MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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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.

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

<u>President:</u> 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.

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

[General Scowcroft departs briefly, and then returns.]

<u>Kissinger:</u> [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.



- Wholail Wherlang a one offermen of my -T/K 27 fme 75 V K Defense, not Schoo, has been lothing one Hall against home . Whatever you deich, it should ent ha from I decision not to good. That would ense a real blom of in LA. We wit not for election, I would remained our go found. It will term mt or WK-type wit. People tilled, us bea entracipit set. But me de have a und jest characticing. Politically it is pyloine. It is a double - solyed sorred. Regest som it mulygird Rengon all he has lost by mayaging. A consold changinged nt, On other sele, this is an name a Dumo Complate em explant it. We must find a way skillfully to postyone it for 15 mo. & That will be many myssile by it am only he day from a justice of seming & myst. We can to to do it - or I can give you am houlst judgment but we have to possit the House atten. It will carry LA Henry & it on movier from anthirely. We Me a statement of poing that wite. P. Gilborhong couled me & growerd. We can zon -Ik, Johnson hips all vegotinted. We are doing exactly come. I know by did it he should be named. I promoc other & did. K belowing is we try stall - I think me much a statument by young some soit. Cours Proc dept. P. Eisen, almin made 12thongs, recong c

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