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JUNE TRIP: SCENE SETTER AND ANNOTATED

AGENDA (2 OF 5)

FOIA

F02-071/2

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COLLINS

			55	
ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages		Restrictions
30155 PAPER	DUPLICATE OF #30152; THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUROPE - POST 3/14/84 EDITS	11	ND	B1
	R 6/12/2008 NLRRF02-071/2			
30156 PAPER	THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUROPE - POST 3/19/84 REWRITE, WITH SLIGHT ANNOTATIONS	11	ND	B1
	R 6/12/2008 NLRRF02-071/2			
30157 PAPER	COPY OF #30158, DIFFERENT ANNOTATIONS <i>R</i> 6/12/2008 <i>NLRRF02-071/2</i>	11	ND	B1
30158 PAPER	THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUROPE - POST 3/19/84 REVISIONS	9	ND	B1
	R 6/12/2008 NLRRF02-071/2			

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The President's Trip to Europe

I.

The Setting

The President's leadership of the Summit process has grown steadily since the Ottawa Summit in 1981. He has exhibited consistency and resolve in advancing a common allied approach to key economic, trade, financial and security objectives and transformed the uncertain atmosphere surrounding Versailles into a crescendo of unity at Williamsburg. Over the past year, he has also made highly successful trips to Japan, Korea, and China which provided valuable opportunities to build upon and spread the themes for global economic recovery embodied in the Williamsburg Declaration. Although the President's June trip will obviously be centered on the London Summit, it presents a unique opportunity for him to focus American and European attention on Atlantic solidarity in both the political and military areas.

By June, the President will have made two trips to East Asia within a period of six months. This represents a dramatic demonstration of our interest in strengthening our overall relations with the Pacific community of nations, opening new avenues of cooperation with the new center of global economic activity, and enhancing the prospects for peace and prosperity in the region. Similar to Williamsburg, the London Summit provides a forum to tie together both our Atlantic and Pacific foreign policy objectives.

Despite optimism about continued world economic recovery and allied relations in general, the President will again face questions and some criticism of U.S. policies at home and abroad. The deficit, interest rates, the U.S. stance in Lebanon and Central America, relations with the Soviet Union -- will be on the minds of his eight Summit counterparts in the course of his visit. The bilateral and multilateral discussions will provide the President with an opportunity to further clarify our positions in these and other areas with our closest friends.

The settings for the visits are colorful and dramatic. The simple countryside of Ireland, the stark beaches of Normandy, and the historic splendor of London provide the President with a perfect backdrop for his themes of peace and prosperity, and the importance of Allied support and cooperation to the achievement of both. As the last overseas trip of the President before the election, his strong image as leader of the free world should be greatly enhanced.

II. Results/Headlines

The public diplomacy strategy should be similar to those developed for Williamsburg and the President's trip to Japan, Korea and China. It should be developed in three phases:

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- -- first, the lead-in to the trip, demonstrating the continuity of our Summit objectives and the President's leadership role,
- -- second, the trip itself, highlighting events, agreements, speeches and meetings,
- -- third, the follow-up consolidation of the results and successes of the President, such as the Allies' participation in the fight against terrorism, the space program and a common response to the serious challenges posed by the Iran-Iraq war.

While the President is travelling in Europe, we can expect the following headlines at home:

- -- President Regan Receives Warm Welcome from the Irish;
 Pledges Continued Close Relations between the U.S. and
 Ireland. The President will begin his trip to Europe in
 Ireland, and it will be a very upbeat stop. Themes of
 peace, within Ireland, Europe and the world will be emphasized.
- -- Allies Return to Normandy 40 Years Later and Reconfirm Commitment to the Western Alliance and Peace. During ceremonies the President and other leaders will focus on the reconciliation among former adversaries, the bright prospects for the future, as well as the invaluable role the Alliance has played in rebuilding Western Europe and deterring aggression from the East.
- -- Summit Leaders Reaffirm Linkage between Economic Recovery, Open Markets and Financial Stability; Agree to Work with our Trading Partners for a New Round of Trade Liberalizing Negotiations. The Allies will recommit themselves to the benchmarks established at Williamsburg; set out areas for further progress; and continue with coordinated implementation.
- -- At London Summit Leaders Discuss Coordinated Fight Against Terrorism and Plan Joint Programs. In addition to economic initiatives, other cooperative efforts may be undertaken at the Summit. The Bonn Summit, at which the leaders spontaneously condemned terrorism, sets a precedent for such action.
- -- New Partnerships Announced as Alliance Enters the 21st Century: Summit Countries Join the U.S. in the Manned Space Station Program. An agreement announced at the Summit would be especially dramatic within the historical context of the trip. This initiative will symbolize to the world how far the Alliance has progressed: from the beaches of Normandy to the frontiers of space.
- -- Leaders Agree on Need for Coordinated Approach to Possibility of Disrupted Oil Flows; Reaffirm Commitment to



Freedom of Navigation in the Gulf. The risks posed to U.S. and OECD recovery by the expansion of the Iran-Iraq war, and the potentially devastating impact on oil-importing LDC debtor countries requires the confidence-building step of a discussion at the Summit. Such a discussion by itself should have the affect of reducing anxiety in the markets and hence spot prices. We envision that the preparation for this issue take place under IEA auspices.

-- Nakasone Pledges Acceleration of Trade Liberalizing
Activities. During discussions with Prime Minister Nakasone,
the President will have the opportunity to follow up on the
initiatives undertaken as part of his trip to the Far East
in 1983.

III. Overall Objectives and Themes

- -- Advance American foreign policy objectives. The President should use events during this trip to reconfirm our commitment to close Allied cooperation on political and economic issues throughout the world, including European economic recovery, a strong NATO, a democratic Central America, more cohesive relations among Pacific Basin countries and the LDC debt crisis.
- Recommitment to the "spirit of Williamsburg" and the successful policies embodied in the Williamsburg Declaration. Our strategy is to build upon the consensus begun during the Ottawa and Versailles Summits and cemented during the Williamsburg Summit. The Allies have successfully coordinated to promote sustainable, non-inflationary growth. In addition, they have forged a consensus on the security dimensions of East-West economic relations. Our goal is not only to perpetuate this process, but to go beyond it through the advancement and consolidation of the gains made in the areas of economic growth, removal of anti-market rigidities that inhibit job creation, and trade.
- -- Reaffirmation of the Role of the United States in Leading World Recovery. The strong U.S. recovery, which began last year as a result of the President's policies, is fueling growth in other Summit countries and the world. The President's continued leadership is essential to sustaining and strengthening the recovery of Summit countries and to spread economic growth to the rest of the free world.
- -- Strengthen bilateral political and economic relations with key allies. This will be accomplished through the visits to Ireland and Normandy, and the bilaterals in London. These events will build upon initiatives undertaken during the President's Far East trip and meetings in Washington in March with Fitzgerald, Kohl and Mitterrand, culminating in May at the Washington NATO Ministerial. Leaders will recommit themselves to the basic policies of the Atlantic



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Alliance, and to specific goals such as improving NATO's conventional forces, strengthening deterrence and reducing nuclear arms.

- -- Pursue Cooperation in Space. The leaders of the OECD community should be urged to join with the United States in this exciting frontier effort, symbolizing their continuing friendship and unity in the 1980's and 1990's.
- -- Forge joint policies against terrorism. During the Summit, the allies will discuss the results of current intergovernmental negotiations on measures against this unacceptable threat to democratic institutions. If a program of joint action is adopted, we could announce this development in London.
- Encourage the building of democratic institutions in developing nations as the means to advancing prosperity.

 Developing nations have greatly profited from the beginning of OECD recovery. The economic growth of the Third World is largely dependent upon continued effective cooperation between developed and developing nations in the areas of finance, trade and investment. New trade liberalizing initiatives, for which the Summit could lay the groundwork, and continued burden-sharing in the management of the debt crisis are essential for Third World economic health in the 1990's. The Allies can also play a positive role through private investment and participation in the CBI and the Central American Initiative.

IV. Ireland

Objective: The President's visit to his ancestoral home reemphasizes our historic and cultural ties to Ireland and offers an opportunity to acknowledge the contributions of the Irish-American community to the growth of our country. Themes such as freedom, support for European integration (Ireland will assume the EC presidency less than a month after the visit) and Atlantic solidarity can be emphasized. In addition, this stop will provide an occasion for a more personal view of the President.

Issues: The Irish view this stop as a symbol of the friendship between our two countries, and as a chance to promote U.S. tourism and private investment in Ireland. Opportunities for private and public political discussions are limited. The President will be able to confine his remarks on Northern Ireland to a rejection of violence and a call for a peaceful solution to the tragedy. Other issues that could be raised during discussions with Irish leaders are the importance of resolving the EC's budgetary and financial problems and our efforts on arms reductions.

Events: The President will visit his paternal grandfather's home of Ballyporeen, tour the Irish countryside, and proceed



to Dublin for a State Dinner, a call upon President Hillery and a short meeting with PM Fitzgerald.

V. Normandy

Objective: On the 40th Anniversary of the Invasion of Normandy, the President will pay tribute to the Americans and other allies who gave their lives in the fight for liberation. In addition, D-Day will be heralded as the beginning of the transatlantic relationship which has brought an unprecedented period of peace and prosperity to Europe. This could be the major public diplomacy event of the trip. The beaches of Normandy provide a dramatic setting for a theme that will recur throughout the trip: the importance of Atlantic cooperation in bolstering the political, military and economic well-being of the West.

<u>Issues:</u> While events during the day will necessarily involve tributes to the military, reconciliation should be emphasized.

Events: The President will make a day excursion from London to Normandy. He will speak at Utah Beach at the Ranger Memorial, as well as participate in events with other European leaders. His speech on the beach should be upbeat and include historical references to the importance of transatlantic cooperation in the economic revitalization of Europe, the reconciliation of Germany and the bright future of the Alliance.

VI. London Economic Summit

Objectives:

- Carry forward the accomplishments and spirit of Williamsburg. The overriding objective of this Summit is to strengthen and spread world economic recovery through allied pursuit of similar policies which advance non-inflationary growth and support more open trading and financial markets. The Allies will review actions taken during the past year in five main areas: convergence of the performance of their economies; reversal of the trend toward protectionism; a continuation and strengthening of coordination among trade and financial policies; confirmation of the consensus on the security aspects of East-West economic relations; and a review of the current dimensions of the international debt crisis and our common strategy to deal with this critical problem. should seek agreement on the need for a new round of trade negotiations and for an expanded role of private foreign investment in the development process.
- -- <u>Highlight U.S. economic recovery</u>. The health of our economy is our best defense against European attempts to blame the U.S. deficit and monetary policy for their slow



economic recovery. The U.S., however, is in a strong economic position and can afford to make magnanimous gestures and symbolic compromises on several issues in order to accelerate European recovery. This strategy is a wise public affairs move and would protect the President's overall economic policies from challenge.

-- Bolster allied cooperation in key areas. The leaders should pledge to work for the continuing improvement of the Alliance, and be prepared to cooperate on initiatives such as counterterrorism, the manned-space program and the development of a strategy to deal with a crisis in the Persian Gulf. Comment: Coordinated contingency responses to energy/economic/political/military aspects of Iran-Iraq must take place at Summit independent of events.

Issues:

- -- Non-inflationary growth. This was the basic goal of the Williamsburg Summit and the successful strategy adopted domestically. The industrialized nations must ensure that non-inflationary growth is sustained through shared macroeconomic policies, a continued commitment to open markets, and encouragement of greater investments.
- -- Multilateral surveillance and convergence consultations. The multilateral surveillance process established at Williamsburg is partly responsible for the convergence of inflation rates, at significantly reduced levels, and generally strong growth rates among SDR countries. The leaders will review the performance of their economies in the past year and assess their future outlook, as well as endorse the success of the consultative process and reaffirm their commitments to it.
- -- Trade. The need for a multilateral round of tradeliberalizing negotiations, in an effort to contain protectionism and produce an open trade environment, is recognized by our Allies. The President should call for affirmative steps in organizing these talks at the Summit. He must reconfirm his belief in the separation of government and the marketplace in order to reassure our trading partners that the protectionist mood within the U.S. will not overcome our international economic initiatives.
- -- North-South. The President will emphasize the benefits the LDC's are gaining from the policies adopted by the industrial nations which have led to world economic recovery. In addition, a discussion of the role of private investment in development as found in CBI and the Central American Peace Initiative and discussed at the Cancun Conference would be appropriate and beneficial.



- Finance/Debt. The Heads should review the current status of the international debt crisis and assess the risks to the Williamsburg debt strategy, including the increasingly delicate balance between economic austerity measures and the political/social stability of debtor countries, the ability of governments and banks to provide adequate new financing, the potentially inhibiting effects of bank regulations (particularly in the U.S.), and the ability to deal with destabilizing unilateral actions by some debtor countries. Although the leaders can cautiously take credit for the success to date of the case by case approach, it should be acknowledged that the industrialized countries continue to face an enormous challenge in managing the long term implications of the crisis (i.e. trade flows, employment, political/ security relations, and health of the international banking system).
- -- Monetary. The Allies, focusing on their slow recovery and high unemployment, may blame the U.S. budget deficit, interest rates, and dollar for their economic woes. The U.S. must be ready to refocus the leaders' attention to trade liberalization and coordination of trade and financial policies.
- -- Economic rigidities. The importance of lessening fiscal, financial, regulatory and other rigidities within national economies, which prevent adjustments to change and lead to unemployment should be discussed. Within this context, leaders could discuss the accelerated absorption of high-technology by the industrial economies.
- -- Energy. We must work to ensure that Summit nations are adequately prepared individually and collectively to meet the challenge of an expanded war in the Gulf with subsequent disruptions in the West's flow of oil. Technical details will be developed during the spring within the International Energy Agency (IEA).
- -- East-West. Allies should reconfirm their commitment to maintaining a close dialogue aimed at preserving a close consensus on the security dimensions of East-West economic relations. They should also assess the results of the on-going work programs undertaken by NATO, COCOM, the OECD and IEA.
- -- <u>Terrorism</u>. A statement of mutual determination to combat terrorism could be announced, assuming agreement to common action in the interim and French acquiescence in a statement. The substantive depth of the agreement depends on the progress made in negotiations between the governments which have begun outside the Summit process.
- -- Manned Space Station Program: The Allies will discuss the political underpinnings for future detailed, technical

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negotiations during the Summit. The "frontier" aspects of close Allied cooperation should be emphasized.

VII. Bilaterals

During his stay in London, the President will meet in private with some or, time permitting, all the other leaders.

Germany. Chancellor Helmut Kohl will probably push for American initiative toward the new Soviet leadership in order to improve the political climate and the chances for arms control. The President should make it clear to him that he is ready to meet with Chernenko whenever such a meeting would have the prospect of accomplishing something tangible. In this context, the President can reaffirm our commitment to European security as well as the need for greater Allied contributions to improving NATO's conventional deterrent. Improvement and support of projected German economic recovery produced by the market-oriented policies adopted by Kohl may also be discussed.

During their meeting, President Francois Mitterrand may reiterate his support for the U.S. role in the defense of Europe, including our firm position on arms negotiations. The leaders may also emphasize the importance of continued U.S.-French cooperation and coordination on key regional issues, such as Lebanon, Chad and the Gulf. Another possible topic for discussion is the progress the two governments have made in coordinating activities against In recent months, the French appear more aware terrorism. of the terrorist threat they face, and more willing to act. We may be able to reach further understanding of bilateral and multilateral efforts against terrorism. While the French will highlight the health of the relations between our two countries, they may decide to use this opportunity to voice disagreement with U.S. policy in Central America and continuing high interest rates and deficits.

Japan. This meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone is a follow-up to the President's Far East trip last November. During the President's state visit to Japan, the two leaders discussed issues involving trade, finance, energy, security assistance and defense. Officials from both have been working since November, and the two leaders will review their progress in the following areas:

- Trade. If the Vice President's follow-up efforts have been successful, the President should express his pleasure at the steps taken by the Japanese to open their markets. If success has not been achieved, then the President should urge Nakasone to act swiftly to take steps to further open the Japanese market.
- -- Finance. He should build upon the Foreign Ministers

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agreement to internationalize the yen, thereby improving the balance in the yen/dollar relationship.

- -- Energy. Building on his agreement with Nakasone in November, he should acknowledge the Japanese agreement to buy a minimal amount of metallergic coal and encourage them to expand purchases of U.S. steam coal and gas. In addition, the intention of some in MITI to expand the Sakhalin project at the long term expense of U.S. LNG exports should be discouraged.
- -- Defense. The President should praise Nakasone's action to increase defense spending but should urge further progress in pushing well beyond the one percent of GNP.

This meeting is also another chance for the President to convey directly to Nakasone and the world that close relations with Japan and other nations of East Asia and the Pacific region are a high priority for the United States.

United Kingdom. The President's private dinner with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on June 5 offers them the opportunity to compare notes on how to conduct a successful Summit and to put the finishing touches on specific objectives we hope to achieve. It also allows for an expanded discussion of such current political issues as East-West relations and the Middle East.

Other. The President may also meet with the leaders of Canada, Italy, and the EC. This will be the President's last meeting with Pierre Trudeau prior to his departure from office, and the mood should be friendly and reminiscent. The meeting with Prime Minister Craxi is important since Italy has emerged as one of our most reliable allies. We see all of these meetings as an opportunity to review what has been accomplished since they last met, to refine their thinking on the directions they have separately and collectively traced for their governments to follow and to discuss possible new avenues of cooperation.

Within the context of these bilaterals, the President must also be prepared to discuss various foreign policy issues, such as Lebanon and the Middle East, Central America and relations with the Soviet Union. The topics raised will depend on world events prior to the Summit.

VII. Preparations

The following is a topical listing of benchmarks in the preparations for the President's trip to Europe.





I. OVERALL

- A. Deaver Survey Trip (March 11-13)
 This visit has determined the broad parameters of the President's schedule and narrowed the choice of Presidential events.
- B. Henkel Advance Trip (March 25-April 1)
 This mission will determine the final schedule for the President's visit. Plans for logistical support, such as security, communication and transportation, will also be developed.
- C. Annotated Agenda for Summit (late May)
 The NSC staff, in close coordination with State, the
 Advance Office and Speechwriters, will provide a
 general annotated agenda, including a perspective on
 key meetings, events and Presidential statements. This
 will be provided to the President to give him an early
 indication of the substantive challenges of the trip.
- D. NSC Meetings (late April-June)
 There will be an intensive series of NSC meetings briefing the President on his trip. The format will be similar to the pattern followed for past trips. In addition to highlighting substantive issues, several of the briefings will focus on a meeting-by-meeting review, which should be especially useful for the bilaterals.
- E. Briefing Book (Summit materials on May 25)
 The NSC, in close cooperation with State, will provide
 a briefing book to the President well in advance of his
 departure. An updated version, taking account of the
 briefings, will be issued shortly before departure.
- F. Public Statements (May)

 It is essential that the drafts of the President's major addresses be provided to the NSC and speechwriters well in advance of the trip.
- G. Public Diplomacy (late May-June)
 In the weeks prior to the Summit, the President and other members of the Administration should make statements regarding our goals for the trip, and the prospects for their achievement.

II. SUMMIT/SHERPA PROCESS

A. White House Group
The White House Group, chaired by Bud McFarlane and
Mike Deaver, will meet the last weeks of March, April
and May. It will meet with the President mid-May.

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B. Sherpa Team: The International Sherpa team will meet at Leeds Castle on April 6 - 8, and the Personal Representatives for the Summit will meet for a final session in Kent May 20 - 21.

III. POLITICAL ITEMS

- A. Agenda: The Political Directors will meet in Paris to discuss the political agenda for the Summit on May 18.
- B. Space Program: During March Jim Beggs of NASA and others, have visited foreign capitals to solicit their cooperation in the program. Their report is due on April 1, and will be reviewed by the President and discussed at the Sherpa team meeting in April.
- C. Terrorism: We have approached other governments on the prospects of joint programs against terrorism, and any progress will be announced at the Summit. The U.S. will participate in the Bonn Declaration Group in London from April 12 13.
- D. <u>Iran-Iraq Energy</u>: Discussions this Spring will be carried out under the auspices of the IEA.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

March 19, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES TYSON

ROGER ROBINSON

DOUG MCMINN

TY COBB

PETER SOMMER GASTON SIGUR OLLIE NORTH

GIL RYE

STEVE STEINER JACK MATLOCK

FROM:

SUBJECT:

Outline of the President's Trip to Europe

Attached is the revised piece on the President's trip to Europe which incorporates several excellent staff comments on the draft we circulated last week.

Please provide me or Cathy Torgerson with any additional comments by COB Tuesday. We would like to get this piece to Bud before I leave on the Advance Trip. Thank you very much.

The President's Trip to Europe

I. The Setting

The President's leadership of the Summit process has grown steadily since the Ottawa Summit in 1981. He has exhibited consistency and resolve in advancing a common allied approach to key economic, trade, financial and security objectives and transformed the uncertain atmosphere surrounding Versailles into a crescendo of unity at Williamsburg. Over the past year, he has also made highly successful trips to Japan, Korea, and China which provided valuable opportunities to build upon and spread the themes for global economic recovery embodied in the Williamsburg Declaration. Although the President's June trip will obviously be centered on the London Summit, it presents a unique opportunity for him to focus American and European attention on Atlantic solidarity in both the political and military areas.

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to Dublin for a State Dinner, a call upon President Hillery and a short meeting with PM Fitzgerald.

V. Normandy

Objective: On the 40th Anniversary of the Invasion of Normandy, the President will pay tribute to the Americans and other allies who gave their lives in the fight for liberation. In addition, D-Day will be heralded as the beginning of the transatlantic relationship which has brought an unprecedented period of peace and prosperity to Europe. This could be the major public diplomacy event of the trip. The beaches of Normandy provide a dramatic setting for a theme that will recur throughout the trip: the importance of Atlantic cooperation in bolstering the political, military and economic well-being of the West.

<u>Issues</u>: While events during the day will necessarily involve tributes to the military, reconciliation should be emphasized.

Events: The President will make a day excursion from London to Normandy. He will speak at Utah Beach at the Ranger Memorial, as well as participate in events with other European leaders. His speech on the beach should be upbeat and include historical references to the importance of transatlantic cooperation in the economic revitalization of Europe, the reconciliation of Germany and the bright future of the Alliance.

VI. London Economic Summit

Objectives:

- Carry forward the accomplishments and spirit of Williamsburg. The overriding objective of this Summit is to strengthen and spread world economic recovery through allied pursuit of similar policies which advance non-inflationary growth and support more open trading and financial markets. The Allies will review actions taken during the past year in five main areas: convergence of the performance of their economies; reversal of the trend toward protectionism; a continuation and strengthening of coordination among trade and financial policies; confirmation of the consensus on the security aspects of East-West economic relations; and a review of the current dimensions of the international debt crisis and our common strategy to deal with this critical problem. We should seek agreement on the need for a new round of trade negotiations and for an expanded role of private foreign investment in the development process.
- -- <u>Highlight U.S. economic recovery</u>. The health of our economy is our best defense against European attempts to blame the U.S. deficit and monetary policy for their slow



economic recovery. The U.S., however, is in a strong economic position and can afford to make magnanimous gestures and symbolic compromises on several issues in order to accelerate European recovery. This strategy is a wise public affairs move and would protect the President's overall economic policies from challenge.

-- Bolster allied cooperation in key areas. The leaders should pledge to work for the continuing improvement of the Alliance, and be prepared to cooperate on initiatives such as counterterrorism, the manned-space program and the development of a strategy to deal with a crisis in the Persian Gulf. Comment: Coordinated contingency responses to energy/economic/political/military aspects of Iran-Iraq must take place at Summit independent of events.

Issues:

- -- Non-inflationary growth. This was the basic goal of the Williamsburg Summit and the successful strategy adopted domestically. The industrialized nations must ensure that non-inflationary growth is sustained through shared macroeconomic policies, a continued commitment to open markets, and encouragement of greater investments.
- -- Multilateral surveillance and convergence consultations. The multilateral surveillance process established at Williamsburg is partly responsible for the convergence of inflation rates, at significantly reduced levels, and generally strong growth rates among SDR countries. The leaders will review the performance of their economies in the past year and assess their future outlook, as well as endorse the success of the consultative process and reaffirm their commitments to it.
- -- Trade. The need for a multilateral round of tradeliberalizing negotiations, in an effort to contain protectionism and produce an open trade environment, is recognized by our Allies. The President should call for affirmative steps in organizing these talks at the Summit. He must reconfirm his belief in the separation of government and the marketplace in order to reassure our trading partners that the protectionist mood within the U.S. will not overcome our international economic initiatives.
- -- North-South. The President will emphasize the benefits the LDC's are gaining from the policies adopted by the industrial nations which have led to world economic recovery. In addition, a discussion of the role of private investment in development as found in CBI and the Central American Peace Initiative and discussed at the Cancun Conference would be appropriate and beneficial.

- Finance/Debt. The Heads should review the current status of the international debt crisis and assess the risks to the Williamsburg debt strategy, including the increasingly delicate balance between economic austerity measures and the political/social stability of debtor countries, the ability of governments and banks to provide adequate new financing, the potentially inhibiting effects of bank regulations (particularly in the U.S.), and the ability to deal with destabilizing unilateral actions by some debtor countries. Although the leaders can cautiously take credit for the success to date of the case by case approach, it should be acknowledged that the industrialized countries continue to face an enormous challenge in managing the long term implications of the crisis (i.e. trade flows, employment, political/ security relations, and health of the international banking system).
- -- Monetary. The Allies, focusing on their slow recovery and high unemployment, may blame the U.S. budget deficit, interest rates, and dollar for their economic woes. The U.S. must be ready to refocus the leaders' attention to trade liberalization and coordination of trade and financial policies.
- -- Economic rigidities. The importance of lessening fiscal, financial, regulatory and other rigidities within national economies, which prevent adjustments to change and lead to unemployment should be discussed. Within this context, leaders could discuss the accelerated absorption of high-technology by the industrial economies.
- -- Energy. We must work to ensure that Summit nations are adequately prepared individually and collectively to meet the challenge of an expanded war in the Gulf with subsequent disruptions in the West's flow of oil. Technical details will be developed during the spring within the International Energy Agency (IEA).
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Bilaterals

During his stay in London, the President will meet in private with some or, time permitting, all the other leaders.

Germany. Chancellor Helmut Kohl will probably push for American initiative toward the new Soviet leadership in arms control. The President should make it clear to him that he is ready to meet with Chernenko whenever such a meeting would have the prospect of accomplishing something tangible. In this context, the President can reaffirm our commitment to European security as well as the need for greater Allied contributions to improving NATO's conventional deterrent. Improvement and support of projected German economic recovery produced by the market-oriented policies adopted by Kohl may also be discussed.

France. During their meeting, President Francois Mitterrand may reiterate his support for the U.S. role in the defense of Europe, including our firm position on arms negotiations. The leaders may also emphasize the importance of continued U.S.-French cooperation and coordination on key regional issues, such as Lebanon, Chad and the Gulf. Another possible topic for discussion is the progress the two governments have made in coordinating activities against terrorism. In recent months, the French appear more aware of the terrorist threat they face, and more willing to act. We may be able to reach further understanding of bilateral and multilateral efforts against terrorism. While the French will highlight the health of the relations between our two countries, they may decide to use this opportunity to voice disagreement with U.S. policy in Central America and continuing high interest rates and deficits.

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- Trade. If the Vice President's follow-up efforts have been successful, the President should express his pleasure at the steps taken by the Japanese to open their markets. If success has not been achieved, then the President should urge Nakasone to act swiftly to take steps to further open the Japanese market.
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agreement to internationalize the yen, thereby improving the balance in the yen/dollar relationship.

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Within the context of these bilaterals, the President must also be prepared to discuss various foreign policy issues, such as Lebanon and the Middle East, Central America and relations with the Soviet Union. The topics raised will depend on world events prior to the Summit.

VII. Preparations

The following is a topical listing of benchmarks in the preparations for the President's trip to Europe.

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 This visit has determined the broad parameters of the President's schedule and narrowed the choice of Presidential events.
- B. Henkel Advance Trip (March 25-April 1)
 This mission will determine the final schedule for the President's visit. Plans for logistical support, such as security, communication and transportation, will also be developed.
- C. Annotated Agenda for Summit (late May)
 The NSC staff, in close coordination with State, the Advance Office and Speechwriters, will provide a general annotated agenda, including a perspective on key meetings, events and Presidential statements. This will be provided to the President to give him an early indication of the substantive challenges of the trip.
- D. NSC Meetings (late April-June)
 There will be an intensive series of NSC meetings briefing the President on his trip. The format will be similar to the pattern followed for past trips. In addition to highlighting substantive issues, several of the briefings will focus on a meeting-by-meeting review, which should be especially useful for the bilaterals.
- E. Briefing Book (Summit materials on May 25)
 The NSC, in close cooperation with State, will provide a briefing book to the President well in advance of his departure. An updated version, taking account of the briefings, will be issued shortly before departure.
- F. Public Statements (May)

 It is essential that the drafts of the President's major addresses be provided to the NSC and speechwriters well in advance of the trip.
- G. Public Diplomacy (late May-June)
 In the weeks prior to the Summit, the President and other members of the Administration should make statements regarding our goals for the trip, and the prospects for their achievement.

II. SUMMIT/SHERPA PROCESS

A. White House Group
The White House Group, chaired by Bud McFarlane and
Mike Deaver, will meet the last weeks of March, April
and May. It will meet with the President mid-May.

B. Sherpa Team: The International Sherpa team will meet at Leeds Castle on April 6 - 8, and the Personal Representatives for the Summit will meet for a final session in Kent May 20 - 21.

III. POLITICAL ITEMS

- A. Agenda: The Political Directors will meet in Paris to discuss the political agenda for the Summit on May 18.
- B. Space Program: \During March Jim Beggs of NASA and others, have visited foreign capitals to solicit their cooperation in the program. Their report is due on April 1, and will be reviewed by the President and discussed at the Sherpa team meeting in April.
- C. Terrorism: We have approached other governments on the prospects of joint programs against terrorism, and any progress will be announced at the Summit. The U.S. will participate in the Bonn Declaration Group in London from April 12 13.
- D. <u>Iran-Iraq Energy</u>: Discussions this Spring will be carried out under the auspices of the IEA.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

March 19, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES TYSON

ROGER ROBINSON

DOUG MCMINN

TY COBB

PETER SOMMER GASTON SIGUR OLLIE NORTH GIL RYE

STEVE STEINER JACK MATLOCK

FROM:

BILL MARTINGUL

SUBJECT:

Outline of the President's Trip to Europe

Attached is the revised piece on the President's trip to Europe which incorporates several excellent staff comments on the draft we circulated last week.

Please provide me or Cathy Torgerson with any additional comments by COB Tuesday. We would like to get this piece to Bud before I leave on the Advance Trip. Thank you very much.



The President's Trip to Europe

I.

The Setting

The President's leadership of the Summit process has grown steadily since the Ottawa Summit in 1981. He has exhibited consistency and resolve in advancing a common allied approach to key economic, trade, financial and security objectives and transformed the uncertain atmosphere surrounding Versailles into a crescendo of unity at Williamsburg. Over the past year, he has also made highly successful trips to Japan, Korea, and China which provided valuable opportunities to build upon and spread the themes for global economic recovery embodied in the Williamsburg Declaration. Although the President's June trip will obviously be centered on the London Summit, it presents a unique opportunity for him to focus American and European attention on Atlantic solidarity in both the political and military areas.

By June, the President will have made two trips to East Asia within a period of six months. This represents a dramatic demonstration of our interest in strengthening our overall relations with the Pacific community of nations, opening new avenues of cooperation with the new center of global economic activity, and enhancing the prospects for peace and prosperity in the region. Similar to Williamsburg, the London Summit provides a forum to tie together both our Atlantic and Pacific foreign policy objectives.

Despite optimism about continued world economic recovery and allied relations in general, the President will again face questions and some criticism of U.S. policies at home and abroad. The deficit, interest rates, the U.S. stance in Lebanon and Central America, relations with the Soviet Union — will be on the minds of his city Summit counterparts in the course of his visit. The bilateral and multilateral discussions will provide the President with an opportunity to further clarify our positions in these and other areas with our closest friends.

The settings for the visits are colorful and dramatic. The simple countryside of Ireland, the stark beaches of Normandy, and the historic splendor of London provide the President with a perfect backdrop for his themes of peace and prosperity, and the importance of Allied support and cooperation to the achievement of both. As the last overseas trip of the President before the election, his strong image as leader of the free world should be greatly enhanced.

II. Results/Headlines

The public diplomacy strategy should be similar to those developed for Williamsburg and the President's trip to Japan, Korea and China. It should be developed in three phases: Headlines we hope to achieve:

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- -- first, the lead-in to the trip, demonstrating the continuity of our Summit objectives and the President's leadership role,
- -- second, the trip itself, highlighting events, agreements, speeches and meetings,
- -- third, the follow-up consolidation of the results and successes of the President, such as the Allies' participation in the fight against terrorism, the space program and a common response to the serious challenges posed by the Iran-Iraq war.

While the President is travelling in Europe, we can expect the following headlines at home:

- -- President Regan Receives Warm Welcome from the Irish;
 Pledges Continued Close Relations between the U.S. and
 Ireland. The President will begin his trip to Europe in
 Ireland, and it will be a very upbeat stop. Themes of
 peace, within Ireland, Europe and the world will be emphasized.
- -- Allies Return to Normandy 40 Years Later and Reconfirm Commitment to the Western Alliance and Peace. During ceremonies the President and other leaders will focus on the reconciliation among former adversaries, the bright prospects for the future, as well as the invaluable role the Alliance has played in rebuilding Western Europe and deterring aggression from the East.
- -- Summit Leaders Reaffirm Linkage between Economic Recovery, Open Markets and Financial Stability; Agree to Work with our Trading Partners for a New Round of Trade Liberalizing Negotiations. The Allies will recommit themselves to the benchmarks established at Williamsburg; set out areas for further progress; and continue with coordinated implementation.
- -- At London Summit Leaders Discuss Coordinated Fight
 Against Terrorism and Plan Joint Programs. In addition to
 economic initiatives, other cooperative efforts may be
 undertaken at the Summit. The Bonn Summit, at which the
 leaders spontaneously condemned terrorism, sets a precedent
 for such action.
- -- New Partnerships Announced as Alliance Enters the 21st Century: Summit Countries Join the U.S. in the Manned Space Station Program. An agreement announced at the Summit would be especially dramatic within the historical context of the trip. This initiative will symbolize to the world how far the Alliance has progressed: from the beaches of Normandy to the frontiers of space.
- -- Leaders Agree on Need for Coordinated Approach to Possibility of Disrupted Oil Flows; Reaffirm Commitment to

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Freedom of Navigation in the Gulf. The risks posed to U.S. and OECD recovery by the expansion of the Iran-Iraq war, and the potentially devastating impact on oil-importing LDC debtor countries requires the confidence-building step of a discussion at the Summit. Such a discussion by itself should have the affect of reducing anxiety in the markets and hence spot prices. We envision that the preparation for this issue take place under IEA auspices.

-- Nakasone Pledges Acceleration of Trade Liberalizing
Activities. During discussions with Prime Minister Nakasone,
the President will have the opportunity to follow up on the
initiatives undertaken as part of his trip to the Far East
in 1983.

III. Overall Objectives and Themes

- -- Advance American foreign policy objectives. The President should use events during this trip to reconfirm our commitment to close Allied cooperation on political and economic issues throughout the world, including European economic recovery, a strong NATO, a democratic Central America, more cohesive relations among Pacific Basin countries and the LDC debt crisis.
- Recommitment to the "spirit of Williamsburg" and the successful policies embodied in the Williamsburg Declaration. Our strategy is to build upon the consensus begun during the Ottawa and Versailles Summits and cemented during the Williamsburg Summit. The Allies have successfully coordinated to promote sustainable, non-inflationary growth. In addition, they have forged a consensus on the security dimensions of East-West economic relations. Our goal is not only to perpetuate this process, but to go beyond it through the advancement and consolidation of the gains made in the areas of economic growth, removal of anti-market rigidities that inhibit job creation, and trade.
- -- Reaffirmation of the Role of the United States in Leading World Recovery. The strong U.S. recovery, which began last year as a result of the President's policies, is fueling growth in other Summit countries and the world. The President's continued leadership is essential to sustaining and strengthening the recovery of Summit countries and to spread economic growth to the rest of the free world.
- -- Strengthen bilateral political and economic relations with key allies. This will be accomplished through the visits to Ireland and Normandy, and the bilaterals in London. These events will build upon initiatives undertaken during the President's Far East trip and meetings in Washington in March with Fitzgerald, Kohl and Mitterrand, culminating in May at the Washington NATO Ministerial. Leaders will recommit themselves to the basic policies of the Atlantic

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Alliance, and to specific goals such as improving NATO's conventional forces, strengthening deterrence and reducing nuclear arms.

- -- Pursue Cooperation in Space. The leaders of the OECD community should be urged to join with the United States in this exciting frontier effort, symbolizing their continuing friendship and unity in the 1980's and 1990's.
- -- Forge joint policies against terrorism. During the Summit, the allies will discuss the results of current intergovernmental negotiations on measures against this unacceptable threat to democratic institutions. If a program of joint action is adopted, we could announce this development in London.
- Encourage the building of democratic institutions in developing nations as the means to advancing prosperity.

 Developing nations have greatly profited from the beginning of OECD recovery. The economic growth of the Third World is largely dependent upon continued effective cooperation between developed and developing nations in the areas of finance, trade and investment. New trade liberalizing initiatives, for which the Summit could lay the groundwork, and continued burden-sharing in the management of the debt crisis are essential for Third World economic health in the 1990's. The Allies can also play a positive role through private investment and participation in the CBI and the Central American Initiative.

IV. <u>Ireland</u>

Objective: The President's visit to his ancestoral home reemphasizes our historic and cultural ties to Ireland and offers an opportunity to acknowledge the contributions of the Irish-American community to the growth of our country. Themes such as freedom, support for European integration (Ireland will assume the EC presidency less than a month after the visit) and Atlantic solidarity can be emphasized. In addition, this stop will provide an occasion for a more personal view of the President.

Issues: The Irish view this stop as a symbol of the friendship between our two countries, and as a chance to promote U.S. tourism and private investment in Ireland. Opportunities for private and public political discussions are limited. The President will be able to confine his remarks on Northern Ireland to a rejection of violence and a call for a peaceful solution to the tragedy. Other issues that could be raised during discussions with Irish leaders are the importance of resolving the EC's budgetary and financial problems and our efforts on arms reductions.

Events: The President will visit his paternal grandfather's home of Ballyporeen, tour the Irish countryside, and proceed



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 indication of the substantive challenges of the trip.
- D. NSC Meetings (late April-June)
 There will be an intensive series of NSC meetings briefing the President on his trip. The format will be similar to the pattern followed for past trips. In addition to highlighting substantive issues, several of the briefings will focus on a meeting-by-meeting review, which should be especially useful for the bilaterals.
- E. Briefing Book (Summit materials on May 25)
 The NSC, in close cooperation with State, will provide a briefing book to the President well in advance of his departure. An updated version, taking account of the briefings, will be issued shortly before departure.
- F. Public Statements (May)

 It is essential that the drafts of the President's major addresses be provided to the NSC and speechwriters well in advance of the trip.
- G. Public Diplomacy (late May-June)
 In the weeks prior to the Summit, the President and other members of the Administration should make statements regarding our goals for the trip, and the prospects for their achievement.

II. SUMMIT/SHERPA PROCESS

A. White House Group
The White House Group, chaired by Bud McFarlane and
Mike Deaver, will meet the last weeks of March, April
and May. It will meet with the President mid-May.



B. Sherpa Team: The International Sherpa team will meet at Leeds Castle on April 6 - 8, and the Personal Representatives for the Summit will meet for a final session in Kent May 20 - 21.

III. POLITICAL ITEMS

- A. Agenda: The Political Directors will meet in Paris to discuss the political agenda for the Summit on May 18.
- B. Space Program: During March Jim Beggs of NASA and others, have visited foreign capitals to solicit their cooperation in the program. Their report is due on April 1, and will be reviewed by the President and discussed at the Sherpa team meeting in April.
- C. Terrorism: We have approached other governments on the prospects of joint programs against terrorism, and any progress will be announced at the Summit. The U.S. will participate in the Bonn Declaration Group in London from April 12 13.
- D. <u>Iran-Iraq Energy</u>: Discussions this Spring will be carried out under the auspices of the IEA.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

UNCLASSIFIED WITH SECRET ATTACHMENT

March 21, 1984

CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURES db 11/16/06

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT C. MCFARLANE

FROM:

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WILLIAM F. MARTIN M DOUGLAS MCMINN ROGER W. ROBINSON TYRUS COBB PETER R. SOMMER GASTON J. SIGUR 🗯 STEVEN E. STEINER 569 GILBERT D. RYE OLIVER L. NORTH

CATHERINE A. TORGERSON ()

SUBJECT:

Outline of the President's Trip to Europe

The attached paper (Tab I) identifies objectives, issues and events for each segment of the President's trip to Europe. It combines the substantive and advance perspectives to provide details on what is possible to achieve, the challenges we face and how to ensure success for the President.

We recommmend that Bill Martin use this piece as a framework for the Advance Trip and that upon his return we provide an updated and shortened version to the President, including an annotated agenda.

RECOMMENDATION

That you read the piece and provide Bill Martin with guidance prior to his departure on the Advance Trip to Europe Sunday, March 25.

UNCLASSIFIED WITH SECRET ATTACHMENT

I.

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The Setting

The President's leadership of the Summit process has grown steadily since the Ottawa Summit in 1981. He has exhibited consistency and resolve in advancing a common allied approach to key economic, trade, financial and security objectives and transformed the uncertain atmosphere surrounding Versailles into a crescendo of unity at Williamsburg. Over the past year, he has also made highly successful trips to Japan and Korea which provided valuable opportunities to build upon and spread the themes for global economic recovery embodied in the Williamsburg Declaration. Although the President's June trip will obviously be centered on the London Summit, it presents a unique opportunity for him to focus American and European attention on Atlantic solidarity in both the political and military areas.

By June, the President will have made two trips to East Asia within a period of six months. This represents a dramatic demonstration of our interest in strengthening our overall relations with the Pacific community of nations, opening new avenues of cooperation with the new center of global economic activity, and enhancing the prospects for peace and prosperity in the region. Similar to Williamsburg, the London Summit provides a forum to tie together both our Atlantic and Pacific foreign policy objectives.

Despite optimism about continued world economic recovery and allied relations in general, the President will again face questions and some criticism of U.S. policies at home and abroad. The deficit, interest rates, the U.S. stance in Lebanon and Central America, relations with the Soviet Union — will be on the minds of his seven Summit counterparts in the course of his visit. The bilateral and multilateral discussions will provide the President with an opportunity to further clarify our positions in these and other areas with our closest friends.

The settings for the visits are colorful and dramatic. The simple countryside of Ireland, the stark beaches of Normandy, and the historic splendor of London provide the President with a perfect backdrop for his themes of peace and prosperity, and the importance of Allied support and cooperation to the achievement of both. As the last overseas trip of the President before the election, his strong image as leader of the free world should be greatly enhanced.

II. Results/Headlines

The public diplomacy strategy should be similar to those developed for Williamsburg and the President's trip to Japan, Korea and China. The headlines we hope to achieve are:

- -- President Reagan Receives Warm Welcome from the Irish; Pledges Continued Close Relations between the U.S. and Ireland. The President will begin his trip with an upbeat stop in Ireland. Themes of peace, within Ireland, Europe and the world will be emphasized.
- -- Allies Return to Normandy 40 Years Later and Reconfirm Commitment to the Western Alliance and Peace. During ceremonies the President and other leaders will focus on the reconciliation among former adversaries, the bright prospects for the future, as well as the invaluable role the Alliance has played in rebuilding Western Europe and deterring aggression from the East.
- -- Summit Leaders Reaffirm Linkage between Economic Recovery, Open Markets and Financial Stability; Agree to Work with our Trading Partners for a New Round of Trade Liberalizing Negotiations. The Allies will recommit themselves to the benchmarks established at Williamsburg; set out areas for further progress; and continue with coordinated implementation.
- -- At London Summit Leaders Discuss Coordinated Fight
 Against Terrorism and Plan Joint Programs. In addition to
 economic initiatives, other cooperative efforts may be
 undertaken at the Summit. The Bonn Summit, at which the
 leaders spontaneously condemned terrorism, sets a precedent
 for such action.
- -- New Partnerships Announced as Alliance Enters the 21st Century: Summit Countries Join the U.S. in the Manned Space Station Program. An agreement announced at the Summit would be especially dramatic within the historical context of the trip. This initiative will symbolize to the world how far the Alliance has progressed: from the beaches of Normandy to the frontiers of space.
- -- Leaders Agree on Need for Coordinated Approach to Possibility of Disrupted Oil Flows; Reaffirm Commitment to Freedom of Navigation in the Gulf. The risks posed to U.S. and OECD recovery by the expansion of the Iran-Iraq war, and the potentially devastating impact on oil-importing LDC debtor countries requires its placement on the political agenda for confidence-building discussion at the Summit. Such a discussion by itself should have the affect of reducing anxiety in the markets and hence spot prices. We envision that the preparation for this issue take place under IEA auspices.
- -- Nakasone Pledges Acceleration of Trade Liberalizing
 Activities. During discussions with Prime Minister Nakasone,
 the President will have the opportunity to follow up on the
 initiatives undertaken as part of his trip to the Far East
 in 1983.

III. Overall Objectives and Themes

- -- Advance American foreign policy objectives. The President should use events during this trip to reconfirm our commitment to close Allied cooperation on political and economic issues throughout the world, including European economic recovery, a strong NATO, a democratic Central America, more cohesive relations among Pacific Basin countries and the LDC debt crisis.
- Recommitment to the "spirit of Williamsburg" and the successful policies embodied in the Williamsburg Declaration. Our strategy is to build upon the consensus begun during the Ottawa and Versailles Summits and cemented during the Williamsburg Summit. The Allies have successfully coordinated to promote sustainable, non-inflationary growth. In addition, they have forged a consensus on the security dimensions of East-West economic relations. Our goal is not only to perpetuate this process, but to go beyond it through the advancement and consolidation of the gains made in the areas of economic growth, removal of anti-market rigidities that inhibit job creation, and trade.
- -- Reaffirmation of the Role of the United States in Leading World Recovery. The strong U.S. recovery, which began last year as a result of the President's policies, is fueling growth in other Summit countries and the world. The President's continued leadership is essential to sustaining and strengthening the recovery of Summit countries and to spread economic growth to the rest of the free world.
- with key allies. This will be accomplished through the visits to Ireland and Normandy, and the bilaterals in London. These events will build upon initiatives undertaken during the President's Far East trip and meetings in Washington in March with Fitzgerald, Kohl and Mitterrand, culminating in May at the Washington NATO Ministerial. Leaders will recommit themselves to the basic policies of the Atlantic Alliance, and to specific goals such as improving NATO's conventional forces, strengthening deterrence and reducing nuclear arms.
- -- Pursue Cooperation in Space. The leaders of the OECD community should be urged to join with the United States in this exciting frontier effort, symbolizing their continuing friendship and unity in the 1980's and 1990's.
- -- Forge joint policies against terrorism. During the Summit, the allies will discuss the results of current intergovernmental negotiations on measures against this unacceptable threat to democratic institutions. If a program of joint action is adopted, we could announce this development in London.



Encourage the building of democratic institutions in developing nations as the means to advancing prosperity.

Developing nations have greatly profited from the beginning of OECD recovery. The economic growth of the Third World is largely dependent upon continued effective cooperation between developed and developing nations in the areas of finance, trade and investment. New trade liberalizing initiatives, for which the Summit could lay the groundwork, and continued burden-sharing in the management of the debt crisis are essential for Third World economic health in the 1990's. The Allies can also play a positive role through private investment and participation in the CBI and the Central American Initiative.

IV. <u>Ireland</u>

Objective: The President's visit to his ancestoral home reemphasizes our historic and cultural ties to Ireland and offers an opportunity to acknowledge the contributions of the Irish-American community to the growth of our country. Themes such as freedom, support for European integration (Ireland will assume the EC presidency less than a month after the visit) and Atlantic solidarity can be emphasized. In addition, this stop will provide an occasion for a more personal view of the President.

Issues: The Irish view this stop as a symbol of the friendship between our two countries, and as a chance to promote U.S. tourism and private investment in Ireland. Opportunities for private and public political discussions are limited. The President will be able to confine his remarks on Northern Ireland to a rejection of violence and a call for a peaceful solution to the tragedy. Other issues that could be raised during discussions with Irish leaders are the importance of resolving the EC's budgetary and financial problems and our efforts on arms reductions.

Events: The President will celebrate the 500th anniversary of Galway township and receive an honorary degree from the University, visit his paternal grandfather's home of Ballyporeen and tour the Irish countryside. He will then proceed to Dublin for a State Dinner, a call upon President Hillery and a short meeting with PM Fitzgerald. He will also address a Joint Session of Parliament.

V. Normandy

Objective: On the 40th Anniversary of the Invasion of Normandy, the President will pay tribute to the Americans and other allies who gave their lives in the fight for liberation. In addition, D-Day will be heralded as the beginning of the transatlantic relationship which has brought an unprecedented period of peace and prosperity to Europe. This could be the major public diplomacy event of



the trip. The beaches of Normandy provide a dramatic setting for a theme that will recur throughout the trip: the importance of Atlantic cooperation in bolstering the political, military and economic well-being of the West.

Issues: While events during the day will necessarily
involve tributes to the military, reconciliation should be
emphasized.

Events: The President, in a day excursion from London, will visit the American Cemetary and Memorial, the Roosevelt Brothers' Gravesite and the Point du Hoc Ranger Memorial, and participate with other leaders in the anniversary ceremony at Utah Beach. There will be opportunities for speeches at both the Ranger Memorial and Utah Beach. His remarks should be upbeat and include historical references to the importance of transatlantic cooperation in the economic revitalization of Europe, the reconciliation of Germany and the bright future of the Alliance.

VI. London Economic Summit

Objectives:

- Carry forward the accomplishments and spirit of Williamsburg. The overriding objective of this Summit is to strengthen and spread world economic recovery through allied pursuit of similar policies which advance non-inflationary growth and support more open trading and financial markets. The Allies will review actions taken during the past year in five main areas: convergence of the performance of their economies; reversal of the trend toward protectionism; a continuation and strengthening of coordination among trade and financial policies; confirmation of the consensus on the security aspects of East-West economic relations; and a review of the current dimensions of the international debt crisis and our common strategy to deal with this critical problem. We should seek agreement on the need for a new round of trade negotiations and for an expanded role of private foreign investment in the development process.
- -- Highlight U.S. economic recovery. The health of our economy is our best defense against European attempts to blame the U.S. deficit and monetary policy for their slow economic recovery. This strategy is a wise public affairs move and would protect the President's overall economic policies from challenge.
- -- Bolster allied cooperation in key areas. The leaders should pledge to work for the continuing improvement of the Alliance, and be prepared to cooperate on initiatives such as counterterrorism, the manned-space program and the development of a strategy to deal with a crisis in the Persian Gulf.

Issues:

- -- Non-inflationary growth. This was the basic goal of the Williamsburg Summit and the successful strategy adopted domestically. The industrialized nations must ensure that non-inflationary growth is sustained through shared macroeconomic policies, a continued commitment to open markets, and a reduction of domestic economic rigidities.
- -- Multilateral surveillance and convergence consultations. The multilateral surveillance process established at Williamsburg is partly responsible for the convergence of inflation rates, at significantly reduced levels, and generally strong growth rates among Summit countries. The leaders will review the performance of their economies in the past year and assess their future outlook, as well as endorse the success of the consultative process and reaffirm their commitments to it.
- -- Trade. The need for a multilateral round of tradeliberalizing negotiations, in an effort to a more open trade environment, is recognized by our Allies. The President should call for affirmative steps in organizing these negotiations with our trading partners.
- -- North-South. The President will emphasize the benefits the LDC's are gaining from the policies adopted by the industrial nations which have led to world economic recovery. In addition, a discussion of the role of private investment in development as found in CBI and the Central American Peace Initiative and discussed at the Cancun Conference would be appropriate and beneficial.
- The Heads should review the current Finance/Debt. status of the international debt crisis and assess the risks to the Williamsburg debt strategy, including the increasingly delicate balance between economic austerity measures and the political/social stability of debtor countries, the ability of governments and banks to provide adequate new financing, the potentially inhibiting effects of bank regulations (particularly in the U.S.), and the ability to deal with destabilizing unilateral actions by some debtor countries. Although the leaders can cautiously take credit for the success to date of the case by case approach, it should be acknowledged that the industrialized countries continue to face an enormous challenge in managing the long term implications of the crisis (i.e. trade flows, employment, political/ security relations, and health of the international banking system).
- -- Monetary. The Allies, focusing on their slow recovery and high unemployment, may criticize the U.S. for its budget deficits and high level of interest rates. They may raise

their concerns over how this will adversely affect the speed of the recovery of their own economies and that of the world. They will point to the impact on developing country debtors of continued high rates of interest. The U.S. must be ready to refocus the leaders' attention to trade liberalization and coordination of trade and financial policies.

- -- Economic rigidities. The importance of lessening fiscal, financial, regulatory and other rigidities within national economies, which prevent market-related adjustments to change and lead to unemployment should be discussed.
- -- Energy. We must work to ensure that Summit nations are adequately prepared individually and collectively to meet the challenge of an expanded war in the Gulf with subsequent disruptions in the West's flow of oil. Technical details will be developed during the spring within the International Energy Agency (IEA).
- -- East-West. Allies should reconfirm their commitment to maintaining a close dialogue aimed at preserving a close consensus on the security dimensions of East-West economic relations. They should also assess the results of the on-going work programs undertaken by NATO, COCOM, the OECD and IEA.
- -- Terrorism. A statement of mutual determination to combat terrorism could be announced, assuming agreement to common action in the interim and French acquiescence in a statement. The substantive depth of the agreement depends on the progress made in negotiations between the governments which have begun outside the Summit process.
- -- Manned Space Station Program. The Allies will discuss the political underpinnings for future detailed, technical negotiations during the Summit. The "frontier" aspects of close Allied cooperation should be emphasized.

VII. <u>Bilaterals</u>

During his stay in London, the President will meet in private with some or, time permitting, all the other leaders.

Germany. Chancellor Helmut Kohl will likely continue his push for an American gesture to improve the East - West political climate and the chances for arms control. The President should make it clear to him that he is ready to meet with Chernenko whenever such a meeting would have the prospect of accomplishing something tangible. In this context, the President can reaffirm our commitment to European security as well as the need for greater Allied contributions to improving NATO's conventional deterrent. Improvement and support of projected German economic

recovery produced by the market-oriented policies adopted by Kohl may also be discussed.

France. During their meeting, President Francois Mitterrand may reiterate his support for the U.S. role in the defense of Europe, including our firm position on arms negotiations. The leaders may also emphasize the importance of continued U.S.-French cooperation and coordination on key regional issues, such as Lebanon, Chad and the Gulf. Another possible topic for discussion is the progress the two governments have made in coordinating activities against terrorism. In recent months, the French appear more aware of the terrorist threat they face, and more willing to act. We may be able to reach further understanding on bilateral and multilateral efforts against terrorism. While the French will highlight the health of the relations between our two countries, they may decide to use this opportunity to voice disagreement with U.S. policy in Central America and continuing high interest rates and deficits.

Japan. This meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone is a follow-up to the President's Far East trip last November. During the President's state visit to Japan, the two leaders discussed issues involving trade, finance, energy, security assistance and defense. Officials from both have been working since November, and the two leaders will review their progress in the following areas:

- Trade. If the Vice President's follow-up efforts have been successful, the President should express his pleasure at the steps taken by the Japanese to open their markets. If success has not been achieved, then the President should urge Nakasone to act swiftly to take steps to further open the Japanese market.
- -- Finance. He should build upon the Foreign Ministers agreement to internationalize the yen, thereby improving the balance in the yen/dollar relationship.
- -- Energy. Building on his agreement with Nakasone in November, he should acknowledge the Japanese agreement to buy a minimal amount of metallurgic coal and encourage them to expand purchases of U.S. steam coal and gas. In addition, the intention of some in MITI to expand the Sakhalin project at the long term expense of U.S. LNG exports should be discouraged.
- -- Defense. The President should praise Nakasone's action to increase defense spending but should urge further progress in pushing well beyond the one percent of GNP.

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This meeting is also another chance for the President to convey directly to Nakasone and the world that close relations with Japan and other nations of East Asia and the Pacific region are a high priority for the United States.

United Kingdom. The President's private dinner with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher on June 5 offers them the opportunity to compare notes on how to conduct a successful Summit and to put the finishing touches on specific objectives we hope to achieve. It also allows for an expanded discussion of such current political issues as East-West relations and the Middle East.

Other. The President should also meet with the leaders of Canada, Italy, and the EC. This will be Pierre Trudeau's last summit and meeting with the President, and it should be an occasion for reflection on Trudeau's many years of involvement in the Western Alliance activities. The meeting with Prime Minister Craxi is also important; Italy has emerged as one of our most reliable allies. We see all of these meetings as an opportunity to review what has been accomplished since the leaders last met, to refine their thinking on the directions they have separately and collectively traced for their governments to follow and to discuss possible new avenues of cooperation.

Within the context of these bilaterals, the President must also be prepared to discuss various foreign policy issues, such as Lebanon and the Middle East, Central America and relations with the Soviet Union. The topics raised will depend on world events prior to the Summit.

National Security Council The White House 1063

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SUBJECT: Themes for the President's Trip to Ireland

Galway

The President should pay tribute to Galway City, which is celebrating the Quincentenary of its establishment. The city is representative of modern Ireland and is also host to several US (Digital Equipment, Beckman Instruments) and other foreign manufacturing plants. The President should reiterate the commitment of the Administration to encourage US companies to consider investing in Ireland, North and South.

Ballyporeen

The President's own personal ties to Ballyporeen symbolize the ancestral ties that over 40 million Americans have with Ireland. He would emphasize our common love of freedom and our efforts to reduce tensions, both in Europe and the Third World.

President Hillery

His meeting with Hillery should focus on only general themes, such as Irish-American friendship, the importance we attach to Ireland as a member of the European Community, and our commitment to work for arms control and a reduction of East/West tensions.

Prime Minister FitzGerald

FitzGerald will report to the President on Northern Ireland developments, the report of the New Ireland Forum, and prospects for closer Anglo-Irish cooperation on the Northern Ireland issue. He may ask the President to encourage Mrs. Thatcher to take a particular action with regard to the North. In turn, the President should report on US/Soviet relations and on our efforts to resume arms talks; on developments toward democratic government in El Salvador; and whatever US/EC issues are most pressing as Ireland assumes the EC Presidency in July.

Speech to the Dail

A Presidential speech in the Dail should avoid specific mention of Alliance issues. The themes could include the common interests of the western democracies, our love of freedom, and our desire to see a reduction of East/West tensions. Our support for democratic solutions to conflict, without interference from outsiders — this theme would lead to a reiteration of the President's Northern Ireland policy; a condemnation of the men of violence; and encouragement to both individuals and political leaders working for reconcilation between the two traditions on the island.

SUBJECT: Themes for the President's Trip to Great Britain (Non-Summit Portion)

Private Lunch with the Queen

This meeting will offer the President and Mrs. Reagan the opportunity to renew their close personal association with the Royal Family. Only general topics would be discussed, but the event will symbolize the depth and warmth of the "special relationship".

Meeting with Mrs. Thatcher

This meeting will cover a broad range of topics of mutual interest including East-West relations, arms control, the Middle East, and Persian Gulf. The principal focus, however, should be on Economic Summit issues. The President will be able to exchange views and coordinate Summit stragety with our closest ally prior to the general Summit sessions and his bilateral meetings with other leaders.

