

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~/NODIS

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

President Gerald Ford  
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

Jean Sauvagnargues, Minister of  
Foreign Affairs of France  
Jacques Kosciusko-Morizet,  
Ambassador of France

DATE AND TIME:

September 28, 1974  
7:30 a.m. - 8:20 a.m. (Breakfast)

PLACE:

First Floor Family Dining Room  
The White House

Sauvagnargues: The UN affair is exhausting. If there were more time you could get quite a bit done.

Kissinger: Yes, I am less cynical now about the UN than I used to be. It is a tremendous concentration of decision-makers.

Sauvagnargues: I had lunch with the Arab Foreign Ministers. There was no substance, but it was very interesting.

Kissinger: I had lunch with the Africans. Quite an experience.

President: Rush is going over to Paris soon.

Sauvagnargues: It will be good to have him as a partner in Paris. We worked closely in the Berlin negotiations. It was a tough business, but Abrasimov was quite sentimental when we finished.

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5  
NSC MEMO, 11/24/88, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, *State v. ... 3/19/04*  
BY *W*, NARA, DATE *5/5/04*

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

Gromyko has warmed up a bit. He used to be quite blank-faced.

Kissinger: I think he is the most reliable -- or I did until last night. They gave us a formulation for CSCE. They said it was the same as they gave the Germans, but in fact they gave us an old one.

Grechko is very sharp. He's in his seventies, but very acute. We talked once about FBS. He showed me a map of how he would employ them. It was very good.

Sauvagnargues: The Soviet Union always claimed that the bases around the Soviet Union created a disequilibrium.

Kosciusko-Morizet: Grechko asked how many Communists there were in the French Army.

President: Does a military man like that ever get into the political arena?

Kissinger: He is in the Politburo, the first one since Zhukov.

Sauvagnargues: I think the military has a little more influence now.

[Dr. Kissinger described the discussions with Brezhnev at which Brezhnev presented Soviet maps of our FBS deployments and discussed how they would use them.]

Sauvagnargues: I had a conversation once with Brezhnev. I wasn't very impressed.

Kissinger: That is true, except on military matters. When I was negotiating with him on missile silo dimensions, he drew diagrams about how new missiles could be put into old silos with some modifications. They are doing it by this method now. At least it gives us knowledge of their new missile installations.

We were talking before about nuclear weapons in Europe. Mr. Sauvagnargues was worried about withdrawals of our nuclear weapons. I assured him there would be no withdrawals except under MBFR.

Sauvagnargues: But you might use them to get out a tank division.

Kissinger: Possibly, but we have not yet broached the idea.



Sauvagnargues: MBFR is going nowhere, yes?

President: Not so far.

Kissinger: We could get something if we linked it to CSCE. But that gives you a problem.

Sauvagnargues: We are critical of MBFR, so a link with CSCE would bring us problems. I know it is useful to you domestically.

President: We have a problem with Congress every year on the troops in Europe. Each year it gets closer. Who knows what will happen next year? We are trying to hold out for mutual withdrawal.

Kosciusko-Morizet: The pressure in Congress this year doesn't seem so high.

President: That is true. But if we get a more liberal Congress in January, our margin would evaporate.

Kissinger: And before the '76 elections, they will try to develop some foreign policy issues. Our European troops are a likely candidate.

Mr. President, you may be interested that France has introduced an impressive conservation program.

President: It was mentioned in the energy conference yesterday.

Sauvagnargues: Next year we will spend only a fixed number of millions of francs on oil.

Kissinger: So if prices go up, the quantity goes down.

Sauvagnargues: We feel the solidarity of the West must be maintained now, but we also seek a dialogue between consumers and producers. We are not ready to join emergency sharing, but we don't object to the idea. But we would rather approach it in a more general way -- including the producers. And the first step we think is to demonstrate that big consumers take oil seriously -- by each getting its house in order by conserving.



Kissinger: We agree a cooperative approach should be tried first, but we don't think it will work unless consumers show some solidarity.

Sauvagnargues: We don't disagree, but we will have to see what you propose. We would prefer a longer-range approach to study the problem first. We could include countries like India and Brazil, and include producers.

Kissinger: India and Brazil won't. They want us to fight their battles. We don't object to your approach, but we don't think you can talk to the producers until the consumers know what to talk about. We have to build financial institutions to take care of the Nine and Japan. Another must be to find a way for the Third World -- and first is conservation.

Sauvagnargues: I don't agree with this approach at all. Western unity should be based on three parties - Japan, the EC, and the United States.

Kissinger: Nothing in our plan would permit European participation as a unit. In fact it would make it easier. The fund contributions could be from Europe rather than individuals.

Sauvagnargues: We do need some unity before talking with the producers, but I would start all three at once. That is why I would use a study group. Because we don't want to antagonize Algeria, and the others.

Kissinger: Why should the producers be able to organize and not the consumers?

Sauvagnargues: But that is the way it is.

Kissinger: We were told that in February, but our relations with the producers are now better than before, even though we organized the Energy Conference.

Sauvagnargues: But you tried to get the Saudis to lower prices.

Kissinger: Some did, but I never thought it would work. My conception is to work on prices in the second phase - after we have the emergency energy sharing program.



Sauvagnargues: But the emergency sharing doesn't depend on actions by the producers. It should be done anyway.

Kissinger: True, but this builds a basis of unified action.

Sauvagnargues: What will the Japanese do?

Kissinger: They will go along, but they will try to slightly dissociate themselves.

President: I am looking forward to meeting President Giscard.

Kissinger: We are thinking of the evening of the 14th, the 15th, and maybe part of the 16th.

Sauvagnargues: Then it is decided. It will be a very easy conversation, because Giscard speaks English.

I am looking forward to seeing Martinique.

Kosciusko-Morizet: It is not luxurious. There may be press and communications problems.

Kissinger: We can't start planning before the announcement. When should we do it?

Sauvagnargues: Maybe within the next two weeks. I will check with the President.

Kosciusko-Morizet: Will you bring a huge team of journalists?

Kissinger: It is hard for us to keep it under 200.

President: They will be eager to go to Martinique.

Sauvagnargues: Thank you for this meeting.

President: It has been a pleasure. I hope you will have a good time at Camp David. Secretary Kissinger has my total backing.



P/ Samoylov / K/ K-M

28 Sept Transcribed  
mr

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Review 3/9/04  
BY ML, NARA, DATE 5/5/04

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S - The UN affair is exhausting. If there were more time you would get quite a bit done.

K - Yes, I am less cynical about a UN. It is a tremendous concentration of chaotic members.

S - I had lunch w/ c Arab F-15's. No substance, but very interesting.

K - I had lunch w/ c Africans. Quite an experience

P - Rush going soon

S - Will be glad to have him as partner in Paris. We worked closely in a Berlin effort. It was a tough business, but as in was quite sentimental when we finished. Gromyko has increased up a bit. He used to be blankie.

K - I think he's most reliable - until last effort. They gave us a parable in the CSCE they said same as they gave Germans, but in fact they gave us an old one. Gromyko is very sharp. In his 70's

but very acute. We talked once about FBS. He showed me a map that he would buy for them - very good.

S - SU always claimed better around a SU created disintegration

C-M - Gromyko asked how many Crusades in the Army.

P - Does a visit. more like that even get into political arena

K - He is in Paris. 1st time I know

S - I think a visit. had a little more information now.

K - (Described a galaxy surges)

S - I had a conversation w/ Bug. I wasn't very impressed.

K - Tom, expert on int matters. (Described missile to books.) They are doing this method now. At least gives us knowledge of new missile install. We talking about one w/ you in int. I am worried about all channels of int. I assumed him was of int sp under UN BER

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- S But again might not think to get out a tank division
- K Possibly, but not yet decided.
- S MBSR is numbers, yes?
- P Not so far.
- K We could get some if we linked it to CSE. That gives you prob.
- S I don't see we critical of MBSR, so think as CSE would bring us prob. I have respect to your domesticity
- P We have a pact w/ every every year on troops. Each year it gets closer. Who knows what will happen next year. We trying to hold out for mutual withdrawal
- CM - Pressure in coming this year doesn't seem so high.
- P That's true. But if we get a wave which buy in Jan, our margin would evaporate.
- K And by the 76 elections, they will try to drop some FX issues.

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- K France has intro. an impression conservation prog.
- P It was mentioned in conf yesterday
- S Next year we will spend only — but focus on oil
- K So if price go up, quantity goes down.
- S we feel - solidarity of west must be maintained now, but we also seek dialogue bet consumers + producers. We not ready to join embargo plan, but we don't object to idea. But we rather approach it in more gradual way - incl a program. And 1st step we think is to demonstrate that big consumers take out seriously - ~~do~~ by each getting its house in order by conserving.
- K We agree a cooperative approach should be tried 1st but don't think it will work unless consumers show some solidarity.
- S We don't disagree, but we will have to ...

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your proposal. We would prefer a longer approach to study - prob 1<sup>st</sup> we could include countries like India & Brazil, and include producers.

K India & Brazil won't. They want us to fight their battles. We don't object to your approach, but don't think you can talk to producers until economists know what to talk about.

We may have to build frontrunners distributions to take care of - 9 & Japan, another must be to find a way for fuel world - 1<sup>st</sup> is reservation.

S Don't give up on this approach at all. A solution really should be based on 3 parties - Japan, EC, US.

K Nothing in our plan would prevent EEC participation as a unit - would make it easier. The fund contributions could be from EEC rather than individuals.

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S We do need some unity w/ producers, but I would start all 3 at once. That why I would use a study group. Shouldn't want to outpace Algeria, etc.

K Why should producers be able to organize + not consumers.

S Best that a way it is

K US told that in Feb, but our relations w/ producers were better even tho we organized a Energy of Org.

S But you told A get Saudi's to lower prices.

K I've said, but I know that it would work. My conception is to work on prices in 2<sup>nd</sup> phase - after inner energy share prog.

S But a company sharing depends on action by producers. Should be done anyway.

K True, but this builds bases of unified



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- a train
- S - What will Japs do.
- K They will go along but slightly dissonate.
- P looking forward to very good
- K We think of evening of 14, then 15 + maybe part of 14
- S Then it is decided. Will be very easy conversation covered speaks English.
- looking forward to seeing Anthonijer.
- C-1111 Not luxurious. Maybe press communication prob.
- K Can't start placing large amount. when?
- S Maybe w/ in next 2 wks. I will check w/ P.
- C M - Will you bring a large team of journalists.
- K Hard for us to keep it under 200

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- P - They will be eager to go to Anthonijer
- S - Thank you
- P - Please, <sup>Hope</sup> you will have a good time at C D.
- K has very total backing -