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## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Oct. 6, 1975

NSC/S

Please close out this action. The Indian Foreign Minister is meeting with the President today and we have already done the talking paper. The Pak Minister will meet with the President on Thursday and we will separately do a talking paper for that meeting.

Rosemary *gc*  
*10/7*



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

/S 7519565

5279

October 3, 1975

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

MEMORANDUM FOR LIEUTENANT GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: The Visit of Indian External  
Affairs Minister Y.B. Chavan (NSC-5279)

Minister Chavan confirms acceptance of his  
appointment with the President on Monday, October 6  
at 4 p.m.

*for* C. Arthur Borg  
George S. Springsteen  
Executive Secretary

Attachment:  
Incoming Correspondence from NSC

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

PAB

Peck

VIA LDX- NSC-5279  
October 1, 1975

CONFIDENTIAL GDS

7519424

MEMORANDUM FOR:

ACTION TO: NEA

Mr. George S. Springsteen  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

COPIES TO:

SUBJECT:

Presidential Appointments for Indian Minister  
Chavan and Pak Minister Aziz Ahmed

To confirm our telephone notification, the President has agreed to receive Minister Chavan on Monday, October 6 at 4 PM and Minister Aziz Ahmed on Tuesday, October 14 at 11 AM for approximately 30 minutes each. Please confirm acceptance and provide briefing memoranda. Both should arrive via the Northwest Gate.

S/r  
S/S  
S/S-S  
TMD  
EB  
RF (jh w)

*JWD*  
Jeanne W. Davis  
Staff Secretary

RP - As we discussed, PAB should have a memo to the President ready COB the 9th. Check w/ us for format on it. JPS

CONFIDENTIAL GDS

42531/01





DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

7519529

5279

October 3, 1975

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

MEMORANDUM FOR LIEUTENANT GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: The Visit of Pakistan Minister of  
State Aziz Ahmed (NSC-5279, 10/2/75)

Minister of State Aziz Ahmed has accepted  
the appointment with the President on Thursday,  
October 9 at 11:00 a.m.

*for Rick Kerman*  
George S. Springsteen  
Executive Secretary

Attachment:  
Incoming Correspondence from NSC



LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

7519529

ACTION TO: NEA

VIA LDX  
NSC-5279

COPIES TO:

October 2, 1975

S  
D  
P

MEMORANDUM FOR:

S/CPR  
S/P  
TEAM D  
RF-JAB

Mr. George S. Springsteen  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Pak Minister Aziz Ahmed

You are authorized to offer Minister Aziz Ahmed an appointment with the President on Thursday, October 9 at 11 AM instead of October 14 since we understand he will have to return to Pakistan earlier than we had been advised.



Jeanne W. Davis  
Staff Secretary



MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

5279

October 3, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR WARREN RUSTAND

FROM: Jeanne W. Davis *JWD*

SUBJECT: Pak Minister Aziz Ahmed

This is to confirm acceptance of Thursday, October 9 at 11 AM  
for Minister Aziz Ahmed.



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

VIA LDX  
NSC-5279

October 2, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. George S. Springsteen  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Pak Minister Aziz Ahmed

You are authorized to offer Minister Aziz Ahmed an appointment with the President on Thursday, October 9 at 11 AM instead of October 14 since we understand he will have to return to Pakistan earlier than we had been advised.



Jeanne W. Davis  
Staff Secretary





VIA LDX  
NSC-5279

October 2, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. George S. Springsteen  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Pak Minister Azis Ahmed

You are authorized to offer Minister Azis Ahmed an appointment with the President on Thursday, October 9 at 11 AM instead of October 14 since we understand he will have to return to Pakistan earlier than we had been advised.

Jeanne W. Davis  
Staff Secretary

cc: Bob Oakley

Gen. Scowcroft



THE WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

TIME SENT:

75 OCT 2 PM 3:55

LDX NR: 26 SITUATION ROOM PAGES: 9

RECEIVED DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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ANMCC \_\_\_\_\_ NPIC \_\_\_\_\_  
NSA \_\_\_\_\_ ERDA \_\_\_\_\_

DESCRIPTION/COMMENT

FROM: Jeanne Davis

TO: George Springsteen



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

VIA LDX- NSC-5279

October 1, 1975

CONFIDENTIAL GDS

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. George S. Springsteen  
Executive Secretary  
Department of State

SUBJECT: Presidential Appointments for Indian Minister  
Chavan and Pak Minister Aziz Ahmed

To confirm our telephone notification, the President has agreed to receive Minister Chavan on Monday, October 6 at 4 PM and Minister Aziz Ahmed on Tuesday, October 14 at 11 AM for approximately 30 minutes each. Please confirm acceptance and provide briefing memoranda. Both should arrive via the Northwest Gate.



Jeanne W. Davis  
Staff Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL GDS

HR 5131161



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WHITE HOUSE  
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PAGES: 1

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STATE <u>X</u> _____	DIA/H _____
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DESCRIPTION/COMMENT

FROM:

Jeanne W Davis

TO:

George S Springsteen

NSC/S



MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~5297~~ 5279

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

September 25, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR WARREN RUSTAND

FROM: Jeanne W. Davis *JWD*

SUBJECT: Presidential Meetings with Foreign Leaders Attending UNGA

With reference to attached memo on UNGA visitors, there are still some requests that are outstanding and we would appreciate your assistance in seeking approvals:

Mexican President Echeverria -- Although there is no final decision on his attendance, we understand that it is likely to happen and he will be here some time in October. As soon as we have more information on timing, we will let you know. However, we would still like to have an indication on whether the President will want to see him.

Fiji Prime Minister Mara -- He will not be coming for the UNGA and you may withdraw our request. *closed*

Indian Foreign Minister Chavan -- He will be in Washington on October 6 and 7 for the Indo-US Joint Commission. (30 minutes) ✓

Pak Minister Aziz Ahmed -- He has arrived and is expected to be here through October 15. If an appointment is set, however, we believe he would extend his stay. (30 minutes) ✓

Mauritius Prime Minister Ramgoolam -- He has arrived and is planning to leave the US on September 30. He will be addressing the UN on September 29, and we would suggest an appointment on the morning of the 30th for 30 minutes. *Completed* ✓

Lux Prime Minister Thorn -- He would like to come here between October 30 and December 18. (Office meeting and working dinner).

UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 03/21/00 BY SP-6/BJA/STC/STB  
FOR INFO, THESE OFFICE GUIDELINES  
BY *1/22* DATE *5/31/01*



## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIALACTION

September 15, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER *HK*

SUBJECT: Presidential Meetings with Foreign  
Leaders Attending UN General Assembly

There follow for your consideration my recommendations on meetings with foreign leaders who are expected to attend the United Nations General Assembly:

Europe

Prime Minister Thorn of Luxembourg -- You have agreed to invite Prime Minister Thorn to Washington for an office meeting and dinner in September.

Chancellor Schmidt of Germany -- Chancellor Schmidt will be visiting the U. S. unofficially from October 2-5. He will deliver a speech to the U. S. Council of the International Chambers of Commerce in New York City and may also attend a session of the General Assembly. Schmidt has informally indicated an interest in meeting with you, and I recommend that you invite him to Washington. If your schedule permits, you may also want to consider hosting a stag working luncheon for him. (The Emperor of Japan will be here for his State Visit during this period.)

Approve office meeting only \_\_\_\_\_  
(October 3 preferred)

Approve office meeting and working lunch \_\_\_\_\_ */*

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

CONFIDENTIAL - GDS*HR 5/31/01*

*Sent to Ruzstand w/attached note 9-15-75*

Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko -- Gromyko will attend the regular session of the General Assembly and plans to be in Washington during the period September 18-20. I recommend that you agree to a meeting with him.

Approve  \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Italian Foreign Minister Rumor -- Rumor will be in the U. S. from September 22-25 and has asked to see you. I recommend that you meet with him to show our concern and support for Italy in the wake of substantial Communist gains in the June elections and to further our mutual interest in maintaining close consultations during the current Italian presidency of the European Community.

Approve  \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

UK Foreign Secretary Callaghan will be in New York September 21-25 for the regular assembly session, and French Foreign Minister Sauvagnargues will be in New York beginning September 22 for one week of the regular session. Neither has requested a meeting and, at present, we believe it unlikely that they will do so. If they should, however, I will make separate recommendations.

Latin America

There are indications that Mexican President Echeverria will attend the UNGA. Echeverria has just returned from a lengthy trip including stops in about fifteen countries, including the Middle East, and will be anxious to share his impressions with you. If he comes to the U. S., I recommend that you agree to see him.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Prime Ministers Manley of Jamaica, Williams of Trinidad/Tobago, Barrow of Barbados, and Gairy of Grenada, are expected to attend the UNGA. However, I do not recommend that you receive them. I expect to be meeting with Manley and Williams, and possibly others, in New York.

East Asia

Prime Minister Mara of Fiji -- Prime Minister Mara will be here for the UNGA and has asked to see you. Fiji has generally supported



us on important issues in the UN. If a mutually convenient time can be arranged on your schedule, I believe a brief courtesy call would help to assure that this pattern continues.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Middle East

We do not now expect any Chiefs of State or Heads of Government from the Middle East to attend the UNGA; any unexpected appearance will be given separate consideration.

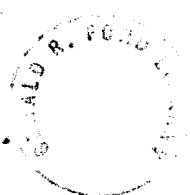
Of the many foreign ministers from this area, the key individuals are Israeli Foreign Minister Allon, Egyptian Foreign Minister Fahmy and Syrian Foreign Minister Khaddam. There is at present no pressure by any of these ministers except Fahmy for a meeting with you. I recommend you agree to meet with Fahmy and will be submitting a separate proposal when his plans become clearer.

I also recommend that you meet with the Saudi Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Prince Saud, who will attend the UNGA. The Saudis have asked for a meeting. Saud is playing a much more important role in Saudi foreign affairs and I believe your meeting with him would dramatize and reflect the importance we attach to our bilateral relationship, to the constructive Saudi role in the peace negotiations, and to our interest in a moderating Saudi role in OPEC and in the Middle East. Additionally, you have met with no high-level Saudi official since your meeting last fall with the late Omar Saqqaf, Foreign Minister, while you have in the interim met more than once with the key Arab-Israeli leaders.

Approve ✓ \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_  
(September 18 preferred)

South Asia

The key officials expected from this area are Pakistani Minister of State Aziz Ahmed (Bhutto's chief foreign policy and defense architect) and Indian Foreign Minister Chavan (who will also come to Washington to attend the long-postponed first meeting of the Indo-US Joint Commission). Chavan would like to see you and we can assume that Aziz Ahmed will press for a meeting, particularly if the Pakistanis sense that you might meet Chavan. I believe it would be useful for you to meet with both of them. You should either meet with both or with neither of them.





I recommend that you agree to brief meetings with both Ahmed and Chavan.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove (will see neither) \_\_\_\_\_

Africa

Prime Minister Ramgoolam (also Foreign Minister) of Mauritius is expected to attend the UNGA and should be considered for an office call. Mauritius is one of the few countries in the Indian Ocean that still welcomes U. S. Naval port visits. A meeting would also serve to demonstrate continued U. S. interest in Mauritius and relieve Ramgoolam from some of the pressure he is currently receiving from the Soviets for naval facilities and from the Indians for Indian Ocean policy support.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_



NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC		RECD		LOG		INITIAL ACTION	
MO	DA	MO	DA	HR			
9	25	9	25	19	7505279		

**SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION**

TO: PRES \_\_\_\_\_ FROM: KISSINGER, H \_\_\_\_\_ S/S \_\_\_\_\_ REFERENCE: \_\_\_\_\_ CIRCLE AS APPROPRIATE

KISSINGER \_\_\_\_\_ COLBY, W \_\_\_\_\_ OTHER \_\_\_\_\_ UNCLAS LOG IN/OUT

SCOWCROFT \_\_\_\_\_ SCHLESINGER, J \_\_\_\_\_ (C) EYES ONLY EXDIS

DAVIS \_\_\_\_\_ ST EX SEC \_\_\_\_\_ S CODEWORD

TS SENSITIVE

SUBJECT: *Pres mtgs w/ form leaders during VNGA*

**DISTRIBUTION/INITIAL ACTION ASGMT**

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION			REC CY FOR	ACTION REQUIRED
	ACTION	INFO		
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/SCOWCROFT				MEMO FOR HAK .....
STAFF SECRETARY				MEMO FOR PRES .....
FAR EAST				REPLY FOR .....
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA				APPROPRIATE ACTION .....
MID EAST / NO. AFRICA / SO. ASIA				MEMO TO .....
EUROPE / CANADA				RECOMMENDATIONS .....
LATIN AMERICA				JOINT MEMO .....
UNITED NATIONS				REFER TO _____ FOR: _____
ECONOMIC				ANY ACTION NECESSARY? .....
SCIENTIFIC				CONCURRENCE .....
PROGRAM ANALYSIS				DUE DATE: _____
NSC PLANNING				COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS)
CONGRESSIONAL				
OCEANS POLICY				
INTELLIGENCE				

*Proposed*

**SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS**

DATE	FROM	TO	S	SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN):	CY TO
9/25				Reopen/davis rpd memo to Ruston	
10/1				D Davis rpd memo to Spangler	Oakley
10/2				D Davis rpd memo to Spangler	Oakley
10/3				Davis rpd memo to Ruston	Oakley
10/4				Recd state input 7519565	
10/4				Recd state input 7519529	
10/4		Oakley	S	further action (10/6)	
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**DISPATCH INSTR**

DISPATCH \_\_\_\_\_

CY RQMTS: SEE ABOVE PLUS: \_\_\_\_\_

NOTIFY \_\_\_\_\_ & DATE \_\_\_\_\_ BY \_\_\_\_\_

SPECIAL DISPOSITION: \_\_\_\_\_

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SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: *PA* FOLDER: \_\_\_\_\_

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**OCT 14 1975**

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PA DY

MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION  
October 6, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT  
 THROUGH: MARGIE VANDERHYE *WVH*  
 FROM: ROBERT B. OAKLEY *RO*  
 SUBJECT: President/Chavan Meeting Today --  
 Read-out Statement

At Tab A is our recommended summary statement for Mr. Nessen's use following the President's meeting with Indian Foreign Minister Chavan at 4 p. m. today, along with Q and A material. Our materials are revisions of the State guidance at Tab B.

RECOMMENDATION: That you approve the guidance at Tab A for Mr. Nessen's use.

APPROVE

*WVH*  
 AS AMENDED  
*by B.S.*  
*Read out*



WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT FOLLOWING  
MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT FORD AND  
INDIAN MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
Y.B. CHAVAN, OCTOBER 6, 1975

President Ford and Indian Minister of External Affairs Y.B. Chavan met in the Oval Office for \_\_\_\_\_ minutes. The meeting was also attended by Secretary of State Kissinger and \_\_\_\_\_ on the American side, and \_\_\_\_\_ on the Indian side.

The President welcomed this first opportunity for a full and constructive exchange of views personally with the Indian Minister on the development of Indian-American relations.

They discussed major global issues of mutual interest, including progress of detente, the prospects for peace in the Middle East, the situation in Asia, and current efforts to solve global economic problems, especially those affecting the developing world. With regard to South Asia, the President stressed our long-standing interest in the peace and stability of the sub-continent and our desire to continue to develop cooperative and productive relations between our two countries.

To this end, the President and Minister discussed the activities of the Indo-U.S. Joint Commission, which is meeting in Washington today and tomorrow under the co-chairmanship of Secretary Kissinger and Minister Chavan. The President sees this commission as a practical mechanism for expanding areas of cooperation for the mutual benefit of our two countries.



QUESTION: Did the President's trip to India come up in the talks? Will he be going there?

ANSWER: I don't have anything new to say on that. As you know, the President has accepted the Government of India's invitation in principle, but no specific date has ever been set. The President's calendar is full through the remainder of the year.

QUESTION: Did the President reiterate his recent criticism of the Indian emergency and the setback to democracy there?

ANSWER: The discussion between the President and Foreign Minister was friendly, frank and constructive. I have no details for you.

QUESTION: Does this meeting with the Indian Foreign Minister mean the U.S. Government approves of what is going on in India?

ANSWER: Our preference for democratic norms is well-known. The President and Secretary of State have emphasized this preference on numerous occasions. But I do not see that any useful purpose would be served by commenting further on developments inside India. We want stable and productive relations between the United States and India, which we believe contributes to overall peace and stability in South Asia - our primary goal in the Subcontinent.



QUESTION: What is this Joint Indo-U.S. Commission? When was it founded? What does it do specifically?

ANSWER: The Indo-U.S. Joint Commission was established in October 1974 when Secretary Kissinger visited India. It is designed to foster greater cooperation between India and the U.S. in the fields of economics and commerce, science and technology, and education and culture. The three subcommissions met earlier in the year, and the full Joint Commission, which is chaired by Secretary Kissinger and Minister Chavan, is meeting today and tomorrow to consider reports of the subcommissions and to chart future directions. There will be a public ceremony tomorrow at 12:45 p.m. at the State Department when the communique is issued and the two ministers sign the Agreed Minutes.



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

10/6

URGENT FOR MARGIE VANDERHYE

Margie,

Attached is the back-up for after the Chavan meeting today. Incidentally, the Indians use (formally) the Minister for External Affairs title rather than Foreign Minister which accounts for our language in the formal read-out statement as opposed to informal references as "foreign minister" (which he is).

Rosemary





DEPARTMENT OF STATE 7519596

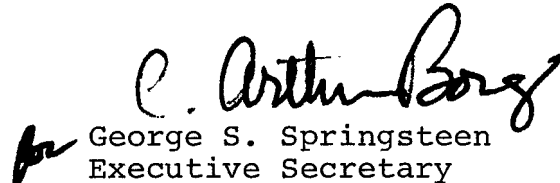
Washington, D.C. 20520

October 3, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR LIEUTENANT GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT  
THE WHITE HOUSE

SUBJECT: White House Statement Following Meeting  
Between President Ford and Indian  
Minister of External Affairs Y.B. Chavan  
on October 6, 1975

Attached is a draft statement for the possible use  
of White House Press Secretary Nessen.

  
George S. Springsteen  
Executive Secretary

Attachments:

1. Draft statement
2. Press Guidance for  
follow-up questions





NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC		RECD			LOG NBR	INITIAL ACTION O
MO	DA	MO	DA	HR	7506660	<i>Oakley</i>
10	3	10	4	9		

SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES \_\_\_\_\_ FROM: KISSINGER, H \_\_\_\_\_

KISSINGER *X* COLBY, W \_\_\_\_\_

SCOWCROFT *X* SCHLESINGER, J \_\_\_\_\_

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SUBJECT: *Press statement for Oct 6 mtg btw Pres & YB Chavan of India*

DISTRIBUTION/INITIAL ACTION ASGMT

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION			REC CY FOR	ACTION REQUIRED
	ACTION	INFO.		
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/SCOWCROFT				MEMO FOR HAK <i>Scowcroft X</i>
STAFF SECRETARY <i>Jovan</i>		<i>X</i>		MEMO FOR PRES _____
FAR EAST				REPLY FOR _____
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA				APPROPRIATE ACTION _____
MID EAST / NO. AFRICA / SO. ASIA	<i>X</i>		<i>X</i>	MEMO _____ TO _____
EUROPE / CANADA				RECOMMENDATIONS _____
LATIN AMERICA				JOINT MEMO _____
UNITED NATIONS				REFER TO _____ FOR: _____
ECONOMIC				ANY ACTION NECESSARY? _____
SCIENTIFIC				CONCURRENCE _____
PROGRAM ANALYSIS				DUE DATE: <i>10/6</i>
NSC PLANNING				COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS)
CONGRESSIONAL				
OCEANS POLICY				
INTELLIGENCE				

SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

DATE	FROM	TO	S	SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN):	CY TO
<i>10/6/75</i>	<i>Oakley</i>	<i>Vanderhyle and Scowcroft</i>			
<i>10/6</i>		<i>Scowcroft</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>Decision (10/6)</i>	
<i>10/7</i>		<i>NSC/S</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>Close per Vanderhyle</i>	

NSC/S INSTR DISP

DISPATCH \_\_\_\_\_

CY RQMTS: SEE ABOVE PLUS: \_\_\_\_\_

NOTIFY \_\_\_\_\_ & DATE \_\_\_\_\_ BY \_\_\_\_\_

SPECIAL DISPOSITION: \_\_\_\_\_

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SUSPENSE *X* ATTACHED: \_\_\_\_\_ FOLDER: \_\_\_\_\_

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M/F'D *OCT 10 1975*

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CLOSE *MAK*

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~SECRET/NODIS~~ (GDS)

October 6, 1975

MEETING WITH Y. B. CHAVAN, FOREIGN MINISTER OF INDIA

[Addressed as Mr. Minister]

Monday, October 6  
4 p.m. (30 minutes, no translation)  
The Oval Office

FROM: Henry A. Kissinger *B*

I. PURPOSE

To lend impetus to our long-term objective of developing more constructive relations with India as well as reinforcing with India our basic policy supporting normalization of relationships among the countries of the Sub-Continent. This is your first meeting with a high-ranking Indian official in over a year (you met with then-Foreign Minister Swaran Singh last September).

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS ARRANGEMENTS

A. Background: Chavan has come to Washington to attend a U.S. -Indian Joint Commission meeting, rescheduled after the Indians cancelled the meeting last spring in reaction to our lifting of the South Asian arms embargo. Mrs. Gandhi hopes that U.S. policy will continue to recognize India's pre-eminent position in South Asia, and that our great power interests and arms supply policy for the area will not adversely affect Indian interests.

The Indians asked for this meeting. Their initiative must be seen against developments over the past year--since we agreed last fall to begin a serious dialogue of improving our relationship. Chavan will be preoccupied with (1) the U.S. reaction to India's imposition of a state of emergency; (2) your possible travel to India; (3) U.S. arms to Pakistan; and (4) obtaining additional economic assistance.

~~SECRET/NODIS~~ (GDS)

*HR 5/31/01*

Subject to GDS of E.O. 11652  
Automatically Downgraded at Two  
Year Intervals and Declassified on  
December 31, 1985



Since Mrs. Gandhi invoked the emergency provisions of the Indian Constitution June 26, she has been in complete control. Most opposition leaders are in jail and the press is censored. Her call for discipline and greater efforts to get the economy going have so far struck a responsive chord among numerous segments in Indian society. Good summer rains and a sharp drop in inflation point to a much improved short-term economic outlook, but the longer-term prognosis remains poor.

Two developments would appear to have heightened Indian interest in better relations with the U.S.: (a) The declaration of emergency in India cast a negative glow over its "democratic" image; a positive U.S. attitude thus becomes more important to offset both domestic and international criticism. (b) The coup in Bangladesh and the potential for an increase in pro-Pakistani and pro-Chinese influence there introduced a new element of fluidity in the South Asian situation which the Indians view as potentially disadvantageous to their interests and "pre-eminent role". A more positive relationship with the U.S. would help neutralize these negative factors.

1. U.S. Global and South Asia Policies

The Indians fear that our good relations with China and renewed arms relationship with Pakistan damage their interests. The slowdown by Pakistan in the Simla process of reconciliation with Pakistan and the August coup in Bangladesh have increased their anxieties.

India's concerns are exaggerated. We are willing to live with the reality of India's pre-eminent position on the Sub-Continent. We are not trying to undercut India's military predominance on the Sub-Continent. We have humanitarian not political interests in Bangladesh and no intention of supporting any third country efforts to use Bangladesh to disrupt India's sphere of influence. On the other hand, we wish India to be conciliatory toward Pakistan and not overreact toward Bangladesh.



2. The Indian Emergency

Mrs. Gandhi is hyper-sensitive to foreign criticism of her departure from the democratic path. The Indians have reacted sharply to U.S. disapproval of the imposition of emergency powers. Chavan will try to justify the emergency, emphasizing that Mrs. Gandhi has acted within the letter of the Indian Constitution and that since Parliament has approved the emergency, India is still democratic. We have emphasized that we are not interfering in any way in their internal affairs.

3. Non-aligned Issues

A charter member of the non-aligned, India has in the past usually yielded to the more radical elements. However, of late the Indians have become increasingly responsive to reasonable proposals. For the most part, India supported U.S. position at the UNGA Special Session. India also supported us against the non-aligned radicals on the Puerto Rico and Israeli suspension issues.

4. Bilateral Economic Issues

As a result of raising costs of fuel, fertilizer and food imports, India's economic prospects look grim. With unaccustomed frankness, they have asked for a resumption of economic aid and for a high level of PL-480 wheat (2 million tons).

We have programmed \$76 million for economic assistance in FY 76 but plan to wait until Congress completes the legislative process before starting aid talks with the Indians. On the food side, we are not certain at this point how much PL-480 wheat can be offered. Originally we had programmed 500,000 tons of Title I wheat as well as 250,000 tons of Title II commodities.

5. Indian Nuclear Policies

The Indian nuclear test was a serious setback to global non-proliferation efforts, but has had relatively little strategic significance. We have no hard evidence the Indians are at present engaged in developing nuclear weapons.



The Indians have been resentful of foreign criticism of their nuclear test, but generally appreciate the restraint which the USG has shown. We have been quietly urging them to adopt responsive policies against the export of sensitive nuclear equipment and technology as part of our broader non-proliferation efforts.

6. Joint Commission

The Indo-U.S. Joint Commission was established during my visit to New Delhi in October 1974. While some modest work has been accomplished, the importance of the Commission lies in the fact that it provides a tangible sign of our mutual interest in trying to develop a more productive long-term relationship, particularly in the private business sector.

- B. Participants: Foreign Minister Chavan, Foreign Secretary Kewal Singh, Henry A. Kissinger and Brent Scowcroft.
- C. Press Arrangements: Press photo session at the beginning of the meeting; short summary statement for the press following the meeting.

III. TALKING POINTS:

1. I welcome this opportunity to review U.S. -Indian relations. We seek good relations with India and we are pleased that you are here to assist in this process and to attend the Joint Commission meeting. We hope your visit will be a productive one.

2. On the U.S. side, our policy remains unchanged:

--Our objective is the peace and stability of South Asia. The nations of the area should be at liberty to pursue their own interests and solve their own problems free from outside interference.

--We recognize the current power relationships in the area, including the pre-eminent role played by India. We do not intend to upset these relationships. We seek good relations with India as well as with all of the states in the area.

--Our arms sales policy in South Asia has been clearly defined to reflect our interest in South Asian stability. The nature of the arms sales we will make to Pakistan will reflect this. Our own interests lie in the stability of the region.



--Our policies of detente with China and the Soviet Union are paralleled by our desire to see the nations of South Asia tackle their problems without great power interference.

--We recognize the importance of the Simla process as the best means of promoting stability in the area. We strongly encourage your efforts to work with Pakistan as well as with Bangladesh. This is a process which we encourage with all three states.

3. With respect to Bangladesh, the U.S. was saddened by the violent change of government and the death of Mujib Rahman. We want good relations with the new Government and hope it will continue to have very good relations with India. India, as the major power, has important responsibilities for regional stability. We want to work with your Government to ensure that regional stability is not upset by such developments as the change in government in Dacca or tensions between Pakistan and Afghanistan.
4. We are prepared to do our best in providing economic assistance including food and development loans. For Congressional reasons it is preferable to defer the start of aid talks until after the FY 76 aid bill passes.
5. India and the U.S. have much to gain in tackling together international problems, especially those troubling the Third World. We appreciate India's role in non-aligned councils and we would like to work more closely with India on these matters.
6. One other area of concern is the problem of nuclear proliferation. We have been working very seriously on this, both with the suppliers and the consumers. We hope we can work closely with India in the regional context.
7. As you know, we have been heavily engaged in assisting the parties toward a just and peaceful resolution of the Middle East situation. We appreciate the support you personally have expressed for the success of the new accord. We are determined to make further progress.



8. Please convey my regards to Prime Minister Gandhi. I look forward to a personal meeting with her. My schedule for the remainder of the year is full but I appreciate her kind invitation to visit India, as soon as my schedule permits.



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WITHDRAWAL ID 012984

REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . National security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . Biography

CREATION DATE . . . . . 08/07/1975

VOLUME . . . . . 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 032700004

COLLECTION TITLE . . . . . NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL  
COUNTRY FILES FOR MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH  
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CREATION DATE . . . . . 09/29/1975

VOLUME . . . . . 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 032700004

COLLECTION TITLE . . . . . NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL  
COUNTRY FILES FOR MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH  
ASIA

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FOLDER TITLE . . . . . India (3)

DATE WITHDRAWN . . . . . 05/23/2001

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR

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REASON FOR WITHDRAWAL . . . . National security restriction

TYPE OF MATERIAL . . . . . Biography

CREATION DATE . . . . . 08/04/1975

VOLUME . . . . . 1 page

COLLECTION/SERIES/FOLDER ID . 032700004

COLLECTION TITLE . . . . . NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. PRESIDENTIAL  
COUNTRY FILES FOR MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH  
ASIA

BOX NUMBER . . . . . 12

FOLDER TITLE . . . . . India (3)

DATE WITHDRAWN . . . . . 05/23/2001

WITHDRAWING ARCHIVIST . . . . HJR

Exempt 8/13/04

Indo-U.S. Joint Commission  
Schedule for October 6-7, 1975 Meeting

Monday, October 6

- 11:00 a.m. Plenary Session of the Joint Commission chaired by the Secretary and Foreign Minister, Deputy Secretary's Conference Room, 7th Floor.
- 11:30 a.m. Secretary and Foreign Minister retire to the Secretary's office for bilateral talks.  
  
Plenary Session of Joint Commission continues with Under Secretary Robinson and Educational and Cultural Subcommission Co-Chairman G. Parthasarathi in chair.
- 12:30 p.m. Foreign Minister lunches at the National Press Club.
- 3:00 p.m. Minister calls on Secretary Butz at the Department of Agriculture.
- 4:00 p.m. Minister calls on President Ford at the White House.
- 5:00 p.m. Minister calls on Secretary Simon at the Treasury. (Tentative)  
  
Under Secretary Robinson and G. Parthasarathi meet for final review of Agreed Minute and Communique.
- 8:30 p.m. Minister hosts dinner in honor of the Secretary. Place: Indian Ambassador's Residence, 2700 Macomb Street, N.W.

Tuesday, October 7

- 9:30 a.m. Minister meets with House International Relations Committee, Room 2200, Rayburn House Office Building.
- 12:45 p.m. Secretary and Minister sign Agreed Minute in Public Ceremony, Outer lobby, 7th Floor.
- 1:00 p.m. Secretary hosts lunch for Minister, Jefferson Room, 8th Floor.



- 3:30 p.m. Minister meets with Senate Foreign Relations Committee over coffee, Room S-116, the Capitol.
- 6:00 p.m. Ambassador Kaul hosts reception for the American delegation at his residence, 2700 Macomb Street, N.W.



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SECRET/NODIS GDS ATTACHMENT

10/4

FOR GENERAL SCOWCROFT

Brent,

You separately have a note seeking your guidance on whether -- as State recommends -- Ambassadors Kaul and Saxbe should be included in the meeting. The "Participants" section of the talking paper for the President has a spare line if the following sentence is to be typed in: "Ambassadors Saxbe and Kaul will also attend the meeting."



Bob Oakley



MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

October 3, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: GENERAL SCOWCROFT

FROM: ROBERT B. OAKLEY *ROB*

SUBJECT: Participation in President's Meeting with  
Indian Foreign Minister--Monday,  
October 6, 4 p.m.

We are coordinating with State in a talking paper for the President's meeting with Chavan on Monday. State is recommending that the participants include, in addition to the President, the Secretary, yourself, and Foreign Minister Chavan, the following:

Indian Foreign Secretary Kewal Singh  
Indian Ambassador Kaul  
U. S. Ambassador Saxbe

The question is whether or not it is necessary to have Kaul and Saxbe present and you could not have one without having both.

RECOMMENDATION: That you indicate your preference for the following:

- Delete Kaul and Saxbe, but approve rest of group.
- Include entire group as recommended by State above.
- Other



MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~SECRET~~/NODIS (GDS)ACTION  
October 3, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER

FROM: ROBERT B. OAKLEY *RO*

SUBJECT: Talking Paper for President's Meeting  
with Indian Foreign Minister -- Monday,  
October 6 (4 p. m.)

Attached at Tab I is a talking paper and background materials for the President's use in his meeting on Monday with Indian Foreign Minister Chavan, developed from the State paper.

RECOMMENDATION: That you forward the package at Tab I to the President.

~~SECRET~~/NODIS (GDS)*HR 5/31/01*

Subject to GDS of E. O. 11652  
Automatically Downgraded at Two  
Year Intervals and Declassified on  
December 31, 1985





## DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

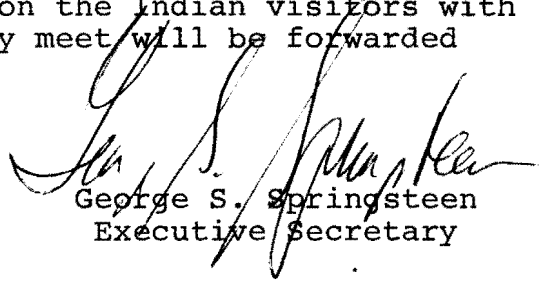
October 1, 1975

*For the President's  
talker*

MEMORANDUM FOR LIEUTENANT GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Visit of Indian Foreign Minister  
Chavan - October 6-7

Attached are seven copies of the Briefing Memorandum for the President on the visit of Indian Foreign Minister Chavan. Seven sets of biographic materials on the Indian visitors with whom the President may meet will be forwarded October 2.

  
George S. Springsteen  
Executive Secretary

Attachments:  
As Stated







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6588

32

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

October 1, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR LIEUTENANT GENERAL BRENT SCOWCROFT  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Biographic Information for  
Chavan Visit

Attached is biographic information on Foreign  
Minister Chavan and the two other Indian participants  
in the meeting with the President.

*for* *Rick Sherman*  
George S. Springsteen  
Executive Secretary





DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL/NODIS~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Your Meeting with the Indian Foreign Minister

I. PURPOSE

Foreign Minister Y. B. Chavan comes to Washington for a meeting of the Indo-U.S. Joint Commission and bilateral talks at a time when the Indians hope to gain better USG understanding of Mrs. Gandhi's domestic policies. Chavan will have several things in mind:

-- He hopes for symbolic U.S. acceptance of the new order in India and word that you still feel committed to visit India.

-- He will want confirmation that our global and South Asia policies do not endanger Indian interests.

-- In this connection, he is worried that our arms policy toward Pakistan will psychologically and materially encourage Bhutto to return to a course of confrontation with India.

-- He hopes for U.S. economic help in keeping the Indian economy afloat.

For us, the session provides an opportunity to pursue the long-term process of working toward more stable and productive bilateral relations with India.

Your purpose in the meeting will be:

-- To restate our basic policy of supporting South Asian normalization and our recognition of India's

~~CONFIDENTIAL/NODIS~~

-GDS-

HR 5/31/01



preeminent position on the subcontinent because of its size, population and resources.

-- To review the parameters of our arms policy to prepare the ground for likely sales to Pakistan.

-- To stress that while we prefer democratic forms, we recognize that India must decide for itself the character of its government.

-- To reiterate our interest in more stable and productive relations.

## II. BACKGROUND AND STRATEGY

### A. Background

1 Chavan will be preoccupied with (1) the U.S. reaction to India's emergency and your trip to India; (2) arms to Pakistan and possible trouble in Bangladesh; and (3) additional economic assistance. He is a man of relatively few words who shares standard Indian views, but comes across more positively than many Indians since he is not argumentative or supercilious. Because of your recent remarks on Indian political developments, Chavan may be somewhat ill at ease.

2 Since Mrs. Gandhi invoked the emergency provisions of the Indian Constitution June 26, she has been in complete control. Most important opposition leaders are in jail and the press is censored. Her call for discipline and greater efforts to get the economy going have so far struck a responsive chord among numerous segments of Indian society. Mrs. Gandhi seems set in power for the foreseeable future. Good summer rains and a sharp drop in inflation point to a much improved short-term economic outlook, but the longer-term prognosis remains poor.

#### 1. U.S. Global and South Asia Policies

The Indians fear that our detente with China and our renewed arms relationship with Pakistan damage



*which resulted in a new government less friendly to India and closer to Pakistan and China*

their interests. The slowdown <sup>by Pakistan</sup> in the Simla process of reconciliation ~~between India and Pakistan~~ and the August coup in Bangladesh have increased their anxieties.

*large-scale arms sales*

We believe India's concerns are exaggerated. We are willing to live with the reality of India's preeminent position on the subcontinent. Our improving relations with Peking are not designed to hurt India. We are not trying to undercut India's military pre-eminence through future sales of ~~lethal arms~~ to Pakistan. We have humanitarian not political interests in Bangladesh and no intention of supporting possible Sino-Pakistani efforts to ~~wear the Bengalees out of use~~ <sup>of use</sup> Bangladesh India's sphere of influence. *On the other hand, India should continue to be conciliatory toward Pakistan and not overreact toward Bangladesh.*

*do disrupt*

2. The Indian Emergency

Mrs. Gandhi is hyper-sensitive to foreign criticism about India's departure from the democratic path. The Indians have reacted sharply to U.S. press criticism of the imposition of emergency powers ~~and your comments to the Chicago-Sun Times regretting the erosion of civil liberties in India.~~ Chavan will try to justify the emergency, emphasizing that Mrs. Gandhi has acted within the letter of the Indian Constitution and that India is still democratic since Parliament has approved the emergency.

We have emphasized that we are not interfering in any way in their internal affairs. While we obviously prefer a democratic India, this is India's affair. We would like to continue the long-term effort to shape more productive relations with India if the Indians wish this. At the same time, we would advise against your visiting India this year. A visit to India while the emergency is still in full swing would be misunderstood by many Americans and be exploited for internal domestic purposes in India.

3. International Economic Issues

<sup>Non-aligned</sup>  
A charter member of the non-aligned, India has <sup>in the past</sup> played a ~~less active role in recent years~~ and usually



where we had Indian cooperation. India also supported us against

reasonable

yielded to the more radical elements. ~~like the Algerians.~~ However, of late the Indians have become increasingly responsive to our ~~concrete~~ proposals. Chavan was up-beat after the UNGA Special Session.

For our part, we want to strengthen the on-going dialogue with India on North/South issues. ~~Our UN proposals provide a basis for stressing that we are interested in helping the Indians.~~ Although we sit on opposite sides of the field, this is an area where the U.S. and India have a mutual interest in cooperation.

4. Bilateral Economic Issues

Backed into a tight corner by rising costs of fuel, fertilizer and food imports, India's economic prospects look grim over the longer term. With unaccustomed frankness, they have asked for a resumption of economic aid and for a large slug of Title I wheat (2 million tons).

We have programmed \$76 million for economic assistance in FY 76, but we think we should wait until Congress completes the legislative process before we start aid talks with the Indians. On the food side, we are uncertain how much Title I we can offer because of budget ceiling problems and other program requirements. Originally we had programmed 500,000 tons of Title I wheat, as well as about 250,000 tons of Title II commodities.

5. Indian Nuclear Policies

The Indian nuclear test was a serious setback to global non-proliferation efforts, but has had little strategic significance. While we have no hard evidence the Indians are engaged in developing nuclear weapons, at some point we assume they will opt for the weapons route.

The Indians have been resentful of foreign criticism of their nuclear test, but generally appreciate the restraint the USG has shown. We have been quietly urging them to adopt responsible policies on the export of sensitive nuclear equipment and technology as part of our broader non-proliferation efforts.

the non-aligned radicals on North/South and India's suspension in the UN context



6. Joint Commission

The Indo-U.S. Commission was established when the Secretary visited Delhi in October 1974. While some modest work has been accomplished, the importance of the India Joint Commission lies in the fact that it provides a tangible sign of our mutual interest in trying to evolve a more productive long-term relationship, particularly in the private business sector.

B. Strategy

Participants

In February of this year, the Indians reacted sharply and negatively to our lifting of the embargo on arms shipments to Pakistan and India. New Delhi subsequently put a damper on relations with the U.S. and we took a similar line following gratuitous Indian criticism of U.S. policies in Indo-China. Our strategy then was to leave it to the Indians to decide when they were ready to seek an improvement in relations and to respond appropriately when such a decision was made on their part. In the past several months, the Indians have signaled that they are now prepared to move ahead in their relations with us. We see Chavan's visit as providing an opportunity for us to respond. However, in so doing we do not want to give rise to unrealistic Indian expectations. We should be candid about what we can and cannot do. We should move carefully, closely watching the atmosphere of our relations and realizing that in trying to develop more productive relations, we are engaged in a long-term task.

III. TALKING POINTS

-- I am pleased you have come to Washington for the Joint Commission meeting and for bilateral talks.

-- I attach genuine importance to developing better relations with India and your visit here should help this process.

-- While we naturally prefer democratic political forms, the form of government India decides to adopt is India's business, not ours.



CONFIDENTIAL/NODIS

-6-

-- Our policies of detente with the USSR and China are paralleled in South Asia by our continuing interest in peace and stability in the subcontinent. We want the nations of the region to be able to tackle their problems without Great Power interference.

-- The U.S. accepts current power relationships in South Asia and intends no action to upset these. We will, of course, be making arms sales to Pakistan under our new policy, and to India also if India wishes, but we are not going to be a major arms supplier to the region or to undertake actions which would upset the strategic balance.

-- We strongly support the Simla process of India-Pakistan reconciliation, and also wish the best of relations between India and Bangladesh. Our interests in Bangladesh are essentially humanitarian not political.

-- We believe the U.S. and India have much to gain in tackling global economic problems, especially those besetting the Third World. We are ready to work constructively with India in this effort.

-- Bilaterally, we are prepared to help India in a modest way with food and development lending. Because of problems with the Congress, we want to defer the start of talks on aid until after the FY 76 aid bill passes.

-- I look forward to an opportunity to visit India when my schedule permits. My schedule for the rest of the year is full and it is difficult now to make plans for the coming year.

-- Please assure Mrs. Gandhi that I wish her well and want the U.S. and India to continue the effort to shape a more durable, mature and productive relationship than we have had during the past 28 years. I believe that it is in our mutual interest that we do so.

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CONFIDENTIAL/NODIS

-7-

IV. PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS

A. Participants

External Affairs Minister Chavan, Ambassador Kaul, Foreign Secretary Kewal Singh and Secretary of State Kissinger and Ambassador Saxbe.

B. Press

The meeting has been announced. There will be a photo session at the start of the session. A communique will be issued at the end of the Joint Commission meeting, 12:45 p.m. October 7.

The accompanying briefing book contains:

- The detailed schedule.
- Biographic sketches.

CONFIDENTIAL/NODIS





The Indians have been resentful of foreign criticism of their nuclear test, but generally appreciate the restraint which the USG has shown. We have been quietly urging them to adopt responsive policies against the export of sensitive nuclear equipment and technology as part of our broader non-proliferation efforts.

6. Joint Commission

The Indo-U.S. Joint Commission was established during my visit to New Delhi in October 1974. While some modest work has been accomplished, the importance of the Commission lies in the fact that it provides a tangible sign of our mutual interest in trying to develop a more productive long-term relationship, particularly in the private business sector.

- B. Participants: Foreign Minister Chavan, Foreign Secretary Kewal Singh, Henry A. Kissinger and Brent Scowcroft.
- C. Press Arrangements: Press photo session at the beginning of the meeting; short summary statement for the press following the meeting.

III. TALKING POINTS:

- 1. I welcome this opportunity to review U.S. -Indian relations. We seek good relations with India and we are pleased that you are here to assist in this process and to attend the Joint Commission meeting. We hope your visit will be a productive one.
- 2. On the U.S. side, our policy remains unchanged:
  - Our objective is the peace and stability of South Asia. The nations of the area should be at liberty to pursue their own interests and solve their own problems free from outside interference.
  - We recognize the current power relationships in the area, including the pre-eminent role played by India. We do not intend to upset these relationships. We seek good relations with India as well as with all of the states in the area.
  - Our arms sales policy in South Asia has been clearly defined to reflect our interest in South Asian stability. The nature of the arms sales we will make to Pakistan will reflect this. Our own interests lie in the stability of the region.



The Indians have been resentful of foreign criticism of their nuclear test, but generally appreciate the restraint which the USG has shown. We have been quietly urging them to adopt responsive policies against the export of sensitive nuclear equipment and technology as part of our broader non-proliferation efforts.

#### 6. Joint Commission

The Indo-U. S. Joint Commission was established during my visit to New Delhi in October 1974. While some modest work has been accomplished, the importance of the Commission lies in the fact that it provides a tangible sign of our mutual interest in trying to develop a more productive long-term relationship, particularly in the private business sector.

- B. Participants: Foreign Minister Chavan; G. Parthasarathi, Chief of Policy Planning in the Foreign Ministry; Foreign Secretary Kewal Singh; Ambassador Kaul; Henry A. Kissinger; Ambassador Saxbe, and Brent Scowcroft.
- C. Press Arrangements: Press photo session at the beginning of the meeting; short summary statement for the press following the meeting.

### III. TALKING POINTS:

1. I welcome this opportunity to review U. S. -Indian relations. We seek good relations with India and we are pleased that you are here to assist in this process and to attend the Joint Commission meeting. We hope your visit will be a productive one.
2. On the U. S. side, our policy remains unchanged:
  - Our objective is the peace and stability of South Asia. The nations of the area should be at liberty to pursue their own interests and solve their own problems free from outside interference.
  - We recognize the current powerrelationships in the area, including the pre-eminent role played by India. We do not intend to upset these relationships. We seek good relations with India as well as with all of the states in the area.
  - Our arms sales policy in South Asia has been clearly defined to reflect our interest in South Asian stability. The nature of the arms sales we will make to Pakistan will reflect this. Our own interests lie in the stability of the region.



NSC CORRESPONDENCE PROFILE

DOC		RECD		LOG NBR		INITIAL ACTION
MO	DA	MO	DA	HR		
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SOURCE/CLASS/DESCRIPTION

TO: PRES \_\_\_\_\_ FROM: KISSINGER, H \_\_\_\_\_ S/S 7519367 **CIRCLE AS APPROPRIATE**  
 KISSINGER \_\_\_\_\_ COLBY, W \_\_\_\_\_ OTHER \_\_\_\_\_ **UNCLAS** LOG IN/OUT  
**SCOWCROFT** \_\_\_\_\_ SCHLESINGER, J \_\_\_\_\_ C EYES ONLY EXDIS  
 DAVIS \_\_\_\_\_ **ST EX SEC** \_\_\_\_\_ S CODEWORD  
 TS SENSITIVE

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMO FOR PRES ON INDIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SHAHAN'S VISIT - OCTOBER 6-7

DISTRIBUTION/INITIAL ACTION ASGMT

INTERNAL ROUTING AND DISTRIBUTION			REC CY FOR	ACTION REQUIRED
	ACTION	INFO.		
ADVANCE CYS TO HAK/SCOWCROFT				MEMO FOR HAK . . . . . ( )
STAFF SECRETARY (FARRAR)		X		MEMO FOR PRES . . . . . (XX)
FAR EAST				REPLY FOR _____ ( )
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA				APPROPRIATE ACTION . . . . . ( )
MID EAST / NO. AFRICA / SO. ASIA	X		X	MEMO _____ TO _____ ( )
EUROPE / CANADA				RECOMMENDATIONS . . . . . ( )
LATIN AMERICA				JOINT MEMO . . . . . ( )
UNITED NATIONS				REFER TO _____ FOR: _____ ( )
ECONOMIC				ANY ACTION NECESSARY? . . . . . ( )
SCIENTIFIC				CONCURRENCE . . . . . ( )
PROGRAM ANALYSIS				DUE DATE: (10/5)
NSC PLANNING				COMMENTS: (INCLUDING SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS)
CONGRESSIONAL				
OCEANS POLICY				
INTELLIGENCE				

SUBSEQUENT ROUTING/ACTIONS

DATE	FROM	TO	S	SUBSEQUENT ACTION REQUIRED (OR TAKEN):	CY TO
10/3/75	earley	HAK	X	Talked for Pres (10/5)	
10/9		NSC/S	C	Noted by Pres	



NSC/S INSTR DISP

DISPATCH \_\_\_\_\_  
 CY RQMTS: SEE ABOVE PLUS: \_\_\_\_\_  
 NOTIFY \_\_\_\_\_ & DATE \_\_\_\_\_ BY \_\_\_\_\_  
 SPECIAL DISPOSITION: \_\_\_\_\_  
 CROSS REF W/ 7506316  
 SUSPENSE CY ATTACHED: No FOLDER: \_\_\_\_\_

MICROFILM & FILE RQMTS:  
 M/F OCT 15 1975  
 CRT ID: 7506316 SA 5F  
 OPEX \_\_\_\_\_ HP NS  
 CLOSE \_\_\_\_\_ WH EP  
 \_\_\_\_\_ PA DY

## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (GDS)ACTION  
October 17, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: SECRETARY KISSINGER

FROM: ROBERT B. OAKLEY

SUBJECT: Presidential Message to  
Mrs. Gandhi

As a follow-on to the President's recent meeting with Indian Foreign Minister Chavan, State has suggested that the President send a brief message to Mrs. Gandhi. Tab I suggests this to the President.

To put this proposed message in perspective, however, I want to note that you have decided that the proposed reply by the President to Prime Minister Bhutto's message of August 17 (Tab II) is not necessary, in view of his recent meeting with Aziz Ahmed. The President received an earlier message from Bhutto on June 13, as did you, and you replied covering both of these. The Pakistanis understood this and Bhutto even remarked to Ambassador Byroade that he regretted sending his two messages of June 13 (an outgrowth of your talks in Ankara in May with Aziz Ahmed). The Pakistanis, however, have not said the same about Bhutto's August 17 message and you indicated, in a message to Bhutto, that the President would be replying when you discussed his message following your return from the Middle East.

We need not be totally "even-handed" with the Pakistanis and the Indians. On the one hand, the President's meeting with Aziz Ahmed more or less took care of Bhutto's letter of August 17 and they have not asked about a formal written reply from the President. On the other hand, it would be realistic to assume that the Indians will make known the fact that the President has written to Mrs. Gandhi in a period in which the Indians are playing up "support" for the emergency. This could raise questions in the Pakistani mind since Bhutto has written the President twice without a reply.

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<del>CONFIDENTIAL</del> (GDS)	
NOV 11 1975	
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KR 5/31/01

Subject to GDS of E. O. 11652  
Automatically Downgraded at Two  
Year Intervals and Declassified on  
December 31, 1981.



There are several options for dealing with this potential problem:

1. Going ahead with the message to Mrs. Gandhi (Tab I) regardless of the Pak reaction and forgetting any written Presidential reply to Bhutto's August 17 message.
2. Messages to both Bhutto and Gandhi.
3. Forget a message to Mrs. Gandhi as well as a message to Bhutto.
4. Send the message to Mrs. Gandhi now (Tab I) but you send a message to Bhutto reporting on your trip to China and telling him the President will write after his China trip.

RECOMMENDATION: That you indicate your preference for the following:

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVE OPTION (1) Go ahead with the message for Mrs. Gandhi (forward memo at Tab I to President) but no reply to Bhutto.

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVE OPTION (2) Send messages to both Bhutto and Gandhi (forward memo at Tab I).

B APPROVE OPTION (3) No messages to either Gandhi or Bhutto.

\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVE OPTION (4) Send message to Mrs. Gandhi (forward memo at Tab I) but draft message telling Bhutto that the President will reply after his China trip.





THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dear Madame Prime Minister:

I would like you to know how much I enjoyed meeting with Minister Chavan during his visit to Washington. We had a constructive exchange of views on matters of mutual interest to our countries. I believe his presence here and the friendly and comprehensive discussions which I and my colleagues had with him and other members of your Government will contribute to the further development of relations between India and the United States based on mutual respect. In that framework, our dialogue should enhance our mutual understanding of our respective points of view.

While I appreciate that our Governments may differ from time to time on specific issues, I believe our basic interests and concerns are compatible on the fundamental issues. Above all, we share a common interest in the peace, stability and economic progress of your nation and your region. Our policies will lend maximum encouragement to these objectives. On bilateral issues, it is my hope that cooperation between our countries in the economic, science and cultural areas will be strengthened through the work of the Joint Commission which is of value in planning these mutually beneficial activities on



a continuing basis. We have a sincere interest in working with you to build a stable and productive relationship for the long term.

As I told Minister Chavan, I do look forward to visiting India and meeting with you at a mutually convenient time when our schedules permit.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Her Excellency  
Indira Gandhi  
Prime Minister of India  
New Delhi



## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL (GDS)ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HENRY A. KISSINGER

SUBJECT: Message to Prime Minister  
Gandhi of India

You will recall your recent meeting with Indian Foreign Minister Chavan, who was in Washington for the meeting of the Indo-US Joint Commission. The fact that the Indians went through with this Joint Commission meeting--having postponed it earlier this year--was one further signal of the Indian interest in moving forward with a dialogue with the US. I believe that it is in our interest to maintain the momentum of the Chavan visit and there will be progress in the work of the Commission.

I believe that the Chavan visit would be an appropriate occasion for a message from you to Prime Minister Gandhi. This would be an opportunity to lend further impetus to the dialogue on our bilateral relationship and would follow-up your talks with the Foreign Minister. A proposed letter to Mrs. Gandhi is at Tab A.

RECOMMENDATION: That you sign the letter to Mrs. Gandhi at Tab A. (Text coordinated with Mr. Theis' office.)

Subject to GDS of E. O. 11652  
Automatically Downgraded at Two  
Year Intervals and Declassified on  
December 31, 1981

CONFIDENTIAL (GDS)*HR 5/31/01*



THE WHITE HOUSE

Her Excellency  
Indira Gandhi  
Prime Minister of India  
New Delhi