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File Folder IT067 (NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION -
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FOIA

S697

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| ID | Doc Type | Document Description | No of Pages | Doc Date | Restrictions |
|--------|----------|--|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| 165017 | LETTER | LORD CARRINGTON TO HOWARD BAKER | 1 | 5/12/1987 | B1 |
| 165018 | MEMCON | SUMMARY OF PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH NATO'S LORD CARRINGTON, APRIL 2, 1987 R 3/28/2023 S07-080, #45095, 12/3/2008 LOJ | 4 | ND | B1 |
| 165019 | MEMCON | EDITED PAGE 4 OF #165018 R 3/28/2023 S07-080, #45095, 12/3/2008 LOJ | 1 | ND | B1 |
| 165020 | MEMCON | MEETING BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT, NATO SYG LORD CARRINGTON, AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS | 4 | 4/2/1987 | B1 |

The above documents were not referred for declassification review at time of processing

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

- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- 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]
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IT067 (NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION - NATO)
(500000-509999)

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| <i>ID</i> | <i>Document Type</i> <i>Document Description</i> | <i>No of</i> <i>pages</i> | <i>Doc Date</i> | <i>Restric-</i> <i>tions</i> |
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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

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506398
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REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFICATION
DATE 5/20/14

19/3

April 7, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MELVYN LEVITSKY
Executive Secretary
Department of State

COL JAMES F. LEMON
Executive Secretary
Department of Defense

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Conversation Between the President
and Lord Carrington on April 2, 1987

Attached is the Memorandum of Conversation from the President's
meeting with Lord Carrington on April 2, 1987.


Grant S. Green
Executive Secretary

Attachment
Tab A Memorandum of Conversation

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NSC#8702464

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165018

2464

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED

Authority 507-080 #45695 12/3/2008 LJS
BY dr NARA DATE 3/28/2013

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Summary of President's Meeting with
NATO's Lord Carrington

PARTICIPANTS: The President
The Vice President
Secretary Shultz
Secretary Weinberger
Howard Baker
Frank Carlucci
Ambassador Keel
Assistant Secretary Ridgway
Peter Sommer, NSC

Lord Carrington
David Brighty, Chef de Cabinet
William McCahill, Deputy Chef de Cabinet

DATE, TIME AND PLACE: April 2, 1987, 10:05 - 10:20 a.m.
Oval Office

In opening, the President warmly welcomed Lord Carrington to the White House and said it was nice to see him again. We greatly admire your efforts to strengthen NATO both politically and militarily. (C)

The President said he understood Lord Carrington had just come from Capitol Hill. We appreciate your efforts with Congress. The President added that he currently had a special problem with Congress -- the Highway Bill. He joked that he hoped Carrington had enjoyed Congress' hospitality; he was not so sure he (the President) personally would. Carrington smilingly replied that as a former Parliamentarian he had no problem in "adjusting." (U)

Continuing, the President said he was pleased to see that Carrington had brought along our new Ambassador, Al Keel. Carrington interjected that it was NATO's gain that the President had agreed "to let Al out." Commenting that the US, like others, face pressures to cut defense spending, the President reiterated that Carrington's visits to the US pay a dividend in building Congressional and public support for NATO. (U)

In thanking the President for his kind words, Carrington said the President must be puzzled from time to time about the attitudes

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of America's European allies, particularly on nuclear disarmament. Carrington jokingly said he himself was often puzzled and part of his job was to try to sit in the mid-Atlantic and look objectively at both parts of NATO. There are some in Europe who are not supportive and who simply do not understand the American nuclear umbrella. The outcry in Europe over some of the United States' recent arms reductions proposals is especially ironic, after so much European agitation for nuclear disarmament. (C)

Carrington continued that much of Europe's reaction can be attributed to geography. When it began looking like the INF missiles might really go, many Europeans said "please do not withdraw them." This is for reasons of geography as well as psychological reasons. The NATO European countries border on Eastern Europe and the Soviet bloc and European alarm bells go off when there is talk of a denuclearized Europe. (C)

Gorbachev, said Carrington, has very cleverly played to European fears. While they may think differently, very few European politicians are prepared to stand up and publicly insist that Europe must have nuclear weapons. This is politically unpopular. His old boss, Margaret Thatcher, is the exception to the rule. European concerns over the complete elimination of nuclear weapons is also based on their fear of the enormous imbalance in conventional forces that exists. The Germans, and other Europeans, are just as concerned over conventional war as they are over nuclear war. Europe knows from direct experience that conventional weapons can kill, declared Carrington. (C)

The President acknowledged that Margaret Thatcher had expressed some of these same concerns to him at Camp David last Fall. Yet he was personally deeply troubled by the constant threat of nuclear weapons. We and the Soviets cannot simply go on forever threatening each other with mutual annihilation. He had grown up in an era, said the President, when the rules of law protected the noncombatants. Nowadays the noncombatants are the principal targets. (C)

We must find a better way, commented the President. He believed that the Soviet economy is a real burden for Gorbachev. Partially because of this he had told Gorbachev that he faced a choice: the Soviets could enter an arms race or they could join with the US in reducing weapons. He had also underlined to Gorbachev that, while the US did not seek military superiority, he could no longer permit the Soviet Union to have superiority. This applies to the conventional balance as well. (C)

The President observed that Gorbachev had gone further than any other Soviet leader in discussing deep reductions in nuclear weapons. Part of this, he opined, is because of the economic pressures on the Soviet Union. For our part, said the President, we need to be ready to make mutual reductions should the Soviets

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respond to our proposals. The President then recalled the joke he had seen sometime ago of two Soviet generals talking to each other. One said to the other: "I liked it much better when we were the only ones in the arms race." (e)

Carrington noted that Europeans concerns would be largely met as long as there is a clear connection between the withdrawal of nuclear weapons and the strengthening of NATO's conventional forces. There must be a connection, and the Europeans worry that there will not be one. (C)

The President replied that he was very well aware of the conventional disparities. Cap's Department had just published its 1987 edition of Soviet Military Power. It continued to show a major Soviet advantage in conventional weapons. 3 to 1 in tanks; 4 to 1 in other armored vehicles; 10 to 1 in artillery and missile launchers; and a 3 or 4 to 1 Soviet advantage in tactical aircraft. Continuing, the President noted the US Navy had a few more combat vessels than the Soviets. Secretary Weinberger interjected that it was a very small US lead. (e)

Mr. Carlucci recalled that in his conversation with Lord Carrington, yesterday, he (Carrington) had emphasized that the Europeans do not have confidence that meaningful conventional reductions can be easily negotiated. Carrington reiterated that the Europeans have seen the MBFR negotiations wallowing for nearly 14 years. This does not inspire confidence. Moreover, these negotiations have focused on the easy part: manpower. When you go beyond manpower and try to address the Soviet tank advantage, negotiations would be further complicated. Then there are such disputed questions as do you count Spanish forces, and how do you count reserve and territorial armies. All in all, declared Carrington, the situation is complex, yet if there are nuclear reductions, European publics will surely say get on with conventional reductions. (C)

The President emphasized that the conventional balance must be addressed. Our objective is a conventional balance at lower level of forces. A build-up in conventional forces would be expensive. As he had said earlier, the Soviets also face economic pressures. Carrington agreed that we must be realistic about the amount of money a conventional build-up would cost. Conventional improvements cannot be easily achieved. The President replied it was against this background of economic pressures that he had told Gorbachev either join us in reductions or face an arms race. When he told Gorbachev that the US could no longer allow Soviet superiority, this evoked an angry feeling on Gorbachev's part. Gorbachev really believes, declared the President, that the US is run by an industrial-military complex. (e)

The President regretted that time was running short and said that they now needed to join the members of Congress in the Cabinet

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4

Room for a meeting on armaments cooperation. Carrington said he looked forward to participating with the President in the meeting. In closing, he asked if the President had seen Arbatov's remarks from Moscow to the effect that compared with Mrs. Thatcher, the President is an "enlightened man." The President quipped he would not let Arbatov come between he and Margaret. (U)

The Oval Office meeting concluded at 10:20 a.m. (U)

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

ab 5/27/87

April 2, 1987

ACTION

SIGNED

MEMORANDUM FOR FRANK C. CARLUCCI

FROM: FRITZ W. ERMARTH *FWE*

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Conversation Between the President
and Lord Carrington, April 2, 1987

Attached for your review and approval is the Memorandum of
Conversation from the President's meeting with Lord Carrington on
April 2, 1987 (Tab A).

RECOMMENDATION

Following your review of the Memorandum of Conversation, that you
authorize Grant Green to forward it to State and Defense:

Approve ✓ Disapprove _____

Attachments

- Tab I Memorandum to State and Defense
- Tab A Memorandum of Conversation

Prepared by:
Peter R. Sommer

cc: Don Mahley

Room for a meeting on armaments cooperation. Carrington said he looked forward to participating with the President in the meeting. In closing, he asked if the President had seen Arbatov's remarks from Moscow to the effect that compared with Mrs. Thatcher, the President is an "enlightened man." The President quipped he would not let Arbatov come between he and Margaret. (U)

The Oval Office meeting concluded at 10:20 a.m. (U)

enlightened?

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Authority: 50 USC 1702 (a) (5) (i) DATE 12/3/2008

BY: [signature] DATE 3/28/2023

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL DISTRIBUTION RECORD

Log Number 2464
Date April 7, 1987

Subject: Memorandum of Conversation, 2 Apr

4/5/87

DOCUMENT CLASSIFICATION: TOP SECRET SECRET CONFIDENTIAL UNCLASSIFIED

EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION:

| | #CYS | Date | Time | Received/Signed for By: |
|---|----------|---------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| THE VICE PRESIDENT | | | | |
| THE SECRETARY OF STATE Exec. sec/Room 7241 | Original | <i>4/6/87</i> | <i>11:18</i> | <i>Walter V. Staehler</i> |
| THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY Main Bldg/Room 3422 | | | | |
| THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE The Pentagon | 1 | <i>4/7/87</i> | <i>11:45</i> | <i>Louis E. Stine</i> |
| DIRECTOR, ACDA Room 5933/Dept. of State | | | | |
| CHAIRMAN US START DELEGATION % ACDA, 5933 State | | | | |
| CHAIRMAN US INF DELEGATION % ACDA, 5933 State | | | | |
| DIRECTOR, CIA Langley, VA | | | | |
| CHAIRMAN, JCS The Pentagon | | | | |
| DIRECTOR, OMB Room 252 OEOB | | | | |
| U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO UNITED NATIONS Room 6333, State Dept. | | | | |
| THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE 14th & Const. Ave. NW, Room 5851 | | | | |
| THE SECRETARY OF ENERGY GA257, Forrestal Bldg. | | | | |
| DIRECTOR, AID Room 5942, Dept. of State | | | | |
| THE ATTORNEY GENERAL Dept. of Justice, Room 5119 | | | | |
| DIRECTOR, OSTP Room 360, OEOB | | | | |
| DIRECTOR, USIA 400 C Street, S.W., Room 800 | | | | |
| THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR 18th & E. Street N.W., Room 6151 | | | | |
| THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE Independence & 14th S.W., Room 200A | | | | |
| UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE Room 209 Winder Bldg. 17 & F St. NW | | | | |
| THE DIRECTOR, FEMA 1500 C Street, Room 828 | | | | |
| DIRECTOR, DMSPA Room 3E813, Pentagon | | | | |
| THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION 400 7th Street S.W. | | | | |
| MANAGER, NATL COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM (NCS), Room 4125 8th & SO Courthouse Rd., Arlington, VA | | | | |
| THE SECRETARY OF HHS 200 Independence Avenue, NW, Room 615F | | | | |
| THE SECRETARY OF HUD 451 7th Street SW, Room 10000 | | | | |
| THE SECRETARY OF EDUCATION 400 Maryland Avenue, SW, Room 4181 | | | | |

DATE, TIME & SIGN THIS RECEIPT & RETURN TO: [REDACTED], SITUATION ROOM, WHITE HOUSE

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Subject: Memorandum of Conversation, 2 Apr

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| THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY Main Bldg/Room 3422 | | | | |
| THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE The Pentagon | 1 | 7 APR 1987 | 1330 | <i>[Signature]</i> X42651 |
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| CHAIRMAN US START DELEGATION % ACDA, 5933 State | | | | |
| CHAIRMAN US INF DELEGATION % ACDA, 5933 State | | | | |
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Date April 7, 1987

Subject: Memorandum of Conversation, 2 Apr

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| THE VICE PRESIDENT | | | | |
| THE SECRETARY OF STATE Exec. sec/Room 7241 | <u>Original</u> | <u>4/7/87</u> | <u>11:59 AM</u> | <u>Charles H. Jackson, Jr.</u> |
| THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY Main Bldg/Room 3422 | | | | |
| THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE The Pentagon | <u>1</u> | | | |
| DIRECTOR, ACDA Room 5933/Dept. of State | | | | |
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DATE, TIME & SIGN THIS RECEIPT & RETURN TO: [REDACTED], SITUATION ROOM, WHITE HOUSE

National Security Council
The White House

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Package # 2464

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| Bob Pearson | <u>1</u> | <u>P</u> | <u>A</u> |
| Marybel Batjer | | | |
| Grant Green | <u>2</u> | <u>G</u> | <u>A</u> |
| Colin Powell | | | |
| Paul Thompson | | | |
| Frank Carlucci | | | |
| Grant Green | | | |
| NSC Secretariat | <u>3</u> | <u>4/7AL</u> | <u>D</u> |
| NSC Secretariat | | | |
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| I = Information | <u>A = Action</u> | R = Retain | D = Dispatch | N = No further Action |
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cc: VP Baker Other _____

COMMENTS Should be seen by: _____
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RECEIVED 04 APR 87 10

TO CARLUCCI

FROM ERMARTH

DOCDATE 02 APR 87

GREEN

07 APR 87

KEYWORDS: USSR

LORD CARRINGTON

SUBJECT: MEMCON BTW PRES & CARRINGTON 2 APR

ACTION: FOR DECISION

DUE:

STATUS C

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CARLUCCI

COMMENTS

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

NSA

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PROOF-01
F6006-12
F6031
F6011
F6013

ACTION

April 6, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR FRANK C. CARLUCCI

FROM: WILLIAM A. COCKELL *W.A.C.*

SUBJECT: Memorandum of Conversation of Cabinet Room Meeting
Between the President, SYG Carrington, and Members
of Congress - April 2, 1987

Attached at Tab I for your approval is the Memorandum of Conversation of the April 2, 1987 meeting in the Cabinet Room involving the President, NATO Secretary General Lord Carrington and Senators Nunn and Warner. You will recall that the press was present for the President's remarks, but that the balance of the meeting was a working session.

ms Peter Sommer concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the Memorandum of Conversation at Tab I.

Approve ✓ Disapprove _____

Attachment
Tab I Memo of Conversation

Prepared by:
Don Mahley *DM*

NSC#8702543

NSC#8702464

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name

WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF RECORDS MANAGEMENT
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|-----------|--|------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| 165020 | MEMCON MEETING BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT, NATO SYG LORD CARRINGTON, AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS | 4 | 4/2/1987 | B1 |

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National Security Council
The White House

H.S.W.

87 APR 7 3: 54

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| | SEQUENCE TO | HAS SEEN | DISPOSITION |
|-----------------|-------------|----------|-------------|
| Bob Pearson | <u>1</u> | <u>P</u> | <u>A</u> |
| Marybel Batjer | | | |
| Grant Green | <u>2</u> | <u>b</u> | <u>A</u> |
| Colin Powell | | | |
| Paul Thompson | | | |
| Frank Carlucci | | | |
| Grant Green | | | |
| NSC Secretariat | <u>2</u> | | <u>N</u> |
| NSC Secretariat | | | |
| Situation Room | | | |
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I = Information A = Action R = Retain D = Dispatch N = No further Action

cc: VP Baker Other _____

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ID 8702543

RECEIVED 07 APR 87 13

TO CARLUCCI

FROM COCKELL

DOCDATE 06 APR 87

MAHLEY

06 APR 87

KEYWORDS: NATO

CONGRESSIONAL

CARRINGTON, PETER

SUBJECT: MEMCON RE CABINET ROOM MTG BTW PRES / SEC GEN CARRINGTON & MEMBERS OF CONGRESS 2 APR

ACTION: FOR COMMENT

DUE:

STATUS C

FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

CARLUCCI

COMMENTS

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DISPATCH _____ W/ATTCH FILE _____ (C) *AC*