

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford  
Don Kendall  
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Thursday, April 8, 1976  
4:54 - 5:55 p.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

[There was small talk at the beginning.]

Kendall: I know your schedule is tight, so I am organized. I want to talk about US-Soviet relations and politics.

I started going to the Soviet Union in 1939.

[Discusses his qualifications as a Soviet student.]

I believe in detente -- there is no other answer.

[Discusses political qualifications -- campaigning for Nixon in '66, '68, '72.]

There were no "plusses" in the Cold War -- either political or military. It is easy to give a speech and kick the Soviets around. It takes some guts and innovation to be constructive.

The new relationship was based on a series of bridges -- not to change the system but to build an interlocking web which will build up trust and confidence. The Soviets have educated their people and the result has been pent-up consumer demand like nowhere else I have ever seen. Brezhnev spends two-thirds of his time with me on consumer problems. [Story about Brezhnev and Czech invasion.]



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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5  
NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Div. inv. 3/12/04  
BY           , NARA, DATE 7/1/04

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Over a period of time we can build up leverage with trade and grain, but that will take years. But the linkage theory never had a chance to work -- we never gave them the trade or the credits.

And I know all about the Jewish issue. I have had garbage dumped in my yard, etc. But the Council for Soviet Jewry came to me and asked for help. [Described the deal for starting the MFN reversal.] This was all set when Angola burst. I think Angola got out of proportion. The only thing wrong was the Cubans. There was nothing wrong with the Soviets supporting their side -- just like we do.

The cancellation of the Commercial Commission really got me upset. You can't do this sort of thing on a stop-and-go basis. This is a big error -- just like when you dropped the word "detente." I tried to talk Henry out of it but he went ahead anyway. I was mad as hell at Henry. We just shouldn't blow everything when something goes wrong.

The other problem is the military. They have terrible blinders on. The only difference between Schlesinger and Rumsfeld is he is a better salesman.

The President: That is why I picked him.

Kendall: I don't think you have to hit the Soviets over the head. It is a lousy way to go about it. Why the hell does Don have to say, "I don't trust the Russians." You can't win in the long run by creating a crisis with the Soviets -- you can't do it year after year.

You made a terrible mistake when you dropped "detente."

The President: It was only the word, not the process.

Kendall: I know, but when you drop the word it rattles not only here but around the world. You support the process but people don't believe it because you drop the word.

The President: I guess we differ on that.

Kendall: We do and you are wrong.

Now, politics. Humphrey is going to be the winner. He will clean you up the way you are going on foreign policy.



The President: I agree on Humphry.

Kendall: [Reads Harris judgments on support in the country on detente and Kissinger.]

The President: You haven't heard me say anything but in support of Kissinger.

Kendall: Yes, but it doesn't help when your people go around bad-mouthing him, Laird and Morton.

The President: You know we got Morton turned right around. Laird is uncontrollable.

Kendall: True, but Morton said in January, when I asked if he had checked with Henry about something, that Henry didn't count for much anymore. [Reads from draft Democratic platform a statement strongly supporting a detente policy with the Soviet Union.]

Be positive on detente.

Don't sell the Defense budget by kicking the Soviets.

Don't hold off on MFN.

Hold the Patolichev meeting.

Move as fast as possible on SALT.

The President: Let me talk to Brent on Patolichev. On SALT we are doing what we can, but we have trouble with the military.

Kendall: The military shouldn't be in economic policy. They are in both. They won't let us sell to the Soviets, so US technology goes to the Soviets through Japanese and European companies.

The President: We are moving as fast as possible on SALT.

P/Don Kendall 4:54 - 5:55 p.m.

8 Apr 76

(Chit-chat)

K. I have your schedule is tight, so I am organized.  
I want to talk US-Sov relations + politics.

I started going to SD in 1989.

(Discusses his qualifications as Sov student)

I believe in détente - there is no other answer.

(Discusses political participation - campaigning  
for Nixon 66, 68, 72)

There were no phrases in a Cold War - either political  
or military. It is easy to give a speech + talk a  
SD around. It takes some guts + innovation to  
be constructive.

The new relationship was based on a series of <sup>bridges</sup> -  
not to change a system but build interlocking  
web which will build up trust + conf.

These Sovs have educated their people + a result has  
been part-time consumer demand like nowhere ~~else~~  
else I have ever seen. Brez spends 4/3 of his  
(story about Brez + Czech invasion)  
time w/ and an consumer file.

Over a long period of time we can build up leverage  
w/ trade + gain, but that will take years. But a  
trick they never had a chance to work - we  
never gave them a trade or credits.

And I know all about a Jewish issue. I have  
had garbage dumped in my yard, etc. But  
the Committee for Soviet Jewry came to me + asked for  
help. (provided a deal for starting a MAFV center)  
This was all set when Angola burst.

I think Angola got out of proportion. The only thing  
wrong was a embargo. There nothing wrong  
w/ Sovs separating their side - just like we do.

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BY WA MAR 04 7/1/04



- The Concellution of a Coal Census really got me upset. You can't do this sort of thing on a stop & go basis. This is a big sign - just like when you dropped a word detente. I tried to talk K out of it but ~~it~~ he went ahead anyway. I was used as hell at Henry. We just shouldn't blame anything when something goes wrong.
- The other pub is a military. They have terrible blinders on. The only dip from Bret Schless & Bunsfeld is to be a better callowman.

P That is why I picked him.

K I don't think you have to hit a Soviet even a hard. It is a lousy way to go about it. Why a hell does Dan have to say "I don't trust a

Russians". You can't win via a long run by creating a ~~new~~ crisis w/c Sovs - you can't do it year after year.

• You made a terrible mistake when you dropped detente.

P It was a word not a process.

• K ~~As~~ I know, but when you drop a word it rattles not only here but around a world. You support a process but people don't believe it because you drop a word.

P I guess we differ on that

• K We do & you are wrong.

• Your political Humphrey is going to be crucified. He will clean you up every year you are going on FP.

P I agree on Humphrey

• K (Reeds Harris judgments on support in a country on detente & K



P You haven't heard me say anything but in support of K

K Yes, but it doesn't help when your people go around bad mouthing him - David + Director

P You know we got Director turned right around, David is unimpressed

\* K True, but Director said in Jan, when I asked if he had checked w/ K about something, that Henry didn't count for much any more.

(Reads from draft census platform a statement strongly supporting a detente policy w/c S.U.)

- Be positive on detente

Don't sell off budget by kicking a Saver

Don't hold up on MEX

Hold a Patriotic meeting.

Unice ~~is~~ or part a position on SATT

P Let me talk to Brent on ~~the~~ Patriotic. On SATT we doing what we can, but we have troubles w/ a insider

K The marketing shouldn't be in census job. They are in both. They would let us sell to Saver, so US ~~so~~ technology goes to a Saver than Jap + Eur companies.

P We ~~are~~ are working on part a position SATT.  
We

