THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

The President

Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security

Affairs

Secretary General Joseph M. A. H. Luns, NATO

Chief de Cabinet S. I. P. Van Campen

Miss E. Borgman Brown, Personal Assistant to

Secretary General

Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE & TIME:

Wednesday, September 10, 1975

3:00 p.m.

PLACE:

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The Oval Office

Luns: I am extremely grateful that you would see me on such short notice. I know I come uninvited.

President: Thank you for coming. I know you are here to be helpful on Turkish aid. Let me bring you up to date. John Rhodes asked me to call the Speaker to try to get a rule. I did and he said okay, but Morgan and Zablocki had asked for holding it up. I called Doc and he said he didn't want it brought up until the NATO Parliamentary group came back.

<u>Kissinger:</u> But they are not leaving until Thursday. We could get it beforehand. If they vote on the 29th or 30th, we are probably okay, but Demirel will be under pressure to do something.

<u>President:</u> If we could get a rule this week, then we could hold it, or maybe program it next Wednesday or Thursday.

Luns: The Turks approached me Sunday and I decided to go on Wednesday.

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HENRY A. KISSINGER

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You should know that the Sinai agreement has made a tremendous impression on your allies and neutrals in Europe. It is very significant, because all of us realize what would be the case if it failed. It also improves the image of the United States as a country that is not seeking hegemony but peace. The Soviet Union is appearing as an example of bad humor, and ill grace. It is a tremendous boost for your government. I hope your people see it the same way.

<u>President:</u> In general here it is the same. Ecevit's comments were favorable. We expect about 75 votes in the Senate. In the House, the situation is different because of the opposition to all aid.

Luns: The embargo is becoming an obsession to your allies. It is weakening that corner of NATO and is counterproductive to a Cyprus solution. The Greeks won't accept concessions for fear that it will induce the U.S. to lift the embargo.

<u>Kissinger</u>: My impression is that we are six months from a Cyprus settlement whenever the sides get down to bargaining. Neither the Greeks nor the Turks will concede in advance.

President: Can't we compress the settlement time, if we get the vote?

<u>Kissinger</u>: We can't move before October 12, but then Demirel should want a quick solution so he can have elections next summer.

<u>President:</u> I worry that if we lift it and there is no movement for months, the hotheads might attack. I met with Makarios at Helsinki. I told him we were fed up and going to walk away. He said, "Oh, no."

Luns: Your allies wonder if they do something which displeases the Congress if action against them will take place. The Greek delegate no longer defends the embargo. But they can't publicly say they want the embargo lifted.

The Greek representative came to me and said the NATO countries were taking steps to bypass Greece -- in overflights, etc. I had to set the record straight. I said last September we were ready to negotiate. I told them they had taken unilateral action in violation of agreements.



<u>President:</u> And a lot of our Greek-American friends forgot how it all started in July 1974 [with the coup in Cyprus launched by the Greek junta].

<u>Kissinger:</u> We didn't want to make a legal finding that Turkey was within its rights, though we could have.

<u>President:</u> I think if we were to vote today, we would win. We will maximize our efforts. When you talk with the people, don't let them off the hook.

<u>Luns</u>: The visit of Nimitz to Germany went swimmingly. Two years ago there would have been riots and demonstrations.

I am extremely happy that on such short notice I could come here, because NATO could not find a way to make itself felt.

<u>Kissinger:</u> The more you can talk on the Hill, the better it is. If the embargo is removed and when the Cyprus negotiations get going, we can make progress on the Aegean.



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