



THE WHITE HOUSE

8768 ADD-ON #2

WASHINGTON

December 28, 1984

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT:

Meeting with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (U)

PARTICIPANTS:

The President
The Vice President
Secretary Shultz
Robert C. McFarlane
Ambassador Price
Assistant Secretary Burt
Peter R. Sommer, NSC

Mrs. Thatcher
Ambassador Wright
Robin Butler, Principal Private
Secretary to Mrs. Thatcher
Charles Powell, Private
Secretary to Mrs. Thatcher

December 22, 1984, Camp David
10:40 a.m. - 11:10 a.m., Private
Meeting, Aspen Lodge
11:20 a.m. - 1:25 p.m., Expanded
Meeting and Lunch, Laurel
Lodge

DECLASSIFIED

DATE, TIME AND PLACE:

Private Meeting: The President and Mrs. Thatcher, Plus Note-takers:

After exchanging pleasantries, Mrs. Thatcher praised the President's reelection, calling it a fantastic victory. She asked him how it felt to win by such an overwhelming margin. The President said it was an honor to win by such a margin and joked that someone had said there is only one thing he could ask for from Santa Claus -- it was Minnesota, the only state he had lost. (U)

Mrs. Thatcher emphasized that the President's victory was even more impressive given that he had so significantly changed U.S. policies. Such a wide victory was an endorsement of the President's policies and a clear call for a continuation of these policies. She was pleased the President was keeping his same foreign policy, noting it made no sense to break-up a good team. The President agreed and observed that many serve at considerable personal and financial sacrifice. (U)

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The President said he was pleased that, without exchanging a word in advance, Mrs. Thatcher had taken the same line with Gorbachev as he had followed in his September meeting with Gromyko. He had spoken about the communist desire to dominate the world. In reply, Gromyko suggested that the Soviets had acted with constraint since they could have, but did not send a mass of men into Western Europe after World War II. The President noted that in reply he had referred to Stalin's remarks that there would have been no victory without the U.S. The President also referred Gromyko to quotations from Lenin and Stalin about world domination by communism. This time, Gromyko did not reply but quickly changed the subject. (C)

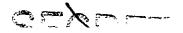
Turning to the Geneva talks, the President said since the Soviets had fared so poorly in recent months in the propaganda battles associated with disarmament talks, he feared that they were locking at Geneva as mainly a propaganda forum. This is one of the reasons they launched such an attack against what has become commonly known as "Star Wars." He emphasized that Star Wars was not his term and was clearly not what he had in mind. He continued that there has never been a weapon for which another weapon against it had not been developed. Therefore, in view of all the advances in technology, he asked for a study of new defensive systems. Its aim would strictly be to strengthen deterrence. So far, initial research has been promising and, as he had stated many times, if it proves successful he would be willing to put this new technology into international hands. President said we are not violating the ABM treaty and have no intention of doing so. The new Strategic Defense Initiative also had a moral context. We must search for ways to build a more stable peace. Our goal is to reduce, and eventually eliminate nuclear weapons. Chernenko now claims that this is also a Soviet goal. We have told them if, they are really serious about reductions, we are ready. Gromyko had told him, said the President, that we cannot continue to sit on two mountains of weapons. The President said he replied, "let us then begin to lower and eventually eliminate these mountains." (C)

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The President continued that he was simply amazed how closely Mrs. Thatcher's remarks to Gorbachev had accorded with what he told Gromyko. He had made similar points, said the President, on immigration restrictions, underscoring that these restrictions make it especially difficult for the U.S. -- with its many political groups with ties to the old country -- to improve relations with the Soviets. He had made it clear to Gromyko that he could better deal with the Soviets with the support of the American people. The President then returned to his concern that the Soviets will use the Geneva talks primarily as a propaganda forum. He hoped, however, that the Soviets would treat these talks seriously; as he had told Gromyko the U.S. and the Soviet Union have a joint responsibility to see that war does not happen. (C)

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The private meeting ended at 11:10 a.m.

Expanded Session in Laurel Lodge

In opening the expanded session, the President said he thought it would be appropriate to quote a remark the Queen had made to him during the course of the campaign. When the Queen was in Canada and he was in Michigan, the Queen had called to say she was sure there will never be a a wider divide between the U.S. and Great Britain "than the river that currently divides us." Smiling, the President and Mrs. Thatcher both agreed with the Queen's remark.

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Saying he wished to extend Mrs. Thatcher a special Christmas welcome to Camp David, the President said he was pleased with Mrs. Thatcher's support for the oft misunderstood SDI program. He noted that currently envisioned strategic defense weapons are not nuclear systems; many people have the mistaken impression that they are. General Eisenhower had spoken about how every advance in weapons of war is offset by another technological development. We owe it to future generations to see if we cannot develop a strategic defense that would move us away from this horrible threat of destroying the world. As he had told the Prime Minister in the private meeting, the initial research is promising, but we do not have any final answers. (C)





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The President said we need to address the points Mrs. Thatcher had raised and to reach agreement on SDI, a program he called worth pursuing. He noted that experts continue to tell him that research is promising and SDI may be feasible. We have obviously not made a decision on production or deployment and these questions would have to be addressed at the appropriate time. We cannot and should not, however, continued the President, have to go on living under the threat of nuclear destruction. We must eliminate the threat posed by strategic nuclear weapons. ultimate goal is to eliminate nuclear weapons. The Soviets are now beginning to echo this same view. He said he told Gromyko that the U.S. is not seeking superiority, but we will not let the Soviets achieve superiority. He recognized that the Soviets have great respect for our technology. They also must be concerned about our economic strength. It will be especially difficult for them to keep spending such vast sums on defense. Such spending is in neither of our interests.

The President continued that he also recognized the great losses the Soviets suffered in World War II -- 20 million or more -- and accepted their obsession with security. But it doesn't make sense, as my predecessor did, to propose unilateral reductions, such as cancelling the B-l bomber. Common sense tells us that one needs negotiating tools when bargaining with the Soviets, or anyone else for that matter. We in the West have great strength -- Europe alone has four times the GNP of the Soviet Union. We must deal with the Soviets from a position of strength. But we also know that in a nuclear war there would be no winners. (S)

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Secretary Shultz stressed our concern is that the current situation is not balanced. The Soviets have many more offensive nuclear systems than foreseen under Salt I. The defensive side



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is covered under the ABM treaty, but we have essentially dropped the notion of deploying a defensive system around cities and bases. The Soviets, however, have deployed an ABM system around Moscow — this is permitted under the treaty — and now they are also devoting considerable resources toward the development of other defensive systems. For example, they have a large phased array radar under construction, which we believe is a treaty violation. The Soviets have positioned themselves to break out from the conditions imposed the treaties. Their emphasis on defensive systems puts us in an unequal position. Our view is that there is an imbalance; our SDI research is designed to contribute to enhancing deterrence. (S)

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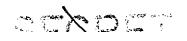
Secretary Shultz interjected that we cannot just sit back and let the Soviets build up a significant advantage in defensive systems. Mrs. Thatcher said if she was a Soviet, she would take steps to improve my already significant civil defense program. (S)

At the President's request, National Security Advisor McFarlane expanded on the U.S. SDI program. Calling Mrs. Thatcher's questions and criticisms thoughtful and well-reasoned, McFarlane underscored that her remarks are based on the assumption that offensive deterrence in its present form can and will endure. This may not be true. In recent years the character of Soviet offensive systems have changed dramatically; they are more mobile and carry increased warheads, making verification a near impossible task. The future suggests that the Soviets will rely far more on mobile systems, as well as cruise missiles. (S)

McFarlane continued that our dilemma has been what to do to restore the strategic balance. The President has underway a significant strategic modernization program but this has encountered both moral and political difficulties, as evidenced by the M-X debate in Congress. The preferred course would be to reduce offensive systems. As the President has stated, this is our goal and the President ultimately hopes to eliminate nuclear weapons. McFarlane observed that our current dilemma -- one over which the President expressed concern several years ago -- is our inability to match the Soviet offensive build up. This is why the President asked us to examine other alternatives. Emerging technologies suggest that a new defensive system may be feasible. This is a searching question: can you have an absolute defense against incoming missiles, whether they be nuclear, chemical, or biological? (C)



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The President replied that we are eager to make further progress on liberalizing the current aviation regime. We do feel that Congress would reject a proposal to waive treble damages. However, there are ways to lower air fares without having to face an anti-trust suit. Increased competition is in both our interests and we do favor the denationalization of British Airways. The President said it was time to break for lunch. (C)

The expanded session concluded at 12:15 p.m.

During the cocktail session before lunch, the President, Mrs. Thatcher, and Ambassador Price discussed civil aviation at some length. Both the President and Ambassador Price stressed that more competition would benefit both our countries and that there is no need to eliminate treble damages in order for our airlines to operate free of litigation in a more competitive environment.

Ambassador Price said there has not been one successful suit during the 15 years the current system has been

Sand Town Town Comments

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another \$100 million to Assad. Furthermore, Peres faces many problems -- in particular, a bleak economic situation, and the unsettled situation in Lebanon, where the presence of Israeli troops poses domestic problems. Peres needs to make progress on these two vital issues if he is to establish himself as a strong leader. (C)

Redacted Red Redacted Redacted Redacted Redacted Redacted——Redacted——Redacted——Redacted Shultz replied no and observed that Ambassador Murphy, our Assistant Secretary for Near-Eastern Affairs -- who has long experience in the region -has spent much of the last three months in the area. Murphy has been actively working the diplomatic track; he has been wellreceived and has purposely kept a low profile. The President's September 1st initiative remains the centerpiece of our approach; an essential step in moving forward would be the commencement of direct negotiations between Israel and Jordan. To facilitate this possibility, we are working with Israel on what we have called a "quality of life" program for the West Bank and the The Arabs who live in these areas are economically inferior, and we are working with Israel on improving their economic situation; over the longer-run, we hope this will help the peace process. The President added that it was encouraging that Peres, while in opposition, did not support the West Bank settlement policy, which is a major impediment to progress. (C)

Mrs. Thatcher asked for a brief review of the U.S. economy. President said he had just received encouraging news that the loan discount rate is at its lowest level in six years. Interest rates are coming down, but we must tackle the difficult deficit problem. He said he plans to introduce an austerity spending program in which he hopes to hold overall FY 86 government spending at our FY 85 level. His goal is to bring the overall deficit, as a percentage of GNP, down to four percent in 1985, and then lower it an additional percentage point per year. the overall federal deficit is entirely too high, it is little known that our state and local authorities had a \$58 million surplus last year. McFarlane added that the President faced a particularly troublesome task because what we call entitlement programs, i.e. those that are fixed, make up such a large portion of the federal budget. Indeed, these programs are at an all-time record high. (C)

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Suggesting that his major deficit problem is partially inherited, the President observed that the U.S. is paying the consequences of 50 years of deficit spending. In all but four of those years, the Democrats controlled Congress. President Eisenhower tried to balance the budget, but we have a structural deficit. From 1965 to 1980, the federal budget became 4% times larger; during the same period, the deficit became 38 times larger. As a famous U.S. economist, Milton Friedman said, "if you start paying people to be poor, there is going to be a lot of poor people." He has begun implementing his goal, said the President, of reforming the welfare system. There is also much talk of unemployment, but based on what he sees in our Sunday papers there are many jobs available. Saying he had developed a habit of looking at the classified ads whenever he is in a major metropolis, he commented that the help-wanted ads in a recent Sunday Washington Post went on for 43 pages; in the Los Angeles Times, there were 69 pages of help-wanted ads. He recognized that some of the jobs offered were in the new technical fields which demanded special qualifications. However, the sheer number of want-ads suggested jobs could be found. (U)

Secretary Shultz said he wished to return briefly to the Middle East. He noted that Israel was showing some flexibility about leaving Lebanon, where the situation is compounded because the Lebanese are the agents of the Syrians. The Israelis maintain their presence because the Lebanese do not have control over their own territory and cannot guarantee a secured border. Furthermore, there is a great fear that if the Israelis leave, the Lebanese will kill each other, and some Lebanese factions have urged the Israelis not to leave. Peace-keeping and security are legitimate concerns.

dacted Redacted Redacted The President said that part of the problem is that the Soviets pose so many restrictions on how the UN force can be utilized. (C)

The President thanked Mrs. Thatcher for Britain's overall cooperation in combatting terrorism and their recent help with regard to the highjacking which ended in Iran. Redacted Producted

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President added that we are particularly disappointed in the lack of Syrian cooperation concerning the three U.S. citizens that have been kidnapped and are likely held in Syrian-controlled territory in Lebanon. We believe the Syrians could be much more helpful than they have been. Shultz underscored the need for further progress as called for in the London Summit Declaration, and hoped ongoing work would lay the groundwork for further progress at the Bonn Summit. (S)

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Returning to SDI, Shultz said he wished to reiterate that the goal of our initiative is to maintain and strengthen deterrence.

We are trying to enhance survivability, and any system that would be developed would be used to defend the U.S. and its Allies.

SDI is not a departure from deterrence.

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the short answer is yes. Part of the new technological developments are vastly improved radars which would enhance our ability to detect and attack cruise missiles. (S)

Mrs. Thatcher then circulated a brief statement she planned to make at the outset of her press conference following the lunch. She indicated that it had been worked out by our respective staffs during the course of the lunch, and wished to draw the President's attention to four specific points. They are: (1) the U.S. and Western aim is to maintain balance, i.e., not achieve superiority, while taking account of Soviet developments; (2) SDI-related deployment, in view of treaty obligations, would be a matter for negotiations; (3) the overall aim is to enhance, not undercut, deterrence; and (4) East-West negotiations should aim to achieve security at reduced levels of offensive systems. The President replied that we agree with these points and said he hoped they would quell reports of disagreement between us. (C)

Mrs. Thatcher said she wished to say a word about the situation in Ethiopia, where Britain has tried to be of some help, mostly in providing internal air-lift. The President said he is proud of the U.S. effort, which had both a public and private component. One U.S. Congressman in particular had played a key role in helping meet the Ethiopian needs. He gave me, said the President, a graphic description of the dire results of the famine. We are determined to continue our efforts despite a clear lack of willingness by the Ethiopian authorities to give us credit for our assistance. (U)

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Mrs. Thatcher said she wished to address the situation in Northern Ireland. Despite reports to the contrary, she and Garrett FitzGerald were on good terms and we are working toward making progress on this difficult question. The President said making progress is important, and observed that there is great Congressional interest in this matter. Indeed, Tip O'Neill has sent him a personal letter, asking him to appeal to Mrs. Thatcher to be reasonable and forthcoming. (U)

The President noted it was time to close the discussions, which he had highly valued. He added that he looked forward to seeing Mrs. Thatcher in February and understood that our staffs are arranging a date. Mrs. Thatcher thanked the President for the warm pre-Christmas reception, and said she looked forward to an early reunion. (U)

The Working Lunch concluded at 1:25 p.m.