MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Gerald R. Ford
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, April 3, 1975

PLACE: The Oval Office

The President: I don't think we should restrict this to photographers. The supermoralists are wrong, but I don't want the gifts in a dusty room at State or sold at an auction.

Kissinger: I am returning the Nobel Peace Prize but the money is in a trust fund so I will have to borrow to return the money. I will do it following your speech Friday or Saturday.

Our friends the Israelis -- now that they have their second wind -- they are putting out vicious stories. The Newsweek stories about the Vice President, proximity talks, my vetoing Allon, etc. This of a piece with what Garment told me -- they are withdrawing their protection from me. The new line is that it was all a misapprehension. None of this is crucial, but it shows they are going on the offensive. What they briefed O'Neill was a pack of lies.

We must get a handle on military shipments. Now the estimate is a four weeks war. We made a serious mistake. I should have had you say to Rabin we love you, and we will ship when you make an agreement.

The President: What are the options and how will the shipments correlate with the options?
Kissinger: We will do a paper for you.

The Greeks and Turks are moving to a crisis over Aegean. The Greeks are denying overflight rights and the Turks are ignoring it. I think we should send sharp notes to each of them.

The Turkish Government has some wild splinter groups in it. It may refuse any concessions on Cyprus -- they don't have a vote of confidence yet. I think they will start closing our bases within a month and once they do that, the momentum starts. Then I am afraid that they will move militarily before they run out of spare parts.

The President: Would they take some Aegean Islands? They certainly have the military ability.

Kissinger: There is no comparison between the value of Turkey and Greece.

You asked what other Presidents would do in Indochina. None of them have been in your position. Ike would have moved carriers in, B-52s, and sent sharp notes to the Soviet Union, China and North Vietnam -- there wouldn't have been an offensive.

You have the option, though. You can say you weren't a part of this awful mess. You feel it has to come to an end and you are just able to get all out the ones who want to get out.

The President: To tell the American people we are going to bug out at this late date -- I just can't do it.

Kissinger: The McGovern trend is beginning to win. The Paris agreement wasn't bad if it had been kept. It was working well until last summer.

The President: My determination is to stay with it. Ask for the money and authority to evacuate. Then if everything happens as we foresee, I will have done my best.

Kissinger: The Chinese are having friction with Hanoi. The Chinese wished us well but couldn't do anything. The Chinese really wanted four Indochina states.

The President: Have you thought further about that idea of a conference?

[With Max Fisher]