MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: 

The President
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 & TIME: 
Friday - September 19, 1975
9:20 - 9:50 a.m.

PLACE: 
The Oval Office
The White House

Kissinger: We should say 300 ALCM on aircraft with a range of 2500, and none on other aircraft. On SLCM, 600 kilometers.

President: Nuclear.

Kissinger: Yes, we would have 200 SLCM of 600-2000 kilometer range. Add 75 FB-111 and give them 275 Backfire as a tradeoff. This will be okay for a starter. It will come unstuck when they discover it doesn't include conventional.

Down the road, we will have a problem with the cruise missile. It will be a net liability for us because we have no air defense.

Schlesinger wants conventional cruise missiles so if the Soviets attack North Norway we can respond with the conventional cruise missile by destroying the Murmansk fleet. He doesn't want to use nuclear missiles because he wants to raise the nuclear threshold. What he really has in mind is moving offshore in Europe. It is a nutty idea. How efficient is a 2000 pound bomb on a $1 million missile?
President: My God. How many conventional bombs did we drop on German cities in World War II without accomplishing very much? Has this been thought out?

Kissinger: The military is completely cowed. Of all, the best is perhaps Holloway.

President: He's the best of the lot.

Kissinger: We really need to get a handle on strategic and tactical doctrine. You may not be able to tackle it before 1977, but we really must take it on.

President: You will present this to Gromyko Sunday?

Kissinger: I will try to see what they have to offer today and give him this on Sunday.

President: The position sounds good.

Kissinger: I think we have the Jordan problem fixed. They will agree to the one paragraph and sign a standard commitment.

President: I see the Indian Government didn't like my comment that I was saddened by developments and hoped they would return to democracy.

Kissinger: I will be away at the UN through Wednesday. My speech is a general foreign policy review. The only new thing is proposing a conference between China, North Korea, South Korea, and the U.S. to modify the Armistice Agreement. There are two resolutions before the UN now. North Korea will reject it, but it will put us in a better position at the UN.

My people also want me to take a crack at Namibia, because we may be voting on it. It makes me sick to do it — and I will weaken it and maybe I will drop it altogether.

Have you noticed that Tito has been very supportive since your visit? Very complimentary of you and very supportive.
I think the best plan might be to attack 2100, if we can get the money to do it. We need to be prepared for a strike, if we have to. We will send missions to detect their counter-force. We are now ready, and we will have a good chance of success. It will be a sure death and we cannot reconsider.

The ends want someone else to do it. We attacked.

P: How many cars were in the east?

They had 100 cars in the east. They were destroyed. We want to use more because they want to keep some themselves. What he really has in mind is many offshore in Europe.

It is a realistic idea. How efficient is a windmill?

P: This business is completely cheap. All but perhaps 15 percent.

P: Have you thought of it?

K: We need really need to get a handle on strategies and costs. It seems possible, you say at the end of it. We hope 1977, but we really must take it.

P: I will present this to Congress tomorrow.
I would try to see what they have to offer today.

If the position sounds good.

I think we have a good position. They will agree to a one-page, six-signature contract, for a two-year period. I see a Jordan visit, but it may be a small thing, reinforced by my personal support.

I would come at the end. My speech is a good place. Only now this is a long. Let's see how it goes.

In North Carolina, Rock & US to replace the UN mission. There are 2 institutions before. UN will reject it, but it will get us in the position of UN. My people also continue to take a chance at leadership, unless we may be acting on it. It makes me think that if I--

I would rather it look good and maybe I will drop it altogether.

Have you noticed that I have been very cooperative with you? I have been very4 cooperative.