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THE WHITE HOUSE

OFFICE OF THE FIRST LADY'S PRESS SECRETARY

DAILY READING FILE

SATURDAY, SUNDAY & MONDAY

JUNE 12, 13, 14, 1982

cc: Michael Deaver
Jim Rosebush
Ann Wrobleski - for interdepartmental circulation
Muffie Brandon - for interdepartmental circulation
Sheila Tate - for interdepartmental circulation
Elaine Crispen

Nation

"You Are Not Alone"

At home abroad, Reagan charms and reassures his European hosts



Obviously tired but exuberant, like many another tourist returning from a whirlwind trip to Europe, Ronald Reagan had an inspirational thought for the 15,000 well-wishers who gathered at Andrews Air Force Base outside Washington Friday night to welcome him home. In 10,659 miles of travel through five nations in ten days, and meetings with a Pope, a Queen and heads of government of the 15 other NATO countries, the President discovered

that "America has a lot of friends." Reagan noted that he had told West Germans, and by extension all of America's allies: "We are with you. You are not alone." He added: "I come home with a message from our allies. *We* are not alone. They are with us."

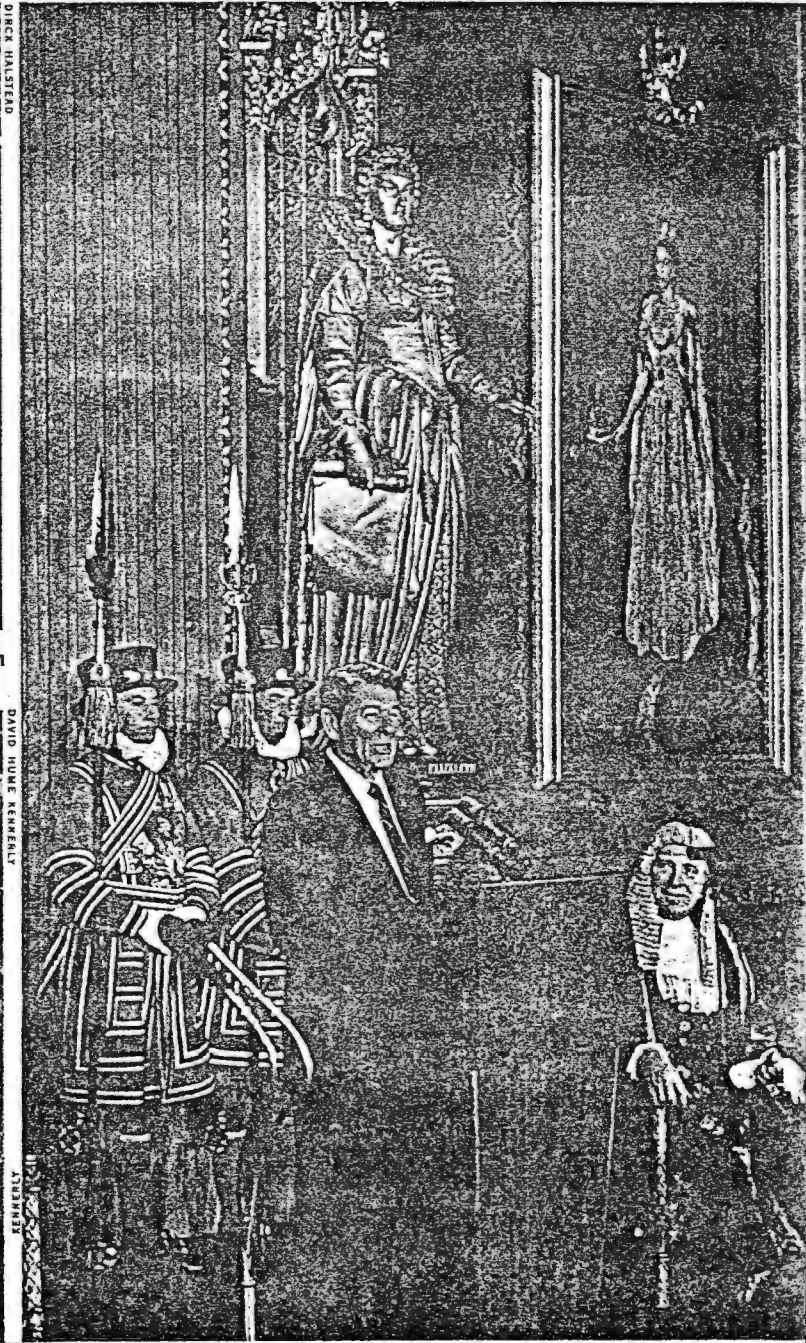
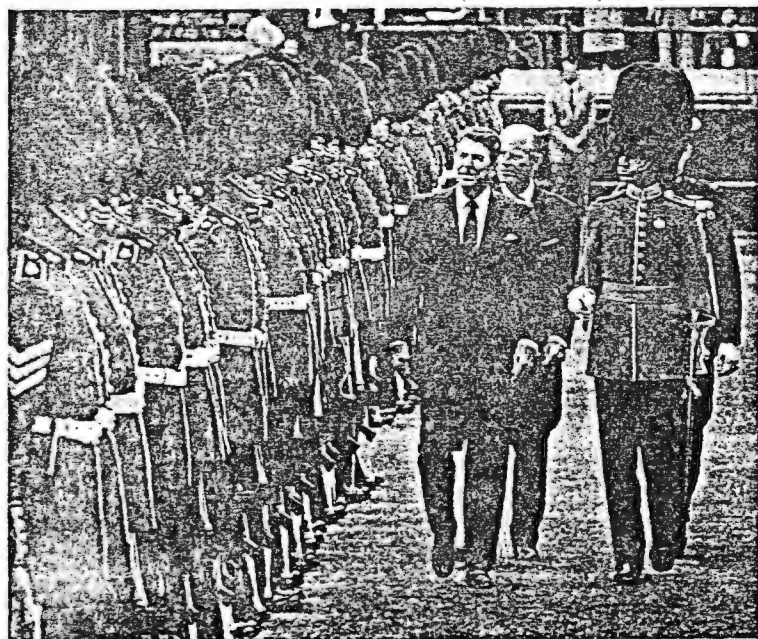
It was, of course, not quite as simple as that. On a personal level, Reagan's Grand Tour had indeed gone well. The President nodded, literally, in the Vatican, but from then on moved through an extremely taxing schedule with grace, affability and

aplomb. He read his big set speeches to members of the British Parliament and the West German Bundestag with flawless timing and resonance, and drew a laughing cheer from the Bonn politicians with a deft putdown of a solitary heckler. The man in the *rue*, *via* or *Strasse* could hardly help noticing that Reagan neither looked nor sounded like the crude, hip-shooting nuclear cowboy so often drawn by European caricaturists.

But there were shadows on the ceremonial glitter of the tour. Germans who



Emotion and pageantry: with the Pope in the Vatican; speaking in Westminster's Royal Gallery; an honor guard at Windsor Castle



took to the streets to protest against nuclear weapons seemed equally anxious to lambaste the U.S. and ridicule Reagan. Supertight security precautions both annoyed Reagan's European hosts and made the President seem a remote figure. European crowds, who had attended big rallies and waved small American flags for previous touring Presidents, this time had to settle for watching pageantry-filled spectacles on TV or at best catching a brief glimpse of a whizzing motorcade.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon crowded the carefully staged media events of the tour for headline space and TV time on two continents. Indeed, the fighting conflicted with the image of mastery of foreign policy that Reagan was trying to convey: the U.S. seemed impotent to restrain a close ally from taking an action that the President deplored.

The early verdict on Reagan's trip has to be mixed. To that sizable majority of Europeans already disposed to be pro-American, the President conveyed reassurance that the U.S. remains committed

to the NATO alliance and is genuinely seeking peace and arms reduction in negotiations with the Soviets. But Reagan encountered much skepticism from the burgeoning European "peace" movement. Josef Leinen, one of the organizers of an antinuclear rally in Bonn, challenged the President to prove that he was not merely mouthing "empty disarmament slogans." In face-to-face discussions with European political leaders, Reagan reinforced personal rapport but gained little more agreement on policy than had existed before he left Washington.

The President got a foretaste of these inconclusive results at the end of the first leg of his ten-day tour, the economic summit meeting at Versailles, where the heads of the seven strongest non-Communist industrial powers gathered. While Nancy Reagan was off visiting the graves of American servicemen buried at Normandy, the seven leaders were at work on a communiqué that set up groups to study possible com-

promises on two key issues: European desire that the U.S. intervene in currency markets to prevent wild fluctuations, and American insistence that European governments curb loans to and trade with the Soviet bloc. French President François Mitterrand, the summit host, described one section of the communiqué as "ambiguous and permissive." This meant, presumably, that anyone could read into it whatever significance he or she chose. Mitterrand added: "*Je suis resté sur ma faim*." (I am still hungry). Admitted a White House aide: "Versailles wasn't the smash we felt Ottawa had been in '81."

From Versailles, Reagan set out Monday on the most exhausting day of his trip. The first stop was Rome, where the presidential party helicoptered from Ciampino Airport to the Vatican Gardens. Reagan and Pope John Paul II went into the Vatican Library alone for 50 minutes of private conversation—in English, one of several languages that the Pope speaks fluently. Their official parties then joined them for a ceremony televised live on two



Riding a "reasonable" horse and dining with Princess Margaret and Queen Elizabeth II; meeting with Prime Minister Thatcher



Nation

continents. Reagan described his journey to Europe as "a pilgrimage for peace"; the Pope remarked that "the horror of all warfare, whether nuclear or not, makes it totally unacceptable as a means of settling differences." As the Pope spoke in the hot Vatican Library, made more stuffy by TV lights, millions of TV viewers watched Reagan's head droop on his chest, bob up and go down again; finally he rubbed his hand across his face and popped to attention. As the Reagans left the Vatican, 250 American priests and seminarians burst into a well-rehearsed and rousing chorus of *America the Beautiful*, bringing tears to the President's eyes.

The Reagans then sped off to two Renaissance palaces: the Quirinale, for lunch with Italian President Alessandro Pertini, and the Chigi, for a call on Prime Minister Giovanni Spadolini. The ceremonies were a bit rushed, because the President was running late. No matter; the Italians have no serious policy differences with Washington, and they seemed flattered by the attention paid to them.

Aboard Air Force One, flying out of Rome after the 6½-hour visit, aides hung a DO NOT DISTURB sign on the door of Reagan's private compartment. The leader of the free world was taking a nap. Said one adviser: "He snapped back pret-

ty well by the time we hit England."

Queen Elizabeth II greeted Reagan in the magnificent gardens of Windsor Castle, outside London, from which King John in 1215 set forth to promulgate the Magna Carta. The Reagans dined that night at the castle with the Queen and 35 guests, including a very pregnant Diana, Princess of Wales. A formal banquet for the Reagans was held at Windsor the following night. No U.S. President had been entertained before at the castle, much less spent two nights there.

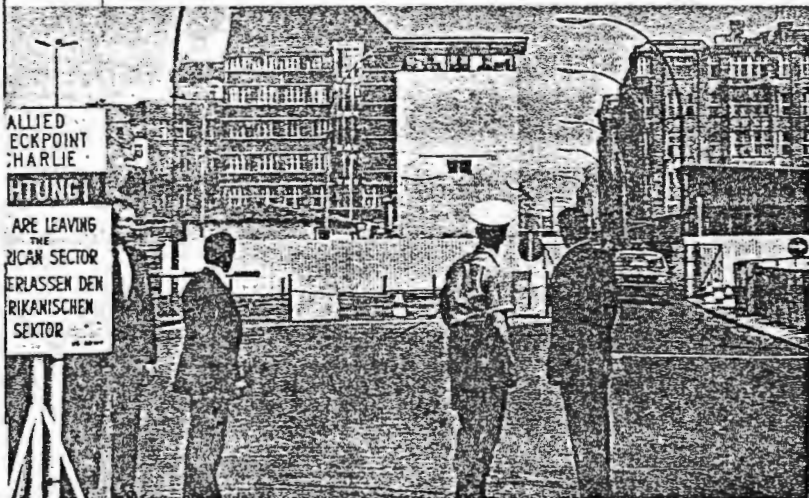
On Tuesday morning, Reagan took a highly publicized horseback ride with Queen Elizabeth through Windsor Home Park. Reagan's chestnut gelding, Centennial, donated to the royal stables by the Canadian Mounties, was certainly no match for the spirited steeds the President rides in the U.S. With stiff upper lip, a palace aide described the horse as "reasonable." Reagan paused to exchange inane but affable banter with reporters. Queen Elizabeth, wearing a yellow scarf, listened for a while, looking distinctly displeased, then began to ride off. A moment later, Reagan followed. British and American accounts of the royal family's reception for Reagan differed considerably. White House Dep-

uty Chief of Staff Michael Deaver said the Reagans "had a wonderful time. We all did." To some British eyes, the Queen often looked tight-lipped and unsmiling.

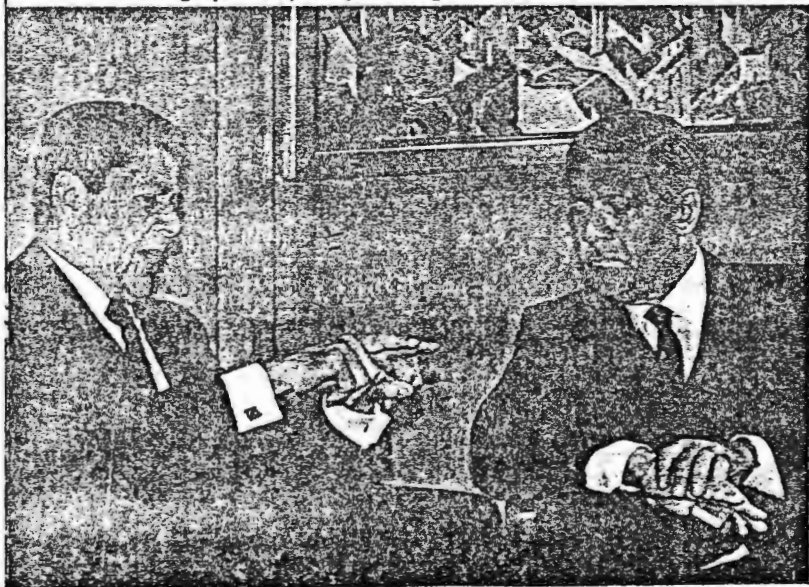
Queen Elizabeth may have been put off by the extreme security precautions enveloping Reagan's trip. For instance, her aides refused a request that U.S. stewards watch over preparation of the President's food. Other hosts were miffed too. In Rome, Spadolini was kept by U.S. security men from going through the tight cordon outside the Palazzo Chigi until Italian police could finally inform them that the gentleman they were holding up from a meeting with Reagan was the Prime Minister of Italy. In Bonn, U.S. security men annoyed the Germans by insisting on inspecting the carbines of an honor guard welcoming Reagan to make sure the guns were not loaded. The security obsession was not confined to Americans. Outside Bonn, West German security agents searched the cars of the U.S. Secret Service men guarding Reagan, opening hoods and trunks as they looked for hidden explosives.

The highlight of Reagan's visit to London was his speech to 500 members of both Houses of Parliament, government officials and other guests in the Royal Gallery at the Palace of Westminster on

The President at Checkpoint Charlie along the Berlin Wall; addressing the Bundestag in Bonn and appealing to what is really two West Germanys



Making a point in prickly meeting with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt



Tuesday. The occasion was filled with the pageantry that the British manage better than anyone else. Five Yeomen of the Guard, in Tudor uniforms and carrying halberds, stood behind the President, who was flanked by parliamentary dignitaries in full robes and wigs. At the far end of the gallery, Reagan faced a portrait of George III, as he graciously noted in his speech. The President recalled that on a visit to the British embassy in Washington last year, where he also encountered a portrait of the monarch against whom the American colonists rebelled, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher counseled him to "let bygones be bygones."

Reagan's speech stressed the theme that the Western allies are united by cultural and moral values that stand in sharp contrast to Soviet totalitarianism. The President struck both harsh and conciliatory notes. He summoned the allies to a "crusade for freedom" that would "leave Marxism-Leninism on the ash heap of history." He caused a stir in the hall when he invited Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev to speak on American television if Reagan could also address Soviet citizens on TV. At one point, he expounded on the "astounding" economic failures of the U.S.S.R., declaring that "a country which employs one-fifth of its people in agriculture is unable to feed its own people." To some listeners, Reagan sounded as if he were predicting imminent Soviet economic collapse—a view with which many of the most pro-American NATO leaders emphatically disagree.

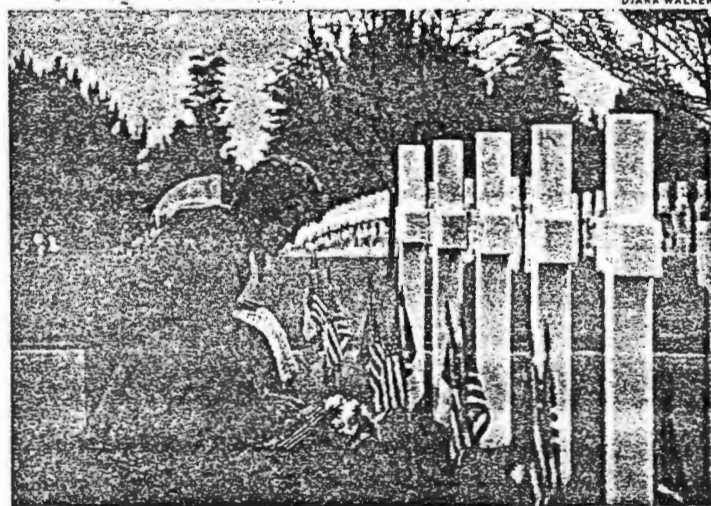
Though both the President's delivery and the responses were restrained, in keeping with British tradition, Reagan drew rumbles of "hear, hear" and a burst of applause by asserting that in the Falkland Islands British soldiers are fighting not "for lumps of rock and earth," but for the principle that armed aggression must not be allowed to succeed.

At breakfast with Reagan the next day, Prime Minister Thatcher, an ideological soul mate, positively glowed. "This has been a tremendously successful visit," she said. Some other Britons were less pleased. The *Guardian*, an intellectual left-of-center newspaper, called Reagan "a wonderful old smoothie" but, style aside, viewed his speech as cold war rhetoric. Though the leaders of the opposition Labor Party attended the Royal Gallery speech, many backbenchers boycotted it. Members of a left-wing faction held a simultaneous meeting to protest what they viewed as a simplistic, black-and-white approach to NATO-Soviet relations.

From London, Reagan flew on Wednesday to Bonn, where he faced one of his most difficult tasks. West German

politics are rived by an exceptionally wide generation gap. Older Germans, who vividly remember war and foreign occupation, are mostly pro-NATO, though often worried about American commitment to the alliance. Youths under 30 are flocking in growing numbers to an antinuclear movement that tends to consider a missile-armed NATO a greater threat to peace than the Soviet forces across the East German border. Reagan in effect would be addressing two Germans.

Reagan's first effort, a private meeting with West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, went badly. Schmidt stressed the importance of détente to Germans. Reagan replied that after Soviet actions in Afghanistan and Poland "you can't talk about détente." Reagan pressed for higher West German spending on conventional arms. Schmidt was noncommittal, pointing out that West Germany, unlike the U.S., imposes a draft on military-age youths. Neither leader



Nancy Reagan visiting graves of Americans who fell on D-day in Normandy

was sorry to end the prickly talk a few minutes early. This enabled Reagan to rest for ten minutes in the office of Bundestag President Richard Stücklen before addressing the West German parliament.

The speech to the Bundestag was one of the major successes of Reagan's tour. In a message that he repeated everywhere in Europe, but that had special force in West Germany, the President assured his listeners that the U.S. military buildup was a sign of American determination to live up to its commitments to defend its allies. To his memorable "You are not alone" line, the President added, "Our adversaries would be foolishly mistaken should they gamble that Americans would abandon their alliance responsibilities, no matter how severe the test."

Reagan's speech also addressed the peace movement directly and cogently. Said the President: "To those who march for peace, my heart is with you. I would be at the head of your parade if I believed marching alone could bring about a more secure world . . . The question is how to proceed." To previous U.S. proposals for elimination of intermediate-range nuclear

weapons in Europe and reduction of strategic nuclear arms, Reagan added a suggestion for cutbacks in conventional forces. NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries, he said, should reduce their armed forces in Europe to 900,000 each: 700,000 ground troops, 200,000 air force personnel. U.S. officials have made essentially the same proposal before in negotiations that have been dragging on in Vienna for nine years. Agreement has been blocked because the two alliances have different counts for the size of the forces they maintain now. By U.S. figures, the NATO reductions in ground troops would be 91,000; the Warsaw Pact cutback would be 262,000.

The Bundestag Deputies interrupted Reagan with applause 21 times. At one point, Karl-Heinz Hansen, a Deputy who had been expelled from Schmidt's Social Democratic Party because of his anti-NATO views, cried, "El Salvador." Reagan paused and mock-innocently asked, "Is there an echo in here?" The Deputies showed their approval of this skillful handling of a heckler with laughter and cheers.

Leaders of the peace movement showed that they had been listening too when they convened an antinuclear rally the next day. At least 200,000 people from all parts of West Germany poured into the Beuel section of Bonn, across the Rhine from the windowless conference chamber where Reagan was attending a summit meeting of the NATO countries. A widely distributed leaflet for the rally was strongly anti-American and anti-NATO; one placard read HEIL, RONALD REAGAN. But the mood of the crowd was as much pacifist as anti-Reagan, and unexpectedly relaxed. Said retired

Dutch General M.H. von Meyenfeldt, who addressed the rally: "There are an awful lot of people out there who are here for the sun." Many speakers referred to Reagan's Bundestag remarks and challenged the President to prove that he is really ready, in Organizer Leinen's words, "to begin a crusade for peace and disarmament."

The NATO summit, the first since 1978, was a cut-and-dried affair. The government leaders welcomed Spain as the 16th member of the alliance, made ten-minute speeches without debate or discussion, and issued a communiqué that had been drafted by aides long before they arrived in Bonn. The communiqué endorsed U.S. arms-control proposals but, to American disappointment, pledged the alliance members to increase defense spending only in the most general, nonbinding terms. Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau judged the whole affair to be a waste of time. Said he: "One should expect more than rubber-stamping from heads of government and state who travel thousands of miles. And yet that is what it is. Each head of government makes a

speech paraphrasing the communiqué."

Well, not every head of government. Reagan, just before the end of the ceremonies Thursday afternoon, launched into a ten-minute extemporaneous address that he delivered with deep feeling. Said one State Department official: "That was the real Reagan." The President talked of the Soviet Union's unkept promises of free elections in Eastern Europe after World War II, its crushing of the Hungarian, Czechoslovak and Polish experiments in freedom. He expressed again his belief that the form of détente practiced in the 1970s had been "a one-way street."

For all that, Reagan assured his colleagues, he did not want a return to cold war and had no intention of waging economic warfare against the U.S.S.R. Quite the contrary, he said; the West should be ready to trade with and help the Soviet Union, provided that the U.S.S.R. signaled "in deeds" that "it was prepared to be a responsible member of the international community." Beyond that, he said, he wanted to do away with the armed camps into which the world is divided. He even expressed hope that Soviet leaders would some day be sitting at the table with his NATO colleagues, talking not about

East-West relations but about how to lift the developing world out of its poverty.

The shortest stop on Reagan's trip was a 3-hr. 10-min. visit to West Berlin on Friday. There, the only really hostile demonstrators of the week had gathered. Upwards of 2,000 collected for an illegal rally some miles from the airport where Reagan landed and hurled cobblestones at police who tried to disperse them with tear gas. Some 200 rioters were injured, and 271 were arrested. The protesters set 15 fires, burning cars, police barricades and a furniture

Debate with Doodles

The official communiqués summed up decisions reached at the Versailles economic summit but not the mood and spirit of the high-level talks that led to the decisions. After interviewing several participants, TIME European Correspondent Lawrence Malkin was able to reconstruct a bit of what took place at the afternoon session on Saturday, June 5:

It is sultry and close inside the *Salle du Sacre* (Coronation Room). The men at the huge conference table have their jackets off, and even British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, in a light summer dress, has a few beads of perspiration along her impeccable upper lip. The debate on economic and monetary affairs, supposedly the height of the summit, drones on. President Reagan starts amusing himself by doodling neat little pen portraits of imaginary figures—a nondescript man with a mustache, something that looks like a smiling Marlboro cowboy, and the head of a horse. Treasury Secretary Donald Regan passes a note to Secretary of State Alexander Haig: "We should be out swimming in that fountain." Haig scribbles back: "Yes, without all these clothes on." "I agree," Ronald Reagan signs on. Then, in full view of his colleagues, his eyelids droop, and the President of the United States dozes off.

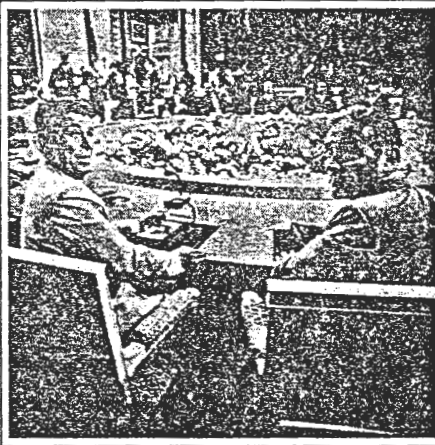
Canada's Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau had kicked off the session in his hectoring style by demanding to know each nation's economic plans. "Can we control inflation without imposing unacceptable levels of unemployment?" he asked. "When will real rates of interest come down, and if that depends on deficits coming down, how long can we wait?" Then he turned to Reagan and asked how the other leaders could help him politically in his struggle with Congress to reduce the U.S. budget deficit.

Reagan held forth for 20 minutes. Franklin Roosevelt, he said, had run in the 1936 election on a program of lowering unemployment through higher deficits, but that policy had not worked. "It took World War II to cure that," Reagan argued. A presidential survey of the failings of postwar Keynesianism was followed by a primer on Reaganomics: cutting the level of Government spending, deregulation and a tax program to stimulate investment. U.S. inflation was coming down, and unemployment, he hastened to add, started rising before his election; as for the recession, well, that was the Federal Reserve's fault because it reined back too

quickly on the money supply. Yes, he conceded, the budget deficit is too high, but we're trying to cut back.

Still annoyed at the U.S. waffle on the Falklands crisis, Thatcher was nevertheless diplomatic in reminding Reagan of the dangers of huge budget deficits. "It is wrong to assume that deficit spending works," she said. "Even Keynes didn't think so, and I know because I've been reading Keynes. There is not necessarily a trade-off between inflation and unemployment."

West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, waiting for



Reagan and Haig at a sultry summit

his turn at the microphone, became notably restless. He had to sit through yet another lesson, from Japan's impenetrable Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki. His message: "We have kept inflation down due to the Japanese people and their character." When at last he got a chance to speak, Schmidt complained that high interest rates were choking off new investment and pounded the table as he described the link between inflation and exchange rates. "Inflation began with the Viet Nam War," he said. "We printed money to pay for oil—all of us." Schmidt said he liked the predictability and discipline imposed by the European monetary system, adding that West Germany was not going to spend its hoard of dollars to support other currencies (for which read the French franc), but only to help keep the system running smoothly. Turning to the U.S. Treasury Secretary, Schmidt said: "I like the [interest] rates you're paying on dollars, Mr. Regan." Replied Regan: "Don't get too used to that."

Schmidt was reminded that Don Regan that very morning had promised to intervene in disorderly exchange markets. "Didn't you notice that?" asked Reagan. No, he hadn't, the Chancellor admitted. Anyway, Reagan went on to argue, even if U.S. interest rates came down, it would be "no panacea" for the world economy. As for the Fed, "we cannot order them not to publish the money-supply figures. They're an independent body, but we'll relay the message." The President finished up with a little homily about "no quick fixes" for the world's economic problems. Said the summit chairman, French President François Mitterrand: "Nobody can accuse Ronald Reagan of going back on his principles."

There were no great surprises at the session. As one participant observed: "They all sounded just the same inside as they do outside." They also sounded as if they were unaware of one of John Maynard Keynes' most trenchant observations on the way the real world works: "Practical men, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist."

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

Rekindling Pride and Purpose

Ronald Reagan's European journey was an extraordinary history lesson written on prime time. All along the way, there were echoes of old struggles and triumphs, images of ancestors who fled the Continent and of their descendants who went back to fight. Time and time again the sound of bugles awakened memories that spoke of our closeness and common fate.

Reagan began the lesson by noting, in a radio broadcast to the folks back home, that not many steps away from where he was seated in the Versailles Palace, the rotund and wise Benjamin Franklin struck a deal with Louis XVI in 1778 that brought vital French help in the Revolution. "Now, I don't want to give you a history lesson," Reagan said, but of course he did just that. He summoned up images of the proud and stubborn Woodrow Wilson, who journeyed to Versailles after World War I, determined to forge a peace that could end all war, a hope that regrettably had little chance. The Versailles Treaty was signed on a June day 63 years ago.

Reagan's journey marked the 35th June since Secretary of State George Marshall talked at Harvard about an immense rehabilitation plan for Europe. It was also the 21st anniversary of John Kennedy's first summit venture, during which he became so intimidated by the imperious Charles de Gaulle that he began to study French when he got home so he could be on equal terms with the old statesman.

On June 6, Nancy Reagan helicoptered to Normandy and looked down on Omaha Beach. Exactly 38 years earlier, the roar from the world's greatest amphibious combat shook the sea and cliffs that last week heard only the shouts of children. Church bells up and down the coast tolled in those morning hours, and the story of the great invasion was recounted over and over. Nancy Reagan's party paused before a German bunker, preserved as a memorial, with the words of Franklin Roosevelt carved across its top: "We would rather die on our feet than live on our knees."

In Britain the President and Queen Elizabeth graciously joked about her forebear George III, who, she said, "played a seemingly disastrous role" in our affairs some 200 years back. When Reagan went to view the Berlin Wall, the gesture evoked more memories, this time of Kennedy, 19 June ago, when millions of besieged West Berliners cheered and wept as he drove through their midst and finally shouted his challenge, now etched deeply in history: "Ich bin ein Berliner!"

Surely one of the dividends of Reagan's trip was a rekindling of pride and purpose from the past. But something else emerged against this tapestry of memories. The importance of economic matters, of peaceful contention in the marketplaces instead of war along the beaches, loomed larger than it ever has. Even when war news from the Middle East and the Falklands intruded into the discussions, and when Reagan felt he had to emphasize the need for military strength, the concern about high interest rates and unemployment would not be turned aside. Perhaps the most provocative proposal of the ten days on the road was made by French President François Mitterrand, who urged the industrial nations to better foresee and harness new technology. Within that idea is a glimmer of the immense reality that the free world can defeat Communism only with economic vitality, not arms.

In Kennedy's time, the U.S. could arrange the economic landscape the way it wanted to. Presidents went to summits to talk about how to fight wars, from nuclear to jungle. Events in the world may now be forcing the allies into a truly cooperative economic consortium, much as military threats originally shaped NATO. The thin but sustainable hope is that some future President can stand at a crumbling vestige of the Berlin Wall and recall that years before, President Ronald Reagan had gone there and predicted the Wall's decay.



John Kennedy proclaiming "Ich bin ein Berliner"

shop. Said one demonstrator: "We thought Reagan would see the fires from the air."

The President, however, had already landed at Tempelhof Airport, now a U.S. military installation. There, for the only time on his European tour, he plunged into a crowd—of "G.I. Joes and Jills," as he put it. The President seemed tired and moved stiffly because of his bulletproof vest. There was one touching note: a little girl slipped between the legs of a Secret Service man and thrust a bouquet at Reagan as he was reviewing troops. Without breaking stride, the President grasped the flowers in his left hand while continuing to salute with his right. Quite unintentionally, the incident symbolized the image he was trying to convey to Europe: military determination on the one hand, offers of negotiation and arms control on the other.

After a visit to the Berlin Wall where for a fleeting moment he mischievously put one foot over the line marking a no man's land between the two zones, the President pursued what had become a full-fledged peace offensive in a speech at the Charlottenburg Palace. His audience consisted of 25,000 West Berliners who had written for free tickets weeks in advance. Said Reagan: "We shortly will approach the Soviet Union with proposals in such areas as notification of strategic exercises, of missile launches, and expanded exchange of strategic-forces data." The aim would be to prevent nuclear war from starting by accident. Aides said the President will expand on these ideas in a speech to a U.N. session on disarmament in New York City this week.

One last ceremony remained before the President flew home: a formal farewell back in Bonn. Chancellor Schmidt, for all the testiness of his private meeting with Reagan two days earlier, was gracious and complimentary. Quoting from Reagan's speeches to the Bundestag and in Berlin, Schmidt asserted: "When the President of the United States says that the shores of Europe are our shores, and that the borders of Europe are our borders, and that the freedom of Berlin is our freedom—it was important for people here and for the people of Europe to hear this. Thank you, Mr. President."

Reagan replied: "Diplomacy is important, but friendship leaves an even more lasting impression. Your friendship for us has been an especially moving experience." It was an effective parting note. The President's trip was not exactly a triumphal tour, and his diplomacy did not heal the divisions in NATO. But he and his hosts gave a needed reminder to both Europeans and Americans that the allies, for all their differences, are just that—allies.

—By George J. Church
Reported by Laurence L. Barrett with Reagan and European bureaus

Reagan's Global Crusade —Will Europe Join It?

U.S. allies show a distinct preference for the President's policy of conciliation rather than his call for an ideological offensive against Russia.

Reported from
European Capitals

Europeans are weighing seemingly contradictory messages that Ronald Reagan delivered during his 10-day journey through allied capitals.

The first lays stress on promoting alliance unity by conciliating America's partners. In one capital after another and at two summit meetings, the President concentrated on defusing disagreements with allies, especially on the deeply divisive issue of relations with Russia.

Result: Reagan succeeded in preventing a further dangerous unravelling of the Atlantic Alliance and dispelled a widespread image of himself as a warmonger.

The other message, which aides say came from Reagan's heart, calls for a "crusade for freedom"—a global campaign to actively support democratic forces everywhere, even inside the Soviet bloc.

Result: Little impact on Europeans. The few who heard it at all—it was largely ignored by the media—tended to dismiss it as unrealistic and irrelevant.

Over all, the assessment of Reagan's journey is that he scored a qualified success. White House aides say the President would have done even better had wars in the Middle East and the Falklands not overshadowed his "pilgrimage for peace."

What perplexed Europeans who were aware of the President's appeal for an ideological offensive against Soviet Communism was what, in fact, he has in mind. To quote the *Times* of London: "What does this mean in terms of practical policies?" Political observers wonder:

Is Reagan bent on mounting the kind of cold-war

campaign that the Central Intelligence Agency waged in the post-World War II period—with millions of dollars earmarked to support political parties and trade unions and to influence the outcome of elections around the world?

Or is he merely extolling, in a philosophical way, the virtues of democracy over Communism, which he said will be left "on the ash heap of history"?

Reagan, in an unprecedented address to the British Parliament, offered little in the way of explanation. He indicated that what he envisioned was a quasi-governmental institution that

would contribute to "the global campaign for democracy now gathering force." (For excerpts from Reagan's "crusade" speech, see page 73.)

If the President counts on European allies to participate in such a crusade, he is almost certain to be disappointed. In London, he got a sample of the response he could expect from most allies.

The British Labor Party reacted with a bitter denunciation that declared: "We utterly reject an ideological crusade against the Soviet Union and its identification as the sole or even prime cause of conflict in the world."

Outside London, the President himself omitted any mention of his campaign for freedom. In fact, throughout his travels in Europe he laid stress primarily on his other mes-

sage—reassurance to the allies about his commitment to disarmament, negotiations with Russia and alliance unity. That line, pushed by Secretary of State Alexander Haig, clearly stands out as the dominant strand of the administration's foreign policy.

In every capital, Reagan avoided pushing disagreements with allies over policy toward Moscow. Instead, he focused on themes calculated to demonstrate harmony. Nowhere was this more evident than in Germany, where he addressed the Bonn parliament, met 15 other Western leaders at a North Atlantic Treaty Organization summit and visited the Berlin Wall.

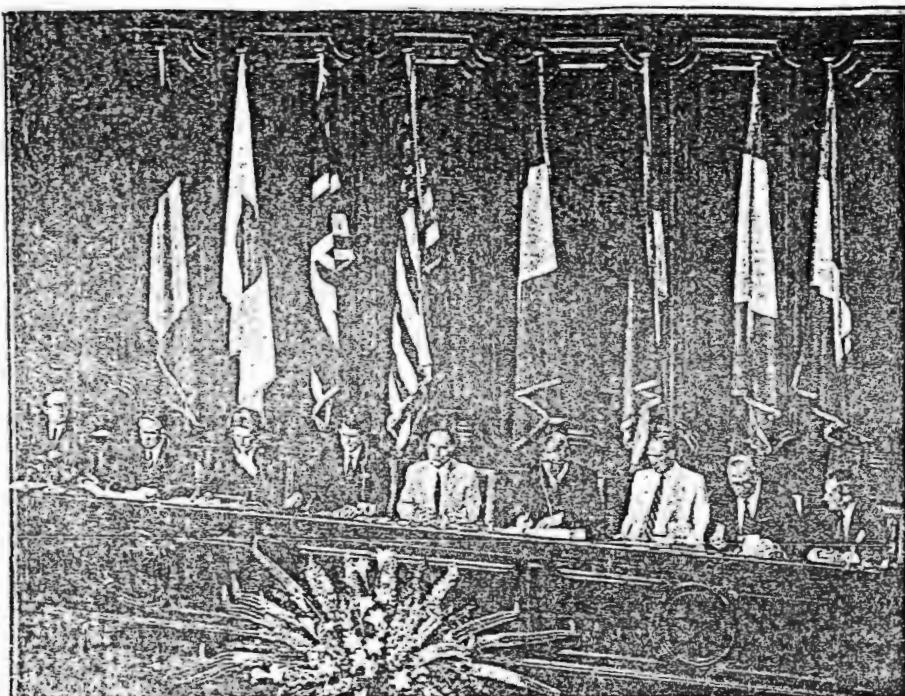
There, against a background of a massive antinuclear demonstration in Bonn and protest violence in Berlin, he responded to West German anxieties about confrontation with Russia, the nuclear-arms race and America's commitment to the country's security thus—

On German security: Reagan reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to West Germany's security in dramatic terms, declaring: "We are with you, Germany. You are

DAVID HUME KENNERLY



Addressing the British Parliament in Westminster Palace, the President issues his proposal for a "crusade for freedom."



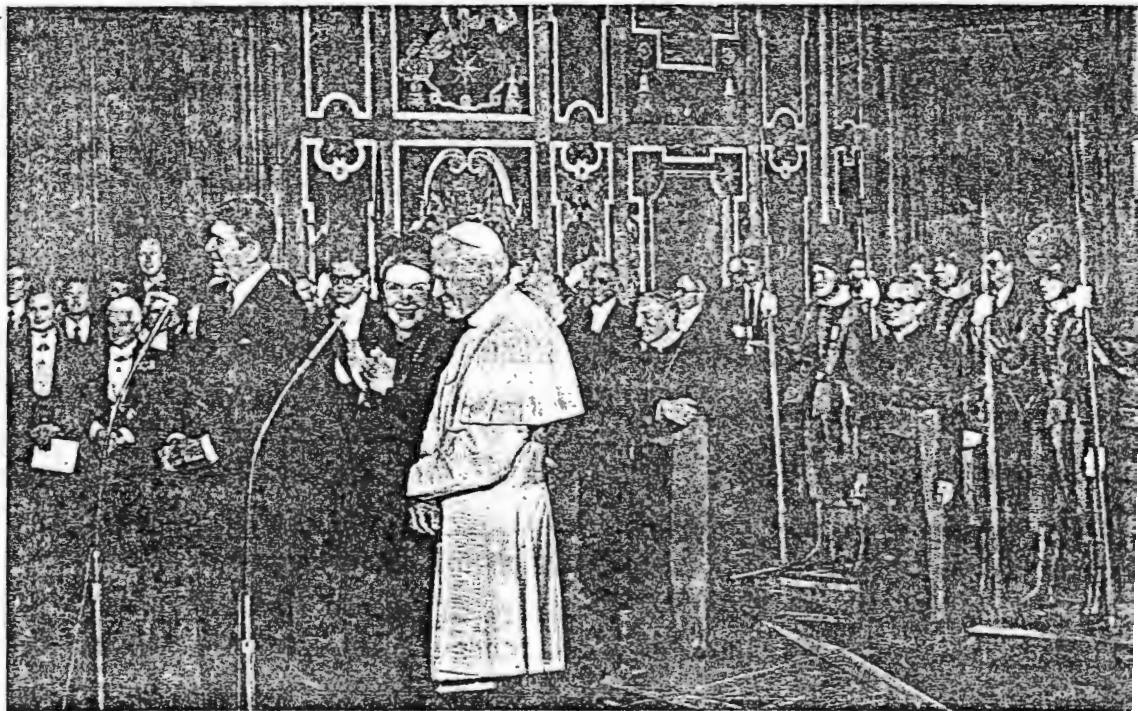
ECONOMIC SUMMIT: At Versailles, Reagan and other leaders listen to French President Mitterrand read the agreement that their talks produced.



BETWEEN STOPS: After summit, Reagan chats with Italy's Premier Spadolini on flight to Rome.

Photo Report President's Whirlwind Diplomacy

From Paris to Berlin, Ronald Reagan's 10 days in Western Europe were crammed with activity: An economic summit, a NATO gathering, a visit to the Vatican and meetings with leaders of 16 nations.



VATICAN CITY: Pope John Paul II gives the world's most powerful statesman a warm reception.

WINDSOR CASTLE: America's First Family meets Britain's First Family—Queen Elizabeth II, Prince Charles and Prince Philip.

MISTY INTERLUDE: The Queen and Reagan take a quiet ride on the castle's well manicured grounds.

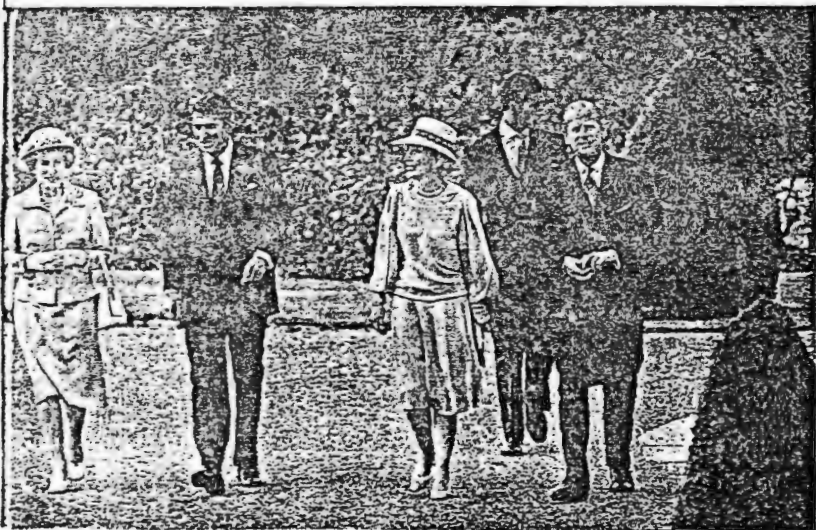


Photo Report (continued)



ROYAL BANQUET: The President and Secretary of State Alexander Haig applaud Queen Elizabeth after she offers a gracious toast.



NO. 10 DOWNING STREET: The Reagans visit Margaret Thatcher at the Prime Minister's official residence.

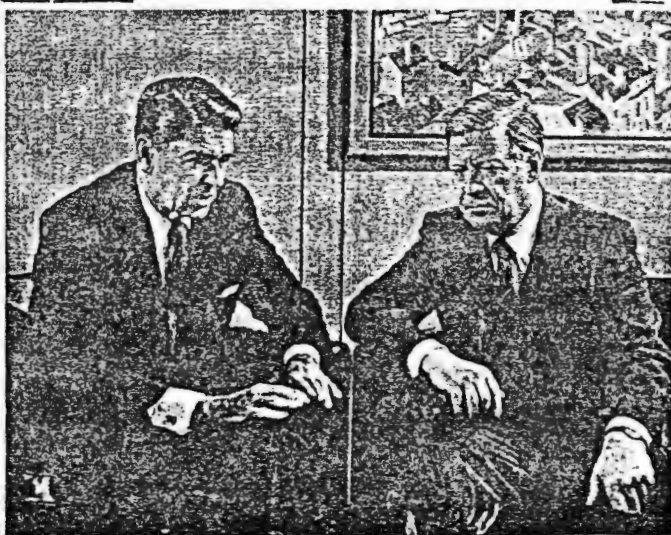


TIMOTHY A. MURPHY—USANWR

HEAD TO HEAD: The President and West Germany's Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, ponder NATO woes in Bonn.



WEST GERMANY: Bonn stop drew anti-Reagan protesters, left; also a little girl, above, who broke through security to present a bouquet.



BUNDESTAG: A heckler turns his back on Reagan during Chief Executive's address to West German parliament. Most in audience strongly applauded the talk.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

not alone. Our adversaries would be foolishly mistaken should they gamble that Americans would abandon their alliance responsibilities, no matter how severe the test."

And, seeking to allay German concerns about pressures in the United States for troop withdrawals or a shift in American defense strategy, he went on: "Europe's shores are our shores; Europe's borders are our borders."

On Berlin: "Let there be no doubt,"

he declared in the beleaguered city, "the United States will continue to honor its commitments to Berlin. Our forces will remain here as long as necessary to preserve the peace and protect the freedom of the people of Berlin."

Paradoxically, as he gave this assurance, thousands of leftist demonstrators, shouting "Reagan go home," were being held back by riot police.

On the arms race: Reagan announced yet another initiative calculat-

ed to underscore his commitment to disarmament. His latest proposal is aimed at breaking the nine-year deadlock in NATO-Warsaw Pact negotiations for mutual and balanced force reductions in Europe. It calls for a ceiling of 700,000 ground troops in Central Europe, which would mean a cut of about 260,000 by the Warsaw Pact and 90,000 by an outnumbered NATO.

In two earlier arms-control initiatives, Reagan proposed a "zero option" agreement that would bar all intermediate-range nuclear missiles targeted on Europe and a one-third cut in warheads carried by strategic missiles. In Berlin, he indicated that he would soon produce still another proposal on confidence-building measures designed to reduce the risk of nuclear war. NATO leaders at their Bonn summit gave a strong endorsement to the Reagan arms-reduction plans.

On relations with Russia: Reagan, together with other NATO leaders, reaffirmed the alliance commitment to a policy of defense plus détente—but he insisted that it must be "genuine détente." He made it clear that the United States was not prepared to return to what he views as the "one-way street" relationship of the 1970s. Still, he seems to have defused—for the time being, at least—the sharp disagreements between Washington and European allies over détente with Moscow.

On the peace movement: In the past, Reagan alleged that the antinuclear demonstrations in Europe were sponsored by an organization "bought and paid for by the Soviet Union." In Bonn, it was different. He took a sympathetic line toward the peace movement, asserting: "To those who march for peace, my heart is with you. I would be at the head of your parade if I believed marching alone could bring about a more secure world."

Elsewhere in his European travels, he struck a similar note, displaying sensitivity to the concerns of allies and seeking to demonstrate that he is as dedicated to arms reductions as he is to military strength.

For example, in Paris, at the economic summit with leaders of six other industrial democracies, he modified his call for stiff limits on credits to the Soviet bloc aimed at weakening the Russian economy and impeding its military buildup. He settled for a vague agreement on the need for "caution" and commercial "prudence" in extending loans to Moscow. His aides claimed that, even though far less than the U.S. sought, this was symbolically important as a first step among the allies to regulate credits to the Soviet bloc.

In London, the President gave the

Reagan the Diplomat Turns On His Charm

Ronald Reagan's first official tour of Europe enabled him to perfect a personal diplomatic style that mixes easy charm with hard horse-trading.

In intensive meetings with allied leaders, the President "was never strident—never argumentative," says White House aide Michael Deaver. "But there was no question about his toughness."

By the same token, Reagan exhibited his knack for establishing rapport at every turn during his trip to France, Italy, Britain and Germany. He discussed with Pope John Paul II how it felt to be shot, rode horses with Queen Elizabeth II and chatted with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher—reported one witness—"as if they were the only two in the room."

The *Guardian* of London found Reagan displaying "homespun amiability and inexhaustible charm."

The President wore his good nature like a shield. When his speech to the German parliament was interrupted by a heckler, he drew a

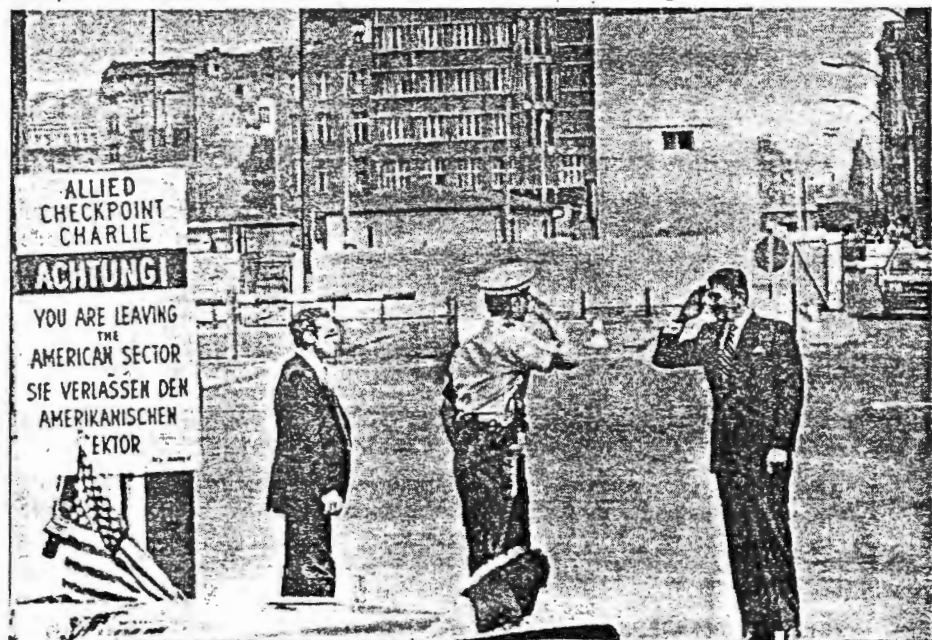
roar of applause and laughter by asking: "Is there an echo in here?"

As he does at home, Reagan used anecdotes to explain his stands. At the NATO meeting in Bonn, to buttress his claim of being a peacemaker, he quoted a letter he wrote to Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev last year from his hospital bed after he was shot. His fellow leaders seemed touched.

The President's flair for hard bargaining surfaced most vividly at the economic summit at Versailles. Reagan went to the brink of losing his main objective—a statement calling on Western nations to limit export credits to Russia—before he saved the day by offering a concession on another point.

Language differences usually were not a barrier. In fact, the Chief Executive got more applause from German lawmakers than he did from the British Parliament, where his anti-Communist hard line fell flat with many members. Reagan, who once traveled the after-dinner-speech circuit, explained the contrast this way: "I guess it's like the difference between Philadelphia and Fort Worth."

Iron curtain: At a famous opening in the wall that splits West Berlin from the Communist East, an American MP and the leader of the free world exchange salutes.



British what they coveted above all else—an unqualified endorsement of their military campaign to recapture the Falkland Islands from Argentina. Despite his concern about the dangers for the U.S. in Latin America of a humiliating defeat for Argentina, he used words about British forces battling in the South Atlantic that could have been written by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher herself: "They fight for a cause, for the belief that armed aggression must not be allowed to succeed, and that people must participate in the decisions of governments under the law."

In light of confusion—and some bitterness—over apparent U.S. vacillation on the Falklands issue at the U.N., nothing could have been better calculated to solidify ties with Britain.

Whatever the impact of this strategy of conciliation, events conspired to undermine Reagan's efforts to win European confidence in his leadership and his foreign policy. The most damaging were the two wars—one in the Falkland Islands, the other in the Middle East—that overshadowed Reagan's "pilgrimage for peace" and his efforts to project himself as a strong world leader.

It was not only that these conflicts dominated the European media and diverted public attention from the President's performance. Even more damaging was the impression of political impotence created by his inability to influence the combatants in the Falklands or to prevent Israel from invading Lebanon, let alone withdrawing.

Reagan's already exhausting schedule had to be expanded to include consultations on the Mideast crisis, including an emergency meeting with Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister Prince Saud Faisal in Bonn.

Nor were the President's image-building efforts helped by the June 8 speech by U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick. As he was trying to win European confidence in his leadership and his administration's foreign policy, Kirkpatrick told a conservative think-tank audience in Washington that the U.S. is "impotent" in the U.N. because "we simply have behaved like a



Light moment at NATO session: "Ask Mr. Haig," Canadian leader Trudeau says when reporters quiz Reagan on Israel's actions.

bunch of amateurs." She went on to speak of "our unhappy fall from influence to impotence."

This came on the heels of an episode at the U.N. that spotlighted feuding among members of the administration's foreign-policy team and the apparent lack of clear direction. What happened was that Kirkpatrick joined Britain in vetoing a cease-fire resolution in the Falklands crisis, only to announce within a few minutes that she belatedly had received instructions to abstain and would change her vote if she could. Blamed for the fiasco is the squabbling between Kirkpatrick and Haig that led to a communications breakdown.

Reagan, in his effort to sell himself to the European public, was handicapped further by mass antinuclear demonstrations and extraordinary security precautions. In contrast to previous presidential visits, there were no drives through the streets in open cars or mingling with crowds. For the Europe-

an public, he was an invisible visitor except for glimpses on television.

Despite the handicaps, administration officials say that Reagan is satisfied that he has succeeded in overcoming European misgivings about his policies and leadership. Richard Burt, assistant secretary of state-designate for Europe, claims that any perception of Reagan as a reckless leader has been dispelled by his performance.

That conclusion is supported by the assessment of observers in Bonn. They say that the President

has gone far to dissipate the image of a warmonger with his offer to negotiate with Russia on disarmament proposals without a linkage to Soviet behavior in Poland or Afghanistan.

There is a similar reaction in France. The left-wing weekly *Le Nouvel Observateur* hails as "the event of the year" the fact that Reagan, "in spite of Poland and Afghanistan, is again negotiating with the Soviets."

Nevertheless, few in the Reagan administration would claim that a hectic 10-day journey around Europe featuring two summit meetings could do more than ease the dangerous strains threatening to pull the Western Alliance apart. The differences cannot be easily resolved, since they sometimes stem from such basic factors as geography and economic interests.

West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt made this point in a private discussion with Reagan about their divergent views on détente with Russia. In Schmidt's words: "Imagine, Mr.

President, that Oregon is in the situation like West Germany and one third of the state of Washington is not under the control of a democratic government. The United States then would have a different view of détente."

Whether Reagan agrees or not, political observers along the route of his European trip say that he clearly has modified his foreign policy to take into account views such as those expressed by Schmidt. □

By SARA FRITZ with STEWART POWELL, ROBIN KNIGHT, MARGARET MURRAY and ROBERT HAEGER

Saudi Arabia's Prince Saud Faisal flew to Bonn to confer with the President on the Mideast blowup, which overshadowed NATO talks.



PERISCOPE

Andropov: The New Voice of the Party

The former head of the KGB is one step closer to taking over leadership of the Soviet Union. Secret police chief Yuri Andropov, 67, moved up into Moscow's powerful Central Committee Secretariat last month, filling the seat of the late Mikhail Suslov. Unclear at the time was whether Andropov would also assume Suslov's position as arbiter of Soviet ideology or be forced to share that responsibility with Konstantin Chernenko, a favorite of President Leonid Brezhnev. Reliable Soviet sources now report that Andropov is in full command of defining and enforcing the party line. Officials at major Soviet publications, for example, have been told to report to him. The ideological role further strengthens Andropov's chances to succeed the ailing Brezhnev and dims the prospects of his rival, Chernenko.

An FSLIC Stall to Aid the Thrifts?

Staff members of the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation (FSLIC) are grumbling about what they call a politically motivated slowdown in mergers and consolidations of failing thrift institutions. They believe that the industry is pressuring the FSLIC to mark time until Congress passes a bailout bill for the S&L's. Such a measure would permit investors to salvage more of their money and enable bank-management officials to hang onto their jobs. A spokesman for the FSLIC denies the charges. But experts inside and outside the agency say that more thrift institutions than ever are in trouble, while the average number of FSLIC-arranged emergency mergers has slipped from fourteen per month in the first quarter of 1982 to six in April and even fewer in May. Says one agency insider, "There's a tremendous backlog building."

White House Wives: Excess Baggage?

A couple of female fellow travelers disrupted the White House pecking order on Ronald Reagan's grand tour of Europe. Both deputy chief of staff Michael Deaver and national-security adviser William Clark brought (and paid for) their wives and included them at state dinners and other major events, crowding out some working White House aides. There was considerable resentment over the presence of the White House wives among Reagan staff members, who viewed them strictly as excess baggage. Said one, "They served no purpose whatsoever."

Minority Interests Fade in the Senate

Blacks and Hispanics seem to have few friends in the U.S. Senate. In a study to be released this week, Congressional Educational Associates, a Washington consulting group specializing in minority affairs, tallied twenty key roll-call votes on issues such as civil rights and the budget, awarding 5 points for each ballot CEA believed to be favorable to blacks or Hispanics. Fifty-five senators scored 25 or less. Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker rated only 15; Finance Committee chairman Bob Dole scored 10. The House fared slightly better; more than half the congressmen scored 50 or above.

A Downer From China

State Department officials charge that the People's Republic of China has become the world's leading pusher of methaqualone, a much-abused sedative best known as Quaalude. The Chinese began making the depressant for export three years ago to pep up their

economy with hard Western currency; the drug is not available to Chinese citizens. The State Department has been pressing China to shut down its methaqualone industry since 1980, when it estimated that China produced 48 tons of the 120 tons manufactured worldwide. China refused to cut back its output or adopt safeguards that would keep its drugs out of the illegal market. The Reagan Administration now plans to go public with its charges to embarrass the Chinese into cooperating.

Nunn's Nuclear Safety Valve

Sen. Sam Nunn of Georgia has developed a plan to reduce the risk of nuclear war, and both the United States and the Soviet Union are taking a serious look at it. Nunn would have a team of military and civilian personnel in both countries monitor Third World nations and terrorist groups for any signs of nuclear-weapons activity so that in the event of an unexplained nuclear explosion they might quickly identify the source of the blast. That could cut down the possibility of an accidental confrontation between the superpowers. Since both Russia and the United States are interested in the proposal, they may make it a subject of negotiations during the coming arms-reduction talks.

Avoiding the Clean-Air Issue

To avoid the risk of polluting their voting records with a stand on the controversial Clean Air Act, House lawmakers will probably postpone consideration of the bill until the planned lame-duck session of Congress following the November elections—when they may also tackle the explosive social-security issue. The House Energy and Commerce Committee remains stalemated on the measure, despite intense behind-the-scenes negotiations and industry lobbying. In the relative security of a lame-duck session, congressmen may be willing to make the compromises necessary to make progress on the clean-air issue.

A New Alignment for China's Leaders

The top contenders for the soon-to-be-resurrected post of President of China are two high-ranking Communist Party officials, Song Renqiong and Xi Zhongxun, according to China watchers in Washington. Song seems to be the front runner at the moment, but both men have a common problem: they lack international stature. Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping has said that he himself will not take the job, but he is likely to become head of the new Central Military Council, which will no longer be under party control. Deng is giving the council a measure of independence because, it is thought, he wants to avoid the concentration of power that marked Mao's rule.

A Right-Wing Blast at Reagan

Conservative Digest, Richard Viguerie's New Right magazine, is planning some July fireworks for President Reagan: a full-length blast at his Administration that opens with the warning, "Message from Main Street: Wake Up." Among those sounding the alarm are half a dozen of Reagan's boyhood neighbors from Dixon, Ill., who accuse Reagan of drifting away from his conservative supporters. They cite his willingness to compromise with the Democrats on spending and tax cuts and the high number of moderate Republicans holding key posts in Ronald Reagan's Washington.

ERIC GELMAN with bureau reports

NATIONAL AFFAIRS



Lester Sloan—Newsweek

The President between the Queen (right) and Princess Margaret at Windsor Castle state dinner: Enjoy your stay—but please, no food taster

The Upstaged Summit

Flying home from Europe last week, Ronald Reagan could console himself with the thought that he had played his role flawlessly. He had shaken hands with the Pope, gone riding with the Queen, clowned for photographers at the Berlin wall. He had reaffirmed Western values in a Churchillian speech to the members of Parliament, soft-pedaled American deterrent strategy before the West German Bundestag and mollified the European peace movement by accepting NATO's renewed quest for "genuine détente." The script was well written, and he had stuck to it—and if, in the end, his debut in transatlantic diplomacy seemed more stagecraft than statecraft, his handlers professed themselves satisfied with his performance. "We have done what we set out to do, and we have done it well," said one.

In fact, the President's ten days of ceremonious summitry had been rudely upstaged by the Israeli march on Beirut—a real-world crisis that only compounded the continuing tensions of the vest-pocket war in the South Atlantic and that forced Reagan into the middle reaches of the nightly television news. "It's unfortunate that when the President goes overseas you get five minutes of Lebanon and Israel followed by five minutes on the Falklands, then 60 seconds of the President followed by five min-

utes of [John] Hinckley," sighed an Administration official in Washington. "We do all this drama, and then we wind up with this. Politically, it was silly... it didn't give us a goose" in the polls.

What it did give them was a confusing lesson in crisis-juggling that left Reagan, in particular, exhausted. Faithfully adhering to a rigorous itinerary that took them from Paris to Rome to London in a single day, Reagan and his entourage tended their multiple crises on the fly and off the cuff—in huddled caucuses early in the morning and late at night and with hurried phone calls during lulls in the schedule. "It certainly tested our ability to deal with fifteen

balls in the air," said one frazzled senior hand. "I've never had so many midnight meetings." Arriving in Rome for an audience with John Paul II that was timed for the morning news shows back home, Reagan at times seemed ready to nod off. He was still drowsy during his lunch with Italian President Sandro Pertini, and a BBC commentator covering his arrival in London waspishly observed that he "looks like John Wayne on a bad day." Reports later in the week suggested Reagan had been so tired that he was sometimes unable to follow his staff's briefings on the rapidly shifting situation in the Middle East.

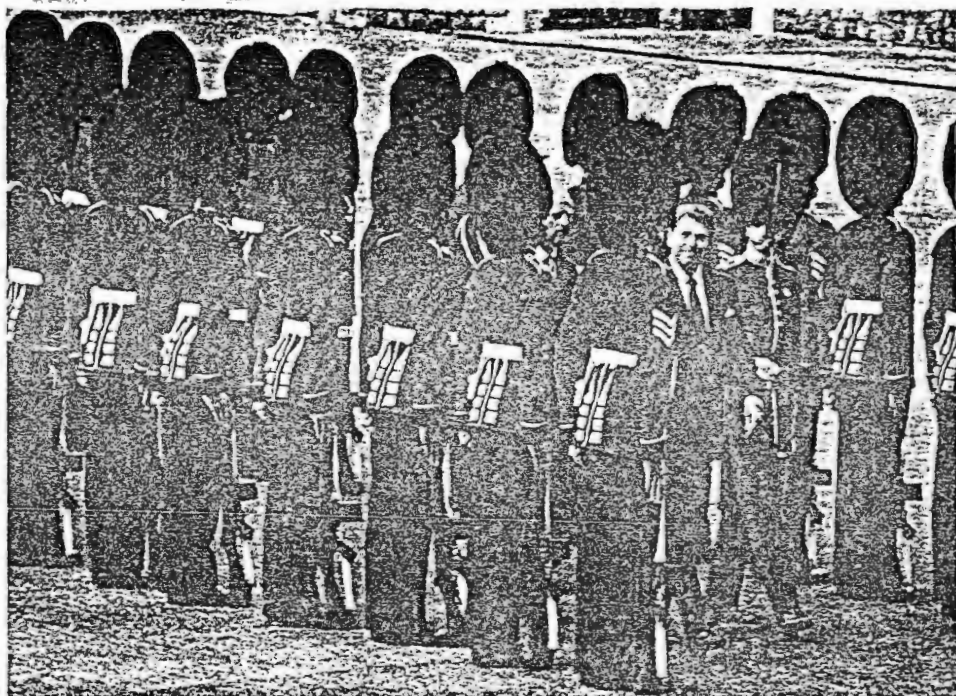
The welcoming pomp at Windsor Castle seemed to revive him. As star-struck White House staffers watched from the second floor, the President and Mrs. Reagan walked through the arched passageway to the inner courtyard with Elizabeth II, Prince Philip and Prince Charles; only the nit-pickers noticed that Reagan violated protocol by having his wife walk with the Queen. Inside they reviewed a company of the Grenadier Guards decked out in bearskin busbies and scarlet coats, then retired for a private dinner.

Invasion: Aides reminded reporters that Reagan was the first American President since Woodrow Wilson to be a guest at Windsor Castle, which was misleading on two counts. Ac-

The Reagans with Pope John Paul II: No rest for the weary

Dirck Halstead—Time





Photos by Larry Downing—NEWSWEEK

Riding in Windsor Park and reviewing the Grenadier Guards: A pause for the paparazzi left the Queen unamused

tually, court officials said, Wilson had been a guest at Buckingham Palace instead—and in fact, Reagan's visit to Windsor had been prompted by a quiet request from his aides. The royal household nonetheless accommodated a small horde of invading Presidential staff and stoically accepted Army telephone operators who identified the place as the "Windsor Castle White House." But the Queen balked at American demands that Reagan be allowed to bring along a food taster, and aides refused to instruct her on riding horseback for maximum media effect. When Reagan, in a beige jacket and jodhpurs, persisted in lingering too long for the Presidential *paparazzi*, the Queen rode off—wordlessly unamused.

Hear-Hears: Reagan's appearance before the members of Parliament went off somewhat better; indeed, it was one of the best speeches of his career. Ushered into the Royal Gallery at Westminster with a trumpet fanfare and welcomed by warm applause, the President delivered a long address that borrowed freely from Sir Winston Churchill and—like Churchill—stoutly asserted the moral superiority of the West. He earned a chorus of hear-hears by arguing that Britain's troops in the Falklands are fighting solely for the principle that "armed aggression must not be allowed to succeed," and he won a wave of hearty laughter by daring Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev to an exchange of television talks. Most of all, he forcefully insisted that "freedom and democracy will leave Marxism-Leninism on the ash heap of history," and he proposed a new campaign to foster "the infrastructure of democracy" around the world.

His speech in Bonn was an equally powerful appeal for peace. "To those who

Two wars disrupt a storybook tour, giving Reagan a tough lesson in crisis-juggling and leaving him exhausted.



Homer Sykes—Woodfin Camp

London protest: Westminster was warmer

march for peace, my heart is with you," he said. "I would be at the head of your parade if I believed marching alone could bring about a more secure world." Instead, he urged "those who genuinely seek effective and lasting arms control" to support his proposals for mutual arms reductions by the United States and the Soviet Union, adding that he regarded those proposals as "a significant test of the Soviets' willingness to enter into meaningful arms-control agreements." The next day, a coalition of West German peace groups mobilized a crowd of more than 150,000 for a demonstration outside Bonn, and a spokesman dismissed Reagan's speech as "PR rhetoric to take the wind out of the sails of the peace movement."

Luster: But Reagan by then had gone to ground with the NATO heads of government, protected from the antiwar hubbub by a force of more than 17,000 West German police. Security at the Bundestag was so tight the Secret Service demanded that the firing pins be removed from the rifles of a West German honor guard; inside, Reagan rallied his allies for a general affirmation of his plans for European defense and his arms-reduction proposals to the Soviets. At the same time, the President and his men were immersed in long-distance negotiations on two fronts—with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin on the crisis in Lebanon and with a handful of key House members on the newly resumed battle of the Federal budget. With Reagan lobbying by transatlantic telephone, the House passed an acceptably conservative version of the 1983 budget later in the day (page 53). "If nothing else, some of the luster is back to his reputation as a man who knows how to work his will with Congress," an aide said.

The finale of his European tour was most-



J. Guichard—Sygma

Berlin rioters: 'A cadre of people who show up at every protest, no matter who it is for'

ly anticlimactic—a three-and-a-half-hour visit to Berlin during which Reagan, wearing a bulletproof vest and surrounded by edgy security men, made a ritual inspection of the Berlin wall. At Tempelhof Airport, he plunged into a noisy crowd of U.S. servicemen and their families and taunted the Soviet bloc. "The truth is, they're scared to death... because they know that freedom is catching and they don't dare let their people have a taste of it," he said. At Checkpoint Charlie, the jumping-off place to the Communist East, he posed for photographers by dangling one foot over the white line that marks the no man's land between East and West, as if to tempt the totalitarian demons on the other side.

Charlie: Almost every one of the President's visits was greeted by protesters, many of them members of the worldwide anti-nuclear movement (page 40). But in Berlin the protests were decidedly different from their predecessors. Three blocks from Checkpoint Charlie, about 5,000 radicals massed for a violently anti-Reagan demonstration that quickly boiled up into full-scale rioting. Shouting "Reagan is a fascist and a murderer," the largely teen-age crowd pelted police vans with cobblestones, smashed windows in nearby stores and set about ten cars afire. City spokesman Meinhard Ade said the youths were led "by a cadre of people who show up at every protest, no matter where it is or what it's for." In the end, 280 protesters were arrested, and ten policemen and 40 demonstrators were injured.

Shielded from demonstrations by a constant cordon of security, Reagan flew off to Bonn for a brief farewell and the long flight home. If his grand tour had been, as one aide

described it, "a storybook experience," it seemed largely devoid of real content. The glow of the Western economic summit, where his trip began, seemed to diminish by the day: at the weekend U.S. and European officials were exchanging broad hints of a trade war over the price of European steel (page 54). The NATO summit concluded with no mention at all of the allies' four-year-old promise to spend more for defense; instead, the joint communiqué—composed before the NATO leaders ever arrived in

Bonn—referred only vaguely to "greater effectiveness in the application of national resources" to European readiness. Spain, NATO's newest member, issued a blast at Britain's involvement in the Falklands, and Greece pushed for a tough stand on Lebanon that the United States refused to accept. In the end, the NATO meeting was unable to agree on any statement about Lebanon.

Deeper Lesson: Worst of all, what the White House had hoped would be a set-piece demonstration of Reagan's global leadership had turned out to be quite the opposite. In Israel the Begin government ignored initial American attempts to halt its Lebanese incursion. In Britain, despite the regal hospitality for Reagan, the Thatcher Cabinet seemed to be stiffening in its insistence on full restoration of British control over the Falklands and less and less inclined to heed the President's plea for restraint. To some Administration officials,

Reagan's tour had a deeper lesson as well. "Are we in charge of the world?" one irritated aide expostulated. "You can't blame the President for everything. The United States no longer has that kind of commanding role." That is clear. But to Ronald Reagan, hoping for two triumphant weeks at stage center, it was galling to have the truth demonstrated so dramatically.

TOM MORGANTHAU with THOMAS M. DeFRANK and JOHN WALCOTT on the Reagan trip, ZOFIA SMARDZ in Bonn and bureau reports

With U.S. servicemen in Berlin: Taunting the East in a bulletproof vest

Larry Downing—NEWSWEEK



Reagan: Losing Ground

Ronald Reagan's publicity-conscious mission to Europe last week may well give another boost to his already-high rating as a foreign-policy manager, but the dramatic decline of confidence in the President on key pocketbook issues seems to be preventing his recovery from a slide in over-all public approval. According to a new NEWSWEEK Poll, approximately equal numbers of Americans continue to approve (48 percent) and disapprove (45 percent) of President Reagan's performance in office. But for the first time there are more people who strongly oppose Reagan (31 percent) than strongly support him (26 percent). And a clear 52 percent majority of those questioned for the poll said they fear their own financial situations will be worse because of Reagan's supply-side economic policies.*

Even foreign policy, the President's strongest suit, works against him with the one group that finds foreign policy most important—people under 30. The number of Americans in this age group who express little or no confidence in Reagan's ability to handle foreign policy has risen 15 percentage points since a January NEWSWEEK Poll. Similarly, over-all approval of the President's actual performance to date has dropped most sharply among younger Americans. Those who are under 30 continue to be the most critical of Reagan's nuclear policy, but they are only somewhat more negative than the public at large: 32 percent of all Americans surveyed said they thought the President was increasing the chances of nuclear war, compared with only 20 percent who saw him reducing those chances. Forty-one percent said they saw no significant impact at all from the President's policies on nuclear-arms control, despite his recent proposal—which has been accepted by the Soviet Union—to begin a round of strategic arms reduction talks (START).

Sympathy: The President continues to polarize Americans, with opinion about him and his programs dividing sharply along party and income lines. Regionally, Reagan's approval ratings have declined most in the West and Midwest since January and have remained strongest in the South—especially the Sun Belt. Reagan's ratings fell 9 points among those who consider themselves right of center and 16 points among those on the left. Interestingly, Reagan does less well with women than with men on almost every issue, but especially on foreign policy and the question of nuclear war. He also continues to do poorly with non-whites, despite some recent domestic gestures that seemed designed to demonstrate his sympathy for blacks and other minorities.

Last January the NEWSWEEK Poll indicated shrinking support for the President's performance on economic issues but suggested a healthy reserve of confidence in the ultimate outcome of his policies. The new survey shows that confidence eroding, with loss of support for Reagan on this issue greatest among those groups that had previously expressed most faith in

the President's economic program: men, whites, the college-educated and upper-income Americans. Forty-four percent of all those questioned said they thought they were already worse off economically than they were a year ago. Only 31 percent said they were better off, and 23 percent said they had experienced no change in their financial situations.

Still, there are some signs of optimism. About four in ten of those questioned said they personally expected to be doing better by a year from now, and half said they expected better economic conditions in the nation as a whole. Nearly a third of those who fear the impact of Reaganomics on their own lives apparently expect economic improvements despite the President's policies, and large numbers of those who expect to benefit from Reagan Administration policies are even more optimistic than they were in January that the benefits will come within a year.

The new NEWSWEEK Poll shows a strong connection between opinions about Reagan—especially his economic policy—and voting intentions in this fall's elections. Nearly three out of four of those who expected to be hurt by Reaganomics said they planned to vote for a Democratic Congressional candidate, and eight of ten who disapproved of Reagan's over-all performance said they would vote Democratic. At present, in fact, Reagan seems to be hurting his party more than he is helping it: of those who disapprove of Reagan's performance, 80 percent plan to vote Democratic, but of the nearly equal number who approve, only 67 percent plan to vote Republican.

Intensity: Similarly, the survey finds, support for the President's economic program is not likely to be advantageous to a Congressional candidate in the fall. By a margin of 35 percent to 27 percent, those surveyed said they would be less likely to vote for a candidate who fully backed Reaganomics. Intensity of feeling runs highest with Reagan's critics: 28 percent of those surveyed said that Reaganomics would hurt them and that they would be less likely to vote for someone who supported the plan, while only 18 percent who thought they would benefit from the President's program said that they were likely to vote for a candidate who backed it. Over-all, a 52 percent majority of those questioned said they would vote for a Democrat if the election were held today; only four in ten preferred a Republican. Among men, the Democrats led by only one percent, but women favored them by a 14-point margin over the GOP.

For all the complaints about unfair press treatment by the President and his supporters, a solid majority (58 percent) of Americans still believes that the press is doing a balanced job, according to another NEWSWEEK Poll conducted by the Gallup Organization last month. But the telephone survey of 509 people showed that people who think press treatment of the President is too unfavorable (24 percent) do outnumber those (14 percent) who think the press is too soft on Reagan. Asked to judge the accuracy and lack of bias in various media, large majorities gave good or excellent ratings to network TV news, local TV news, daily newspapers and news magazines—but not to newspapers and magazines largely devoted to stories about "personalities."

DAVID M. ALPERN

A NEWSWEEK POLL

How much confidence do you have in Ronald Reagan to deal with foreign policy?

	June	January
A great deal	16%	18%
A fair amount	42%	44%
Not too much	24%	21%
No confidence	16%	13%
Don't know	2%	4%

How much confidence do you have in Ronald Reagan to deal with the economy?

	June	January
A great deal	21%	21%
A fair amount	29%	38%
Not too much	25%	24%
No confidence	23%	15%
Don't know	2%	2%

What do you feel your own financial situation will be as a result of the Reagan economic policies?

	June	January
Much better	7%	6%
Somewhat better	29%	39%
Somewhat worse	33%	30%
Much worse	19%	16%
No opinion	12%	9%

The NEWSWEEK Poll © 1982 NEWSWEEK, Inc.

Donald D. Garrido—NEWSWEEK

*For this NEWSWEEK Poll, The Gallup Organization conducted telephone interviews with 1,009 adults from June 4 through June 7. The margin of error is plus or minus 4 percentage points. Contributing to the analysis were Gallup president Andrew Kohut and Christopher Arterton, a professor of political science at Yale University.

SUNDAY EXPRESS

6 JUNE 1982

magazine



**NANCY'S
NEW LINE**

NANCY REAGAN RETOUCHES HER IMAGE

Nobody can beat Nancy Reagan when it comes to pleasing the President, but so far she hasn't worked the same magic with public opinion. To win over her critics America's First Lady must extend her interests beyond the china cupboard and her wardrobe. On the eve of the Reagans' visit to Britain, Jeremy Campbell reports



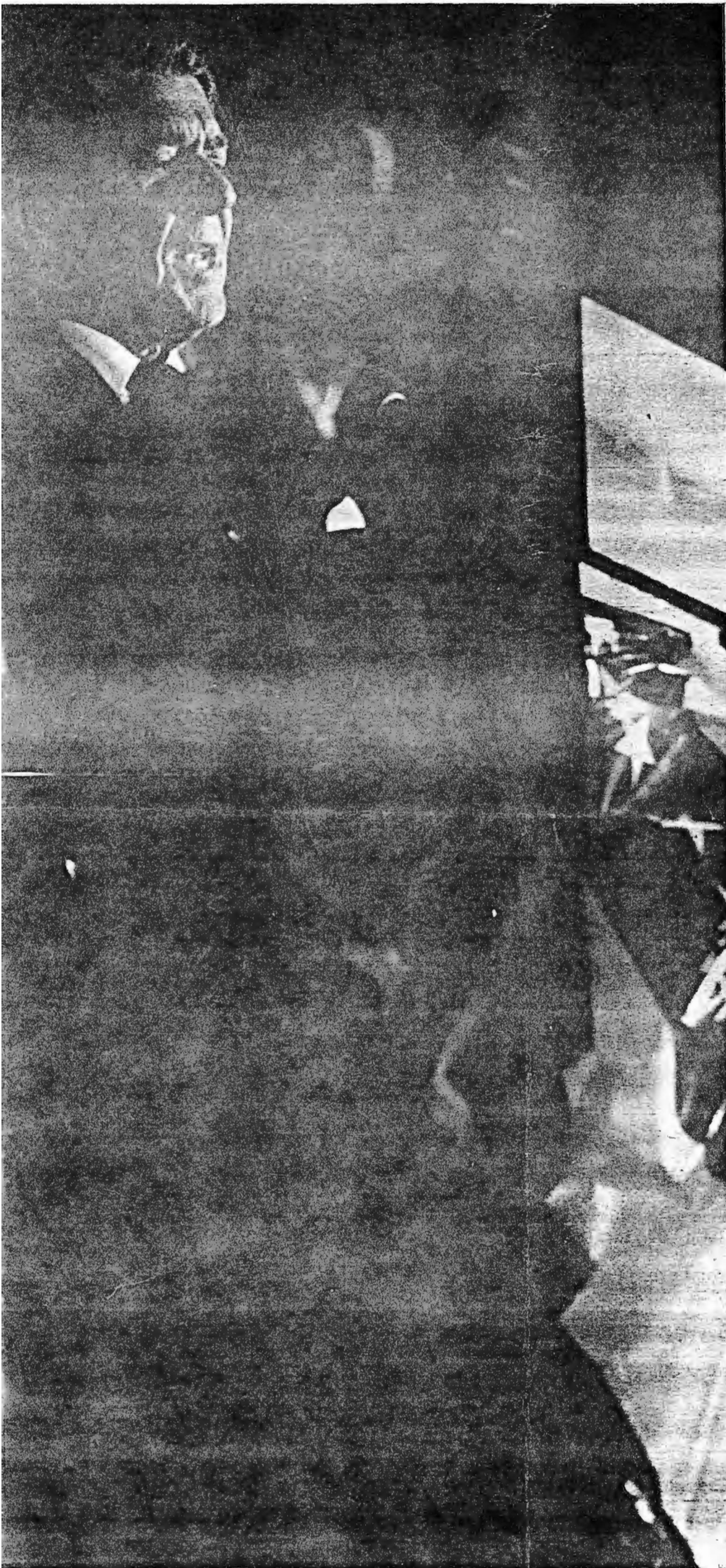
A memento of high-school days: Nancy Davis as she was in the 1930s. Right: On the campaign trail, 1980

NANCY REAGAN is close to tears. She stands alone on a college stage in Atlanta, reading a short speech to the Eighth Annual Parent Conference on Youth and Drugs. She is stuck on one line. Her voice halts and wavers so that she can hardly form the words. The sentence troubling her comes from the movie *Dark At The Top Of The Stairs*, where a mother says of her children: "I always thought I could give them life like a present, all wrapped in white with every promise of happiness . . ."

To the American Press, which calls the President's wife "Ice Station Zebra", the line sounds like Hollywood schmaltz, on a par with a message on a Mother's Day card. To Nancy Reagan it is unbearably moving.

On her plane flying home to Washington, when she leaves her private cabin to meet the journalists (holding out a propitiatory box of chocolates to them at arm's length), she is asked about this incident. Notebooks are out. Television cameras stare implacably. Everyone leans forward, hoping for





further self-revelation. Nancy Reagan seems disconcerted, as if it would never occur to her to speak on such intimate matters. Pressed, she swallows and says finally: "I'm a mother. I can't even read that line. It does that to me every time." Can this be the real Nancy Reagan? The elegant clothes-horse dressed by, among others, Adolfo, the toast of an exclusive circle of rich socialites, the woman who stares down hecklers, freezes out undesirables, and has been known to make members of her husband's staff eat lunch in the kitchen while she parties with her friends upstairs? The person whose word is enough to ruin the careers of wayward courtiers close to the presidential throne?

The answers to such questions come as a string of paradoxes. It is what makes her so well worth writing about. She is remarkably shy, yet at the same time a hellcat when springing to the defence of her mate and her young. She is an intensely private person in the biggest fish-bowl in the world, a woman both frightened and fascinated by the spotlight's glare. A timid tigress, she is easily hurt, the large hazel-green eyes quickly brimming with tears. On the other hand, she can show glimpses of almost heartless disapproval of those who fall below her strict standards of morality.

Mrs Reagan's mother was Edith Luckett, a vaudeville actress and a warmly humorous woman. Her father was a New Jersey car salesman who did not bother to visit the

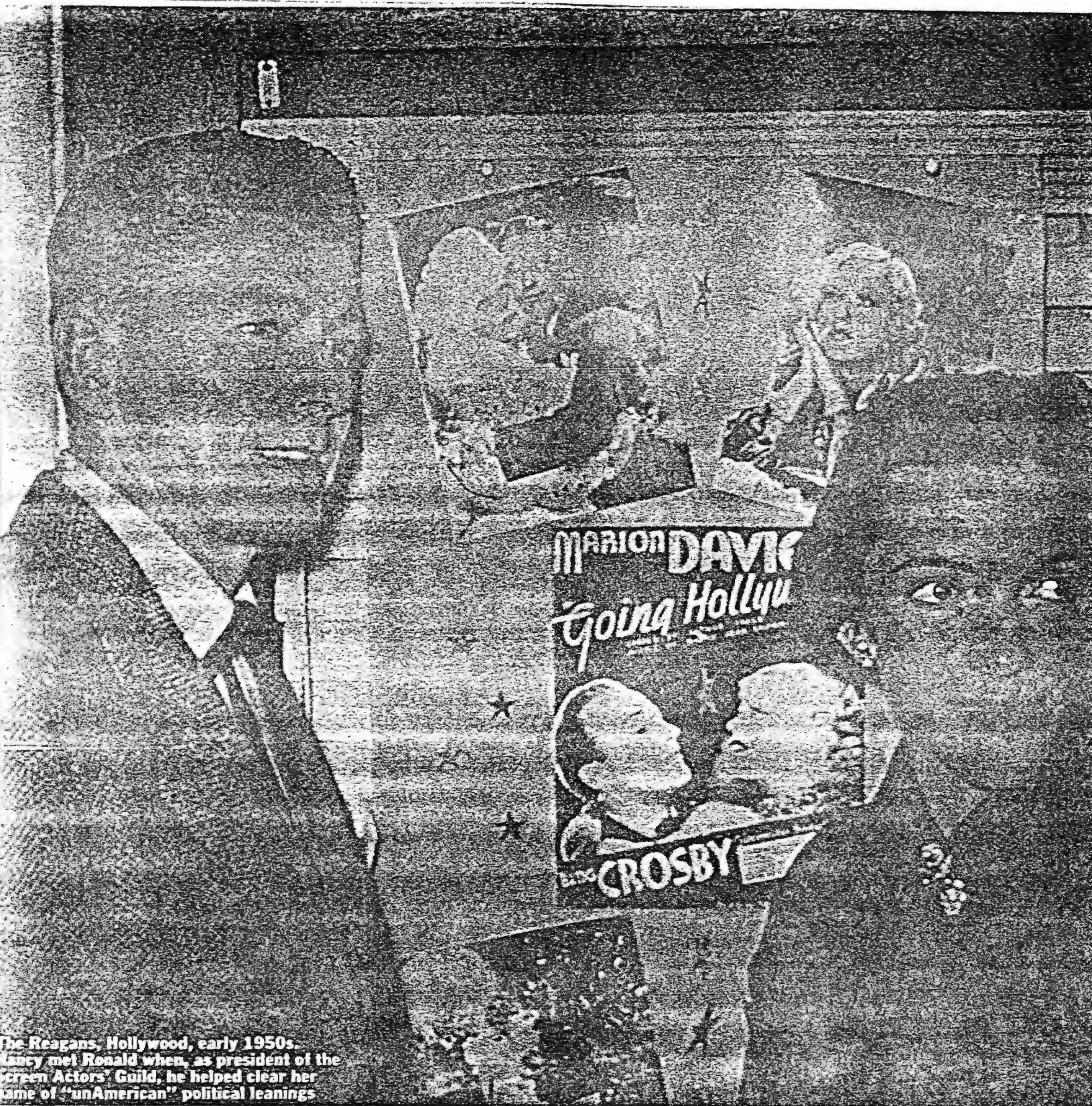
Today, 30 years later, the Reagans still behave like a pair of newly-weds. Nancy believes destiny brought them together

hospital where she was being born and soon afterwards abandoned his family. When she met him years later they quarrelled and he shut her in a bathroom. Ever since Mrs Reagan has felt a sense of panic behind locked doors.

At two years old she was boarded with an aunt in a dreary suburb of Washington DC while her mother resumed a stage career. Then, at six, the age psychologists say is the most formative in a child's life, her situation changed completely. Edith Luckett left the music hall and married a successful Chicago doctor named Loyal Davis. A physician who studied under Dr Davis remembers him as "one of the meanest, Commie-hating, narrow-minded, John Birching, ultra-conservative hellions I have ever met, and also one of the most gifted and brightest men." There is no doubt that Davis, who adopted Nancy and gave her his name, played an important part in shaping her character and beliefs. "He made a tremendous difference," Mrs Reagan says today.

In 1939 Nancy Davis went up to Smith College, met a Princeton student named Frank Birney and fell in love with him—only to be crushed when Birney was killed by a train as he crossed the railway tracks at Princeton Junction on his way to see her. She later became engaged to an Amherst undergraduate, James White, but broke it off when he went off to war.

Intent on an acting career, she moved to New York in 1946, obtained small parts in



The Reagans, Hollywood, early 1950s. Nancy met Ronald when, as president of the Screen Actors' Guild, he helped clear her name of "unAmerican" political leanings.

Broadway plays and had an inconclusive friendship with Clark Gable. Three years later she won a contract with MGM. Dore Schary, then head of MGM, picked her to play the wife in *The Next Voice You Hear*, the story of a young couple who hear God speaking to them on the radio. He said of her acting: "She never seemed quite as young as, say, June Allyson. She was more like a very nice, honest, thoroughly smart schoolteacher."

In 1951, when Senator Joe McCarthy was busy flushing out "unAmericans" and Hollywood actors with dubious politics were being blacklisted, Nancy Davis had the bad luck to receive Communist Party mailings intended for someone else of the same name. A newspaper report linked her to leftist organisations. Director Mervyn LeRoy introduced her to the president of the Screen

Actors' Guild, who offered to help clear her name. His name was Ronald Reagan. In less than a year they were married.

Today, 30 years later, they still behave like newly-weds, holding hands, dancing close, locking eyes in a lover's gaze. She believes it was destiny that brought them together, and remembers Mervyn LeRoy in her prayers. A California writer who knows her says: "The only warmth she has is for Ronnie. It's a strong relationship in which they need each other." Ronald Reagan told an interviewer: "Without Nancy I would not have been happy. I was very lonely, although I guess I was a success in Hollywood. But I felt the need to love someone."

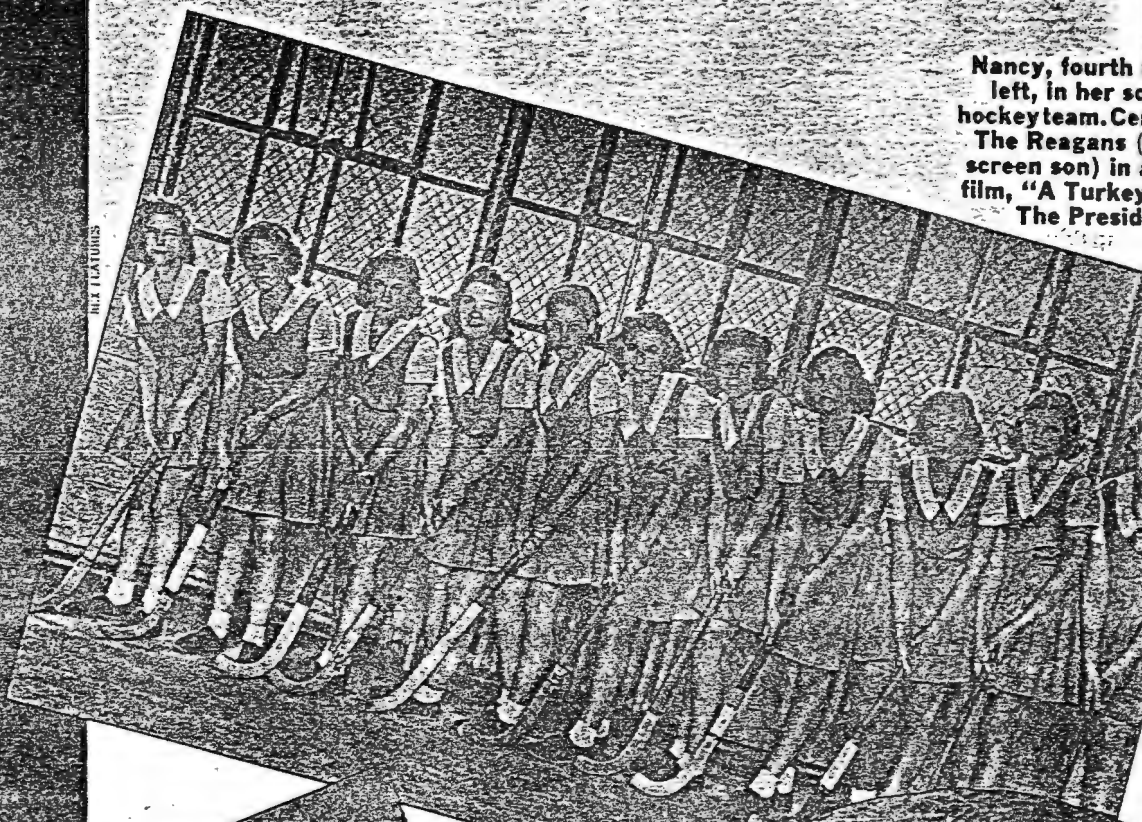
The intense closeness between these two people is a key to understanding Mrs Reagan. "She adores him, it's 100 per cent

genuine," said Nancy Reynolds, a close friend of Mrs Reagan's and a vice-president of the Bendix Corporation. Nancy has always made it clear what her number one priority is: husband and family. And that colours her whole role as First Lady.

"The longest time she has ever been away from him was for a week at the Royal wedding in London. Whenever she travelled without him during the election campaign, he wanted her back after three or four days. I remember once she was invited on her own to the Golden Door, a fashionable Californian health spa. It was a disaster. She was terribly lonely and left after three days. Nancy's pleasure and life belong to that one man."

Her devotion is also at the root of many of her troubles with the Press. Her effect in cushioning his life, critics say, is to make him

Nancy, fourth
left, in her
hockey team. Ce
The Reagans (s
screen son) in
film, "A Turkey
The Presid



coast in the presidency when he should be sweating over the hard task of mastering facts. She fusses over his health, lightening his schedule, making sure he gets plenty of rest. She was thought to be the one recommending an Easter holiday in Barbados when other advisers warned that it would look too much like hedonism.

The closeness tempts Reagan's detractors to hurt him by criticising her. It also ensures that he constantly seeks her advice on matters of politics and personnel—though she does not seem to be as influential on substantial issues of policy. She has a sharper instinct for politics and enjoys them more than he does, so that when the fate of some unfortunate Cabinet officer or aide who has given offence hangs in the balance, it is often Mrs Reagan's word that tips the scales.

It is safe to say that whenever anyone, no matter how senior, is seen as a threat to her husband, she is ruthless in removing that threat. Her wrath descends on those who criticise him: when Reagan was governor of California, she complained so often to Otis Chandler, publisher of the *Los Angeles Times*, that he finally refused to accept her telephone calls.

Many times, in California, her associates used to see her in tears over a personal attack on her husband in a newspaper. Today she doesn't take such incidents so 31

Nancy now: "Her most effective role is as the thoughtful protective wife"

27 much to heart and was highly amused at the portrayal of Mr Reagan in the British tabloids as a shoot-from-the-hip cowboy actor. Her therapy for criticism is to take long hot baths, inventing imaginary conversations in which she silences his adversaries with unanswerable ripostes.

"Ronald Reagan trusts everyone and likes everyone," said Nancy Reynolds. "Nancy Reagan has a more discriminating antenna about people. She's seldom wrong. And if she feels someone is hurting him, she'll speak out. She's a tiger at such moments, and thank God for it, because her husband is the kind of man who never says no."

"The sharks circle a president every moment of the day. Demanding, demanding, begging, begging for his time, his body, his attention. Just five more minutes, ten more minutes. She makes sure the sharks are kept at bay."

Besides protecting the President fiercely in his public life, she also strives to keep gorgeous women out of his field of vision. There is a well-documented story that Mrs Reagan refused to let actress Ruta Lee ride in the same hotel lift as her husband during the 1972 Republican convention in Miami Beach. In fact, her circle of confidantes is rather small and she generally turns for help to men. These obliging male comrades range all the way from Nevada Senator Paul

Laxalt, a man so loyal to the Reagans he is known as "Ronnie's brother and as Nancy's brother-in-law", to the exotic Jerry Zipkin, 68-year-old heir to a property fortune, petname "Baby Zip". Baby Zip is a perennial bachelor whose best friends are women, a gossip socialite who wears sandalwood perfume and velvet evening slippers satirically embroidered with the hammer and sickle.

Zipkin escorts Mrs Reagan to Monsieur Marc, her New York hairdresser, and sits with her through chatty lunches, the ballet and theatre. Admirers say Zipkin is warm, generous, cultivated and discreet. A detractor calls him "a nebulous, bitchy, very, very pretentious man, interested only in girl talk". Whatever the truth, the publicity has been harmful to Mrs Reagan's image as a serious person with a concern for less fortunate members of society.

Nancy Reynolds gives credit to Mrs Reagan for the President's "good emotional and physical health": "He gets a proper diet, lots of love, hugs and kisses. She knows when he's down and whether he needs a rest or people around him."

Being such a perfect wife tends to make Nancy Reagan impatient with women who aren't. She is firm in her belief that even if a wife works, her first priority is husband and children. She despises casual sex, easy divorce and lax parental standards. "Goodness, God, home and country are what Nancy believes in," says a writer who spent many hours in her company.

These attitudes are anathema to many of the journalists who write about her, especially the female ones. One of Mrs



The youngest are Nancy Reagan's favourite good cause. She gave a party for these deaf children at the White House last Christmas

Reagan's associates says: "She's an easy target for the new breed of young feminist reporter, who competes fiercely for stories and often has live-in boyfriends. Mrs Reagan doesn't understand someone who can't commit herself to marriage. She's a very old-fashioned woman who had a strict upbringing in proper girls' schools. Most modern films appal her. Her friends, the Jimmy Stewarts, the Ray Millands, have been married 30 or 40 years. Many are Catholic and all are crazy about children."

The top three White House advisers, Ed Meese, Michael Deaver, James Baker, are men who hold strongly to the traditional moral values and beliefs.

To strangers, this puritanical adherence to the high road of personal propriety, this low threshold of tolerance for human weakness, sometimes comes across as priggishness, an impression reinforced by a natural shyness and reserve. A woman who knows her well told me: "They say it takes seven years to make a close friend. It certainly took me all of that time with Nancy. She's a very private person and expects everyone else to be. I've seen her just astonished, incredulous, at the way people on *The Johnny Carson Show* unburden themselves of the most intimate details of their personal lives. She can hardly believe her eyes and ears. Also, she finds it difficult to make clever remarks or even express her feelings in words."

Mrs Reagan's social set reflects this taste for reticence. It is small and intensely protective. Its

charter members include Betsy Bloomingdale, best-dressed wife of the man who founded the Diner's Club, Marion Jorgensen and her husband Earle, a steel magnate, Attorney-General William French Smith and Jean Smith, and Betty Wilson, who is married to Mr Reagan's representative at the Vatican. "The set parties together, dines together, birthdays together," said Wanda McDaniels, a Los Angeles society writer. "For 20 years, nobody new has broken into the circle. They don't want any new players."

They want the same wine, the same food, the same ideas."

A second tier of tried and true friends contains some Hollywood names, notably those of Frank Sinatra, Jimmy Stewart, Irene Dunne, the Joseph Cottens and Mrs Jack Benny. Robert Stack, the actor, is another friend of the Reagans. He observed that "part of being a political wife in America is being eternally petrified." This applies to first ladies in particular. Nancy Reynolds concurs. "Go and take a look at the new portrait of Pat Nixon they've hung in one of the ground-floor rooms in the White house. It's all there, what it does to a woman to be the wife of a president. It will tear your heart to see the tragedy and grief."

Lately, however, Mrs Reagan has made an effort to change her public image as an aloof, queenly figure. She defused a good deal of Press antagonism this spring with a hilarious, self-mocking song-and-dance routine at the Gridiron Club dinner, attended by Washington's most powerful and least impressionable journalists. Dressed up in a huge flowered hat, feathered boa, bloomers fastened with safety pins, and yellow boots, she torched her way through a song called *Second-hand Clothes*, written by Sheila Tate and White House speechwriter Landon Parvin. A spoof on Mrs Reagan's dubious practice of accepting free designer clothes, the song also contained a reference to her notorious purchase of a £100,000 set of china. As she made her exit smashing a plate on the floor for symbolic emphasis and kicking up her heels, the

Gridiron gave her a standing ovation.

As part of this transformation Nancy Reagan is being seen in

creasingly often in the role of social activist. Her two-day tour of Atlanta to look at drug prevention centres was a typical example. All her strengths and weaknesses were on display. She was a wonderful listener, but vague when it came to expressing her own ideas. Close to tears more than once, as teenagers spoke of their painful day-to-day struggle with addiction, she also showed some of her high principled hardness when she made a sharp distinction between adult and child users: "I feel so sorry for 33

"Part of being a political wife in America is being eternally petrified"

THE FIRST LADY'S ENTOURAGE

Is Nancy Reagan America's Marie Antoinette?

In Paris last week she stayed at the beheaded French Queen's bucolic hideaway, Petit Trianon. she dined in the fabulous Hall of Mirrors, in the Palace of Versailles.

But the likelihood that this 20th-century First Lady with rich tastes glanced in the gilded mirrors for the ghost of a woman whose extravagance helped bring down a monarchy is slight indeed. For Nancy Reagan is not given to historical philosophising. If she did glance in the mirrors of Versailles, it was assuredly to check that her hairdresser Julius had done well.

The "queenly" image Mrs Reagan is now trying to overcome began even before she arrived in Washington in January, 1981. A devastating series in the *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*, "The Woman Who Would Be Queen", describing her "courtiers" and her life-style in the days when she was First Lady of California, preceded her to the capital.

Fuelled by a year of negative stories about borrowed designer clothes, borrowed jewels for Prince Charles' wedding, and the controversial expenditure of a donated £100,000 on a service of new White House china, the label stuck.

In the past months, however, the East Wing of the White House, where the First Lady's staff of 15 work, has begun to counter this "let-them-eat-cake" image with the more sympathetic picture of a woman who cares. As she visits Britain for the second time as First Lady, her staff is hoping for a kinder Press than last July.

While staying at Windsor with President Reagan, Mrs Reagan will spend most of Tuesday, June 8, accompanying President Reagan on his activities. On Wednesday morning, before they leave for Bonn, she will have a separate programme, a visit to a children's home or a drug rehabilitation centre.

For this and other events in France and in Rome, two of her staff "advanced" specifically for Mrs Reagan. James



Surrounded by her aides, Nancy Reagan flies to the naming ceremony of missile cruiser USS *Ticonderoga*

Rosebush, her chief of staff, and Barbara Cook, her deputy Press secretary, came to Europe several weeks ago to plan the events the First Lady would make on her own.

That meant a complicated analysis of a children's centre in Paris she was to visit, Claude Monet's house and garden at Giverny, the Normandy Battlefields, a drug rehabilitation programme in Rome, and her separate event in England.

Rosebush and Cook, as well as evaluating the programme the First Lady will concentrate on, and arranging for the Press to cover those events and their logistics, were also organising at least 20 volunteers to assist in Mrs Reagan's itinerary. Simultaneously, the Secret Service — which, in the light of so many assassinations of US Presidents, always has the last word on security aspects of First Lady events — was trying to anticipate any holes in the security net, par-

ticularly in France and Italy where terrorists are active.

Nancy Reagan's staff feel she was given a "bum rap" in England last year when the Press contrasted her arrival at a polo match with that of the Queen. "We have no say over security," Press secretary Sheila Tate explains. "The Secret Service calls the shots."

Rosebush, who looks like a young Pat Boone, Cook, Tate and Nancy Reagan's personal secretary Elaine Crispin will be her entourage on the trip, as well as her Hollywood hairdresser Julius, whose expenses will be paid for personally by the Reagans. Several American reporters will accompany Mrs Reagan to scrutinise her clothes, scrutinise her jewels, parties and separate activities.

But the more influential Pressmen, top aides and tightest security concentrate on Reagan. Only when a First Lady travels alone does she get the full spotlight, and in Nancy Reagan's case there seems little doubt that she prefers to stand adoringly at his side rather than be the main focus.

In the White House, where their old California clique are regular guests, Nancy Reagan's face

lights up when the women who have been her friends for 30 years — "the cat pack" — arrive. Decorator Ted Graber — who did over the family quarters with donations from rich friends and sympathisers to the tune of £400,000 — is also a White House regular. Frank Sinatra, who has become voluntary impresario for entertainment at White House parties, gets kisses and hugs from Nancy.

These "courtiers", it seems, have been relegated to strictly "social" status by Reagan's political aides, who perspicaciously read early warning signals in the Press speculating on the influence of the males of the California set, the "kitchen cabinet". Consequently, after Reagan was elected, the influence of these elderly millionaires — whose conservative political philosophy is rooted in a rosy but long-past vision of America as a land of opportunity for anyone who wants to become a millionaire — waned.

Their frequent social presence at the White House, where their wives are welcomed as Nancy Reagan's most loyal friends, is a kind of consolation prize for lost power over "their" man. Such nuances — for Washington analyses such things as carefully as it does the budget, and often more carefully than esoteric matters like foreign policy — are the background against which presidents and first ladies function.

Now, as Nancy Reagan heads for Windsor Castle and a real queen, there are small but telling signs she has perceived the political danger of her early image in a republic racked with recession. She has had no "special wardrobe" made for this trip. She has borrowed, from Winston's, only one pair of diamond earrings. And these days she makes jokes to deflect the criticism.

"I never wear a crown," she said a while ago when postcards depicting her wearing crown, robes and sceptre became popular. "They mess up your hair."

JOY BILLINGTON

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E.O. 12065: N/A

SUBJECT: "BUNTE" INTERVIEW WITH MRS. NANCY REAGAN

REF: SWINSON-BONN PA/IP TELCON, JUNE 9

1. FOLLOWING, AS REQUESTED, IS TRANSLATION OF "BUNTE"
INTERVIEW WITH MRS. NANCY REAGAN, PUBLISHED IN THE
MAGAZINE'S JUNE 9, 1982 ISSUE (PAGES 22-24) UNDER THE
HEADLINE, "'I AM LOOKING FORWARD TO GERMANY'"

BEGIN TEXT:

BUNTE: MRS. REAGAN, YOU AND YOUR HUSBAND ARE COMING TO
BONN ON A STATE VISIT. WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
AMERICA AND GERMANY?

NANCY REAGAN: AMERICANS AND GERMANS HAVE A DEEP FRIENDSHIP.
OUR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS ARE VERY MUCH
ALIKE. BOTH NATIONS WANT PROSPERITY, PEACE, STABILITY
AND A SECURE FUTURE FOR THEIR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN.

BUNTE: WHAT IS YOUR PERSONAL OPINION OF GERMANY AND THE
GERMANS?

NANCY REAGAN: AMERICANS OF GERMAN ORIGIN ARE THE BIGGEST
GROUP OF OUR POPULATION. GERMAN CULTURE, GERMAN NAMES
AND GERMANS PLAY A GREAT ROLE IN OUR SOCIETY. TO TRAVEL
TO GERMANY MEANS FOR ME TO VISIT A COUNTRY WHICH
REPRESENTS THE BASIS OF MY OWN SOCIETY. BY THE WAY, THE
GOD-MOTHER OF MY SON IS A GERMAN, AND RONNIE AND I ARE
GOD-PARENTS OF THEIR DAUGHTER.

BUNTE: EVERY SCHOOL-CHILD IN GERMANY KNOWS THE TV
PICTURES WHICH SHOW HOW PRESIDENT KENNEDY WAS
RECEIVED IN BERLIN IN 1963. WHAT RECEPTION DO YOU
EXPECT OF THE GERMANS IN VIEW OF THE PRESENT POLITICAL
CLIMATE?

NANCY REAGAN: I AM CONVINCED THAT THE BIG MAJORITY OF
THE AMERICANS AND THE GERMANS ARE DEVOTED STRONGLY TO
THE TRADITIONAL FRIENDLY TIES AND ALLIANCE WHICH HAS
CONTRIBUTED SO MUCH TO THE PROGRESS OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES.
MY FIRST VISIT WHICH I MADE TO GERMANY WITH MY HUSBAND
IN 1978 GAVE ME A LOT OF PLEASURE. I WAS PARTICULARLY
IMPRESSED BY THE WARMNESS OF THE GERMANS.

BUNTE: YOU HAVE MET SO MANY HEADS OF STATES, WHO HAS
IMPRESSED YOU MOSTLY?

NANCY REAGAN: DURING THE ONE-AND-HALF YEARS IN THE
WHITE HOUSE, MY HUSBAND AND I HAVE MADE MANY FRIENDS
WITH LEADING PERSONALITIES FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD.
ONE REASON WHY I AM LOOKING FORWARD TO MY VISIT TO
GERMANY IS TO BE ABLE TO DEEPEN OUR FRIENDSHIP WITH
FEDERAL CHANCELLOR HELMUT SCHMIDT AND HIS WIFE AND TO
MEET FEDERAL PRESIDENT KARL CARSTENS AND HIS WIFE.

BUNTE: HOW STRONG IS YOUR INFLUENCE ON THE PRESIDENT
IN POLITICAL QUESTIONS? ARE YOU INTERESTED IN POLITICS

YOURSELF?

NANCY REAGAN: NOBODY CAN STAY MARRIED FOR THIRTY YEARS
WITHOUT INFLUENCING EACH OTHER. ALTHOUGH I PREFER NOT
TO INTERFERE IN POLITICS, I AM SOMETIMES A "KITE" FOR
MY HUSBAND.

BUNTE: WHAT DO YOU ADMIRE MOST IN THE UNITED STATES
AND ITS PEOPLE?

NANCY REAGAN: I ADMIRE THE PLURALISTIC SOCIETY IN
WHICH PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT ORIGIN CAN LIVE IN HARMONY
AND PEACE WITH ONE ANOTHER. I ALSO ADMIRE THE
ADVANTAGES OF A FREE DEMOCRACY: THE FREEDOM OF ELECTIONS,
THE WORK, AS WELL AS FREE COMPANIES - ALL THIS THE
GERMAN PEOPLE ARE ALSO SHARING. I ALSO ADMIRE THE
ENGAGEMENT OF CITIZENS INITIATIVES WHO TAKE CARE OF
THE NEEDY, THE SICK AND THE OLD. THIS IS ONE OF THE
REASONS WHY I AM A MEMBER OF THE FOSTER GRANDPARENT
PROGRAM IN WHICH I HAVE BEEN WORKING SINCE 1967.
THE FOSTER GRANDPARENT PROGRAM GIVES OLD AMERICANS
THE CHANCE TO GIVE THEIR TIME AND LOVE TO THOSE NEEDY
CHILDREN WHO NEED THEIR LOVE URGENTLY.

BUNTE: WHAT ARE THE DAILY DUTIES OF THE FIRST LADY?
DO YOU HAVE TIME FOR PRIVATE LIFE?

NANCY REAGAN: MY HUSBAND AND I BEGIN AND END THE DAY
TOGETHER. THE TELEPHONE OF THE WHITE HOUSE WAKES US UP
AT SEVEN-THIRTY. WE BREAKFAST TOGETHER - MUESLI AND
FRUIT OR SOFT EGGS AND CAFFEINE-FREE COFFEE.
WHEN WE ARE AT HOME, WE DINE TOGETHER IN OUR MORNING
COATS. IF MY HUSBAND HAS HIS WAY, WE HAVE CHILI OR
MACARONI WITH CHEESE. EVERY MORNING AT EIGHT-THIRTY
I GO TO WORK IN MY OFFICE ON THE SECOND FLOOR OF THE
WHITE HOUSE. ON MONDAYS, ALL MY AIDES MEET. WE GO
THROUGH MY WEEKLY SCHEDULE, TALK OVER THE PROJECTS
AND QUESTIONS AND THE LISTS OF GUESTS FOR SOCIAL EVENTS.
NORMALLY I WORK UNTIL SIX P.M., FREQUENTLY ALSO
AFTER DINNER.

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USICA

BUNTE: ALL OVER THE WORLD THE FAMILY TIES ARE NO LONGER
WHAT THEY USED TO BE. WHAT CAN BE DONE TO MAINTAIN THE
FEELING OF TOGETHERNESS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE?

NANCY REAGAN: SOMEONE HAS SAID THAT FAMILY IS THE
MASTER PIECE OF NATURE, AND I BELIEVE IN IT. I KNOW
THAT THE IMPORTANCE OF FAMILY IN GERMANY PLAYS THE
SAME BIG ROLE AS IT DOES HERE. OPEN COMMUNICATION
HELPS TO KEEP THE FAMILY TOGETHER. TO BE PARENTS IS
ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT AND MOST DIFFICULT TASK
WHICH FACES PEOPLE IN OUR LIVES. I WOULD LIKE TO
SUPPORT AND TO ENCOURAGE THE PARENTS WHO CONCERN
THEMSELVES WITH THE PROBLEMS OF YOUNG PEOPLE AND TO
HELP THEM SOLVE THEM. AND I BELIEVE THAT THE
YOUNG PEOPLE EXPECT THIS FROM THEIR PARENTS.

BUNTE: WHAT RELATIONSHIP DO YOU AND THE PRESIDENT HAVE
TO YOUR CHILDREN?

NANCY REAGAN: MY HUSBAND AND I HAVE A VERY OPEN
RELATIONSHIP WITH OUR CHILDREN. OUR SON MICHAEL AND
OUR DAUGHTER MAUREEN ARE BOTH MARRIED AND LEAD THEIR
OWN LIVES IN CALIFORNIA. OUR DAUGHTER PATTY IS AN
ACTRESS AND LIVES IN CALIFORNIA, TOO. OUR SON RON IS
A DANCER AT THE JOFFREY BALLET AND LIVES WITH HIS WIFE
IN NEW YORK. ALL OF THEM VISIT US AS OFTEN AS THEY CAN.

BUNTE: WHAT IS YOUR STAND TO THE DRUG PROBLEM AND
WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT IT?

NANCY REAGAN: THE DRUG ADDICTION AMONG THE AMERICAN
YOUTH IS A VERY SERIOUS PROBLEM. IT CONCERNS ALL
SPHERES OF SOCIETY - ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND RACIAL.
IT IS ESTIMATED THAT ABOUT FOUR MILLION AMERICANS AT
THE AGE OF 12-17 TAKE MARIJUANA AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH.
THE LAST REPORT OF THE SURGEON GENERAL ALLOWS THE
CONCLUSION THAT THE DEATH RATE AMONG THE 15-24 YEAR
OLD IS MUCH LARGER THAN 20 YEARS AGO. THIS IS THE
RESULT OF DRUGS AND ALCOHOL MISUSE. DRUGS THREATEN
THE FUTURE OF OUR CHILDREN IN MY COUNTRY. THIS IS
WHY I HAVE CONCLUDED TO MAKE THE DRUG MISUSE AMONG
THE YOUTH ONE OF MY PROJECTS. I THINK THAT PARENTS
CAN DO A LOT TO STOP THE MISUSE OF DRUGS. ALL OVER
THE COUNTRY PARENTS GROUPS ARE MEETING TO
KEEP YOUNG PEOPLE FROM DRUG MISUSE. AND I WOULD LIKE
TO HELP ORGANIZE MORE GROUPS ALL OVER AMERICA.

BUNTE: WHAT IS YOUR FAVORITE COLOR? WHAT ARE YOUR
HOBBIES? WHAT DO YOU ADMIRE IN YOUR HUSBAND?

NANCY REAGAN: RED IS MY FAVORITE COLOR. I DEVOTE ALL
MY HOBBIES TO A COMFORTABLE HOME: DECORATION, THE
ARRANGEMENT OF FLOWERS, TO COLLECT RECIPES AND TO PUT
MENUES TOGETHER. I LIKE RIDING ON OUR RANCH.
I ADMIRE RONNIE'S STRENGTH, HIS PATIENCE, HIS SOFTNESS
AND, ABOVE ALL, I APPRECIATE HIS HONESTY. END TEXT.
TUCH

UNCLASSIFIED

Nr. 24 Orlenburg 7.6.1982 M 2013 C

BUNTE

Nach Beerdigung
Tanzziehen
um Romys
Tochter Sarah

Zur Fußball-WM

Die Frauen
unserer Spieler,
wie sie noch
keiner sah

Nancy Reagan in BUNTE

Was
meinem
Mann
und mir
an den
Deutschen
so gefällt

Im Weißen Haus
sprach die
Präsidentengattin
Nancy Reagan
freimütig mit BUNTE

**BUNTE-
EXKLUSIV**



Miny Anne Fackelman (3)

Liebe: Nancy hat ein deutsches Patenkind.

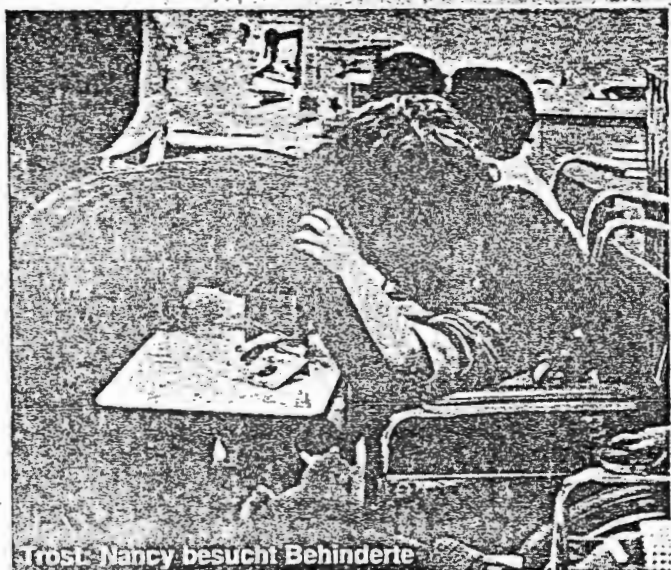


Spezialität: Der Präsident serviert Truthahn.



Wohnzimmer: Rot ist Nancys Lieblingsfarbe.

„Ich freue mich auf Deu



Trost: Nancy besucht Behinderte



Geschenk: Jagdhund Victory bewacht Nancy

Karl Schumacher



Abendimbiß: Die Reagan's bevorzugen Makkaroni mit Käse



Spaß: Nancy liebt Zirkus

Bill Fitz-Patrick

BUNTE: Mrs. Reagan, Sie und Ihr Mann kommen zum Staatsbesuch nach Bonn. Wie ist das Verhältnis zwischen Amerika und Deutschland?

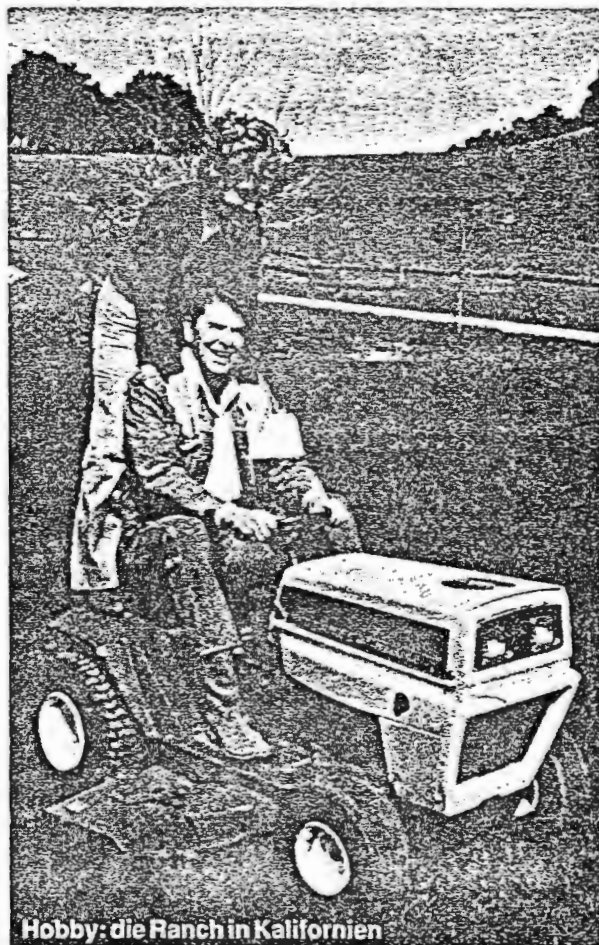
Nancy Reagan: Amerikaner und Deutsche verbindet eine tiefe Freundschaft. Unsere wirtschaftlichen und politischen Systeme sind sehr ähnlich. Beide Völker wollen Wohlstand, Frieden, Stabilität und eine sichere Zukunft für ihre Kinder und Kinderkinder.

BUNTE: Was ist Ihre persönliche Meinung über Deutschland und die Deutschen?

Nancy Reagan: Deutschstämmige Amerikaner gehören zu den größten Gruppen unserer Bevölkerung. Deutsche Kultur, deutsche Namen und Deutsche spielen eine große Rolle in unserer Gesellschaft. Nach Deutschland zu reisen, bedeutet deshalb für mich, ein Land zu besuchen, das den Grundstock meiner eigenen Gesellschaft repräsentiert. Übrigens, die Patentante meines Sohnes ist Deutsche, und Ronnie und ich sind Paten ihrer Tochter.

BUNTE: Jedes Schulkind in Deutschland kennt die Fernsehbilder, die zeigen, wie Präsident

Bitte umblättern



Hobby: die Ranch in Kalifornien

Michael Evans (3)

hland"

Nancy Reagan sorgt sich um die Jugend Amerikas. Familie bedeutet für sie Glück und Geborgenheit. Eltern, so sagt sie, haben den schwersten Beruf. Dies verriet die First Lady im Weißen Haus BUNTE-Korrespondent Fritz Blumenberg kurz vor ihrem Abflug nach Deutschland. Im ersten Interview, das sie einer ausländischen Zeitschrift gab

Fortsetzung
von Seite 23

Kennedy 1963 in Berlin empfangen wurde. Welchen Empfang erwarten Sie von den Deutschen mit Hinblick auf das gegenwärtige politische Klima?

Nancy Reagan: Ich bin davon überzeugt, daß die große Mehrheit der Amerikaner und Deutschen stark an der traditionell freundschaftlichen Bindung und Allianz hängt, die soviel zum Fortschritt unserer beiden Länder beigetragen hat. Mein erster Besuch in Deutschland, den ich zusammen mit meinem Mann 1978 machte, hat mir sehr viel Spaß gemacht. Mir ist besonders die Warmherzigkeit der Deutschen aufgefallen.

BUNTE: Sie haben viele Staatsoberhäupter kennengelernt. Wer hat Sie am meisten beeindruckt?

Nancy Reagan: Während der eineinhalb Jahre im Weißen Haus haben mein Mann und ich mit führenden Persönlichkeiten aus aller Welt Freundschaft geschlossen. Einer der Gründe, weshalb ich mich auf unsere Reise nach Deutschland so freue, ist die Vertiefung unserer Freundschaft mit Bundeskanzler Helmut Schmidt und seiner Frau sowie Bundespräsident Karl Carstens und Gattin kennenzulernen.

BUNTE: Wie stark ist Ihr Einfluß auf den Präsidenten in politischen Fragen? Sind Sie selbst politisch?

Die Vorzüge einer freien Gesellschaft genießt auch das deutsche Volk

Nancy Reagan: Niemand kann dreißig Jahre verheiratet sein, ohne den anderen zu beeinflussen. Obwohl ich es vorziehe, mich nicht in die Politik einzumischen, bin ich doch manchmal „Versuchsballon“ für meinen Mann.

BUNTE: Was bewundern Sie am meisten an Amerika und seinem Volk?

Nancy Reagan: Ich bewundere die pluralistische Gesellschaft, in der Menschen verschiedenster Herkunft in Harmonie und Frieden miteinander leben können. Ich bewundere auch die Vorzüge einer freien Demokratie: die Freiheit der Wahl, der Arbeit sowie freier Unternehmen – das alles genießt auch das deutsche Volk. Ich bewundere

auch das Engagement der Bürgerinitiativen, die sich um die Bedürftigen, die Kranken und die Alten kümmern. Dies ist einer der Gründe, weshalb ich Mitglied des Foster Grandparent Program's (Pflege-Großeltern-Programm) bin, bei dem ich seit 1967 mitarbeite. The Foster Grandparent Program bietet älteren Amerikanern die Chance, ihre Zeit und Liebe jenen bedürftigen Kindern zu schenken, die ihre Liebe dringend brauchen.

BUNTE: Wie sehen die täglichen Pflichten der First Lady aus? Bleibt Ihnen noch Zeit für Privatleben?

Nancy Reagan: Mein Mann und ich beginnen und beenden jeden Tag gemeinsam. Die Telefonzentrale des Weißen Hauses weckt uns um halb acht Uhr. Wir frühstücken zusammen – Müsli und Früchte oder weiche Eier und koffeinfreien Kaffee. Wenn wir daheim sind, essen wir auch abends gemeinsam – in unseren Morgenmänteln. Wenn es nach dem Willen meines Mannes geht, gibt es Chili oder Makkaroni mit Käse. Jeden Morgen um halb neun Uhr gehe ich zur Arbeit in mein Büro im zweiten Stock des Weißen Hauses. Montags treffen sich hier alle meine Mitarbeiter. Wir gehen meinen Wochenplan durch, be-

sprechen Projekte und Anfragen sowie Gästelisten für gesellschaftliche Ereignisse. Normalerweise arbeite ich bis sechs Uhr abends – oftmals auch noch nach dem Abendessen.

BUNTE: Fast überall auf der Welt sind die Familienbindungen heute nicht mehr das, was sie einmal waren. Was kann getan werden, um jungen Menschen das Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl in der Familie zu erhalten?

Die Familie ist ein Meisterwerk der Natur. Daran glaube ich fest

Nancy Reagan: Jemand hat einmal gesagt, die Familie sei eines der Meisterwerke der Natur. Und daran glaube ich fest. Ich weiß, daß die Bedeutung der Familie in Deutschland genauso wie bei uns eine große Rolle spielt. Offene Kommunikation hilft, die Familie zusammenzuhalten. Elternsein ist die wichtigste und schwerste Aufgabe, die einem Menschen in seinem Leben gestellt werden kann. Ich möchte die Eltern unterstützen und ermuntern, sich mit den Problemen der jungen Menschen zu beschäftigen

und sie lösen zu helfen. Und ich glaube, daß die jungen Leute das im Grunde auch von ihren Eltern wollen.

BUNTE: Welches Verhältnis haben Sie und der Präsident zu Ihren Kindern?

Nancy Reagan: Mein Mann und ich haben ein sehr offenes Verhältnis zu unseren Kindern. Sein Sohn Michael und seine Tochter Maureen sind beide verheiratet und führen ihr eigenes Leben in Kalifornien. Unsere Tochter Patti ist Schauspielerin und lebt auch in Kalifornien. Unser Sohn Ron ist Tänzer beim Joffrey-Ballett und lebt mit seiner Frau in New York. Alle besuchen uns, so oft es ihr voller Terminkalender erlaubt.

BUNTE: Wie stehen Sie zum Drogenproblem, was kann dagegen getan werden?

Nancy Reagan: Drogensucht unter den amerikanischen Jugendlichen ist ein sehr ernstes Problem. Es durchbricht alle Barrieren – ökonomische, soziale und rassische. Schätzungsweise vier Millionen junge Amerikaner im Alter zwischen 12 und 17 Jahren nehmen Marihuana mindestens einmal im Monat. Der letzte Report des „Surgeon General“ (dem Gesundheitsministerium angeschlossen) läßt darauf schließen, daß die Todesrate unter den 15- bis 24-jährigen größer ist als vor 20 Jahren. Das ist das Resultat von Drogen- und Alkoholmißbrauch. Drogen bedrohen die Zukunft der Kinder meines Landes. Deshalb habe ich beschlossen, Drogenmißbrauch unter Jugendlichen zu einem meiner Projekte zu machen. Ich glaube, daß Eltern sehr viel tun können, um den Drogenmißbrauch aufzuhalten. Überall im Land schließen sich Elterngruppen zusammen. Sie sind notwendig, um junge Leute vor Drogenmißbrauch zu bewahren. Und ich möchte mithelfen, daß sich noch mehr Gruppen in ganz Amerika organisieren.

BUNTE: Was ist Ihre Lieblingsfarbe? Welche Hobbys haben Sie? Was bewundern Sie an Ihrem Mann?

Nancy Reagan: Rot mag ich am liebsten. Meine Hobbys drehen sich alle um ein schönes Zuhause: Dekorieren, das Arrangieren von Blumen, Rezepte sammeln und Menüs zusammenstellen. Ich reite gern auf unserer Ranch. Ich bewundere Ronnies Stärke, seine Geduld, seine Sanftheit – und vor allem schätze ich seine Aufrichtigkeit. ■



Interview im Weißen Haus: BUNTE-Korrespondent Blumenberg zeigt Nancy Reagan einen BUNTE-Bericht über sie und ihren Mann und überreicht der First Lady einen Bildband über Deutschland

An Interview with the First Lady
of the United States

THE WISE LADY IN THE WHITE HOUSE

The President of the United States, Ronald Reagan, and his wife Nancy will travel to Rome on an official visit on June 7. In this circumstance, Mrs. Reagan has agreed to talk about herself in her first interview with an Italian magazine.

Washington, May - The White House gardens are in full, rich bloom, despite the snow storm that killed the first tender blossoms of the pink magnolia on the day before Easter of this long, persistent 1982 winter. Awaiting me in the East Wing is Sheila Tate, the beautiful, energetic press attache to the First Lady. Mrs. ^{Reagan} will see me in an hour, says she, so would I like to collect some more information? Of course I would; ~~and~~ here I am, sitting in Nancy's office whose walls are covered with photos. Sheila has prepared for me a fileful of various clippings and articles that bears the Presidential seal and a nice picture of the White House on its cover. Sheila opens the conversation with a quotation from Mrs. Reagan's autobiography: "Ever since Ronald and I first met, I knew that being an actor was not enough for him, and that life was bound to offer him far better opportunities. And so I prepared myself to follow him anywhere and to turn into a home - our home - any place where we might land."

The Presidential couple landed in the White House sixteen months ago. For Nancy, the main task here is always that of "being the best wife in the world." Explains Sheila: "Mrs. Reagan has a very strong sense of the family, dating from her earliest years. Her mother, an actress, devoted much of her time to traveling, while an uncle and an aunt took care of the young child, but that was not quite the same

thing. Nancy did not have a real home until her mother was married to a well-known Chicago surgeon, Loyal Davis; she was seven at that time, and from then on she lived in a stable family, with her mother and a stepfather she loved."

With a professional's ^{accuracy} ~~meticulousness~~, Sheila describes a day in the life of America's First Lady. Every morning, the White House operator wakes the Presidential couple at 7:30. Then comes the breakfast: cold cereal, fresh fruit, eggs and no-caffeine coffee. Nancy spends 20 minutes every day doing her morning exercise, then goes in to her office - decorated in a bright green - on the second floor of the residence. Her staff is formed by fifteen assistants - fewer, points out Sheila, than any of the recent First Ladies'. She sits on the sofa next to the telephone, kicks her shoes off to be more comfortable and starts her work: discussing engagements on her agenda, examining invitations, going through the papers, reading correspondence (she receives nearly 1,000 letters every week), answering calls. Occasionally, in the morning, the President stops by to say hello: "discreetly, not to disturb us," says Sheila.

Nancy works until five p.m. with a short break at lunch-time for a sandwich and a ^{glass} of milk. If no formal receptions are scheduled in the evening, Ronald and Nancy dine together in the red-and-white salon, watching the news in their ^{dressing} ~~dinner~~ gowns. On the few occasions in which the President's taste in food prevails, dinner consists of cheese macaroni or California-style chili. Nancy needs no slimming diets: her concerns are enough to keep her 52 kilos steady. She often says: "I was born to worry. Having nothing to worry about worries me." Ronald Reagan said of her: "The way Nancy plays the role of a First Lady deserves an Oscar Prize." The words are very gratifying, but what

is really the role of America's First Lady?

She is not elected (the U.S. citizens vote for a President, not a couple), has no Constitutional tasks (the American Constitution accurately lists all the duties, privileges, powers and restraints connected with such a high rank but does not even mention the President's spouse), and receives no salary for any function she may perform. Nevertheless, she is required to play up to the important position she *occupies holds* —

In this context of vagueness, ~~the~~^{by} First Lady undoubtedly plays a no-win role: she may be subject to criticism of all kinds. Mary Lincoln, for example, was accused of wasting time shopping around, Eleanor Roosevelt for meddling too much in politics. Jacqueline Kennedy was criticized for her snobbishness, Betty Ford for her excessive spontaneity which caused many a blunder on her part. Pat Nixon was nicknamed Plastic Pat: 'a pretty, useless thing; Rosalynn Carter the Iron Magnolia, was accused of behaving as a no.2 President rather than as a wife.

The press is not more indulgent with Nancy Reagan. The Washington Post condemned her for being "more socially chic than socially useful". She is often chided over her excessive spending, just when America's unemployment rate reaches its post-war high - 10 millions. Nancy spent 1.5 billion lire on redecorating the White House ("but that's a public property which needs to be taken care of", her staff excuse her), nearly 300 million lire to buy ~~her clothes~~^{fabrics} ("but that was absolutely necessary after the austere Carter years"), the high-fashion dresses she wears are unnecessarily precious ("but she gets them free from the ateliers and then passes them on to the museums", her supporters say).

Tired of too much criticism, Nancy devoted herself to build a "socially useful" image. We had a long talk about her social commitment in her office, crowded with pictures portaying her movie-star friends, *and* herself with Ronald and the children in their California ranch. She looks very elegant in her Chanel two-piece suit and silk blouse with a bow, perfect in her discreet make-up, her auburn hair shining and well groomed. She looks proud of her youthful fifty-nine years of age.

The interview, of course, opens with her most recent contact with the events of our country: President Pertini's visit to the United States late last March. "Of all the heads of State I met, President Pertini really conquered me," says Nancy Reagan, obviously not out of mere politeness. "His past and his passion for liberty, to which he devoted his entire life, fascinated me as well as the warmth, the energy and vigor - both physical and intellectual - emanating from him. That is the best evidence that there isn't only one golden age. *My* only regret is not having been able to meet Mrs. Pertini."

-- Mrs. Reagan, what do you expect from your upcoming visit to Italy?

== Unfortunately - and I personally regret it - we shall spend only a few hours in Rome. I look forward to being in Italy. I admire the Italian people and their warm humanity, and I am proud that your cultural heritage enriched my country through the American-born Italians who live here. My husband and I have many Italian friends: friendship has no boundaries. And - did you know that? - my daughter-in-law is Italian. Dora's - that's my son Ron's wife - parents were born in Italy. As you see, I have many good reasons for being happy to visit your country again!

-- Why "again"?

== Because I was there before with my husband and my son Ron: that was in 1972. At that time we were so lucky to obtain the privilege of being received by Pope Paul VI. During our next visit we will meet Pope John Paul II. A personal interview was arranged between him and Ronald, then I will be admitted. I am looking forward to that moment.

-- Is the President a religious man?

== He is a devout Christian. And so am I.

-- Is there a prayer that you are particularly fond of?

== I love that passage in St. John's Gospel, chapter III, verse 16, whose words ~~of your career~~ I often repeat: "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

-- Mrs. Reagan, I saw you on television the other day: you were talking to a group of young people from Atlanta, Georgia. And many of the pictures here show you admist young people. Are such meetings part of ^{your} duties as a First Lady?

== No; my first and foremost duty as the President's wife is to be a hostess at the official receptions in the White House. But I have been interested for some time in two special projects. One concerns the young drug addicts and alcoholics. During my husband's presidential campaign, I visited the well-known Daytop Village (which was also visited by Italy's President Pertini on his recent journey to New York.) There I saw the pain but also the hope, the sickness but also the determination to be cured; and from then on my personal commitment to solving this problem never declined.

-- Is there a solution?

== You have to treat every case separately, one kid at a time. Our statistics show frightening figures: in America, over 4.5 million youngsters between 12 and 17 years of age use drugs at least once a month, and over 8.5 million kids belonging to that same age group use alcohol in excessive quantities at least once a month. In other terms, more than 20% of our youth has experienced drugs, and over 37% makes excessive use of intoxicating drinks. This tragedy may jeopardize all prospects for the new generation and undermine the very foundations of the family. You must not forget that wherever a young drug addict or dipsomaniac is, there is also a family that suffers and disintegrates.

-- What causes all that?

== We live in hard times. When I was young, life was far more uncomplicated, and families were bound by stronger ties. Nowadays the young people are confronted with more choices to make, and they often feel confused. Also, they are more and more often deprived of their parents' help and support. Thanks God we have recently seen

more and more parental associations forming in our country to help the mothers and fathers to become aware of the problem and try to solve it together. One thing strikes me in particular, and that is the strength of many mothers, who apparently can face tragedies and react more positively than their husbands. I always say that women today are like those paper tea-bags: you never know how strong they are until you pour hot water on them...

-- But you mentioned another "special project", Mrs. Reagan: would you like to talk about it?

== That is a program called Foster Grandparent. I became acquainted with this initiative fifteen years ago in California, when my husband was the State Governor. It's a great idea: it's all about bringing elderly people, with lots of time to spare and lots of love to give, together with abandoned, retarded or problem children. These people become foster grandparents and take care of the kids as if they were their grandchildren. I am presently writing a book under the title Loving a Child, which is going to be published next fall together with a record with the same title, sung by Frank Sinatra. In my book, I tell the moving stories of a dozen foster grandparents and grandchildren. The project shall be funded with the proceeds from the sales of the book and record.

-- Mrs. Reagan, to my great surprise, instead of talking mostly about social events, here we are discussing your full-time social commitment...

== Well, perhaps "full-time" is a bit too much. I am also very interested in the arts; after all, I come from an artistic background: my mother was an actress, and I was one too, for some time. My husband was an actor, and both my children work in the show business.

I shall be hosting in the White House a television program called The White House Show. That is a sort of review of young talents and established artists, ranging from ballet to opera and so on.

-- Mrs. Reagan, I apologize for forgetting to ask you how the President is...

== His health is excellent: he still is that very special man I married thirty years ago. As you know, this year, Ronnie and I will be celebrating our thirtieth anniversary, and our marriage is still in full shape.

-- What is your secret?

== Love. And the fact that Ronnie and I are each other's best friends.

-- Are you ever afraid for him?

== Sometimes. I still haven't forgotten the assault of March 30 last year: at that time I really could have lost him... At that time I experienced a sort of delayed reaction: I struggled hard to face things because I know I had to, but soon after I collapsed, and for some time I lost my appetite and my sleep. All my priorities had been upset: that's when life becomes so much more precious. Now, I know how to tell the essential things from the unimportant ones much better than I used to.

-- Mrs. Reagan, we have not yet talked about your children.

== Well, there's Patti, who's thirty years old and lives in California; and there's Ron, who's twenty-five, dances with the Joffrey Ballet Company and lives in New York with his Italian wife Doria. We all are very close together. Someone has said that the family is one of nature's masterpieces: well, I think so too. Being a parent is the hardest and most important task of a person's entire life. But there has to be love, and dialogue, and time to be together. All of us

parents know how rewarding it is to say: yes. But sometimes you have to say no: your children need that, and they need discipline and control. That is, love.

-- What is in your opinion the most important thing to teach one's children?

== Self-esteem. You must teach them to consider themselves as persons capable of making decisions in full autonomy, without minding what the others do. If a child learns this when he, or she, is still young, ^{he}/already knows a lot about the rules of the game; but a youth with a low self-esteem will have great difficulties finding his own path in life.

-- Mrs. Reagan, did the White House change your life?

== Yes, and more than I had expected. I lived eight years in an official residence when my husband was the Governor of California, so I thought I was prepared for the White House. But as it is, I'm so busy all the time that I forget to draw my breath! My days are hectic. It all began the day of the Inauguration, of which I have a happy, if blurred, memory: as you know, my husband and I took part in all the eleven inaugural balls! But after all these months official events are part of my daily routine, so much that I even find it hard to remember the time when I was not attending formal dinners...

-- Mrs. Reagan, you are often criticized by the American press for your allegedly excessive expenditures, and for dressing too elegantly...

== Well, reading the papers taught me that in the United States the President and his wife are always under the spotlights, and criticism has become a sort of tradition. So I don't see why the press should make an exception for me and my husband.

-- What is your favorite kind of dress?

== Well, I'm not very tall, so I try to choose plain, well-tailored things.

-- Mrs. Reagan, would you like to be twenty years old today?

== I enjoyed my youth when I was twenty. And I enjoy my age now: every age has its advantages. I'm happy to be myself.

-- What do you like to do with your husband, when he is not at work?

== We love to spend our time outdoors, in the open air, and we often go back to our California ranch for a ride. As for Ronnie, he's keep on manual work: woodsplitting, building pens for the horses. But we also like to rest together: we read, go on long walks, we talk...

-- What do you most appreciate in a man: strength, patience, or physical attractiveness?

== All three of these... but most of all a man must have character. And my husband has a lot of character.

-- What is the secret of both of yours healthy look?

== Moderation: this is necessary in every daily activity, in your diet, always. Moderation, a healthy diet and physical exercise are the secrets.

They say Ronald Reagan uses moderation also in his work (he never stays late in his office), in reading (he uses the résumés prepared by his staff), in attending political meetings (he leaves early, leaving the discussion to the others.) Here is what Nancy replies - with some irritation - to this criticism: "Expecting the President of the United States to be a manager, a walking library and a computer at one time is perfectly absurd."

FAMIGLIA CRISTIANA

30 MAGGIO 1982 - ANNO LII - SETT. - SPED. IN ABB. POST. GR. II/70

ESCLUSIVA

ABBIAMO INTERVISTATO
NANCY REAGAN
ALLA VIGILIA
DEL SUO VIAGGIO IN ITALIA

**"A QUEST'AMERICA
SERVO ANCH'IO"**

N. 22
L. 700



Il presidente americano Ronald Reagan e la moglie Nancy saranno a Roma il sette giugno, in visita ufficiale. Per l'occasione, la signora Nancy Reagan ha acconsentito di parlarci di sé, nella prima conversazione privata finora concessa ad un settimanale italiano.



Intervista della "First Lady" degli LA SAGGIA SIGN

di FRANCA ZAMBONINI
foto: CASA BIANCA
e SILVANO FESTUCCIA

Washington, maggio

I giardini della Casa Bianca sono in splendida fioritura, anche se la nevicata della vigilia di Pasqua, in un inverno che quest'anno non voleva andarsene, ha seccato tutti i fiori della *Soulangeana Alexandrina*, la magnolia rosa che è la prima a sbocciare. Nell'Ala Est mi aspetta Sheila Tate, una quarantenne bella ed energica che è l'addetta stampa della *First Lady*: incontrerò Nancy Reagan tra un'ora, e intanto non sarebbe opportuno che mi documentassi un po'? Più che giusto; nel suo ufficio tappezzato di foto della signora Nancy, Sheila mi ha preparato una cartella di ritagli e ciclostilati, la cartella ha sulla copertina il sigillo del Presidente degli Stati Uniti e una veduta della Casa Bianca. Sheila trova che un buon inizio sia una frase dell'autobiografia di Nancy Reagan. Eccola:

« Fin dal primo momento che io e Ronald ci siamo incontrati, ho capito che fare l'attore non era abbastanza per lui, che la vita gli avrebbe offerto ben altre opportunità. Così mi sono preparata a seguirlo dovunque, e a trasformare in casa nostra qualsiasi luogo in cui fossimo approdati ».

La coppia Reagan è approdata alla Casa Bianca da un anno e mezzo. Per Nancy il compito principale è sempre quello « di essere la miglior moglie del mondo ». Sheila precisa: « La signora Reagan ha fortissimo il senso della famiglia. Le deriva dai primi anni di vita. Sua madre era attrice e viaggiava molto, di lei bambina si prendevano cura lo zio e la zia, ma non era la stessa cosa. Nancy ebbe una casa solo quando la madre sposò un noto neurochirurgo di Chicago, Loyal Davis; aveva sette anni, e da allora visse in una famiglia stabile con la madre e l'amato padrino ».

Con professionale meticolosità, Sheila mi descrive la giornata della presidentessa. La centralista della Casa Bianca sveglia la coppia presidenziale alle sette e



Stati Uniti a "Famiglia Cristiana"

ESCLUSIVO

ORA DELLA CASA BIANCA



mezzo. Segue colazione con cereali freddi, frutta, uova e caffè (decaffeinato). Nancy fa ginnastica per venti minuti, poi va nel suo ufficio color verde primavera, al secondo piano della Casa Bianca. Ha uno *staff* di quindici assistenti (precisazione: « Sono meno di quanti ne avevano le ultime *first ladies* »). Siede sul divano accanto al telefono, si sfilava le scarpe per stare più comoda; e comincia a lavorare: discute gli impegni, esamina gli inviti, sfoglia i giornali, legge la corrispondenza (quasi mille lettere a settimana), risponde alle telefonate. Qualche mattina si affaccia il Presidente, dice ciao, come va?; « però con discrezione, timoroso di disturbarci », afferma Sheila.

Nancy lavora così fino alle cinque, con un breve intervallo all'ora di pranzo per un sandwich e un bicchiere di latte. Se la sera non c'è un ricevimento ufficiale, Ronald e Nancy cenano nel salotto a disegni rossi e bianchi, in vestaglia da casa, davanti alla televisione. Quelle poche sere che prevalgono i gusti del Presidente, la cena è composta di maccheroni al formaggio o di *chili* (carne macinata cotta con fagioli, cipolla e paprika, un tipico piatto californiano). Nancy non ha bisogno di diete: per tenere a bada i suoi costanti 52 chili le bastano le preoccupazioni. Ama ripetere: « Io sono nata per preoccuparmi; mi preoccupo quando non ho niente di cui preoccuparmi ». Di lei, Ronald Reagan ha detto: « Il modo con cui Nancy interpreta il ruolo di *First Lady* merita un Oscar ». Amoroso riconoscimento; ma qual è il ruolo della Prima Signora americana?

La Prima Signora americana non viene eletta (i cittadini votano un presidente, non una coppia); non ha compiti costituzionali (la Costituzione elenca con precisione doveri, diritti, poteri e limiti del Presidente, ma non dice una parola sulla moglie); e non prende paga per il lavoro che eventualmente fa.

Alcune immagini, pubbliche e private, di Nancy Reagan; in bicicletta con il figlio Ron (25 anni) e insieme a un neonato all'ospedale dei bambini di Washington.



Però le si richiede di essere all'altezza del posto che occupa.

In questa indeterminatezza, il suo è comunque un *no-win role*, un ruolo non vincente: può essere criticata per motivi opposti. Mary Lincoln veniva criticata perché le piaceva perder tempo andando in giro a far compere; Eleanor Roosevelt perché si impiccava troppo di politica. Jacqueline Kennedy era accusata di snobismo; Betty Ford di eccessiva naturalezza, che la portava a far storiche figuracce. Pat Nixon fu soprannominata *Plastic Pat*, come a dire una bella statua e basta; Rosalynn Carter, la *magnolia di ferro*, era invece accusata di comportarsi non come la moglie del presidente, ma come il presidente numero due.

Anche con Nancy Reagan la stampa non è tenera. Il quotidiano *Washington Post* l'ha sferzata come *more socially chic than socially useful*, più elegante in società che socialmente utile. Le si rimprovera di non badare a spese, in un'America che ha il più alto numero di disoccupati, dieci milioni, dal dopoguerra. Ha speso un miliardo e mezzo per abbellire la Casa Bianca («ma è un patrimonio pubblico

che va curato», la giustifica il suo staff), quasi trecento milioni per comperare i piatti («ma era un acquisto indispensabile dopo gli anni sparagnini di Carter»); indossa troppi modelli di alta moda («ma i sarti glieli danno gratis, e poi lei li passa ai musei»).

Stanca delle critiche, Nancy è ora impegnata a costruirsi una presenza «socialmente utile». Ce ne ha parlato a lungo, nel suo ufficio sommerso dalle foto, le foto dei figli, di lei e Ronald nel loro ranch californiano, degli amici attori; era molto elegante in uno dei suoi tailleurs Chanel con camicetta a fiocco, perfetta nel trucco sobrio e nei capelli castani a ciocche luminose, orgogliosa dei suoi 59 anni ben portati.

Il presidente Pertini mi ha conquistato

L'intervista ha preso il via, com'è giusto, dal suo più recente contatto con le faccende italiane, cioè dalla visita del presidente Pertini in America a fine marzo. «Tra i Capi di Stato che ho conosciuto, il presidente Pertini mi ha conquistato», dice Nancy Reagan, e si capisce che non è

solo per formale cortesia. «Sono stata colpita non solo dal suo passato e dalla passione per la libertà alla quale ha dedicato tutta la vita; ma anche dal calore, dall'energia e dal vigore sia fisico che mentale del vostro Presidente; il quale è proprio la prova vivente che esiste una età d'oro. Mi è dispiaciuto solo di non aver potuto conoscere anche sua moglie».

— Signora Reagan, cosa si aspetta dalla sua prossima visita in Italia?

«Anzitutto ho un rammarico: contrariamente ai miei desideri, ci fermeremo a Roma solo poche ore. Sono ansiosa di essere in Italia, ammirei gli italiani e il loro calore umano, e mi sento orgogliosa che la vostra eredità culturale abbia arricchito l'America attraverso gli italo-americani. Mio marito ed io abbiamo molti amici italiani: l'amicizia non conosce frontiere. E poi mia nuora è italiana, lo sa? Sì, i nonni e il padre di Doria Palmeiri, la moglie di mio figlio Ron, sono nati in Italia. Vede quanti buoni motivi ho per essere contenta di rivedere il vostro Paese?».

— Perché dice «rivedere»?

«Ci sono stata nel 1972, con mio marito e mio figlio Ron. Ci ritenemmo molto fortunati di ottenere un'udienza con Paolo VI. Anche questa volta incontreremo il Papa: mio marito avrà prima un incontro privato, poi sarò ammessa io, e le assicuro che non vedo l'ora di conoscere Giovanni Paolo II».

— Il Presidente è un uomo religioso?

«È un devoto cristiano. E lo sono anch'io».

— C'è una preghiera che lei ama?

«Amo il passo del Vangelo di san Giovanni, capitolo 3, verso 16, e lo ripeto spesso: "Infatti Dio ha tanto amato il mondo, che ha sacrificato il suo Figlio unigenito, affinché ognuno che crede in lui non perisca, ma abbia la vita eterna"».

— Signora Reagan, l'altro giorno l'ho vista in televisione, lei parlava con un gruppo di ragazzi di Atlanta, Georgia. Anche molte delle foto che ci sono qui la rappresentano in mezzo ai giovani. Questi incontri rientrano nei suoi compiti di First Lady?

«No, i miei doveri di First



basi stesse della famiglia. Perché accanto ad ogni ragazzo drogato o alcolizzato c'è una famiglia che soffre, che si spacca».

— Qual è la causa?

« Viviamo in un'epoca dura. Quando io ero ragazza la vita era più semplice, c'erano meno divorzi, le famiglie stavano più unite. Oggi i giovani hanno più scelte, e questo li confonde. E spesso restano senza il sostegno dei genitori. Adesso, grazie a Dio, si stanno formando in America gruppi di genitori che prendono coscienza del problema e insieme cercano di risolverlo. Sa cosa mi colpisce di più? La forza di molte madri che, nel dramma, sanno reagire meglio dei padri. Molte donne sono come quelle bustine del tè, che sembrano fragili, ma non ti rendi conto di quanto siano resistenti finché non le immergi nell'acqua bollente ».

— Mi ha accennato ad un altro suo progetto speciale. Qual è?

« Il *Foster Grandparent*, il programma dei nonni adottivi. L'ho conosciuto 15 anni fa, in California, quando mio marito era governatore. È un'idea grandiosa: mette in contatto persone anziane, che hanno tempo a disposizione e amore da dare, con ragazzi handicappati, o abbandonati, o difficili. Gli

anziani diventano nonni adottivi, si prendono cura dei loro nipoti adottivi. Sto scrivendo un libro dal titolo *Amare un bambino*, sarà pubblicato in autunno, insieme ad un disco con una canzone dallo stesso titolo cantata da Frank Sinatra. Racconto le storie commoventi di una dozzina di nonni adottivi e nipoti adottivi. Il ricavato del libro e del disco andrà a finanziare il *Foster Grandparent* ».

— Sono sorpresa, signora Reagan: pensavo che avremmo parlato soprattutto di eventi mondani, invece parliamo di assistenza sociale a tempo pieno...

« Beh, non proprio a tempo pieno. Mi interessa anche di arte, dopotutto nell'ambiente artistico ci sono nata e cresciuta: mia madre era attrice, lo sono stata anch'io, mio marito è stato attore e i miei due figli lavorano nello spettacolo. Ospito alla Casa Bianca un programma televisivo che si intitola: *Spettacolo alla Casa Bianca*; è come una vetrina per giovani talenti o per maestri già affermati in campo artistico, dal balletto alla musica lirica ».

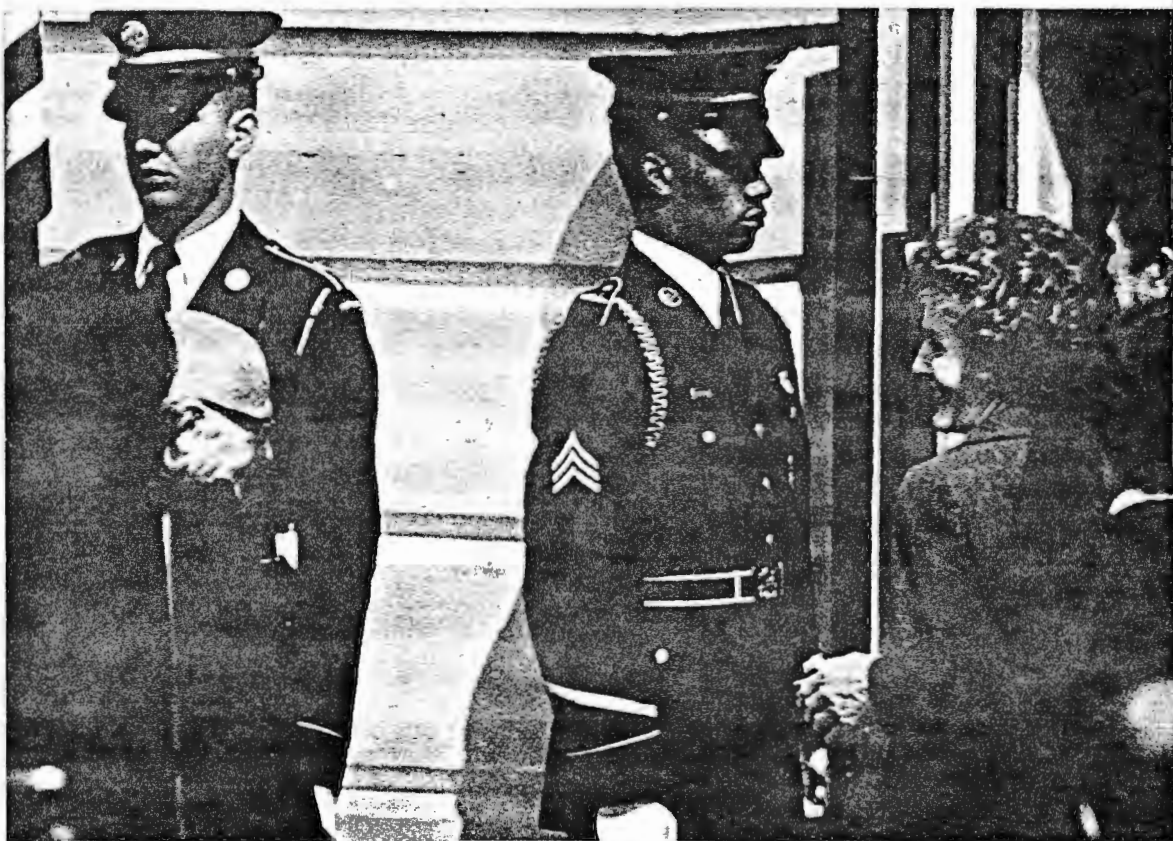
— Mi scusi, non le ho ancora chiesto come sta il Presidente.

« Sta molto bene. È ancora quell'uomo speciale che ho spo-

Lady consistono soprattutto nel far da padrona di casa ai pranzi ufficiali alla Casa Bianca. Ma io mi interesso da tempo a due progetti speciali. Uno è il problema dei giovani drogati ed alcolizzati. Durante la campagna elettorale di mio marito entrai al *Daytop Village* (lo stesso che ha visitato il presidente Pertini quando è stato a New York, n. d. r.). Lì conobbi la pena ma anche la speranza, il dolore ma anche la volontà di guarire; e da allora non ho smesso di interessarmi in prima persona a questo problema ».

— C'è un modo per risolverlo?

« Bisogna trattare caso per caso, *one kid at a time*, un ragazzo alla volta, come dico sempre io. Le nostre statistiche sono spaventose: in America, più di quattro milioni e mezzo di ragazzi tra i 12 e i 17 anni si drogano almeno una volta al mese, e più di otto milioni e mezzo di ragazzi della stessa fascia d'età abusano dell'alcol almeno una volta al mese; in pratica, più del 20 per cento della nostra gioventù conosce la droga e più del 37 per cento abusa dell'alcol. È un dramma che mette in pericolo la nuova generazione e minaccia le



Sandro Pertini e Nancy Reagan si scambiano un sorriso durante la recente visita del nostro Presidente negli Stati Uniti. In alto: Ronald Reagan pranza con la moglie nell'appartamento privato alla Casa Bianca. Festeggeranno tra poco i trent'anni di matrimonio. A sinistra: la "First Lady" visita l'ospedale pediatrico "St. Ann" di Washington. Nancy Reagan si interessa soprattutto del recupero dei giovani drogati.

sato trent'anni fa: quest'anno Ronnie ed io celebriamo il trentesimo anniversario, e il nostro matrimonio è sempre in piena forma ».

— **Qual è il segreto?**

« L'amore. E il fatto che io e Ronnie siamo... i nostri migliori amici ».

— **Qualche volta ha paura per lui?**

« Sempre. Il ricordo dell'attentato del 30 marzo dell'anno scorso, quando potevo perderlo... beh, mi perseguita ancora. C'è una specie di reazione ritardata: ti tieni su a lungo perché sai che lo devi fare, ma poi arriva il crollo. Io l'ho avuto, non riuscivo più a mangiare e a dormire. Le mie priorità sono state sconvolte... La vita diventa un bene tanto più prezioso. Adesso so distinguere molto più di prima le cose essenziali da quelle che non contano niente ».

Qui la critica non fa eccezioni

— **Non abbiamo ancora parlato dei suoi figli, signora Reagan.**

« Patti, che ha trent'anni, fa l'attrice e vive in California; Ron, che ha 25 anni, è ballerino del *Joffrey Ballet*, e vive a New York con la moglie Doria, di origine italiana, come le ho detto. Siamo una famiglia molto unita. Qualcuno ha detto che la famiglia è uno dei capolavori della natura: ne sono convinta anch'io. Essere genitori è il compito più importante, e più difficile, di tutta la vita. Ma bisogna che ci sia amore, e colloquio e tempo per stare assieme. Tutti noi genitori sappiamo quanto è gratificante dire di sì. Ma bisogna anche saper dire qualche no. I figli ne hanno bisogno, così come hanno bisogno di disciplina e di controllo, cioè, appunto, di amore ».

— **Secondo lei, qual è la cosa più importante da insegnare ai figli?**

« Ad avere stima di sé stessi. A considerarsi persone in grado di decisioni autonome, senza guardare quello che fanno gli altri. Se questo un ragazzo lo impara presto è già un bel pezzo avanti nel gioco della vita; mentre un giovane con scarsa stima di sé fatica a trovare la propria strada ».

— **La Casa Bianca ha cambiato la sua vita?**

« Più di quanto non mi aspettassi. Ho vissuto otto anni in una residenza ufficiale quando mio marito era governatore della California, pensavo di essere

preparata anche per la Casa Bianca. Ma ho tanto da fare che mi resta appena il tempo per tirare il fiato. Ho giornate pienissime. Cominciò il giorno dell'insediamento, del quale ho un ricordo sfocato anche se felice: pensai che, con mio marito, partecipai a tutt'e dieci i balli inaugurali! Adesso l'ufficialità è il mio sistema di vita: faccio fatica a ricordare il giorno che non ho avuto un pranzo ufficiale ».

— **La stampa americana la critica molto, signora Reagan; dice che lei spende troppo, che è troppo elegante...**

« Senta, leggendo i giornali ho scoperto che in America la moglie del Presidente, così come il Presidente, sta sempre sotto il riflettore, e criticarla è quasi una tradizione. Non vedo perché i giornali dovevano fare un'eccezione per me e per mio marito ».

— **Quali vestiti preferisce?**

« Non sono molto alta, quindi scelgo abiti semplici e di buon taglio ».

— **Le piacerebbe avere vent'anni oggi?**

« Ho avuto i miei vent'anni e me li sono goduti. Ora mi godo l'età che ho: ogni età ha i suoi vantaggi. Sono felice di essere me stessa ».

— **Quando suo marito non lavora, cosa vi piace fare insieme?**

« Stare all'aria aperta, andare a cavallo, ritornare nel nostro *ranch* in California. Ronnie ama il lavoro manuale: gli piace spaccar legna, costruire recinti per i cavalli. E ci riposiamo insieme leggendo, passeggiando, chiacchierando ».

— **Cosa apprezza di più in un uomo: la forza, la pazienza o la bellezza?**

« Tutte queste tre cose... ma più di tutto il carattere. E mio marito ne ha da vendere ».

— **E il segreto del vostro bell'aspetto?**

« La moderazione. Bisogna essere moderati nelle attività quotidiane, a tavola, in tutto. In più, una dieta salutare e l'esercizio fisico ».

Dicono che Ronald Reagan sia moderato anche quando lavora (non fa le ore piccole in ufficio), quando legge (gli preparano i riassunti), quando partecipa alle riunioni politiche (se ne va presto, lasciando gli assistenti a discutere). A Nancy Reagan, urtata per questa critica, si attribuisce il seguente sfogo: « È assurdo pretendere che il Presidente degli Stati Uniti sia al tempo stesso un *manager*, una biblioteca e un computer ».

Franca Zambonini

Figaro
June 5-6, 1982

NANCY REAGAN'S INTEREST IN IMPRESSIONISM

Tennis players Chris Evert, Tracy Austin and Jimmy Connors were among the 300 Americans invited to a reception last night given by the wife of the President of the United States at Petit Palais which currently houses an exhibition of American impressionists. Mrs. Nancy Reagan will take advantage of her stay in Paris by going to Giverny where she will visit the home of another impressionist, Frenchman Claude Monet. Tomorrow she will represent her husband (who is at Versailles) at ceremonies marking the 38th anniversary of the Normandy landing.

Her busy schedule will not allow Mrs. Reagan to visit any houses of fashion. It is true that -- as opposed to Mrs. Haig -- she only wears American-made clothes, a patriotic symbol. Such was the white dress with a light lavender design that Nancy Reagan -- always concerned with impressions -- wore yesterday to Elysee where Mrs. Mitterrand held a luncheon in her honor. It took place in the Murat room which usually houses the Conseil des Ministres. Invited to this luncheon, among others, were the Minister of Culture Jack Lang, Zizi Jeanmaire, Roland Petit, Charlotte Rampling, couturiere Madame Gres, Madame Gaston Defferre, Michel Piccoli, Jean-Michel Jarre, Yves Navarre, and Alain Bombard.

Tomorrow afternoon, Mrs. Mitterrand, Mrs. Schmidt and Mrs. Thorn will visit Chateau Chenonceaux and afterwards will return to Versailles by helicopter.

LE FIGARO

SAMEDI 5 JUIN - DIMANCHE 6 JUIN 1982 - N° 11 743 - NUMÉRO DOUBLE : 9,50 F

Nancy Reagan sous le signe de l'impressionnisme

Les joueurs de tennis Chris Evert, Tracy Austin et Jimmy Connors étaient au nombre des trois cents Américains invités à la réception que donnait hier soir l'épouse du président des États-Unis dans le cadre du Petit Palais qui abrite en ce moment une exposition consacrée aux impressionnistes d'outre-Atlantique. Mme Nancy Reagan va profiter de sa présence à Paris pour aller jusqu'à Giverny visiter la maison d'un autre impressionniste, français celui-là, Claude Monet. Demain elle représentera son mari (retenu à Versailles) aux cérémonies marquant le trente-huitième anniversaire du débarquement de Normandie.

Un emploi du temps chargé ne permet pas à Mme Reagan de visiter les maisons de couture. Il est vrai que, contrairement à Mme Haig, elle porte uniquement -- patriotisme oblige -- des toilettes « made in U.S.A. ». Telle cette robe blanche à légers motifs lilas que Nancy Reagan, toujours sous le signe de l'impressionnisme, arborait hier à l'Élysée où un déjeuner était offert en son honneur par Mme Mitterrand, dans le salon Murat qui sert habituellement de cadre au Conseil des ministres. Invités à ce déjeuner, entre autres, le ministre de la Culture Jack Lang, Zizi Jeanmaire, Roland Petit, Charlotte Rampling, la couturière Mme Grès, Mme Gaston Defferre, Michel Piccoli, Jean-Michel Jarre, Yves Navarre, Alain Bombard.

● Mmes Mitterrand, Schmidt et Thorn visiteront, demain après-midi, le château de Chenonceaux. A l'issue de cette visite, Mmes Mitterrand, Schmidt et Thorn regagneront Versailles par hélicoptère.



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Good News on IRAs

**Outlook for the
Conservative
Coalition**

Reining in the Regulators

**FTC Chief Miller
Shows the Way**

Joining the War On Drug Abuse

Programs to help employees fight drug, alcohol and emotional problems are investments that yield high returns.

By Mary Tuthill

WHEN NANCY REAGAN took a campaign she is waging against drug abuse on the road, a young man at a rehabilitation center told her: "I used to sit at the dinner table stoned, and my parents didn't even know it."

There's a parallel problem in the business world.

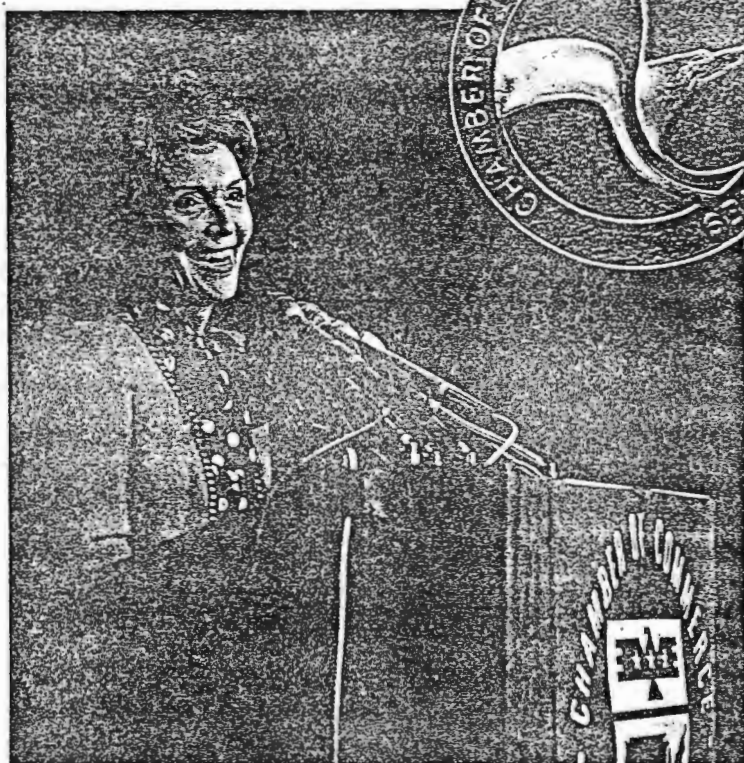
Managers are often unaware of signs of drug abuse in workers with whom they are in daily contact. The managers lack basic knowledge needed to recognize and deal with a growing problem in offices and factories.

Though her campaign focuses on drug abuse by young people, Reagan says she is "very aware of the drug abuse problem in the workplace." The business community pays a heavy price in absenteeism, low productivity and related problems. I encourage business leaders to join the war on drug abuse."

A number of companies have already joined the war by expanding employee assistance programs, originally set up to deal with alcoholism, to include drug and emotional problems. All three problems frequently go hand in hand.

Employee assistance programs do not themselves give treatment, but—in settings that are convenient and private—they refer employees and their families to places and programs that will help. These include hospitals' drug and alcoholism treatment facilities as well as Alcoholics Anonymous and similar programs for drug users.

Obtaining illicit drugs is often easy



First Lady Nancy Reagan responds to a U.S. Chamber of Commerce salute for her work against drug abuse. Inset: The salute medal.

today. The employee assistance programs are business' line of defense against the human, equipment and financial losses that result from the drug culture.

Dr. William Mayer, administrator of the federal Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration, says at least 5,500 programs are now operating in the country—a hundredfold increase in a quarter of a century. "A large number of businesses have found that these programs really pay off," he says. "A conservative estimate of their value is a return of \$8 for every \$1 invested."

The problem of drugs or alcohol can affect every type of business. It goes beyond the occasional pot smoker or the worker who downs too many marti-

nis with lunch. Some workers sell drugs to their colleagues. Others have accidents or make costly errors because their judgment is impaired.

Drug abusers lose work time because of overindulgence off the job or the addiction of a family member.

Mayer recalls the case of a man in charge of repairing Army tanks. "Rather than supervise the repair of a damaged portion of the track," Mayer says, "he found it easier to replace the entire track assembly. After treatment for alcoholism, the man estimated that in the six months prior to his treatment, he had unnecessarily cost the government several million dollars."

George Armes, manager of the employee assistance program of Standard Oil Company of California, also emphasizes cost effectiveness. "If each year we have just five people who recover, it would justify the \$500,000-a-year program," he says, adding that the company's program usually handles a case load of 500 to 700 employees and family members a year.

Eighty percent of employees who enter the Socal program stay free from drugs and alcohol, according to Armes. "The paycheck," he says, "is a very important incentive."

Armes, who has headed Socal's program since 1978, recalls a refinery employee who was a heroin addict and had been steered to the program by his supervisor. After a year and a half in the

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program, not only was he a better worker, but he also broadened his horizons. A high school dropout, the man began taking classes through the company's education program. He has now completed high school and college and is working on a master's degree.

No program works all the time. There are failures, too. However, most program directors agree that hard-hearted as it may seem, the only way to keep most people in a program is to refuse to allow dropouts to continue working.

Making employee assistance work most of the time is the aim of every director. "It is essential that top management be committed to the program if the program is to succeed," says Anne L. Pirrera, director of human resources services at John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company in Boston. Hancock's program, now 30 years old, has been a success because it has had that commitment, Pirrera says.

Jeanne Conway, director of employee assistance at International Telephone & Telegraph Corporation, says there is no better indication of its success than that almost nine of 10 employees helped are still with the company two years later. Conway also underlines the importance of management commitment. The ITT program, started in 1973, reaches out to all employees and their families. It uses training films for managers and supervisors, employee education films and a hot line that operates 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

CONWAY SAYS children of employees often bring their drug problems to the company staff without parental prodding because they are confident they will be assisted. Sometimes the intergenerational equation is reversed. Conway recalls a young employee who traveled a lot and was concerned about being away because his father had an alcohol problem. Through the ITT program the man's father is now in a halfway house and is learning a new trade.

In addition to the obvious benefit to employees from such a program, Conway says, "You can cut workers' com-

pensation costs 25 percent if you refer people to the program after the second safety violation."

To figure bottom-line savings, companies use slightly different methods, but most accept the estimate that at least 10 percent of the adult population has a substance abuse problem and that employees with such problems are about 25 percent less productive.

In recognition of the value of employee assistance to business—not to mention their value to the individuals helped—the U.S. Chamber of Commerce is offering a course on these pro-

gram, good, Cironi says: Representatives of 70 companies attended the group's first seminar.

EMPLOYEE DRUG PROBLEMS don't always involve illegal drugs. In a case that was difficult to pinpoint, a supervisor once recommended a young secretary for assistance because she was often half asleep at her desk and showed telltale signs of drug use. But she said she did not drink and never used street drugs. It turned out that the woman, a hypochondriac, would go to a doctor, describe her symptoms and leave with a prescription.

A few days later, she would go to a second doctor and then a third, describing symptoms that stemmed from the drugs she was taking. The doctors were prescribing more drugs, and she was not discontinuing those she was already using.

Given the many ways substance abuse problems can develop and manifest themselves, managers need to develop greater awareness of the signs of trouble. Where community resources may be inadequate, Mayer says, one solution might be an industry-sponsored, professionally operated treatment facility for 24-hour or part-time care. If expenses were shared by several firms, he says, it

would cost relatively little.

Like cowboys in the Western movies her husband once starred in, Nancy Reagan believes in "head-'em-off-at-the-pass" tactics in fighting drug abuse. She advocates educating children about drug dangers as part of a prevention program.

Jane Patten, personnel manager of the Leslie Company, an employee-owned heavy-equipment manufacturer in Parsippany, N.J., that is starting an employee assistance program, also emphasizes prevention. Accidents at the company are frequently serious, sometimes fatal and often result from substance abuse, she says. Through prevention and early recognition of drug and alcohol problems, the company hopes to greatly reduce injuries. "You can't ever replace what is gone," she says. □

First Steps to Success

If you're thinking of starting an employee assistance program at your company but wondering how to take the first step, take a few suggestions from people closely involved with such programs:

- Management involvement and commitment to the program head the list of keys to success, according to program managers.
- Confidentiality is essential.
- Employees should be invited to submit ideas and participate in planning. The program should be explained in posted notices so all employees know what help is available and how the program works.
- If a labor union operates within the company, it should be asked to cooperate.
- The directors of programs at other companies in your area will be able to steer you to community resources as well as share their experience. Both the Center for Leadership Development at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the Morris County, N.J., Chamber can provide guidance.

grams at its Institutes for Organization Management at the University of Delaware this August. The Delaware sessions are among several such institutes, attended by executives of trade and professional associations and of state and local chambers of commerce, at college campuses around the country.

Joseph W. Cironi, president of the Morris County Chamber of Commerce in New Jersey, set up a committee 2½ years ago to study drug and alcohol programs and develop a model.

The Morris County group has completed work on a model supervisors' guide, an implementation guide and a list of resources for Morris County. These materials will be available to chambers of commerce and to businesses that want to establish such programs. Business response has been