

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

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.

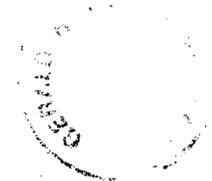
Bijedic: I hope you can come again when you have more time.

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.]

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NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY [Signature] NARA DATE 5/24/04

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Bijedic: Mihajlovic even accepted our concept of the fighting and that led him into treasonable activities.

Minic: 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?

Minic: 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.

P/Bijedic

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Pues

P We had hoped to spend more time here but we had contract to Japs which can't not be adjusted.

i I hope you can come again when you have more time.

M We hope so

K This area has fascinating history - I have always thought about writing a book on a barbaric war. The major point is how wild & bloody events seem away from a discussion matters.

(Discussion of WWII)

(Also of WWII & the delay caused by Hitler invading Yugo to help - Italians.)

Same discussion of WWII in Yugo

Yugoslavia never accepted our concept of a fighting & that had been with treasonable activities.

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M I was a attorney for a court at his trial

B Germans, Italian, Bulgars, Austrians - we had to forget them all & inside ourselves also.

K Did Germans actually set up indpt Croatian state?

B Yes.

Silberman. It included B-H, Yugoslavia.

K The old Austrian Empire

S Except Slovenia was incorporated with - Ruth + Italy.

P Is there anything you would expect to discuss?

B We were rather w/ client w/ relations. We wanted any clip, we would give you & keep a record.

P We want a strong Yugo group & told you if any prob did help you should come directly to K & back on bottlenecks.

B Thank you.

P What is your reaction about HNK?

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/2/49, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Review 3/10/04

BY JK, NARA, DATE 5/24/14

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will - promises be implemented
before Belgrade camp?

M We hope so, at least partially.
As I told K in a car, a spirit of
Helsinki would be fruitful if some
practical results. I mentioned Cyprus,
ME, SECT, Vietnam. That would
generally assist projects for some
inst. inst.

K We certainly will have results
in ME w/in 2 yrs.

I told FM we should have another
a next week. If can't do it by
then, can't be done - if - situation
can be cooled.

M Is the rhetoric that dry?

K E has been quite restrained, but
not I. At some point E may
reply & then we have a press.
But a text should be negotiable
at present times.

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P I don't think Am public fully aware
of danger of arm if prop not made.
I say it frequently, but... I
~~don't~~ fully convinced of it.

M we share your feeling. This set
encourages a radical Arab front
also - I. Now a move to throw I
out of UN

K The way for settlement if that happens.
Can't expect them to rely on UNCT
when not in UN. We shouldn't be
playing right into hand of radical I's.
They would have to have 5 resolved
this way, ~~to~~ ~~clipping~~ up US pub
opinion. But I know Syria stirring
this up - against E tho, not I.

M I was in Syria. They are convinced
they will be left out of a settlement

P If E kicked out of UN, they will be
a martyr in eyes of Am people &
forces will have many issues. But

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if a focus is on I intramergence, -
then people will not support that.

S Bigelow told me last week that
Yungo opposed expansion of I.

M Something should be done before Lima
because that would enable a committee
to control a set.

I Dec ^{Lima} 25-29 Aug? It will be
tough to go trying to finish it by then.
We can let you know ahead of time
what our expectations are. If I go to
ME, you can be sure a chance of
success will be 90%.

B Regardless of our past contributions, if
there is determination, a set will
get out of control & we won't be able
to manage it. That's why we think
you need help before Lima would
help. ~~or~~

M We feel this is a critical month.
The Arabs too are of 2 minds -
either it or peaceful resolution.

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M Among a non-aligned there is a
firm belief that if US postal handles
something could be done w/I.

K We have to stop that of domestic
expansion in Am, cause then nothing
would be done. But we have used
pressure - Plus you've written more letters
to I than any other country.

P Supposed to have for two planning.