The original documents are located in Box 4, folder "United Kingdom - Prime Minister James Callaghan" of the National Security Adviser's Presidential Correspondence with Foreign Leaders Collection at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

S/S 7607106

April 5, 1976

CONFIDENTIAL

#### MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BRENT SCOWCROFT THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Message from the President to Prime Minister Callaghan

Foreign Secretary James Callaghan is expected to be elected leader of the British Labor Party by a ballot (the third) of Labor members of Parliament to be counted at about noon, Monday, April 5. The announcement of the results will follow almost immediately and will be available to us at about 12:30 pm (6:30 pm London time) that day. As leader of the majority Labor Party, Callaghan will automatically become Prime Minister. We assume the President will wish to convey his congratulations and best wishes.

Attached are suggested talking points, should the President wish to telephone the Prime Minister, and a suggested message should he prefer the written channel. Another alternative would be to both telephone and send a message.

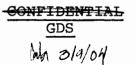
We have made arrangements to be advised as soon as the results are announced and will immediately advise a member of your staff.

George S. Springsteen

Executive Secretary

Attachments:

- 1. Suggested talking points
- 2. Suggested written message



Suggested Talking Points for a Telephone Call to PM Callaghan:

- -- I am delighted to extend warm congratulations on your election as leader of your Party and designation as Prime Minister.
- -- It is especially pleasing to be able to say this to a person whom I have met and worked with as we have on several occasions.
- -- On the basis of these meetings, I am confident the UK will have in you a most experienced and strong leader.
- I hope we will be in frequent contact since we lead two of the most important industrial democracies, and in concert we can exert a very powerful positive influence on the problems and opportunities which will arise.
- -- Let me take this occasion to say that I am very much aware of the difficult period the UK has been going through. I admire the strong actions the government has taken in its program to control inflation and to achieve a balanced recovery.
- -- The success of this program is bound to affect favorably the general welfare of Britain, strengthen its important place in the world and have a favorable impact in the United States.

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Draft Letter to PM Callaghan:

On this occasion of your selection to be Prime Minister, I wish to extend my most sincere congratulations and every good wish for your success in that high post. I also will take this opportunity to initiate what I hope can be a fruitful exchange of ideas and thoughts between us as we face the continuing series of problems and opportunities that will occur.

It is especially pleasing to be able to send this kind of message to a friend, as well as a respected colleague. I believe it fortunate, as we begin a new and important relationship as leaders of two major industrial states, that we know each other and have worked with each other in the past. At meetings in Washington, Brussels, Helsinki, and Rambouillet, we have consulted on important issues and, on the basis of that experience, I am confident that we will continue to maintain the excellent relations our two countries have enjoyed, and to strengthen our joint effort to help preserve the peace and well-being of the world.

I am aware of the very great strains the United Kingdom has faced in these past 18 months because of the world recession. I greatly admire the vigorous program the British Government has undertaken to control inflation, boost export-led growth and encourage a revival of industry, while preserving your high standard of social goals. Its success will be important not only for Britain, but for all the economies of the Western world, and a cause of great satisfaction for us as your friend and ally.

You can count on my personal support and the close cooperation of the United States Government.

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Warm personal regards.

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#### MEMORANDUM

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

1997X

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CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION April 5, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM:

Mr. Clift 

SUBJECT:

Congratulatory Message to Prime Minister Callaghan

On the occasion of James Callaghan's selection by the Labor Party as new Prime Minister, I believe it would be appropriate and desirable for the President to send a message of congratulations via the Cabinet Line.

The memorandum for your signature to the President at Tab I would forward for his approval the message of congratulations at Tab A to Prime Minister Callaghan and inform him that, subject to his approval, the text will be sent to the Prime Minister via the Cabinet Line. I would also recommend that you approve the NODIS memorandum for Jeanne Davis' signature to State (Tab II), passing the text of the President's message for the information of the Department.

The President's letter has been cleared by Doug Smith in Robert Hartmann's office.

RECOMMENDATION

1. That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

2. Following Presidential approval that Jeanne Davis provide State (memorandum at Tab II) with the text of the message.

APPROVE\_\_\_\_\_

DISAPPROVE\_\_\_\_\_

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#### THE WHITE HOUSE

#### WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Brent Scowcroft

SUBJECT:

Message of Congratulations to Prime Minister Callaghan

The British Labor Party on Monday elected Foreign Secretary James Callaghan as the new Prime Minister. On this occasion, it would be appropriate for you to send Prime Minister Callaghan a message of congratulations via the Cabinet Line. The message to Mr. Callaghan for your approval at Tab A would express your sincere congratulations on his selection and that you look forward to working with him as a friend and colleague. Subject to your approval of the message I will arrange for the text to be cabled to the Prime Minister via the Cabinet Line.

Your message has been cleared with Robert Hartmann's office.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the message at Tab A. APPROVE DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

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Sent for 00P +16/26 26

#### April 5, 1976

VIA THE CABINET LINE ----CONFIDENTIAL-FROM THE PRESIDENT TO PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I wish to extend my most sincere congratulations and every good wish for success on the occasion of your selection as Prime Minister.

It is especially pleasing to send this message to a good friend, as well as a respected colleague. At our meetings in Washington, Brussels, Helsinki, and Rambouillet, we have worked together to meet the challenges facing our countries and other industrial democracies. I am confident that we will continue to maintain the excellent relations our two countries enjoy, and I look forward to strengthening further our efforts to preserve the peace and well-being of the world. You can count on my personal support and the close cooperation of the United States Government.

> As you assume your high office, you have my very best wishes. Warm personal regards,

Gerald R. Ford



#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

#### CONFIDENTIAL/NODIS

### April 7, 1976

#### MEMORANDUM FOR

George S. Springsteen Executive Secretary Department of State

#### SUBJECT:

Presidential Message of Congratulations to UK Prime Minister Callaghan (S/S 7607106)

With reference to your memorandum of April 5, 1976, a copy of the President's message of congratulations as sent to Prime Minister Callaghan is attached for the information of the Department of State.

eanne Staff Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL/NODIS

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## April 5, 1976

VIA THE CABINET LINE --- CONFIDENTIAL FROM THE PRESIDENT

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I wish to extend my most sincere congratulations and every good wish for success on the occasion of your selection as Prime Minister.

It is especially pleasing to send this message to a good friend, as well as a respected colleague. At our meetings in Washington, Brussels, Helsinki, and Rambouillet, we have worked together to meet the challenges facing our countries and other industrial democracies. I am confident that we will continue to maintain the excellent relations our two countries enjoy, and I look forward to strengthening further our efforts to preserve the peace and well-being of the world. You can count on my personal support and the close cooperation of the United States Government.

As you assume your high office, you have my very best wishes.

Warm personal regards,

Gerald R. Ford

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#### THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

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BRITISH EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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The President The White House 7 April 1976

Dean Mr. President

I have pleasure in forwarding a message to you from the British Prime Minister, Mr James Callaghan, the text of which is now enclosed.

Jour minuchy Peter Roundskan

(Peter Ramsbotham) H M Ambassador



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7 April 1976

My dear Mr President

Thank you so much for your kind message which I received this morning. Your good wishes were a source of encouragement to me as I take up my duties as Prime Minister. I particularly welcomed your offer of support and co-operation, and I assure you that one of my principal aims will be to continue and foster the excellent relations between our two Governments and our two Countries.

With warm regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Jim Callaghan.

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TO PRIME MINISTER CALLAGMAN

E B H F I D E N T I A L WHEBEAS

MAY 4, 1976

FROM THE PRESIDENT TO PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTERS

I HAVE BEEN GIVING THOUGHT TO THE POSSIBLE VALUE OF ANOTHER SUMMET HEETING SUCH AS WAS NELD LAST FALL AT RAMBBUILLET. IT IS MY TENTATIVE THOUGHT THAT IT MAY BE TIME TO REVIEW DEVELOPMENTS SINCE OUR EXCELLENT DISCUSSIONS IN NOVEMBER AND TO MAP FURTHER STEPS. SECRETARY KISSINGER DISCUSSED THIS IDEA IN GENERAL TERMS WITH THE POREIGN SECRETARY WHEN THEY MET ON APRIL 23. I HAVE ALSO ASKED HIM TO EXPLORE IT WITH PRESIDENT GISCARD DURING WIS STOP IN PARIS ON MAY Y. I MAVE ASKED GEORGE SMULTZ TO DISCUSS THE IDEA WITH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT ON SUNDAY, MAY 9, AND I MONDERED WHETHER YOU MIGHT HAVE TIME TO SEE SHULTZ AS WELL, PERHAPE IN LONDON ON MONDAY, MAY 10. IF THIS IS INCONVENIENT, PERMARS ONE OF YOUR COLLEAGUES COULD RECEIVE SHULTZ AT THAT TIME, SHULTZ WOULD BE PREPARED TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE AREAS FOR INCLUSION IN THE DISCUSSIONS, TIMING AND ALSO TO EXPRESS SOME OF MY CONCERNS ABOUT ITALY. I WOULD BE MOST ANXIOUS TO MAVE YOUR THOUGHTS AND HOPE THAT A BRIEF CALL BY GEORGE SHULTZ CAN BE ARRANGED.

> WARN PERSONAL REGARDS, GERALD R. FORD

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TO PRESIDENT FORD

GONFIDENTIAL U/N 6 MAY 76

FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE PRESIDENT DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR MESSAGE OF 4 MAY; YOU WILL PROBABLY BY NOW HAVE SEEN TONY CROSLANDS MESSAGE TO HENRY, BUT I WANTED TO LET YOU KNOW THAT I LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING GEOGGE SHULTZ IN LONDON ON MONDAY, BOTH TO DISCUSS THE IDEAS YOU MENTION IN YOUR MESSAGE AND ALSO TO MEAR YOUR THOUGHTS ABOUT ITALY. IF CONVENIENT TO MIM, I NOULD BE HAPPY TO SEE HIM AT NOOM THAT DAY. WITH BEST WISHES AND WARN PERSONAL REGARDS, JIM CALLAGHAM

> DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES BY\_\_\_\_\_\_, NARA, DATE 3/9/04

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# **10 DOWNING STREET**

30 June 1976

THE PRIME MINISTER

Den Pr. Fresdert.

On my return to London I wanted to send you both my thanks and congratulations for what I think we all agreed was a most successful and interesting conference in Puerto Rico.

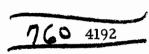
I particularly appreciated the opportunity for a private talk with you and am grateful to you for sparing so much time during your very busy programme. I hope that we can continue to keep in close touch on the various points we discussed.

With renewed thanks for your hospitality and warm personal regards,

fin sheref The Cally

The Honourable Gerald B Ford

MEMORANDUM



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

July 21, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Brent Scowcroft

SUBJECT:

Telephone Call from Prime Minister Callaghan, 8:00 a.m., Thursday, July 22, 1976

The British Prime Minister has inquired via the British Embassy in Washington if you would be available to take a telephone call from him at the opening of business Washington time on July 22. It is the Embassy's understanding from the Prime Minister's office that the Prime Minister will wish to inform you in advance of the budget cut decisions his government has just taken, and which he will be announcing on the floor of the House of Commons immediately following his call to you.

The budget has been under intense UK Cabinet review over the past several days, and we believe that Callaghan will announce a cut of at least one billion pounds for the Fiscal Year budget beginning in April 1977. This cut, it is expected, will have impact both on domestic and international British programs. It most certainly will include a cut for the Ministry of Defense.

We would expect Callaghan to advise that UK's commitments to NATO and the size of that commitment will not be reduced. We would further expect him to seek your understanding and to express the hope that the U.S. Government will avoid criticism either in Washington or in NATO.

#### Talking Points

-CONFIDENTIAL

- 1. Mr. Prime Minister, I very much appreciate your thoughtfulness in placing this call and providing advance notification of the steps you are taking.
- 2. As you know from our discussions, I admire the steps you have taken to deal with Great Britain's economic situation.
- 3. Clearly, Great Britain's contributions to NATO and to Western defense more generally are of the greatest importance to me and to the United States government.

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES BY\_\_\_\_\_\_, NARA, DATE 3/9/04

### CONFIDENTIAL

4. We are making progress on issues of great importance to the Alliance, and it is my hope that your government will continue its present level of commitment.

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5. The gravity of the situation in the Eastern Mediterranean requires no elaboration. A continued British presence on Cyprus remains of great importance to stability in that region.

\* \* \* \*

6. Mr. Prime Minister, let me take the occasion of this call to express our shock and our very deep regret over the death of the British Ambassador in Dublin.

<u>CONFIDENTIAL</u>

MEMORANDUM

Franker 7/21 70

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

4192

CONFIDENTIAL

<u>ACTION</u> July 21, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM:

Mr. Clift

SUBJECT:

Telephone Call from Prime Minister Callaghan

The memorandum for your signature to the President at Tab I will forward background information and talking points for the expected telephone call from Prime Minister Callaghan on July 22.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I.

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 NBC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES BY\_\_\_\_\_\_, NABA\_ DATE 3/9/04

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## NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

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DESCRIPTION		. Re nuclear weapons
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VOLUME		. 5 pages
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**10 DOWNING STREET** 

THE PRIME MINISTER

30 July 1976

- A. Grident

As you know, it has been the practice whenever the office of United States President or British Prime Minister has changed hands to reaffirm the understandings between our two Governments with regard to consultation on the use of nuclear weapons. These understandings were most recently confirmed by an exchange of letters between Mr. Wilson and yourself dated 16 December 1974 and 9 January 1975 respectively. I should like to suggest that, following my assumption of office, the understandings be reaffirmed in the usual way. For your convenience, I enclose the text of the Memorandum which was enclosed with your letter of 9 January 1975 to Mr. Wilson, and I should be most grateful for your confirmation that the understandings between our two Governments, as set forth in this Memorandum, remain fully in effect.

DECLAD DECIAD w/ portions exemp E.O. 12211 (1) amonded) SEC 3.3 06-06-#13 ptate les 5/5/09; OSD LES El25/11 Dy dae MARA, Bass 12/14/11

The President of the United States of America.



# **10 DOWNING STREET**

#### UNDERSTANDINGS WITH THE BRITISH ON THE USE OF

BRITISH BASES AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS

1. Our understanding on the use of British bases is that the President and Prime Minister will reach a joint decision by speaking personally with each other before certain forces equipped with US nuclear weapons and operating from bases in the United Kingdom will use nuclear weapons, namely SAC, British Strike Command (excluding aircraft of such Command equipped with British nuclear weapons), forces in the United Kingdom which are assigned or earmarke for assignment to a NATO commander, US Polaris and Poseidon submarine in British territorial waters and US forces The basic understanding is contained in the communique of 9 January 1952, covering the Truman-Churchill talks:

"Under arrangements made for the common defence, the United States has the use of certain bases in the United Kingdom. We re-affirm the understanding that the use of these bases in an emergency would be a matter for joint decision by His Majesty's Government and the United States Government in the light of circumstances prevailing at the time."

Procedures for carrying out this basic understanding were agreed upor in the Murphy-Dean Agreement of 7 June, 1958, which was approved by the President and the Prime Minister. The covering document, the Report to the President and the Prime Minister, repeats almost literally the language of the Truman-Churchill communique: "2. The basic understanding between the United Kingdom and United States Governments, regarding the use of bases in the United Kingdom by United States forces, provides that such use in an emergency shall be a matter for joint decision by the two Governments in the light of the circumstances at the time."

2. There is a second, more general understanding with the British that we will consult with them before using nuclear weapons anywhere, if possible. The basic understanding on this point is contained in a memorandum of conversation of a meeting between the President and Eden on 9 March, 1953. Eden had asked for an assurance of consultation by the President with the Prime Minister prior to US use of any nuclear weapon:

> "He (the President) said that the United States would, of course, in the event of increased tension or the threat of war, take every possible step to consult with Britain and our other allies."

The President re-affirmed this understanding when he wrote to the Prime Minister on 27 October, 1960, in connection with the Holy Loch berthing:

> "With reference to the launching of missiles from US Polaris submarines, I give you the following assurance, which of course is not intended to be used publicly. In the event of an emergency, such as increased tension or the threat of war, the US will take every possible step to consult with Britain and other allies. This re-affirms the assurance I gave to Foreign Secretary Eden on 9 March, 1953."

which was set out

This assurance is to be taken as applying with respect to fleet ballistic missile submarines (Poseidon equipped) in the same manner and to the same extent as with respect to Polaris submarines.

3. It should be noted that the agreement for joint decision by the President and the Prime Minister covers those United States forces which would operate from land bases in the United Kingdom or in United Kingdom territorial waters \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ It follows therefore that other United States forces (i.e. those not operating from land bases in the United Kingdom or in United Kingdom territorial waters \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ would be covered only by the more general understanding referred to in paragraph 2 above.
4. There is also an understanding in respect of US nuclear weapons destined for release in emergency to \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

in an exchange of letters between Prime Minister Wilson and President Johnson in 1965. In reply to Mr. Wilson's letter of 5 August, 1965, President Johnson confirmed in a letter dated 11 November, 1965, that "The nuclear weapons intended for use

would not be released for use in advance of the joint decision on release for use to United States and British force: of United States ASW nuclear weapons also stored in the United Kingdom under the same NATO plan." DRAFT REPLY FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE PRIME MINISTER

Quote

Thank you for your letter of ..... about the understandings between our two Governments with regard to consultation on the use of nuclear weapons. I am pleased to confirm the United States Government will regard the Memorandum of Understandings which was enclosed with your letter, and which was last reaffirmed in my letter of 9 January 1975 to Mr. Wilson, as remaining in effect.

Unquote

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#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

SUBJECT:

Message from Prime Minister Callaghan

Prime Minister Callaghan, via the Cabinet line, has sent you a message (Tab A) expressing gratitude for your sympathetic response to his current difficulties and for your agreement that UK discussions with the IMF should be expedited.

Callaghan states that he is convinced that his general strategy is sound and that the pound's decline earlier this week has been almost wholly because of speculative selling. He points out that the UK has cut its rate of inflation by half in the last year, is reducing its government deficit next year to 3%, has announced a tight guideline for the money supply, obtained agreement of the trade unions to a tighter realm of incomes policy. He indicates, however, that the UK could not afford to continue support for sterling in the face of such speculation even though it realizes that a stable exchange rate is in its interest and that of the West in general. Callaghan believes that if he can get a quick and sympathetic response from the IMF on the basis of its present policies and announced objectives, the pressure of the pound should be eased, at least in the short term.

Callaghan adds, however, that sound UK policies are subject to special and separate risks resulting from the possibility of major withdrawal of sterling balances which currently overhang the market. These constantly threaten to magnify small decreased in the rate of exchange, creating chaotic conditions such as those experienced earlier this week. [There are roughly \$5.5 billion worth of sterling outstanding -- held primarily by Nigeria (\$1.5 billion), Saudi Arabia (\$1.4 billion), and Kuwait and Abu Dhabi (\$2.2 billion)]. Callaghan indicates that this overhang problem must be solved if the British economy is to be held on a straight course and if its policies are to be given a chance to succeed. He hopes that a solution could be found to this problem, which would not require any significant

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Device 9/17/03 BY\_\_\_\_\_\_, NARA, DATE 3/9/04

SEGRET - XGDS

lending by the UK's partners over and above that being made available through the IMF and that the existence of a "contingent loan facility" linked to the sterling balances would suffice to exert a significant calming effect. Without such a solution the UK would be forced into action which would put at risk the UK's contribution "as an ally and a partner in the Western Alliance and its value as a member of the International Trading Community". He intends to do everything he can to fight against this, but it is not a problem the UK can "tackle by ourselves".

Callaghan would like to discuss these matters further with you in due course, and Denis Healey is thinking of talking to Bill Simon soon after Manila.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### Comments on Message

The two essential points of the Callaghan message are: one, that present UK policies and objectives are adequate to deal with the UK problem, thus implying that the IMF should set no new conditions on UK policy or performance. In fact, it is likely that the IMF will insist on greater restraint on public spending and slower growth in money supply. Callaghan doubtless fears that such measures would worsen Britain's unemployment level, which is at a 30-year high. Without such measures, however, Britain is likely to continue to have to borrow heavily. The difficult task will be to figure out a balance between measures necessary to achieve domestic stability and thus reduce Britain's dependence on external borrowing but which also avoids too sharp a cutback in public spending, too severe an increase in taxes, and too abrupt a drop in money creation, which would significantly worsen unemployment.

The second point is that the British are seeking a separate solution to the sterling overhang problem -- the roughly \$5.5 billion held abroad which Callaghan fears could be sold in a way which would create chaotic conditions in the currency market. For a number of years, this has been a problem for Britain. The obvious answer to the problem is success by Britain in stabilizing its domestic economy in order to increase confidence in those countries which hold sterling, coupled with enough potential borrowing power from the IMF to avoid minor disruptions in the currency market which would cause sterling holders to dump their currency. We will have to explore this issue further with the British to determine just what they have in mind.

Ed Yeo is going to the UK tonight, and should gain a clearer picture of what the British have in mind on both issues.

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The British are clearly at a critical stage in their economic decisionmaking. Their belt-tightening efforts of the last several months are perceived as inadequate by the international financial community -which is today less confident than in the recent past in the ability of the British government to hold down its wage and government spending policies. The settlement of the threatened seamen's strike last week was seen by a number of people as potentially inflationary; although the actual pay increase fell within the government's guidelines, fringe benefits included in the package will be very costly. In addition, the increase in the money supply for the three-month period ending in mid-August was at a rate of 16%, well above the target rate of 12%. Furthermore, roughly L900 were sold in the second quarter.

This data combined with no further progress in reducing the inflation contributed to the recent weakening of confidence in the British economic outlook. These overshadowed the recent successes of the British economy, such as lower than expected government borrowing requirement and some improvement in the trade balance. On top of these developments, pronouncements of the Labor Party conference regarding nationalization of banks and insurance companies, dissatisfaction with the government's restraint of the growth of public expenditures, and the strength of the left wing of the Labor Party in the election of the party executive, even though these have little influence on the policy of the UK government, would appear to have had an adverse influence on the foreign exchange markets.

Thus, while the drop in sterling has been in part due to a psychological reaction, or as Callaghan calls it "almost wholly speculative selling, bearing little relationship to an underlying economic position and prospect", it is also a result of the market's perception that the British economic performance still leaves something to be desired. The major question which will have to be addressed by Britain and the IMF is what actions Britain must take to make greater progress toward stability, and which of these actions Britain believes to be politically tolerable in light of its domestic unemployment situation and labor pressures. It is clearly undesirable for us to become involved in negotiations with the IMF. If, for instance, we press the IMF to be more lenient on the UK, the result may be insufficient progress in the UK toward equilibrium and thus a continued reliance on foreign borrowing. This would only postpone the inevitable crisis. On the other hand, we should be as helpful as possible to the British in encouraging them to find the most satisfactory ways of reducing their monetary supply and curbing government expenditure. If Callaghan and Healey desire it, this could mean strengthening their hand versus the Labor left by applying a combination of pressure and support.

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DECLASSIFIED State Review E.O. 1 NSC Marino, Marca, Date 10/12/12

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IF WE CAN GET A GUICK AND SYMPATHETIC RESPONSE FROM THE IMF, AND ON THE BASIS OF OUR PRESENT POLICIES AND ANNOUNCED ORJECTIVES, THE PRESSURE ON THE POUND SHOULD BE EASED AT LEAST IN THE SMORT-TERM, BUT MOWEVER SOUND OUR POLICIES, WE WILL CONTINUE TOMFACE SPECIAL AND SEPARATE RISKS ARISING FROM THE POSSIBPLITY OF SUBSTANTIAL WITHORAWAL OF STERLING BALANCES. HHILE THESE BALANCES OVERHANG THE MARKET. THERE IS ALWAYS THE ENEK THAT A SMALL FALL IN THE EXCHANGE RATE WILL BECOME MAGNIFIED INTO THE CHAOTIC CONDITIONS THAT WE SAW EARLIER THIS WEEK. WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM IF

\* \* \* \* \*WMSR COMMENT \* \*

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THAT WHAT WE SAW IN THE EXCHANGE MARKETS EARLIER THIS WEEK WAS ALMOBT MHOLLY SPECULATIVE SELLING, BEARING LITTLE RELATIONSHIP TO DUR UNDERLYING ECONOMIC POSITION AND PROSPECT. WE HAVE CUT OUR INFLATION RATE BY HALF IN THE LAST YEAR; WE HAVE TAKEN ACTION TO GET OUR GENERAL GOVERNMENT DEFICIT NEXT YEAR DOWN TO 3 PER CENTI WE MAVE ANNOUNCED A GUIDELINE FOR THE MONEY SUPPLY SIMILAR TO YOURS; AND LAST WEEK WE SOLD 1 BILLION POUNDS OF GOVERNMENT BONDS, ENOUGH TO KNOCK ONE AND A HALF PER CENT OFF THE MONEY SUPPLY. FURTHERMORE, WE HAVE OBTAINED THE AGREEMENT OF THE TRADE UNIONS TO A TIGHTER ROUND OF INCOMES POLICY AND WE ARE GETTING GOOD CO-OPERATION FROM INDUSTRY FOR OUR NEW INDUSTRIAL STRATEGY. BUT WE JUST COULD NOT AFFORD TO GO ON INTERVENING IN THE MARKET TO SUPPORT STERLING TO THE EXTENT THAT WE HAD BEEN DOING RECENTLY, EVEN THOUGH WE REALISE THAT A STABLE EXCHANGE RATE IS IN BOTH DUR INTERESTS AND THAT OF THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES GENEHALLY.

DEAR MS. PRESIDENT. I WANT TO THANK YOU FOR FINDING TIME TO TALK TO HE YESTERDAY IN WHAT I KNOW MUST BE A MECTIC PERIOD FOR YOU. I WAS MOST GRATEFUL FOR YOUR SYMPATHETIC RESPONSE TO OUR CURRENT DIFFICULTIES AND FOR YOUR AGREEMENT THAT OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE IMF SHOULD BE EXPEDITED.

I AM CONVINCED THAT DUR GENERAL STRATEGY IS A SOUND ONE AND

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TO MHITE HOUSE

HHCA/ CABBBI INREDIATE SP22102 SEP FROM CARINET OFFICE LONDON

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THE BRITISH ECONOMY IS TO BE HELD ON A STRAIGHT COURSE AND IF OUR POLICIES ARE TO BE GIVEN THE CHANCE TO SUCCEED. I HOULD HOPE THAT A SOLUTION COULD BE FOUND WHICH WOULD NOT REQUIRE ANY SIGNIFICANT LENDING BY OUR PARTNERS OVER AND ABOVE. THAT BEING MADE AVAILABLE THROUGH THE IMF AND THAT THE EXISTENCE OF A CONTINGENT LOAN FACILITY LINKED TO THE STERLING BALANCES WOULD ITSELF SUFFICE TO EXERT A SIGNIFICANT CALMING EFFECT. MY PRIVATE FEAR IS THAT WITHOUT SUCH A SOLUTION WE WOULD BE FORCED INTO ACTION WHICH WOULD PUT AT RISK THIS COUNTRYS CONTRIBUTION. AS AN ALLY AND A PARTNER IN THE WESTERN ALLIANCE AND ITS VALUE AS A MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADING COMMONITY. INTEND TO DO EVERYTHING I CAN TO FIGHT AGAINST THIS, BUT IT IS NOT A PROBLEM THAT WE CAN TACKLE BY OURSELVES.

I MAVE WRITTEN FRANKLY AND PERSONALLY BECAUSE I WANT YOU TO XNOW WHAT IS ON MY MIND, I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS THESE MATTERS FURTHER WITH YOU IN DUE COURSE AND I KNOW THAT DENIS HEALEY IS THINKING OF TALKING TO BILL SIMON SOON AFTER MANILA.

BEST WISHES YOURS SINCERELY CALLACHAN

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#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SECRET

ACTION October 1, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:	BRENT SCOWCROFT
FROM:	ROBERT HORMATS
SUBJECT:	Message from Prime Minister Callaghan

At Tab I is a memorandum from you to the President describing and analyzing Callaghan's message to the President at Tab A. You may wish to send the memorandum along to the President, or simply use it to brief him on the current problems faced by the UK.

### RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum for the President at Tab I.

Concur: Denis Clift

Discussed with Prisedent

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES \_, NARA, DATE 3/4/04

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MEMORANDUM

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

5767

#### SECRET/XGDS

ACTION October 15, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM:

A. Denis Clift Robert Hormats

SUBJECT:

Original of September 30 Message from Callaghan to President

On October 15, the British Embassy delivered the original of Prime Minister Callaghan's message of September 30 to the President expressing gratitude for the President's sympathetic response to the UK's current economic difficulties (Tab A). The President acted on this message when it was first received by wire. We see no need for any further action. If you agree, we recommend that the original of the Prime Minister's message be forwarded to Central Files.

#### RECOMMENDATION

That you have the message at Tab A forwarded to Central Files, with no further action required.

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5 NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES BY\_\_\_\_\_\_, NARA, DATE \_3/9/04

SEGRET/XGDS

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 12958 SEC. 3.6 MR04-104 5: Att 81810L





# **10 DOWNING STREET**

THE PRIME MINISTER

30 September 1976

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Des The Freshent

I want to thank you for finding time to talk to me yesterday in what I know must be a hectic period for you. I was most grateful for your sympathetic response to our current difficulties and for your agreement that our discussions with the IMF should be expedited.

I am convinced that our general strategy is a sound one and that what we saw in the exchange markets earlier this week was almost wholly speculative selling, bearing little relationship to our underlying economic position and prospect. We have cut our inflation rate by half in the last year; we have taken action to get our general government deficit next year down to 3 per cent; we have announced a guideline for the money supply similar to yours; and last week we sold £1 billion government bonds, enough to knock  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent off the money supply. Furthermore, we have obtained the agreement of the trade unions to a tighter round of incomes policy and we are getting good cooperation from industry for our new industrial strategy. But we just could not afford to go on intervening in the market to support sterling to the extent that we had been doing recently, even though we realise that a stable exchange rate is in both our interests and that of the Western democracies generally.

If we can get a quick and sympathetic response from the IMF, and on the basis of our present policies and announced objectives, the pressure on the pound should be eased at least in the short-term. But however sound our policies, we will continue to face special and separate risks arising from the possibility of substantial withdrawal of sterling balances. While these balances overhang

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/the market

We are going to have to find a solution to this problem if the British economy is to be held on a straight course and if our policies are to be given the chance to succeed. I would hope that a solution could be found which would not require any significant lending by our partners over and above that being made available through the IMF and that the existence of a contingent loan facility linked to the sterling balances would itself suffice to exert a significant calming effect.

My private fear is that without such a solution we would be forced into action which would put at risk this country's contribution as an ally and a partner in the western alliance and its value as a member of the International Trading Community. I intend to do everything I can to fight against this, but it is not a problem that we can tackle by ourselves.

I have written frankly and personally because I want you to know what is on my mind. I would like to discuss these matters further with you in due course and I know that Denis Healey is thinking of talking to Bill Simon soon after Manila.

Best wishes,

Jus sheef This Cliff

The President of the United States of America.

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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

#### 10/21

Loretta:

Scowcroft approved the recom on this memo that original be sent to Central Files since Pres already acted on msg when it was received by wire, however since it is classified it should go to Ed not Central Files, even I if it was not i classified it should still go to him, they do not know our system.

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## **10 DOWNING STREET**

THE PRIME MINISTER

12 November 1976

Des Abraident

I was most grateful to you for agreeing that Harold Lever should come over to Washington at such short notice, and in particular for your willingness to see him yourself.

Harold comes very much as my personal emissary. He will not, of course, be expecting specific decisions during the course of his visit and we shall endeavour to play down the visit with the Press. Nevertheless the British Government is going to face critical decisions in the next ten days: and if we were forced to go in a certain direction it would be bad both for us and for the Alliance. I want you therefore to know what is in my mind and also the kind of help that would be most valuable.

At Puerto Rico I told you that we were determined to take firm action to get our economy back on course even if it meant delaying or sacrificing some of our political goals. We took this action in July when we chopped no less than £2 billion off the prospective Government deficit next year by cutting programmes and raising taxation. This was in addition to the £3 billion cuts made earlier in the year. In political terms this was difficult to do, particularly at a time of high unemployment: but nevertheless we did it, and hoped we were through the worst.

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E.O. 12908 SEC. 3.8 ne as MR 04-104 # 1 State Letter 8/8/06 HR HARA DATE 1/17/07

/ Since then

Since then, two things have gone against us. Firstly, the pace of world recovery has been less than we all expected and has thus helped us less: and due largely to the recession and the movement of interest rates, the Government deficit next year is now forecast to increase. Thus despite the July cuts we find ourselves running hard to stay in the same place. Secondly, we are living under the continual shadow of withdrawal of the sterling balances. As a result of these two factors we have had to apply to the I.M.F. in order to repay what we have drawn from the \$5.3 billion stand-by and to finance the deficit we expect next year.

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- 2 -

The I.M.F. team are currently with us and we are discussing the situation very frankly with them. It may be - although we have not conceded this yet - that we shall have to take some further action to reduce the Government deficit. I am however quite clear about one thing: the orthodox approach of the bankers and monetarists to solve the problem through massive deflation would be catastrophic, not just for this Government but in a wider sense. If we were to undertake further significant deflation, the economy would be on an unacceptable downward ratchet, with revenues down, unemployment up, and production hardly moving. We should be pressed to look at a strategy of long-term protection with all that that would imply. But I think that it could also strain the social cohesion of our people to a very dangerous extent. We have often talked privately about the problems of the Southern Flank: and I do not think you would want to see us either 🌮 irresolute as an ally or turning to political extremes of either Left or Right.

In fact, our prospects are good provided we can get through to 1980 when we shall reap the benefits, both of North Sea oil and our industrial strategy. Furthermore, I am determined to see this through. Our recent Parliamentary difficulties have been exaggerated out of all proportion in the Press. But if we are to pursue our present path steadfastly, we need a new factor in the

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situation, and we shall need help from the major contributors to the I.M.F. to ensure that the latter do not try to push us too far.

Even so I will have a big political problem in carrying with my Cabinet and my Party the decisions we shall have to take in the next week or so unless I can feel assured that the action we take will not thereafter be undermined by having pressure arising from the overhang of the sterling balances. Harold Lever can explain our ideas to you, both as regards method and timing.

You have been a good friend to us, and I know that you remain so. What I am asking is that you and Henry will take a close interest in the discussions of our economic problems over the next few weeks, to ensure that the orthodoxy of the monetarists is tempered by wider political considerations that can have an effect not only on Britain's domestic scene but have repercussions in the broader world scene.

With wann repards Jun V. Sincere J Juni Cally han

The President of the United States of America.



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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

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THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

December 11, 1976

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Mr. President:

The British are arriving today to negotiate with Treasury on the sterling balance and the Germans are currently planning to come here next Tuesday.

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

BRENT SCOWCROFT

### December 11, 1976

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TOP SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

The following cable has been received from Prime Minister Callaghan:

"Dear Mr. President:

"Since writing to you yesterday, I have learned of the arrangements being made to discuss a safety net or similar facility both at Basel on Sunday/Monday and in Washington on Monday/Tuesday. I have had an opportunity this evening to discuss the matter with Henry Kissinger and it is with his encouragement that I want to put to you a critical point on timing.

"A lot of work is being put into these consultations and I am grateful for the efforts being made. I am, however, troubled because the consultations yesterday between Ed Yeo and Derek Mitchell indicate that the approach being considered in Washington may differ from that on which a great deal of work has been done by the B.I.S. in Basel. The reconciliation of two different approaches could not be achieved without damaging delay.

"Our timetable for securing Parliamentary backing for the measures which we have agreed, must be secured before the House rises for Christmas. This requires that the Cabinet gives approval on Tuesday to the statement which Denis Healey will make in the House on Wednesday, 15 December. It may well be that the best solution to the problem of the sterling balances has yet to be evolved; and different approaches to the problem could perhaps be combined in due course to achieve a good solution. But I cannot overstate how damaging it would be to our statement on Wednesday if we cannot then include a positive announcement that the United States Government together with the other governments concerned in the B.I.S. have reached agreement in principle on an arrangement for dealing with the problem of the sterling balances, broadly on the lines of the note which Denis Healey has already given to Bill Simon.

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I hope you will feel able to ensure that the necessary consultations take place urgently to this end. Our representatives will of course be available in Washington as requested late on Saturday for this purpose. It will be helpful if you can use your influence to ensure that we have a response from you in time for me to inform the Cabinet on Tuesday, for this arrangement is an essential part of the package.

"I am reluctant to trouble you like this, but you have been so helpful that I venture to ask you now to see that this issue, which matters so much to us, is brought to a stage where I can make a positive statement to the Cabinet on Tuesday and to the country on Wednesday.

"Warm regards,

"With best wishes,

"Jim Callaghan."



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## NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION Presidential Libraries Withdrawal Sheet

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WITHDRAWAL ID 017606

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL	National s	ecurity restriction
TYPE OF MATERIAL	Memorandum	
CREATOR'S NAME		
DESCRIPTION		Prime Minister Callaghan to t Ford re British financial
CREATION DATE	. 12/09/1976	
VOLUME	1 page	
BOX NUMBER	NATIONAL S CORRESPO	ECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL NDENCE WITH FOREIGN LEADERS gdom - Prime Minister James n
DATE WITHDRAWN		

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MEMORANDUM

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SECRET

December 16, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

BRENT SCOWCROFT

FROM:

SUBJECT:

Message from Prime Minister Callaghan

The following message has been received from Prime Minister Callaghan:

"Dear Jerry,

"I am most grateful to you for ensuring that we were able to include, in Denis Healey's statement yesterday, an agreed form of words on our arrangements for dealing with the sterling balances. I was also very pleased to learn of the offer of the swap facility which Arthur Burns and Bill Simon arranged. This, together with the Bondesbank's offer of a standby arrangement will help to reinforce the confidence effect of the package.

"Bill Simon's statement to the press yesterday afternoon welcoming our programme has received a lot of publicity over here and should also help us.

"My strong preference is still that we should go ahead with the B.I.S. scheme for a contingent safety net facility. This could be a forerunner to a longer-term funding scheme, if that proves to be workable; but such a scheme would take too long to negotiate to be a practical possibility for the immediate solution which is needed. We remain at risk until we have a good arrangement and I hope still that this can be achieved quickly.



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"Finally, let me say once again how grateful I am for your continuing support during the last few weeks and indeed throughout my whole period as Prime Minister.

"With warm regards,

"Yours sincerely,

"Jim Callaghan."



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