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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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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: Thursday, November 4, 1976 3:34 - 4:49 p.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

Kissinger: You did a noble job.

President: Back in August the odds we figured were $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

Kissinger: I am worried about our foreign policy.

President: They herded the blacks to the polls.

Scowcroft: They may start feeling their power.

President: If Bella Abzug had won or if McCarthy had been on the ballot in New York, we would have won in New York. But you can go on and on with those.

NARA, DATE 11 201 Kissinger: I am sick when I think of all the things we are on the verge of getting in foreign policy -- the Middle East, Rhodesia, Namibia, SALT, non-proliferation, etc.

You have nothing to feel sorry about. You took over when the government was falling to pieces. You have been a good President. You have had bad luck. Reagan.

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EXEMPTION CATEGORY

BRENT SCOWCROFT

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EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE OF ENECUTIVE ORDER 11652

AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON

President: Agricultural prices, unemployment.

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<u>Kissinger</u>: And on employment, just a few months would have made the difference.

What those bastards did to you in the Pentagon....

President: I agree with you.

Kissinger: They will pay for it.

Scowcroft: All you have to do is look at the budget figures.

<u>President:</u> That's right. Defense has been allocated 119 and what are they up to?

Scowcroft: 130 and rising.

President: There is just no way. They are nuts.

<u>Kissinger</u>: They have got to fund their social programs. They will say it's fat, etc., but it will be bad.

(Discussion of possible personnel.)

President: Tell me about Geneva. I see Smith has packed his bags.

<u>Kissinger</u>: That means nothing. The blacks are making optimistic sounds and they are now actually going down the five points.

Did you know Makarios called a holiday when Carter won?

President: Really? How about the Israelis?

(Discussion of Jewish votes, Dayan, etc.)

<u>Kissinger</u>: The Israelis need you, too, though they may not realize that for a while. They think they are in the clear now, but the Soviets will get back in and we may have a war.

President: I am worried about oil prices. Is there anything we can do?

<u>Kissinger</u>: We could send an emissary, but I don't think you should risk your prestige on it.

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President: Should it be you?

<u>Kissinger</u>: I am about in as bad shape as you. I hate to tell you, but these foreigners will start buttering up to Carter. Maybe Robinson. I think the best for you and me is to do the day-to-day business. The bureaucracy will start blocking if we try.

But you should go to the Middle East next year after a decent interval.

<u>Scowcroft</u>: That is an excellent idea. I think you need to stay in the limelight and lead the party. Otherwise Reagan will take it over.

(Discussion of Scranton UN issues -- UN, Angola, Israeli occupied lands.)

(More discussion of the election.)

President: What about Lebanon?

<u>Kissinger</u>: Another great success. The PLO is going back with their camps, being put into their place, Syria has things under control, the Saudis are doing okay, and the Arab League Army is going to protect the Israeli border for infiltration.

(Discussion of Republican politics.)

Kissinger: Carter I think could easily be a one-term President.

<u>President:</u> He has a lot of IOU's out, in bad hands. We may have another 1946.

(General discussion)

<u>Kissinger</u>: These new guys are hungry. They are thinking of their prerogatives, not the country. What a President needs to have is the ability to live in a pressure cooker day-after-day. A President has to have a steady character to be able to withstand the pressure.

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