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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford
Bipartisan Congressional Leadership
Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant
to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE & TIME: Tuesday - November 26, 1974
9:15 a.m.

PLACE: Cabinet Room

President: Thanks for coming. I appreciate the kind remarks and the actions taken while I was away. I appreciate what has been done on Rockefeller and the Mass Transit bill.

We have a full plate this morning. I can give you an overview of the trip, and I want to talk about the Aid Bill, the Export-Import Bank, and the budget.

The trip was strictly a working 8 days. I am glad the wives didn't go -- there was not much for them to do. They had us in a compound in Vladivostok.

In Japan: You saw or read about the ceremony. This being the first visit of a U.S. President, it was mandatory to go through the ceremony. Tanaka resigned -- we knew he would -- but the Government there is a government by consensus, so the discussions were with the Government and the leaders as a whole. The security relationship continues to be important for both sides. The real substance revolves around cooperation in energy, food and our cooperation in the Far East. I think Japan will move more aggressively than in the past.

There was some expressed concern about the Korea visit. But they are an ally and are under pressure from North Korea, and we have 40,000 troops there. Park is concerned with the threat from the North and he thinks some of the dissidents were inspired by the North. He thinks he must be a strong leader under those circumstances. North Korea is stronger on the sea and in the air. They need the fulfillment of our commitment. I think we should

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~~TOP SECRET~~ - XGDS (3)
CLASSIFIED BY: HENRY A. KISSINGER

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NSC MEMO, 11/24/74, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Review 3/10/84
BY: [signature], MARA, DATE 5/7/84

continue to meet it and with our help I think they can survive. You know, they just discovered a tunnel there that the North Koreans built through the DMZ for infiltration into the South.

On the economic side, I haven't been there for 20 years, but their economy is really moving. On Japan -- we urged them to cooperate on fisheries and I think they will. We urged a move on beef quotas and hopefully there will be some relief there.

The most important aspect of the trip, of course, was Vladivostok. I will give you the figures, which I hope you will keep off the record, because it is just an oral agreement. As you know, they have a big program under way. As a result of about 12 hours of hard bargaining, we reached an agreement which is in accord with the language set forth in the Senate language on equivalence. We agreed on a number of 2400 strategic weapons. It is within our program and requires a reduction in the Soviet program. It puts a cap on the launching capacity of the United States and the Soviet Union. On MIRVs the figure is 1320 of the 2400. On bombers, a ballistic missile with a range less than 600 kilometers would not be counted; one with a range over that would be.

The net result is a rigid ceiling on bombers and MIRVs. Those figures are responsible; it does coincide with the Congressional requirements for equivalence. The Secretary of Defense agrees with it, Chairman Brown agrees with it and Secretary Schlesinger assures me the JCS will. This position was worked out with Kissinger, Schlesinger, Brown and it meets the Congressional mandate. As far as I know it meets with the wishes of the people.

Are there any questions?

Rhodes: Is it 1320 warheads or launchers?

President: Launchers.

Thurmond: What will be the means of verification?

President: National means.

Pastore: How will we know about their MIRVs?

President: We watch their testing program and we will count any new missile installed as MIRV'd if it is a type they have tested with MIRVs.

Question: How much delay is there in getting the agreement? You will be involved.



President: We will have a written agreement in principle within a week. It will be worked out by next summer.

Pastore: What do we have to do to match them? A lot of people have asked us.

Byrd: How about freedom to mix?

President: There is complete freedom to mix within the constraints of SALT I.

Thurmond: Jackson was on the radio saying it should have been 1700 not 2400. Can you answer that.

President: They wanted the higher figure. This was the best we could get. Scoop will argue this is not an ones reduction--but it is below their present program. And this I won't preclude further negotiations on reductions. You have to start somewhere, and this puts a cap on it. This puts a ceiling on planned development. Their program was substantially more than 2400.

McClellan: This is a reduction below their existing and planned program.

President: Particularly what was planned.

McMarhan: Was it wise to restrict the B-1 missiles?

President: The military think so.

Cederberg: Why a 600 km limit?

President: Beyond that it's treated as a strategic weapon.

Frelinghuysen: Why did they agree?

President: I think they are concerned about an unending arms race. This is enough for security and it is stabilizing.

Whip: Did you detect anything more hopeful this time compared to their previous attitude?

President: I think he was genuinely concerned about an arms race.



Rhodes: How about limiting other weapons? Like naval expansion.

President: Not this time. We had only a limited time available.

Scott: Did you discuss energy and Siberian development?

President: Yes, and with the Japanese, too. The Japanese are negotiating on the Yakhutsk project. There were no firm discussions.

Sparkman: You mentioned some concern about the EXIM and foreign aid. I hope we can work out something on foreign aid today. The EXIM conference report comes up today. There is considerable opposition. I hope it will be supported.

President: I hope you will support the conference report.

I hope the Senate will act on the Trade Bill. We have a confidential arrangement on Jewish emigration and Brezhnev has reaffirmed his commitment. There will be no harrassment, no limitation on applications, and no restrictions except on grounds of national security.

Pastore: How much can we say?

President: I told the Soviet Union I had to give you the figures. I hope you will not talk about the numbers.

McClellan: This will be formalized within a week?

President: Yes.

Rhodes: Can we say that it is a figure that is below the Soviet program?

President: Yes.

Now Roy has the bad news about the budget.

[The meeting continued on budgetary topics.]



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PARTICIPANTS

The President

Senate

- ✓ Hugh Scott (R-Pa)
- ✓ Mike Mansfield (D-Mont)
- Robert Griffin (R-Mich)
- ✓ Robert Byrd (D-W Va)
- ✓ George Aiken (R-Vt)
- ✓ John Sparkman (D-Ala)
- John McClellan (D-Ark)
- ✓ Milton Young (R-ND)
- ✓ John Stennis (D-Miss)
- Strom Thurmond (R-SC)
- ✓ John Pastore (D-RI)

House

- ✓ Carl Albert (D-Okla)
- ✓ John Rhodes (R-Ariz)
- ✓ Thomas O'Neill (D-Mass)
- ✓ Les Arends (R-Ill)
- John McFall (D-Cal)
- ✓ Melvin Price (D-Ill)
- ✓ William Bray (R-Ind)
- ✓ George Mahon (D-Tex)
- ✓ Al Cederberg (R-Mich)
- ✓ Thomas Morgan (D-Pa)
- ✓ Peter Frelinghuysen (R-NJ)

Staff

Anne Armstrong
Roy Ash
Philip Buchen
Dean Burch
Robert Hartmann
Jack Marsh
Ron Nessen
Brent Scowcroft
Dick Cheney
Bill Timmons
Tom Korologos
Max Friedersdorf

Regrets

Senator James Eastland (D-Miss)
Senator William Fulbright (D-Ark)
Rep. F. Edward Hébert (D-La)
Rep. Craig Hosmer (R-Cal)



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AGENDA

9:15 - 9:20 a.m.
(5 minutes)

PHOTO OPPORTUNITY
(Ron Nessen)

9:20 - 9:35 a.m.
(15 minutes)

FAR EAST TRIP OVERVIEW
(The President)

9:35 - 9:45 a.m.
(10 minutes)

SALT NEGOTIATIONS
(The President)

9:45 - 9:55 a.m.
(10 minutes)

FOREIGN AID, EXPORT-IMPORT BANK
AND TRADE
(The President)

9:55 - 10:15 a.m.
(20 minutes)

BUDGET REDUCTIONS
(Roy Ash)

NOTE: The bipartisan leaders will be escorted from the Cabinet Room to the East Room for the signing of the Urban Mass Transit bill.



Leadership Mtg
26 Nov 74

①

P Thanks for coming, appreciate kind remarks & actions taken which I may, of course, rectify & make timely action. Full plate this morning. Overview of trip, aid bill, X.M.I. bank, budget.

The trip was strictly a working & days had various checks go & not much to do. Had no in response.

Japan you saw or read about a mission. This being 1st visit of U.S. it was mandatory to go there. Charming, Tanaka resigned - he knew he would - but got it by excuses so our discussion was w/ Gates a whole ^{Security situation internal} The real substance was around energy, food & region Far East. I think Japan will move more aggressively than in past.

There expressed concern about Korea visit. But they are ally, make pressure from N. Korea, we have 40,000 troops there. Pak is concerned w/ threat from N & thinks some dissidents inspired by N. He thinks he must be staying, like under these circumstances. N.K. storage on sea & air. They need fuel & port of call. I think we should continue to meet it & w/ our help I think they can survive. (Described a tunnel incident) On our side, I haven't been there for 20 years this morning really. On Japan we urged them to export on fisheries & I think they will. Urged more on beef quotas & hopefully some relief there.

Most important aspect of trip was that I will give you figures which I hope you will try to work down to just oral agreement. They have a big program under way. Go south of about 12 hrs

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NSC MEMO, 11/24/88, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Review 3/10/04

BY DLA, NARA, DATE 5/2/04

Thomson Jackson was on radio saying should have been ~~2000~~ 1100 not 2000. Can you answer

P They wanted higher figures. This was a last we could get. Fisher & Song will do just this not on our submission - it is below their pay. This doesn't preclude further negotiations. You have to start somewhere & this puts a cap on it. This puts a ceiling on planned output. Their pay was over, more than 2x00

Mr. Chalk This is a schedule below existing & planned

P Planned

Mr. Kuhn Was it wise to restrict B-1 missiles

P For security, that's a

Geckler Why create

P Tactical is strategic

Fredrich Why did they agree?

P I think they concerned about an arms race. This is enough for security; it is stabilizing.

Did you detect anything more hopeful this time compared to their previous attitudes. I think he generally concerned about an arms race.

Rhodes How about limiting other weapons? like heavy explosives

P Not this time (explained limited time available)

Scott Did you discuss energy & Siberian output

P Yes & w/ Japanese. Pages in report on Yakutsk proj. too for discussion.

Spencer You mentioned some concern about E-pin & for a while I hope we can work out something for aid.

Today it comes up E-pin conf. report comes up today. Considerable opposition. I hope it will be supported

P I hope you will support our report.



I hope Smith will act in total full. We have confident arrangement for Jewish cooperation & reaffirmed his contract, no harassment, no limitations on expenditures & no restrictions except total security.

Partee How much can we say?

P I told SS I had to give you a figure. I ~~was~~ ^{hope} you will not talk about - elsewhere.

Mr. Galt This to be formalized w/in a week?

P Yes

Rhodes Can we say other is a figure & it is better for you?

P Yes.

Your Ray has had news about budget.

