

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford
George Meany
Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant
to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Wednesday, November 27, 1974
5:04 - 5:48 p.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

[The President greeted Mr. Meany. There was some small talk about Mr. Meany's hip, steel pins, etc.]

The President: I thought you might want on a personal basis to get the results of Vladivostok. I know of your concern for national defense. You know I am a hawk. I wanted to tell you what was done, why it was done, and why it was a good agreement.

First, let me tell you the background. We had three NSC meetings on this. The different agencies had different approaches but we finally submitted an approach to the Soviets. They came back, and Secretary Kissinger took the revised one to Moscow [in October] and it was refined again before we met with them at Vladivostok.

What we wanted was to reduce the overall numbers and the numbers of MIRVed launchers particularly. Any agreement had to be based on equivalency.

Mr. Meany: Which was what we lacked in SALT I.

The President: We finally came down, after hard bargaining, on 2400 -- which includes ICBMs, SLBMs, bombers, or any mix of these. That is a bit higher than our own plan.

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E.O. 12958 Sec. 3.8



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MR 99-6, #1; State letter 9/23/77
TOP SECRET - XGDS (S)
DECLASSIFIED BY: HENRY A. KISSINGER

By Lt NARA, Date 3/20/2000

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Mr. Meany: What we have or what we plan?

General Scowcroft: Both.

The President: For the Soviets, it is below, not what they have, but what they plan.

Mr. Meany: What about MIRVs?

The President: 1320 out of the 2400 launchers can be MIRVed.

Mr. Meany: How many do they have now?

General Scowcroft: They have none actually operational but they have three new missiles almost ready.

Mr. Meany: At least we have equivalency. But no reductions?

The President: No. Scoop wanted us to go to 1700, but the Soviets wouldn't do that.

Mr. Meany: When you get that high, what's the difference between 1700 and 2400?

The President: On the bombers, there's still disagreement on what missiles you can have on them that would count in the 2400.

Mr. Meany: It looks to me as if we achieved some equity which we didn't have before. It's a great step, but you've got to watch these fellows that they stick to it. The other thing that worries me is our whole national defense. You can't deal with these guys unless you are strong. I am worried about these Congressmen taking things out of the defense budget. I think you've got to let the American people know this is a great step but only if we maintain our strength.

The President: I agree. We must maintain at 2400.

Mr. Meany: I don't think we should throw any bouquets at the Soviets. It is their obligation, if they feel any, to contribute to world peace as much as they contribute to arms.

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The President: It is our plan to build the ten Tridents and the 240 B-1s. We can change the mix if we want.

Mr. Meany: Come January you have to ram it home to Congress that we need a strong defense. Some of these new guys are saying to cut out the Trident. Mike doesn't help. He is sometimes an isolationist. But we in labor are realists. We are sometimes characterized as hawks. We went along with Vietnam -- we were taken a little and not told everything -- but that's water over the dam. Let's see what they do on the Middle East.

The President: We talked about the Middle East. They want to have all the parties in one big Geneva conference. That won't work. We told them we would continue our step-by-step approach.

Mr. Meany: They say the Israelis won't give. They will give plenty for one thing -- a guarantee of their existence. Israel is fighting for its life. They would give up a lot if the United States and the Soviet Union would guarantee their borders.

The President: The Soviet Union won't go that far. I think if we can make some progress with Egypt we can forestall the Soviets getting back in.

Mr. Meany: Egypt is easy -- the others are the tough ones.

The President: They reaffirmed the emigration deal -- they said there'd be no harassment. But they wouldn't give us a commitment on numbers.

Mr. Meany: I want to see them live up to that!

The President: There were two other key points in the agreement: First, our forward-based systems don't count in the total, and the forces of the British and French don't count. It was just theirs and ours. That's a big concession.

Mr. Meany: I think it is progress. SALT I bugged me -- it looked like we were swindled.

The President: Schlesinger and Brown were pleased with this.

Mr. Meany: He told me. We work closely with him on the Hill. He is on the firing line.



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The President: We will have trouble with the Congress.

Mr. Meany: What do we have to ante up? Do we need Trident?

The President: We need all our new programs.

Mr. Meany: So if we don't do it we will be giving away the store.

The President: We will have a bigger defense budget but it's mostly for inflation. But it will be a strong budget and I know I can count on you.

Mr. Meany: We will go down the line with you. Andy has been talking to some of the new members and is a little dismayed. Some of them don't know what NATO is or Trident, yet they want to cut it all. Are you going on vacation?

The President: My people don't think I should.

Mr. Meany: Don't listen to them. But the economy is not getting better. We used to have the RFC during the Depression. Many big corporations are in trouble. We need an RFC to have a working fund for them -- and include housing. If we had 6-1/2 percent money, we would have a housing boom within months.

The President: I got your housing memo. Greenspan thinks we should look at something like the RFC. I told him to go away ten days and come up with what we should do -- without regard to politics.

Mr. Meany: It would give the economy a shot in the arm. The auto industry is a big industry, but we have got to wait a while for that.

The President: Train was in today. These emission standards . . .

Mr. Meany: They added \$300 at the wrong time.

The President: One year won't help, but if four or five will, I will go to the Congress.

Mr. Meany: We will help you. These damned environmentalists. We can be dirty a while longer.

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The President: I was going to call you yesterday when Arnold Miller turned down his agreement.

Mr. Meany: Miller went into this a year ago and has had no experience. He has calmed down -- he was a hot shot -- but some of his hot shots are pressing him. He'll be all right. He inherited a difficult situation.

The President: He got a good settlement.

Mr. Meany: The Landrum-Griffin Act is bad news. It requires ratification by all the locals. The radicals run right out and argue against ratification, saying hold out and get a better bill. It has hurt collective bargaining.

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P/Meany

27 Nov 74 ✓

(Small talk about Meany's trip, steel price, etc.)

P That you might want on personal basis to get results of Plad. I know you were at that Mt. You know I am a hawk. I wanted to tell you what was done, why & why it a good agreement. First - to be known.

We had 3 NSL entries. The agreements had diff approaches but are finally submitted per our approach to Lewis. They came back, K took revised one to Morrison, rejected again before Plad. What we wanted was to reduce c #s + Minis. Any agreement had to be based on equitability

W which was what we had in SPAT.

P As a finally came down after hard bargaining on 2400 - Ichino, Shibus, lumber or any thing. That is a bit higher than our plan

W What we have or what we plan

Sc Both.

P For Soviet, it is below, not what they have, but what they plan.

W What about Minis

P 1320 of c 2400 lumber.

W How many do they have now.

Sc None actually beyond but there Minis about 2400.

W P nd At least we have equitability. But no solution?

P Sweep wanted us to go to 1700, but Lewis would not.

W We have you get that high, what's the diff bet 1700 + 2400

P On lumber (download)

W It looks to me that we achieved more equity which we didn't have before. It's a great step



But you've got to watch these fellows that they stick to it. The other thing worries me is wall defense. You can't deal w/ these guys unless you are strong. I'm worried about these Congressmen taking things out of the budget. I think you got to let 'em. People know this is a great step but only if we maintain our strength.

P Dayeb, we must maintain at 240

M I don't think we should throw any budgets at Euro. It is their obligation, if they feel any, to contribute & would please as much as we can.

P It was plan to build a 10 Trident + 240 B-1's
We can change a thing if we want.

M Can you go home to raise it hard to pay without a strong def. Some of these companies are saying cut out - Trident. Mike doesn't help. He is sometimes isolationist.

But we in labor are realists. We sometimes characterized as banks. We went along w/ R/K - were taken a little + not told all - but that's water under the dam. Let's see what they do on a M.E.

P We talked about M.E. They want to hand off portfolio in / cap. That won't work. We told them, we would continue step by step.

M They say - I want gas. They will give plenty for 1 thing - a guarantee of their fleet. If fighting for its life. They would give a lot if US + SO would guarantee their business.

P SO won't go that far, but it looks I think if we can make some progress w/ E we can persuade SO getting back in.



M I is long - the others are 1/2 hrs out.

P They suggested a migration deal - no harassment. They would not give #s

M I want to see them but up to them!

P 2 other points - F&S don't count, + Brits of F don't count. It just stinks to me.

M I think it is just that I bought me - indeed when we were successful.

P Schloss & Brown phoned w/ it.

M He told me. We work closely w/ him on Hill. He was firing him.

P We will have trouble w/ C Cong

M What do we have to catch up? Do we need to fix that

P We need all our new people

M So if we don't do it we will be giving away a state.

P We will have bigger diff budget - mostly for employment but still be a strong budget and know I can count on you

M We will go down a line w/ you - Andy is talking to some of our members + is a little discouraged. Some of these don't know what NATO is or Trident, yet they want to ext. Vaccines?

P ECN don't think I should.

M Don't listen to them - but economy not getting better. We need to have RFC. Many big corps are in trouble. We need our RFC to have working fund for them, + include housing. If we had 1/2 % money, we would have a housing boom w/ in months.

P Get your housing memo. Greenman thinks we



should look at something like KFC. I told him to
go away 10 days + come up w/ what we should do -
w/s regard to politics.

W It would give us some extra income. Auto is a
big industry, but we got to wait a while for that.

P Train was in today. These emissions standards.

W They added ^{the} 300 at a wrong time.

P Ozone will help out of 4 or 5 will, I will go
to a guy

W W - will help you. These demand environmentalists,
we can be dirty a while longer.

P I was going to call you yesterday when Arnold Miller
brought down his agreement

W Miller went into this a year ago + has had no success.
He has submitted down ^(was hot spot) but some of his hot spots are
passing him. He'll be all night. He submitted a diff. set.

P He got a good settlement

W Larchmont - Griffin is bad news - requires ratification by
locals. The radicals run right out + argue against
ratification - saying hold out + get better deal.
It was best collective bargaining.

