MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

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.
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 Schmitt'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.
P/C Brandt/K/ van Staden 27 Mar 75

Dear Sir,

Small talk about overseas P/ cancel.

Post post

P/C Brandt tells me your line. He had positive

feeling about China. We talked China last night. 

Brandt says he wants to talk about it at a later point.

I am interested in Pd. I could offer you

an article.

B last word on war cost has been greatly

downgraded as far as we thought it was feared. Pd/

will not agree to it. MacArthur's
tactics are still in cabinet discussion.

Pd can be in campaign. Also, Kim of			

North Korea has just won his first election. We should put

pressure on Kim to get more realistic ideas and plans.

Pd have deal with Dutch. Dutch did in

Smith's deal. I plan to get a little group of officials

together to try to make a deal.

P Are there still Madrid plans?

B Spanish treaty, arms and trade issues, etc.

There are tensions among them. We may not be

getting any material on it. They may be playing

a more minor role.

K But would it be even broader in terms of Spain and 

a residual deft. totally.

B Diego is very interested in it. He

thinks the government is not interested.

P We have not got it with election near.

B Even with. We hope they don't do it. But

we had meeting of different groups this week.

We plan to talk about it. He

instructed me to not go completely.

But he does like it. We could continue to play a small

role.

J What will be a political role.

B Then main issue will be a draft. France

they will have elections for position.
I said that I am in very able
He seems to be well; maybe for a relatively mild
It was a Sea...?
I think we need to coordinate our situation in NATO,
I think we need to make sure that we get NAC
I appreciate when we do this call. We certainly wish
to speak with you
I talked to him about Du’s. There would be someone
with my knowledge. They have contact with people in Spain. It may be from Patagon but would have impact. We would like to see a quick resolution in Spain. That means all the German in
We disagreed on NAC. We made a decision after
who would have done a long written piece. I got
optimistic about what my position is there. I think
I may be disappointed. I forget if Congress is really
you ever been gone...
I don’t know when I’ll see you. Endless my talks
with Allen & I. That would be greatly appreciated.
We did do. I spoke with Allen. Allen said, I need
and time is pressure. We can see if we sit in
I will bring Erik to Schumacher to interview
physically present. They have been there not too
recently in the town of Germany. As a result of the
period of time, I believe it would mean a lot.
Stillbirth certainly would enhance chances of one or all
dangers of reversion, and so...
We must make sure that we have a clear relationship with I. We have to talk to him
We talk tomorrow.
I think he will have to sign himself some of the
notes. If he does that, it may be all right.
I can send him is much to myself because of his
inertia. Some of his words to re-type, all have it
is his own real choice.

B. I want him to see England at home close to the

US. We can lead talks on the subject of a future

Europe. Can France, now on its side, VP still

make sense?

P. Yes. The next CF can be a state here and have very constructive

relations with us.

B. I don't see in dangers of forgetting these ever again.

Great pressure.

P. We also were told that Turkey will do whatever

can help the situation. 

If Turkey can't act from

NATO it would be very serious.

K. Germany has many Turks

B. I think of Europe, he was flexible but he still remains

in the same mind. He would move to a June or June

September. Greeks are concerned that there will

already 2 years, not 1, of talks. That is unjust. That

is some short of a year.

P. What is it now, about 40%

K. It has said they would settle for 20-25%. Turks

would settle for 20-25%. 

B. We are close, but our

aim is they think they can reach a Cajor...

K. If Europe will not be settled in 1 year, it is

that only fundamental decisions affect itself.

V.S. Similar to our situation.

P. They have more than 5,000 points.

K. They have 2 main proposals that involve

Europe, one to be last fall.

P. We have minimum guarantees of

Europe and that is in the lead

the European Parliament and

the European Parliament is in the lead. 

I think we can get results by the end of June, and

we can use an array. What is going to be the

future in Europe? What is going to be the

future in Europe? What is going to be the

future in Europe?

B. A very feeling, and we should bring it to a

conclusion. It has been a good exercise. Clearing points otherwise
If you find - Our data shows - four and a half years ago, I was first introduced to your professionalism. During that time, we worked closely together on a major project that required innovative solutions. Your ability to think outside the box and your dedication to excellence left a lasting impression on me.

Recently, we've had the opportunity to collaborate on another project. Your exceptional skills and commitment have once again proven invaluable. I am confident that our partnership will continue to yield successful results.