

Scowcroft file

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~/NODIS/XGDS

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS:

The President
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, June 27, 1975
9:30 - 9:58 a.m.

PLACE:

The Oval Office



Kissinger: Defense -- not Schlesinger -- has been lobbying on the Hill against Panama. Whatever you decide, it should not be a formal decision not to proceed with the negotiation. That would cause a real blow-up in Latin America. Were it not for the 1976 election, I would recommend we go forward. It will turn into a Vietnam-type situation. If there are people killed, we will be in a colonialist situation. But we do have a real problem domestically.

President: Politically it is explosive. It is a double-edged sword. Right now it would give Reagan all he has lost by Mayaguez. He would demagogue it. On the other side, this is an issue the Democratic candidate can exploit. We need to find a way skillfully to postpone it for 18 months.

Kissinger: That will be impossible, but it can only be done from a posture of seeking to negotiate. We can try to do it -- or I can give you an honest judgment. But we have to fight this House action [trying to cut off funds for the negotiation]. It will cause a Latin American blow-up, and it is an invasion of your Constitutional authority. We need a statement opposing that vote.

President: Cederburg called me and I said I opposed it. We can say that Eisenhower, Johnson and Nixon all negotiated. We are doing exactly the same. If Kennedy did it, he should be named, too; I know all the other three did.

CLASSIFIED BY HENRY A. KISSINGER
EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652
EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5 (b) (1,3)
AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON Imp. to det.

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DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
NSC MEMO, 11/24/88, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES, STATE REVIEW 2/10/04
BY 1/1, NARA, DATE 5/24/04

Kissinger: Callaway is no help at all. I think we need a statement by you of some sort. [He gives the President the draft.]

President: The Eisenhower Administration made the first change, raising the payment. I think we should name the people who all went down -- Johnson sent Bob McNamara.

Kissinger: We will find out.

President: To say that we are simply carrying on what others have done is helpful backup.

* * *

[General Scowcroft departs briefly, and then returns.]

Kissinger: [Speaking of Angola] We will keep the meeting to give the policy that you want to be active. Then we will get the 40 Committee going on a plan.

The Mexican Foreign Minister was in. Their President's term is up next year. The UN Secretary-General's term is also up next year. Echeverria wants to be Secretary-General. That we don't need, but we don't need him against us, at least until his successor is picked. So I strung him along a bit. I didn't offer support, but I didn't indicate opposition. So now we have to keep Waldheim in the race. I will take this to Gromyko. But if I oppose Echeverria with them, they may get interested. It would be good to get the Soviet Union to oppose him. We would have to veto if it came to that. He would win a Third World vote -- he would clearly win a majority of the General Assembly. Rabasa said one of the three candidates for President is an extreme radical. If Rabasa says that, he really is. So we have to get through October.

President: We had better find a good campaign manager for Waldheim.



-What did W. W. W. say a week ago?

P/K 27 June 75 ✓

K Defense, not Schick, has been lobbying one bill against Panama. Whatever you decide, it should not be a formal decision not to proceed. That would cause a real blow up in H.A. We see it not for election, I would recommend we go forward. It will turn into a K-type suit. People killed, we have a colonialist suit. But we do have a real part characteristically.

P Politically it is explain. It is a death. It is a scandal. Rejected now it would give Reagan all he has lost by Mayaguez. He would denigrate it. On other side, this is an issue - Demo candidates can exploit it. We would feel a way skillfully to postpone it for 15 mo.

K That will be nearly impossible but it can only be done from a position of strength & negot. We can try to do it - or I can give you an honest judgment. But we have to fight this House action. It will cause a H.A. blow up, & it an invasion from outside. We need a statement opposing that vote.

* P Callahan, called me & I opposed. We can say - I, Johnson, has all negotiated. We are doing exactly a same. If Kennedy did it, he should be named. I know others did.

K Callahan is no help at all - I think we need a statement by you of some sort. Crisis P as a Dept.

P Eisen. Obama made a 1st change, varying -

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E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5

NSC MEMO, 11/24/98, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES State Rev. cw 3/10/04

BY NARA DATE 5/24/04

~~Find~~
payment. I think we should name who
went down - Johnson - not feel we have

K We will find

P We might carry on what others have
done is helpful book etc.

I left

K (Angela) We will buy a party to give feeling you
want to be active. Then we will get 400 votes
going on a plan.

Next Fall was in. I turn up next year. UN
Security Council turn up next year. E. A. Harriman wants
to be Sec Gen. That we don't need, but we don't
tell him against us, at least until his
successor is picked. I strong him along a bit -
don't offer support, but don't indicate opposition.
So now we have to keep Waldheim in a race.
I will take to Gungpo. But if I oppose E. Harriman w/
them, they may get interested. Would be good to get
SD to oppose. We would have to vote if it came to
that. He would win a 3rd world vote - clearly
win a majority of GA. Rubro is one of -
3 candidates for Pres is extreme radical. If
Rubro says that he really is. So we have to
get them out.

P We better find good campaign songs for
Waldheim.

