

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

President Nixon
John Scali, Ambassador to the UN
M. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, Dept.
Assistant to the President

DATE AND TIME:

Tuesday, February 13, 1973
11:30 a.m.

PLACE:

The Oval Office



President: When do you go?

Scali: When Waldheim returns from Bangladesh.

President: He's not too strong. But he's better than U Thant. We had to give him a shot a while ago.

Give him my regards. Tell him on your own that his predecessor tilted constantly toward the bloc. We don't want him to tilt toward anyone.

On UN Finance, say it is tough. We will do what we can, but blame the Congress for our inability to do more.

In my view nothing has hurt the UN with the American people more than the failure to act on terrorism. It is difficult to understand how we are major supporters and can't get a resolution which everyone should want.

On environment, the progress is good. Peacekeeping in the Middle East.

On the Middle East, we are following two approaches. The open approach with Rogers, and our private contacts with the Russians, with the Egyptians in the next few weeks, and with Mrs. Meir.

You must know nothing officially of our private approach. You for your own background but don't know. If the open approach works, fine, but we are working two tracks and hopefully one will help the other succeed. You must know but keep totally to the public line.

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/73, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, STATE & review 3/13/04
BY GA, NARA, DATE 3/20/04

We are Israel's only friend. Israel has only contempt for the UN. This is a tough issue and you keep close in contact with Rogers and the NSC.

You can float things a bit more. Mrs. Mier cannot keep this totally instrigent attitude and you might be able to float some things.

The Middle East will never be totally settled. We would like to get started on something, though, and the private channel is best. Because if the public channel were to tail, it would be catastrophic. We'll go public in the channel only when we know it will succeed.

Use your post to defend the United States. Tell me what you plan to do.

Scali: I plan to be a spokesman for the President and the United States on our foreign policy as a whole. On Issues and Answers on Sunday, I pointed out that the visits to Russia and China opened up initiatives which help, not bypass, the UN. I will not hesitate to speak out for the United States and I plan to change the staff to a more hardnosed group. I plan to bring in a black and a woman ambassador.

President: Great. We should have a black.

Scali: I have only two blacks on the staff.

President: Say you discussed it with the President and he agreed. The UN is mostly non-white and we need more blacks on the staff.

Scali: The UN is the only staff without living allowances. It's too expensive. Rooney is a problem.

President: We ought to have an allowance. New York is the most expansive place in the world.

Scali: Example, the Bureau can't afford it.

President: Has the living allowance problem been raised?

Scali: Several times.

President: You could talk to Rooney. I helped to save him. Tell him we've getting only rich dilettantes and we need some hard workers.



With your experience you can move with the other ambassadors. I am not a popular figure in the UN, but in your contacts you can explain things. The UN should be even-handed toward the U.S. The smaller states shouldn't be one-sided against the big states. The British have only contempt for the UN and the French don't care for it. It needs to regain some stature. It would be great if the UN could accomplish something.

Scali: If Waldheim chaired the Vietnam conference it could enhance his and the UN's reputation.

President: Tell him. The tendency will be to kick South Vietnam. How he handles it will be a test of how it looks to the United States. We want an even-handed treatment.

Scali: If he is good, invite him here for a pat on the back.

President: Okay, if he earns it.

I will wait for your signal.

You will have a fascinating time.

Scali: I appreciate your bringing me into the White House family and to this job. You have my total assurance is that I will give you my best.

President: Kissinger and Rogers agreed you should not get the job because of your news background, but I said I wanted it. Now they are delighted.

Did you see the POW release? Wasn't it great?

Scali: Yes.

President: Like Armstrong on the move -- God bless America.

It's good for the American people to see some brave men.

The POW's felt the bombing got them out.

[More POW discussion.]

The biggest problem with Communism is it doesn't work well and the people hate their regimes.

President: Have you seen Cabot Loge?

Scali: Yes, and George Bush. I don't care to see Yost. He just wrote a new book.

President: If he has something to offer, it's okay.

Fairlie's book is interesting about the process of public relations. Start with Chapter 11, Foreign Policy. It's interesting for the analysis of handling problems of commitments, proportions.

Scali: They're be a meeting in Panama.

President: They's no give on Cuba.

Take Marcos -- I won't lecture him on his internal structure, either the Phillippines or the Communists. Our concern is foreign policy except for something like genocide, etc. We will aid dictators if it is in our interest. We have objectives to give aid to Yugoslavia, Romania, Poland. Our concern with Cuba, China, and the USSR is their external policy of external aggression and subversion. When they change this, we will change Cuba hasn't changed.

One other point. Echeverria is behaving badly. They denounced us in the UN and Mexico.

You say I have pursued the objectives for Echeverria, but it is hard to understand why they always kick us. Agnew said Suharto spoke of neutralism and said they can't have it both ways.

We don't ask for love, but fairness. Countries can no longer get aid to kick us in the teeth. You can blame the Congress, but we can privately cut the hell out of our aid.

We want no more double standards.

Scali: I will do it.

President: It doesn't hurt to stir the water. We must speak out.

Scali: No one will find John Scali wanting.

President: Don't be belligerent, but more indignation is sometimes appropriate. And do it in front of TV so you can't be misquoted.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT'S FILES

FROM: B/GEN. BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT: The President's Meeting with Ambassador John Scali

DATE AND TIME: Tuesday, February 13, 1973
11:43 a.m.

PLACE: Oval Office

PARTICIPANTS: President Nixon
Brigadier General Brent Scowcroft
John A. Scali, U. S. Ambassador to the UN



The meeting began at 11:43 a.m. with the President and Ambassador Scali walking around the Rose Garden for press photos. Upon their return to the Oval Office, the President asked Ambassador Scali when he planned to depart. Scali said he would present his credentials when Secretary-General Waldheim returned from Bangladesh. The President thereupon observed that he thought Waldheim not too strong a Secretary-General, but better than U Thant. He asked that Scali give Waldheim his regards and tell him on Scali's behalf that his predecessor had leaned constantly toward Communist countries. We would hope that Waldheim would not lean in any direction at all. The President asked that Scali point out to Waldheim that the situation was difficult in terms of financial support for the UN. We will do what we can for the UN, but Congress is responsible for our inability to do more. Nothing has hurt the UN more with the American people, said the President, than the failure to act on terrorism. It is difficult to understand how we can be in a position of being the major supporter of the UN and yet unable to get a resolution which all countries should naturally want to support. The President noted, however, that the UN had made progress on environmental matters and in peacekeeping operations.

The President told Scali that with regard to the Middle East we were following two approaches -- an open approach by Secretary Rogers and through our private contacts with the USSR, the Egyptians and the Israelis. He, Scali, must know nothing officially of any of these private approaches. It is

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NSC MEMO, 11/20/00, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES
BY bl NARA, DATE 3/20/04
Stak & review 3/8/04

important for him to know for his own background that they exist but he should keep totally to the public line. The President noted that we were the only friend of the Israelis and that Israel has only contempt for the UN. We cannot allow Mrs. Meir to keep her present totally intransigent attitude, and Scali might be able to float some ideas through his contacts that could be useful. The President doubted that the Middle East would ever be totally settled, but felt that we should get started on something and that a private channel would best serve our interests. A private channel is preferable for negotiations because if talks in the public channel were to fail, the result would be catastrophic. The public channel is useful when we know that we will succeed. The President cautioned that this was a tough issue and that Scali should maintain close contact with State and the NSC on it.

The President then asked what Scali planned to do at the UN, and Scali responded that he intended to be a spokesman for the President and the US on our foreign policy as a whole. In his appearance the previous Sunday on ISSUES AND ANSWERS, he said he had observed that the President's visits to the USSR and PRC had opened up initiatives which contributed to world peace, and the result had therefore not had the effect of bypassing the UN. Scali said that he would not hesitate to speak out strongly for the US and that he planned to make substantial changes in his staff in the direction of a tougher approach. He planned to bring in as ambassadors a woman and a black and noted that there were only two blacks on his staff. The President concurred strongly and pointed out that since the UN was mostly non-white we should have more blacks on the staff. Scali pointed out that the UN was the only embassy staff without a living allowance and that New York was so expensive that it hampered him in his selection of people. For example, he said he would have liked to have obtained Ambassador Brown (Jordan), but that Brown could not afford to live in New York City. The President suggested that Scali talk with Congressman Rooney and point out to him that the lack of a living allowance meant that the USUN staff was able to attract only rich dilettantes and that we need instead some sound, hard workers.

The President said that he knew he was not a popular figure in the UN but that Scali, with his experience, could move among the other Ambassadors and help to explain things. The UN, for example, should be even handed toward the US and smaller states should not "gang up" against the big powers. The President felt that the British had only contempt for the UN

and the French had little use for it. The UN needs to regain some stature and the President said he would be delighted if the UN could accomplish something.

Scali thought that if Waldheim were to chair the upcoming International Conference, it would enhance his reputation and that of the UN. The President asked that Scali tell Waldheim that and also point out that the tendency in the Conference would be to be harsh towards South Vietnam. We would expect Waldheim to insist on even-handed treatment, and how he handled it would be a test of his relationship with the US. At Scali's suggestion, the President agreed to invite Waldheim to Washington for a visit if his conduct had earned such a reward. Scali said that he would be advising the President in this regard.

Scali expressed his appreciation to the President for bringing him into the White House family and for subsequently giving him this new, very responsible job. He expressed his total dedication to giving the President the very best support possible. The President responded that Kissinger and Rogers had felt that Scali should not get the UN job because of his news media background, but that the President had insisted. The President observed that Kissinger and Rogers were now pleased with the selection.

The President expressed his delight in the performance of the released POWs and likened the impact of this event to that of Neil Armstrong stepping onto the moon. The President thought that it was very good for the US to see some brave men and to have some heroes.

The President then suggested that Scali read the Fairley book on Kennedy, at least that portion beginning with Chapter 11. He observed that it was a very interesting book for its analysis of foreign policy and of the handling of problems of international commitments and expectations.

The President said that we do not intend to lecture countries on their internal structure, either in cases like that of the Philippines at present, or that of Communist countries. Our concern is for foreign policy behavior and we will aid dictatorships if it is in our interest to do so. Our opposition to Cuba, PRC and the USSR has been based on their external policy of aggression and subversion. When they modify those policies, we will modify our policy toward them. Cuba, in this regard, has not yet changed. The President then noted that President Echeverria had been behaving very

badly toward the US, both in his speech at the UN, and in his public utterances in Mexico. The President said he had personal affection for Echeverria but that it was difficult for him to understand why countries like Mexico were always attacking the US. We do not ask other countries for their affection, but only to be treated fairly. Countries which continually attack the US can no longer expect to get aid and Scali should point that out in his discussions in the UN. The Congress was becoming increasingly opposed to aid programs in general, and would refuse such aid to countries which were condemning US policy. The President said that the US was tired of the double standard used by many countries in comparing the US and Communist behavior. The President concluded the discussion by telling Scali not to be belligerent on this issue, but he pointed out that a little moral indignation is sometimes appropriate. He suggested that Scali make his statements on this issue in front of the TV camera so that he could not be misquoted.

The meeting concluded at 12:25 p.m.

P. Scoble can float things a bit more, their corner they're totally intransigent attitude & Scoble might be able to float some things
WE will never be totally settled - we'd like to get started on something, tho. a private channel is best, cause if public channel were to fail it would be catastrophe, but his channel only when boxes will succeed

do you just to depend the US
Tell me what you plan to do

S. I plan to be spokesman for Pro & US on our F.P. as a whole.

On ~~James~~ ^{Assurances} on Sunday I pointed out that into D A + C system of institutions which help, not by ~~paying~~ a UN.

I will not hesitate to speak out for US, & plan to change staff to head work
I plan to bring in a black ~~employee~~ ^{and several}

P. Good. Should have a black

S. ~~to~~ Have only 2 black on staff

P. Say again also raised in / Pro & be agreed. UN is mostly non white & we need more blacks on staff.

S. UN is only staffed / a thing allowances. Too expensive. Rawley is problem

P. Ought to have allowance. My own expense place, some 2, in need

S. - Example Brown can't afford it.

P Has being all around problem been raised?

S Several times

P You should talk to Remy. I helped to
save him. Tell him getting only rich
in London & not doing hard work

Q/ you expected you can move w/ other
countries. I am not a popular figure in
UK, but in your contacts you can
explain things. UK should be even handed
toward US. Smaller states should not be
one sided against big states.

British have only contempt for UK & French
don't ~~care~~ ^{care} for it. It needs to require
some stature. Could be great if UK could
accomplish something

S If W Chairman conference could enhance
his & UK reputation

P Tell him. Traveling will be to check
SOM. How he handles it will be a test
of him of US. We want even handed
treatment

S If he is good, invite him here for a look

P OK if he leaves it.

P I will wait for your signal
you will have priority

S I promise you bringing me into
with friends to this job!
My total assurance that I will find
you - my best

P K&K agreed you should not get a job,
because of new background, but I
said I would get it. Now they are delighted
Did you see POW memo? Want it yet?

S Yes

P Like Armstrong memo (Good like America)
Civ & P US to see some bronze men.

POW's felt bombing got them out.

POW's description

Biggest problem / concern is it doesn't work
well & people hate their regimes

P Have you seen hedge

S Yes & Bush. Don't care to see just
He just wrote new book

P If he has something to offer, etc.

Families book is interesting about a piece of
pub relations. Start w/ Chap 11, For Pol.

Interesting for analysis of handling problems
of commitments, speculations

S Unity in Power

P No give on Cuba.
Take names - I want lecture on internal
structure, either Phila Crasto, @ or
concern is F.P. (except for generals, etc).
We will need dictators if it is in our interest
- Dujovnis to aid to Yugo, R, P.
On occasion w/ Cuba, China, USSR is their
external policy of external aggression
& submission. When they change
this, we will change. Cuba
hasn't change

Other point - E. Germany is behaving badly, demand
is in UK & Mexico

You say I have ^{how} proposed ^{offer} for E, but haven't
understand why they always kick us.

Agnew said Senharto spoke of mechanism & have occasionally
benefit us. Agnew blasted him, said
can't handle it both ways.

→ I don't ask love, but permission. Countries
can no longer get aid & back us in
Teeth, you can blame Congress, but
we can privately cut a hell out of our
aid.

We want no more double standards.

S I need do it

P doesn't want to stir a water



P We must speak out

S To our with friend John Scabi wanting

P Don't be. Indignation, but moral
indignation is sometimes approp.
And do it in front of TV so
you can't be misquoted

