Notes

Introduction


5. Ian McChirney to Peter Moon, 25 September 1970, PREM 15/714, TNA.

6. See, for example, letter from the British Ambassador, John Freeman to Robert Armstrong, 8 October 1970, PREM 15/714, TNA.


8. Record of meeting: Heath, Nixon et al., 3 October 1970, PREM 15/714, TNA.


10. Letter: Kissinger to Heath, 10 October 1970, PREM 15/714, TNA.


23. Ibid.
29. Ibid., p. 934.
32. Campbell, Edward Heath, p. 274.
34. Ibid., p. 192.
35. Heath, Course of My Life, photo commentary.
37. Kissinger, Years of Upheaval, p. 141.
38. Kissinger, Years of Renewal, p. 603.
40. Kissinger, Years of Upheaval, p. 141.
43. Zeigler, Edward Heath, pp. 374–84; Horne, Kissinger’s Year, p. 111.
45. Kissinger, White House Years, p. 937.
46. Kissinger, Years of Renewal, p. 603.
Notes 207


1 Joining Europe

1. The term European Community actually refers to three separate communities: the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC); the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom); and, the European Economic Community (EEC). While remaining legally separate entities, their institutions were merged in 1967; since then it has become common to speak of the European Community (EC) in the singular.
5. Ibid., p. 937.
6. Ibid., p. 964.
9. Ibid., p. 341.
14. Ibid., p. 49.
23. Young, *This Blessed Plot*, p. 216.
36. For a recent exposition of this argument, see T Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (New York, 2005), p. 299; Lundestad, *The United States and Western Europe since 1945*, p. 11.
43. Ludlow, *Dealing with Britain*, p. 74.
55. Ibid., pp. 74–5.
60. Draft paper on ‘Anglo-US Relations’ prepared by embassy and planning staff in Washington, 17 January 1969, FCO 32/376, TNA.
62. Telegram: Soames to Home, 9 June 1971, PREM 15/372, TNA.
64. See, for example, Roy Hattersley speech to Parliament, 28 October 1971, Hansard.
66. Young, *This Blessed Plot*, p. 223.
73. Young, ‘The Heath Government and British Entry into the European Community’, p. 278.
74. D Hannay (ed.), Forward to *Britain’s Entry into the European Community*, p. 355.
76. Hannay, Forward to *Britain’s Entry into the European Community*, p. xi.
81. Record of meeting: Heath and Pompidou, 20 May 1971, PREM 15/372, TNA.
82. Home, 14 October 1971, Conservative Party Conference, NPMP, NA.
84. FCO Study: Johny to Moon, 8 March 1971, PREM 15/368, TNA.
86. Minute: W Nield to Armstrong, 13 May 1971, PREM 15/372, TNA.
90. Ibid.
93. Record of Cabinet meeting, 30 September 1970, PREM 15/714, TNA.
94. Memo: Kissinger to Nixon, 15 December 1970, VIP visits, Box 942, NSC, NPMP, NA.
96. FCO Brief on NATO and Burden Sharing, 2 October 1970, PREM 15/714, TNA.
98. Heath, ‘Realism in British Foreign Policy’, p. 46.
99. Record of meeting: Heath and Pompidou, 20 May 1971, PREM 15/372, TNA.
100. Heath, 28 October 1971, Hansard.
102. *The Economist*, 6 November 1971, HAK Office Files, Rodman, Box 15, NPMP, NA.
104. Home, 14 October 1971, Conservative Party Conference, HAK Office Files, Rodman, Box 15, NPMP, NA.
105. Record of meeting: Heath and Pompidou, 20 May 1971, PREM 15/372, TNA.
106. FCO Planning Staff Paper, 8 March 1971, PREM 15/368, TNA.
107. FCO Report on ‘Future Relations with the United States’, 5 November 1971, PREM 15/714, TNA.
110. Speech by Heath, Wilton Park, Sussex, 21 June 1971, in *Current British Foreign Policy, 1971*.
111. Record of meeting: Heath and Pompidou, 20–21 May 1971, PREM 15/372, TNA.
112. Ibid.
113. FCO Study: Johny to Moon, 8 March 1971, PREM 15/62, TNA.
117. Letter: Soames to Greenhill, 21 April 1971, PREM 15/62, TNA.
121. Dumbrell, A Special Relationship, p. 182.
126. Rossbach, Heath, Nixon and the Rebirth of the Special Relationship, pp. 87–90.
128. Home to Cromer, 5 November 1971, PREM 15/712, TNA.
129. FCO steering brief, 1 October 1970, PREM 15/714, TNA.
130. Minute: Overton, 21 July 1971, FCO 82/61, TNA.
131. FCO to Moon, 5 November 1971, PREM 15/712, TNA.
132. Telcon: Kissinger and Nixon, 9 August 1973, HAK Telcons, Box 21, NPMP, NA.
134. Freeman to Michael Stewart, 26 June 1969, FCO 7/1427, TNA.
135. Freeman to Stewart, 26 June 1969, FCO 7/1427, TNA.
137. Memos for the President beginning December 1971, POE, Box 87, NSC, NPMP, NA.
141. State Department Study Paper, undated (c. December 1969), NSSM 79, UK Accession to the EC, NPMP, NA.
143. Kissinger, Years of Upheaval, pp. 143–8; White House Years, pp. 81, 389, 409.
144. State Department Study Paper, undated (c. December 1969), NSSM 79, UK Accession to the EC, NPMP, NA.
145. Record of meeting: Heath, Nixon, et al., Bermuda, 20 December 1971, WHSE, POF, Memo for the President, Beginning December 1971, Box 87, NPMP, NA.
146. ‘Enlargement of the EC: Implications for the US and Policy Options’, Box H-164, NSSM 79, NA.
147. See, for example, record of meeting, Heath, Nixon, et al., Bermuda, 20 December 1971, WHSE, POF, Memo for the President, Beginning December 1971, Box 87, NPMP, NA.
148. Letter: Nixon to Heath, 6 July 1973, NSC Subject Files, Box 322, NPMP, NA.
150. Nixon’s ‘Second Annual Report to Congress on United States Foreign Policy’, 25 February 1971, PPPUS.
151. Letter: Cromer to Tickell 21 Oct 1971, PREM 15/361, TNA.
152. Lundestad, ‘Empire’ By Invitation, p. 91.
159. Memo: Bergsten to Kissinger, 8 October 1970, H-217, NPMP, NA.
160. Ibid.
161. Record of conversation: Rippon, Peterson, et al., 8 March 1971, PREM 15/62, TNA.
162. Ibid.
164. Record of conversation: Rippon, Peterson, et al., 8 March 1971, PREM 15/62, TNA.
169. Memo: Kissinger to Under-Secretary of State, 7 November 1969, NSSM 79, NPMP, NA.
170. Telcon: Kissinger and Nixon, 12 October 1971, HAK Telcons, NPMP, NA.


176. Heath, 16 October 1971, Conservative Party Conference, HAK Office Files, Rodman, Box 15, NPMP, NA.

2 The Nixon Shocks: The Opening to China and New Economic Policy

1. Nixon’s announcement on television of his planned visit to Peking, 15 July 1971, *PPPUS*.

2. Memo: Kissinger to Nixon, 17 July 1971, NSC Presidential Trip Files, Reaction to China, Box 499, NPMP, NA.


7. FCO Steering Brief, 25 November 1971, PREM 15/712, TNA.


11. Cromer to FCO, 26 July 1971, FCO 21/826, TNA.


14. Memo: Kissinger to Nixon, 16 July 1971, NSC Presidential Trip Files, Reaction to China, Box 499, NPMP, NA.

15. Memo: Kissinger to Nixon, 17 July 1971, NSC Presidential Trip Files, Reaction to China, Box 499, NPMP, NA; Saturday Report, President’s Acceptance of Invitation to Peking, NSC Presidential Trip Files, Reaction to China, Box 499, NPMP, NA.


17. Memo: Kissinger to Nixon, ‘World-Wide Reaction to Your China Initiative’, undated, NSC Presidential Trip Files, Reaction to China, Box 499, NPMP, NA.


20. Draft minute: Heath to Home, 6 November 1971, PREM 15/712, TNA.

21. This argument is based on a chapter I wrote for my MPhil thesis, ‘Heath, Nixon and the Anglo-American Relationship’ (Cambridge, 2003); since
then, the same point has been made by Keith Hamilton in his article, ‘A “Week that Changed the World”: Britain and Nixon’s China Visit of 21–28 February 1972’, in *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 15, 1 (2004), which is based on the same TNA material that I used.

23. FCO steering brief, 25 November 1971, PREM 15/712, TNA.
28. Ibid., p. 374.
32. Airgram: Stoessel to Rogers, 24 January and 21 February 1970, NSC Files for the President, China Materials, Box 1031, NPMP, NA.
34. Message from Zhou Enlai to Hilaly, 21 April 1971, delivered to Kissinger on 27 April 1971, NSC Files for the President, China Materials, Box 1031, NPMP, NA.
36. Reeves, *President Nixon*, p. 344.
37. Message from Kissinger to Haig, 11 July 1971, NSC Files for the President, China Materials, Box 1031, NPMP, NA.
40. Reeves, *President Nixon*, p. 344.
41. Message from Kissinger to Haig, 11 July 1971, NSC Files for the President, China Materials, Box 1031, NPMP, NA.
46. Message from Kissinger to Haig, 11 July 1971, NSC Files for the President, China Materials, Box 1031, NPMP, NA.
49. Ibid., p. 189.
56. Message from Zhou Enlai to Hilaly, 21 April 1971, delivered to Kissinger on 27 April 1971, NSC Files for the President, China Materials, Box 1031, NPMP, NA.
58. See, for example, Message to PRC, 15 June 1970; Message from Nixon to Zhou, via Hilaly, 10 May 1971; Message from Nixon to Zhou, given to Hilaly on 4 June 1971, NSC Files for the President, China Materials, Box 1031, NPMP, NA.
69. Ibid., 30 March 1971, p. 263.
71. Haldelman, *Haldeman Diaries*.
72. Telegram: Annenberg to Rogers, NSC Presidential Trip Files, Reaction to China, Box 499, NPMP, NA.
73. Telegram: Annenberg to Rogers, 8 December 1971, WHSF-WHCF, Subject Files, Oversize Attachments, Box 9, NPMP, NA.
74. Draft minute: Heath to Home, 6 November 1971, PREM 15/712, TNA.
75. Home to Cromer, 12 November 1971, PREM 15/712, TNA.
76. Minute: Tomlinson, 2 March 1972, FCO 21/983, TNA.
79. McClauney to Moon, 2 December 1970, PREM 15/196, TNA.
80. Home to Rodgers, 20 November 1970, PREM 15/196, TNA.
82. Tomlinson to Wilford, 14 May 1971, FCO 21/824, TNA.
83. McClauney to Moon, 2 December 1970, PREM 15/196, TNA.
84. Ibid.
86. Home to Rodgers, 20 November 1970, PREM 15/196, TNA.
88. Minute: Morgan to Tomlinson, 21 July 1971, FCO 82/71, TNA.
89. 24 April 1971, PREM 15/1148, TNA; PZ 391.
90. Minute: Morgan to Wilford, Tomlinson and Logan, 6 April 1971, FCO 21/987, TNA.
91. FCO steering brief, 27 May 1971, FCO 82/60, TNA.
92. Cromer to FCO, 28 April 1971, FCO 21/824, TNA.
93. Wilford to Millard, 4 May 1971, FCO 21/824, TNA.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. FCO steering brief, 27 May 1971, FCO 82/60, TNA.
97. Ibid.
98. Rogers to Home, 17 June 1971, CAB 133/408, TNA.
99. Home to Rogers, 17 June 1971, CAB 133/408, TNA.
100. Note of meeting between Burke Trend and Kissinger, 24 June 1971, CAB 133/408, TNA.
102. Telegram: Denson, 10 July 1971, FCO 82/71, TNA.
103. Graham to Moon, 16 July 1971, FCO 21/826, TNA.
104. Minute: D Logen, undated, FCO 82/71, TNA.
105. Morgan to Tomlinson, 19 July 1971, FCO 21/826, TNA.
106. Home to Cromer, 20 July 1971, FCO 21/826, TNA.
107. Cromer to FCO, 23 July 1971, FCO 21/826, TNA.
108. Ibid.
111. Draft minute: Heath to Home, 6 November 1971, PREM 15/712, TNA.
112. Ibid.
113. Home to Cromer, 12 November 1971, PREM 15/712, TNA.
115. Graham to Moon, 16 July 1971, FCO 21/826, TNA.
116. Cromer to FCO, 26 July 1971, FCO 21/826, TNA.
117. FCO steering brief, 25 November 1971, PREM 15/712, TNA.
118. Minute: Greenhill, 15 September 1971, FCO 82/61, TNA.
120. Tebbit to Wilford, 22 February 1971, FCO 21/983, TNA.
121. Wilford to Tebbit, 1 March 1971, FCO 21/983, TNA.
Notes

123. Saturday Report, President’s acceptance of invitation to Peking, NSC Presidential Trip Files, Reaction to China, Box 499, NPMP, NA.
134. Quoted in Hynes, *The Year that Never Was*, p. 29.
137. Ibid., p. 343.
142. Ibid.
146. Ibid.
150. Ibid., 14 August 1971, p. 345.
151. Ibid., p. 346.
153. Telcon: Nixon and Mitchell, 9.56 p.m. 15 August 1971, White House Tapes, NPMP, NA.
155. Telcon: Nixon and Connally, 9.46 p.m. 15 August 1971, White House Tapes, NPMP, NA.
156. Reeves, *President Nixon*, p. 364.
Notes

159. Telcon: Nixon and Rogers, 9.50 p.m. 15 August 1971, White House Tapes, NPMP, NA.
162. Draft minute, Heath to Home, 6 November 1971, PREM 15/712, TNA.
163. FCO paper: ‘Future relations with the United States’, 5 November 1971, PREM 15/712, TNA.
164. Minute: Cromer to Home, 23 August 1971, PREM 15/309, TNA.
165. Telegram: Selby (Rome) to FCO, 17 August 1971, PREM 15/309, TNA.
166. Minute: Armstrong to Heath, 20 August 1971, PREM 15/309, TNA.
167. Note for the Record: A Neale, 23 August 1971, PREM 15/309, TNA.
169. Minute: Cromer to Home, 23 August 1971, PREM 15/309, TNA.
173. Memo: Haig to Kissinger, 5 November 1971, NCS Presidential Trip Files, Reaction to China, Box 499, NPMP, NA.
174. Press briefing on Nixon’s visits to Peking and Moscow, 28 November 1971, FCO 21/827, TNA.
176. Memo: Haig to Kissinger, 5 November 1971, NCS Presidential Trip Files, Reaction to China, Box 499, NPMP, NA.
177. Draft minute: Heath to Home, 6 November 1971, PREM 15/712, TNA.
178. Overton to Wilford, 14 September 1971, FCO 82/61, TNA.
179. Draft minute: Heath to Home, 6 November 1971, PREM 15/712, TNA.
180. FCO steering brief, 25 November 1971, PREM 15/712, TNA.
181. Draft annex to FCO brief, September 1971, FCO 82/61, TNA.
182. FCO Planning Paper, ‘Future Relations with the US’, 11 November 1971, FCO 82/84, TNA.

3 The South Asia Crisis

1. Memcon, ‘Plenary Session of Anglo-American Conference’, Bermuda, 21 December 1971, POF, Box 87, NPMP, NA.
4. Telcon: Nixon and Kissinger, 17 December 1971, HAK Telcons, Box 12, NPMP, NA.
17. Memcon: Nixon, Hilaly et al., 10 May 1971, NSC Country Files, Indo-Pakistani War, Box 578, NPMP, NA.
19. Ibid., p. 853.
20. Ibid., p. 915.
23. Ibid., p. 485.
31. Ibid., p. 44.
32. Ibid., p. 66.
33. See, for example, Garthoff, *Détente and Confrontation*, p. 298; Jackson, *South Asia Crisis*, pp. 106–23.
35. Memcon: Nixon, Kissinger, Irwin, Moorer, et al., 11 August 1971, Indo-Pakistani War, Box 578, NPMP, NA.
41. Komine, Secrecy in US Foreign Policy, p. 178.
43. Memorandum of NSC meeting, 16 July 1971, H-83, NPMP, NA.
44. Kissinger, White House Years, p. 848.
47. Memorandum of NSC meeting, 16 July 1971, H-83, NPMP, NA.
49. Memorandum of NSC meeting, 16 July 1971, H-83, NPMP, NA.
50. Record of meeting: Nixon, Gandhi, et al., 4 November 1971, President’s Office Files, WHSF, Box 85, NPMP, NA.
51. Komine, Secrecy in US Foreign Policy, p. 192.
52. Letter: Nixon to Heath, 22 November 1971, PREM 15/570, TNA.
55. Ibid., p. 895.
57. Ibid.
59. Ibid., p. 867.
60. Ibid., p. 898.
62. Ibid., p. 886.
64. Nixon, Memoirs, p. 527.
69. Ibid.
76. See, for example, Telegram, T Garvey to Foreign Office, 2 November 1971, FCO 47/563, TNA.
77. Paper prepared at the South Asia Department, FCO, ‘British Policy in the Indian Subcontinent’, 18 December 1971, FCO 37/756, TNA.
78. Telegram: Cromer to FCO, 5 October 1971, FCO 47/563, TNA.
79. Record of conversation between Home and Rogers, Bermuda, 20 December 1971, PREM 15/713, TNA.
81. Telegram: Garvey to FCO, 5 December 1971, PREM 15/570, TNA.
82. Home, 6 December 1971, Hansard.
83. I Sutherland to K Wilford, 10 December 1971, FCO 37/756.
84. Telegram: Sohm, 6 December 1971, NSC Indo-Pakistan, Box 571, NPMP, NA.
85. Telegram: Home to UK Mission, UN, 4 December 1971, PREM 15/570, TNA.
88. Moon to Heath, 5 December 1971, PREM 15/570, TNA.
89. Letter: Heath to Nixon, 5 December 1971, PREM 15/570, TNA.
90. Telegram: Crowe to FCO, 6 December 1971, PREM 15/570, TNA.
91. Telegram: Crowe to FCO, 5 December 1971, PREM 15/570, TNA.
93. Ibid.
94. Saunders to Kissinger, 9 December 1971, H-83, NPMP, NA.
95. Telcon: Nixon and Kissinger, 11:31 p.m. 7 December, White House Tapes, NPMP, NA.
97. Background Briefing with Henry Kissinger, 7 December 1971, Indo-Pakistan War, Box 572, NSC, NPMP, NA.
105. Cable: Spivac (Dacca) to State Department, 10 December 1971, H-83, NPMP, NA.
116. Ibid., p. 909.
120. A Dobrynin, *In Confidence: Moscow’s Ambassador to America’s Six Cold War Presidents* (New York, 1995), p. 238.
126. Letter: Elliot to Wilford, 23 December 1971, FCO 37/755, TNA.
127. Tebbit to FCO, 21 December 1971, FCO 37/755, TNA.
132. Ibid., p. 55.
134. ‘Record of Meeting at Government House, Bermuda’, 20 December, 1971, TNA, PREM 15/713, TNA.
140. Cromer to Home, 17 December 1971, PREM 15/1570, TNA.
142. Cromer to Home, 17 December 1971, PREM 15/1570, TNA.
Negotiating Détente: SALT and The Prevention of Nuclear War Agreement

1. Nixon’s inaugural address, 20 January 1969, PPPUS.
5. See Holloway, The Soviet Union and the Arms Race, pp. 49, 82; Dobrynin, In Confidence, p. 192.
7. Reynolds, One World Divisible, p. 324.
9. Minute: Nixon to Haig, 20 May 1972, Box 341, NPMP, NA.
15. Greenwood, Britain and the Cold War, p. 175.
26. Minute: Zuckerman, 6 November 1969, PREM 13/3131, TNA.
27. Minute: S Zuckerman to H Wilson, 25 June 1969, PREM 13/2569, TNA.
28. Minute: D Healey to H Wilson, 5 November 1969, PREM 13/3131, TNA.
30. Telegram: Freeman to Stewart, 18 February 1970, PREM 13/3131, TNA.
31. Letter: Nixon to Smith, 12 November 1969, NSC, SALT, Box 874, NPMP, NA.
32. Memo: Nixon to Rogers, Kissinger, Laird et al., 14 April 1969, President-Kissinger Memcons, Box 341, NPMP, NA.
33. Minute: A Butterfield to Kissinger, 12 April 1969, President-Kissinger Memcons, Box 341, NPMP, NA.
34. Memo: Nixon to Rogers, Kissinger, Laird et al., 14 April 1969, President-Kissinger Memcons, Box 341, NPMP, NA.
36. See for example letter from Smith to Nixon, 23 March 1970, NSC, SALT, Box 876, NPMP, NA.
37. Telegram: Smith to Kissinger, 16 March 1970, NSC, SALT, Box 874, NPMP, NA.
38. Memo: Kissinger to Nixon, 10 November 1969, NSC, SALT, Box 874, NPMP, NA.
40. Telegram: H Wilson to R Nixon, 16 April 1970, PREM 13/3131, TNA.
41. Bundy, Tangled Web, p. 94; Smith, Doubletalk, p. 170.
42. Smith, Doubletalk, p. 218.
43. Garthoff, Détente and Confrontation, p. 151.
44. Bundy, Tangled Web, p. 95.
45. Telegram: Freeman to Moon, 8 July 1970, PREM 15/289, TNA.
46. Record of Cabinet meeting, 30 September 1970, PREM 15/714, TNA.
47. Trend to Heath, 14 July 1970, PREM 15/289, TNA.
48. Record of Cabinet meeting, 30 September 1970, PREM 15/714, TNA.
49. Record of meeting: 12 July 1970, PREM 15/289, TNA.
50. Record of meeting: 3 October 1970, PREM 15/714, TNA.
51. Department of Defence, 17 October 1970, PREM 15/289, TNA.
52. NSSM 123, US–UK Nuclear Relations, April 1971, NSC, NPMP, NA.
54. Telegram: Davidson to Home, 13 July 1970, PREM 15/289, TNA.
55. Telegram: Home to UK Delegation, 13 July 1970, PREM 15/289, TNA.
56. Telegram: Home to UK Delegation, 15 July 1970, PREM 15/289, TNA.
57. Minute: Zuckerman to Heath, 30 October 1970, PREM 15/289, TNA.
60. Trend to Moon, 7 May 1971, PREM 15/289, TNA.
61. Nixon, 20 May 1971, PPPUS.
63. Smith, *Doubletalk*, p. 224.
69. Hersh, *Kissinger*, p. 147.
72. Telegram: Cromer to Home, 21 May 1971, PREM 15/289, TNA.
73. Foreign Office note: 21 May 1971, PREM, 15/289, TNA.
74. Draft minute: Heath to Home, 6 November 1971, PREM 15/712, TNA.
75. Smith, *Doubletalk*, p. 319.
76. Telegram: Home to Cromer, 8 May 1972, PREM 15/1365, TNA.
77. Telegram: Cromer to Home, 9 May 1972, PREM 15/1365, TNA.
78. Telegram: Irwin, 20 May 1972, NSC SALT, Box 883, NPMP, NA; Memcon: Butler, Spiers, et al., 17 May 1972, RG 59, Box 2656, NA.
79. Telegram: Cromer to Home, 22 May 1972, PREM 15/1365, TNA.
82. Ibid., p. 221.
83. J Graham to T Bridges, 1 June 1972, PREM 15/1274, TNA.
84. Minute: Trend to Heath, 30 June 1972, PREM 15/1365, TNA.
85. Telegram: Nixon to Heath, 1 June 1972, PREM 15/1274, TNA.
86. Draft message (approved): Heath to Nixon, 1 June 1972, PREM 15/1274, TNA.
88. Minute: Carrington to Heath, 29 November 1972, FCO 82/182, TNA.
91. US-Soviet Communiqué, 26 June 1973, PREM 15/1933, TNA.
96. Ibid., p. 275.
97. Ibid., p. 282.
98. Ibid., p. 275.
99. Ibid., p. 281.
100. Ibid., p. 285.
101. See also Twigge, ‘Operation Hullabaloo’.
102. Ibid., pp. 278–82.
103. Ibid., p. 282.
104. Ibid., pp. 281–2; see also Twigge, ‘Operation Hullabaloo’, pp. 689–701.
105. Record of conversation: 28 July 1972, PREM 15/1362, TNA.
106. Minute: Trend to Heath, 31 July 1972, PREM 15/1362, TNA.
107. Telcon: Kissinger and Trend, 29 July 1972, HAK Telcons, Box 15, NPMP, NA.
108. Minute: Trend to Heath, 31 July 1972, PREM 15/1362, TNA.
110. Record of meeting: 20 December 1971, FCO 82/183, TNA.
111. See, for example, Cromer’s letter to Brimelow, 7 March 1973, FCO 73/135, TNA.
112. Minute: Trend to Heath, 31 July 1972, PREM 15/1362, TNA.
113. Letter: Cromer to Brimelow, 7 March 1973, FCO 73/135, TNA.
114. Telcon: Kissinger and Trend, HAK Telcons, 19 July 1972, NPMP, NA.
115. Brimelow’s record of conversation with Kissinger, 10 August 1972, PREM 15/1362, TNA.
116. Telcon: Kissinger and Dobrynin, 31 March 1973, HAK Office Files, Country Files, Europe/USSR, Box 79, NPMP, NA.
118. Letter: Cromer to Brimelow, 7 March 1973, FCO 73/135, TNA.
120. Notes for Brimelow’s discussion with Kissinger, 4 August 1972, PREM 15/1362, TNA.
121. Record of conversation, Kissinger, Brimelow, et al., 5 March 1973, FCO 73/135, TNA.
122. Notes for Brimelow’s discussion with Kissinger, 4 August 1972, PREM 15/1362, TNA.
123. Written comment by Heath on Trend’s minute, 4 August 1972, PREM 15/1362, TNA.
124. Brimelow’s record of his conversation with Kissinger, 10 August 1972, PREM 15/1362, TNA.
125. Heath’s written comment on Trend’s minute, 11 August 1972, PREM 15/1362, TNA.
127. Minute: Home to Heath, 14 August 1972, PREM 15/1362, TNA.
128. Brimelow’s record of conversation with Kissinger, 10 August 1972, PREM 15/1362, TNA.
129. Minute: Trend to Heath, 9 March 1973, PREM 15/1365, TNA.
130. Ibid.
131. Letter: Cromer to Brimelow, 7 March 1973, FCO 73/135, TNA.
5 The Year of Europe

3. For example, see James Reston’s reaction in Dallek, Nixon and Kissinger, p. 474.
4. Kissinger, Years of Upheaval, p. 177.
8. Kissinger, Years of Upheaval, p. 700.
9. Ibid., p. 701.
10. Ibid., p. 189.
11. Ibid., p. 163.
15. See for Kissinger’s remarks to Dean Rusk, MacGeorge Bundy, Cyrus Vance, John McCloy et al., 28 November 1973, President/HAK Memcons, Box 1027, NPMP, NA.
20. Ibid., p. 74.
21. Memcon: Kissinger, Dean Rusk, MacGeorge Bundy, Cyrus Vance, John McCloy et al., 28 November 1973, President/HAK Memcons, Box 1027, NPMP, NA.
23. See, for example, Kissinger’s remarks to the Secretary General of the OECD, Emile van Lennep, 27 July 1973, NSC Subject Files, European Common Market, Box 322, NPMP, NA.
26. Record of meeting: Trend, Kissinger, 19 April 1973, CAB 164/1233, TNA.
27. Memcon: Nixon, Kissinger, Pompidou et al., 31 May 1973, Presidential Office Files, Memorandum for the President, Box 91, WHSP, NPMP, NA.
29. Memcon: Nixon, Kissinger, Xavier Ortoli, 1 October 1973, NSC Subject Files, European Common Market, Box 322, NPMP, NA.
34. Ibid., p. 247.
37. Memo: Flanigan to Nixon, 11 October 1972, WHSF, President’s Office Files, Handwriting, Box 19, NPMP, NA.
40. Memo: Sonnenfeldt to Kissinger, 30 January 1973, Box H-66, NPMP, NA.
41. Quoted in Hynes, *The Year that Never Was*, p. 90.
43. Record of meeting: Trend, Kissinger, 19 April 1973, CAB 164/1233, TNA.
44. Record of Discussion, Nixon, Heath, et al., 2 February 1973, PREM 15/1365, TNA.
45. Letter: Cromer to Brimelow, 7 March 1973, FCO 73/135, TNA.
49. Memo: Nixon to Kissinger, 10 March 1973, Memorandum from the President, WHSF, Box 4, NPMP, NA.
51. Telcon: Kissinger and Stoessel, 19 April 1973, HAK Telcons, Box 19, NPMP, NA.
53. Record of meeting: Trend, Kissinger, 19 April 1973, CAB 164/1233, TNA.
56. Record of meeting: Heath and Rostow, 19 June 1973, PREM 15/1542, TNA.
57. Cabinet minutes, 20 June 1973, CAB 130/671, TNA.
62. Cabinet minutes, 20 June 1973, CAB 130/671, TNA.
64. Extract from Home’s speech at Dunblane, 27 April 1973, CAB 164/1233, TNA.
70. Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval*, p. 700.
73. Cabinet minutes, 20 June 1973, CAB 130/671, TNA.
75. Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval*, p. 171.
77. Letter: Greenhill to Trend, 6 July 1973, CAB 164/1233, TNA.
78. Analysis of American Draft Declarations on Transatlantic Relations, July 1973, PREM 15/1542, TNA.
79. Letter: Greenhill to Trend, 6 July 1973, CAB 164/1233, TNA.
85. Telcon: Kissinger and Trend, 30 July 1973, HAK Telcons, Box 21, NPMP, NA.
86. Telcon: Kissinger and Nixon, 9 August 1973, HAK Telcons, Box 21, NPMP, NA.
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
103. Memcon: Kissinger, Dean Rusk, MacGeorge Bundy, Cyrus Vance, John McCloy et al., 28 November 1973, President/HAK Memcons, Box 1027, NPMP, NA.
105. Memcon: Kissinger, Dean Rusk, MacGeorge Bundy, Cyrus Vance, John McCloy et al., 28 November 1973, President/HAK Memcons, Box 1027, NPMP, NA.
106. Telcon: Kissinger and Nixon, 9 August 1973, HAK Telcons, Box 21, NPMP, NA.
107. Telcon: Kissinger and Schultz, 15 August 1973, HAK Telcons, Box 21, NPMP, NA.
110. Minute: Home to Heath, 17 October 1973, PREM 15/2089, TNA.
112. Ibid.

6 The Middle East Crisis

2. On one such occasion, Heath called the White House and asked to speak with Nixon to warn him about a possible intervention by Jordan. Kissinger explained that they would have to decline his call, since when he last talked to the president he was ‘loaded’. Telcon: Scowcroft and Kissinger, 7.55 p.m., 11 October 1973, Box 22, HAK Telcons, NPMP, NA.
4. Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval*, p. 537; see also, for example, C Bell, ‘The October Middle East War: A Case Study in Crisis Management During Détente’, *International Affairs*, 50 (October, 1974), p. 540.
8. Ibid., p. 453.
14. Ibid.
15. Telcon: Haig and Kissinger, 8.35 a.m., 6 October 1973, Box 22, HAK Telcons, NPMP, NA.
16. Telcon: Dobrynin and Kissinger, 9.35 a.m., 6 October 1973, Box 22, HAK Telcons, NPMP, NA.
22. Bell, ‘The October Middle East War’, p. 539.
31. Telcon: Kissinger and Schlesinger, 1.30 p.m., 7 October 1973, Box 22, HAK Telcons, NPMP, NA.
32. Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval*, p. 481; Lebow and Stein, *We All Lost the Cold War*, p. 187.
33. Telegram: Home to Tel Aviv and other posts, 6 October 1973, FCO 93/254, TNA.
38. Lebow and Stein, *We All Lost the Cold War*, p. 186.
41. Telcon: Kissinger and Cromer, 6.50 p.m., 12 October 1973, Box 23, HAK Telcons, NPMP, NA.
43. Telegram: Adams to FCO, 7 October 1973, FCO 93/254, TNA.
44. Telcon: Cromer-Kissinger, 10.26 a.m., 13 October 1973, Box 22, HAK Telcons, NPMP, NA.
46. Telcon: Adams to FCO, 13 October 1973, PREM 15/1765, TNA.
48. Telcon: Home and Kissinger, 3.35 p.m., 13 October 1973, Box 23, HAK Telcons, NPMP, NA.
49. Telcon: Cromer and Kissinger, 4.35 p.m., 13 October 1973, Box 22, HAK Telcons, NPMP, NA.
51. Cromer to FCO, 14 October 1973, PREM 15/1565, TNA.
52. Telcon: Nixon and Kissinger, 9.04 a.m., 14 October 1973, Box 22, HAK Telcons, NPMP, NA.
56. Minutes of meeting: Heath, Home et al., 13 October 1973, PREM 15/1765, TNA.
58. Memcon: WSAG meeting, 17 October 1973, HAK Office Files, Institutional Files, Box H-092, NPMP, NA.
59. Telcon: Nixon and Kissinger, 9.04 a.m., 14 October 1973, Box 22, HAK Telcons, NPMP, NA.
60. Telcon: Nixon and Kissinger, 11.10 a.m., 14 October 1973, Box 22, HAK Telcons, NPMP, NA.
61. Telegram: Annenberg to Kissinger, 16 October 1973, Harold Saunders Files, Box 1174, NPMP, NA.
72. Telegram: Kissinger to Rumsfeld, 16 October 1973, Harold Saunders Files, NPMP, NA.
73. Telegram: Rumsfeld to State Department, 16 October 1973, Box 1174, Harold Saunders Files, NPMP, NA.
74. Ibid.
77. Lebow and Stein, *We All Lost the Cold War*, p. 320.
81. Ibid., p. 936.
82. Ibid., p. 938.
87. Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval*, p. 713.
89. Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval*, p. 980.
91. Lebow and Stein, *We All Lost the Cold War*, p. 237.
94. Telcon: Haig and Kissinger, 7.19 p.m., 25 October 1973, Box 23, HAK Telcons, NPMP, NA.
95. Telcon: Haig and Kissinger, 2.35 p.m., 25 October 1973, Box 23, HAK Telcons, NPMP, NA.
96. Telcon: Haig and Kissinger, 7.19 p.m., 25 October 1973, Box 23, HAK Telcons, NPMP, NA.
97. Telcon: Haig and Kissinger, 7.55 p.m., 26 October 1973, Box 23, HAK Telcons, NPMP, NA.
99. Lebow and Stern, *We All Lost the Cold War*, p. 286.
100. Dickie, *‘Special’ No More*, p. 147.
101. NATO Military Committee decision, 19 November 1971, PREM 15/1382, TNA.
102. Telegram: Rumsfeld to State Department, 26 October 1973, Box 1175, Harold Saunders Files, NPMP, NA.


106. Telcon: Cromer and Kissinger, 1.03 a.m., 25 October 1973, Box 23, HAK Telcons, NPMP, NA.


108. Ibid.


110. Ibid.

111. Kissinger, _White House Years_, p. 90.

112. Telcon: Cromer and Kissinger, 9.25 p.m., 26 October 1973, Box 23, HAK Telcons, NPMP, NA.

113. The main point of breakdown seems to have been with the duty intelligence officer at the Cabinet Office who, having learned of the alert from GCHQ, failed to inform Number 10 or the Foreign Office. Minute: Smith to Bridges, 29 October 1973, PREM 15/1382, TNA.


117. Telcon: Cromer and Kissinger, 9.25 p.m., 26 October 1973, Box 23, HAK Telcons, NPMP, NA.

118. Telcon: Cromer and Kissinger, 9.05 a.m., 31 October 1973, Box 23, HAK Telcons, NPMP, NA.

119. Telegram: Rumsfeld to State Department, 26 October 1973, Box 1175, Harold Saunders Files, NPMP, NA.

120. Minute: Heath to Bridges, 28 October 1973, PREM 15/1382, TNA.

121. Notes by Assessment Staff, the Cabinet Office, 29 October 1973, PREM 15/1382, TNA.


125. Telcon: Cromer and Kissinger, 9.25 p.m., 26 October 1973, Box 23, HAK Telcons, NPMP, NA.


129. Ibid.


132. Kissinger, _Years of Upheaval_, p. 635.

133. Quoted in Garthoff, _Détente and Confrontation_, p. 403.
Notes

135. Memo: Sonnenfeldt to Kissinger, 26 October 1973, NSC Subject Files, Box 322, NPMP, NA.
137. Memcon: Bipartisan leadership meeting, 27 November 1973, Pres/HAK Memcons, Box 1027, NPMP, NA.
142. Ibid.
149. Dobrynin, In Confidence, p. 292.

Conclusion

1. Kissinger, Years of Upheaval, p. 934.
3. For partial text of speech, see Kissinger, Years of Upheaval, pp. 896–7.
22. The term ‘specialité’ is used by Reynolds, ‘A “Special Relationship”? America, Britain and the International Order since the Second World War’, p. 10.
Bibliography

Primary sources

Archives
National Archives, US (NA)
   Nixon Presidential Materials Project (NPMP)
   National Security Files (NSC)
   White House Central Files (WHCF)
   White House Special Files (WHSF)
   Record Group 59, State Department Files (RG59)

The National Archives, UK (TNA)
   Cabinet Files (CAB)
   Foreign and Commonwealth Office Files (FCO)
   Prime Minister's Files (PREM)

Published documentary sources


Documents on British Policy Overseas (DBPO)

Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–76 (FRUS)
   Volume XI, South Asia Crisis, 1971 (Washington, DC, 2005).


Hansard, House of Commons Debates.

National Security Archive (NSA)
www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB.


Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States (PPPUS)
www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws.

Bibliography

Unpublished documentary sources


Newspapers


Memoirs and autobiographies


Dobrynin, A. *In Confidence: Moscow’s Ambassador to America’s Six Cold War Presidents* (New York, 1995).


Kissinger, H. *White House Years* (Boston, 1979).

Kissinger, H. *Years of Upheaval* (London, 1982).


Secondary sources

Books


Aziz, K. *Britain and Pakistan: A Study of British Attitude towards the East Pakistan Crisis of 1971* (Islamabad, 1974).
Baylis, J. Anglo-American Relations since 1939: The Enduring Alliance (Manchester, 1997).
Brands, H. Into the Labyrinth: The United States and the Middle East, 1945–1993 (New York, 1994).
Bulmer, G. and Scott, A. (eds), The United Kingdom and EC Membership Evaluated (London, 1992).
Colman, J. A 'Special Relationship'? Harold Wilson, Lyndon B. Johnson and Anglo-American Relations 'at the Summit' 1964–68 (Manchester, 2004).
Ellison, J. *The United States, Britain and the Transatlantic Crisis: Rising to the Gaullist Challenge* (Basingstoke, 2007).


Hoff, J. *Nixon Reconsidered* (New York, 1994).


Hynes, C. *The Year that Never Was: Heath, the Nixon Administration and the Year of Europe* (Dublin, 2009).


Kissinger, H. Diplomacy (New York, 1994).
Komine, Y. Secrecy in US Foreign Policy: Nixon, Kissinger and the Rapprochement with China (Ashgate, 2008).
Lebow, R. and Stein, J. We All Lost the Cold War (Princeton, 1994).
Lundestad, G. The United States and Western Europe since 1945: From ‘Empire’ by Invitation to Transatlantic Drift (Oxford, 2003).
McMahon, R. Cold War on the Periphery: The United States, India and Pakistan (New York, 1994).
Nicholas, H. The United States and Britain (Chicago, 1975).
Ovendale, R. Anglo-American Relations in the Twentieth Century (Basingstoke, 1998).


Sanders, D. *Losing and Empire Finding a Role: British Foreign Policy since 1945* (Basingstoke, 1990).


Bibliography

Young, H. *This Blessed Plot: Britain and Europe from Churchill to Blair* (London, 1998).

Articles and chapters

Akins, J. ‘The Oil Crisis: This Time the Wolf Is Here’, *Foreign Affairs*, 51 (April, 1973).
Bell, C. ‘The October Middle East War: A Case Study in Crisis Management During Détente’, *International Affairs*, 50 (October, 1974).
Cromwell, W. ‘Europe and the “Structure of Peace”’, in *Orbis*, 22 (Spring 1978).


**Unpublished works**


Index

ABM (Anti Ballistic Missile system), 114, 116, 120, 125
ABM Treaty (1972), 125
ACDA (Arms Control and Development Agency), 114
Acheson, Dean, 5
Adams, Philip, 177
Agha Hilaly, 55, 84–5
Afghanistan, 7, 203
Agnew, Spirog, 171, 179
Anderson, Jack, 101–2
Anderson, Knud, 159
Anglo-American relations, 1, 78, 126, 198, 200, 202–4
‘East of Suez’, 6, 28, 41
Heath-Nixon years, 1, 202
Indo-Pakistani War (1971), 81, 94–6, 102, 105–6
Middle East, 173
New Economic Policy, 78
‘Nixon shocks’, see New Economic Policy; United States, opening to China
Prevention of Nuclear War Agreement (1973), 129, 137–8
US opening to China, 53, 61–2, 69, 78
Year of Europe, 157, 161–3
Yom Kippur War (1973), 157, 168, 175–6, 180, 188–91, 193–4
see also ‘special relationship’, Anglo-American
Anglo-French nuclear cooperation, 40–1
Annenburg, Walter, 62, 123
Arab-Israeli conflict, 181
see also Yom Kippur War (1973); Middle East crisis
Arnaud, Claude, 154
Asad, Hafez, 170
Asakai nightmare, 52
Ashbrook, John, 125
Atlantic Alliance, 140, 167, 188, 193, 198, 202
Atlantic Charter, 9, 140–1, 152, 154
Atlantic Community, 145
see also Atlantic Alliance
Atlantic Declaration (1974), 187–8, 196
Awami League, 82
balance of payments, American, 43, 70–1
balance of payments, British, 27, 181
Ball, George, 68, 77
Balniel, Lord, 179
Bangladesh, 93–4
Barber, Anthony, 76
Barrington, Nicholas, 114
Bergsten, Fred, 46
Bermuda summit (1971), 78–81, 103, 106, 113, 200
Bevin, Ernest, 24
Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali, 82
Blood, Archer, 83
Brandt, Willy, 165, 168
Bretton Woods system, 11, 50, 70
Breznev, Leonid, 35, 99, 109, 126–8, 176, 182, 184–7
Bridges, Lord, 190
Brimelow, Thomas, 129, 132–4, 151
Britain, 24, 53
arms control talks, 111–12
Commonwealth, 24, 84
China, 54–6, 62–7
détente, 111–12, 115
domestic crisis, 197–8
EC, see EC applications, British empire, 6
Energy Action Group, 197
Europe, 24
India, 92, 95
Indo-Pakistani War (1971), 87, 92, 94–5, 101, 106
Middle East, 174
miners strike, 197–8
nuclear alert, 191
nuclear deterrent, 115, 119
oil, 174, 181
Pakistan, 83–4
Prevention of Nuclear War Agreement (1973), 129–30, 133, 135–7, 139
SALT, 115
Soviet Union, 112
United States, see Anglo-American relations; ‘special relationship’, Anglo-American
Year of Europe, 9, 152, 158
Yom Kippur War (1973), 172, 175–6, 180, 191, 193
British Empire, 6
Brown, George, 28–9, 40
Bruce, David, 6
Bundy, William, 118
Bush, George H.W., 88, 94, 96, 105
Butler, Michael, 124, 155
Cabinet Office, 191
Cable, James, 104–5
Callaghan, James, 189, 198
Cambodia, 55
Canada, 196
CAP (Common Agricultural Policy), 46
Carrington, Peter, 112
Castlereagh, Lord, 14
Chequers
Heath-Nixon meeting (1971), 2
Heath’s meeting with advisers during Yom Kippur War (1973), 177
Chiao Kuan-Hua, 66
China, People’s Republic of (PRC), Britain, 54–6, 62–7
Important Question, 54–5, 63–4, 66
Indo-Pakistani War (1971), 98, 100
split with the Soviet Union, 51, 55
US opening, 12–13, 50–2, 55–7, 200
China, Republic of, see Taiwan
Churchill, Winston, 4, 8, 24, 111
CIA (Central Intelligence Agency), 89, 101
City of London, 76
Colby, William, 185
Common Market, 18, 27, 72
Commonwealth, British, 31, 33, 38, 84
Congress, US, 12, 71, 110, 147
Connally, John, 50, 71–3
Munich speech (1971), 72
New Economic Policy, 72–4
Conservative Party, 1
Conservative Party Conference (1971), 38, 77; (1973), 177
containment, 42, 58, 110
Copenhagen summit (1973), 156
Courcel, Geoffrey, 151
Cox, Archibald, 183
Cromer, Rowley, 41
Bermuda summit (1971), 79
Connally, 72
Kissinger, 104, 131, 150, 203
meetings with Kissinger, 178, 182, 193
New Economic Policy, 75–6
Nixon, 203
US opening to China, 67–8
US policy in the Indo-Pakistani War (1971), 93, 104–5
Prevention of Nuclear War Agreement (1973), 131–3
Year of Europe, 146, 153
Yom Kippur War (1973), 172, 176–9, 189, 191, 194
Crossman, Richard, 28
Crowe, Colin, 94–6
CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe), 182
Czechoslovakia, 35, 112
see also Prague Spring
Davignon, Etienne, 154
Dean, Patrick, 6, 28
decline
American, 203
British, 27–9, 203
De Gaulle, Charles, 8, 18–19, 35, 142
Denson, John, 62, 66
devaluation, British, 2
Dickie, John, 175
Dinitz, Simcha, 176
Dobrynin, Anatoly, 100, 117, 122, 128, 172, 178, 184, 187, 200
Douglas-Home, Alec, see Home, Alec

'East of Suez', 1, 6, 28, 41
ECSC (European Coal and Steel Community), 18
Eden, Anthony, 26
EC (European Community), 26, 45
integration, 45, 142
Middle East, 173, 192–3
New Economic Policy, 76
Yom Kippur War (1973), 192
EC applications, British
first, 25–7
second, 27–9
third, 31–41
EFTA (European Free Trade Association), 26
Egypt, 166, 170–1, 176, 182, 184
Ehrlichman, John, 151
Eisenhower, Dwight, 21, 27
elections
American (1972), 13, 47, 61, 111, 125, 148
British (1970), 1, 31; (1974), 10, 198
Elliott, Anthony, 103
Energy Action Group, 196
energy crisis, see Home, Alec, oil shocks
European Communities Bill, 79
ERDF (European Regional Development Fund), 33
European identity, 158–9, 194
Evans, Vincent, 134
Faisal, King of Saudi Arabia, 181
Farland, Joseph, 85
Five Power Defence Pact, 2–3
Flanigan, Peter, 148
Ford, Gerald, 74
Foreign Office, 10, 14
China, People's Republic, 64–5
domestic crisis, 197
EC applications, 30, 34, 40–1

Indo-Pakistan War (1971), 94, 101, 103–6
Middle East, 173–4
Prevention of Nuclear War Agreement (1973), 136
SALT, 122, 124–5
State Department, 14
Year of Europe, 150, 153, 155–6, 158, 162–3
Yom Kippur War (1973), 194
France, 136, 141, 151, 154, 159, 197
Freeman, John, 41–3, 118

Galbraith, John, 45
Galloway, William, 105
Gandhi, Indira, 86, 96
meeting with Nixon (1971), 89
Garthoff, Raymond, 120–1
Garvey, Terence, 93
GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), 70
Germany, Federal Republic of, 24, 31, 70, 74–5
Godkin lectures, 29, 34, 40
Gorst, John, 181
Goulden, John, 137
Graham, Jan, 67
Graham, John, 125
Grand Design, 29, 42, 47, 146, 164
Great Britain, see Britain
Green, Marshall, 60
Greenhill, Denis, 69
Gromyko, Andrei, 139
Haig, Alexander, 77, 98–9, 184–5
Hague summit (1969), 31, 45
Haldeman, Harry ('Bob'), 58, 61, 151
Heath, Edward
Anglo-American relations, 20, 157, 198–9
Bermuda summit (1971), 78, 80–1, 103, 106, 113, 122
Brezhnev, 112
China, 63–4
Cold Warrior, 2, 112
domestic crisis, 197–8
'East of Suez', 2
EC applications, 26–7, 30–37, 39–40, 49
Index

elections, 1, 31, 10, 198
Five Power Defence Pact, 2
Germany, Federal Republic of, 24
Godkin lectures, 29, 34, 40
Home, 188
Indo-Pakistani War (1971), 95, 103
Jobert, 155
Kissinger, 158, 163
Nixon, 1–3, 8
maiden speech to Parliament, 22
Middle East, 2, 173–4
miners strike, 197–8
New Economic Policy, 75, 77, 78
nuclear alert, 190
Pakistan, 83–4
Paris summit (1972), 77
Pompidou, 22, 33–4, 36, 38–9; see also Pompidou, Georges, Paris summit (1971)
Prevention of Nuclear War Agreement (1973), 129, 132–5
SALT, 119, 123, 126
’special relationship’, 8–11, 20, 38–9, 40–1
South East Asia, 2
Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia (1968), 112
Soviet Union, 2
superpower bilateralism, 34, 38, 126
three-day week, 197
US opening to China, 53, 62, 68, 78
Vietnam, 150, 202
views on Europe, 11, 18, 21–24, 38, 49, 77, 79, 107, 159, 199, 201
Washington visit (1970), 8, 20
Year of Europe, 141, 143, 152, 155–6, 158, 159, 165
Yom Kippur War (1973), 169, 177, 180–1, 190
Heffer, Eric, 189
Helms, Richard, 97
Hilaly, Agha, 84
Hoare, Samuel, 112
Holland, 180
Home, Alec
China, 63–4, 66, 68
EC application, 34–9
European integration, 15, 192
Harrogate speech (1970), 173
Heath, 188–9
Indo-Pakistani War (1971), 83, 92–3, 95–6, 101
Kissinger, 156, 162
Middle East, 173
nuclear alert, 189–90
oil shocks, 197
Prevention of Nuclear War Agreement (1973), 132, 135
relations with the US, 118
Rogers, 65
SALT, 120, 123–4
transatlantic relations, 15, 37, 196, 202
Year of Europe, 153, 155–6, 162
Yom Kippur War (1973), 177, 180–1, 189–90, 193–4
see also Douglas-Home, Alec
Hong Kong, 54
Hormats, Robert, 149
Huang Hua, 98
Hyland, William, 125
India, 80, 86
Indo-Pakistani War (1972), 100
Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship (1971), 87
Soviet Union, 86–7
Indo-Pakistani War (1971), 86–7, 96, 169
see also South Asia Crisis
Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship (1971), 86
Iran, 92
Iraq, 7, 203
Israel, 167, 171, 176, 180, 184, 192
Jackson, Henry (‘Scoop’), 125
Japan, 52, 70–1, 74–5, 196
Jenkins, Roy, 103
Jobert, Michel, 161, 165, 168, 186, 197
Johnson, Lyndon, 6, 21, 28, 35
Jordan, 92, 170
Kashmir, 99–100
Keating, Kenneth, 83, 85, 88
Kennedy, John, 21, 45, 169, 191
Khruschev, Nikita, 27
Kissinger, Henry

Anglo-American relations, 7–10, 15, 129, 143, 157, 168–9, 188, 193, 198–200, 202–4

Atlantic Alliance, 193; see also The Troubled Partnership (Kissinger)
backchannel to Dobrynin, 91, 117, 122, 128, 131, 172
Britain’s EC application, 44–6, 94, 161
Callaghan, 198
détente, 108, 110, 165
Energy Action Group, 196
European integration, 47–8, 167, 199
opening to China, 13, 50, 56, 58–9
gopolitics, 15, 102–3
Heath, 8–9, 20, 96, 157, 161, 198–9
India, 89–90
Indo-Pakistani War (1971), 84, 88, 90–1, 96–100, 102–6
Israel, 171–2
meetings with Brimelow, 129, 134, 151, 157
meetings with Cromer, 177–8, 182, 193
meetings with Trend, 66, 129–31, 151, 157
Middle East, 171
NATO, 167
New Economic Policy, 74
nuclear alert, 185–7
Pakistan, 90–1
personality, 13–14
policy-making, 12–16, 60–1, 104, 113, 136, 138, 156, 158, 162–3, 169, 200–1
Prevention of Nuclear War Agreement (1973), 127–8, 131, 134–6
SALT, 118, 121–2, 139
Soviet Union, 147
State Department, 89
triangular diplomacy, 66, 99, 102
The Troubled Partnership, 47, 148, 164
Washington Energy Conference (1974), 197

Watergate, 127
Wilson, 198
Year of Europe, 140–2, 145, 149, 151–2, 157–8, 160–3
Yom Kippur War (1973), 171–2, 175, 176–9, 183–90
Korea, 51, 54
Kuwait, 181

Labour Party, 29
Laird, Melvin, 97
Limited Test Ban Treaty (1968), 111
linkage, 91

Macmillan, Harold, 4–5, 21, 25, 111, 169, 199
Anglo-American relations, 4–5, 21, 26–7
EC application, first, 21, 25–7, 49
Paris summit (1960), 27, 201
Maitland, Donald, 172
Mansfield, Mike, 36, 147
Mao Zedong, 56, 62
Marshall Plan, 42, 140, 146
Masoud, Muhammad, 181
McCluney, Ian, 63
McCord, James, 150
Meir, Golda, 176, 183
Messina conference (1955), 24
Metternich, Klemens von, 14
Middle East crisis, 165, 167, 178, 185, 192, 201
see also Yom Kippur War (1973)
Millard, George, 65
miners strike, 197
MIRV (Multiple Independently targetable Re-entry Vehicles), 114, 116–17, 120, 125–6
Mitchell, John, 74
Monnet, Jean, 148–9
Moon, Peter, 95
Moorer, Thomas, 185
Moscow summit (1972), 124–6
Mujib, Sheikh, 82, 86
Mukti Bahini, 86

Nasser, Gamel Abdel, 170
NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation), 16, 25, 36, 112,
New Economic Policy, 12, 50, 70, 72
Nixon, Richard
Anglo-American relations, 3, 105, 204
Bermuda summit (1971), 79–81, 106, 200
Breznev, 186
Britain, 106, 200, 204
Britain’s EC application, 44–6, 94, 161
Connally, 72
détente, 108–9
election (1972), 13, 47, 61, 111, 125
European integration, 42–3, 48, 107, 146, 150, 199
Gandhi visit, 89–90
geopolitics, 15
Heath, 1–3, 96
Heath’s Washington visit (1973), 149
India, 89
Indo-Pakistani War (1971), 83–4, 91, 97–100, 102–5
Israel, 167
Japan, 75
Kissinger, 12–13
meeting with Gandhi (1971), 89
Moscow summit (1972), 108, 124–6
New Economic Policy, 50, 74
nuclear alert, 187
opening to China, 13, 50–1, 55–7, 59
Pakistan, 84–5, 88, 90
pentagonal world view, 43, 58
personality, 2, 13
policy-making, 12–15, 53, 60–1, 69, 138, 200
Prevention of Nuclear War Agreement (1973), 127–8
SALT, 91, 116, 121
‘Saturday night massacre’, 183
‘special relationship’, 18
Anglo-American, 15, 204
triangular diplomacy, 11
Watergate, 126, 145, 150, 164, 166–7, 183–4
Wilson, 2

Year of Europe, 149, 151
Yom Kippur War (1973), 179, 184, 186
Nixon Doctrine, 43, 147
‘Nixon shocks’, see Nixon, Richard, opening to China; New Economic Policy
North Sea oil, 174
NSC (National Security Council), 12, 53, 121
Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (1963), 111

October War, see Yom Kippur War (1973)
OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development), 197
oil, 174
oil-shocks, 166, 181, 197
O’Neil, Con, 25, 32, 76
OPEC (Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries), 197
Operation Hullabalo, 134
Operation Nickel Grass, 180
Ormsby-Gore, David, 169
Ottawa Declaration (1974), see Atlantic Declaration (1974)
Overton, Hugh, 41, 78, 152

Pakistan, 80, 82, 96, 101
Palliser, Michael, 154
Paris Agreement (1973), 135
Paris summit (1960), 27, 201; (1971), 22, 38–9; (1972), 77
Parliament, Britain, 37, 180
Parsons, Anthony, 174
Prague Spring, see Czechoslovakia
Peck, Edward, 150, 182, 190
Peterson, Peter, 46–7, 71
Pilgrims Society of Great Britain, 196
Polaris, 4, 111, 119
Pompidou, Georges, 18, 31, 148
European integration, 192
meeting with Gromyko (1973), 139
Paris summit (1971), 22, 33–4, 36, 38
Yom Kippur War (1973), 188
Portugal, 180
Prevention of Nuclear War Agreement (1973), 110, 126–8, 134–5, 137, 201
Puax, François, 154
Quai d’Orsay, 151
Republican Party, 13
Reuss, Henry, 73
Richardson, Attorney General, 183
Rippon, Geoffrey, 46–7
Robinson, John, 154
Rodgers, John, 63
Rogers, William, 13, 57, 60–1, 64–5, 73, 118–19, 120, 123–4, 171
Roosevelt, Franklin, 74
Rostow, Walt, 152
Royle, Anthony, 64
Ruckleshaw, William, 183
Rumsfeld, Donald, 181, 187
Rusher, William, 52
Sadat, Anwar, 90, 170, 175, 177–8, 182, 184
Safire, Bill, 74
SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks), 91, 108, 114–15, 117, 121, 125
Sato, Eisaku, 53
Saudi Arabia, 181
Schaetzel, Robert, 47–8, 144–5
Schlesinger, James, 185, 193
Schmitz, John, 52
Schuman Plan, 22
Schuman talks, 24
Scowcroft, Brent, 185
Semenov, Vladimir, 120
Shultz, George, 73
Sino-American rapprochement, see
United States, opening to China
Sino-Soviet split, 51, 55
Sisco, Joseph, 91
Smith, Gerard, 114, 116–17, 120–3
Soames, Christopher, 30, 33, 39
Sohm, Earl, 94
Solomon, Richard, 60
Sonnenfeld, Helmut, 128, 193
South Asia crisis, 81–3
see also Indo-Pakistani War (1971)
Soviet Union
Arab airlift, 176, 179, 185
arms race, 110
bilateralism with the United States,
34, 38, 111, 168, 182, 192
Middle East, 166, 172, 176
naval manoeuvres, 35–6
Prague Spring, 35
Prevention of Nuclear War Agreement (1973), 127
India, 86
Indo-Pakistani War (1971), 94, 100
SALT, 117, 125
split with China, 51, 55
Yom Kippur War (1973), 176, 184
‘special relationship’, Anglo-American,
2–10, 15–17, 19, 51, 62, 105, 129,
138, 168, 188, 193, 196, 201–4
Spiers, Ronald, 124
State Department, 118
Britain, 201
EC, 48
Indo-Pakistani War (1971), 87–8,
105
international economic strategy, 71
marginalisation, 12–13, 53, 69–70,
105, 118, 144
Middle East, 169, 171
New Economic Policy, 70
opening to China, 60
SALT, 115
Year of Europe, 144
Stewart, Michael, 115
Suez Canal, 175, 182
Suez Crisis, 26, 180
Super Antelope, 119
Sutherland, Iain, 94
Syria, 166, 170–1, 176
Taiwan, 52, 56–7, 60, 63, 85
see also China, Republic of
Task Force 74, 80, 97, 99, 101
Tebbit, Donald, 69, 104
Teeter, Richard, 61
Thomson, John, 36
Tibet, 85
Tomlinson, Stanley, 62, 105
Trend, Burke, 66, 120, 126, 129–33, 151, 153
triangular diplomacy, 11, 58, 66, 99, 102
The Troubled Partnership (Kissinger), 47, 148, 164
Truman, Harry, 54

UN (United Nations), 197
Chinese representation, 63–5
Indo-Pakistani War (1971), 93–4
Middle East, 170
Yom Kippur War (1973), 172, 182
United Kingdom, see Britain
United States
arms race, 114
balance of payments, 43, 70–1
bilateralism with the Soviet Union, 34, 38, 111, 168, 182, 192
China, 54
containment, 42, 58
East Pakistan, 83
European integration, 42
Indo-Pakistani War (1971), 87, 102, 106
Israel, 170, 194
Middle East, 166, 170, 174
opening to China, 12, 50, 55–7, 200
Prague Spring, 35
Soviet naval manoeuvres, 36
troop withdrawals from Europe, 36
Year of Europe, 154, 159
Yom Kippur War (1973), 180
USS Enterprise, 97
see also Task Force 74

Van Hollen, Christopher, 87, 92, 101
Vietnam War, 1, 2, 6, 29, 35–6, 43, 58, 71, 102, 109, 111, 117, 128, 135, 150, 164, 202
Volcker, Paul, 72
Vorontsov, Yuli, 97
Walker, Peter, 181
Walters, Vernon, 57
Washington Energy Conference (1974), 197
Watergate, 11, 126, 145, 150, 164, 166–7, 183–4, 201
Whitlam, Gough, 186
Wiggin, Charles, 137, 154
Wilford, Michael, 65, 69
Wilson, Harold, 1, 6, 21, 198–9
Anglo-American relationship, 21, 28–9
EC application, 21, 27–9, 40, 49
Middle East, 173–4
SALT, 117
WSAG (Washington Special Action Group), 88, 91, 102, 179

Yahya Khan, Agha Mohammed
Indo-Pakistani War (1971), 82–3, 87, 96
US opening to China, 55
Year of Europe, 9, 16, 140–6, 163–5, 167–8, 198
Yom Kippur War (1973), 9, 16, 142, 160–1, 166, 170–1, 175–6, 179, 182, 184–5
see also October War; Middle East Crisis
Younger, Kenneth, 26

Zhou Enlai, 55–7, 59, 88
Ziegler, Ron, 77
Zuckerman, Solly, 115, 120
Zumwalt, Elmo, 100