President's Meeting with GOP Leadership - September 27, 1973

Subject: Defense Procurement and MFN

President: I would like to say we owe leaders a vote of thanks. I take back things I said to the Senate. Reversing that troop cut vote was enormously important. I am meeting with Gromyko tomorrow and it would be useless if the cuts had been voted.

Griffin: Tower and Thurmond are doing a great job managing the Hill. We got some great help from the White House.

President: I called some, too. I called Long who usually goes along but he said he was so committed he couldn't do it. Which way did Randolph go?

B: Bad.

Schlesinger: You are all familiar with the bill. We have two major objectives this year. (1) to avoid crippling amendments, like troop cuts for our forces overseas, and (2) to build the forces of the future. We must not dismantle overseas posture. Yesterday was gratifying. The vote today on the Humphrey amendment is of less concern.

President: What do you mean less concern? The principle is the same. If we unilaterally cut, we can't negotiate and the Senate would be responsible. We can't say "Isn't peace wonderful -- look at our China and Soviet initiatives and let's reduce unilaterally."

Thurmond: That is our position. On Humphrey, should we compromise or stonewall?

Schlesinger: The rate of withdrawal is the same, only it drops the third year. Our Europe troops must stay; it's important to the Koreans that we keep our divisions there. So we have little room for reduction.
Kissinger: We are proposing 10-15% mutual reductions in Europe. You may say even that is disadvantages. If we cut unilaterally it is a disaster. Whether it's 40% over three years or 25% over two years is irrelevant. It will ruin negotiations in Europe. If it's done in Asia it would have a serious effect on the Japanese and the Chinese.

President: The most serious effect is on the Chinese.

Tower: All these points have been made and that military force is a tool of diplomacy.

President: Who has been withdrawing forces? I know who sent them there -- the Democrats, in Southeast Asia and Korea. We have brought home 500,000 from Southeast Asia and 100,000 from elsewhere, and eliminated the draft. The Democrats brought the war; we brought peace. If they want it dirty we can play it.

Thurmond: Better precise arguments and not jump on the Democrats.

President: The road to peace is not bug-out. The road to war is to be weak so we aren't respected. If we are weak, the Chinese will desert us, the Japanese, etc.

Let's make it clear we brought the troops home, we are working for offset, etc. Are we going to have a mutual reduction hopefully bringing peace to the world? We can't do it if we reduce unilaterally.

Anybody who votes to make the U.S. weaker is voting for war.

Look at the intelligence. The Soviets are going all out. Make appeal on the basis of peace.

Tower: We have made it. Now we need backroom persuasion.

Griffin: We shouldn't overlook that yesterday Brooke, Case, Javits and Percy were with us.

President: Take Javits. A vote for Israel in the Senate is always 80 - 20. Those who would be in the biggest trouble if we reduced in Europe would be the Israelis. If we hadn't had NATO and the Sixth Fleet in the Jordan crisis, we couldn't have saved the situation.
Kissinger: Without NATO we wouldn't have had a plausible deterrent in the Jordanian crisis.

President: The basic question is whether we will have the strength to negotiate reductions and bring peace. Our goal is to get reductions, peace, and bring the troops home.

I am meeting with Kirk. He's a nice guy but he thinks the answer to peace is to give everyone another bowl of rice. Why did we die in World War II, in Korea, Vietnam? Only to bring peace -- not for aggrandizement. Who fears the U.S.? No one.

Are we now to take away the impression which we have used and need to build peace?

Schlesinger: Two other points.

MASF is critical. We can live with 1.3 -- the House figure, but not the $952 million that came out of committee. South Vietnam will collapse if we don't have it and if Fulbright gets control. We need also support on new weapons.

Thurmond: MASF will be close. Stennis has to help. Fulbright wants to take it away from Stennis.

President: I know what we ask is unpopular, especially for someone who's up for reelection.

We have a game plan and it is working. We made more progress toward peace than any time since 1815. Let's reduce on a sensible basis, not unilaterally.

If there are unilateral cuts, in a few years a President would have to ask for a massive defense budget.

Thurmond: We need Stennis to demand MASF to stay. Can you call Stennis?

President: Yes. I hate to disturb him.

Schlesinger: The Cambodians are doing better than anyone expects. But we need ammunition for Cambodia. I want to let everyone know this.
President: The Cambodians are doing it on spirit. 1800 teachers have been abducted from the Khmer Krom.

Let's have an early meeting with the Mahon subcommittee.

Kissinger: MFN. Let's put it in perspective. When you came into office you said we would pursue trade only if certain conditions were met. That linkage was universally controversial. Now we are being castigated in just the opposite way. The President invented the idea of getting something for trade.

President: The dominant idea was that trade in itself was good and would leaven Communist societies.

We agree, but just say it is inevitable that politics and economics go together. The Soviet Union says trade -- we say MBFR. They say trade -- we say SALT. It's not explicit but implicit.

If there's anyone who is known as opposed to the Communist system, it is me. But you don't change them by isolating ourselves from them.

If liberals want to go back to the Cold War, okay. But then we need a massive increase in the U.S. defense budget. We can't have it both ways.

There has been more Jewish migration from the Soviet Union under our policy than ever before. In China, Downey is out of prison because I went to China.

MFN is tough -- with the Jewish community, with conservatives, and with labor unions. The typical Congressman can get points from all three constituencies. Also there is a tendency of business to say we want projects at all costs -- that hurts.

President: Jackson is at least consistent.
Kissinger: It is important to understand that trade with the Soviet Union is not important. What is important is they have given in: peace in the Middle East, out of South East Asia, Berlin access, and no base in Cuba. Now, when they have performed, we raise this issue? When it is raised, they agree to give us a letter reversing the education tax. Then we raise 710 cases and they act on 410. Now this.

This will be used by Brezhnev’s internal opposition. What will we do if we go back to confrontation in Cuba, Berlin, etc.

Kissinger: We can live with the general language which gives Congress or the President the right to withdraw it if certain things are not done.

Maillard: There is a major effort building to restore full Jackson-Vanik on the floor.

Kissinger: We can work something out if we can get a rule. Albert controls the rules.

Kissinger: We need to maintain the maximum difference in the House and Senate. So we can compromise in Conference.

Maillard: There is tremendous pressure. Everyone who won't join Vanik is accused of anti-Semitism.

Maillard: The MFN is only one issue in the bill.

Maillard: At what point do we drop the bill and try again?

Kissinger: We are better off without Title V than with Jackson-Vanik. Because of credits.

Maillard: Is there an alternative? Long is thinking of sending at least some parts of the Trade Bill to the House.

Kissinger: Could we survive with Jackson-Vanik without credits?

Maillard: Maybe, but with credits, it would be a disaster.

Maillard: We maybe can get Title V dropped. We can't win a vote on the Jackson-Vanik.
Anderson: We are talking about in committee on the floor? On the floor, there is not much hope.

Eberle: If we can get Albert to get a rule to go up or down on Title V, we maybe can do it.

President: If the bill comes down with Jackson-Vanik and credits, it will be vetoed. The Trade Bill is not that important.

: An open rule in the House would bring an interesting demonstration.

President: I don't see Albert playing ball.

Maillard: It's worth a try.

President: We'll try. If not, I want the Soviet Union to know we tried and want our opponents to know they are responsible for the consequences.
Subject

You said I was within 2 half inches. Two inches or objective this year.

1. Acatracting an architect. Bring into face changing.
2. Build" for the future.

A good attitude with a sure future. Before anything. Yesterday, praying.

Vote today on Hungary. Serious issues of the present.

Your view remains this coming year. That growing in the source. Of not prodigiously but, we can't

automatically. Smart would be responsible. We can't put your appropriate, one foreign U.S.S.R.

communities - not with immediate,

Thornel - That one position. On Hungary, therefore

enhancement on Britain.

Shrews - First on G/H through same. Only a day ago 3rd year.

Europe went. They told Kenneth we should have our vision there. So we have

little room for comment.

HL was planning 10-15 for medical students in Europe. They cannot care those children anymore.

Sure but most importantly it is a character. It is perhaps the 3 year or 4-5 year 2 year is significant. At least seem mysterious in Europe. If in Asia, would love
HE: Why didn't we reorient that hour and a half to be different in Jordan? 

P: Basic question is whether we should have strength to approximate zero if we.

Our goal is to get MBF there, plus bring more in air space.

Something which we don't want to think around.

France is to give us an additional level of ice.

Why did we get in for it? And why to bring France - and for approximately the French US force?

Can we move a take away, replace which we have sold, and to build frus.

Schlesinger: Two other points.

NAF is critical. Can take 60/40 but not 95/5. And for 90/10. SUN will collapse if it don't have it and if Fakhoury is killed.

We need to reconsider this entire.

Volume/MBF will be close. China's host help. Fakhoury wants to take it away from Stoner.

P: I know what is and so important, say for screwed

We have some plan and it is working. We made more progress toward peace than any time since.

Unilaterally.

If unilateral were, in a few years with a Peace 
would have to ask for massive defense budget.

Who's going to need Stoner's command? NAF today. Can

You call Stoner?

P: Yes, that's a real distinct item.

Sobieski: Controlling thing better than anyone expected
But we need assurance for countries. Want to

get everyone clear this,

1. Continue doing it on spirit. US should

act as mediator for R. China.

2. Need proper treaty w/ Russian Federation.

DE: Problem is perception. When you come to office

you said we would favor trade only if certain condition

were met. That linkage was necessarily contained.

Now we are being treated castigated in just an

opposite way. Energetic a relegation of getting something

for trade.

Document idea was that trade in itself was good & would

decrease countenances.

We agree, but just say it is inevitable that politics

politics & economics go together. So every trade we

say NASA. They say trade we say SALT. But each is

not independent.

If anyone can be driven as agreed to count

agreement it is more. But you don't change them

by decrying a process from there.

If we had kept hope back & acted on it, but

then we need someone someone in US defense

we won't have it with any.

Thus has been more. Future suggestion for US stake

some policy there even better. For China, D. Germany

and Japan because it met & their

TAK is to Tempo: (1) Jewish community

(1) Communists

(3) have Ukraine.

Typical worry on long-term from all 3

countries. Also tendency to lose time & can't meet

profits all all into—this time.
The major point is about 83 senators and 200 (!) House are for Johnson-Wood.

Johnson is at least conservative.

It is important to understand that in this situation, what is important is that there are fewer representatives in the state of Maine, and if SEN 1240 were there, this

2. When it is really, really easy to get to a letter carrier's attention, then we have

It would be easier to get to a letter carrier's attention if Johnson

Johnson is more.

2. We can make something out of this we can get a vote. Albert Einstein said.

3. I need to inform him that he is different in terms of "truth" to some congressmen in Congress

United States Congress, all votes are given based on

4. I can't say, and then in 1993

2. UNO only one year in saving

2. We need to examine what amount of money we can make

We can make 5 7/0 for 5 7/0

2. It could be examined if 5 7/0

2. Each node, but not really, otherwise.
Griffin - Glenn for China -
ask Solomon to get in touch
with Griffin.

Weekend - We enough can get that I applied.
We can try a note on J-V.

Anderson - What talk about unit in Poland? On floor, not
much hope - with down.

Florida - If we can get Albert to get a note to stay with
Albert's on T-T-T - we maybe could.

8 of fall come down if J-V is terrible, it will be
outland. Trade will not start in T-T-T.

7 can open sub-re to House wall thing industry
administration.

I don't see Albert going well.

Washburn - I'd write a try.

I will try, if not - want to floor - want 5 to
P-1 - - write & want example to present.