

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford  
Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State  
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Monday, July 26, 1976  
9:22 - 10:30 a.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

Kissinger: I want to talk about Silberman. I think he wants to stage another Moynihan. I didn't know there were any differences between him and the East European desk on the Toth case, except that we wanted to make representations quietly and he wanted to do it publicly. Quietly I thought was more likely to get results.

I talked to Silberman twice in Paris and he said he was reassured. But now he has really erupted. We had made 45 representations on Toth. Two months ago they said they would release him. That same day Silberman attacked Yugoslavia on the Toth case. He couldn't have known, but he shouldn't attack his host government without telling us. Now he has stories in the paper that the Department is soft on the East Europeans.

You know our policy on Yugoslavia: They are shits, but we may have a fight when Tito dies, and if we blacken them now, we will be in a poor public position to support them.

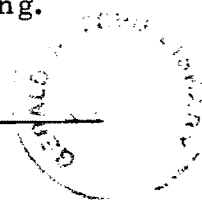
Scowcroft: I thought about sending him a cable saying he is hurting only the President.

The President: I like that, except I hate to have anything in writing.

CLASSIFIED BY Brent Scowcroft  
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION  
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652  
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5(b)(3)  
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON Imp. to Det.

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DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 12958, DEC. 31, 2004  
NSC MEMO, 11/14/76, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES State Review 3/13/04  
BY JM NARA DATE 7/22/04



Scowcroft: Not without the Yugoslavians knowing.

The President: Let's just lie low and let it blow over.

Kissinger: I think that is best.

On the CSCE commission, I seriously doubt its constitutionality. My temporary appointment will be Monroe Leigh. The problem is we might have to testify in front of our subordinates. We could get someone from the outside, so we wouldn't be tied in so closely. There is a built-in potential of conflict with you.

Scowcroft: The other Departments plan to nominate substantive people.

The President: Could we find out?

Kissinger: I think it is an impossible situation. But if we appoint legal advisors, they could address only the legal aspects and it would avoid a policy confrontation.

The President: The other night Dobrynin came up and asked what my intentions were on SALT.

Kissinger: Did he take the initiative?

The President: Yes.

Kissinger: The sly bastard said you raised it. He asked me if he should report it. I said sure as long as he didn't say you promised an agreement -- only a good faith effort.

The Beirut evacuation is proceeding routinely. I don't see any problems. The Soviets are not making any overt action. I don't really see what they can realistically do.

I am seeing Botha this morning. If we can get the British going, we should have this package put together soon.

The President: Brent told you what Callaghan told me.

Kissinger: Yes. One other problem is that Nyerere may be backing off. That is the key. If the blacks don't call off the guerrilla war, the scheme won't work. Because the guerrillas would have a much easier time against a black regime than against the present one.

The President: That is true. But how serious is it?

Kissinger: How can you tell with Africans? But if the blacks walk away from it, I think we have little choice but to back away and let nature take its course.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION  
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

WITHDRAWAL ID 018452

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . National security restriction  
TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . Telegram  
CREATOR'S NAME . . . . . Brent Scowcroft  
RECEIVER'S NAME . . . . . Ambassador Silberman  
DESCRIPTION . . . . . re Yugoslavia  
CREATION DATE . . . . . 07/29/1976  
VOLUME . . . . . 1 page  
COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 031400947  
COLLECTION TITLE . . . . . National Security Adviser. Memoranda of  
Conversations  
BOX NUMBER . . . . . 20  
FOLDER TITLE . . . . . July 26, 1976 - Ford, Kissinger,  
Scowcroft  
DATE WITHDRAWN . . . . . 08/02/2004  
WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . . GG

*Sanitized 12/6/04*

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IN THE WHITE HOUSE

0 AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

~~SECRET SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY~~

DELIVER AT OPENING OF BUSINESS

[REDACTED]

MM01885

JULY 29, 1976

BT AMBASSADOR SILVERMAN

FROM BRENT SCOWCROFT

I HAVE PASSED YOUR CABLE TO THE PRESIDENT, WHO ASKED THAT I SHOW IT TO HENRY. YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT THE STATEMENT ABOUT CARTER'S FOREIGN POLICY WAS WORKED OUT BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND HENRY AND DESIGNED FOR TACTICAL PURPOSES. I THINK YOU NEED HAVE NO CONCERNS ABOUT OUR ULTIMATE INTENTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE FOREIGN POLICY FUTURE.

ON A VERY PRIVATE PERSONAL NOTE, I FEEL I MUST SAY THAT WHATEVER THE CONSIDERATIONS IN THE CURRENT PUBLIC FRACAS OVER YOTH, WITH ITS ETHNIC OVERTONES, IT IS DEFINITELY HURTING ONE PERSON - THE RESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

WARM REGARDS,

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\*\*\*\*\* WNSR COMMENT \*\*\*\*\*

YLAND, HCFARLANE, RODMAN

SNIN03517

PAGE 01

OF 01

TOR:212/03100Z

DTG:000317Z JUL 76

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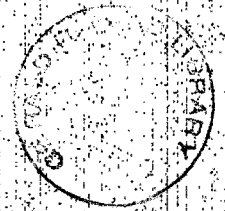
~~SECRET~~

\*\*\*\*\* COPY

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AUTHORITY PLC review 12/6/04; State Visit 3/13/04

NY lh NLF DATE 4/19/07



Doc C. Lohy - Get name printed  
was comment by R on Silberman  
status of CSCE more appropriate.

P/R 26 July 76 ✓

K I want to talk about Silberman. I think he wants to stay another 4-5 months. I didn't know there were any sig. but him & E. Euro desk, except that we wanted to make representative quality & he wanted to do it publicly. I really ~~was~~ I that more likely to get results.

I talked to him twice in Paris & he said he was reassured. But now he has really accepted. ~~has~~ We had made 45 representations on Toth. Two months ago they said they would release him. That same day Silberman attacked Yugo on Toth - he ~~didn't~~ <sup>couldn't have</sup> ~~know~~ <sup>know</sup>, but he shouldn't attack a host's guest w/o telling us.

Now he has stories in a paper that a Sept is set on E. Euro. You know publishing Yugo - they are shits but we may have a fight with Tito this and if we blaspheme them now, we will be in a poor public position to support them.

S I'd like about sending him a cable saying he has only a Pres.

P I like that, except I hate to have anything in writing.

S Not w/o a Yugo knowing.

P Let's just let him know and let it blow over.

K I think that is best.

On CSCE Crisis, I seriously doubt its constitutionality. Any temporary appt will be broader high. The prob is we might have to testify in front of our subcommittee. We could get someone from outside, so we wouldn't be tied in so closely. There is a built in <sup>potential of</sup> conflict w/ you.

S P The other Dept plans to nominate ~~subcommittee~~ people.

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/99, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Rev. CW 3/13/04

BY lsh NARA DATE 7/28/04

P Could we find out.

K I think it is an impossible task. But if we appoint legal advisers they could address only a legal aspects & it would avoid a policy confrontation

P The other night Doly came up & asked what my intentions were on Salt.

K Did he take a initiative

P Yes

K The shy bastard said you raised it. He asked if he should report it. I said sure as long as if he didn't say you promised an agreement - only a good faith effort.

The ~~error~~ is proceeding cautiously. I don't see any parts. The SAs are not making any overt actions. I don't really see what they can substantively do.

S. Quinn

I am seeing Botha this evening. If we can get a Brits going we should have this package put together soon.

P Brent told you what Callaghan told me.

K Yes. One other prob is that Angere may be backing off. That is key. If the blacks don't call off a guerrilla war, the scheme won't work. Because - guerrillas would have a much easier time against a black regime than a present one.

P That is true. But how serious is it

K How can you tell of Angere's? But if ~~that~~ the blacks walk away from it I think ~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> have little choice but to back away & let nature ~~take~~ take its course.

