

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 12958 Sec. 3.0

MR 01-56 #28; Dec. 22, 9/19/01

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS

By *dal* NARA, Date 10/21/01

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford  
 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: Friday, April 11, 1975  
 9:12-10:10 a. m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

The President: Jack told Betty it was my best speech.

Kissinger: What else could you have done? Think of the Presidency if you had said nothing. How would you have justified sticking with the \$300 million [request for Vietnam]?

The President: I thought I should put the intelligence part in.

Kissinger: I can't campaign directly, but next year I will give foreign policy speeches around the country.

I will go to the CENTO meeting and then meet with you for NATO.

The President: Will you go to Latin America?

Kissinger: I thought I would cut it down and go the week after next.

The President: Will you go to Chile?

Kissinger: I think it is not good for me to be gone too long at this time.

If you lose the Vietnam aid, you should speak for 10 minutes and

SECRET/NODIS/XGDS



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

say you are pulling the Americans out. What are the Democrats going to run on next year? They got us into it, and we got out of it, and they won't even fund the poor GVN that they got into the whole thing. They will have no issue on Vietnam -- but you will.

I think you should now get out and sell this the way you did energy.

The President: I am christening the Nimitz this month and the Hebert Library soon.

Kissinger: I would focus on the second part of the speech -- what you want done.

From a posture of detente, you can go to the people and say we tried and the bastards wouldn't do it. This keeps the liberals in line.

I think a series of speeches -- lower on Vietnam and higher on the rest.

If Israel doesn't come through soon, I would announce a comprehensive program.

This is a message we just got from the Soviets. [He gives it to the President.] They are scared right now, because they think you might pull a Nixon and clobber someone. But if they detect weakness. ....

The President: Let's keep them thinking that.

Kissinger: They were anxious you got it before your speech.

I would send Berger to Taiwan to quiet the flak. I think the Vice President is too political a signal.

I will answer Brezhnev: I will say that I will go to Moscow only (1) if my meetings are with Brezhnev, (2) if at the end of the meeting we must announce the date of the summit. That is tough, but it's the only think these SOB's understand. If it is with Gromyko I will meet in Europe. I think you should have given your Mideast speech by then.

The President: Will you start on it?

Kissinger: I am. One sign of cooling relations with Israel could be to do business through Keating. Eilts is really good. I want to make him Assistant Secretary.



The President: How about Toon?

Kissinger: If Geneva doesn't come off, maybe we can send him to Bonn.

Allon is coming here next week and Hussein is coming soon. We maybe should invite others here. Or I could go from Turkey to the Mideast before your speech.

Proposing an overall solution won't be accepted, but then we will be in a good position. I would like to see your plan to the Arabs first.

Kissinger: Sihanouk is now seeing the need for the GKR and is scrambling around. I think maybe the French screwed us in December. He is acting as if he heard this balancing idea for the first time.

But now we have a problem. Defense is saying they are asking you to pressure me to evacuate. You and I can't decide this. Ambassador Dean says it is too dangerous to get to the airport -- he has to make that decision. However, we could ask Dean if he thinks he and two or three more should stay behind and work on the Sihanouk angle.

The President: We have to execute Eagle Pull. But if Sihanouk won't be back in, wouldn't it be good if the Ambassador stayed behind?

Kissinger: Yes.

The President: What would happen?

Kissinger: [Described Sihanouk calling for government of national unity.]

The President: What if Sihanouk can't stabilize it?

Kissinger: Dean would be captured. They would sell him back to us. It is a bad idea to let an Ambassador be captured.

The President: Call Dean. I am willing to gamble.

Kissinger: The Consumer-Producer preparatory meeting is totally screwed up. They can't even agree on an agenda.

The French are hinting about getting an invitation to Geneva.



The President: No.

Kissinger: They would be worse than the Soviet Union. We now have to be tough. We can't be pushed around.



Get a cables showing uneasiness around a world for P.

PK 11 Apr 25 9<sup>12</sup>-10<sup>10</sup> am

P Jack told Betty it my best speech

K What else could you have done? Think of the Presidency if you had said nothing? How would you have justified sticking w/c 300 mil.

P I think I should put a airtel past in.

K I can't compare directly but next year I will give F speeches around.

I will go to CEATO mtg + then meet w/ you for NATO

P LA?

K I think I would cut it down + go week after next

P Not Chile?

K I think it not good to be gone at this time  
If you lose card, you should speak for 10 minutes + say they ~~have~~ you are pulling a ~~to~~ Commission out. What are the Democrats going to run next year? They got no in to it and we got out of it and they won't even find the you GON they got into a whole thing. They will have no issue on UN - but you will.

I think you should never go out and sell this the way you did energy

P I can christening vicinity this month and Helmut library soon.

K I would focus on a <sup>and</sup> part of a speech - what you want done.

From a posture of detente, you can go to a people + say we tried + a bastards wouldn't do it - keep a liberals in line.

DECLASSIFIED

AUTHORITY per ml 01-56, #28, 5/19/01

BY WJ NLF, DATE 5/26/04

Chief Justice & Smith

I think a series of speeches - lower on VU & higher on rest.

If I don't come thru soon, I would announce a comprehensive prog.

This may come from SC (quits to P). They are scared right now, because they think you might pull a Nixon & elude someone. But if they detect a release...

P Let's keep them thinking that.

P They will announce you got it before your speech. I would send Berger & Tamm to greet flock. I think VP too polished a signal.

I will advise Berger to go to Warsaw only if not you w/ Bez, (2) at end of mtg we must announce date of summit. ~~and~~ That tough but only thing these SOB's understand. If it w/ Crangos I will meet in Euse. I think you should have given your ME speech by then.

P Will you start on it?

K I am. One sign of cooling relations w/I could be to let Kissinger than Keating. Ertl is really good I want to make him Asst Secy.

P How about Tamm

K If Cassara doesn't come off, maybe we can send him to Bonn

After your speech, I might go from Turkey after evening here next week & Hession soon. We maybe should invite others here. Or I could go from Turkey to a ME <sup>(super)</sup> after your speech.

Proposing an overall solution can't be accepted but

{ Mountain - get rid of superannuated but I guess }  
to keep Ewert going. We cannot join &  
Lumsting or precipitate a panic. He knows it's  
them we have in good position. I would like to  
tell you plan to - photo, etc.

K Siharok is now taking a walk for a GKB  
and is screwing around. I think maybe a  
Frank screwed us in Dec. He's acting as if he  
heard this balancing idea for 1st time.

But now we have a prob. Def is saying they are  
asking you to pressure me to evacuate. You &  
I can't decide this. Dean says it's dangerous to  
get to - airport - he has to make that. However, we could  
ask Dean if he & 2 or 3 more that they should stay  
behind & work w/ on - Siharok

P We have to expect Eagle Pull. But if Siharok can't  
be in we'd like it to be good if Ewert stayed behind.

K Yes.

P What would happen?

K (Described Siharok cutting for coast of north with)

P What if Siharok can't stabilize

K Dean would be captured. They would sell him back  
to us. Bad idea to let Ewert be captured

P Call Dean. I willing to gamble

K The C-P preparatory mtg is totally screwed up. They  
can't even agree on agenda.

Frank are hitting about invite to Geneva

P No

K They would be worse than - S.C. We now have to be  
tough. Can't be pushed around.