

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:

Monday, April 14, 1975
9:32 - 11:00 a.m.

PLACE:

The Oval Office

Kissinger: I am going to give a speech at ASNE. The theme is that all our foreign policy setbacks are related to our domestic situation. Allon said at the airport there were some differences with the U. S. Government but not with the American people. I say the President is determined to master these problems, but we have to stop wailing. We have to stop the so-called debate between security and morality. A nation's commitments stem from its actions, not its legal documents. I'll say that we won't forget who supplied the arms which tore up the Paris Accords.

You have seen some reports of the reaction -- I will give you the whole summary.

As a general line..... We are like DeGaulle -- he created the impression that France was a strong country just by being prickly. This will run against the liberals who will push for humanitarianism -- that is the modern liberal cop-out. I tried to placate the liberals for the first five years. I don't try any more. I say it is after the Rhineland and we are heading for war. Herb Schlosser said he would put me on Barbara Walters for four mornings in a row and advertise it.

The President: I think that would be great.

[Mahon calls to discuss the supplemental alternatives. Speaker Albert gets on the line too.]

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS



~~SECRET~~ - XGDS (3)
CLASSIFIED BY: HENRY A. KISSINGER

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526, SEC. 1.4
NSC MEMO, 11/20/00, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Div. C-3-3/11/04
BY: [signature] . NARA DATE 5/14/04

Kissinger: My speech will be ten percent tougher than yours.

The President: It burns me up the comments about disagreements between us. The only thing I worry about is that people will say this is what you wanted to say but couldn't

Kissinger: [Outlines his speech again.]

The President: That sounds like it meshes with mine very well.

Kissinger: I will give you a draft tomorrow. It does have some tough sentences about the Jews and about the Soviets.

On the Soviets. I have thought about that communication I showed you. They might think they are in a post-Czechoslovakia period and want to calm things down, or they may want to really continue detente. Simon slobbered all over them -- that was a disaster.

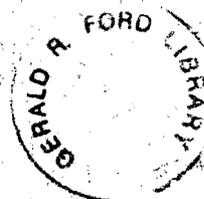
I want to tell Dobrynin I won't go to Moscow. The American people won't understand with the situation in Vietnam. I will meet with Gromyko in Europe, but only if the summit date is announced. But we don't really need a summit now. You could sign the Vladivostok agreement next spring as easy as this fall.

The President: How is that coming?

Kissinger: It will never be concluded in Geneva. The bureaucracy on both sides is dragging its feet. It can be signed whenever you and Brezhnev meet.

On Rota, we can't afford a secret agreement. I would propose to handle it in the Spanish negotiations.

It is important that the Arabs get the right impression from you. We will give a rundown but then you should be tough and turn to Keating and say he must treat them like a friendly power, not an arm of the Hadassah. Tell Eilts we don't need more speeches like Sadat made. Tell them we are lining toward an overall approach. We are determined to push, and we will not fail when we take it up again.



To show the
P... paper

Summary - Wilkha - Exceptional - W... report -
Statement on Fall of... - Sch... being... } Very strong & tough - both

✓ P/K 14 Apr 75 932-1100
- Sch... to testify tomorrow -

K (Discusses his ASNE speech). All our FP setbacks are related to our domestic sit. Allon said at airport that we're some diff w/ US Govt but not w/c Am people. I say c/usa is determined to master these probs, but we have to stop working, stop debate bet security & market. A nations contracts stem from its actions not its legal documents. We won't forget who supplied arms which tore up c/Paris accords. You have seen some reports of reaction - I will give you a whole summary. A good time - we are like de Gaulle - he created a reputation France was a strong country by being prickly. This will run against c/liberals who will push for humanitarianism - that is a modern liberal export. I tried to placate c/liberals for c/5 yrs - I don't try any more. I say it is after c/Ireland & we're heading for war. Herb Schlosser said he would put me & Barbara Walters for 4 weeks in a room & advertise it.

P I think it would be great
(Mahan calls for discussion of supplemental alternatives)
(Albort gets on line)

* K to Mahan Court Wed AM?

K My speech will be 10% tougher than yours.
P It brings me up c/commitments about disarmament w/us. The only thing I worry about is that people will say this is what you wanted to say but couldn't.

K (continues his speech again). 9

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