

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~/NODIS/XGDS

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Ford
 Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State
 and Assistant to the President
 for National Security Affairs
 Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant
 to the President for National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Monday, May 12, 1975
 9:15 a. m.

PLACE: The Oval Office
 The White House

SUBJECTS: Campaign; Mayaguez; Cyprus; Cuba;
 Panama Canal; OAS

The President: The campaign part of the effort will be outside the White House. But I am setting up an informal group within the White House consisting of me, Nelson, Rumsfeld, Hartmann, and Morton. I would like you to be a part of it so we can keep foreign policy meshed with the political thing.

Kissinger: Will it be known?

The President: No. I think we need a foreign policy input.

Kissinger: I could come out constantly making speeches, so it couldn't be charged as politicizing foreign policy. I think your election is essential. These Latins, who are mostly leftists, are worried about the Congress.

The President: I want you to be a part of it.

Kissinger: This election is one of the most crucial ever.

The President: Look at the alternatives. Reagan would be a disaster.

Kissinger: He is incompetent.

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 def.

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DECLASSIFIED
 E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5
 NSC Memo, 11/24/98, State Dept. Guidelines
 By llk, NARA, Date 1/21/2009

The President: Any Democrat from Kennedy on down would be a disaster.

Kissinger: Especially the people they would bring in. Kennedy brought on most of our problems.

[Discussing his speeches -- General Scowcroft left for a bit]. 1

There is one controversial part on raw materials which I will settle with Seidman. There is no dispute on agriculture or energy. The issue is commodity agreements or trading rules. Treasury has agreed to discuss it. Enders is so overpowering that people agree but have second thoughts afterwards. Part of the problem is jurisdictional.

The President: Probably 90% is.

Kissinger: Simon's problem is not substantive. I am not sure what Seidman.....

The President: Don't worry about him.

Kissinger: The Cambodians have seized a U. S. ship 100 miles from their coast. It's a SEALAND ship, the Mayaguest. It's 450 feet, 10,000 tons.

We have no data on the gunboat -- There was no English-speaking person among the Cambodian boarding party. It was probably within the 12-mile limit, which we don't recognize. Our closest vessel is at Subic.

Kissinger: A U. S. -Soviet deal on the Middle East would be attacked by the Jews as a sellout to the Soviets.

Portugal is in part, our fault. The Soviets moved in after the revolt. We did nothing, because Nixon was on his last legs. After you came in, Chile had blown up and we were paralyzed.

I think it is better to have people snipping at detente than us returning to the Cold War and have the liberals move back to the left of us.

The Baltimore Sun now is saying we gave up on-site. That never came up and it wouldn't work. The SS-18 we maybe can get them to declare.

The President: How about the ship?



Scowcroft: [Described the situation].

Kissinger: We should send a staff note through the Chinese and see what options we have.

[Discussion of Cambodia, the Indochina force prohibition, and the War Powers Act.]

Kissinger: I think we need to show some movement on Turkey.

The President: I think we need to bring the top leadership down here. Can we talk specifically about our installations and what we will lose? I think we must lay it on the line, even if it leaks.

Kissinger: I agree. But we can't promise too much on the negotiation. Things may move. Makarios said he would settle for a bizonal solution and 30%. You should meet with the Greek and Turkish Prime Ministers [at NATO]. Maybe have a lunch or something. We can improvise that. But if your prestige gets too involved, the Greeks may think they can use you.

The President: I am willing to meet with the Turkish Ambassador and have a leadership meeting.

Kissinger: The alternatives would be lifting it, using a waiver, or lifting the prohibition on sales and credit.

The President: We could have the four leaders here first: Mansfield, Scott, Sparkman, Case. Give me some talking points. Set something up. [A meeting was set up for Mansfield from 6:00 to 7:00 Wednesday.]

Kissinger: On Panama there are two issues -- the duration of the treaty and the duration of the Canal defense arrangement. Defense will buy a 25-year treaty with a 50-year defense arrangement. The JCS may buy 40 years. If these negotiations fail, we will be beaten to death in every international forum and there will be riots all over Latin America. We maybe could work out the signing the end of this year, submit it to the Senate with the understanding there will be no action until '77, or not submit it. Panama could then ratify it first. If it collapses we will have massive problems. If you sign it you will also have massive problems.



The President: Will the Thurmonds and floods go crazy?

Kissinger: Yes. I think there are no terms they would accept.



~~Get print space sheet schedule + prep~~
Why did it take 5 hrs for us to know about a ship seized
by Colombia.

P/K 12 May 75 ✓

P The campaign part of a report will be contacted a WH.
But I setting up informal group w/ in all of us,
Whose, Rosfeld, Hartman, Norton. I'd like you to
be part of it so we can help for policy issues w/
a pol. thing.

K Will it be known?

P No. I think we need a FI report

K I could come out constantly, so it couldn't be charged
as politicizing FP. I think your election is essential.
These behaviors, mostly leftists, are worried about Cmp.

P I want you to be a part of it.

K This election is crucial - not crucial ever.

P Look at alternatives. Reagan would be a disaster

K He is incompetent

P Any Demos from Kennedy or down would be a disaster.

K Esp. a people they would bring in. Kennedy brought
on most of our jobs.

(Discussing his speeches - I left for a bit) >
There is one controversial ~~speech~~ part on raw materials
which I will settle w/ Sedman. We disagree on
agriculture & energy. There is liberty agreements
on trading rules. Texas has agreed to discuss it.
Enders is so encouraging that people have 2 ^{or 4} wts
afterwards. So part of a job is presidential.

P But 90% is.

K Sedman's part is not substantial. I want some what
Sedman.

P Don't worry about him

K The Colombians have seized a US ship 200 mi



- How big a ship - from which volume. Size and cargo.
- How long does it take.
- How big a gunboat.

A K Make sure a Dye to
beep track of time spent
1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-10

SEAGRAND Ship MAYAQUEZ 480' 10,000 tons

No date on gunboat

No English speaking among boarding party.

Prob. w/ in 12 mile limit

Closest vessel is at Subic.

K AUS - Saw deal on ME would be attacked by Janso
as a Sellout to - Sors.

Part is in part our fault. The Sors moved in after
a revolt. We did nothing because Nixon was on
his last legs. After you came in, Chris had blown
& we were paralyzed. >

I think it better to have people mopping at distant than
no returning to - cold war & have a libel move
back to a left of us.

Bobt Sors now saying we gave up on site missy. That
never came up & it wouldn't work. We working so
they will commit all 17 & 19 as 11 in. The 18 ~~they~~ we
they can get them to declare

P How about a ship?

S (Disputed - sit.)

K We should send a stiff note to them & Chinese
and all what ~~options~~ options we have.

(Decision of Committee, reduction force potential,
For War powers)

K I think we need to show some movement on
Turkey.

P I think we need to bring a top leadership down
here. Can we talk specifically about our installations



How big
Sattahip
Sors vs
genl cargo

- 6-7 Wed - Mansfield mtg -

and what we will lose. I think we must lay it on a line, even if it hurts.

K Sayell. But we can't promise much on negot. Trip may move. Makarios said he would settle for in zone and 30%.

You should meet w/ G+T PM. Maybe a lunch or something, we can improvise that. If your position gets too involved, a Cuckoo may think they can use you.

P Something to meet w/T comb and home leadership mtg.

K Also would be lifting it, easing curfew, or lifting prohibition on sales & exhibit.

P We could have a few leaders here. ^{first} Mansfield Scott, Sparham, Case. Give me some talking points. Set something up. (See above)

K Panama. Two issues - duration of treaty & duration of canal defense. Defense will be 25-yr treaty w/a 50-yr def. JCS may be 40 yrs. If these negot fail we will be beaten to death in every inst form & riots in L.A. We may be could work out signing end of this year, submit to Congress w/ understanding no action til 77 - or not submit it. Panama could then ratify first. If it collapses we will have massive prob. If you sign it you will also ~~offer~~ have massive prob.

P Well a Thurmond / Flood go crazy

K Yes. I think there ~~was~~ are no terms they would accept.

- Check Nicaragua Canal option

K On Cuba, press is misleading. The haters are so scared of UN they were all sweeties. On Cuba there will be unity in June unanimously repeal of 2/13. That takes 2 yrs to ratify by legis., but they will pass in interim a resolution letting each country make individual choice

P Did our Cong vote a sanction?

K No. But they did approve Rio Treaty, so they have to approve change from 2/3 to majority.

P Is the Comm back?

K Yes. He wants us to lift sanctions. Obviously Castro wants us to w/no. He has increased his demands from lifting embargo to letting feed a medicine in. We can move any way we want

P What does it get us?

K Very little. We could start our local discussions first to remove it as an irritant then 26.

P Not much in it for us.

K Byzantine maneuvers on new Secy Genl. Argentina, ^{also} Costa Rica, Guatemala etc. He wants to have 5 votes but formal candidates, then others can enter. We should stay out of it - let them vote each other up for who.