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DISPATCH

W/ATTCH

The White House

System # Package # rT. V_{i} NO 03 DOCTO€ ₩ - 11. **SEQUENCE TO** DISPOSITION HAS SEEN **Bob Pearson Marybel Batjer Grant Green Colin Powell Paul Thompson** Frank Carlucci **Grant Green** 3 **NSC Secretariat NSC Secretariat Situation Room** I = Information R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action A = Action VP cc: Baker Other **COMMENTS** Should be seen by: (Date/Time)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

SYSTEM II 90502 ADD-ON TWO

June 1, 1987

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR FRANK C. CARLUCCI

FROM:

FRITZ W. ERMARTH

SUBJECT:

Memorandum of Conversation, National Security Council Meeting, May 21, 1987, 2:07 - 2:53 p.m.

RECOMMENDATION

That you review and approve the attached memorandum of conversation for record purposes.

Approve /

Disapprove____

Prepared by: WE
Tyrus W. Cobb

Attachment

Tab I MEMCON

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
NARA, Date 11/6/07

SECRET

Declassify on: OADR

WASHINGTON

National Security Council Meeting May 21, 1987, 2:07 - 2:53 p.m., Cabinet Room

SUBJECT: Political Issues for the President's Trip to Europe

PARTICIPANTS:

The Vice President's Office:

Donald Gregg

State:

Secretary George Shultz Under Secretary Allen Wallis

Asst Secretary Rozanne Ridgway

Defense:

Secretary Caspar Weinberger Under Secretary Fred Ikle

Attorney General Edwin Meese

OMB:

Director James Miller Associate Director Wayne Arny

Acting Director Robert Gates George Kolt, European Affairs

General Robert Herres

ACDA:

Director, Kenneth Adelman

USIA

Director, Charles Wick Director, Office of European Affairs, John Kordek

NSC: Howard Baker Frank Carlucci Tom Griscom Marlin Fitzwater William Ball Colin Powell Sally Grooms Marybel Batjer Peter Sommer Ty Cobb Steve Danzansky Robert Linhard

Minutes

In opening the meeting, the President said today's session would focus on his upcoming trip to Europe. The European trip would include stops in Venice, Rome, Berlin and Bonn. The President said he wanted today's discussions to focus on the political agenda at the Venice Economic Summit. With Gorbachev seeming to be taking the initiative domestically, and in arms control, it was necessary for the West to demonstrate cohesion and movement in Venice.

The President continued that he was particularly concerned that our political statements do not fall back from where we were last year. The keys, he said, will be a strong statement on terrorism

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NLS _MO5-016 # 19199

BY _NARA, DATE 12/21/05

and a clear agreement on how the West will want to move East-West dialogue forward. He asked Secretary Shultz to start the meeting with an assessment on how the political agenda was coming along.

Secretary Shultz observed that the President found himself again in his usual Summit role: the President is the leader of the Western Alliance and that responsibility is underlined particularly at Summits. The President's colleagues, the Secretary said, are facing difficult situations. Mrs. Thatcher has decided to cut short her participation and will be in Venice only for the Monday evening dinner discussions. She will depart Tuesday following the lunch. This will leave a gap since she always provides strength and dynamism to the discussions. She has been an especially effective collaborator with the President, and we will want to rely on her to help secure our key objectives. We are disappointed that she will be leaving early but, of course, she has a particular problem -- her reelection campaign. (S)

In addition, said Shultz, Mitterrand and Chirac will be there, but not always at the same time. They are split on many issues and will be bringing that division to Venice. Both will be looking over their shoulders in the jockeying for position leading up to next year's Presidential elections. Fanfani will be representing Italy, but in essence they have no government. Given his caretaker role, there is not much strength to come from him. The President's good friend, Nakasone, is nearing the end of his term. Still the Japanese have always insisted on a strong security statement and the President will want to rely on Yasu's support at the Summit. (S)

Continuing, the Secretary said, Prime Minister Mulroney has generally been supportive of our efforts, but he comes with a very much weakened base at home. In addition, Mulroney's key objective will be to secure support for his initiative on South Africa, which we are not very enthusiastic about. Chancellor Kohl will be preoccupied with his key concern, finalizing the German position on INF. It is important that this be sorted out before the Summit so that it does not dominate the discussions and the news coverage. In sum, as we look around, the leadership role at the Summit will fall on the President's shoulders more than ever. In the past, we have been able usually to count on the host country for support and some leadership, but this will not be the case in Venice. (5)

Secretary Shultz said that a second reason why the President's role was so critical was that Europe was facing a period of internal doubt. The 40th Anniversary of the Marshall Plan is an occasion for reflecting on past accomplishments, but also for speculation on what the next era will be like. The Europeans have expressed anxiety, for example, over growing U.S. Congressional protectionist sympathy and about the agriculture

issue in the Uruguay Round. Defense spending has leveled off both here and in Europe and the national commitments to NATO's three percent spending increase has waned. Some Europeans are worried about the increasing calls in the U.S. for withdrawals of our forces in Europe. Others voice the concern that the INF process could lead to a "denuclearization" of Europe. The Secretary continued that the Europeans were now making tentative moves toward improving defense cooperation, but they are not certain exactly where they want to go. These European doubts were emanating at a time of increasing effectiveness by Soviet public diplomacy campaigns, particularly in portraying Gorbachev as a leader who is working hard for disarmament and an improvement in East-West relations. (%)

While the Europeans appear to be "wringing their hands", the Secretary added that this is not to suggest that things are falling apart in Europe. In fact, much of what we see is the result of the successes of our common policies. Together we have produced a democratic tradition that has brought freedom and prosperity to a continent that was reeling from the impact of a devastating war 40 years ago. The market-oriented, capitalist economic systems have clearly shown their superiority over the centralized, dictatorial systems. We are developing technology for the future at an impressive rate. On the arms control front, the Soviets have come to adopt many of our viewpoints -- indeed, the movement the Kremlin has shown is directly attributable to the President's policies. In sum, things are working well, but we will have to "rally the troops" in Venice. (5)

On the political agenda, <u>Secretary Shultz</u> said we will focus on East-West relations, terrorism and South Africa. Also, we know that the events of the day will often drive the discussions, much as Chernobyl did last year. We handled that quite well, and turned it into a positive issue for the West. This year we might anticipate that developments in the Gulf, in the Iran-Iraq war or elsewhere in the Mid-East, might intrude on our program. (S)

On East-West relations, the Secretary continued, we will want to share our assessments of Gorbachev's domestic and foreign policies. The FRG currently has the most enthusiastic interpretation of the General Secretary, while the UK takes the most skeptical approach. However, even Mrs. Thatcher has described him as a person with whom we can do business. We all know that change is taking place in the USSR, but we will want to maintain a realistic appraisal of events there. (S)

Secretary Shultz noted that he had lunch at the Singapore Embassy earlier today and had discussed Soviet activities in Southeast Asia with ASEAN representatives. It is clear that the Soviet Union is expanding its presence and improving its base structure there. Thus, while there is some improvement in the Kremlin's performance on human rights, they are continuing their forward movement in international affairs. (S)

It would be unthinkable not to have a political statement come out of the Venice discussions. Some -- notably France -- will oppose or drag their feet. The Japanese have tabled a good draft statement on East-West relations. Others may recall, Shultz pointed out, that when Mitterrand threatened to stonewall on a political statement in Bonn over his pique with the GATT dispute, that it was Nakasone who kept the statement on track. He declared that it was fine for the Europeans, with their long democratic tradition, to take this blessing for granted. Nakasone said these statements were important to Japan. Years ago it, too, had made the commitment to move toward democracy, but its hold there was still fragile. Continuing, Shultz observed that France again appears to be the stumbling block, but it may be the Summit Sherpa Attali personally maneuvering here. The UK is also reserving, We are not sure why. Maybe it has to do with elections. But perhaps Mrs. Thatcher will descend on the meeting in her usual manner and simply demand a tough statement, commented Shultz. (%)

On terrorism, France and Attali are again the problem, Shultz noted. Chirac, however, appears willing to turn the GOF around and we may now get a strong statement. We need to get a strong statement and somehow institutionalize the concept of multilateral cooperation among the Seven. We understand from polls the USIA has taken in Europe that there exists strong popular support for concerted action against terrorism and we might want to capitalize on that.

On South Africa, Shultz continued, Mulroney will push for some sort of follow-on, mediating effort. We are very opposed to this idea, and Margaret Thatcher is not keen on it, either. We believe she does not want to support anything so bold at election time. In accord with the President's instructions, Shultz said, we are laying back on this issue, letting the others fight it out. What we do not want is to see an initiative floated that is eventually knocked down, thus giving the critics ammunition to portray the Summit as "having failed." Related to this is the narcotics issue, where we have fairly solid agreement. (S)

Shultz continued that finally there are a couple other issues we need to resolve. The first is the increasingly difficult dispute we have with the French over the conventional arms negotiations format. We have got to resolve this one. Shultz said he and Cap need to get together with the President to discuss it. Lord Carrington is pushing hard to get past these procedural differences. Secretary Weinberger added that we might just want to leave the French out of the negotiations. Secretary Shultz countered that the Europeans very much want the French involved given the "Atlantic to the Urals" nature of the talks. We should want to have the French involved, also, he stressed.

Secretary Shultz said that with respect to the President's bilaterals we have a full agenda. The President would find Italy's Amintore Fanfani, whom we meet first in Venice, to be a very nice man. However, he is essentially a caretaker Prime Minister and probably will not be in office for more than a few weeks after Venice. The bilateral with Kohl will very likely be dominated by the INF process. The meeting with Mulroney will not likely address any new issues, and the bilateral with Nakasone should also address familiar topics. On the FRG meeting, if Jim Baker were here he would recommend that we bear down quite hard on the Germans. Kohl and Bangemann are talking about stimulating their economy, but they speak of a tax cut in 1990 or later. This is unacceptable -- let's push them, declared Shultz.

For the meeting with the Pope, the Secretary continued, the President will want to share his impressions of Gorbachev and where we might go on East-West relations. The Pope will be going to Poland just after the meeting with the President and he certainly will want to discuss that trip. We also believe that Vatican interest in establishing relations with Israel will be a major topic of discussion. The Pope has just returned from Latin America, so we believe that he will, as well, want to review that very important trip. That trip has apparently made a big impact on the Pope, particularly his "showdown" with Pinochet. (§)

That same day, Shultz noted, the President will meet with President Cossiga and Prime Minister Fanfani for a private lunch, which the First Lady and Mrs. Fanfani will join. We have excellent relations with both the President and the Prime Minister and the lunch will likely not address any substantive problems. We believe that they will be interested in hearing from Mrs. Reagan regarding her work in combatting drugs and narcotics. As you know, we have worked very effectively with the Italians in this area. Following the Venice Summit the President will make a one-day trip to Berlin and Bonn, including a meeting with President von Weizsaecker. The President's major speech there will provide an opportunity to draw comparisons with Mikhail Gorbachev; in fact, we may want to include some responses to what he himself may have said in Berlin on May 28. (8)

Frank Carlucci asked the Attorney General to say a few words regarding where we stood on cooperation against terrorism.

Mr. Meese noted that there were encouraging signs. The FRG has become the sparkplug for promoting cooperation, particularly between Ministers of the Interior and Justice. Some of these efforts were designed, frankly, to circumvent the French, who were often obstructionist. We will try to place them in a situation where they (the French) would be faced with the "decidedly impolitic" requirement to oppose a constructive statement on terrorism. (S)



Meese noted that with respect to narcotics, the first-ever conference on this subject will be held in June. This was be an important chance to assess changes that have occurred in worldwide drug abuse, which is becoming more of a problem for all nations. In the past, the United States was the primary "addict country," but the problem has spread and other nations are experiencing serious problems with drug abuse. Given the impetus that the First Lady has given to combatting this problem, we should be able to focus attention on drug abuse in Venice, both in the bilaterals and during the Summit itself. In particular, Meese added, the President might want to express to the Italian Government our appreciation for the excellent cooperation we have from Interior Minister Scalfaro and other officials in Rome in combatting narcotics and drug trafficking.

Secretary Weinberger pointed out that we may be close to a major European arms agreement. He said that the Soviet movement toward our position was a direct result of the Alliance's firmness in staying together and deploying the INF missiles. This decision demonstrated the strength and resolve of the Alliance -- nothing else will bring the Soviets to the table so quickly. The Secretary added that he would be very interested in looking at the draft statement on South Africa that was mentioned. We had very real security concerns associated with South Africa.

Mr. Carlucci promised to provide the Secretary a copy of the draft statement, but added that it is very sensitive. We do not want to create the impression publicly that the Summit Heads have a statement prepared, and then if one is not agreed upon, the Summit is regarded as "a failure." (S)

Acting CIA Director Bob Gates said the Agency did not expect any surprises from General Secretary Gorbachev. The Soviet leader feels he "has the ball rolling" and will want to keep that momentum going. Gates said he agreed with Secretary Shultz' comments that the General Secretary has internal problems, particularly within the government bureaucracy and the Party apparatus. But the fractiousness within Allied governments is also apparent. Germany is sensitive to demands that it expand its economy, but this is not a popular consideration at home. This is also true of Japan. This is why, Gates added, that it will be important for the President to take the lead in Venice.

USIA Director Charlie Wick pointed out that there is considerable concern in Europe regarding the President's political standing here. They follow the Iran-Contra hearings with interest, but primarily with an ear as to how it may impact on the President himself. The Europeans are concerned that the President "could be wounded" by these hearings. Wick continued that the polls bring us somewhat disturbing results. Many Europeans feel that Mikhail Gorbachev is more committed to an arms control agreement than Ronald Reagan, by a surprising 8-1 margin in the FRG.

As Secretary Shultz has pointed out we do have a concerted effort underway to counter these impressions, but the Europeans are subjected to a steady, and effective, Soviet "disinformation" campaign. We need, especially, to get more senior speakers over to talk with key European audiences. Wick added that he felt "we got beat" by the Soviets in Reykjavik in the public diplomacy battle. They got there early with a strong contingent of propagandists and beat us to the punch. On a related note, Wick pointed out that he had received a courteous reply from (Central Committee) Secretary Yakovlev who may want to move forward on insuring mutual access to each other's radio waves. The Soviets may also want to get into exchanges of books, and radio and TV programs. In conclusion, the Director said, we have a plan for a very aggressive public diplomacy concept that we have provided to Frank Carlucci. We cannot allow Gorbachev to get the credit anymore for the progress we have made in reducing tensions.

Ken Adelman expressed concerns that the Alliance continued to fiddle around and has not reached an INF decision. He agreed with Secretary Weinberger's comments that it was strength and resolve that was the key to bringing the Soviets to the table. He also said that he agreed that we needed to move toward a global 0-0 INF agreement, not one that left 100 in Asia. On START, the Soviets are simply not doing anything and this intransigence should "be exposed." On conventional arms, we should not pursue any arms agreement that does not consider the fundamental problem -- Soviet superiority in conventional forces in Europe. On the INF, the key date will be May 29 when the German coalition must decide its position. Right now it is being torn apart. We may want to consider a Saturday radio address on this in order to give Kohl some support.

Allen Wallis jokingly noted that, while today's discussion would not suggest it, these Summits were designed to focus on major global economic problems. Nonetheless, the political component often dominated the proceedings. In this case, it appeared that we had the political agenda well in hand. Mr. Carlucci summarized that when the President goes to the Summit he would bring strength to the group at a time when the other leaders were being buffeted by internal difficulties. There has been a lot of work done in preparation for this Summit. Venice presents us with a number of challenges, but lots of opportunities as well.

The meeting concluded at 2:53 p.m.

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AGENCIES

FROM GREEN

DOCDATE 18 MAY 87

KEYWORDS: NSC

TO

VENICE SUMMIT

EUROPE WEST

AGENDA

SUBJECT: AGENDA FOR NSC MTG 22 MAY RE POLITICAL AGENDA FOR PRES TRIP TO EUROPE

ACTION: GREEN SGD MEMO TO AGENCIES DUE:

STATUS C FILES IF

FOR ACTION

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COMMENTS

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ACTION OFFICER (S) ASSIGNED ACTION REQUIRED

DUE

DISPATCH

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National Security Council The White House

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON May 20, 1987 SYSTEM II 90502

ADD-ON ONE

MEETING WITH THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

DATE: May 21, 1987

Cabinet Room LOCATION:

> 2:00 - 3:00 p.m. TIME:

FRANK C. CARLUCCI FROM:

- PURPOSE: To discuss key political issues that may be raised I. at the Venice Economic Summit; to review your visit to Rome, the Vatican, Berlin and Bonn; and to preview your bilateral meetings in Venice.
- II. BACKGROUND: Your June trip to Europe -- the Venice Summit and visits to Rome, Berlin and Bonn -- offers a vehicle to assert your leadership of the U.S., the Alliance, and the Free World across the full range of West-West and East-West concerns. It is an opportunity to show the world that your eight-year stewardship will finish strongly in international affairs and leave a lasting legacy, despite forces at home (e.g., Iran-Contra) and abroad (e.g., Gorbachev's public relations) trying to erode them.

For all participants and observers, assessing your political stamina and authority will be a top-priority -- if completely unspoken -- part of the trip's agenda. All have a stake in your doing well. This will give you added power to set the tone and work the issues.

In various settings you will be addressing the twin challenges facing the West: First, managing the economic and political vitality of the Free World so that it continues to prosper, and to ensure that threats such as protectionism and macro-economic dislocation do not get out of hand. Second, managing the political challenge of the new Gorbachev regime so that it does not undermine our unity, our defensive strategies, and our commitment to the protection and expansion of freedom.

Paradoxically, both challenges are the results of Western strength and success, owing much to your policies. Meeting both challenges requires constant harmony between the goal of safequarding Western cohesion and the goal of constructing a safer and more enduring relationship with the USSR. Harmonizing them depends on Allied confidence in U.S. leadership. Following your introduction of the meeting, George, perhaps assisted by Roz Ridgway, will lay out the political agenda for the trip, as well as our more

> cc Vice President Chief of Staff (2)

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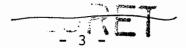
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specific summit-related political objectives. They will want to give you a read-out on the Summit Seven Political Directors' discussions in Venice last weekend, along with a sense of what we may be able to achieve in the way of a political statement. Every Summit since Williamsburg in 1983 has issued some form of political statements or declarations. You will recall that the content and tone of the political statement is continually discussed until shortly before its release in Venice, and its thrust is often driven by current events, e.g., as Chernobyl did last year in Tokyo.

On the key issues:

- EAST-WEST: Forging a working consensus on dealing with the Gorbachev regime will be a key issue in your initial Venice discussions. Varying views and priorities among the Summit Seven can be tolerated so long as there is basic agreement that the West is proceeding with the Soviets on its own agenda, that this agenda must stress human rights and regional conflicts (most importantly, Afghanistan) as well as arms control, and that we assess Gorbachev on the basis of his deeds, not just his words. Gorbachev is likely to try stealing the limelight with new initiatives, e.g., on conventional arms control, prior to Venice. (We hope to have a 'preemptive response' on this before summit time). Other summiteers may press their favorite East-West projects, e.g., Genscher's idea of an East-West economic conference.
- -- ARMS CONTROL: The NATO deliberations on LRINF/SRINF will impact on the Summit process. Because NATO will not have reached a final SRINF position prior to Venice, there will be a risk of misinterpretations or unwarranted expectations emerging from your discussions with NATO leaders. Some observers may portray the Alliance in disarray, others will point to U.S. pressure for a quick arms reduction agreement. Furthermore, the NATO Foreign Ministers will convene at Reykjavik almost as you leave Venice, thus providing further opportunity for leaving the impression of Alliance disarray.
- TERRORISM: All but the French had agreed to a strong statement on terrorism. As it now reads, there is no mandate to continue the meetings of terrorism experts, and the words on state-sponsored terrorism and cooperation on the rule of law are a sad shadow of what we want. There are several steps we can take to get this strengthened. One way may be at a meeting of interior and justice ministers of the seven just before the summit. This last option has just come up as a result of French (Chirac) and FRG dissatisfaction with the handling of the terrorism problem in the Summit preparations. We expect the UK and Canada will support our efforts. You will recall that Mrs. Thatcher led the charge on terrorism last year in Tokyo, and you may want to talk with her privately before Venice to enlist her support.

SECRET



-- SOUTH AFRICA: With the British election taking place immediately after Venice, Prime Minister Thatcher will not want the Summit to make a statement about South Africa. We, the British and the Germans have drafted a declaration that is ready, but will presumably have to wait for another suitable occasion. We will also want to avoid issuing any abbreviated statement that looks like an afterthought. Prime Minister Mulroney has talked about proposing that the seven foreign ministers constitute a watchdog committee to consult on South Africa and mediate between the white regime and the black majority. We think this is a bad idea because the time is not ripe for a mediation effort in South Africa. What is needed is a push on both sides to agree to negotiate, without unacceptable preconditions.

III. PARTICIPANTS

List at Tab B.

IV. PRESS PLAN

No press coverage.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Following your opening remarks, George will provide an overview of the political agenda.

Prepared by: Tyrus W. Cobb

Attachments

Tab A Talking Points

Tab B List of Participants

Tab C Agenda



SYSTEM II 90502 ADD-ON ONE

44938

TALKING POINTS FOR NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING EUROPEAN TRIP

- -- Appreciate your coming today to review my upcoming trip to Europe. Will be visiting Venice, Rome, Berlin and Bonn.
- -- Today's discussion, I understand, will focus on Venice

 Economic Summit's political agenda. With Gorbachev seeming
 to be taking the initiative domestically and in arms
 control, the West must demonstrate cohesion and movement in
 Venice.
- I am particularly concerned that our political statements do not fall back from where we were last year. The keys will be a strong statement on terrorism and a clear agreement on how the West will want to move the East-West dialogue forward.
- -- George, how is the political agenda shaping up?

SECRET

PECPET

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NLRR MD7-080#44938

BY RW NARA DATE ULLO

ppreciate your coming today to review my upcoming trip to Europe. Will be visiting Venice, Rome, Berlin and Bonn.

Today's discussion, I understand, will focus on Venice Economic Summit's Political agenda. With Gorbachev seeming to be taking the initiative domestically and in arms control, the West must demonstrate cohesion and movement in

I am particularly concerned that our political statements do not fall back from where we were last year. The keys will be a strong statement on terrorism and a clear agreement on venice. how the West Will want to move the East-West dialogue forward.

George, how is the political agenda shaping up?



Participants

The President
The Vice President
The Secretary of State
The Secretary of the Treasury
The Secretary of Defense
The Attorney General
The Chief of Staff
Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Plus representatives from the following departments and agencies:

Office of Management and Budget Central Intelligence Agency Joint Chiefs of Staff Arms Control and Disarmament Agency U. S. Information Agency



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING Thursday, May 21, 1987

Thursday, May 21, 1987 2:00 - 3:00 p.m. Cabinet Room

POLITICAL AGENDA FOR PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUROPE

Agenda

I.	Opening Remarks	President
II.	Political Overview	Secretary Shultz (15 minutes)
	- Political Issues at the Venice Economic Summit	
	- Bilateral Meetings in Venice	
	- President's Trip to Rome, Vatican and the FRG	
III.	Discussion	All Participants (40 minutes)
IV.	Summary	Frank C. Carlucci (5 minutes)

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
By NARA, Date 11/6/27

SECRET Declassify on: OADR

3

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

SYSTEM II 90502 ADD-ON ONE

44940

ACTION

May 20, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR FRANK C. CARLUCCI

FROM:

FRITZ W. ERMARTH

SUBJECT:

NSC Meeting on the Political Issues for the

President's Trip to Europe; Thursday,

May 21, 1987, 2:00 - 3:00 p.m., Cabinet Room

At Tab I is your briefing memorandum to the President for Thursday's NSC meeting on the Political Agenda for the President's trip to Europe. Suggested talking points for the President's use in opening the session are at Tab A.

The first few paragraphs of your memo to the President present the wider political context of the entire European trip, establishing that Venice is not "just another Summit." There are numerous political issues on the agenda -- East-West relations, terrorism, narcotics, regional issues, new initiatives in the Middle East, and what has become the Summit's annual political statement. While the Venice Summit will not adopt arms control decisions per se, how we manage the LRINF/SRINF process will be foremost in everyone's minds. There will be unstructured conversations in Presidential bilateral meetings. The result could be confusion and unfavorable headlines suggesting that the Alliance is in some disarray, so the task will be to manage the informal discussion process and subsequent briefings effectively.

Immediately after Venice, with no time to sort out the situation, and with the President in Berlin and Bonn (June 12), the NATO Foreign Ministers will convene in Reykjavik. Here, too, the problem will be management of the LRINF/SRINF issue so that, if possible, a coordinated position emerges endorsed by all sixteen members of the Alliance. (NSC staff is suggesting by separate memo a way to attempt to preclude this problem.) In short, this issue will require careful and thorough management both in preparations for the Venice Summit and during the conduct of the meetings.

Roz just returned from the Political Directors' meeting in Venice. She brought back a rather tepid draft for an agreed statement on East-West relations. The language is so conventional and uninspiring (thanks to the cautious German approach and the obstructionist French tactics) that some feel no statement would be preferable. However, since 1983 every Summit has issued a political declaration and its absence would attract greater attention than a weak statement. We can and must do better than the anodyne statement now in the works.

We feel that it is imperative that the Summit Seven issue a strong statement on terrorism, but after the six (France refused

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BY RW NARA DATE 9/14/10



to attend) experts agreed on a solid declaration Attali bulldozed major changes through inattentive personal representatives. is weaker than the one at Tokyo. He succeeded in eliminating any reference to continuing the experts' meetings on terrorism and modified beyond recognition statements on state-sponsored terrorism and cooperation on the rule of law. If we wish to push for a better text, we can expect only the French will object. The UK and Canada may support us. We are checking with these two to see what their willingness is to take on the French. an outside chance that a meeting of interior and justice ministers of the seven could be held before the Summit and strengthen the terrorism declaration. If not, the President will have to push for it at the Monday evening session where the public statements will be decided -- before the NATO Foreign Ministers meet. At Tokyo, it was Mrs. Thatcher who carried the day for a sharp statement on terrorism and the President may want to talk with her privately before that session.

South Africa may also receive attention. However, the majority of the Summit participants currently oppose a statement, especially one incorporating Canada's proposal for a new mediating effort.

Lurking in the background will be the perception that this is a conclave of seven leaders who want to kick the can down the street. Fanfani will be in the last week of his caretaker regime and Thatcher will be departing early for the final leg of her reelection campaign. Mitterrand and Chirac will carry their uneasy cohabitational relationship to Venice; Mulroney has a favorable rating of only 25 percent; Nakasone is struggling for his political life; and President Reagan will be subject to continuing distractions from the home front. While Kohl was recently reelected to office, his coalition is not forceful.

At the same time, we have to be conscious of the success that Gorbachev has enjoyed in presenting an image of a leader rejuvenating a stagnant system and actively pressing an ambitious arms control agenda. Indeed, the General Secretary may announce a major East-West initiative at the Warsaw Pact Summit in East Berlin on May 28th, just before the President's departure for Europe. Given this Soviet activism and potential perception of Western immobilism, a demonstration of Alliance cohesion and movement at the Summit will be imperative.

Bob Linhard, Hank Cohen, Ted McNamara, Steve Danzansky, Nelson Ledsky, Peter Sommer, Jim Kelly, Don Mahley and Peter Rodman concur.

RECOMMENDATION

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Approve	Disapprove
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Prepared by: Tyrus W. Cobb

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Talking Points
Tab B List of Participants
Tab C Agenda

National Security Council The White House

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400 Maryland Avenue, SW, Room 4181

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

SYSTEM II 90502

May 18, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR:

MR. DONALD GREGG Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs

MR. MELVIN LEVITSKY Executive Secretary Department of State

MR. ROBERT B. ZOELLICK Executive Secretary Department of Treasury

COLONEL JAMES F. LEMON Executive Secretary Department of Defense

MR. JOHN N. RICHARDSON
Assistant to the Attorney General
and Chief of Staff
Department of Justice

MR. L. WAYNE ARNY Associate Director for National Security and International Affairs Office of Management and Budget

MR. H. LAWRENCE SANDALL Executive Secretary Central Intelligence Agency

CAPTAIN JOSEPH C. STRASSER Executive Assistant to the Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff

MR. LARRY R. TAYLOR Executive Secretary U.S. Information Agency

SUBJECT:

NSC Meeting on May 22, 1987 (U)

There will be an NSC Meeting on the Political Agenda for the President's Trip to Europe, Friday, May 22, 1987, at 11:00 a.m., in the Cabinet Room of the White House. Attached for your information is the agenda for this meeting.

Executive Secretary

Attachment As Stated

CONFIDENTIAL with SECRET Attachment

Declassify: on OADR

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
NARA, Date 11/4/07





NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING Friday May 22, 1987

Friday, May 22, 1987 11:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon Cabinet Room

POLITICAL AGENDA FOR PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUROPE

Agenda

I.	Opening Remarks
II.	Political OverviewSecretary Shultz (15 minutes)
	- Political Issues at the Venice Economic Summit
	- Bilateral Meetings in Venice
	- President's Trip to Rome, Vatican and the FRG
III.	Discussion
IV.	SummaryFrank C. Carlucci (5 minutes)

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
NARA, Date

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ATTENDEES (PARTIAL)

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- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- B-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- B-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- B-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- B-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENTS

USA

To Officer in charge Appointments Center Room 060, OEOB

for President

. . Please admir the following appointments on May 21 , 1987

	(NAME OF PERSON TO BE VISITED)				(AGENCY)		
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Wayne Arny					-	•	
Ken Adelman							
Charles Wick		Redacted	 Redacied	Redacte	dRedacted		
John Kordek					Redacted———R	FORAIDI 6	
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APPOINTMENTS CENTER: SIG/OEOB - 395-6046 or WHITE HOUSE - 456-6742

To Officer in churge Appointments Center Room 060, OEOB

Please admit the following appointments on May 21, 1987

for President of USA

Howard Baker
Frank Carlucci
Ken Buberstein
Marlin Fitzwater
William Ball
Colin Powell
Sally Grooms
Marybel Batjer
Peter Sommer
Ty Cobb
Steve Dansansky
Robert Linhard

MEETING LOCATION

Building White House Requested by Cathy Bergeron

Room No. Cabinet Room Room No. 9f1/ww Telephone 6534

Time of Meeting 2:00 Date of request 5/21/87

Additions and/or changes made by telephone should be limited to five (5) names or less.

APPOINTMENTS CENTER: SIG/DEOB - 395-6046 or WHITE HOUSE - 456-6742