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Annotated Agenda (1 of 5)

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection Name MARTIN, WILLIAM: FILES

Withdrawer

DLB 11/16/2006

File Folder JUNE TRIP: SCENE SETTER AND ANNOTATED
AGENDA (1 OF 5)

FOIA

F02-071/2

Box Number 90527

COLLINS

54

ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
30142	OUTLINE	SCENE SETTING PAPER FOR PRESIDENT'S TRIP IN JUNE R 6/12/2008 NLRRF02-071/2	3	ND	B1
30143	PAPER	SCENE SETTING PAPER FOR PRESIDENT'S TRIP IN JUNE - MARKED "1ST DRAFT" R 6/12/2008 NLRRF02-071/2	5	ND	B1
30144	PAPER	THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUROPE - MARKED "2ND DRAFT" R 6/12/2008 NLRRF02-071/2	6	ND	B1
30145	PAPER	THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUORPE - MARKED "2ND DRAFT" ANNOTATED R 6/12/2008 NLRRF02-071/2	6	ND	B1
30146	PAPER	THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUROPE - INCORPORATES EDITS FROM #30145, NEWLY ANNOTATED R 6/12/2008 NLRRF02-071/2	6	ND	B1
30147	PAPER	EDITED PARAGRAPH FOR "PAGE 7" FROM GASTON SIGUR R 6/12/2008 NLRRF02-071/2	1	ND	B1
30148	PAPER	PAGE 2 ONLY , WITH EDITS FROM GIL RYE R 6/12/2008 NLRRF02-071/2	1	ND	B1

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

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Collection Name MARTIN, WILLIAM: FILES

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ID	Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
30149	PAPER	THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUROPE, EDITED BY TY COBB R 6/12/2008 NLRRF02-071/2	8	ND	B1
30150	PAPER	THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUROPE, EDITED BY PETER SOMMER R 6/12/2008 NLRRF02-071/2	8	ND	B1
30151	MEMO	STEVE STEINER TO BILL MARTIN, RE: PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUROPE R 6/12/2008 NLRRF02-071/2	2	3/16/1984	B1
30152	PAPER	THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUROPE, REVISED AND RECIRCULATED 3/19/1984 R 6/12/2008 NLRRF02-071/2	11	ND	B1
30153	PAPER	THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUROPE - MARKED "MASTER" 3/14/84 ANNOTATIONS ON THE VERSO OF PAGE 2, PAGE 4 R 6/12/2008 NLRRF02-071/2	10	3/14/1984	B1
30154	PAPER	THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUROPE, EDITED R 6/12/2008 NLRRF02-071/2	8	ND	B1

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

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

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

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- Promote Am. For Policy
- Cont. w/ Program estb

Williamsburg
Summit

-- Strengthen relations with key allies (political and economic dimensions) *Build on census?*

-- Pursue new cooperation in space and combatting terrorism.

-- Conclude bilateral agreements (trade, finance, energy, security assistance, defense) with Japan in follow up to President's visit last November.

-- Encourage prosperity and democratic institutions in developing nations; urge Allies to contribute to CBI and Central America initiatives.

30142

II. Stop by Stop

Ireland

Objective:

Issues:

Events:

Normandy

Objective:

Issues:

Events:

London Economic Summit

Objectives

1. Carry on spirit of Williamsburg (implement Williamsburg

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BY CU NARA DATE 6/12/08

Declaration;

2. Make new ground space and terrorism coop.

3. Conciliatory.....

4. Be prepared to deal with Iran-Iraq contingencies (oil market)

5. Make case for US economic recovery (point towards low unemployment, low inflation, high growth)

Issues (read Williamsburg Declaration):

Achieving non inflationary growth:

Trade: dismantle trade barriers

North-South (Central America; CBI):

Finance/Debt

Monetary System:

Energy: coping with a possible energy emergency

US economic issues:

Terrorism

Space

Political topics (Middle East, relations with the Soviets, Central America)

III. Bilaterals

1. France

2. UK

3. Japan--

4. Canada

5. Italy

6. Germany

IV. Public Diplomacy

Headlines/Results

Process: appointment of public affairs coordinator

I Overall Objectives and Themes:

--Promote American foreign policy objectives. The President may use events during this trip as fora for reconfirming the U.S. commitment to close Allied cooperation involving political and economic issues in developed and developing nations such as, European economic health, a strong NATO, a democratic Central America and the LDC debt problem.

--Recommitment to the successful policies adopted in the "Spirit of Williamsburg". Our strategy is to build upon the consensus begun during the Ottawa and Versailles Summits, and cemented during the Williamsburg Summit. The policies espoused by the President and embodied in the Williamsburg Communique have led to World economic recovery, and the President's leadership of this Summit is vital to the continuation and expansion of this recovery.

--Strengthen 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 Mitterand.

--Pursue new cooperation in space and combatting terrorism. Our goal is not only to continue in the Spirit of Williamsburg, but to go beyond it. The leaders of the OECD countries must be prepared to deal with both the problems and the prospects of the 1980's and 1990's. The American pioneer spirit will be leading the way.

--Conclude bilateral agreements with the Japanese involving trade, finance, energy, security assistance and defense. This would be a follow up to the President's visit last November. The ultimate success of the Far East Trip depends on the work done between now and the London Summit to implement our agreements.

--Encourage prosperity and democratic institutions in developing nations. This objective can be tied to the participation of the OECD countries in the CBI and the Central American Initiative. The President can continue where he left off in Cancun, emphasizing the positive role private investment plays in the economic growth of LDC's.

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BY CU NARADATE 6/12/08

II. Stop by Stop

Ireland

Objective: Through his visit to his ancestral home, the President will reemphasize the close historic and culutural ties between the Irish and American people. This will also provide the American and European public with a personal glimpse at the President of the United States.

Issues: The Irish view this stop as a renewal of the friendship between our two countries, and as a chance to promote Irish tourism and private investment. The President will probably be called upon to encourage a peaceful solution to the Northern Irish question.

Events: The President will visit his paternal grandfather's home of Ballyporeen, tour the Irish countryside, call upon President Hillery and attend a short meeting with PM Fitzgerald prior to a state dinner in Dublin.

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. This will be the major public diplomacy coup of the trip. The beaches of Normandy provide a dramatic setting for a theme that will recur throughout the trip: the importance of American cooperation and initiative in the political, military and economic well-being of Europe.

Issues: European reconciliation, rather than the Allied victory over Germany, must be emphasized in order not to risk German embarrassment. The President will be portrayed as a lover of heroism, yet a man who detests the losses involved in any military action. This image will counter the one held by the anti-nuclear and anti-American public.

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.

London Economic Summit

Objectives:

--Carry on the Spirit of Williamsburg. The OECD leaders should build on the recovery begun with the agreements adopted at Williamsburg. Specifically, the U.S. proposes a new round of multilateral trade negotiations, a continuation and strengthening of coordination among trade and financial policies, confirmation of the consensus on East-West economic relations and a review of the successful implementation of the international debt strategy.

--Make bold, new partnership proposals in the areas of space and combatting terrorism. At the London Summit the leaders could announce agreements that had been negotiated prior to the June meeting on the extent of European participation in the manned space station program and the fight against international terrorism's threat to democratic institutions. These announcements will have a highly visible and positive impact domestically and internationally.

--Conciliatory gestures to our allies. The U.S. is currently in a strong economic position, and can afford to make magnanimous gestures and symbolic compromises on several issues in order to bolster their slow economic recovery. This strategy is a wise public affairs move and would protect the President's overall economic policies from challenge.

--Be prepared to deal with Iran-Iraq contingencies. Coordination.

--Make case for U.S. economic recovery. The success story found in the American economy (low unemployment, low inflation, high growth) should convince our allies that the policies supported by the President work. The health of our economy is our best defense against European attempt to blame the U.S. deficit and monetary policy on their slow economic recovery. The President could also deflect allied criticism of U.S. policies through the formation of a Presidential Commission to study the problem.

Issues:

--Achieving non-inflationary growth. The basic goal of the Williamsburg Summit. Similar to the successful strategy adopted domestically.

--Trade. A call for a new multilateral round of trade-liberalizing negotiations in an effort to contain protectionism and produce an open trading environment. This policy has detractors domestically and internationally. Many domestic interest groups are calling for protectionist measures in their industries, such as steel and autos. Our allies are unsure about Congress and the President's ability to withstand protectionist pressures and some (particularly the French and Italian) would like to use this possibility as an excuse to avoid further trade liberalization.

--North-South: The role of private investment in development as emphasized in the Cancun Conference, CBI and the Central American Peace Initiative.

--Finance/Debt: Review the success of the Williamsburg Strategy: the policies adopted by debtor nations, private and official financing, the opening of markets.

--Monetary: The Allies, focusing on their slow recovery and high unemployment, will blame high US interest rates, a strong dollar, and the budget deficit for their economic woes. The US must be ready to refocus the leaders attention to trade liberalization and coordination of trade and financial policies.

--Energy: Coping with possible energy emergency. Coordination of activities. (Bill)

--Terrorism: Statement of mutual concern over terrorism could be incorporated into the final Communique. Negotiations between the governments have begun outside the Summit process.

--Manned Space Station Program. After an assessment of the Allies interest in participation, an announcement (broad or substantive, depending on how the negotiations proceed) could be made at the Summit. An example of American ingenuity and pioneer spirit.

--Possible political issues: Events prior to the Summit in June could lead to major concern over Lebanon, U.S.-Soviet Relations, Central America, etc...

III. Bilaterals:

A. France: Follow up on issues discussed during Mitterand's State visit in March, 1984.

B. UK: PM Thatcher will probably host a private dinner with the President. Summit strategy and issues, as well as current political issues can be discussed in a relaxed and friendly atmosphere.

C. Japan: The most important. A follow up on the 5 initiatives resulting from the President's Far Eastern Trip in November 1983.

D. Canada

E. Italy

F. Germany: Follow up on issues discussed in Washington in March. Discussion will most likely focus on East-West relations and the new Soviet leadership

G. EC: Meeting with EC President Thorn. Issues discussed could include CAP reform, further trade liberalization

IV. Public Diplomacy:

Headlines/Results

--"American President Welcomed Home by Hundreds of Irishmen"

--"Allies Invade Normandy 40 Years Later and Reconfirm Commitment to the Western Alliance and Peace."

--"Allied Leaders Reconfirm Support of Policies Adopted at Williamsburg"

--"Allies Agree to further Trade Liberalizing Measures"

--"European Allies Take Giant Leap; Join the U.S. in Manned Space Program"

--"Western Leaders Soundly Condemn Terrorism and Initiate Joint Action Against Groups"

--Japan: Bill

Public Affairs Strategy

--Follow Williamsburg Plan

--Coordination with NSC very important

--The public affairs officer should be in place by mid-March

2nd draft

30144

The President's Trip to Europe
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

I. The Setting

--Since the President's last visit to Europe during the time of the 1981 Versailles Summit, he has travelled successfully to Japan, Korea, China and successfully chaired the historic Williamsburg Summit.

--Economic recovery is underway and the challenge is to continue to follow the course set by Williamsburg.

--President is successfully implementing Pacific Basin strategy.

--Deployment of American missiles in Europe is proceeding well.

--However, Europeans and other allies still concerned about US-Soviet relations and high interest rates in the United States.

--The President will again be challenged by US policies at home and abroad. The deficit, the US stance in Lebanon and Central America, relations with the Soviet Union -- all will be on the minds of the _____ leaders he will meet during his week visit.

--The President will also have opportunity to discuss key bilateral relations with our closest friends.

--Therefore, likely to be a complex trip from a substantive point of view against the backdrop of interesting and colorful settings. (ie Normandy)

--President will have opportunity to stress key themes of peace and prosperity at the Summit. Continue to build on his powerful image of a strong leader of the Western world.

II. Overall Objectives and Themes:

--Promote American foreign policy objectives. The President should use events during this trip as a forum for reconfirming the U.S.

commitment to close Allied cooperation involving political and economic issues in developed and developing nations such as, European economic health, a strong NATO, a democratic Central America and the LDC debt problem.

--Recommitment to the successful policies adopted in the "Spirit of Williamsburg". Our strategy is to build upon the consensus begun during the Ottawa and Versailles Summits, and cemented during the Williamsburg Summit. The policies espoused by the President and embodied in the Williamsburg Communiqué. Our goal is not only to continue in the Spirit of Williamsburg, but to go beyond it. We have led the World economic recovery, and the President's leadership of this Summit is vital to the continuation and expansion of the recovery.

--Strengthen 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 Mitterand.

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BY: CA NARA DATE 6/12/08
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

--Pursue new cooperation in space. The leaders of the OECD community should be urged to join with the United States in this exciting frontier effort for the 1980s and 1990s. The American pioneer spirit will be leading the way.

--Take joint action against terrorism. Unacceptable and dangerous allies ^{During the Summit The} threat to democratic institutions. ^{current} ^{of international should}

--Improve relations with key Allies, ^{the results of negotiations on} including in particular ^{their commitment to} follow up to the President's November visit to Japan. (one or two ^{measures} objectives for European countries, something important France ^{to justify} UK) ^{the}

--Encourage prosperity and democratic institutions in developing nations. This objective can be tied to the participation of the OECD countries in the CBI and the Central American Initiative. The President can continue where he left off in Cancun, emphasizing the positive role private investment plays in the economic growth of LDC's.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

II. Stop by Stop

III

Ireland

The President's
Objective: ~~Through his visit to his ancestral home, the President will reemphasize the close historic and cultural ties between the Irish and American people.~~ *and the importance of the Irish Am. community to our country!* This will also provide the American and European public with a personal glimpse at the President of the United States, *and therefore to acknowledge the contributions the Irish-Am. community has made to the growth of the U.S.*
Issues: The Irish view this stop as a renewal of the friendship between our two countries, and ~~as~~ a chance to promote Irish tourism and private investment. The President will probably be called upon to encourage a peaceful solution to the Northern Irish question.

Events: The President will visit his paternal grandfather's home of Ballyporeen, tour the Irish countryside, call upon President Hillery and attend a short meeting with PM Fitzgerald ~~prior to a state dinner in Dublin.~~ *and*

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. This will be the major public diplomacy coup of the trip. The beaches of Normandy provide a dramatic setting for a theme that will recur throughout the trip: the importance of American cooperation and initiative in the political, military and economic well-being of Europe.

Issues: European reconciliation, rather than the Allied victory over Germany, must be emphasized in order not to risk German embarrassment. The President will be portrayed as a lover of heroism, yet a man who detests the losses involved in any military action. This image will counter the one held by the anti-nuclear and anti-American public.

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.

London Economic Summit

Objectives:

--Carry on the Spirit of Williamsburg. The OECD leaders should build on the recovery begun with the agreements adopted at Williamsburg. Specifically, the U.S. proposes a new round of multilateral trade negotiations, a continuation and strengthening of coordination among trade and financial policies, confirmation of the consensus on East-West economic relations and a review of the successful implementation of the international debt strategy.

How far we've gone; from Beachead of Normandy to
space station: bold, new step in our partnership in
partnership. Step into the future
→ symbolic
(separate out space and terrorism)--Make bold, new partnership
proposals in the areas of space and combatting terrorism. At the
London Summit the leaders could announce agreements that had been
negotiated prior to the June meeting on the extent of European
participation in the manned space station program and the fight
against international terrorism's threat to democratic
institutions. ~~These~~ announcements will have a highly visible and
positive impact domestically and internationally.) Symbolic - of
dependence on the success of the negot.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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

--Be prepared to deal with Iran-Iraq contingencies. Coordination.

--Make case for U.S. economic recovery. The success story found
in the American economy (low unemployment, low inflation, high
growth) should convince our allies that the policies supported by
the President work. The health of our economy is our best
defense against European attempt to blame the U.S. deficit and
monetary policy on their slow economic recovery. The President
could also deflect allied criticism of U.S. policies through the
formation of a Presidential Commission to study the problem.

Issues:

--Achieving non-inflationary growth. The basic goal of the
Williamsburg Summit. Similar to the successful strategy adopted
domestically.

--Trade. A call for a new multilateral round of
trade-liberalizing negotiations in an effort to contain
protectionism and produce an open trading environment. This
policy has detractors domestically and internationally. Many
domestic interest groups are calling for protectionist measures
in their industries, such as steel and autos. Our allies are
unsure about Congress and the President's ability to withstand
protectionist pressures and some (particularly the French and
Italian) would like to use this possibility as an excuse to avoid
further trade liberalization.

--North-South: The role of private investment in development
as emphasized in the Cancun Conference, CBI and the Central
American Peace Initiative.

--Finance/Debt: Review the success of the Williamsburg Strategy:
the policies adopted by debtor nations, private and official
financing, the opening of markets.

--Monetary: The Allies, focusing on their slow recovery and high
unemployment, will blame high US interest rates, a strong dollar,
and the budget deficit for their economic woes. The US must be
be ready to refocus the leaders attention to trade liberalization
and coordination of trade and financial policies.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

--Energy: Ensure that ^{WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506} summit nations are adequately prepared to meet the challenge individually and collectively of an expanded war in the Gulf with subsequent disruptions in the West's oil flows.

--Terrorism: Statement of mutual concern over terrorism could be incorporated into the final Communique. Negotiations between the governments have begun outside the Summit process.

--Manned Space Station Program. After an assessment of the Allies interest in participation, an announcement (broad or substantive, depending on how the negotiations proceed) could be made at the Summit. An example of American ingenuity and pioneer spirit.

III. Bilaterals (two key bilateral issues for France, UK and

1. Germany. High those. Japan (five areas progress: energy, defense, security assistance, trade and finance)

A. France: Follow up on issues discussed during Mitterand's State visit in March, 1984.

B. UK: PM Thatcher will probably host a private dinner with the President. Summit strategy and issues, as well as current political issues can be discussed in a relaxed and friendly atmosphere.

C. Japan: The most important. A follow up on the 5 initiatives resulting from the President's Far Eastern Trip in November 1983.

D. Canada

E. Italy

F. Germany: Follow up on issues discussed in Washington in March. Discussion will most likely focus on East-West relations and the new Soviet leadership. EC.

2. Foreign policy issues: Lebanon, other Middle East, Central America, relations with the Soviet Union,

IV. Public Diplomacy:

Headlines/Results

--"American President Welcomed Home by Hundreds of Irishmen"

--"Allies Invade Normandy 40 Years Later and Reconfirm Commitment to the Western Alliance and Peace."

--"Allied Leaders Reconfirm Support of Policies Adopted at Williamsburg"

--"Allies Agree to further Trade Liberalizing Measures"

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

--"European Allies Take Giant Leap; Join the U.S. in Manned Space Program"

--"Western Leaders Soundly Condemn Terrorism and Initiate Joint Action Against Groups"

--Japan: Bill

Public Affairs Strategy

--Follow Williamsburg Plan

--Coordination with NSC very important

--The public affairs officer should be in place by mid-March

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2nd draft

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THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUROPE

I.

The Setting

--Since the President's last visit to Europe during the 1981 Versailles Summit, he has made ~~triumphant~~ ^{successful} trips to Japan, Korea, China and successfully chaired the historic Williamsburg Summit.

--World recovery is underway the challenge is to continue to follow the course set by Williamsburg and the President's domestic economic policies.

--The President is successfully implementing the Pacific Basin strategy.

--Deployment of American missiles in Europe is proceeding well.

--Despite general optimism about continued world economic recovery, the President will again face questions and some criticism of US policies at home and abroad. The deficit, the US stance in Lebanon and Central America, relations with the Soviet Union -- all will be on the minds of the 6 leaders he will meet during his week visit.

--The President will also have the opportunity to continue with discussion of key bilateral issues with our closest friends.

--Therefore, likely to be a complex trip from a substantive point of view against the backdrop of dramatic and colorful settings.

--President will have an opportunity to stress the key themes of peace and prosperity at the Summit, and continue to build on his image as a powerful and strong leader of the Western world.

II.

Overall Objectives and Themes

--Promote American foreign policy objectives. The President should use events during this trip as a fora for reconfirming our commitment to close Allied cooperation on political and economic issues throughout the world such as, European economic health, a strong NATO, a democratic Central American and the LDC debt problem.

--Recommitment to the successful policies adopted in the "Spirit of Williamsburg". Our strategy is to build upon the consensus begun during the Ottawa and Versailles Summits, and cemented during the Williamsburg Summit. Our goal is not only to continue in the Spirit of Williamsburg, but to go beyond it. The policies espoused by the President and embodied in the Williamsburg Communique have led to World economic recovery, and his continued leadership is vital to the expansion of the recovery.

--Strengthen 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 Mitterand.

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NARA DATE

BY

--Pursue new cooperation in space. The leaders of the OECD community should be urged to join with the United States in this exciting frontier effort for the 1980's and 1990's. The American pioneer spirit will be leading the way.

--Take joint action against terrorism. During the Summit, the allies will announce the results of current intergovernmental negotiations on measures against this dangerous and unacceptable threat to democratic institutions.

Combo with 3
--Improve relations with key Allies, including in particular a follow up to the President's November visit to Japan. (one or two objectives for European countries, something important for France, UK)

--Encourage prosperity and democratic institutions in developing nations. This objective can be tied to the participation of the OECD countries in the CBI and the Central American Initiative. The President can emphasize the positive role private investment plays in the economic growth of LDC's, as he did at Cancun.

III.

Ireland

Objective: The President's visit to his ancestral home reemphasizes our historic and cultural ties to Ireland, and offers a chance to acknowledge the contributions the Irish-American community has made to the growth of our country. This will also provide the American and European public with a personal glimpse at the President of the United States.

Issues: The Irish view this stop as a symbol of the friendship between our two countries, and as a chance to promote Irish tourism and private investment. The President will call for a peaceful solution to the tragedy in Northern Ireland.

Events: The President will visit his paternal grandfather's home of Ballyporeen, tour the Irish countryside, call upon President Hillery and attend a short meeting with PM Fitzgerald and a state dinner in Dublin.

IV.

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. This could be the major public diplomacy coup of the trip. The beaches of Normandy provide a dramatic setting for a theme that will recur throughout the trip: the importance of American cooperation and initiative in the political, military and economic well-being of the West. *(and strength West. Alliance)*

Issues: European reconciliation, rather than the Allied victory over Germany, must be emphasized in order not to risk German embarrassment. In addition, the President should be portrayed as a lover of heroism, yet a man who detests the losses involved in any military action. This image will counter the one held by the anti-nuclear and anti-American European public.

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.

V.

London Economic Summit

Objectives:

--Carry on the Spirit of Williamsburg. The OECD governments have agreed that the purpose of this Summit is to strengthen and spread the world economic recovery, through the continued opening of trade and financial markets. Specifically, the US proposes a new round of multilateral trade negotiations, a continuation and strengthening of coordination among trade and financial policies, confirmation of the consensus on East-West economic relations and a review of the successful implementation of the international debt strategy.

--Announce joint action against terrorism. A signal to the governments supporting terrorist groups that the Western leaders are united and prepared to take action.

--Make bold proposals on cooperation in the manned space station program. The announcement of European participation will have a highly visible and positive impact domestically and internationally. Within the background of the European trip, this initiative will symbolize to the world how far the Alliance has progressed: from the beaches of Normandy to the frontiers of Space.

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

--Be prepared to deal with Iran-Iraq contingencies. Coordination.

--The success story found in the American economy. The health of our economy is our best defense against European attempts to blame the US deficit and monetary policy on their slow economic recovery.

Issues:

--Achieving 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 by macro-economic policies and encouragement of investments.

--Multilateral Surveillance and Convergence Consultations. The OECD leaders should endorse the success of and reaffirm their commitments to the multilateral surveillance process which is reflected in the convergence of inflation rates, at significantly reduced levels, and generally strong growth rates among SDR countries.

Trade. The need for a new multilateral round of trade-liberalizing negotiations, in an effort to contain protectionism and produce an open trading environment, is recognized by our Allies. The President should call for affirmative steps in organizing these talks ~~take place~~ 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 US 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: Review the success of the Williamsburg strategy: the policies adopted by debtor nations, private and official financing, the opening of markets, and the beneficial results of dealing with the LDC debt problem on a case-to-case basis.

--Monetary: The Allies, focusing on their slow recovery and high unemployment, may blame the US budget deficit, interest rates, and dollar for their economic woes. The US must be ready to refocus the leaders attention to trade liberalization and coordination of trade and financial policies.

--Economic rigidities. Discussion of the importance of lessening fiscal, financial, regulatory and other rigidities within national economies, which prevent adjustments to change and lead to unemployment. Within this context, leaders could discuss the acceleration of the adaption of high-technology by the industrial economies.

--Energy: 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. For the leaders to focus on this issue, they may have to be reminded of the havoc caused by the energy disruptions in the 1970's and of the need to prepare against such contingencies.

--East-West: Allies should reconfirm their commitment to a dialogue aimed at maintaining a close consensus on East-West economic relations. They may also examine the work being done in the OECD, IEA, COCOM and NATO in this area.

--Terrorism: Statement of mutual concern over terrorism could be incorporated into the final Communique. The substantive depth of the announcement depends on the progress made in negotiations between the governments which have begun outside the Summit process.

--Manned Space Station Program: After an assessment of the Allies interest in participation, an announcement (broad or substantive, depending on their interest) could be made at the Summit. An example of American ingenuity and pioneer spirit.

VI.

Bilaterals

During his stay in London, the President will meet in private sessions with the leaders of France, the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, Canada, Japan and the EC. His conversations with Helmut Kohl may center on the improvement and support of projected German economic recovery produced by the market-oriented policies adopted by Kohl, as well as discussions on East-West relations the new Soviet leadership and arms control. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher will probably host a private dinner for the President prior to the Summit, at which strategy and issues will be discussed in a relaxed and friendly atmosphere. During his meeting with the President, Francois Mitterand may reiterate his support for the US role in the defense of Europe, including our firm position on arms negotiations, as well as emphasize the importance of continued US-French cooperation and coordination on key regional issues, such as Lebanon, Chad and the Gulf. While the French will try to highlight the health of the relations between our two countries, they may decide to use this opportunity to voice disagreement with US policy in Central America.

The President will also meet with Thorn, President of the EC, and discuss trade liberalization and EC subsidization of agriculture and CAP reforms. The bilateral with Nakasone is a follow up to the five initiative on trade, finance, energy, security assistance and defense undertaken after the President's Far Eastern Trip in November 1983. The ultimate success of the Far East Trip depends on the work done now and confirmed at the Summit.

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.

Public Diplomacy

The President's trip to Europe marks a continuation and extension of the initiatives undertaken during the Williamsburg Summit and his trip to East Asia. Relations with close allies will be strengthened, and the President's leadership role reconfirmed.

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

-- first, the lead-in to the trip, demonstrating the continuity of the Summits

-- 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 and the space program.

There are numerous themes and events that can be highlighted in advance, during and following the trip. Example headlines follow:

--President Reagan Warmly Welcomed by Hundreds of Irish; Pledges Continued Close Relations between the US and Ireland

--Allies Return to Normandy 40 Years Later and Reconfirm Commitment to the Western Alliance and Peace

--At London Summit Leaders Agree to Hold the First Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations in Coming Months

-- Communique Soundly Condemns Terrorism and Allies Initiate Joint Action Against Groups

--Alliance Enters the 21st Century: the Europeans Join the U.S. in the Manned Space Station Program"

--Japan: Bill and Roger

~~SECRET~~

THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUROPE

30146

I.

The Setting

Since the President's last visit to Europe during the 1981 Versailles Summit, he has made successful trips to Japan, Korea, China and effectively chaired the historic Williamsburg Summit. This trip to Europe is an opportunity to build upon these past successes.

The prospects for achieving this are good. Relations with our allies are at a high, and we are prepared to take on new initiatives and recommit ourselves to old ones. Williamsburg and the President's domestic policies have led to world recovery, and the challenge now is to ~~continue with the course set there~~. Furthermore, NATO is strong and the deployment of American missiles in Europe is proceeding well and has the continued support of the Western governments.

In addition, the ties between East ^{the} and West ^{and the Pacific} are growing. By June the President will have made two trips to East Asia, thereby opening new avenues for cooperation between the Allies in contributing to the peace and prosperity of the Region. Implementation of the Pacific Basin Initiative, which was developed as a element of the November trip, is also proceeding smoothly.

Despite optimism about continued world economic recovery and the allied relations in general, the President will again face questions and some criticism of US policies at home and abroad. The deficit, the US stance in Lebanon and Central America, relations with the Soviet Union -- all will be on the minds of the 8 leaders he will meet during his week visit.

During bilateral discussions, however, the President will have the opportunity to explain our position and discuss other key issues with our closest friends. ~~The trip, therefore, is likely to be a complex one from a substantive point of view.~~

Setting for the visits to Ireland and Normandy are
These issues, however, will be discussed in a colorful and dramatic setting, which may be as important to their resolution as the discussion itself. 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 both. This is also an excellent opportunity, as the President's last trip overseas before the election, to build upon his image as a powerful and strong leader of the Western world.

II.

Results/Headlines

--President Reagan Warmly Welcomed by ^{Thousands} ~~Hundreds~~ of Irish; Pledges Continued Close Relations between the US and Ireland. The President will begin his trip to Europe in Ireland, and it is will be a very upbeat and positive stop. Themes of peace, within Ireland, Europe and the world will be emphasized.

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BY CS NARA DATE 6/12/08

--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 immediate past and the bright prospects for the future and the invaluable role the Alliance has played in the improvement of the military, political and economic conditions within Europe.

--At London Summit Leaders Reaffirm Linkages between Economic Recovery, Free Trade and Financial Stability and Agree to Hold the First Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations in Coming Months. The Allies will recommit themselves to the successful policies of Williamsburg and continue with their implementation.

-- Communique Soundly Condemns Terrorism and Allies Initiate Joint Action Against Groups. The leaders can use the general consensus established on economic issues as a foundation for this political initiative. An announcement made at the Summit or during bilaterals will notify these groups that future attacks will be met with coordinated action.

--Alliance Enters the 21st Century: Europeans Join the U.S. in the Manned Space Station Program. An agreement reached at the Summit would be especially dramatic within the historical context of the trip, i.e. Normandy.

--Nakasone Pledges Acceleration of Trade Liberalizing Activities. During conversations 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

--Promote American foreign policy objectives. The President should use events during this trip ^{to} as a ~~forum~~ for reconfirming our commitment to close Allied cooperation on political and economic issues throughout the world such as ^{including} European economic health, a strong NATO, a democratic Central American and the LDC debt problem. ^{Recovery}

--Recommitment to the successful policies adopted in the "Spirit of Williamsburg". 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 worked together to promote sustainable, non-inflationary growth. Our goal is not only to continue in this spirit, but to go beyond it through the advancement and consolidation of gains made in the areas of economic growth and trade.

--Reaffirmation of the Role of the United States in Leading the World Recovery. The strong US recovery, which began last year as a result of policies espoused by the President, is ^{fueling} ~~spreading~~ a growth stimulus to the other Summit countries and the world. The President's continued leadership is essential to consolidate and build upon the world economic gains made since Williamsburg. ^{to}

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*There will also be an
independent to raise
political issues at the
Summit itself.*

--Strengthen 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. Discussions should be generally upbeat and will center on strategic, political and military interests.

--Pursue new cooperation in space. The leaders of the OECD community should be urged to join with the United States in this exciting frontier effort for the 1980's and 1990's. The American pioneer spirit will be leading the way.

--Take joint action against terrorism. During the Summit, the allies will announce the results of current intergovernmental negotiations on measures against this dangerous and unacceptable threat to democratic institutions.

--Encourage prosperity and democratic institutions in developing nations. Developing nations have greatly profited from the OECD countries work toward non-inflationary growth and the opening of world markets. The economic and political growth of Third World countries is dependent upon continued effective cooperation between developed and developing nations in the areas of trade and investment. New trade liberalizing initiatives, for which the Summit could lay the groundwork, are essential for their economic health in the 1990's. The Allies can also play a positive role through private investment and participation in the CBI and Central American Initiative.

IV.

Ireland

Objective: The President's visit to his ancestral home reemphasizes our historic and cultural ties to Ireland, and offers a chance to acknowledge the contributions the Irish-American community has made 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 a unique opportunity for a personal glimpse at the President during a trip in which he will primarily play the role of the Leader of the Free World.

Issues: The Irish view this stop as a symbol of the friendship between our two countries, and as a chance to promote Irish tourism and private investment. Opportunities for private and public political discussions are limited, therefore 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 and a call upon President Hillery and a short meeting with PM Fitzgerald.

IV.

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 and American initiative in the political, military and economic well-being of the West.

Issues: While events during the day will ^{probably} necessarily involve tributes to the military, reconciliation, ~~rather than the Allied victory, must be emphasized in order not to risk German and Japanese embarrassment prior to the Summit.~~

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 forward-looking and upbeat: historical references to the importance of transatlantic cooperation in the economic revitalization of Europe and reintegration of Germany into the West introduce themes regarding the bright future of the Alliance.

V.

London Economic SummitObjectives:

~~SP72~~ --Carry on the Spirit of Williamsburg. The purpose of this Summit is to strengthen and spread ~~the~~ world economic recovery, through the continued opening of trade 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, perhaps through a new round of multilateral trade negotiations; a continuation and strengthening of coordination among trade and financial policies; confirmation of the consensus on East-West economic relations; and a review of the successful implementation of the international debt strategy.

~~Porting Economic Role of~~ --U.S. continues to lead the recovery. ~~Economy~~ The health of our economy is our best defense against European attempts to blame the US deficit and monetary policy on 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 bolster their slow economic recovery. This

strategy is a wise public affairs move and would protect the President's overall economic policies from challenge.

since
--Announce joint action against terrorism. A signal to the governments supporting terrorist groups that the Western leaders are united and prepared to take action.

--Make bold proposals on cooperation in the manned space station program. The announcement of European participation will have a highly visible and positive impact domestically and internationally. Within the background of the European trip, this initiative will symbolize to the world how far the Alliance has progressed: from the beaches of Normandy to the frontiers of Space.

strengthen political will
--Coordination of Response to Crisis in the Persian Gulf. The Allies must be prepared to deal with Iran-Iraq contingencies. The Leaders at the Summit should call for intergovernmental meetings or confirm decisions already made during those meetings prior to the Summit, depending on the need for Western response to the escalation of events in the next few months.

Issues:

--Achieving 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 macro-economic policies and encouragement of 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 OECD leaders will review the performance of their economies in the past year and predict their future outlook, as well as endorse the success of the consultative process and reaffirm their commitments to it.

--Trade. The need for a new multilateral round of trade-liberalizing negotiations, in an effort to contain protectionism and produce an open trading environment, is recognized by our Allies. The President should call for affirmative steps in organizing these talks take place 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 US 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 allies will review the success of the Williamsburg strategy: the adjustment programs adopted by debtor nations, increased private and official financing, the opening of markets, and the beneficial results of dealing with the LDC debt problem on a case-to-case basis.

--Monetary: The Allies, focusing on their slow recovery and high unemployment, may blame the US budget deficit, interest rates, and dollar for their economic woes. The US must be ready to refocus the leaders attention to trade liberalization and coordination of trade and financial policies.

--Economic rigidities. Discussion of the importance of lessening fiscal, financial, regulatory and other rigidities within national economies, which prevent adjustments to change and lead to unemployment. Within this context, leaders could discuss the acceleration of the adaption of high-technology by the industrial economies.

--Energy: 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.

--East-West: Allies should reconfirm their commitment to a dialogue aimed at maintaining a close consensus on East-West economic relations. They may also examine the results of work programs undertaken by the OECD, IEA, COCOM and NATO during the past year.

--Terrorism: Statement of mutual concern over terrorism could be incorporated into the final Communique. The substantive depth of the announcement depends on the progress made in negotiations between the governments which have begun outside the Summit process.

--Manned Space Station Program: After an assessment of the Allies interest in participation, an announcement (broad or substantive, depending on their interest) could be made at the Summit. An example of American ingenuity and pioneer spirit.

VI.

Bilaterals

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

Germany: 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

SECRET Attachment

db m/16/06

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

March 15, 1984

TO: BILL MARTIN

FROM: GASTON SIGUR

[Signature]

SUBJECT: President's Trip to Europe

I have just one change to make in the attached. That is on page 7, under "Trade." The rest is fine.

~~SECRET~~

7

~~SECRET~~

Japan:
.....
.....

30147

-- 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:.....
.....
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NLRR F02-071/2 1730147

BY GL NARA DATE 6/2/08

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~Unclassified with~~
~~Secret Attachment~~

March 14, 1984

REMOVAL OF
dlb 11/16/06

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES TYSON
ROGER ROBINSON
DOUG MCMINN
TY COBB
PETER SOMMER
GASTON SIGUR
OLLIE NORTH
GIL RYE

FROM: BILL MARTIN

SUBJECT: The President's Trip to Europe

Cathy Torgerson has prepared the attached scene setter piece on the President's trip to Europe this June. It draws heavily on our discussion of last month plus input from State and the NSC from a variety of sources. I would welcome your comments on the paper. I would hope that Doug could pay special attention to the Summit section. Ty, Gaston and Peter's comments would be welcome on the European bilaterals. Gil and Ollie should pay special attention to the sections on space and terrorism. I would like Roger to take a crack at the final editing.

It is my hope that we can provide this paper to Bud by the end of the week, so I would urge that you provide comments to Cathy or me by noon Thursday. Thanks.

~~Unclassified with~~
~~Secret Attachment~~

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

March 14, 1984

Cathy:

Gil Rye had only one comment on the European Trip package (atch'd). Although it is small, it is very important.

Thanks,

Pat Ransom

~~Secret~~

NLRR F02071/2#30148

30148

BY CG NARA DATE 6/12/08
 the fight against terrorism and the space program.

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

--President Reagan Warmly Welcomed by Thousands of Irish; Pledges Continued Close Relations between the US and Ireland. The President will begin his trip to Europe in Ireland, and it will be a very upbeat and positive 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 immediate past and the bright prospects for the future, as well as the invaluable role the Alliance has played in the improvement of the military, political and economic conditions within Europe.

--At London Summit Leaders Reaffirm Linkages between Economic Recovery, Free Trade and Financial Stability; Agree to Hold Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations in Coming Months. The Allies will recommit themselves to the successful policies of Williamsburg and continue with their implementation.

-- Communique Soundly Condemns Terrorism and Allies Initiate Joint Action Against Groups. 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.

--Alliance Enters the 21st Century: Europeans and Japanese Join the U.S. in the Manned Space Station Program. An agreement reached 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.

--Nakasone Pledges Acceleration of Trade Liberalizing Activities. During conversations 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

--Promote 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 and the LDC debt problem.

--Recommitment to the successful policies adopted in the "Spirit of Williamsburg". 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

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Unclassified with
Secret Attachment

March 14, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES TYSON
ROGER ROBINSON
DOUG MCMINN
TY COBB
PETER SOMMER
GASTON SIGUR
OLLIE NORTH
GIL RYE

FROM: BILL MARTIN

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It is my hope that we can provide this paper to Bud by the end of the week, so I would urge that you provide comments to Cathy or me by noon Thursday. Thanks.

Unclassified with
Secret Attachment

Ruthy - What is the status of
the suggestion I forwarded
to you on having the
Chm Eisenhower off
Normandy?

I.

The Setting

Since the President's last visit to Europe during the 1981 Versailles Summit, he has made successful trips to Japan, Korea, China and effectively chaired the historic Williamsburg Summit. This trip to Europe is an opportunity to build upon these past successes.

The President's June trip, although centered on the London Summit, presents a unique opportunity for him to focus American and European attention on a broader theme - the strength, endurance and democratic focus of the Atlantic Alliance. Atlantic solidarity and American preparedness, which this Administration has strengthened, now place the United States and the Europeans in a position to pursue vigorously a curb in the arms race and a reduction of global tensions.

In addition, the ties between the West and the Pacific are growing. By June the President will have made two trips to East Asia, thereby opening new avenues for cooperation between the Allies in contributing to the peace and prosperity of the region. Implementation of the Pacific Basin Initiative, which was developed as a element of the November trip, is also proceeding smoothly.

Despite optimism about continued world economic recovery and allied relations in general, the President will again face questions and some criticism of US policies at home and abroad. The deficit, the US stance in Lebanon and Central America, relations with the Soviet Union -- all will be on the minds of the leaders he will meet during his week visit. During the bilateral and multilateral discussions, the President will have the opportunity to explain our position and discuss other key issues with our closest friends.

The settings for the visits to Ireland and Normandy 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 both. This is also an excellent opportunity, as the President's last trip overseas before the election, to build upon his image as a powerful and strong leader of the Western world.

II.

Results/Headlines

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

-- first, the lead-in to the trip, demonstrating the continuity of the Summits

-- 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

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BY CW NARADATE 6/12/88

the fight against terrorism and the space program.

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

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--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 immediate past~~ and the bright prospects for the future, as well as the invaluable role the Alliance has played in the improvement of the military, political and economic conditions within Europe. *Reconciliation among former adversaries*

--At London Summit Leaders Reaffirm Linkages between Economic Recovery, Free Trade and Financial Stability; Agree to Hold Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations in Coming Months. The Allies will recommit themselves to the successful policies of Williamsburg and continue with their implementation. *We may not get this*

Certainly won't be achieved -- Communique Soundly Condemns Terrorism and Allies Initiate Joint Action Against Groups. 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.

--Alliance Enters the 21st Century: Europeans Join the U.S. in the Manned Space Station Program. An agreement reached 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.

Good luck --Nakasone Pledges Acceleration of Trade Liberalizing Activities. During conversations 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

--Promote 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 and the LDC debt problem.

--Recommitment to the successful policies adopted in the "Spirit of Williamsburg". 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

worked together to promote ^{re}sustainable, non-inflationary growth. In addition, they have forged a consensus on East-West economic relations. Our goal is not only to continue in this spirit, but to go beyond it through the advancement and consolidation of gains made in the areas of economic growth and trade.

--Reaffirmation of the Role of the United States in Leading the World Recovery. The strong US recovery, which began last year as a result of policies espoused by the President, is fueling growth in other Summit countries and the world. The President's continued leadership is essential to consolidat^{ing} and build ^{up} upon the economic gains made since Williamsburg.

--Strengthen bilateral political and economic relations with key allies. This will be accomplished through the visits to Ireland, 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. Leaders will recommit themselves to the basic policies of the Atlantic Alliance, and specific goals such as the curbing of the arms race and a reduction in global tensions.

--Pursue new cooperation in space. The leaders of the OECD community should be urged to join with the United States in this exciting frontier effort for the 1980's and 1990's.

--Take joint action against terrorism. During the Summit, the allies will announce the results of current intergovernmental negotiations on measures against this dangerous and unacceptable threat to democratic institutions. (?)

--Encourage prosperity and democratic institutions in developing nations. Developing nations have greatly profited from the OECD countries work toward non-inflationary growth and the opening of world markets. The economic and political growth of Third World countries is dependent upon continued effective cooperation between developed and developing nations in the areas of trade and investment. New trade liberalizing initiatives, for which the Summit could lay the groundwork, are essential for their economic health in the 1990's. The Allies can also play a positive role through private investment and participation in the CBI and Central American Initiative.

IV.

Ireland

Objective: The President's visit to his ancestral home reemphasizes our historic and cultural ties to Ireland, and offers a chance to acknowledge the contributions the Irish-American community has made 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 a unique opportunity for a personal glimpse at the President during a trip in which he will primarily play the role of the Leader of the Free World.

Issues: The Irish view this stop as a symbol of the friendship between our two countries, and as a chance to promote Irish tourism and private investment. Opportunities for private and public political discussions are limited, therefore 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.

IV.

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 and American initiative in 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 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 forward-looking and upbeat: historical references to the importance of transatlantic cooperation in the economic revitalization of Europe and ~~reintegration of Germany into the West~~ introduce themes regarding the bright future of the Alliance.

V.

London Economic Summit

Objectives:

--Carry on the Spirit of Williamsburg. The purpose of this Summit is to strengthen and spread world economic recovery, through the continued opening of trade 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, perhaps through a new round of multilateral trade negotiations; a continuation and strengthening of coordination among trade and financial policies; confirmation of the consensus on East-West economic relations; and a review of the successful implementation of the international debt strategy.

Secret

--Portray role of the U.S. economy. The health of our economy is our best defense against European attempts to blame the US deficit and monetary policy on 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 bolster their slow economic recovery. This strategy is a wise public affairs move and would protect the President's overall economic policies from challenge.

--Strengthen the political will of our Allies. 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 station program and the development of a strategy to deal with a crisis in 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 macro-economic policies and encouragement of 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 OECD leaders will review the performance of their economies in the past year and predict their future outlook, as well as endorse the success of the consultative process and reaffirm their commitments to it.

--Trade. The need for a new multilateral round of trade-liberalizing negotiations, in an effort to contain protectionism and produce an open trading 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 US 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 allies will review the success of the Williamsburg strategy: the adjustment programs adopted by debtor nations, increased private and official financing, the opening of markets, and the beneficial results of dealing with the LDC debt problem on a case-to-case basis.

--Monetary: The Allies, focusing on their slow recovery and high unemployment, may blame the US budget deficit, interest rates, and dollar for their economic woes. The US 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 will be discussed. Within this context, leaders could discuss the acceleration of the adaption 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 a dialogue aimed at maintaining a close consensus on East-West economic relations. They may also examine the results of work programs undertaken by the OECD, IEA, COCOM and NATO during the past year.

--Terrorism: A statement of mutual concern over terrorism could be incorporated into the final Communique. The substantive depth of the announcement depends on the progress made in negotiations between the governments which have begun outside the Summit process.

--Manned Space Station Program: After an assessment of the Allies interest in participation, an announcement (broad or substantive) could be made at the Summit.

VI.

Bilaterals

During his stay in London, the President will meet in private with 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 and nuclear deterrent. Improvement and support of projected German economic recovery produced by the market-oriented policies adopted by Kohl may also be discussed.

France: During his meeting with the President, President Francois Mitterrand may reiterate his support for the US role in the defense of Europe, including our firm position on arms

negotiations. The leaders may also emphasize the importance of continued US-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 US policy in Central America *and continuing high interest rate 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: The President should seek further opening of the Japanese market.
- Finance: He should build upon the Foreign Ministers agreement to internationalize the yen, thereby improving the yen/dollar exchange rate.
- 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.
- Defense: The President should praise Nakasone's action to increase defense spending.

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 will meet with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher during a private dinner during which strategy and issues will be discussed in a relaxed and friendly atmosphere. This dinner affords the President the opportunity to discuss a widerange of bilateral and multilateral issues, as well as glean Thatcher's perspective on the Summit. (Sommer to expand).

Other: The President will also meet with the leaders of Canada, Italy, and the EC. These meetings, as well as those described above, should be viewed not as an occasion for negotiation of detailed new agreements or dramatic breakthrough, but as an opportunity for the Heads to meet together and 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 they wish to explore together.

*Re: - will be Trudeau's 50th bday
- will be important bilateral for Italy, who has emerged as possibly America's most desirable ally.*

Key Question: ⁸ Who is doing all of this tasking?

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 chronological listing of benchmarks in the preparations for the President's trip to Europe.

- A. Deaver Survey Trip (March 11 - 13)
This visit has determined the broad parameters of the President's schedule and narrow the choice of Presidential events. *ex*
- 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.
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The NSC staff, in close coordination with State, the Advance Office and Speechwriters, will produce an 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. Sherpa Process (McMinn to provide)
- E. NSC Meetings (late April - June)
There will be an intensive series of NSC meetings briefing the President on his trip, with particular emphasis on the Summit. 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.
- F. Briefing Book (late April - May)
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.
- Yes ✓* G. 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.
- H. Public Statements (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.

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Unclassified with
Secret Attachment

March 14, 1984

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dlb 11/16/04

MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES TYSON
ROGER ROBINSON
DOUG MCMINN
TY COBB
PETER SOMMER
GASTON SIGUR
OLLIE NORTH
GIL RYE

FROM: BILL MARTIN

SUBJECT: The President's Trip to Europe

*To Cathy
Here are some suggested changes
It still should be
shorter.
Peter Sommer*

Cathy Torgerson has prepared the attached scene setter piece on the President's trip to Europe this June. It draws heavily on our discussion of last month plus input from State and the NSC from a variety of sources. I would welcome your comments on the paper. I would hope that Doug could pay special attention to the Summit section. Ty, Gaston and Peter's comments would be welcome on the European bilaterals. Gil and Ollie should pay special attention to the sections on space and terrorism. I would like Roger to take a crack at the final editing.

It is my hope that we can provide this paper to Bud by the end of the week, so I would urge that you provide comments to Cathy or me by noon Thursday. Thanks.

Unclassified with
Secret Attachment

dlb 11/16/04

I.

The Setting

Since the President's last visit to Europe during the 1981 Versailles Summit, he has made successful trips to Japan, Korea, China and effectively chaired the historic Williamsburg Summit. This trip to Europe is an opportunity to build upon these past successes.

The President's June trip, although centered on the London Summit, presents a unique opportunity for him to focus American and European attention on ~~a broader theme - the strength, endurance and democratic focus of the Atlantic Alliance, Atlantic solidarity, and American preparedness, which this Administration has strenghtened, now place the United States and the Europeans in a position to pursue vigorously a curb in the arms race and a reduction of global tensions.~~ *enhancing* *both politically and militarily.*

Potential In addition, the ties between the West and the Pacific are growing. By June the President will have made two trips to East Asia, thereby opening new avenues for cooperation between the Allies in contributing to the peace and prosperity of the region. Implementation of the Pacific Basin Initiative, which was developed as a element of the November trip, is also proceeding smoothly. *we will, however, have to proceed cautiously with our*

Despite optimism about continued world economic recovery and allied relations in general, the President will again face questions and some criticism of US policies at home and abroad. The deficit, the US stance in Lebanon and Central America, relations with the Soviet Union -- all will be on the minds of the 8 leaders he will meet during his week visit. *European* *Files.* ~~During the bilateral and multilateral discussions, the President will have the opportunity to explain our position and discuss other key issues with our closest friends.~~

The settings for the visits to ~~Ireland and Normandy~~ 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 both. This is also an excellent opportunity, as the President's last trip overseas before the election, to build upon his image as a powerful and strong leader of the Western world.

II.

Results/Headlines

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

-- first, the lead-in to the trip, demonstrating the continuity of the Summits

-- 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

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BY CU NARADATE 6/22/08

the fight against terrorism and the space program.

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

--President Reagan Warmly Welcomed by Thousands of Irish; Pledges Continued Close Relations between the US and Ireland. *hope for* The President will begin his trip to Europe in Ireland, and it will be a very upbeat and positive stop. Themes of peace, within Ireland, Europe and the world will be emphasized. *shared*

--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 immediate past and the bright prospects for the future, as well as the invaluable role the Alliance has played in the improvement of the military, political and economic conditions within Europe. *rebuilding Western* and deterring aggression from the East. ✓

--At London Summit Leaders Reaffirm Linkages between Economic Recovery, Free Trade and Financial Stability; Agree to Hold Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations in Coming Months. The Allies will recommit themselves to the successful policies of Williamsburg and continue with their implementation.

--Communique Soundly Condemns Terrorism and Allies Initiate Joint Action Against Groups. 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. (?)

--Alliance Enters the 21st Century: Europeans Join the U.S. in the Manned Space Station Program. An agreement reached 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.

--Nakasone Pledges Acceleration of Trade Liberalizing Activities. During conversations 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

--Promote 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 and the LDC debt problem.

--Recommitment to the successful policies adopted in the "Spirit of Williamsburg". 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

worked together to promote sustainable, non-inflationary growth. In addition, they have forged a consensus on East-West economic relations. Our goal is not only to continue in this spirit, but to go beyond it through the advancement and consolidation of gains made in the areas of economic growth and trade.

--Reaffirmation of the Role of the United States in Leading the World Recovery. The strong US recovery, which began last year as a result of policies espoused by the President, is fueling growth in other Summit countries and the world. The President's continued leadership is essential to consolidate and build upon the economic gains made since Williamsburg.

--Strengthen bilateral political and economic relations with key allies. This will be accomplished through the visits to Ireland, 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. Leaders will recommit themselves to the basic policies of the Atlantic Alliance, and specific goals such as the curbing of the arms race and a reduction in global tensions.

improving NATO's conventional forces, strengthening deterrence and reducing nuclear arms.

--Pursue new cooperation in space. The leaders of the OECD community should be urged to join with the United States in this exciting frontier effort for the 1980's and 1990's.

--Take joint action against terrorism. During the Summit, the allies will announce the results of current intergovernmental negotiations on measures against this dangerous and unacceptable threat to democratic institutions.

--Encourage prosperity and democratic institutions in developing nations. Developing nations have greatly profited from the OECD countries work toward non-inflationary growth and the opening of world markets. The economic and political growth of Third World countries is dependent upon continued effective cooperation between developed and developing nations in the areas of trade and investment. New trade liberalizing initiatives, for which the Summit could lay the groundwork, are essential for their economic health in the 1990's. The Allies can also play a positive role through private investment and participation in the CBI and Central American Initiative.

IV.

Ireland

Objective: The President's visit to his ancestral home reemphasizes our historic and cultural ties to Ireland, and offers a chance to acknowledge the contributions the Irish-American community has made 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 a unique opportunity for a personal glimpse at the President during a trip in which he will primarily play the role of the Leader of the Free World.

We will have to continue to treat the Northern Ireland question gingerly.

in Ireland.
Issues: The Irish view this stop as a symbol of the friendship between our two countries, and as a chance to promote ~~Irish~~ ^{US} tourism and private investment. Opportunities for private and public political discussions are limited, therefore 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. *The EC and its problems along with East-West relations will be featured topics.*

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.

IV.

Normandy

Landing at
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 and American initiative in 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 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 forward-looking and upbeat: historical references to the importance of transatlantic cooperation in the economic revitalization of Europe and reintegration of Germany into the West introduce themes regarding the bright future of the Alliance.

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London Economic SummitObjectives:

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--Portray role of the U.S. economy. The health of our economy is our best defense against European attempts to blame the US deficit and monetary policy on 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 bolster their slow economic recovery. This strategy is a wise public affairs move and would protect the President's overall economic policies from challenge.

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--Finance/Debt: The allies will review the success of the Williamsburg strategy: the adjustment programs adopted by debtor nations, increased private and official financing, the opening of markets, and the beneficial results of dealing with the LDC debt problem on a case-to-case basis.

--Monetary: The Allies, focusing on their slow recovery and high unemployment, may blame the US budget deficit, interest rates, and dollar for their economic woes. The US 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 will be discussed. Within this context, leaders could discuss the acceleration of the adaption of high-technology by the industrial economies.

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VI.

Bilaterals

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improved East-West relations. He may also want to revitalize the European movement.

continue his

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 and nuclear deterrent. Improvement and support of projected German economic recovery produced by the market-oriented policies adopted by Kohl may also be discussed.

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These meetings are the best way to cooperate
Other: The President will also meet with the leaders of Canada, Italy, and the EC. These meetings, as well as those described above, should be viewed not as an occasion for negotiation of detailed new agreements or dramatic breakthrough, but as an opportunity for the Heads to meet together and 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 they wish to explore together.

It also will allow for an expanded discussion of such current political issues as East-West relations and the Middle East

with Mrs. Thatcher on June 5

Summit and to put the finishing touches on specific objectives we hope to achieve.

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

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MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 16, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR BILL MARTIN

FROM: STEVE STEINER *SES*
SUBJECT: President's Trip to Europe

I have read your excellent memo with great interest. I think this is a very good start in putting together what we want to do for the trip.

I have only a few suggestions in regard to public handling of the trip.

-- A very good link between the Summit and the Normandy visit is to put the present success of Western institutions, including the Summit 7, OECD and NATO, into certain historical perspective. For example, Normandy symbolizes on the one hand the great losses that we and the other Western nations suffered in World War II. But the President's visit there and his participation in the London Summit, as well as in the Williamsburg Summit and NATO Summit earlier, show how well the Western democracies have worked together after the War to build an international structure of peace and prosperity. Our NATO deterrent strategy is a time-proven formula which has kept the peace and needs to be preserved.

o In careful ways, we can also make the point that we learned well from the historical mistakes made after World War I when we disengaged too quickly from the Continent.

o We have three major audiences in all of this: the Europeans, whom we want to keep their U.S. orientation; the Japanese, whom we want to work more closely with Europe and the U.S.; and the U.S. public, with whom this will prove useful in demonstrating why we must maintain our commitment to Europe and Japan.

o In the Normandy ceremonies, we must be cognizant of German sensitivities. I think, however, that the themes above are all broad enough to encompass Germany as part of the new, prosperous and secure West without labelling them or Japan as former enemies.

-- We need more themes to link the three major components of the Western democracies, i.e., North America, Europe and Japan, all coming closer in a spirit of cooperation.

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BY CU NARA DATE 6/12/88

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-- I think there is room for more emphasis here on the shared democratic values of all the countries with whom the President will be involved on the trip, and of the need for all of us to promote the forces of democracy around the world.

-- There are some places where in discussion of the Summit you need specific mention of Japan, for example, second full tic on page 3. Comments concerning the NATO Allies do not always cover Japan, and could sometimes cause problems there if Japan is implicitly included.

-- On page 4, IV, I think we should refer to the Landing in Normandy rather than the "Invasion." Today's public perception is that invasions are performed by aggressors.

-- On page 6, VI, under Germany, we should strike the words "and nuclear" in the third to last line. The reason is that we are not really encouraging the Allies to do more in the nuclear area. That has largely been our role. What we want from the Allies is to do more in the conventional area, particularly with advanced technology.

All of this is important in trying to solve our present public diplomacy problems. The public tends to view war and peace as complete opposites and as the only alternatives facing our country. We should learn from history, however, that our commitments in countries of importance to us are going to have to be sustained over a long time. We have to make the public more aware of this, give the public a more basic understanding of the complexities we face and instill greater public patience.

Thank you for sharing this with me. I would appreciate it if you could include me as part of the regular process in planning for this trip as well as for the President's trip to China, as the public diplomacy dimensions of both trips will be vital.

I am passing a copy of your memo and of my comments to Walt, who may have additional thoughts.

cc: Walt Raymond, w/March 14 memo

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MEMORANDUM

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 MARTIN *Buc*

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.

~~SECRET~~The President's Trip to EuropeI. 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

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 ancestral 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.

Issues: 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.

-- 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. 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 macro-economic 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 trade-liberalizing 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.

-- 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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

- 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. Iran-Iraq Energy: Discussions this Spring will be carried out under the auspices of the IEA.

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I.

The Setting

Since the President's last visit to Europe during the 1981 Versailles Summit, he has made successful trips to Japan, Korea, China and effectively chaired the historic Williamsburg Summit. This trip to Europe is an opportunity to build upon these past successes.

The President's June trip, although centered on the London Summit, presents a unique opportunity for him to focus American and European attention on a broader theme - the strength, endurance and democratic focus of the Atlantic Alliance. Atlantic solidarity and American preparedness, which this Administration has strengthened, now place the United States and the Europeans in a position to pursue vigorously a curb in the arms race and a reduction of global tensions.

In addition, the ties between the West and the Pacific are growing. By June the President will have made two trips to East Asia, thereby opening new avenues for cooperation between the Allies in contributing to the peace and prosperity of the region. Implementation of the Pacific Basin Initiative, which was developed as an element of the November trip, is also proceeding smoothly.

Despite optimism about continued world economic recovery and allied relations in general, the President will again face questions and some criticism of US policies at home and abroad. The deficit, the US stance in Lebanon and Central America, relations with the Soviet Union -- all will be on the minds of the 8 leaders he will meet during his week visit. During the bilateral and multilateral discussions, the President will have the opportunity to explain our position and discuss other key issues with our closest friends.

The settings for the visits to Ireland and Normandy 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 both. This is also an excellent opportunity, as the President's last trip overseas before the election, to build upon his image as a powerful and strong leader of the Western world.

II.

Results/Headlines

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

-- first, the lead-in to the trip, demonstrating the continuity of the Summits *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

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the fight against terrorism and the space program.

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

--President Reagan Warmly Welcomed by Thousands of Irish; Pledges Continued Close Relations between the US and Ireland. The President will begin his trip to Europe in Ireland, and it will be a very upbeat and positive 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 immediate past and the bright prospects for the future, as well as the invaluable role the Alliance has played in the improvement of the military, political and economic conditions within Europe.

--At London Summit Leaders Reaffirm Linkages between Economic Recovery, Free Trade and Financial Stability; Agree to Hold Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations in Coming Months. The Allies will recommit themselves to the successful policies of Williamsburg, and continue with their implementation.

--Communique Soundly Condemns Terrorism and Allies Initiate Joint Action Against Groups. 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.

--Alliance Enters the 21st Century: Europeans Join the U.S. in the Manned Space Station Program. An agreement reached 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.

--Nakasone Pledges Acceleration of Trade Liberalizing Activities. During conversations 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

--Promote 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 and the LDC debt problem.

--Recommitment to the successful policies adopted in the "Spirit of Williamsburg". 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

with our thinking patterns
work for a new round of trade liberalizing negotiations

Open Markets coordinated

New Partnerships Announced As

results over

during Countries

announced

Leaders Discuss Coordinated Fight Against Terrorism
And Plan Joint Programs

removal of anti-market rigidities inhibiting job creation

consolidate and sustain recovery and spread its benefits to the Free World

worked together to promote sustainable, non-inflationary growth. In addition, they have forged a consensus on East-West economic relations. Our goal is not only to continue in this spirit, but to go beyond it through the advancement and consolidation of gains made in the areas of economic growth and trade. *we seek to*

--Reaffirmation of the Role of the United States in Leading the World Recovery. The strong US recovery, which began last year as a result of policies espoused by the President, is fueling growth in other Summit countries and the world. The President's continued leadership is essential to consolidate and build upon the economic gains made since Williamsburg. *we seek to sustain*

--Strengthen bilateral political and economic relations with key allies. This will be accomplished through the visits to Ireland, 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. Leaders will recommit themselves to the basic policies of the Atlantic Alliance, and specific goals such as the curbing of the arms race and a reduction in global tensions.

--Pursue new cooperation in space. The leaders of the OECD community should be urged to join with the United States in this exciting frontier effort for the 1980's and 1990's.

--Take joint action against terrorism. During the Summit, the allies will ~~announce~~ the results of current intergovernmental negotiations on measures against this dangerous and unacceptable threat to democratic institutions. *we may be able to announce it at London.*

--Encourage prosperity and democratic institutions in developing nations. Developing nations ~~have~~ greatly profited from the OECD countries work toward non-inflationary growth and the opening of world markets. The economic and political growth of Third World countries is dependent upon continued effective cooperation between developed and developing nations in the areas of trade and investment. New trade liberalizing initiatives, for which the Summit could lay the groundwork, are essential for their economic health in the 1990's. The Allies can also play a positive role through private investment and participation in the CBI and Central American Initiative.

IV.

Ireland

Objective: The President's visit to his ancestral home reemphasizes our historic and cultural ties to Ireland, and offers a chance to acknowledge the contributions the Irish-American community has made 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 a unique opportunity for a personal glimpse at the President during a trip in which he will primarily play the role of the Leader of the Free World.

culminating in May in the Washington NATO Memorial.

discuss

will

strengthening the Free World.

Issues: The Irish view this stop as a symbol of the friendship between our two countries, and as a chance to promote Irish tourism and private investment. Opportunities for private and public political discussions are limited, therefore 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.

IV.

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 and American initiative in the political, military and economic well-being of the West.

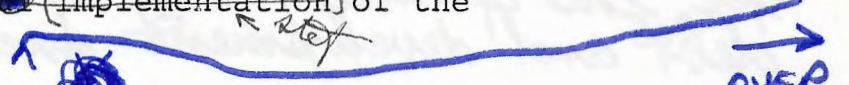
Issues: While events during the day will necessarily involve tributes to the military, reconciliation should be emphasized.

Events: The President 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 forward-looking and upbeat: historical references to the importance of transatlantic cooperation in the economic revitalization of Europe and reintegration of Germany into the West introduce themes regarding the bright future of the Alliance.

V.

London Economic SummitObjectives:

--Carry on the Spirit of Williamsburg. The purpose of this Summit is to strengthen and spread world economic recovery, through the continued opening of trade 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, perhaps through a new round of multilateral trade negotiations; a continuation and strengthening of coordination among trade and financial policies; confirmation of the consensus on East-West economic relations; and a review of the ~~continued~~ implementation of the international debt strategy.

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for a new round of trade
negotiations and for a greater
role for private foreign
investment in the development
process.

We also want them to consolidate their strategy
for the future handling of the problem of
debt and development and agree on the need

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--Portray role of the U.S. economy. The health of our economy is our best defense against European attempts to ~~blame~~ the US deficit and monetary policy on 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 bolster their slow economic recovery. This strategy is a wise public affairs move and would protect the President's overall economic policies from challenge. *if events so dictate*

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--Manned Space Station Program: After an assessment of the Allies interest in participation, an announcement (broad or substantive) could be made at the Summit.

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Bilaterals

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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 and nuclear deterrent. Improvement and support of projected German economic recovery produced by the market-oriented policies adopted by Kohl may also be discussed.

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- Trade: The President should seek further opening of the Japanese market.
- Finance: He should build upon the Foreign Ministers agreement to internationalize the yen, thereby improving the yen/dollar exchange rate.
- 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.
- Defense: The President should praise Nakasone's action to increase defense spending.

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 will meet with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher during a private dinner during which strategy and issues will be discussed in a relaxed and friendly atmosphere. This dinner affords the President the opportunity to discuss a widerange of bilateral and multilateral issues, as well as glean Thatcher's perspective on the Summit. (Sommer to expand).

Other: The President ^{may} will also meet with the leaders of Canada, Italy, and the EC. These meetings, as well as those described above, should be viewed not as an occasion for negotiation of detailed new agreements or dramatic breakthrough, but as an opportunity for the Heads to meet together and 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 they wish to explore together.

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 chronological listing of benchmarks in the preparations for the President's trip to Europe.

A. Deaver Survey Trip (March 11 - 13)

This visit has determined the broad parameters of the President's schedule and narrow 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 (April)

The NSC staff, in close coordination with State, the Advance Office and Speechwriters, will produce an 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. Sherpa Process (McMinn to provide)

E. NSC Meetings (late April - June)

There will be an intensive series of NSC meetings briefing the President on his trip, with particular emphasis on the Summit. 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.

F. Briefing Book (late April - May)

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.

G. 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.

H. Public Statements (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.

Just
things done

(late May) for Summit

Do you really want NSC mtg - not Williams model

Summit materials on May 25

May 25th

MEMORANDUM

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

Unclassified with
~~Secret Attachment~~

March 14, 1984

UNCL
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MEMORANDUM FOR CHARLES TYSON
ROGER ROBINSON
DOUG MCMINN
TY COBB
PETER SOMMER
GASTON SIGUR
OLLIE NORTH
GIL RYE

FROM: BILL MARTIN

SUBJECT: The President's Trip to Europe

Cathy Torgerson has prepared the attached scene setter piece on the President's trip to Europe this June. It draws heavily on our discussion of last month plus input from State and the NSC from a variety of sources. I would welcome your comments on the paper. I would hope that Doug could pay special attention to the Summit section. Ty, Gaston and Peter's comments would be welcome on the European bilaterals. Gil and Ollie should pay special attention to the sections on space and terrorism. I would like Roger to take a crack at the final editing.

It is my hope that we can provide this paper to Bud by the end of the week, so I would urge that you provide comments to Cathy or me by noon Thursday. Thanks.

Unclassified with
~~Secret Attachment~~

I. The Setting

Since the President's last visit to Europe during the 1981 Versailles Summit, he has made successful trips to Japan, Korea, China and effectively chaired the historic Williamsburg Summit. This trip to Europe is an opportunity to build upon these past successes.

The President's June trip, although centered on the London Summit, presents a unique opportunity for him to focus American and European attention on a broader theme - the strength, endurance and democratic focus of the Atlantic Alliance. Atlantic solidarity and American preparedness, which this Administration has strengthened, now place the United States and the Europeans in a position to pursue vigorously a curb in the arms race and a reduction of global tensions.

In addition, the ties between the West and the Pacific are growing. By June the President will have made two trips to East Asia, thereby opening new avenues for cooperation between the Allies in contributing to the peace and prosperity of the region. Implementation of the Pacific Basin Initiative, which was developed as a element of the November trip, is also proceeding smoothly.

Despite optimism about continued world economic recovery and allied relations in general, the President will again face questions and some criticism of US policies at home and abroad. The deficit, the US stance in Lebanon and Central America, relations with the Soviet Union -- all will be on the minds of the 8 leaders he will meet during his week visit. During the bilateral and multilateral discussions, the President will have the opportunity to explain our position and discuss other key issues with our closest friends.

The settings for the visits to Ireland and Normandy 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 both. This is also an excellent opportunity, as the President's last trip overseas before the election, to build upon his image as a powerful and strong leader of the Western world.

II. Results/Headlines

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

-- first, the lead-in to the trip, demonstrating the continuity of the Summits

-- 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

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the fight against terrorism and the space program.

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

--President Reagan Warmly Welcomed by Thousands of Irish; Pledges Continued Close Relations between the US and Ireland. The President will begin his trip to Europe in Ireland, and it will be a very upbeat and positive 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 immediate past and the bright prospects for the future, as well as the invaluable role the Alliance has played in the improvement of the military, political and economic conditions within Europe.

--At London Summit Leaders Reaffirm Linkages between Economic Recovery, Free Trade and Financial Stability; Agree to Hold Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations in Coming Months. The Allies will recommit themselves to the successful policies of Williamsburg and continue with their implementation.

-- Communique Soundly Condemns Terrorism and Allies Initiate Joint Action Against Groups. 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 Partnership
--Alliance Enters the 21st Century: Europeans Join the U.S. in the Manned Space Station Program. An agreement *announced* reached 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.

--Nakasone Pledges Acceleration of Trade Liberalizing Activities. During conversations 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

--Promote 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 and the LDC debt problem.

--Recommitment to the successful policies adopted in the "Spirit of Williamsburg". 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

worked together to promote sustainable, non-inflationary growth. In addition, they have forged a consensus on East-West economic relations. Our goal is not only to continue in this spirit, but to go beyond it through the advancement and consolidation of gains made in the areas of economic growth and trade.

--Reaffirmation of the Role of the United States in Leading the World Recovery. The strong US recovery, which began last year as a result of policies espoused by the President, is fueling growth in other Summit countries and the world. The President's continued leadership is essential to consolidate and build upon the economic gains made since Williamsburg.

--Strengthen bilateral political and economic relations with key allies. This will be accomplished through the visits to Ireland, 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. Leaders will recommit themselves to the basic policies of the Atlantic Alliance, and specific goals such as the curbing of the arms race and a reduction in global tensions.

--Pursue new cooperation in space. The leaders of the OECD community should be urged to join with the United States in this exciting frontier effort for the 1980's and 1990's.

--Take joint action against terrorism. During the Summit, the allies will announce the results of current intergovernmental negotiations on measures against this dangerous and unacceptable threat to democratic institutions.

--Encourage prosperity and democratic institutions in developing nations. Developing nations have greatly profited from the OECD countries work toward non-inflationary growth and the opening of world markets. The economic and political growth of Third World countries is dependent upon continued effective cooperation between developed and developing nations in the areas of trade and investment. New trade liberalizing initiatives, for which the Summit could lay the groundwork, are essential for their economic health in the 1990's. The Allies can also play a positive role through private investment and participation in the CBI and Central American Initiative.

IV.

Ireland

Objective: The President's visit to his ancestral home reemphasizes our historic and cultural ties to Ireland, and offers a chance to acknowledge the contributions the Irish-American community has made 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 a unique opportunity for a personal glimpse at the President during a trip in which he will primarily play the role of the Leader of the Free World.

Issues: The Irish view this stop as a symbol of the friendship between our two countries, and as a chance to promote Irish tourism and private investment. Opportunities for private and public political discussions are limited, therefore 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.

IV.

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 and American initiative in 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 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 forward-looking and upbeat: historical references to the importance of transatlantic cooperation in the economic revitalization of Europe and reintegration of Germany into the West introduce themes regarding the bright future of the Alliance.

V.

London Economic Summit

Objectives:

--Carry on the Spirit of Williamsburg. The purpose of this Summit is to strengthen and spread world economic recovery, through the continued opening of trade 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, perhaps through a new round of multilateral trade negotiations; a continuation and strengthening of coordination among trade and financial policies; confirmation of the consensus on East-West economic relations; and a review of the successful implementation of the international debt strategy.

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