MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford
Amb. Togo, Japanese Ambassador
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Friday, December 10, 1976
10:57 - 11:19 a.m.

PLACE: The Oval Office

Togo: Thank you very much for receiving me. I have a letter from Prime Minister Miki written before the election.

The President: Thank you very much. [He reads the letter.] I am deeply grateful.

Togo: If I may add how pleased we are to have you in the White House. We will miss you. I tell all my friends in Asia how we appreciate the policy that was developed by you. How you will continue to be a Pacific power and participate in Asia. We sincerely hope this will continue.

The President: This policy I think is in the interest of the free world. I would think it would be continued by my successor. It has been so successful I can't imagine a substantial change.

Would you please convey to the Prime Minister my warm regards? I am honored to have put our relations at the best level. I am proud to have been the first President to visit Japan, and I was deeply honored to have had the Emperor here.

Brent Scowcroft
I am pleased to have had you here. You have been a fine representative of your government and I have enjoyed our relationship. I have appreciated my association with Prime Minister Miki at Rambouillet, at Puerto Rico and here.

What is your interpretation of the election?

Togo: The political excitement of the election is dying down. I think it shows a certain preference for the middle of the road. The LDP lost 16-20 seats, but there are some independents who came in and will support the LDP, so as it stands now they have lost five or six. But since the LDP lost the majority, it is probable that Mr. Miki will step down.

The President: When would that be?

Togo: Around the 20th there will be a party meeting and then a special parliamentary session after Christmas.

The President: Who is the likely successor?

Togo: I am just guessing but I would say Fukuda. There is also the Democratic Socialist party, which went from 5 to 17. They are not too different. Also the clean Government party is basically non-Communist. And the Communists went down from 38 to 17. So on the whole the voters showed a preference for moderation.

The President: Were any of the prominent people I know defeated?

Togo: Mr. Tanaka came out right on top. Of the five most prominent people, four were reelected. Most of the old faces are still there. So by the end of the year we should have a new government.

The President: It is so important for strength and stability in the Pacific that a moderate government be in power. It would be tragic if there were a sharp swing.

Togo: The non-communist parties seem to me to be moderating their policies some. Even the Socialists, maybe as they come closer to power, become more responsible. They changed their policy during the campaign on the U.S. security treaty. Even the
Communists changed some. I hope you continue to be active and exercise your views.

The President: I can assure you I will. I don't plan to be in Washington, but I will express my views on foreign and domestic policy. My views on the Pacific and our Pacific and Atlantic alliances will not change and I will continue to stress that. You can rest assured, to the extent I can affect it, that there will be no change.
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR TOGO
Tuesday, December 7, 1976
12:00 Noon (20 minutes)
The Oval Office

From: Brent Scowcroft

I. PURPOSE
To receive a letter from Prime Minister Miki.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS ARRANGEMENTS
A. Background: Ambassador Togo has asked to deliver personally a letter from Prime Minister Miki to you. We understand the letter raises no substantive issues but expresses the Prime Minister's appreciation for your efforts in expanding U.S.-Japanese relations. The Ambassador would like to associate himself with these sentiments and also take the occasion to say farewell. He may wish also to describe briefly the results of the December 5 Lower House election in Japan and offer his interpretation of its significance.

The Japanese Elections
The ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) suffered substantial losses in the election (winning 249 of 511 seats, down from 271 in 1972), failing for the first time in more than 20 years to win a majority. However, the post-election affiliation of conservative independents and perhaps of the New Liberal Club (a group of LDP Diet members who bolted the party during the Lockheed scandal) will enable the LDP to continue to govern.

As a result of LDP losses, Prime Minister Miki will very likely have to step down as party leader and premier.
While Takeo Fukuda, former Finance Minister, remains the likely candidate to replace him, Fukuda too may have to assume some of the responsibility for the party's electoral misfortunes, and it is possible that a third candidate may be selected. However, any replacement is likely to come from among a circle of party leaders well known here and well disposed toward the United States. Japanese foreign policy, and specifically Japanese policy toward the United States, should not be affected by the change.

B. **Participants:** Ambassador Togo, Brent Scowcroft.

C. **Press Arrangements:** Press photo session; meeting to be announced.

**III. TALKING POINTS**

1. Please give my regards to Prime Minister Miki. I recall our meetings in Washington, Rambouillet and Puerto Rico with great warmth and admiration.

2. I take great satisfaction in the excellent state of our relations with Japan. After a long period of growth, our relationship has evolved into a genuine partnership.

3. How do you assess the outcome of the recent elections in Japan? What long-term political significance do you see in the outcome?

4. I am confident that U.S.-Japan relations will not be affected. Our ties reflect common interests and shared values. The overwhelming majority of Japanese and Americans understand and fully support the mutual bonds between our two countries.
I have seen many women for walking
and I have one letter from PM and a letter from
a doctor.

P. (Handwritten note)

I am deeply grateful.

T. By going and having talked and having
gone to the PM, we will win you.

I tell all my friends in Asia how
we appear. I am grateful to you that
you will continue to be a Pacific
voice and participate in Asia, we
seem to be the world that emphasizes

P. This going, I think is out of interest
for people. I would think it would
be continued by my successor. It
has been so successful. I want
imagination and a whole change.

We all are planning to bring
more people and build
more contacts. We need to
build more. I want to build
more.

I am very happy to have been
honored to have had a European
letter.

I planned to have had you here. You
have been a fine shot of your joint
and I have enjoyed our meeting.

Drive safe and my best to [Name].
at P & R here.

What is your interpretation for this?

The first appearance of electron or ion does, I think, it shows with full force until after I read. They lost 16-18 from this area. From a right corner, to 16

it stands near they know but it is just

since the last majority, it from

This will stop soon.

P

Who could that be?

A man, I think, must have a party

Why is your family so soon after

P

At which unless otherwise

P

I don't know but I don't say otherwise.

Then also a — party which went from

5 to 7. Probably to get. Also, there

got party in basically were over. And

1 point went there they from 5 to 7.

So one line was entered.channel reply

for modifications.

P

More or less a personal epithet.

P

One. Tom, he comes out light again.

If 1-5 went previous, I was selected.

Most of all, face still there.

So my mind for you can stretch from

an age.
1. Be so organized in study habits
in a park that a good grade is
in future. It wasn't the topic of discussion
in theory.

I The government put up a 
notice to be distributed there. A
book. It was a sandstone nugget
or Virginia elected party. Unusual
unrelated. Today changed the
living among conquerors. AI security
truly. Come onto Changing
those young friends to be critics
and everyone young writers.

I don't understand your evidence. I don't
plan to be in class, but I won't
express my opinion for just
choose policy. My choice can a choice
I am Pam. A Ath. Alternative work
will change+ I don't have to stress
that. You can just realize to
spread. I can effect it clear will
be no change.