

JOHN GLENN

May 17, 1982

*put with time of hope
& disc. of primary
conclusions.*

From 2-3, I sat in on meeting with Glenn and Carl Ford, Len Weiss, and Bill Ashworth(?) Bill is with SFR. There is a markup on Thursday on the nuclear freeze proposals, and, as Carl said at the outset, they wanted to get John thinking about his strategy at the meeting.

He has a 5-point plan the centerpiece of which is that he really wants to adhere to the limitations proposed in SALT, and to which we are, almost entirely, adhering to now. He wants to get results and he sees the SALT Two adherence as something we've got and can build on. He's not enamored of the freeze.

Weiss "Will you vote for the freeze?"

JG - "In committee or on the floor? On the floor, if it came down to it or nothing, I would probably vote for it, even if it's just like shooting paper airplanes into the grand canyon. It won't accomplish a darn thing. That's what bothers me about the freeze. Every time I get into a discussion with these people--we had one the other night (over on the floor I think) among all of us who have different plans, all the talk was about perception, not results. All the others talked about was public opinion. What the people would accept. No one talked about what it would accomplish. It was all perception, nothing else.

Bill - "Isn't that pretty depressing?"

JG - "It's damn depressing. It's just political--pfffft--pop. If I vote for it it will be because I want to show concern for the problem. But I've been concerned about it for six years. What we need are results. That's why I'm in favor of the SALT Two limitations. We know we can get those... I don't know whether I can vote for it (the freeze) in committee or not."

Len - "Anyone who votes against it will carry a lot of heavy political baggage."

*dislike
for
public
policy*

There ensues a proposal by Carl that Glenn indicates a willingness to vote for the freeze, if the freeze people will support him in trying to get stronger language on SALT limitations. The 3 aides discuss it and agree on it and then Carl asks permission "to say to the Democrats--without committing you in any way--that Sen. Glenn might be willing to vote for the freeze if you would vote with him to strengthen the language on SALT Two limitations."

JG says "Yes." And Carl, outside the room, says to Bill "I'd say we've got pretty clear marching orders." Actually he's given them a hunting license with some very broad parameters.

The meeting had a flow to it. Carl makes opening statement as to purpose of meeting and turns it over to Bill. Bill has a rough draft of what the Republicans are going to propose. Glenn notes that his proposals 3 and 4 are not in the Republican draft. "I won't support anything that doesn't have those two points in it. I don't understand why anyone would oppose nonproliferation and buying in other nuclear states. It's so logical. I'll strongly oppose any resolution that doesn't include those two."

For a little while the conversation centers on whether Glenn would yield some on his Salt II limitations in order to get his points 3 and 4. He says "I'll back off on that if I have to." Someone says "use it as a bargaining chip?" And he says "I could use it as a bargaining chip; but I don't want to start talking that way now."

Bill says he doesn't think he needs to, because Bill can get the Republicans to put these two elements in their draft proposal. "I think you can get those without bargaining. Do you want me to talk to the Republicans and see if I can get them in?" "Yes" says Glenn.

Then the talk shifts to Glenn's insistence on SALT Two limitations by name.

Bill has drafted some language that is "a fallback position" for JG, if he decides not to use the strongest language. It is language urging the President to negotiate a series of things that amount to the SALT limitations, but which does not use the terms.

As they talk Glenn says, at one point, that he doesn't see why they don't include everything that has to do with nuclear war in one package. And they get to thinking of other things they could include. The two treaties that Percy pushed TTB and PNE(?)--came to mind and they agree to try to get them in, thereby recounting Percy for something. It's not clear what they hope to get from Percy. There is much talk about these treaties etc. and the drift seems to be that John will get these things in and will have to give up something for it.

Carl changes the tenor of the conversation when he says that "you should hold out for the strongest possible language you can get. You should come in hard. The main thing about your plan that distinguishes it from all the others is your strong position on SALT Two. If you give that up, you fall back into the pack."

That is the only other hint of the presidential problem,--besides Len Weiss' comment about the freeze and political baggage. Carl and Len have somewhat different views on the freeze. John finds it distasteful. At one point he said "it's just playing to the mob in the streets." Len clearly thinks he's got to vote for it--that there's too much pressure out there. Carl is more concerned that John's position on the issue be different from that of the others. And that dictates staying away from the freeze--at least till the very last minute. They both are thinking of John politically--even as the candidate Len wants him to commit to the freeze if all else fails; Carl wants him to try everything else before he commits to the freeze.

It is on this latter spirit that Carl offers "the trade" at the end that carries the day. If Glenn can get the strong language for SALT limitations, he will vote for the symbolic freeze. He will trade with the 5 freeze Senators (Pell, Sarbanes, Dodd, Tsongas, Cranston) and they will think Glenn helpful because he may bring Zorinsky, Biden and Mathias with him. They talk about the vote, as of now, as being 12-5 against the freeze. The freeze is dead. But Glenn type language may not be, is what they seem to be saying. If the Republicans stick together, all Democrat ideas are doomed.

Glenn is pretty attentive for the one hour of the meeting. He does focus on it, though the discussion most often includes the 3 aides and not Glenn. He listens or reads the draft they have given him. He asks questions that he has asked before, seems to be thinking, but is led by the staffers a great deal. It really is like he hasn't focussed much on the issue. He has a 5-point plan; but once he had to be reminded of what part ^{one} ~~A~~ said. I don't take that too seriously. But he did not dominate the discussion. They discussed options. He made it clear how he feels about the freeze and what he prefers. But they did more of the strategic talking than he did. And he was in no sense exhilarated by the problem or the discussion. He stayed pretty quiet and calm throughout. He asked the staff about what the committee members would do.

Some talk about a plan of Cranston's that he showed Glenn at 2:00AM off the floor. JG didn't cotton to that.