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2.

Mr. Macklen had indicated that the critical level of Soviet ABMs with respect to UK penetration capability was 300. However, Mr. Butler emphasized, this would only be true with a UK force of greater penetration capability than now exists; the proposed improved UK nuclear force. In the current situation, the UK would have difficulty if the Soviets had more than 200 ABM launchers. Therefore, the US 2-or-1 ABM proposal was fine with respect to this specific UK interest and concern, because the Soviets surely would choose to defend Moscow and be limited thereby to 100 launchers. If the USSR did not accept this proposal, the UK would infinitely prefer a change to 1-for-1 and not one which allowed the USSR 2 sites and, thereby, 200 launchers. I told Mr. Butler, as I indicated at the outset, that the US position is unchanged, including the specifics of our 2-or-1 ABM proposal.

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ATTACHMENT

SECRETARY OF STATE'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES: SEPTEMBER 1971

MEETING WITH PRESIDENT NIXON

SALT

Points to be made (see annexed Background Brief)

- "1. We are grateful for being kept informed of developments, bilaterally as well as through NATO.
- "2. We welcome the progress made at the recent Helsinki session. The agreements on measures to reduce the risk of accidental nuclear war, and to improve hot-line communications between the US and the USSR are a useful practical and public sign of this progress.
- "3. The negotiation of an agreement to limit ABMs is apparently at an advanced stage, and we assume, now that the Helsinki session is over, that the Americans will be considering their final bargaining position. The Russians appear to have shown some flexibility on ABM levels. This may therefore be a suitable opportunity to put our position on record with the President. We realise that ABM levels are only one element of these complex negotiations, and that there are many other factors which the Americans must take into account. But as British officials have explained on a number of occasions, we have a special national interest in the level of Soviet ABMs which emerges from SALT being as low as possible. This is of vital concern to us for the maintenance of our own nuclear capability. We trust that our interest will be taken into account when the President is deciding what proposals should be put to the Russians."

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