

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Gerald R. Ford
His Excellency Sardar Swaran Singh,
Foreign Minister of India
Triloki Nath Kaul, Indian Ambassador to the
United States
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: Thursday, September 19, 1974
5:30 p. m. (30 minutes)

PLACE: The Oval Office
The White House

Singh: I know you have had a very busy day. I feel guilty to impose on you.

President: Not at all. We will have a photo session and then talk.

[The press is admitted briefly, then dismissed.]

President: When will you be going back home?

Singh: By the 28th. The Shah is coming to India on the 2nd and I have to be there.

President: I am grateful for the message the Prime Minister sent. I am looking forward to working with her and making a big effort to improve relations between the United States and India. We will move in the right direction.



~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE

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

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
NSC Memo, 11/24/98, State Dept. Guidelines
By lt, NARA, Date 11/18/00

Singh: The Prime Minister appreciated your warm greetings. She is looking forward to an improvement of relations. Ambassador Kaul's task when he was called from retirement was to see to this. Secretary Kissinger also works at this with characteristic enthusiasm.

Ambassador Moynihan is a very effective Ambassador. He is becoming very popular in India.

President: I'm glad to hear this. I thought he made a big improvement to the previous Administration.

Kissinger: Don't tell him, Mr. Minister.

Singh: In India your remarks have been greatly appreciated. Your idea of applying fresh thoughts. In India we don't brood--but we couldn't understand why there should be differences when there is no clash of interests. We thought the United States should want an island of stability in this one populous region, without outside influence or interference. So we were confused when we found we didn't see eye to eye with the United States.

Kissinger: It is dangerous to cross India--they control half our press.

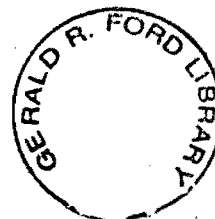
President: I am looking forward to Secretary Kissinger's visit to India. It is indicative of our wish to move closer together. I visited India in 1959 or 1960 for ten days. It was the TWA inaugural. I took a two-day train ride. I saw the Taj in the moonlight.

Singh: I hope it was not in June or July or you had a poor impression.

President: Then we drove to Jaipur.

Singh: You have said what I wanted to. We too are looking forward to Secretary Kissinger's visit and we hope it will advance our relations. What we want to discuss is not to dwell on the past, but the future of our relations. It should be possible to have understanding between us.

We are trying in an earnest effort within our own region to solve the problems of the colonial past. Once it was all India under Britain. It takes time to resolve, but we are trying to bring about good relations among us. There were some problems with the Shah. With Pakistan



we are trying very hard under the Simla formula not to use force. If Pakistan responds favorably, there is a good chance for a durable peace. Compared to other bilateral areas, the two sides have got together themselves to settle the borders, prisoners of war, and other problems. In no other area have the parties themselves been able to do this. The benevolent interest of the United States has been helpful. In the past, others have looked over our shoulders and that tends to make the will to compromise evaporate.

President: Your way should lead to a more permanent solution.

I enjoyed my visit to the UN.

Singh: Let me give my congratulations on your speech, which touched upon basic and burning issues. You rightly said the details would be spelled out by Secretary Kissinger.

President: I discussed the controversial issues, but I didn't want to duck them.

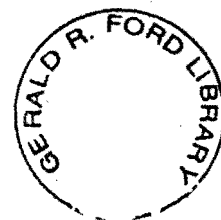
Singh: Some things have to be said. Platitudes would not have done justice to the United States or the United Nations.

President: I hope we can work together on some of the problems of Vietnam.

Singh: I will discuss this with Secretary Kissinger because I think there should be cooperation. We would like to disabuse anyone of any ideas that we are committed to any country. We are committed to principles--and if we agree with the Soviet Union, it is because it is a point of our principle. The United Nations has been dominated for the past ten years on African and Middle East problems and we have strong views on these issues. But we judge our views on all matters.....

President: We are trying to solve the Indochina problem as constructively as possible.

Kissinger: Ambassador Kaul was helpful during the negotiations in passing information.



President: We are grateful for that. It was harmful to the world. I would hope that if it is within your principles at the UN, if you could help to postpone the Khmer credentials issue.

Kissinger: We prefer to have a study done and then defer it to a later time.

Singh: Secretary Kissinger's tenacity and brilliance in negotiations has helped your country to get out of a difficult situation. It took brave decisions. Our big worry about Cambodia is that--unlike other states--there is no dialogue or even identification of negotiating parties.

Kissinger: We have some ideas for movement.

Singh: We appreciate the bold decision that it took for your extrication from Vietnam. We support the Paris Agreement. You phased out Laos but we are worried about Souvanna's health. We are worried about Cambodia because nothing is in sight. The Cambodian situation is different from Vietnam. But I will discuss this in detail with Secretary Kissinger.

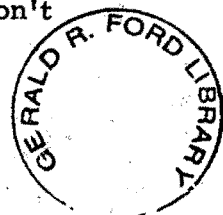
We are looking forward to strengthening our bilateral relations, particularly in the economic field. We are hard hit by the oil prices. If we have to pay cash for crude oil, it will cut into our development program. We, as you said, have to keep ahead of the population increase. We don't want to depend on aid for long. We hope the progressive policies in trade which the United States supports will happen. If we can have some period of respite in payments... this is new for the oil-producing countries; they tend to want the cash in hand. But feeding over 500 million people is a big problem. We made, with American help, great progress in the production of grain. But if there is a shortfall, even if it is a marginal shortfall, its effect is disproportionately hard.

President: You mean a bad crop?

Kaul: If we fall short of rain and fertilizer.

Singh: A shortage of 5% is what we have. Any help you can give would help. Fertilizer would help.

President: We want to help. We are short of fertilizer, but we don't need as much as you. We will try.



Singh: Let me raise a small point--the Long amendment. We have been assured you won't push to invoke it, but it's a public relations issue.

President: This was offered by Long on legislation we couldn't veto. We fought it, but we had to have the legislation.

Kissinger: There are two things we can do. Our representatives don't have to vote, and we may be able to get it removed.

Singh: It's a public relations problem. For a friendly country, why have this discrimination? As long as it's on the books, that would remove the discrimination.

President: We will try to remove. We fought it.

Singh: The Prime Minister says you will be very welcome if you could visit. She suggested October to March as the best time. It would be good if you could address the Parliament.

President: They probably would treat me better than our Congress!

Kissinger: They treat their Foreign Minister rough. I appreciate your kind words.

Singh: Secretary Kissinger has done an amazing job with all his exploits.

President: He is the most popular figure in the US.

I would like to visit India. I had a great time ten years ago. After Secretary Kissinger's visit, perhaps we can see about a visit.

Singh: Perhaps in March.

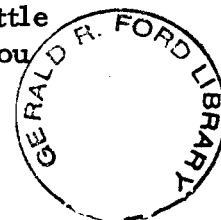
President: At least there is no election next year.

Singh: Ours will probably be in March 1976.

President: When Secretary Kissinger returns, we will discuss it.

Kissinger: February 1975 might be a little early in view of other trips.

Singh: There is great appreciation of the way you have tried to settle Watergate--with magnanimity, compassion and statesmanship. You have been very wise.



P/FM Singh/K/Kand

19 Sept

Transcribed
by 10/22

S Remember you had very busy day. Full gully.

P Not at all, will have a photo + then talk

Puro

(Character about press)

P When you going to be

S By 28th - Shuk is coming on 2nd + have to be there

P Grateful for many P.M. work, looking forward to working on (for
+ working big effort to improve self. but US + India.
more in night drive

S P.M. experimental you were ^{was} perhaps, the looking
forward to improvement of situation. Kanda task when
he called for statement was other. Kanda works
at this w/ character another.

Arab Magister is very effective + becoming very
popular in India

P Glad to hear, I ~~hope~~ that he would bring improvement
to previous admin.

K Don't tell him, Mr. Min.

S In India your remarks have been greatly
appreciated. You idea of applying fresh thoughts.
In India we don't have - but we could not
understand why there should be differences - when
there no close interest. We think US should
want island of stability - that we working for - we
don't aspire to world role. We want stability
in our systems region - w/o outside influence
or interference. So we were surprised when we
didn't see eye to eye w/ US

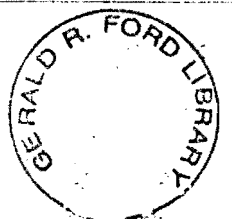
K Danger as to access in India - they control 1/2 of press

P looking forward to K visit to I. In the view of
our wish to move closer together.

I visited I in 5 + 260 / a 10 days. TWA announced
Took 2 day train ride. Saw Taj in moonlight

S Hope not give a job as you have press impression

P Then drive to Jaipur.



S You have said what I wanted to. Hoping forward to K
visit & hope it will advance our relations, US can't &
do more, not to dwell on past but future joint relations.
Should be possible to have understanding but no. We
trying an earnest effort w/in our region to solve
- parts of a colonial part. Once it was all I make
for. Takes time to make, but we trying to bring about
good relations among us. Some parts w/ S-L,
US/Pak we trying very hard under Simla framework
not to use force. If Pak supports peacefully there is
good chance for durable peace. Very need to
other bilateral areas, & 2 sides have got together
themselves to settle issues, P & W's & other parts.
In no other area have parties themselves been able to
do this. Government interest of US has been helpful
In a part, others have looked at our troubles & that
think to make a way to compromise way out.

P You may should lead to a more permanent solution
I enjoyed my visit to US

S Congrats on speech which touch direct basic &
barring issues. You rightly said details would
be spelled out by K.

P I discussed international issues, but I didn't want
to dwell them

S Some things have to be said. Platitudes would not
show done justice to US or UN

P Hope we can work together on some of parts of UN

S I would discuss w/ K because I think there should be
comp. We are like to discuss any issues we are entitled
to any country. We are entitled to principle - if we
equal w/ SU it is because ~~we~~ it is a part
of our principle. UN has been dominated part
10 yrs or Africa & ME parts & we have strong
views on other ^{that} issues. We bridge our views
on all matters & we



K W are trying to take Andover as constructively as possible

K Karl was helpful during negot in passing info.

P W are frustrated. It was helpful to walk down together of w/ in your principle etc. UK, if you could postpone - it would be substantial issue

K W are going to have study done & done

S K tenacity & flexibility in negot has helped your country to get out of diff sit. Took some time discussions. One big worry about Cambodia is that - unlike other states - there is no dialogue or even ident of negot parties.

K W are have some ideas for movement.

S W are appreciate bold decision for your extraction from UK. W are support Paris. Phased at hand but worried about S. health. Worried on Cambodia cause nothing in sight. Cambodia sit diff from UK. But I will discuss in detail w/ K

Looking forward to strengthening our bilateral relations - parties in case. W are hard but by our price.

If we have to pay cash for crude, it will not link our oil export prog. We, as you said, don't have the support of pop. increases. We don't want to depend on aid for long - we hope progressive policies in trade which US supports will ~~be~~ happen. If we can have some period of repatriation payments.

This is now for a oil contract. They tend to want a cash in hand. Funding over 500 mil is big price.

W are small, w/ US help, great progress in prod grain.

But even if marginal shortfall, its effect is drop in production.

P Bad crop?

Karl Short of rain & fertilizer

S A shortage of 5% is what we have. Any help you can give would help. Fertilizer would help.



P We want a help. We short of fertilizer, but don't need as much as you. We will try.

S Small point - a long announcement. We have wanted you want push & make it, but it a PR issue

P This offered by long on legis we couldn't veto. We fought it, but we had to have a legis.

R There 2 things we can do. One says don't have to vote & we may be able to get it removed

S It PR, for a friendly country, why have this discrimination

P As long as you have a bank, that would remove a discrimination

S I think you will be very welcome if you could visit. Suggest @ it to March as best time. The goal if you could address a party.

P They just would treat me better than Congo.

K They treat FR through. I appreciate your kind words.

S R has done an amazing job w/ all his efforts

P He's great guy. figure in US

Would like to visit. Had your time 10 yrs ago. after

A visit perhaps we can see how about a visit

S Perhaps March.

P at least no election next year

S One will probably be in Nov '76

P Check return we will discuss

K Feb 25 might be a little early in view of other things

S There is great apprec. of many you have tried to do with us. Magnanimity, compassion & understanding. Very much.

