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THE WHITE HOUSE

OFFICE OF THE FIRST LADY'S PRESS SECRETARY

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DAILY READING FILE

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 9, 1982

cc: Michael Deaver  
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TELEGRAM

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B47661 ICASDE

B1/1844Z

B47661 ICASDE

ACTION OFFICE EU-03  
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PPP-01 PPPE-01 VECA-01 VBCK-01 VSE-01 DOS-15 VSB-01  
/B36 A1

O 011816Z JUN 82  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO RUEADWW/WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE  
RUEHIA/USICA WASHDC 2636  
BT  
UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 06 PARIS 19170

WHITE HOUSE FOR DODIE KANZANIAN  
USICA FOR EU/TASK FORCE

E.O. 12865: N/A  
TAGS: NONE  
SUBJECT: ELLE INTERVIEW WITH MRS. REAGAN

1. FOLLOWING IN PARA 2 IS THE TEXT OF AN INTERVIEW WITH MRS. REAGAN IN THE JUNE EDITION OF THE WEEKLY MAGAZINE, "ELLE". POST WILL POUCH COPY TO THE WHITE HOUSE. MRS. REAGAN DOES NOT APPEAR ON THE COVER AS WAS EXPECTED. THE EXPLANATION GIVEN BY ELLE IS THAT 1) SINCE THE INTERVIEW WITH MRS. REAGAN FOR MARIE-CLAIRE APPEARED LAST WEEK, ELLE DID NOT HAVE AN EXCLUSIVE, AND 2) SINCE IT WAS EXPECTED THAT ANOTHER MAGAZINE OF THE SAME PUBLISHING GROUP (PARIS-MATCH) WOULD USE A PHOTO OF BOTH THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. REAGAN, ELLE DECIDED NOT TO DO SO. THE INTERVIEW IS ILLUSTRATED WITH THREE COLOR PICTURES, OF MRS. REAGAN IN THE RED DRESS, EATING WITH THE PRESIDENT IN A SITTING ROOM, AND RIDING IN CALIFORNIA.

2. TITLE: "NANCY REAGAN ANSWERS OUR INDISCREET QUESTIONS : OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT, COLOMEE PRINGLE, ASKED HER WHAT SHE CALLS THE PRESIDENT IN PRIVATE, WHAT HER OPINION IS ON ABORTION AND THE DEATH PENALTY, AND WHETHER SHE EVER GETS INVOLVED IN POLITICS."

BEGIN TEXT: "THE WHITE HOUSE IS REALLY WHITE. FOR THE LAST SEVENTEEN MONTHS, AND FOR THE NEXT TWO YEARS AND SEVEN MONTHS (UNTIL THEIR MANDAT EXPIRES), THE REAGANS HAVE ABANDONED THE SUNSHINE OF THE WEST COAST AND THE TAWDRY CHARM OF CALIFORNIA, THEIR COWBOY BOOTS AND THE RANCH THAT GOES WITH THEM FOR THIS "HOME SWEET HOME" IN THE WHITE HOUSE WHICH, BESIDES OFFICIAL OFFICES, HAS 19 ROOMS, RECENTLY COMPLETELY REDECORATED BY THE WOMAN THAT THE AMERICANS, SARCASTICALLY OR DEMOCRATICALLY, CALL "QUEEN NANCY" AND WITH WHOM I TODAY HAVE AN APPOINTMENT.

OUR MEETING WILL TAKE PLACE ON THE FIRST FLOOR, IN THE "LIBRARY," AN AGREEABLE ROOM WITH A VIEW OF NOTHING AND LINED WITH BOOKS SUCH AS "THE LIFE AND DEATH OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN," THAT JUSTIFY ITS BEING CALLED A LIBRARY. ON THE WALLS ARE SOME VERY GOOD 19TH CENTURY PICTURES AND SOME PORTRAITS OF INDIAN CHIEFS. OVER THE FIREPLACE, STILL ANOTHER PORTRAIT, BUT THIS ONE IS OF AN AMERICAN CHIEF, GEORGE WASHINGTON HIMSELF, PAINTED BY GILBERT STUART.

FOR REASONS OF PROTOCOL OR ORGANIZATION, I WILL BE INSTALLED IN THIS ROOM A QUARTER OF AN HOUR BEFORE MADAME.

ALREADY PRESENT IS ONE OF HER PRESS ATTACHES, A

PHOTOGRAPHER WHO WILL FLASH EACH ONE OF OUR SMILES AND OUR HANDSHAKE, SOMEONE TO RECORD OUR CONVERSATION, AND A TRAY WITH TWO LARGE GLASSES, TWO OF ICE TEA AND TWO OTHERS FILLED WITH WATER AT THE SAME TEMPERATURE WHICH WE WILL NOT HAVE TIME TO TASTE, MUCH LESS THE DESIRE. WHEN SHE ENTERS PRECISELY AT 3:30, THIN VERY THIN, A SMILE ON HER LIPS, HER JACKET OVER HER ARM AND A BAG, AS IF SHE ALSO WAS VISITING, NANCY REAGAN WILL BE PRECEDED BY HER CHIEF PRESS ATTACHE AND FOLLOWED BY A BODYGUARD. POLITE HANDSHAKES. FORMAL SMILES, MADAME SITS DOWN. I SIT DOWN AS DO THE OTHERS. THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE CONVERSATION THEY WILL REMAIN SEATED ON THE COUCH.

ELLE - THIRTY ONE YEARS AGO, YOU WERE NANCY DAVIS, ACTRESS. YOU MET RONALD REAGAN, ACTOR, AND YOUR MARRIED. DID YOU EVER IMAGINE THAT YOU WOULD BE THE FIRST LADY OF THE U.S. ?

NR - NO. NEVER. I MARRIED AN ACTOR.

ELLE - AT THIS TIME, DID YOU HAVE ANY POLITICAL CONVICTIONS?

NR - NO I WAS NEVER INTERESTED IN POLITICS. MY HUSBAND WAS ALWAYS INVOLVED IN POLITICS IN THAT HE BECAME ACTIVE WHEN HE WAS INTERESTED IN AN ISSUE. BUT ME, AND I DON'T SAY THIS WITH PRIDE, I KNEW VERY LITTLE ABOUT POLITICS, REALLY VERY LITTLE.

WE ARE SEATED EACH ON ONE SIDE OF THE FIREPLACE IN ARMCHAIRS COVERED IN NEEDLEPOINT IN SHADES OF PINK, ALMOST COMFORTABLE, NOT TOO CLOSE, AS IF TO KEEP  
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TELEGRAM

PAGE 01

#47662 ICAB89

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ACTION OFFICE EU-03

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O 011816Z JUN 82

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO RUEADWW/WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

RUEHIA/USICA WASHDC 2637

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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 06 PARIS 1917B

ANY WAVES OF POSSIBLE EMOTION FROM MEETING. NOT TOO FAR APART, SO THAT I WILL NOT BE DISTRESSED IF WE DISAGREE. NO, NO, IT IS THE CORRECT DIPLOMATIC DISTANCE, ONE WHICH IMPRESSES BUT GIVES NOTHING. IF WE EACH REACHED OUT WITH A LEG WE WOULD BARELY BE ABLE TO FIGHT A DUEL WITH OUR PUMPS. HER SMALL HEELED SHOES ARE PINK AND GREEN. HER DRESS HAS WHITE AND PINK DESIGNS ON IT. PINK LIKE THE PEONIES ON THE ROUND TABLE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SQUARE ROOM. SHE HAS LOVELY HANDS WHICH SHE DOESN'T USE. WELL SHAPED NAILS, NOT POLISHED. HER HANDS REMAIN POISED, CROSSED ON HER KNEES. SHE HOLDS HERSELF VERY STRAIGHT.

ELLE - THE NIGHT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, WERE YOU SURPRISED BY YOUR HUSBAND'S SUCCESS?

NR - WE HAD BEEN TOLD THAT THE ELECTION WOULD BE VERY TIGHT AND THAT IT MIGHT BE NECESSARY TO WAIT ALL NIGHT FOR THE RESULT. SO I WAS IN MY BATH AND HE WAS IN THE SHOWER BEFORE GOING FOR COCKTAILS AT THE HOME OF FRIENDS, AS IS OUR TRADITION EVERY ELECTION. AND SUDDENLY I HEARD ON THE TELEVISION THAT HE HAD BEEN ANNOUNCED AS THE WINNER. I JUMPED OUT OF MY BATH, WRAPPED MYSELF IN A TOWEL, RONNIE GOT OUT OF THE SHOWER, AND THERE WE WERE, LOOKING AT THE TELEVISION. (ENCHANTING SMILE). THEN THE TELEPHONE RANG. IT WAS CARTER WHO CONFIRMED THE RESULTS. BUT IT DIDN'T SEEM TO HAPPEN AS I THOUGHT IT SHOULD. I HAD PREPARED MYSELF TO STAY UP ALL NIGHT.

ELLE - HOW MANY PEOPLE WORK WITH YOU?

NR - "HOW MANY ARE YOU," SHE ASKS, ADDRESSING ONE OF THE PEOPLE PRESENT FOR THE MEETING? (AND THEREFORE USEFUL), TURNING HER EYES BACK TO ME (THEY ARE SAID TO BE HAZEL, BUT ARE TOO FAR AWAY FROM ME TO VERIFY). "THERE ARE FIFTEEN PEOPLE."

ELLE - SINCE YOU HAVE BEEN FIRST LADY, YOU SEEM VERY CONCERNED ABOUT DRUG ABUSE AND THE USE OF ALCOHOL AMONG YOUNG AMERICANS. IS THIS A BIG PROBLEM IN THE U.S?

NR - I HAVE ALREADY SAID, AND I REPEAT, THIS IS THE MOST DEMOCRATIC PROBLEM THAT WE HAVE IN THIS COUNTRY, BECAUSE IT TOUCHES SO MANY AREAS, AGES, RACIAL GROUPS, POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. THE OTHER DAY, A TWELVE YEAR OLD GIRL WAS ARRESTED FOR USING HEROIN. IN A NUMBER OF CENTERS FOR DRUG USERS THAT I HAVE VISITED, I HAVE SEEN CHILDREN WHO STARTED USING DRUGS WHEN THEY WERE NINE, TEN....

ELLE - HAVE YOU HAD THIS PROBLEM IN YOUR FAMILY OR AMONG YOUR FRIENDS?

NR - NOT IN MY FAMILY. (TO BE UNDERSTOOD "DON'T BE RIDICULOUS"). BUT EACH ONE OF US, IN THIS COUNTRY AT

LEAST, HAS FRIENDS WHO HAVE HAD SERIOUS PROBLEMS.

ELLE - HAVE YOU YOURSELF EVERY TAKEN DRUGS?

NR - OH. NO, NO NEVER (TO BE UNDERSTOOD: "THAT'S ENOUGH OF THAT." FIRST, BECAUSE WHEN I WAS GROWING UP, THERE WEREN'T ANY DRUGS. ALSO BECAUSE MY FATHER WAS A DOCTOR, AND I STRONGLY DOUBT THAT I WOULD HAVE BEEN TEMPTED.

ELLE - TO FIGHT THIS PROBLEM, DO YOU PERSONALLY TRY TO INTERVENE AT THE LEVEL OF DRUG DEALERS?

NR - NO, THIS IS NOT MY AREA. IT IS MY HUSBAND WHO TAKES CARE OF THAT AND HE HAS ASKED THAT PENALTIES FOR DRUG DEALING BE MADE MORE SEVERE.

ELLE - YOU ALSO CONCERN YOURSELF WITH AN ORGANIZATION CALLED "THE FOSTER GRANDPARENT'S PROGRAM." COULD YOU EXPLAIN THE ROLE OF THIS ORGANIZATION?

NR - OH. IT'S A MARVELOUS ASSOCIATION. (IT MUST BE BECAUSE NANCY REAGAN'S SMILE BLOSSOMED FOR THE FIRST TIME). GENERALLY, ORGANIZATIONS OF THIS KIND BENEFIT ONLY ONE PARTY. HOWEVER, THIS ORGANIZATION BENEFITS BOTH THE YOUNG CHILDREN WHO NEED A LOT OF LOVE, AFFECTION, ATTENTION, (I'M TALKING OF CHILDREN FOR THE MOST PART WHO ARE MENTALLY HANDICAPPED.), AS WELL AS THE OLDER PEOPLE THAT ONE HAS A TENDENCY TO FORGET. SINCE TODAY WE HAVE BECOME SO ORIENTED TOWARDS YOUTH, AT A CERTAIN POINT IN LIFE, (WHEN THE CHILDREN ARE GONE), OLDER PEOPLE MAY FIND THEMSELVES ALONE AND FEEL USELESS, UNDESIRABLE, UNLOVED. GET THE TWO  
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PAGE 01

047663 ICA810

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ACTION OFFICE EU-03

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O 011816Z JUN 82  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO RUEADWW/WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE  
RUEHIA/USICA WASHDC 2638  
BT  
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SIDES TOGETHER AND ONE CAN GIVE TO THE OTHER WHAT IT  
NEEDS AND VICE VERSA. NO HOSPITAL CAN FULFILL THAT  
ROLE. THEY DON'T HAVE SUFFICIENT PERSONNEL. THUS,  
SENIOR CITIZENS HAVE A REASON TO GET UP IN THE  
MORNING. TO CONTINUE TO HAVE A REASON TO GET UP IN THE  
MORNING. TO CONTINUE TO HAVE THE DESIRE TO LIVE.

ELLE- YOU DON'T HAVE GRANDCHILDREN. DO YOU REGRET IT?

NR- YES. I AM DYING TO HAVE GRANDCHILDREN. ALL OF A  
SUDDEN, NANCY REAGAN NO LONGER HAS THE FORMAL LOOK,  
OR A FIRST LADY'S SMILE SOFTENED BY PASTEL LIPSTICK.  
AND INSPITE OF THE UNALTERED DISTANCE BETWEEN OUR TWO  
ARMCHAIRS, I FEEL AN IMPERCEPTIBLE TENDERNESS FLY  
OVER THE PROTOCOL ATMOSPHERE AND JUMP OVER THE SOFAS  
WHERE THE LISTENERS ARE SEATED, LISTENERS THAT I  
WOULDN'T HAVE INVITED IF MY ADVICE HAD BEEN ASKED.

ELLE- BASED ON SOME OF YOUR STATEMENTS, YOU SEEM TO  
BE PREOCCUPIED BY THE WEAKENING OF THE FAMILY AND OF  
MORALITY IN YOUR COUNTRY. HOW CAN YOU INTERVENE ON  
THAT LEVEL?

NR- IN CONTINUING TO TALK ABOUT IT AS I AM  
DOING...BUT...AND I HOPE THIS IS NOT WISHFUL  
THINKING, I BELIEVE THAT PRESENTLY WE ARE RETURNING  
TO A STRONGER (SENSE OF) FAMILY TIES. IN A CERTAIN  
WAY, ONE OF THE RESULTS OF THE WORK ON ALL THESE DRUG  
PROBLEMS WITH THE PARENTS' GROUPS THAT I MENTIONED TO  
YOU IS NOT ONLY THAT THEY KNOW MORE ABOUT DRUGS, BUT  
ALSO BECAUSE THEY ARE FORCED TO GET INVOLVED IN THEIR  
CHILDREN'S LIVES, FAMILIES GET TOGETHER. SO THERE IS  
A LIGHT AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL...

ELLE - DURING YOUR PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN, IN  
FRANCE, WE HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT YOU SHOWED VERY  
LITTLE OF YOUR CHILDREN IN COMPARISON TO THE CARTERS  
AND EVEN TO THE NIXONS. WAS IT VOLUNTARY?

NR - NO, OBVIOUSLY NOT. THE OLDER CHILDREN OF MY  
HUSBAND, HIS SON AND HIS DAUGHTER, PARTICIPATED IN  
THE CAMPAIGN. MY DAUGHTER, OUR DAUGHTER, NEVER  
WANTED TO CAMPAIGN. SHE DID NOT WANT IT. IT WAS NOT  
FOR HER. AND OUR SON WAS WORKING. HE IS A DANCER, A  
BALLET DANCER.

ELLE - WE WERE UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT IT WAS BECAUSE  
THEY DID NOT LEAD EXACTLY THE LIFE THAT YOU WANTED..

NR - OH, NO. NOT AT ALL. I'VE ALSO SEEN THAT IN THE  
NEWSPAPERS. BUT THAT WAS NOT THE REASON AT ALL.  
LISTEN. OUR DAUGHTER IS AN ACTRESS. WE WERE BOTH  
ACTORS. HOW WOULD YOU .. GRAND LAUGH. IT DOESN'T MAKE  
ANY SENSE. AND NANCY PUT ALL HER ENERGY INTO ONE LOOK  
AND ONE SMILE (BUT WITHOUT MOVING HER HANDS), TO  
CONVINCE ME. HOWEVER, THE RUMORES WERE PRECISE...

ELLE - SINCE YOU HAVE BEEN AT THE WHITE HOUSE, HOW  
HAVE YOU SUCCEEDED IN PROTECTING YOUR PRIVATE LIFE?

NR - I TRY (LAUGH). I TRY TO DO IT. EVERYONE MUST  
HAVE A CERTAIN PRIVATE LIFE..I AM NOT.. WE ALWAYS HAVE  
HAD A PUBLIC LIFE WITH OUR FILMS, ETC...SO MAYBE IT  
IS EASIER FOR US. BUT IN THE MOVIE CIRCLES, ONE - IF  
ONE SO DESIRES - HAS A PRIVATE LIFE. WE, NOW,  
CANNOT, BUT WE TRY...

ELLE - DO YOU MANAGE TO HAVE DINNER, THE TWO OF  
YOU, WATCHING TELEVISION:

NR - SOMETIMES. AND IT IS LUXURY, A REAL LUXURY.  
(LAUGHTER). IT'S FANTASTIC WHEN THIS HAPPENS.

ELLE - IS THERE A FILM IN WHICH YOU PREFER RONALD  
REAGAN AS ACTOR:

NR - "KING'S ROW." I FOUND HIM MARVELOUS IN IT, AND  
THE FILM HAD A FANTASTIC DISTRIBUTION.

ELLE - DO YOU MISS NO LONGER BEING AN ACTRESS?

NR - NO. NOT AT ALL.

ELLE - YOU SAID IN THE BOOK "NANCY," IN WHICH YOU  
TOLD YOUR LIFE STORY UNTIL TODAY: "BEING THE BEST  
POSSIBLE WIFE TO MY HUSBAND WAS MY ONLY PROJECT." TO  
THE WOMEN OF MY GENERATION, THIS MAY SEEM A BIT OLD  
FASHIONED. WHAT PLEASURE DOES THAT GIVE YOU?

NR - TO MAKE HIM HAPPY?

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O 011816Z JUN 82

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO RUEADWW/WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

RUEHIA/USICA WASHDC 2639

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UNCLAS SECTION 04 OF 06 PARIS 19170

OBTAINING THIS INTERVIEW WITH NANCY REAGAN, IT WAS  
INTIMATED THAT FEMINISM AND ABORTION WOULD BE SUBJECTS  
THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER NOT TO MENTION).

- YOU SEE, WE BELONG TO TWO GENERATIONS. AND WHAT  
IS TRUE FOR ME MAY NOT BE TRUE FOR YOU. BUT THIS  
PRINCIPLE IS SUITABLE TO US, TO ME AND TO HIM.

ELLE - YOU ALSO SAID THAT YOUR MOTHER WAS "AN IDEAL  
DOCTOR'S WIFE". ARE YOU AN IDEAL PRESIDENT'S WIFE?

NR - ONE CAN SAY IT OF ONE'S MOTHER, BUT..NOT VERY  
EASILY OF ONESELF. YOU SHOULD ASK MY HUSBAND.  
(LAUGHTER). TO SAY THAT ONE IS IDEAL SEEMS TO ME A BIT  
PRESUMPTUOUS.

ELLE - WHEN YOU MET HIM, YOU DROPPED YOUR CAREER AS  
AN ACTRESS. WHAT WERE YOUR PERSONAL AMBITIONS?

NR - PERSONAL AMBITIONS....

ELLE - YES, PERSONAL...

NR - FOR MYSELF? (THIS IS A QUESTION THAT SEEMS TO  
TROUBLE HER IT SEEMS SO USELESS).

ELLE - YES, FOR YOURSELF.

NR - I SIMPLY WANTED TO HAVE A HAPPY MARRIAGE,  
CHILDREN, A HOME. THIS DOES NOT MEAN -- LET'S BE  
CLEAR -- THAT I THINK A WIFE SHOULD NOT HAVE HER OWN  
CENTERS OF INTEREST, OUTSIDE. BECAUSE I HAVE THEM.  
THIS IS IMPORTANT. BUT, BEFORE ANYTHING ELSE, IT IS  
HE AND MY FAMILY.

ELLE - BUT WHAT WERE YOUR PERSONAL INTERESTS?

NR - I HAVE ALWAYS BEEN INVOLVED WITH CHILDREN AND ALSO  
WITH CHARITY WORK CONCERNING CHILDREN GENERALLY. I  
LOVE CHILDREN.

ELLE - DO YOU HAVE POLITICAL CONVERSATIONS WITH YOUR  
HUSBAND? ARE YOU SOMETIMES AT ODDS WITH HIM AND DO YOU  
TRY TO CONVINCE HIM?

NR - YES, I SHARE HIS CONVICTIONS AND WE HAVE SOME  
POLITICAL CONVERSATIONS. WE HAVE THE SAME VIEW ABOUT  
ALL THE FUNDAMENTAL POINTS. WE MAY SOMETIMES DISAGREE  
ABOUT THE WAY TO APPROACH THE PROBLEM. THIS HAPPENS  
SOMETIMES.

ELLE - AND THEN, YOU TRY TO CONVINCE HIM?

NR - I DON'T TRY TO INTERVENE BUT IF HE ASKS ME MY  
VIEWPOINT, I GIVE IT TO HIM.

ELLE - AND IF HE DOES NOT ASK YOUR OPINION?

NR - SOMETIMES, WHEN HE COMES BACK HOME, HE IS SO  
TIRED THAT HE JUST DOES NOT WANT TO TALK ABOUT POLITICS  
AND I UNDERSTAND. HE SIMPLY WANTS TO BE LEFT ALONE AND  
I LEAVE HIM ALONE.

ELLE - NEVERTHELESS, IT IS SAID THAT YOU HAVE A REAL  
INFLUENCE AND THAT YOUR JUDGMENTS CONCERNING HIS STAFF  
ARE REALLY TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT...

NR - THIS IS WRDNG. IT'S BEEN SAID BUT THIS IS REALLY  
WRONG. FIRST, AS I TOLD YOU, WHEN WE GOT  
MARRIED, I DID NOT KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT POLITICS.  
THEN, IT IS TRUE THAT WOMEN ARE SOMETIMES A BIT MORE  
INTUITIVE AND I CAN GIVE HIM MY OWN IMPRESSION ABOUT  
SOMEBODY...

ELLE - SO, THIS IS A WAY TO HAVE SOME POLITICAL  
POWER...

NR - NO, BECAUSE I ONLY EXPRESS MY OPINION BUT HE  
DOES NOT NECESSARILY AGREE WITH ME.

ELLE - WHICH OF HIS QUALITIES DO YOU PREFER?

NR - OH, HE IS A VERY SENTIMENTAL MAN...

ELLE - THE QUALITY YOU ADMIRE THE MOST?

NR - HIS INTEGRITY.

ELLE - HIS MAIN FAILING?

NR - HE IS A "SOFT TOUCH...AND HIS CHILDREN ARE WELL  
AWARE OF THAT... (LAUGH)

ELLE - I UNDERSTAND THAT THE PRESIDENT CALLS YOU  
"MUMMY" IN PRIVATE. IS THIS TRUE? AND HOW DO YOU CALL  
HIM?

NR - THIS IS TRUE. AND I CALL HIM "HONEY".

ELLE - LET'S LEAVE YOUR PRIVATE LIFE AND COME BACK TO  
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01/1849Z

SUPPORT THE MAINTENANCE OF THE DEATH PENALTY.

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ACTION OFFICE EU-03

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O 011816Z JUN 82  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO RUEADWW/WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE  
RUEHIA/USICA WASHDC 2640  
BT  
UNCLAS SECTION 05 OF 06 PARIS 19170

THE FIRST LADY OF THE UNITED STATES. YOU HAVE BEEN  
CRITICIZED FOR THE MONEY SPENT TO RESTORE THE WHITE  
HOUSE, TO BUY A NEW SERVICE OF CHINA, YOUR "VERY  
EXPENSIVE" DRESSES AND THE HAIRDRESSER WHO TRAVELS WITH  
YOU. HOW DO YOU FACE THESE CRITICISMS AND ARE THEY  
JUSTIFIED?

MR - CERTAIN THINGS HAD TO BE DONE IN THE WHITE HOUSE  
AND THANKS TO PRIVATE DONATIONS WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO  
ACHIEVE THEM. WE HAVE NOT SPENT GOVERNMENT MONEY.  
NOBODY HAS HAD TO PAY ANYTHING. I THINK THERE WAS SOME  
MISUNDERSTANDING WHICH IS NEVER VERY PLEASANT, BUT  
PERHAPS WITH TIME THE AMERICANS AND I WILL SUCCEED IN  
KNOWING EACH OTHER BETTER. THEN, THE CRITICS WILL  
QUIET DOWN.

ELLE - WHAT IS THE MOST ENTERTAINING PART OF YOUR FIRST  
LADY'S JOB?

MR - THE FIRST YEAR HAS NOT BEEN VERY  
ENTERTAINING...NO, REALLY NOT. . BUT I THINK THAT TO  
BE ABLE TO HELP, OR AT LEAST TO HAVE THE HOPE OF  
BEING HELPFUL IN SOME AREAS IS POSITIVE. THIS IS NOT  
ENTERTAINING, BUT SATISFYING.

ELLE - IF THIS YEAR HAS BEEN DIFFICULT, THIS MAY BE  
PARTLY BECAUSE OF THE ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT AGAINST  
RONALD REAGAN, ON MARCH 30, 1981. HOW DO YOU FEEL  
ABOUT THIS MOMENT NOW? EVEN BEFORE NANCY REAGAN'S  
ANSWER THE ATMOSPHERE CHANGES IN THE ROOM. IT HAS  
BECOME HEAVY, DULL, DISTRESSING ON EACH SIDE. AND  
NANCY'S SMILE HAS DEFINITELY VANISHED.

MR - WELL...YOUR PRIORITIES ARE REORGANIZED VERY  
QUICKLY. SEVERAL THINGS THAT SEEMED IMPORTANT IN THE  
PAST HAVE NO IMPORTANCE NOW. AND THIS IS A REALITY  
THAT YOU NEVER COMPLETELY FORGET. IT IS WITH YOU  
PERMANENTLY. I THOUGHT THAT THIS MOMENT WOULD GO  
AWAY, BUT NOT AT ALL, IT IS STILL REALLY PRESENT.

ELLE - DO YOU DREAM OF IT? DO YOU THINK OF IT WHEN YOU  
TRAVEL?

MR - I HAVE NOT DREAMT OF IT, BUT I DO THINK OF IT.  
AND I THINK OF IT EACH TIME HE GOES SOMEWHERE WITHOUT  
ME. UNTIL HE IS BACK.

ELLE - THE MURDERER, JOHN HINCKLEY, IS ON TRIAL AT  
PRESENT...

MR - I DON'T THINK I SHOULD MAKE ANY COMMENT ABOUT  
THAT. LEGALLY, IT WOULD NOT BE CORRECT TO DO SO.  
BUT I'M SORRY FOR HIS FAMILY.

ELLE - YOU SAID THAT GUN CONTROL WOULD NOT CHANGE  
ANYTHING REGARDING THIS SORT OF THREAT AND THE  
PRESIDENT IS CONVINCED OF THIS AS WELL, BUT YOU

MR - YES, THAT'S RIGHT. I THINK THAT IF THE DEATH  
PENALTY HAD BEEN IN FORCE A LOT OF PEOPLE WOULD STILL BE  
ALIVE. BESIDES, WHEN MY HUSBAND WAS GOVERNOR OF  
CALIFORNIA, THERE HAD BEEN NO EXECUTIONS FOR YEARS.  
80 PRISONERS WERE WAITING ON DEATH ROW AND ONE OF THEM  
WAS SCHEDULED FOR EXECUTION ONE MORNING AT 10:00. A  
GREAT FUSS WAS MADE,-- MARCHES ALL NIGHT LONG, WITH  
CANDLES, AROUND OUR HOUSE TO PROTEST THIS EXECUTION.  
THEY ASKED CHURCHES TO TOLL THEIR BELLS AT THE TIME OF  
THE EXECUTION, SO THAT PEOPLE COULD PRAY FOR THE  
CONDEMNED MAN'S SOUL. I HAD NOTHING AGAINST IT, BUT  
WOULDN'T IT BE KIN TO TOLL BELLS EACH TIME SOMEONE IS  
MURDERED SO THAT PEOPLE MIGHT PRAY FOR HIS SOUL AS WELL?

ELLE - BUT TO EXECUTE A MAN BECAUSE HE HAS KILLED  
SOMEONE, IS THIS REALLY A SUFFICIENT EXCUSE? THAT'S  
"AN EYE FOR AN EYE" ISN'T IT?

MR - NO. OH, NO. NO. NO. NOT AT ALL. IT'S NOT AT  
ALL THE SAME. ABSOLUTELY NOTHING. NEITHER MY HUSBAND  
OR I THINK IN TERMS OF "AN EYE FOR AN EYE, TOOTH FOR  
TOOTH". TEN DAYS AFTER THE EXECUTION (WHICH SEEMS,  
PERSONAL COMMENT, TO GIVE MRS. REAGAN A CERTAIN  
PLEASURE). IN A SMALL STORE IN SAN FRANCISCO RUN BY AN  
OLD COUPLE, A YOUNG MAN CAME IN, ROBBED AND  
THREATENED THE OWNER WITH HIS KNIFE. THE OLD MAN WAS  
ABLE TO YELL: "IF YOU DO THAT, NOW, YOU WILL BE  
CONDEMNED TO DEATH". THE YOUNG MAN HESITATED AND THEN  
FLED. LATER, THE OLD WOMAN WROTE TO US TO THANK US  
FOR HAVING SAVED HER HUSBAND'S LIFE.

ELLE - THEREFORE, YOU SEE THE DEATH PENALTY AS A  
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TELEGRAM

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ACTION OFFICE EU-03

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UNCLAS SECTION 06 OF 06 PARIS 19170

DISUASION TO VIOLENCE?

NR - I SEE IT AS BEING "PREVENTATIVE". PREVENTATIVE.  
PEOPLE WOULD BE ALIVE IF THE DEATH PENALTY EXISTED.  
I'VE PROVEN IT TO YOU.

ELLE-DO YOU KNOW THAT IN FRANCE, AS SOON AS HE WAS  
ELECTED PRESIDENT FRANCOIS MITTERRAND ABOLISHED THE  
DEATH PENALTY?

NR - OH...REALLY?

ELLE - ONCE AGAIN, HER VOICE BECAME THAT OF A "CHIC  
LADY" AND SHE SAT UP STRAIGHT LIKE A LUXURIOUS BARBIE  
DOLL WITH STYLE. I GOT THE IMPRESSION THAT FOR THE  
U.S., FRANCE IS AN UNKNOWN PROVINCE AT THE OTHER END  
OF THE WORLD, WHERE THEY EAT SNAILS AND LOVE  
FASHION. BUT NOTHING IS KNOWN OF WHAT IS HAPPENING  
THERE. THE ATMOSPHERE HAS CHANGED SINCE WE MENTIONED  
THE ELECTRIC CHAIR. AND NOW, DESPITE HER SMILES,  
HER ATTEMPTS TO APPEAR AS A SOFT LADY, WHO LOVES ONLY  
HER HUSBAND, HER CHILDREN AND GOOD WORKS, DESPITE  
THE PINK ALL OVER THE PLACE AND THE ICE TEA, NOW  
TEPID IN THE GLASSES, ONE CAN FEEL A DETERMINATION,  
A DESIRE TO IMPOSE HER CONVICTIONS WHICH SHE DID NOT  
HAVE WHEN SHE SPOKE OF HER PERSONAL AMBITIONS OR HER  
POLITICAL INFLUENCE.

ELLE - IN THIS CONNECTION, YOU HAVE SAID ABOUT  
ABORTION: "I CAN NEVER GET BEYOND THE FACT THAT IT IS  
A MATTER OF TAKING A LIFE". HOW DO YOU RECONCILE THIS  
CONVICTION WITH THE ONE YOU HAVE ABOUT THE DEATH PENALTY?

NR - BUT, IN THE DEATH PENALTY...WITH THE DEATH  
PENALTY, YOU'RE SAVING LIVES. WITH ABORTION,  
YOU'RE TAKING A LIFE.

- AT THIS PRECISE MOMENT, MRS. REAGAN'S CHIEF OF  
STAFF ENTERED THE ROOM TO INFORM HER ABOUT HER NEXT  
APPOINTMENT. COINCIDENCE? SORRY TO INTERRUPT,  
BUT...NANCY REAGAN HAS NOT MOVED. SHE IS WAITING TO BE  
TAKEN OFF TO HER NEXT PLACE OF DUTY. PERHAPS HAPPY TO  
BE SAVED FROM THIS EMBARRASSING QUESTION. IT'S NO  
LONGER A MATTER OF SMILING OR NOT. SEDUCTION TIME IS  
OVER. ONE MORE QUESTION ONLY...AND A FEW MINUTES...

ELLE - ABOUT YOURSELF YOU SAY: "I'M A WORRIER". WHAT  
ARE YOU WORRIED ABOUT TODAY?

NR - ANYTHING, ANYTHING. (LAUGH. EVEN, BURST OF  
LAUGHTER). AND EVEN, IF YOU WOULD LIKE ME TO WORRY  
ABOUT YOU, I WOULD BE HAPPY TO DO SO. (LAUGH AGAIN)  
ELLE - THERE MUST BE SOME MORE PRECISE THINGS WORRYING  
YOU THESE DAYS, NO?

NR - NO. NO...ONLY... (LAUGH)

ELLE - SO, YOU'RE WANDERING WITH A SMALL BAG FULL OF  
WORRIES, INTO WHICH YOU PLUNGE EVERY DAY?

NR - YES, I WORRY ABOUT EVERYTHING.  
ELLE - HAVE YOU ALWAYS BEEN LIKE THAT?

NR - YES, IT'S TERRIBLE. BUT I WAS BORN WITH ALL  
THESE WORRIES. THERE IS NOTHING TO DO.  
ELLE - WOULD YOU ADVISE YOUR HUSBAND TO RUN AS A  
CANDIDATE IN THE NEXT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS?  
NR - WE HAVE NOT TALKED ABOUT THAT.  
ELLE - YES, BUT YOU PERSONALLY...

NR - WE DON'T KNOW.. WE HAVE NOT DISCUSSED THE QUESTION.  
- AND I HAVE NOT THOUGHT ABOUT IT.  
ELLE - YOU HAVE NOT THOUGHT ABOUT IT?  
NR - NO.

- (BUT HERE IS A GOOD REASON FOR WORRYING...IF THE  
WORLD DOES NOT GIVE NANCY REAGAN ENOUGH REASONS FOR  
WORRYING). SMILE IN THE EYES. END OF THE DISCUSSION.

- THE FIRST LADY STANDS UP. THANK YOU MADAM. "YOU ARE  
WELCOME". SHE PICKS UP HER BAG, SO SMALL THAT IT CAN  
ONLY BE FOR A HANDKERCHIEF AND GOES OFF DOWN THE  
CORRIDOR. IT'S 4:30. THE CONVERSATION LASTED 50  
MINUTES. ON THE TRAY, THE GLASSES OF TEA, SAD AT  
BEING IGNORED, WILL GO BACK TO THE KITCHEN.  
INSIDE, THE AIR CONDITIONING ANNIHILATES THE MUGGY  
ATMOSPHERE OUTSIDE. THE STORM THAT BROKE DURING THE  
INTERVIEW HAS PASSED. FROM THE PORCH OF THE WHITE  
HOUSE, WASHINGTON APPEARS TO BE SERENE. IN THE  
GARDEN, THE FOUNTAINS ARE SPARKLING." END TEXT. HEDGES  
BT  
#9170

UNCLASSIFIED



N° 1900

**Jambes:  
préparez-les  
pour l'été**

**Les stars  
selon  
Jacques  
Seguela**

**L'art du  
dos nu**

**EXCLUSIF  
NANCY REAGAN  
"MA VIE AVEC  
RONALD"**

**CHARLOTTE  
RAMPLING** elle a fait  
pour nous le premier  
voyage du train de rêve:  
l'Orient-Express







EXCLUSIF

# NANCY REAGAN REPOND A NOS QUESTIONS INDISCRETES

Notre envoyée spéciale Colombe Pringle lui a demandé comment elle appelle le Président dans l'intimité, quelle est son opinion sur l'avortement et sur la peine de mort, et si elle se mêle parfois de politique.

**L**a Maison Blanche est tout à fait blanche. Depuis dix-sept mois, et pour encore deux ans et sept mois (jusqu'à expiration de leur mandat), les Reagan ont abandonné le soleil de la côte Ouest et le charme clinquant de la Californie, leurs bottes de cow-boy et leur ranch qui va avec, pour ce « home sweet home » dans la Maison Blanche qui, en dehors des bureaux officiels, se compose de dix-neuf pièces récemment remises complètement à neuf par celle que les Américains, sarcastiques ou démocrates, nomment « the queen Nancy », et avec laquelle j'ai, ce jour-là, un rendez-vous. Notre entretien aura lieu au rez-de-chaussée, dans la « library », une pièce agréable avec vue sur rien du tout et

tapissée de quelques livres du genre « Vie et mort d'Abraham Lincoln », qui justifient son nom de bibliothèque. Aux murs, de très beaux tableaux XIX<sup>e</sup>, portraits naïfs de chefs indiens. Au-dessus de la cheminée, un portrait encore, mais d'un chef américain, George Washington, lui-même, peint par Gilbert Stuart. Pour des raisons de protocole ou d'organisation, je serai installée dans cette pièce un quart d'heure avant Madame...

Déjà, sont là une de ses attachées de presse, une photographe qui épiera du flash chacun de nos sourires et notre serrement de mains, une préposée à l'enregistrement de notre conversation, et un plateau avec deux grands verres de thé glacé et deux autres d'eau à même température que nous n'aurons pas le temps de déguster, ni même de désirer. Lorsqu'elle entrera, à 15 heures 30 précé-

ses, mince, très mince, le sourire aux lèvres, sa veste sur le bras et son sac à la main, comme si elle aussi était en visite, Nancy Reagan sera précédée de son attachée de presse en chef et suivie d'un garde du corps. Serrements de mains d'usage. Sourire de circonstance. Madame s'assied. Moi aussi. Eux aussi. Car, durant toute la conversation, ils resteront là.

**— Il y a trente et un ans, vous étiez Nancy Davis, actrice. Vous avez rencontré Ronald Reagan, acteur, et vous vous êtes mariés. Aviez-vous jamais envisagé que vous seriez Première Dame des États-Unis ?**

— Jamais.

**— Pas même en rêve ?**

— Non. Jamais. J'ai épousé un acteur.

**— A cette époque-là, aviez-vous des convictions politiques ?**

— Non, je n'ai jamais été... mon mari a toujours été

impliqué dans la politique, dans la mesure où il militait pour ce qui l'intéressait. Mais moi, et je ne l'avoue pas avec fierté, je savais très peu de choses concernant la politique, vraiment très peu.

Nous sommes assises de part et d'autre d'une cheminée, sur des fauteuils tapissés au point de Hongrie, en harmonie de roses. La distance entre nos deux fauteuils est juste bonne, ni trop près, comme pour empêcher les ondes d'une émotion possible de se rencontrer. Ni suffisamment éloignée pour que ne pas être d'accord m'indiffère. Non, c'est la vraie distance diplomatique, celle qui impressionne, mais ne donne rien. En allongeant chacune la jambe, nous pourrions, à peine, faire un duel d'escarpins. Ses chaussures à petits talons sont rose et vert. Sa robe est à losanges blancs et roses. Roses comme les pivoines sur la table

*Dans le salon bleu de la Maison Blanche, la First Lady a posé pour ELLE dans une robe du rouge qu'elle a rendu célèbre.*

# NANCY REAGAN

« J'étais dans mon bain et Ronnie sous sa douche lorsque nous avons appris qu'il était élu Président ».

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ronde au milieu de la pièce carrée. Elle a de très belles mains, qu'elle n'utilise pas. Bien limées, pas vernies, elles resteront posées, croisées sur ses genoux. Elle se tient très droite.

**- Le soir des élections présidentielles, avez-vous été surprise par le succès de votre mari ?**

- On nous avait prévenus que ce serait une élection très serrée et qu'il nous faudrait peut-être attendre toute la nuit pour le résultat final. Alors, j'étais dans mon bain et il était sous sa douche, avant d'aller prendre un cocktail chez des amis, selon notre tradition à chaque élection. Et soudain, j'ai entendu à la télévision qu'il était annoncé gagnant. J'ai sauté hors de mon bain, je me suis enroulée dans une serviette et Ronnie est sorti de sa douche. Et nous étions là, regardant la télévision (sourire enchanté). Ensuite, le téléphone a sonné. C'était Carter qui nous confirmait le résultat. Mais cela ne m'a pas semblé se passer comme cela aurait dû... J'étais préparée à l'idée de rester debout toute la nuit.

**- Combien de personnes travaillent avec vous ?**

- Combien êtes-vous ? demande-t-elle en s'adressant à l'une des personnes présentes à l'entretien (et bien utiles donc...), retour de l'œil (dont on dit qu'il est couleur de noisette, mais trop loin de moi pour que je le vérifie). Ils sont quinze.

**- Depuis que vous êtes First Lady, vous semblez très concernée par l'usage de la drogue et de l'alcool chez les jeunes Américains. Est-ce un grand problème aux Etats-Unis ?**

- Je l'ai déjà dit et je le répète, c'est le problème le plus démocratique que nous ayons dans ce pays, parce qu'il se retrouve au croisement de tout : l'âge, la couleur de peau, le problème politique, économique, social. L'autre jour, une petite fille de

douze ans a été arrêtée pour usage d'héroïne. Dans de nombreux centres pour drogués où je suis allée, j'ai vu des enfants qui ont commencé à neuf ans, dix ans...

**- Avez-vous déjà rencontré ce problème dans votre famille ou parmi vos amis ?**

- Pas dans ma famille (sous-entendu : ne suggérez pas n'importe quoi.) Mais chacun d'entre nous, dans ce pays en tout cas, a des amis qui ont eu de sérieux problèmes.

**- Vous-même, avez-vous déjà pris des drogues ?**

- Oh ! Non, non. Jamais (sous-entendu : ça suffit comme ça !). D'abord parce que, lorsque j'étais adolescente, il n'y avait pas de drogue. Ensuite, parce que je suis fille de médecin et je doute très fort que j'aurais été tentée.

**- Pour lutter contre ce problème, essayez-vous, personnellement, d'intervenir au niveau des fournisseurs ?**

- Non, moi ce n'est pas mon rayon. C'est celui de mon mari qui s'en occupe et il a demandé que les punitions pour les « dealers » (revendeurs) soient plus sévères.

**- Vous vous occupez aussi d'une organisation qui s'appelle « The Foster Grandparents' program ». Pouvez-vous expliquer le rôle de cette association ?**

- Oh ! C'est une merveilleuse association ! (Cela doit l'être vraiment car le sourire de Nancy Reagan s'épanouit pour la première fois). Généralement, les organisations de ce genre ne bénéficient qu'à un seul côté. Or celle-ci bénéficie aux deux côtés. D'une part, aux jeunes enfants qui ont besoin de beaucoup d'amour, d'affection, d'attention, je parle d'enfants pour la plupart handicapés mentaux. Et d'autre part, aux personnes âgées que l'on a tendance à oublier car, aujourd'hui, nous sommes devenus tellement orientés vers la jeunesse. Or, à un certain moment de leur

vie, lorsque les enfants sont partis, les vieux se retrouvent seuls, se sentent inutiles, indésirables, mal aimés. Réunissez les deux côtés et l'un donne à l'autre ce dont il a besoin et réciproquement. Aucun hôpital ne peut remplir ce rôle. Ils n'ont pas les équipes suffisantes ! Ainsi, les personnes âgées ont une raison de se lever le matin. Pour continuer à avoir envie de vivre.

**- Vous n'avez pas de petits-enfants. Le regrettez-vous ?**

- Oui. Je meurs d'envie d'avoir des petits-enfants ! (Soudain, Nancy Reagan n'a plus le regard, ni le sourire de circonstance adouci par un rouge à lèvres pastel très First Lady. Et malgré la distance inaltérée entre nos deux fauteuils, je sens une imperceptible tendresse survoler l'atmosphère protocolaire et rebondir sur les canapés où sont assis les auditeurs que je n'aurais pas conviés si on m'avait demandé mon avis.)

**- Selon certaines de vos déclarations, vous semblez être très préoccupée par l'affaiblissement de la famille et de la moralité dans votre pays. Comment pouvez-vous intervenir sur ce plan-là ?**

- En ne cessant d'en parler comme je le fais... mais... et j'espère que ce ne sont pas de purs souhaits, je pense qu'actuellement s'opère doucement un retour vers un sens plus fort de la famille. D'une certaine manière, l'un des résultats de ce travail sur tous ces problèmes de la drogue avec les groupes de parents dont je vous ai parlé est que non seulement ils sont plus au courant en ce qui concerne les drogues mais aussi que, parce qu'ils sont obligés de s'impliquer plus dans la vie de leurs enfants, les familles se rapprochent. Alors... C'est une lueur au bout du tunnel...

**- Durant votre campagne présidentielle, en France,**

**nous avons eu l'impression que vous montriez très peu vos enfants en comparaison des Carter et même des Nixon. Etait-ce volontaire ?**

- Non, évidemment pas. Les enfants aînés de mon mari, son fils et sa fille, ont participé à la campagne. Ma fille, notre fille, n'a jamais voulu faire campagne. Elle ne le voulait pas. Ce n'était pas pour elle. Et notre fils travaillait. Il est danseur classique.

**- Nous avions l'impression que c'était parce qu'ils ne menaient pas exactement la vie que vous souhaitez...**

- Oh non. Pas du tout. Je l'ai lu aussi dans les journaux. Mais ce n'était pas du tout pour cette raison. Écoutez. Notre fille est actrice. Nous étions tous les deux acteurs. Comment voulez-vous... (grand éclat de rire). Cela ne tient pas debout !

(Pourtant les rumeurs étaient précises... Et Nancy met toute son énergie dans un regard et un sourire, mais sans bouger ses mains, pour m'en convaincre.)

**- Depuis que vous êtes à la Maison Blanche, comment réussissez-vous à préserver votre vie privée ?**

- J'essaie. (Rire). J'essaie de le faire. Chacun doit avoir une certaine vie privée... Je ne suis pas... nous avons toujours eu une vie publique avec nos films, etc., alors peut-être est-ce plus facile pour nous. Mais dans le milieu du cinéma, on peut, si on le désire, avoir une vie privée. Nous, maintenant, nous ne le pouvons pas, mais nous essayons...

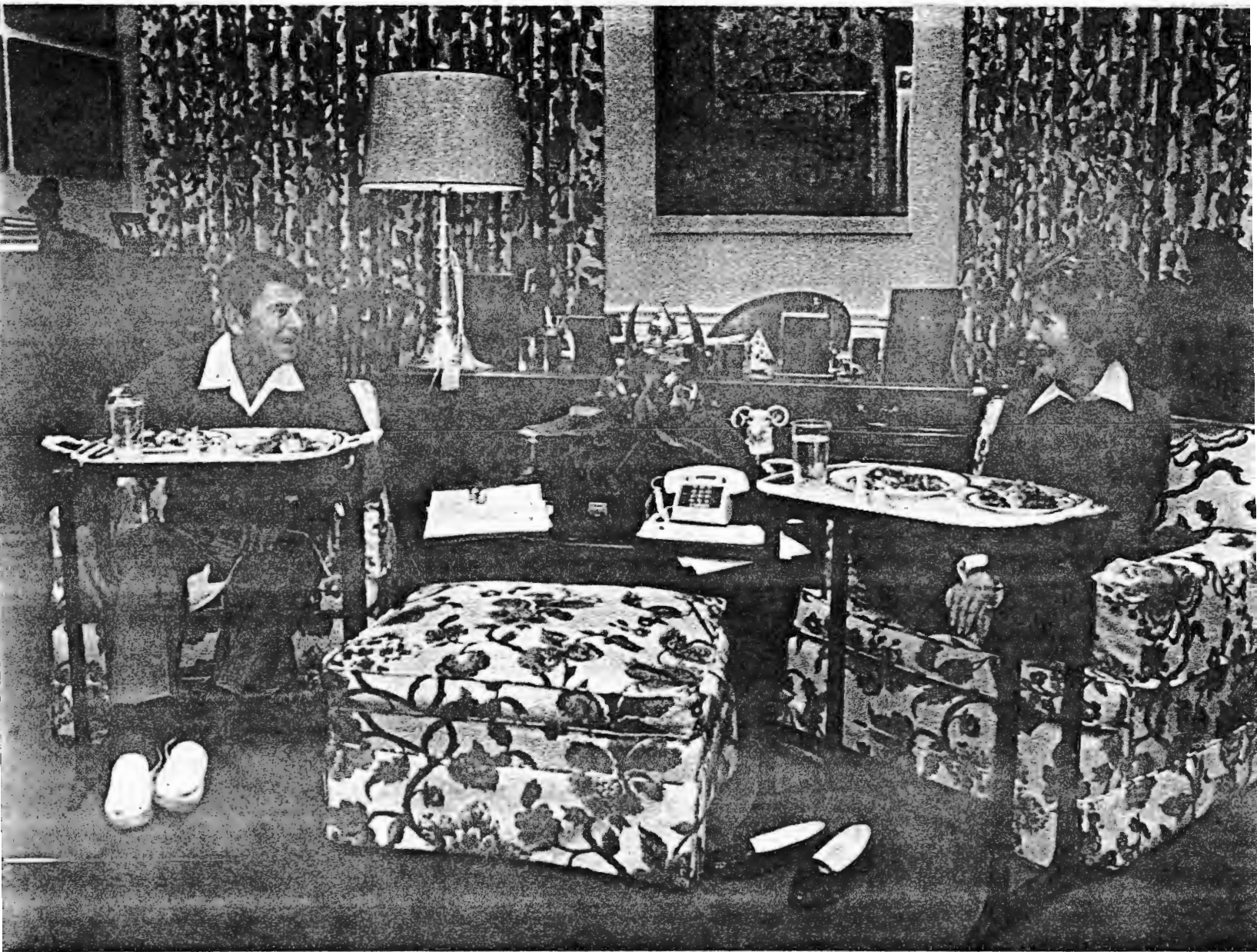
**- Vous arrive-t-il de dîner tous les deux en regardant la télévision ?**

- Parfois. Et c'est un luxe, un vrai luxe ! (Éclat de rire). C'est formidable lorsque cela arrive.

**- Y a-t-il un film dans lequel vous préférez Ronald Reagan acteur ?**

- « King's Row ». Je l'ai trouvé merveilleux dedans, et le film avait une formidable dis-





*Dîner-télé pour le couple présidentiel dans le salon de leur appartement privé au troisième étage de la Maison Blanche.*

tribution.

— **Cela ne vous manque jamais de ne plus être actrice ?**

— Non. Pas du tout.

— **Vous avez dit dans ce livre, « Nancy », dans lequel vous racontez votre vie jusqu'à aujourd'hui : « Être la meilleure épouse possible pour mon mari était mon seul projet. » Aux femmes de ma génération, cela peut paraître un peu démodé. Quel plaisir est-ce que cela vous donne ?**

— De le rendre heureux ? (Ma question lui semble idiote. Avant d'obtenir cet entretien avec Nancy Reagan, il avait été prévu que le féminisme et l'avortement étaient des sujets qu'il valait mieux ne pas aborder). Voyez-vous, nous appartenons à deux générations. Et ce qui est vrai pour moi peut ne pas l'être pour vous. Mais ce principe nous convient, à moi comme à lui.

— **Vous dites aussi de votre**

**mère qu'elle était « une femme de médecin idéale ». Êtes-vous une femme de président idéale ?**

— On peut le dire de sa mère mais... pas très facilement de soi-même. Il faudrait demander à mon mari ? (Eclat de rire). Dire que l'on est quoi que ce soit d'idéal me semble un peu présomptueux.

— **Lorsque vous l'avez rencontré, vous avez cessé votre métier d'actrice. Quelles étaient vos ambitions personnelles ?**

— Ah, les ambitions personnelles...

— **Oui, personnelles...**

— Pour moi-même ? (Voilà une question qui sème le trouble tant elle lui semble inutile).

— **Oui, pour vous-même...**

— Je voulais simplement avoir un heureux mariage, des enfants, une maison. Cela s'arrêtait là. Cela ne veut pas dire, soyons clairs... que je pense qu'une femme ne doit

pas avoir des centres d'intérêt à l'extérieur, parce que j'en ai ; c'est important. Mais avant tout, c'est lui et ma famille.

— **Mais quels étaient vos intérêts personnels ?**

— J'ai toujours été impliquée avec les enfants, les œuvres de charité qui, elles aussi, concernaient généralement les enfants. J'aime les enfants.

— **Avez-vous des conversations politiques avec votre mari ? Et vous arrive-t-il d'être en désaccord et d'essayer de le convaincre ?**

— Oui, je partage ses convictions, et nous avons des discussions politiques. Nous partageons la même opinion sur tous les points fondamentaux. C'est sur la façon d'aborder un problème que nous pouvons parfois ne pas être d'accord. Là, cela nous arrive...

— **Et vous essayez alors de le convaincre ?**

— Je n'essaye pas d'intervenir, mais s'il me demande mon point de vue, je le lui donne.

— **Et s'il ne vous le demande pas ?**

— Parfois, lorsqu'il revient à la maison, il est si fatigué qu'il ne veut vraiment pas parler politique et je le comprends. Il veut simplement être seul. Et je le laisse seul.

— **Pourtant on dit que vous avez une véritable influence et que vos jugements sur ses collaborateurs comptent vraiment...**

— C'est faux. On le dit mais c'est vraiment faux. D'abord, comme je vous l'ai dit, lorsque nous nous sommes mariés, je ne connaissais rien à la politique. Ensuite, il est vrai que les femmes sont parfois un peu plus intuitives, et je peux lui donner mon impression sur quelqu'un...

— **Donc, c'est une façon d'avoir un pouvoir politique...**

— Non, parce que je ne fais que l'exprimer mais il n'est



# NANCY REAGAN

« Je suis pour la peine de mort. Avec elle, vous sauvez des vies. Avec l'avortement, vous prenez une vie »

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pas forcément d'accord et n'agira pas nécessairement en conséquence.

— **Quelle est sa qualité que vous préférez ?**

— Oh ! C'est un homme très sentimental...

— **Celle que vous admirez le plus ?**

— Son intégrité.

— **Son plus grand défaut ?**

— Il est « a soft touch » (littéralement : c'est un tendre). Ce que ses enfants savent. (Rire).

— **J'ai cru comprendre que le Président vous appelait « maman » en privé. Est-ce vrai ? Et vous, comment l'appellez-vous ?**

— C'est vrai. Et moi, je lui dis « honey » (en traduction littérale : « miel » ; en réalité : « mon chou »).

— **Quittons la vie privée, si vous le voulez bien, et revenons à la First Lady des États-Unis. Vous avez été très critiquée pour les sommes d'argent qui ont été dépensées pour la rénovation de la Maison Blanche, l'achat d'un nouveau service de table en porcelaine, vos robes « si chères » et votre coiffeur qui voyage avec vous. Comment supportez-vous ces critiques et sont-elles justifiées ?**

— Certaines choses devaient être faites dans la Maison Blanche, et, grâce à des donations privées, nous avons pu les entreprendre. Personne n'a rien eu à payer. Je pense qu'il y a eu des malentendus, ce qui n'est jamais très agréable, mais peut-être, avec le temps, les Américains et moi réussirons-nous à mieux nous connaître, alors les critiques se calmeront.

— **Quelle est la partie la plus amusante de votre métier de First Lady ?**

— La première année n'a pas été vraiment amusante... Non, vraiment pas. Mais je pense que de pouvoir aider, ou du moins espérer le faire dans certains domaines, c'est posi-

tif. Ce n'est pas amusant mais c'est satisfaisant.

— **Si cette année a été difficile, c'est peut-être en partie à cause de la tentative d'assassinat contre Ronald Reagan, le 30 mars 1981. Comment ressentez-vous ce moment-là aujourd'hui ?**

(Avant même que Nancy Reagan réponde, l'atmosphère a changé dans la pièce. Elle est devenue lourde, sourde, mate, douloureuse. De tous les côtés. Et le sourire de Nancy s'est définitivement évaporé.)

— Eh bien... très rapidement vos priorités se réorganisent. Des choses qui me semblaient importantes autrefois me semblent aujourd'hui sans importance. Et c'est une réalité que vous n'oubliez jamais complètement. C'est avec vous, en permanence. Je pensais que ce moment s'éloignerait, mais pas du tout, il est encore vraiment présent.

— **Vous en rêvez ? Vous y pensez lorsque vous voyagez ?**

— Je n'en ai pas rêvé. Mais j'y pense. Et j'y pense à chaque fois qu'il va quelque part sans moi. Jusqu'à ce qu'il soit revenu.

— **L'assassin, John Hinckley, est en jugement actuellement...**

— Je crois que je ne dois faire aucun commentaire à ce propos. Légalement, cela me semble malvenu. Mais je suis désolée pour sa famille.

— **Vous avez dit que le contrôle des armes ne changerait rien à ce genre de menaces et le Président en est aussi convaincu, mais vous êtes pour le maintien de la peine de mort.**

— Oui. C'est exact. Je pense que s'il y avait la peine de mort, beaucoup de gens seraient encore en vie. D'ailleurs, lorsque mon mari était gouverneur de Californie, il n'y avait pas eu d'exécution depuis des années. Quarante prisonniers attendaient de passer en jugement définitif et pour l'un d'entre eux,

l'exécution avait été décidée pour un matin à dix heures. Beaucoup de bruit a été fait autour de cette exécution et des gens ont marché toute la nuit avec des bougies allumées autour de notre maison pour manifester leur désaccord. Ils voulaient que toutes les églises sonnent le glas à cette heure-là, le lendemain matin, afin que chacun prie pour l'âme du condamné. Je n'étais pas contre mais ne serait-ce pas gentil alors de sonner le glas à chaque fois que quelqu'un est tué d'une façon criminelle pour que l'on puisse aussi prier pour son âme ?

— **Mais tuer un homme parce qu'il a tué, est-ce une excuse suffisante ? C'est pratiquer la loi du talion, non ?**

— Non ! Oh non, non ! Pas du tout. Cela n'a rien à voir. Absolument rien. Ni mon mari, ni moi ne pensons en terme « d'œil pour œil, dent pour dent ». Dix jours après cette exécution (qui semble, remarque personnelle, donner un certain plaisir à Mrs Reagan), dans un petit magasin à San Francisco tenu par un vieux couple, un jeune homme est entré, a volé et menacé de son couteau le patron de l'endroit. Ce vieil homme a réussi à hurler : « Si vous faites ça maintenant, vous serez condamné à mort ! » Le jeune homme a hésité, puis s'est enfui. Plus tard, sa femme nous a écrit pour nous remercier d'avoir sauvé la vie de son mari.

— **Donc, vous envisagez la peine de mort comme un moyen dissuasif contre la violence ?**

— Je l'envisage comme un moyen préventif. Préventif ! Des gens seraient vivants si la peine de mort existait. Je viens de vous le prouver.

— **Savez-vous qu'en France, dès qu'il a été élu Président, François Mitterrand a aboli la peine de mort ?**

— Oh... Vraiment ?

(A nouveau, la voix se fait

« chic lady », et elle se tient droite comme une poupée Barbie de luxe qui aurait de l'allure. On a l'impression que pour l'Amérique, la France est une province inconnue à l'autre bout du monde où l'on mange des escargots et où l'on aime la mode. Mais de ce qui s'y passe, on ne sait rien. L'atmosphère s'est figée différemment depuis que nous parlons de la chaise électrique. Et là, malgré ses sourires, ses tentatives d'être une femme douce qui n'aime que son mari, ses enfants et les œuvres de charité, malgré le rose partout et le thé glacé devenu tiède dans les verres, on sent une détermination, une volonté d'imposer ses convictions dont Nancy Reagan n'a pas parlé à propos de ses ambitions personnelles ou de son influence politique.)

— **A ce propos, vous avez dit en parlant de l'avortement : « Je ne pourrai jamais dépasser le fait qu'il s'agit de prendre une vie » ! Comment conciliez-vous cette conviction avec celle concernant la peine de mort ?**

— Mais, dans la peine de mort... Avec la peine de mort, vous sauvez des vies. Avec l'avortement, vous prenez une vie !

(A ce moment précis, le chef de cabinet de Mrs Reagan est entré dans la pièce. Pour prévenir du rendez-vous suivant. Pur hasard ? Désolé d'interrompre, mais... Nancy Reagan n'a pas bougé. Elle attend d'être entraînée vers son prochain lieu de devoir, peut-être contente d'être sauvée de cette question embarrassante. Il ne s'agit plus de sourire, ou pas. L'heure de la séduction est passée. Plus qu'une question... et quelques minutes...)

— **Vous dites de vous-même « Je suis une Inquiète ». Qu'est-ce qui vous inquiète aujourd'hui ?**

— N'importe quoi ! N'importe quoi ! (Rire. Eclat de rire même). Et même si vous

aimeriez que je m'inquiète pour quelque chose à propos de vous, je serais ravie de le faire ! (Rire encore).

— **Il doit y avoir des choses plus précises qui vous inquiètent ces jours-ci, non ?**

— Non, non... juste... (Rire).

— **Alors, vous vous promenez avec un petit sac à dos d'inquiétudes dans lequel vous plongez tous les jours ?**

— Oui, quoi qui me passe par la tête m'inquiète.

— **Et vous avez toujours été comme ça ?**

— Oui. C'est terrible. Je suis née avec ces inquiétudes. Il n'y a rien à faire.

— **Conseillerez-vous ou ne conseillerez-vous pas à votre mari de se présenter aux prochaines élections ?**

— Nous n'en avons pas discuté.

— **Oui, mais vous personnellement...**

— Nous ne savons pas. Nous n'en avons pas discuté. Et je n'y ai pas pensé.

— **Vous n'y avez pas pensé ?**

(Pourtant voilà une bonne raison d'inquiétude... Si toutefois le monde n'en offre pas de suffisantes à Nancy Reagan.)

— Non.

Sourire dans l'œil, fin de l'entretien, la First Lady se lève. Merci Madame. « You are welcome ». Elle récupère son sac, si petit qu'il ne doit servir qu'à juste glisser un mouchoir et s'éloigne dans le couloir. Il est 16 h 20. L'entretien aura duré cinquante minutes. Sur le plateau, les verres de thé, désolés d'avoir été ignorés, vont retourner dans la cuisine. Dedans, l'air climatisé annihile l'air moite du dehors. L'orage qui a frappé durant l'entretien s'est éloigné. Du perron de la Maison Blanche, Washington semble sereine. Dans le jardin, les fontaines sont en effusion.

C.P.

**Parfois les Reagan retrouvent leurs habitudes d'avant les élections et réussissent à passer le week-end dans leur ranch.**

Michael Evans/Maison Blanche







With Thatcher in the garden: Offering a little advice from Winston Churchill

**Newsweek**



Allies Suzuki, Thatcher, Reagan, Mitterrand

# The Uneasy Partnership

The band from the *Garde Républicaine* played "Breeze From Alabama." Ronald Reagan stepped from his limousine and snapped off a salute to the captain of the honor guard. He and François Mitterrand strode into the palatial Grand Trianon in Versailles to join leaders of the Big Seven industrial democracies for dinner. The guests sat in the garden salon, once Napoleon's billiard room. As they addressed the *Pithiviers langoustines* and *selle d'agneau*, Margaret Thatcher turned to Helmut Schmidt and made conversation: "When's your re-election?" "Eighty-four," Schmidt muttered. "So's mine," said Reagan.

With one eye to politics and another to the economic and military strains of the Atlantic alliance, Ronald Reagan set off last week on an extended exercise in Presidential pomp and diplomacy. "Our fate is tied to Europe," he said as he flew eastward to sell America's closest allies\* on the Reaganomi-

\*Besides Reagan the summitters included Britain's Prime Minister Thatcher, France's President Mitterrand, West Germany's Chancellor Schmidt, Italy's Prime Minister Giovanni Spadolini, Canada's Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and Japan's Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki. The Common Market Commission president, Gaston Thorn, and Belgium's Prime Minister Wilfried Martens also joined the discussions.

cal road to free trade and stiff competition with Moscow. The view from the Versailles summit turned out to be a bit loftier than its modest results. But the Europeans did seem willing to tighten up easy credit terms for the Soviet bloc somewhat. Reagan in turn agreed to study ways to protect the allies against swings in Western currency mar-

*With his folksy style and a new arms-control package, the President tries to win over some skeptical allies.*

kets. And he lectured the Europeans that his own supply-side economics offered their best hope. A balanced budget is in sight, Reagan assured his uneasy partners. When reporters later demanded a timetable, Treasury Secretary Donald Regan deadpanned: "President Reagan is a man of long vision."

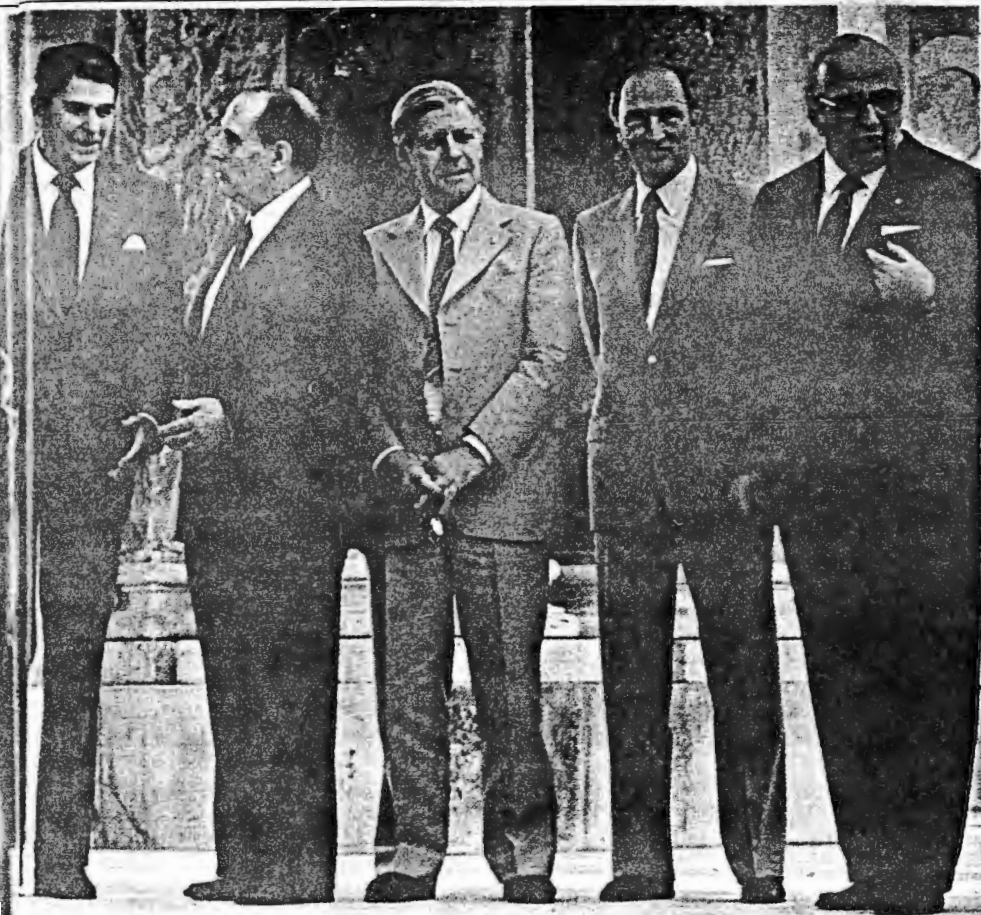
The allies had to interrupt their sensitive

diplomacy within the palace walls to manage more explosive and distant crises. With Britain's net tightening around Argentine forces defending the Falklands (page 48), Reagan's team and other allies lobbied the British against inflicting a military humiliation on Argentina that could complicate U.S. and West European relations with Latin America for years to come. In a 90-minute meeting at the U.S. Embassy, Reagan privately advised Thatcher to follow Winston Churchill's old axiom: be magnanimous in victory.

Just as the summitters were polishing up their final communiqué the Middle East erupted. After Arab gunmen shot Israel's ambassador in London, Israeli jets and artillery pounded Palestinian strongholds in Lebanon. Then on Sunday morning columns of Israeli tanks and troops launched a massive assault on southern Lebanon (page 58). The invasion came hours after Reagan appealed to Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin for patience. Reagan summoned special envoy Philip Habib to Paris to prepare an urgent peace mission to the crisis zone. At Versailles, the summit leaders urged an immediate cease-fire.



## NATIONAL AFFAIRS



Photos by Wally McNamee—NEWSWEEK

Schmidt, Trudeau and Spadolini at Versailles: Pomp and uncomfortable politics

From Versailles, Reagan will sally forth this week into the meaner days of his ten-day European tour. Clamorous anti-American and anti-nuke demonstrations greeted him at the Place de la Bastille in Paris; many more protesters planned to hector him in Bonn and West Berlin. In a violent overture, terrorists' bombs shattered windows at an American school and at the International Monetary Fund office in Paris and ripped through four U.S. military installations in West Germany. "We're not waiting until Reagan arrives," warned a terrorist group called the Revolutionary Cells. It claimed to have carried out the West German attacks "as a prelude to what will hopefully be a very noisy, eventful and unforgettable reception" for the U.S. President.

**Offering:** Reagan hopes to neutralize some of the protesters with folksy statesmanship—and to co-opt the rest. He brought with him one attractive offering: word that Washington and Moscow will reopen strategic arms reduction talks on June 29. He planned to unveil another proposal to cut back Warsaw Pact and NATO ground forces now uneasily face to face in Central Europe. But he also meant to present new ideas for rebuilding NATO's conventional armies—and to press the allies to overhaul NATO's nuclear defenses.

Reagan gathered his Administration around him before he took wing for Versailles. "Who's tending the store?" he asked, surveying the audience of generals, Cabinet members and staffers who gathered at the White House to see him off. "Well, I think we've got everything packed, and Nancy's upstairs unplugging the toaster," the President said. "I guess we're ready to go." It took months of planning, including three separate advance trips to Europe by principal White House aide Michael Deaver, to prepare Reagan's path. To make sure the President could still reach out and touch anyone back home, the White House Communications Agency installed 800 telephones to service his traveling entourage.

**Trappings:** In Paris, Reagan proceeded amiably through a pre-summit round of meetings with his allied partners. The visits with Socialist Mitterrand went smoothly. Aides shrugged off the two leaders' diametrically opposed economic views. "In theory, our differences are quite remarkable; in practice, they are less so," said one candid French official. Socialists or not, Mitterrand's aides gushed over the let-them-eat-cake trappings of seventeenth-century Versailles. "As a Frenchman, I must say that you can find no place more impressive," said Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson, adding

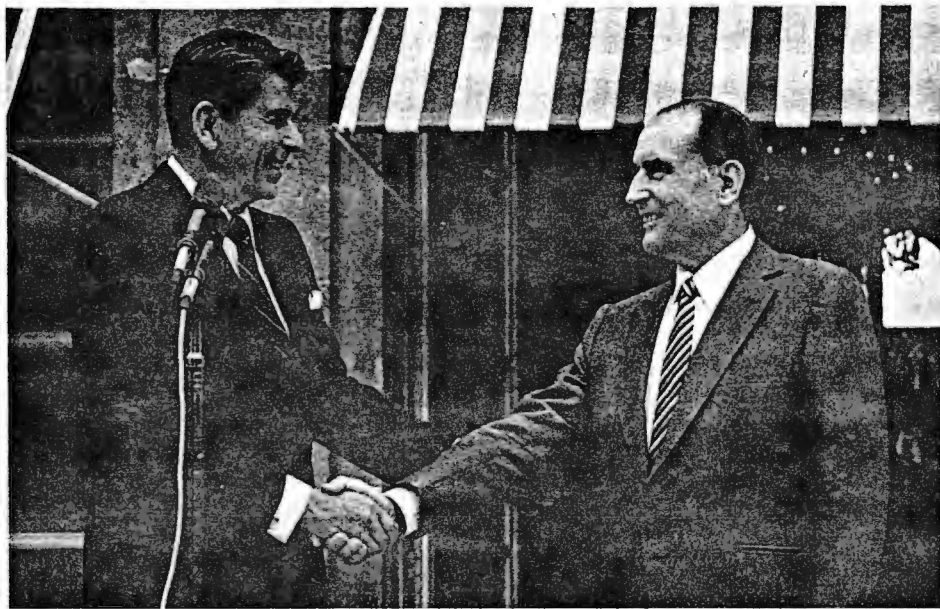
that "we are at the summit of the summits."

Mitterrand and Reagan avoided economic issues and concentrated on their common concern over the Soviet strategic threat. At Reagan's elegant dinner for Mitterrand in the American Embassy residence, the biggest sensation turned out to be First Lady Nancy Reagan. She showed up in a rhinestone-studded black satin outfit featuring knickers—an innovation that had fashion writers buzzing on both sides of the Atlantic. The toasts after dinner bubbled up into Reagan's "Vive la France" and Mitterrand's homage to "Mon cher Ron."

**New Jobs:** At the summit, Mitterrand devoted practically the entire first session to a reading of his beautifully printed "invitation to reflection" on the need to harness technology to create new jobs. He warned that the major industrial powers must not monopolize satellite broadcasting and other high technologies at the expense of "the sovereignty of [less developed] states and their cultural integrity." Reagan said he was impressed; but he urged that any technological programs be largely financed by the private sector, pointing out that half of the \$80 billion-a-year U.S. bill for research and development comes from private sources. Reagan told of a 1930s U.S. Government technology study initiated by Franklin Roosevelt that failed to anticipate television, plastics, jet planes, organ transplants, laser beams and even the simple ballpoint pen. Reagan lifted his pen to make his point.

During a lunch of goose and duck foie gras and pigeon breast with lobster sauce the summitters considered Reagan's main pitch for trimming the cut-rate trade credits that the Europeans now offer the Soviet bloc. One Reagan aide had warned the President that the French thought he was overplaying his effort to bring the Russians to their knees. "That's not my position at all," Reagan protested. "They're flat on their tails economically," he said, arguing that the Soviets should get Western help only if they agree to behave. Even so, Schmidt and Trudeau forcefully advocated normal trade with Moscow. "They were so tough that Mitterrand didn't even have to get mixed up in it," said a French official. The allies gave Reagan a partial victory: the French and British signaled that they will join an agreement classifying the Soviet Union as an industrialized nation ineligible for concessionary credits. And the allies called for commercial prudence in deals with the Soviet bloc. "This is stating the principle," said the Treasury's Regan. "Then you build on it."

Reagan was back on the defensive after lunch when talk turned to the high U.S. interest rates that have hampered the allies' economies. Schmidt was polite, but he pointedly mentioned that unemployment and public borrowing are excessive across the West—and that U.S. interest rates are the highest in history. (In fact, interest rates have declined somewhat since the Big Seven met at Ottawa last year.) Schmidt traced the U.S. economic malaise to Lyndon John-



Lester Sloan—NEWSWEEK

*With Mitterrand after lunch: Don't help the Soviets when they're 'flat on their tails'*

son's decision to finance the Vietnam War without raising taxes. The West German leader insisted that he was not blaming the United States. But Reagan launched his familiar defense anyway, maintaining that more Americans are working than ever before—and that high interest rates are mostly a psychological problem that will disappear as his budget deficits shrink over the next three years. Thatcher supported Reagan, arguing that declining deficits were more important indicators than the level of interest rates.

**Shifts:** The allies also pressed Reagan for protection against wild fluctuations of the U.S. dollar. Reagan agreed to collaborate with the Europeans through the International Monetary Fund to stabilize the currency markets. The French advertised the agreement as a major U.S. concession. Finance Minister Jacques Delors declared that the United States was forthwith "obliged to intervene" in the markets to fight chaotic shifts in currency values "after consultation with its partners." Reagan's team was less expansive. The Administration has already ruled out intervention in the currency markets except in extreme cases, and no new IMF scheme is likely to change Washington's mind. "If it's a strong dollar, we're not going to intervene to weaken it. If it's a weak dollar, we're not going to intervene to make it strong," said Treasury Secretary Regan.

Another major problem—persuading the Japanese to drop their trade barriers to Western imports—proved just as intractable. Japan's Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki arrived in Versailles touting Japan's decision a week earlier to liberalize its rules for importing computers, nuclear reactors and a few other items. The Japanese promised to break down more tariff walls at a fall ministerial meeting of the General Agreement on Tariffs and

Trade. Suzuki told Reagan that U.S.-Japanese relations were the best he could remember. But Reagan and the rest of Suzuki's Western partners weren't mollified. They argued that Japan's package failed to strip away non-tariff trade barriers or to open Japan to significant foreign investment. Suzuki retorted that he had offered as much as Japanese politics would allow.

To patch up such difficulties, the leaders resorted to a favorite device of summitry: the thorough—and procrastinating—study. They ordered studies of Mitterrand's technology concerns and of ways to level out the international currency markets. To

*With Nancy at dinner: Sparkling knickers*

Wally McNamee—NEWSWEEK



## Reagan Pushes

Ronald Reagan used to think that the Soviet Union was too crooked to talk straight about arms control. But now his Administration seems to have changed its tone, if not its mind. Reagan is under fire from a growing anti-nuclear movement at home and abroad; his allies sometimes seem as anxious about his intentions as they do about Leonid Brezhnev's. A costly and expanding arms race can only worsen his budget dilemma. Gradually he has come to believe that pursuing arms control will do more than anti-Soviet rhetoric to unify the Atlantic alliance. And as he travels through Europe this week, he hopes that softer words and some new ideas on arms will offset the thousands of demonstrators who are expected to call him to account. Said one Reagan strategist dryly, "We wanted the President's trip to stress the unity of the alliance, not the tolerance of the democracies for dissent."

**Two-Track:** Reagan's approach calls for a three-part arms-control offensive designed to reassure the allies and to put the Soviets on the defensive. There are only two ways to close the gap the Administration perceives between American and Soviet forces: the Russians can dismantle some of their weapons, or the United States can build more. Instead of choosing between the two approaches, the President is trying to go both ways at once. He wants to negotiate strategic-arms reductions even as Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger talks of plans to fight a "protracted nuclear war." Reagan wants to talk about limiting missiles in Europe while the United States tests and deploys new missiles; and he wants to discuss reducing conventional arms in Europe while improving NATO forces. Whether the two-track approach will work or its contradictions will undo it is hard to say. But on at least one score the President is already enjoying some success: a NEWSWEEK poll indicates that a majority of Americans believe he is sincere about arms control—even though they don't think he'll get very far.

Reagan's harder task—and first priority—is to convince Europe of the soundness as well as sincerity of his arms-control policies. His early, loose talk about the possibilities of a nuclear exchange in Europe deeply alarmed the allies. Some feared they might be reduced to pawns between the superpowers; others feared that, faced with Moscow's overwhelming superiority in ground troops and tanks, the United States would back down rather than expose its own cities to a nuclear attack. To allay these anxieties, NATO decided in 1979 to offset mobile Soviet SS-20 intermediate-range missiles by deploying Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe—while



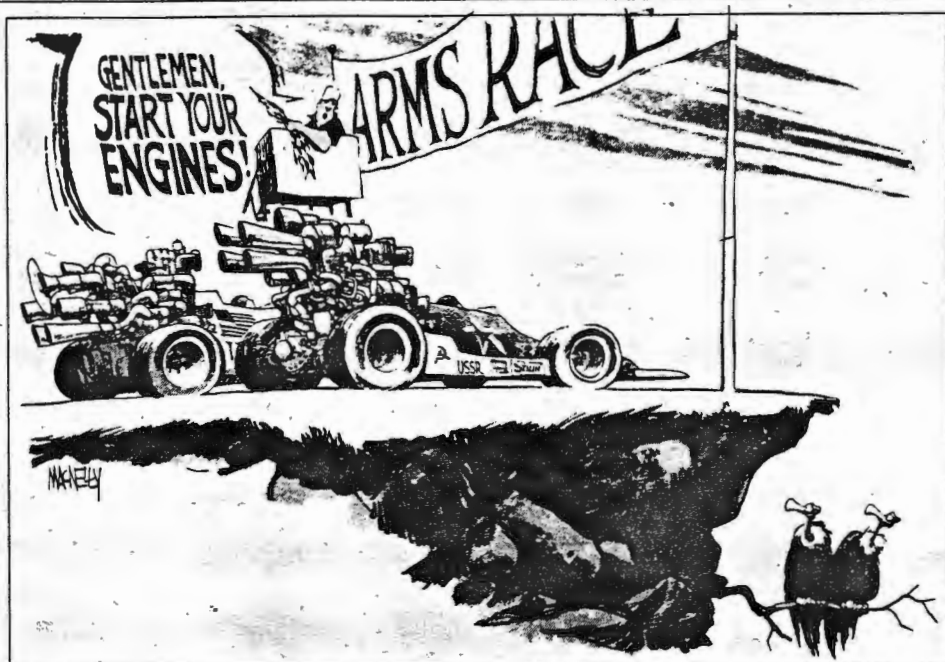
# Arms Control

negotiating a reduction in the number of these missiles to zero. The President has also proposed that Moscow and Washington each reduce its long-range strategic arsenal to 5,000 warheads.

**Commitment:** The Soviet Union and the United States have been talking about intermediate-range missiles in Geneva and will resume talks on bigger nukes at the end of this month. To help restart the strategic-arms talks, the Administration committed itself to honor the stymied SALT II accord, and the Soviet Union agreed to abandon its insistence that the treaty be ratified. The President made the commitment last week, but the deal was made before Reagan's latest pitch on strategic weapons in a speech last month at Eureka College. "The President would not have made such a proposal if he knew it had no chance of success," said one Reagan aide.

No one in the Reagan Administration believes arms negotiations will succeed any time soon. Haig and his aides remain convinced that the Soviets have agreed to talk only to play to the European galleries in hopes of blocking the deployment of the Pershing II and cruise missiles. Moscow says the United States is trying to get something for nothing. But both countries will offer at least a semblance of talking seriously on three fronts:

**START:** The U.S. aim in the strategic arms reduction talks is to get rid of the Soviets' heavy missiles, notably 308 big SS-18's that could knock out U.S. Minute-



MacNelly—Chicago Tribune

man silos. The Soviets are thought to be worried not by missiles that the United States now deploys but by some yet to come, particularly the big and very accurate Trident II and the MX. The outside possibility of a bargain remains if a trade can be worked out reducing existing Soviet weapons in return for prospective American ones. In the Eureka speech Reagan proposed that both sides agree to a limit of 5,000 warheads, down from their current troves of an estimated 7,500, followed later by limits on total throw weight and numbers of land-based weapons. In a 3,000-word editorial last week, Pravda said Reagan's proposal would "inflict considerable damage on the defense capacity" of the Soviet Union. So both sides will begin the START talks perhaps impossibly far apart.

**INF:** There has been little progress since talks on intermediate-range nuclear forces resumed in November. Reagan has proposed that the Soviets give up the more than 200 SS-20 missiles pointed at Western Europe for the cancellation of the planned U.S. deployment of 108 Pershing II missiles and 464 ground-launched cruise missiles in West Germany, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands. The Administration is going ahead with plans to deploy the missiles in 1983. "I'm not sure the Soviets will have much incentive to talk seriously until they are convinced that we are going through with our plans," said one senior U.S. official.

**MBFR:** In a speech to the West German Bundestag this week, Reagan will try to resurrect the moribund mutual balanced force reductions talks on cutting conventional forces in Europe. The talks between twelve NATO nations and the Warsaw Pact have dragged on for nine years in Vienna. Reagan is expected to suggest a

new limit for each side of 700,000 ground troops and 200,000 airmen in Central Europe. The reduction ultimately would require the withdrawal of 91,000 NATO troops and 262,000 Warsaw Pact soldiers. Reagan will also suggest a series of confidence-building measures to verify force reductions and reassure both sides against the threat of sneak attack.

At the same time that Reagan is proposing reductions, he will urge that NATO upgrade its forces. Unlike Jimmy Carter, he will not focus on more European defense spending but instead will suggest that the alliance eliminate waste and duplication in an effort to concentrate on preparing a conventional defense against 29 Warsaw Pact armored divisions.

The difficulties in the Administration's approach are clear. All of Reagan's proposals are simple because they are designed to appeal broadly to U.S. and European public opinion; but they avoid complexities that will inevitably arise once serious talks begin. If Reagan is right in arguing that Moscow holds a significant edge over the West in conventional arms and intermediate- and long-range missiles, then his proposals require a greater sacrifice by the Soviets than by Washington. This is a sound way to begin a tough set of negotiations, but it is obvious that the proposals now on the front pages will not serve as the basis for a deal. Indeed, the Soviet Union may be able to squeeze the Administration into a corner where it will have to make significant concessions or lose the public-relations war. Perhaps the best hope is that whatever their motives, both sides will try so hard to curry public favor that they might talk each other into at least a bit of progress.

JOHN WALCOTT in Paris

## SIZING UP START

For this NEWSWEEK Poll The Gallup Organization interviewed 519 adults by telephone on June 2 and 3. The margin of error is plus or minus 5 percentage points.

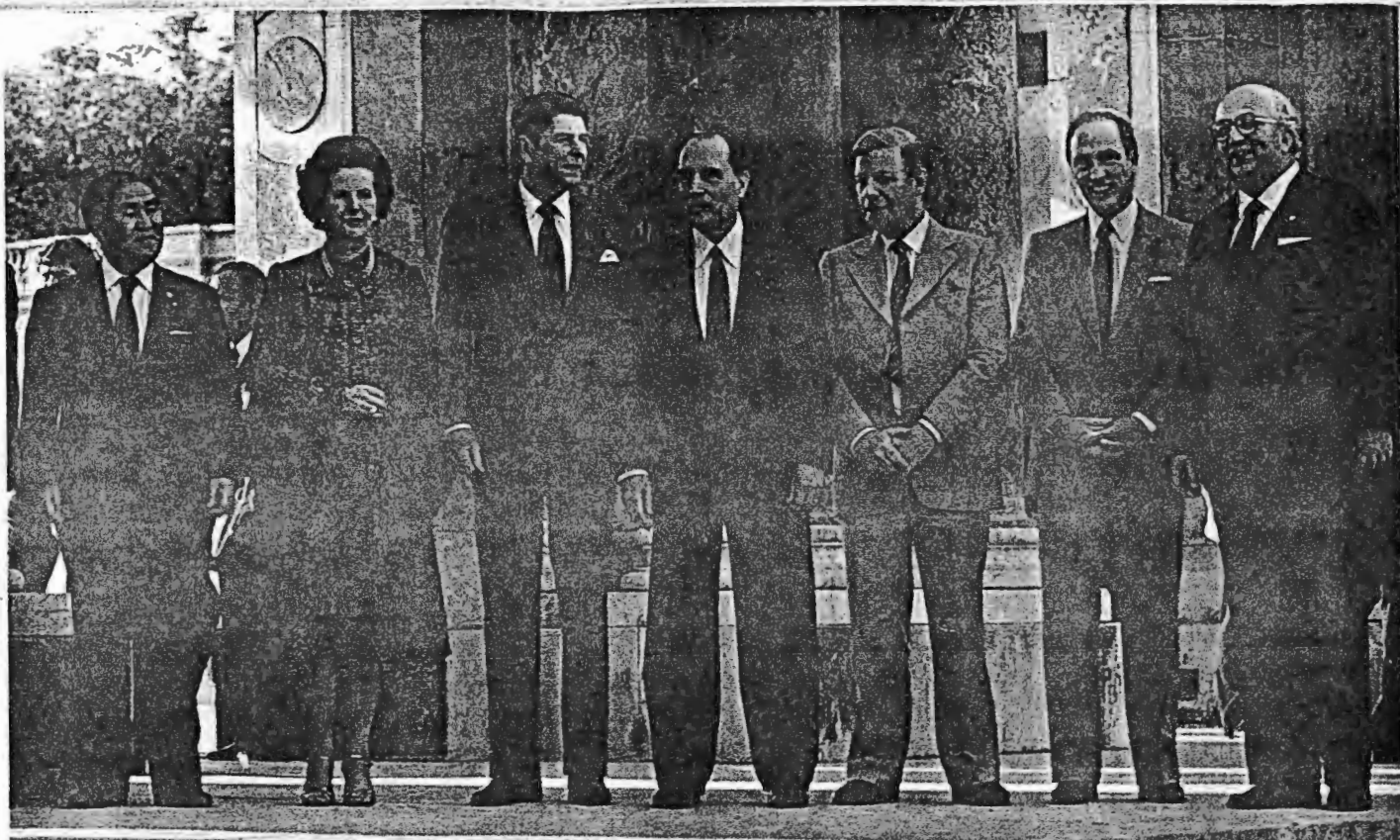
Some people believe that President Reagan's new proposal for strategic nuclear arms reduction talks with the Soviet Union is a genuine effort to cut the size of U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals. Others believe the proposal is designed mainly to stop criticism in the United States and Western Europe of his defense buildup. Which comes closer to your view?

Genuine effort	52%
Stop criticism	38%
Don't know	10%

In your opinion, how likely is it that the United States and the Soviet Union will be able to reach an agreement in the near future to reduce the size of their nuclear arsenals?

Very likely	7%
Fairly likely	26%
Not too likely	36%
Not at all likely	27%
Don't know	4%

Joseph M. Arena—NEWSWEEK



DILIP MEHTA—CONTACT

Ready to meet: Japan's Suzuki, Britain's Thatcher, Reagan, France's Mitterrand, West Germany's Schmidt, Canada's Trudeau, Italy's Spadolini

## Nation

TIME/JUNE 14, 1982

# Summitry with Style

*Gracious toasts and easy charm mark a quest for Western unity*

**I**t was a sumptuous spectacular, the high theater that Ronald Reagan thrives on, with all the world as his stage. Meetings with six world leaders at the stunning Versailles Palace of Louis XIV. Gracious toasts at glittering dinners. Statesmanlike reaffirmations of Western unity. And of course, as always with Reagan, affable banter with foreign politicians and American reporters alike. On the personal level, the President's Grand Tour of Europe got off to a heady start last week in France. Reagan displayed the same style and charm that has disarmed friend and foe at home.

On the political and diplomatic levels, the verdict will take longer to determine. The Versailles summit of leaders of the non-Communist world's seven mightiest industrial powers,\* the eighth in a series devoted to economic issues, produced no new strategy to deal with worldwide recession, and nobody had seriously expected it to do so. But the seven did come to some understandings that make a start—in some cases, a small one—

\*The U.S., Britain, Canada, France, Italy, Japan and West Germany.

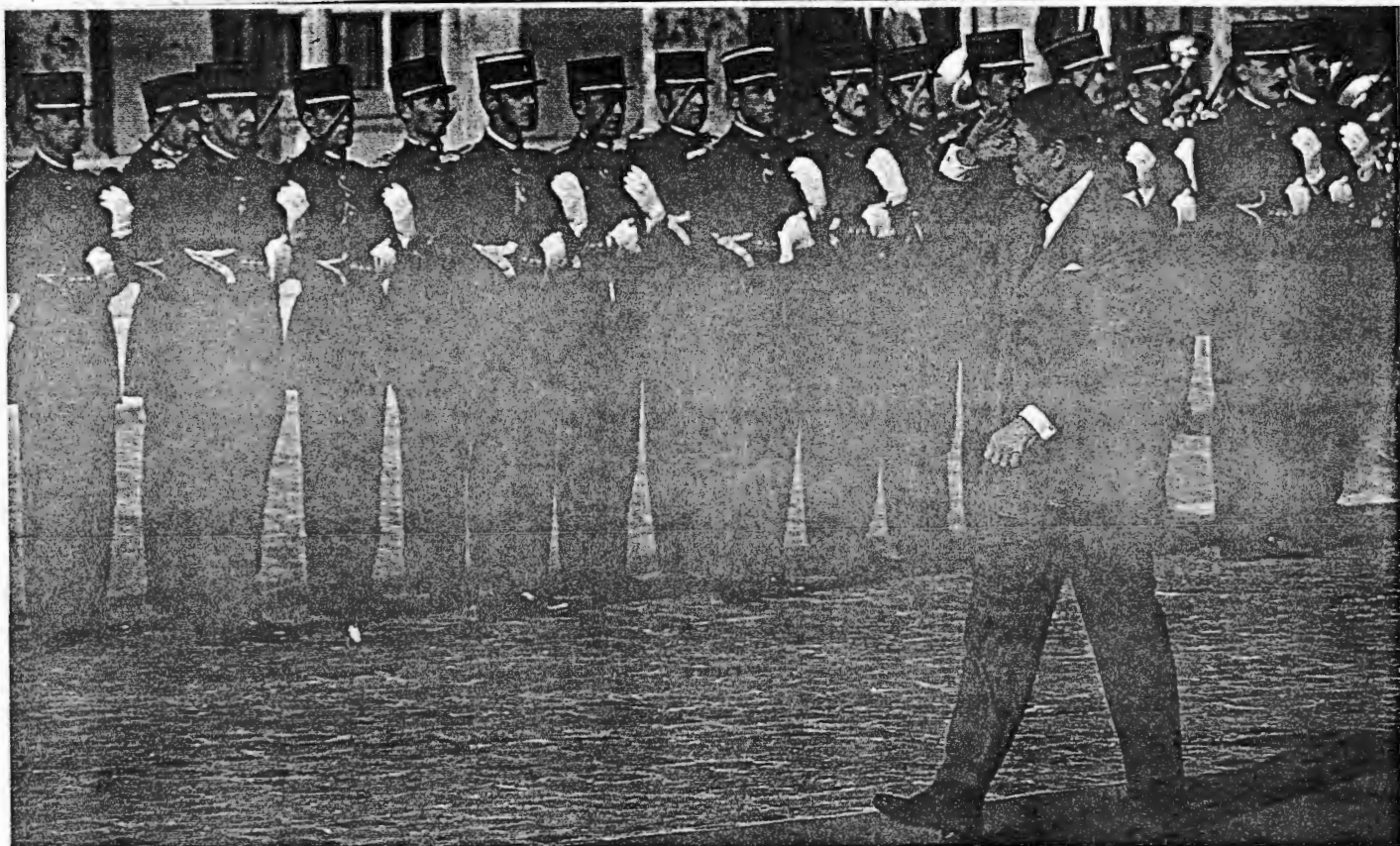
toward bridging divergent positions. The two key decisions:

► The summit agreed to set up a process aimed at achieving stability in the international monetary system and greater economic coordination. In connection with that, the U.S. promised that it would intervene in world money markets to shore up other currencies, presumably selling dollars and buying, say, francs or pounds. Secretary of the Treasury Donald Regan said this would be done only "if there are disorderly market conditions." That did not entirely satisfy the Europeans and Canadians, who would prefer frequent intervention to keep exchange rates fairly stable—so that they would not need to raise their interest rates to protect their currencies. But they viewed it as a substantial concession, since the U.S. had long objected to intervention out of free-market principle. Said West German Finance Minister Manfred Lahnstein: "The U.S. has adopted a different philosophy." Regan denied that, and it remains to be seen whether the U.S. interpretation of what justifies intervention will satisfy the other countries.

► The Europeans indicated a willingness to raise interest rates on government-subsidized loans and export sales to the Soviet Union and some of its allies. If "guidelines" suggested by the 25-nation Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development are adopted, the U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia and East Germany would pay 12¼% to 12½%, depending on the length of the credits, vs. 10¼% to 11% currently. That was a very long way from satisfying the U.S., which had campaigned for restrictions on the amount as well as the cost of credit extended to the Soviet bloc. As late as Saturday evening the Europeans were trying to keep all mention of East-West trade out of the final communiqué, to the displeasure of American negotiators. Nonetheless, making the Soviets pay more for loans would constitute a first step toward removing what Washington regards as a Western subsidy to Communist economies. Said one senior U.S. official: "The President will continue on this course after the summit. It is important to him."

There were other sources of tension at the summit. The British were furious at





DAVID BURNETT—CONTACT

The American President saluting French *Gardes Républicaines* on his arrival at the Palace of Versailles for opening of the summit

the U.S. for trying to switch its vote on a United Nations resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire in the Falkland Islands from veto to abstention (*see WORLD*). At a Friday morning photo session, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher stood stony-faced beside a smiling Reagan, who could not answer reporters' questions as to what had happened. Said one White House aide: "The boss wasn't in on this one. Maybe he should have been. Maybe that was the trouble."

So the first leg of Reagan's European trip was not an unqualified success. There was, of course, much more to come. As Ronald and Nancy Reagan prepared to leave Versailles Monday morning, all the big TV spectacles of their European journey—the President's meeting with Pope John Paul II in the Vatican, his addresses to Britain's Parliament and the West German Bundestag, his horseback ride with Queen Elizabeth II in Windsor Great Park—were yet to occur. So too were the huge anti-Reagan demonstrations being organized by nuclear protesters in Bonn, West Berlin and London.

Administration officials had hoped that Reagan might have drained some of the passion out of the rallies by announcing, before he left Washington, that the U.S. and the Soviet Union would begin talks on reduction of strategic nuclear weapons in Geneva at the end of June. But the early portents were mixed. In Rome, a crowd estimated at anywhere from 100,000 to 300,000 marched Saturday in a demonstration, organized largely by the Italian Communist Party, that took on a decidedly anti-American tone. Many of the marchers shook their fists as they passed the U.S. embassy. On the other

hand, organizers claimed to have brought out 100,000 people in Bonn the same day for a pro-U.S. rally; some carried signs asking WHERE WOULD WE BE WITHOUT AMERICA?

There was no doubt that Reagan was up for his ten-day, 10,659-mile jaunt. The President began striking mixed notes of light humor and high seriousness even before he left. Speaking to 300 Government officials who assembled in the White House East Room Wednesday to see him off, the President observed: "We've got everything packed, and Nancy is upstairs unplugging the toaster. I guess we're ready to go."

**A**fter the laughter died down, the President talked of the importance of his mission to strengthen the Western alliance. Said he: "I know there are some who question the value of the alliance, who view it as cumbersome and at times unresponsive to the need for action. And there are those people still, in our land, who yearn for the isolationist shell. But because we've rejected those other courses back over the recent decades, there has been peace for almost 40 years on the Western front."

Air Force One landed at Orly Airport near Paris a few minutes before midnight on a rainy Wednesday. Nancy held an umbrella over the President as they trod a soggy red carpet, to be greeted by French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson. It was not a night for ceremony. The Reagans sped off to the residence of U.S. Ambassador Evan Galbraith to recuperate from jet lag and prepare for the first serious task: cementing Reagan's friendship with French President François Mitter-

rand, his host at the Versailles summit.

The restrained French Socialist intellectual and the affable American conservative are temperamental as well as ideological opposites; even Reagan's loose strides contrast with Mitterrand's straight-backed, precise steps. But they respect each other as politicians who scored almost simultaneous electoral triumphs, even though as late as 1980 both were widely regarded as has-beens who had missed their chance for power. In addition, they have found common ground on some foreign policy issues. Both fear that if Britain presses the Falkland Islands war with Argentina to a total military victory, relations between Latin America and the Western allies could be poisoned for years to come. But Reagan apparently refrained from urging that view on Thatcher last week.

Reagan started his rounds midday Thursday at an elaborate "working lunch" in the Elysée Palace where Mitterrand was host. The two leaders, with five aides on each side, talked about the Falklands, Central America and the Middle East. Both Presidents agreed that a decisive victory for Iran in its war with Iraq could set off what one French spokesman called an "avalanche" of Muslim fundamentalism threatening the stability of the Persian Gulf region.

All indications were, however, that the leaders paid as much attention to the food (salad of seafood with asparagus; truffled grenadines of veal) as to diplomacy. Said Reagan: "We did not get into heavy discussions." That night Reagan played host to Mitterrand at a lavish dinner (sea bass flambé, saddle of lamb) at the American embassy. Toasting his



## Nation



An afternoon stroll with Thatcher around the gardens of the American embassy in Paris

guest, Reagan remarked that 60,000 Americans lie buried in France, where they fought in the two world wars. Mitterrand recalled that French soldiers fought beside Americans in the U.S. Revolutionary War.

Throughout the day, Reagan was at his informal best. At the Elysée lunch, he told the old joke about a lawyer and a Pope who arrived simultaneously at the gates of heaven. St. Peter admitted the lawyer immediately, explaining to the waiting Pontiff that the attorney got special consideration because heaven was crowded with Popes, but no lawyer had ever made it before. That drew a laugh from present and former lawyers in his audience—including Mitterrand.

Outside the Elysée, an American reporter called out, "How was the food, Mr. President?" Reagan answered in a mock-

reproachful tone, "Now, how could the food be? Delicious. We're in Paris!" At the embassy dinner, the former California Governor told his French guests, "We know France has great appreciation for fine wines. That's why we decided to treat you to some California wine tonight." Mitterrand, carried away by all the camaraderie, addressed Reagan as "*mon cher Ron*."

Nancy Reagan set the Paris fashion world abuzz by appearing at the embassy dinner in black, rhinestone-studded knickers that peeped out from under a chiffon overskirt. The outfit was created by her favorite California designer, James Galanos.

After dinner Nancy did not see her husband between Friday morning and Sunday evening. No spouses were present during the Versailles economic deliberations. The First Lady visited a center for

the blind and a school for chefs in Paris and on Sunday attended a ceremony in Normandy honoring the Americans who fell in the D-day invasion 38 years earlier, while her husband was closeted with the chiefs of government in Louis XIV's palace.

Before going there, Reagan met privately at the U.S. embassy with Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki for an hour and ten minutes, and for 90 minutes with Thatcher, who walked over from the British embassy a few hundred feet away. "Hello, Al," Thatcher called to Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who was waiting to greet her on the steps. Finally, on Friday afternoon before the Versailles summit, Reagan dropped in at the Hôtel de Ville (Paris' city hall) to see Mayor Jacques Chirac, who is also leader of the neo-Gaullists, the strongest opposition party to Mitterrand's Socialists in the French parliament.

Because of the tight security, it was almost the only occasion that enabled the French public to get a glimpse of Reagan. He waved through the tinted glass of his Lincoln at a crowd of 2,000 lining the Avenue Victoria as his motorcade sped away from the meeting with Chirac. One reason for the heavy precautions: that morning a bomb had exploded at the American School of Paris, located in the suburb of Saint-Cloud. There were no injuries. On the school's wall was inscribed the legend ACTION DIRECTE, the name of an outlawed ultraleft organization.

In his conversation with Chirac, Reagan described the meeting of the allied leaders at Versailles as a "historic summit." Indeed, the problems faced by the industrialized West are momentous. From nation to nation, the non-Communist industrial world is mired in its worst economic slump since the 1930s, one marked by heavy unemployment almost everywhere and in most countries (though no longer in the U.S.) by rapid inflation as well. All parties agree that in the interdependent world economy, the major trading nations should keep their economic policies from clashing lest they delay recovery or even make the downturn worse. But preliminary discussions among the diplomatic aides who prepared the way for the summiters turned up sharp variances as to how economic strategies should be coordinated.

**B**efore he left Washington, Reagan declared that he hoped to persuade the other six leaders to reconcile their policies "first, to reduce inflation." That was an unlikely ambition. The Europeans and Canadians regard unemployment as the more pressing evil. The economic arguments are inextricably bound up with world politics. The French and West Germans, in particular, make a strong point that NATO cannot build the military strength that Reagan desires if the economies of the industrialized West are sapped by high unemployment rates. Said one French diplo-



Nancy Reagan visiting a school for chefs in Paris before her husband arrived at Versailles  
Rhinestone-studded knickers at a dinner for Mitterrand set the fashion world abuzz.



mat on the eve of the summit: "If unemployment continues to grow across the Continent, what is a jobless youth to think? He is bound to think that it is absurd to spend billions in national wealth on armaments."

To the other six, the U.S. obsession with fighting inflation is a large part of the problem: it causes high American interest rates, which pull up rates around the world. At the summit, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt told Reagan that "the real impediment to productive investment is high interest rates," and Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau asked: "How long can we wait until interest rates come down?" Reagan replied that he was trying to reduce rates by trimming deficits and even claimed that a balanced U.S. budget is "in sight." When? Treasury Secretary Regan later answered wryly: "President Reagan is a man of long vision."

European economic experts concentrated on winning some concessions on currency intervention, but before the summit they had run into philosophical objections. Said one European summit planner: "I am struck by how dogmatic the Americans are. We used to think of them as the pragmatists, and ourselves as the ideologues. Now they are the ones who are ideological."

**E**ven as helicopters were depositing the seven heads of government on the lawn at Versailles Friday evening, their aides were negotiating what amounted to a trade-off between the Europeans' views on money-market intervention and the prime American demand for some kind of curb on lending to the U.S.S.R. and allies. Economically, it was not very logical: the issues of currency fluctuations and loans to the Soviet bloc have almost nothing to do with each other. Politically, though, the logic was inarguable: each side would get something, though very far from all that it wanted.

Other subjects came up at the summit. The other six once again gently prodded the U.S. to pay more heed to the demands of poor countries for a more equitable sharing of the world's resources. Mitterrand, in his speech opening the summit, presented a vision of heavy investment in high technology lifting both industrial and undeveloped countries out of the economic slough toward higher standards of living. Said Mitterrand expansively: "Communications technologies will usher in a new form of civilization."

Meanwhile, aides were drafting a final communiqué couched in the most general of terms. To some observers, the atmosphere seemed more testy than at previous economic summits, and the compromises struck were certain to please no one totally. But the seven leaders at least down-played their splits and avoided souring the atmosphere for Reagan as he continues his European journey this week. —By George J. Church. Reported by Laurence L. Barrett with Reagan and Lawrence Malkin/Versailles

## The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

# Three Yanks in Europe

**O**ne of those White House aides in gray pinstripes, which all must come from the same store, called this summit journey "Three Yanks in Europe." Not bad. That will sell in Dixon and maybe Peoria as well.

Secretary of the Treasury Donald Regan, along with his economic tomes, packed his trusty tool kit (screwdriver, pliers, corkscrew), which he uses for emergencies, like repairing his spectacles. Secretary of State Alexander Haig ordered up three elegant new suits from his London tailor, Alexander Tarpey (dark gray, darker blue). Ronald Reagan had his Hollywood pompadour sculpted by Hair Virtuoso Milton Pitts and polished a few phrases of schoolbook French ("Merci beaucoup," delivered like "Aw shucks"). The President also made sure that some California wine (Grgich Hills Chardonnay 1979) and Nancy's Galanos gowns were in the hold of Air Force One before he put the whole troupe on the plane for Paris, the Pope, the Queen and the Berlin Wall.

There was a touch of Crosby and Hope on one of their "Roads" and some of Gene Kelly's misty romance with Parisian streets and plenty of sincerity from Ronald Reagan of the Middle West. The cynics can deplore the modern summit ritual, with its posturing and pomp, but nobody has thought of a better idea.

A stockbroker, a general and an actor were the three U.S. principals. That still baffles Europe's professional dignitaries. "Where do you Americans get these chaps?" asked one host. "We don't know, but they are ours just the same," came the retort. Regan delivered some economic jargon to placate the nervous markets. Haig wove a global aura, gently urging the President to take the leading role as healer and reconciler. Reagan was all impresario, trying at once to be strong, understanding, intelligent, friendly and gracious. Nancy provided the glamour, with just the right touch of fashion daring. "Paris is a woman's city," she declared.

The nation may have lost its pre-eminence in autos and television sets, but the presidential odyssey is one area in which the U.S. still excels. The traveling cast this time included more than 500 aides, journalists and camera crews. Hundreds of other officials from embassies and the armed services rallied around the road show at critical points. Monster jets, helicopters, trains, boats, buses and horses were choreographed in this migration. The entourage stunned the host countries.

The American media flooded the world. Nobody wields as effective a mimeograph machine as the White House (musings only by Regan and Haig ran to 21 pages on the flight across the Atlantic). "We run the Government no matter where we are," said Presidential Aide James Baker, ensconced in a suite in the Crillon, a favorite Parisian watering hole of Ernest Hemingway's 60 years ago. Indeed, after Reagan went by limousine from lunch at the Elysée Palace to the American embassy, he slipped off his coat, sat down in shirtsleeves below a picture of Jefferson's home at Monticello, and sent his thoughts on the budget battle back to his troops on the banks of the Potomac.

This kind of summitry is always guided chaos. There is tension between nations, between staffs, between individuals. Yet there is almost always reaffirmation of the principle of liberty, the glue of the free world.

Summits remind most thoughtful people that American nuclear forces contain the Soviets, that American carriers guard the trade routes and even that British Harriers in the Falklands fire American Sidewinder missiles. The real issue in this European extravaganza is U.S. leadership. Ronald Reagan seems to understand. A Yank who has a prairie heritage, has a beautiful wife in rhinestones and knickers, and is fun at a dinner party has a lot going for him. The very least Reagan can do is go out as he did in the old days to win one for the Gipper. He was doing O.K. when we last saw him in Versailles's majestic Hall of Mirrors.



An American in Paris