

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3  
MR # 09-145, # 23  
*state rev. 3/10/04; DOE 222, 10/21/09*  
By dal NARA, Date 12/2/09

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Gerald R. 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 AND TIME: Tuesday, January 7, 1975  
9:18 - 10:18 a.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office  
The White House



Kissinger: Mike [Mansfield] is basically an isolationist, except on China and Sihanouk.

I spoke to Dobrynin, which confirmed what I said yesterday. There is severe disillusionment there with the United States. They won't change their policy but they will change their expectations. They will be more matter-of-fact. The press had been ordered not to criticize us and the economic ministries had been ordered to steer business to us. Dobrynin called home, and he says they most certainly will not accept the MFN and credits under the Trade Act as it is now.

You must give a double assurance -- that the quantity of emigrants will promote the purposes of the Act and that you have been given assurances that liberalization is taking place.

Dobrynin suggests a warm letter on detente and the things which have to be done on the Trade Act. I think you should write a warm letter and express your disappointment with the Act and say that Kissinger will describe the details. There is no reason for them to reply.

CLASSIFIED BY Henry A. Kissinger  
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION  
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652  
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5 (b), (1, 3)  
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON Imp. to det.

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

The Congress is forcing us into renewed risk of confrontation.

In the State of the Union Address, I would add a paragraph on Executive-Legislature partnership, but say that it won't take the form of extreme detailed intervention in the conduct of policy.

I have been thinking of a conciliatory speech, detailing these Congressional restrictions and saying we have to be sensitive to Congress but they also have a responsibility to discharge. For example: Egypt rejecting the nuclear reactor -- so we give up leverage like we did on the Aswan Dam. And Ecuador/Venezuela won't go to the Meeting of Foreign Ministers, because of the ban on preferences for OPEC members.

And Simon keeps voting against these countries.

The President: Let's get him in here for a discussion of this OPEC situation so we are on the same wave length. After the State of the Union.

Kissinger: That would be a good idea. There is no hurry.

Arthur Burns is seeing Schmidt this weekend on the lending facility. Simon's nose is out of joint a bit, but Schmidt will ask for Burns and also we don't want a government-to-government confrontation.

The President: There is another reason. Burns is worried about the size of the deficit. I think Schmidt could do a lot of good with Burns.

Kissinger: Good. We might send Schmidt a letter ahead and say you are heavily influenced by him.

The President: Our program is very compatible with this thinking.

Ash had a good idea yesterday to deal with the windfall money.

[Discussed more about Ash proposal.]

Kissinger: The Democrats are going to be hit hard by your program. They are playing this theme of indecisiveness.

The President: I plan to tell Mike.



Kissinger: I am seeing Bob Byrd. I thought I would tell him my concern about legislative activity.

The President: Good. I am more and more impressed with Bob. I also am having the Speaker and Al Ullman.

Kissinger: I thought I would see all the new Congressmen next week in three groups.

The President: There are some far out ones.

Kissinger: Is it dangerous for me to do it?

The President: No. You should.

Kissinger: May I tell Simon you want Burns to go?

The President: Yes.

Kissinger: The Soviets have to keep detente going for political reasons, but our hold on them is gone. These economic projects would have gotten our hooks into them for ten years. The Chinese will be less scared now, and we will have a rockier time with the Soviet Union. We must put a stop to the disintegration of Executive authority on foreign policy.

Dinitz is seeing Schlesinger. He is playing the good guy. I think he should be instructed to stonewall.

The President: Should I do it?

Kissinger: I think Brent should. On the F-14 and F-15, I hear Schlesinger has given them pricing data. I think he should say he is not prepared to discuss it.

What is your view on using the Vice President for meeting visiting dignitaries? For example, the Sultan of Oman lunch.

The President: No problem; it relieves me from burdens.

Kissinger: On the State of the Union, we will hit interdependence, also something on detente and improved relations with Japan and Europe. Also the paragraph on Executive-Legislative relationship.



The President: I talked to Bob [Hartman]. This will fit right in.

Kissinger: I sent a letter to the Turks to get some movement.

Sadat has told Jordan he would be reasonable in negotiations. Maybe not even make Israel totally leave the passes, but he must have movement. He also thought that the Syrians would accept only a few kilometers in the Golan. I think he may be right.

It is now becoming more clear that the reason Brezhnev cancelled was that Sadat wouldn't give up on the step-by-step.

The President: Not because of sickness?

Kissinger: That was an excuse; if they had really wanted it, he would have gone. Do you want to see the Irish Prime Minister? There is no reason to.

The President: No. Is Moore a problem?

Scowcroft: His wife is sick.

The President: We are getting Dunlop. Jim Coleman will be going into Transportation. I am thinking of Martha Griffiths for HEW. With a black and a woman, we are turning things around.

Kissinger: They are outstanding appointments.

The President: Butz wants to leave in June.

Kissinger: Sadat has arrested 400 Communists.

The President: Is that public?

Kissinger: No.

The President: What would Israel have to give up on the Golan?

Kissinger: There are two big hills west of Quneitra. They are maniacal about hills. I think we should do Egypt first and then either go to Geneva or you take on Israel about the Golan. Or go to Geneva for a while and let the pressures build a bit.



I would like to go to Ecuador and Venezuela and say you are sympathetic to removing the inequities in the Trade Bill.

The President: Was that guy de la Pena?

Scowcroft: Yes.

Kissinger: On Cuba, there is a Foreign Minister's Meeting in March. The Argentines want to invite Cuba. I think we should oppose. Instead I think we should agree there that the lifting of the OAS embargo can be done by a majority. If there is no movement in the OAS, more and more of them will recognize Cuba individually and the OAS will look ridiculous.

Secondly, Cuba has sent us a message through Frank Mankiewicz that they want to talk -- through a New York emissary. I thought we could say we are willing to listen. This will get a slow-paced dialogue started. Right now we have no means to communicate with them. We should stay a half step behind Brazil. We shouldn't push Brazil and we should support our friends who backed us.

The President: What would be the settlement down the road?

Kissinger: I am not sure you want to restore relations before the 1976 elections. I think we should tell them to pipe down in the press. They had cartoons with Nixon's name written with a swastika. We may have to permit American companies in third countries to trade with Cuba. We will have to try to get something from Cuba -- release of prisoners, settle some claims, open emigration -- something. We can keep them out of the meetings in 1975.

The President: If we could get an ease of emigration and some claims settled . . . .

Kissinger: Maybe a statement of non-intervention. Castro wants to meet with me. I am opposed to doing that.

The President: I agree. Let's talk about those three things.

Kissinger: This week we will send a note to them saying we are willing to explore what do they have in mind. This will test their security.



The President: How is Bush?

Kissinger: He is doing fine. I was impressed when I was there. Moynihan will write quite a bit. He sent a two-page cable on PL-480.

I asked our Latin American Ambassador to say what the gripes are. One of the biggest is the restrictions on aid. We will end up where the countries think it is a liability to get our aid. Our best friends -- Uruguay, Bolivia, Brazil -- all had major complaints.

We are having a WSAG on Vietnam. I plan to take a tough line. I assume you are prepared to ask for a supplemental.

The President: By all means.



W. Hall - Did we provide aft? How many staff?

P/K 1 Jan 75

Tuesday  
9:18 - 10:18 AM

K Mike is basically isolationist, but a slight on  
China & Siberia

I spoke to Doy which confirmed what I said  
yesterday. There were discussion w/ U.S. They  
won't change their policy but their expectations they  
will be in more matter of fact - press had been  
ordered not to criticize us & even invitation to  
steer business to us. Doy called home & they  
most certainly not accept MEX credits.

You must give a double assurance - that position  
will promote purposes of act & <sup>that</sup> you have given  
assurances that liberalization taking place.

Doy suggested a warm letter on details &  
the things which have to be done on trade act.

I think you should write warm letter & express  
your disappointment w/ act & that kind describe  
details. No reason for that.

Comp. forces us into increased risk of cooperation  
x In SOU I would add para. of free-trade  
partnership but that it won't take a form of  
extreme detailed intervention.

I have thinking of conciliatory speech, detaching  
restrictions & saying we have to be sensitive to  
Comp but they ~~must~~ also have say to change.  
For ex: F ~~set~~ ~~goals~~ expecting new results so  
we give up leverage like we did on Agreement.  
And E. ~~under~~ / ~~Dem~~ ~~under~~ ~~invest~~ go to MEX.

And Simon keeps voting against these countries.  
P Let's get him in here for a discussion of this  
OPEC situation so we can have some  
length. After SOU.

K Good by good idea. No hurry.

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MR # 09-145, #23

State v. 3110104; DoE v. 10/21/09

By del NARA, Date 12/2/09



K Arthur Burns seeing Schmidt this weekend at  
Banking facility. Burns more out of spirit a bit, but  
Schmidt ok for Burns + also we don't want  
a part to part compensation

P There another room. Burns worried about size  
of a deficit. I think Schmidt could do a lot of  
good w/ Burns.

K Good. We might send Schmidt a letter  
ahead + say you heavily influenced by him.

P Our pay is very compatible w/ his thinking.  
Ald had a good idea yesterday to deal w/ a windfall  
money.

(Discussed more about coin proposal)

K The Demos are going to be away but hard by your  
prop. They are playing this theme of indifference.

P I plan to tell Mike

K I seeing Bob Byrd. I think I would tell him my  
concern about legs activity.

P Good I more + more impressed w/ Bob. I also having  
Speakers + Ullman.

K I think I would see all the new Cong. next week in 5  
groups.

P There are some for out ones

K Is it dangerous

P No. You should

K Why I tell Simon you want Burns to go

P Yes

K SO has to keep obtaining going for pol reasons, but  
can hold on them is good. These proj. would  
have gotten our backs into them for CO-ops.

Conrad will be less scared now + we could  
have richer time w/ SO. We must put a stop



to disintegration of ex-ante authority on FP.  
Denny seeing Schles. He is playing a good  
game. I think he ~~and~~ should be instructed  
to ~~renew~~ ~~it~~.

P Should I do it?

K I think Brent should be Done F-14/15, I have  
Schles has given pricing data. I think he should  
say he is not prepared to discuss it.

What is your view on using a VP for  
meeting dignitaries. For example, Sultan of Oman  
Lunch

P One problem, it isolates me from London  
→ K On SDC, we will hit interdependence, also  
something on detente & regional relations w/  
Japan + Eur. Also a para on Exer - legis  
relationships.

P I talked to Bob. This will fit right in.

~~I don't like to push to get some movement.~~  
K Sadat has told us he would be reasonable in  
negot. Maybe not even make 1 totally done piece,  
but he must have movement. If we think  
Seyras would accept only a few km in Jordan.  
I think he may be right.

Now becoming more clear that Bez camp was  
that Sadat would not give up on step-by-step

P Not serious?

K That was one speech, if they had really wanted it.

Do you want to see Just PM - no more to...

P No. Is Moore a prob?

So (Wife richness)

P We are getting Develop. from Solomon into Trans.  
Thinking of Martha Guffis for HEC. Wife  
black & a woman, we are turning things around.



R Ombudsman's report.

P Buty wants to have in fund

R S. adol has accepted 400 consto.

P Is that public?

R No.

P What would I have to give my own Gold?

R There are 2 big bills left of Q minister. They are worried about bills. I think we should do E first & then either go to Cuba or you take on F about Gold. O goes to Cuba for a while - let pressures build a bit.

→ I would like to go to Ec + Vera + say you support the remaining inquiries in track bill.

P Was that guy de la Pena

So Yes

R On Cuba, there is a MEX in March. Argentines want to visit Cuba. I think we should oppose. Instead I think we should agree there that OAS by try can be by majority. If no OAS movement, more & more will recog. Cuba + OAS look ~~at~~ restrictions. 2<sup>nd</sup> Cuba has sent message that ~~is~~ ~~marking~~ that they want to talk - then N.Y. mission. I think we ~~can~~ ~~will~~ say we willing to listen. This will get a slow paced dialogue started. Right now we have no means to commitments. We should stay 1/2 step behind the pit. We should not put Bayet & should support our friends who backed us.

P What would be settlement down road?

R I not sure you want to restore relations before elections. I think we should tell them to pipe down in press (N written w/ H). We may have to permit ~~to~~ US currency in ~~all~~ countries

to talk w/ Cuba. We will have to try to get something from Cuba - release prisoners, settle some claims, open immigration, something.

We can keep them out of cities in 75

P If we could ease of immigration + some claims

K Maybe statement of your intervention. Castro wants to meet me - I opposed.

P Jayce. Let's talk about those 3 things

K This week we will send note saying we willing to explore what do they have in mind. This will test their sincerity.

P How is Bush

K He is doing fine. I was surprised when the Washington will write quite a bit. He sent a 7 page cable on PL450

Dashed and LA must to say what the grips are. One of biggest is restrictions on aid. We will end up where countries think it a liability to get aid.

Our best friends - Hungary, Bolivia, Brazil - all had major complaints.

We having a US AG on UK. I plan to take a tough line. I assume you prepared to ask for supplemental

P by all means.

