MEMORANDUM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Vice Chancellor and
Minister for Foreign Affairs, FRG
Amb. Berndt von Staden, FRG Ambassador to the US
Dr. Heinz Weber, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Inter-
Dr. Gunther Verheugen, Special Asst. to Foreign Minister
President Ford
Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

DATE & TIME: Tuesday - September 28, 1976
2:25 - 3:27 p.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

President: We wish you the very best. Please give my very best to the
Chancellor.

Kissinger: How does it look?

Genscher: Over the last two weeks we have made headway and we expect
a majority of 2-3 percent, with some loss for the SPD and a slight gain
for the FDP. One institute predicts 9.5 percent for us.

President: We started about 32 points behind, then it narrowed to 10 points.
Then it fell back. Now we are behind 1-2-3 percent, depending on the poll.
We are ahead or even except in the South and he is in some trouble there.
So it will be a real horse race.

Genscher: It is still true what the Chancellor told you before. He expressed
his best wishes and he said if we could do as well in the television debate as
the President did, we will be fine.
President: Is it an interview or direct questioning of each other?

Genscher: It is direct. It's Schmidt and me, Kohn and Strauss. We have had individual ones which we think we won.

President: They are a pain in the neck, but they can be helpful.

How did your UN speech go?

Genscher: I hope it went well. I hope my remarks about Germany will induce the GDR to respond. I met yesterday with Gromyko and perhaps I could discuss that.

President: Please.

Genscher: I discussed our proposal for a court of human rights. We had a sharp exchange on it. It isn't directed at the GDR but really... Gromyko opened by expressing disappointment in the FRG's attitude toward the Soviet Union, especially regarding their initiative on disarmament, MBFR and generally. He very strongly tried to show us the opportunities which we might have if we didn't so closely follow the United States. Never have they tried so hard to drive a wedge between us. He said the Soviet Union is interested in improving relations but that would depend on an increase of flexibility on our part. He mentioned MBFR, but generally. I told him that we would in no field go it alone, but in every case would work in conjunction with our allies. It is the same tactic of promising things generally in response to different behavior.

President: Was he in a good mood?

Genscher: Yes, but businesslike in the formal talks.

President: I can't say anything will come of our talks with him. We may discuss SALT but I don't expect anything to come of it before our election. We have just been too preoccupied.

Henry has been, of course, very busy with our African initiative. I guess he has told you about it. We are getting surprising domestic support for what we are trying to do.

Genscher: In Germany there has been a big change about South Africa. In April I was attacked for supporting Secretary Kissinger's Lusaka speech. Now there is a realization of the real nature of the threat there.
What do you think is behind the sharp Soviet attack on our African policy?

President: I don't think they thought we would respond the way we have after their success in Angola. I think they are very upset that their progress has been thwarted.

The sentiment in this country has changed substantially over the past few months. Our Congressional leadership was supportive. Of course they asked about the nature of the financial element. I said we would contribute but it was multilateral and the Europeans would have to help.

Genscher: I think this initiative has counteracted the Soviet strategy to increase its position in South Africa.

Kissinger: If the Soviets take the very radical leaders, and the black leaders take less radical positions, the Soviets can embarrass them with their people. And the Soviets can bury some of the leaders.

Genscher: How about the Chinese?

Kissinger: They are warning against the Soviets, which operationally means they are supporting us. But it is clear they (the Soviets) have suffered a setback or they wouldn't have reacted so sharply.

Genscher: Gromyko played the Berlin question easily. There was no mention of Berlin and the direct election of the European Parliament. He said they are interested in keeping Berlin free of great power involvement. If you could mention Berlin to Gromyko it would be helpful to us. We are susceptible to pressure on Berlin and any statement by you would help.

President: I would be pleased to do so.

I had a good meeting with the NATO Perm Reps recently. I had a good feeling about the state of the Alliance. I think things are going well on the tank program. Defense plans to award a contract in November, but I understand we have made great progress on communality.

Genscher: Leber reported on the arrangements with great satisfaction. I agree with your comment on the Alliance. Once the elections in various countries are over, we can get things going again.
In MBFR it is important to make some progress but we must insure that any agreement is not one-sided. You are in the midst of your campaign and I will talk to Secretary Kissinger on the plane.

Our economic program about which Chancellor Schmidt spoke to you, continues. I think it will be about 6 percent. Once again, may I express my and the Chancellor's good wishes for success.

President: It is always good to talk to you and the Chancellor and I hope we will have many chances in the future.

(Discussed our economic statistics.)

The momentum is starting again and if we don't go too fast I think we can have stable and substantial growth.

Genscher: That is our problem, so we plan no additional investment.

President: The British pound is doing poorly.
P: Farewell, see us very soon, please give my very best to Chancellor.

K: How does it look?

G: Once last week we have made decision to support majority of 2-3%, of some sort of for FLB & slight for for FDP. One invited cabinet for $6,500.

P: We started about 3-2 yrs behind, then it improved to a full back. Now we are behind 1-2-3% depending on poll. We should even expect in a short time to come down. Then do it will be a new lonesome war.

G: It still the same. Chancellor had your support same last week, I said to you earlier you asked for Poland, we will be paid.

P: Last sentence or direct.

G: It is direct— that Schmidt and Kohl. Stans. We have had successful which in that we were.

P: They are joining our side, but they can be helpful. How this goes, OK? Everything?

G: I hope tomorrow we hope any any remarks about Germany will increase to non to avoid. I want especially maybe German judges, I would discuss that.

P: Please.

G: I discussed our judgment in a court of human rights. We have to change on it. I am it isn’t limited at GOP but really.
You can always gain by expressing disagreeance in a way that is not seen as a personal attack or a rejection. It's important to try to show interest and a desire to understand the other person's perspective. In this case, it might be helpful to acknowledge the emotional impact of the news and to express a willingness to listen and to work together in the future. This can help to maintain a positive relationship, even if there are disagreements.

P: What do you think?
G: Yes, but I think I am a good talker.
P: I can't say anything will come from this, but we have been doing this for a while now. We have had some success, but our progress has been slow. We have been working on a new project, but we need more resources.
G: I agree, but I think we need to be patient. We have been working on this for a long time.
P: I see what you mean. But we have been doing this for a long time, and I think we should keep working on it. We have been making progress, but it takes time.
G: I know, but I think we should change our approach. I think we should focus on a new project.
P: I don't think that we should change our approach.
C many for hours after their return in Angel... I think they are now urgent that the price be made less than a thousand. 2. The decision on this matter has been made by a quarter of a year earlier. 3. Our relationship was not just... 4. About a quarter of a year earlier... I find we would not judge, but it was unimportant to E and we would have to help...

G I think this initiative was essentially a strategy to involve the faction in South Africa.

K If the Soweto... They must... They saw... They embarrassed them with their people and it was very clear who... G How about Channel?

K They are winning against a wave which... We should... If they don't have support... They... G Finally played a key role in this... The withdrawal... The withdrawal... The withdrawal... The withdrawal... The withdrawal...

P I would like to say... I had a good...
just understood we have made joint repairs on

community.

LHE's engine is an example of a joint repair

scenario. Our future becomes more

viable in various
case scenarios with can get things going, given

the MRFJ's joint effort here, we made

some progress but our current situation that any

agreement is not sustainable.

You are in need of some changes.

I will write to a company. Our current plan

about which Schmidt spoke contains the

idea to work at about 6%. Can again

express my appreciation of Chandler's good work.

always good to talk to you & Chandler & hope

we will have many conversations.

(Descries some team statistics.)

Mulliner is starting again & is about
great pace & can have stable + continued growth.

Want to own part, so we plan no additional
investments.

P. The B'z good is doing poorly.