

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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Hoopes
office

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President's files.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

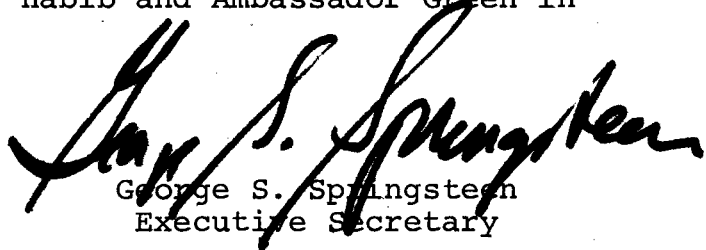
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Washington, D.C. 20520

October 7, 1974

SECRET/NODISMEMORANDUM FOR LIEUTENANT GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSESubject: President's Meeting with Australian
Prime Minister Whitlam, October 4,
1974

Attached is a record of the President's meeting with Prime Minister Whitlam prepared by Assistant Secretary Habib. We recommend this record, upon approval, be distributed to Secretary Kissinger, Assistant Secretary Habib and Ambassador Green in Canberra.



George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

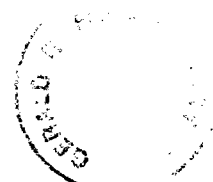
Record of the President's meeting.

SECRET/NODIS
XGDS-1

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

State Dept. Guidelines, state rev. ed. 3/10/04

By Colin, NARA, Date 5/5/04

Memorandum of Conversation

DATE: October 5, 1974

SUBJECT: President's Meeting with Australian Prime Minister Whitlam

PARTICIPANTS: U.S. SIDE: The President
Dr. Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State
Philip C. Habib, Assistant Secretary of State

AUSTRALIAN SIDE: Prime Minister E. Gough Whitlam
Foreign Minister Don Willesee
Sir Patrick Shaw, Australian Ambassador
Amb. Alan Renouf, Secretary of Foreign Affairs

PLACE: The White House

DATE & TIME: Friday, October 4, 1974, 11 A.M.

While photographs were being taken, the President and the Prime Minister exchanged informal comments. The photographers then left the room.

Whitlam: I was on the hill yesterday with the Whips and principal leaders of the Congress. On both sides they all volunteered their appreciation for their relationship with you, Mr. President. They had a positive attitude on both sides of the House.

President: That is nice to hear. Having spent 25 years there, I learned that in our system of government if you work at it you can have adversaries but not enemies. We have to work together to get things done.

Whitlam: Yes. LBJ was the only President who spent as much time in Congress as you.

President: He was extremely able and most successful in dealing with the Congress.

EA:Philip C.Habib:jnp

(Drafting Office and Officer)

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
State Dept. Guidelines
By AWL, NARA, Date 5/5/04
State Div. inv. # 10/04



Forwarded to Dr. Hoopes etc for Pres files 10-16-74 (Dancy Mein King)

Whitlam: He was an able man.

Kissinger: Did you know him?

Whitlam: Yes. He came to Australia a couple of times and he also received me here. He came in 1966 on a visit and in 1967 for the Holt services. I was here and met him and also was at a function where he was giving out some awards. My daughter never forgot how kind he was to her when he asked her if she would like to have her picture taken with him.

Kissinger: He was a big man in every way.

Whitlam: He asked me if I had a weight problem. I was bigger than he was.

President: He had a weight problem too. He had a heart attack in the 1950's.

Whitlam: He had three Presidential photos, Washington, Roosevelt and Jackson, in his office. I recognized the photo of Jackson and he was surprised. I always thought he liked Jackson and identified with him.

President: Yes, there was a sort of populist and frontier likeness. Did you ever go to his ranch?

Whitlam: No.

Kissinger: When Prime Minister Erhard was here, he took me with him. President Johnson thought I was a German. There are a lot of Germans in the country around Johnson City.

President: It was quite an experience to ride in a jeep around the ranch with him. He would drive recklessly across country and show the deer.

Whitlam: He was a skillful politician. There were some rural electrification people around and he asked me to speak to them.

President: He was more skillful at handling the Legislature when he was in the Congress than when he was here. I don't know why that skill eroded when he was here.



Whitlam: It may be that his advisors were so effective that they may have blurred his view of what people thought. Westmoreland, for example, was terribly impressive when you met him but may have given the wrong advice.

Kissinger: LBJ was not comfortable in foreign policy matters and he tried to make an impact in that sphere. In doing so he neglected internal affairs at which he was much better.

Whitlam: He was the only President who ever came to Australia. That made a real impression on us.

President: The only one?

Whitlam: Yes. Everyone wants the President of the United States to come to their country. I know you have no time so I am rather cautious on this, but let me just grasp the nettle. If you are going to Japan, it would be of immense gratification if you would come to Australia.

President: Give us a little time.

Whitlam: I won't push.

President: Give us some time. I almost got there in World War II. I was on a carrier in the New Hebrides, on the Enterprise. We made the first strike on Rabaul at Christmas and over the New Year of 1943-44. There was a series of strikes at that time, and we had two carriers and six destroyers in a diversionary force.

Whitlam: Johnson was a naval officer and came to Australia during the war. In 1966, when he went back for a visit, he went to the same hotel where he had stayed earlier. Our people were very pleased. I learned last night that Joe Sisco was also in Australia as a Marine as were Carl Albert and Secretary Weinberger. Everyone seems to remember his wartime experiences.

President: And, as the years go on, we all kind of remember that we did more to win it.

Whitlam: Yes. I was in the Philippines.

President: I noticed that your speech at the UN contained thoughts similar to those I had expressed. Henry Kissinger kidded me that we must have had each other's texts.

Whitlam: What you said about food was important. We would like to have some involvement in that.

President: Does agriculture have a great share of your trade?

Whitlam: Yes. While a great deal of our investment is in manufacturing, our exports are in pastoral products such as wool and meat and in minerals, such as iron, coal, lead, zinc and, in due course, uranium. We are like Canada. Internally, we do a lot of manufacturing and that produces jobs, but our external economy is largely dependent on agriculture and minerals. We have a large land area, most of which is tundra or desert and a few large cities like Melbourne and Sydney.

President: Can you increase your agricultural production through irrigation?

Whitlam: Some of it, but it takes a great deal of capital and, once you put capital in, the costs get very high. For example, with the U.K. and Common Market our canned and dried fruits become too expensive.

President: Besides which, no one wants to eat dried food.

Kissinger: I remember my Division Commander in Normandy asked me to leave supplies behind for the French. Can you imagine trying to give Spam away to a Norman peasant? First of all he can't believe he is getting something for nothing, and he is looking for the quid pro quo.

President: Were you in the Army?

Whitlam: I was in the Air Force. I saw enough of the Army in the ROTC days to decide to choose the Air Force.

President: That is one of our problems in recruiting. The Air Force has better facilities; the Navy does pretty well; and the Army gets short-shrift.

Whitlam: Yes, in the Air Force you can get good training while Army training is not so fruitful.

President: We are grateful for all the good relations we have with you. I want you to know the United States Government's position on foreign policy will be the same as it has been. I always believed in the policy because it is good. We are on the right track on relations with the Soviets and Chinese. We



will remain strong in NATO and we want a presence, in a constructive way, in your part of the world. Our relations with Australia are part of that worldwide policy.

Whitlam: How your relations with the Soviets develop is really up to you alone. We can influence some things, for example in our relations with Japan and Indonesia and to a lesser extent with countries like India and those in Southeast Asia. We are trying to have good relations with Japan and Indonesia. With Japan so dependent on our resources we don't want to drive them into a desperate situation as in 1940. We want to assure them of dependable resources. We want to spell it out in a treaty with them, but that will come slowly. In Indonesia there are only a handful of people with any real ability, and it is difficult to deal with some of the problems. For example, corruption is a worrisome thing when you compare it to our standards.

President: It is a big and broken country with all those islands.

Whitlam: There are over a thousand.

Kissinger: There is no common historical tradition between all the islands except that which is brought to them by the Dutch Government.

Whitlam: The only unifying historical tradition is in Java.

Kissinger: But places like Borneo had no historical relation to Java. Also part of New Guinea was wanted by the Indonesians simply because it had been under Dutch rule. They did not feel the same about Timor which was and is part of Portugal.

Whitlam: Yes, there was a sort of successor state mentality. Sukarno was a great orator and he spread his influence through words and the use of a single language throughout the archipelago. By using one language he made that a unifying force.

President: He addressed the Congress in 1951 or 1952. He was one of the best orators we ever heard. He was a spellbinder.

Whitlam: He was a terrific showoff. He could quote Jefferson, but he could not cope with his problems later on.

Kissinger: He came close. If that coup had succeeded, it would have been very serious. If he had gotten the Chief of



Whitlam: They are a tough people.

Kissinger: At the time of the coup there were hundreds of thousands or more killed. I saw one estimate of three hundred thousand and even more.

Whitlam: It was a popular thing. They equate the Chinese with foreign influence and went after some of their local Chinese who had been exploiting them.

Willesee: That period left a trauma. In the recent riots in Jakarta the Government would not accept any simple explanation of what was going on.

Whitlam: Jakarta has developed an urban civilization and there is no tradition to cope with it. They don't know how to get sufficient employment for the people in the cities.

Kissinger: Conditions for a built-in revolution.

Whitlam: They don't know how to cope with the problem of a large city with an articulate population without employment and unused talents.

President: Do you have a student problem such as with ours who are always telling us that we don't know how to solve our problems?

Whitlam: All countries have such a problem. In Japan we see a great increase in the skepticism of the young.

Kissinger: Except generally students have emotional reactions but no sense of how to work. They like dramatic gestures, but try to get them to go on and they don't follow through. During the Cambodian incursion I brought groups of students in for talks and I asked them to come back. After they came back a few times, they would stop because they had no interest in discussion.

President: They want to change things but not work at it.

Whitlam: It is a good thing to have children. You will be better off having raised teen-age children. Some of our Ministers without children don't have a feeling for what goes on.

President: My three boys more than my daughter have made me realize how different they all are. One is a square and the second could have become a Communist or a John Bircher but he

turned out to be a middle-of-the roader. The third is different and we have lively discussions at home.

Whitlam: We have three sons and a daughter which is a salutary thing. Many of our student causes are derivative. For example, toward Latin America, they get their attitudes from reading about things written in the States which are of no real interest to us.

President: How long will you be here?

Whitlam: I am leaving to see Pierre Trudeau this afternoon. I never like to come to Washington without visiting Canada because then people criticize me for thinking that North America is only the United States.

Kissinger: He is an interesting man.

Whitlam: The Canadians are very similar to us in their economic situation and they also have to live with you. I think it was Trudeau who said it was like living with an elephant.

President: We have a great relationship with the Canadians. We have 3,000 miles of border and our people have been going back and forth for centuries.

Whitlam: Their corporate relations are important and we want to learn from the Canadian experience. But there are differences. For example, the Canadians have an appointed Senate and we have an elected Senate. Our Senate was on the model of the House of Lords, but then this year for the first time they refused to pass a budget bill and we had to have an election.

Kissinger: The same thing happened historically in England. Although the House of Lords is a hereditary body, when it tried to exercise its power that broke the House of Lords.

Whitlam: We also have a different federal system than the Canadians. Six Australian states are still technically British colonies not like in Canada. That could bring on a constitutional problem but we don't expect it to do so.

As the meeting ended and he was leaving, Prime Minister Whitlam asked after the health of Mrs. Ford and expressed the deep hope that she would recover fully and quickly. The President thanked him and said she was coming along very well.

NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC		RECD			NBR		INITIAL ACTION O	
MO	DA	MO	DA	HR				
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SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES _____ FROM: KISSINGER, H _____ REFERENCE: 7419633 CIRCLE AS APPROPRIATE
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 SCOWCROFT X _____ SCHLESINGER, J _____ OTHER _____ LOU NO FORN NODIS
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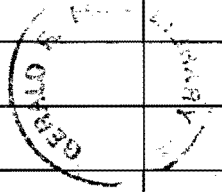
SUBJECT: State Recon re ~~Foreign~~ memcon of Pres mtg
W/ PM Whittan Oct 4 1974

DISTRIBUTION/INITIAL ACTION ASGMT

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION			REC CY FOR	ACTION REQUIRED
	ACTION	INFO		
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/SCOWCROFT				MEMO FOR HAK <u>X</u>
STAFF SECRETARY				MEMO FOR PRES ()
FAR EAST <u>FREBE</u>	<u>X</u>		<u>X</u>	REPLY FOR ()
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA				APPROPRIATE ACTION ()
MID EAST / NO. AFRICA / SO. ASIA				MEMO _____ TO _____ ()
EUROPE / CANADA				RECOMMENDATIONS ()
LATIN AMERICA				JOINT MEMO ()
UNITED NATIONS				REFER TO _____ FOR: _____ ()
ECONOMIC				ANY ACTION NECESSARY? ()
SCIENTIFIC				CONCURRENCE ()
PROGRAM ANALYSIS				DUE DATE: _____
NSC PLANNING				COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS)
CONGRESSIONAL				<u>INDEX: NAMES</u>
OCEANS POLICY				
INTELLIGENCE				

SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

DATE	FROM	TO	S	SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN)	CY TO
10/11		HAK	<u>X</u>	<u>Pres for Delesser (10/20)</u>	
10-17		NSC/S	<u>C</u>	<u>SCOWCROFT approved memcon / faxed to Hoopes for A/AS</u>	<u>Pres</u>
10/17			<u>C</u>	<u>Scowcroft approved memcon</u>	



NSC/S INSTR DISP

DISPATCH From MB to Dr. Hoopes for Pres files (Nancy Mainkin)
 CY RQMTS: SEE ABOVE PLUS: 10-16-74
 NOTIFY _____ & DATE _____ BY _____
 SPECIAL DISPOSITION: _____
 CROSS REF W/ _____
 SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: X FOLDER: _____

MICROFILM & FILE RQMTS:	
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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SECRET/NODIS
ATTACHMENT

October 25, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. George S. Springsteen
Executive Secretary
Department of State


SUBJECT: Memorandum of President's Meeting with
Australian Prime Minister

Attached for the information of your principals and of Assistant Secretary Habib is the approved memorandum of the President's conversation with Prime Minister Whitlam on October 5, 1974.

Attached also for transmission to Ambassador Green in Embassy Canberra is a summary of the conversation. The memcon itself should not be sent to the Embassy.


Jeanne Davis
Staff Secretary

Attachments

dispatched 10/25/74 

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.8

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, state review 2/10/04
BY  , NARA, DATE 5/5/04



SECRET/NODIS/ATTACHMENT

SECRET GDS

CONVERSATION AMONG: President Gerald R. Ford
Prime Minister E. Gough Whitlam
Secretary of State Kissinger
Philip C. Habib
Foreign Minister Don Willesoe
Ambassador Alan Renouf
Sir Patrick Shaw

11:00 a. m. , Friday
October 4, 1974
The Oval Office

After opening pleasantries and short photography session, Prime Minister Whitlam invited President Ford to visit Australia during his November visit to Japan. President indicated his interest in visiting the country, but was non-committal as to when he would be able to make the trip.

President complimented Prime Minister Whitlam on his UNGA speech, noting that the Prime Minister's thoughts on food aid were similar to those he had expressed. In reply to question from the President regarding trade, Prime Minister explained that Australian exports consist primarily of pastoral products such as wool and meat and minerals such as iron, coal and lead. Internally, Australia's economy is linked to manufacturing, but externally it is largely dependent on agriculture and minerals. Prime Minister believed agricultural production could be increased through irrigation, but that it takes a great deal of capital and, once the capital is put in, the costs get very high.

The President reassured Prime Minister Whitlam that US foreign policy under his administration would remain the same as it was under the previous administration.

He noted that the US will remain strong in NATO and that US relations with Australia are part of the US worldwide policy of constructive cooperation with all nations.

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

SECRET GDS

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, *stat dec: ew 3/10/04*
BY lwh NARA DATE 5/5/04

MEMORANDUM

3351

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SECRET/NODIS GDS

ACTION

October 11, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: SECRETARY KISSINGER
FROM: W. R. SMYSE ~~SMYSE~~
SUBJECT: Memorandum of Conversation of the
President's Meeting with Australian
Prime Minister Whitlam on October 4, 1974

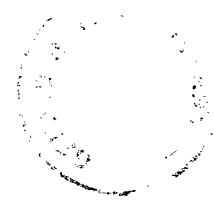
At Tab I is a draft memorandum from you to the President forwarding the memorandum of conversation covering his meeting with Australian Prime Minister Whitlam on October 4, 1974.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the draft memorandum to the President at Tab I.

SECRET/NODIS GDS

Wm 5/5/04



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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SECRET/NODIS

GDS

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HENRY A. KISSINGER

SUBJECT:

Memorandum of Conversation of Your Meeting with Australian Prime Minister Whitlam on October 4, 1974

At Tab A is a draft memorandum of conversation covering your meeting with Australian Prime Minister Whitlam on October 4, 1974.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the draft memorandum of conversation at Tab A with distribution to be made only to Assistant Secretary Habib, Ambassador Marshall Green, and myself.

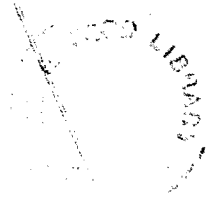
APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

SECRET/NODIS

GDS

W 5/5/04



NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC		RECD			G NBR		INITIAL ACTION O	
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SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

Spingarn
 TO: PRES _____
 KISSINGER _____
 SCOWCROFT _____
 DAVIS _____

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 FROM: KISSINGER, H _____
 COLBY, W _____
 SCHLESINGER, J _____
 ST EX SEC _____

REFERENCE: _____
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 OTHER _____
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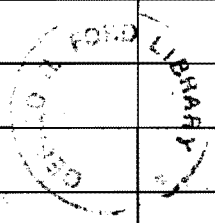
SUBJECT: *Memorandum of Support re
 withdrawal of E. Joseph Whitten
 Dec Oct 1974*

DISTRIBUTION/INITIAL ACTION ASGMT

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION		ACTION	INFO	REC CY FOR	ACTION REQUIRED
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/SCOWCROFT					MEMO FOR HAK
STAFF SECRETARY					MEMO FOR PRES
FAR EAST <i>Spingarn</i>				<i>X</i>	REPLY FOR
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA					APPROPRIATE ACTION
MID EAST / NO. AFRICA / SO. ASIA					MEMO _____ TO _____
EUROPE / CANADA					RECOMMENDATIONS
LATIN AMERICA					JOINT MEMO
UNITED NATIONS					REFER TO _____ FOR: _____
ECONOMIC					ANY ACTION NECESSARY?
SCIENTIFIC					CONCURRENCE
PROGRAM ANALYSIS					DUE DATE:
NSC PLANNING					COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS)
CONGRESSIONAL					
OCEANS POLICY					
INTELLIGENCE					

SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

DATE	FROM	TO	S	SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN)	CY TO
<i>10/25</i>				<i>C Davis says Mem to Spingarn</i>	



NSC/S DISP INSTR

10/25/74

DISPATCH _____
 CY RQMTS: SEE ABOVE PLUS: _____
 NOTIFY _____ & DATE _____ BY _____
 SPECIAL DISPOSITION: _____
 CROSS REF W/ _____
 SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: *L* FOLDER: _____

MICROFILM FILE RQMTS:
 M/F'D _____ BY *pef*
 CRT ID: _____
 OPEN _____
 CL _____

SA SF
 HP NS
 WH EP
 PA DY

EST 27 1974