single party. Some of a left wing is not least only because they are Catholic. Kennedy was responsible for this - and basically set up a legit. of a SPD in Germany. And we are now doing something in GDR.

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

On a MLE, I saw a link (Gorbachev's delegation to Robin Driskell). They announced another settlement on German Reunification. That is provocation. Robin said at airport he brought E projects but they weren't enough. Gromyko's reaction is very favorable - so much so that he thinks it may start sequence of events which we must think thru.

P I will talk to him this afternoon.

K Here is Sandinista & an illness of Barbara photo. (Handed card).

I met w/ 15 students on the OECD/IEA speech. Got <sup>blood</sup> strong pro-Sandinista. Got good reaction but weak from conservatives.

P I had breakfast w/ Hugh Scott. Goring or going & Co. He asked if they could talk to me about trade. He said how about a letter to Alfonso saying asking if any action couldn't be taken. Janits was resisted by Jackson behavior toward Canadian - said he was harboring him.

P Jackson is desperate. He's got money but going nowhere. Not going up in girls.

I told Hugh Deverell Park & you about Carter: an  
they would have specifics by then ~~but~~ soon.

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

P Looks like we will have to go overall.

K I understand & spill any information -

On T, our representations have worked. They have  
asked for formal negotiations of all matters - beg.  
on July 15. It's not a stupid move, cause if we  
do something they can claim.

Issue Cebuilles today & would be losing an leverage.

I would be careful about promising settlement if  
it doesn't happen. Say only way is to put them under  
obligation by lifting embargo.

P I think you'd better summarize

K I could do that and c T domestic sit.

(Discussion of who was coming to mtg)

P Let's see what they come up w/

K Yes. I think it's better for us to offer nothing  
just tell them our pvt.

Ford is unhappy about what he calls our preplanning  
on mil equip, at some time we were bragging about  
what we going to I. (Reads cable about Ford  
complaining about status of eng)

P Is it true.

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



CML Chments - Parents demand action

Mag & others - See Fuchs tell them what we doing  
on board

the open of a boudary.

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

K Major Govt can talk to Witten.

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

(Discussion of course under  
markings)

