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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: Carlos Arias Navarro, Prime Minister of Spain
Pedro Cortina Mauri, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Spanish Military Leaders

President Gerald Ford
Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State and
Assistant to the President for National
Security Affairs
Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant
to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Saturday, May 31, 1973
(Post-luncheon Meeting)

PLACE: Moncloa Palace
Madrid

Cortina: Rather than get into details, I think we should discuss the broad character of what we have in mind.

Kissinger: We offered to put a statement in the toast about Spain's contribution to Western defense. We thought it was better to do that than to do it in a formal way in a Communique.

President: I would bear in mind Secretary-General Luns' summation as a recognition, citing the enormous contribution Spain makes to NATO. That is the first time that has ever happened.

With this important change in the attitude of the Alliance partners, it emphasizes the importance of the military relationship between Spain and the United States. It emphasizes the need for U.S. military relationships to countries in a strong way. I hope our military partnership will continue, not only for its bilateral benefits but for its contribution to the defense of the West, leading to closer cohesion of that group.

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 determine



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DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
NSC MEMO, 11/24/00, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY MAA, DATE 5/17/04
State Dev: ems 3/9/04

Cortina: I would like more words on your general idea. There still is a large difference between what was said inside the Council from what was said outside. Here we have a specific pressure to which we think the United States should respond. We think you should come up with a strong and specific statement of the relationship which would lead to some practical results. The Spanish people await such a result.

Kissinger: Now you see what I put up with! The Foreign Minister suggested that we say publicly what NATO said privately -- that our bilateral relations contribute to the defense of the West -- without being contradicted by other allies. I think we can do that. Second, the Foreign Minister asked if there could be some sort of liaison between Spanish officers and NATO military organizations. Luns and Haig thought something might be worked out, although nothing should be said yet until we can work out which organizations it could be and prepare the groundwork with the allies. But we will actively pursue this.

Cortina: I am not aspiring to that much but only that the United States is aspiring to a relationship with practical consequences.

[The meeting ended.]



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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

DATE: May 31, 1975
TIME: 1:30 p.m.
PLACE: General Franco's
Office in the
Pardo

SUBJECT:

PARTICIPANTS: Spanish General Franco
Prime Minister Arias
Foreign Minister Cortina
Ambassador Alba
Marquis Perinat

U.S. The President
Secretary of State Kissinger
Ambassador Stabler
Assistant Secretary Hartman

(Plus two interpreters)

Distribution: S/S, WH(Rodman)

PRESIDENT: I want to thank you for the very warm welcome that I received at the airport. The ceremony was very impressive. The warmth and friendship which was accorded me by the welcoming crowds was very moving. I cannot thank you enough for the welcome of your people. Let me say, Your Excellency, that I bring to you the wishes of friendship of the American people. Our relationship in the diplomatic, economic and military areas is good today and we look forward to a fine continuation and an improved relationship in the future.

FRANCO: This is our desire as well.

PRESIDENT: While I am here I hope we can do the necessary things that will make this a certainty.

EUR:AAHartman:sr
(Drafting Office and Officer)



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FRANCO: I wish very sincerely for that as well.

PRESIDENT: I have just come from an interesting meeting with our Alliance partners in Brussels. In those meetings there was a recognition of the fine military contribution that Spain is making to European defense by its participation in US/ Spanish bilateral arrangements.

FRANCO: I am very gratified by the American efforts to convince Europe of the important role Spain plays.

PRESIDENT: I detected a growing understanding of the importance of Spain in the overall general situation in Europe.

FRANCO: The bigger countries seem to understand this quite well but it is not as true among the smaller countries. They appear to be victims of their own political sectarianism.

PRESIDENT: Yes they seem to disapprove of this relationship but I think that will change.

FRANCO: When the moment of truth comes those smaller countries will face the dangers. They do not seem to have any fighting or defense spirit and I believe they are infiltrated by Communists.

PRESIDENT: I agree that the Communist threat is still serious and that is why in Brussels I stated that defense contributions are still necessary and that your contribution is significant for the defense of your country as well as for the rest of Europe. It is important for the United States to keep up its military strength

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and remain sufficiently strong to keep the peace. We must make the Communist world understand that we will not permit any aggression or activity against any of our allies.

FRANCO: We are convinced of the strength of the United States and that it has the means to win any struggle. We are not impressed by the malicious campaign in the press against the United States. We know that the United States is a powerful ally and has a record of making great sacrifices.....

PRESIDENT: I thank you very much for saying that.

FRANCO: Two times you have fought for your European allies and lately you have made great sacrifices for the sake of Vietnam.

PRESIDENT: I am disturbed by the growing strength of Communist parties and their political activity in some European countries.

FRANCO: Yes Communist infiltration is very big in some countries.

PRESIDENT: I am particularly concerned about some of these elements which have come into Portugal for example.

FRANCO: You are right--in Portugal the revolution has only started. The Portuguese people are really non-Communist but the Communists still have much influence.

PRESIDENT: The recent vote which pleased us very much showed how small real Communist support is and yet they seem to have a significant impact and they are playing a dangerous role.

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FRANCO: The idea of democracy has been harmed in Portugal but even the real strength of the moderate Socialists has been exaggerated because to their normal vote was added a great vote of the silent majority.

PRESIDENT: Can moderation prevail in Portugal?

FRANCO: For the time being we must let the revolution take its course. Things have not yet become apparent. The economy will certainly deteriorate. Any foreign intervention would go against the moderate forces because it would unite the Portuguese against them. But we must keep a close watch on the situation.

PRESIDENT: Do you think any outside influence would be harmful?

FRANCO: Yes.

PRESIDENT: Do you believe that the armed forces are influenced by the Communists?

FRANCO: Because they call themselves armed forces we should not really believe that they are. There are adventurous elements in that they are not like real armed forces who like discipline and not anarchy.

PRESIDENT: It would be tragic if the armed forces with Communist influence took over and prevented the people from establishing a new democratic government.

FRANCO: Communism will be rejected because the people do not like violence.

PRESIDENT: Are there strong military leaders who are anti-communist?

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FRANCO: No, but they can appear.

PRESIDENT: Do you think they could appear?

FRANCO: It depends on how events turn. Better than relying on the armed forces we should hope for the people. They have not yet felt the emptying of the stores and the difficult time that will come in the future.

PRESIDENT: Unfortunately if your hope for the people does not materialize and the Communists get hold of the government it may be too late for the people.

FRANCO: It is never too late.

PRESIDENT: It would be better to start in a different direction than Portugal appears to be going.

FRANCO: The trouble is that they haven't yet political movements that are developed. I hope there can be a way to generate a movement of people to protect the government and people before it is too late.

PRESIDENT: We would be unhappy with a Communist government and I assume you would be and also Europe should be unhappy.

FRANCO: We all agree on Portugal.

PRESIDENT: We are looking forward to having dinner with you this evening. Are there any other subjects you wish to discuss?

FRANCO: All subjects are interesting.

PRESIDENT: We are concerned about the general economic situation not only in the United States but worldwide. We recognize that a recession

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or depression would be of great disturbance to the political structures of many countries. In our country we are showing an improvement and hopefully the situation will be better in four to six months.

FRANCO: The troubles have greatly increased with the increase in the costs of energy and of course this has affected most of all the smaller countries.

PRESIDENT: The increase in the cost of oil has had a serious affect on the highly industrialized countries as well.

I did wish to point out Your Excellency how significant our close military relationship is and in fact, we feel this is a significant relationship in meeting the common challenges of protecting the United States and also specifically Spain.

FRANCO: I think exactly the same way and we trust that the negotiating teams will reach a satisfactory conclusion to their work.

PRESIDENT: We hope so too. This is a very beneficial relationship. Now I want to thank you for the time you have given us and to say once again how pleased we have been with the welcome of the Spanish people. We look forward to seeing you again this evening.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

DATE: May 31, 1975
TIME: Approximately
3:45 p.m.
PLACE: Moncloa Palace

SUBJECT:

PARTICIPANTS: Spanish Prime Minister Arias
Foreign Minister Cortina
Ambassador Alba

U.S. The President
Secretary Kissinger
Ambassador Stabler

Distribution: S/S, WH(Rodman)

Meeting divided in two parts. Later meeting participants same as above plus the Chiefs of the three service on the Spanish side and Mr. Perinat. On the U.S. side -- General Scowcroft and Mr. Hartman. (Ambassador Stabler will be sending notes on the first part of this conversation.)

ARIAS: As Prime Minister I am inviting in the Chiefs of the General Staff so that they can listen and hear directly from you Mr. President the results of your discussions in Brussels.

CORTINA: I wonder Mr. Prime Minister, because of the shortage of time, instead of discussing those questions again could we talk about two specific details. We should try to define the new outlook of the American relations and especially the acknowledgement of the Spanish contribution to Western defense. It is clear that there is an American recognition of this contribution. I do not believe that we should put this in a communique

Ambassador Stabler:sjr
(Drafting Office and Officer)



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but if it could be in your remarks Mr. President at the dinner tonight that would be best.

SECRETARY:

I talked to the Foreign Minister in the car and I mentioned your intervention in Brussels and the fact that you had pointed out the contribution that Spain was making to Western defense. I told the Foreign Minister that there was a consensus view reflected in a statement by Secretary General Luns that the U.S.-Spanish bilateral relationship is important to the defense of the West and I told the Foreign Minister that we would say something to this effect in the toast tonight.

PRESIDENT:

In my opening statement at the meeting of the Alliance, I stated the importance of our bilateral military relationship with Spain and its direct connection with the defense of Western Europe. It is interesting to note that in the summary given by Secretary General Luns he noted that there was a consensus that there is a direct relationship between the security of Western Europe and the bilateral U.S./Spanish military relationship. He used the word "unanimous" (all 15) recognition of the importance of our bilateral relationship to the security of Western Europe. I am told that this is the first time that this has been recognized. It was of course stated in the Council--not publicly--but it is my impression that this change of attitude can only be beneficial for Western Europe. This new attitude is pleasing to me and I am sure it will bear fruit in the years ahead. With this

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impression of change in the attitude of alliance members I think it emphasizes the importance of continuing a strong military relationship between the United States and Spain. Our 20-year effort will pay dividends as other NATO countries recognize its need and importance. But I wish to emphasize the need for continuing our efforts in a strong and effective way. I am confident that we will do so in our mutual interests and also in the interest of Europe. I look forward to gradual inclusion of Spain in Western Europe so as to form a solid group which would meet the challenges from the Communist East.

CORTINA:

I agree on the principal points. There is a still larger difference inside NATO and outside. The United States has to acknowledge different moods. The United States has to adapt to the mood in Brussels. But here we have a press too. Our public and press are not always looking with favor on these arrangements. You could help to clarify this by a strong statement. You should make it clear that the U.S./Spanish relationship will reach a point where there must be practical consequences of the American recognition of the role played by the US-Spain relationship. The Spanish public wants this. Your expression of recognition of this relationship and its importance must have practical consequences.

SECRETARY:

Now you can see what I am up against (with the Foreign Minister). The Foreign Minister in Paris had two useful suggestions. First, the U.S. could make a

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statement--namely that our bilateral relationship is in the interests of Western defense and the Western European countries should not contradict this. We can work on this and there is a good chance of achieving it. Second there should be practical liaison with NATO commands. I have talked to Secretary General Luns and General Haig. They think that something can be done but it would be a mistake to say anything prematurely before the allies are organized. We will study this but not announce anything until preparations have been made. But we can head in this direction and I think we can make progress.

PRESIDENT:

Excuse me but I must leave to greet Prince Juan Carlos who is arriving in a few minutes and I will therefore have to leave after the interpretation of these last remarks.

CORTINA:

I do not wish that there be any mention at this time of the practical consequences.

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Council (alt) 1st meeting

C Rather than get into details, I think we should discuss a
broad character of what we have in mind
R Offer to put statement in front of committee
Western def. better than in formal way in
committee

P Montreal has summation as strong summation
Way of contribution Spain makes to NATO. First
time that has ever happened

C/this important change in attitude of Alliance
partners, it emphasizes importance of a
solid relationship but Sp & US. I emphasize
solid for US relationship & contribution
in a strong way - I hope our military
relationship will continue not only for its
bilateral benefits but for its contribution to the
defense of West having to clear again of that
group.

C I would like more work on your panel idea.
There still a large dig but what could include
Council then from outside. He we have diff
specific pressure to which we think US should
respond. We think you should come up w/
a strong & specific statement of the relationship
which would lead to some practical results.
The Sp. people want such a result.

R Your report is what I want. The Fall suggested
we say publicly what NATO - and privately - that
bilateral relations contribute to Def of West - and
being understood by other allies. I think we can
do that. 2nd draft - For asked if there will
be some sort of liaison bet Sp. officers & NATO

will argue Lemo & Day that something might
be worked out either ~~nothing~~ nothing should be
said yet until we can work out which
aspect it could be a paper game bank or a
dollar. But we will actively pursue this.

c) I'm not arguing to that much but only
that US arguing to relationship w/
practical consequences.

