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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 6, 1975

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE HENRY A. KISSINGER

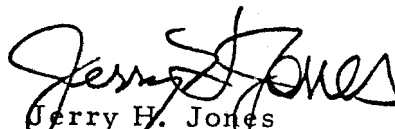
The attached was returned in the President's outbox with the following notation:

-- This is terrific and must be distributed to:

- 1) My top staff.
- 2) Selected Congressional leaders.
- 3) Bob Hartmann and the speech group at White House.

Please follow-up with the appropriate action.

Thank you.

  
Jerry H. Jones  
Staff Secretary

cc: Don Rumsfeld

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Sec. of State

This is terrific &  
must be distributed to

- 1) my top staff
- 2) selected Congressional leaders
- 3) Bob Hartmann & the speech group at White House.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN *dg.*

EURO BYLINER BY

Mr. Arnauld de Brochgrave

The U.S. "defeat and retreat" theme has been pounded day in and night out on Europe's air waves. Top honors, as usual in this type of contest, went to the French. French-speaking Vietnamese kept repeating "les Americains nous ont trahi (The Americans have betrayed us)." "What are you afraid of?" one of them was asked. "Only Communism," the Vietnamese replied and then quickly added, "but don't count on the Americans to save you. They are treacherous friends."

Marxist-influenced writers have barely managed to conceal their glee over America's "historical decline." Le Monde's editorials have long referred to U.S. "imperialism." Now France's most important paper editorialized that the era of U.S. fascism abroad, "at least in Southeast Asia, had come to a close. No small wonder that not one West European government dares respond to a U.S. request that they denounce Communist aggression in Indochina.

"America now faces its first defeat in its 200 years of independent history," said the Financial Times. Frank Giles, a senior editor of the Sunday Times, wrote that "for the Europeans and other allies of the U.S. the greatest cause

for concern in the future...is not the fear of American isolationism or bad faith or unreasonable self-interest, but the sheer confusion and element of unpredictability now prevailing over the formulation of foreign policy."

The subliminal impact on European decision-makers, policy-planners and the man and the woman in the street has been tremendous. To argue that the final victory of the black-pajamed disciples of Karl Marx over the greatest power the world has ever known will not affect the trans-Atlantic connection, said one British Conservative M.P., "is either naive or a distortion of the facts."

The most pro-NATO parliamentarians in all of West Europe are in West Germany and they are now asking questions never posed before. Said Karl-Heinz Lemmrich, as CDU specialist on European security: "When World War II ended I was a teenager in Stadtilm and to our great relief U.S. troops beat Soviet forces into our town in the nick of time. The commanding U.S. general summoned the population to the city square and solemnly assured us that U.S. troops were there to stay. Two days later that same general turned our town over to Soviet occupation forces and it has been in East Germany ever since. I dismissed this unhappy experience over the years as part of the fortunes of war.

Now it has come back to haunt me. The Americans did nothing to interfere with the erection of the Berlin Wall 15 years later. Now, 30 years later, I am convinced they would not go to war if the Soviets decided to straighten out what they would doubtless call a 'cold war abnormality' and made an overnight grab for West Berlin."

Dozens of almost completed reports on NATO and European Security for WEU and various strategic institutes are now being redrafted or amended. They will contain more alarm bells than before. The Soviets are speaking with several voices. On a government to government level they are busy reassuring everyone about detente and how anxious they are to maintain the European status quo. But at every other level, they are waging a major de-stabilization campaign -- from Portugal to Norway -- emphasizing the unreliability of the present security system, talking up the dismantling of the two military blocs and vaunting the merits of a Pan-European collective security pact. Governments are not taken in. But public opinion -- and a growing number of parliamentarians looking for pretexts to cut defense spending -- is listening with renewed interest. Britain's major cuts in defense spending are already having a ripple effect on the continent. "If Britain can cut, why can't we?" they ask.

Lionel Bloch, writing in the Daily Telegraph, said "the era of that nefarious admixture of half-Soviet anaesthetic, half-Western alibi, is drawing to an end. What will we find on the cold morning of our awakening? A Western world with depleted remnants of under-equipped armies, unable to protect its relative opulence, its much-abused freedoms, its indispensable trade routes and its sources of raw materials."

Policy planners woke up long ago. But national consensus politics dictate a sort of fatalistic acceptance of a drift into neutralism. Government leaders feel they can only lose votes by blowing the whistle while opposition leaders (Britain's Sir Keith Joseph is now drafting an anti-appeasement appeal for delivery in late May) occasionally raise the alarm but their utterances are buried on the inside pages. Russia's biggest ever global naval exercise (220 ships deployed in five oceans -- Pacific, Atlantic, Mediterranean, Indian Ocean and Arctic) was similarly buried in three or four paragraphs of minor news items.

Patriotism has long been dead in Europe. The alternative faith in self-preservation -- supranationalism -- never took hold. In quick succession two weeks ago, Jean Monnet, "Europe's" founding father disbanded his "Action Committee

for a United States of Europe" and finally retired; an EEC-commissioned report by Robert Marjolin was, in effect, a death certificate for the attempt to create a European economic and monetary union; and Sir Christopher Soames, EEC's "foreign minister", decided to quit and go back to British politics.

Pacifism is now spreading. Moscow's friends and sympathisers are strategically placed to make sure that any serious moves on the political and defense fronts will quickly be denounced as a revival of the cold war. Policy planners fear that it is too late to reverse course. The long shadow of growing Soviet military power, coupled with America's shrinking shadow, has already achieved a large part of its objective -- the demoralization of NATO theologians. Even if the Soviets continue to increase their military power five to ten per cent a year as they have been doing in Europe and on the high seas, the Europeans have come to the conclusion that there is nothing they can do to keep up militarily with inflation -- let alone come up with a credible deterrent.

There is a feeling in Europe that great mutations are now in gestation. It is not the resolve of the U.S. government that concerns the decision-makers. They accept the



Ford administration's reassurances at face value. But even the most pro-Americans feel they have become pretty meaningless in terms of planning for the years ahead.

What Thailand and the Philippines have been saying publicly is precisely what European officials have been telling me privately. They are shocked and appalled, not at the Communist victory in Indochina, which they had been expecting, but at Congress' behavior which made the U.S. defeat that much more spectacular. What concerns them is Congress and the U.S. mood and what the Sunday Telegraph's Peregrine Worsthorne described, after a trip to the U.S., as "Senators seeming to take pride in proclaiming their faith in American impotence...as if their recognition of the inevitability of defeat was a form of high courage which would earn them an honored place in history...porturing proudly before the TV cameras, for all the world as if sealing the fate of South Vietnam was their finest hour, the moment when they walked with destiny. What is extraordinary and shocking about the manner in which the U.S. has observed the collapse of its client-state is its undertones of self-congratulation; not so much a trauma, more a cause for satisfaction."

"If Congress had made some wise decisions in the past few months," said one of Kissinger's opposite numbers, "it

would only be a demi-mal. But they have triggered an unraveling process that will come back to haunt us much sooner than any Congressman seems to realize."

Decision-makers are more concerned with the 1973 War Powers Act, which they feel was the signal to Hanoi that they were now free to complete their conquest of Indochina, than with the final defeat. "We have come a long way from the days when Senator Fulbright argued (in 1960) that 'the source of an effective foreign policy under the American system is Presidential power. The President has the full responsibility, which cannot be shared, for military decisions in a world in which the difference between safety and cataclysm can be a matter of hours or even minutes'," said one of the foreign ministers privately. "The U.S. umbrella over Europe," he continued, "can be closed by Congress when it is most needed and without that umbrella West Europe becomes the very exposed Westernmost tip of the Eurasian land mass." Congress, as they see it, has usurped the President's foreign policy-making powers and the U.S. has now become an unreliable partner.

There is bound to be a closing of ranks with the U.S. at the NATO summit in Brussels at the end of the month and a reaffirmation of the now ritualistic fidelity to the basic

principles of collective Western security. But the planners already concede that the exercise will be largely cosmetics inspired by internal political considerations in the U.S. The drift on both sides of the Atlantic, clear for some time, is now accelerating. What the polls say these days is more important than what Ford may say at a NATO summit - and that is that most Americans are not prepared to fight for West Europe, even if the Soviets tried to take over. And in the field of trade, Congress has obtained oversight powers unmatched in any other Western democracy -- which to Europeans can only spell nationalistic protectionism.

They still believe in the U.S. commitment, at least on paper, and they realize the difference between Europe and Southeast Asia. But they also believe that disenchantment with all foreign entanglements runs very deep in the U.S. where commitments are contingent on a strong executive. Gerald Ford says there will be no unilateral withdrawal from Europe but no one believes a U.S. President can make such a decision stick in the future. More important is the American people's opposition to interventionist policy anywhere.

Europe's planners know that their U.S. opposite numbers have concluded there is little that can be done to stop countries like Portugal today and perhaps Italy and Greece

tomorrow from going Communist or little England from falling prey to Marxist economic influences. The U.S. no longer sees its security tied to the survival of democratic regimes in West Europe but on its bilateral agreements with the Soviet Union (e.g., SALT) which, in turn, encourages neutralism in Europe. Washington does not appear to be as concerned with the kind of political regimes that are now, or may in the future, rule allied countries. Moreover, NATO is not equipped to deal with "inside" jobs or flanking political movements.

They agree with Ford's description of U.S. foreign policy -- a collection of special economic, ethnic and ideological interests. Bipartisanship is dead. They have seen the past year as a succession of U.S. fiascos -- Cyprus, followed by Greece's exit from NATO's military structure (and the end of Sixth Fleet homeporting arrangements this week), the Turkish military aid cutoff and the final dismantling of NATO's southern front, and the collapse of Mideast peace efforts that many believe will lead to yet another regional war this summer or fall and yet another oil embargo.

The Belgian Prime Minister scores more points at home shaking hands with Mao in Peking or on a state visit to Poland than he does trying to carry out his mandate to relaunch European political union. Belgium's King Baudouin and Denmark's Queen Margrethe will become the first reigning European monarchs to make state visits to the Soviet Union this summer. All this reflects a growing belief that there are East-West panaceas that are going to make large defense expenditures unnecessary. Political leaders tend to take the line of least resistance because they don't believe they can rely on the U.S. much longer. Politicians privately concede that they can see all the dangers and pitfalls but they are also thinking of their next election campaign and of short-term policies that will enable them to siphon defense funds to cover yawning deficits in social services.

Thus the stage has been quietly set for the progressive "Finlandization" of West Europe. Rightly or wrongly, planners and experts look at what they call the paralyzed American giant, and irresponsible and increasingly isolationist Congress, and can now see that their political leaders, in the event of political pressure from Moscow in the future, would probably decide that it would be unwise

to do anything that the Soviets might regard as "provocative." Under this scenario, NATO would gradually wither away while Western countries retrained the illusion of freedom. Next, said one, the Kremlin will want the unacknowledged right to veto the appointment of ministers they consider unfavorable (as they now so in Finland).

One Danish politician was laughed at a few months ago when he suggested disbanding the armed forces and substituting an answering machine which would say in Russian, "we surrender." But that is increasingly the European mood. Youth sees no point to military machines. Some 35,000 Belgian youngsters recently demonstrated against the purchase of any kind of warplane to carry the Belgian air force through the next 15 years. Belgium's Etienne Davignon, the man who runs the International Energy Agency and who tries to coordinate policy among the nine common marketees, engaged some of these youths in a dialogue. They argued that their air force would not make a particle of difference in case of war and it might as well be disbanded. Davignon rejoined that Belgium was committed to supply one of the components of the overall NATO defense and that if all NATO members followed their argument to its logical conclusion Europe would become a very tempting vacuum for the Soviet Union. "So what," university students

replied, "if the Russians take over West Europe, sooner or later they will have to leave, just as the Germans did. Soviet occupation won't destroy Belgium anymore than the German occupation did." When Davignon asked them who would push the Soviets out, they shrugged their shoulders and didn't answer.

Under normal circumstances this could be put down to political immaturity. But a few weeks later, the Dutch Socialist Party Congress came out with a resolution that disowned its own ministers in the government -- and rocked NATO circles. The Dutch Premier, in turn, disassociated himself from his party's strictures which had ordained stringent terms for continued NATO membership. Dutch socialists emulated the Belgian students and came out against either the U.S. F-16 or the French Mirage as a replacement for the aged F-104. Instead, the party platform decreed, Holland should opt for a light, strictly defensive plane which could not carry tactical nuclear weapons.

Other party demands:

-- Pull out of NATO if by 1978 alliance members have not made a contribution to detente by solemnly declaring that they will never be the first to use nuclear weapons (even in the event of a Soviet conventional attack). NATO members should also agree to include America's 7,000 tactical nukes now in Europe, which include "dual-key" weapons shared with some allies, in MBFR negotiations (a principal deterrent against Russia's overwhelmingly superior conventional capability).

-- Holland to withdraw from NATO if the French nuclear deterrent plays a role in Central Europe under any sort of joint European defense arrangement to which West Germany would be a party.

-- Holland must oppose any merger of the French and British nuclear arsenals in a common European deterrent.

-- No increase in NATO's military potential for the next four years.

-- Creation of a Europewide zone free of atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons.

The script could have been written in Moscow. Dutch ministers were so worried by the implications of these resolutions that they debated privately the advisability of fighting the next election over the NATO issue. They are convinced they would win. But others can see a dangerous precedent; if an election can be fought and lost on the same issue in Holland or elsewhere in the future. Britain's House of Commons now contains eighty Marxist sympathisers



and so-called "fundamental socialists" vs. 40 at the last nose count. Britain's referendum on whether Britain should get out of EEC is now a straight fight between Marxists and anti-Marxists and Harold Wilson, paradoxically, now depends on conservative support.

Such is the mood and temper of Europe, largely unreported in the U.S. where attention was focused on the Mideast and Indochina. There is no positive vision in the Western world which makes it easier for Marxists to maneuver Europe's social democrats further than they feel it prudent to go.

The European Security Summit Conference (33 European nations from east and west, plus the U.S. and Canada), Leonid Brezhnev's cherished dream before retirement, now assumes greater importance than ever before. The West had hoped it would become a genuine breakthrough to real detente. But the planners are now convinced it will be snare and delusion. The Soviets have made a few minor concessions during the last 29 months of negotiations on a freer exchange of people, ideas and information. But the preamble of the charter to be signed at the summit (probably in September) says the implementation will remain the voluntary prerogative of national governments -- i.e., Moscow is not committed to deliver. Eastern diplomats even had the audacity to argue that a freer exchange would be a one-way street because Bulgaria, for example, had already printed one million copies of the translated works of Shakespeare but that Britain had not yet guaranteed that a million

copies of Bulgaria's classics will be sold in Britain in English.

The east has agreed to more travel (but only in organized groups), an end to radio jamming (if the West pledges to control what's broadcast) and advance notification of military maneuvers (on a voluntary basis).

The Soviets will continue to exude sweetness and light and open up new vistas of a new Pan-European era which will, inevitably, accelerate pressures for major defense cutbacks. For Western opinion, detente means the end of the cold war. For the Soviets, it is a vehicle for (1) "peaceful intensification of the international class struggle against Western social systems" and (2) access to advanced technology to strengthen Russia's economic base and military capability. Confirmation has now come from the horse's mouth when A.I. Sobolev of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism wrote in "Working Class and Contemporary World" that "peaceful coexistence" makes it easier "for the socialist countries to render considerably greater aid to all peoples who are embarking on the path of revolutionary transformations."

The Kremlin is less inclined than ever to liberalize. Its military buildup on the European front continues from year to year (now 17,000 frontline Warsaw Pact tanks on the central front vs. 6,800 for NATO; with another 23,000 Soviets tanks on other fronts and in reserve). And everyone is convinced that this tremendous power is not destined to roll over West Europe but to back up Moscow's political "wishes" after U.S. troops have finally

phased out of the continent. Europe's planners speculate gloomily that their military weakness, lack of political will to create a viable European entity, economic recession, and widespread social unrest fanned by irresponsible union leaders, will leave their political masters little alternative but to go through a negotiating charade and, in effect, give in.

To resist these pressures will be tantamount to casting oneself in the role of cold warrior. Wildcat strike actions by militant Marxists have become deliberate attempts to plunge economies into deeper recession in the hope that this will lock them into Marxist "reforms" from which there will be no turning back. After days of urban guerrilla warfare between Marxist and Fascist extremists in Italy recently, the Communist Party enhanced its image as the moderate law and order party that could keep the restless masses under control -- if only it could share power with the Christian Democrats.

Anti-Communism has long been out in Europe. But anti-capitalism is now very "in" and Marxism has been revived as a counter-religion. The Marxist label does not carry the opprobrium of communism. The thrust of Marxist action is increasingly clear on European TV channels where Marxist sympathisers acquired junior jobs in the heady days of the 1968 revolution and have now become influential. A soon to be published report on "The New Dimensions of Security in Europe," has come to contribute to the Marxist revival and to the reduced self-confidence of the advanced, non-communist countries...

for the first time since the world depression 'capitalism' itself seemed to be in danger...((true or false)) is not the issue. The point is that the proposition that 'capitalism' was entering its final, general crisis, gained a new credibility in the eyes of the adherents of the various Marxist groups, swelling the number of new recruits."

Again the subliminal message of Marxist-oriented programs on TV has contributed to the steady demoralization of established institutions and their leaders. I have met several prominent private bankers and captains of industry in recent weeks who believe that if this Marxist campaign continues unchecked, free enterprise will be dead within ten years.

A sampling of Marxist-inspired productions on Europe's air waves in recent weeks (that I have seen personally):

-- A bitter denunciation of the allegedly vicious exploitation of Scottish oil riggers in the North Sea by their wicked Yankee capitalist bosses, later broadened to an indictment of the capitalist ruling classes -- the Play of the Week on BBC-TV.

-- the exciting, purposeful life of a Palestinian female teacher in a revolutionary society who goes on to become a hijacker contrasted with the purposeless, empty life of a Belgian female factory worker in the consumer society whose only excitement is to enter a local beauty contest -- a Belgian "Reportage-Fiction" shown on Swiss TV.

-- A nostalgic, evocative recreation of the Communist-Socialist

alliance in France in 1936 in which anyone opposing the experiment was cast in the role of a fascist (or a dodo) -- a documentary titled "Power to the Left" on French TV.

-- A debate on the media during which journalists argued there would be no real press freedom as long as papers are privately-owned and have to show profits to survive and suggested instead "an independent status for the media in the public sector" -- on French radio.

In Britain last week, militant Marxist leaders railroaded the 28,000-strong National Union of Journalists into resolutions which, unless reversed, will sharply curtail press freedom by forcing all editors-in-chief to join the union and ban outside contributions written by non-union people.

In order to undermine non-communist societies, the ISC report (to be published later this month) says that "Marxists of all categories seek and obtain employment in educational establishments at all levels, in the media and in publishing; penetrate Western parliamentary institutions, either ((via the CPs)) as in France and Italy, or as members of social democratic parties, as in Germany and Britain. In some countries, entire universities have been 'Marximized' in this way; in others faculties have been taken over, especially in departments of politics and sociology, with consequent changes in curriculum.

The danger, as all of Europe's key policy planners see it today, is that slowly, almost painlessly, Russia's de-stabilization

efforts in a much weakened and divided West Europe, will lead the continent into a kind of Pan-European limbo as it continues to slip into Moscow's political orbit.