Kissinger: Jack Anderson writes implying that not everything the Board does goes to the President. Every report of the Board does go to the President. Don't judge your influence by the frequency of meeting with us.

I think what is going on is an unmitigated disaster in foreign policy. In April our foreign policy was in excellent shape. The Chinese-Soviet triangle was operating for us. Everyone wanted to be associated with us. Now people are holding off. It is nothing bad yet, but sometimes someone will make a run at us. We have established a reputation for hard and unpredictable action.

There are two choices -- use force or don't. If we use it, use enough to succeed. In the India crisis, we move things -- carriers -- around so people would say 'If they do this over Bangladesh, what would they do over the Middle East?'

In 1970 we were to the brink of war over Jordan without a complaint from Congress.

It's in this way that Watergate is a disaster. Everything is a little harder now and takes a little longer now -- Europe, China, etc. All but the USSR. It is a national obligation to get Watergate behind us so we can be seen as an operating government. Nothing yet has really gone wrong -- I am talking about the potential.
We must get over Watergate. I speak without prejudice to the facts of it.

Internationally, the big fact is the Sino-Soviet involvement. We have so far pushed the Chinese as a sentimental thing, but let’s not kid ourselves: China wants us as a counterweight to the Soviet Union. It is a pleasure to do business with them. They are tough, they’re our best NATO ally! But if they think we are going through our cultural resolution, they won’t even run the ideological risk of being tied up with us. They are not sentimental.

A successful Soviet attack on China would overturn the world balance of power. If it is a disarming attack to which we don’t respond, if they couple it with seizing Manchuria, the effect on Europe and Japan would be disastrous. We will try to avert this.

It is alleged we have antagonized Japan by neglect, etc. It would be easy if that were so, because we could correct it. They are hard to deal with. They leak everything. You must assume that a country which (through intelligence) fears the most diabolical things of others, must be capable of diabolical things themselves. The Japanese are a potentially corrosive role internationally. Take energy. They are international scavengers. It is a narrow, cold-blooded, etc. But they are tuned to survival, so as long as the international structure is favorable, they are okay. Only if things go wrong will they desert.

Europe: They accuse us of condominium, of hegemony, of weakening the deterrent, of asking for their buildup.

The danger is that relations with adversaries become easy and those with friends acrimonious.

Also the emergence of the EC is creating some problems. There is a danger they’ll push themselves into confrontation with the US.

The Middle East: Israel is so much stronger that the dilemma is on the Arabs. Right now Israel is asking for their immediate surrender, and the Arabs are asking for a miracle. We want to help, but we will not put out a plan for both to shoot at. We are trying to get both sides, or one side, to put out something which will get negotiations going.

A: What is the Soviet attitude toward China?

Land: If we are out, would Japan jump to the Soviet Union or to China?
Kissinger: A year ago I would have said China, now perhaps the Soviet Union. It depends on the timing.

Teller: What will happen after August 15?

Kissinger: We had a negotiation going. The Chinese and Sihanouk must be as upset with the bombing halt as we are. (Gave pitch on the situation.)

I came out in January thinking we had won the war. In June, it was very different. We only had to keep Cambodia confused, so nothing could crystallize.

If China does nothing after a Soviet surgical strike, China is irrelevant; if they attack Russia, they will lose several armies.

I have given you the problems we face. On the other hand, we can make it tough on the Soviet Union and make them hesitate on China. We are pushing them in the Middle East; in Europe there may be confrontation but it will come out all right.

A: Why has Europe not supported us in the Middle East?

Kissinger: The maximum we can get out of Israel will be less than the radical Arabs want, so we should make Syria sign it. Don't bring Saudi Arabia in.
K. [Handwritten note: "write anything that you think should be written here."

Very sorry I called to talk to you.

Don't judge my silence by judging my silence.

I've been in just a surly mood and am uninterested.

Everyone who's seen me at all talks about how I look at them with a "bored" look.

We should have introduced a representative for shear & unbreakable things. There are certain real things that you can do a lot of an 80s.

We have a certain kind of austere capacity for things that are not enough.

In other words, we have strong enough or flagrant and, if they don't care, it'll be over with.

But now that we're in a time when war is possible between

I'm looking for a place to spend the night.

It's a very long distance to walk.

If you have any ideas, please let me know.

The computer system has been switched off.

You can reach me at the address below.

[Handwritten note: "Please keep this in mind while thinking about"

[Handwritten note: "the new situation"]
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

We must get our old 280 (we 2 speak of)
preparation to fortify

Traffic, a big job. We don't worry much.
We have 2.32 percent China as domestic. We
think a lot. China wants to
as China wants it. We
Please meet the cabinet. They are
up, then. Let the 2 all over.

But they think we are. They're
incorrect. The Chinese are
so rich and at liberty. They
are not so rich.

A successful Sino attack on PRC would
continue World War 2. If China attack
which we don't think we can
by changing our system, that
in Europe from absorption. We will try to see what this
will do to our system.

It is always in China and things for
republic. They if that we can
work and become

They are hard to deal with; they look at
least a part of the equipment. They
look at it. They can do it. They
must be capable of whatever thing.

[Handwritten note:"

[Signature: John F. Kennedy]"
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

...
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dec. 9th 1941, would Japan jump to Sink.
K: A year ago would have said Jap., even perhaps S. V. depends on thing.
Teller: What will happen after that?
K: We had a negotiation—Chinese & Soviets), would be no spirit of Tokyo talk
   as we.
   (Come patch on situation)
I come out in January thinking we had
   a year. In Japan, very difficult.
   We only needed that Lubbock agreement; 17
   nothing would materialize.
K: Philippine option of the supreme state
   going without, if they attack Russia they
   could be several months away.
Harsh opinion prevails here. On other
   hand, we can cross it through on S. V.
   Warm toward Indians on China, we部分
   them in M.E. in Europe some day.
   Reputation but will come out short.
   Under — why E. were not any part in AE?
K: We may conduct talks well with the big
   things, realistic things haven't, so we think
   worth again sign up it, and bring Japan across.