

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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JFK Assass. Rec. Collection Act of 1992  
1781000 410 304  
NARA date 11/9/00 By KBH

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford  
Secretary of State Kissinger  
Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Assistant  
to the President for National Security  
Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Friday, November 21, 1975  
9:30 a.m.

PLACE: Oval Office



The President: The UN took the vote just on behalf of the Greek Cypriots.  
What does that do?

Kissinger: It makes it tougher. I talked to Denktash. They don't trust  
Makarios. Wayne Hays ought to do us some good.

The President: The Christian Science Monitor says Makarios is the problem.

Kissinger: We will get the Mao books over here today. I would read it for  
atmosphere, not specifics. The atmosphere for the advance is very good.

We have stared them down. What they respect is firmness.

There is a difference between me and my people. They believe we should  
make some progress on Taiwan. I am having the scope paper on that redone.

The President: That is right. We aren't in a position to do anything this time.

Kissinger: We had an effusive reply from Brezhnev -- only three days after  
we sent our letter.

The President: That is very forth coming -- damned good.

Kissinger: I think we should get another Vladivostok agreement on cruise  
missiles and Backfire. Then we could work out an agreement and Brezhnev  
could come by April. That would keep the Middle East quite. We need to  
have an NSC meeting, or maybe a principals - only Verification Panel meeting.

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CLASSIFIED BY Henry A. Kissinger  
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION  
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652  
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5 (b) 1 (3)  
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON Imp. to det.

The President: I would have Clements attend also, not just Rumsfeld.

Kissinger: If we get the total reduced to 2300, it would take the Soviets out of cruise missiles. We would be permitted 200 on SLCMs as an offset to Backfire. We would count ALCMs over 600 as MIRV and ban them on other than heavy bombers.

They have about 1450 ICBM and about 900 SLBMs. They will be squeezed out of cruise missiles. We would need a side letter from Brezhnev putting a ceiling on Backfire. You don't have to commit yourself now. Brezhnev wouldn't invite me without a willingness to negotiate.

Without Congress, we would have the Soviet--Chinese triangle working again. I think we should tell the Chinese I am going to Moscow. The Soviet angle is what keeps the Chinese under control.

The President: When we hung tough on the Peking visit, it obviously worked.

Kissinger/President: [Discussion of Manila; Tokyo; Hawaii. Mrs. Ford is staying over in Hawaii.]

Kissinger: They want to give a private dinner for you. It would be Teng, Brent, tell Solomon not to hint that it might be Mao. That is physically impossible.

I am meeting with the Church Committee. I hear we wants a confrontation. I plan to be tough.

The President: I think you should be very firm. The country is not behind the Committees.

Kissinger: The assassination report looks complete but it is very sloppy and biased.

[Discussion of the Schneider affair]

The President: There is one thing. Marsh is going to talk to Brent. Pike says there is a secret agreement on SALT I. Something about a cable from Alex Johnson.

Kissinger: That must be this same crap about the 70 missiles. All we did is to get Dobrynin to confirm what I had already said in a press conference and in instructions to the bureaucracy.

The other thing was the 54 Titans. We agreed that if we got rid of the Titans we wouldn't replace them with submarines. That was in our defense budget. There are no other secret agreements.

The President: Pike is grasping at straws, now that he is declining.

Kissinger: I will destroy him on this one. We must avoid a contempt action while we are in China.

The President: Gravel was very good on the Law of the Sea the other day.

Scowcroft: He was, and his statistics are more recent than Stephens's -- It negates Stephens's argument that time is running out.

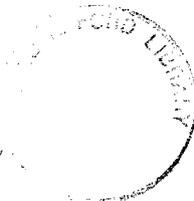
Kissinger: Gravel was terrible on Vietnam, but he has recently been very sound.



→ Get away from the area here.  
Bilateral meeting.

✓ P/K 21 Nov 75

7:30 am



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NARA date 1/9/00 By KBF

P The UN took a vote just on behalf of Greek & Cyprus. What does that do?

R Makes it tougher. I talked to Serhatak. They don't trust Makarios. Wayne Hays on pt to do some good.

R CSM says Makarios is a puke.

K We will get a head table over here today. I would read atmosphere not specifics. The atmosphere for a advance is very good. We have staved them down. What they expect is firmness.

There is a 'if' but not many people. They believe we should make some prog on Truman. I am having a scope paper on that release

P That is right. We aren't in a position to do anything this time

R We had one effusive reply from Bez - only 3 days after ours.

P That was very forthcoming - damned good.

R I think we should get another US aid agreement on CML & backfire. Then we could work out an agreement & Bez could come by joint. That would help ME's part. We need to have an MS activity, or maybe a principle only VP mtg.

P I would have Clements attend also, not just Barroff. If we get total reduced to < 300 - would take 500 out of CML's. We permitted 200 on SHCML's - as opposed to Barroff. Can't ask CML's over 600 as NIKV + Ken on other than heavy bombers.

Flying time to Urumqi - Tokyo  
HAR to Tokyo.  
→ Tell Solomon private dinner would be Teng.  
Keep us out of it as long as possible



Teng has about 1450 ICBM & about 900  
SH & M's. Teng will be squeezed out of AM's.  
We would make a side letter from Teng getting  
a city on Backfire. You don't have to  
commit yourself now. They wouldn't invite  
me w/o willingness to negotiate.

I think we should tell the PRC Japan to know  
w/o City we would have a 500-PRC triangle  
working again. The same angle is what  
helps the PRC under control.

P when we bring Teng on - Peking visit it  
remains unworked.

R-P (Discussion of Urumqi - Tokyo - Amman, Amos.  
F. staying over in Hawaii.)

R Teng want to give a private dinner for you. It  
would be Teng, <sup>Beard</sup> Tell Solomon not to hint it  
might be was. That physically impossible.  
I met w/ Church etc. I hear he wants  
a compensation. I should be tough.

P I think you should be very firm. The country  
is not behind the curtain.

R The ass'n report looks complete but it is every  
shabby & biased.

(Discussion of Schweitzer)

P There is one thing. Weish is going to talk to Beard. Peter  
says there is a secret agreement on Salt I.  
Something about a cable from Alex Johnson

R That must be this & some crap about the 20 missiles

All we did is to get Dory to confirm what I had  
already said in a press conf + instructions to the press

Get records  
front of w/  
summary

Beag before Egg get.  
- ? Getting on Jewish Homestead ?

The other thing was a SY titers. We agreed that if we got rid of titers we wouldn't replace them w/ surbs. That was in our old budget. There are no other secret agreements.

P Pika is grasping at straws now he is declining.

K I will destroy him on this one. ~~It~~ We must avoid a contempt action while we are in China. Also  
tell you

P Gravel was very good on the LOS the other day.

Gravel. S He was, and his statistics are more recent than Stephens - it negates Stephens argument that time is moving on.

K Gravel was terrible on VIV, but he has usually been very sound.

