

Ed
1

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~/NODIS/XGDS

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford
Leopold Senghor, President of Senegal
Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant
to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE & TIME: Thursday, May 22, 1975
10:30 a. m.

PLACE: The Oval Office
The White House

[While the press took photos, there was small talk about Senghor's travel in the United States.]

President: Let me say at the outset that I am delighted to meet with you. I know you have been here before with four previous Presidents. I hope this will be just the first of many opportunities to get together.

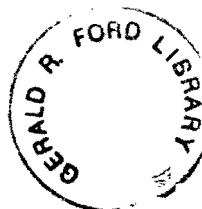
In reviewing our relations, I think they have been good over the years and I hope we can continue to strengthen them. We have a common interest in the problems of Africa and the world. I hope you will feel free to be in touch with me in order that we can work closely together on these African and world problems.

We are pleased at the process of independence of the Portuguese colonies. I hope they will be able to accomplish the independence process in a manner which will be responsible and create stability in the area.

I know you are interested in the Middle East. We are in the midst of a reassessment. As you know, the step-by-step has been suspended. We are seeking a peaceful solution.

There are three major alternatives: (1) a return to the step-by-step -- that is probably unlikely now; (2) a comprehensive approach to the

~~SECRET~~/NODIS/XGDS



~~SECRET~~ - XGDS (3)
CLASSIFIED BY: HENRY A. KISSINGER

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, SEC. 2.5
NSC MEMO, 11/17/88, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Review 3/9/04
BY: JAK NARA, DATE 5/17/04

problems which have so long festered in the Middle East. That would create problems in that we would have to be dealing with all the different problems simultaneously; (3) deal with the issues separately under the umbrella of an overall solution.

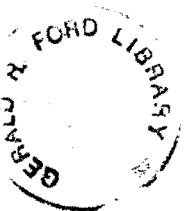
We have not made a decision and we won't before my meetings with Sadat and Rabin, but we will make our proposals after that. In the meantime we are trying to avert any kind of military outbreak which would make the whole situation terribly difficult.

President Senghor: Thank you, Mr. President. I would like to say a few words first about our relations with the United States. They are proceeding normally. Your assistance is appreciated. We know your responsibilities, so we don't ask for more aid. What we need is more private investment. My good friend Moore is helping us get private investment. We have no bilateral problems. I knew your Ambassador when he was a Secretary in Paris and we meet together from time to time.

On American investment, we call ourselves democratic socialists. We are not Communists. Our principal opposition is Communist intellectuals. We want to industrialize and by the year 2000 we want to have a per capita income of \$. Now we have a per capita income of \$280; we are fifth or sixth in Africa.

We have nationalized certain basic industries like utilities and also land. My parents owned some land, but I think this system is not good management for efficient production. Fifteen percent of the people used to own it all and they rented it to those who farmed it. That was not efficient, so I nationalized it and the government rents it. We think the Senegalese component must be 50% of the investment in components. That is our socialism. We believe in political and religious freedom. I am a Catholic, while 80% of my people are Muslim. I wanted to make clear to you what I mean by the term democratic socialism.

Concerning the former Portuguese colonies, you are aware of my recent contacts with Spinoza. That was in Portugal. But I was the first to visit Portugal. I told Gomez that if Portugal went Communist that would be dangerous. The Chinese are doing well in Africa and the Soviets are falling behind. The ships which the Soviet Union have all around Africa are not helpful. Gomez said we should not worry about Portugal becoming Communist.



I think the former colonies are progressing well. The principal problem is Angola. The FPLA is Soviet; the FNLA is Chinese-oriented, UNITA is Europe-oriented. I sent my Chairman of the Supreme Court to advise them. I told them they must maintain their integrity. Cabinda was integrated in 1966 and must remain. The borders must be the colonial borders because otherwise there will be wars. Others of our friends have other ideas about Cabinda. I maintain the principle. I opposed Biafra's and Eritrea's succession and I say the same about Cabinda. I oppose the Balkanization of Africa. I think the U. S. would do well to oppose the break-up of the African states into fragments.

President: May I comment on a point. We endorsed the revolution in Portugal and were pleased by the initial developments. We are now concerned. We are pleased by the vote when the Communists got only 12-13%. That was only a referendum though, with no legislative or executive impact. The Communist Party is small but its influence in the government and military is great. As you know, the military is the basic force, and there are those in the military who are sympathetic with Communist views. I don't think that reflects the Portuguese people. I don't know what we can do about it, but we think the people should decide, not a small group deciding for the country. We see no good in going from a dictatorship of the right to one of the left. We are concerned about the NATO relationship. I will be discussing this with the NATO leaders next week and with Portuguese leaders.

But this is one concern, and I think you know that a small group can take over control of the country in violation of the wishes of the people.

President Senghor: I agree there is a danger of Communism. I think your policy of consultation is best. I am keeping in touch with the Soviets. I agree your consultation idea is the best approach.

President: I can assure you we do favor a stabilization in borders and governments in Africa and we don't support any country moving in in a time of trouble or instability and modifying the borders of another.

President Senghor: I believe the Africans will have enough good sense, even when they call themselves Marxists -- as do the Congolese -- to not fall under Communist domination. We refuse to sign the fisheries agreement with the Soviet Union. African countries want to be independent.



We want our own way to socialism. We want our intellectual independence, not only from the ideas of Western Europe, but from even those who call themselves Marxists.

On the Middle East, I was chairman of a delegation of African States which went two times to Israel and Egypt. I asked Mrs. Meir to pledge not to occupy Arab territory after a settlement. Eban called my Ambassador and together to make a statement, but Mrs. Meir said no at the last moment. We have an Israeli representative and a PLO representative in Dakar. Why? We have Jews in Dakar and I have my Jewish friends. But the PLO is the most moderate. No respectable Arab wants to destroy Israel, but there must be a Palestinian state with an Arab majority.

We favor the American efforts under Secretary Kissinger. When he got the Nobel Prize, we thought he was the best to do it because he was a Jew, intelligent, etc. We were sorry to see the failure of the step-by-step. I think there must be a series of agreements. I talked to Goldmann in Dakar. I went to Austria to meet with Kreisky. Here I will meet with Jewish leaders and urge them to begin direct talks with the Palestinians. I say nothing bad about Sadat -- he had a black grandmother -- but he looks after the interests of Egypt. Asad looks after the interests of Syria, but no one will sign unless there is a recognition of a Palestinian state.

To sum up, we support your efforts, Mr. President. We think there must be a secure and independent Israel and a Palestine on the basis of secret direct talks between Israel and the Palestinians,

President: I am grateful for your in-depth analysis of the situation. I think making your observations to Jewish leaders will help greatly. I have always been dedicated to Israel's survival, but the thrust of our policy must be to a just and secure peace and we will make every effort to accomplish that. We are all grateful for Secretary Kissinger's efforts. We think the Yom Kippur war laid the basis for moving toward peace. Secretary Kissinger is the most popular man in the United States. He has my complete support as we move toward peace. I would be interested in the reaction of Jewish leaders. With your background and contacts, they should listen very carefully.



President Senghor: May I turn to the problem of great concern to us -- raw materials and the Paris Conference [the Prepcon]. The 77 met earlier in Dakar to take up this problem, to which the Third World is very attached. There is a liaison between the developed and the underdeveloped coming. I discussed this in Mexico. The Paris Conference was a positive failure because we now see the views of the two sides. I agreed with the idea to call for the reconvening of the Paris Conference, and I will see Giscard to that end.

The Dakar conference represents our principles. We think the Paris Conference should just take up the principles. At Salzburg last year I mentioned indexing. We see the fluctuation in raw materials prices, but industrial prices never drop. My minister says we can plan on a 20% price increase per year.

We are fortunate we have phosphates, but for some lacklocked countries, their survival is at stake. We think the Paris Conference should reconvene to discuss these problems. We think the developing countries should be helped, without creating stagnation in developed countries.

President: We are sympathetic. Our principal concern right now is energy. We were hurt badly by the energy price rise -- though not so badly as Europe or Japan. We are trying to develop energy independence if Congress would cooperate.

We tried to develop a good position for the Prepcon. We are disappointed that the conference, which had an energy focus, had the whole commodity problem injected. We do want to work with all the participants to solve the commodity problem, and we will. We recognize the wide swing of commodity prices which damage the world economy, but we think we should move on a case-by-case basis and I think we would complicate a solution if we put all these in one conference. I am meeting with NATO leaders next week and I will be taking this approach as we address the energy and commodity problems.

President Senghor: I understand, Mr. President, but a journalist told me Secretary Kissinger accepts a general discussion before going on to energy. We accept that. We agree to discuss energy but want to see the principles addressed which would apply to other commodities which are our principal problem.



President: We think we can solve the energy problem fairly quickly. Energy prices have gone up sharply since the Yom Kippur war. Once we solve the energy problem -- quickly, I hope -- we can move onward to other issues. To put them all together would slow the whole thing. The overtones of the energy problem world-wide necessitate our focus on it first. Then we can turn to the other commodity issues.

President Senghor: I don't want to take up too much of your time. Thank you for taking so much time. As I said, our bilateral relations are developing satisfactorily. The views I expressed represent those of the Francophone countries. Senegal is a country of dialogue and I hope to continue that.

President: Thank you. We can continue at lunch.

I appreciate the opportunity to meet with you.



✓ P/Singha

22 May 75

10:30

Seck
Carlbary
Agony

Pravin

(Discussion about Singha's travel in US)

Present

P Let me say at outset I am delighted to meet you & know you have been well w/ 9 persons present. I hope this will be first of many opportunities to get together.

In memory our relations, I think they have been good over years & I hope we can continue to strengthen them. We have a common interest in the parts of Africa & the world. I hope you will feel free to be in touch w/ us in order that we can work closely together on these African & world parts.

We explained the process of individual totalitarian colonies. I hope they will be able to arrange the individual process in a manner which will be ^{responsible of create} _{stability in a new} _{order} to know your interests in NE.

in midst of masses. As you know SAS has been suspended. We are seeking a peaceful solution. There are 3 major alt. (1) Return to SAS - probably unlikely now. (2) A broad approach to a process which have so long persisted in NE. That would create peace in that area would have to be dealing w/ all the big parts around (3) Deal w/ a crisis regarding under umbrella of an all solution. We will make a decision & report before 24th Boston, but will make our proposals of

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Review 3/9/04

BY Da, NARA, DATE 5/17/04

after that, in meantime we trying to resist any
kind of wild outbreak which would make whole
sit. terribly dip.

S Concerning our relations w/ US, they are generally
friendly. From aspect of opposition. We
know your way. so we don't ask for much aid.
what we need is more private investment. by
great fund — more is helping to get private
investment. We have no industrial jobs. I know
your work when he was a Secy in Paris and
we meet together from time to time.

On US investment, we call ourselves Dem-Soc.

We not courts. Our form of opposition is
great intellectual. We want to embolden by
2000 want to have p.e. i. of —. Your work has
part of 250, 1 a ^{in Africa} ^{where we have industries like}
to have utilized, ^{also} ^{to land}.

My parents owned some land, but I think this
^{movement efficient} ^{used to own}
not paid for production. 15% of people owned it
all ^{to the whole part of it.} ^{that was not effort.} to
I utilized it & ^{cost} ^{with it.} we think

Controlled exp. can't be 50% of investment in
companies. That is our ^{policy} ^{again.} W & R

looker in political & religious freedom. In a
country where 80% of my people are slaves.
I wanted to make clear to you what I mean
by a true Dem. Socialism.

Concerning ^{free} port of entry, you are more of
way about contacts w/ Soviets. That is

in part. But I, at the next part, I told Gougeon that if part went first that would be danger.

Others are doing well in opinion of Lopez party behind. ~~Stop~~ The things which the S.C. has allowed opinion cannot help Gougeon said we should not worry about Portugal becoming first.

I think - former colonies are progressing well. The

{ FPIA-Sex } principal power is Angola. We ^{hear} ~~hear~~ that
{ FPIA-OPRL } I sent my Chair of Supreme Court
{ UNITA-Euro } to advise them. I told them they must
watch the integrity. Cabinda was integrated
in 66 & must remain. Borders must
be a colonial border because otherwise
there will be wars. One of our friends
has other views about Cabinda. I make
a principle. I opposed Beza, Entero
cession & the name of Cabinda. I oppose
a balkanization of Africa. I think US
~~should~~ would do well to oppose a break up
of a African states into fragments
1. My 2 comment on part. We endorsed
a revolution & were pleased by multistage
change. We are now concerned. We
pleased by a vote when Court got only
12-13%. That was only a representation
too, as for legal or other impact. The
Court party is small but its influence
in part is not as part. As you know

a unit is a loose piece + that we think in
unit group w/ great ideas. I don't think that
upside a lot people don't know what we can
do about it, but we think a group should
decide, not a small group of us by a
committee, we see one good group from chick
project to one of left. We concerned about
Not reluctantly, I will be discussing this
w/ Nat'l leaders next week w/ Pat Baker.
But this one concern, which I think
you show that a small group can take
over control of country in relation of
rights for people

S I agree there is danger of hype. I
think your policy of expansion of is
lost. I am buying in touch w/ Soviets.

P I agree your consultation idea is to stop
in order + parts in Spain + middle
to stop a country moving in in a time
of trouble or instability + merging business
of countries.

S I believe Opinions will have good times,
even when they call themselves happier - as
Dr. Cayrol - to not fall under most domination
we refuse to sign historic agreements w/ S.U.
Opinion countries want to be independent, we
want our own way to freedom. We
want our intellectual independence, not only

from a series of western Ems but even those
who call themselves Marxists.

On MNE, I was strongly of negotiation of genuine S. & L.
arrangement 2 times to I + E. I asked them
to pledge not to occupy Arab territory after settlement.
Edon called my Arab + + together to make
a statement but they said no at last moment.
We have F rep. a PLO rep in Dakar. Why?
We have Jews in Dakar & I have many Jewish
friends. But a PLO is a most moderate. We
rep Arab committee to electing I, but there must
be Poles state w/ Arab majority.

We have a US efforts in Dakar. When to get
total peace, what he best to do it because he
Jew, intellectual, etc. We want see a picture
of S & L. I think there must be a series
of agreements, I visited a Goldman in Dakar.
I went to Austria & met w/ Kurosky.
Here I will meet w/ Jewish leaders &
my own & direct talk w/ Poles.

I am writing bad about Sadat - he had
a black yearbook - but he looks after
interests of E, Arab looks after interests of
Syria, but none will sign unless there
is way of Poles state.

To Summary - - we suggest your
efforts. We think there must be a series
& maybe I can on Palestine & on
basis of secret direct talks bet I + Poles.

I'm grateful for your in depth analysis fact. I think making your observations to Jewish leaders will help greatly. I have always been interested in F. Kennedy, but am thrust into it to just + see what we will make every effort to third. We all grateful for K efforts. We think Y.K. was basic basis for coming toward peace. Kissinger was in U.S. He has my complete support as we increase toward peace. Should be instructed in matrix of Jewish leaders. ~~They~~ w/ your background & contacts, they should be very carefully.

5. May I turn to part of peace concerns to the new → ambassadors & Paris Conf. was Tue 27 met → Clinton in Japan to take up this job to which you would very attached. There is issue but abused & unabused concerning. I discussed this in briefing. There are past very particular. Paris Conf. was particular because we were a series of 2 units. I joined w/ F. Kennedy & call for renewing of Paris Conf. & I will be bound to that end.

Dobson Conf. was on principles which & Paris Conf. should just take up principles. At Sallyport last year I mentioned nothing. We see frustration in our matrix, but entire peace will drop. My ministers say we can plan 20% price increase / yr.

We put more on heavy phosphate, but for some
landlocked countries, their survival at stake.

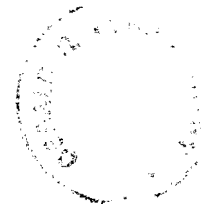
We think a Paris Conf should be moved to
discuss these probs. We think developing countries
should be helped w/ a rotating structure
in development.

P We are negotiating. I was promised a
right now is energy. We were hurt badly
by energy price rise - not so bad as
Emer. Jap. We are trying to bring energy in
if Conf would help.

We tried to bring a good position for Japan.
We are disappointed that Conf which had energy
focus, a whole energy prob was bypassed. We do
want to work w/ all to solve a energy prob
& we will. We receive a whole turning of
structural energy price which damage world
economy, but we think we should have
on a case by case basis & I think we would

(a) direct relation if we put all these in / conf.
I met w/ Nato leaders next week & I will
be taking this approach as we address energy
& energy probs.

S I understand, but parliament told me Kaveys
a good discussion before going on to energy.
We accept that. We agree to discuss energy
but want to see other principles addressed
which would apply to other entities which have
a principal prob.



P We think we can take a major part fairly
quickly. Emergency has gone by through
and we can take the long part
quickly ~~at~~ I hope we can be returned
to other areas. To put them all together would
show a whole thing. The centres of major
problems ^{worldwide} ~~worldwide~~ concerns as it is. Then
we can turn to other credit issues.

S. I don't want to take up too much of your time. Thank
you for taking the time. As I said, our
historical relations are oblique. The
issues of regional issues. One of French
countries. Senegal is country of dialogue
& hope to continue that

P French you. We can continue at lunch.
Agree you

