MEMORANDUM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: 
The President
Senator Henry Jackson
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 - September 20, 1974
10:15 a.m.

PLACE: 
The Oval Office
The White House

President: It's now down to the last stakes. I appreciate your letter and I have asked Secretary Kissinger to study your suggestion.

The practical problem we face as Americans is that we both want the Trade Bill and Jewish Emigration as high as possible. I think we face two alternatives; one is very good and one is very bad. The worst is if there is no Trade Bill -- we would not be able to negotiate with other nations around the world -- and to have Jewish emigration turned off. The best thing is the Trade Bill and emigration without harassment with a friendly attitude from the Soviets.

Kissinger: And this you could confirm again with Gromyko.

President: I have had it from Brezhnev through Dobrynin and will do it this morning.

We would have the right to negotiate and to give them MFN without the uncertainty as to what Congress will do substantively and procedurally. But there are smart people up there who can use parliamentary details to stall things. Yours is complicated and highly technical and people would invariably take advantage of it.

The furthest I can go is to submit a report each year straight from the shoulder. If it isn't up to standard I will cut it off, but if I don't, Congress could come with an affirmative vote that the report is not adequate.
Jackson: The ExIm Bank has passed the information around saying we can have credits without the Trade Bill.

To go back a moment, after I sent the letter I went to the Parliamentarian and I think I have a rascal-proof arrangement. I know your concern, and in the spirit of compromise I have drafted something. What this could change is to have our expiration date of April 1, 1976 -- that would give you a full 18 months. We have limited debate, etc., and provided for a final debate by which it must be voted up or down. This would force adjudication by the House and Senate. I think this would do it. Labor is out to kill the bill, and they will do it if we don't retain some authority.

The only other item is the length of time they can delay in "national security" cases. I would like to have it three years but I could go to four.

Kissinger: The Soviet Union has said it wouldn't be more than one percent of the total. I mentioned three years to them and they haven't answered.

Jackson: Let's leave it at three. I suggest we sit down and hammer out this draft. We must retain some authority. I've gone as far as I can. I am under pressure. I agree there must be a final date for action.

President: That gets back to this: If they modify the rules to accommodate this, they can change the rules back. I can't veto rules changes. I would have nothing to say about rules.

The Congress would have control under our proposal. They can move in in a set period to veto my recommendation. Look what happened yesterday on the pay matter. I want to make both Houses veto, but I will accept a one-House veto but can't accept affirmative action by Congress. That produces too much uncertainty and indecision.

To show our flexibility, I would accept a one-House veto. I am going a long way by this. Look what they did yesterday. This shows they can certainly do it on MFN. You can be guaranteed a veto and I will go half way and say only one House. This is an established procedure. Congress understands and accepts this way.

Jackson: I want to get it settled. Look at the Soviet Union running bulldozers through the art exhibit. I see trouble ahead on this. I see clashes, and the question of duress, and harassment. I see problems for both of us.
Kissinger: I agree with Scoop.

President: You could have a hell of a speech defending my plan and using the example of yesterday.

Jackson: We need more than one half the Congress on ExIm. We took away the veto.

Kissinger: The ceiling bothered us more than the veto.

Jackson: We really worked on this; we had a terrible time. We took out the veto. You have to submit it to the Senate. That veto really would have limited your flexibility. Another would have killed the whole thing. Schweiker wanted the going interest rate. The mood is bad and I must deal with it. What we need to finish in the draft is a final date certain. I see complaints that we have delegated our authority. It is a question of the will of Congress. I understand your position, but I think you are in need of having your hand strengthened by my proposal.

President: I don't mind the heat. I'll take it when I submit the report with my recommendation. Congress would keep control. Look at the pay thing. All I can do is recommend. Congress has negated what I proposed. This is an established procedure and it works. It guarantees a veto and, following this concept, insures that we don't put something over on you.

Jackson: Our concern in the Senate is retaining control. This would give an 18-month trial period; we have protected the credits, and I think we should give my plan a trial. We are so close to a solution.

President: I agree, and we could end up with the worst of both.

Jackson: The feeling on credits in this country is really bad; with the credit situation in this country. Word of the projects proposed would really rile the country. It cuts party lines across the board. The Soviet Union will get credits, and then this bulldozer thing.

Kissinger: You will see Schmidt offering large credits when he goes to Moscow.

Jackson: There is a gap between us and Europe. They can't get our technical forces in Europe.

President: I would hate to have this collapse over the Soviet Union and credits when we need it for broader progress. We can control the credits. Don't forget the Soviet Union can turn off emigration tomorrow.
Jackson: The Soviet Union is in deep economic trouble. We have the chips -- the gap between us in science, technology, and business management. It is terrible.

Kissinger: But that is not remedied by any amount of help. You know, their system requires them to specify production goals of, say, locomotives by weight or by number. They base everything on quotas, and so they produce as little as possible to keep quota low, and they stockpile materials.

Jackson: They still have terrible agricultural problems.

I have tried to get movement with this proposal. Let me think over the weekend if there is anything else we can do.

Kissinger: It would be good to do it while Gromyko is here.

Jackson: I hope we can act. We ought to act on Rockefeller too. We will, I hope. The House will.

President: Peter [Brennan] said he would do his best.

Jackson: I am trying to calm labor down. Meany and Abel are both up tight. It is a Commie issue. The clothing workers -- that affects Javits. They want a Congressional tether.

President: Why don't you take credit for having it so that it only takes action by just one House?

Jackson: That isn't really the issue. Most of them think the Soviet Union just can't do those things and they want a short string on it. I think we'll have problems -- not with people who get headlines -- but the little people.

President: But they can turn it on and off. They will be tough if one doesn't take some affirmative action.

Jackson: Tell Gromyko I played a key role in keeping out with the veto on credits. The credits are what matters -- MFN is just face. This gives you the opportunity to negotiate with the Soviet Union.

President: Please think it over. We have made a big concession.

Jackson: I think I have too. We will talk over the weekend.
Down to last status. I appreciate your letter and IC to study your synops.

The practical facts are few as there is no both want to hold 1 Jewish agency in a joint position.

If think we have alternatives - one may equal to another.

The event is not itself will not be able to negotiate with others.

States and all we would like to have Jewish agency turned off. But thing is think that will be arrangement of final position.

For one can explain again in some.

Don't let from Big time. I will do it this.

We will expect to complete it to much more in a/o discussion as to without Long will be made.

But think are many people that now can make good something to self-anything. It's completed a purely task. People would want it final advantage.

Further I rang is submit an agent with your statements for collection. It is not up to standard I would write in another, but if don't, can come in on a matter that I agent not subject.

I'm two proud of amount saying we are worthy of thank.

To go on two anyway. Can send a letter. When want to

assistance to think I have a second paper anyway.

I have your vacuum. I'm in print of everything I been asked. Knowledge what it would be he has

own collection date of AG 156 that would give me a full 16 mos. But have limited better dates. It's

printed on lines already by jacket-meet in will up

alphabet. This would face selection by a friend + letters. I think this would do the same is want to

hold a book + they will do it if am not within

some economy. The very other. In the length.

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5
NSC MEMO, 174545, STATE DEPT. GUIDELINES. 3/12/94
by, NARA, DATE 3/12/94
I try in every case, I would like to learn at 5.00
but I could go to 4.

So we fixed it to start at 6:00. I don’t think
I can do it, they have to consider.

In the meantime, I suggest we sit down and
think about it. I might even come over to
your hotel this evening. I could
pick up the phone and

They don’t want to be a kind of I’m not sure.

That gets back to if they really, really
will accommodate this, they can change it to
be like this. I can make some

I don’t want to make too many calls, but I will accept
the dinner invite but can’t accept anything on the

It wouldn’t be much inconvenience

To show some flex, I would accept on one hour
as it goes on by this. I don’t think you can

You have to accept this. I will get back to you on

I can send a message to you. I think it would be

Your wind machine is due in 50. But to have

I don’t think it would be a problem in

We understand more than you say on XM. That’s

I really wanted to know these parts.
We may make our thing had a certain time. We
told about this, you have to submit it as soon.
That would really have limited our play. Another
would have divided while they. Schmidt would go
straight with. The sound is dead & I must deal w/it.
Of course, I would prefer in a light as a final step except.
I see no reason that we have. help out on. There is no
reason for it, any longer. I understand your point but
I think in that you find the needed, my regard.
I don't mind if it. I can do it when I submit a report
by recommendation. I agree with this, but I think at
the time - all fine. It is reasonable. Gynzy were
suggested what is. Our side. This is an initial procedure
not make. It guarantees a war to following this
example made that we got just recently on our own.

A new service in Smit is starting control. This will
give us more hard, we will put it with credit. & I think we
should give my plane a file. We are to clear to
submit.

P
Drapes, & we well end by w/what is.

The feeling of credit in the tank is really bad. We a
walk with it in this country. Wind of a jet is exposed
really with a country into many others a secure
brand. So will get credit on the fixed day something
K
You will see Schmidt giving shape to whatever he
goes to know.

There is a gap that is & E in, I hope it put an
link from E.

P
I would hate to have this. in our own 50 & without
while need it for broader purpose. We can control
credit. Don't forget of it can turn my experience

K
But that isn't reminded by any one of help
(Stay on營利性 business by myself too. They have
money they're saving up for something in the future, so they're
interested in investing.)

They still have trouble with prices
I have tried to get more out of this product, but with the high
prices, it's hard to make a profit.

Be good to be at home. See you later.

Hope we see each other at work. Talk to you later.

Roomwell.

Pat said his name by his last

Tell him don't go the west for a time by just one time

That's not really serious. Just think about it. I can do these
things if they want it. There is a short time on it. I think we know
how it will turn out - not w/e just enough time to think about it.

But they can turn it on a 4. They will be happy if we
don't take any action in this.

Tell George I played the role in playing a role in the role
with the role. Which is what matters. MFN is part
of it. This gives you an opportunity to negotiate w/c SCo.

Please think it over. We have some much new information.

Yours is there too. We will talk another weekend.