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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET/NODIS/XGDS~~

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.

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Div. on 3/13/04
BY hala NARA, DATE 7/20/04

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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.



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR TOGO

Tuesday, December 7, 1976

12:00 Noon (10 minutes)

The Oval Office

From: Brent Scowcroft *BS*

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.

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Y *lh* NARA DATE 7/22/04

State Div. ext 3/13/04

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.

P/amb Togo ✓

10 Dec 76

T Thank you very much for writing me. I have a letter from PM Ueki with copy of election.

P Thank you very much (flats)
I am deeply grateful

T I am glad to have phoned you and to have you in with. We will miss you & all my friends in Asia but we appreciate policy adopted by you & you will continue to be a fair partner & participant in Asia. We sincerely hope this will continue

P This policy I think is in interest of the world. I would think it would be continued by my successor. It has been so successful that marginal or zero change.

Would you please say to PM my warm regards. I am honored to have put our relations etc but don't look I period to have been 1st P to visit Japan & was deeply honored to have had a E report here.

I pleased to have had you here. You have been a fine rep. of your govt & I have enjoyed our relationship. I hope you may see w/ Ueki

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 2.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, State Review 3/13/04

V. [initials] NARA DATE 7/20/04

at ~~Rum~~ PR + here.

What is your interpretation of election

T The pol. experiment of election is dying down, I think it shows with few or middle of road. They lost 15-20 seats but there are some idiosyncrasies, so as it stands now they have lost 5-6. But since LDP lost majority, it goes. Election will step down.

P When would that be

T Around 20th there will be a party unity + spec parliamentary session after X mas.

P Who is likely to succeed?

T I just guessing but heard say Furukawa. There also a party, which went from 5 to 17. They went to 17. Also - show govt party is basically over east. And a party went down from 5 & (?) to 17. So on - which a votes should prop.

for moderation

P How many of the permanent people during lower deflation?

T An. Tanaka came out right on top.

Of 5 most prominent, 4 were re-elected.

Most of old faces still there.

So by a end of year we should have a new govt.

P It is regretted for strength & stability
in Pacific that a moderate party be
in power. It would be tragic if there were
a sharp swing.

T The US must continue to seek to
maintain its policies. Even a socialist, maybe
or they could elect a party, because
we resp. They changed their
policy during campaign on US security
treaty. Even a party changed some.

They are certain to be active
& exercise your rights

P I can assure you I will. I don't
plan to be in Wash, but I will
express my views on foreign
defense policy. My views on Pacific
& our Pac. & Atl. alliances will
not change & I will continue to stress
that. You can rest assured to
extent I can affect it there will
be no change.