 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 AND TIME:
Friday, September 26, 1975
10:56 - 11:34 a.m.

PLACE:
The Oval Office

Kissinger: We have three different problems with these groups: a deliberate attempt to destroy Executive authority, to destroy our foreign policy, and to knock down every strong man around you.

What they are doing to the Sinai agreement is unbelievable. It is the greatest achievement since the opening to China and all that is happening is they are pissing all over it.

I am so overburdened that mistakes are made. They asked Sisco if these were Executive agreements. Sisco is energetic but has no judgment. He got the Legal Advisor to say they are legally binding Executive agreements.

We are now facing a coalition of the pro-Israelis, who want to freeze these papers into concrete agreements...

The President: I am disturbed about your comment that I am not tough enough in foreign policy.

Kissinger: No, I didn’t mean you. I meant the impression of those around you. We are dominant in the world and at home we are impotent. Don’t misunderstand me, it is not you. But Buchen -- let me say the manner in which they talk to the Congress does not inspire respect. Why he has to say we would never withhold a whole document...

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EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5(b)(3)
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON Imp. to Det.
The President: I didn't say that.

Kissinger: No, you are just fine. There is not an iota of difference between us. But we shouldn't promise sweeping things like this -- we don't know what will do.

[He reads from agreement to show that the language leaves an escape clause and there is no binding language.]

If I have to testify on these though, I will have to say either it means nothing or it does mean something. Either one is a disaster.

The President: Both Committees have this?

Kissinger: Completely. And it has been leaked to the New York Times. But to publish it officially would create a massive problem with the Arabs.

The President: Were you tough with the Committees?

Kissinger: I did not yield, but they are now using delaying tactics. They want Schlesinger to testify and he will be asked about your statement that we will give military assistance to Egypt. He will convey the impression he has been out of it.

The President: I was strong on the Pershing.

Kissinger: Brent told me you were great. Schlesinger knew about the Pershing. He didn't know about the slip of paper. But he has given away all the easy things now -- F-16, tank lasers, accelerating the F-15 -- leaving you with the sticky issues.

The President: How do we get the Sinai thing through?

Kissinger: They are responding to pressure from home like with Vietnam. And the Jews are trying to knock you off. They want a new guy in the White House in '77.

The President: Should I demand immediate action? I have told them...

Kissinger: I would write Sparkman and Morgan that peace in the Middle East requires action by the end of the week.
The President: I would add Scott, Mansfield, Albert and Rhodes.

Kissinger: It's not much help in the Committee. But I am not sure that if we don't win it in a week you maybe should yield.

The President: On my letters?

Kissinger: No. Those are safe. You are a victim of Watergate.

The President: Never before has so much been given to the Congress.

I mentioned to Brent the DOD budget cuts.

Kissinger: If you were at the UN, you would be proud. You are as strong after Vietnam as Nixon -- except domestically. Vladivostok was a real triumph -- which is being pissed on now. And the DOD budget cuts are another manifestation.

Can we meet for 15 minutes tomorrow on SALT? We won't get an agreement, I don't think.
We have a big problem with this group. An
attempt to destroy your authority, to
destroy the C, and to bring everything
under central power. What they are doing is
simultaneous in

consideration. It is a perfect combination. And
something taking it all that is happening is
that they are going to see it.

We must never be too sure that mistakes
are made. They will have to think that way.
Agreements. I feel we must get along on
things. We got the Americans to say they are
recently having some agreements.

We are now facing a situation if they want
to forge these papers into some agreement...

P: I thought that gone wrong and I told them
they were in it.

K: Mr. I didn't mean you. I meant the Empire.
I haven't been

that. I don't have an

unimportant. Don't
understand me - it just isn't that.

British - let me say the Emperor in

which can talk to the Emperor doesn't

suggest. Why he has to say we could save

off the whole document.

P: I didn't say that.

K: They have one point fine. There is no idea

of life, but we. But we shouldn't prescribe

something Chinese with this - we don't know what we

are doing.
K. (Looks for agreement) I think that the language
should be taught closer to the whole
language. If I have to specify an area, then I
will have to specify it more strongly or it
does, either as a Chinese.

P. Both writers have this.

K. Completely, and it has been helped a lot, but to
publish its efficiently would need a major part
also there.

P. Where you going w/ cents.

K. I don't think, but they are not using delayed
writing. They don't write & they write a lot
about your statement, we will give until about a
week, mailing regulations, he has been out of it.

P. I was strong on writing.

K. About ten you were great. Get the idea
about writing. I don't know about this,
but he has given every one really crisp
F-16, tanks, planes, and F-15, all going
w/ cents.

P. Haven't desagreed the same thing then.

K. They are superior to pressure from here in UN.
And we don't know. Here are trying hard
for this. They want a new guy here within
77.

P. Should I try and rework action? I have told
them.

K. Should have Spate and Wayne that you
are NS agencies driven by and work.
I wrote a letter to M. Smith, Mansfield, about this.

I wasn't sure if we were in a hurry, but I wanted to let you know.

Did you receive my letter?

Yes. There are after the year on a certain week.

If you want to start the DOD budget cuts, you could be done. You
are as happy with this as you were except downward.

Well, now it is time to get which is done faster
on now. And the DOD budget cuts are another
manifestation.

Can we meet for a minute tomorrow
at 5 PM? We won't get an agreement
I don't think.