MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: 
His Excellency Dr. Bruno Kreisky, Federal Chancellor of the Republic of Austria
Hannes Androsch, Minister of Finance
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 & TIME: Tuesday - November 12, 1974
11:15 - 12:15 p.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office
The White House

The press was admitted briefly. There was light conversation about Dr. Kissinger's International Seminar at Harvard. The press was dismissed.

Kissinger: I lectured at the Diplomatic Academy in Vienna when the Chancellor was there. It is hard there; they put whipped cream into everything.

President: I want to welcome you again. Mrs. Ford and I spent a week in Austria in 1956. We went to Andau and we stayed at the old hotel in Vienna. We went to the opera.

Kreisky: I met President Nixon when he was Vice President in 1956. 200,000 people were there. It was one year after the State Treaty and there was a threat of reoccupation.

President: I was there in the Fall of 1956. We were making military hardware available but had to do it quietly because of the Treaty. We went skiing in the Alps.

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by: , NARA, DATE 5/4/98
Kreisky: You still ski.

President: I like it very much. I go slower and slower!

Kreisky: We would be happy to have you to Austria for skiing.

President: I am happy to welcome you. We have no real bilateral problems. We are very grateful over your role in the Middle East and with the Jewish emigration.

Kissinger: The Chancellor took a useful tour through the Middle East last spring.

Kreisky: We have three difficult problems: Whether Vienna should become a third UN center. The main purpose would not be tourism, but it would be only 40 kilometers from the Communist borders. It would give us additional security; it would be an international observation point, on the Hungarian and Czechoslovakian sides. I am not nervous about something happening in Yugoslavia. Any problem would be from Hungary and Czechoslovakia. So it would be useful to get a qualification for a UN city. We are not interested in competing with the United States -- it would be a tragedy for the UN to move. So I am opposed that there would be General Assembly meetings elsewhere than New York. For us the UN means a lot and that means the United States and New York City. We already have two international organizations in Vienna. UNIDO and EURATOM. I would be grateful for your support.

President: I will talk more about this with Secretary Kissinger. When would it happen?

Kreisky: It is in committee now.

Kissinger: We are basically favorable. There are a lot of technical details -- such as taxation.

Kreisky: Yes. If we would be refused as a third center it would be a bad thing for my government. It would be a tremendous amount of money and recognition. We are building enormous structures to take care of it.

Kissinger: Where will it be located?

Kreisky: Across the Danube near Reickspringe, one of the big bridges. It is important in a political sense. It will be a good meeting place between the East and West.
President: Who opposes it?

Kreisky: The African countries are pro. France was opposed, but I heard they are now for; Schmidt is for. I think there will be no real problem.

Kissinger: Most of our objections are bureaucratic, not in principle.

Kreisky: Geneva, for example, is one of the capitals of Europe -- it has 180,000 people. Vienna has about 2 million. We need to preserve Vienna as one of Europe's great capitals.

The second problem is energy. We decided to join the organization but we have to have reservations for our neutrality. I know your delegation is not concerned with our neutrality, but we are. We have problems with the Soviet Union. We joined the Common Market. But we have to have some declaration of our neutrality. If this could be done in a way so as not to be opposed by any... Switzerland and Sweden are in a similar position. Our energy problem is not so severe as Switzerland's. We have 20 percent of our oil and 50 percent of our gas, so we don't want an escape clause.

Kissinger: This is not a major problem with Austria, but Sweden is. The Swedes want to write their neutrality as an escape clause.

Kreisky: It would be helpful if the people there could work out a compromise.

Kissinger: It is against our interest to do anything jeopardizing Austrian neutrality. Some statement of neutrality is fine. Is an expert with you?

Kreisky: It is not so difficult. Sweden and the Swiss will follow.

Kissinger: I will get Enders to work with you soon.

Kreisky: The last problem is the transfer of Soviet Jews. There have been a lot of mistakes. Last year we stopped Schoenau for security; it took an army to protect it. The Arabs knew every detail. We need to change every six months or a year so the PLO can't get in too easily. Now they arrive as individuals by train -- no organization. The Jewish organizations compete. Some try to get them to come to the United States and Canada; some are Zionists. This is a dirty job for us. No one knows when a terrorist might appear. From the station we send them to camp. It costs a lot of money. If it would be two times as many, it would be very difficult.

President: You are referring to 68,000. It is a big figure which we don't support. It is a target which Jackson set for his purposes, but the figures I saw show about 20-22,000.
Kreisky: Yes, down from 30,000 last year. For us it is important to get other countries to receive some of these people.

Kissinger: Aren't the Dutch willing?

Kreisky: They keep saying it.

Kissinger: The Israelis say they are willing to take any excess amount without going to camps. They gave us a note.

Kreisky: After Schoenau, we moved them faster.

Kissinger reads from the Israeli note at Tab A:

Kreisky: For us it is a political position. If we are the only ones doing it, the terrorists will concentrate on us. After Schoenau we have had no problem.

President: How long are the people at a camp?

Kreisky: Sometimes three days; sometimes one. We can double the number, but Austria shouldn't be the only country involved.

I fear trouble if there is much noise about an increase.

President: Are the PLO troublesome?

Kreisky: We don't deal with them, but we know they have been cautious. They have had many opportunities to do a lot of harm. The best idea is air travel direct from the Soviet Union to Amsterdam. We can take them all by train.

Kissinger: Israel would like flights direct to Tel Aviv. That is out of the question.

Kreisky: It is even a problem getting them to Amsterdam. If they go by train they take a lot of things, especially big black dogs. Then send them by air in boxes. Israel accepts them. The train is less expensive and they can take more. We will do the same or more, but not alone.

Kissinger: Take this up with Israel, Brent. The Dutch are as Kreisky says -- willing when it is not a practical possibility. We will see what Israel can do.
Kreisky: Those are our only problems. Otherwise there is no country where the United States has such a strong friend. To be anti-American in Austria is political suicide. This is due to the fact that the Social Democratic party and the Christian Democrats are both on the friendliest terms with the United States.

President: Secretary Kissinger has said the same thing to me. There are no problems of consequence. From my observations in Congress there were never any problems with Austria. I wish all our relations were so good and easy.

As Secretary Kissinger said when he got back from his tough trip, we are encouraged. I will go to Vladivostok as you know, to meet with Brezhnev. We hope to expand detente. We hope to find a framework to expand SALT. Dr. Kissinger's trip to South Asia was very helpful.

Your support in the past has been helpful and would appreciate any help in the future, especially in the Middle East where you have done so much. We don't know yet what Rabat means, but we are opposing it and we still hope to move step by step.

Kreisky: Secretary Kissinger knows my views, and I have told President Nixon twice. There will be no substantial conversion in Communism. It is an exercise for young diplomats. Brezhnev and Kosygin are more honest than any of their predecessors. On things like this painting exhibition--they had to allow it officially. I think we can get something at the Conference in Helsinki, if he understands we need to get something so it is not just a show.

President: Basket III.

Kissinger: The problem is not us but Western Europe. Each European leader wants to show a success to its Parliament. If we could get a consolidated European position, we could get some Soviet concessions. If you would help on this..."
Kissinger: I agree. This generation has a four-year stake in these negotiations. They also have the fear of war in their bones. Our problem in every multilateral negotiation -- we have Jackson, but also the Europeans, who pleaded with us in '69 for concessions and now accuse us of selling out. Any way you can help...

Kreisky: Yes. The next generation nobody knows. Also the Chinese attitude. Chou tried to tell us not to believe in the Soviet Union, detente, etc. But they are Communists too, so there is some strategy there too.

I am glad you are going to meet Brezhnev in Vladivostok. Brezhnev is very serious -- that is his real weakness. Khrushchev was not. Kosygin is the most honest and brightest. He is running the country economically. Brezhnev doesn't know that. Kosygin was against Czechoslovakia.

Kissinger: Kosygin is by far the most intelligent. Brezhnev is very emotional.

Kreisky: He is very Russian.

President: I am looking forward to meeting him. We are hoping for meaningful progress which will lead to something next summer. You know Resor who is there on MBFR. It is our allies that are creating the problem. Every time we try to formulate something, they block us...

Kissinger: Basically the Europeans aren't scared, so they feel free to be tough. They make Talmudic arguments. Some of them have made a proposal which might have a chance, but by the time the Europeans get through with it... On SALT we have a good chance.

Kreisky: I am glad that with your problems you received me.

President: I am happy to. I look forward to tonight. I'm sorry Mrs. Kreisky couldn't be here.

Kreisky: Let me invite you to Austria. We could shorten the afternoon program for you so you have the maximum time to see things. It would be very important for us, even a short stay in Vienna.

Our economy is doing well; we have full employment. We are lucky, but our good prosperity will continue.

President: I would very much like to come to Austria.
Pears in

(Transmission of a letter from Ann)

Pears are

K. got married at a church in Hana, and the Church was there. It's said that they just unrolled

Mms. in the banks.

Pears are

We went to Vienna again, in May. We took a

boat ride in Austria on the river, and walked

along the river at Red Hotel in Vienna. Dear to us.

C. & I met there, but we were 3P in 56. Yes we can

people were there. Once again, we ate lots of

and had fun.

Pears are

Since then in fall 56, we have met with

and have owned a few but I don't really know

of it. But we want to stay in here

You told the

I wish it very much. I go somewhere. I'm

I would love to have you to assistance for

Happy to tell you again. We have worked

years, so every Friday, every year, and in M. in

C. on Thursday.

K. has asked me to meet him there in May, so

We have 3 big posts. Western America should

be named F. & W. Further the main post

is to be used for both the main and secondary

ship and the main post. We now have

and have

Several very big posts, but I'm not

they were there. In June, we

and in May, we

from May to Oct 72, so it would be helpful to

post-graduate in the U.S. The U.S. is

in Europe or U.S. It would be happily

to move. So doing such that it would be in

many different ways than NY. For the U.S. mine

a lot. That means closer U.S. & NY. We simply
Companions.

At present an intimate personage. Another stimulus. Some statement I've recently made. Am regret of you.

Lest not say. Statement serious will follow.

I will put Emus in what of your.

Said persons to transfer if our lines. Now been. If unprepared had given us stopped. Passed the period. The only way to proceed. The whole time as usual by him. As again.

The farmer 2nd George. Some try to get them to come to U.S. invites. Some are Indians. It will be difficult for them. For one hour. We Indians. From station now talk to them. Camp for a bit journey. If world 2 times our many, would be my lot.

You officers &c. For his figure with our don't expect. It is a target which he put for his purpose. Best figure for time about 2:30 & one hour. Some from 3:00 end last year. It is reposition to get other similar to receive some of them huge.

Dear Dutch wishing.

They may expel it.

If nothing they will be. This may appear odd if going to surprise. (Shelter not)

With best wishes, we remain in faith.

(Reced shelter not)

For me to expedite. The only was doing it. But in order to get connection one. After the shelter will have all gone.

How long at long?

Some time. Something 2 long. Something 1. Will even with the 2nd. But another month will only bring much.
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Kennedy, World Communist (July)

Dear [Name],

I was surprised to hear about your trip to Europe. It sounds like an exciting opportunity to learn more about the political landscape and gain a deeper understanding of the challenges faced by other leaders. I hope you have a safe journey and come back with many insights.

Best,

[Your Name]
On things talk this gently speaking - they had to
allow it officially. I think we cannot remain at
least in a single offer - he wouldn't that we said
it but they say that it just a show

6. September

K. reading start. Ems. Each Ems. could 2 their
a surplus to the Funks. As we could get
a good spot of Ems. protein, so we could put some
S.D. in mussels. Then who was glad.

V. This being a rather sure, and also... 

To the EMU in the time. Important only for
EMU, and also internally S.D. Poland. This will
be a network of pipelines from East to West. This will
be around 35 C.E. 4 it will bring about
the balance in Ems. Energy, oops, so you are now
their protein - some small realms that came
from vanilla N.A. Others. Should be results
because of opera with only in Ems. but S.O.
V. The EMU wants to the within trouble not
but being in Jan. Yes, we should just say
in all time.

K. Some. This generation has a few state in their
subject. They also have fewer war in these times
and problem in very small state that we
don't know, but Ems. who floated in E.S.
from Poland, was accurate of fulfilling.

Any you can help...

O. Yes. The next generation is already known.
Also a Disabled attendant. They tried to E.M. are
not a belief in S.O., attend, etc. They are Courts
in father stones, nothing. This too.

C. And another to meet you in West. Boy
is very soon - that has died already.

Through was not. Keep in must direct
Boeing is running a heavy campaign. But they'll know that. It's in your favor. Take this for a start.

Boeing's big, but not as big as we think. They're doing some very interesting things. Next time, you know. They're there on MBA. But they're also doing a lot. Everyone is waiting to see if they'll do something. They'll do something.

It's not for a few years, but they feel it. They're not sure if they can make Telom murders anymore. And they've made a proposal which might make a few years, but they think they can put them up. So that we have a good chance.

C's always been open for the one.

D says he, well, someone is tonight. Very nice.

D says, well, someone is tonight. He said, we could discuss. It's not that we have many of these. I'm not sure if we can walk for that story.

D says, well, someone will have.

D says, well, someone will have.

D says, well, someone will have.

D says, well, someone will have.

D says, well, someone will have.