

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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MR 01-39 #10: pt. 2 of 2/24/01

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

By dal NARA, Date 9/25/01

PARTICIPANTS: Willy Brandt, Former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany
 President Ford
 Amb. Berndt Von Staden, Federal Republic of Germany Ambassador to the United States
 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: Thursday, March 27, 1975
 11:00 a. m.



PLACE: The Oval Office
 The White House

SUBJECT: Portugal; Middle East; Turkey; CSCE;
 Southeast Asia

President: It is delightful to have you here. I had a fine opportunity to get to know the Chancellor. We talked economics, the situation in Europe, broad topics. We had a good opportunity to talk substance and to get acquainted.

I know you are interested in Portugal. I would appreciate your observations.

Brandt: The last word I have is that the new government has been formed but they haven't gone as far as might have been feared. Soares, with whom we Socialists have ties, is still in the Cabinet, as Minister without portfolio, so he can be in the campaign. Also, the Minister of Interior stayed in his post -- that is important to the elections. We shouldn't give up. The question is what kind of moral and material help we can give.

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CLASSIFIED BY HENRY A. KISSINGER
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We have done a little. The Dutch did some and the Swedes did. I plan to get a little group of officers together to try to make contacts.

President: Are the military in the grip of the Communists?

Brandt: Some are Communists, some are Social Revolutionaries. Like Peron. There are Cubans among them. The Soviet Union may not be playing so critical a role. They may be playing a more minor role.

Kissinger: But wouldn't it be even harder to manage if they had a rabid left dictatorship?

Brandt: It's difficult to say, but it may go like Finland. They had a difficult period but got the Communists out eventually.

President: What effect will the election have?

Brandt: The Socialists will be stronger than the Communists if they don't falsify the results. They plus the PDP will be much stronger. Soares says he will be tough and if he doesn't get represented proportionally, he will go underground. But the Revolutionary Council looks like it will continue to play a dominant role.

President: What will be the parliamentary role?

Brandt: Their main task will be to draft a Constitution. Then they will have elections for parliament.

President: I have read that Cunhal is very able.

Brandt: He seems to be able and may be relatively independent vis-a-vis the Soviet Union.

President: It would certainly complicate our situation in NATO.

Kissinger: The Portuguese representative will also get MBFR information when it goes to the NAC.

President: I appreciate Schmidt's phone call. We certainly are willing to work with you.

Brandt: I talked to the Latin Americans about this, and the Venezuelans and Mexicans were very interested. They were concerned about the



influence on Spain. Spain is very different from Portugal, but it could have an impact. We would like to see a gradual evolution in Spain and I can eventually see them in the European Community.

President: Let's talk a bit about the Middle East. We are disappointed in the Middle East, naturally. We made a massive effort which would have gone a long way toward peace. I am not optimistic about what may happen at Geneva. I think Israel may be disappointed at the prospects of Geneva. Any help you can give...

Brandt: I don't know when I will see any of them. Based on my talks with Allon, I thought there would be more flexibility.

President: We did too. I spoke with Rabin, with Allon, with Mrs. Meir, and we had the same impression. We can see a difficult situation in Geneva.

Kissinger: I told Mr. Brandt to see if he and Schmidt can try to induce flexibility of mind. They have thwarted us and now they seem to be doing the same with Geneva -- to return to the period after the '67 war. That would mean a war.

President: Stalemate certainly would enhance the chances of war, with all the dangers of a confrontation, a new embargo.

We must seek to avoid a stalemate and we may be forced into a different relationship with Israel. We have to look to our self-interests.

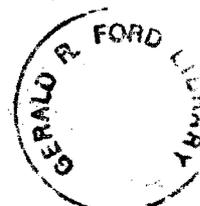
Brandt: Has Sadat been weakened?

President: I think he will have to align himself more with the other Arabs. If he does that, he may be all right.

Kissinger: We heard he is likely to suffer because of his orientation with us. Even if he moves to the radicals, they all know it is his second choice.

Brandt: I met with him and was amazed at how close he feels to the United States. He said he had daily contact with two leaders -- Boumedienne and Faisal. Now one is dead. The Vice President is there now.

President: Yes. He met there with Sadat. We feel we have a very constructive relationship with him.



Brandt: I thought he was in danger of forgetting there was another great power.

President: We are also concerned about Turkey. We are doing what we can but Congress is difficult. If Turkey moves away from NATO it would be very serious.

Kissinger: Germany has many Turks working there.

Brandt: I met with Ecevit. He was flexible but he said that as time goes on it is more and more difficult to reduce the Turkish area of Cyprus. He thinks the Greeks now understand that there will be only two zones, not cantons. That is important -- that, and some reduction of the zone.

President: What is it now -- about 40 percent?

Kissinger: Bitsios said they would settle for 20-28 percent. The Turks are willing to go to 30-35 percent. We are close, but as long as they think they can run to Congress....

Brandt: Ecevit told Waldheim he would settle for 30 percent.

Kissinger: If Ecevit were Prime Minister it would be settled in one month. The problem is that only the Parliament can dissolve itself.

Von Staden: It's similar to our structure.

President: They have more than five major parties.

Kissinger: They have two major fairly balanced ones and some minor ones. Ecevit gambled and lost last fall. They were all afraid of his popularity and blocked him.

President: We are hamstrung because of the aid cutoff. I can't certify that there has been progress and the cutoff has taken place. The Greek opposition is very vocal and there are some tough Congressmen. I think we can get something through the Senate but it looks impossible right now in the House.

What are your thoughts on CSCE?

Brandt: My feelings are that we should bring it to a conclusion. It has been a good exercise -- developing positions and discussing with the other



side in a way I wouldn't have thought possible. This is one more way which links the United States and Canada to Europe, in a way that is not derived from the last war. This shows that the United States, like the Soviet Union, is a European power, not just as a result of World War II. The Soviet Union talks about a permanent secretariat. The West isn't in favor of that, but I would recommend -- and my Government agrees, I think -- that after one or two years the Foreign Ministers should meet to review the results of the agreement.

Kissinger: We are basically in favor.

Brandt: It gives the Communists something to work for.

Kissinger: It puts pressure on them not to be intransigent.

Brandt: I would move it from Helsinki to Vienna also. It would be less under Soviet influence.

President: We would appreciate any help with Israel. It is a difficult period and we have to be firm. Any help to avoid stalemate will be helpful.

Brandt: May I make one remark on Southeast Asia? It is very hard to make up my mind on what is right, but you should know that whichever way you decide, it would not influence our belief in the vitality of the United States and its institutions.

President: It is a very difficult situation. It is a tragedy for those of us who have supported President Johnson and President Nixon. I haven't made a decision, but my feeling is to be strong. On a worldwide basis, too.



Pi Brandt / K / Van Staalen

27 Mar 75

Position

Small talk about Mexico

Personal

P It'd be just to have you here. I had piece of probability to get a loan from Chase. We talked even, ~~it~~ in E.M., broad topics, broad of part to talk with. & to get a commitment I know you interested in Port. I would appear you observation

B Last word is new Govt has been passed but hasn't gone as far as might have been feared. PDP, w/ ^{some} advance are somewhat ~~function~~, is still in Cabinet w/ a portfolio. so he can be in congruence. Also, Min. of Justice stayed in his post - important to election. We should not give up. Question is what kind of moral & material help we can give. We had done a little. Dutch did & Swedes did. I plan to get a little group of officers together to try to make contacts.

P Are things still in light of Courts?

B Some are Courts, some are Social Rev., like Keen. There are Courts among them. So may not be playing so central a role. They may be playing a more minor role.

K But wouldn't it be even harder to merge if they had a radical left dictatorship?

B Dip to 7-yr, but it may go like Finland. They had big period but got Courts out eventually

P What effect will election have.

B Socialists will be stronger than Courts if they don't falsify results. Then plus PDP will be much stronger. Scores say he will be tough. If he doesn't get rep. proportional, he will go underground. But S.R.C. looks like it will continue to play a dominant role

X What will be a participating role.

B Their main task will be to draft Court. Then they will have election for parliament

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AUTHORITY per ml 01-39 #10; sub to 7/30/01

BY WJ NLF, DATE 5/26/04



P I read that Curbal is very able

B He seems to be able & maybe ~~is~~ relatively independent vis a vis S-U.

P It would certainly complicate our situation in NATO.

K Part, esp ^{with} ^{our} ~~the~~ MBER info when it goes to NAC

P I appreciate Schun's phone call. We certainly wish to work w/ you

B I talked to L.A.'s about this & Benjamins & Mepines were very interested. They were concerned about info on Spain. It may ~~orig~~ ^{orig} from Portugal, but could have impact. We would like to see a gradual evolution in Spain & even eventually see them in EC

P We disappointed in M.E. We made a massive effort which would have gone a long way toward peace. I not optimistic about what may happen at Geneva. I think I may be disappointed at prospects of Geneva. Any help you can give...

B Don't know when I will see one. Based on my talks w/ Allan I don't think there would be more flexibility.

P We did too. I spoke w/ Robin, Allan, Tim, & we had some suggestions. We can see a diff set in Geneva

K I told Brandt of her & Schmitt's use try to induce flexibility from us. They have threatened us & want seem to be doing some w/ Geneva - to return to period after but ~~was~~ that would mean a war.

P Statements certainly would enhance chances of work w/ all & dangers of confrontation, embargo. We must seek to avoid statements & we may be pushed into a def relationship w/ I. We have to look to our self interests.

B Has Sadat been mentioned

P I think he will have to align himself w/ either Arabs. If he does that, he may be all right

K we heard he is likely to appear because of his orientation w/ us. Even if he moves to radicals, all know it

As Rourke left

Speech by T. Jones

is his ~~own~~ 2nd choice

B I met him + was amazed at how close he feels to the US. He said he had direct contact w/ a ~~high~~ - Benmehenni + Fawad. Now one is dead, VP ~~with~~ Sadat there was

P Yls. He met w/ Sadat. We feel we have very ~~complex~~ relationships w/ him.

B I think he was in danger of forgetting there was another great power.

P We also concerned about Turkey. We don't know what we can do but long diff. If Turkey goes away from NATO it would be very serious.

K Gennep has many tanks

B I met w/ Ezerit. He was flexible but he said as time goes on it is more diff to reduce a T area of Cyprus. He thinks the Greeks were ~~misinformed~~ that there will be only 2 zones, not enclaves. That is ~~in~~ - that + some reduction of a zone.

P What is it now, about 40%?

K Britain said they would settle for 20-28%. Tanks are willing to go to 30-35%. ~~But~~ we are clear, but as long as they think they can run to ~~Cyprus~~ . . .

B ~~Did~~ Ezerit told Waldheim he would settle for 31%

K If Ezerit were PM it would be settled in 1 week. But is that only Parliament can describe itself.

US Similar to our structure.

P They have more than 5 major parties

K They have 2 major ~~very~~ family ~~voluntaries~~ + minor ones. Ezerit gambled a lot last fall.

P We are hamstringing because of a veto. I can't certify progress + cross veto within place. Greek opposition is very ~~great~~ vocal + there are some tough Congressmen. I think we can get something there + Senate but looks impossible right now in a House. What everyone ~~thinks~~ only SCCE

B ~~What~~ My feeling are we should bring it to a ~~decision~~. It has been a good exercise - ~~dealing~~ parties ~~reforming~~

Start

→



w/other side in a way I wouldn't have that ~~power~~.
This is one way which links US + Canada to EMO
in a way not derived from last war. This shows
that a US, like a SU, is a EMO power, not just as
result of WWII. The SU talks about power. securitist.
The West isn't in power, but I would recommend my
Coast agrees, I think - that after 1-2 yrs a FMI's should
meet to review a results of agreement.

K We ~~are~~ basically in power.

B It puts a constraint something to work for.

K Parts pressure on them not to be interdependent.

B I would move from Helsinki to Osaka also. has in
San in power

P We would appreciate any help w/L. It diff period -
and hard to find. Any help to avoid statements help full.

B Why I make one remark on SEA. It very hard to work up
mind on what is right, you should know that whether
ever way you decide, it would not influence our
belief in a integrity of US + its institutions

P It is a very diff part. It tragedy for me who have suggested
Government inter. Haven't much been but my feeling
is to be strong. On well basis too.