

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: Friday, September 26, 1975
10:56 - 11:34 a.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office



Kissinger: We have three different problems with these groups: a deliberate attempt to destroy Executive authority, to destroy our foreign policy, and to knock down every strong man around you.

What they are doing to the Sinai agreement is unbelievable. It is the greatest achievement since the opening to China and all that is happening is they are pissing all over it.

I am so overburdened that mistakes are made. They asked Sisco if these were Executive agreements. Sisco is energetic but has no judgment. He got the Legal Advisor to say they are legally binding Executive agreements.

We are now facing a coalition of the pro-Israelis, who want to freeze these papers into concrete agreements . . .

The President: I am disturbed about your comment that I am not tough enough in foreign policy.

Kissinger: No, I didn't mean you. I meant the impression of those around you. We are dominant in the world and at home we are impotent. Don't misunderstand me, it is not you. But Buchen -- let me say the manner in which they talk to the Congress does not inspire respect. Why he has to say we would never withhold a whole document . . .

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

~~SECRET/NODIS/XGDS~~

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
NSC MEMO, MARINA, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Div. on 3/11/04
BY lm MARA, DATE 6/3/04

The President: I didn't say that.

Kissinger: No, you are just fine. There is not an iota of difference between us. But we shouldn't promise sweeping things like this -- we don't know what will do.

[He reads from agreement to show that the language leaves an escape clause and there is no binding language.]

If I have to testify on these though, I will have to say either it means nothing or it does mean something. Either one is a disaster.

The President: Both Committees have this?

Kissinger: Completely. And it has been leaked to the New York Times. But to publish it officially would create a massive problem with the Arabs.

The President: Were you tough with the Committees?

Kissinger: I did not yield, but they are now using delaying tactics. They want Schlesinger to testify and he will be asked about your statement that we will give military assistance to Egypt. He will convey the impression he has been out of it.

The President: I was strong on the Pershing.

Kissinger: Brent told me you were great. Schlesinger knew about the Pershing. He didn't know about the slip of paper. But he has given away all the easy things now -- F-16, tank lasers, accelerating the F-15 -- leaving you with the sticky issues.

The President: How do we get the Sinai thing through?

Kissinger: They are responding to pressure from home like with Vietnam. And the Jews are trying to knock you off. They want a new guy in the White House in '77.

The President: Should I demand immediate action? I have told them . . .

Kissinger: I would write Sparkman and Morgan that peace in the Middle East requires action by the end of the week.



The President: I would add Scott, Mansfield, Albert and Rhodes.

Kissinger: It's not much help in the Committee. But I am not sure that if we don't win it in a week you maybe should yield.

The President: On my letters?

Kissinger: No. Those are safe. You are a victim of Watergate.

The President: Never before has so much been given to the Congress.

I mentioned to Brent the DOD budget cuts.

Kissinger: If you were at the UN, you would be proud. You are as strong after Vietnam as Nixon -- except domestically. Vladivostok was a real triumph -- which is being pissed on now. And the DOD budget cuts are another manifestation.

Can we meet for 15 minutes tomorrow on SALT? We won't get an agreement, I don't think.



✓ PIK 26 Sept 78

10:45 a.m.

K We have 3 dif problems w/ these groups: a
deliberate attempt to destroy spec authority, to
destroy our F.P., and to launch every strong
man around open.

What they are doing to Senior agreement is
unacceptable. It is a great achievement and
opening ^{to} of China & all that is happening is
they are passing it over it.

I am so overboarded that mistakes are
made. They asked since if these were like
agreements. Since is energetic but has no
authority. He got legislation to say they are
legally binding spec agreements.

We are now facing evolution for pre-I, who want
to freeze these papers into concrete agreements...

P I doubt about your comment & not to
imp in F.P.

K No, I didn't mean you. I meant a impression
of those people ~~you~~ ~~for~~ ~~as~~ ~~well~~. We are dominant in a
world & at home we are important. Don't
misunderstand me - it not you, but
Buchan - let me say the manner in
which they talk to a Cong does not inspire
respect. Why he has to say we would never
w/hold a whole document.

P I didn't say that

K No, you are just fine. There is not an iota
of dig. but us. But we shouldn't promise
reversing things like this - we don't know what will



K (Keats from agreement to show that the language
has an escape clause + there is no binding
language). If I have to testify on these two, I
will have to say either it means nothing or it
does. Either is a disaster.

P Both centers have this?

K Completely. And it has been linked to KI & T. But to
publish it officially would create a massive pub
w/c crisis.

P Were you tough w/c Center

K I don't not yield, but they are now using delaying
tactics. They want Schles to testify + he will be asked
about your statement we will find out about it. He
will convey impression he has been out of it.

P I was strong on Pushing

K Don't tell me you were great. Schles knew
about Pushing. He didn't know about a strip of paper.
But he has given away all the easy things now -
F-16, tank lasers, details of F-15, + leaving you
w/c tricky issues.

P How do we get the Sinai thing then

K They are researching to pressure from home a la V.N.
And a pro I know Jews are trying to knock
you off. They want a new guy in the CIA in
77.

P Should I demand immediate action? I have told
them

K I would write Spertman + Wagon that plan
in ME requires action by end week.



- Get letter drafted as soon as possible.
- Get analyses of DOD budget cuts.

P I would add Scott, Mansfield, Albritton & Rhodes.

K Not much help in a week. But I not sure if we don't win it in a week you maybe should yield.

P On my letters?

K No. Those are traps. You are a victim of water-gate.

P ~~Where before~~ ~~has~~ ~~to~~ ~~much~~ ~~been~~ ~~given~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~Con-~~
gress ~~to~~ ~~about~~ ~~the~~ ~~DOD~~ ~~budget~~ ~~cuts~~

K If you were at a UN you would be proud. You are as strong after UN as Nixon - except domestically. That was a real triumph - which is being passed on now. And the DOD budget cuts is another manifestation.

* *
Can we count for it ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~Trans~~ ~~action~~ ~~on~~ ~~SAIT~~? We won't get an agreement I don't think.

