MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:
President Nixon
Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Maj. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Willy Brandt, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany
Guenther Van Well, Political Director
Amb. Berndt von Staden, FRG Ambassador to the United States

DATE AND TIME: Saturday, September 29, 1973
11:00 a.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

President: I thought you would take Saturday off.
Brandt: It's a very nice place.

President: Where are you going from here?
Brandt: Trout fishing tomorrow, maybe.

Kissinger: The Chancellor gave a powerful speech at the UN.
President: Did all these [press] come with you?
Brandt: Not all of them.

Kissinger: The Chancellor has had a hectic week.
President: How did you feed them?

What, another group of press? This is more than Gromyko.

Brandt knows this country as well as we do.

Brandt: Not so well. I've been in the West only twice.

Kissinger: Are you going to Florida?

President: It's too late. I stayed for you.

We have to have something important come from this meeting, all this attention.

[The press leaves.]

President: As you know, you're always welcome. I'm glad you could stop here. We could go into any subject you would be interested in: Europe; bilateral relations. Henry has been so busy he didn't give me a paper to memorize.

Brandt: On Europe. Some progress toward unity has been made, but not as fast as should. We are working in NATO. A group of the Nine are meeting today to work out some of the problems. It could be worked out soon, but we could take more time.

People in Europe raise the question when will you make your trip? We shouldn't interfere; that should be your choice -- whenever you think is the right time. I would prefer a trip this year, but whenever you think the time is right.

President: The constructive attitude of your government on European problems has been most helpful when other European governments are not as enthusiastic or are opposed to the idea of the Year of Europe. We raised it, but the idea that we are forcing it on Europe as an American idea is not our intent. The major countries must play a major role, but we welcome the views of all countries in Europe. We want to disabuse all of them that we have the idea of objecting to Europe talking it through like this great new element we brought about.
Which brings me to a major aspect. When major meetings are recommended, we should know beforehand how they will come out. We need substance, not just atmospherics.

That is why preliminary discussions are so important. (1) To get away from the idea of a dominant U.S., and (2) to pave the way for a substantive declaration of our mutual interests.

I tried to work out for Henry to go on a short trip to Europe the middle of October. You are going to Bonn.

Kissinger: I am still working it out with the Foreign Minister. There is a Council of Ministers meeting in London and I could go for that purpose.

President: I appreciate your interest in a trip this year. The timing depends on how the substance goes. The meetings should be highly substantive. There should be a new spirit of cooperation in the Alliance.

It is important, now that we and you and others are committed to detente. This is a good period, not a dangerous one. Premature moves could undercut detente. We see no moves that they are cutting back but on the contrary, they are stepping it up.

We must move diplomatically, economically, politically, etc., to confirm our solidarity and sense of purpose. The FRG agrees with this. If we followed what some people want -- 40% troop reductions -- you would be sitting there alone.

Brandt: I agree that the tone should be substantive but symbolism also plays a role.

It is important that if you meet with Brezhnev next year, I meet with him, Pompidou, and Heath now. Since we are having these contacts, we need to demonstrate getting together in the West. If I am asked, can I say the President has a trip under consideration for the time that is best?

President: You could say a trip would be useful when we have made sufficient progress. My plan upon that could be near the end of the year or early next. Henry?
Kissinger: When you set a date, you are against a wall. The Chancellor could say that in our meeting today, we are making progress.

Brandt: We could say it after Henry's discussions in Europe.

President: And when he meets with the Foreign Ministers, he will report to the President. We will analyze it and make definitive plans at that time.

Brandt: I like this formula of deciding after Henry's trip so it gets out of the idea of bilateralism. I might get out in front of Pompidou, etc.

We hope you will visit more than one capital; we understand the Mayor of Berlin hopes for a few hours.

President: That is easy.

Brandt: We have the alliance and relations between the Economic Community and the U.S. and Canada.

As for the alliance, I raised it with the others the other day. France has a special problem with the alliance. It is in our interest to bring them in as much as possible. I would propose that Pompidou ask for a meeting of the heads of the alliance for a meeting in Paris even though the alliance is in Belgium. I would send a letter today. Under the common chairmanship of France and the United States. I will try to convince him and I think he might accept.

Kissinger: I have the impression they are looking for a way out and would welcome it.

Brandt: I understand there is a Canadian draft of the declaration in which you and the French are not committed but I do not think it is a reasonable basis.

I think we should not dwell too much on principles of democracy. If we take in too much of this, we get into a discussion of Portugal, Greece, Turkey. If we concentrate on security, and not repeat the same things we have already said, but avoid this.

Kissinger: We will submit a U.S. position on NATO in a week or so. I don't know if it will be the French position but I think France will not obstruct. So we can make progress. I asked the Dutch not to pontificate so much.
It is enough to tie detente to security, MBFR, etc. But as few ideological points as can get away with. I will have a draft for the President Monday or Tuesday.

Brandt: This is a fine line. You can't categorize Portugal, Greece, Turkey.

Kissinger: That is their purpose.

President: Yes, but there has to be some idealism. We can't just talk hardware but we must find drafters who can put it in without antagonizing those who have none.

Kissinger: We can put some in the EC declaration where it would be easier.

Brandt: Another problem would be having Papadopoulos at the meeting.

President: Do you know him?

Brandt: No.

Then if I could say a few words on the EC declaration. We are both competitors and cooperators. If you visited the Economic Community in Brussels, perhaps after the Paris meeting, you would be welcomed by the Prime Minister of the country that is chairman, the President of the Commission, and the Foreign Ministers of the others. You know the draft was prepared in Copenhagen. Henry thinks it is rather weak, but I think it is not too difficult to add to it. Perhaps we have made progress today. Since we got an interesting document, the Canadians are worried they will pull out of it.

Kissinger: They will be in the NATO part.

President: They can't have it both ways. They want to pull out and yet not.

Brandt: But if it is a common declaration, the Canadians may want the Japanese in, which is a little more difficult. But they are coming to Bonn next week.

Kissinger: I think you will find the Japanese are not prepared to sign anything very specific, maybe a third declaration.
President: We can't let them feel left out.

Kissinger: We will give the Germans the Japanese draft they did.

President: Henry, what is your reaction to a meeting with the Community? I don't stand on protocol, but the problem is more fundamental. I don't think we can do anything which puts the Economic Community here and the U.S. here -- as you say, as competitors.

I know the commission expressed the view that I wouldn't see the Foreign Ministers. That is not the problem -- it is whether in doing it we have a common position, whether it's here or over there.

Kissinger: The position you instructed us to take, Mr. President, is that we not be confronted with a position we didn't help formulate and then confront us with an instructed declaration. This was avoided by this meeting today. If the NATO meeting is as I described, then I think the Chancellor's idea would meet requirements, because we would have negotiated the document beforehand. Personally, I think we could accept it if the NATO meeting is a summit.

President: How does that sound?

Brandt: We think there should always be bilateral contacts. But you must be aware that as Europe grows, there will be some things that will be more difficult than before. If we didn't attempt to work out a common position, there is no reason for a united Europe. But in the interest of cooperation... .

President: In the United States there is the growing feeling of isolation. Senator Percy was here today. Henry said to me he never voted against when we asked him to, if we hold him to it. Is that right?

They say it is a peace policy. We are talking with the Soviets, the Chinese, so we can relax. We mustn't get the feeling in Congress that Europe is ganging up; there will be terrible price to pay.

The EC we know will be in competition but it would not be a political confrontation. The world is too small for an American bloc and a European bloc. That is why we had Jackson here.

Brandt: I don't understand.
President: He represents the view that the burden is too big. Henry, do you want to add anything?

Kissinger: The Chancellor asked that Mansfield be at lunch; he will be.

Brandt: I didn’t ask, but it’s a good idea.

Kissinger: Be that as it may, if he gets into it, you will see a strong blind urge to cut forces.

We are doing our best to stem it. That is why we want to show solidarity with Europe to offset this.

On offset, you have Symington and Mansfield who say it’s a heavy drain. With Mansfield, it’s a philosophical position.

We will have a public campaign against this. You will see high posture.

President: I will back a cut, too.

Some of the more thoughtful partisans see the danger of turning to a fortress: America concept in a day when it makes no sense.

The idea of a collective approach to the problems came during the Democratic administration, and now a number of them are objecting to it.

Kissinger: The older politicians are for us; all the younger ones are doing it politically. I think we can defeat them when we get on the offensive. When I am in New York, I will be getting a group together on this and on defense issues to talk on this.

The more offset we can get, the more it will help.

Brandt: Yes, Shultz will be in Bonn next week. I hope my American friends will realize we have been helpful on the military side.

President: We completely understand. It is just a political problem here.

In the larger context, the Year of Europe will help. People must be reminded what NATO does and show it must be changed. Reeducate the people.
Kissinger: I can be candid. American newsmen go to Europe and have interviews and come back and write articles saying Europe is repudiating us, etc. To the extent we can show solidarity, the better off we are.

Brandt: Sometimes it is difficult. I had with Pompidou the best talk ever in June, but the press turned it to a confrontation. When I was in Chicago Thursday, I discussed the alliance with the Council on Foreign Relations and they were very positive.

President: We need more spokesmen like you.

Brandt: Your country is too big!

Kissinger: The prestige of the Chancellor here is tremendous.

President: Yes, you have a big following here.

All this brings us back to the fundamental problem this year of danger and promise. If we can put it together, we can have another 25 years to discuss it.

It is good to find that Chou En-lai urges us to stay in Europe. Why is that, Henry?

Kissinger: He wants us to tie down Soviet troops in Europe.

Brandt: The Chinese ambassador said very good what you said about German unity.

Kissinger: They are good supporters of NATO and the EC.

President: We appreciate the constructive role which your government has played. You have to stay close to France and Britain but we appreciate your cooperation. Our goals are very much together. You know we have a German-speaking Foreign Minister. How's his German?

Kissinger: I speak no language without an accent!

Brandt: You are becoming an honorary citizen of Fuerth.

President: Where is it?

Kissinger: It's the same relation to Nuremburg as Brooklyn is to New York.
certain, long range. But not a welcome return. I don't think it desirable all that we have. I mean it's still to earn telling them but this general idea element is right. And it's the most important. When we get together, you should say leadership. And here and here. I can't. We need determination. We need enthusiasm. That's why we need decision and direction.

D. Together now. make a decision U.S. & J. To find the way for a secure, demonstrative, fruitful, continuous.

Tried to work out the Korean stance. Top-line. No decision. Focus. On going to press.

1. Will work out K/F/C. If/In. With my suggestion.

2. Will travel with the F/C. If/In. With my suggestion.

P. Opposite the same stand in top to the year. Making individual stand on problem. Yet the major point in that. Should it be spent? To be able. It's important to have some decision. Some decision that we can move to those issues we need to address. This is your point. In this group. Preventive moves could continue. We must move as quickly as possible. Some moves could be made to establish some confidence. If we agree on this. I feel we could take some steps with this. You could be setting those goals.

15. Agree that some would be made, but I think it also plays a role. I suggest that if you want us here next year. I want a clear, reasonable, health care. Some way of doing what works in need.
CJ

If asked can I copy these under Espoica's

P. programmed trip with a friend on whom

K. Smith, accordingly, I went to see and Jacqueline

K. as a matter of fact, was surprised

C. brand new after one hour in Etern

F. with the FEAL, but with regret N. we

B. these funds of the former in the future.

T. with the present. Conception, etc.

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P. Fronherr

B. it must all happen, relative to the future of the

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c. as for all things, would later in the spring. From

C. the special part of all things. Get as soon as

T. to be done in a much as projects. I would

K. repeatedly. Pergament, etc., to get it to God's

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on with delay

Under Chairman F. C. Evans

J. I will try to examine those and think

K. I suppose they taking from my next world

K. understanding, Canadian crafts people can

B. understand in Canadian crafts people

K. much not experimental interest
There is a need for time.

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A point to note: if not General, landing upon our republic, on secrecy, are urgent.

made. Important and has missed this.

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Dorn T

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as we said, you can see any word

have kept up then since

P

That's fine. Can't protest any point even

K

That's your purpose

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Yes but we'll be some scholars. Can't just

with everyone but must find lawyers who can

K

can put some in Ec Declaration where

and the session

B

The point would be having P. extraordinary

and

P

Long time bin

B

No.

This P could say for words an Ec

Declaration was both competitive and protecting.

If you would EC in Knesset, inability of this to

integrate national to all and their

two of Congress, P's of others. Jack. Those who've

preparations in 'quar.' It looks pretty strange,

won't think not as abq. this is. Mr. Hadd

program today. Since we get it substantially enough.

assign more they will find you.
I. They will be in NADA pact.

II. They can't have it both ways. Want to pull out of.

III. I think it's a good idea. One, you are in a position, but having to be in a position.

IV. I think you feel. And you're right to. You're in a position, but having to be in a position.

V. I wish you were a lot higher.

VI. We will give them a good shot. Congress.

VII. I wish you were in a better position. I don't think in a better position is more fundamental.

VIII. Don't think in anything which puts EC back in US lanes -- or any -- or anything.

IX. We have taken steps to that wouldn't see EC's.

X. I don't think it is whether in any way we have a common position or any one plus the other.

XI. Point you intend it to take. I'd rather we not be confused with position and don't help fundamentally support us of an intended declaration. This accords with unity today. If NADA unity is as essential, then it's clear. Is a statement could seek agreements, because we would have not. That's been preserved. Personally, I'd take the fact of NADA unity has been severely.

XII. How that sounds.

XIII. We think there should always be bilateral contacts. But must be aware that as EC goes, there will be things more difficult than before. If we didn't think it's worth not common points, then we reason for United EC's. But we should take in expectation.
B: Yes, she'll do in the next week. Hope
Ann finds something we can budget on without
you.

K: I can completely understand. It is just political pressure
here.

B: In the event that Van 4 is in, we'll help Rehg
enact so required that NASA favor their interest "to
change" the budget's figures.

K: I can't do that. We conversed about the issue & now
I'm interested with what Peter saw in regards to
Rehg's speech. He's not satisfied, too.

B: Sometimes difficult. I'd have forgotten about talk
now in the event, but from involved & as a budget
thinking about

K: You're thinking I'm thinking of NASA &
the team very positive

B: Necessary to do.

K: Preparing get a hose in tomorrow.

P: You're on a new trip following back.

K: Time to get ready for the campaign trip. This
year of changes & priorities you can put all
together, we can have another 4 years to

B: Good! I'll choose change us to stay in Em.

K: This morning Santos goes in Em.

B: We're going to find more about what you said
about the unity.

K: They need agreement of NASA & EC.

B: We confine ourselves to what you said about
your house keeping to EC & the hint in your

P: Does your go out very much on

K: I knew we have to get some

B: (Inferred)