

The original documents are located in Box 123, folder “Kissinger, Henry” of the Ron Nessen Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copyright Notice

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Ron Nessen donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 3, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR RON NESSEN

FROM:

LES JANKA *for*

SUBJECT:

Secretary Kissinger's Proposed Travel

The State Department has announced over the last several days the following foreign travel by Secretary Kissinger:

- A Middle East trip to include Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Israel; October 9 - 13, 1974.
- A trip to Moscow; October 23 - 27, 1974 followed by stops in India, October 27 - 30; Bangladesh, October 30 - 31; Pakistan, October 31 - November 1; Afghanistan, November 1; Iran, November 1 - 3; Rumania, November 3 - 4; Yugoslavia, November 4; and Rome for the World Food Conference, November 5.
- Secretary Kissinger will also accompany the President on his trip to Japan, November 19 - 22; and Korea, November 22 - 23.

FYI: In recent press conference, Secretary Kissinger has referred to a trip to China late this year or early next year, but no date has been announced.

4. Does the President share Henry Kissinger's view that the Administration needs more flexibility from Congress in the conduct of foreign policy?

1/8/75

Guidance: I would suggest you check with Ambassador Anderson for any comment on the Secretary's feelings on this matter, as they were reported in the New York Times this morning. On the President's part, I hardly need to point out the many times the President has referred to his plans for close cooperation with the Congress while at the same time the President has not hesitated to point out his objections to those restrictive pieces of legislation which prohibits his flexibility to act decisively in the foreign policy area, such as those restrictions in the trade bill and the foreign assistance act, EXIM Bank.

4. Ambassador Designate Richardson has told the Washington Post that it was suggested to him that he might become Secretary of State after Secretary Kissinger. Did the President make such a suggestion to Richardson, and was any promise made?

GUIDANCE: I don't know how I could possibly comment

on such a report. I would simply remind you of the

President's firmly stated desire to keep Secretary Kissinger

on the job.

1/10/75



Reaction to Bentson charges against Kissinger

2/7/75

Guidance: I ~~would~~ have no comment on the substance of Senator Bentson's statements. ~~I would remind you that~~ the President has on a number of occasions made clear his support for Secretary Kissinger and his satisfaction with the current organization of the State Department and the NSC staff.

I might add, however, that in view of the fact that Secretary Kissinger is just about to embark on negotiations of the greatest importance, we would hope the Secretary would have the support of the American people instead of having to face the criticism

~~of Presidential candidates~~

Such

by Political
Candidate

~~()~~

From President
NSC -
own-words

7. Do you have any comment on Senator Bentson's charges that Secretary Kissinger's one-man operation is seriously impeding the success of U.S. diplomacy?

Replied 2/7/75

4. Newsweek carries a report this week quoting Sec. Simon and Frank Zarb to the effect that the Administration has not yet agreed on the floor price plan announced by Sec. Kissinger in his Press Club speech on February 3. Are the options still open, and was Sec. Kissinger speaking with the President's approval?

2/12/75

speech represented
GUIDANCE: Sec. Kissinger, ~~was presenting~~ the Administration's ~~position~~ as it has been approved by the President, and that policy ~~includes provisions for a floor price on imported oil.~~

Policy

FYI ONLY: If asked about the comments of Simon, you should say that you speak for the President and his policies, and questions on Simon's remarks should be directed to Sec. Simon. END FYI.

2/13/75
5. Newsweek carries a report this week quoting Sec. Simon and Frank Zarb to the effect that the Administration has not yet agreed on the floor price plan announced by Sec. Kissinger in his Press Club speech on February 3. Are the options still open, and was Sec. Kissinger speaking with the President's approval?

GUIDANCE: Sec. Kissinger's speech represented the Administration's position as it has been approved by the President. The Secretary made that speech at the request of the President.

FYI ONLY: If asked about the comments of Simon, you should say you speak for the President and his policies, and questions on Simon's remarks should be directed to Sec. Simon. END FYI.

2/18/75

1. Where is Secretary Kissinger?

Guidance: As you know from news reports, Dr. Kissinger visited Europe this weekend following his visit to the Middle East. He met with German leaders in Bonn on Saturday and yesterday met with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko in Geneva. He travelled to London last night for meetings with Prime Minister Wilson and other British leaders. Secretary Kissinger is in Zurich today for meetings with the Shah of Iran on international economic, energy and various bilateral matters. The Secretary will visit Paris tonight for meetings with French leaders and will return to Washington tomorrow arriving at Andrews in early afternoon. He will meet with the President later tomorrow afternoon to report personally on his meetings of the last week. Throughout his trip the Secretary has been reporting to the President frequently by cable on the progress of his talks and the President has followed these reports closely.

FYI: In response to any questions about the Secretary meeting with Gromyko, you should simply say that a joint communique was issued following the meetings and you would have nothing to add to its contents. END FYI.

March 21, 1975

KISSINGER TRAVEL

The Middle East negotiations continue to hang in a precarious state. The crux of the issue is that Israel refuses Egyptian demands for withdrawals in the Sinai from the Mitla and Gidi passes and the Abu Rhudeis oilfield unless Sadat agrees, in effect, to take Egypt out of a state of war with Israel. Egypt has reiterated its unwillingness to publicly end a state of belligerency in this stage of negotiations, wanting a final peace first, but in an effort to meet some Israeli demands Egypt emphasized that a disengagement agreement would be a step toward peace. The extent to which the two sides are now willing to accommodate the demands of the other determines the length of Kissinger's stay in the Middle East.

Q. Where is Henry Kissinger today?

A. GUIDANCE: Secretary Kissinger is in Egypt today, having met with Israeli leaders last night. Yesterday he flew to Saudi Arabia for talks in Riyadh with King Faisal before returning to Jerusalem. The Secretary is keeping the President fully informed on a daily basis of the issues involved in the negotiations and his progress toward a settlement in the Middle East. (Later today Secretary Kissinger returns to Israel.)

LDW Palm Springs

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 1, 1975

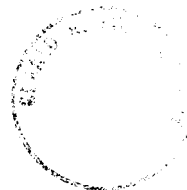
MEMORANDUM TO: RON NESSEN
FROM: MARGI VANDERHAY *MS*
SUBJECT: Guidance Revision and Update

Q: Can you provide any more details on Secretary Kissinger's meeting with George Ball, Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara and others? Was the President informed of the meeting or was it convened at his request?

A: Dr. Kissinger has held meetings periodically with this group of distinguished public servants since he became Secretary of State. The purpose of these routine meetings (held roughly every couple of months according to State) is to review and discuss issues of current interest. Participating in the meeting Tuesday with the Secretary were George Ball, McGeorge Bundy, Cyrus Vance, Dean Rusk, George Shultz, Douglas Dillon, Robert McNamara, David Rockefeller, David Bruce, William Scranton, Peter Petersen, and John J. McCloy. The Secretary, of course, keeps the President informed on the details of these meetings.

FYI: If asked you may say that the group will continue their discussion this Thursday, April 3, at 3:30 p. m.

NOTE: Scheel's state visit announcement, daxed earlier in the day, is for release 7:00 a. m., Palm Springs time. Q's & A's are attached to the announcement.



4/21/75

Q: Is there anything that you can point to to disprove the popular belief that you are merely a puppet to Secretary Kissinger's foreign policy views?

A: When there are key decisions to be made, I make them. If any nation tries to challenge the United States, they will find they are dealing with me, and I will discharge my Constitutional responsibility.

I have held 11 meetings of the National Security Council since coming into office -- whenever I have a key decision to make. I seek the views of all my senior advisers before making a major decision. The role of the NSC system in my Administration is to insure that I have all points of view presented and all options set forth to assist me in making my decisions.

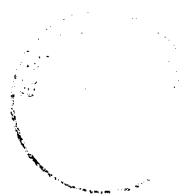
I have had 28 meetings with foreign heads of state and heads of government since coming into office. I believe these have been very successful, particularly including my visit to Japan and South Korea and my meeting in Vladivostok last November with General Secretary Brezhnev.



4/21/75

Q. Most people feel that you are totally dependent on Secretary ~~Kissinger~~ for information and recommendations on foreign policy. Wouldn't it be a sign that you are running foreign policy yourself if you appointed a new Secretary of State?

A. The Secretary of State is, by law and tradition, the President's principal adviser on foreign affairs. There is nothing unusual in American history for such a relationship as we have now. I have full confidence in Dr. Kissinger, and that is all there is to it.



4/21/75

KISSINGER

Q: Are these stories that some of your advisers are trying to break Secretary Kissinger's strong influence on you true?

A: These reports are a tempest in a teapot and are not worthy of our discussion.

Cronkite, Averell &
Schiffel interviews

April 21, 1975

Page 14

He has been the most effective Secretary of State, certainly in my period of service in the Congress, or in the Vice Presidency, or the White House. I have never heard anybody on my staff ever make a recommendation to me that Secretary Kissinger should leave.

MR. CRONKITE: What about suggestions --

THE PRESIDENT: I would strongly disagree with them and let them know it quite forthrightly.

MR. CRONKITE: What about suggestions that perhaps someone else should be the National Security adviser, that he should give up one of those hats? How do you feel about that?

THE PRESIDENT: If you were to draw a chart, I think you might make a good argument that that job ought to be divided.

On the other hand, sometimes in Government you get unique individuals who can very successfully handle a combination of jobs like Secretary Kissinger is doing today as head of the National Security Council and Secretary of State.

If you get that kind of a person, you ought to take advantage of that capability. And therefore, under the current circumstances, I would not recommend, nor would I want a division of those two responsibilities.

MR. CRONKITE: Is there any talk of his resigning?

THE PRESIDENT: I have talked to Secretary of State Kissinger. I have asked him to stay and he is committed to stay through the end of this Administration, January 20, 1977.

MORE

May 19, 1975

KISSINGER TRAVEL

Q. Where is Secretary Kissinger today?

A. Secretary Kissinger is in Vienna for two days of talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko on a variety of subjects including SALT and the Middle East situation. Throughout the week, the Secretary will be travelling to Bonn and Berlin and then to Ankara for an annual review meeting of the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). As always, he is keeping the President informed of the progress of his trip.

FYI: Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, ~~the U.S.~~ and the United Kingdom are members of CENTO.

U.S. is (Associate) observer member.
K. in Ankara as U.S. observer (member).
^{U.S. is} BUT: (full member each of CENTO committees)

July 1, 1975

US-KOREAN ALTERCATION

More than a dozen North Korean guards kicked and punched an American officer and sergeant outside a building in the truce compound of Panmunjom where the Korean Military Armistice Commission was meeting yesterday. There are records of other similar incidents prior to this one but the press coverage may provoke several questions on U. S. reaction. State will use the following guidance and we may wish to follow their line closely if not to refer questions to them.

Q: What are the views of the Department on the incident at Panmunjom yesterday in which an American officer was beaten by North Koreans?

A: We are seriously concerned by this incident and the injury to Major Henderson. We are instructing the United Nations Command to protest through appropriate Military Armistice Commission channels these unprovoked actions of the North Koreans at Panmunjom. I would refer you to the Department of Defense for details of the incidents and information on the condition of Major Henderson.

Q: Does this incident reflect any change in North Korean intentions?

A: I do not wish to speculate on this.

July 15, 1975

SECRETARY KISSINGER'S SPEECH ON THE UN

Q. Does the President share the views expressed by Secretary Kissinger in his speech last evening issuing a warning to the Third World about US continued support of the United Nations?

A. The President and Secretary Kissinger have had numerous discussions concerning the United Nations, and the Secretary's remarks, of course, reflect Administration policy. The President believes a strong viable United Nations, whose members work in a spirit of cooperation, is essential to world peace and prosperity. He believes it is important in advancing that goal for the United States to speak out when it feels the proper functioning of the United Nations is impaired. He is concerned by trends in the United Nations system over the past year or so.

It is important for the UN body to give appropriate weight to the views of its members and to seek to work in a spirit of ^{harmony} ~~consensus~~, and not through ^{rigid reaction to} mechanical voting majorities.

U. N. SPEECH

Q. Secretary Kissinger's address to the U. N. delivered by Ambassador Moynihan contained many specific proposals. Where do we go from here? What do you intend to do if less developed countries reject your proposals and continue to push for adoption of their more radical agenda?

A. First let me say that each of these proposals will have to be considered in proper channels; each is designed with specific objectives in mind to address aspects of the comprehensive program spelled out in the speech as a whole .

We think our proposals represent a serious effort to meet specific needs of the less developed nations across a broad spectrum. We hope they will receive a serious hearing and will form the basis of a genuine dialogue leading toward specific agreements. This is the essence of negotiation. We would be disappointed if this does not happen. However, in any event, we intend to pursue what we believe to be a constructive approach.

Q. Can it really be expected that the pattern of confrontation between developing countries and the industrialized countries can be changed in this two-week session?

A. We do not expect a revolutionary change all at once. We hope it will be possible to begin to turn away from past

patterns of confrontation towards concentration on specific projects of cooperation. That is why our presentation stresses practical steps that can be taken.

Q. Have we consulted our friends in the industrialized world on the Secretary's approach and the specific proposals?

A. Throughout the last year there have been a long series of discussions, both bilateral and multilateral in the OECD, about the 7th Special Session. We have exchanged views extensively with our friends about ideas which the Secretary put forward.

Q. What is the viewpoint of the other industrialized countries?

A. They will, of course, make known their own reactions. However, we have felt that the other developed countries share with us a general desire to put our relations with the developing countries on a better plane and to begin to concentrate more on practical steps which can be taken to meet many of the points put forward by developing countries.

FYI: Refer all detailed and technical questions to State.

KISSINGER AND WIRETAPPING

Q. The Washington Post reports today (Robinson, A-1) that former Attorney General Mitchell and a former top FBI official have said they consider the so-called national security wiretap program to have been under then NSC advisor Kissinger's control. Would you comment?

A. There is nothing new in this article that I can see. There were differing views on this subject which were fully aired on two occasions before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee -- once at the Secretary's confirmation hearings in the fall of '73 and again in the summer of '74. I have nothing to add to the remarks or conclusions made on those occasions.

January 26, 1976

DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES OF KISSINGER TRIP

There are three general areas of interest to the press about which you will want to remain with the confines of the Secretary's remarks made during the course of his trip.

I. SALT negotiations:

The Secretary has indicated that progress was made during his visit to Moscow and that both sides will not be reviewing positions with their respective governments.

II. Angola:

I have nothing new to give you on Angola today. The most recent statements were made by Secretary Kissinger in Brussels and I would refer you to his comments.

III. U. S. - Spanish Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation:

As the Secretary said in Madrid, this treaty "reflects the strong desire of both countries for a closer friendship and a wider and more enriched cooperation. For its part, the United States will pursue the objectives of the treaty with great earnestness." We intend to work with the Congress to see that this treaty is approved expeditiously.

FYI: According to McCloskey, the treaty will go to the Congress some time this week.

In case you
set questions

Ron

This is totally
inaccurate and
State will deny both
the events as portrayed
and info on the correctness of the
proposals.
M.

N016

RW

SALT-NPR

WASHINGTON (AP) -- SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER OFFERED THE SOVIET UNION TERMS FOR A STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION AGREEMENT WHICH WERE REJECTED BY THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO SAYS.

IN A REPORT ON "ALL THINGS CONSIDERED," THE BROADCASTING SYSTEM SAID TUESDAY NIGHT THAT THE TERMS KISSINGER OFFERED WERE TURNED DOWN BY THE SOVIETS, BUT THAT THE RUSSIANS THEN COUNTERED WITH A SIMILAR PROPOSAL, WHICH IS BEING STUDIED BY THE UNITED STATES.

DESPITE REJECTION BY THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL, THE REPORT SAID, KISSINGER PROPOSED DURING HIS MOST RECENT TRIP TO MOSCOW LAST MONTH THAT THE SOVIETS BE PERMITTED TO DEPLOY 275 BACKFIRE BOMBERS OVER FIVE YEARS.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE REPORT ADDED, KISSINGER PROPOSED THAT ALL VEHICLES CARRYING U.S. CRUISE MISSILES BE COUNTED AGAINST THE CEILING OF 2,400 STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGREED UPON AT VLADIVOSTOK.

UNDER THE VLADIVOSTOK ACCORDS, REACHED BY PRESIDENT FORD AND SOVIET LEADER LEONID BREZHNEV IN 1974, THE 2,400 STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS INCLUDE NO MORE THAN 1,320 WEAPONS WITH MULTIPLE WARHEADS.

02-04-76 09:49EST

May 10, 1976

KISSINGER MEETINGS WITH THE PRESIDENT

Q. What can you tell us about Secretary Kissinger's meetings with the President yesterday and this morning? Did they discuss the adverse political reactions to the Secretary's trip or how the Administration plans to follow through on the initiatives suggested by Secretary Kissinger's public statements?

A. The Secretary met with the President yesterday for an hour and a half. The purpose of the meeting was a review of the Secretary's trip. They met again this morning -- a regularly scheduled meeting to continue a review of the trip and to discuss other foreign policy issues as well. At this time, I have no details of their discussions.

Q. Is it because you don't know or you just don't want to say -- particularly as to how the discussion relates to the political impact of the trip?

A. I am not going to get into any details of their discussions which, as I said, focused on the African trip and other foreign policy issues.

August 5, 1976

KISSINGER URBAN LEAGUE
SPEECH IN BOSTON

Q: At yesterday's briefing at State, Bob Funseth gave some statistics on Blacks in the Foreign Service. Do you have any further information on that?

A: (fact sheet attached - State Department distributed this following their briefing yesterday.)

Q: Does the President feel his record on hiring blacks for the foreign service and appointing black Ambassadors is sufficient?

A: Yes, as I believe the statistics show, the Ford Administration's record on the hiring of blacks is excellent. In fact, Senator Hubert Humphrey told the Urban League that black appointments in the State Department have improved considerably under Kissinger, and pointed out that the State Department has a better record on this than Congress.

-- First Black Assistant Secretary of State in the history of the Department was appointed in the Ford Administration.

-- There are now 5 Black Ambassadors, 2 of whom are accredited to Latin American and Caribbean countries and 3 of whom are accredited to African countries. Prior to the assignment of these 2 Ambassadors to Latin America there had, in the history of the Department, been only 1 other Black Ambassador appointed to a Latin American country (Clinton Knox in November of 1969).

-- 2 other Blacks are now pending nomination in the Senate for ambassadorial assignments (both in Africa).

-- In the history of the Department 23 Blacks have thus far been appointed as Chiefs of Mission.

-- When those persons now in the process of nomination are confirmed, there will be 6 Black Ambassadors (1 present Ambassador is being brought back as a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State). Thus, of the total number of Black Ambassadors appointed

since 1949, almost 25% are now or will soon be on duty.

-- In April 1975 the Department instituted a direct hire program to bring minorities and women into the middle level of the Foreign Service. This program authorizes the appointment from outside the Department of 20 new officers in the middle grades of the Foreign Service each year (10 women and 10 minorities). Thus far under this program we have applications from approximately 300 minority candidates and approximately 300 women. Approximately one-third in each category have thus far passed the first screening process.

-- Over the course of the last year and a half the Department has made a major effort to recruit Black entering Foreign Service Officers. We cannot give you statistics on the success of this program since we cannot legally keep records which identify entrance by racial background. However, on June 27, 1975, the Secretary called, in a speech, for a major

increase in our efforts. Our efforts since the Secretary's speech have included the following:

Paid Advertising -- Different outlets have been used over the years. Last year's ad in EBONY brought 333 responses and will be repeated for the 1976 FSO written exam. In 1975 the Department also advertised in 79 of the largest college campus newspapers, including nine of the largest black colleges; this year's coverage will be further expanded to ensure reaching all campuses with large Black student bodies.

Unpaid Advertising -- The 1975 FSO exam press release went to, among others, 156 black newspapers.

Radio Public Service Announcements -- A sixty second radio tape is being developed for distribution to Black audience radio stations this year, again urging listeners to apply for the FSO exam.

Travel -- In 1975 recruitment teams visited 204 colleges in 43 states, 19 of which were Black

schools. In all instances, efforts were made to visit campuses with large minority populations -- especially Black.

Mailings -- Recruitment letters went to approximately 1,200 colleges in 1975, stressing the Department's interest in increasing minority FSO representation. This year letters will also be sent to Black organizations (based on a list provided by the White House).

8/3/76

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Q: Secretary Kissinger yesterday sent a cable to all our posts abroad assuring continuity in American foreign policy throughout the transition period. However, there are indications President-elect Carter's foreign policy will be quite different from the past. Doesn't the Secretary's statement run counter to the President's call for unity?

A: The responsibility for America's foreign policy will remain with the President until January 20. It is his belief that the foreign policy of the United States is a non-partisan undertaking. Accordingly, the outcome of the election will not affect our continued pursuit of ongoing negotiations and our resolve to meet our commitments abroad. The Secretary's cable was intended to assure foreign governments of this point. At the same time, the President is committed to a smooth and orderly transition to the new Administration, and there will be consultations with the President-elect and his advisors as the issues warrant.

FOREIGN POLICY

1. Isn't it a farce to announce HAK is losing his second hat when he is being replaced by his hand-picked protege?
2. The loyalty argument doesn't wash -- all of the NSC staff are loyal to HAK - were chosen by him. Don't see that much has changed. Why won't HAK continue to have the upper hand?
3. Does this mean that you are determined to go full speed ahead on detente?
4. Has HAK not done a good job on NSC? Have you lost confidence in him?
5. Why did you fire JS? Was he no good? Was he disloyal? Don't you need contrary advice on national security policy?
6. This looks like a sell-out to the doves, won't this hurt you with the right wing?
7. Have you changed American foreign policy? What significance does this have for foreign policy?
8. Isn't DR a liberal? Doesn't his appointment make you vulnerable to charges of liberalizing national security policy?
9. Is anyone leaving the White House to accompany DR to DOD?
10. Are all of these moves a sell-out to the conservatives?
11. What will the foreign perception of these changes be? Will they be favorable? Unfavorable?

FOREIGN POLICY -2

12. What qualifications do Rumsfeld and Bush have for these important jobs?
13. It looks like you are firing two hardliners on detente--Schlesinger and Colby-- and keeping a softliner--Kissinger. Is that an accurate assessment?
14. Does this mean Kissinger has won in his long feud with Schlesinger?
15. Why did you have to ask Kissinger if he would mind leaving the NSC and then wait for him to make up his mind?
16. What did you have to offer Kissinger to persuade him to leave the NSC?
17. Isn't Scoop Jackson right: you are firing Schlesinger because you can't tolerate anyone who disagrees with Kissinger?
18. Why did the White House advance team, which was supposed to leave for China today, suddenly postpone the trip? Do you still plan to visit China?
19. Was Secretary Kissinger's approval sought before deciding to appoint Rumsfeld as Secy. of Defense? Are they in accord on such matters as detente, SALT, and other matters on which Kissinger and Schlesinger disagreed?
20. Sen. Jackson has charged that there is now, in effect, no real National Security Council, that Secretary Kissinger will be the only real source of advice. What is the status now of the NSC?
21. Are these shifts in top-level personnel the result of personality clashes, or do they indicate important new changes in the policies of your Administration?
22. Did some specific event or problem trigger these decisions for you, or is this something that has been developing over a period of some time?

FOREIGN POLICY -3

23. Will General Scowcroft resign from the Army, the way General Haig did when he was appointed to replace Bob Haldeman, or will he continue to wear two hats, one as head of the NSC staff and one as a Lt. General?

MORTON'S COMMENTS

The following is an exchange between a questioner and Rog Morton before the California Republican Assembly on Saturday:

Q. Where does the President differ with Kissinger?

A. He realizes that any Secretary of State who has been (in office) as long as that has enough scars to worry about. I'm sure that Mr. Kissinger is getting toward the end of a long political career. It would sure be bad politics to throw him out today, but I would anticipate he would not go beyond this year.

(FYI: This is from a tape at the PFC.)

HAK SPEECH

In his speech to the University of Chicago November 14, Secretary Kissinger outlined the strategy the US has been pursuing for the past year and a half to meet the energy crisis. The central theme has been the solidarity of the consumer nations of North American, Western Europe and Japan -- to create the economic conditions that will bring about lower oil prices, to safeguard our economies and the international financial system in the interim, to preserve our political unity, and as preparation for a constructive and necessary dialogue with the producers.

The consumer nations have now created two new institutions since the Washington Energy Conference as part of this strategy, and the US will continue to make further proposals.

The consumer nations must act in five areas:

- to accelerate and coordinate energy conservation. He proposed specific targets for reductions in oil consumption.
- to develop new supplies of oil and alternate energy sources. The keys to this are our Project Independence and the International Energy Agency, which will create a common fund to finance or guarantee investment in promising energy projects.
- To protect against oil emergencies and embargoes through the historic sharing program of the International Energy Program and to safeguard the international financial system through a common loan and guarantee facility capable of recycling up to \$25 billion in 1975.
- Assist the poor nations whose development and food needs are devastated by oil price rises. At the World Food Conference in Rome Secretary Kissinger outlined a strategy for meeting the food and agricultural needs of the least developed. New means of financial assistance are needed.
- Once these other building blocks are in place, to enter a dialogue with the producers on a fair and durable long-term economic relationship.

Next week the US will propose to the new International Energy Agency a detailed program for cooperative action in conservation, development of new supplies, nuclear enrichment, and preparation of a consumer position for eventual consumer/producer dialogue. President Ford will


submit a detailed and comprehensive program for domestic oil exploration and exploitation. Next week Secretary Simon will spell out our ideas for financial solidarity in detail. We will ask the Chairman of the Interim Committee of the IMF as well as the new joint IMF/IBRD Development Committee to consider urgent programs for concessional assistance to the poorest nations.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR: RON NESSEN

FROM: LES JANKA 

SUBJECT: Press Guidance on the Gelb Article
RE: State Department Opinion Surveys:

Text - As Approved by Sec. Kissinger:

Secretary Kissinger has repeatedly stressed since his confirmation hearings in 1973 the need for a bipartisan public consensus. He is convinced that no foreign policy can be effective without such bipartisan support and he has spent an unprecedented amount of time and effort outlining to the American people the basis of our policy. He has directed senior officials of the Department to do so as well, and to make themselves available to the American people as often as possible in order to gain a sense of public attitudes and criticism.

It was for this reason that the Secretary announced in a public speech last November that the Department of State was beginning a series of "town meetings" in a number of cities around the country. The purpose of these meetings was to permit officials of the Department to meet with interested private groups to get their views on current foreign policy issues, with particular emphasis on learning of their concerns and criticisms. The first "town meeting" was held in Pittsburgh in February; four others were held thereafter in various cities over a three month period.

Each of the five meetings was open to the public, covered by the press, and reported in the newspapers in each city, In addition, a New York Times reporter accompanied the State Department officials to the first meeting in Pittsburgh, attended most of the discussion sessions and reported in the Times about the Pittsburgh experiment after it concluded. The reports submitted to the Secretary after each meeting were sent, as well, to the participants and press in each city.

As to the "town meetings" themselves, the Secretary specifically instructed that the State Department officers involved should invite criticism of present policies and expressions of public concern, which they did. He also instructed that the reports written after each "town meeting" should give special attention to the criticisms heard in each city, which they did. Thus, it is hardly remarkable that the reports referred to in the New York Times article today provide a description of the criticisms the various State Department officials encountered in the cities they visited.

The "town meetings" were, in our view, a highly innovative experiment in a more open foreign policy, and in how government can be more responsive to the public. We intend to continue them. Further, although the techniques used were far less scientific than those used by professional polling institutions, we believe the reports provided a valuable insight into public attitudes, criticism, and concerns. The "town meeting" reports prepared for the Secretary are available in the Press Office for anyone who wishes to have them.

Q. How can you keep Henry Kissinger as your Secretary of State, much less say that you would like him to stay for your second term, when he is obviously worn out, under great emotional strain, and becoming increasingly discredited with a majority of members of Congress? Wouldn't it help you politically and wouldn't it really be better for American foreign policy to fire Kissinger?

Nelson will say to be one of the

A. Henry Kissinger has been one of the greatest Secretaries of State in American history, and he has helped me immensely in carrying out policies designed to promote a world of peace and harmony. ~~I have no intention of asking him to resign.~~

China

M.E.

Berlin roads.

~~*Foreign aid.*~~

*Carried through difficult times
policy in*