MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

President 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 & TIME: 
August 16, 1975
(Evening Session)

PLACE: 
Vail, Colorado

Kissinger: Let me show you the real maps.

[They discuss the maps.]

Israel will now be able to claim they are still in the passes. It is pure domestic politics in Israel. The Israeli Cabinet is meeting tomorrow.

Dinitz called me. He wants agreement to the whole of Matmon-B. He also wants no political objection to the F-16. I see no problem, since they are getting the F-15. They want the Pershing with a conventional warhead. Then they have a lot of other technologically advanced items that they want.

What you have to think about is that a couple of years down the pike they are in a position to ignore us.

[Secretary Kissinger calls Ambassador Dinitz and conveys the following:]
We will consider sympathetically the whole Matmon list. On the high-technology list we will have a joint study with a view to reaching a positive outcome. The F-16 is approved. On the Pershing we will need a joint study but we see no overwhelming problems.

The President feels strongly that there must be a satisfactory solution to the passes. You can call it what you like but our position is that it has to be substantially as I gave it. We have to avoid here that the shuttle breaks down in a way that we can't support you. If Egypt raises the passes, we will tend to support them.

All of these I have discussed with the President and he confirmed them.

[Dinitz call ends.]

[Reads the arms supply agreement language.]

I think Israel is committing suicide. With Americans in the Sinai and a $2.1 billion aid submission in the middle of a recession. It will kill them here.

On the Iranian deal, I spoke to Simon, and Robinson spoke to him. He said it could be read as our endorsing the existing price. The discount is not enough to count.

President: But there is a discount and if price goes up we get that until the WPI goes up.

Kissinger: He says it is also a form of indexing. He is right there, but Zarb and Greenspan know that. He agrees that Cooper will work with Robinson about how to make the payments. I will call him tomorrow again, but he was softer than in his earlier opposition.

On my UN speech to the Special Session, I would like to present a number of technical proposals. Here are some of them. You agreed on a $200 million fund for an agricultural development fund. We thought it could come from existing allocations. It turns out that isn’t so. This is the only item with budget implications, and it could go into next year's budget.

We are looking at a new commodity arrangement to stabilize not the prices of commodities but overall earnings. We are looking into using IMF funds. We don't yet have full agreement within the government on these. The issues are highly technical. We are now coordinating.
We are looking at a tin agreement. Everyone's okay on that. And one on copper. All are agreed that we can enter negotiations. We have a list of conditions here but we won't push these to the point of interagency splits. There are a lot of other noncontroversial items [He reads them off.]. The major issues which might come to you are: Earnings stabilization -- that's a new concept. Simon is okay, but Greenspan might object.

President: As I understand, this session is for this specific purpose.

Kissinger: The danger is the underdeveloped will try to railroad their rhetoric in. What I would like to do is to submit a big list, so we would get through the Special Session -- since there is no way to discuss all these during the Session. There is almost no way it can impact on this year's budget.

What I would like to avoid while I'm gone -- Cheney said there was uneasiness. I would like to work through Seidman and keep Cheney and Rumsfeld out of it.

President: He is the Secretary of the EPB so he is the right one. Who will he work with?

Kissinger: Enders and Robinson. But I don't want them to edit the speech itself. I will let them clear every idea, but to give these guys a crack at every sentence is no good.

Brent, will you work with Seidman and Engers?

President: Have your people work with Seidman. And, Brent, you keep me posted on how the discussions are going.

Kissinger: I will give Brent a copy of the book with each issue.

I don't want to say, though, that the present economic system is the best. That would just turn 30 countries against us.

President: I am interested in practical results. You proceed along these lines.

Kissinger: This session is only an invitation to having technical discussions. I will clear the whole book, but not the drafts.

President: I would like to look at the drafts.
Kissinger: As soon as I have one.

On Soviet grain, here is a Robinson memo.

[ Gives the President the memo ]

President: It looks ingenious, but I will have to study it to understand it.

Kissinger: If we pull this and the Iranian thing off we will have covered about 18 percent of our oil imports by special deals.

Finally, on SALT we have two problems. On the NSDM, Defense is digging in on a couple of points. You had agreed with Brezhnev to ban cruise missiles on other than heavy bombers. I will hold off on that for now. The other is the definition of cruise missiles, which DOD wants to restrict just to nuclear weapons. That would make the whole thing a mess.

President: That sounds ridiculous.

Scowcroft: It is just a way to get around the limitation.

Kissinger: I would recommend you agree with the first, but not the second.

I had a good talk with Dobrynin. I think they are beginning to move. On cruise missiles, we could limit cruise missiles to 300 heavy bombers. And then to limit them to 2500 total. Give them 300 Backfire but not let it have cruise missiles.

President: Would Backfire be counted?

Kissinger: No. Another way would be to give them 100 Backfire free and count those in excess of that. If we go down on SLCM's to 600-900 kilometers and ban those in excess of that, I think they will compromise on ALCM.

President: Have you mentioned this to DOD?

Kissinger: I'd rather wait until I get back. And not accept any DOD ideas in the meantime.

President: Nothing.
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President: On the detente speech, I told them I didn't like the explanation of detente. Why don't you read this page-and-a-half.

Kissinger: I violently object to this phrase about translating detente into English and Russian. It is a tawdry phrase which will drive the Soviets crazy.

[More discussion about the speech.]

To me it is clear what the Democrats are trying to do. I don't think you have anything to fear from the conservatives.

[The press came in to take photographs and then left.]

President: I would like to look over the part you gave me and decide what to do. I liked what you said on Portugal more than what is here.

Kissinger: I would recommend you not mention the Soviet Union by name. I did, and to do so a second time I think may be too tough on them.

I can rewrite the Portuguese part to make the same points I did.

President: Good.
Kissinger: You need one positive paragraph. I hate to think where we will be if we have a first-class crisis with the Soviets next year.

[More speech discussion.]

Kissinger (continues): I am worried we are driving the Soviets into a position where Brezhnev may have to turn on us at the Party Congress. If it looks like we are screwing him on detente, he may have to.

President: I want to be tough on intelligence. I think the Greek-Turkish portion is wrong with the Congress. That will be changed.

Kissinger: You shouldn't sound soft on detente, but it should be tuned to their fears. If they think you are turning on detente, they will want to try to get ahead of you.

On the Zumwalt article, you should know that the unilateral statements did not come from us -- they came from Gerry Smith, and the delegation worked them out.

President: I talked to Jim about two things: Zumwalt was for the A-7. What was the original rate? Cut it down if that is the original rate. And I said I wanted to see a DOD analysis of the Zumwalt article.

Kissinger: I would cut the rate if possible.

The Greeks have also stolen 60 million rounds of ammunition from Souda Bay. They want to buy it now, which is really condoning the stealing from us.

President: I think we should point these things out to Brademas. We have let the Greeks get away with a lot of things.

Kissinger: We are on the edge of what we can get away with on detente. To push much further will force a reversal from the Soviets.

On the Middle East. We have a good map coming. [He points out the passes on the map.]

I guarantee you the Israelis, once the agreement is signed, will announce that they are not out of the passes.
The passes are one big contested point. The next point is the warning stations. I told Dinitz the worst thing Israel has done is to insist on these stations. We will supervise Umm Khisheiba and can justify one station as needed to check Umm Khisheiba. This issue is pure Israeli domestic politics.

Jackson told Dinitz not to make an interim agreement because it would only help you and me. He said he would vote for the stations but they would damage Israel. I am getting turned off with Jackson. They say he turned on Vietnam; why wouldn't he on Israel?

I will shave some off the Israeli line.

Then there is the problem of moving the Egyptian line forward. In the South, they have agreed to broaden the narrow parts. There will be joint use of the road.

This is not a satisfactory agreement. The Israelis have not been smart to push Egypt this far. It will lead either to peace or another war.

[He reads the Sadat letter to the President.]

The problem with this letter is we can't be caught in a position where we look duplicitous, because the Israelis want the opposite. They have given us a 25-page memorandum of what they want from us. I will leave a copy of this with you.

[Reads from the Israeli document.]

They asked us not to make an overall proposal which they haven't approved and any proposals which they haven't cleared.

I would like to reaffirm what you have already said to Rabin -- that you will take the Israeli views very seriously.

I would tell Sadat that we will be ready in 1977 for an overall proposal.

[ Gives the President a draft letter that Israel wants him to send to Rabin.]

On an agreement, there will be three sets of documents. We will leave a set of everything with Brent and let you know every day where we stand. It will be the most tawdry nitpicking.
There is the basic agreement, a protocol spelling out where the lines are, then a US-Israeli bilateral agreement -- that 24-page paper. They want to prevent your doing what you did last Spring -- hold up military equipment. [Reads all the military equipment they want.] For now they want just a military figure that we will promise. There are other items. The figure is now $1.2 billion. Those demands -- and the warning stations -- may barely evoke their support for 1977. They want a figure today.

President: I can't, in good conscience, go above $2.1 billion. We had been thinking of 1.6 to 1.8. We have cut back so much on other programs that it really is hard on us. What is the budget figure?

Scowcroft: We haven't given any, but the estimate was at the previous year -- $700 million.

President: Tell them $2 billion and not one cent more. Even that will be hard to sell to the Congress.

Kissinger: I think we can explain 2.1 better than 2.0.

President: O.K. But start with 1.6. For 3 million people that is a lot.

[Chatting about the Ink Spots and the evening social.]

Kissinger: On the Iranian oil, Simon is violently opposed to it. He still expects a price break. No one else in the world expects the price to drop. Jamieson [of Exxon] thinks the sellers' market is returning.

President: We are going to do it. Simon can like it or not.

Kissinger: We do need his cooperation.

President: Greenspan and Zarb are on board.

Kissinger: Yes. I want to talk about the UN speech also.
P: On a telephone speech, 2nd Floor, I asked the
chiefs on the flight. I asked some and
this page, and so forth.

K: I secondly subject to this phrase. About homing
satellite and Fry's Machine. It is a tenancy
phrase with which I send to 1.60 every
home discussion about a speech.

I saw it in their whole speech and trying to do
I think you have anything I fear from it

(Please note)
P: I would like to look more at point you gave me
and decide what to do. I think what you said on
plutonium more than what is here.

K: I would recommend you not mention S.D.
by name. I think it is so true. I think my
check tends to show,

from remote part part to make some
point detailed.
P: Good.

K: From several previous paragraphs, what to
check more with in effect have a close
review with serious costing.
(Now second discussion)

Mentioned the dining room with problems.
They may have to remain on at least, and
I think like we remain them in control, it
may have to

P: Should be done under on snail. Should not be

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
NSC MEMO, 11/2/89, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, n.d. issued 3/10/1984
BY   NARA, DATE 5/1/2014
We should contact some of our new clients to see if they are interested in doing business with us. Our current customers are not very interested, but we should still try to retain them. If they are not interested, we may need to find new clients. We should also consider contacting some of our old clients to see if they are interested in doing business with us.

Some of our current clients are not interested in doing business with us. We should try to retain them, but if they are not interested, we may need to find new clients. We should also consider contacting some of our old clients to see if they are interested in doing business with us.

In conclusion, we should try to retain our current clients and find new clients to do business with us.

[Signature]
[Date]
agreement because it would only help you and me. I don't know what for statements that they would be in. I got a letter from a man who they say is a farmer who I'm very comfortable with. That it would be very easy for you. There is a part of money in it that personal. If you see, they have agreed to be asked a narrow point. There will be just very few.

This is not an other existing agreement. That I have not been sworn to finish this far. It will lead either to your or another man.

(Write a letter letter E)

I said, I told them that I can't get the money in a position where we have suggestions, because I can't write a check. They have given me an extra amount of money. I have a copy of the agreement.

(Read from a document) on a small paper which they asked me not to make any copies and any changes I can't change.

Wouldn't it seem wise what you have said you will keep it with any actual remarks.

I would tell the who that we will see in 1723 for money that you. (Conceal person, should let us know what has happened. There will be a second agreement. We will have a copy of the agreement with you.)
let you know every day when we start. But
will be most likely not farthing.
Ten days later, we'll receive a formal
spelling correction this week. Then a US 
 hatred - that 24 page paper. Then they won't
be much easier. What you did last night
be doing well tonight. (total with doing
tonight). For now they won't get much
writing.

3.2. 1600

These
demand - to writing electric - way badly
with their request for 1972. They want a
writing today.

S

I'm going somewhere you about 1.1. We
had been thinking of 1.6 - 1.5. We have not
left to any other place that it really is far
away. What is a budget figure?

S

Let us know if anything else is needed.

1.2.18

I'll hear from you - I see at

Please

Tell them I did not we went more. Even then
will be hard to sell the case.

I think we can APX, to 16,800,000.

I'm ok. But there's P1, 5. For 3 and 100.

(Chatty about ride growth every week)

1. On a similar note, company is actively expanding.

4. It will require a price break. We believe a
small得了 a large drop. We believe
250,000 small and major. It's turnover.

It is useless without credit and in anyway.
P. We are going to do it. Simon can be like H. a nut.
R. We don't need him any more. We won't be on local.
L. We want to talk with you later.
The following scan was made from a poor quality original.
Support group development

- Support team will be trained.
- All team members will be confirmed.

(Don't kill ends)

(Rules of supply agreement - language)

- It's in the supply contract.
- Items in section 2.1 identified in supply statement.

Support & session

- We will install a supply system.
- Will get it working.

Date

- Supply agreement effective date.
- Supply agreement will be effective.

Payment

- Payment terms as outlined in agreement.
- Payment amount and terms to be outlined.

Other Notes:

- We would like to provide feedback on progress.
- We are concerned with the quality of service.
- We expect frequent updates on progress.

We are looking at a "long-term" arrangement.

- It's important to maintain continuity.
- We are committed to working hard.

(Concerns about trade impact. Getting support...
We can only negotiate on a point of view, not on the same point of view. But we don't want that. We don't want that to point of view anyway. There are a lot of other non-negotiable items there too.

The main issue, which might come up,

...and having talked about a new concept, future of buck or bucking around.

I understand this situation.

The change is a significant one.

What I would like to do is revisit our structure.

I would like to revisit Buckle and Bucking.

I think we need to address.

It will be beneficial for us to be as tight and flexible as we can.

Evidence shows that I don't want him to do a speech today. I will not.
Clear away this, but if you leave this going
a week at any temperature is 25 years.
Start with your work at Eichman & Co. and
have your, perhaps with others, and
have this, be the same, just another.

I will join the next copy of the book and
each time.

I don't want to repay the debt, but now
the present system is a cent. That would put 30
cents against it.

I am indebted, unsold. I need

This is a sum of 100, 000, 000.

The sum, however, I will have to study it
and understand it.

If not pull this one through. Dog off we will
have cannot start it. I will call it by special rate.

Final, one salt will have 2 pm. 24000,
Defence objections is an easy step. Corbett
agreed 2/5 kg. is one of them than being

Second, I can bull off that for now. The
sum is a age of 100 which does wind to white.
just a reminder of T.

That would make 100.

That sounds reasonable.

Set 2 to just enough to get around 2 limitations.

I would recommend you agree with it but not

extend.

I had heard this before. I think they buy 10

more. Am I right? We could limit it to 5,000

heavy hunters. And then to 7,000 total.

Giving too much backfire but not let it have too.

P would backfire be counted?

K 23. Another way would be to give them 100

backfire per 1 but they can exceed that.

If we go down the 2-500 to 4-500 ton 1 can

in their I think they will compromise.

P Sean you mentioned too 7-500

K I'd rather wait till I get back. And not accept any

Do others in meantime.

P waiting.