

Scowcroft file

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

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: Monday, September 8, 1975
 1:15 p.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

Kissinger: I told the HIRC that 76 Senators had said what we give them [Israel] should be based on their need. They put the need at \$2.6 billion before the agreement and \$3.2 billion after. So we are actually proposing less than their need. I think we should go to \$2.3 billion if we can get them off the Hawks and Turkish aid.

The President: Okay, but only if they will really work for those two items.

Kissinger: We may not get all the aid money.

The President: Then let's go with \$2.3 billion, so we can get some leverage on Jordan and Turkey.

Kissinger: We need to move the Turkish vote before October 1. Demirel has elections on October 12 and he needs either a success or to kick us in the teeth.

The President: We can move right after the Sinai resolution.

Kissinger: It is urgent.

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CLASSIFIED BY Henry A. Kissinger
 EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
 SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
 EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5(b) (1, 3)
 AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON Imp. to det.



DECLASSIFIED
 E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
 NSC MEMO, 11/24/96, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Dept. J. 23/10/04
 BY lkh, NARA, DATE 6/2/04

On the Middle East agreement: If all these agreements come out, they will be embarrassing in the extreme and would kill Sadat. I have taken some things like F-16s out of the Memorandum of Understanding and given it to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The other papers I plan to show to Sparkman and Case and claim they aren't commitments.

We have been careful in drafting the letters. We are in pretty good shape, but it would be very awkward trying to explain them.

The President: I think it is better to play it square with Case. His attitude has changed since he is senior man on the Committee.

Kissinger: And he is wildly pro-Israel, and most of the documents are pro-Israel.

With the Soviets, we are on the ragged edge on detente. They are getting nothing out of detente. The Middle East is a humiliation, but they would have probably kept it quiet if grain was being shipped. The only thing left is SALT. Since you became President, all the concessions have been theirs. If we don't give way or something, it may be all over.

I think on SLCM's we should hold at 600 kilometers. On ALCM's, we should start at 2,500 and back off and 2,000 if necessary. On Backfire, I think you should go to Brezhnev and ask him for guarantees like deployment, tankers, etc., to insure they aren't being used strategically. We also need to get something to the Soviet Union so Gromyko has something to discuss with me.

The President: Do we need an NSC meeting?

Kissinger: Either that or just a Verification Panel meeting, and I will take a chance.

The President: I go to New Hampshire on Thursday.

Kissinger: Let's just do a VP then. But we will have to get the Pentagon under control so they stop singing.

Jackson is trying to make me testify. I plan to refuse, unless you feel otherwise. He wrote me an insolent letter. He said on TV that I shouldn't be allowed to testify because I am a liar.

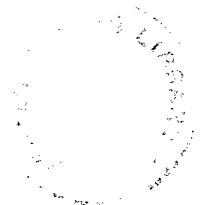


The President: He said that? I think we should sit down with Marsh and Friedersdorf to see how we can handle it. He wants to humiliate you -- I won't let that happen. Has he set a date?

Kissinger: No. I won't answer his letter. I will testify before the full Committee and any other Subcommittee but not with Jackson as Chairman.

I am worried we have nothing to offer the Soviets.

The President: How about grain?



✓ P/K F Sept 75

K I told A/R/C that 76 Senators had said what we give them should be based on need - they put need at 2.6 before agreement + 3.2 after. So we are actually proposing less than need. I think we should go to ~~2.3~~ 2.3 if we can get them off Hawks + Tank and.

P OK, but only if they will really work for these two items.

K We may not get all the aid money.

P Then lets go w/ 2.3, so we can get leverage on Jordan + Turkey.

K We need to move Tank into before Oct 1.

Demirel has elections Oct 12 + needs either a success or to kick us in the teeth.

P We can move right after a Syrian resolution.

K It is urgent.

On the M/E agreements. If all these agreements come out, they will be embarrassing in the extreme & would kill Sabot. I have ^{been} got some things like F-16's out of ~~me~~ ^{me} of misunderstanding + given it to SPRC. The other papers I plan to show to Sporkow/Pace & claim they aren't contents.

We have been careful in drafting a letter.

~~But~~ We are in pretty good shape, but it would be very awkward trying to explain.

P I think it better to play it up as a case where H's attitude has changed since the Syrian nuclear crisis.



Writing my bond get papers.

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W/c Sears, we are on a ragged edge on Detroit. They are getting nothing out of Detroit. The M E is a humiliation, but they would have probably kept quiet if given any being stripped. The only thing left is Salt. Since you became Pres, all concessions have been there. If we don't give away or something, it may be all over.

I think on SHCA's we should hold at 600k. AHCA's we should start at 2500 & take 10000 if necessary. On backfire, I think you should go to Berg and ask him for guarantees like deployment, turnover, etc. to insure if they aren't used strategically. We also need to get something NCSO so George has something to do in w/me.

P Do we need an NSC entry?

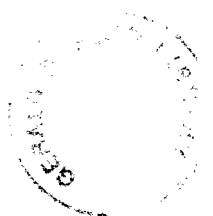
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* *

Zwarsch - Friederichsberg to see how we can
handle it. He wants to initiate you - I
won't let that happen. Has he sent a letter?

? No. I won't answer his letter. I will
reply before a full note + any other substance
but not w/ Jackson as chair.

K We have nothing to offer - sorry

P How about grain?

