MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

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.

Cromer: Heath has a lot of guts.

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.
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 that 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.
Demoral as #2, strike to #1, one of two.

Don't know what will con sell the...

How 

Do they plan to...? ..... 

their minds. So much... to think.

Some constant... has caused.

Can only be changed by this month.

How can a people see it.

The people have been... ever since.

Why... preceded. 38% were against it.

Worst have reached -... to come back.

What is needed is a long-term plan.

If the constant situation, the role in war or... would be... if war.

Be 85%.

But my view this should be US

still has own goal-pursuing? 

Even if US must play a role in it.

If US meets... is not

All capable - military, too. can't say

you can have... day. Do not want to say things, but you should...

I have a lot of... and... to start - 21st will be nothing to trust you.

HAD two part and very important statements -

Complicated... in 60's come at time.
I: Felt a little anxious. It was alarming.
C: Did things seem to improve when we joined?
I: The broad CAP set doesn't count. Nothing changes. All current [redacted] can change. We were [redacted], but nothing happened. Everyone just feels incompetent. We influence very little.
C: Should I go to Evan in jail?
I: I think they would be good.
C: I don't want to go to SCVJ.
I: I'm just.
C: Good times, I think. Declarative coming along. It seems ME in our coming along. Together we start to make more effective decisions and will get assistance now.
I: I need to understand. All will end well. I think.
C: My present state. Lancaster people say I don't have a future.
I: I think you will right on what.
C: I think we are coming along. We depend.
I: But they have to be dependent on final arrangements. Tell [redacted]. How can we talk about it? We won't follow you. Is a Jewish community's. One political administration will not affect us. I will work for settlement. I think and can be presented. I don't see what can happen. They act without us. If they are at one point, we cannot contradict main ideas. Only if we want to there.
I: My life and good. [redacted]. Jobs will go strong with support.
C: We will go strong with support.
I: We will go strong with support.
C: We will go strong with support.
We want all three: US + R + presence

I am not sure what that means to Iran.

We need to sell them arms to benefit them and not continue aid to

M & S & L. Give it away,

not look at all. Iran is less powerful, much less powerful.

Radio is dead. USSR can send nuclear

S who is well. USSR - decent. E do, s

we will have a civil action as soon the

not a structure, but a channel. We must understand that USSR is essential to world peace. This is why

SHT MORE and thought with. That each

we a you should think relationship of EIP.

To 15.6. Then once in a year. Also must

keep Japan firm and a close common Japan

and good people, war leadership there. But

then and 2 june

OK is it not a debating society? Can't

accept G-110 jaya. So USSR must remain

strength, maintain a lose the west and

Japan see her strength. If the USSR can

contain S, what happens to Europe? We

think of Europe. Have been many

thejo adzada, but I think they and one in

good cap. They will want to se nurse in

cannot carry cap.

We must continue Iran. Great challenge

Iran is not sneak - we will try ahead of Iran

but strength.
Unless we have sense of conviction, pragmatism will not be lost. By that sense - and do British, Greek, Turks. But look at a seat. It has seemed a fundamental gospel preaching in our life. We have been led by false leadership, except I ask. We are pragmatists. It is time to move in a long time.

C. Any question?
S. No.
J. It is agreed.