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## WITHDRAWAL SHEET

## **Ronald Reagan Library**

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Withdrawer

SMF

2/20/2008

File Folder

FRANCE-INTERNAL US PREPARATIONS (8)

FOIA

S2007-081

**Box Number** 13

NOUZILLE

			_168	
ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
50864 MEMO	NAU/RENTSCHLER/BLAIR RE SUMMITS: LINKAGE AND SPEECH STRATEGY	1	4/6/1982	B1
50865 MEMO	CLARK TO HAIG RE SUMMITS: LINKAGE AND SPEECH STRATEGY	1	ND	B1
	R 4/23/2010 NLRRM2007-081			
50866 MEMO	HAIG TO THE PRESIDENT RE SUMMITS: LINKAGE	1	3/30/1982	B1
	R 4/20/2010 M2007-081			
50867 OUTLINE	THE JUNE SUMMITS	3	ND	B1
	R 4/20/2010 M2007-081			
50868 MEMO	HAIG TO THE PRESIDENT RE STRATEGY FOR SPEECHES	2	3/30/1982	B1
	R 4/20/2010 M2007-081			
50869 MEMO	DRAFT CLARK TO HAIG AND REGAN RE VERSAILLES SUMMIT	2	ND	B1
	R 4/23/2010 NLRRM2007-081			
50870 MEMO	BAILEY TO CLARK RE VERSAILLES SUMMIT	2	4/1/1982	B1
50871 MEMO	CLARK TO HAIG RE SUMMIT PREPARATIONS	1	4/19/1982	B1
	R 4/23/2010 NLRRM2007-081			

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]

B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]

B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]

B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]

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C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.



#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE (W/ATTACHMENT)

April 2, 1982

MEMORANDUM

TO:

VP Office Mrs. Dyke

CEA Dr. Weidenbaum

NSC - Mr. Nau

Treasury Dr. Sprinkel

- Mr. Korp Treasury - Mr. Feketekuty USTR

- Mr. Hormats State/EB State-S/S - Mr. McManaway

State/EUR Ms. Vogelgesang

FROM:

SUBJECT: Versailles Economic Summit

Please find enclosed more information pertaining to the Versailles Summit.

For further distribution, as necessary.

Enclosure

MC

## LIST A - Substantive)

OVP - Mrs. Nancy Bearg Dyke ROOM 298 - Old EOB

CEA - Honorable Murray Weidenbaum CHAIRMAN ROOM 314 - Old EOB

NSC - Henry Nau ROOM 392 - Old EOB

Treasury - Honorable Beryl Sprinkel
UNDER SECRETARY
ROOM 3312 - Main Treasury

Treasury - Ralph Korp
ROOM 5050 - Main Treasury

USTR - Mr. Geza Feketekuty ROOM 101

State/EB - Honorable Robert Hormats = ROOM 6828 - NS

State-S/S - Mr. Clayton McManaway

State/EUR - Ms. Sandy Vogelgesang ROOM 6517

## Versailles Summit Schedule

## Friday, June 4, 1982

8:00 pm

Dinner hosted by the President of the French Republic at Trianon for the Heads of Delegation alone.

Dinner hosted at the Chateau Versailles by the Minister of Foreign Relations for his colleagues, by the Minister of Finance for his colleagues, by the Personal Representative for his colleagues.

## Saturday, June 5, 1982

9:00		The Heads of State and Government leave Trianon for the Chateau.
9:15	am	The Heads of State and Government enter by the Queen's Stairway into the Coronation Room ("salle du sacre").
9:30	am	Pool photographers and television cameras in the Coronation Room.
9:45	am	Closure of the Coronation Room and beginning of the Summit.
11:30	am	Coffee break.
11:45	am	Meetings reconvene.
1:00	pm	Lunch
		The Heads of State and Government will lunch alone in the "Salon de la Paix" (or with the Ministers of Foreign Affairs).
		The Ministers of Foreign Affairs, the Ministers of Finance and the Personal Representatives will lunch in the rooms where they dined the previous evening.
2:45	pm	Meetings reconvene.

# -LIMITED OFFICIAL USE Translation (Unofficial)

Letter from Jacques Attali to Robert Hormats dated March 31, 1982

Dear Friend:

Please find attached a new schedule for the Summit on June 4-6, 1982.

Our next meeting will take place the 24th, 25th, 26th of April at the Chateau de Rambouillet.

.Warm regards,

Jacques Attali

Attachment:

Schedule.

4:30 pm	Coffee break.
6:00 pm	End of meeting.
9:00 pm	Dinner for the Heads of State and Government alone at the Trianon; the Ministers of Foreign Relations, the Ministers of Finance and the Personal Representatives dine in the same rooms in which they had lunch.

## Sunday, June 6, 1982

Junuay, June 0, 13	<u> </u>
9:00 am	Departure from Trianon to the Chateau Versailles.
9:30 am	Beginning of the Summit Meeting.
11:00 am	Coffee break.
12:30 pm	Photo of the Heads of State and Government
1:00 pm	Lunch for the Heads of State and Government and the Ministers of Foreign Relations in the "Salon de la Paix".
	Lunch for the Ministers of Finance and the Personal Representatives in their usual diming room.
2:30 pm	Return to the Coronation Room for the closing session.
4:00 pm	End of the Summit Meetings.
5:30 pm	Joint press conference by the Heads of State and Government.
6:00-7:00 pm	The Heads of State and Government can give individual press conferences at the Orangerie.
8:00 pm	The Heads of State and Government arrive for dinner (200 guests).
9:30 pm	End of dinner and beginning of the show.
10:00 pm	Fireworks.
11:00 pm	Return to the Chateau Trianon.

## -LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

# -LIMITED OFFICIAL USE-

-3-

## Monday, June 7, 1982

Departure of the Heads of State and Government.

Ambassade,de France aux États-Unis esg e:M.Casse

Hashington, le March 31, 1982.

Dear Mr. Hormats,

You will find herewith enclosed a letter adressed to you by Mr. Jacques Attali, personnal Representative of the President of the French Republic for the Economic Summit.

The original of this message will be sent to me in the next diplomatic pouch and I shall forward it to you as soon as I receive it.

Sincerely yours.

Claude HAREL Minister

The Honorable
Robert Hormats
Assistant Secretary of State
for Economic and Business Affairs
Department of State
Washington D.C.

"Cher Ami,

Je vous prie de trouver ci-après un nouveau projet de déroulement du Sommet les 4, 5 et 6 Juin 1982.

Notre prochaine réunion se tiendra les 24, 25 et 26 Avril au Château de Rambouillet.

#### VENDREDI 4 JUIN 1982

20h00 : Diner offert par le Président de la République Française au Trianon pour les seuls chefs des délégations.

Diner offert au Château de Versailles par le Ministre des Relations Extérieures pour ses collègues, par le Ministre des Finances pour ses collègues, par le représentant personnel pour ses collègues.

## SAMEDI 5 JUIN 1982

9h00 : Départ des chefs d'état et de gouvernement du Trianon vers le Château.

9h15 : Entrée des chefs d'état et de gouvernement par l'escalier de la reine dans la salle du sacre.

9h30 : Pool de photographes et des caméras de télévision dans la salle du sacre.

9h45 : Fermeture de la salle du sacre et début du Sommet.

11h30 : Pause-café.

11h45 : Reprise des travaux.

13h00 : Déjeuner.

Les chefs d'état et de gouvernement déjeunent seuls dans le salon de la paix (ou avec les ministres des affaires étrangères).

Les ministres des affaires étrangères, les ministres des finances et les représentants personnels déjeunent dans les salles où ils ont diné la veille.

The Honorable
Robert Hormats
Assistant Secretary of State
for Economic and Business Affairs
Department of State
Washington D.C.

.../.

14h45 : Reprise des travaux.

16h30 : Pause-café.

18h00 : Arrêt des travaux.

21h00 : Diner des chefs d'état et de gouvernement seuls au Grand Trianon, les ministres des relations extérieures, les ministres des finances, les représentants personnels dinent dans les mêmes salles que le déjeuner.

### DIMANCHE 6 JUIN 1982

9h00 : Départ du Trianon vers le Château de Versailles.

9h30 : Début du Sommet.

11h00 : Pause-café.

12h30 : Photo des chefs d'état.

13h00 : Déjeuner des chefs d'état et des ministres des relations extérieures dans le salon de la paix.

Déjeuner des ministres des finances et des représentants personnels dans leur salle de déjeuner habituelle.

14h30 : Retour à la salle du sacre pour la séance de cloture.

16h00 : Fin du Sommet.

17h30 : Conférence de presse commune des chefs d'état.

18h00 à 19h00 : Les chefs d'état et de gouvernement peuvent donner des conférences de presse spécifiques à l'Orangerie.

20h00 : Arrivée des chefs d'état et de gouvernement pour le diner de 200 couverts.

21h30 : Fin du diner et début du spectable.

22h00 : Feu d'artifice.

23h00 : Retour au Grand Trianon.

#### LUNDI 7 JUIN 1982

Départ des chefs d'état et de gouvernement.

Dans l'attente de vous revoir, je vous prie de recevoir toutes mes amitiés.

Signé : Jacques Attali".

**MEMORANDUM** 

#2147/2189

The Thank

### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 6, 1982

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM:

HENRY NAU/JAMES RENTSCHLER/DE

SUBJECT:

Versailles and Bonn Summits: Linkage and

Speech Strategy

Secretary Haig sent the President last week two memos on the overall approach to the Versailles and NATO Summits and a Presidential speech strategy in support of this approach (Tab II). McFarlane briefed the President this morning on these memos and instructed that we prepare a reply to Secretary Haig indicating the President's general agreement with the approach but raising a number of issues that require further development and coordination with other agencies. The reply asks Secretary Haig to revise the strategy paper in light of these issues and coordinate on an interagency basis a new paper for submission to the White House by COB Friday, April 9, 1982. This paper will then be reviewed on Monday, April 12, at 10:00 a.m. by a joint meeting of Senior White House Groups for the Versailles and NATO Summits. necessary, the NSC would meet on Tuesday, April 13, to resolve any outstanding differences.

In addition, the President agreed to give a pre-departure, scene-setting speech in May: We need to begin the process of drafting these speeches and have already moved a memo your way with specific recommendations about how this process should be conducted.

RECOMMENDATION: That you sign the attached memo to Secretary Haiq (Tab I).

APPROVE	4	DISAPPROVE	

Attachments

Tab I Memo to Secretary Haig

II Memos from Haig

-SECRET Review 4/6/88



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#2147/2189

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE ALEXANDER M. HAIG, JR. THE SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT:

Versailles and Bonn Summits: Linkage and

Speech Strategy

The President has reviewed your memos on "Versailles and Bonn Summits: Linkage" and "Strategy for Your Speeches in Europe." He was impressed by the comprehensive and practical approach to these two meetings and the suggestions for relating key speeches to this overall approach. He also decided Tuesday morning to give a pre-departure, scene-setting speech in May.

The linkage memo raises a number of issues that will require further development and coordination with the appropriate agencies:

- more cooperative approach to exchange rates
- propose cooperative means to assure stable energy supplies
- East-West issues, including reiterated commitment to aid Poland if Western conditions met, broadened sanctions, technology transfer, etc.
- revitalized allied emphasis on conventional defense.

There is also the question of where other initiatives that have been proposed fit into the overall strategy for Versailles and Bonn. These include the idea of a new Atlantic Youth Fellowship exchange program, the proposal for an Institute for Democracy, and a possible arms control verification initiative.

Please revise the overall strategy for these meetings in light of these comments and coordinate on an interagency basis an appropriate paper for submission to the President no later than COB, Friday, April 9, 1982. This paper will be reviewed at a joint meeting of the Senior White House Groups for the Versailles and NATO Summits on Monday, April 12, at 10:00 a.m. If necessary, the NSC will meet on Tuesday, April 13, to resolve any outstanding differences.

# SECRET

## THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

March 30, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

From:

Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Subject:

Versailles and Bonn Summits:

Linkage

Your European trip will be a major foreign policy event, and can set the framework for Allied economic and security cooperation for years to come. The international institutions established in the immediate post-war period need modernizing. Your participation in the June Summits can energize this process.

Two major dynamics will affect both Bonn and Versailles:

- o The outcome at Versailles will shape the results at Bonn. The Allies are focused on our projected budget deficits and their implications for interest rates. Clearly, the state of the U.S. economy at the time of the Summits will have a significant impact on the attitudes of your interlocuters and the atmosphere surrounding the meetings.
- o Equally, any decision on START will have to be taken with an eye to the international environment. The timing and substance of your START decisions will go far to determining the atmospherics of the entire trip and the degree to which the Allies will be responsive to our concerns and objectives at Bonn.

Attached is a framework for approaching both Summits in a coordinated manner.

Attachment:

As stated.

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## THE JUNE SUMMITS

## (I) THEMES

- o Strengthen your personal leadership of revitalized and more unified West.
- o Emphasize your role as a man of peace, blunting appeal of peace movement in Europe and of freeze movement in U.S.
- o Reinforce Western solidarity on our approach to economic problems, especially trade and East-West issues, avoiding acrimony over U.S. domestic economic policy.
- o Enhance West's ability to bring about, through a more sober appreciation of the global Soviet threat, a more constructive East-West relationship.
- o Build a new consensus in the Alliance on the importance of strengthening conventional defense.

## (II) OUR OBJECTIVES

## Versailles

- o Confirm necessity of reducing inflation, of promoting private sector activity, and of greater reliance on the market to revitalize Western economies; explore avenues for greater coordination of policies.
- o Political commitment to resolving problems which face multilateral trading system and to a productive GATT ministerial this fall.

## Specific Initiatives:

- -- Agreement on limiting volume and terms of official credits to the Soviet Union and on implementation mechanism.
- -- Seek framework for investment similar to GATT in order to promote freer flow of international investment.
- -- Propose multilateral "food teams," reiterating the importance of agricultural policy for development, as presented at Cancun.

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-- Focus energy discussions on the value of market forces in addressing the global energy problem; propose cooperative means to assure stable energy supplies.

#### Bonn

- o Reaffirmation of health, vitality and resolve of Alliance to respond effectively to the Soviet threat.
- o Acceptance by the Alliance of our framework of restraint and responsibility for dealing with the Soviet Union.
  - o Allied support for our arms control policy.

## Specific Initiatives:

- -- Revitalized Allied emphasis on conventional defense, which will inter alia reduce reliance on nuclear weapons.
  - -- Celebration of Spanish accession to NATO.
- -- Fresh MBFR proposal.

## (III) WHAT THE ALLIES WANT

- o Concrete actions on projected U.S. budget deficits as means to lower U.S. interest rates. (Versailles; also fundamental to achievement of our objectives at Bonn.)
- o Concrete earnest of U.S. interest in arms control, particularly initiation of START talks (Bonn; affects our ability to achieve our objectives at both Summits).
- o Europeans want us to join in condemning Japanese trade policies; Japanese want us to stand with them to avoid their being singled out (Versailles).
- o Greater U.S. willingness to stabilize foreign exchange markets (Versailles).
- o End of U.S. efforts against pipeline ( $\underline{\text{Versailles}}/$ Bonn).



o More timely and substantive consultations on issues of interest to the Allies and Japan (Versailles/Bonn).

## (IV) OUR LEVERAGE

- o Timing and handling of START announcement; substance of U.S. START position; progress in MBFR; and willingness to adopt forthcoming approach to the Second UN Special Session on Disarmament in New York in June.
- o More cooperative approach to exchange rates.
- o Support for Genscher proposal for informal NATO consultations.
- o Demonstrate constructive Polish policy by reiterating commitment to aid to Poland if Western conditions met.

## (V) OPPORTUNITIES TO EXERT LEVERAGE

- o Overall, ensure that any U.S. action, domestic or international, in an area of Allied concern is used to achieve U.S. Summit objectives. Timing in using following tools will be crucial.
  - -- Presidential speeches, to set framework and tone for Summits.
  - -- Presidential letters and other timely approaches to Allied leaders, especially Schmidt, to lay out objectives and mobilize support.

SECRET

# THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

SECRET

2189

March 30, 1982

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MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

From : Alexander M. Haig, Jr.

Subject : Strategy for Your Speeches in Europe

Your speeches before and during your June visit to Europe will be crucial to the success of your trip and indispensable in building solid Allied consensus behind your broad East-West policies. With these requirements in mind, we have devised the following strategy which recommends that you give three major speeches to maximize political impact and public support in Europe as well as the United States.

1. Pre-Departure East-West Relations Speech. Your November 18 speech on arms control has captured the imagination of Europeans and refocused the European nuclear debate to our advantage. In order to prepare the ground for your European visit, and to seize the initiative in this country from those pushing for a nuclear freeze, I recommend you make another major foreign policy address in early May, building upon and broadening the program you established on November 18. You would present a comprehensive and durable framework for East-West relations, making clear that we want stability and cooperation with Moscow but insist on Soviet restraint as a condition. This means that you would give approximately as much space to regional crises and geopolitical concerns as to arms control. Such a speech would be the ideal context for announcing our plans with regard to START. Unless the situation in Poland has deteriorated significantly, I recommend you announce that the U.S. is ready to begin negotiations at a mutually agreed date once you have had the chance to discuss our approach with Allied leaders at the NATO Summit.

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BY P// NARA DATE 4/76/10

- 2. Address to Parliament on Democracy. We need to get the force of idealism on our side, and shift the focus from preoccupation with arms control and a fatalistic, morally confused acceptance of ever more Marxist-Leninist dictatorships. Therefore, your speech in London soon after you arrive in Europe should be an inspiring invitation to Europeans and particularly the younger generation to join in defining a major new effort to expand human liberty in the world. Your speech could invite Europeans to join with us in establishing a joint commission of outstanding people to develop a strategy for helping to build the infrastructure of democracy (free political parties, press, unions, universities) throughout the world -- in fledgling democracies, in right-wing dictatorships and in communist countries. You might also launch our proposed Institute for Democracy, whose purpose is to provide professional help and assistance for free elections, parties, press, etc.
- 3. Alliance Security Speech in Bonn. A speech to the Bundestag in the context of your visit to Bonn for the NATO Summit would be of major importance because our most serious problems are with German public opinion. The speech would be an appeal for rebuilding the Alliance consensus on defense -- which has preserved peace in Europe for an entire generation, and will for the successor generation if we agree about fundamentals. The speech would have two features of particular appeal in Europe: first, an emphasis on strengthening conventional defense to raise the nuclear threshold; and second, announcing our new MBFR proposal, which would help bring about equality in conventional forces at lower levels.

For Berlin, we are preparing a brief statement about the Wall and the necessity to lower barriers in Europe, rather than another policy speech. Other remarks, such as arrival and departure statements also are underway.

## Recommendation:

That you agree to give these three speeches relating to your visit to Europe and that, in your May speech, international conditions permitting, you indicate our intentions regarding START.

Approve	Disapprove	
Wbbro.e	pragbbrose	



MEMORANDUM

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

SIGNED LE Trance Summit

ACTION

April 6, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR ADMIRAL POINDEXTER

FROM:

LAIR/JAMES M. RENTSCHLER

SUBJECT:

Presidential Speeches

Attached at Tab A is an inventory of the current efforts to generate ideas for the President's speeches before and during his June trip to Europe, and his speech to the SSOD in June.

You requested suggestions for a process to organize the production of final drafts. It seems to us there are two basic choices: wide coordination, or a closely held group. Under the "wide coordination" method, the process of preparing speech drafts would be conducted on an interagency basis, giving relevant departments (primarily State, DoD, and ACDA) a chance to review and make specific language suggestions. Under the closely held method, a small group would be designated to write the speeches without outside clearance.

Based on past experience, we recommend the wide coordination formula, at least until the final stages, when the President himself would set his mark on the speeches. The widely coordinated approach would be more appropriate to these speeches -- we do not intend to pull competely new rabbits out of hats, but to redefine known positions and to announce initiatives which have been well staffed. This method runs the risk of leaks, but in the past, leaks of Presidential foreign policy speeches have served more to whet the appetite of the public than to damage the impact.

The two keys to ensuring success with the widely coordinated approach are clear responsibilities for meeting deadlines, and confidence by concerned agencies and individuals that they are being given a chance to participate in the process.

In view of the short time remaining, if we are to have a widely coordinated process, we need to get drafting soon. We suggest that Judge Clark promulgate a schedule for the submission and clearance of speech drafts (memo to that effect at Tab B) so that all agencies will know how the process is being conducted. The NSC Staff should be the point of final coordination, and with State doing initial drafting. Issues of substance should be referred ultimately to the NSC for resolution, with alternate drafts carried forward.

Within the NSC we suggest that we be the points of contact, acting as the "honest broker" for the process. For the SSOD speech, Sven Kraemer and Mike Guhin would be the primary action officers. Other members of the NSC Staff would comment on drafts and could take alternative language forward for decision. We have found in the past that the responsibility for making the deadlines is best assigned to one shop.

Henry Nau, Sven Kraemer, and Cary Lord concur.

## RECOMMENDATION:

OK NO

That you forward the memorandum at Tab B to Judge Clark for signature.

#### Attachments

Tab A Inventory of Current Efforts

Tab B Memorandum for Judge Clark's Signature

cc: Mike Guhin

DATE	ORIGINATOR	DESCRIPTION	STATUS
March 3	USICA	Proposed major speech on Western values in London, and tribute to Marshall Plan in Paris plus recommendations for interviews with key media representatives preceding speec	Circulated to other agencies for inclusion in overall public affairs planning h
March 5	Rentschler/ Blair	Proposed Presidential address on U.S. regional policies for peace	President read and decided not to deliver
March 11	Rentschler/ Blair (WPC memo to other agencies)	Proposed arms control veri- fication for Presidential speech	Lukewarm support from other agencies
March 19	Rentschler/ Blair	Comprehensive outline covering themes and venues for four major Presidential addresses related to June trip	Forwarded to Mike Deaver for consi- deration/action
March 30	State	Paper discussing Presidential speeches for Europe	NSC Staff recom- mended circulation to other agencies for comment
March 30	Tony Dolan	Suggested themes for London and Bonn speeches	Held by Judge Clark pending overall recom- mendations
March 31	Defense	Proposed major Presidential statement on strategic arms reductions	Held by Judge Clark pending overall recom- mendations
April 2	Lord	Two proposed initiatives (Aid for Army in the Caribbean, Accidents measures) for inclusion in one of the President's speeches prior to or during trip.	Held by Judge Clark pending overall recom- mendations

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RED

**ACTION** 

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cc: VP

Meese

Baker

Deaver

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#### COMMENTS

request to bring some order and interegency input to the speech process. Recommend sign / lieggill. Will assert of significant of assert of a second or as a sec

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

April 7, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR L. PAUL BREMER, III Executive Secretary The Department of State

SUBJECT: The President's European Trip

The following decisions have been made by William P. Clark and Michael K. Deaver regarding the President's European trip:

## -- Economic Summit

OAn invitation should be issued to President Mitterrand of France for a bilateral meeting on Thursday, June 3, in Paris.

°An invitation should be issued to Prime Minister Suzuki of Japan for a bilateral meeting on Sunday afternoon, June 6, in Versailles. The President will not be able to meet with Prime Minister Suzuki prior to the Economic Summit.

### -- NATO Summit

Due to the limited time available to the President and the necessity to use whatever time becomes free for preparation for the Summit, the President will not be able to hold bilateral meetings with any of the participants -- other than Chancellor Schmidt of the FRG.

> Michael O. Wheeler Staff Secretary

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 9, 1982

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MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL O. WHEELER

FROM:

HENRY NAU  $\mathcal{V}$ 

SUBJECT:

Former President's Briefing - Versailles Summit

Planning

Versailles Summit planning is progressing rapidly. A preparatory meeting in Paris in late February initiated a process of issue development based on the expected agenda of macroeconomic, trade, East-West, energy, North-South and technological issues. France as host is developing the technology theme, the UK macroeconomic issues, Japan trade issue, the U.S. East-West issues, the European Commission energy issues, and Italy North-South issues. Papers on these subjects will be discussed at the next preparatory meeting in Rambouillet on April 24-25. This session will be followed by another in mid-May and a final meeting among the personal representatives in late May.

The United States hopes to reinforce allied solidarity and cooperation on economic issues at Versailles, and to project this unity toward the broader purposes of alliance security and shared values at the NATO Summit. We are working to turn potentially divisive differences on economic policy and trade issues into affirmative channels of consultation and new commitments — to control inflation, to reduce unemployment, to revitalize multilateral trade, and to eliminate credit subsidies to the Soviet Union. In addition, the United States seeks to emphasize progress achieved in energy relations and North-South issues where only a few years or even months ago skeptics were ready to declare Western cooperation a failure.

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## National Security Council The White House

Package # 2212

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cc: VP Meese	Baker I	Deaver	
Other			

COMMENTS

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## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 8, 1982

#### IMITED OFFICIAL

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM:

NORMAN A. BAILEY

SUBJECT:

Memo to Secretaries Haig and Regan on the

Versailles Summit

Attached at Tab I is a memorandum from you to Secretaries Haig and Regan on the Versailles Summit preparations.

## RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I to Secretaries Haig and Regan. Hese ar ling

is attached

Attachments

Tab I

Memo to Haig and Regan

My Memo of April 1 Tab II

Tom Reed CC: Don Gregg Henry Nau Gus Weiss Carnes Lord

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THE WHITE HOUSE

2212

WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE ALEXANDER M/ HAIG, JR.
The Secretary of State

THE HONORABLE DONALD T. REGAN The Secretary of the Treasury

SUBJECT:

The Versailles Summit!

It is generally agreed that the Versailles Economic Summit in June is likely to be a difficult one. In order to give it a more positive tone with reference to the joint concerns of the Summit countries as well as reflecting the President's positions and philosophy, I suggest that you instruct your Summit representatives (Assistant Secretary Hormats and Under Secretary Sprinkel) to explore certain initiatives that might be taken by the President at the Summit meeting to give it a positive and forward looking, problem-solving tone. I suggest certain areas that could be explored, but of course they are merely intended to be indicative of the kind of thing I am referring to:

- -- The French for years have been trying to get the other Summit countries to focus on the lack of an international monetary system as one of the primary reasons the Western economies are in the shape they're in. We could take the lead this time in proposing a consultative procedure on the issue, which is in fact a very serious problem and directly related to interest rates, inflation, debt levels, etc.
- -- Directly related to the above, an extremely serious problem for all the Summit participants except Japan is the low levels of savings, capital formation and productivity which leads to insolvency in the public and private sectors, vulnerability to liquidity shocks, inability to exploit technological breakthroughs, crowding out of the private markets by public deficit financing, etc. All this in turn leads to obsolete and deteriorating industrial plant and protectionist pressures. Again the President could propose a major initiative perhaps through the OECD to address this problem.
- -- Related to both is the necessity of opening the Japanese and to a lesser extent the German capital markets. Japan is a grown-up player in the international system now and must learn

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to act like one. Japanese capital resources must be available on a basis of equal access to other markets on both a loan and an equity basis.

- -- However, we must also demonstrate our concern and understanding of their problems and our responsibility to take hard decisions to contribute to Western energy security. Thus, if we wish to kill the Sakhalin project (which would make Japan much more vulnerable to Soviet pressure than the Siberian line would make Europe vulnerable) and attack the problem of our trade deficit with Japan in a serious way, we should open up Alaskan oil and gas for export to Japan. This makes economic sense and is supported by the Alaskans. An announcement at the Summit that the Administration is proposing this to Congress could have a very favorable effect.
- -- There is an imprecedented bunching of international debt maturities this year. This fact, coupled with worldwide recession, reduction of the Gulf oil surplus and other factors (such as multiple large reschedulings) means that the international banking system may be faced with a major crisis this year. There is serious concern that the safety net procedures may be inadequate. The President could propose consultations towards widening and strengthening the financial safety net.

FOR THE PRESIDENT:

William P. Clark

2212

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 1, 1982

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ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM:

NORMAN A. BAILEY 773

SUBJECT:

Suggestions Concerning the Versailles Summit

To this point, the Summit preparations are moving ahead with competence and despatch. No criticism is intended in these remarks concerning the processes or individuals involved.

It seems to me, however, that what is lacking is a commitment to a positive, innovative, imaginative approach to what everyone agrees will be a difficult meeting. The goal should not be damage-limitation nor should it be defensive. It should build upon the President's own strengths and philosophy and should be responsive in more than just words to the concerns of the other Summit countries. In my recent conversations with Europeans and Japanese, I have found a great yearning for exactly the sort of thing I have just described.

The following items are not intended to be an exhaustive list, but rather suggestive of the kind of thing I have in mind.

- -- The French for years have been trying to get the other Summit countries to focus on the lack of an international monetary system since 1971 as one of the primary reasons the Western economies are in the shape they're in. Instead of stonewalling them as usual or giving some standard monetarist response, we could take the lead in proposing a consultative procedure on the issue, which is in fact the most serious problem facing the Western world and directly related to interest rates, inflation, etc., etc.
- -- Directly related to the above, an extremely serious problem for all the Summit participants except Japan is the low levels of savings, capital formation and productivity which leads to insolvency in the public and private sectors, vulnerability to liquidity shocks, inability to exploit technological breakthroughs, crowding out of the private markets by public deficit financing, etc. All this in turn leads to obsolete and

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deteriorating industrial plant and protectionist pressures. Again the President could propose a major initiative through the OECD perhaps to address the disease, not palliate the symptoms.

- -- Related to both is the necessity of opening the Japanese and to a lesser extent German capital markets. Japan is a grown-up player in the international system now and must learn to act like one. Japanese capital resources must be available on a basis of equal access to other markets on both a loan and an equity basis.
- -- However, we must also demonstrate our concern and understanding of their problems and our responsibility to take hard decisions to contribute to Western energy security. Thus, if we wish to kill the Sakhalin project (which would make Japan much more vulnerable to Soviet pressure than the Siberian line would make Europe vulnerable) and attack the problem of our trade deficit with Japan in a serious way, we must open up Alaskan oil and gas for export to Japan. This only makes economic sense anyway and is supported by the Alaskans. An announcement at the Summit that the Administration is proposing this to Congress would have a very favorable effect.
- -- There is an unprecedented bunching of international debt maturities this year. This fact, coupled with worldwide recession, reduction of the Gulf oil surplus and other factors (such as multiple large reschedulings) means that the international banking system may be faced with a major crisis this year. There is serious concern that the safety net procedures may be inadequate. The President could propose consultations towards widening and strengthening the financial safety net.

Henry Nau has seen.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

That you suggest to Haig and Regan that they instruct their Summit people (Hormats and Sprinkel) to build in to the Summit preparations important Presidential initiatives such as those outlined above.

ΟK

Good foirts you

cc: Don Gre

Tom Reed Gus Weiss

Carnes Lord

#2459

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

April 19, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE ALEXANDER M. HAIG, JR. The Secretary of State

The Secretary of State

SUBJECT:

Summit Preparations

As our preparations for the Versailles and Bonn Summits proceed, it is appropriate that we develop and initiate an aggressive schedule of communications and consultations. As the opening step, the President might send a letter to his Summit counterparts explaining his approach and aspirations for these meetings. Accordingly, you are requested to submit a draft Presidential letter for transmission to other participants at the Versailles and Bonn Summits. In addition, you are requested to submit a game plan for prior consultations leading up to the Summits. This plan should take maximum advantage of designated preparatory meetings for the Summits, other meetings involving highlevel U.S. officials (e.g. OECD, IEA and NATO Ministerials), travel by the Vice President and other U.S. officials, and visits to Washington of foreign leaders and officials.

It would be useful to have these two documents by COB, Friday, April 23, 1982.

FOR THE PRESIDENT:

William P. Clark

Willia Clark

CONFIDENTIAL

Review 4/14/88

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CONFIDENTIAL

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MEMORANDUM

#2459

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

CONFIDENTIAL

April 14, 1982

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

SIGNED

FROM:

DENNIS EL

HENRY NAU

SUBJECT:

Draft Presidential Letter and Consultation

Plan for Summits

At the Senior White House Group meeting on Monday, Eagleburger requested that the NSC direct the State Department to prepare a draft letter, which the President might send to other Summit participants outlining his hopes for the Summits, and a game plan for consultations by high-level U.S. officials with other Summit governments between now and the Summits.

The memo at Tab I requests the Secretary of State to provide these documents by COB, Friday, April 23, 1982.

RECOMMENDATION: That you sign the memo to Haig at Tab I.

APPROVE \_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE \_\_\_\_\_

Attachment

Tab I Memo to Secretary of State

CONFIDENTIAL

Review 4/14/88

DECLASSIFIED
White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
NAFIA, Date 2/20/08

-CONFIDENTIAL

2657

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION

April 21, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

WILLIAM P. CLARK

SUBJECT:

George Shultz's Mission to Europe and Japan

Issue

Do you approve the draft letter at Tab A?

Facts

George Shultz will be leaving shortly to undertake a private mission to Europe and Japan on your behalf.

Discussion

The State Department has prepared a draft letter from you to your colleagues requesting that they receive George. Your approval of the draft is requested. The letter will be delivered by our Ambassadors directly to the head of state. The text of the letter has been cleared by the speechwriters.

## Recommendation

OK

No

That you approve the attached draft letter to heads of state (Tab A).

Attachment

Tab A

Draft Letter

cc Vice President Ed Meese Jim Baker Mike Deaver

Prepared by: Norman A. Bailey

Declassify 4/16/88 Derivative Classification by Department of State

DECLASSIFIED

White House Gue 1 3, August 28, 1997

Dear (use first name):

As our planning progresses toward the Summit meetings in early June, I am struck by the opportunity we will have in these meetings to shape the economic, political and security environment in the 1980s. At a time of economic difficulties and of challenges to global peace and security, we must exercise care to assure that our actions lead to strengthened cooperation and sound policies for the long term.

Our economic ties are an essential element of our common security. We each face troublesome economic problems which are likely to persist in the short term and we need to establish a basis for a close long term partnership which can lead to increased prosperity and mutually beneficial economic relations among ourselves and developing nations.

I am following closely the work of our Personal
Representatives and believe the focus and direction of
their efforts are very positive. To enhance further
the dialogue among us, it would be helpful for me to
get an up-to-date picture of your personal concerns. I
would also like to provide you with our perspectives.

I have therefore asked George Shultz to discuss these matters with you and with other colleagues. He will report directly to me on his conversations.

In view of the tight schedule for his trip, could I prevail on you to see George on May (fill in date). His mission will be private and confidential, with no publicity and no public announcement.

I look forward with great anticipation to seeing you in June.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

**MEMORANDUM** 

2657

#### NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 19, 1982

SECRET

SIGNED

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM:

NORMAN A. BAILEY

SUBJECT:

George Shultz's Mission to Europe and Japan

George Shultz will be leaving shortly on a private mission to Europe and Japan on the President's behalf. The State Department has provided the attached draft letter (Tab A), which has been revised and cleared by the speechwriters, to heads of state for the President's approval.

## RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I forwarding the draft letter for approval.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_

Don Gregg, Richard Pipes, Henry Nau and Dennis Blair concur.

Attachments

Tab I Memo to the President

Tab A Draft Letter to Heads of State

DECLASSIFIED

White House Gu delines, August 28, 1997 NARA, Date 2/20/0

SECRET

Declassify 4/16/88

Derivative Classification by the Department of State



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# SECRET

# DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

From:

Lawrence S. Eagleburger, Acting

Subject:

George Shultz's Mission to

Europe and Japan

As you requested, we are making the necessary arrangements for George Shultz to undertake a private mission to Europe and Japan on your behalf. We have prepared a draft letter from you to your colleagues requesting that they receive George. Your approval of the draft is requested.

The letter will be delivered by our Ambassadors directly to the head of state.

## Recommendation:

That you approve the attached draft letter.

7	Disapprove
Approve	Disabbiove
	L L

DECLASSIFIED

Department of State Guidelines, July 21, 199

By Am NARA, Date 2/20/08

SECRET GDS, 4/16/88

Draft

Dear (use first name):

As our planning progresses toward the Summit meetings in early June, I am struck by the opportunity we will have in these meetings to shape the economic, political and security environment in the 1980s. At a time of economic difficulties and of challenges to global peace and security, we must exercise care to assure that our actions lead to strengthened cooperation and sound policies for the long term.

We each face troublesome economic problems which are unlikely to dissolve in the short term and we need to establish a basis for a close long term partnership which can lead to increased prosperity and mutually beneficial economic relations among ourselves and developing nations.

I am following closely the work of our Personal Representatives and believe the focus and direction of their efforts are very positive. To enhance further the dialogue among us, it would be helpful for me to get an up-to-date picture of your personal concerns. And, I want to provide you with our perspectives.

I have therefore asked George Shultz to discuss these matters with you and with other colleagues. He will report directly to me on his conversations.