MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:
- President Ford
- Jean Sauvagnargues, Minister of Foreign Affairs, France
- Amb. Jacques Kosciusko-Morizet, French Ambassador to the U.S.
- Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
- Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Saturday, September 27, 1975
10:03 - 10:40 a.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

[Photographers were admitted. There was small talk about Sauvagnargues being in the White House but not the Oval Office. Jokes about Kissinger, etc. The press was then ushered out.]

Sauvagnargues: The Chinese speech was so long I had to speak in the afternoon.

Kissinger: It was a nasty speech about the Soviet Union and very unfriendly to the U.S.

Sauvagnargues: Yes. But it was the first time there was a reference to Korea. I spoke to Teng and he gave me the impression they were restrained about Korea.

Kissinger: They were brutal on the Soviet Union, but they were very tough for the first time since they have been in the UN, on us. On Korea, the
Middle East, Angola -- which comes with especially ill grace in view of their role.

The President: We especially appreciate your helpful role in Korea. You know the Secretary's proposal and that should help in keeping stability there.

Sauvagnargues: We thought it was a useful proposal. I will be attacked by Chiao as being an ally of South Korea, but I think we must avoid a repetition of the mistakes of 1950.

The President: I understand arrangements are moving ahead for an economic summit.

Kissinger: The Brits have already told the Italians what we were going to wait on until you and Genscher could check.

The President: I spoke to Rumor earlier this week, but I was very non-committal. But I am sympathetic to their needs and I really think they should be in.

Sauvagnargues: Neither Giscard or Schmidt is enthusiastic. They are contemptuous of the Italians and they say: if you let more in, where do you draw the line? But I understand the political problems of keeping them out. We greatly appreciate the Four Power consultations we have been having. But I think it is important that we don't harm the Nine by having meetings of the Four or Five. I think, for example, the Nine have been very helpful in dealing with the Portuguese issue. The only real progress we have made in the Nine is the arrangement for periodic heads of government meetings. I mention this only because we need to keep it in perspective.

The President: Rumor made a plea for his inclusion as President of the Nine.

Sauvagnargues: That is the worst reason. They should be represented as Italy. If we get the Nine involved that way, it is a mess.

I want to mention another problem. We want representation in the Consumer-Producer Conference on the part of the Nine, and Callaghan wants no part of it. He wants individual representation.
Kissinger: There are only ten in the preparatory meeting.

Sauvagnargues: It would be destructive of the Nine to do it on this basis.

I might point out that the paper you circulated shows the spirit of Enders is not entirely dead.

Kissinger: I didn't know we had one.

Sauvagnargues: It is not worth the President's time to discuss.

I want to congratulate you on the Middle East. It was a distinct achievement. I spoke to the press about it and I am disturbed at some of the negative comments being made.

The President: I am outraged by the way the press comment.

Sauvagnargues: The American position in the Middle East is identical to our position, and I want to express our support for you.

The President: Thank you.

Sauvagnargues: There is a difference on the PLO. We go farther.

Kissinger: That is a question of timing.

Sauvagnargues: Yes. I told Asad that if the PLO wanted to assume the responsibility of a government, they had to accept the reality of Israel's existence and renounce terrorism. In Venice, the Nine reiterated their position on the PLO -- we spoke of the right of the Palestinians to a homeland.

Kissinger: It is ironical where we have come from the Balfour Declaration.

Sauvagnargues: Genscher said we had to go one step beyond 1973. Callaghan was opposed, but the Saiga made an extreme statement and put the Dutch Government under pressure so we dropped the idea to go farther.

On the whole Arafat gives the impression of being a moderate man, but I'm not sure he is in control.
Kissinger: That is the problem. There are about six groups, and the problem usually is that no leader of these movements emerges who can control the whole thing.

Sauvagnargues: What do you suppose happened between Gromyko and Allon? It was a long meeting.

Kissinger: Israel gave me an interesting readout -- only what the Soviets said. They said their position is familiar and there is no need to describe it.

The Soviet position was they wanted to participate but that the Palestinians had to participate. If the Israelis were smart and we could promise something -- like Jericho -- to the PLO, we could break them from the Soviet Union. Gromyko warned us about a Syrian-Israeli move, which must mean he thinks it is possible.

Khaddam wasn't coming to the UN, but I sent him a note. He is now coming for one day and wants to meet me for breakfast. That is interesting -- he must want to talk.

Sauvagnargues: Is a disengagement on the Golan possible?

Kissinger: Another point is that Gromyko said they wouldn't accept less than the '67 borders even if the Arabs would -- which must mean they think it is possible. Is something possible? Technically not -- the Israeli settlements are the problem.

Sauvagnargues: If they were smart, they would move them.

Kissinger: Of course.

Sauvagnargues: On Cyprus, the four had a very good discussion.

Kissinger: It was really very good.

The President: We have a crucial vote on Wednesday.

Sauvagnargues: Are you confident?

The President: It looks like 55 to 45 and that is too close. And it is only a partial lifting. But it would be a good signal.
Sauvagnargues: You would still retain an element of pressure on Turkey.

The President: That is an important point. If there is no movement in two to three months, Congress will reimpose it. So any influence you and the Nine can exert on Greece and Turkey would be very helpful.

Sauvagnargues: Yes, we have discussed in the Nine and with Greece and Turkey and with Secretary Kissinger how best to help. After the Turkish election we will start to help. I will go to Ankara shortly. And the Nine will start to apply pressure.

One problem is the central government. Turkey wants a rotating President. The Greeks won't accept, but Turkey will never accept Makarios. What do you think?

Kissinger: We need Makarios for a while. It would be helpful if he would sign the agreement. The solution may be a weak government.

The President: We are getting some help from responsible members of the Democratic party, but we have a very unreal minority lobbying against lifting the embargo.

Sauvagnargues: Is the Greek Government active? They tell us no.

Kissinger: It is hard to say. The Cypriot Government is very active and most American Greeks are Cypriots. Of course Brademas and Sarbanes have their own games.

Sauvagnargues: We must make preparations for the Giscard visit. My visit now is so short. Maybe I should come next March and spend a few days. I could see some Congressmen. We should demonstrate that the U.S. and France are able to get along.

Kissinger: Since Martinique, the change has been remarkable.

Sauvagnargues: We are really very pleased with the way our relations have developed and we think it is very beneficial for the future of the West.

[The meeting concluded.]
(Pres. in)

Small talk about Saigon, then in WH. Back to
National Office, spoke about State.

(Close)

S. The Chairman agreed w/ my idea of greater
cooperation in

K. It was a most friendly and very
confidential talk.

S. Yes, but it's still necessary to keep.
I agree to try to keep the good impression they were
about Korea.

K. They were such in SK, but very tough
for 13th time they have seen us.

On Korea, HCM, Khmer, which came off well
will go on next of their scale.

P. We very appreciative your helpful role in Korea.
Your idea of speedy progress should help in
keeping stability there.

S. We think it was a successful proposal. Should be
carried out by China, Thailand, all of, but Korea
but I think we must avoid any action
even moderate of HCM

P. I understand arrangements have as many
ahead as is seem possible.

K. France to have another trip to the US next
week we were going to written to you
a brief letter and schedule.

P. I am happy to receive a copy of this week.
And summary thus completed.
P: I can sympathized with the method of thinking that they should be in.
S: With the concept of Schwart, it is not the only way to understand the potential parts of keeping things out. But it seems apparent in a few summarizations we have been trying about 2 think it important we don't have a very large type of e.g. I think, for example, if $P$ have been very helpful in art in
ability of the Portuguese author. The only real question is how much of it is important for periodic study of the type. I consider this only because we need a question of

P: I made a plan for summarizing the parts of P.
S: That is a great news. They should be very go
Okay, if we get $P$ understood that way, it is

I want to mention another part. We want $Q$. By one part $Q$ and Cellogram wants us part with. He wants to include 

K: There is only a major match up.
S: It would be interesting if $P$ takes from this

I want just want that the people your question
with a start of $Q$ unless we interrupt

K: I think that we have a problem
S: But another I think it doing.
I want to express you are N.E. It was a distinct compliment. I spoke to Jones about it and am disturbed of course.

The opinion of the people is wide but I can understand.

So I thought you might want.

The other person on the committee can you see me and express your support.

Thank you.

There is a job on Phil. We go forward.

K. Pinch

Yes. I told Austin that if the committee wasn't part of the deal they had to accept it and if that is what's required then we're done. I transferred the position on Phil to another executive of a subsidiary to a timeline.

I know where the head came from Rayburn declaration.

Graham sent me back to go on my bug to 1973. Callahan was opposed, but not that strong. I think we need an external statement for a British statement on our decision to go forward. I used the example of a financial man, but I'm not sure if so uninvolved.

That is a fact. There are not six percent.

No, personally I was aware of that movement. Everyone who can control c what they.
S But they say there are things that need to be done and we need a team.

K I gave you two options and two only what do you think? I think they just want to keep us in the dark. Some people are saying they want to participate, that sometimes they want to involve us. Could you read something like this?

S No, I couldn't understand it. I mean, it must mean it is possible.

K I don't understand it. I can't understand it either. Are you sure there's 12 people in the dark and in the air?

S Yes, something possible?

K But we're not sure, technically it's —

S But I can't understand this at all. They would never

K On purpose.

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You need to still write an element of presence on.

That on important part. I'll remember
in 2-3 months. We will reunite on.
So everyone please c & keep in touch
and let me know helpful.

Yes, we have discussed some. I will
get back to you fully. After all, this
will be full to fully. I will get a chance
format to work on c & will start
to apply pressure.

One point in a social event. I want to talk
like Greeks and accept, don't I could see
accept Greece. What You think?

Can you make a moment for a while - helped
of the social event evening. So have
to make a whole point.

Yes, that this is really desired function.

(whole time)

I see we get some help from very members
of other party, don't we have a very
social community helping against big
campaign.

Is & can't go another? They Call us
up.

It hard a way. Then suggested and is any
alternative to work US Greeks on Egyptians. Of
course, East Greeks have their own gift.
Our meeting with周恩来 Premier is so that we can make offers and promises to deal with the problems of our time. We have been working on this for a long time and have encountered many difficulties.

We are now very close to an agreement on some important issues. We believe it is very important for the future of the world.