

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13066, SEC. 3.5  
NSC MEMO, 11/24/99, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Review 3/9/04  
BY WJA, NARA DATE 6/14/04

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: Johannes den Uyl, Prime Minister of the Netherlands  
Max van der Stoep, Minister of Foreign Affairs  
Robert Tammenoms Bakker  
Charles Rutten, Director General for Political Affairs

President 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: Wednesday - May 14, 1975  
10:43 - 11:47 a.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office  
The White House

[The press entered the room. There was small talk about soccer. The press left.]

President: It will take time for soccer to compete with football here but it is picking up.

It is a real pleasure to meet you. I am looking forward to the opportunity to see you in Brussels. For twenty-five years I represented more people of Dutch extraction than any other Congressman. I know the American Dutch and there have been many distinguished people from your country who visited here.

den Uyl: I appreciate the opportunity to meet with you and what you say about the Dutch settlers. The people around Grand Rapids are Calvinist and most of them left because the church became too libertarian. The Netherlands is still a Calvinist country -- we stick to principles. That makes our politics and now our foreign policy a theological affair. The idea of sticking to principle regardless of economy or politics is still deep-rooted.

CLASSIFIED BY Henry A. Kissinger  
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EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5B(1,3)  
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SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

President: About 65 percent of my constituency was Dutch. They were mostly Calvinist, although some were Dutch Reformed. It's paradoxical that I -- an Episcopalian -- could be elected there thirteen times. In my first campaign against Jonkman, the Dutch Reformed were mad at him and supported me.

Kissinger: Luns tells a story about a town council in the Netherlands that voted to allow mixed bathing. A month later at a council meeting one of the councillors complained, "I was at a town swimming pool and there were women there." The others said, "Yes, we voted for mixed bathing and you voted for it." He said, "But I thought you meant Catholics." [laughter]

President: Once they have faith in you, you really have their support.

den Uyl: Perhaps I could say a few words about Dutch positions.

I represent a small country. I am aware that compared to mine, your responsibilities as a world power are so great I would like to express my respect. If I make critical remarks, it is in the context of my knowledge of the enormity of your responsibilities and problems. I hope you will understand.

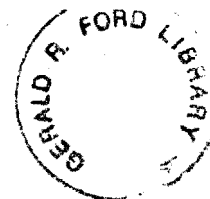
My Government is rather left-wing. I see Dr. Kissinger smiling.

Kissinger: Because -- I agree with the left-wing element -- you have organized so well.

den Uyl: In the Netherlands, there has been development in the last decade of a much more critical attitude toward the U.S. than in the '50's. I don't think it makes sense to explain the past in two minutes, but in today's situation, there are three points of utmost importance from the Dutch viewpoint.

One, you are worried today about credibility of U.S. commitments to allies. That is a problem in the world situation today and I understand. But there is another side -- within NATO and Southern Europe. NATO is to defend freedom and democracy. How will it work with the change in Portugal, the imbalance in Italy, and the problems in Spain?

We have worried in the past about Greece and Portugal, but I think the change in Portugal has contributed to greater willingness to cooperate with Europe. Particularly young people in my country want to see NATO as a force for democracy. My Cabinet wants to aid Portugal, and recognizes the risk of



its becoming Communist-dominated. But we think we should strengthen the democratic elements which showed such strength in elections. We fear an American policy which has supported totalitarian regimes, and supports the situation in Spain which would make NATO less acceptable. I am worried a bit about that.

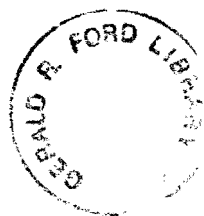
President: Let me comment on Portugal. Our commitment to NATO is as valid today as at the outset, and will be so long as I am here. If I have to have a knock-down drag-out fight with the Congress, my commitment remains. Our action will coincide with our words.

We, too, were greatly encouraged by the demise of Portuguese dictatorship. On the military, we shouldn't kid ourselves that the present governing force is any less dictatorial. The election was encouraging, but had little effect on the governing bodies. We want to support the democratic forces. But if NATO is to be kept a viable organization, we can't have inroads from alien elements, and we will take a strong position. We shouldn't kid ourselves that good behavior today will insure it for 10 years. Portugal could have an impact on Italy as you know. NATO loses credibility if there are forces participating in it without the same dedication to democracy. We will encourage democracy in Portugal, but we want full democracy, not what they have.

den Uyl: I agree that the inroads you mention could be a real danger. The problem is how to encourage democracy and prevent a dictatorship of another kind. I think isolating this government and the Armed Forces in power could be counter-productive in getting the democratic forces into power. Their present strength is not translated into power -- you are right -- but we think encouragement will help the social-democratic forces to get into positions of authority and move the government in the right direction. I am afraid your approach could be an argument for the Communists to draw in the Soviet Union for help.

van der Stoel: We are as worried as you about Communism. We tend to think we should not get upset yet, but feel we should establish a presence to counter the Communist influence. We can't afford to take the risk to stop the process of communization in Portugal.

President: I don't think we should stop trying, but they [the Communists] have taken over the key elements of the society.



Kissinger: I agree. We must also ask, is it becoming a Communist state, or a Yugoslavia or Algeria, which would stay in NATO as protection against the United States, not the Soviet Union. The effect on Italy could be profound. Our aid could legitimize the regime, this being an example to Italy with much greater dangers for all of Europe than for us.

den Uyl: You are right. The Communists came within one percent in France last year. You say you are opposed to Communist participation in the government. You know some Christian Democrats in Italy foresee that. I don't think you can prevent in Southern Europe Communist parties organizing a considerable part of the electorate and thus participating in governments. It is possible that that would upset the basis of NATO. But it is possible to have a development where in Portugal these forces depending on the Soviet Union will prevail? The problem may arise in Spain in a year or so. I think we need the strategy of supporting these forces even if it means here and there permitting Communist participation in Cabinets. I think there is no better way in Southern Europe. I am afraid you are pursuing the wrong course in those countries and will push them away rather than attracting them.

President: We can be sympathetic for Soares and his people, but that doesn't have much impact on the government. We liked the election results, but its impact on the government is negligible. If Soares were in an influential position in the government, we would be happy.

den Uyl: The choice is do you write off Portugal or do you take the risk of Communist parties and keeping Portugal an ally, hoping that democracy wins? It is a risk.

van der Stoel: It depends on how hopeless you see it. We think there are forces on which can be built this strength. We could aid them and make it clear we could do more as they move toward democracy. It depends on your evaluation of the hopelessness.

Kissinger: We don't consider it hopeless. It depends on how you see the best way to help. We haven't stopped aid.

den Uyl: Then there is the problem of Spain. I think there is a great danger in Spain of a Communist takeover. There is a monarchist trend in Spain, but there is a risk if moderate forces in Spain and Portugal are pushed away and have to depend on the Soviet Union's help and influence. There is still time to strengthen the moderate forces in Spain looking to developments of the next few years.



President: How much would have to change before you could see Spain playing a role in Europe?

den Uyl: Our standard is free elections. That is what counts.

van der Stoel: It certainly counts. Spain is characterized by a regime on the way out and no one knows what will replace it. We are already in a transition. The question is how to get in position to cooperate with the moderate forces in Spain.

den Uyl: There is a socialist party ready to cooperate with the Christian Democratic forces. I think there are possibilities for the democratic forces.

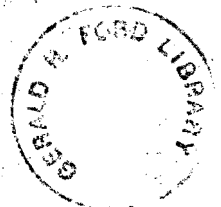
Kissinger: That may be the same as Portugal, that the Communists, Monarchists, etc., may be better organized than the Socialists. With all respect to Soares, he is a better speaker than organizer. It is They may have leftist elements in the military.

den Uyl: The chances of Communism in Spain are less. There is a stronger political tradition antithetical to the Communists. But a Communist could take advantage of the ignorance of young officers -- as in Portugal where we are paying for 50 years of dictatorship. These are ignorant people, not ideological Communists.

Two, with respect to the Third World: Years ago I was involved in decolonization. At that time there was strong American pressure to decolonize. My generation has the image of the United States as the protagonist of the Third World. Point Four, also: the US stood for development aid. That was your signal for a new attitude toward the Third World. Due to our Calvinist tradition, aid has become a political issue. We all are bound to give 1 1/2% of the national revenue to aid. It comes from moral and theological involvement so typical for the Dutch. The US is defending a market economy, in general.

Kissinger: We are trying now to indicate a more positive attitude.

den Uyl: I agree. The present system has served us well. At the same time we are faced with a problem. There is no consumers-producers conference. I like Dr. Kissinger's positive suggestion for a follow on consumer-producers conference, but there are countries who don't want



to restrict the discussion to energy. We have to face the UN discussion and how we could get the consumer-producers conference, how we could contribute to the restructuring of the world economic order. We recognize your positive suggestion for a new preparatory conference.

Kissinger: And to include raw materials.

van der Stoel: That is key.

den Uyl: But you favor price by price, but that is a detail. It is a confused picture. There are many fora in which it is discussed, like the OECD. The US is still giving substantial development aid and I think we need leadership from the US in making the changes in the world economy. I don't say the US is doing nothing. There is much bad about how the 77 behave. But there is a way to get sympathy and support in the Third World.

President: I think we have shown leadership over recent years in food -- not only giving food but technical assistance, to make them less dependent on us. We have no apologies. We are willing to talk. I wouldn't want commodity agreements to indicate that we want a change in the world order. Ten or fifty commodity agreements don't for me indicate a change in the world order -- not as long as I am here.

Kissinger: It is a fruitless debate. I said we are willing to expand the system to give others a greater sense of participation. They want a new order. If we have a consumer-producer conference, we will have to talk about all commodities. But if we do it formally, it would insure a deadlock. We agree to a link, but we should be practical. Yamani agrees, if we would talk commodities after energy.

den Uyl: They want a link between their strong position in oil and that of other commodities. That is reasonable -- they want more way in existing institutions.

Kissinger: That is okay.

den Uyl: The attitude of the majority of the developing countries was moderate. The point is that Dr. Kissinger made a big step forward; we would like the US to take the lead in offering some conditions on which the dialogue can be continued. If it is not done before September, it could become a confrontation between developing and developed countries.

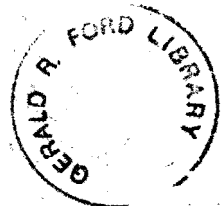


President: The Secretary tried yesterday to say that leadership in food was not the only area.

Kissinger: We can continue at lunch.

President: We can continue this at dinner.

den Uyl: I hope you will excuse my frankness.



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Den 4/1

~~Wed~~ Wed, May 14, 75  
10:43 11:47 Oval office

Press in

(Small talk about soccer)

Press out

P It will take time for soccer to compete w/ football here but it is picking up.

It is real pleasure to meet you. Looking forward to opp to see you in Brussels. I for 25 yrs represented some people of Dutch exp there, my other Congressman I know - Am Dutch & there have been many abstr. people from your country who visited.

D Agree opp to meet you + what you say about Dutch settlers. The people around Grand Rapids were Calvinist & most left because a church became too liberal. Netherlands still a Calvinist country - stick to principles. That makes even politics + even our FP a theological affair. The idea of sticking to principle regardless of even a job is still deep rooted.

P About 65% of my constituency was Dutch - mostly Calvinist, the same Dutch exp. Paralytic that I - an Episcopalian could be elected three 18 times.

~~Right~~ In my 1st campaign <sup>against</sup> ~~Yonkersman~~ Yonkersman, the Dutch ~~refused~~ refused even to vote for him + supported me.

R (Stay about wiped running pool + Dutch Calvinists)

P Once they have faith in you, you really have their support.

D Perhaps I could say a few words about Dutch positions.

I say a remarkable country. I am sure that Congress





to mine, your use as would power an so great level  
likely refers my respect. If I make critical remarks  
it is in context of my knowledge of a minority  
of your use and <sup>phases</sup> ~~that a character~~ I hope you  
will understand.

Key Great is within left-wing. I seek something  
K Because - I agree w/ a left wing element - you have  
engaged so well

B In textbooks, there has been a long out last decade  
a much more critical attitude toward US than in 50s  
I don't think it makes sense to explain a part in  
2 minutes, but in today's set, there are 3 parts  
of most importance for British viewpoint

(1) You exercised toly about end of US support to  
allies. That a part in world set today - demobilized  
Britain another side - w/in Nato + S. E. Eur. Nato  
is to depend for her + economy. How will work  
w/ change in Part, imbalance in Italy, prob  
in Spain.

We have worried in part about Greece + Port, but  
I think a change in Part has contributed to greater  
willingness to cap w/ E. Eur. particularly young people  
in my country want to see Nato as a force  
desires. My Cabinet wants to aid Part, <sup>relog</sup> ~~but~~ <sup>relog</sup>  
a risk of it becoming best dominated. But we  
think we should strengthen elements which  
should such strength in Nato. We favor  
US policy, which has supported total. requires,  
support set in Spain which would make Nato

R

(3)

less acceptable. ~~but we are~~ I am worried but about that

P Let me comment on P. Our contact with Nato is as usual only as at contact, & will be so long as I have. If I have to have know when about flight w/ long, my contact means - sometimes will coincide w/ our words.

We too were greatly encouraged by demise of P. Our visitability, we shouldn't feel ourselves that present going force is any less dictatorial. E. elections were encouraging, but had little effect on governing bodies. We want to support dems <sup>(Camp)</sup> force. But if Nato is to be kept a useful organ, we can't have rivals for other elements & will ~~not~~ take strong position. We shouldn't feel ourselves that great behavior today will ~~have~~ ensure it for 10 yrs. P. should have my act on story, as you know. Nato less well if force are participating w/ or some likelihood. We will encourage dems in P., but we won't feel dems, not what they have.

D I agree that unless your question could be a real danger. Perhaps how to encourage dems & prevent dictatorship further kind. I think activating this point & a armed force in power would be counter-productive in getting dems force in power. Their present strength is not translated into power. You are right - but we think encouragement will help social - dems force to get into

(4)

positions of another & more a part in a right direction.  
I find your approach to possible argument for votes  
to draw to S-U for help.

V We are worried as you about common. We tend  
to think we should not get upset yet, but feel  
we should establish a presence & counter a host  
influence. We can't afford to take risk to stop  
process of integration in Part.

V I don't think we should stop trying, but they have  
taken over key elements of a society.

K I agree. We must also ask is it <sup>having</sup> a cost  
state, or a Yugo or Algeria who would stay in Nato  
as protective against US, not S-U. Effort in Italy  
could be prepared. Our aid could legitimize  
a regime, thus being an example to Italy  
w/ much greater dangers for all of E in them/a  
no.

B You are right. Costs come w/ in 1% in Fed last  
year. You say you opposed to Cost parties.

In part, you have seen C's in Italy (area  
that). I don't think you can prevent in S E in  
Cost parties enjoying considerable part of electorate &  
then parties in govt. It is possible that would report  
basis of Nato, but is it possible to hold alignment

2 when in part these pressures aligning on S-U will  
prevail. But may arise in Spain in year  
or so. I think we need strategy of organizing  
force even if it means here & there formation  
Cost parties in cabinets. I think no other way

(5)

in S. Eur. I afraid you are pursuing a wrong course in those countries & will get them away rather than attract them.

P We can be saying for Greece & his people, but that doesn't have much impact on a govt. We think a election, but its impact on govt is very hi. If Greece were in influential position in govt, we be happy

D Chavez is to go with of Part or dependent a view of host parties & keeping Part an ally hoping down crisis. It is a risk.

V Depend on how hopeful you see it. We think there are fears on which can be built strength. We could aid them & make it clear we could do more nothing than travel down. Depend on level of hopelessness

K We don't see the it hopeless. Depend on how you see last way to help. We haven't stopped aid.

D Part of Spain. I think great change in Spain of host interests. There is a market in Spain, but a risk as market faces in Spain & Part are put away & have to depend on EU help & influence. There still time to strengthen market faces in Spain looking to disperse of next few years.

P How much change before you will see Spain playing a role in Eur.

D One strong lead is free electricity. That is what wants

V It certainly counts. Spain is charac. by a regime on way out & no one knows what will replace it.

(6)

we are already in a transition. I would like to get in position to say of Franco's person in Spain.

D Franco's Soc. party really to say of C.D. faces. I think there are possibilities of development.

K It may be same as Post, that a trust, or contracts, etc. may be better organized than ~~services~~. Of all respect to <sup>50%</sup> ~~cases~~, be better organized than ~~organize~~. It is unethical. They have left it ~~elements~~ in ~~unit~~.

D Changes of course in Spain or US. There is stronger pub. tradition anti that. In trusts, but a trust could take advantage of ignorance of young officers - as in Post where we are paying for 50 yrs of dictatorship. There are equivalent, not ~~also~~ ~~cost~~.

(2) We expect a 3rd World. Years ago I was involved in decolonization. At that time there was strong US pressure to decolonize. Any generation has image of US as protagonist of 3rd world. Point 4 also. US stood for ~~deport~~ ~~aid~~ - that was your signal for new attitudes toward 3rd world. Due to our colonial trail, aid has become part, ~~issue~~. We have bound to give 1/2% of world income to aid. It comes from moral & ~~Ches~~ involvement so typical for ~~aid~~. The UK is depending on market economy, in general.

K We trying now to indicate more ~~particular~~.

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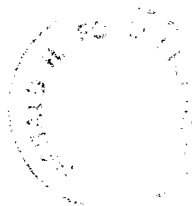
D I agree. Present system has served us well. At some time we faced us/prov. As a cop. I like K's positive sugg. for former C-p conf., but there are countries who don't want to restrict access to energy. We have to have O.K. discussion + how we could get C-p experience, how we could contribute to restructuring of world economic order. May your positive sugg. for our program - and to include our materials

V That is my

D But you focus price by price, but that's a detail. It's a complex picture. There are many faces in which it's discussed, eg OECD. US is still giving substantial development aid + I think we need leadership from US in making changes in world economy. ~~The US is~~ I don't say US is doing nothing. There is much bad about how ?? behave. But there is a way to get symp + support in 3rd world.

P I think we have shown leadership over many years in food. Not only giving food but tech assist. To make them less dependent on us, we have no apology. We willing to talk. I wouldn't want ambig agreements to indicate we want a change in world order. 10 or 50 ambig agreement don't for us indicate change in world order - not as long as I live.

K It's a fruitless debate. I don't see willing to expand to give others greater sense of power. They



(8)

want a new order. If we have e-p, we will have to talk ~~to~~ about all countries. But if we do it formally, it would ensure deadlock. We agree to a track, but we should be practical. Yasuni agrees, if we could talk countries after lunches.

D They want a track but their strong position in art + that of other countries. That reasonable - they want more say in existing instit.

R That is okay.

D attitude of majority of developing countries was moderate. The point is ~~you~~ <sup>to</sup> make a big step forward, we would like US to take lead in offering some conditions on which a dialogue can be conducted. If not had before Sept, it could be some confrontation bet developing & developed countries.

P Secy tried yesterday to say leadership in food was not only ours.

R We can continue at lunch

P All can continue this at dinner

D Hope you will excuse my frankness.

