

*Scowcroft file*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

BY dal NARA DATE 10/7/08

PARTICIPANTS: President Nixon  
Ambassador Earl of Cromer, British  
Ambassador to the United States  
Major General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy  
Assistant to the President for  
National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Thursday, January 17, 1974  
12:30 p. m.

PLACE: The Oval Office  
The White House

SUBJECTS: U.S. -European Relations; Superantelope

[There was initial discussion of the British strike and Middle East oil.]

President: You are dependent on coal, not so much on oil as on the  
Continent.

Heath has a lot of guts.

Cromer: I don't know whether he will call elections.

President: How do the polls stand?

Cromer: They are moving in his favor. Some of the miners are very  
rabid. It is not officially a strike -- it's a refusal to work overtime.  
It is a major constitutional issue -- how can the life of a society be dis-  
rupted by this minority?

President: I am glad the people see it.

Cromer: The people being hit are the small shopkeepers.

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President: We want Heath to succeed. Britain has to come back. What is involved over the long term is the survival of Britain as a great nation. The British role in World Wars I and II, and its role in the world -- it would be a tragedy if we let Britain slip.

It is not my view this [the Year of Europe] should be a U.S. - dominated affair. The Soviet Union still has one goal -- to Balkanize Europe. So the U.S. must play a role in Europe. All the aspects -- monetary, security, political -- are naturally tied together. You may have to say things in Britain and I may have to say things, but you should know I have deep feelings that Britain must survive and come back and I will do nothing to hurt you. Henry has put out some unfortunate statements -- we all get emotional.

Cromer: It was unfortunate that the Year of Europe initiative came at the time of the EC's first joining together. Henry was alarmed at a Dane being the sole spokesman. When we joined, France had the Common Agricultural Policy set up and they wanted nothing changed. We haven't had the leverage on the French which we have needed, but with rising commodity prices, French influence may decline.

President: Should I go to Europe in April?

Cromer: I think the timing would be good.

President: I don't want to go to the Soviet Union without visiting Europe first.

Cromer: It's a good time, I think. The declarations are coming along. I think on the Middle East we are coming along together. The next step will be more difficult, and will put pressure on you.

President: I will stand fast. All hell will break loose but this is part of the deal. We can't tolerate the Middle East in its present state. It's very dangerous. People say the alert was a fraud!

Cromer: We think you were right on the alert.

President: The Israelis are coming along on disengagement, but they have to be reasonable on the final arrangement. Tell Heath and Home not to talk about it but I am not beholden -- I am probably the first President -- to the Jewish community. Therefore American political considerations will not affect me. I will work for a settlement. I don't care what Congress thinks -- they are not willing to send U.S. troops in. I told Israel it cannot continue to win without U.S. help, and we won't be there.



We will play a double game -- secure borders, and we will be strong supplying arms.

We want Western -- American and British -- presence in the Middle East.

I want us to sell the arms to Kuwait. Why should we let the Soviet Union get into the Middle East and Latin America? Get on it, Brent.

Let's look at the world. In terms of the world balance, you can't hold by yourselves. The French can't, Germany can't. NATO is enormously important because it makes the Soviets act more responsibly. But in the world, only the U.S. and the Soviet Union can really affect the world. The Soviet Union has the will; the U.S. -- Congress -- doesn't. I do, and we will have the will as long as I am here -- not to start a war but to avoid it. We must understand that the U.S.-Soviet equilibrium is essential for world peace. That is why SALT, MBFR will be one tough titty. That is why we and you should have a relationship with China. In 15 years they may be the problem. We also must keep Japan from being a loose cannon. The Japanese are great people -- there's new leadership there -- but they tend to push out.

The UN is okay but it's only a debating society. It can't resolve great power problems. So the United States must retain its strength, maintain its close ties with Europe and Japan as much as possible. Then we can contain the Soviet Union. What happens after Brezhnev? Who knows? There have been many shifts already, but I don't buy the idea that the Soviet Union is getting soft. They will push everywhere they can get away with it.

Western civilization has a great challenge. The issue is not wealth -- we will stay ahead of the Soviets -- but strength. Unless we have a sense of realism, pragmatism, we are lost. Britain has that sense -- we do. The Dutch, the Greeks, the Turks. But look at the rest. France has become a parochial power focusing on nickels and dimes. Germany has lousy leadership -- especially at the foreign policy level. The British are pragmatists -- and I am -- and therefore the most pro-British President in a long time.

Cromer: we have decided on Superantelope. We hope for your help with it.

President: [to Scowcroft] Is there any problem?

Scowcroft: No.

President: It is approved.



Pres / Ambr. Council 17 Jan 74  
12:35?

Discussed Br. strike & the midwest oil.

P You are dependent on coal, not so much  
coal as on treatment

Hertz has lot of gas

C Don't know what's with coal election

P How polls stand

C Working in his power. Some of mine are very  
solid, but principally a strike - refusal to work  
overtime. Is a major constitutional issue - how  
can life of society be changed by this measure

P Glad people see it.

C The people being being but are a small  
shepherds, etc. Organized labor is

British interests

Wider

Year of Europe - Israel - an annual except 56  
Special case of us

Want Hertz to succeed - Br. has to know how  
what is involved over long term is survival  
of the great nation. Be able in WEST & II & its  
role in world - would be tragedy if we let  
Br. slip.

Not my view this should be US dominated  
again - SO still has one goal - Balkanizing  
Euro. So US must play a role in Euro.

All aspects - monetary, etc. - all tied together  
you may have to say things in Br & I may  
have to say things, but you should know

I have deep feelings that Br must survive &  
come back & I will do nothing to hurt you.

FAK has put out some injudicious statements -  
we will get concerned

C Unfortunate that Year of Euro came at time

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AUTHORITY per ml 07-65, #1

BY lh NARA, DATE 8/14/09



f EC joining together. He was alarmed  
at David being spokesman. When we joined,  
Fr had CAP set up & they wanted nothing  
changed. We haven't had a leverage on Fr  
which we had needed, but w/ rising  
commodity prices, Fr influence may decline.

P Should I go to Ecu in jail

C I think this would be good

P I don't want to go to SO w/ a ~~good~~ <sup>good</sup> ~~insert~~  
Ecu first

C Good too, I think. Declarations coming along,  
I think on ME we are coming along together  
Next step will be more difficult, ~~difficult~~  
& will put pressure on you.

P I will stand fast. All hell will break loose  
but this is part of deal. Can't tolerate  
ME in present state. Dangerous.  
People say a about was a few years

C We think you were right on about

P Decisions are coming along on disengagement,  
but they have to be reasonable on final  
arrangement. Tell Heath & Home ~~to~~ not  
to talk about it but I am not beholden - ~~not~~  
no - to Jewish community. Our political  
considerations will not affect our Jewish  
work for settlement. I think we can be  
proactive. I don't care what Cong <sup>thinks</sup> -  
they not willing to send US troops in. I must  
~~know~~ it cannot continue to ruin w/ OJ  
body, & we cannot be there.

We play double game - some bodies  
& we will go strong ~~are~~ <sup>are</sup> supplying  
arms arms.



W.M. on 11/11/82 -

US want a position - US & the - presence  
 in ME  
 I want us to sell the arms to Kuwait -  
 why should we let <sup>SO</sup> others get in to  
 ME & SA. Get on it, Bush,  
 lets look at world. In terms of world balance,  
 you cant hold by yourselves, Fr cant, Germany  
 cant. ~~SO~~ NATO is ~~increasingly~~ important  
 because it makes SO a more ~~capable~~  
 but in world, only US & SU can ~~measure~~  
 SU has a will, US - Cong. doesnt. I do, &  
 we will have a will as long as I am here -  
 not a structure, but to avoid it. we must  
 understand that US-SU equilibrium is  
 essential for world peace. That's why  
 SALT ~~US & R~~ <sup>will be</sup> are ~~being~~ <sup>truly</sup> ~~talked~~  
 & you should have relationship w/ EPR,  
 for 15 yrs they may be a prob. Also must  
 keep Japan from being a loose cannon. Japan  
 are great people - new leadership there - but  
 they tend to push out.

UN is OK but a debatable security - Cant  
 reach G.P. chryso. So US must retain  
 strength, maintain close ties w/ E and  
 Japan as much as possible. Then we can  
 contain SU. What happens after Brez? Who  
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Western Civilization has great challenge.  
 Japan is not wealth - we will stay ahead of them -  
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miles & lines. Gr is ~~is~~ has lousy leadership  
except F.P. level. Br are pragmatists - & I  
am + ~~is~~ a great Br Per in a long time.

C We ~~will~~ have ~~at~~ ~~ended~~ an Singer Outlets

P Any problem?

S No

P It is agreed.

