

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: His Excellency Dr. Bruno Kreisky, Federal
Chancellor of the Republic of Austria
Hannes Androsch, Minister of Finance

President Gerald 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: Tuesday - November 12, 1974
11:15 - 12:15 p.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office
The White House

[The press was admitted briefly. There was light conversation about Dr. Kissinger's International Seminar at Harvard. The press was dismissed.]

Kissinger: I lectured at the Diplomatic Academy in Vienna when the Chancellor was there. It is hard there; they put whipped cream into everything.

President: I want to welcome you again. Mrs. Ford and I spent a week in Austria in 1956. We went to Andau and we stayed at the old hotel in Vienna. We went to the opera.

Kreisky: I met President Nixon when he was Vice President in 1956. 200,000 people were there. It was one year after the State Treaty and there was a threat of reoccupation.

President: I was there in the Fall of 1956. We were making military hardware available but had to do it quietly because of the Treaty. We went skiing in the Alps.



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CLASSIFIED BY: HENRY A. KISSINGER

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BY ll, NARA, DATE 5/6/04

Kreisky: You still ski.

President: I like it very much. I go slower and slower!

Kreisky: We would be happy to have you to Austria for skiing.

President: I am happy to welcome you. We have no real bilateral problems. We are very grateful over your role in the Middle East and with the Jewish emigration.

Kissinger: The Chancellor took a useful tour through the Middle East last spring.

Kreisky: We have three difficult problems: Whether Vienna should become a third UN center. The main purpose would not be tourism, but it would be only 40 kilometers from the Communist borders. It would give us additional security; it would be an international observation point, on the Hungarian and Czechoslovakian sides. I am not nervous about something happening in Yugoslavia. Any problem would be from Hungary and Czechoslovakia. So it would be useful to get a qualification for a UN city. We are not interested in competing with the United States -- it would be a tragedy for the UN to move. So I am opposed that there would be General Assembly meetings elsewhere than New York. For us the UN means a lot and that means the United States and New York City, We already have two international organizations in Vienna. UNIDO and EURATOM. I would be grateful for your support.

President: I will talk more about this with Secretary Kissinger. When would it happen?

Kreisky: It is in committee now.

Kissinger: We are basically favorable. There are a lot of technical details -- such as taxation.

Kreisky: Yes. If we would be refused as a third center it would be a bad thing for my government. It would be a tremendous amount of money and recognition. We are building enormous structures to take care of it.

Kissinger: Where will it be located?

Kreisky: Across the Danube near Reickspringe, one of the big bridges.

It is important in a political sense. It will be a good meeting place between the East and West.

President: Who opposes it?

Kreisky: The African countries are pro. France was opposed, but I heard they are now for; Schmidt is for. I think there will be no real problem.

Kissinger: Most of our objections are bureaucratic, not in principle.

Kreisky: Geneva, for example, is one of the capitals of Europe -- it has 180,000 people. Vienna has about 2 million. We need to preserve Vienna as one of Europe's great capitals.

The second problem is energy. We decided to join the organization but we have to have reservations for our neutrality. I know your delegation is not concerned with our neutrality, but we are. We have problems with the Soviet Union. We joined the Common Market. But we have to have some declaration of our neutrality. If this could be done in a way so as not to be opposed by any... Switzerland and Sweden are in a similar position. Our energy problem is not so severe as Switzerland's. We have 20 percent of our oil and 50 percent of our gas, so we don't want an escape clause.

Kissinger: This is not a major problem with Austria, but Sweden is. The Swedes want to write their neutrality as an escape clause.

Kreisky: It would be helpful if the people there could work out a compromise.

Kissinger: It is against our interest to do anything jeopardizing Austrian neutrality. Some statement of neutrality is fine. Is an expert with you?

Kreisky: It is not so difficult. Sweden and the Swiss will follow.

Kissinger: I will get Enders to work with you soon.

Kreisky: The last problem is the transfer of Soviet Jews. There have been a lot of mistakes. Last year we stopped Schoenau for security; it took an army to protect it. The Arabs knew every detail. We need to change every six months or a year so the PLO can't get in too easily. Now they arrive as individuals by train -- no organization. The Jewish organizations compete. Some try to get them to come to the United States and Canada; some are Zionists. This is a dirty job for us. No one knows when a terrorist might appear. From the station we send them to camp. It costs a lot of money. If it would be two times as many, it would be very difficult.

President: You are referring to 60,000. It is a big figure which we don't support. It is a target which Jackson set for his purposes, but the figures I saw show about 20-22,000.



Kreisky: Yes, down from 30,000 last year. For us it is important to get other countries to receive some of these people.

Kissinger: Aren't the Dutch willing?

Kreisky: They keep saying it.

Kissinger: The Israelis say they are willing to take any excess amount without going to camps. They gave us a note.

Kreisky: After Schoenau, we moved them faster.

[Kissinger reads from the Israeli note at Tab A.]

Kreisky: For us it is a political position. If we are the only ones doing it, the terrorists will concentrate on us. After Schoenau we have had no problem.

President: How long are the people at a camp?

Kreisky: Sometimes three days; sometimes one. We can double the number, but Austria shouldn't be the only country involved.

I fear trouble if there is much noise about an increase.

President: Are the PLO troublesome?

Kreisky: We don't deal with them, but we know they have been cautious. They have had many opportunities to do a lot of harm. The best idea is air travel direct from the Soviet Union to Amsterdam. We can take them all by train.

Kissinger: Israel would like flights direct to Tel Aviv. That is out of the question.

Kreisky: It is even a problem getting them to Amsterdam. If they go by train they take a lot of things, especially big black dogs. Then send them by air in boxes. Israel accepts them. The train is less expensive and they can take more. We will do the same or more, but not alone.

Kissinger: Take this up with Israel, Brent. The Dutch are as Kreisky says -- willing when it is not a practical possibility. We will see what Israel can do.



Kreisky: Those are our only problems. Otherwise there is no country where the United States has such a strong friend. To be anti-American in Austria is political suicide. This is due to the fact that the Social Democratic party and the Christian Democrats are both on the friendliest terms with the United States.

President: Secretary Kissinger has said the same thing to me. There are no problems of consequence. From my observations in Congress there were never any problems with Austria. I wish all our relations were so good and easy.

As Secretary Kissinger said when he got back from his tough trip, we are encouraged. I will go to Vladivostok as you know, to meet with Brezhnev. We hope to expand detente. We hope to find a framework to expand SALT. Dr. Kissinger's trip to South Asia was very helpful.

Your support in the past has been helpful and would appreciate any help in the future, especially in the Middle East where you have done so much. We don't know yet what Rabat means, but we are opposing it and we still hope to move step by step.

Kreisky: Secretary Kissinger knows my views, and I have told President Nixon twice. There will be no substantial conversion in Communism. It is an exercise for young diplomats. Brezhnev and Kosygin are more honest than any of their predecessors. On things like this painting exhibition--they had to allow it officially. I think we can get something at the Conference in Helsinki, if he understands we need to get something so it is not just a show.

President: Basket III.

Kissinger: The problem is not us but Western Europe. Each European leader wants to show a success to its Parliament. If we could get a consolidated European position, we could get some Soviet concessions. If you would help on this...

Kreisky: Yes. Sweden is with us. To establish an energy agency of the west is very significant. Like the EPU in its time. It is important not only for Europe, but also eventually the Soviet Union and Poland. There will be a network of pipelines from the East. This should be discussed in CSCE. It will be important for the follow-on conference. Energy cooperation is going on now.

The next question is: some small results should come from the Vienna MBFR talks. There should be results because of opinion, not only in Europe, but also the Soviet Union. Brezhnev too needs results. He is not in trouble but he has been trying for four years. We shouldn't just say us all the time.

Kissinger: I agree. This generation has a four-year stake in these negotiations. They also have the fear of war in their bones. Our problem in every multilateral negotiation -- we have Jackson, but also the Europeans, who pleaded with us in '69 for concessions and now accuse us of selling out. Any way you can help...

Kreisky: Yes. The next generation nobody knows. Also the Chinese attitude. Chou tried to tell us not to believe in the Soviet Union, detente, etc. But they are Communists too, so there is some strategy there too.

I am glad you are going to meet Brezhnev in Vladivostok. Brezhnev is very serious -- that is his real weakness. Khrushchev was not. Kosygin is the most honest and brightest. He is running the country economically. Brezhnev doesn't know that. Kosygin was against Czechoslovakia.

Kissinger: Kosygin is by far the most intelligent. Brezhnev is very emotional.

Kreisky: He is very Russian.

President: I am looking forward to meeting him. We are hoping for meaningful progress which will lead to something next summer. You know Resor who is there on MBFR. It is our allies that are creating the problem. Every time we try to formulate something, they block us...

Kissinger: Basically the Europeans aren't scared, so they feel free to be tough. They make Talmudic arguments. Some of them have made a proposal which might have a chance, but by the time the Europeans get through with it... On SALT we have a good chance.

Kreisky: I am glad that with your problems you received me.

President: I am happy to. I look forward to tonight. I'm sorry Mrs. Kreisky couldn't be here.

Kreisky: Let me invite you to Austria. We could shorten the afternoon program for you so you have the maximum time to see things. It would be very important for us, even a short stay in Vienna.

Our economy is doing well; we have full employment. We are lucky, but our good prosperity will continue.

President: I would very much like to come to Austria.



Transcribed

Press in

(Discussion of K seminar at Haman)

Press out.

K I lectured at Dip Academy in Vienna when Chamblak was there. It is hard there, they just criticized me in the long run

P Went to Ankara - year ago. The Fed + I went work in Austria in 54. Went to Andon stayed at a old hotel in Vienna. Went to Opera.

C I met Nixon when he was VP in 54. 200,000 people were there. One year after State Treaty and threat of sovereignty.

P I was there in fall of 54. We were making steel hardware available but had to do it quietly because of treaty. We went through in - also

C You still think

P I like it very much. I go slower & slower.

C I will be happy to have you to Austria for thing

P Happy to welcome you. We have no real liberal press, ~~we~~ very grateful every year when MC & we a Jewish organization

K Ch. took a reservation from MC - but spring

C We have 3 dig ports: whether Vienna should be under 3rd UK center. The main purpose would not be tension but would be only 40 km from Croat border. Would give no additional security - would be on ^{an mtg} with observation post from Hungary + Czech only there in Jan not sure about something in Yugo. Any port would be from Hungary + Czech, so it would be respect to just - qualification for USA city. We not interested in competing w/ US - it would be tragedy for US to move. So I suggested that there would be CA entry elsewhere ~~not~~ than NY. For (C) (U) means a lot & that means ~~by~~ US + NY. We already

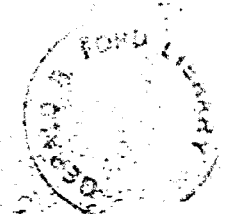
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NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES State Review 3/10/09

BY GA NARA DATE 5/6/04

- have 2 intergovernmental in Europe, UNIDAS & Euratom. I would be grateful for your support
- P I will take W/K. When would it happen
- C It is in context ^{basically}
- K W is essentially favorable. There are a lot of tech details - such as a tax,
- C Yes. If you would be opposed as just another it would be a bad thing for my part. It would be a tremendous amount of money & investment. We are building enormous structures to take care of it.
- R Wheel oriented
- C Across - Downside near R re-keeping (?) one of the big budgets. It is important in pol. sense. Good way place but E & W.
- P who opposes
- R American countries pro. It was opposed, but heard they were for; Schmidt for. I think no real problem
- K Most of our objections are bureaucratic, not in principle
- C Common for example is a big capital of E - over 180,000 people. We need to prepare Vienna as one of E's great capitals. 2nd part is energy. We decided to join energy but we have to have reservations for our neutrality. I know your objection not concerned with neutrality but we are. We put out W/S. We joined Com. Treaty. But you have to have some declaration of our neutrality. If this could be done in a way not to be opposed by any... Swiss & Sweden similar. Our energy not so severe as Swiss. We have 20% food & 50% of gas, so we don't want to give clause
- K This not major part w/Austria but Sweden is. Sweden want to write neutrality as can be done elsewhere.
- C It would be helpful if people there could work out a



Compromise

- K At present our interest is geographical. Another possibility.
Some statement of verifiability. Are experts w/ you?
- C It's not so dry. Something serious will follow
- K It will get E unless it works w/ you
- C Last year is transfer of \$500 million. Have been lot of mistakes. Last year we stopped Shahin for security & it took an army to protect it. The Arabs know every detail. We need to change way to move it. We can't get into Iraq. Now they arrived as individuals by train - no airport. The British airports concepts Some try to get them to come to US & Canada. Some are 7-8 months. This is dirty job & process. We are known where a terrorist might appear. From station we send them to camp. Costs a lot of money. If would be 2 times as many, would be very dry.
- P You referring to 60,000. It is his figure which we don't support. It is a target which he set for his purposes. Last figures I saw - about 20-22,000
- C Yes, down from 30,000 last year. For us it important to get other countries to unite some of these guys.
- K Aren't Dutch willing
- C They keep saying it
- K I realise say they willing to (take any expenses with w/d going to camp. (Shahin note)
- C After Schreier, we cancel them later
- K (Read Shahin note)
- C For us it a political question - if we only own claim it, terrorists will concentrate on us. After Schreier we have had no fun.
- P How long at camp?
- C Sometimes 3 days, sometimes 1. We can do with a #, but Austria shouldn't be only country involved

Guerrilla School Comments (Only)

I guess trouble if there much noise about missiles

P Are PhO troublesome?

C We had deal w/ them, but we know they ^{cautious} cautious.
Best idea is air travel direct from SV - to construction
as a even take all by train

R I would like flight direct to Tel Aviv. I don't want of
freight out of it.

C Evidence just getting them to Cayman. If by train
they take a lot of things, ^{by truck} by truck. They send them
by air in day bags. I accept them. Train is
less expensive & they can take more. We will do
same or more, but not alone

** K Take this up w/ I, absent. Dutch as C strong willing
when it not practical possibility. We will see
what I can do.

C Those are our only jobs. Otherwise no country where
US has such a strong friend. Take anti-Cam
in Austria is political suicide. This due to fact
that SD party & CO brother president was w/ W.

P R said same, two parts of evolution. From
my observations in Cuy, since my job w/ Austria
which all our relations were so good & easy.

A R said when he got back from his teaching trip,
we not encouraged. I will go to Tal. We
have to expand detente. It go forward & expand
SAH. R trip to S. Asia very helpful. Your
support in past been helpful & would appreciate
any help in future, esp in ME where you have
done so much. Don't know yet what Robert
means, but appreciating it & we still hope to
work 1, 2, 3. Step by step

C R know my views & have told N twice. I have
and he no substantial evolution in Germany.
It an exercise for young diplomats. Brez &
Kosygin are more honest than any predecessors.

On things like this painting exhibition - they had to allow it officially. I think we can get something at any in Helsinki, if he understands we need to get something as it not just a show

P Basket III

K But as long as EEC. Each EEC wants to show a success to its people. If we could get a consolidated EEC position, we could get some SD concessions. If you would help.

C Yes. This is important. Sweden of us.

To establish energy agency of west is very important.

H The EPU in its time. Important not only EEC, but also eventually SU & Poland. There will be a network of pipelines from East. This should be discussed in CSE. It will be important for future in west. Energy crisis is going on now. Next question - some small words should come from various NABE talks. Should be results because of opinion not only in EEC but SU. Bez is too needs words. He is not in trouble but he is trying for 4 yrs. We shouldn't just say no all the time.

K I agree. This generation has a 4 yr strike in their budget. They also have fear of war in their bones. Our problem in every multilateral system - we have Jackson, but EEC, who should in '69 for concessions, now accused of selling out. Any way you can help.

C Yes. The next generation not only knows, also Chinese attitude. China tried to tell us not to believe in SU, detente, etc. They are curious to see their new strategy than us.

Could you be to meet Bez in Vlad. Bez is very naive - that his deal makes.

Khrushchev was not. Kozlov must know

part on
x x

+ brigades. He is running a country economically.
But doesn't know that. Kozgin was against
to go.

K Kozgin by far most intell. Guy very technical

C H - very Russian

P I looking forward to study him. all hoping for
an important job which will lead to something
next summer. You know Ruse there on
NBER. It's an alias creating a job. Everything
we try to promote something, they block it.

K Base of a Euro aren't scared, so they feel free
to do things. They make Talmon arguments.
Some have made a proposal which might have
a chance, but by a time a Euro get them
w/it. . . . On SA it we have a good
chance

C Glad w/ your job you did me.

P Happy to have found a time to see you. N
couldn't be here.

C Very difficult to Austria. We could structure
offer to you have max of time to see thing.
Very important for us, more for short stay
in Vienna. On money doing well, we
have full employment - we lucky, but
our good prosperity will continue.

P would like to see