

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 12958 (as amended) SEC 3.3  
MR # 09-46-214  
*state rev. 3/1/04; OSD Ltr 5/17/10; DOE Ltr 9/11/09*  
By dal NARA, Date 6/24/10

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?

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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.

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.



✓ P/K 17 Sept 75

K We should say 3000 ALCM aft w/ range of 2500. None on other aft. On SLCM, 6000 km

P Nuclear.

K Yes. We would have 2000 SLCM of 6000-2500 km range. Add 25 FB-111 + give them 275 B-52's as a tradeoff. This will be OK for a starter. It will come unstuck when they discover it doesn't include conventional.

Don't know, we will have a prob w/ C.M. It will be a net liability for us because ~~they~~ <sup>we</sup> have no air dep.

Schles wants ~~more~~ C.M.'s so if Sovs attack N. Korea we can respond w/ more C.M. by destroying USSR fleet. Don't want to use more because wants to raise some threshold. What he really has in mind is moving offshore in F. or.

It is a worthy idea. How efficient is a 2000<sup>#</sup> bomb on a 1 mil missile? >

P Any Good. How many conv. bombs did we lay on German cities in WWII w/o accomplishing very much. Has this been the case?

K The military is completely covered. All but perhaps Holloman.

P He is a best of a lot.

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

P You will present this to Congress-Sunday?



- Visiting -

K I will try to see what they have to offer today & give him this on Sunday.

P The position sounds good.

K I think we have a Jordan problem fixed. They will agree to a one para. & sign a standard contract.

P I see a Jordan part doesn't like my comment I was addressed by clients & hoped they would return to democracy.

K I will be away at UN thru Wed. My speech is a good FP review. Only new thing is a conf. bet PRC, NK, ROK & US to ~~update the UN~~ verify a armistice. There are 2 resolutions before UN now. NK will reject it, but it will put us in better position at UN. My people also want me to take a crack at Namibia, cause we may be voting on it. It makes me sick to do it - I may well withdraw it ~~but~~ and maybe I will drop it altogether.

How you noticed that Tito has been very supportive since your visit. Very complimentary of you and very supportive.

