

TRANSCRIPT

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CBS NEWS SPECIAL

"The President in Europe: Rome and Paris"

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HARRY REASONER: President Nixon today paid tribute to the Unknown Warriors of two nations. Some 15,000 soldiers in Rome kept demonstrators from the Presidential party as Mr. Nixon laid a wreath at the Victor Emmanuel Monument. On the diplomatic level, he said that he and Italian leaders reached agreement on "our common goals."

Then on arriving at Paris' Orly Airport, he quoted another famous American.

PRESIDENT NIXON: Everyone who has had the privilege of knowing this nation from visiting it, as I have on many occasions, would share the sentiment expressed by Benjamin Franklin many years ago when he said that "Every man has two homes: France and his own." And it is in that sentiment, Mr. President, that deep from my heart I say, "Vive la France."

REASONER: Before settling down to the difficult business of dealing with Europe's perhaps most difficult head of state, Mr. Nixon went to honor France's Unknown Soldier at the Arc de Triomphe. Later, Mr. Nixon and the French President met in what was described as "frank and cordial talks," the subjects of which were not disclosed but which undoubtedly involved President de Gaulle's dissatisfaction with the Atlantic Alliance. Amid affairs of ceremony and state, there was some rioting. All this is the subject of our broadcast tonight.

ANNOUNCER: This is a CBS NEWS SPECIAL: "The President in Europe: Rome and Paris." The highlights and the meaning of Mr. Nixon's trip today from the capital of Italy to the capital of France.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

REASONER: Good evening. I'm Harry Reasoner. There is a theory that the whole European tour of Richard Nixon so soon in his Presidency was arranged so that he could be where he is tonight, that he sought a way to see Charles de Gaulle in as casual a manner as possible. Whether that theory has any validity, certainly an element of excitement entered the Presidential trip as soon as Charles de Gaulle entered the picture. As Berlin was the only place on Mr. Nixon's schedule of intensive drama, de Gaulle is the most clearly dramatic chief of state and has made France the only European ally with whom we have current substantial differences.

The climactic two days with de Gaulle followed a time in Rome that went well in conversations but which included some fairly ugly street scenes outside of Mr. Nixon's view. Frank Kearns reports on the Roman visit.

KEARNS: The President started this day in Rome promptly at 9:30 in the morning, right on schedule with a visit to the huge Victor Emmanuel Monument in Rome's famous Piazza Venezia, literally the very heart, the very center of Rome. Once again, as at other stops on this tour, he goes out of his way to pay tribute to an Unknown Soldier. A solemn ceremony with due respect from President Nixon.

This is almost the same spot where yesterday he stopped his car to shake hands with onlookers and be lifted into the air by friendly Romans. Then, just as the big motorcade gets underway again, horrified security men and police face another, unscheduled event. It's a man running out to the Presidential limousine, with a letter in his hands. And there's complete chaos. For one terrible moment, everyone remembers Dallas. But in seconds the man is in police custody. All this, incidentally, takes place just under the balcony where Mussolini once harangued Roman crowds. Later, the President is to learn that the letter, despite the attempt at dramatic delivery, was nothing more than a personal plea for higher pensions.

The motorcade proceeds without incident up Rome's main street, the Via del Corso, to the 400-year-old Chigi Palace. Nixon arrives at Chigi Palace and is all smiles as he is greeted by Italy's harassed Prime Minister Rumor. There's no sign of it here inside the palace but outside the building is completely ringed by almost unprecedented numbers of police and riot squad, guarding against any repetition of last night's student violence.

Rumor and Nixon pose pleasantly for newsmen, then get down to their private official talks, the real point of this entire visit to Italy. Then the American President and the Italian Prime Minister move upstairs through the historic corridors to join U.S. and Italian officials already in conference. Posing for photographers and television cameras, the conference of the two nations reflects the official attitude that this has been a perfect, successful visit, aside from the student demonstrations. In fact, as Nixon shakes hands with Prime Minister Rumor and climbs into a helicopter at Quirinale Palace, there is not the slightest surface hint that almost by accident this visit has touched off the long-expected student violence at Rome University and throughout Rome itself.

The last farewell view of St. Peter's, where Nixon is to see the Pope on Sunday. Then back at the airport, out of his helicopter, the President has a few words of farewell.

NIXON: I realized before I came to this city that there had been complaints in the past that there has not been enough consultation by the government of the United States with your government on matters that involve our future peace and security. Whatever the validity of that complaint may have been in the past, I can assure you that there will be no problem in that respect in the future, because we have established by this meeting, one, consultation on all the major issues with which we are concerned; and second, a pattern for conferences in the future involving our finance ministers, our trade ministers, the Prime Ministers, the Presidents, whereby, on a continuing and regular basis we will discuss the major issues and be sure that we move together toward our common objectives.

KEARNS: On the surface, most observers here rate the President's visit as a success. The talks apparently went well. There was

straight talk about subjects ranging from Italy's probable recognition of Red China and North Vietnam to NATO and the whole Atlantic Alliance. But, unfortunately, President Nixon's visit also provided the spark for student riots which are expected to give the government here and the country a long period of student and labor unrest, even violence.

Frank Kearns, CBS NEWS, Rome.

REASONER: As Mr. Nixon boarded Air Force One in Rome, he was about twenty minutes behind schedule. But the Presidential jet made up the time on the two-hour flight to Paris and Mr. Nixon reached Orly Airport a couple of minutes ahead of time. Peter Kalischer has the story of the arrival.

KALISCHER: President Charles de Gaulle makes his entrance at Orly Airport to greet President Nixon. The weather is freezing but the 78-year-old soldier ignores the temperature. He stands at attention for the flourish of "The Marseillaise."

Charles de Gaulle's feelings for Richard Nixon could be compared to that of a professor toward a bright and promising freshman in world affairs. De Gaulle is the last of the World War II giants still in power. He has been President of France ten years. Richard Nixon, who now comes down the ramp of Air Force One, is a tenant of the White House just 40 days.

Taking his key from the General, he and Secretary of State William Rogers have both doffed their topcoats just before leaving the plane. For Mr. Nixon, the Paris stop is the climax of his five-nation tour of Europe. Until now, the President has been visiting countries which are military allies of the United States and NATO. Now, on French soil, he greets the man who took France out of NATO and set it on a course de Gaulle calls independence and frankly dedicated to diminishing American influence on the continent of Europe.

Together they start walking up the longest red carpet in France, 250 feet from the tarmac to the door of the Hall of Honor.

Drawn up for review is a company of the French Army's Chad Regiment and a unit of the French Air Force. It's still bitingly cold. And now the National Anthem. ("The Star Spangled Banner")

This is strictly an official welcome. No crowds at the airport. French security police have sealed off this side of Orly and even closed the field down for operations. Earlier this morning roving bands of ultra-leftist students smashed windows at the Paris offices of American Express and American - and the Paris Hilton Hotel, but so far, no large-scale demonstrations.

Inside the Salle d'Honneur, the introduction. President Nixon's entourage to President de Gaulle; the French officials to President Nixon. The interior has been redecorated for Mr. Nixon's arrival. The magnificent Oriental rug was ordered by Napoleon

Bonaparte in honor of himself. And the decor is very much First Empire. Quite obviously, both principals are enjoying themselves. President Nixon at this point is extremely satisfied with his visit so far. And the auguries are good for this, his next-to-last stop. President de Gaulle, as usual, never looks or acts in a grander or more gracious manner than on occasions of state. It sometimes appears as though he was born for nothing else.

The two men have prepared their brief addresses but the one President Nixon is about to give is a little less effusive than the prepared text he circulated to newsmen in advance.

(DE GAULLE SPEAKS IN FRENCH)

INTERPRETER: Mr. President, we are indeed gratified by your visit to France. Through you, in fact, the United States of America is cordially visiting France. For two hundred years now, during which everything has happened, nothing could ever prevent our country from feeling it was a friend of yours. Furthermore, you have come here in order that we expound to you our thoughts and intents as to world affairs and that you enlighten us as to your own views and purposes. How could we fail to attach the greatest interest and highest importance to such an exchange. And, finally, Mr. President, it is you we are welcoming. Let me tell you that we derive from it joy and honor because of all the high esteem in which our people hold the statesmen whom your country has chosen as its leaders, a satisfaction and esteem to which I personally add an already-borne-out friendship. Long live the United States of America.

NIXON: Mr. President, your Excellencies, it is a great honor for me to stand here on the soil of the nation that is America's oldest ally and America's oldest friend.

Mr. President, you have spoken eloquently of the relationship that our two countries have had over two hundred years. And I come here at the conclusion of my European journey for the purpose of underlining our dedication to that relationship and for the purpose of finding those areas in which we can continue to work together in the future. And it is in that spirit that I look forward to the discussions that I shall have with you, Mr. President, and with the members of your government.

And speaking in a personal sense, I look forward to the opportunity to receiving from you your judgment, your counsel, not only on the relations between our two countries, but, even more, on the great problems that divide the world and your judgment as to how the United States can best fill its role in helping to solve those problems. We have often talked before and I have always benefitted from the wisdom, the experience that you have in such great degree. And there has never been a period in the world's history when we need, not unilateral decisions on the part of one great power, but when we need the very best wisdom that we can find in finding the policies that will save freedom and maintain peace in the world.

And if I can be permitted one personal word as an American coming

to France again, after many previous visits, we have known this nation as a brave ally in time of war, and as a loyal companion in searching the ways of peace.

But everyone who has had the privilege of knowing this nation from visiting it, as I have on many occasions, would share the sentiment expressed by Benjamin Franklin many years ago when he said that "Every man has two homes: France and his own." And it is in that sentiment, Mr. President, that deep in my heart I say, "Vive la France."

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

REASONER: Mr. Nixon has said all along that the ceremonial parts of his trip would be kept to a minimum, that most of his time would be spent in working sessions. Nowhere is that more apparent than in Paris where Mr. Nixon has set aside ten hours to talk with President de Gaulle and where the ceremony was got out of the way almost immediately. CBS NEWS Correspondents. Dan Rather and David Culhane report.

RATHER: After a half-hour at the Foreign Ministry, Mr. Nixon was driven up the Champs Elysees to the Arc de Triomphe. General de Gaulle during this time was proceeding to his residence. Foreign Minister Couve de Murville escorted Mr. Nixon to the ceremony at the Arch, a memorial to France's Unknown Soldier.

President Nixon stood at attention for the National Anthem, then took his time reviewing troops and talking with veterans, both French and American. To several Frenchmen and women, Mr. Nixon said, "We appreciate what your brave young men have done. We hope we can develop policies for peace so ceremonies such as this will not multiply over the years."

The memorial under the Arch is a bronze slab containing in its center the Eternal Flame. To the accompaniment of drum rolls, two U.S. Marines placed the President's huge wreath. The ribbon on the wreath inscribed: "From the President of the United States and the American people." Mr. Nixon appeared deeply affected by the Unknown Soldier ritual. He stood with eyes closed as muffled drums rolled and bugles played the French Taps, called "March of the Dead."

CULHANE: Mr. Nixon's increasing readiness to stop his car and go out to meet the people made him about ten minutes late for his first direct talks with President de Gaulle at the Elysee. The American President was greeted by an honor guard at the Palace, which was built in the 18th century for the French nobility. Now it's the official residence for the President of the French Republic but the regal aspect of the place is still evident and Charles de Gaulle certainly fits in with this tradition. His every appearance today conveyed a sense of formal, almost imperial dignity in the face of President Nixon's cordiality and respect. Photographers were allowed to film the two men for a few minutes and

then they were closeted together without interruption. President Nixon will spend a total of about ten hours in talks with de Gaulle. That's a clear indication of the importance Mr. Nixon attaches to these talks. But lengthy exchanges are no guarantee of agreement and most observers still wonder what can really be accomplished given the range of differences in the viewpoints of the two men.

A French spokesman said the first session was carried out in "a frank and cordial atmosphere." And added that this is a good beginning for the conversation. That's precisely what spokesmen always say after the first exchange between two leaders; so, in fact, we really don't know yet how the talks are going. The protocol of meetings like these requires that everyone stay mum about what's going on until they're all over. But it might safely be said at this point that the Middle East tensions figured in today's discussions, along with the Vietnam War and certain observations about the Soviet Union and developments of the last year in the Communist world. The real test will come when the two men direct their attentions to European affairs, NATO and the Common Market. Then it's more than likely that they - best that they can agree on is simply to disagree.

David Culhane, CBS NEWS, Paris.

RATHER: President Nixon considers his trip thus far exactly what he had hoped it would be. He feels he's established his reputation as a good listener, that he has had excellent rapport with all the leaders with whom he has met. But even before he came, Mr. Nixon knew that Paris would be the risky stop, risky because Mr. Nixon has decided to openly play on the vanity of General de Gaulle. That open play on de Gaulle's vanity has been the talk of the observers traveling with Mr. Nixon on this trip and the question you hear asked most often among European reporters other than French is: Has Mr. Nixon overdone it? The American President heaped more praise on General de Gaulle alone today than he has on all the other European leaders with whom he has visited combined. The impression that Mr. Nixon conveyed, whether he intended to or not, was that de Gaulle and France were Number One in his heart as well as in his mind.

That interpretation was being placed on the whole Nixon visit long before the President arrived. French Foreign Minister Michel Debre for one, and other French officials were quietly and privately passing the word that the fact that Mr. Nixon was coming here at all could be interpreted as vindication and victory for Gaullism. And recognition finally, as the French put it, by the U.S. government that France was entitled to an independent policy and that despite de Gaulle's criticism of the United States, his efforts to undermine the dollar and all of the other policies of Gaullism considered unpalatable by the United States State Department, that all of that is now forgiven. That's probably reading far too much into what Mr. Nixon said here today but that is the reading the French are giving it.

REASONER: On Sunday, Mr. Nixon leaves Paris for Rome and an audience with Pope Paul. Today was a continued anti-Nixon rioting in Rome. Vatican officials tightened their own security plans. They asked for a regular Italian police reinforcement, enough to surround the Vatican in case new trouble breaks out when Mr. Nixon returns.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

ANNOUNCER: Here again in New York is Harry Reasoner.

REASONER: If President Nixon arrives as something of a mystery to the French, so, after all these years, is President de Gaulle. You can make a fair living in France today explaining de Gaulle to his countrymen, if not to himself. One of his more articulate viewers is Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, publisher of the French news weekly, L'Express, author of the book, "The American Challenge," and one of the resident intellectuals the President will meet in Paris tomorrow. When Mike Wallace interviewed him this fall, he discussed President de Gaulle.

SERVAN-SCHREIBER: Today, in Europe, in Western Europe, he discounts Germany completely because he thinks Germany has such a necessity for American protection that Germany has no independent policy. He discounts Italy because he thinks Italy is an American colony already, industrially. He dislikes and distrusts England because England is a Trojan Horse of America. So what is left? France.

(De GAULLE SINGING "THE MARSEILLAISE")

SERVAN-SCHREIBER: De Gaulle is first and last a student of history. He lived in French history. His ambition, I'm sure, created since his very youngest years, was to become the greatest sovereign of France in the French history books. He really has only two competitors - that is Louis XIV and Napoleon. But he writes French and he talks French better than the two others did. So his words, written words and heard words, will remain more than of any other sovereign of France. De Gaulle will remain more important to us as a man of literature, of great literature than a man of politics.

He's a man who can be a demagogue and he's a man of the kitchen policies. He knows how to make a deal. He knows how to flatter the people in small places. He's not a Joan of Arc. He doesn't hear voices. Now, you see, he's a rational man.

WALLACE: How deeply does de Gaulle dislike the United States?

SERVAN-SCHREIBER: You have personal feelings and you have political motives. His feelings were hurt during the war. Churchill and the British Government had recognized him as the legitimate leader of France. Roosevelt and the American government had refused to do so. So he was hurt in his pride and also in his pride for France. So those are the personal feelings.

He has political motives apart from personal feelings. Political motive is that this is the era in which the United States is the great imperial power, the greatest of the world, so he thinks that the leaders and the people of lesser nations should not abandon themselves to the imperium of the United States. He thinks it's a historical duty and when he speaks like that, he has almost unanimity of the French people and I would say the European people behind him.

He thinks that - and on this we disagree - I disagree with him - but his feeling is that against the imperium of the United States, the most efficient lever is nationalism. And so he is the man who talks about the fate in nations and nationalism all the world over, in Asia, in Europe, in Africa, in Latin America. And Vietnam, to him, is the revolt, the rebellion of a national people against an imperial power. And he will support that in Vietnam. He will support that in Czechoslovakia. He will support that in Latin America. He will support it in Africa, like he does in Biafra. Nationalism, to him, is a weapon of liberation against the imperial powers, either Russia or the United States.

WALLACE: What did he think of John Kennedy?

SERVAN-SCHREIBER: He thought he was very young and had little experience. The only one of the American leaders at the present time that de Gaulle has really taken seriously for so many years and been very, very polite to and very kind to him, that is Richard Nixon. Maybe he had the feeling that Nixon would become some day President of the United States; maybe because he doesn't like Democrats. Neither in his country nor in the United States.

De Gaulle has not confided his feelings about Lyndon Johnson. They are so different that they couldn't get along together at all. He disliked Roosevelt definitely because Roosevelt thought that de Gaulle was not legitimate and did not want to recognize de Gaulle as the leader of France. But Churchill did. He liked him. He liked him because he remembers the days in London when only Churchill took care of him and assisted him. But he didn't feel at ease with Churchill. He felt more at ease with Stalin. He thinks Stalin was a real nationalist for Russia, more than a Communist and that to de Gaulle is most important of all. And, second, because he was an absolute sovereign. And Stalin ruled as de Gaulle thinks there should be rule.

WALLACE: Who are the men in whom he has the most faith, the living men whom he admires?

SERVAN-SCHREIBER: I think he has faith in no one. A few months ago, I would have answered one man; that was Georges Pompidou, his Prime Minister. Then, suddenly, this man was dismissed because the glory of the election seemed to be shared somewhat between de Gaulle and Pompidou, and this de Gaulle cannot accept. He thinks that all the power should be in the hands of the President.

WALLACE: Will he run for re-election in 1972? He will then be 83 years old.

SERVAN-SCHREIBER: He might do it. He might do it, because he doesn't trust anybody to do as well as he can do himself as long as he's there. And that's why he's had such a great affection for Adenauer. He liked the fact that a man could remain in power so old with all his brain power intact. Adenauer stood for over 85 or over 88 - 7, I think. And de Gaulle thinks that if Adenauer did it, then, of course, Charles de Gaulle, who has a superior mind and more will, can do it.

WALLACE: Is he well? Is he healthy?

SERVAN-SCHREIBER: De Gaulle has never been in good health. De Gaulle has always had trouble with his body. He has had great trouble with his eyes, his sight. He has trouble with his blood. He's getting too fat. But that does not count. The will power in this man is so great that body must obey like all other citizens and, eventually the body does obey like other citizens.

WALLACE: But is he really a man of greatness who will leave a durable legacy?

SERVAN-SCHREIBER: I think it's a great pity that this man arrived at this time, too old to grasp the things essential that had changed between the history that he learned in the books and the modern terms of power. He could have been, if he had not this constant ambition of being only the sovereign of France, his country and that is all, he could have been the George Washington of Europe. And that's what we needed and that's what we shall need. But he didn't master, he didn't grasp that. And maybe this will be in his total destiny a fatal weakness. In the end, it's a failure. It's a personal glory but the political tasks will not have been done.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

REASONER: Most observers agree that the talks between President Nixon and President de Gaulle will produce no dramatic improvement in the relationship between the two countries, at least not immediately. So, then, what do the two leaders hope to gain?

Correspondents Rather and Kalischer discussed this with two prominent French writers: Romain Gary, former French diplomat and a novelist; and Michel Gorday, chief political reporter for the newspaper France-Soir.

KALISCHER: Good evening. I'm Peter Kalischer, CBS NEWS, Paris. With me tonight are two distinguished French guests: Mr. Romain Gary, a former diplomat and a successful and famous novelist; Mr. Michel Gorday, a distinguished political correspondent of France's largest newspaper, France-Soir; and CBS NEWS' own White House Correspondent, Dan Rather, who yesterday was hit with a piece of the Berlin Wall.

Mr. Gary, what would you say was the impact of President Nixon on the French nation in the brief time that he's been here?

GARY: Well, he's only been here a couple of hours, really, and in this case to talk about an impact, he's probably made a good impact on the gendarme escort around him. As far as the French people are concerned, it's much too early to say. All I can say is that the image is good. The image - I literally mean image - on the screen on television - he's young, he gives an impression of warmth, open, youthful, smiles a lot, easy, relaxed, jumps into crowds, takes risks, physical risks, considerable ones, jumps on the top of the car and can be shot at. Let's not talk about that. And he does a very - he sort of projects an image of an earnest American.

KALISCHER: Michel, what did you think of the love feast at Orly Airport today between President de Gaulle and President Nixon? Did you think that was unusual or in the natural course of events?

GORDAY: Well, yes, of course, rather unusual, considering the past, and even the present. There was a love feast, as you said. However, it was a restrained love feast with some reserve on both sides. President Nixon, for instance, did not make the speech he was supposed to make, which was much more warm in the prepared text than what he said. It was warm enough but he was much hotter in the prepared speech.

As to General de Gaulle, well, he said one thing which everybody was astounded by and that was that he has a feeling of personal friendship for Mr. Nixon. This is, in my opinion, the first statesman anyhow about whom he has talked as a personal friend. This is a very rare occurrence. The General doesn't have so many friends. Perhaps President Nixon is his only friend.

RATHER: Peter, if I may, I'd like to pursue this point a bit about how much praise President Nixon did lavish on General de Gaulle. While it's true that, if one wants to read it a certain way, that Mr. Nixon's prepared text, which he stands behind as is usually the case with the White House, as played against his ad lib remarks at the airport, in a degree, may not have been as lavish; but let me assure you that for an American President to make the kind of speech that Mr. Nixon made today in Paris, considering the way some of General de Gaulle's remarks have grated on the Americans in the past and his - what are interpreted in our country as attacks on the dollar - this was indeed lavish praise, the as-delivered speech. And it may give Mr. Nixon eventually political trouble at home. It's too early to say but that's a very real possibility.

KALISCHER: Well, Mr. Gary, do you think that de Gaulle, President de Gaulle, had any particular political end in view in giving such a warm accord, such a warm welcome to President Nixon?

GARY: Political, I wouldn't say yes, but psychological certainly. We all know President Nixon has for eight or nine years been called names, to say the least. He was - he's not particularly used to be loved and to have terms of affection bestowed upon him. It was good

diplomacy of General de Gaulle to give him perhaps the biggest accolade he's ever had in his public life. I think was good politics and if this is the only policy that is achieved between President Nixon and de Gaulle, the personal liking is very important.

RATHER: Well, how good a politics was it for President Nixon to lavish such praise on General de Gaulle? Will it help him at home?

KALISCHER: Maybe not at home but it might help him in what he's trying to do here, which is the next question I was going to ask you. What do you think President Nixon hopes to get from his visit with de Gaulle?

RATHER: At the very least, he hopes to get help on the Middle East. I don't think he comes here kidding himself at all that he can make much headway on NATO, the Common Market or for that matter, monetary systems. I do think that he wants some help on specific special issues. Vietnam, for one. Middle East, for another. But at a very minimum, he wants General de Gaulle to smile a little more and talk a little friendlier when he mentions the United States. That is the rock-bottom minimum.

GARY: I quite agree. I think this is - actually, I believe - I'm not indulging in paradox - I believe this is the most important thing right now, because it was a kind of arteriosclerosis that set in between America and France that was much more than the problems. It was largely psychological. It was largely emotional and I think that this meeting and the way the two men do go out of their way to have a kind of warmth projected is the best thing that can be achieved between America and France right now, more than any questions of policies because there aren't any that can be really changed. It doesn't depend on France or America, really.

GORDAY: Now, I'm all for public relations and for good moods and for sunshine in the morning and for pretty girls. And I am - I would be delighted if a new mood is created here in Paris between President Nixon and de Gaulle. However, being sort of an old wolf in this profession of ours, I have seen many welcomes and many love feasts on the first day of an official trip. And I've been also at departures at airports when people left, where faces were much more, let's say sad, than on their arrival. I'm not predicting anything here. On your point, Dan, about the Middle East, if Mr. Nixon expects help on the Middle East from General de Gaulle, he'd better turn somewhere else because I don't believe that he will get any because what he got in January, that was not he, but President Johnson, the last two weeks of President Johnson, that embargo on the arms for Israel, was certainly not a help for the United States because it put the United States on the spot with the Arab countries as the only provider of arms for Israel.

RATHER: Mr. Nixon will want to get an easing of that. That's one of the things he'd like....

GORDAY: I'm all for hope. I hope. But I'm not as hopeful as President Nixon appears to be. Of course, he's better informed than I.

RATHER: Isn't what we're dealing with here - there may be less than meets the eye to what's going on here, that - we went through this with President Kennedy. Peter, you were here then, I think. You certainly were observing it very closely. We went through this with Kennedy. President Kennedy came with great enthusiasm, great eagerness to make relations better with the French. He thought he could do business with de Gaulle. Now he could not. This isn't to say that Mr. Nixon may not succeed where President Kennedy failed, but as you say, we've been through this before.

KALISCHER: May I add just that de Gaulle, if I'm not mistaken, liked President Kennedy very much but he regarded him as a romantic, a political romantic. And that is one thing - romance does not - is not a word in General de Gaulle's political lexicon. Now I don't think he will ever accuse Mr. Nixon of being a political romantic and I think that is probably the reason that they get along together.

I, too, believe that this legend of friendship over the years is something that's of recent manufacture. I think - I don't know - both sides are playing it, but if you tick off the number of times that they have actually seen each other, over the last ten years, I think you come up with four. And a total elapsed time of one hour and thirty-five minutes together. Now, I don't put that as something on which you can base a friendship, as Michel says.

RATHER: Well, it illustrates one point. Someone mentioned today that General de Gaulle had plans, definite plans to return to the United States should former President and General Eisenhower die. Would you expect that?

GARY: I make the prediction. It's a fact. He will go.

GORDAY: He surely will go but I hope that General Eisenhower will live. But I also hope that General de Gaulle will choose other occasions than funerals, because the last one was the late President Kennedy's and then he spoke to the newly promoted President Johnson and that didn't go off very well. So after that is a rather bad reminiscence, but I would like to add this: I think that it is in the interests of both Presidents to make this visit in Paris appear as, not as a love feast, perhaps, but a very good and wonderful reestablishment of normal, civilized relations.

In other words, General de Gaulle may, during this visit, not spit in the face of President Nixon as he did, not physically but politically, many times at other Presidents of the United States. And President Nixon, being - having decided to listen and to learn and I think he's playing it cool. He has played it cool so far all over Europe.

RATHER: But what happens when he meets the Russians at the summit? That isn't going to go down very well with General de Gaulle any way you cut it and no matter how many speeches you make at Orly Airport.

GORDAY: Well, for one thing, he has consulted General de Gaulle. At least, he has paid homage. He has made - he has consulted him. That's already something. General de Gaulle likes to be paid homage to and at least he's made a gesture. I don't think that General de Gaulle will have any influence on Mr. Nixon's dealing with tough cookies like Messrs. Brezhnev, Kosygin, or Shelepin, but at least he has consulted him. I do not think that General de Gaulle is delighted by the prospect of President Nixon's future conversations with the Russians. This has been his nightmare ever since '45, but, well, at least, Mr. Nixon has been polite and he's come to consult him and to, as he said today, to ask for his advice, so this is a gesture.

KALISCHER: But isn't the cornerstone of President de Gaulle's policy weaning Europe away from the United States? I mean, that is the actual bedrock of the whole thing and how does this - how is this going to meet it - Do you think that he's going to try to convince President Nixon that it's in the best interests of the United States that NATO should be dissolved, which is one of the things that he believes in? Mr. Gary?

GARY: Gentlemen, really, who ever said that he wants NATO disbanded? What have you heard, where has it been written, why do you say it? It's total undiluted rot, as President Eisenhower's press officer Hagerty, I remember, said apropos of something. He never asked for NATO to be disbanded.

KALISCHER: He wants it to wither away.

GARY: He didn't - well, no. He wants it to be reformed. That all things that are not reformed die, including France or America and including Russia. It has to be changed because it's twenty years old. Period. Second, as far as the meeting between Nixon and de Gaulle is concerned, it cannot be anything but a success. And why? Because de Gaulle can't afford to make a fourth enemy of a fourth American President, because Nixon is a beginner and it will be a feather in his cap if he comes back having made some headway with de Gaulle. As you said quite rightly, the two men have a common interest now. It is to get together as close as they can and agree as much as we can. And I bet that de Gaulle is going to go all the way he can to come to an agreement with Nixon.

RATHER: But I submit to you that it will not be a feather in Mr. Nixon's cap if he goes home to the United States and he is called one who bowed before de Gaulle and then got de Gaulle's blessing. This will not be a feather in his cap and also, to your other point, if I may jump back, about the NATO affair. That General de Gaulle's asking NATO headquarters to be moved from France, the statements he's made concerning NATO - if he isn't after the demobilishment of NATO, the abolishment of it, if he doesn't want NATO disbanded, then he has a very serious public relations problem because that's what people believe.

GORDAY: That may well be and I surely believe that de Gaulle's greatest problem in America right now is not American-French policy, it's a public relations problem because I - let me - may I ask you a question?

KALISCHER: Certainly.

GORDAY: One question really - we have to discuss this early. All he wanted from the start in NATO is to have equal say at the top in case of war -

RATHER: But not pay equal price in terms of troops or money.

GORDAY: Well, then, therefore, you admit that we are not to have the same say as the United States of America, as America in the case of NATO. Why? Because you are stronger.

KALISCHER: Well....

GORDAY: Because there is more of you...

KALISCHER: And because there is a nuclear umbrella.....

GORDAY: In fact, you are talking to your own allies in terms of force.

KALISCHER: Not force - leadership.

GORDAY: Well, why? Because you are stronger? What about - all right, you are stronger, you are smarter, you are more intelligent, you are richer, you have more bombs, you have everything. What do you gain by...

RATHER: No, stronger and richer, perhaps, but not smarter.

GORDAY: I don't know, but in terms of leadership you have to be smarter, too. It's more important than the bombs. I don't say you are not. You probably are. But, you see, let me go on. I mean, very honestly, there's another point of view. Now you come with something in the beginning that's quite a stickler. It's quite a stickler. You said, now, if Nixon comes to an agreement with de Gaulle and he goes back to the United States, he will be unpopular there.

RATHER: He may be.

GORDAY: May be. But is the President of the United States dealing in terms of reality or of projecting, of satisfying, gratifying the current trends of public opinion in America?

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

REASONER: Gourments, some American writers of an earlier generation and Frenchmen believe that France is the center of the earth. But short of that extreme, many people do share Benjamin Franklin's feelings, quoted by President Nixon this morning, that every man has two homes - his own and France. France is America's oldest ally. More American servicemen have died in France than in any other foreign country. The influence of France on American

culture and emotions is great, so that her current importance, as in some ways an antagonist, is complicated by the attitudes that history has left in us. There seemed to be a strong sense of that in the words and faces of Charles de Gaulle and Richard Nixon today. It is their problem to ameliorate current antagonism with old affection. Presumably both of them are sleeping on that problem at the moment. This is Harry Reasoner, CBS NEWS, New York.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

ANNOUNCER: This has been a CBS NEWS SPECIAL: "The President in Europe: Rome and Paris."