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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE & TIME: Tuesday, October 21, 1974

PLACE: The White House The Oval Office

<u>Kissinger</u>: It was an amazing SALT meeting. Colby's was a cover-yourass performance. Carl Duckett was as surprised as anyone else. But that is not a big problem -- it will be during the negotiation.

Schlesinger is the big problem. He has put you in a corner. If there is an agreement now, it will be that you have decided on a quick fix. If you want stability, you would wait -- by his chart. That is phony. To get them to change to his "stable" force, we would have to build up so as to produce a massive threat to them -- \$30-35 billion. If we started that, would we stop after 4-5 years? Besides, the Soviet Union has already paid for its progress. We haven't.

You would build yourself massive domestic problems building a force to threaten the Soviet Union -- how would you justify it? And how would you justify tearing it down after five years? Option B, while theoretically logical, is practically impossible.

<u>President:</u> Suppose we use the other Option B. We go to Vladivostok and it breaks up on this. I would have to come back and tell the American people that we couldn't negotiate and point out we must scare them by a build-up. I don't think the American people would buy it, and then we would be a paper tiger.

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<u>Kissinger</u>: The press would then swing back to the left. The Democrats also. Of course they could get Jackson that way. How could you argue that 15,000 warheads were not enough?

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<u>President:</u> But if we didn't get the money, we could <u>not</u> then go back and negotiate again with the Soviet Union.

<u>Kissinger</u>: And within two years, we will be fighting the JCS to keep from scrapping the B-52.

President: The fact that we might not get the funds is what scares me.

<u>Kissinger</u>: The Soviets are already perceiving the Congressional problems. They are toughening their stand now. I think you have no choice but to call Schlesinger either tomorrow or Wednesday. Maybe Wednesday, so he can't appeal.

[He described the note to Dobrynin.] [Passed the talker to the President.]

President: Do you think with this proposal Jim will walk out?

Kissinger: Never. Not a chance.

President: How about the JCS?

<u>Kissinger</u>: They will regret not being able to MIRV the other 450 Minuteman II.

What you do not have in your Cabinet now is people who work for you, not for themselves. McNamara had no judgment but he protected his President. Jim is in business for himself.

The press is no longer playing him against me. You have two problems with him. One, he is playing the Jewish community.

President: But even he, Clements, and Jones said Israel had too much.

Kissinger: He won't take the heat, Mr. President. Clements is okay.

President: If he won't be a team player, I don't want him.

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Kissinger: He will never get out in front. [Mel Laird]

Clements isn't as bright as Mel, but he has some qualities. Les Gelb already is getting it out.

On the Middle East. Egypt says Fahmi made no deals with the Soviet Union. Maybe yes, maybe no. Sadat wrote to you at the time to put our relationship on a public basis -- meaning military aid. How can you do it before another deal? But it will be a problem if you don't.

Also, he now wants to negotiate in Washington, not Sinai. That has three problems: The press here, no responsibility for negotiations; and American involvement.

I am afraid Sadat is getting cold feet. I will ask at least for nonbelligerency, a five-year agreement. That is totally unattainable.

President: How do you get Egypt and Israel to agree on negotiations?

<u>Kissinger:</u> I would go from the Food Conference. Sinai is easy. In Washington it would slip because of the Japan trip.

I foresee two months of bargaining before we move massively. You may have to cut off Israeli aid.

<u>President:</u> Your judgment on this is superior to mine. The Jewish community will not dictate to us on the right thing to do.

<u>Kissinger:</u> They should give up half way to the '67 lines -- including the oil fields. We would have to guarantee that amount of oil. They can't get non-belligerency for that. Some of the specifics of non-belligerency.

President: A UN zone?

<u>Kissinger:</u> The whole thing. Egypt could advance to the present Israeli line. There would then be a 60-kilometer buffer. Before Egypt could cross that, Syria would be defeated. Israel is obnoxious and has been squirrelling away. The Israelis were terrible on Turkey. The Soviet Union won't let Syria go down in another war. If Turkey isn't benevolently neutral, we don't have a chance. I don't want to go back to the Middle East unless I am certain of a success. I could come back with Turkish concessions and the beginning of negotiations between Israel and Egypt.

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We are thinking of making an announcement of the Vladivostok trip on Saturday.

President: Good.

<u>Kissinger</u>: I think we will get an Israeli/Egyptian negotiation, but I would like to stay out of the first phase and let a stalemate develop.

The problem is Egypt doesn't even have anything I want.

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