MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: Dzemal Bijedic, President,
Federal Executive Council, Yugoslavia
Milos Minic, Federal Secretary for
Foreign Affairs, Yugoslavia
President Ford
Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State
and Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant
to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Monday, August 4, 1975
Breakfast

PLACE: President's Guest Palace
Belgrade, Yugoslavia

[The press comes in to take photos and then leaves].

President: We had hoped to spend more time here but we had a commitment
to meet with the Japanese Prime Minister in Washington which could not be
adjusted.

Bijedic: I hope you can come again when you have more time.

Minic: We hope so.

Kissinger: This area has a fascinating history. I have always thought about
writing a book on the six weeks prior to the beginning of World War I. The
major point is how the military and diplomatic events ran away from the
decision-makers.

[There is a discussion of World War I. Also of World War II and the
delay caused by Hitler invading Yugoslavia to help the Italians. There was
some discussion of the events of World War II in Yugoslavia.]
Bijedic: Mihajlovic even accepted our concept of the fighting and that led him into treasonable activities.

Minci: I was the attorney for the Government at his trial.

Bijedic: The Germans, Italians, Bulgarians and Austrians -- we had to fight them all, and inside enemies also.

Kissinger: Did the Germans actually set up an independent Croatian state?

Bijedic: Yes.

Silberman: It included Bosnia-Herzegovina and Voivodina.

Kissinger: The old Austrian Empire.

Silberman: Except Slovenia was incorporated into the Reich and Italy.

President: Is there anything you would especially like to discuss?

Bijedic: We are very satisfied with the development of our relations. In the event of any difficulty, we would appreciate yours and the Secretary's assistance.

President: We want a strong Yugoslavia. And I told you if any problems did develop you should come directly to Secretary Kissinger and break any bottleneck.

Bijedic: Thank you, Mr. President.

President: What is your reaction about Helsinki? Will the promises be implemented before the Belgrade conference?

Minci: We hope so, at least partially. As I told Secretary Kissinger in the car, the spirit of Helsinki could be furthered if there are some practical results. I mentioned Cyprus, the Middle East, SALT and Vienna. That would greatly assist prospects for our next meeting.

Kissinger: We certainly will have results in the Middle East within two years. I told the Foreign Minister we should have one over the next month. If we can't do it by then, it can't be done -- if the rhetoric can be cooled.
Minic: Is the rhetoric that difficult?

Kissinger: Egypt has been quite restrained, but not Israel. At some point Egypt may reply, and then we have a mess. But the situation should be negotiable at the present time.

President: I am not sure the American public is fully aware of the danger of war if progress is not made. I say it frequently, but... I am fully convinced of it.

Minic: We share your feeling. This situation encourages the radical Arabs and probably also the Israelis. Now there is a move to throw Israel out of the UN.

Kissinger: There is no way for a settlement if that happens. We can't expect them to rely on UNEF when they're not in the UN. The nonaligned are playing right into the hands of the radical Israelis. They would love to have Israel isolated this way, whipping up American public opinion. But I know Syria is stirring this up -- against Egypt though, not Israel.

Minic: I was in Syria. They are worried they will be left out of a settlement.

President: If Israel is kicked out of the UN, they will be a martyr in the eyes of the American people and all the focus will be on the wrong issues. But if the focus is on Israel's intransigence, the American people will not support that.

Silberman: Bijedic told me last week that Yugoslavia opposed the expulsion of Israel.

Minic: Something should be done before the Lima Conference of the Nonaligned because that would enable the moderates to control the situation.

Kissinger: Is the Lima meeting the 25-29 of August? It will be touch-and-go trying to finish the negotiation by then. We can let you know ahead of time what our expectations are. If I go to the Middle East, you can be sure the chances of success will be 90 percent.

Bijedic: Regardless of our good intentions, if there is deterioration, the situation will get out of control and we won't be able to manage it. That is why we think some move before Lima would help.
Minic: We feel this is a critical month. The Arabs too are of two minds -- conflict or peaceful resolution.

Among the non-aligned there is a firm belief that if the United States pushed harder, something could be done with Israel.

Kissinger: We have to stop short of a domestic explosion in America, because then nothing would be done. But we have used pressure. The President has probably written more letters to Israel than to any other country.

President: We are supposed to have further meetings.
I don't think Arafat genuinely wants a peace agreement. He's just looking for ways to get more power and control. The whole situation is very complex.

We need to find a solution that works for both sides. The Israeli settlements on the West Bank must be dismantled, and Arafat must be given control over the Palestinian territories. This is the only way to achieve lasting peace.

We need to consider the role of the United Nations in this process. The UN has a crucial role to play in brokering peace agreements and monitoring compliance.

What is the situation with the Israelis? Have they agreed to any new peace proposals?

Yes, we have agreed to start negotiations. However, we need to find a way to overcome the obstacles that are preventing a breakthrough.

The Israelis are willing to make concessions, but they are concerned about security. We need to address these concerns in a constructive way.

The United States has a critical role to play in this process. We need to work closely with both sides to ensure that the negotiations are successful.

In the meantime, we need to provide humanitarian aid to the Palestinian people. Their suffering must be addressed.

Thank you for your attention to this important issue. We must work together to achieve a just and lasting peace.
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WASHINGTON

I am sure we can do this. It is important -

I think you are right about this. We need
something to work on. I believe that would work better. I wonder if we could get
something out of it.

13th of May 25-27: Yes, I will be
there for the inauguration. It will be

19th of May: I am not sure how long
we can do this. I am not sure if we have
time for all of this.

23rd of May: I am not sure if we can do
this. I am not sure if we have time for all
of this.

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I am not sure if we can do this. I am not sure if we have
time for all of this.

I am not sure if we can do this. I am not sure if we have
time for all of this.

16th of June: I am not sure if we can do
this. I am not sure if we have time for all
of this.

Supposed to have a big meeting.

In March, we can have a big meeting.

I am not sure if we can do this. I am not sure if we have
time for all of this.

I am not sure if we can do this. I am not sure if we have
time for all of this.