

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: Wednesday, February 25, 1976  
9:21 - 10:10 a.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

President: Was it a tiring trip?

Kissinger: Not like a Middle East trip. It was a good trip, except for our press who were always looking for trouble. No one can go down there without riots, but there were only 30 students in Lima throwing rocks.

If we could do something on trade I think we could really do well in Latin America. I will talk to Simon about some preferential rates for Latin America. I know it is against our economic theory, but the Europeans do it. I am having a study done.

President: Can't we move to get the Trade Act amended?

Kissinger: We will work on that, but that is only Ecuador and Venezuela.

One other thing -- Guatemala is unbelievable. We need more help.

President: Didn't we ask for aid?

Scowcroft: Yes. \$25 million, and it is understood even by OMB that the total might go to \$100 million.

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5  
NSC MEMO, 11/14/08, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Review 3/12/09  
BY: [Signature], NARA, DATE 4/9/04



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Kissinger: Our military is doing a fantastic job. I have asked for an estimate of the needs by March, so we move before the rains come in May.

President: Lets do whatever is necessary.

Kissinger: All those people want you to win. They are fearful of what is happening in this country. They are scared to death about Cuba. They are afraid of a race war. I think we are going to have to smash Castro. We probably can't do it before the elections.

President: I agree.

Kissinger: [Reads a cable from Cairo reporting on Mohammed Riad's trip through Africa and Egyptian concern about the US-Soviet positions in Africa -- Cairo 2451 -- attached].

President: How about the Sahara?

Kissinger: We are giving Morocco some equipment, but the Soviet Union is pouring in equipment.

I think people are beginning to realize we were right on Angola.

President: Right. And I don't think we should let them forget it.

Kissinger: I think we shouldn't be defensive on Reagan. I would be positive -- you kept the peace, you are strong, and you have a policy.

President: I think Reagan will lash out in Florida, and if he does, we will take him on.

I have read Nixon's toast. He didn't mean what the papers said he said about Helsinki.

Kissinger: Impossible. That was a throwaway made when he was winging his remarks.

President: It hurt in New Hampshire, though. It is hard to say how much.

Kissinger: Look, he wants a stalemate between you and Reagan so Connally will get in.

President: We both know that is his aim.

Kissinger: [Discusses Nixon, especially the deposition on the Halperin case.]

But I think he has killed himself with this trip. The reason I think we have to debrief him is that Hua's speech carefully avoided attacking the United States. They have kept the protocol several notches lower than for you. They have really been meticulous about us and I think we have to get from Nixon what the discussions were.

President: Yes, I agree. I don't think I have rejected that. But we have to manage it without undo fanfare.

Kissinger: That raises a problem. I will be in Palm Springs this weekend to pick up Nancy.

President: Let's think about it. That is a tough one.

Zumwalt, I hear, blasted us in announcing his candidacy.

Kissinger: He is a shit. I have gone over our records. He used to meet with me occasionally and he never mentioned those issues.

President: I think we should get that information to Harry Byrd.

Kissinger: Harry has said he would use our material.

President: Let's do it. Byrd has lots of credibility. He could clobber not only Zumwalt, but those guys saying we are soft on Communism.

Kissinger: This SALT debate is unbelievable. How can we negotiate when every position is in the press like Les Gelb? I think we shouldn't pursue it now until after the election.

President: Let's wait to see what the Soviets reply. It is in the national interest to have an agreement.

Kissinger: I agree there.

With Sisco out, I would like Habib in there.

President: He is a good man -- or Art Hartman.

Kissinger: Hartman would cause problems with Sonnenfeldt. They are both in the same area.

President: We also have to replace Ingersoll.

Kissinger: You know you told me Rogers was okay after the Florida primary. We couldn't put an FSO in that job. It has never been done and would terminate his career.

President: But I think we ought to find some way to elevate Art Hartman.

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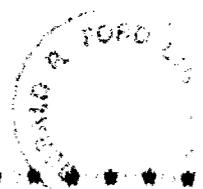
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EXDIS  
EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: XF EG US  
SUBJECT: EGYPTIAN CONCERN RE RELATIVE US-SOVIET POSITIONS IN AFRICA

1. MINSTATE MOHAMED RIAO HAS RECENTLY MADE OFFICIAL VISITS TO VARIOUS AFRICAN STATES, INCLUDING MAURITANIA, MOROCCO, ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA AND MOZAMBIQUE. HE RETURNED FROM THOSE VISITS DEEPLY CONCERNED AT APPARENT GROWING SOVIET INFLUENCE IN AFRICA. IN CONTRAST, HE ASSESSES US INFLUENCE AS DECLINING, GIVEN ITS OWN INTERESTS IN AFRICA, GOE IS WORRIED ABOUT THIS DEVELOPMENT AND, ACTING ON FAHMY'S INSTRUCTIONS, RIAO GAVE ME LENGTHY ANALYSIS OF SOME OF HIS FINDINGS. THEY BOIL DOWN TO THIS:  
A) IN ANGOLA, SOVIETS HAVE VENTURED MUCH AND SUCCEEDED. IN CONTRAST, USG, THANKS TO CONGRESSIONAL ACTION, HAS HAD TO ABANDON ITS FRIENDS. AFRICANS ARE ASKING, ACCORDING TO RIAO, WHO GOVERNS USG FOREIGN POLICY -- CONGRESS OR THE ADMINISTRATION.  
B) IN THE MAGHREB, SOVIETS ARE ACTIVELY SUPPORTING ALGERIANS IN THEIR EFFORTS TO WEAKEN KING HASSAN. ACTING THROUGH GADHAAFI, WHO HAS BECOME SOVIET SURROGATE FOR THIS PURPOSE, SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS HAVE BEEN SENT TO POLISARIO AND MORE ARE LIKELY TO BE SENT. RIAO FORESEES PROTRACTED ALGERIAN-MOROCCAN TENSIONS, WITH POTENTIAL FOR MORE SERIOUS HOSTILITIES, WHICH ARE FANNED BY SOVIETS. MAURITANIA AND TUNISIA ARE ALSO THREATENED AND, IN ABSENCE OF OUTSIDE HELP, POWERLESS TO PROTECT THEMSELVES.  
C) SEIZING UPON FTAI SITUATION AND SOMALIA CONCERN OVER FRENCH INTENTION GRANT INDEPENDENCE, SOVIETS ARE EGGING ON SOMALIS. IN DOING

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SO, THEY ARE ENDANGERING ETHIOPIANS AND KENYANS. CORRUPTION IS RAMPANT IN KENYA, AND, ONCE KENYATTA DIES, THAT COUNTRY TOO WILL BE RIPE FOR SOCIAL TURMOIL. SOVIETS MAY BE EXPECTED SEIZE OPPORTUNITIES AFFORDED THEM.

D) WITH ADEN AND SOMALIA ALREADY VIRTUAL SOVIET CLIENT STATES, SOVIETS HAVE ACQUIRED STRONG STRATEGIC POSITION ON INDIAN OCEAN. THEY ALSO ASPIRE TO STRENGTHENING THEIR INFLUENCE IN MAGHREB AND NW AFRICA.

2. ON ITS PART, USG SUFFERS FROM SEVERAL LIABILITIES:

A) ITS INABILITY TO SUPPORT ACTIVELY LIBERATION MOVEMENTS BECAUSE OF NATO ASSOCIATIONS AND PORTUGAL. EXAMPLE IS USG'S EARLIER INABILITY TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES DESPITE GROING AFRICAN RESENTMENT TO PORTUGUESE PRESENCE. SUBSEQUENTLY, WHEN PORTUGUESE COLONIE BECAME INDEPENDENT, USG ALSO DID NOTHING TO HELP.

B) US ASSOCIATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA IS ANATHEMA IN AFRICAN EYES. IN NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE, SOUTH AFRICA IS ACTIVELY WORKING AGAINST LIBERATION MOVEMENTS. RIAD PREDICTED IF USG DOES NOT SUPPORT SUCH MOVEMENTS, THEY WILL ASSUREDLY SEEK SUPPORT FROM SOVIETS.

C) EVEN WHERE USG PREPARED ASSIST FRIENDLY AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS, ITS ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES TO DO SO ARE TERRIBLY SLOW. IN CONTRAST, SOVIET AID SEEMS TO POUR INTO CHOSEN PLACES RAPIDLY.

3. RIAD CONTENDED THAT MANY AFRICAN LEADERS TO WHOM HE HAD TALKED, INCLUDING NETO AND NYERERE, WHILE PERFORCE COOPERATING WITH SOVIETS, ARE IN FACT DISTURBED ABOUT THEIR PRESENCE. WHILE DISAVOWING ANY INTENTION ENCOURAGE US TO TAKE SPECIFIC MEASURES, RIAD MADE AN IMPASSIONED PLEA THAT USG HELP AFRICA BY GIVING IT MORE ATTENTION IN US FOREIGN POLICY CALCULATIONS. WE SHOULD BE UNDERSTANDING AND TOLERANT OF EMERGING AFRICAN MOVEMENTS, SOME OF WHICH ARE ADMITTEDLY HALF-BAKED. USG SHOULD SUPPORT LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND EXPRESS READINESS TO HELP IT AFRICAN FRIENDS FINANCIALLY AND THROUGH MILITARY EQUIPMENT. IN SHORT, HE PLEADED FOR A MORE ACTIVE AND RESPONSIVE USG POLICY IN AFRICA. ASSERTING THAT IT WILL BE AN UPHILL STRUGGLE, RIAD NEVERTHELESS INSISTED THIS IS THE ONLY WAY TO COUNTER SOVIETS IN THAT CONTINENT.

4. IN MAKING THESE POINTS, RIAD REPEATEDLY

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EMPHASIZED HE DID NOT WISH TO APPEAR UNOULY CRITICAL. HOWEVER, IN SPIRIT OF CANDOR THAT CHARACTERIZES OUR RELATIONS, HE HAD TO TELL US THAT MOST AFRICAN LEADERS TO WHOM HE HAD SPOKEN QUESTION WHETHER USG REALLY HAS AN AFRICAN POLICY. HE PERSONALLY DID NOT DOUBT THAT WE DID, BUT HE URGED THAT MORE ATTENTION BE GIVEN TO AFRICA WHILE THERE IS STILL TIME TO INFLUENCE DEVELOPMENTS.

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P/K 25 Feb 76 9<sup>21</sup>-10<sup>10</sup> and

P Was it a tiring trip. ✓

K Not like a M.I. trip. It was a good trip, except for some press looking for trouble. We did even go down there who write, but there were only 30 students in line through each. If you could do something on track I think we could really do well. I need talk to Simon about some operational rates for h.A.

A I know it is against our own thing but - Envois do it. Showing a study done.

P Can't we want to get a Trade act downended?

K We will work on that, but that only Ecuador + Venezuela.

One other thing - Curatorial is unworkable. We need more help

P Didn't work for aid?

S Yes. 25 mil, + it unbalanced even by OMB that total might go to 100 mil.

A ~~For~~ Our military is doing fantastic job. I have asked for an est. of need by March, so we move before a crisis in May

P Let's do whatever is necessary.

K All that people want - just win. They are fearful of what is happening in this country. They are scared to death ~~is~~ about Cuba. They fear a race war. I think we are going to have to smash Castro. But can't do it before elections

P Layoff.

K (Reads a cable from Riehl (E) about trying them  
Africa).

P How about Barbara.

K We're giving them some equip, but the SO's  
poor in equip.

P I think people are beginning to realize we were  
right on Angola.

P Right, and I don't think we should let them  
forget it.

K I think we shouldn't be depressed on Reagan.  
I would be positive - you kept a peace, you  
all stay, you have a policy.

P I think Reagan would look out in F la &  
if he does not will take him on.

I have read Nixon's tract. He didn't mention about  
a papers said about CSCÉ

K Improbable. That was a throwaway article when  
he was writing his remarks

P It must in A H tho. Hard to say how much

K Well, he wants to state but you + Reagan &  
Carrasco will get in

P We both know that is his aim

K (Discusses Nixon, esp. departure on Halpin case)

But I think he has killed himself off this trip.

Two reason I think we have to defend him is

He was speech carefully avoided attacking CV's. They  
have kept a perfect record without break.

They have really been meticulous about us  
& I think we have to get from Nixon what



Get copy of Zeman's candidate announcement,  
Get Reagan statement on going to S. S.

a discussion was.

P Yes, I agree, I don't think I have visited that.  
That we have to manage it w/o much fuss.

K That needs a push. (Say will be in  
Palm Springs this weekend).

P Let's think about it. That is a temporary.

Zeman's I have blasted as in his campaign  
his credibility.

K He is a shit. I have gone on some news ~~to~~<sup>to</sup>  
used to meet w/ me frequently & he  
never mentioned these issues.

P I think we should get that info to Harry Byrd.

K Harry has said he would use our material.

P Let's do it. Byrd has lots of ex-cults. He could  
talk to Zeman but these guys saying  
we left on course.

K This salt debate is unproductive. How can  
we negotiate when every position is in a pos  
able cell. I think we should just focus it now  
till after election.

P Let's wait to see what a Sores reply. It is in  
with interest to have an agreement.

K I agree there.

W/ Sores and I would like Norris in there

P He is a good man - or Hartman

K Hartman would cause problems w/ Soumfield.  
Foreman both <sup>in</sup> are also.

P We also have to replace Jagersoll

K You know you told me Royce was ok



after the Fln primary. We couldn't put an  
FSO in that job. It ~~was~~ has never been  
done & would terminate his career.

P But I think ~~of~~ we ought to find some way  
to elevate Hartman.

