

MEMORANDUM

Scowcroft file  
(Scowcroft)

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 12958 (as amended) 100-11  
MR # 09-46-15  
OSD Ltr 11/4/09. Obit Ltr 7/14/10  
By del NARA, Date 8/18/10

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford  
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: Saturday - September 27, 1975  
10:45 a.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office  
The White House

President: I am getting to like him [Sauvagnargues].

Kissinger: He is a fine man. You know, it's sick. There has been a revolution in our relations with France. Sauvagnargues just told the press they totally support the US on Cyprus and the Middle East. Two years ago these would have been banner headlines.

President: I told Brent I was so God-damned mad. That Reston article...

Kissinger: Mr. President, on foreign policy, we are great. You took over a country in shambles. We now have a Middle East agreement and our relations with Europe have never been better.

President: You probably can't do it, but why don't I suggest that in a speech.

Kissinger: I think you should. Take them on.



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CLASSIFIED BY Henry A. Kissinger  
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SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652  
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5(b)(3)  
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON Imp. To Det.

President: I think we are right, we have done good things. Can you have it drafted?

Kissinger: Yes. Here is the draft letter [ to Congressional leaders] on Sinai. [President reads]

President: Fine. Send to the Committee and the leaders. Monday morning.

Kissinger: Our successes in foreign policy are because we have been able to tie things together through authority, decisiveness, quickness and courage. Now I am constantly having to say "we would like to, but." These agreements never would ever have gotten out, even in Great Britain. The situation is beginning to take its toll on the Chinese. It is the first time they have really taken us on. The theme [of Chiao's UNGA speech] was the two superpowers will inevitably clash. They complained on the Middle East, after urging us to go step-by-step, etc.

I think we must take a firm tone. They don't respect weakness. We should tell them we are not amused, ask what they are doing and way you can't go to Peking if this is what we can expect.

President: I agree. I have no burning desire to go. You go right ahead.

Kissinger: If we really want to pull the Chinese up, we could do it by going to the Soviets, say we have seen the speech and we won't let them pit us against each other.

President: Do what you think best.

Kissinger: We have to get discipline in the Executive. Buckley told me Congressman Bauman said he feels sorry for Schlesinger being caught in the middle.

President: That is rot. Bauman is far out on the right.

Kissinger: Schlesinger is taking a free ride. He is 90% responsible for the Pershing. He could have stopped it in two minutes.

I think the Soviets have decided against a meeting and maybe against SALT. The Backfire position is outrageous. It's the same as our FBS. After Vladivostok we got hit by the liberals that 2400 was too high and by Jackson that it was a sell out. The Soviets have come quite a way -- conceding on FBS, verification, etc. We have done nothing.



I think Schlesinger is trying to take on the White House. He is trying to get a position as close to Jackson as possible. [Discussed cruise missiles.]

President: What worries me is the clobbering we have gotten on the defense budget. I have got to get Jim over here and say I am disappointed in him not getting through the defense budget. They have done a poor job of justification.

Kissinger: And that further hurts us with the Soviets.

Why are the Soviets reluctant to meet you? He can't come here without an agreement. I suggested the two of you meet in Europe. Why don't they want an agreement? They know it will get a worse beating here than the Sinai agreement. Or maybe they want the new guy to sign it and to see your chances of reelection before they do it.

I think there will be no summit this year. They just aren't working on it.

[General discussion of SALT, Schlesinger, DOD]

I am at least as upset as you.

President: I want Schlesinger over here next week. Why don't I have the JCS over here at the same time? They should hear me. If their budget was valid, why couldn't they defend it adequately? And if we don't get SALT, we will have to have a supplemental. How can we do that if we can't even get the regular budget?

Kissinger: That's not a bad idea. But Schlesinger just has to get on the team. He continually leaks with the press. He should support you.

I think we must stand on our SALT position now. We must stand pat now.

[There was a discussion of meeting alternatives. The economic summit was discussed.]

Reston article

Complete edition 2

✓ P/K 27 Sept 75

10:45 a.m.

P I am getting a little bit

K He is a fine man. You know, it is such.

There has been a revolution in our politics

w/ France. Some people just don't understand <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ totally reject CDS on Cyprus, C.M.E.

Two years ago these would have been major headlines.

P I told Brent I was so God-damned mad

That Reston article...

K Un-P. on F.P. we argued. You know, take

over a country in shambles. We were told

a NIE agreement & our relations w/ E. might have been better

\* P You just consider it, but why don't I say just that in a speech.

K I think you should. Take them on

P I think we are right, we ~~are~~ have done good things. Can you have it kept?

K Yes. ~~Here~~ Here is - Draft letter on Linn (Pride)

\* P Good Fine. Send to Carter & leaders, Monday am.

K Our successes in F.P. ~~is~~ are because we have managed to tie things together by their

ambition, decisiveness, quickness, & energy

Now I am constantly being to say "we would like to do it." These agreements - movement

are being gotten out even in G.B.

This side is beginning to take its toll on C.P.R.

It's, it's time they have really taken us on. The

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E.O. 12958 (as amended) **SECRET**

MR # 09-46 # 15

OSD Dec 11/4/09 Date Dec 7/14/10

By del NARA Date 8/15/10



- Mmm Hmmm - GTS back.

\* Get Pus a copy of PRC texts

There were 2 superiors and immediately back.  
They explained on a M.F. after saying us  
to go st.s., etc.

I think we must take a primer tone. They don't  
respect weakness. We should tell them we  
are not amused, as for what they think they  
are doing + say we can't go to Peking if this  
is what we can expect.

D I agree

K I think we should show our teeth. If we turn  
off both the PRC & the SU & liberals will come at  
you from left, but I think we should do  
what is right.

P I agree. I have no burning desire to go. You  
go right ahead.

K If ~~we~~ we really want to pull the Chinese up we could  
do it by going to the SU, say we have some  
speakers and let them pit ~~one~~ against  
each other.

P Do what you think best

K ~~Schles is 90% to blame for~~ We have to get  
disc. in spec. Berkeley told me Craig Berman  
said he pulls some for Schles being caught in  
middle. # )

P That is not. Berman is far out right.

K Schles taking a free ride. He is 80% way for Peking  
he could have stopped it ~~for~~ in 2 minutes.  
I think the Sino have deserted against a vote  
+ maybe against Salt.



3000 for missiles.

hadal - last negotiation of civil prog-  
\* P wants to see Stahler next week \*

The Backfire program is outrageous.

(Especially w/ F&S)

~~After~~ ~~the~~ deal we got but by latest that 2400  
was too high & Jackson took it was a  
sellout.

The Suro have come quite a way. F&S, ~~unfavourable~~  
etc. We have done nothing.

I think I shall be trying to take on a W & K. He  
trying to get a position as best as possible.  
(Discussed cruise missiles)

P What events are in a clothing we have  
gotter on a def budget. I got to get Jim over  
here & say I am doing. We bring not  
getting them a def budget. They have done  
a poor job of prioritization

\* and that further hurts me w/ Suro.

Why are the Suro reluctant to meet again? It isn't  
clear here w/ an agreement. I suggested a  
2 of you meet in June. Why don't they want  
an agreement? They know it will get a  
worse looking than a Suro agreement. One  
may be they want a new guy to sign it  
& to see some changes of direction

I think no summit this year. They just  
aren't working on it.

(Civil discussion of Salt, Schles, DoD)

I am at least as upset as you.

P I want Schles over here next week. Why don't  
I have a JCS over here at some time.



They should hear me. If their budget <sup>was</sup> ~~wasn't~~ valid, why can't they spend it ~~as they wish~~.  
And if we don't get Salt, will have to have  
a very pleasant. how can we do it if  
we can't even get a regular budget.

K Not a bad idea. But Schles just has to  
get on a team. He continually looks w/poor.  
He should support you.  
I think we must stand on our Salt position  
now. We must stand pat now.

(Dismissal of my <sup>see also Kemp</sup> ~~abstraction~~ <sup>argument</sup>). Even so

