THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

President Ford

Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for

National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME:

Sunday, January 25, 1976

PLACE:

Oval Office

SUBJECT:

Report on Secretary Kissinger's Moscow Trip

President: We held an interesting meeting the other day [the NSC meeting]

Kissinger: Brent told me. It is a disgrace.

[Discussed the merits of sea-launched cruise missiles.]

What these guys don't do is compare their memos with what happens if there is no agreement.

What we have on the Backfire is a profile which includes a 300-kilometer supersonic dash. But Brezhnev will give us a commitment on the range and that there will be no upgrading.

We have agreement to reduce to 2300 or below, but right now Brezhnev wants a ban on cruise missiles above 600 kilometers.

President: [Discussion of the NSC meeting.]

Kissinger: I think we can take two-to-three weeks for a decision. I think we can get 2200, with Backfire not counted but with collateral restraints and a letter from us that if they go above certain number we will do something. They may accept surface ships as MIRVs if we show

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restraint. I would go along with 600 on land-based, but maybe go along with counting intercontinental cruise missiles to get the Vice President off our back. But if we want a mobile missile, I would go with the Ballistic.

President: Don said Wade thought things had moved along well.

<u>Kissinger</u>: I think we are doing well. If we launched a real offensive in terms of the alternatives, we can kill them. I think we can get another set of concessions from them -- not big ones.

We should forget about offsetting cruise missiles and Backfire.

President: How should we proceed? Tomorrow we will meet with Don.

<u>Kissinger:</u> Don has to get you what you need from Defense. Wade can tell him substantially what I am telling you. I had him in on everything.

On Angola, they were disdainful. It is the Senate action. They think they've got us.

President: How about NATO?

<u>Kissinger:</u> All the Foreign Ministers showed up except for the Greek and Icelander. Their feeling on Angola is really....

We had a meeting of the Big Four which was really a Directorate meeting. But Sauvagnargues said we are vanishing from the world scene -- we are turning them back into Gaullists. France is very worried about Angola and turning all of Africa against the Francophone countries. Spain was great.

President: How about the European attitude toward Spain?

<u>Kissinger:</u> Much better. As long as Spain announces some movements toward liberalizing....

President: If you had not gone to Moscow, it would have been a serious mistake.

Did you get a chance to raise grain?

<u>Kissinger:</u> The mood was not right for it. They won't do it as a favor. Besides, the ships are backed up in their ports.

[Discussion on the Middle East.]

<u>Kissinger:</u> I am deeply worried about our position in the world resulting from Angola. It is opening the Vietnam wounds again.

President: Do they know it's not you and me?

<u>Kissinger:</u> Yes, but they must deal with the phenomenon. They like you both personally and for what you have done for the Alliance.

President: Anything on MBFR?

<u>Kissinger</u>: Yes. They rejected Option III. They proposed a 3% cut in overall forces, taken from U.S. and Soviet forces.

We have got to show you are a winner.

President: The economy is looking up and that was our weakest point.

<u>Kissinger:</u> That's why they are coming after foreign policy. We got to go on the offensive -- we have a damned good foreign policy.

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BY M. NARA. DATE 6/1/04

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