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978-1-107-09458-1 - Richard Nixon and Europe: The Reshaping of the Postwar Atlantic World

Luke A. Nichter

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Richard Nixon and Europe

The Reshaping of the Postwar Atlantic World

The U.S.–European relationship remains the closest and most important alliance in the world. Since 1945, successive American presidents each put their own touches on transatlantic relations, but the literature has reached only into the presidency of Lyndon Johnson (1963–69). This first study of transatlantic relations during the era of Richard Nixon shows a complex, turbulent period during which the postwar period came to an end and the modern era came to be on both sides of the Atlantic in terms of political, economic, and military relations.

Luke A. Nichter is an associate professor of History at Texas A&M University – Central Texas and a noted expert on the Nixon tapes. Nichter's books include *New York Times* best-seller *The Nixon Tapes: 1971–1972* (co-authored with Douglas Brinkley) and book-length biographies of Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard Nixon, and George W. Bush for the *First Men, America's Presidents* series. Nichter is a former founding executive producer of C-SPAN's *American History TV*, and his work is periodically reported on by the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and the Associated Press. His website, www.nixontapes.org, offers free access to all 3,000 hours of publicly released Nixon tapes as a public service.

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To Jennifer and our baby, Ava Anne

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Acknowledgments

The inspiration for this work is Thomas A. Schwartz's *Lyndon Johnson and Europe*. After reading it, I emailed Schwartz to say that while I came away convinced there are compelling reasons to pay attention to LBJ's European policy in the midst of traditionally more important initiatives such as Vietnam and the Great Society, wouldn't that argument be even more applicable to the Nixon years? He replied that there certainly would be merit for such a study, and he has been an extremely valuable sounding board and source of wisdom ever since.

It was this work that began an unexpected journey with the Nixon tapes that has continued to this day. A decade ago, I discovered that no tapes related to U.S.–European relations had been transcribed or published, so it was essential that I include them. It was a difficult experience obtaining accurate copies of the tapes and the essential ancillaries like the tape logs, time codes, and finding aids, none of which was easy to find. The only way to do such thorough research on the tapes was to visit the National Archives in person in College Park, Maryland. After the time and expense of that experience(s), I made a promise to myself to do something about it when I had the chance. There had to be an easier way.

Starting <http://nixontapes.org> in 2007 in order to make the complete digitized tapes freely available to anyone in the world was an important step in that direction. More recently, publishing volumes of Nixon tape transcripts with Doug Brinkley has been a way to keep this public service going for many more years. It was a real joy to work with Doug on two volumes of edited Nixon tape transcripts – the first covering 1971–72, and the second on 1973. Doug needed no convincing when it came to the importance of getting these valuable primary sources into the hands of

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scholars and the public. Without them, a complete discussion of Richard Nixon's presidency is not possible.

I would like to thank those who have read, commented on, or assisted in some way with various portions of the manuscript. Doug Forsyth offered valuable feedback throughout, even when I did not know I needed it. Others who lent me their ears and their time include Doug Brinkley, Irv Gellman, John Gillingham, Gary Hess, Michael McGandy, Rick Moss, Ted Rippey, and Marc Trachtenberg. I must also thank the Nixon-era figures with whom it has been a pleasure to interact in some way during the preparation of this manuscript. They each helped me to gain a better understanding, from their perspectives, of the actions and decisions taken and that are described in this manuscript: Dick Allen, Pat Buchanan, Chuck Colson, Frank Gannon, Steve Hess, Henry Kissinger, Sven Kraemer, Fred Malek, Liz Moynihan, Ray Price, Donald Rumsfeld, Bill Safire, Geoff Shepard, Hal and Marjorie Sonnenfeldt, and Ron Walker.

Thanks are also due to the many helpful archivists who have assisted me along the way. A number of them have moved on from these positions, but it was in these roles that they helped me on this manuscript: Joceline Collonval of the European Commission; Anne-Marie Smith, Johannes Geurts, and staff at NATO; Bruno Galland and staff at the Archives Nationales in Paris; Benjamin Palermi and staff at the Council of Europe; Knud Piening and staff of the Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes in Berlin; Agnès Brouet and staff at the Archives of the European Union in Florence; Bruno Derrick, Adrian Jobson, and staff at the British National Archives; Karen Jania and staff of the Bentley Historical Library in Ann Arbor; John Earl Haynes and staff of the Library of Congress Manuscript Division; numerous archivists at the Richard Nixon Presidential Materials Project (later the Richard Nixon Presidential Library), including Greg Cumming, Jennifer Evans, Jon Fletcher, Sahr Conway Lanz, Cary McStay, David R. Sabo, John Powers, Sam Rushay, Allen Rice, and Steve Greene; Stephen Plotkin and staff at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library; Regina Greenwell, Laura Eggert, Charlaïne McCauley, and staff at the Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library; Geir Gunderson, Donna Lehman, William McNitt, and staff at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library; and Brett Stolle of the Research Division of the National Museum of the U.S. Air Force in Dayton. They are all dedicated professionals, and without their extensive assistance this project would have never got off the ground. The accumulated months I have spent in reading rooms have taught me

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that befriending archivists may be the single most important act of diplomacy involved in any successful research project.

Finally, I would like to express my appreciation to Lew Bateman and Shaun Vigil at Cambridge University Press. Lew is the best in the business, and it was a pleasure to work with him and his team. In addition, three anonymous readers each offered valuable suggestions that helped to strengthen the manuscript. Many of their good ideas can be found on these pages, whereas all omissions or oversights are mine alone.

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Abbreviations

AAPD	Akten zur Auswärtigen Politik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland
ABM	Antiballistic missile
AFB	Papers of Arthur F. Burns
AN	Archives Nationales
backchannel	A method to communicate with a foreign power that bypasses the bureaucracy of a nation
BMS	Papers of Bromley M. Smith
Bundesbank	FRG Central Bank
CAB	Cabinet Room Files
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CCMS	Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society
CDU	Christian Democratic Union (West German political party)
CFPF	Central Foreign Policy File
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIEP	Council on International Economic Policy
COE	Council of Europe Archives
COMECON	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
DI	Directorate of Intelligence
DNSA	Digital National Security Archive
EC	European Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EG	Papers of Emanuele Gazzo
EOB	Executive Office Building
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office

FRELOC	Relocation of NATO forces from French territory following French withdrawal from NATO's integrated command structure
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)
FRUS	<i>Foreign Relations of the United States</i>
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GRF	Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library
HAEU	Historical Archives of the European Union
Herter Committee	Committee led by Christian Herter whose recommendations led to the Marshall Plan
HIA	Hoover Institution Archives
ICBM	Intercontinental ballistic missile
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMSWM	International Military Staff, Working Memorandum
JCS	Joint Chiefs of Staff
JFK	John F. Kennedy Presidential Library
LBJ	Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library
LOC	Library of Congress
MBFR	Mutual and balanced force reductions
MC	Military Committee
Memcons	Memoranda of Conversation
MRL	Papers of Melvin R. Laird
NAC	North Atlantic Council
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NIE	National Intelligence Estimate
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
NSA	National Security Adviser
NSC	National Security Council
NSDM	National Security Decision Memorandum
NSF	National Security File
NSSM	National Security Study Memorandum
NTBT	Nuclear Test Ban Treaty
OSD	Office of the Secretary of Defense
OVAL	Oval Office
PAAA	Politische Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts
PREM	Prime Minister's Office Files
PRO	Public Record Office (British National Archives)
Quadriad	Richard Nixon's economic "kitchen cabinet"

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Quadrupartite Agreement	aka the Berlin Agreement, aka the Four Power Agreement, an agreement among the United States, United Kingdom, France, and the USSR designed to reduce tensions over Berlin
RG	Record Group
RMN	Richard M. Nixon Presidential Library
SACEUR	Supreme Allied Commander, Europe
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
SMOF	Staff Member and Office Files
SNIE	Special National Intelligence Estimate
Special Drawing Rights	IMF international reserve asset designed to improve liquidity
SRG	Senior Review Group
Telcon	Telephone Conversation
UN	United Nations
VR	Verbatim Record
Watergate	An umbrella term for a series of scandals that resulted in the resignation of Richard Nixon on August 9, 1974; the location of a break-in at the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee on June 17, 1972
WHCF	White House Central Files
WHT	White House Telephone
ZA	Zwischenarchiv (at PAAA)

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Key figures

Acheson, Dean	Former Secretary of State
Agnew, Spiro	Vice President of the United States
Andersen, Knud	Danish Foreign Minister
Annenberg, Walter	U.S. Ambassador to the United Kingdom
Bahr, Egon	State Secretary, FRG Chancellor's Office
Barber, Anthony	British Chancellor of the Exchequer
Barzel, Rainer	FRG CDU Chairman
Bergsten, Fred	National Security Council Staff
Brandt, Willy	FRG Foreign Minister; Chancellor
Brezhnev, Leonid	USSR Communist Party General Secretary
Brosio, Manlio	Secretary General of NATO
Bundy, McGeorge	Former Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Burns, Arthur	Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board
Callaghan, James	British Foreign Secretary
Carrington, Peter	British Defense Minister
Chaban-Delmas, Jacques	French Prime Minister
Cleveland, Harlan	U.S. Permanent Representative to NATO
Clifford, Clark	Secretary of Defense
Colson, Charles	Special Counsel to the President
Connally, John	Secretary of the Treasury
Coombs, Charles	Federal Reserve Board official
Couve de Murville, Maurice	French Prime Minister
Cromer, Earl of	British Ambassador to the U.S.
Daane, J. Dewey	Federal Reserve Board official
Davis, Jeanne	Executive Secretary, NSC
Debré, Michel	French Defense Minister
De Gaulle, Charles	French President

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Dobrynin, Anatoly	USSR Ambassador to the U.S.
Douglas-Home, Alec	British Foreign Secretary
Ehrlichman, John	Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs
Eliot, Theodore	Executive Secretary, State Department
Ellsworth, Robert	U.S. Permanent Representative to NATO
Emminger, Otmar	Deputy Director, Bundesbank
Erhard, Ludwig	Former FRG Chancellor
Finch, Robert	Counselor to the President
Flanigan, Peter	Assistant to the President
Foster, John	Director, Office of Defense Research and Engineering, Defense Department
Ford, Gerald	President of the United States
Fourquet, Michel	Chief of Staff, French Armed Forces
Friedman, Milton	Economist; informal presidential advisor
Giscard d'Estaing, Valéry	French Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs
Goodpaster, Andrew	Supreme Allied Commander, Europe
Gromyko, Andrei	Soviet Foreign Minister
Haig, Alexander	Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Haldeman, H. R. "Bob"	Assistant to the President
Harmel, Pierre	Belgian Foreign Minister
Heath, Edward	British Prime Minister
Helms, Richard	Director of Central Intelligence
Hillenbrand, Martin	Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs
Humphrey, Hubert	Former Vice President of the United States; U.S. Senator (D-Minnesota)
Irwin, John	Deputy Secretary of State
Jackson, Henry "Scoop"	U.S. Senator (D-Washington)
Javits, Jacob	U.S. Senator (R-New York)
Jenkins, Roy	Chancellor of the Exchequer
Jobert, Michel	French Foreign Minister
Johnson, Lyndon	Former President of the United States
Johnson, U. Alexis	Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs
Katzenbach, Nicholas	Former Attorney General
Kennedy, David	Secretary of the Treasury
Kennedy, John F.	Former President of the United States
Kiesinger, Kurt	FRG Chancellor
Kissinger, Henry	Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

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Kosciusko-Morizet, Jacques	French Ambassador to the U.S.
Kosygin, Alexei	Chairman, Soviet Council of Ministers
Laird, Melvin	Defense Secretary
Lemnitzer, Lyman	Former Supreme Allied Commander, NATO
Lodge, Jr., Henry Cabot	Former U.S. Ambassador; former Vice Presidential nominee
Lucet, Charles	French Ambassador to the U.S.
Luns, Joseph	Secretary General of NATO
Malraux, André	French Minister of Cultural Affairs
Mansfield, Michael	U.S. Senator (D-Montana)
McCloy, John	Former U.S. High Commissioner for Germany; informal presidential advisor
McCracken, Paul	Chairman, Council of Economic Advisors
McGovern, George	U.S. Senator (D-South Dakota)
Mitchell, John	Attorney General
Moynihan, Daniel P.	Counselor to the President
Nixon, Richard M.	President of the United States
Nutter, Warren G.	Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs
Packard, David	Deputy Secretary of Defense
Pauls, Rolf	FRG Ambassador to the U.S.
Peterson, Peter	Executive Director of the Council for International Economic Policy
Pohér, Alain	Interim French President
Pompidou, Georges	French President
Richardson, Elliot	Undersecretary of State; U.S. Ambassador to the United Kingdom
Rogers, William P.	Secretary of State
Rostow, Walt	Former Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Rumsfeld, Donald	U.S. Permanent Representative to NATO
Rush, Kenneth	U.S. Ambassador to the FRG; Deputy Secretary of Defense
Samuels, Nathaniel	Deputy Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs
Sato, Eisaku	Japanese Prime Minister
Scheel, Walter	FRG Foreign Minister
Schiller, Karl	FRG Minister of Economic Affairs; FRG Minister of Finance
Schmidt, Helmut	FRG Defense Minister; FRG Chancellor
Schroeder, Gerhard	FRG Defense Minister

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Key figures

Schumann, Maurice	French Foreign Minister
Schweitzer, Pierre-Paul	Managing Director, International Monetary Fund
Scowcroft, Brent	Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Shriver, Sargent	U.S. Ambassador to France
Shultz, George	Director, Office of Management and Budget; Secretary of the Treasury
Smith, Gerard	Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
Sonnenfeldt, Helmut	National Security Council Staff
Stans, Maurice	Secretary of Commerce
Stein, Herbert	Chairman, Council of Economic Advisors
Strausz-Hupe, Robert	U.S. Ambassador to Belgium; U.S. Permanent Representative to the European Community
Trend, Burke	British Cabinet Secretary
Vance, Cyrus	Former Deputy Secretary of Defense
Volcker, Paul	Undersecretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs
Walters, Vernon	Military Attaché at the U.S. Embassy in Paris
Warnke, Paul	Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs
Watson, Arthur	U.S. Ambassador to France
Weinberger, Caspar	Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget
Wilson, Harold	British Prime Minister
Ziegler, Ronald	White House Press Secretary
Zijlstra, Jelle	Dutch Central Banker