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.]
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.
(Chat-

K I have seen a student in Egypt, so I am going to go to the US State Department tonight.

I started going to school in 1972.

(Describes the qualifications of the student)

I believe in Athens - there is no other reason.

(Describes political commitments - longings)

for Egypt (66, 47, 72)

There was a problem with Cold War - extra-territorial - in the Middle East. It is easy to put a superpower - the US - over a conflict to use and manipulate.

The term relationship was based on territory - not to change a system but to build a new order which will build my empire.

These were the alliances. The people - the result has been that my conquered world has now taken over the world. Everyone is in. They spread to 75-70's (Story about Egypt in modern)

Time now - end an enumeration.

Over a long period of time, one can build my legitimacy in a country, but that will take years. But it takes a long time to be perceived as someone - a leader, to build an image, to build an identity.

And I knew that about a Jewish issue. I have had a very close relationship with the US. That's all I need. Now, I can talk about years, the Butlers, the Lincons. The Jews know that I am the one who can talk about today. I am the ideal. It's a deal for the Middle East. I am the one who can talk about it.

I think we have to find our way out of it. The only thing that I can do is to go to the Jordanians. They are going to be important in the future, to go to the Jordanians. They are going to be important in the future. They are going to be important in the future. They are going to be important in the future.
The Constitution of the United States really... got me agitated. You can't do this sort of thing in a step-by-step basis. This is a big goal - first, when you begged a word... student, I tried to talk it out. It's not fair to want... thing... even thinking of it wrong.

The word goal is everywhere. There were times when I... of... was to... W. Shott... R. N. is to... a better callahan.

P: That's why I... fail him.
K: I don't think you have to like... Sore under... hand. It's a heavy way to go about it. Why... I'll do... D. M. have to say: Don't trust c... Russians. You can't win... long run by... winning... wins... Sore - you can... 20 years of... year.

You may have students when they... dropped students.

P: Study and insert fences.
K: I know, but when you drop... it matters... only thing that... world. You support fences. Most people don't... it because you... fence.

P: I quote an opinion that... K: What do you see coming.

Your politics. Humphrey is going to... winner. He will... can't... expectation you can go in FL.

P: I agree on Humphrey.
K: Thanks. Harrispinkney an... support in... county on... districts K.
P. You can't throw me any talking but in support of K.

K. Yes, but it doesn't help when you passages around and making them hard, does it?
P. You know I got it turned right around, heard to concentrate it.

K. I saw, but wasn't paid for it when I saw it with the back. I said didn't want about anything, that they didn't want for much any more.

Well, from draft and platform or statement strongly suggesting a definite policy (\\n\n).\n
Be positive on extent.

Don't sell off brand by having a Sarah

Don't talk off an MRA

Hold a patch

This is no part of their salt

P. Let me think, is it to the protection, don't salt and don't what one can, knot me home, knot o'ree, with a mobility.

K. There's nothing that's in a sense fail.

They can win, and, they can't what we said to the same, so if it's technology you to a sense there is a lot of an improvement.

P. We can see more or start to position salt.