

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~/NODIS/XGDS

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, December 17, 1974

PLACE: Aboard Air Force One to Martinique

Kissinger: Goodpaster is being a shit.

[Some discussion].

Now about the French. The French system was tailored for deGaulle. It works well as long as you have a parliamentary majority and popular support. DeGaulle also ran referendums on issues on which he couldn't lose, and gerrymandered to reduce communist support.

Giscard has none of these advantages. He has a tough parliamentary position. The vote in France was between the moderates and those who are for extreme change. Giscard is elegant, but he's something of a dilettante. He doesn't have the killer instinct. DeGaulle had a reason for anti-Americanism -- it was to rebuild French self-esteem. The Soviets supported him because he was anti-American. DeGaulle at least didn't want a unified Europe. Giscard thinks that because he is basically pro-U.S., he can be a little anti-American.

I agree with Schmidt, that he is the best man in France. I told deRose that we didn't trust France enough to go into a producer-conference without a prior guarantee of the outcome. You don't want a confrontation, but you don't want a triumph either.

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NSA MEMO, 11/11/74, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Sec. 23 3/10/04
BY [redacted], NARA, DATE 5/17/04

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You must nail down at each meeting what to say to the press. On substance, this guy is an amateur. He is over the barrel on the producer conference. He can't have one without you. We will be okay if we don't give too easily. The man he trusts is Pierre-Brossolette.

On military cooperation there are two areas. NATO cooperation is fine, no problem. On nuclear cooperation, missile and safety cooperation can continue. On nuclear assistance, we had just started and we stopped it when they got nasty.

You should lay it out frankly with him. There are risks in it for you and there has to be something positive first.

They announced at the Cabinet meeting that French-Soviet relations are the axis of French policy. They later, because of deRose, changed it to one axis.

President: That shouldn't have made NATO happy.

Kissinger: No, the NATO people were behind us completely. They liked Vladivostok. But the Herald Tribune has done much damage. Leber and Callaghan strongly supported it. We are fine abroad -- it is the weakness at home which worries me.

President: I am not so pessimistic. I talked to Barry and Byrd.

Kissinger: If they put in a MIRV SLBM, they have to reduce to 900 ICBM MIRV's -- and keep 15-20-year-old single warhead missiles.

* * *

The French are very legalistic. They are afraid you will try to force them into a legal requirement to consult.

On the F-104, there is no way you can divide up the market in practice between ours and a European plane.

President: We can't divide up the market.

Kissinger: General Stehlin is a fine man.



DeGaulle once had someone in his Cabinet whom he never let speak at Cabinet meetings. One day the Minister got angry and asked to speak. DeGaulle said: "I know what you have to say. It's rejected."

Adenauer was once criticized by someone at a Cabinet meeting. He turned to the Minister and said: "Does your wife know you have a girlfriend?" [Laughter]

President: Where do we stand with CSCE?

Kissinger: The best would be if it is after the May World War II celebrations and after renewal of UNDOF.

President: Also after a SALT II deal.

Kissinger: They always think in terms of France leading Europe and a Europe aggressively independent of the United States. If it were just for domestic politics, okay, but in the UN and everywhere they consistently oppose us.

On closer cooperation, we will talk to anyone, but some instant arrangement isn't possible now.

In the Middle East they are grumbling that we will fall on our faces. Then they will say they were right. It might happen. That is why the Israeli actions are so insane.

Sauvagnargues saw Arafat. They have close relations with the PLO.

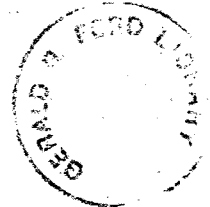
President: Doesn't France have a Jewish constituency?

Kissinger: Their power in the U.S. derives from campaign financing. It is not easy to explain to the American people why we must oppose 115 million Arabs, who possess all the world's oil, permanently, on behalf of a nation of 3 million.

On Cyprus, I wouldn't give them too many details.

On nuclear safeguards, we want them to go to a conference to agree on safeguards. They are dragging their feet.

President: I note Israel agreed to the Egyptian reactor.



Kissinger: It may be too late. If it had been done last summer, it would have helped.

Giscard may complain about the Brinegar circular on using U.S. airlines. In January, there will be a big problem about other agencies wanting to cut KLM by 50%.

In Indochina, they probably want us to fall on our face, since they failed, and they will pick up the pieces. France has been a political disaster. It hasn't won a war since 1812. Their policy produced German and Italian unity. They still suffer from Richelieu. Balance of power, and cut up your close friend because he may be your enemy tomorrow. French power doesn't approach their pretensions. However, they do keep up their military strength in Europe.

I would tell him that there are a number of detailed issues, all of which can be solved. What bothers us is their attitudes -- on the Middle East, CSCE, energy, etc. Say you want to cooperate, but you can't do it on this basis. On the UN, they never really support us. We would like a good relationship. Then I would go right to the energy conference. We must get our way here.



✓ P/K

14 Dec on AF-1

1974

K. Coaljester being a shot.

(Some domain)

Was about Fx. The Fx system was tailored for De Gaulle. It works well as long as you have a partial majority + popular support. De Gaulle also ran referendum on issues he couldn't lose + jerry-mandered to reduce most support.

Giscard has more of that. Tangle partial position. The vote in Fx was bet moderate + extreme change. Giscard is elegant, but something of a ~~dilettante~~ dilettante. Doesn't have a hidden instinct.

De Gaulle had a reason for anti Americanism - to shield Fx ^{self} system. Giscard presented him because he ^{De Gaulle at least didn't trust a simple Giscard} anti-US. Giscard thinks cause he is basically pro-US, he can be anti American.

Jager w/ Schmidt is a best man in Fx. I told Rice we didn't trust Fx enough to go into a producer conf w/ a price guarantee. You don't want a confrontation, but not a triumph either.

Your must not ^{at each mtg} down what is to say to the press. Our substance - this guy is an amateur. He can't handle a producer conf. He can't have one w/ you. We will be OK if we don't give too easily. The man he trusts is Beaudette.

Unit corp: 2 areas. NATO corp is fine, no prob. One corp: missile + safety corp can continue.

One assist - we ~~at~~ had first started to stop it when they got nasty. We you should lay it out frankly w/ him. There are risks in it for you + there has to be ^{something} a 1st 2nd

They announced at Cabinet meeting that Fr-Sov relations are = axis of French policy. They later, because of de Gaulle, changed it to one axis.

P Shouldn't have made NATO happy.

R No, the NATO people were behind us completely. They liked it, but the Herald-Tribune had done much damage. Later, Colclough strongly supported it. We are fine abroad - it is a weakness at home which worries me.

P I was so pessimistic. I talked to Barry & Byrd.

R If they put in a new SSBM, they have to reduce the old ICBM inventory & keep 15-20 yr old single warhead missiles.

The Fr are being hysterical. They fear you will try to force them into legal agreement to convert. On F-104 - there is no way you can divide up a market in practice.

P We can't divide up a market.

R ~~Stalin~~ Stalin is a fine man

(De Gaulle story ^{know} about your ^{story} eyes, it's eye-see
Adenauer - ~~from~~ Cabinet criticized - Does you wife know you have a girl friend)

P How about CSE?

R Best would be if it after heavy WWII activities + UNDOF

P Also SATTI deal.

R They always think in terms of Fr leading EEC + EEC as aggressively independent of US. If it were just for domestic politics, OK, but in UN & everywhere they consistently oppose.

* * * LDY - De Gaulle portrait out of Trumbull Partnership.

On the one hand - we will talk to ~~anyone~~ anyone, but some sort of arrangement isn't possible now, for ME, they are gambling we will fall on our face. Then they will say they were right. It isn't just hyper. That is why a T action is so wise.

Sawyer. saw draft. They have close relations w/c PLO.

P Doesn't F have Jewish credit.

K Their power in US derives from campaign financing. It isn't easy to explain to US why we must oppose 115 mil credit, oil, etc. permanently on behalf of 3 mil.

On Cyprus, I wouldn't give them too many obstacles. Under Safeguards - we want them to go to conf to agree on safeguards - they drag their feet.

P I note that F agreed to E reactor

K Maybe too late - if had been done last summer, it would have helped.

Giscard may complain about Binayan reaction on using US airlines.

In Jan, there ~~is~~ will be big protest about other agencies wanting to cut KLM by 60%

In Indo China, they ~~just~~ want us to fall on our face, since ~~that~~ they failed, & they will pick up pieces - France has been pol. disaster - hasn't won a war since 1812. Produced German & Russian unity.

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