

The original documents are located in Box 1, folder “Scranton, William (Ambassador to the United Nations) - Interview, 6/30/78” of the A. James Reichley Interview Transcripts at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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Interview with Governor William Scranton, June 30, 1978.

Scranton said that he felt that Henry Kissinger had had some moral basis for ~~his~~/his approach to foreign policy, but that he did not feel that about President Nixon. He said that both the Nixon and Kissinger were fascinated with making things work, but that Kissinger deep down felt that there should be a moral direction for policy, a purpose for making them work. Whereas Nixon, as far as Scranton could tell, was wholly preoccupied with the mechanism itself.

Scranton said ^(that) the change in the United States policy toward Africa which Kissinger announced in 1976 was promoted by himself and ~~a~~ some others in the State Department. He said that he ^(thought he) actually ~~was~~ was given too much credit for it among the State Department people, but ~~they~~ ^{he} did feel that a new responsiveness was necessary in ~~a~~ Africa and that Kissinger followed that. Scranton said ~~that~~ during the first part of the Ford administration, ~~R~~ President Ford was totally dependent on Kissinger, but that he eventually began to develop a certain amount of independence. Scranton said that during 1976 he observed that Kissinger ~~was~~ both made ~~it~~ fun of the remarks that Carter was making on human rights, but also was bothered by them. He said that Kissinger began to emphasize the moral aspect of foreign policy, partly because he was disturbed about the charges that foreign policy had no ~~a~~ moral basis, but also because he was concerned about that himself.

Scranton said that Ford during 1976 moved away from detente in response to the attacks by Ronald Reagan. Scranton says that Kissinger felt that Don Rumsfeld was anxious to move in that direction anyhow, ^(S) that he wished to take a harder line toward the ~~a~~ Soviet Union and to some extent used the Reagan attacks as a good reason for switching in a direction that he substantively believed was desirable. Scranton said ~~that~~ he regarded Rumsfeld as more of ^(an) ~~a~~ administrator than as a policymaker, ~~that~~ ^{the} his mind does not work in direction of ~~a~~ frame ~~and~~ policy, but of carrying/out. ^{it} Scranton said Ford was very conservative in his fiscal policy, ~~that~~ ^{he} stood up in 1975 under very heavy pressure to increase federal spending



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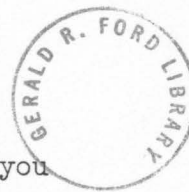
because he was determined to defeat inflation. Scranton said that in addition to that Ford was cautious and conservative in his procedures. He was conservative in strategy and tactics as well as having conservative fiscal objectives. Beyond that, Scranton said, he did not exactly see how Ford had been conservative, ^{but} ~~he~~ ~~said~~ didn't think Nixon had had substantive goals, ~~that~~ ~~he~~ was a complete pragmatist in his objectives and in that sense was ~~he~~ not a conservative at all.

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Scranton recalled that in February of 1968 Nixon had told him that there were four things that he planned to do in foreign policy, the first was to repair the Western Alliance, the second was to get the United States out of Vietnam, the third was to bring about the ~~xxx~~ opening to China and the fourth was to work out a new relationship with the Soviet Union. Scranton said that he later told Nixon in the Oval Office that he had believed that he would do all of the four except the opening ~~into~~ China, which he thought that Nixon would not do because of his past attitude and record. Scranton said that Nixon became angry when Scranton said that he had not really believed that he would proceed with the new China policy. Nixon, Scranton said, was not a people person, he did not respond to people, he did not do things out of sensitivity to popular reaction, he did things always on an intellectual basis because he had thought them out as a policy. Nixon, Scanton said, was very cynical. He did not understand good people, ^{he} ~~he~~ believed that every ^{/body} ~~one~~ wanted money and power and that they really ^{had} ~~no~~ ^{other} ~~real~~ motive for action.

energy

In June of 1973, Scranton recalled, Nixon asked him to become the energy ^{sc} ~~sc~~zar, the job that later was taken by John Love. Scranton said that he told Nixon that he thought that the country would not respond to the need to conserve energy unless Nixon was able to frame ^{it} ~~as~~ part of America's foreign policy needs, the need for instance not to become dependent on the OPEC nations. He said that he had told Nixon that Nixon would be well-suited to do this because ~~that~~ ^{his} great strength was in foreign policy. He said he told Nixon that he would remembered for his opening to China and his development of relations with the Soviet Union. ~~And~~



Nixon had turned to him with all his ~~jowls~~ quivering and had said, "Do you really believe that?" It was the day, or very close to the day, Scranton said, he later determined on which the so-called ~~smoke-and-gun~~ ^(smoking pistol gun) conservation took place ^(between) ~~with~~ Nixon and Bob Halderman. Scranton said in the ~~conservation~~ he went on to tell Nixon that the way the post of energy czar was designed he ~~really~~ ^{could} would not really be a ~~guard~~ ^{czar} there would be other energy agencies still reporting directly to the President and he did not think he could do an effective job in ~~that~~ that way. Scranton said Nixon immediately lost interest when he ~~began~~ began to discuss the ^(in which) way ~~the~~ job was structured. Two days later, Scranton said, he called General Haigh who had been present at the meeting with Nixon and told him that he was not going to take the job.

Scranton said that he could not reconcile ~~that~~ Nixon's so-called conservatism with the great emphasis that Nixon always put on concentrating power in the Executive Branch. He said that Ford was conservative in addition to the ways that he already mentioned in that ~~he~~ he believed in a strong defense in foreign policy. He said that Ford does not trust the Russians, but that he believes ^{that} ~~in~~ some relationship with the Russians is necessary. Scranton said that he very much doubted that Ford would run again for President.

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