

Scowcroft file

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

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.

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.

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DECLASSIFIED
 E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
 NSC MEMO, MAR 80, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Dep. Sec. 3/11/04
 BY Ma, NARA, DATE 5/12/04

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 I have just heard that Turkey has withdrawn from the joint exercises.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.

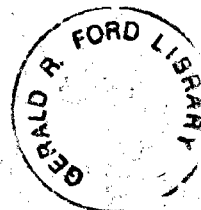
We heard today of a coup attempt in Greece.

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."



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.



+3
P/L was/K/Rumerfeld/Bruce

24 Feb 75

Pres in

L First time down in Oval office was with Truman
(Chat - chat) Ben Roper(?)

Pres out

P When I was in Cong I represented more of Dutch
disobedience than any other Congressman. I represented
Hollander, Zerkow - right down the line.

L Any day how grateful we are to be recalled. Know
how valuable your time but I think it imp. that
Secy Gen for time to time had contact w/ heads of state.

P I have heard wonderful things about you from K & R and
happy to meet you.

L We are at a dip period. Every country seems to
be governed by a obligation. Greatest thing de Gaulle
did was to allow France to be governed. Parliament
should rule but not get into details. French
govt paralyzed. I have just heard T has w/drawn
from joint exercises. Turkey gave up a E med. In Italy,
troops are being taken (60,000) from active units
to reserves. Canada weaker & weaker. Pay up 60% but
not budget.

The whole Alliance very much weakened by what
happened in Turkey. Should I use strong language
w/ FA bodies? I want to talk about deoffection
in NATO & effect on G + T

P I didn't hear your plan, but - I was going to
suggest it. A visit from outside would be very
valuable. I think there is something for turnaround
The cutoff has had a opposite effect. Burke Hill
finds it difficult to advise itself, yet a factored
What is such any should, for benefit of all.

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E.O. 13526, SEC. 3.6

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Review 3/11/04
BY , NARA, DATE 5/13/04



Innocent Kuperman would testify from ~~an~~ outside
front of window.

K I saw B, S + R. I will ask that they see Burns
& Burns. ~~Then~~ we heard today of a ~~very~~ attempt
in Geneva.

L I not surprised. I have warned this would happen.

R This undermines Kasa. But Bral. say you
saying. Fact is Kasa can't ask us to join and to Tank.

L If there is a ^{on paper} formula acceptable to Com, I
would talk to T + T.

K The Tanks won't talk before hand.

P We are trying to have a woman introduced tomorrow.
We have full copy ~~in~~ of leaders in Senate and good
support in House. If we could get this thru this
week, it would allow us to go forward.

There has been a change in press ~~to~~ & somewhat
in ~~the~~ out all.

K All you bring press copy

K Yes. But Banks say I can't speak in favor of
Tanks. Tanks if I can't say US is not violating Charter.
I say it is not an obligation what parity ~~is~~ must
be done.

H Tragedy is ~~to~~ pro-Banks are forming a coalition
for Geneva.

P Anything you can do in next 48 hrs in House
or Senate would be very helpful.

L I see Spokeman, Humphrey, per very Tanks.

Burns How about Agnew by tonight

P That would be very helpful

L Despite of Brisard & Sauerbrun and other others. All
are much well known. Brisard friendly to US
based w/ Martinique, not at all opposed to NATO

H - your impression he wants to get closer - also on energy.

K I got some impression

P And I gave Martinique.

L Their fleet will move to Med.

French are working well w/ Hodge. ~~French part~~ They put a good show.

US ~~air traffic~~ air traffic attached toward Holland, Norway (Zotro). If these lines go out of business it will hurt badly. US looks mostly at a size of a country to judge size of traffic.

It would be a big blow to Dutch if ^{of operations} your plans would be successful, Holland is very imp. to the US

K I have asked CAB not to make final decision w/o your seeing it.

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

L I told Soares he would come on his eight, He couldn't resist a coast by himself.

P What could we do?

L I think you must speak out about what is happening. I think Fr. will also. You should support Spain.

K I agree. Sat in Spain is very convenient.

L In worst of cases, we risk being a whole another tier. Fortunately, something usually turns up to play on the S.U. also.

In NATO we also worried about Yugoslavia. In 65, Romanian Amb asked what NATO do if Romania attacked like Czech. I said nothing. Yugoslav Amb asked same. For me, I said if you can talk out Gorbachev, maybe, if only 10 days, nothing.

K Danger is - Suss will use one region against another to break up a country.

L But the Army does not want a country to break up.

K Possibility of an still crisis in Yugoslavia is my quest.

L Rom. Amb then said he happy about 2 Oct / Yugoslav Amb - which shows that there are arrangements let it.

K Any talk on M.B.F.R.

L S.U. has proposal = reduction, which not reasonable.

The two main fear issue is described. Several fears are numerous that you will weaken a shield. Your efforts seem to be on that wings, but a part in Nato is technical.

I don't think S.U. will plan a war in Nato. The outcome is too uncertain.

I think S.U. will want to see outcome of South & S.C.E. I think we are in position that S.C.E. will be a summit.

K Thanks to Ems.

L We must think about possible surprise & guard against it.

Y Home about a Western Summit by Richard
h I think it a good idea. The French were cool
to the idea.

K Richard to think E-W can meet & C-P, but
not NATO allies.

On some package, we want press it as our solution.

It might be a alliance whether it be presented to the S.U.

P I wanted to suggest about this spring the NAC visit
here. I would like to meet w/ them.

h The council will appreciate that very much.

Finally we all hope & efforts of K will be
successful.