

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Scowcroft file

SECRET/XGDS

DECLASSIFIED

AUTHORITY NSA 08-03: #12, 2002 (504/30/13)

BY dal NSA DATE 3/12/15

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

President Nixon
James R. Schlesinger, Secretary of Defense
William Clements, Deputy Secretary of Defense
The Joint Chiefs of Staff
Major General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy
Assistant to the President for National
Security Affairs

DATE & TIME:

December 22, 1973

PLACE:

The Cabinet Room

The President: Carrero Blanco was a great man.

Moorer: The Spanish were very good during the Middle East war.

Zumwalt: So were the Arabs.

The President: With all the kicking around of the Europeans and Japanese, in their position, what would you do? The British are on a three-day week. Whose side would you be on? It is blackmail, but for over five years there has been no give in five years. We can't deliver, and the Israelis dig in. So they won't ship oil until there is movement. Their interests are realistic. If the Israelis dig in after their elections, all hell will break loose. The Arabs have learned to fight, not so well as the Israelis, but they did well. We normally side with Israel for many reasons, but we must realize this is the time for a settlement. I hope the hawks in Israel realize that.

The Europeans should have cooperated with us because of the Soviet Union, but the basis of their position is how can they live without oil.

Moorer: NATO cannot fight without Arab oil.

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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.



The President: I want to say a couple of things. It came out better than expected on our appropriations. I was afraid that after Vietnam, the peaceniks would cut \$15 billion. Ironically, the Middle East war helped us come out well. The Israeli lobby helped defend against cuts in the defense budget. Southeast Asia is still dangerous and our hands are tied. But the GVN will fight well.

Our Soviet summits bear on these things. But the basic fact is that our strength has to be such that we can play a peacemaking role in the world. Many Americans don't want us to, but who else can? Japan and Germany could, but the world doesn't want them to. Who else is big? The Soviet Union, the Chinese, and possibly the Japanese. The Japanese-American alliance is essential if the Japanese are not to make a deal with the Soviet Union against China; they could possibly make a deal with China but that is dangerous without our help. The rest of the world matters in humanitarian and raw material terms, but not in power terms.

Critical to us playing our role in the world is our strength and a policy which will command respect.

That gets us to our Armed Forces -- and your problems. On the All-Volunteer force -- I hope it will work but I'm afraid the quality will decline. If you can keep up the quality of the officer corps. Good people go to the academies in war and depression. I talked with Jim. We will support a strong budget. Jim, have you told them about the increased numbers?

Schlesinger: I said you were considering it.

The President: We are helped right now by the Israeli crisis. That will help with the airlift; and energy, which will cause some slack in the economy. Not much, but we will get Congressional support to boosting the budget a bit. We need the money in defense -- particularly in hardware areas. But we won't get it unless there are good reasons. We won't get unlimited amounts but we want to look at some ideas.

My major concern is the power balance. But in order to sell it, we have to use the energy and airlift factors to get the money. That is where we stand.



I can't tell you where we stand in SALT and MBFR except it will be tough.

With all our talks with the Soviet Union and the Chinese, we must realize they are basically antagonistic toward us -- and with each other. The Chinese need us against the Soviet Union. We talk with them without illusions. We have to convince the American people that we are trying to have peaceful relations. But without adequate strength, our stance in the world wouldn't matter. The Prime Minister of Chad doesn't matter; we treat them nice, but none of them matter.

I have a bearish attitude about Europe. A united Europe is premature. The Europeans are essentially parochial. The chance they will form a third bloc is premature. We will stand with NATO, but the leadership won't come from the Europeans -- it must come from us.

If I had my way, I would add \$20 billion to the budget but we can't do that. The Soviet Union doesn't care about that.

Admiral, you head off.

Admiral Moorer: This Christmas was better than last. Last year there was a major equipment push into Vietnam. This fall another push into Israel. We have reduced our staying power.

It was a good move, which had JCS support. Israel was not defeated and Arabs weren't either.

We now need to look at the worldwide posture and our base structure. We need bases. The Portuguese have bases clear around Africa.

We should renegotiate Diego Garcia and readjust our deployment patterns, perhaps focussing on the Indian Ocean. We need bases, and we will be making recommendations. Ethiopia, for example. Subic is 5,000 miles from the Indian Ocean.

We could discuss SALT and MBFR later if we have time.

The President: It's probably premature. We want a deal, but we will be tough.

Admiral Moorer: Defense has closed ranks. The Soviet position is intolerable and we will be very tough.



Admiral Zumwalt: I applaud your decision to add to the budget. I would like to compare the Mediterranean fleet now with where we were after Jordan. We have now less cooperation in the Eastern Mediterranean than we had before. There are three elements: First is force levels. In '70, we already were starting down. The most worrisome is the drop to 13 carriers from the peak of 24.

The President: Jim told me about that.

Admiral Zumwalt: Vietnam pushed us back and the Middle East crisis has delayed the climb back up.

On the good side, we have used part of the money for laid-up ships to buy new ones. We are now buying at more than the replacement rates if Congress gives us our program.

We need to procure some low-cost ships in order to get numbers. The Soviet Union does this; they still buy diesel submarines. We in '75 will have a cruise missile submarine.

Congress doesn't like this -- they are giving us two DLGN, which will cost \$7-8 million. Conventional ships. We have to have a mix.

The President: Brent, make a note on the bases and on the force mix.

All these Prime Ministers know the importance of the Indian Ocean. Bhutto -- who is basically a left-wing clown -- knows that India is important this way.

Why are the Thais shifting? Because they fear we may be leaving. There is a feeling in that part of the world that the U.S. is going home. What we have to do from a foreign policy standpoint -- the U.S. has to have bases and naval strength. Everyone has to play a role -- it must look apparent.

Take the British and the great role they played. It is the appearances of strength. We need that now in terms of bases, less expensive carriers. If the Air Force... You buy less expensive planes. We need the numbers. We need to have a presence, get the flag out. There will be bitching, but it is essential. We need to maintain a presence in Japan, Korea, irrespective of the real threat.



Admiral Zumwalt: You just took my conclusion out of my mouth, Mr. President. I wind up with 55 in our current capacity and 45 into modernization in '70. Next year it is just the reverse. We will be able to keep up now with the Soviet rate.

The President: Abe?

General Abrams: I am trying to make the Army we have as combat-ready as we can. On manpower, we will make the combat level of the Army stronger and bigger. Even though the Army is smaller, the combat need is larger.

The President: What does that mean?

General Abrams: It means we reduce headquarters, consolidation, modify the training establishment. Maybe we'll do more than we should, but we've got to go that way.

President: I agree if that is right -- but not just because it is popular.

General Abrams: Materiel -- here we have been supplying our friends with what we need for ourselves. As we are able to replace these, combat readiness will improve. The third thing is the officer and NCO esprit. They have to have strength to take the brick bats.

The President: I remember talking to MacArthur. He was tough in practice. Your people are in the service because you believe. That is what we must have. The British again, they would pick the military because it was a way to serve. We want to be sure you all know we've got to have a strong officer and NCO Corps. The great earlier military leaders led rabble. The leadership is important. I know in an All-Volunteer force the blacks have gone up. Don't wring your hands about them. They can become fine men. The job of the military is not rehabilitation but it is a great service the military performs and they can turn into fine Americans. In sports, the blacks might not have the brains and education, but they have more drive and guts. Americans are snobs -- about color, education, etc. The blacks, with the training the service can give them, can contribute to this country.

General Abrams: We are snobs. When we decided to help the RF/PF, we made a rule that the only people who could work with them were those who had served in a rifle company. That was because a rifle company combat forces men to change their values. They come out of this experience with a better sense of values.



The President: They see who the men are.

General Abrams: I was addressing a group once and a black asked me about the number of blacks coming into the Army. I told him it was of no concern to me. The audience went wild with applause. The same thing with women. They are trying harder; they have a motivation the men don't have.

The President: Are our tanks inferior to Soviet tanks -- straight out?

General Abrams: No, they are not.

The President: Do we need more and better tanks and anti-tank weapons?

On supplying our allies, we have got to do it. That damned State Department. Take Peru -- some of the Latin Americans need tanks as a front. But they will buy them and we should sell them. If you get more money, what is the first thing you would do? Which would affect production?

General Abrams: Tanks.

The President: I want a hard look at getting more tanks.

Let's hear from the Air Force.

General Brown: In this supplemental, I think the dollars will count for a lot. These are not manpower dollars. The inspired airlift will help us greatly.

The President: We were better in the October airlift. Why?

General Brown: Because of the C-5's.

The President: Should we buy more?

General Brown: We are studying both the C-5 and 747.

Secretary Clements: We need to study this.

The President: All our talk of bases may come to naught because of Fulbright and the others. The airlift is an impressive thing that people see. Won't the C-5 and 747 produce jobs quickly?



Secretary Clements: Yes, but it will take time for Lockheed.

The President: Don't discuss jobs outside this room, but unemployment could go to 6-7% and still we'd get nothing. Congress will go to public service jobs -- that means nothing to the country. To goose the economy, the private sector is the best place. In government the best place is the military, because it helps the country. Don't write any memos on this. We are doing it for the right reasons -- the recession just gives us the excuse.

General Brown: I have two other points, in addition to the need for bases. We will get programs to increase your options in strategic forces and to apply the lessons of the Middle East. We are working on stand-off systems -- and we will use the supplemental to keep this going -- for us and for the Israelis if war comes again.

Our manpower quality has never been higher.

The President: I read every day about the improved Soviet strategic capability. Aren't we falling behind?

General Brown: The Soviet Union is doing development rather than prototypes; we used to, but we try to do it now on paper. That is where they have it over us.

The President: Let's do more of that.

For MAP, let's try to have not just the most sophisticated systems, but something we can sell that they can use.

General Brown: We will increase the yield of the Minuteman. We are looking at a bigger missile.

The President: Do we need it?

General Brown: Yes. Depending on SALT.

The President: Yes. The fact that we are ahead of the Soviets in Navy helped us in SALT I. We are ahead in submarines and navy missiles, aren't we?



General Cushman: We need to modernize. We get tanks and anti-tank from the Army and ships from the Navy, so whatever helps them there, helps us. People are our secret weapon. I agree with Abe, but my only concern with the blacks is they tend to concentrate in units where the fighting would be, leaving us open -- wrongly -- to racial charges.

The President: This add-on idea is mine and it will be a job selling it. In your speeches, don't put it into anti-Soviet tones, but say that we must be second to none; if SALT fails we have to be able to take care of our needs. Stress being number one -- not anti-Soviet stridency. We can't afford to be number two. We need a sense of direction and the right perspectives.

You were magnificent today. I think people should be proud of the uniform. Wear your uniforms when you are out -- tell your people to.

The great sadness in America today -- and we are part of the elite -- is the state of the elite class. The ministers, professors, the media, -- with many exceptions in all of them -- these groups who mold the youth are wrong-headed. Much of this comes from businessmen also.

The character flaw in the elite is they are ashamed of our country. They are unilateral disarmers. They don't believe we should play a role in the world. They won't face the question: if we don't play the role, who will?

I have met with all of them. You are part of the elite. You must confront them, try to show them what should be our real values. Look at the leaders of our opponents -- they come from the soil. They are simple and tough -- they're peasants. If it weren't for their terrible Communist system, we would be in terrible trouble. Our system is better. America has a crisis in its elite class. Will we go the way of the British, French, Italians, and maybe even the Germans? Their problem is they are afraid of the left. Their idea is: no role in the world, just take care of ourselves. It would be easy for you to pander to these elite attitudes, but unless some of the elite start to speak up, we will be finished in 5-10 years. The day we look down on the threats and we blink, we are finished.

Let me say in conclusion, we must be proud of the United States and every war we have fought in this country. We are nonaggressive; we have no designs on anyone. We have never had a greater chance for dealing with



the Soviet Union and the Chinese and in the Middle East. The key to it all is in this room. We won't get all we want, but what we need is the spirit of our military and with the elite.

I know you are sick of the speeches to Kiwanis and all that, and the badgering you take, but stick with it. We have to carry the burden.

Thank you.



Pus / JCS / Siches / Cummings

22 Dec 73

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

- P - Camera Blanes was a great man.
- M - Spanish were very good during ME war
- Z - So were Greeks
- P - w/AM kicking around of E. Euro & Japs, in their position, what would you do?
 Br. over 3 day week.
 What else could you know? It is blackened, but even 5 yrs than has been no gain in 5 yrs. We can't deliver a - I seats dig in.
 So they would ship out until there is movement. A Anti Ukrainian.
 If I dig in after their elections, all hell will break loose. Arabs have learned a fight. Not so with Mos I, but they did well.
 We were able to seal w/ I for many reasons, but we must realize this is true for settlement. I hope Harrold and I realize that.
 Euros should have cooperated w/ us because of EU, but a basic question is how can they live w/out.
- M NATO cannot fight w/o airlink.

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AUTHORITY NLF08-03. #12 approved (50 of 30/13)

BY dal WRA DATE 3/12/15



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WASHINGTON

P Went to my camp of things. Came out better than expected on own of prog. I feared that after UN, precedents would cut 15 bil. Eventually, a NE was helped to come out well. The Israeli lobby helped defend cuts in my budget. SIA is still dangerous + our hands are tied, G-10 will fight well.

Our own interests here are these things. But basic fact is that our strength has to be such we can play peacekeeping role in world. Many Americans don't want us to, but who else can? Japan + Germany could, but world doesn't want them to. Who else is big? SU, China, + possibly a Japan. ~~the~~ Jap-Am alliance is essential if Japs are not to make a deal w/ SU against China - especially w/ China



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Point that dangerous w/o US help.
The rest of world matters in humanitarian
& economic terms, but not in
power terms.

Wanted to see playing our role in a
world in strength & policy which
will command respect.

That gets us to around \$100 - & your
problems. Volunteer force - hope
it will work but probably will
decline. If you can keep up - possibility
of officer corps. Good people get a
backlash in wave depression.
Talked w/ Jim, we will support
a strong budget - Jim, have
you told them about increased
taxes?

- S - Said you were considering
- P - We are helped right now by
Israeli crisis - that will help fuel
output; and energy, which will
curb some slack in economy.
not much, but will get long
support to boosting a budget a



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but we need a margin in defense - particularly in hardware areas. But we must get it unless there are good reasons.

but unbalanced accounts but we want to look at some ideas.

My major concern is a power balance. But in order to sell it, we have to use a subsidy + subsidy factors to get money. That is where we stand. Can't tell you where we stand in SALT + NIAT R by yet will be tough.

w/ all our talks w/ SO & PR C, we must realize they are basically antagonistic to us - w/ each other. (Chinese need us against SO & PR)

As talk w/ them w/o Russians. We have to convince our people that we are trying to have peaceful relations. But w/ a adequate strength, our



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WASHINGTON

Europe in a world would not matter.
 P.M. of that doesn't matter - we treat
 them well, but none of them matter.
 I have a peculiar attitude about
 Euro. United Euro is premature.
 Euro are essentially paralytic.
 Chances they will form 3rd bloc
 is premature. We will deal
 w/ NATO, but leadership won't
 come from Euro - must come
 from us.

If I had my way I would add
 20 bill to budget, but we can't
 do that. So I don't care
 about that.

Adm, your head off.

M - This goes with the last, but
 your major eye push into VN.
 This fall another w/ push into
 Israel. We have to avoid our
 staying power.



Study of basing requirements

6

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

A - It was good move, which I support. (I not deflated + Arabs meet this)

We must need to look at world with pattern + our base structure. We need bases. Portuguese have bases clear around Africa.

We should renegotiate Diego Garcia + readjust our deployment patterns, perhaps focusing on Indian Ocean

We need bases and will be making commitments.

Ethiopia, for example. Subic is 5000 miles from Indian Ocean.

We could discuss SALT + MBFR before we have time.

P - Probably premature. We want a deal, but not will be tough

M - Dyess has closed ranks. 50 position is untenable + we will be very tough.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Z - Appraisal your division to add to budget.
Rise to compare budget fleet over
w/after program. We show over
less cog. in E, hold them there. There
are 3 elements:

Force build: In '70, we already
starting down. Most money is
drop to 13 carriers from peak of 24

P - Jim told me about that.

Z - UN pushes us back & ME visit
has delayed ~~that~~ back up.

On good side, we have used
part of a money for laid up ships
to buy new ones. We now buying
at more than replacement cost: if
we buy this is our prog -

We will purchase some low
cost ships in order to get H's. We
think 7.5 will have a cruise missile
sub.

SO, does this, they still buy diesel
subs.

They don't like this - they giving
us 2 DGN, which will cost 7-8



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Conventional ships. As hard to
build a ship

P - Brent, make a note on bases
& on force mix.

All these Prime Ministers know
the importance of Indian Ocean -

Bharthi - a Cypriot Channel - knows
India is important this way.

Why are they shifting - because
they feel we may be leaving.

There is feeling in that part of
world that US is going home.

What we have to do from F.P.

standpoint - US has to have
bases, naval strength. Everyone
has to play a role - must look
opponent.

Take British & a great role they
played. It is the appearance of strength.
We need that now in terms of bases,



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WASHINGTON

less expensive countries. By AF
- You by less expensive plants -
and used numbers.

We need to have a presence -
get a flag out. There will be
itching, but it is essential.

As need to maintain presence in
Japan, Korea - irrespective of
C-ciel threat.

2. You first took my conclusions.
I would say 55 into current
cap + 45 into modernization in
70. Next year it is just reversed.
We will be able to keep up now
w/ low rate.

A - Trying to make Army we know
as combat ready as we can.

Anyway - we will make combat
level of Army stronger & bigger.
Even though Army smaller,
combat and budget.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

P- What that mean

A- Reduce Hq. Consolidation,
improve training estab. Maybe
we'll do more than we should,
but we've got to go that way.

P- I agree if that is right - but
not just because it is popular

A- Material - Here we have been
supplying our friends what we
need for ourselves.

Do not are able to replace them,
combat readiness will improve -
3rd thing is officer + NCO esprit.

They have to have strength to take
brink hits taking to

P- Remember MacArthur, tough in
practice. You people in service
because you believe it that is
what we must have.

But not again, they would pick
military because it cross way to solve.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

want to be sure you all know
 we got to have strong officers & NCOs.
 The great leader ability leaders lead
 battle. The leadership is important.
 I know ⁱⁿ all volunteer force & they
 have good eyes. Don't bring your hands
 about them. They can become fine
 men. Job of ~~some~~ military is not
 rehabilitation, but it is a great
 source & military programs & they can
 turn into fine Americans.
 In sports - the blacks might not
 have brains & education, they
 have more drive & guts.
 Americans are snobs - about color,
 education, etc.
 The blacks, w/ the training & skills
 can give them, can contribute to
 this country.

A - All are snobs. Let them be decided
 to help - R F / P F, we made a rule
 that only people who could work w/



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WASHINGTON

them were those who had served
in rifle company. That because
a rifle company combat force tends
to change their values. They come
out of this experience w/ better sense
of values.

P They see who - were we.

A. @ ^{OTS} ~~black~~ asked me about # of blacks
coming into Army. I told him
it was of no concern to me - the
condition would w/d approval
Some thing w/ women - they are trying
harder - a motivation - were div't
have.

P. ~~Can~~ budget, are our tanks inferior
to S & tanks - straight out?

A - No, they are not.

P - Do we need more + better tanks +
AT weapons?

P - On supply ring our allies, we have
got to do it - that damned State Dept.



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WASHINGTON

Talco Perm - word of Latin Americans
said tanks as a gift. But they will
buy them & we should sell them.
If you got more money, what is 1st
thing you would do - which would
offset production.

A - Tanks.

P - I want to travel back at getting
more tanks.

lets hear from AF

B - In this suggestion, I think a
dollar will count for a lot -
there are not many more dollars.
The injured airlift will help
us greatly

P - we were better in Oct airlift
why?

B - The C-5's

P - Should we buy more

B - We are studying that at the moment



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

247

Q - We need to study this

P - All our talk of backs may come to naught because of Fearlight, etc.

Air lift is an impressive thing that people see.

What C-5 + 247 produce jobs quickly?

Q - Yes, but take time for handbook

P - Don't discuss jobs outside the room, but unemployment could go to 6-7% - still nothing. Long will go to public service jobs - means nothing to country.

To grow economy, private sector is a best place for growth a best place is military, because it helps country.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

base

Don't ~~write~~ write any memos on this.
 We doing it for the right reasons -
 the mission of just giving us ^{in addition to} ~~the~~ ^{needed}
 B - 2 with ^{to} ~~the~~ ^{USC} will
 get programs to increase your
 options in strategic field
 to replace ~~losses~~ of CME. We
 working on stand off systems - &
 we will use supplemental to keep
 this going - for us & for Israel
 if war comes again.
 Our manpower quality never been
 higher

D - I read every day about improved
 S & strategic capability, are we
 falling behind?

B - SV is doing design these
 prototypes; we need to, don't we
 try to do it now on paper



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WASHINGTON

That is where they have it now.

P Let's do more of that.

For MAF, let's try to have not just a coast sophisticated system, but something we can sell they can use.

B- we will increase yield of MAF. We looking at a bigger missile

P- Do we need it?

B- Yes. Depending on SAAT

P- Yes. Fast we ahead of Sars in Navy helped us in SAAT. We ahead in subs + many missiles don't we?

Cash- We need to modernize, we get tanks + AT for Army + ships for Navy, to whatever



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

- helps than there, helps no.
People are our secret weapon.
Laguer w/ Abe, but my only
concern w/ blacks is they tend
to concentrate some units where
fighting would be - backing me
up (enough) to racial charges.

P - This odder idea is mine &
will be a job sitting it. In your
speeches I don't put it into anti-
Soviet tones, but I will to work;
if SALT fails and hard to be better
able to take care of our needs,
stress being #1 - not anti-
Soviet strategy. We can't
afford to be #2.
(Some of direction & perspective were
magnificent today.)



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

P. I think people should be proud of uniforms. Wear your uniforms when you are out - tell your people to.

The great sadness in America today - & makes part of a elite - is the state of a elite class. The ministers, professors, media & w/ many of citizens in all. These groups, who mold our youth are wrong headed. Much business men also.

The character flaw in a elite is they are ashamed of our country & unilateral decisions. They don't believe we should play a role in a world. They won't face if we don't play the role, who will.

I have met w/ all.

You are part of the elite. You must confront them, try to show



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There ~~was~~ what should be
our real values. Look at tracks
of our opponents - they come from
a split. They are selfish and
tricky - politicians. If it weren't for
a terrible court system, we would
be in terrible trouble - Our
system is better.



America has a crisis in its
elite class. Will we go a way
of a British, French, Italian, or
maybe even a German. Their
problem is they are afraid of a
left - no labor union, just
take care of ourselves.

It would be so easy for you to
provide for these elite attitudes, but
unless ~~some~~ of the elite start to
speak up, we will be finished
in 5-10 years.

This day we look down our throats

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

and we think, we are frustrated.
 By conclusion, we must be
 proud of a US and truly we
 we have fought in this century.
 We are non-aggressive, we
 designs on anyone.
 We have never had a general
 chance for electing of SO + PRC
 + in ME. The key is in
 this man. We won't get
 all we want, but what we
 need is the spirit of our
 military + w/c elite.
 So know you are sick of these speeches
 to Karamas, etc + a bad feeling you
 take, but stick w/it. We have
 to carry a burden.

