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.
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.]
K. Peter is trying to make something from different statements. There is some movement and everyone should send them as late as possible except the last one being the best. Let them private areas.

P. Success didn't have much to say. I can mention it at my request, P.C.

K. The situation in Africa was a disaster. Kennedy asked for help from Fidel Castro. He would accept it as a last resort. The Cubans offered a lot that everyone was sure was a mist. I told him then it was a disaster.

It involved a social issue because it was becoming a central party and people were tight. We didn't go to a socialist. It also pushed a third out of sight. Kennedy also took missiles out of Italy after 2 years. After a night meeting, the White House would control the situation. The White House was practically resigned.

We will have a complaint act in Italy. This does not come with a sell.

P. War is always.

K. We are... The Sr. Castro will demand more. We have just a few days now. Don't play.
P: Wait this came from another place - Schmidt, etc.

K: Yes, if Schmidt is wrote in small letters, it will be admitted to a party. The C.P.

party is not a single party. Even if a party is not exactly because they and Castro don't

ever recognize this - and basically what I'm saying is that this is C.P.R.
The election is a climate in which by Schmidt is forced

or Schmidt is in a corner.

© uncate, I can write Greta Fisher's signature

on Schmidt. They announced another settlement

on Greta Fisher. That is possible. Schmidt said

at some time in the past I signed it myself but they would deny

Greta Fisher's signature anywhere as soon as

that he thinks it may start - meaning events

which we must think them.

P: I will talk to him this afternoon.

K: Here is Sandra's reaction to an article of Helena-

photography (early 1900s).

I went up from the O.S. and she got

through the television. Got good reactions last week

from her reactions.

P: Isn't that protest? Can't we find something to do.

He asked if they could talk to some about this. He said

them about a letter to Allison. I agree that

of any action considered the letter. Janis was worried

by Jackson. Helena found Cameron read

the more incriminating him.
P. Jackson is desperate. He said many times, "tell your lawyer to go and set things right." He's afraid that the court will rule against him in his case. I still think the judge will stay with his decision. I mean, would you want to justice to be done if the judge reversed his decision? On the other hand, we should play it straight and be sure we don't waste time.

K. I hope the judge will think of that.

P. Like I said, they will have to go to trial.

K. I don't think it's my problem, but I'm trying to understand.

P. It's better to have a straightened mind. I can't do anything.

K. I can't do that until I understand.

P. I think you are thinking too much.

K. I don't think so. It's not just looking.

P. It's not just looking.

K. It's not just looking.

P. Yes, I think it's better for you to figure out what is going to happen with the leave...
Why don't we show an order to get it when can

(Condition of course unavoidable

Please things)