MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

President Gerald Ford  
Bruno Kreisky, Chancellor of Austria  
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: 

Monday, June 2, 1975  
7:30 p.m.

PLACE: 

Schloss Klessheim  
Salzburg

The President: Everything in Austria since we arrived -- the warm reception, the facilities, your warm hospitality -- is just perfect. It almost convinced me to forget Rome and stay here.

Secretary Kissinger: I can't convince the President how hard it is to conduct a conversation with Moro.

Chancellor Kreisky: He is a very quiet man. Saragat used to like heavy wine. After drinking too much of it, he said "Italy doesn't exist. It is the fiction of a bankrupt French Count in the service of the duchy of Piedmont."

Secretary Kissinger: That's not bad.

Chancellor Kreisky: They are all faithful to their local area. There is no national feeling. It is the most divided country in history.

The President: They have made a good effort in the past year to pull themselves out of their political difficulties.
Chancellor Kreisky: If I can be frank. They are good neighbors and we are very friendly. But they are very corrupt. There are only two parties, the Christian Democrats, the Liberals (Republicans?), a very small left party; and the Communist. They have a very disciplined party. The Christian Democratic party is partly corrupt. It is too early to judge the Communist party and its independence. There are two Communist parties in Spain -- one belonging to the Soviets and one fairly independent. They are not really underground but somewhere in between.

In Italy, the Socialists are the strongest in northern industrial area. The Communists are strong in the south. The Communist party is the party of the poor. The worst parts of Italy are still very feudal.

The President: Your in-depth briefing of your talk with Sadat was very useful. It brought me up to date and helped me a great deal. I had four opportunities to talk with him. I think he is an extremely impressive person. Broad, articulate, and anxious for a settlement, not only because it is right but to get something for Egypt.

I explained the Congressional situation with him -- the letter of the 76 Senators, my disappointment at the failure of the step-by-step. I never thought more that we were in tune with Israel, only to have it fall. I was damned disappointed. We are taking a broad look. If we are betting, unless there is some clear indication of progress, we will have to go to a comprehensive settlement. I have a much, much better appreciation of Sadat's feelings; his impressions and attitudes. No progress means war, an embargo, and isolation of Israel. I see few leaders in the world who are carrying the torch for Israel. Without progress, the U.S. will be faced with the Soviet Union, Europe and Japan. That is not enviable for Israel or for the United States. So we have to keep things moving. If there is no movement, we have to go to Geneva with a comprehensive program. I think Congress would be understanding. Henry, what is your judgment?

Secretary Kissinger: If Israel is flexible, Sadat will do what he can. He would look for the possibility of a step-by-step, but it depends on Israel.

Chancellor Kreisky: Your assessment of Sadat is exactly right. He wants peace; he is preparing the ground for cooperation. I believe war means for him -- like Clausewitz -- a continuation of war by any other means. If this policy -- which is risky for him -- should fail, I think he will fall.
He said to me yesterday: "There will be no war because I don't need a war." I don't like to alarm but I am concerned he will be patient to make the effort, but before he concedes and gives in . . .

Secretary Kissinger: He will be seen as a fool who banked on the West.

Chancellor Kreisky: He will be finished. No Arab leader has Nasser as his predecessor.

The President: I think Sadat is a very proud man. Rather than be humiliated, he will go to war. A renewal of hostilities would be easy -- Syria is ready; they have been armed by the Soviet Union. If there is no movement, the situation will inevitably become a conflict.

Chancellor Kreisky: Sadat has substantial reason to be cooperative. He is worried about Libya.

The President: Yes. He was very firm on that.

Chancellor Kreisky: There are many problems in the Arab world.

The President: Have you met Qaddafi?

Chancellor Kreisky: He is very young, very calm.

The President: Calm?

Chancellor Kreisky: Yes, he was very calm. Libya has only one fear -- Egypt. They have only Egyptians and Sudanese working there. They have tremendous construction there; there are a fantastic number of boats coming into the port. They are reducing the number of Egyptians. They have at least 150,000 from Sudan -- also a lot of Pakistanis. Qaddafi hates Sadat. Not so much the others. I am convinced he wants to change the system and that he was behind the scheme against Hassan. His relationship with the Soviet Union is directed against Sadat.

The President: He [Sadat] is worried about the arms going in there and the chance of even Soviet armed forces there.

Chancellor Kreisky: The Pakistanis run the airways and fly Qaddafi's plane. At least 50 percent of the Mirage pilots will be Pakistanis. He is religious. He knows a lot about theoretical questions.
Secretary Kissinger: He is showing an interest in coming to us.

Chancellor Kreisky: I never saw much growth. They have money and no people. Egypt is a very poor country.

Thank you very much for coming. I leave here tomorrow.

The President: You have been a perfect host.

[The meeting ended.]
Perry

I've been trying to convey some warmth, some familiarity, some normalcy... just project, almost Emanuel P, forget Remo, try this.

Can you include I have hard to commit emotion of yours?

I have some points: Susan's read & like thing

Worse. Often things of the real Italy didn't just sit a fence. So do you get it? So essentially it turned a country of livelihood.

That's it.

They are all faithful. Their local area, more full. Most church variety is better.

Ploy, some made a good effort in past year to pull themselves out of jail cell.

Spain, for example, they are not very friendly, but they are not arrogant. Only a persons' shame, bitterness, (report) a very small light

party, & a Court. They have a very disciplined party. C D is partly amongst. Too busy a judge of Court, & its whole. That one is turn position

Spain, one of them, & some very friendly.

Pacific. They are not really underground, but

similarities in between.

For Italy, much more, and Spain is it revolution.

US, much more to party.

She will, in some part of Italy can still very thing,

You in depth of your... with all the

major... report, was up & date & helped in very, & opportunities in this situation. They

the theme, against person, family, what... continue for a settlement is really chance &

right not to get something. Pim.
I explained your situation (letter #3),

understand it perfectly. I respect

though you are a little disheveled. I refer

italians in my memo. Your business

determination of a true friend in need

emergencies. I am not married, but I can help you.

I am, your. This is most kind of you. So we trust in

the spirit of a true friend. I think

you would understand it.

K to flint, ballast with ballast. He

wound me for your benefit. He, but it's

K to your account of ballast weight. I am

aware, your good for corp. I am

aware for him. The element - intimate-

from your account. Men of this, please refer

a note for him. I wish he will

fail. He said a nice beauty. I will be no

more because I don't care. I don't like a storm

but I promised he will be patient to make

it work, but before the inevitable comes, give

K a friend who has had one met

K to me. I am interested. I don't want.

The Arabic in your hand is that as this situation

P think I am a great menace. Rather than
In principle, as will go on. Remind about this business. Sign ready, then.

K. S. has such a result. About the result about.

P. Yes, he has a plan on that.

K. There are many people in that world.

P. Any one with Qaddafi?

K. I have young, very calm.

P. Good, yes, any calm. He is the only one there.

K. Only E. & S. have working there. They have

P. Sometimes conversations there. They have

K. Convening to a year. They are remaining of E. At least 10,000 people calms. A bit of people.

Qaddafi has saved. Not so much a calms. I remember he wants change a system & he was

K. Tried to change a system against W. woman.

P. He is a bit of E. against Saddam.

K. He wanted about notes going on. He may even cancel front time.

K. The population was carriages & physical day.

P. At least 50% of physical jobs will be poor.

K. Total amount is 2 million. I want an

K. Much growth. They have money & night.

K. Very few countries. Thank you very

P. You were perfect now.