

Scowcroft file

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~/XGDS

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958 SEC. 3.6
DOD Ltr 8131107; State Ltr 112108
MR 07-65 #1; OSD Ltr 4121107

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.

~~SECRET~~/XGDS



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.



NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

2

WITHDRAWAL ID 018651

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL National security restriction
TYPE OF MATERIAL Note
DESCRIPTION Brent Scowcroft's handwritten notes of
Nixon and Ambassador Earl of Cromer
meeting
CREATION DATE 01/17/1974
VOLUME 4 pages
COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 031400105
COLLECTION TITLE National Security Adviser. Memoranda of
Conversations
BOX NUMBER 3
FOLDER TITLE January 17, 1974 - Nixon, British
Ambassador Earl of Cromer
DATE WITHDRAWN 08/20/2004
WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST GG