

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET/NODIS/XGDS~~

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford
Helmut Kohl, Leader of the CDU/CSU, FRG
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Tuesday - May 4, 1976
3:19 - 4:27 p.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

The President: I hope you had a good stopover in Philadelphia.

Kohl: Wonderful. I had never been there before and I had always wanted to visit there. About one third of the population of the Palatinate emigrated there so it was a special treat for me.

[The press enters].

Kohl: Your Bicentennial is a special event in Germany. There are more than 4,000 events planned. Especially in my state, because there are 80,000 Americans there.

The President: Are they all military?

Kohl: Military and their families.

[The press departs].

Kohl: I always say if I don't win in October I can always run for the American Senate.

The President: It might improve the quality. [Laughs]. I couldn't say that with the press here.

~~SECRET/NODIS/XGDS~~

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Kohl: There never has been a time when relations between our countries have been so good. I am proud to say also that this is not a point of contention between our parties. There are nuances, of course. My party is that of Adenauer and in formulating our platform we used about the same phraseology as in that time.

The President: I think within our parties here you would find the same with respect to Germany and NATO. There is no real difference at all. I made my first visit to Germany with William Westmoreland. We visited mostly military installations. Then in the late 50's I was there with an IPU group and we watched your election. The polling place we saw was in a beer hall -- so it is different from our custom, where alcohol is forbidden.

Kohl: I think our election campaign will be a strong one. It will be a close race, the closest ever. Five months from today we will know.

The President: We now are going through the primary process. There is quite a number this month and there will be more in early June.

Kohl: It is a torture.

It is my earnest hope Mr. President, that you will come through. The last time I met you, you were Vice President. I gave a press conference then and said you were the next President of the United States. I was right then and I will be right now.

We have a big question on two areas -- Africa after Angola is one. It is no longer colonialism. The position of the United States is of great importance. For people like myself, who were pro-American, it is impossible to know America's clear position.

The President: As you know, I took a very strong position on Angola. Unfortunately, the Congress would not support me and, as you know, with the support of Cuba and the Soviet Union, the MPLA won. I thought that a great tragedy. Henry is in Africa now. We are making a major effort to tell Africa we believe in self determination, majority rule, with minority rights, and an Africa free from outside domination, from whatever source. We, in the Rhodesian situation, have been sympathetic to the British plan which is a phased transfer over two years following an agreement, with guarantee of minority rights.

Kohl: You expect this can all be done in a controlled way, in a foreseeable period of time?

President: I hope so, but perhaps I am too optimistic. But if it doesn't, I am afraid a more difficult situation will develop.

Kohl: Yes, a more negative development would be very bad for us. For us, the right of self-determination would have to be guaranteed for the minority as well, and set down. We also see a great difference between Rhodesia and South Africa. There was a strong emigration from the old Reich into these areas and we are therefore very interested.

Developments in Southern Europe are also of concern. As you know, we are about to form a European parliament. Among the European Christian Democratic parties, we are the strongest. We have now formed a European Christian Democratic party. We are pleased, but didn't want to do this ourselves because of our strength.

We have a problem with our Italian colleagues. On the "historic compromise" we can't compromise. That is a difficult problem with us with our Italian friends. We are also concerned about Spain.

For us, it is comfortable to say that the Communists and neo-Fascists between them will not have over 5 percent. So long as the Wall exists and families are split, Communism has no chance. Therefore we take a very firm stand on Communists in the government. There is a question about allowing Communists in the police. I say no and would even with a Communist Minister of Interior.

In France, it is different. They have always had a strong Communist party, and their capital isn't split. They don't have our fears. The Communist party in Germany gets substantial funds from East Germany.

President: As I am sure you have read, Henry and I have taken a strong stand about Communists in the government. It would raise several problems with NATO in planning, etc. It would create problems here with the American people. NATO is for us a barrier to Communism in Europe. If a NATO member had Communists in the government it would raise a fundamental question in the minds of the people about the purpose of the alliance.

Kohl: It would be the same with us Germans. We are about to underline more strongly that NATO is more than a military alliance; it is an alliance of ideas and must have unity on these philosophic concepts. If there are Communists in government, it would be difficult to explain to our young the purposes of NATO with Communists in it. I think it is also happening here that the younger generation is going back to philosophical principles, withdrawing from ideology. They want not just day-to-day politics -- people are now asking what is the sense of things. Many of the older generation maintain the habits of the Nazi regime. Nationalism was degraded for the old -- but the young have some of that. This is why the young people feel the way they do about Israel. As I told Sadat, it is not anti-Arab, it is just a pro-Israeli sentiment.

The Communists in East Germany have drawn a direct line from Frederick the Great to the present regime. They have adopted history and distorted it to support their purposes. Therefore I am a passionate advocate of continuing this with a campaign for a Western European Union. It is important that in this regard the clocks don't go at the same rate as ours in France.

President: We are very concerned about Southern Europe, though we are pleased about developments in Portugal. We are hopeful that the new government in Spain can move enough to create a substance of movement and gain the acceptance of Europe. We think Spain can make a contribution to Europe and to NATO.

Kohl: Do you think there will be movement in SALT and MBFR?

President: On SALT, the issues are being narrowed. There are still issues but we think the Soviet Union is trying to make progress, too, but the situation in this country has meant things have undoubtedly slowed down. The basic problems are handling the new Soviet aircraft where there is dispute over its capability. The other is the cruise missile in all its aspects. These are very difficult points which are hard to put together. I believe it is in everyone's benefit for us to find an answer. On MBFR, the new option we think should be pushed, but we don't see any way to make quick progress. At the same time, there ought to be a way to reconcile the different positions.

Kohl: Permit me a quick question. Would this be an issue between you and Carter?

President: I don't really know where he stands on MBFR or even what he thinks about SALT II. He has been very general and cagey about his views.

Kohl: Yes, but if he faces you he would have to say what he thinks.

President: My guess is he would support the SALT talks and probably also negotiations on MBFR and wish a conclusion in both cases.

Kohl: Will detente be an issue?

President: Not between Carter and myself. It's not like Reagan. One thing which does bother me about Carter is he does say we can cut \$5-10 billion from military forces.

Kohl: I am in a strange position. I am always in a position when I say this is one area where we can't save any money.

President: That is a paradox for me. I have always been a hawk on defense, yet Reagan is trying to portray me just the opposite. It is really ridiculous.

Kohl: It is interesting that there is a strong current in the U.S. which says yes to strong defense.

President: Yes. And the Congress will approve my defense budget, the largest we've ever had in peacetime.

Kohl: Why is that? Is it pressure on the Congress, or their own view?

President: We have made a direct appeal to them. Also there is an upswelling of popular support which has had an impact.

Kohl: The Bundeswehr has never been rejected, though. At the end of the 60's there were some attacks. Now everyone says it is essential. I don't think anyone can be popular in Germany advocating cuts in foreign policy.

President: Carter might campaign for some defense cuts -- not large ones. Just the reverse of what I am running into now.

Kohl: Will the economic recovery play a role?

President: The economy is coming along so well I don't see how anyone can make an issue of it.

Kohl: I had the impression Meany thinks unemployment is an issue.

President: Yes, and it's too high. But inflation is of greater concern to the American people.

Kohl: What will the unions do in the election? Meany wouldn't say.

President: They would support Humphrey. Carter would get some, but so would we.

Kohl: Meany said he had an opinion but he wouldn't give it. I feel he is not sympathetic to Carter.

That is one of my big problems. The unions really go strongly to the SPD. But they have recently given strong indications of their power, and it hasn't made them popular.

President: Our union leaders can't deliver their men.

Kohl: The same with us.



~~Journal of the ...~~

P/Kohl
4 May 76

P I hope you had a good sleep in Phleto.
K wonderful. I had never been there before
& I always wanted to. About 1/3 of a population
of Salzburg emigrated there so it was
an special trip for me
Plein

K You have turned to a special want in
Germany. There are more than 4000 wants
planned. Esp. in my state, because there
are 6000 cross there

P Are they all in history
K Military & their families
Present.

K I always say if I don't win in Oct I am
always run for a Am. Senate

P It might require a quality. (though) couldn't
say that w/c press here.

K There will have been a time when
relations bet our countries have been so
good. I am proud to say also that this
is not a part of convention but our
parties. There are means, of course.
My party is that of Adenauer in favorably
our platform are essential - some
phrasing as in that time

P I think w/c our own parties have you
could find a same self respect to Germany
& NATO. No reality at all. I recall
my 1st visit to Germany w/c Am
Westernland. Visited mostly visit
installations. Then in late 50's I
was there w/c our IPU group & we



watched your election. The polling place
we saw was in a beer hall - so big from
our election, where alcohol is forbidden.

R I think our election campaign will be a
strong one. It will be a close race, the
closest ever I was from taking me will be

P The narrow going thru primary process. I will
be a member this month & more in early
June

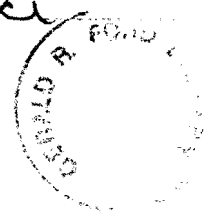
R It is a torture.

It is my earnest hope Mr P that you
will come thru. Last time I met you
you were VP. I gave a press conf then &
said you were next P of US. I was
right then & I will be right again.

^{we} have big problem on 2 cases: Africa
after Angola is one. It is no longer
voluntarism. ~~the~~ The partition of US is
of great importance. For people like myself,
whichever pro-Amer when it was popular
to be anti-Amer, it is imp. to know Amer's
clear position.

P As you know I took a very strong position on
Angola. Unfortunately, a very small group
support me &, as you know, w/ a
support of Carter & SO, a NPHA was. I think
that a great tragedy.

K is in Africa now. We are making a
major effort to tell Africa we believe
in self-deter. majority rule & minority
rights & ~~independence~~ an Africa free from outside
domination, from whatever source.



We, in a Rhodanian sit, have been trying
to be plain which is a phrase transfer over 2
yrs following an agreement, w/ guarantee
of minority rights.

K You expect this can all be done in a controlled,
in a preserved period of time

P I hope so, but perhaps I am too optimistic, but
if it doesn't I fear a more def. sit. will
develop

K Yes, a more org. effort would be very
helpful. For us, a right of self defence
would have to be given for a minority as
well, & set down. We also see a great
diff. bet Rhodania & SA. There was a
strong migration from old Reich into
these areas & we are - very interested.
Disputes in S. Eur are also of concern.
As you know we are about about to form
a Eur party. Among Eur. C.D. parties,
we are a strong one. We had never formed
a Eur C.D. party. We pleased, but didn't
want to do this ourselves because of our
strength. We have prob. w/ our Italian
colleagues. Our historic cooperation
and must cooperate. That is a big part
w/ us w/ our Italian friends. We are also
concerned about Spain. For us, it
is important to say that a Christ + nat.
Fascist but they will not have over 5%.
So long as a wall exists & provides an
split, union has no chance. We
take a very firm stand on Christ in a

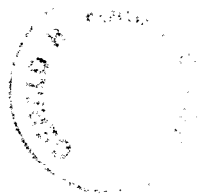


split unity

govt. There is a question about allowing trusts
in a police. I say no + would even w/a
Crest Minister of Justice.
In France, it is ok. They have always had
strong trust party, their capital is split. They
don't have any fears. The trust party in
Germany gets extra funds from E. Govt.

P as I suppose have read, K + I have taken a
strong stand about trusts in a Govt. It
would raise several probs w/ NATO, in
planning, etc. It would create probs here
w/ a few people. NATO is a barrier
to trust in E. Govt. If a NATO member had
trust in a govt it would raise fundamental
questions in a number of people about
purpose of a alliance.

K It would be a source of no answers. We
are about to understand stronger that NATO is
true than a real alliance, it is
an alliance of ideas + must have
unity on these philosophic concepts if trusts
in govt. It would be difficult to explain to our
young a purpose of NATO w/ trusts in it.
I think it is also happening here that younger
generation is going back to phil. principles,
all deriving from ideology. They want not
just dog to dog politics - people now asking
what is a sense of things. Many of older
generation with habits of Nazi regime.
Nathan was degraded for cold - but a
young have erred that. This is why
a young people feel a very thing do about Israel.



As I told Sadat, it not anti-Arab, it just
a pro-I sentiment. The hosts in E Germany
have shown a great love for Fred Great
to a present regime. They have adopted
his story & ~~instilled~~ it to support their
purposes. I am a ~~passionate~~ advocate of
continuing this w/ a company for W.E.C.
It is important that in this regard & talks
don't go at some rate as done in Fr.

P We very concerned about S. E. in, tho we
are ~~concerned~~ pleased about reports in part.
We hoped that new Govt in Spain can
move w/ to create substance of movement
& gain acceptance of E. We think Spain
can make a contribution to E. as to Nato.

K Do you think there will be movement in Salt
& M.B.F.R.?

P On Salt, the issues are being narrowed. There
are still issues but we think SC is trying to
make prog too, but a bit. In this country
the most thing have undoubtedly slowed
down. The basic probs are handling the
Sov. debt when there is dispute over capability.
The other is a ~~big~~ C.M. in all its aspects.
There are very diff. points which are hard
to put together. I believe it in every order
longer for us to find an answer.

On M.B.F.R., the new option we think should
be pushed, but we don't see any way
to make prog. At same time, there
ought to be a way to increase diff. partners.

R Permit me a few questions. Would this



be an issue but you + Carter
P I don't really know where he stands on MBR
or how what he thinks about SA & IT II
He has been very general & vague about his
views.

K Yes, but if he faces you he would have
to say what he thinks.

P My guess is he would say just SA & IT & just
the negot. on MBR & wish a conclusion
in both cases.

K Well I think be an issue.

P Not just Carter & myself, but when Reagan
our country which does bother me about Carter
is he does say we can cut 5-10 bil / year
with prob.

X I'm in a strong position. I am always in
a position where I say this is an area where
we can't spend any money.

P That's a paradox for me. I have always been
a hawk on def, yet Reagan is trying to
portray me just the opposite. It is really
~~not~~ ironic.

K It's interesting that there is a strong movement
in the US which says yes to strong defense.

P Yes. And a Cong. will approve very large budget,
the largest ever in place.

K Why is that? Because the Cong. or their own
views.

P We have made a great appeal to them. Also
there is an overwhelming of popular support
which has had a strong impact.

K The Brackburne has never been rejected, tho



at end of 60's there were some attacks. I don't
all say it is essential. I don't think anyone
can be popular in Germany, ~~with~~ advertising
cuts in R.P.

P Carter might emerge for some days but
not ~~long~~ long periods. Just a chess
match & running into mine.

K Will leave, Germany play a role.

P The economy is coming along so well I
don't see how anyone can make an issue
of it.

K I had impression many think unemployment
is serious.

P Yes, and it's too high. But inflation is of
greater concern to Am people.

R What will a union do in election? Many
don't know.

P They would support Humphrey. Carter would
get some, but so would we.

K ~~Carter~~ ^{McCarthy} said he had an opinion but he
couldn't give it. I feel he was signifying to
Carter.

That one of my big jobs. The unions were
going strongly to S.P. but they have recently
given strong ~~to~~ indications of their
power, & it hasn't made them popular.

P Our union leaders can't deliver their
votes.

R Same w/us

