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**1973/09/26**

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By WDP/NARA Date 11/8/00 T/SENSITIVE

S 7318102 (TRP safe)

*Don DeCoursey*

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

September 26, 1973  
1:15 p.m.  
Secretary's Apartment  
Waldorf Towers  
New York City

SUBJECT: Secretary's Lunch with French Foreign Minister  
Jobert

PARTICIPANTS: French Side  
Foreign Minister Jobert  
M. Puaux

U.S. Side  
The Secretary  
Mr. Stoessel  
Mr. Sonnenfeldt

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(When the Foreign Minister arrived, the Secretary was on the telephone with Senator Kennedy discussing the vote that morning in the Senate approving the Mansfield Amendment for troop cuts. After the phone call, there was a brief conversation about the parliamentary situation in the Senate.)

The Secretary

We really have a great system. People in the Congress want to completely reform the Soviet system; at the same time, they want to cut our forces.

M. Jobert

When I talked with Gromyko, I told him I had seen people in the Soviet Union in blue jeans. I said the Soviets had lost the battle of the blue jeans and the Western Hemisphere was gradually creeping into the Eastern Hemisphere. He did not seem to know about blue jeans.

(The group then moved into the dining room.)

M. Jobert

You are always complaining that we come with empty hands, so this time, we brought a lot.

I will speak in English, although it is difficult for me.

The Secretary

You do not need to know much English to say "no".

M. Jobert

Oh, I never say no.

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The Secretary

It is true. I think you have conducted a very clever campaign this past six months.

M. Jobert

It was no campaign. I am like a leaf in the wind. I am passive. First, I am blown to the West, then to the East.

The Secretary

Many people want me to see you because they feel you are the only person who can get the better of me.

M. Jobert

But we are good friends personally.

The Secretary

This is quite true. And also we are friends officially. We do not have a problem solving serious questions. Only the procedural questions are difficult.

M. Jobert

I saw James Reston this morning. He called Brandt a personalite endouyante. I don't know what that means in English.

The Secretary

Perhaps someone with a kaleidoscopic nature, a personality who changes a lot.

Someone once said about an American politician, "There is much less there than meets the eye."

M. Jobert

Reston likes you.

The Secretary

And I like him. He is a decent man.

M. Jobert

We agreed that you would have to change your position on some things.

The Secretary

What things?

M. Jobert

For example, think of poor Andersen (the Danish Foreign Minister); he is very unhappy following his talk with you.

The Secretary

I really did not start out to try to make him happy. Of course, I was just defending your position.

M. Jobert

In any case, he is very unhappy.

The Secretary

Well, why should we hide our real views?

M. Jobert

Are you really annoyed with the European Community draft?

The Secretary

May I be direct with you?

It would not be right to say that I am "annoyed". There are two problems: First, of procedure, and, second, of substance. On the first, we have two objections. We thought we had an understanding with your President and that there should be bilateral

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talks. Out of deference to the French point of view, we did not insist on a multilateral meeting in July. While you might have refused to come along on this, it would have been difficult for you to do so, since the others would have come.

M. Jobert

They agree to everything you want.

The Secretary

Anyway, we did not press for a multilateral meeting out of respect for you. We also talked bilaterally with the Germans, the British, and somewhat with the Italians. We had an understanding with you that after this process, there might be a multilateral meeting. All of you promised to produce drafts, and you said that yours would be the best of all.

M. Jobert

You said that it would be, since it would represent the views of France.

The Secretary

Then we were told in July that we would receive a response through the Nine. You said you did not want this and you urged us not to press for a response from the Nine.

M. Jobert

It would be better not to speak of the Nine, but rather to say Eight against One. If you talk of the Nine, it is really Nine-with the U.S.-against France.

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The Secretary

We felt some advantage had been taken of us, but this is all meaningless. What does it achieve? Then the Nine talked and we had no idea what they would come up with.

M. Jobert

But you saw the English text.

The Secretary

Definitely not. We received nothing.

Mr. Stoessel

That is true. We definitely did not receive a text.

The Secretary

Then we were confronted with the European Community text which, moreover, was published in full in the papers.

M. Jobert

Well, this was done by a delicious person called Flora Lewis.

The Secretary

Yes, she never has anything good to say about me.

M. Jobert

Nor about me.

The Secretary

Publicizing the document is unimportant. However, people now have a benchmark against which to compare subsequent texts. Then, the Dane comes to see me. He can't negotiate; he is really

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only a messenger. Those who can talk can't negotiate, and those who negotiate can't talk.

This will create an adversary relationship in the long run which could be very bad. We do not want to be present when you make your decisions in the Community, but we want to be present in the formative period.

Now about substance. The EC document is a collection of phrases from the EC Summit and from the Tokyo Declaration. There is no mention in it of Atlantic relationships. It asks us to recognize Europe. Of course, this is not difficult for us. I recall the endless quarrels with De Gaulle; we were more for Europe than he was.

M. Jobert

The Atlantic things should be in the other paper.

The Secretary

It is not that we object to points in the EC paper, but it is not complete as it stands.

M. Jobert

Today, the NAC postponed the consideration of the agenda point about working out a new Atlantic Declaration.

It is important that you have agreed to a meeting to consider the European Community draft.

The press tried to say that we were against a common European position, but this is not true. We are together in the

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Nine, although there are some differences when we are with the Fifteen.

After the meeting with you and the Nine this week, then there could be another meeting later in Copenhagen. This shows that you can have a dialogue with us.

(There was a discussion about finger bowls and Jobert mentioned that there are no finger bowls used in China.)

The Secretary

Did you enjoy your trip to China?

M. Jobert

Yes. I must say they are very kind toward the Americans. Your Ambassador received a report about our trip.

In general, the Chinese have no idea of being antagonistic toward you. They want you to stay in Asia, perhaps not especially in a military sense, but actually in all respects. Their main problem seems to be Japan.

The Secretary

Yes, I don't think that relationship has worked out as well as they thought it would. They thought normalizing relations with Japan would relax things, but it hasn't, and they are very nervous.

M. Jobert

Chou En-lai told Pompidou that he would prefer the Japanese re-arm themselves so they could use up some of their energy and money on that.

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The Secretary

That's surprising.

M. Jobert

And disquieting. Also, the Chinese are concerned about your agreements with the Soviets. But when they speak of two hegemonies, it is clear there is a good one and a bad one.

The Secretary

Did you discuss our conversation in San Clemente?

M. Jobert

Not at all.

The Chinese appear to be a conservative power, although

I may be wrong.

The Secretary

I agree. The question is, what will they do when they are more powerful and when younger men have come to the fore? What sort of shape did Chou En-lai seem to be in? Did he show his age?

M. Jobert

Mao referred to a remark attributed to De Gaulle in Adenauer's memoirs about "pride". This led to a discussion which went on for days. Chou said that China should not have pride. If it did have, this would be dangerous for the next generation, they might lose their heads. He wants them to be modest. He feels that in 50 years, China will be so powerful that it would be dangerous if it is not modest.

Chou seemed to be in good shape physically. His hands quivered a bit, but mentally he is perfect. He knows that he will have to quit in about five years. Then, he will be too old. So he is eager to put China on a good, modest, conservative, and prudent basis. He has an historic perspective and he will not try to settle the Formosa question too soon. He will be neutral in South-east Asia. He will encourage your friend Sihanouk, but not too much.

There was not one single word about South Viet-Nam, as if there were no problem there.

I could get nothing from the Chinese Foreign Minister. Whenever I asked him anything, he just laughed.

The Secretary

Yes, Chao Kuan-hua is the only good one in the Foreign Ministry.

M. Jobert

And he disappeared after we had been there for two days.

The Secretary

On European matters, how do you visualize the process continuing?

M. Jobert

If I may make one remark to you, I would say that you do not speak enough of Europe. You put Europe at the end of your speech and did not talk much about it. Also, you spoke of restrictive

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trading blocs. This seems to be a reference to Ortoli's area. If I could make a counsel, I would say that you should not attack Europeans as a whole. We will do much better in the future.

Secondly, about Japan. I am told that you gave a paper to the Japanese about relations between Europe, the United States and Japan. This had quite an effect on the other Europeans. They were horrified that you could seem to speak for the Europeans on this matter.

The Secretary

The Japanese have produced a paper themselves and they said they would discuss this with you in Europe. We didn't give them anything.

M. Jobert

I must make a speech tomorrow at the Council on Foreign Relations. I wondered if I shouldn't speak in French since it would be much easier.

The Secretary

I think it would be better for you to speak in English. With all respect, your French is so complex that the interpreter would never get the full flavor. Also, given the anti-French attitude of the Council, you should try to make some human contact and this would be easier in English.

M. Jobert

I will return to Paris to be there next week and then will come back to New York October 9 and 10.

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I will be seeing Brandt today and will need an interpreter with him.

The Secretary

I thought he made a strange speech at the UN General Assembly today. It was really a hodgepodge of various things, but perhaps it was good for domestic consumption. On the other hand, maybe it reflects what he really thinks.

M. Jobert

Now, what will we do? We don't want to quarrel with you and we do want to have a real dialogue. Since your speech, we have had a great deal of discussion about what to do. You are really an agitator.

The Secretary

It is hard to have a dialogue when the Europeans don't produce anything until this week.

M. Jobert

But the Europeans have done something and please don't destroy it.

About the President's visit, what do you think? Are there domestic problems which would indicate that he could not come, or do you really want him to come?

The Secretary

I talked about this with the President last night. I can say that there are no domestic interests which would indicate that he should go or should not go.

M. Jobert

This is my view as well.

The Secretary

Many Europeans seem to think that he wants to come to Europe to have a big dramatic scene and that this would help us domestically. Actually, if we are to be responsible about what we wish to achieve, what we do in Europe won't help us, but will only hurt us domestically.

Whether or not the President goes depends on two things. First, is that of substance. He does not want to go just to tour capitals. There would be no point in that. Secondly, under no circumstances will he sign a document with persons who are not at his level. He will not meet multilaterally with people below his level. If this is contemplated, then there can be no Declaration.

M. Jobert

You know our position and that in this we are not on the same ground. I haven't spoken with my President. However, you know I am a mischievous spirit. Why don't you wait until the end of 1974?

The Secretary

By then, it would seem to be senseless. But maybe yes, and maybe no. It should be remembered that by that time, the Presidential campaign will be beginning and we couldn't achieve what we want to do. Sometimes I really believe the Europeans are playing Russian roulette.

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No. We are not devoted to bloody games.

The Secretary

You may not intend to do so, but this wouldn't be the first time in your history that you have made a mistake.

M. Jobert

That is true.

The Secretary

Thinking ahead, just look at the cast of characters on the U.S. scene. There is no one around who would be as sympathetic on European matters as the present Administration. No one would favor your nuclear deterrent--either the form or the symbolism of it. Also, some would favor a condominium.

Perhaps, we could wait until the spring of 1974.

M. Jobert

Do you understand why I say late 1974?

The Secretary

Because France will then be in the chair of the European Community?

M. Jobert

Yes. This could solve Pompidou's problem. We are a small country, but we do have our own public opinion problem. Without this, matters would be easy to solve. However, I can see that the timing I suggest would be late.

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The Secretary

After all that has happened, it is difficult to wait until summer. This could be after a CSCE Summit and after a U.S.-Soviet Summit. It would also be after a full session of Congress. I do not know if we could hold the situation.

M. Jobert

It is important to fix a date in advance.

The Secretary

This idea can be considered.

M. Jobert

There are two declarations on the table. Perhaps there will be a third one.

The Secretary

The utility of the third is that it could include the Japanese.

M. Jobert

On that point, perhaps we could think of a two-stage rocket. We, the Europeans, could do something with Japan, and then you could come after that. If you try to do all three now, it might be difficult.

The Secretary

This is not impossible.

M. Jobert

And, please, don't put Australia in the third declaration. Let's leave them in their Pacific.



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We will have to consider the question of a date for the President's visit. Also, there is the question of the forum and the way in which the President would participate.

M. Jobert

I am convinced, at least at present, that Pompidou would never wish to go to Brussels. As for Brussels II--the NATO meeting --then it might be possible for Messmer to go. I don't know if this would be satisfactory to you.

The Secretary

We would have to consider it. However, it would be an odd result. After all, our President has proved that he is the closest emotionally to the French point of view. It would be hard to explain why Pompidou would not meet with him to sign a Declaration, particularly a Declaration where we don't get anything very much, but the Europeans do.

What we will get is something which may help to mobilize public opinion in favor of the Atlantic Alliance and which could be useful over the next ten years. Of course, I understand your public opinion problem.

With regard to the European Community, we could accept that the President of the EC Council could meet with our President, provided that the Declaration to be signed was worth it and that both declarations were satisfactory.

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This is a constructive idea. If your President is in the chair of the EC next July, then it is not excluded that we could agree to a visit then if, in the interim, we could do some concrete things. We might say that a meeting would take place on July 15 and that we are doing things in the meantime.

M. Jobert

Then we should stop talking about whether the President is coming, or he is not coming, etc.

The Secretary

And we should stop things coming out of Paris.

M. Jobert

What sort of things?

The Secretary

Well, I am thinking of the Newsweek article which was so critical about the "Year of Europe" and the President's visit. We think this came largely from your press spokesman, M. De Laye.

I think you have really out-manuevered me.

M. Jobert

I am not so sure of that. On newspaper articles, we can complain, too--(Jobert showed the Secretary an AFP ticker which apparently said something about the Secretary agreeing to see Scheel in Bonn, but not Jobert.)

The Secretary

This is total nonsense. It probably comes from the Germans.

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M. Jobert

I saw Scheel this morning and I asked him if is trying to knife me.

The Secretary

I do plan to go to London in October, and after that, I might meet Scheel there, but not in Bonn. If I have to go to Bonn, I certainly would go to Paris.

M. Jobert

Paris always will be ready to welcome you.

The Secretary

There is no possibility of my going to London and to Bonn and not to Paris. My original intention had been to go to London to make a speech and also to have a Chiefs of Mission meeting.

M. Jobert

That would be good for your Ambassadors.

The Secretary

Our Ambassadors are not so good.

M. Jobert

I don't know about that, but your Ambassador in Luxembourg--that woman--isn't so good.

The Secretary

In Paris, we have a good Ambassador. In Italy, ours won't change the course of history, nor will yours,

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M. Jobert

Only Togliatti can do that. And this with the help of his good friend, Brezhnev, who wants to make an official visit there. He will have to eat a lot of spaghetti.

The Secretary

Brezhnev is not so adept. The Chinese are.

On European matters, our effort must seem to be constructive to the public, not an adversary proceeding. At the end, it should not be that someone has won and someone has lost. Also, we should take care to try to influence the press in a helpful way. In this respect, Europe has been worse than the United States.

M. Jobert

Do you really think so?

The Secretary

Yes. We haven't begun to work on our press. It could easily turn against the whole thing. Europe is not very popular in the United States. Don't be confused by Reston--he represents nobody.

I think there has been a tendency in your Foreign Office to be critical. Your briefings in Reykjavik were brutal.

M. Jobert

Those were given by the Office of the Presidency, not by the Foreign Office. I was not Foreign Minister then. No, I guess I was Foreign Minister. I am like you. I don't know where I am.

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The Secretary

You always do.

We should make a serious effort to avoid mutual criticism.

We can't make a decision now about the President's trip, but we will before I go to Europe. If the trip is delayed, we must think of concrete things which we could do in the meantime. I do not exclude a meeting in July, if the date could be firm and if the documents are adequate. But we can't agree to a date in July and then have this used against us. You could squeeze us.

M. Jobert

No!

The Secretary

If we could agree on this and that there will be good results, then we could consider it.

M. Jobert

But it shouldn't be mentioned too soon.

The Secretary

No, I won't even say that the President won't be going to Europe soon. Of course, we don't want to leave ourselves to your mercy.

M. Jobert

The document will be on the table and you will know what you are dealing with.

The Secretary

Internally, we had thought of the timing for a trip as being in November or in February. February might be more likely than July.

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M. Jobert

On the question of the Fifteen, I said that we would be willing to write something and I can give you today something unofficial and then you could let me know unofficially what you think about it. Whether this is here or in Paris, will depend on you.

The Secretary

I don't want to mislead you. We may wish to press ahead with both declarations. And we may not be prepared to filibuster with you indefinitely.

If we agree with you on a date in July, then everyone will be furious at us.

M. Jobert

No, I don't think so.

The Secretary

Then you could tell us in May or June, just before the visit, that you have changed your position, and then we would be forced to yield to you.

M. Jobert

I will give you a paper now, you don't have to wait until May. There is a machinery in Brussels and a staff which is waiting for things. We have to make it go slowly.

The Secretary

But we may want it to go reasonably, at least.

M. Jobert

If so, there will be discussion for three months and no

prospect for a visit. If you press for something, then everyone will say that Dr. Kissinger is angry and they will do what you want.

The Secretary

Why not suggest a compromise, such as February?

M. Jobert

There would be no objection to preparing a paper. That is why I worked for you to prepare a paper.

The Secretary

Where are we left concretely?

M. Jobert

If you would be willing to work on our text unofficially, then we could have an exchange before putting it on the table in NATO as a French draft.

The Secretary

Stoessel and Sonnenfeldt can analyze it and will give you comments before you leave on Friday.

How do you compare your draft with the Canadian draft, is it stronger or weaker?

M. Jobert

We think it is more generous. I hope it is well translated. I can tell you that it was done by a hand which is friendly to you. (Francois De Rose)

The Secretary

We will let you know our view by Friday. We want to

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keep in the closest contact with you. However, this is difficult. We are told that you have proposed two main lines about us.

First, you said that we are like the pyromaniac who helps his victims put out the fire.

M. Jobert

That is really terrible. The Italians actually said that in Copenhagen. This shows that there are leaks from our meetings.

The Secretary

Secondly, you supposedly tell the Europeans not to be so conciliatory toward us because you are getting everything for them.

M. Jobert

No, that is not true. We said that we had good relations with you, although, of course, all of us have different problems.

(Jobert then told a story about a talk between

Mirabeau and Cocteau and the telephone.)

The Secretary

What concrete decisions must we reach?

M. Jobert

I will give you our text and you will give us your reactions. We will then put it on the table as a French text. I do not know if it will be acceptable to you. Before I left, I talked with Pompidou and he asked if the draft would be acceptable to Nixon. I said I did not know.

About the other text, the EC text, that will be considered

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Saturday morning. Puaux will be there. Then we will see if another meeting is necessary.

The Secretary

I don't want to mislead you. Perhaps we will also present our text.

M. Jobert

It would be better to present additions to our text. We don't want to give the impression of too much difference.

The Secretary

I agree. We will proceed that way. We won't raise the issue of whose text it is.

M. Jobert

And you will tell us your ideas about the President's visit?

The Secretary

The President will want to have bilateral talks in Paris, and this could take place whenever you want, at the beginning or at the end of this visit.

M. Jobert

And he will get a good reception from the French people. When I saw Frank of the German Foreign Office, he said that a visit by Nixon to Germany could give rise to immoderate events. Also, this could happen in the UK as well. But it won't be a problem in France.

It also facilitates the whole thing to think that the Soviets

will not say anything about the declaration or the visit. I am convinced this is the case.

The Secretary

I am positive about this too. For this reason, it would be good to have the declarations before the conclusion of the CSCE.

M. Jobert

The Soviets won't move before a SALT II Agreement. There won't be anything before then.

The Secretary

Our judgment is that there will be no Soviet agitation during the next six months on any of this.

M. Jobert

They have good contacts with you and they want better ones.

The Secretary

Our impression is that they are more interested in CSCE than in SALT. SALT II will be very difficult, It is not easy now to see how it could be concluded.

(There was discussion of the possibility of the

Secretary and Jobert meeting when the Secre-

tary comes to Europe.)

The Secretary

It would simplify my life and schedule if it were possible for us to meet in London; otherwise, I could come to Paris.

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Let's aim to meet in one place or another, perhaps on the 16th. I will be seeing Douglas-Home on the 14th, and he will also be seeing Scheel.

M. Jobert

There is a Council meeting in Brussels on the 15th and 16th.

The Secretary

We could perhaps meet before Brussels or after, if you wish.

M. Jobert

My only problem is that it not seem that I am responding to a directive from you.

The Secretary

In that case, I could try to come to Paris.

M. Jobert

No, I think I can make it to London somehow.

The Secretary

We could meet either on the 14th or the 16th, probably in London. But I will come to Paris if necessary.

M. Jobert

If we can do this without publicity, it would be good.

The Secretary

Let's be clear. I can't promise that if you see me.

M. Jobert

I don't know what Pompidou's reaction will be. My own reaction is that I will come to see you.

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We will see each other then and we can make a decision the approximate date for the President's trip.

I will be having a press conference this afternoon.

M. Jobert

You could say that it is the "Year of the World".

The Secretary

For Jobert, every year is the "Year of Europe".

There are a number of processes going on. European unity is developing and we support that. Also, there is the question of Transatlantic relations. I could say that we have to spend time on sorting these out.

M. Jobert

The impression is that you are angry at Europe and that you don't like the Community draft and want bilateral talks.

The Secretary

What we can't accept is a fait accompli. I will be constructive in my remarks to the press.

M. Jobert

If you could give us your impressions of our draft for NATO, this would be helpful. We would be pleased to have a French text on which all could agree. If you say you agree, this will do it.

The Secretary

Even so, we may want to present our own draft and then gradually work toward yours. We will see.

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