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
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 got 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. Elts 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 Middle East 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.
PLK 11 April 25 91-10/00

P Jack told Betty it my last speech
K What else could you have done? Think of the
 Presidency if you had died nothing? How could
 you have prevented Hanoi if you lived?

P I think I should just cut it until next in
K I can't campaign slated but next year I will give
 speeches around.

K I wish you to NATO party + their meet of you for

P LA?

K I that I would cut it damn 90 write often next
P LA Child?

K I think it not good to be gone at this time

K If you are come up you should speak for months
K say they have wanted you are pulling American
K out. What are the Democrats going to happen next
K year? They got in 0 years ago got out of it
K and they won't even find the vote or they got
K into a whole thing. They will have to come in
K out but you will

K I think you should come go out and tell this
K the way you did energy

K I know Canadians bintry to waft and help
K delivery soon

K I would from one to on but if you express what you
K want done

K From a picture of details you can get a people say
K we could + hating wouldn't that be it longer + didn't
K one think

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BY NLF DATE 04/19/04
Chief Justice Smith

I think a number of people have already begun to question your decision. If I don't come to a decision, I would announce a compromise plan. This may from SC (South Carolina). They are ready to accept my plan, but they think you might put a different plan forward. But if they don't approve...

P, have they shown thinking that?

I think we must give our best ideas. I would find Ben a great help in this. I think we must plan for the possible result. I would revise your plan to see if it could go without any other people. (1) We had better make sure that we have the necessary data to support our decision. That might be only the case. These facts are understood. If you were to agree to this, I think you should have given your MC speech by then.

P, would you start on it?

K, same. I am afraid nothing will work if I could not be the chairman. Keep it as really good. I want to make him read it.

P, How about Tom?

K, if Cannon doesn't come up, maybe we can send him to France.

After your speech, I would go for Turkey.

After our meeting, we must work on Russia now. We must start with others first. On 20th of June, Turkey is still in favor of Greece.

Preparing an appeal in this case is urgent but...
I don't feel very comfortable with your plan. We should keep quiet and not reveal our intentions. Our mission is urgent.

K: I'm so tired. I don't feel very comfortable with this plan.

P: We should keep quiet and not reveal our intentions. Our mission is urgent.

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