

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~/NODIS/XGDS

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford
Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Sunday, October 3, 1976
2:18 - 4:18 p.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

Kissinger: First, a few foreign policy things. I spoke to the editorial writers. I needled Carter a bit. They asked me if I still believed there was no difference between the foreign policy views of the two candidates. I answered that. I said that when I said that, he had given one speech. Since then, he has displayed the full complexity of his thought! So now I wouldn't say that. Now Carter is going in several directions at once.

On foreign policy there is a high probability that Egypt will jump Libya in the last part of October. This would be a donnybrook. We have said we would interpose the Sixth Fleet.

[Discussion]

The Soviets will think we put the Egyptians up to it. It will be tough for the Soviets -- it would reduce them just to Iraq.

President: It would be great if they succeed, but what if they get beaten?

Scowcroft: They won't get militarily beaten, but it is a thousand miles to Tripoli and they may not make it logistically.

President: We have to stand up to the Soviets if we need to.

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NSC MEMO, 11/10/76, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Review 3/13/04
BY ll NARA. DATE 7/19/04



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Kissinger: That gets me to Gromyko. His behavior was really insolent. On Belenko [the defecting MiG-25 pilot] and Southern Africa.

I thought about calling him in and saying if they muck around in Africa, there will be no detente, no nothing.

In the Middle East they have interests. In Africa it is pure mischief. They don't really stand to gain much from this gang and they have no permanent interests there. They can only be doing it to weaken and humiliate us. If they have any ideas about another Angola....

President: I thought I had. . . .

Kissinger: You made the points, but he slid off it.

On Namibia, I am beginning to think we should not put out the seven points yet. If we do it now, it can go the same way as Rhodesia. Now it would just get nitpicked by the Africans like what we did on Rhodesia. We may have to veto a resolution in the meantime, but we can do it after December.

On the Israelis, Max Fisher claims the Jews are mad about the boycott and Maverick and thinks you should administratively order disclosure. I spoke to Dinitz and I think giving them some military equipment -- tanks with 155 mm. guns, cluster bombs, FLIR, and the \$1.5 billion in aid -- this would strengthen Rabin against Peres.

I think this is better than doing something on the boycott.

What the Congress wanted to do would have cost American jobs and trade and not helped the boycott.

Scowcroft: You could run through it. You could say you always believed an informal approach was the best, and we have made great progress. That's why you were opposed to counterproductive action by legislation. You had been willing to compromise, but the Congress didn't complete it. In reviewing it, you did think some additional inducement would be useful, by making public the compliance reports.

Kissinger: On the debate, you should not go on the defensive.

President: I have no intention of doing so.



Kissinger: He will say you are destroying the moral basis of our foreign policy.

President: I will say: What is more moral than peace? What is more moral than bringing peace in the Middle East? What is more moral than what we're doing in Southern Africa? There are about five things.

Kissinger: And what is more moral than bringing home 500,000 troops? The Democrats have gotten us into two wars.

President: I am well prepared on that.

Kissinger: He will hit also on secrecy. [Gives statistics on meetings.]

President: Good.

Kissinger: Another charge is that I am running foreign policy. The White House puts out that no, you overrule me frequently. That makes you look weak, as if we compete. You should look strong enough to have a strong Secretary of State. We are a partnership, with you making the decisions. We shape things in discussion -- it is not a case of competing views.

Scowcroft: [Hands the President the 1974 Carter quote praising Kissinger.]

Kissinger: Carter said we were good friends and met frequently. I have met him twice in my life and once was a handshake at the Gridiron this year.

He will throw morality at you -- using the State Department surveys I took. That is not true. We asked for criticisms and that is what we got. We asked what was wrong, not what was right. I told the editors that yesterday and got applause. It was a stupid way for us to go at it, but it shows our interest and a desire to get the views of the people.

Schlesinger is now with Carter.

Scowcroft: So says Dick Perle.

Kissinger: When Schlesinger went to China, I told the Chinese that we didn't object to his going but not to use it for political purposes. The goddamned Chinese said we officially protested.

Carter might say, "Schlesinger says our relations with China are lousy." You could say it is based on the Shanghai Communique and if they have any complaints they should convey them to the United States Government, not to a private citizen. If he says the Chinese say we are weak on the Soviets, I would say China can't tell us how to conduct our policy just like the Soviets can't. The Chinese would like us to be in confrontation with the Soviet Union to take their chestnuts out of the fire.

I said yesterday to the editorial writers we have to preserve peace both by strength and by conciliation.

If he hits generally on being weak on the Soviets, point out his positions. He wants to cut the defense budget, prevent our giving military aid to Kenya and Zaire, withdraw from Korea, and let Communists into European governments.

I would say there have been two Democratic administrations since World War II and we have gotten into two wars; we've had two Republican Administrations and got into no war.

I honestly believe that is no accident. They extend our commitments and reduce our strength. Do you have these statements on Communists in Italy? I would not defend the soft on Soviets charge. I would attack him for making it.

[Discussion of Earl Butz]

Kissinger: [Gives the President the Keyes UPI ticker on secrecy].

President: Let's call Schmidt [after seeing a vote projection].

Kissinger: Jack Valenti took some opinion polls and told Carter to stay away from me.

[Discussion of asking Carter to name his Secretary of State.]

Our Alliance relationships have never been better. There is not only official trust but close personal relations.

President: We have statistics showing the number of my meetings....

Kissinger: Okay, but I would say, "That really is not the central point. I challenge anyone to show that our relations in every aspect are not the best ever."

I spoke to a Frenchman who said it is amazing that that aristocrat Giscard could have such close affection for a mid-Westerner.

I would not even dignify it. I would say a man who could say this doesn't know what he is talking about.

[Discussion of Schlesinger]

What I would recommend after the election is that you unilaterally downgrade our representative in Taiwan to a Liaison Office but not make any deal at all and keep our defense relations.

You can be quite tough on the Chinese.

On the China-Taiwan issue, you can say we are moving toward normalization on the basis of the Shanghai Communique. The Shanghai Communique sets out the goal but leaves the process to negotiations. We will continue toward normalization but the actual process is up to the negotiations, and I am not going to discuss it at this point.

He says we have departed from the moral basis of foreign policy. I would say we have restored the moral basis of our foreign policy. I would blast him on that.

If he raises the Sonnenfeldt Doctrine, I would say there is none. What we also say is: we encourage the greatest independence and freedom of action but do not encourage a revolution. We have not intervened before during revolutions. Does he want to encourage a revolution? You have taken the responsible course -- Presidential visits and trade.

We won't imply there is possibility of revolution when three times in the past the Soviet Army marched in. Who would be willing to use United States troops for an issue like this?

The greatest possibility for freedom in Eastern Europe is an easing of tensions so they can maneuver. The worst situation for them is when the Soviet Army is on their necks. You visited three countries in Eastern Europe to symbolize our commitment to freedom in Eastern Europe. No Democratic President has ever been in Eastern Europe.

President: Didn't Kennedy go to Poland?

Kissinger: No, Nixon was the first, when he went to Romania. I wouldn't just attack Carter. On foreign policy I would attack the Democrats also. Most Democrats agree our foreign policy is better.

Scowcroft: Isn't that dangerous?

Kissinger: On domestic policy yes, foreign policy no. This is the man who wants to cut the budget, bring troops home and advocate revolution in Eastern Europe. This is the way to get us into war.

On Helsinki, the first point is there were 35 nations there, including the Vatican, not just the United States. Second, when he says it recognizes spheres of influence, it shows Carter doesn't know what he is talking about. Helsinki says nothing about the Soviet Union in Europe. It says that borders can't be changed by force, but only by peaceful means. To whose advantage is this? Ours or the Soviet Union's, with 70 divisions on the border? For the first time the Soviets have committed themselves to implementing human rights. They're not sticking to it right now but it gives us a standard to which we can hold them.

I am getting worked up. But this guy really burns me. He is a super liberal and now he is turning tough.

On grain, I don't like this answer [in Eagleburger's paper].

Scowcroft: He said we messed up the grain deal in 1972. The implications are that he would use grain as a weapon.

You will get a question on an oil embargo.

President: I will say we don't expect one but we can work with them now to work it out, unlike 1973.

Kissinger: The first part is okay but on the second I would say we won't accept an embargo, but I won't telegraph what I would do. Our policy is designed to avoid an embargo, but we will certainly deal with it if it happens.

On nuclear proliferation, he again doesn't know what he is talking about. We organized the suppliers. You have a policy but you are waiting to announce it until you have coordinated with our allies. Carter would do it unilaterally and in fact against our allies.

If you win this one, the third debate won't matter.

On human rights: What has any Democratic Administration done for human rights and when? We have brought Jewish emigration from 400 in 1968 to 35,000 in 1973 until Congress interfered. There is a difference: We believe in action, not talk.

When he talks dictatorship, say it is easy to make declarations, but a President has the responsibility for the security of the United States and he must deal with the world as it is. It was the Democratic killing of Diem which got us sucked irrevocably into Vietnam. We are working on a practical basis; what Carter proposes is either ineffective, dangerous or both.

On intelligence. He says people have been assassinated. I would say most of that was under the Democrats. Then I would say one of the most irresponsible things ever done to our intelligence was done by a Democratic Congress.

President: They have talked and done not a goddamned thing. I put in the changes.

Kissinger: I would say there was a reckless assault on intelligence by the Democratic Congress and you took responsible action.

President: Did you say all assassinations?

Scowcroft: Except for a little planning under Ike.

Kissinger: If they bring Chile into the assassination business I would say: read your own Church report.

On the Middle East, I would say the Democrats had no relations with the key Arab states. We have restored the balance and you are certainly not going to play politics with so volatile and dangerous an area.

I don't have an Israeli policy. I have an American policy. Say Rabin said our relations are at their peak.

President: Can I say the key Arab states didn't have relations with us?

Kissinger: Absolutely. I wouldn't use the actual amount of aid except if he does, to show he doesn't know what he is talking about.

President: I feel good about this one.

Kissinger: Here you can refute you have no vision of the future. Say: I will bring peace.

On the Third World, I would start with the World Food Conference.

On Defense, I don't know what Schlesinger can have him do.

President: I am ready for him.

Scowcroft: Arms sales.

Kissinger: He is using the wrong figures. He is saying \$7.5 billion for the Saudis. Over \$6 billion of that is for barracks, etc. I would hit him on it.

The biggest sales go to Israel and Iran, two countries who have made a big contribution to stability in the Middle East.

What is the threat to Iran? The Soviet Union, Iraq. The threat to Iran is from countries we would also consider a threat. Iran refused to impose an embargo in 1973 -- even on Israel. Truman threatened the Soviet Union on Iran's behalf in 1946.

Giving arms doesn't get us involved; not giving them would get us involved because their weakness would invite aggression and we would have to go in to bail them out.

The third category of aid goes to countries like Kenya and Zaire who have Soviet-equipped neighbors.

Most of the aid goes to Israel, Iran, and Saudi Arabia -- for infrastructure -- leaving only bits and pieces for the rest of the world.

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PRESIDENT/KISSINGER MEMCON

October 3, 1976

Kissinger: On the debate, you should not go on the defensive.

The President: I have no intention of doing so.

Kissinger: He will say you are destroying the moral basis of our foreign policy.

The President: I will say:

- What is more moral than peace
- Middle East
- South Africa

There are about five things.

Kissinger: And what is more moral than bringing home 500,000. The Democrats have gotten us into two wars.

The President: I am well prepared on that.

Kissinger: He will hit also on secrecy, (gives statistics on meetings).

The President: Good.

Kissinger: Carter said we were good friends and met frequently. I have met him twice in my life and once was a handshake at the Gridiron this year. He will throw morality at you -- using the State polls I took. That is not true, we asked for criticisms and that is what we got. We asked what was wrong, not what was right. I told the editors that yesterday

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~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED BY: HENRY A. KISSINGER

and got applause. It was a stupid way for us to go at it, but it shows an interest and desire to get the views of the people. Schlesinger is now with Carter.

Scowcroft: So says Dick Perle.

Kissinger: When Schlesinger went to the PRC, I told the PRC that we didn't object to his going but not to use it for political purposes. The GD PRC said we officially protested.

Carter might say Schlesinger says our relations with China are lousy. You could say it is based on the Shanghai Communique and if they have any complaints they should convey them to the United States Government, not a private citizen. If he says the PRC say we are weak on the Soviets, I would say China can't tell us how to conduct our policy just like the Soviets can't. The PRC would like us to be in confrontation with the Soviet Union to take their chestnuts out of the fire.

I said yesterday to the editorial writers we have to preserve peace both by strength and by conciliation.

If he hits generally on being weak on Soviets:

- Cut budget
- Aid to Kenya/Zaire
- Withdraw from Korea
- Let Communists into European Governments

I would say there have been two democratic administrations since World War II and we have gotten into two wars -- two Republican Administrations and no war.

I honestly believe that is no accident. They extend our commitments and reduce our strength. I would not defend the soft on Soviets charge. I would attack him for making it. ✓

Allies:

Alliance relationships have never been better.

There is not only official trust but close personal relations.

The President: We have statistics showing the number of my meetings....

Kissinger: Okay, but I would say that really is not the central point -- I challenge anyone to show that our relations in every respect are not the best ever.

I would not even dignify it. I would say a man who could say this doesn't know what he is talking about.

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Sonnenfeldt Doctrine

I would say there is none. What we do say: we encourage the greatest independence and freedom of action but do not encourage a revolution. We have not intervened before during revolutions. Does he want to encourage a revolution? You have taken the responsible course -- Presidential visits and trade.

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Helsinki

-- The first point is there were 35 nations there, including the Vatican, not just the United States.

✓ Second, spheres of influence. Shows Carter doesn't know what he is talking about. Helsinki says nothing about the Soviet Union in Europe. Says borders can't be changed by force but by peaceful means. To whose advantage is this? Us or the Soviet Union with 70 divisions on the border. For the first time the Soviets have committed themselves to implementing human rights. Not sticking to it right now, but it gives us a standard to which we can hold them.

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On Proliferation:

He again doesn't know what he is talking about.

We organized the suppliers. You have a policy but you are waiting to announce it until you have coordinated with our allies. Carter would do it unilaterally and in fact against our allies.

Kissinger: Human Rights.

What has any Democrat Administration done for human rights and when?

-- We have brought Jewish emigration from 400 to 35,000 until Congress interfered.

-- There is a difference -- we believe in action, not talk.

-- When he talks dictatorship, say it is easy to make declarations, but a President has the responsibility for the security of the United States and he must deal with the world as it is. It was the Democrat killing of Diem which got us sucked irrevocably into Vietnam. We are working on a practical basis -- what Carter proposes is either ineffective, dangerous or both.

Intelligence -- He says people have been assassinated. I would say most of that was under the Democrats. Then I would say one of the most irresponsible things ever on intelligence was done by a Democratic Congress.

The President: They have talked and done not a GD thing. I put in the changes.

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If they bring Chile into the assassination business I would read your own Church report.

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I wouldn't use the actual amount of aid except if he does to show he doesn't know what he is talking about.

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-- I will bring peace.

-- On the third world, I would start with World Food Conference.

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Scowcroft: Arms sales.

Kissinger: He is using the wrong figures. He is saying seven and a half billion for the Saudis. Over \$6 billion of that is for barracks, etc. I would hit him on it.

The biggest sales go to Israel and Iran. Two countries who have made a big contribution to the stability of the Middle East.

What is the threat to Iran?

The threat to Iran is from countries we would also consider a threat.

Iran refused to impose an embargo in 1973 -- even on Israel.

Truman threatened the Soviet Union on Iran's behalf in 1946.

Giving arms doesn't get us involved -- not giving them would get us involved because their weakness would invite aggression and we would have to go into bail them out.

The third category goes to countries like Kenya and Zaire who have Soviet equipped neighbors.

Most aid goes to Israel, Iran, Saudi Arabia (infrastructure) leaving only bits and pieces for the rest of the world.



P/K
30 Oct 76

R First a few F.P. things. I expect to edit
notes. I needed Contra but.

W D if get F1 errors - done. Then he
had given 1 speech. Since he has
displayed a full complexity, I wouldn't
say that. He going in several dir. at once.

On F.P., high prob that E will jump him
in last of Oct. This would be a ~~downside~~
we have said we would ~~interpose~~ ^{at} ~~the~~ ~~F.V.~~
(Discussion)

The Secs - will think ~~up~~ we put a E up
to it. It will be tough for a Secs - would
reduce than first to Iraq.

P It great if they succeed, what if they get beat.

S They won't get soil. location, but it 1000
miles to Tadjik & they may not make it
logistically.

P We have to stand up to Secs if we need to.

R That gets me to Gungah. His behavior was
really insolent. (Belarus + Opica)

I got about calling him in & say if they
buck around in Opica there will be
no detente, no nothing.

In - N/E they have interests. In Opica it is
pure ~~interest~~ mischief. They don't really
stand to gain much from this game & they
have no planned interests. They can only
weaken & humiliate us. If they had
any ideas about another Angola.

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RV 14 7/13/04



P I think I had....

K you made points, but to shut off it.
On humania I think we should not put
out - 7 pts yet. If we do now it can
go some way as Rhodesia. Now it
could just get not picked like Rhodesia. We
may have to wait, but we can do it after
Dec.

K One debate, Fisher claims & Jones are
mad about boycott & humania & thinks
you should achieve arms disclosure, I
speak to Dinity & I think giving them same will.
Equip - tanks / 155 guns, Chatter bomb, F1R,
more than 1.5 bil in aid. This would
strengthen Britain against France.

Cost that
out

I think this better than doing something or a
boycott

K What a Congress wanted to do would have
cost some jobs & trade & not helped boycott

S (my approach)

K One debate, you should not go on humania

P I have no intention of doing so.

K As much as you destroying current basis of
one FP

P - block more around than peace
- NLE

- Sir Opine

There are about 5 things.

K and what is more worse than

bringing home 500, and
Dennis had gotten us with 2 boxes

P I am well prepared on that

R He will list cases on necessary
(cases statistics on mtg.)

P Good.

R Another change is that I'm using F.P.
ON it puts out that no you announce me
frequently. That makes you look awkward
as if you were a computer. You should look strong
enough to have strong rec state. We
are particularly good at you making decisions.
We shape things in decisions - it
isn't a case of competing ideas

S (Hand P's & Porter question R)

R He also said we were good friends & met
frequently. I have met him twice in my life
& once was a bad shake at ~~garden~~ this year
He will throw morality at you - using a
State poll I took. That's not true, we
asked for criticisms & that's what we got. We
ask what was wrong, not what was right.
D.H.C. writes that yesterday & got displeased.
It was a stupid way to go at it, but it
shows openness & desire to get things of people.

Schles now w/ Carter

S So says Dick Perle

R When Schles went to RC I told Perle that

we didn't object to his going but not to use
it for pol. purposes. The G.D. PRC said
we officially protested.

Center might say Salsbo says our relations
w/ China are lousy. You could say it
based on Shunghai Communiqué + if they
have any complaints they should convey them to -
USA, into a private citizen
If the PRC say we work on Soro, I would
say Chinese can't tell us how to conduct our
policy, just like Soro can't. PRC work
together in cooperation w/ ~~PRC~~ ^{US}

to take their chestnuts out of fire.
I said yesterday, ^{to edit history} how to preserve peace
by strength + by conciliation

If he looks really as weak on Soro:

- Cut budget
- Cut to Korea / Zonia
- W/draw from Korea
- hit into into Euro zone

cut -
write my
telegram style

R I would say there have been 2 deans since
since WWII + we have gotten into 2 wars -
2 Republics + no war.

I honestly believe it was accident. They
multiply our constraints + reduce our strength.
Do you have these statements on Cont. in 2/27
I would not defend a soft on Soro charge
I would attack him for making it.

(Discussion of Karl Bortz)

K (Gives P a Keyes UPI ticket on security)

P Let's call Schmidt (after evening with projection)

K Volante took some opinion polls & told Carter to stay away from attacking me.

(Discussion of asking ~~for~~ Carter to name his Sec State

Allies -

They have never been on the

There is not only official trust but also personal relations

P We have statistics. . . .

K OK but I would say that really isn't a point - I challenge anyone to show that our relations in ^{every aspect} ~~any aspect~~ are not ~~so~~ a best ever.

I spoke to a Fr. who said it amazing that exists. Giscard ~~to~~ could have close affection for a mid westerner.

I would not even dignify it. I would say a man who could say this ~~is~~ doesn't know what he's talking about.

(Discussion of Schiller)

What I would reason after election is that you militantly damaged our dip. relations to liaison office but not make any deal at all & keep our dip relations.

I plan to do ^{you can be pretty tough on a Chinese.}



P Did Kennedy go to Poland?

K No. Nixon was 1st when he went to Russia. He wouldn't just attack Carter. On FP would attack a Demos ^{also}. Invol Demos agree with FP's letter

S Don't that dangerous?

R On domestic policy yes, FP no.

This is a ~~man~~ ^{man} who wants to cut budget, bring troops home & alternate coalition in E.F. or. This is a way to get into war.

Helsinki

- First part is there were 35 nations, incl. Vietnam, not just US

- 2nd part. Sphere of influence. Shows leaders don't know what he talking about. Helsinki says nothing about SC in E. or. Says borders can't be changed by force but by peace. To where advantage is this? Was a ~~good~~ ^{good} w/ 70 days on a border.

For 1st time a Sec have wanted to implement it in rights. Not sticking to it, but it gives a standard to which they can hold him.

I am getting mixed up. But this guy really knows me. He is a super lik & now he turning tough.

On gain - I don't like his answer.

S He said we missed up gain in 22.
The implications are that he would use
gain as wages.

S You will get a question on exchange

P I don't say we don't reject it but
we can work w/ them now

K 1st part ok but I would say we won't
accept it but I won't take what I
would do. Our policy designed to avoid it,
but we will deal w/ it if it happens

On policy -

He again doesn't know what he's talking
about.

We are going to - suppliers. You know
a policy but you want to move
for each of our allies. Carter would do
it simultaneously & against one ally.

If you win this one I 3rd don't want
to matter.

Then if we E attack, that will be big
help - I really will like it. Some very
useful screens. Maybe you should

call Don, tell him your concerns & call Ma WSAAG

S I don't

R Human Rights

What has any Demo Admin done
for human rights anywhere?

- We bought Jewish emigration for 400 to 35 but Cong. interfered.

Town is a dig - no letters in action, not talk.

- When he talks about dictatorship, say it's easy to make decisions, but a P has respect for security of US & he must deal w/ world as it is. It was a Demo killing of Dixie which got reassessed into RY. We are working practically - what Carter proposes is either ineffective, 2 or years or both.

Intel - He says people have assassinated. I'd say most of that under Demo. Then I'd say one of the most serious things ever intel was done by Demo Cong.

P They have talked & done not a good thing I put in a change.

R I'd say a rebellion against intel by Demo Cong. You took away actions

P Did you say all assassinations

B Except for a little planning under I be

R If they bring in Chile, I'd say read your own Church report.

On I, I would say Demo had no intention of a cross. We have entered a balance & you are not going to play politics.

I don't have an I policy & have on them

policy. Say Rubin said our relations at
a peak

P Can I say they are ~~stable~~ don't know
relations with us.

K Absolutely. I don't see a lot of civil
except if he does & then he doesn't know
what he talking about.

P I feel good about this one

K Here you can update you have our
vision of future.

- I will bring peace

- On 3rd world, I would start up world
food bank.

Depress - I don't know what I like can
have friends

P I ready for him.

B One side

K He is using wrong figures He is saying 7 1/2 bil
for Somalia. One 6 of that is towards it's
I would hit him on it.

2nd - biggest talk go to I & Iran. 2

countries who have made big contrib.

to stability in M.E.

What is threat to Iran?

The embargo.

Q/N threat to Iran is from countries who

would also consider a threat

Iran is threatened & O use from
debtor in 46

Going across doesn't get us involved -
not going there would get us involved.
3rd entry goes to countries like Kenya
& Zaire who have been supplied
everywhere.

Most oil goes to I, Iran, SA (refineries)
leaving little or none for rest of world.



Informal best
we make get progress

Opposed to counterproductive actions
of legisl.

But in reviewing it you should have
additional comments and be to make
public.

