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Clawson

CONFIDENTIAL

TUESDAY MORNING SUMMIT PLENARY MEETING

DATE AND TIME:

Tuesday, June 21, 1988 - 10:19AM

PLACE:

Main Meeting Room - Metro Toronto Convention

Center, Toronto, Canada

PARTICIPANTS:

President Reagan Secretary of State George Shultz

Secretary of Treasury James A. Baker, III

Allen Wallis, Sherpa - NOTETAKER

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney (Canada) Secretary of State for External Affairs

Joseph Clark

Minister of Finance Michael Wilson Premier of Ontario David Peterson

Sylvia Ostry, Sherpa

President Francois Mitterrand (France) Minister of State for Foreign Affairs

Roland Dumas

Minister of State for Economy, Finance &

Budget Pierre Beregovoy Jacques Attali, Sherpa

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (UK)

Secretary of State for Foreign & Commonwealth

Affairs Sir Geoffrey Howe

Chancellor of the Exchequer Nigel Lawson

Nigel Wicks, Sherpa

Chancellor Helmut Kohl (FRG)

Vice Chancellor and Minister of Foreign

Affairs Hans-Dietrick Genscher

Federal Minister of Finance Gerhard

Stoltenberg

Minister of Economics Martin Bangemann

Hans Tietmeyer, Sherpa

Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita (Japan)

Minister of Foreign Affairs Sosuke Uno

Minister of Finance Kiichi Miyazawa Minister of International Trade and Industry

Hajime Tamura

Hiroshi Kitamura, Sherpa

Prime Minister Ciriaco De Mita (Italy)

Minister of Foreign Affairs Giulio Andreotti

Minister of the Treasury Giuliano Amato

Mario Sarcinelli, Sherpa

ECC President Jacques Delors (Commission of

the European Communities)

The Honorable Willy DeClercq, Commission of

Foreign Affairs

The Honorable Peter M. Schmidhuber, Commission

of Monetary Affairs

Pascal Lamy, Sherpa

CONTRIDER Declassify on: OADR

(10:14AM) Photographers admitted.

(10:17AM) New batch - yelling questions at the President.

(10:19AM) Rid of them, lowering lights.

Attali instructing Mitterrand.

Mulroney - 7:00AM version of the communique.

Paragraph 15 - Thatcher go paragraph by paragraph.

Paragraph 1 okay, 2 okay, 3 okay, 4 okay, 5 - Italian PM <u>DeMita</u> - although employment has risen in Italy so has unemployment. "Has continued to expand generally."

Paragraph 6 okay. Paragraph 7, <u>Thatcher</u> concerns that inflation may have risen. Add we need to maintain vigilance against any insurgence of inflation.

Paragraphs 8 okay, 9 okay, 10 okay, 11 okay, 12 okay, 13 okay, 14 okay.

Paragraph 15, <u>Thatcher</u> - first two sentences - not merely welcome. We "warmly" welcome the Canada-U.S. FTA and the progress toward.

<u>Mulroney</u> - Prefers "strongly" - used in Sunday briefing. Last sentence and "catalize the liberalizing" of.

(10:31AM) Paragraph 18 <u>Mulroney</u> - 2 brackets. Asks <u>Wilson</u> to explain. Says first version is EC - 2nd bracket agree on by Finance Ministers. Foreign Ministers wanted a clear signal to negotiators at Mid-term Review. Also signal that Ministers should have alternatives from which they could choose.

<u>DeClercq (Wilson)</u> objected to singling out agriculture. Some redrafting of 19 being done now to cover this.

<u>Declercq</u> - First brackets - clear, concise, well-balanced. Can't take short-term measures without view of long-run goals, or consider long-term without regard to short-term measures to get that. Second bracket ("American version) unbalanced. Why single out agriculture? Don't prejudice where the balance will lie.

(10:40AM) <u>Wilson</u> - Deal with singling out by moving the sections about decisions to paragraph 19.

Second bracket consistent with Punte del Este.

Beregovoy - Avoid distorting statement - 19 and 18 have two parts. Neither bracket acceptable. Everything can be found in paragraph 19.

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(10:43am) <u>Mitterrand</u> - Don't understand either bracket so vote against both.

<u>Kohl</u> - paragraph 18 first sentence okay., First bracket acceptable but no second bracket. Overlooking enormous reforms made in EC.

<u>Thatcher</u> - agriculture is difficult because we have made it so. U. S. has come a long way toward EC. Make commitments at Mid-term Review - <u>action</u>. Could say Ministrs can take action on, <u>inter alia</u>. First bracket murky. Yesterday Kohl said action.

DeClercq - right, bracket 1 is clear (simply clear against action).

(10:52AM) Reagan - supports Thatcher. All press questions.

Paying people to produce what there is no demand for.

<u>Kohl</u> - We are taking dramatic measures. If lower standard of living 1992 will not happen.

(10:55AM) Kohl continued - Can't change overnight. Keep first bracket.

Thatcher - too passive.

<u>Kohl</u> - formulation - stronger way. Absolutely against second bracket.

(11:00AM) <u>Mulroney</u> - cites second sentence of paragraph 12 - tribute to reform efforts of EC under Kohl's presidency.

<u>Andreotti</u> - Why not stop producing industrial products that can be bought cheaper elsewhere. Second bracket vague - no criteria of distortion.

(11:05AM) <u>DeClercq</u> - First bracket not clear - has to be looked at in light of Punta del Este statement (which he quotes on phased withdrawal).

(11:10AM) <u>Stoltenberg</u> - What do we mean by long-term adjustments? Must spell out.

(11:12AM) <u>DeClercq</u> - Long-term objective - phased reduction of all measures affecting directly or indirectly trade in agriculture.

(11:16AM) <u>Baker</u> - long-term objective - total elimination. Can't separate short-term measures from long-term.

Reagan - Subsidizing something that there is no demand for. Reads our third proposal.

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(1:20AM) <u>DeLors</u> - (missed - working on RR revision)

(11:25AM) Wants to stick to Punta phrasing. It was the result of eight days of discussion and two years of preparations.

<u>Kohl</u> - Wants the text - asks Wilson to prepare while we proceed - <u>Wilson with Delors</u> tries to incorporate Ron's suggestion.

<u>Reagan</u> - re EC reductions - we are reducing our support by \$9 billion next year. Subsidies should be for farmers doing something other than producing unneeded agricultural products.

Delors - We are moving as Reagan suggests retire then at 50.

Hold 18 and 19 until Wilson comes back - leaving with Delors.

Mulroney - Paragraphs 20 okay, 21 okay.

Paragragh 22 - no response to bracket.

Reagan says we must see that they get help. Communist threat - security for all of us - not go the other way through need.

<u>Mitterrand</u> - So many countries in the same situation - Brazil, Haiti - why single out Philippines? Why do we suddenly mention Philippines? Would agree to a separate paragraph on a few countries - he'll suggest some.

(11:37AM) Andreotti - What about a special "mini-Marshall plan"?

<u>Mitterrand</u> - In preparation of Summit no mention of Philippines. Has not met Aquino, so knows nothing about Philippines. France is an independent country. France will not accept the statement.

<u>Uno</u> - At Foreign Ministers meeting he talked about Asia and Philippines. Shultz said should be in economic communique. Foreign Ministers unanimous. There is no other than Cory Aquino to run Philippines.

<u>Andreotti</u> - We are not the ones proposing a plan for Philippines but press has said a lot about it.

Can we reword the paragraph to put Philippines in general context, as an example of a country that needs strong economic and financial solidarity. We Call attention to the Philippines.

Could refer to democracy.

<u>Stoltenberg</u> - Four words in brackets (such as the Philippines) do not justify this controversy. Text says nothing on strategic importance - just developing countries in debt. Not worth the discussion - would need a brand new text.

(11:41AM) Stoltenberg

(11:54AM) Mulroney - Acknowledges Philippines among others.

<u>Mitterrand</u> - Rejects. Need an indepth discussion on a problem in which we were never consulted - the diplomatic processes of France were neglected. The other 6 can sign if they wish.

<u>Clark</u> - there is no plan - Summit signature not in question. Philippines have become a symbol. Foreign Ministers expressed hope (no demural) statement could cover.

In particular there is a need to encourage countries like the Philippines --

Kohl - Good compromise; might mention some other countries.

Mulroney - Delete brackets, prepare a separate section.

DeMita - Remove the brackets and approve the text.

<u>Mitterrand</u> - Just as good a case for Argentina. Mr. Uno cannot commit France.

<u>Mulroney</u> - New sentence - There is a need to encourage the development toward democracy of . . . (not exact).

(12:09PM) <u>Takeshita</u> - ASEAN meeting in December. Strongly hope for some specific reference to the Philippines.

<u>Clark</u> proposal - "In particular there is a need to encourage countries like the Philippines among others which are making a transition to democracy."

Kohl - Mention another country.

<u>Mitterrand</u> - Unpleasant to be the only cause of dissension. Has happened before. Other six countries can sign; not France.

Mulroney - Down through paragraph 28 okay. 29 - 30.

Paragraph 30 - <u>Lawson</u> - one of the few concrete agreements from the Summit - circulating revision. Line 10 - this approach okay. Remove "or budgetary" - everyone has them.

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Baker - needed by U. S. in Congressional budget relations.

Baker-Lawson discussion of Lawson proposal.

Maintain a high grant element in their future assistance to the poorest.

30 okay; 31 okay; 32 okay, 33 okay.

Genscher - Mention North Sea.

Thatcher - Not mentioned before. Kohl pressing.

Thatcher - everything else general, not places.

(12:38PM) Howe - Mediterranean worse.

Mulroney - 33 okay; 34 okay.

Wilson - explains new section 18 and 19.

<u>Baker</u> - "Taking into consideration the diversity " A step backward. If that is out we will accept - let Ministers make those decisions.

(12:42PM) Kohl - Leave it as is - look at realities.

Beregovoy - Can accept text as it stands.

Baker - Will accept with the deletion, not otherwise.

Kohl - There is a diversity.

Mulroney - Asks Kohl to consider dropping.

Kohl - So banal - why a problem - do not understand.

<u>Baker</u> - Will accept first bracket from this morning's rather than this.

Thatcher - "Noting" instead of "taking into consideration." ? and given the diversity.

Baker - And noting among other things the diversity

Agreed

Takeshita - And otherwise remove the burden of (in debt).

(12:59PM) Help make Seoul Olympics a success.

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Move everything 40 minutes later. Communique on schedule.

(1:08PM) <u>Clark</u> - After ref to Philippines - several countries find themselves in that situation in various regions of the world. Latin America, Africa, and particular the Philippines and that merits our special attention.

<u>Mitterrand</u> - French delegation eager to accommodate has made a suggestion that has been accepted. Should have mentioned Haiti.

Proposal made by France was not accepted.

In chairman's report say that at request of France we considered Haiti.

<u>Shultz</u> - France not alone in worrying about Haiti. Haiti not at all like Philippines.

(1:14PM) Adjourn.

Monday evening dinner Moteo

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Reagan-Situation at 81 Summit Following TP's

AUTHORITY NSC/State/Trues . Warrel's

BY The 3/14/2010

Mitterand Condorcet quotation-real equality purpose of education 1792 Eliz Wiesel-education absolute priority Alain-give child high idea of his power Become that which you are.

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SOMMET TORONTO SUMMIT

Reagan. DESIGNATION OF THE PARTY OF THE Situation at 81 Summit NSC/ State Breas Walters Following TP's 1/12/2022 Mitterand Condorcet quotation-real equality purpose of education 1792 Eliz Wiesel-education absolute priority alain- give child high idea of his power Become that which you are. 1) Knowledge at center of human progress the not sufficient what of factor of technological progress with with blank in grane Rapid obsolescen - et newspapa princes Knowledge a factor in earn progress Countries that did not heritate to adapt an leaden Re) If not acquired at hom must be at school noze required - latisager - esp & age 250230000 Put schole mut cour 3-18. Continung est needed even beyond 65. must diversity discipline Requires much many Ed bridget computes with military head researchers France was lagging behilt in 18 th was at peak of summer. No national border then - we have regressed Situation Openery to world these fighting illiterary Few illiberates on 7 but too many functionally elliterate Half of the letters do not need even on book your Learning must be our man effort Ed & training essential component of international solidarity Englity of proofs, innovation related to ed.

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746 Mulroney. A provocative + fascinating
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SUMMIT PLENARY MEETING

DATE AND TIME:

Monday, June 20, 1988 - 10:26 A. M.

PLACE:

Main Meeting Room - Metro Toronto Convention

Center, Toronto, Canada

PARTICIPANTS:

President Reagan Secretary of State George Shultz

Secretary of Treasury James A. Baker, III

Allen Wallis, Sherpa - NOTETAKER

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney (Canada) Secretary of State for External Affairs

Joseph Clark

Minister of Finance Michael Wilson

Premier of Ontario David Peterson

Sylvia Ostry, Sherpa

President Francois Mitterrand (France)

Minister of State for Foreign Affairs

Roland Dumas

Minister of State for Economy, Finance &

Budget Pierre Beregovoy

Jacques Attali, Sherpa

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (UK)

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Affairs Sir Geoffrey Howe

Chancellor of the Exchequer Nigel Lawson

Nigel Wicks, Sherpa

Chancellor Helmut Kohl (FRG)

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Federal Minister of Finance Gerhard

Stoltenberg

Minister of Economics Martin Bangemann

Hans Tietmeyer, Sherpa

Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita (Japan)

Minister of Foreign Affairs Sosuke Uno

Minister of Finance Kiichi Miyazawa

Minister of International Trade and Industry

Hajime Tamura

Hiroshi Kitamura, Sherpa

Prime Minister Ciriaco De Mita (Italy)

Minister of Foreign Affairs Giulio Andreotti

Minister of the Treasury Giuliano Amato

Mario Sarcinelli, Sherpa

ECC President Jacques Delors (Commission of

the European Communities)

The Honorable Willy DeClercq, Commission of

Foreign Affairs

The Honorable Peter M. Schmidhuber, Commission

of Monetary Affairs Pascal Lamy, Sherpa

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BY CL 3/16/2020

(10:21AM) - Foreign Secretaries still meeting. Kohl not here. When he comes, will let photographers in.

(10:24AM) - Press enters. (10:26AM) press leaving and bottles being placed on table. Have turned off the screen.

Kohl - Agree would have few and short papers.

<u>PLENARY MEETING</u> (Summit Heads and Finance Ministers only; Foreign Ministers have not arrived.)

<u>Mulroney</u> - Plan was to have INF as a stand alone issue - regional issues would dilute great accomplishment of the alliance and of President Reagan. Plenary with Finance Ministers only - Foreign Ministers still meeting on political statement.

Mulroney reviewing schedule and agenda.

(10:34AM) - <u>Wilson</u> reports of discussions of Finance Ministers. Two G7 meetings since Venice.

Reviews progress in economies - exchange rate, inflation, employment. Sound policies, better coordination. No room for complacency. Lists things to be done: Commodity price indicators; structural policy.

(10:38AM) - Wilson reading rapidly - standard context; trade - agriculture; send a strong signal to world; mid-term review not only agriculture; C-U.S. FTA important - single European market; NIE's constructive dialogue; debt of the poorest - menu of options for creditors. Paris Club must examine. Middle income - supported April decision of G7. GC1 for IBRD. Constructive dialogue.

(10:42AM) - Mulroney - asks the President to talk on fiscal policy. Reads his Talking Points. Emphasis on structural policies. Re the 16 million new jobs in U. S. - bulk created by entrepreneurs - 2/3 by employers of fewer than 500.

A case of budding pianist got arthritis - moved into making brownies. Last year \$125 million in revenues, 35 employees. Classical example of entrepreneur.

Mulroney says hadn't meant to limit President Reagan to fiscal policy.

Thatcher - There is a difference between cycles 1 and 2.

- (1) dealt with distributing wealth.
- (2) dealt with producing wealth.

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Although Ron put in examples, it really is a most fundamental sort.

All Ministers trying to expand budgets. Chance of us plus heads of governments must resist. Chance of expansion and Heads must resist. They assume entitled to what they have and just want more.

(10:52AM) <u>Mulroney</u> - Public spending big problem in Canada. Deficit reduced last four years in Canada, first time in 40 years. Principla enemy is in our own governments - Ministers.

French Finance Minister <u>Beregovoy</u> - Will not have privitization revenue, need to develop human resources.

Congratulate James Baker - Plaza Agreement.

(10:56AM) <u>Delors</u> - Reasons second cycle better - economies more flexible, inflation controlled.

Three main points for future reinforcement of growth through supply side measure.

EC must make greatest effort. The single market will be most important structural reform.

Cites figures totalling 6% of GNP of gains.

Will not be a closed zone. Will be largest market in world.

Japan showing that cultural obstructions not insuperable.

Are we concentrating enough on rural development - towns, and conservation.

Major compromise really world-wide and integrated, but not governments. New frontier for growth in world market.

(11:06AM) <u>Mulroney</u> - Should congratulate leaders of Europe, especially Delors. Also, Mitterrand, Kohl, Thatcher.

(11:07AM) Reagan - As Governor of California found welfare lost \$2 for every \$1 reaching the poor. Has tried to make USG more efficient. Passport delay down from 43 days to 12. Private sector - \$84 billion in private charity - administrative costs 6 or 7 percent.

First goal of bureaucrats is to preserve the bureaucracy.

Looks at help wanted ads in Sunay Post. 60-75 full pages. Similar to other cities.

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Reduced burden on government lower costs.

(11:13AM) Nigel Lawson - Fiscal policy different 2 cycles.

Cycle 1 - How to get growth - much emphasis but poor results. Reason - Keysenias policy - raise government deficit.

Cycle 2 - Fiscal policy to reduce deficits UK now has a surplus but in 7th year of growth. Not slack monetary policy. Structural reforms have done it - lists them. Climate where ordinary people can give of their best. A lot more to do.

Fiscal policy not engine of growth.

Should provide stability. Eliminate deficits, reform taxes to remove distortions and disincentives.

(11:19AM) <u>Kohl</u> - Process of rethinking going on. Don't talk about a market economy but a social market economy. Need high degree of social justice. Tremendous opportunity in unified market. New wuality of life.

(11:22AM) Planning largest tax cuts in FRG history. Reform health insurance system - enormous conflicts, but costs too high and rising. Deregulation also heavily opposed, e.g., telecommunications. Free economy means free battle to defend every absurd position.

Unemployment. Structural in cold steel, shipbuilding, farmers. But unjustified exploitation a serious problem.

Inflation rate very, very important - disastrous experience.

Send out message of optimism and free market. Countries everywhere adopting our policies.

(11:29AM) Mulroney - All sounds like Canada.

<u>Takeshita</u> - Should stress policy coordination - will create confidence. Growth 1987 Japan 4.9%. Higher first quarter 1988. Domestic demand but growth will take root.

Labor - management relations excellent. Privatization of NTT successful. Plaza Agreement. Noburu means "to rise." People said you rose but your reputation went down.

Hope stable exchange rates will continue. Structural adjustment based on Maekawa report. Agriculture, distribution, land, tax reform, on agenda. Will introduce a consumption tax. Imports increasing. Promote policy coordination.

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- (11:37AM) <u>Baker</u> Policy coordination process given a political process to better coordinate policies. Have proved it can work will outlast present office holders.
- (11:40AM) Mulroney Congratulates Baker for cooperation.
- (11:41AM) Amato Fiscal policy, cycles 1 and 2. Deficit spending on certain levels harms economy. Had become mostly transfers. Reagan tax reforms important. Italy trying to make similar changes. Some public expenditures useful. In Italy, health all public, but envy the HMOs of U. S.

Thatcher - Tell Foreign Ministers either to speed up or to give up.

(11:48AM) Reagan - quotes Kaldun: Beginning of empire tax rates were low, revenues were high; at end of empire, rates were high, revenues were low.

Estimaters always think tax cuts lower revenues.

(11:53AM) Shultz arrives.

Reagan - Filing case story from WWII.

(11:55AM) Beregovoy - Agrees with Delors re one market. Also with the President that we should cut taxes. Owe great debt to Jim Baker -- to finance growth must mobilize capital and that requires lowering interest rates. Must coordinate so all can bring down rates together.

(11:59AM) Debt - Canada initiated idea of Commonwealth Summit.

<u>Kohl</u> - Problems in debtor countries. We must help countries to use aid. Must not allow further environmental devastation with our aid. Must adopt global thinking.

Thatcher - Must give clear statement. Aid loans written off. Paris Club - ask them to negotiate agreements so that options selected lead to fair burden sharing.

(12:08PM) <u>Mulroney</u> - Lunch at 12:30. Next session here 2:30-4:00; then early evening at Hart House

Wilson - on the debt wording

(12:09PM) Nothing to add to what Thatcher just said. Paris Club meets July. Summit could give impetus.

<u>Baker</u> agrees with Thatcher and Wilson. U. S. aid 97% grants but we cannot forgive principal.

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<u>Stoltenberg</u> - Debt has to be considered in relation to other issues. Our markets need to be open. Conditions for investment must be improved as a precondition.

(12:14PM) <u>Joe Clark</u> - re political statement - ready to distribute East-West terrorism/narcotics in political statement. Chairman's summary -- Mid-East, South Africa, Cambodia. Will make clear we have begun discussions on some other regional issues and will continue during remainder of Summit.

(12:17PM) <u>Amato</u> - Debt. Relation between reducing debt and development. Italian proposal should be taken account of - combinations partial cancellation.

<u>Mulroney</u> - Haiti - Namphy has announced he is in charge. Few civilian casualties. Port-au-Prince calm.

(12:22PM) Adjourn.

10.21 For Ses still meeting Kohl not her when he Comes will let photogs in, 1024 press entering 10:26 leaving and bottler being placed on table Have turned off the screen Kohl-agree would have few & short paper. (Klevary) Mulroney-plan was to have INF as å stært alme issue - regional issue wordle delute great accomplishment, & Pres Reagan. Plenary with Fin Min only - For Min stell meeting on political statement. Mulnoney reviewing schoolule a agenda 1034 Welson reports of discussions of fin min 2 67 meetings since Venice. Reviews progress in economics ex rate, inflation, employment
Sound policies, better coordination
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Lists things to be lone Commod price indicator structural policy

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