MEMORANDUM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:
President 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, September 10, 1974
9:00 a.m.

PLACE:
The Oval Office
The White House

Kissinger: For you to go to Korea from Japan and back would be a slap at the Koreans and present protocol problems with using Japan as a base. We should go to Korea and leave it up to the Soviet Union about getting on to Vladivostok.

President: I agree. Let's do it that way.

Kissinger: How is the foreign aid memo dealing with all aid? I would deal with the leadership on Indochina and the restrictions.

I told Dinitz to get Rosenthal off our back. He will -- he already has on poppies. Dinitz understands the danger of the Turks going radical.

On Vietnam, they will have to cut sorties, ammunition use, and the North Vietnamese will get more aggressive. They are spoiled on ammunition use. We are getting in a position where we are not getting enough but still getting Congressional scrutiny. The worst case is to operate 2-300 dollars below what is required. The restrictions will eliminate your flexibility.

President: Can we paint an accurate and dire picture that if Vietnam goes down, the whole policy in Southeast Asia is in jeopardy?
Kissinger: It will happen more insidiously. It will be used as vindication by the McGovern group that they were right all along. In foreign policy it will happen insidiously -- others will see what happens to people who rely on the United States. First we make an undesirable settlement, but with the promise of unlimited aid -- and then aid is cut off within two years. The impact over three to five years is bad.

President: I would be prepared to veto. We can't have just a one-area policy -- we can have it one way in Asia and another in the Middle East.

Kissinger: You do have an option as a new President. You could let it go -- and not be blamed, at least through '76. I must say I think it is wrong. The liberals who would applaud it would fail you when the going was tough. The liberals always move just out of reach.

President: The Post is okay now.

Kissinger: Yes. They are just right. We have done enough to get involved but not enough to win.

President: I want to give some specific categories of examples. If they are going to give us inadequate funds for Southeast Asia and load up the Middle East, I would have no hesitancy to veto.

Kissinger: No decision is required now on food aid. The crop report is due next week. Butz supports it, Ash is against and Simon is torn between.

President: He is torn between what is right and trying to save $10 billion. Did you see the McGovern report on food aid in the paper this morning? They are supportive.

Kissinger: The opposition will be on financial, not political grounds. Why don't you look at this and make a decision next week?

President: Get me the McGovern report.

Kissinger: I can't now find a counter candidate to Meany's ILO candidate.
President: Would there be any Congressional objection?

Kissinger: I'll have to run it down. Meany said....

President: Let's go ahead with Lippe. Get credit with Meany.

Kissinger: I'll tell George you ordered it.

I told Javits his needs were fulfilled but as a favor he would like her through December 31.

President: I will give it to him as a favor.


President: I usually like to read at night.

Kissinger: I advise against it unless you like it.

President: Let's not.

Kissinger: Now Heath. He is able, strong, courageous. He is odd, though. He is doctrinaire, while most British politicians are pragmatic. He is the only Prime Minister who would favor Europe over the United States, and since he might become Prime Minister, if you could in an easy way say we couldn't stand Europe organizing itself on an anti-American basis. If that happened, there is no reason for us to keep troops there -- we couldn't anyway.

President: Should I be that tough?

Kissinger: Say you want to keep the contact to Europe but can't if there develops an anti-American basis for Europe.

Another thing on Heath is his sensitivity. He sulks and it is hard to know why; communication just stops.

On the other hand, he is a strong, decent man and you should establish a relationship.

President: What do I call him?
Kissinger: Mr. Heath. His fate depends on the elections. If he loses, he is through, except perhaps as Foreign Minister.

It is in the European blood to reduce the power of powerful friends. For 300 years they have followed internecine wars for no real objective.

President: What does Heath think on detente?

Kissinger: He is tougher, but what the Europeans really want is to have it for themselves, but they don't have the power. When we were tough on the Soviet Union, they pandered to their left as holding back a wild US, and they kept running to the Soviet Union. We are best off keeping the Europeans to the right of us.

President: How about MBFR?

Kissinger: He is opposed to it. The Europeans want a free ride. Take CSCI -- we opposed it, now they are being miserable about the meaningless Basket III.

We have to be careful on detente though -- if we go too far, they will go wild. On credit too, anything we don't give the Soviets on credits, they will get from the Europeans. I bet the Europeans will meet with Brezhnev before they do you. The tendencies are for them to kick us around a bit.

President: And Rabin?

Kissinger: We would like to extend the welcome remarks. You should say, (1) you are committed to the survival and security of Israel, and (2) you would like to reaffirm our commitment to a Middle East settlement.

Then you meet for a half hour. Tell him this is not a confrontation but a meeting among friends to devise a strategy. Mention the Turks to give Dinitz some credit.

President: I'll say you have heard through the Ambassador.

Kissinger: Yes. Mention Dinitz in the toast.

Then outline the agenda and get his concurrence.
President: Can I start with the idea that we are dedicated to their survival and want to insure it but we have to have progress in the negotiation coming up? We have things to consider -- we don't want a war, or an oil embargo. He must realize we have problems on Congressional backing, inflation and the budget; we can't strip our forces to oversupply them. Is that okay?

Kissinger: It will frighten him but it doesn't hurt. Nixon gave him a letter on long-term supply. I told them it had no specific meaning.

They say they need hardware to be flexible. I don't believe it. A big authorization now would rip it with the Saudis. Maybe next year, after a major disengagement.

President: Let's discuss it frankly.

Kissinger: I don't think you can go beyond the first two packages and we will discuss the rest now.

President: We are committed to the long-term, but we can't put a dollar figure now.

Kissinger: They are saying if they don't get something they will go into a confrontation. He needs something.

There is a need for progress toward peace -- that is compatible with Israeli security. You can say the spirit of the last negotiations will be continued.
K For you to go from Japan to New York in the summer to stay at Kamoche's and pretend you're staying there, we could send you to Korea or China or both. We could even send you to Egypt. So about getting on a plane.

P Don't rush it just that way.

K This is foreign and would be only a one-off deal. Would you deal ill illustrating the Japanese and foreign affairs? I think Denny is just being personal. He is not ill-illuminating changing trends going on.

C On U.S., they will have cut H's, which, of course, is normal and also very difficult. They are equilibrated, and we are well positioned to deal well with the cutters. We are getting mean but still getting on a cutting. We are not operating in the same frame of mind. Restrictions will eliminate your flexibility.

P Remember we've never made a legal picture of U.N. power with, at this time, in shining a proper frame.

K With Japan, we're still applying. She will continue to mobilize the Japanese sense that they will keep the old deal. The U.S. will apply pressure to keep the U.S.-Japan relationship. First an understanding settlement, then an agreement of something and - them and us out of it. But the right over 3.5 years.

P I was supposed to take. We could have just a one-time thing - we could have it all in order to another week.

K You do have an option as a new P. You could do it, not be demonstrated, at least from 76. I wanted to think it through. Back a little to where would it go? It would not fall upon us when they going over there. The decision should have been made.
The text on the image is a handwritten note with several paragraphs. Due to the nature of handwriting, some words or letters are unclear or crossed out. Here is a transcription of the legible parts:

P. The post is very windy.
K. Yes, they are just right. We have done enough to get some help, but not enough in time.
P. We should get some more supplies from Europe. For example, if they give us some more equipment, they may help us.
K. I agree. If we could get some more supplies, it would help in our situation.
P. No, the origin is not from him. He just isn't that type. But, you know, I think against.
K. The origin is from what is right to him. I think it's right.
P. The town that is what is right to him is right.
K. Did you see the German light on flood light in phone this morning? They dropped.
P. The operation will be from now. I didn't look at it. So make sure you report.
P. Get me the German report.
K. I can't even find on paper candidate to win.
P. I'm candidate.
P. Any other objections?
K. I'll have to see it then. I saw it.
P. I also go, which is bigger. Get control of money.
K. I'll tell you when you're adult.
P. I will. Post your orders and fulfill it.
K. He would have more if he did that. Could he?
P. I will give it to him as soon as.
K. Rearguard éléments. Site president, information.
P. I usually like to read it after.
K. I can send against it makes you think.
P. I hate it.
K. How about. He is a very strong character. He is old. He is very determined, calm, trust for politicians are pragmatic. He is
only PM who would support Ems move US. Line is tight. Because PM is strong. Could win on any way we can think. Stand Ems on anti-USS basis. If that happened use our reason for the to have thing. This - we could say no.

P. Should be that simple.

K. Or, you want to keep c. United to Ems but insist on anti-USS basis for Ems.

Another thing on Heath is his sensitivity. He's quite a hard nut. He knows why Communists just stop.

On other hand is a strong, decent man - you should establish a relationship.

P. What do I tell him?

K. Mr. Heath, this later depends on election. If later is then, yours perhaps is far.

It is in Ems blood to reduce c. powers of important friends. If you want they have followed international trade for 40 years. Objective.

P. What Heath think our targets?

K. He thought, but what Ems really want is to play at for themselves, but then that have c. power when we want them on US. They found he then kept on holding back with US, + they kept coming to US. At last if keeping Ems in import

P. How about N. FR.

K. Hey presto! Ems won't face side. Take c. side, you could sit, now they being interested about

universities. Basket III.

We have to be careful on divorce line - if we can too soon, they will go wild. On election, if they win we don't give. On elections, they want just from Christmas. So let Ems win without making before the one year. The two next one for them to kick around a bit.
P. And Robin
K. MM will take a similar view - mines
1. Could the survival - perhaps
2. Hope to receive an instant here - without.

Then you must be there. Tell him this 2nd
compensation must be not any funds to defray
strategy. Mention - Transfer your density some
credit.
P. Will you have heard them about.
K. Yes. Martin Density shown in Toast.

There was another angle to put my examination.
P. Can I start without dedication to them enough to
want to follow it but we have to have prog
instead coming up. We have things to
imagine blank and then out indulge. He must
realize we have gone on being nothing satisfac
to include, exist they can pass to successfully then.
Do that K?
K. It will frighten him but doesn't hurt. When gave
him a letter to long time supply. I told them
it had original meaning.
P. They will harden to be perfect I don't
believe it. With another, then worse would
rise it is Sounds. Maybe must you again after
a long dream.
P. Let it die away - possibly.
K. I don't think you can go beyond 1st degree
as we will discuss next week.
P. We are meant to long term, but we can't put
a dollar figure now.
K. I think any of them didn't forget something they will
see with comprehension. He needs something
to lend face for you that could - something
W.1:3 possibly.