MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Gerald R. Ford
Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State
Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense
Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Wednesday, November 26, 1975
9:20 a.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office
The White House

The President: This is the first meeting of the four of us. I hope we can overcome the problem that Henry had before. All the contacts come from Henry, not Schlesinger. I think these kinds of meetings will help that, Henry - -

Kissinger: I didn't know it was going to be this sort of a meeting, so I am not really prepared. I told Don I would take a DOD man along to Moscow on the SALT negotiations. I hope it won't be played as being squeezed out of me.

The President: You volunteered it.

Kissinger: And I would like a State man present when you see Peres.

The President: That was another problem. Schlesinger was continually undercutting us on Israeli equipment.

Rumsfeld: I am not particularly interested in seeing these groups. Maybe you and I should meet jointly with Peres.

Scowcroft: We used to have a Defense man in when you had defense-related meetings in State.

CLASSIFIED BY Brent Scowcroft
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5(b) (1,3)
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON 1imp. to det.
General agreement on meetings with foreigners.

Kissinger: We have a Verification Panel meeting today. I think we should show the feud between our Departments is over.

Dobrynin said we should make another try. I said that we would have to know there would be a constructive outcome. He said, “Send a letter.” We did, and we got a reply in four days. We need to get a position or there is no reason to go to Moscow.

Don, you should know that the Soviets will not agree to include Backfire. If we count ALCM’s as MIRV’s, and SLCM’s, individually, and ban cruise missiles on other than heavy bombers, you take them out of the cruise missile business. They couldn’t do it without cutting out other systems.

The President: How about the reduction to 2,300?

Kissinger: That in effect would mean counting 100 Backfire.

Rumsfeld: If you go with something which limits cruise missiles and lets Backfire run free, it will not look balanced.

Kissinger: We can put as many cruise missiles as we want on bombers, trading for Poseidon which we would give to NATO.

Rumsfeld: Do you have these on paper?

Kissinger: No, I don’t want it floating through the system.

[Discussion of how to manage this.]

[Discussion of SS-18’s and MIRV versus single warheads.]

Brezhnev may be willing to sing a letter restricting MIRV to 1,200.

There is no sense in going to Moscow if we don’t have a position. We could have an NSC Friday or just after we come back from China.

Rumsfeld: I think it is important that the key people are all on board and don’t testify they were so rushed they didn’t have a chance to analyze.
The President: It has never been any different since I have been here.

Rumsfeld: I also think it should be as simple as possible because it is otherwise too easy for Jackson to demagogue it.

The President: Henry has to have negotiating room. If he doesn't have some flexibility, it is not possible to negotiate.

Rumsfeld: How would you do the VP?

Kissinger: I would just outline what is and is not possible. I don't think I should advance any positions and make everyone against me.

Scowcroft: The Chiefs are tending toward signing the Vladivostok position and exempting cruise missiles and Backfire.

Kissinger: The Soviets have rejected that firmly. If we can't agree, we can't agree. I am not anxious for an agreement because it just gets me into a brutal fight with Jackson.

Rumsfeld: Not if it is a good one.

Scowcroft: Yes, Jackson will attack it no matter what.

The President: We would be severely criticized if we didn't make a serious effort -- or if we signed one which could be criticized.

Kissinger: I hear there is a new attitude in Defense toward State -- on Panama, for example.

Rumsfeld: I have been putting that out with my staff. It will take time to change both bureaucracies.

The President: Make a maximum effort in the meeting today.

Kissinger: We must look at the alternatives. Without an agreement, the gap would grow rapidly.

Scowcroft: Schlesinger repeated Sunday that we wouldn't have to spend more without a SALT treaty.
[More discussion of agreement versus no agreement.]

Kissinger: We could make our case to the public -- the consequences of agreement versus no agreement. We can kill them.

I had some conservative Senators in and asked what their objections were to SALT.

[The discussion turned to the DPQ and nuclear modernization.]

Kissinger: The perception in Europe would be adverse if we took them out.

We paid for ten years for McNamara. He wanted all nuclear weapons under U.S. control. He is in part responsible for deGaulle.
P. The re-unity of the 6 fronts. They are now somewhere 
free. I think that all errands to come from K. But 
S. I think these kinds of meetings will 
only help. 
K. I don't know if we're going to be able to 
meet. As I'm not really prepared. I told 
S. I would take a bad man or two 
next. I hope it won't be played or being 
discussed.

P. You understand it.

K. And I would like a statement present 
within your time frame.

P. That was another point. S. was eventually 
announced as an I group.

R. Your main concern.

R. I'm not particularly interested in trying to 
guess a thing upon as I should meet 
formally with you.

S. Could two new regiments in order you had 
your event take in State.

(Cord metal on metal) //yengen 
Chotche 

K. On VP duty today. I think we should have 
a final essay.

(On third discussion v/ D.S.)

D.S. asked S. and should make another 
try. I think that we would have to 
return there should be a year period 
before. H. said send a letter.
We did get a reply in 2 days.

We need to get a file on 2. There is no

We have reason to go to Moscow.

They say should warn that 2 days

will not stick to agree to include backfire.

2 days will remain as MIRVs + SLBMs

We also have 2 days to remain as 2 other than

2 days to remain. They can do it w/o with

2 other than 2 days.

P. Have start 2 3/30.

K. That in effect would mean country 4

2 days.

R. If you put something which 2 days

MIRV backfire. Then it will

not look balanced.

K. We can put as many arms as we want on

2 days, keeping the balance which we

would give to NATO.

A. Do you have these on paper.

K. So, I don't want it planting them together

(Definition of how to measure the)

(Definition of SS-18 to MIRV ratio)

The day may be willing to wipe a letter

Thursday, MIRV to 1200.

We same in going to longest 12 if we

don't have a problem. I would have NSC

Finishing up right after China.
R: I think it important that the key people at all are known to expect things they are used to. This is a chance to reward you.

P: It has never been my suspicion to have been here.

R: I know chip is needed to as much as possible because it is otherwise too many for Jackson & allergies.

P: Henry has to have sympathy now. If he doesn't come soon they it is not possible to keep.

R: Why would you do a VP?

K: I would just continue what is is not possible. I don't think I should advance my position or expect anyone against me.

S: LS is coming around saying that patients + everything as before.

K: The issue has regressed that family. I must agree, we can't agree. I am not suppose for question causes it just put me in a difficult spot of Jackson.

R: Not if it is a good one.

S: Yes, Jackson will attack it no matter what.

P: We would be much better off if we didn't make so much effort - or if we signed on which would be better.

R: & here there is a new attack in Dep.
I had seen State Parsons, for example.

If the evidence points that one of the states
will take them is change with immunization
and make a move if in the city today,

We must work at a compromise. If our
agreement c gap would grow rapidly.

Said to say Sunday that we would be
a man and already Salt treaty

(Write discussion of agreement vs no
agreement)

We made some core the public-
consequences of agreement vs no agreement. We

can poll them.

I had some better sites in 2017 with the agreement to Salt.

DPA

A. Une Vandalization
B. Perception vs. Even

He said I paid for it to see the uranium. He would
tell some people vs wanted. He in part why
for the grant.