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Withdrawer

RBW 5/13/2008

File Folder [WASHINGTON SUMMIT, 1986]: REAGAN/GORBACHEV
SUMMIT: PLANNING BACKGROUND MATERIAL
(BINDER) (2 OF 2)

FOIA

S08-118

Box Number CFOA 708

21

ID Doc Type	Document Description	No of Pages	Doc Date	Restrictions
54332 MEMO	THOMAS GRISCOM TO HOWARD BAKER RE TALKING PTS FOR CONVERSATION WITH REAGANS ON SUMMIT	1	9/4/1987	
DOCUMENT PENDING REVIEW IN ACCORDANCE WITH E.O. 13233				

open 3/24/0
1KM

GORBACHEV
MATERIAL

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

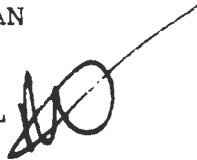
- B-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- B-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- B-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- B-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 26, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: DONALD T. REGAN
DENNIS THOMAS

FROM: WILLIAM HENKEL 

SUBJECT: Summer Summit

Dennis requested that I prepare a brief summary and outline schedule for the President to review and use during the proposed meeting to get his thoughts on the Gorbachev visit.

Attachment: ~~Secret/Sensitive~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

The attached outline schedule of events for the Gorbachev visit is based on the following two broad objectives (expectations) for the visit:

1. Illustrate the inherent value of you and the General Secretary meeting personally and regularly as an effective means for managing the US/USSR relationship.
2. Your desire to expose the General Secretary to a healthy, powerful - both economically and socially - America.
 - o The purpose of the 'tour of America' will be to counteract the General Secretary's pre-conceived views on America's values, people and prosperity.
 - o The tour will allow Gorbachev to see first-hand America's and your vision of a peaceful future where change, technology and individual contributions will lead to a safer and better world.
 - o You will want to show the openness of America's society.
 - o The proposed schedule assumes that you will accompany the General Secretary throughout the tour. Some of the scheduling themes incorporated in the proposed outline schedule are:
 - o To show change in America, as witnessed by you.
 - o You and the General Secretary will meet each day in warm, diverse settings to maintain substantive continuity.
 - o We will develop issue oriented interactive events, i.e., briefing forums with simultaneous interpretation equipment, bilingual displays and charts, enabling you and Gorbachev to speak, ask questions, etc.
 - o You and the General Secretary will participate in joint tours and events showing Americans at work, at home, at school, at play, etc.
 - o You and the General Secretary will participate in an event(s) with a Soviet delegation (Youth Exchange) from the People to People program you initiated in Geneva.

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

DECLASSIFIED

White House GI
by dh NAD

st 28, 1997
5/17/07

PROPOSED OUTLINE SCHEDULE FOR GORBACHEV VISIT

EARLY ARRIVAL (If Desired)

The General Secretary rests and adjusts to time change at:
Camp David
Williamsburg
East Coast Resort
USSR Mission, Washington, D.C.

DAY 1: (OFFICIAL VISIT BEGINS)

The General Secretary may choose to fly directly from Moscow to Andrews Air Force Base and proceed directly to the White House.

White House South Lawn Arrival Ceremony

Oval Office Tete a Tete
Possible plenary after Oval Office

White House State Dinner hosted by yourself and Mrs. Reagan.

NOTE: Other events possible

DAY 2:

Morning White House Meeting

Breakfast
Private meeting in your study

You and the General Secretary depart together on Air Force One and visit city/areas that exhibit the economic and social health of America and the diversity and dynamism of the American people as you tour from east to west.

Some Ideas:

New England

Boston Area
Massachusetts Hi-tech Council
Digital Equipment
OIC Training Center

OR

Southern New Hampshire
Concorde
Nashua

~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE

Fly to Mid-west

RON MID-WEST

DAY 3:

Mid-West

Illinois
Eureka College
Dixon
Tampico
Archer-Daniels-Midland/Agriculture Event

OR

St. Louis

Fly to South/Southwest

Tennessee
GM Saturn Facility
University of Tennessee
Tennessee Hi-Tech Corridor

RON SOUTH/SOUTHWEST/CALIFORNIA TBD

DAY 4:

California

Sacramento
San Francisco
Los Angeles
Ranch/Santa Barbara

RON CALIFORNIA

You and the General Secretary will resume intensive substantive, talks for the final phase of the visit.

OPTION 1: RETURN TO THE EAST COAST

DAY 5:

You and the General Secretary will return to the East Coast on Air Force One.

DAY 6:

Intensive Talks Begin

White House

Camp David

Williamsburg

Other rustic, private setting (Chesapeake Bay, Eastern Shore, etc.)

DAY 7:

Talks continue

Bid farewell

OPTION 2: REMAIN ON WEST COAST

DAY 5:

California Events Continue

DAY 6 AND 7:

Intensive Talks Begin

Ranch/Santa Barbara

National Park

Other rustic setting

You and the General Secretary will conclude substantive talks.

OPTIONS:

Bid farewell in California

Gorbachev returns to East Coast and departs

You return to East Coast together

Bid Gorbachev farewell from Washington

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1

Beel

FROM: DONALD T. REGAN
CHIEF OF STAFF

*Get John P. Dennis,
Pat, et al for a
discussion of this in the
next week, or so*

*Don
3-19-86*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 18, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: DONALD T. REGAN
DENNIS THOMAS

FROM: WILLIAM HENKEL 

SUBJECT: Summit II Dates

One of the major achievements of the second term was the Geneva Summit and the "fresh start, a dialog for peace" imagery the meeting created with the public. Dick Wirthlin credits Geneva with giving a huge boost to the President on the issue of peace. However, the only major tangible result of the Geneva Summit was the agreement for two follow-up Summits.

Our strategic plan for 1986 was framed around a few critical events and issues leading up to the Reagan/Gorbachev Summer Summit and the Fall Elections:

- o State of the Union
- o Strong National Security Budget
- o Strong Domestic Economy
- o Tokyo Economic Summit

The key theme, building a safer, better world was to be accomplished by maintaining our strength, sustaining domestic and global economic growth, promoting world-wide democratic trends, and meeting with Gorbachev to manage the bilateral relationship and promote understanding. All of these conditions and activities were designed to enhance retention of the Senate in 1986.

Yesterday I spoke with Ambassador Jack Matlock and Mark Palmer, from the State Department, about Secretary Shultz's meeting in Stockholm with the Russian Premier. It appears we are in a classic Catch-22 situation and both sides seem to be getting further apart on the dates for the Summit. Apparently Gorbachev will not agree to the dates for the Summit unless there is a substantive plan of possible results or a sense of what is achievable after the 1986/1987 Summits. The Soviets will buy a package of the substance and the date, but not one without the other. Tomorrow the Secretary of State plans to present some ideas to the President on the broad substantive goals for the next two meetings with Gorbachev. Mark indicated it would probably be difficult to orchestrate the substance for a June

EYES ONLY

Summit; mid to late July would be feasible if a decision on the desired dates could be reached in the next month. This leads me to the point we have not fully analyzed the implications of various dates nor do we have a clear order of priorities regarding alternate dates. Is July our priority? Is the second week of September preferable to November/December? I recommend we develop a comprehensive analysis of the positives and negatives of various dates in conjunction with the NSC, Mitch, Larry, Pat, etc..

Scheduling the summit dates will have a major impact on the President's schedule and travel - how we craft our "Beyond the Beltway Campaign" - in addition to adhering to our strategic goals for 1986.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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This is the key to the June 1986

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Scheduling the summit dates will have a major impact on the President's schedule and travel - how we craft our "Beyond the Beltway Campaign" - in addition to adhering to our strategic goals for 1986.

The President has ruled out anything in Aug, Sept and at least from the standpoint of his schedule, I think will be difficult to schedule in the next few weeks.

→ With Secretary of State Schultz told Robinson that a date in June or July or next year.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 11, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR THOMAS C. GRISCOM

FROM

JAMES L. HOOLE *JLH*

SUBJECT

POSSIBLE GORBACHEV VISIT TO U.S.

As I mentioned this morning, we have prepared a memorandum for Senator Baker to give to the President, summarizing our understanding of current thinking for the possible Summit trip. Bill Henkel and I feel very strongly that this should be submitted to the President, and given to Gen. Powell at NSC for Secretary Shultz and his people. This is so that everyone is singing from the same sheet of music if the subject of the Summit comes up in meetings with Schevardnadze next week.

It is possible that certain key players may have their own ideas as to what the President wants from a Gorbachev trip. This memo would serve as notice that there is one plan, and the President has approved it.

Our proposal is that Sen. Baker, if he approves the attached memorandum, submits it to the President this afternoon for perusal over the weekend at Camp David.

If you agree, we would have Colin Powell circulate a similar document (also attached), which would contain the same thoughts as the memorandum, but which would be in the form of an event concept proposal sent out to select State and NSC players. This would then constitute the paper which you indicated you would pass out to these players following our meeting on Wednesday.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 11, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HOWARD H. BAKER, JR.

SUBJECT: INITIAL THOUGHTS ON A POSSIBLE GORBACHEV VISIT

Pursuant to our recent conversation aboard Air Force One, and some follow-up discussions with selected senior staff members, I think that it is important to have some approved concepts in hand in the event they are needed during the course of Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit next week.

First, let me reiterate some of your views to ensure that we are building on the proper foundation. I believe that you would like to see a Gorbachev visit which focuses more on the American experience and American values than on a ceremonial structure. Our objective ought to be to impart in the General Secretary a sense of how Americans live and work - a sense of our everyday family community, economic and moral outlook. While playing down the Washington pomp and ceremony aspects, we should similarly avoid anything which could be labeled "Potemkin Village."

With this as a rough guideline, I have discussed the matter with others here in the White House and retrieved some data from previous experiences during this Administration which are relevant and consistent with your views.

One way to structure a Gorbachev visit might be a simple progression from East to West - that is, starting in Washington with a minimum of necessary official activity and then moving West increasing the General Secretary's exposure with several cross-country stops and ending on the West Coast. Activities under this scenario might include an Arrival Ceremony/State Dinner day in Washington, followed by a Mid-Western, Southern and/or Southwestern visit featuring industry and agriculture, and finally a visit to the West Coast.

This East-West vehicle could sustain a variety of themes - it traces the direction of this country's settlement, it would reveal the scope and diversity of the American experience and, most importantly, might provide you with the maximum flexibility to personalize the General Secretary's experience.

09/11/87 12:30 p.m.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 11, 1987

EVENT CONCEPT FOR POSSIBLE U.S.-U.S.S.R. SUMMIT

For use during Shevardnadze Meetings September 15-17

Pursuant to a recent conversation with the President aboard Air Force One, and some follow-up discussions with selected senior staff members, it has become apparent that it is important to have some approved concepts in hand in the event they are needed during the course of Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit next week.

First, it is important to reiterate some of the President's views to ensure that we are building on the proper foundation. The President would like to see a Gorbachev visit which focuses more on the American experience and American values than on a ceremonial structure. Our objective should be to impart to the General Secretary a sense of how Americans live and work - a sense of our everyday family community, economic and moral outlook. While playing down the Washington pomp and ceremony aspects, we should similarly avoid anything which could be labeled "Potemkin Village."

With this as a rough guideline, these matters have been discussed with others here in the White House and some data has been retrieved from previous experiences during this Administration which are relevant and consistent with the President's views.

One way to structure a Gorbachev visit might be a simple progression from East to West - that is, starting in Washington with a minimum of necessary official activity and then moving West increasing the General Secretary's exposure with several cross-country stops and ending on the West Coast. Activities under this scenario might include an Arrival Ceremony/State Dinner day in Washington, followed by a Mid-Western, Southern and/or Southwestern visit featuring industry and agriculture, and finally a visit to the West Coast.

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09/11/87 12:30 p.m.

One approach would be for the President to bracket Gorbachev's visit - that is, greet him in Washington in a fairly official context, and after the requisite formalities, invite him to see our country firsthand with the understanding that the President would join him "at the other end" - away from Official Washington for a more personalized intensive meeting. This could be structured around dual speeches to the World Affairs Council in Los Angeles, for example. On a still more personal basis, the President might wish to "compare notes" on Gorbachev's impressions by inviting him to the Ranch.

One theory mitigating against this East-West approach is the unconfirmed idea that the Soviets have a great concern for the General Secretary's personal security abroad, particularly here in the U.S., and would greatly prefer the safety of their Embassy here in Washington for overnight accommodations. If this is true, and we needed to acquiesce to the concept of day trips out of Washington, we could still offer up an impressive diversity of American experience. Williamsburg for historical context could be followed by Baltimore, Philadelphia or New York for a glimpse of rejuvenated urban life, while Virginia and Pennsylvania could offer views of agriculture and industrial America. Annapolis and the Chesapeake area are also natural possibilities.

In either case, in the President's cordial but brief official greetings he could indicate that he wishes to interact on a more personal level after the General Secretary is exposed to the America the President represents.

Another possible consideration that we must factor in is the likely Soviet sensitivity to the fact that Gorbachev is neither Head of State nor Government. The omission of an invitation to The White House, or any other Washington based formality normally accorded a world leader could be misinterpreted. (Apparently, this almost became a Soviet obsession during the planning for the Nixon - Brezhnev meeting in 1973.)

In a related area, it is important to make the General Secretary aware that a visit to the U.S. would merit the President's personal attention and that he is willing to contribute to its success in any way possible. Not only would this set a beneficial tone for negotiations, but also as with the Zhao Ziang visit it could establish an invaluable precedent for the President's experience on any reciprocal visit to the U.S.S.R. Again drawing from the Zhao model, perhaps the President should give consideration to designating a personal representative to act as his liaison in these matters as Mike Deaver did during Premier Zhao's and Queen Elizabeth II's visits.

Finally, pending your reaction to these matters, Senator Baker would like to discuss them with George Shultz and Frank Carlucci. If we are of one voice and have some generally agreed upon guidelines in hand prior to the Foreign Minister's visit on Tuesday, we can meet the subject head-on, impress the Soviets with our seriousness and perhaps prompt some early responses in what might otherwise be a very fast-paced preparation period.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 8, 1987

Talking Points For Senator Baker

Conversation With Secretary Shultz

- * Precedent set on successful planning of trips with highly personal Presidential interest and participation for White House lead role in development and coordination.
 - Unlike "cookie cutter" nature of state/official visits to Washington which are standard scenario
 - Premier Zhao Ziang, Queen Elizabeth II visits examples where President's personal support operation took lead coordination role (Involved President in strong "host" role outside standard state visit fare)
 - Previous meetings with Gorbachev (Geneva and Iceland) were result of coordination group chaired by Chief of Staff and NSC advisor and a working group of their designees
- * Highly personal nature of a Gorbachev visit for the President requires that decision-making body be responsive to his personal hopes and aspirations for the visit.
- * Possible reciprocal nature of trip arrangements cannot be overemphasized.
 - We can expect that trip to USSR will mirror in many ways trip to U.S. Decisions on substantive and logistical nature of trip to USSR will probably be made at very personal level around Gorbachev
 - When we need decisions on those arrangements, we need to have access to people close to Gorbachev, not those in Soviet bureaucracy
 - Example set by us may be crucial, in terms of perception of personal involvement of President and the White House. This was demonstrated by our experience with reciprocal arrangements on visit to Chinese to U.S. and our visit to China

* Overall control of schedule and events should rest with group representing all relevant agencies (State, White House, NSC, USIA, etc.); group to be co-chaired by Baker and Carlucci, as was done in past.

--Group would include Shultz designee, i.e., Roz Ridgway

--Next-level "working group" would be responsible for day-to-day implementation of decisions of Baker-Carlucci group. From White House, Griscom and Powell would co-chair. Active participation of senior State advisors crucial: Tom Simons, Mark Palmer, Soviet desk director, etc. Also, USIA, State Protocol and others

--The working group (Griscom-Powell) is responsible for substantive and protocol development of the visit

--This based on model of past successful trips mentioned above

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 27, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
THROUGH: DONALD T. REGAN
FROM: WILLIAM HENKEL 
SUBJECT: Summit II Concepts

One of your major achievements of 1985 was the Geneva Summit and the "fresh start, a dialog for peace" that was so well received by the public. Dick Wirthlin has shown Geneva gave you a huge boost on the issue of peace and the conduct of foreign policy. The major tangible result was your agreement with the General Secretary to conduct two follow-up Summits.

Our plan for 1986 was framed around a few critical events and issues leading up to your Summit meeting and the Fall Elections:

- o State of the Union
- o Strong National Security Budget
- o Strong Domestic Economy
- o Tokyo Economic Summit
- o Summit II
- o Fall Elections

A key theme of yours, building a safer, more secure world, was to be accomplished by maintaining our strength, sustaining domestic and global economic growth, promoting world-wide democratic trends, and meeting with Gorbachev to manage the bilateral relationship and promote understanding. All of these conditions and activities were designed to help you lead the Republican campaign this fall.

Attached is a notional outline schedule which we would appreciate your comments and thoughts on.

Thank you.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

The attached outline schedule of events for the Gorbachev visit is based on the following two broad objectives (expectations) for the visit:

1. Illustrate the inherent value of you and the General Secretary meeting personally and regularly as an effective means for managing the US/USSR relationship.
2. Your desire to expose the General Secretary to a healthy, powerful - both economically and socially - America.
 - o The purpose of the 'tour of America' will be to counteract the General Secretary's pre-conceived views on America's values, people and prosperity.
 - o The tour will allow Gorbachev to see first-hand America's and your vision of a peaceful future where change, technology and individual contributions will lead to a safer and better world.
 - o You will want to show the openness of America's society.
 - o The proposed schedule assumes that you will accompany the General Secretary throughout the tour. Some of the scheduling themes incorporated in the proposed outline schedule are:
 - o To show change in America, as witnessed by you.
 - o You and the General Secretary will meet each day in warm, diverse settings to maintain substantive continuity.
 - o We will develop issue oriented interactive events, i.e., briefing forums with simultaneous interpretation equipment, bilingual displays and charts, enabling you and Gorbachev to speak, ask questions, etc.
 - o You and the General Secretary will participate in joint tours and events showing Americans at work, at home, at school, at play, etc.
 - o You and the General Secretary will participate in an event(s) with a Soviet delegation (Youth Exchange) from the People to People program you initiated in Geneva.

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

DECLASSIFIED

White House G... 1st 28, 1997
By dlb NARA DATE 5/17/07

PROPOSED OUTLINE SCHEDULE

GORBACHEV VISIT

EARLY ARRIVAL (If Desired)

The General Secretary rests and adjusts to time change:

Options:

- I. Camp David
- II. Williamsburg
- III. East Coast Resort
- IV. USSR Mission, Washington, D.C.

DAY 1: (OFFICIAL VISIT BEGINS)

The General Secretary may choose to fly directly from Moscow to Andrews Air Force Base and proceed directly to the White House.

a.m. White House South Lawn Arrival Ceremony

Oval Office Tete a Tete

Plenary after Oval Office

p.m. Options:

- a. Secretary of State Lunch
- b. Meetings with Congressional Leadership on the Hill
- c. Meetings with Members of the Cabinet
- d. Visit Thomas Jefferson High School
- e. Visit historial sites/institutions

p.m. White House State Dinner hosted by yourself and Mrs. Reagan.

DAY 2:

a.m. White House Meeting

Option:

- I. Breakfast followed by private meeting in your study

DECLASSIFIED

White House Guidelines, August 28, 1997
By CAS NARA, Date 5/13/08

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

03/27/86 10:00 AM

a.m. You and the General Secretary depart together on Air Force One and visit cities/areas that exhibit the economic and social health of America and the diversity and dynamism of the American people as you tour from east to west.

Note: Mrs. Reagan and Mrs. Gorbachev will probably travel with you but have separate events when appropriate in the various cities/areas.

Options (East Coast):

- I. New England (Boston Area):
 - a. Massachusetts Hi-tech Council
 - b. Digital Equipment
 - c. OIC Training Center
 - d. MIT/Harvard
 - e. Erie Pub
 - f. Restored Harbor Area
- II. Southern New Hampshire
 - a. Concord (State and Local Government)
- III. Pittsburgh ("Most livable city" has become a major developer of computer software, robots and medical technology and since 1982 has created 40,000 new high-tech jobs.)

p.m. Fly South

RON SOUTH

DAY 3:

Options (South):

- I. Tennessee
 - a. GM Saturn Facility
 - b. University of Tennessee
 - c. Tennessee Technology Corridor
 - d. Homecoming '86: "Preserving yesterday's values while we reach for tomorrow's jobs."
- II. Atlanta Area ("The New South")
 - a. Gwinnett County (Heart of Technology Crescent)
 - b. Georgia Tech ("Center of Excellence")

~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE

03/27/86 10:00 AM

Fly to Mid-west

Options (Mid-West):

I. Illinois

- a. Eureka College
- b. Dixon
- c. Tampico
- d. Archer-Daniels-Midland/Agriculture Event

II. St. Louis ("Gateway to the West")

- a. Agro-Industrial Event
- b. Enterprise Zone-St. Louis Technology Center

III. Fly to California

RON MIDWEST/CALIFORNIA

DAY 4:

Fly to California

Options: (California)

I. Sacramento Area

- a. Visit State Capitol Building
- b. Agriculture Event

II. San Francisco Area

- a. Stanford
- b. University of California Berkley
- c. Visit area high-tech company

III. Los Angeles Area

- a. Entertainment Industry Event
- b. Dinner/Cultural Event

IV. Ranch/Santa Barbara Area

- a. Lunch/Dinner with Gorbachevs

RON CALIFORNIA

DAY 5:

You and the General Secretary will resume intensive, substantive talks for the final phase of the visit.

OPTION I (RETURN TO EAST COAST)

Day 5:

You and the General Secretary will return to the East Coast on Air Force One.

~~SECRET~~/SENSITIVE

03/27/86 10:00 AM

Day 6:

Intensive Talks Begin

Options:

- I. White House
- II. Camp David
- III. Williamsburg
- IV. Other rustic, private setting
(Chesapeake Bay, Eastern Shore, etc.)

Day 7:

Talks continue
Bid farewell

OPTION 2 (REMAIN ON WEST COAST)

Day 5:

California Events Continue

Intensive Talks Begin

Options:

- I. Ranch/Santa Barbara
- II. National Park
- III. Other rustic setting

Day 6:

You and the General Secretary will conclude substantive talks.

Day 7:

Options:

- I. Bid farewell in California; Gorbachev returns to East Coast and departs
- II. You return to East Coast together; Bid Gorbachev farewell from Washington

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 2, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: DONALD T. REGAN
JOHN M. POINDEXTER
FROM: WILLIAM HENKEL
SUBJECT: The President's Views - Summit II

On Air Force I March 27, the President reviewed the notional outline schedule and the trip themes outline. The President's reaction was that the notional schedule was too ambitious and did not reflect the desires of General Secretary Gorbachev. The President said it is necessary to consult with Gorbachev and his representatives to ascertain his preferences. The President indicated a concern that if we selected the itinerary we may be creating a Potemkin Village effect.

The President indicated he wants the General Secretary to have an opportunity to speak honestly with American workers. He feels very strongly that Gorbachev should be exposed to small business, "the real entrepreneurs" as the President calls them. He recounted the story of Rachel from Malvern, Pa., a former concert pianist whose arthritis forced a career change and she went on to build Rachel's Brownies into a multi-million dollar business. The President also stated that Gorbachev should be exposed to an example of a large American city and also a small city/town.

The President indicated his preference for the White House as the site for initial meetings (The Oval and Cabinet). Following the Washington segment, the President indicated a willingness to accompany the General Secretary to the first event on his itinerary outside of Washington. The President will probably proceed to the West Coast and meet Gorbachev there after he has finished his itinerary.

The President feels strongly that Los Angeles represents a clear statement on the growth of America; Los Angeles representing a collection of small towns that grew together. The President indicated taking Gorbachev up to the ranch for a meal and a ride in the jeep was appealing and would provide Gorbachev with a unique insight into the President's personal life.

EYES ONLY/SENSITIVE

The following additional points were made during the conversation:

- o The President viewed scheduling the summit in September as a "defeat". In his judgement September represents a compromise, and to the Russians a compromise by us would represent a defeat for the President in allowing Gorbachev to dictate the date.
- o Camp David, the President observed, would create real problems for the press and press coverage.
- o Williamsburg was not precluded as a possible substantive meeting site.
- o Donald Regan felt a visit to the South was important.
- o The President had good feelings about Archer-Daniels-Midland and the adjacent Illinois farm areas.

The following very notional itinerary outline schedule emerges from all of the above:

Day 1 and 2:

The President greets Gorbachev in Washington, D.C.

Substantive meetings held at the White House.

Day 3:

The President accompanies Gorbachev to first event outside Washington.

The President proceeds on separate schedule

Gorbachev tour continues.

Day 4:

Gorbachev continues tour.

Day 5:

The President greets Gorbachev in Los Angeles

Day 6:

Lunch at ranch

Day 7:

Gorbachev Departs

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

SUMMIT II AGENDA

*d/rt ~
decis ~ with
9/20*

1. Probabilities of Summit II in 1986
2. Date Options/Realities
 - o November 4 Election Day
 - o Readjustment period, briefing/preparation time and public diplomacy activities will require time between Nov. 4 and start of Summit.
 - o November 10 - 16 (too early?)
 - o November 17 - 23 *idea*
 - o November 24 - 30 (Thanksgiving November 27)
 - o December 1 - 7 Possible (Dec. 4 - 7 White House closed for Christmas decorations)
 - o After December 7, Christmas schedule, etc. No per Mrs. Reagan.
3. Schedule of pre-summit public activities, Sept/Oct period, UNGA(?), major policy speech (2), etc. juxtaposition with '86 Election Campaign.
4. Allocation of personnel resources: September/October '86 Election Campaign with USSR Advance trips to U.S., Summit preparations during campaign.
5. Review President's views on Summit II schedule proposals presented to him on March 27.
6. USSR input on schedule, ideas, places to visit, etc. How get information prior to USSR advance arrival?
7. Utilizing August for surveys, preparations, etc. Recognize will fuel speculation and knowledge White House working on Summit. (NOTE: Henkel Trips to Geneva: July 18 - 22, 1985 and two trips in September 1985 for Nov. 19 - 21, 1985 Summit) *OK*
8. Oversight Mechanism
 - o Core Group
 - o Public Diplomacy
 - o Interagency
9. Role of Department of State Office of Protocol

*9/23
min
in 6X*

*NSC
agree*

*OK
PTR agree*

7/1 - 7/3 announced

mid Sept paper for Shultz

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 2, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: DONALD T. REGAN
JOHN M. POINDEXTER

FROM: WILLIAM HENKEL

SUBJECT: The President's Views - Summit II

On Air Force I March 27, the President reviewed the notional outline schedule and the trip themes outline. The President's reaction was that the notional schedule was too ambitious and did not reflect the desires of General Secretary Gorbachev. The President said it is necessary to consult with Gorbachev and his representatives to ascertain his preferences. The President indicated a concern that if we selected the itinerary we may be creating a Potemkin Village effect.

The President indicated he wants the General Secretary to have an opportunity to speak honestly with American workers. He feels very strongly that Gorbachev should be exposed to small business, "the real entrepreneurs" as the President calls them. He recounted the story of Rachel from Malvern, Pa., a former concert pianist whose arthritis forced a career change and she went on to build Rachel's Brownies into a multi-million dollar business. The President also stated that Gorbachev should be exposed to an example of a large American city and also a small city/town.

The President indicated his preference for the White House as the site for initial meetings (The Oval and Cabinet). Following the Washington segment, the President indicated a willingness to accompany the General Secretary to the first event on his itinerary outside of Washington. The President will probably proceed to the West Coast and meet Gorbachev there after he has finished his itinerary.

The President feels strongly that Los Angeles represents a clear statement on the growth of America; Los Angeles representing a collection of small towns that grew together. The President indicated taking Gorbachev up to the ranch for a meal and a ride in the jeep was appealing and would provide Gorbachev with a unique insight into the President's personal life.

EYES ONLY/~~SENSITIVE~~

The following additional points were made during the conversation:

- o The President viewed scheduling the summit in September as a "defeat". In his judgement September represents a compromise, and to the Russians a compromise by us would represent a defeat for the President in allowing Gorbachev to dictate the date.
- o Camp David, the President observed, would create real problems for the press and press coverage.
- o Williamsburg was not precluded as a possible substantive meeting site.
- o Donald Regan felt a visit to the South was important.
- o The President had good feelings about Archer-Daniels-Midland and the adjacent Illinois farm areas.

The following very notional itinerary outline schedule emerges from all of the above:

Day 1 and 2:

The President greets Gorbachev in Washington, D.C.

Substantive meetings held at the White House.

Day 3:

The President accompanies Gorbachev to first event outside Washington.

The President proceeds on separate schedule

Gorbachev tour continues.

Day 4:

Gorbachev continues tour.

Day 5:

The President greets Gorbachev in Los Angeles

Day 6:

Lunch at ranch

Day 7:

Gorbachev Departs

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 27, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
THROUGH: DONALD T. REGAN
FROM: WILLIAM HENKEL 
SUBJECT: Summit II Concepts

One of your major achievements of 1985 was the Geneva Summit and the "fresh start, a dialog for peace" that was so well received by the public. Dick Wirthlin has shown Geneva gave you a huge boost on the issue of peace and the conduct of foreign policy. The major tangible result was your agreement with the General Secretary to conduct two follow-up Summits.

Our plan for 1986 was framed around a few critical events and issues leading up to your Summit meeting and the Fall Elections:

- o State of the Union
- o Strong National Security Budget
- o Strong Domestic Economy
- o Tokyo Economic Summit
- o Summit II
- o Fall Elections

A key theme of yours, building a safer, more secure world, was to be accomplished by maintaining our strength, sustaining domestic and global economic growth, promoting world-wide democratic trends, and meeting with Gorbachev to manage the bilateral relationship and promote understanding. All of these conditions and activities were designed to help you lead the Republican campaign this fall.

Attached is a notional outline schedule which we would appreciate your comments and thoughts on.

Thank you.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The attached outline schedule of events for the Gorbachev visit is based on the following two broad objectives (expectations) for the visit:

1. Illustrate the inherent value of you and the General Secretary meeting personally and regularly as an effective means for managing the US/USSR relationship.
2. Your desire to expose the General Secretary to a healthy, powerful - both economically and socially - America.
 - o The purpose of the 'tour of America' will be to counteract the General Secretary's pre-conceived views on America's values, people and prosperity.
 - o The tour will allow Gorbachev to see first-hand America's and your vision of a peaceful future where change, technology and individual contributions will lead to a safer and better world.
 - o You will want to show the openness of America's society.
 - o The proposed schedule assumes that you will accompany the General Secretary throughout the tour. Some of the scheduling themes incorporated in the proposed outline schedule are:
 - o To show change in America, as witnessed by you.
 - o You and the General Secretary will meet each day in warm, diverse settings to maintain substantive continuity.
 - o We will develop issue oriented interactive events, i.e., briefing forums with simultaneous interpretation equipment, bilingual displays and charts, enabling you and Gorbachev to speak, ask questions, etc.
 - o You and the General Secretary will participate in joint tours and events showing Americans at work, at home, at school, at play, etc.
 - o You and the General Secretary will participate in an event(s) with a Soviet delegation (Youth Exchange) from the People to People program you initiated in Geneva.

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

White Ho
By dlb

Just 28, Y
5/17/07

PROPOSED OUTLINE SCHEDULE

GORBACHEV VISIT

EARLY ARRIVAL (If Desired)

The General Secretary rests and adjusts to time change:

Options:

- I. Camp David
- II. Williamsburg
- III. East Coast Resort
- IV. USSR Mission, Washington, D.C.

DAY 1: (OFFICIAL VISIT BEGINS)

The General Secretary may choose to fly directly from Moscow to Andrews Air Force Base and proceed directly to the White House.

a.m. White House South Lawn Arrival Ceremony

Oval Office Tete a Tete

Plenary after Oval Office

p.m. Options:

- a. Secretary of State Lunch
- b. Meetings with Congressional Leadership on the Hill
- c. Meetings with Members of the Cabinet
- d. Visit Thomas Jefferson High School
- e. Visit historical sites/institutions

p.m. White House State Dinner hosted by yourself and Mrs. Reagan.

DAY 2:

a.m. White House Meeting

Option:

- I. Breakfast followed by private meeting in your study

White House
By dlh

Oct 28, 1997
5/17/67

~~SECRET/SENSITIVE~~

2/27/86 5:00 PM

a.m. You and the General Secretary depart together on Air Force One and visit cities/areas that exhibit the economic and social health of America and the diversity and dynamism of the American people as you tour from east to west.

Note: Mrs. Reagan and Mrs. Gorbachev will probably travel with you but have separate events when appropriate in the various cities/areas.

Options (East Coast):

- I. New England (Boston Area):
 - a. Massachusetts Hi-tech Council
 - b. Digital Equipment
 - c. OIC Training Center
 - d. MIT/Harvard
 - e. Erie Pub
 - f. Restored Harbor Area
- II. Southern New Hampshire
 - a. Concord (State and Local Government)
- III. Pittsburgh ("Most livable city" has become a major developer of computer software, robots and medical technology and since 1982 has created 40,000 new high-tech jobs.)

p.m. Fly South
RON SOUTH

DAY 3:

Options (South):

- I. Tennessee
 - a. GM Saturn Facility
 - b. University of Tennessee
 - c. Tennessee Technology Corridor
 - d. Homecoming '86: "Preserving yesterday's values while we reach for tomorrow's jobs."
- II. Atlanta Area ("The New South")
 - a. Gwinnett County (Heart of Technology Crescent)
 - b. Georgia Tech ("Center of Excellence")

Fly to Mid-west

Options (Mid-West):

I. Illinois

- a. Eureka College
- b. Dixon
- c. Tampico
- d. Archer-Daniels-Midland/Agriculture Event

II. St. Louis ("Gateway to the West")

- a. Agro-Industrial Event
- b. Enterprise Zone-St. Louis Technology Center

III. Fly to California

RON MIDWEST/CALIFORNIA

DAY 4:

Fly to California

Options: (California)

I. Sacramento Area

- a. Visit State Capitol Building
- b. Agriculture Event

II. San Francisco Area

- a. Stanford
- b. University of California Berkley
- c. Visit area high-tech company

III. Los Angeles Area

- a. Entertainment Industry Event
- b. Dinner/Cultural Event

IV. Ranch/Santa Barbara Area

- a. Lunch/Dinner with Gorbachevs

RON CALIFORNIA

DAY 5:

You and the General Secretary will resume intensive, substantive talks for the final phase of the visit.

OPTION I (RETURN TO EAST COAST)

Day 5:

You and the General Secretary will return to the East Coast on Air Force One.

Day 6:

Intensive Talks Begin

Options:

- I. White House
- II. Camp David
- III. Williamsburg
- IV. Other rustic, private setting
(Chesapeake Bay, Eastern Shore, etc.)

Day 7:

Talks continue
Bid farewell

OPTION 2 (REMAIN ON WEST COAST)

Day 5:

California Events Continue

Intensive Talks Begin

Options:

- I. Ranch/Santa Barbara
- II. National Park
- III. Other rustic setting

Day 6:

You and the General Secretary will conclude substantive talks.

Day 7:

Options:

- I. Bid farewell in California; Gorbachev returns to East Coast and departs
- II. You return to East Coast together; Bid Gorbachev farewell from Washington

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 14, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: DONALD T. REGAN
FROM: WILLIAM HENKEL 
SUBJECT: Summit II Planning Meeting

Dennis Thomas and I met this morning with John Poindexter, Rod McDaniel, Jack Matlock and Paul Thompson to discuss a number of topics relating to the possible summit meeting between the President and General Secretary Gorbachev this year.

- o The Soviets will not make a final decision on scheduling the Summit until the conclusion of the Shultz/Shevardnadze meeting in New York prior to the opening of the UNGA on September 23, 1986.
- o We all agreed that the optimal dates for the Summit would be November 17 - 23 (allowing the President to remain at the ranch for Thanksgiving, assuming the President and Gorbachev end the visit in California as currently envisioned).
- o John Poindexter strongly advocates a major policy speech during the UNGA session, similar to last year.
- o There was concurrence on the following very notional schedule:

Day 1 and 2:

The President greets Gorbachev in Washington, D.C.

Substantive meetings held at the White House

Day 3:

The President accompanies Gorbachev to first event outside Washington.

The President proceeds on separate schedule

Gorbachev tour continues

~~EYES ONLY/SENSITIVE~~

Day 4:

Gorbachev continues tour

Day 5:

The President greets Gorbachev in Los Angeles

Day 6:

Lunch at ranch

Day 7:

Gorbachev Departs

- o The itinerary for Days 3 and 4 will remain subject to Gorbachev's input. However, we have some indication that Gorbachev wants to visit Boston and speak at the John F. Kennedy School/Library and visit Archer-Daniels-Midland in Decatur, Illinois.
- o We all unanimously agreed, subject to your approval, that I be permitted to begin actual site surveys, with a small team, around August 15th to develop a series of options for the visit.
- o I would be responsible for developing for your approval, in cooperation with John Poindexter and Dennis Thomas, a briefing paper for Secretary Shultz's meeting in September with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze outlining our concepts for the Summit schedule. This would permit Shevardnadze to take our schedule proposals back to Moscow and save valuable time. We all agreed time compression will be a real challenge in preparing for Summit II.

cc: Dennis Thomas

7-14-86

~~EYES ONLY/SENSITIVE~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 3, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR SENATOR BAKER

FROM: TOM GRISCOM *3*
SUBJECT: SUMMIT INFORMATION

Attached to this memorandum is a longer version with some issues that should be considered as we head into the Fall.

Earlier today I had a discussion with General Powell concerning the initial planning stages for foreign policy initiatives that may occur later this year. It is our recommendation that we go forward and designate a planning team in the White House that will pull together the inter-agency contacts.

As you recall, Colin and I already chair a U.N. planning group and our recommendation would be this group be continued, with you and Frank Carlucci as the chairmen and the two of us (Colin/Griscom) as the operational co-chairmen. This is similar to planning steps that were taken prior to the 1985 Geneva summit. One other recommendation that was used for Geneva was the designation of this planning group in an NSDD. It is our feeling that taking this action now will send a clear signal that the White House will serve as the coordinating and decision-making group for any summit-related logistical, public diplomacy etc. activities.

I would also suggest that on Sunday when you finish your conversation with the President on the other subject matter, that you raise this coordination plan for his concurrence and that you ask in general for any thoughts that they may have at this time as it relates to a summit and plans for a summit.

After that conversation, Bill Henkel could get any follow-up that needs to be put into our planning process.

5-11-87

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1987

MEMORANDUM FOR HOWARD H. BAKER, JR.

FROM THOMAS C. GRISCOM *3*

SUBJECT TALKING POINTS FOR CONVERSATION WITH THE
PRESIDENT AND MRS. REAGAN ON U.S.- U.S.S.R. SUMMIT

In an informal conversation today, Bill Henkel, Jim Hooley and I began discussing the many steps we would have to begin immediately if a Summit date emerges from the Soviet Foreign Minister's visit next week. It is clear that we will have an immense task before us, in terms of both substance and logistics, which will have to begin immediately. It is our expectation that a Soviet delegation will want to come to the U.S. to review our plans within a few weeks of an announcement. Therefore, we will have to decide very shortly what it is we want from a Summit, what we want to do, and what we want to show the Soviets.

The necessary first step is to find out from the President and Mrs. Reagan what are their thoughts, ideas and expectations. On Sunday, aboard Air Force One en route Washington from Topeka, there is a timely opportunity for you to probe for some of their thoughts. At this time, you and Frank Carlucci are scheduled to brief the President on disarmament and arms control during that flight. We recommend that you follow that meeting with an invitation for Mrs. Reagan to join the three of you for a private and informal discussion of the Summit. You should explain to them that, assuming that Schevardnadze carries a message from Gorbachev accepting his invitation, it would be immensely helpful if we had their current thoughts on these activities, and their sense of the scope of the visit. You could convey these to Bill Henkel aboard the flight as they are fresh in your mind.

For your information, we will use this information as background for a small, private preliminary planning meeting I expect to convene in Washington on Wednesday. Following my discussions with Bill and Jim, it is evident to me that an immense commitment of time, manpower and resources will need to be dedicated to this project, almost to the exclusion of other matters. Therefore, it is vital that we begin now. The key to beginning this process is learning from the President and Mrs. Reagan, in a quiet and private conversation, their hopes and aspirations for the Summit.

In short, what we need to know is: if the President could have it any way he wanted it, how would the Gorbachev visit to the U.S. go?

cc: Bill Henkel
Jim Hooley