MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

USSR: Andrei A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR
       Anatoliy F. Dobrynin, Soviet Ambassador to the U.S.

U.S.: President Gerald Ford
      Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
      Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Saturday, September 21, 1974
                12:15 - 12:39 p.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office
       The White House

[The conversation began with greetings and initial pleasantries.]

Gromyko: Kissinger follows me very closely. I cannot afford to make a mistake.

The President: I enjoyed our talk, and Secretary Kissinger has filled me in on his talks with you.

Kissinger: Just before this meeting, Gromyko gave me a response to the suggestion that we agree on nuclear reactor safeguards. That is very important.

The President: Would this have to be an agreement?

Kissinger: Yes, because the problem now is that each country sells reactors competitively.
Gromyko: On this, non-proliferation is a problem that is as important as it was ten years ago.

The President: Maybe so.

Gromyko: Two-thirds of the states have ratified it, but the remainder haven't. It would be good if we two did our best to get more states to ratify.

The President: I hope we could work effectively on this. I'm interested, Congress is, and if we could stabilize this...

Kissinger: These are two points. One is the spread of reactor technology. Maybe we can do something on this. The other is, the Foreign Minister wouldn't want some of his allies to get the impression of condominium.

Gromyko: If you mean our real allies [smile], it is no problem. No one can predict how someone might act irresponsibly.

Kissinger: Speaking frankly, France has sold four reactors to Iran and we don't know what safeguards there were. If we two can agree on safeguards, then we could go to the Europeans.

Dobrynin: Do you have sufficient safeguards?

Kissinger: In the Egyptian case, we have, we think, foolproof safeguards. If we two can agree and if we get the Europeans to agree, we can control the situation. We will tell you our safeguards --- maybe you have better ones.

Gromyko: Sometimes Japan and Brazil are mentioned. What do you think?

The President: Japan has its own problems...

Kissinger: The line between weapons and peaceful uses is vague. The Indian explosion obviously has military implication. The Japanese have a big nuclear program but have not done any explosion yet. If they moved this way, they would go like India and could be a big power very quickly.
The President: The Japanese are having trouble with their ship.

Dobrynin: Leakage on their nuclear vessel.

Gromyko: Fukuda told me Japan would not do it.

Kissinger: We have no idea they are moving.

Dobrynin: In the PRC they have a new Commander-in-Chief.

The President: One of the points we discussed yesterday. I agree with you and I think it was a constructive speech. I was looking over the report on our defense appropriations -- that was my expertise in Congress. And Congress has given us a good list with what we need to move ahead. I want you to know that despite the strength they gave me to move ahead, we want to cooperate with you -- but if we have to compete, we will. The American people will accept a planned equality, but if we are going to compete, the American people will want me to -- and I will -- keep the country in a strong position.

Gromyko: There are two ways to go: if we move ahead while negotiating, we could say to our peoples we will work on some areas. The first way is to say: stay strong while negotiating; the other is to say: the main task is to find areas for cooperation. When you go the first direction, we ask how we should report to our people. Now we prefer the second approach.

The President: We believe in restraint. But we must assure the American people that while we go through this process, our strength is adequate. I must assure that the American people are not in jeopardy.

Gromyko: It is difficult to find a way to cut the knot. Partial solutions are the more practical way to approach the problem. We just discussed non-proliferation.

The President: Competition which drains you and us is not useful. But until we can see the progress which can be made, I must preserve our security. The American people want us to move forward, but want to be secure also. Don't feel what I'm saying is to upset what I am talking about, but it is to assure the American people that as we move ahead our people are adequately protected.
Gromyko: I can assure you we will carry out our policy. We don't like some things we see on the U.S. scene -- like Jackson -- but it will not dissuade us. The summit conferences and any other talks will continue. The U.S., Soviet Union, Europeans -- and even the PRC -- do not want tension. But we won't give up what belongs to us. But we want to help be good neighbors. It is nothing directed against the United States. We want good relations with Europe -- and with China, but we will not give up territory which belongs to us. We proceed from that assumption. We are not against your good relations with Eastern Europe, if it is based on mutual respect and security.
P /hampton /K /Derry
21 Sept

Initial pleasantries

K Do you have any news? Did you contact anyone in the US?

P I called my brother, he filled me in on his trip.

K Yes, please send me some of your estimates, opinions on the system and the situation. That is important.

P Would this be of any interest?

K Yes, last week there was still some speculation.

G On this, win-list is put on simplex.

P I agree.

K It is of ultimate, but remember, it is good if we can do something to get over it.

P Anyone could work on it, it is very important. I initiated, they do it, if we can.

H I agree - one in South Africa, eight in another. The other in Europe; wouldn't want some of his allies to put pressure on them.

G If you can get some real allies (smile), it is not good, but one can find out how some one might act irresponsibly.

K Speaking personally, it was sold to the States to show us what safeguards. And I'm not sure on safeguards. How thin can we go to ensure do you have any safeguards?

D In my case, we have some very few past safeguards. If we can agree - if we can get E and France, we can control it. We will tell you our safeguards.

G Sometimes it is Brazil are mentioned. What do you think?

P Yes, me has to make sure.

K The line is always peaceful. The Mexican influence usually has little. I hope they move this way, any word I was like.

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BY: MARA, DATE: 2/5/84
I would be in favor of any plan which
would work with their ship

Eskimos

Frolick at All. We danced and it was fun.

We have no idea why we are moving

As I am just now up very early - I think a scowling

soup. Making my way on dry agony - that

my spirits may be congealed, and be given to a good bird

what we walk to some anchor. I want some to know

dispatch - though they were well to understand, we

not to keep up - but it can be done to

every one with. The army people will accept

a planned agreement, but if we are poor & hungry,

Ann people will not like it & I will - to keep

carrying in anything further.

There are two ways today: one desired while

negotiating, less efficient & many people we will

weaker in some cases.

The first way is to stay up a strong which

negotiation; a certain is to keep the main task

to find areas for cooperation.

When we go to it absolute, we case have an

dealment to one people, how we judge

very approach.

We hardly in matter, but we must assume

one people that with we go then. This power that

strength is independent. I cannot assume that

one people are not in property

(missed second)

If it is difficult for any to exist a doubt. Limited

solutions are a more practical way
to approach a part. We just dreamed non-

property.
Competition with whom you think is wrong.
But until we can see a peacemakers which can be
really, I must premise one section. Our flight
went to feel whether more fruitful, but want
of it now more.
Don't feel half way in, you will what I'm talking
about, but to assume. Only people that can we now
actual threat perhaps adequately practical!

America gone, we will any are going. We
don't talk things can others. Jackson - but
will not drive me. The summons continues
cannot talk will continue. US, SC, EU
and SEC do not want terrorism. But we want
either support belong to us. But we want to
base-based national neighbors. This directed against
US. We went and nations will, and we think
in part will not give any threats. Although we
we not against your your election is I
Eur approach based on national way it.