

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Senator John J. Sparkman (D-Alabama)
Senator Clifford P. Case (R-New Jersey)
Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minnesota)
John O. Marsh, Counselor to the President
Max Friedersdorf, Asst. to the Pres., Leg. Affairs
Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant
to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Thursday, March 6, 1975
10:00 a.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

SUBJECT: Aid to Cambodia

[General Scowcroft arrived late]

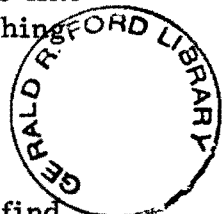
President: I am afraid we don't have time and a different strategy must be tried. I understand you are thinking along the same line. Cliff called me.....

Humphrey: We have been in close touch. We will have open hearings. I personally think Lon Nol is a dead duck. I have great sympathy for the Cambodian people. I think the only hope is for you or the Secretary to make a public effort for a ceasefire. These private efforts are not enough. I have talked to Habib and Larry. We know about them, but the Congress doesn't and the people don't.

Sparkman: Habib left me the same paper he made public. It looks like they are now trying to blame the Congress. I never heard of anything in '73. Did you, Cliff?

Case: No.

Humphrey: Let's not hash over the past. I think all we can do is find a way to let it down easily and make it not look like a cop out. We have to make a public appeal for a ceasefire. We have to tell Lon Nol



DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
NSC Memo, 11/24/98, State Dept. Guidelines
By llt, NARA, Date 11/20/00

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

he must step aside. We must form a new government to negotiate with Sihanouk and the other side. We would have to give enough aid not to have them collapse. But we don't have the votes. All we can do is waive the ceilings for a while.

Sparkman: I disagree that we can ask Lon Nol to step down. I favor your proposal. I talked to Mahon the other day. I think an appeal for a ceasefire is okay.

Humphrey: But the Ambassador must tell Lon Nol he must be willing to step aside.

Sparkman: We can't be in the position of running that government.

Case: I think there must be a public push by the President or the Secretary. I don't think we can publicly push out Lon Nol. I think we must put out a summary of what we have done about Sihanouk -- so that this is not a deathbed repentance. I agree the best we can get is lifting the ceiling. I think some words about Communist atrocities would be useful -- those stories of putting heads on pikes. The press doesn't cover this sort of thing -- only American imperialism.

President: Even Bella was shaken by the atrocities of the Khmer Rouge. Millicent Fenwick said she had always opposed aid but you should hear her fear that hundreds of thousands will be massacred. The record shows our efforts -- it doesn't matter who is at fault. Bella said, "why not just give humanitarian aid?" I said "You can't sort it out this way. You also have to send military and other aid." I agree we need massive humanitarian aid if we can get the votes.

Humphrey: I agree.

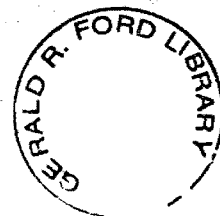
Sparkman: Hatfield has a proposal for getting it in there under Title II.

President: Yes, but you have to give the people ammunition so that the thing won't collapse. Brent, what is going on?

[Scowcroft described the current situation.]

Humphrey: We've got to change the scenery. We don't have the votes. Get Long Boret in.

Sparkman: I don't think it can be done openly. I hate the Hatfield idea.



Humphrey: I think we have to remove Lon Nol, form a government of national coalition, and publicly call for a ceasefire.

Sparkman: I agree, but it can't be done publicly.

Case: If the President can say Lon Nol is not a barrier, that would help.

President: I am having a press conference. We will sort out what to say. Let's give lots of humanitarian aid. But we have to give arms to keep them from collapse while negotiations are going on.

Case: But I think we need to put out we have been making the effort over the past.

President: That we can do.

Sparkman: Shouldn't we have the full committee today? I think we can get it through the committee following the President's statement.

[There was further discussion about dumping Lon Nol]

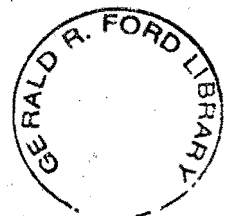
Sparkman: Why not? According to the reports, the President is willing to step aside and form a coalition.

Humphrey: Put it on the Khmer Rouge -- they have said they had to get rid of Lon Nol to negotiate. The government has said they would change if that is necessary to negotiate.

President: We have to give them ammunition to hold the perimeter.

Sparkman: I agree with Humphrey, but it has to be handled this way:

- Lay out the negotiating record;
- Work out a program to bring an effort to lift the ceiling on economic aid and military assistance.
- Move to an open offensive -- call for a ceasefire, call for a negotiation.



P/Spartan of Case/Humphrey/Marsh
Friedhof
6 Mar 75

(I came in late)

P I agreed we don't have time - a big strategy must be tried. I understand you think along some time. Cliff called me

H We have in that track. We would have open hearings. I personally think how bad is dead duck. I have great sympathy for Cambodian people. I think only hope is to get a strong public effort for C.F. These private efforts are not enough. I have talked to Hank & Larry. We know about them. But - they don't and a people don't.

S Halton left me a some paper on social justice. It looks like they were trying to be a copy. I never heard of anything in 23. Did you Cliff?

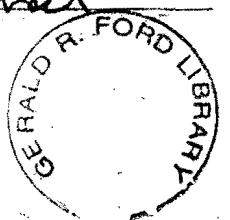
C M

H Let's not look over a part. I think all we can do is find a way to let it down easily and make it ~~not~~ not look like a copy. We have to make a public appeal for it. We have to tell Hank he must step aside. We must form a new govt to negotiate w/ Saigon & a other side. We would have to gain support and not to have them with you. But we don't have votes. All we can do is write a letter for a while.

S I thought we can ask him not to step down. I favor your proposal. I talked to Hank the other day. I think an appeal for a case file is okay.

H But Hank must be told he must be something to step aside

S We can't be in position of saying that



Quest.

C I think there must be a public push by P or
Sey. I don't think we can possibly push out
his book. I think a part must be summarizing
of what we have done about ethnology
that this is a sketch of operations.

Layell but we cannot in trying a writing.
I think some words about most attribution
would be useful - happen times - The
pro does it ever this sort of thing - only one
experience.

P Even Bella was shaken by a attribution of the
K.R. Fenwick said she had always opposed it - you
should have been free of the that was as much of
of thousands will be massacred. The word
shows our opponents - doesn't matter who it finds
Bella said why not just give humanitarian aid.
I said you can't sort it out this way - you
also have to send miles at the end - Layell
we need massive human-aid - we cannot
create.

H Layell

S Hatfield has proposal for getting rid in three
books till II

P Yes, but you have to give a people an idea rather
they were collaborators but what is going on

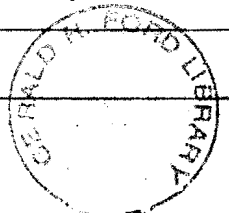
Sc

H we got to change a scene we don't have
a center but hang over in.

S I don't think it can be done openly. I like Hatfield

H Alex

Sc



H I think we have to move here, forward
good of most countries, and probably call for
R.E.F.

S I agree but must be done publicly.

C If Pres can say he is not a barrier, that
would help.

P I am having press conf. We will sort out what
to say. ~~But~~ but give lots of human aid. But
we have to give arms to help them from villages
which we get are going on.

C But I think we need to put out what we have been
making the effort over the past.

P That we can do.

S Shouldn't we have a full conference? I think we
cannot it then I create following a Pres
statement.

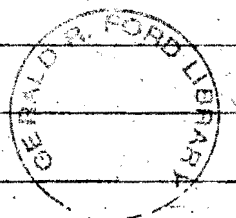
(Discussion about changing here will)

Way out:

S According to reports, a Pres is working to stop
Gulf + Iran

H Part of the KR - they have said they
had to get rid of h. h. to negotiate. The
Govt has ~~then~~ said they would change
if that is necessary to negotiate

P Being in U.K. Check a U.K. reporter
75



P. of. We have to find them ^{hold} ~~change~~
a perimeter

S. Joyce w/ H, but has to be handled in

bring out a negotiating board
work out a way to bring a effort to light
calling on a com and a mil assist.

→ Come to open offensive - cease fire, call for report.

Common We have recruited w/ members of Senate who
(Camp)
are willing to work w/ us for humanitarian
a mil assist.

