

MEMORANDUM

~~SECRET/NODIS/XGDS~~ 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. Guenther Verheugen, Special Asst. preter)
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.

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EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5 (B) (3)
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON Imp. to Det.

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES *State Review 3/13/04*
BY lwr NARA DATE 7/29/04

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.

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in FRG attitude toward ^{esp. regarding} SU instructions on
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strongly tried to show us a perspective
which we might have if we didn't so closely
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to drive a wedge bet. us. He said SU
interested in improving relations but that would
depend on ↑ flex on our part. He mentioned
MBFR, but gently. I told him that we would
in no field get it alone, but in any case would
work in cooperation w/ our allies. It's
same tactic of promising things gently in
response to diff. behavior.

P Was he in good mood.

G Yes, but ^{dismissive} through some formal talk.

P I can't say anything with confidence from talks
w/ him. We very serious South, 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 w/
our African initiatives. I guess he has
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we trying to do.

G In Germany there has been a big change about
S. Africa. In April I was attacked for
supporting R. A. M. speech. Now there
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issue. What do you think is behind a
strong Sen attack on our Africa policy.

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c say we have after their success in Angola.
I think they are very upset that their
progress has been thwarted.

Sentiment in this country has changed
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O ^{my} leadership was sympathetic - they asked
about a matter of - financial element, I said
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+ - I was would have to help

G I think this initiative has counteracted Sov
strategy to increase its position in S. Africa.

K If - Sov take very radical leaders + c blacks
has so, c Sovs can embarrass them w/ their people.
and c Sovs can buy some of c leaders.

G How about c Chinese

K They are warning against c Sovs, which
openly they supporting us.

But it is clear they ~~wouldn't~~ have supported
a setback or they wouldn't have reacted so
strongly.

G Gromyko played a Berlin question nicely -
no mention of Berlin + direct election of E was
parliament. ~~He said they interested~~
in helping Berlin free of G.P. involvement.
If you would mention Berlin to Gromyko it
would be helpful to us - we susceptible
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P I would be pleased to do so. I had a good
meeting w/c Kato Perambles recently. I had
a good feeling about c state of c alliance.
I think things are going well on c track



prop. Def. plans to award contract in Nov, but I understand we have made great progress on immortality.

G. Like expected on arrangements w/ post office. I agree w/ your comment on a alliance. Our relations in various countries are all we can get things going again for MBE it very important to ~~be~~ make some progress but we must ensure that any agreement is not one-sided.

You are in midst of general changes & I will work to keep plans. Our own progress about which Schmidt spoke continues. I think it will be about 6%. Our eyes may express my & Chomilla's good wishes for success.

P. Always good to talk to you & Chomilla & hope we will have many chances in future.

(Discuss our own statistics).

Immortality is starting again & if we don't go too fast I think we can have stable & sustained growth.

G. That is our job, so we plan no additional investment.

P. The Br. pound is doing poorly.

