

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

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

Kissinger: The Chancellor has had a hectic week.

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.



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BY WJ NARA DATE 3/2/04

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SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

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.

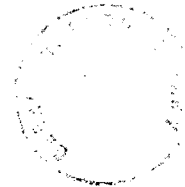
It is important, now that we and you and others are committed to detente. This is a good period, not a dangerous one. Premature moves could undercut detente. We see no moves that they are cutting back but on the contrary, they are stepping it up.

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.

9/24/73

K Ch had better work
 P Thought you would take S of
 B — Very nice place
 P Where you have
 B I was fishing tomorrow morning
 K B got pumped speech at UN
 P all these (press) came w/ you
 B not all
 P How find them?

What another group of us
 K Use them examples

P B knows this country as well as any
 B not so well. In West only twice

A Gray F. Board

P Too late. Stayed for you. K wants to get agreement w/ State.

1107
Person

P Have to have something important come from city, all this attention
 P As you know, always welcome. Glad you could stay. Could go into any subject. Europe; bilateral. K has so busy he didn't give me a paper to message

B On Europe. Some progress, not as fast as should. ~~Some~~ Working on NATO. Group of 9 meeting today to work out some of problems. If Moscow could be worked out soon, but we could take some time. People in Eur receive positive when will you make your trip. We should not interfere that your choice; whenever you think right time I would prefer this year, but whenever you think time is right

P Constructive attitude of you got on Eur problems has been most helpful when other Eur go to do so. Brothers, opportunities. I don't think that year of Eur we would rather is an American idea not forcing on Eur so not our intent. Major countries



want play major role but we welcomed news
fall - want to deal with all that we have
idea of present to E in talking than here - this
great new document brought about.

which brings me to major aspect, where major
meeting room we should know beforehand how
they will come out, we need substance not
just atmosphere

That why get public discussion is important

① To get away from idea of dominant US ② To
find the way for a subs. discuss other practical
interest.

Want to work out for R to go short trip to E in
middle of Oct. You going to Bonn

K Still working out W/FIN. Q of the entry in
handbook + speak in program.

P appreciate your interest in trip this year.

Thinking by ends we have a substance part
trip should be highly substantive. Should
be done spirit of coop of alliance.

Important word we need - only you + others
need want to debate. This is good piece
and dangerous. Prestructure moves could understand
debate when we know that they are cutting
work - don't stop it.

we must move by, less, for etc to
understand our solidarity + sense of purpose.

FAG agree w/ this. You followed what
com. wants - 48% substantive - you would be
sitting there alone.

B Agree that time should be subs. but symbolic
also play a role

Suggest that if you want to go next year,
I want w/ him, Organization, Health now.
Since we have these contacts we need to



West of forest
is important

... getting together in a way
of what can I say I have made considerable
progress but

P You could say trip useful when we have
made significant progress. Very pleased
that could be near end of year or early
next K?

B ^{When it is late, expanded well}
... 10 early today, not making
progress

B Could say ~~after~~ after K also work in E. see
P ... met with F.M.'s, she will report to P. and
will analyze & make definitive plans at
that time

B I like this formula of directing after K trip to
get out of idea of industrialism. I will get
out in front of Perpetuum, etc.
We have given much more than we expect
& we are included. Major of Berlin begins for a
few hours.

P Final day

B We have a relationship & relations to Union EC &
US & Canada.
as for relations, raised when we / K. France
has special part of relations. It is our interest
to bring them back in as much as possible. I would
propose that Perpetuum ask for rights of kind of
allowance for entry in Paris & I would send
a letter today

Under common chairmanship of France & U.S.

I would try to examine him and think about right
accept.

K I impression they looking for way out & would
welcome.

B Understood is Commission draft of dec. on
which you & French not environmental but not



drive it 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 chaos. Of Port, Greece, Turkey. If we concentrate on security, we reject some things already said, but avoid this.

K We will submit US position on NATO since weeks or so. But I don't know if will be French position but think Fr will not obstruct. So we can make progress. Asked Dutch not to introduce too much to

is enough to UK extend to security, NATO. But as four-sided points we can get away w/ this. draft paper then other

A This is fine kind. Can't outlay size Port, Greece, T.

K That their purpose.

P Yes, but need to be some idealism. Can't just talk harshness, but must find depths we can put it in w/ a containing those who were now.

K Can put some in EC declaration where we'd like receive.

B Other problem would be having 1/3 admission at entry.

P Only on border line

B NO.

Then if could say few words on EC declaration. We both competitors + cooperators. If you invited EC in Brussels, perhaps of the Paris entry you be welcomed by PM of country chair, Pres of Council, Parl's of others you know draft prepared in Copenhagen. I think rather vague, but think not an objection to add to it. Progress today. Since we get an interesting document Canadian would they will prolong of it.

X They would be in NATO just
P They can't have it both ways. Want to fall out & get
out.

B But if Amal deal, Conclusions very much in
Japan & will more difficult, but coming
to be next week

R I think you find Japs not prepared to sign
anything very specific, maybe a 3rd deal

P Can't let them just get out

R We will give Americans a Japs draft very good

P What's your reaction to WTO / improvement. I
don't stand on protocol but prob is more fundamental.
Don't think we do anything which puts EC here & US
there - as you say, or competitors.

I have never expressed that wouldn't see FM's.
That's not problem - it is whether in delay, we have
a common position of or are here & are we there

R Position you instructed us to take, P is that we
not to confront us / position and don't help fundamental
I support us w/ an instructed declaration. This
announced by unity today. If NATO unity is
as desirable, then I think B idea is all right
could meet requirements, because we would
have input document beforehand. Provisionally
we could accept if NATO unity has been submitted
done.

B How that would

B We think there should always be bilateral contacts. But
must be aware that as Ecu grows, there will
be things more difficult than before. If we
didn't attempt to work out common policies, there
was reason for united Ecu. But we interest
in cooperation.

P In US there is growing feeling of isolation in US.
Perry here today - K he said even until against whom you
asked - had been to it. Is that right.

They say about peace over dog. We talking at 50, 60
some into relax. ~~Some want to~~ don't get
feeling in Congress that E are going by, there will
be terrible price to pay.

EC ~~we know~~ will be in negotiation but
and not need be political confrontation.

Would too small for US but E are blown
That why we had perks - here.

B I don't understand

P Repled mean that harder to bring K, want back?

K Backed that Wangfield be at back, he will be

B That didn't ask, but good idea

K Be as it may, if he gets into it, you will see
strong blunt urge to cut down.

We are best to slow it. That is why
we want to show solidarity w/E in to offer this

as effort, you have Syng & Wangfield addressing
a many dear (Wang is photo part).

We will have a public congratulation against those
you will see high profile

P I will present to

Some of course thoughtful positions with the danger
of losing to Fort Chassis concept in a day when
it makes no sense.

I don't see a collective approach to problems concerning
Disco administration and now a number
of them are objection to it.

K The older politicians are few, a younger and we are doing
it politically. Think can depend them when get in efforts
to do in N.Y., getting group together on this &
discuss issue to take this.

∴ some offset we can get, it is more likely

What
Wangfield
Please
From



B Yes, exactly as in Berlin next week. Hope
Am. friends will realize we have helped on military
side.

P Let's completely understand. It is just political problem
here.

In larger context - Year of E or will help. People
cannot be reversed what NATO for & show it must
be changed. Re-education & peace.

K I can be convinced. US ambassadors go to E or & have
interviews & come back with articles saying E or
embassy w/ no, etc. To extent we know
solidarity, better off

B Sometimes difficult. Had w/ Legation last talk
was in form, but press turned it to a very negative
when in Chicago Times, detested criticism w/ CFR
& they were very positive

P And now speaking with you

B Wants to talk

K Protagonist of B here is transmission

P Yes, you have big following here.
All this being as back to fundamental principle this
year of change & promise. If we can put it
together, we can have another 25 years to
live

Coal final Chern major is to stay in E or
with K

K It's concrete Soviet troops in E or

B The PRC ambassador said very good what you said
about the unity

K They good supporter of NATO & EC

P We appreciate cooperation with your govt played
your best to stay close to E or & to be but we appreciate
your help. Our goals are very much in
accordance. I think we know the position of the
Am his year

R I speak no longer w/o accept

AB You're coming, however out of Fourth

Q What is it

R Some relation to Museum as Bank to NY