

Foreign Relations Committee Markup

June 9, 1982

Percy starts - "most important issue facing this country." He wants a "single consensus resolution" to "command overwhelming support."

He introduces a substitute resolution that he thinks will command that kind of support - "an acceptable yet challenging middle ground."

Wants to commend and ratify Pres. START speech as policy - keep SALT II restraints plus other features - calls it a draft, subject to modification.

Pell ' "good resolution but doesn't go far enough." On SALT II

idea - "Sen. Glenn has been very active in bringing this to our attention and we will be very anxious to hear what he has to say about this."

Pell is going to call for "freeze now"--with Cranston - wants K-H incorporated into the Percy Resolution. Kassebaum supports Percy-Glenn - reads statement, praises freeze movement, but says they aren't "practical". (Cranston is there, but defers to Glenn) Says he "feels obligated to speak out "when he disagrees as well disagrees.

He has 3 amendments, he says (1) SALTII made into binding agreement (2) Ratify SALT.

Tsongas - "troubled by what we are doing here." "I have a very clear sense that what we are doing here is irrelevant," "lip service". We are raising defense spending. "Who are we kidding. You can't have it both ways." Idea that Soviets have superiority is "hog wash." "facade of arms control." "outrageously hypocritical."

R - "There is no issue he will not rise above principle on" i.e., he should ratify SALT if he means what he says calls Jackson-Warner "duplication" "an arms race," "ultimate on hypocrisy." They should keep

quiet. Tsongas is very angry in tone. "What we do here doesn't really count. It's what the people do that counts." He calls on people to "increase the pressure" on the government. For the sake of all of us and our kids--people will realize that issue is--in the quiet home and meetings around the country and what we are doing is a sideshow."

Dodd commends Percy. "You're not a johnny come lately on this issue." He says freeze movement produced admin. action. Says public doesn't know what they want specifically. Public pressure is abating. Hopes they will keep issue alive.

* There's a contrast between Glenn's sober discussion--much of which talks of constitutional prerogatives of Senate and Tsongas who treats the action of Senate as "irrelevant," "sideshow" etc. One is sober and one is angry. Both are concerned. But Tsongas is emotional (contrary to what Mother Jones thinks he is). After all, talking about your "kids" and using the language he does is hardly unemotional.

* In the meeting in his office early on, Glenn repeated his view on Kennedy-Hatfield. "I'm not inclined to vote against it on the grounds that we have more practical means at hand."

The Dems are almost all here at this point. The Repubs. are all absent. Pell, Cranston, Glenn, Tsongas, Dodd, Sarbanes and Percy--Kass. (left).

Tsongas-Jackson-Warner is a partner with which you can't reconcile. He leaves, as does Dodd.

Pell is only guy who has a press person there that I can see. Surely neither Glenn nor Paul has such a person there. But Bill Bryant is hovering around.

Glenn introduces his amendments. He also says that Percy's "pointed reminders" to the President helped move admin. to arms control. Here, he

differs from PT, who says that "the people" moved the admin.

He takes Percy Resolution seriously and talks about it, praises Percy, but says it doesn't go far enough. PT attitude is that he doesn't really take it seriously.

Glenn is reading a statement. When he says something that makes press group chuckle, he looks up a little surprised and says "whatever that means." His reading is a little ragged and herky jerky. He wants an "executive agreement" to observe SALT II proposals. wants to "lock in" existing arrangements.

He wants Pres. to review SALT II and make recommendation to Congress. Glenn says he has "changed his position" on SALT II, re verification. It's now in our interests.

All the time Glenn reads on about his amendment, TV guys talk among selves. Not the least bit interested. Glenn consumes more time than any other person on the committee. So we have to conclude that he thinks it's very important for him to think through this question and go on record. If you run for President, you have to behave differently.

He urges President to take SALT II seriously and he doesn't want to "shove it down the President's throat." Wants Senate to take up SALT II look at it. Says he has a letter from Haig on adv. and disadv. to US & USSR of approving SALT II. Wants consideration of it "on both ends of the avenue."

10 hearings and 25 witnesses in last 2 months says Percy.

Percy says the schedule of committee's too full to get a SALT hearing and Glenn says it's very important subject and that committee should "prioritize" - press groans when they hear the word.

We leave for lunch and reform at 2:00... Over the lunch hour, Percy has accepted a whole bunch of amendments--most of Glenns.

Percy then brings up Pell-Cranston amendment.

Pell & Cranston speak briefly.

At this point Percy, Lugar, Mathias, Kassebaum, Pell, Cranston, Tsongas, Sarbane are there.

* I come to the room by way of the second floor. There was a huge crowd trying to get into that room--several hundred - then I came to the 4th floor and no one was waiting - a dozen people were inside and I just walked right in and up front. When the hearing began a huge crowd trying to get into that room--several hundred. Then I came to the 4th floor and no one was waiting--a dozen people were inside and I just walked right in and up front. When the hearing began there were a few standees around the edge. But no one in the hall. Probably there are left overs from the second floor. Has the movement flagged a little?

Mathias - finds Pell-Cranston "attractive" - supports "the elevator concept" but he thinks it would be "hollow victory" would "delude" people into thinking we had achieved something when we hadn't. No verification assurance. We risk our credibility if we do it without verification.

At noon I went to Fred Hashway's "hideout" and PT was on TV. His statement re vote on defense growth and defense authorization followed by "who are we kidding" was broadcast. They said Tsongas and Glenn were pro-SALT. But John never would have made TV.

PT -"I much prefer a reduction to a freeze." "I support the freeze...it is the only statement of credibility for arms control... It is in fact the only game in town...people see it as a commitment to arms

control.. Since both of you turned to talk to staff while I was talking I will assume I was not very persuasive."

PT, in his speech, starts in, typically "As I see it, there are 3 schools of thought on arms control." He really is a conceptualizer. Glenn sees practical problems--yes or no. But he's not a conceptualizer.

Also PT is the only one with shirt sleeves at the dias.

Pell says negative vote will give the wrong impression to the country and the world." It will mean that you "don't want" to pursue a freeze.

Glenn comes in and says he'll vote for it with reservation. He says that he votes for it because it stands with the rest of the resolution. He thinks the fact that it is tied to the Percy resolution makes it better than the statement of a grand end without any way of getting there. He says this very hurriedly, speaking as fast as he can. He does not want to highlight what he has done. He really swallows his agreement. It is either very distasteful to him to support it or he has no PR talent.

They vote 6Y (D) 9N (R) (5 Repubs. by proxy) Biden and Zornsky not there.

Glenn comes over to where Alice and I are sitting. "They are locked into voting so we probably won't get anything through."

Glenn brings up his amends. Wants something "more concrete than verbal agreement." He wants to "lock in something as a positive first step in "START process", wants a government to government agreement, not a Reagan to Brezhnev agreement." "an attainable positive element that at least puts a cap on things."

Percy asks that Glenn turn this into report language. Ask USSR to say what RR has already said. Percy worries that USSR may plunge us into problems if we started to negotiate with them on the Glenn idea. He thinks it will

"sidetrack us". Glenn says report language is "Billy Graham preaching to Oral Roberts." "us talking to ourselves." PT says it's "Billy Graham preaching to Archbishop Hickey."

They vote and Percy votes the whole Rep. side by proxy except Kassebaum (and Mathias 6Y(D) - 8N(R).

Percy says he still wants to work out report language. Glenn says he will work with him but probably bring it up on floor.

"It seems to logical to me that it is unfortunate to have it voted on a political party basis. It ought to be considered on a non-political basis."

They have a little go around on poor attendance. Cranston says that it's too bad that so few people were here to listen to Glenn. Glenn is upset about low attendance. Said he thought of suggesting better attendance--that Percy is only person here morning and afternoon. PT says that it's obvious from poor attendance that RR Eureka speech has had an effect. He really did preempt the ground.

Glenn proposes his amend #2. Percy says that admin is opposed to this and puts a statement in the record to that effect. RR is so clear that he doesn't want it that it would/^{be}counterproductive. He says they need RR's signature on their resolution. Glenn just says he wants reasons. Percy asks State Dep't guy if there is an "update" on admin. position on SALT. No change. Glenn asks why RR is willing to live with it if it is such a bad treaty. He gets into a wrangle with State Dep't guy.

Percy tries to stop Glenn and Glenn gets upset. Percy tries to get State Dep't guy out of hot water. Glenn is trying to get admin. to get into SALT II again. "I don't want to get into a debate with the President's position. He has made his position absolutely clear."

"I object strenuously and violently to putting a time limit on

discussion of this important subject."

Pell tries to "unravel" the time agreement.

They vote - 6Y(D) 8N(R). Percy says he'll join Glenn in report language trying to get maximum information from admin on their objections to SALT.

He brings up #3 and they change a word and accept it.

Glenn wants hearings on SALT and Percy says they can sit down and see if they can find time. He leaves.

Cranston says "the great number of partisan votes" is "rather uncharacteristic of this Committee."

They go thru some other amendments.

These hearings are dull. What they do doesn't count. Not in the way that what APP. or Fin. or Budget even "counts." Foreign Policy is an executive prerogative and the one vote that mattered today was Ronald Reagan's vote.