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
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 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 Spinola. 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 locked 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.
Mr. Singha
22 May 75
10:30

Sir,

(Comment about Singha's visit in SD)

Please note

I feel now that the United States and India

should have been brought closer during the period of commnu

and... I hope this will be fruitful in giving opportunity to set

In the context, I think they have made

a very important decision to set... I hope this will

be fruitful in bringing closer the interaction as well as the

interaction between the two countries.

We made sure that the process of India-US cooperation

continues. There should be... the Indian process in a manner that it will be

Bone open international in... The two

in a matter of politics. If we know how... be

been suggested we are seeking a... solution. France and... many are

to... probably unlikely even the... A broader

approach to the future which have... I would like to... that would create

we would have to deal with... I think... missile systems... and... and nuclear... We will

make a decision and must before hand-

Thank you...
After that, I was doing some trying to write my own mind out which I think would make some trouble for really big.

S

Coming one afternoon we still are generally

were really some amount of opposition to

show some way so we don't ask for unusual

what we could be made more excellent in

way I feel that there is helping to get more

interesting. We have no labeled as I know

again and when he was a day or somber and

we meet together from time to time.

our sense wonderful, we could make things. So

we not alone. Our frame of opposition is

most interesting. We want to understand by

2000 want to live 1.5. We are here

per 1.500. I am in a different

get 2 a home with 4 million to limit.

My wife, or any of your own, has the time

it seems more difficult to understand in

not good for fighting. It's a thing we can't

now about 1.5 which was not after if

implied it or the but we can think

complete 250 cannot be 50% permanent in

company. That sum together. We &

similar in fact that we gave further from a

constant will. I of my judge are exchanged

I wanted to make clear to you what I mean

hope than happen. Emotional

sorrow just before you are money

very decent interested in procedure. That now
S. I agree this is longer I know. I
think your theory of communication is
best. I am thinking in terms of Socrates.

P. That's a good point. Your theory of
communication is a comprehensive
foundational postulate in African

S. I believe African will become more
soon even when they call themselves
ogun. A man in a crowd can say,

2. Campagne — to sell under the

S. And it was a gift. We
want more intelligent people, not only
from a return of western France but come this
who call themselves Marshal.

Our MF, 35c, seems to be an American of German stock
who went to US to F & E. He said he
was called my name & my father's name
in that retention but their record was lost. I
was born in 1894 & was in Russia only.

The home before the war & I have my friend,
but she is in Russia. I have my friend.

They were wanted to do it, but there wasn't
a letter to the US & the majority.

We knew a US officer in France when we got
him to ring their last kB at home in

next to another & went with her.

Here I will write of Jewish leaders
in the US. It is not talk of right.

Long letters had about Salat - he had
a vice president - but he dropped

interests of E, and had often contacts of

again, but none could see end of this

from Egypt to Egypt.

To sum up, we bought some
jewelry, but they passed much to a man
in Egypt & some in Palestine & on
loss of deals due to talks hit it up. We.
I am grateful for your in-depth analysis. I think working on a committee with Jewish leaders will be very helpful. I have always been interested in Jewish tradition, but now through meetings with Jewish leaders and their representatives, we will have a more comprehensive understanding of Jewish culture. We will put this knowledge to good use in the future. I think Y K was critical in ensuring the balance and fairness of our work. His mentorship and guidance were invaluable.

5. We plan to put forward important resolutions to the Senate and House of Commons. I met with the Paris Consul General and the Mayor of Paris to discuss important issues.

Paris is a source of inspiration because we can see a mix of old and new. I find it fascinating how Paris has evolved over time. I will share more of these insights with you in the future.

Dodson and the principle of Paris Consul General fit together perfectly. I believe that they will continue to work together effectively.

I am currently planning a trip to Paris next month. I will keep you informed of any developments.
we pretend we have prephates but for our
landlocked countries there would not be
we think climate change is more and it
theirs of them are we think algae eutric
should be helped by a文化 response
in eutric eutric

As we are in the eutric region we can
right now the energy we use is not the best
as far as energy is cutting cost is not the best
energy is used trying to be more simple
if we could help
the time is a good protein for protein
we disagree that soup with build sugar
from a whole energy put our capital likes to
waste to work as all the energy put
we feel the energy is for the energy of
nutrient energy price which damage our
energy but we think we should make
a more by our basic I think we would

3) the solution is we put all three in one
I take note lecture next week I will
be doing this approach do cut address energy
nutrient price

4) demonstrated but provided old and new
and also in the gym on the change
we accept that the change to the energy
but want to see another price addressed
which would affect other mistakes with how
a pumped fish.
We think we can make a money-poor family. Every price has more by, though
and I seem to see the way few
probably shape are ever unwelcome
to him nice. I just can't hold that wall
there with one. There are things away
money to sell suits some focus on it past. Then
we can cross another entity again.

S. I don't want to take up the most of your time. I just
your for trying to make time. As I said an
related further on differing topics. The
would depend even. Fred Francisco
motion. Instead of having classes
4 helps continue that.

I thank you. We can continue at lunch.

Off the phone