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1. transcript	James Baker interview (3 pp)	10/16/81	С

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OPR:SJF ;10/16,09:40

To: mls lt dr jf jg bfp dxb gpjwm dcb lh rak pa pgh From: Sjf

The material following comes from a backround interview with Ed Meese.

- __Not only was Richard Nixon's trip to Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Morocco unofficial, it caught most high-level administration officials completely by surprise.
- Meese says Nixon told President Reagan about his plans in advance, but he touched on the subject so lightly--just in passing-that it did not register with the President until it came out publicly a few days later in the newspapers.

Reagan cannot even remember whether Nixon raised it when he came to the White House last Thursday night or during an earlier telephone conversation.

"The President said he knew about it, but it was mentioned so lightly that he doesn't remember precisely when it was said, says Meese. It really didn't register. It also was mentioned to a person at the State Department, but again only is passing-there was no highlighting of it. I don't think there was any intent on the part of Nixon to hide that he was going. He just casaully passed it off that he would be doing this. I guess the best way to say it is: He did not really discuss his trip with anybody before going, but he did not try to hide that he was going. "

Nor does Meese know the purpose of Nixon's trip. But he and other administration officials will be curious to see

STORY: WHU3 PAGE:

AWACS. When President Reagan meets with Prince Faud of Saudi Arabia in Mexico next week, he will once again try to convince the Saudis to commit themselves to entering the peace process. But there's no intention to seek additional assurances on the use of the AWACS planes now under consideration by the Senate.

Reagan probably would not use emergency provisions in the law to sell AWACS spy planes to Saudi Arabia over Congress' objections. Reason: A likely court challenge would put more strain U.S.-Saudi relations. 'It's worse to do something that isn't sure to succeed,' says Meese. 'It would mean two rebuffs of the Saudis instead of just one.'

The Linowitz proposal. Officials were surprised by reports that Israeli Prime Minister Begin expressed renewed interest in a proposal made last year by Sol Linowitz.

Meese suggested that Philip Habib might be designated to explore this possibility with Begin in the near future.

<u>Carter and Ford.</u> Meese dismisses Jimmy Carter's criticism of the Reagan economic program as grandstanding. He notes note that Carter never mentioned economic policy in his 35-minute meeting with Reagan.

__Meese welcomes the suggestion by former Presidents Carter and Ford that the U.S. should negotiate with the Palestinians. `This helps to create a climate within which there can be movement.' he says.

<u>Richard Allen.</u> Meese rejects the idea that the job of (MORE)

national security adviser has been downgraded too much. I sagree with that, " he says. "The assistant to the president for national security affairs has continuing access to the President. Not a day goes by that he isn't brieing and discussing things with him. "

Plus, Meese says Allen gets more support from other White House people than other previous national security advisers. You look back at other presidencies and to a great extent you had a certain amount of at least standoffishness, if not actual hostility, between the top people at the White House versus the national security adviser. Here you have united White House support for the assistant for national security affairs.

Will Allen continue to be 'out front' as he has been on une AWACS debate? Meese's reply: 'Alot of people mistakenly assume that being out front is the equivalent of having support or clout at the White House and that isn't true at all. Some of the people who have the most clout around here are seldom seen. So you can't equate public posturing with what's really happening. "

Then, he added: 'The fact that he (Allen) reports through me, has not in any way detered his ability to reach the Fresident, and it gives him additional support in dealing with these other departments.

Meese is obviously sensitive to this subject. After I got up to leave, he added: "I know that within NSC that vtime anything doesn't go the way they want it, alot of (MORE)

guys there attribute this to somehow downgrading it. The tate Department, for reasons of their own (he chuckles), they like to talk about this too. "

(END)

The following material comes from a backround interview with David Gergen:

Richard Nixon's trip to the Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Morocco represents an attempt by the former President to emerge from self-imposed seclusion, according to Gergen.

Gergen says he discussed the matter with Nixon aide Ray Price shortly after Nixon's plans to remain in the Middle East became public. 'He's emerging, 'says Gergen. 'It's a gradual thing.

Like virtually everyone else at the White House, Gergen was caught off guard by the announcement of Nixon's plans to stay in the Middle East after the Sadate funeral. He called Price for an explanation.

At first, Gergen feared Nixon's trip would jeopardize the AWACS sale in the Senate. But his fears proved unfounded. "It was a surpise. 'he said. But there's no resentment here. Nobody feels that it (the trip) is in any way distructive.'

Gergen also had misgivings about the Carter-Ford interview on Air Force One, until he read the transcript. "We had our hearts in our throats at first, 'he said, adding: `Ford and Carter apparently think they did us a favor (by raising the issue of the PLO). But that view is t necessarily shared around here. "

Fall Offensive. Gergen admits his much-publicized fall (MORE)

offensive" on the economy was a bust. "It just sputtered .dt, 'he said. 'It's been much tougher going for us than we anticipated.

The AWACS issue and the Cancun summit made it impossible for people at the White House to continue to focus on budget cuts, as they originally intended. 'One of the challenges right now is that we have not learned to deal effectively with several issues at once, ' he says.

Opposition to additional budget cuts on Capitol Hill took the White House by surprise. He says they did not anticipate the degree of . `nervousness' already showing up on the Hill in preparation for the 1982 elections.

Middle Fast. How did President Reagan react to reports that Israeli Prime Minister Begin told Jimmy Carter that ne's ready to accept a Carter administration plan for Palestinian autonomy? 'Jimmy Carter is a private citizen, 'says a Reagan aide. 'If Mr. Begin has something to say to the U.S. government, he'll have to say it to us. "He added: "I'm not sure it's idle talk, but it's not a posture that he's expressed to us. "

Sadat Assasination. After seeing films of the assasination of Egpytian President Anwar Sadat, White House officials now suspect that he was the victim of a wider plot within the Army than so far has come to light.

There is a certain degree of anxiety hre, ' says Gergen. 'I'm not sure anyone know the full story behind e Sadat assasination. It was not a coupe. But we don't (MORE)

STORY: WHU4

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From: sjf

The Nixon trip flap and other matters.

Richard Nixon's personal trip to four Middle Eastern countries was the subject of much discussion at Yorktown. The source of the Washington Post's erroneous story on Monday was Richard Allen. He planted the story with Lee Lescaze, apparently in an effort to embarass Haig. Allen told many people last week that Haig was to blame for failing to inform the White House about the Nixon trip. But Allen apparently was unaware that the President also had talked to Nixon about the trip.

The following is account of what happened as provided by Mike Deaver, Ed Meese, Dean Fisher and others:

Nixon told Reagan about the trip, either on Thursday night or in an earlier telephone conversation. Reagan forgot to tell anyone at the White House.

Nixon also informed William Clark about the trip on Thursday morning. Nixon told Clark that he had already informed the President about the trip, but Clark says he also tried to relay the information to the White House. Clark claims he placed a call to Deaver at 10 a.m. Thursday; Deaver has no recollection of such a call.

Haig learned about Nixon's trip from Clark only a short time before he went to the airport on his way to Cairo. He s told that Nixon had informed the White House, so he had no reason to do so.

Recause neither Reagan nor Clark passed the word to members of the White House staff, the trip was a surprise to them. Joe Canzeri, Deaver's aide who was the top-ranking White House person on the Cairo trip, did not know about it until Nixon failed to get on the plane right before the return trip.

At the request of Nick Ruwe, Vernon Walters supplied Nixon with some unspecified materials--visas or backround papers.

Haig also insists he never discussed the matter of the Palestinian Liberation Organization with Nixon. Nor does he admit to giving the former President any messages to carry to the Middle East.

Mitterand. Reagan administration officials seem genuinely surprised that Mitterand is not the bad guy they imagined him to be--even though he has Communists in his government. Richard Allen, speaking on backround, noted that U.S .-Franco relations are probably better now than they were under the previous French administration.

Although the U.S. asked the French during meetings in Yorktown to halt arms shipments to Libya, the request seemed perfunctory. U.S. officials in Yorktown were unable to say precisely what arms the Libyans still expect to receive under current contracts with the French. France says it does not intend to sign new contracts with Libya, but must live up the old ones negotiated by the previous. ministration.

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Unlike most world leaders who have met the current U.S. President, Mitterand seemed to be strongly resisting Reagan's famous charm. For example, Mitterand did not seem to be amused by any of Reagan's jokes--even after they were translated into French.

Yorktown. Prior to the Sadat assasination, Reagan had planned to review the Colonial troops in Yorktown. Photographers were told that he was going to ride in an open Jeep. But his plans were changed after the Sadat assasination. Instead, Reagan sat behind bullet-proof glass to watch the parade.

Reagan to Editorial Writers. Some of Reagan's remarks to the editorial writers last Friday were overlooked. Here are me points of interest:

* Reagan indicated that he has been telling Senators that Israeli Prime Minister Begin is not actually upset about the AWACS sale to Saudi Arabia. His quote: `As a matter of fact, when Mr. Begin left here after his visit and I told him what we were going to do, he told me he was going to maintain his position but he was not upset at all. ' Begin later issued a statement insisting that he is upset.

* Reagan said the Shah of Iran got `bad advice' when the United States advised him not to arrest an additional 500 persons right before the revolution. Reagan says 500 more arrests could have prevented the revolution.

* Reagan said the Soviet Union cannot dramatically crease production of military hardward because "they've (MORE)

STORY: WHU1

PAGE:

already got their people on a starvation diet of sawdust."

* Reagan's own aides were surprised by his remark that the

House-passed version of the Voting Rights Act was too

extreme. Just a few days earlier, Meese said the House

version was probably okay.

Armageddon. In an AWACS lobbying session with Senator Howell Heflin last Friday, Reagan discussed Armageddon. He said the Bible says that Armageddon will occur in the Middle East, and added that he fully expects the Soviet Union will be involved.

(END)

FROM: RAK - Cancun -

TO: MLS, LT, JF, BFP, DXB, JWM, GP, DR, JG, DCB, LH, SJF, RAK, PA, PGH

RE: Summit Notes

Reagan held one-on-one meetings Wednesday with leaders of five developing countries: Jose Lopez Portillo, of Mexico; Premier Zhao Ziyang, of China; Indira Gandhi, of India; Alhaji Shehu Shagari of Nigeria; and Luis Herrera Campins, of Venezuela.

Most of the discussions focused on bilateral issues and were general in tone. The White House has given no hint of any specific proposals that Reagan hopes to advance in the 10 to 12 bilateral meetings he will hold here. White House aides described the meeting as merely a chance for Reagan to establish face-to-face rapport for use in future dealings with these Third World leaders.

There has been no sign yet of Reagan facing any stiff confrontations in these meetings.

And despite Reagan's busy schedule and heavy security -including four Mexican gunboats in the bay near his hotel
and armed Mexican marines patrolling the beach -- the
President went for a swim today in the Caribbean.

Secretary of State Haig provided the following details of the first three meetings on a background-only basis.

Haig's comments are to be attributed to a ''senior American official.''

Lopez Portillo. Reagan met with the Mexican president for 35 minutes in a corner of the terminal of the Cancun

airport immediately upon arriving. Haig described the session as 'an upbeat reunion of a mature fellowship.''

According to Haig, the two presidents discussed world economic conditions only in broad terms and reviewed the procedures for the conference. Those procedures emphasize free-flowing monologue with little effort to settle any problems. Nearly all of Thursday and part of Friday will be consumed by speeches given by the representatives of the 22 nations. They will address the conference in alphabetical order, with Reagan -- Estados Unidos -- to speak early Thursday.

Zhao Ziyang. This meeting lasted for 90 minutes over lunch in Reagan's suite of the Sheraton hotel. The Chinese delegation, which includes Vice Premier Huang Hua, raised the question of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan and China's nine-point program to unify the People's Republic of China and Taiwan. 'The meeting was very truthful and very beneficial,' said Haig.

Reagan did not tell the Chinese whether the U.S. will sell fighter aircraft to Taiwan, said Haig, because the administration has not yet made a decision on Taiwan's request. But Haig added, ''The U.S. believes it has an obligation to meet Taiwan's defenses.''

Haig described the discussion of U.S. relations with

Taiwan as candid but not rancorous. ''It was not in any way

tense or angry. It went very clear and frank on both sides

-- and cordial on both sides,'' Haig said.

Of China's nine-point program, Haig said, "We listened with interest, of course, but we consider this a matter between the People's Republic of China and Taiwan . . . we support peaceful change . . . the meeting was very important because it represented the first meeting of the two leaders, both of whom are relatively new . . . and it provided an opportunity for a broad exchange of views on strategic matters, both global and regional."

On the question of strategic dealings with Moscow, Haig commented, 'Both leaders agreed unanimously, wholeheartedly and without reservations that there are no China cards and there are no Moscow cards . . . ''

Gandhi. Reagan and the Indian prime minister held

"'plantfold discussions of views' on the sale of U.S. F16

fighter planes to Pakistan. But Haig claims that Mrs.

Gandhi ''did not raise the issue in what I would call a very hard-pressed way.' Reagan, as he has done in similar situations in the past, left it to Haig to raise with the Indian delegation the administration's disapproval of India's new nuclear program. The subject was not brought up in Gandhi's presence.

Reagan and Gandhi did discuss India's ''green revolution'' in agriculture. ''India's success, as described by Mrs. Gandhi, closely parallels President Reagan's own views on how best to achieve success'' in the

field of agriculture, said Haig.

In a later, on-the-record briefing, Haig discussed the other two bilateral meetings today:

Shagari. Reagan and the Nigerian leader discussed Africa in detail, including Cuban troops in Angola. Haig said that there was broad agreement between Reagan and Shagari on the proper approach to aiding the developing world. ''I would describe their meeting as extremely warm, extremely cordial . . . it underlines a growing sense of optimism that we in the U.S. delegation are garnering' about the general consensus of leaders at Cancun. ''I'm increasingly comfortable that there is a fundamental consensus' among the Cancun participants, Haig said.

Herrera. With the Venezuelan leader, Reagan discussed the administration's Caribbean basin plan and the situation in El Salvador.

War in Europe. Haig was asked whether Reagan believes it is possible to wage a nuclear war in Europe without the U.S. and the Soviets getting involved. Haig's response:
['']He [the President] doesn't believe it's possible without the superpowers being involved. The basic charter of the North Atlantic Council, Article V of the NATO charter, says that attack against one is an attack against all, and that has never been challenged by any of the member states of NATO.''

Haig said that Reagan, in his interview with newspaper

editors, was referring to the policy of ''flexible response'' agreed to by NATO 20 years ago. That policy ''conceives of a philosophy in which we would hope to keep the level of violence at the lowest possible level, whether it's conventional or nuclear . . . the Americans today have 375,000 men in Europe and a half a million men and dependents. What American could ever conceive of an attack on Europe as not being an attack on the United States? That has always been fundamental to our principles and our approach.''

The Conference. Haig quickly rejected a proposal voiced today by Austria's foreign minister calling for a ''marshall plan'' of aid from the industrialized world to the developing countries. ''We have been very concerned about such labels . . . we prefer to approach this problem with a broad sense of flexibility,'' Haig said. He cited the administration's embryonic Caribbean-basin plan as an example of the kind of aid the U.S. would support to Third World countries.

On the plane coming down today, Assistant Secretary of State Robert Hormats said Reagan has no specific proposal for continuing the North-South talks after Cancun. Reagan is reserving that decision until he hears from the other heads of state here.

Recession. For the record, David Gergen says the administration still expects an upturn in the economy early

in 1982. The White House bases this prediction on three factors that Gergen says will end the recession: The tax cut; the decline in short-term interest rates, which will improve the auto and housing industries; increased defense spending, which will stimulate the economy.

Whispers. I asked Marty Anderson on the plane about the rumor that he will be transferred out of the White House and appointed to the Federal Reserve Board. He left me with the impression that that is a distinct possibility. ''I haven't been offered it,'' he said. ''I don't comment on things that haven't been offered to me.''

Also on Air Force One, Gergen inadvertently let out the word that Reagan carried his own bottled water to Mexico.

Gergen said he did not know whether food for the President also was flown in.

GY, who has been keeping track of what the other delegations are saying about Reagan, filed the following:

Strategy for some Third World leaders began emerging even before the summit itself: Play up the spirit of compromise, play down potential confrontations.

Reagan himself contributed to the conciliatory air that began spreading over this humid resort with his words of greeting to Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo at Cancun airport. Mexican officials seized on Reagan's words that he was coming to the summit with the position that would be ''flexible and constructive'' as a catalyst for optimism.

Indians, after Reagan's meeting with Prime Minister Gandhi, cited the same phrase and made clear that other leaders of developing nations would be hammering at the same theme.

FYI, Haig, on the heels of British Lord Carrington's news conference at which he said London favors world energy bank and global negotiations under United Nations' auspices, signals U.S. wants to pursue moderate, conciliatory course. Fireworks seem unlikely. U.S. seems ready to accept some form of global negotiations which will preserve American opposition to the U.N. concept, but will permit specialists and experts to carry on agreements reached here.

(END FILE - LC)

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From: sjf

The following material comes from a recent luncheon held for reporters by Richard Wirthlin, Reagan's pollster. The subject was voter 'targeting,' a technique that Wirthlin describes as the wave of the future in politics. Used successfully by Wirthlin's people in the provincial elections in Ontario, this technique is expected to be duplicated in the United States in the 1982 congressional election. Although Wirthlin says his technique has not yet been used in this country before, his targeting scheme is similar to that which Matt Reese used successfully in 1979 to beat the right-to-work drive in Missouri.

vote you need to turn the tide in your favor, identify precisely the neighborhoods where you are most likely to find the necessary swing votes and then zero in on the people in those neighborhoods.

In Ontario, where there are 10 million voters, Wirthlin's people claim to have won a legislative majority for Bill Davis by concentrating on fewer than 30,000 households.

Here's a step-by-step description of how they did it:

- * By studying voting records, they were able to identify the best potential swing neighborhoods in each district.
- * Each household in the swing neighborhoods received an itial telephone call. Concerns raised by the voters in these calls were recorded and some households were

eliminated because of hostile responses.

* Personal letters from Bill Davis were drafted to respond to the concerns expressed by the people on the telephone--18 different letters in all. Each household received the appropriate letter.

* Two followup telephone calls were placed to each household. Followup mail included brochures picturing Bill Davis with the local candidate.

As a result campaign, their candidates won in 12 of the 13 targeted areas.

`This technique gets you back to the local level where you used to deliver the vote, 'says Wirthlin. `This type of technique is going to be applied in 1982.' He says it's essier to do in the United States because their are many more tools—such as the census, voter registration lists and better street directories. He predicts targeting will be more effective with the advent of low-power television.

Although these targeting techniques are costly per vote, Wirthlin says the whole Ontario campaign cost no more than several national television spots.

Wirthlin says the only difference in Matt Reese's techinque is that Reese has identified 42 different `types' of neighborhoods that he expects to vote a certain way.

INI:

OPR: UML :10/28,15:06

STORY: DINNER

TO: MLS, LT, BFP, JP, DR, JG, GP, DCB, JWM, SJF, PA, SXM

FROM: RAK

BE: Dinner at the White House

Observations from spending an evening at the White House Sunday night for a private dinner and a film-showing by the Reagans:

Although Nancy was full of sparkle and charm, the President was subdued and obviously tired from his week in Carcun. He looked old and weary, didn't have many stories to tall, and yawned at least once. He didn't act as though he had much energy to wage the final battle on AVACS this ·k.

I was told that Nancy was eager to have guests in for a dinner party as soon as the President returned from Mexico, because daughter Patti Davis was at the White House for the weekend. But Reagan seemed less than enthusiastic about entertaining last night.

Since this was a quiet dinner with no press coverage, the conversation centered for the most part on trivia -- I heard Reagan utter not a single word on any issue. But during cocktails in the Blue Room, Ed Meese was asked about AWACS. He seemed reluctant to interrupt the social atomosphere by talking shop, but said be was optimistic about AWACS, insisting that the opponents do not have the 51 votes they claim to have and that 'a few parliamentary maneuvers' might help Reagan in the end. The carliementary maneuvers

fer to senators taking a walk during the vote.

Meese also mentioned that U.S. ambassafor to Italy Max Rabb was brought back to Washington to Lobby For AVACS, not because of threats against his life. Threats on the lives of ambassadors are commonplace in Italy, according to Meese.

Other minor tidbits: At dinner I was seated beside Susan Baker, Jim Baker's wife. She does not rule out the possibility of Baker seeking political office some day. She mentioned a Senate race in Tevas as a possibility (bloyd Bentsen's seat), but said Baker would have to take a long rest after leaving the White House before thinking about it seriously. Baker always has claimed that he has no interest all in secking political office after leaving the White House staff. Mrs. Baker does not appear to be encouraging him to seek office.

She also talked about how ruch Reagan likes to swim and dive in the pool at Camp David. In addition to his backward swan dive, Reagan does a good jacksnife, and this summer taught the Bakers' daughter how to dive. During one of his diving exhibitions. Reagan almost cracked his head on the diving board, alarming everyone around the pool. He was reluctant at first to go swimming, says Mrs. Baker, because he feared the scars from his bullet wound might scare the children of the semior staff invited to Camp David or some weekends. But Mrs. Baker says the scars are harely iceable. Reagan himself complained last night of being

during his four-day stay.

The following may be useful for our story on the orivate life of the Reagans:

There were 15 couples invited for dinner. After dinner, about 10 more couples—mostly white House aides—attended the movie 'Ragtime' in the ground—floor movie theater. Three other journalists and their wives were invited—Roger Mudd and John Palmer of NEC, and Gary Shuster of the Detroit

News. Among the other guests, most with their spouses:

Meese, Baker, Deaver, Graig Fuller, Pichard Allen, Murray Wiedenbaum, Lenore Annenberg, Nancy Hanks, and Hollywood celebrities James Cagney and Pat O'Brien (both of whom were Ragtime), Rastime producer Dino de Laurentis, director milos Forman and Jack Valenti. It crossed my mind that berhaps Nancy wanted to bring actress Patti together with some film executives. (I was told that Deaver and Nancy drew up the guest list.)

Peagan and Nency greated guests as they entered the Blue Room for cocktails at 6:30. Reagan wore a green and red plaid sportscoat with a red tie. Nancy wore a red and black velvet suit and a gold necklace shaped like the U.S. with a diamond for each state that voted for Reagan (no joking); Petti was in gray slacks. Most of the other men wore suits and women wore short cocktail dresses. Reagan drank what appeared to be sin or vodks and Nancy drank white wine with le in it. One kind of hot hors d'oeuvre was served.

Nancy appeared to be relying on Deaver somewhat to keep things going. He was always attentive to what was happening in the room, making sure people got to talk to the President, Cagnev etc. At one point, Nancy was asked how well ber jokes went over at the Al Smith dinner in New York last week. 'Mike said I was funny, so I must have been funny,' she replied. She seemed relaxed, less stiff than usual. The cocktail time was short—just long enough for one drink—before Nancy announced that dinner was ready to be served in the Red Room.

There were four round tables in the Red Room, with Nancy and Reagan seated at different tables. There was a fire in the fireplace, as there was in the Blue Room. The room was chted by white wotive candles arranged around table centerpieces of flowers on mirors. The tablecloths were red and the china between courses did not match. Most of the meal was served or white china with a gold band and a gold presidential seal. The menu was light: Black bean soup with lemon slice and sesame seed sticks; roulade of chicken florentine with homemade noodles and tiny beas with fresh mint; watercress and endive salad; frozen raspberry souffle with betits fours. The wine was a Sini (Napa Valley) rose of cabernet sauvignon.

After dinner, everyone assembled in the theater. The seating was open, except for the first row, which was reserved for the Reagans, Cagney and O'Brien. The front row isists of big armchairs and the rest of the seats are

ding chairs with cushions. opcorp was served in silver Revere bowls.

The movie, which is to be released in November, was awful. It was somber, dull and complicated—just like the book, according to those who claimed to have read it (which seemed to be everyone in the white House last night.) There was one nude scene, during which Jim Baker, who sat beside me, seemed to be adjusting his new glasses carefully. Afterward, the reviews from the guests were polite, but both Heagan and Nanc/ seemed abologetic about the movie, notwithstanding the cast members who were present. The President's comment: "I haven't seen one like that since 'Bedtime for Bonzo."

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<u>The following backround material comes from a lunch with</u> Lyn Nofziger.

__As a result of President Reagan's last minute appeal to party loyalty, Nofziger predicts that the AWACS sale to Saudi Arabia will be okayed by the Senate 51 to 49.

The votes that Reagan expects to get are those of Armstrong, Kasten and Andrews. (Armstrong announced his support for the President on Monday after meeting with Reagan.) What does he expect to turn the tide? Nofziger says he was told by a GOP Senator whose name was on the Packwood letter that he will switch later this week simply t of loyalty to the party and Reagan.

Nofziger acknowledges that the White House has held up a number of judgeships in key districts to use as bargaining chips in the AWACS negotiations. There could be an avalanche of judicial appointments after this.

White House officials were particularly upset about losing the vote of Robert Byrd, whose vote they wanted badly because they thought he could bring a few more along.

If they win on AWACS, Nofziger foresees one problem: "Everyone at the White House will tell themselves what a good job they did. There will be a tendancy to overlook the fact the White House's handling of AWACS has been a risaster. 'Nofziger blames Jim Baker for putting them in this position. It was Baker who argued that the White House

should focus on only one thing at a time.

Nofziger agrees that the President spent a lot of his political capital to save the AWACS sale. Each time Reagan resorts to personal lobbying, says Nofziger, it becomes less effective.

Meese's image. Nofziger takes credit for Meese's recent efforts to improve his image. On two occasions, Nofziger told Meese in no uncertain terms that he'd better do something to improve his press relations. Nofziger explained to Meese that Baker was seeing reporters regularly and encouraged Meese to do the same. (This explains why Meese has asked us to come see him every week). Meese has hired a new guy named Jim Jensen to replace Robert Garrick. Among other things, Jensen served . chief of health and human servies for Reagan in California. Says Nofziger, `Meese only hires Reaganites.'

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Nofziger says Social Security is one of two issues on (MORE)

INGL:

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(On the subject of racism, Nofziger's eyes narrow and he laughs with perverse delight as he recalls Reagan's remark in Cancun that Mexicans are ususally late for appointments.)

(END)

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o: mls lt jf bfp dxb jwm gp dr jg dcb lh rak pa pgh tjf From: Sjf



The following backround material comes from a lunch with Lyn Nofziger.

__As a result of President Reagan's last minute appeal to party loyalty, Nofziger predicts that the AWACS sale to Saudi Arabia will be okayed by the Senate 51 to 49.

The votes that Reagan expects to get are those of Armstrong, Kasten and Andrews. (Armstrong announced his support for the President on Monday after meeting with Reagan.) What does he expect to turn the tide? Nofziger says he was told by a GOP Senator whose name was on the Packwood letter that he will switch later this week simply t of loyalty to the party and Reagan.

Nofziger acknowledges that the White House has held up a number of judgeships in key districts to use as bargaining chips in the AWACS negotiations. There could be an avalanche of judicial appointments after this.

White House officials were particularly upset about losing the vote of Robert Byrd, whose vote they wanted badly because they thought he could bring a few more along.

If they win on AWACS, Nofziger foresees one problem: "Everyone at the White House will tell themselves what a good job they did. There will be a tendancy to overlook the fact the White House's handling of AWACS has been a 'saster.' Nofziger blames Jim Baker for putting them in this position. It was Baker who argued that the White House should focus on only one thing at a time.

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To: mls lt jf bfp dxb jwm gp dr jg dcb tjf rak

From: sjf

The following comes from a debate before the Washington

Press Club of Terry Dolan of the Naitonal Conservative

Political Action Committee (NCPAC) and Victor Kamber of the

Progressive Political Action Committee (ProPAC), which was

established recently to oppose NCPAC.

_Using the same kind of tactics that Dolan's new right group has perfected, Kamber's ``new left'' group next month will unveil a series of newspaper ads aimed at defeating four incumbent conservative Senators.

The targets of Kamber's ads are Orrin Hatch of Utah,

Harrison Scmitt of New Mexico, S.I Hayakawa of California
and Jesse Helms of North Carolina. All but Helms are up for
re-election in 1982.

Kamber says he dislikes the kind of ads that Dolan has used so successfully against liberals—the most recent of which was aimed at Paul Sarbanes of Maryland. But Kamber says he thinks liberals have got to fight fire with fire.

"I am mad at our side for being lazy and complacent," says Kamber. "Propac is going to respond in kind. We will copy the New Right. But we are going to do it with the hope that people will rise up and say pox on all your houses and get rid of independent expenditure groups."

Recalling that NCPAC went after several Midwestern liberals last year on grounds they raised most of their money in New York, Kamber vowed that his ads will poin out

that most of Hatch's money comes from Houston-based oil irms. The headline will be: `Orrin Hatch is a fan of the Houston Oilers. "

to get government off the backs of the people. Specialfically, he will cite legislation proposed by Helms that would create more government intrusion--including legislation controling abortion. "I'm not afraid to go to

Kamber's ads will attack Helms for violating his promise

Dolan pointed out the basic problem facing Kamber -- no money. He noted that rich people with money are more likely to contribute to conservative PACs than to liberal ones.

North Carolina and raise the abortion issue, " says Kamber.

``In American, if you are older and wealthy, you don't give money to liberal organizations, ' said Dolan.

Kamber admitted this is a problem. He said his group has yet to find a good, productive fundraising list of rich liberals similar to the Volvo-owners list that McGovern used in 1972.

Dolan described the 1980s as the decade of the conservatives. He predicted more victories in the future.

Kamber quipped: ``Terry is quoted as saying that they (the conservatives) could elect Mickey Mouse to the House and Senate. Well, the truth is they have. "

INI:

TO: MLS, LT, JF, BFP, DR. JG. GP, DCB, LH, JVM, DXB, SJF, PA. PGH. SXM

FROM: RAK

RE: AWACS notes

Reagan has discovered a new twist for impressing senatorsholding one-on-one meetings in his study in the residence instead of in the Oval Office. Larry Speakes says, on background, that Reagan is using the study to meet with senators because it heightens the sense of personal intimacy between Reagan and individual senators. Speakes notes that the senators are impressed, in part because they all have been to the Oval Office many times before, but ie has never seen the President's newly decorated study. (The room is private enough that Speakes never has seen it. either.) In these meetings, Reagan alone sees the senators. There are no aides present. It is a chance for Reagan to turn on the charm full force. David Gergen terms the meetings 'quite persuasion.'

It's hard to imagine that Reagan is not implictly promising a lot of things to win AWACS votes, but the White House is very sensitive in denying that Reagan is making deals. When Reagan was asked about it as he departed for Richmond last night, he replied, 'I don't make deals.' On Air Force One en route to Richmond, Senator John Warner was sent back to talk to the writing pool. Warner volunteered trat some senators were concerned about what Reagan might

PAGE: 2

be promising to win votes. 'I looked the President square the eye and asked him if he gave away anything, and his direct answer was, 'Absolutely not,'' said Warner.

Richmond. In his endorsement of Marshall Coleman, Reagan delivered what has become the equivalent of "The Speech" that a candidate gives over and over again in a campaign. Reagan's standard speech as President is a call to return sovereignty to the states and a pitch for voluntarism. I have heard him express his views on federalism and voluntarism over and over again in recent weeks at almost ay kind of occasion. These two themes represent Reagan's most basic philosophy for the next three years.

STOPT: BRIEF MA:60 PMT: OPR:RAK ;10/20.17:26

T' 'S, LT. JF, DK, BFP, JG, GP, DCB, LH, JWM, SXB, SJF,

PA, PGH, SXM

FROM: RAX

RE: Jim Baker and Dick Allen at on-the-record briefing

Baker and Allen were savoring their victory enormously.

'This vote was a great tonic for the President and for the administration,' said Baker. 'We would argue forcefully that he has been the most successful President since Lyndon Johnson' in his ability to deal with Congress. 'It should give us a political boost—how much of a boost we're not prespared to guess at....It will give us a much stronger in the Middle East.'

Baker credited the victory to 'the President's powers of personal persuasion' and said it demonstrated to Democrats such as Senator Nunn that the President will stick with them as he stood behind the boll weevil Democrats in the House on the economic battles.

According to Baker, Reagan held 22 one-on-one meetings with Democratic senators; 10 of those Democrats sided with Reagan and 12 voted against him. He held 22 meetings with with Republican senators, 14 of whom voted with Reagan and 8 of whom vote against him.

Baker, who was responsible for the decision to delay the AWACS vota until now, added, "We happen to think that the traing was the right timing, and the proof is in the oudding." If AWACS had been voted on in the soring, it

STORY: BRIEF

would have been 'very emotional and very devisive' at a time when Reagan was trying to win votes for the economic program.

He also repeated Reagan's pledge "to maintain the quantitative and qualitative superiority of Israel" in armaments.

Allen and Baker conceded that the letter Reagan sent to the Senate does not in any way ensure 'joint manning' of the aircraft, but Allen said an American presence would be needed on a practical basis at least until the 1990s.

Haig-Allen. The most interesting thing about the briefing—which was done before network cameras—was that Allen was relicuating instead of Haig. This was one of the very few times I can recall that Allen was allowed to do a briefing in front of cameras. He definitely has been given a higher profile over AWACS, and I suspect that we will see more of him as a public spokesman for the administration.

[Whisper?] Haig is steaming, I'm sure.

Allen was asked about his relationship with Haig. "It's a collegial relationship. It's a very good and satisfying relationship." This comment blatantly contradicts views Allen has expressed in private.

Reagan was angered by rumors reported last night on CBS and written about earlier by Joe Kraft and Evans and Novak that the White House is considering a game of "musical to shuffle Allen, Haig and Weinberger into new jobs.

when he left the White House en route to Bethesda for his physical. Reagan declined to answer any questions from reporters until someone yelled. 'Are you going to fire Allen?' Heagan turned on his heal and marched back up to the cameras and microphones: 'All I can say is that whoever wrote that report is not only blowing smoke; they were also doing a disservice to this country. I'm very happy with the team we have, and especially should be with Al Haig as secretary of state—and, I think, one of the finest we've had in a very long time...and Dick Allen is doing his job and we're all getting along fine. There's going to be no musical chairs.''

Daivd Gergen said Reagan called the rumors "totally invented." But Gergen declined to rule out that changes might be made in the national security area short of the "musical chairs" rumor, which is pretty bizarre, anyway.

One other Whispers candidate: Reagan spent so much time lobbying senators on AVACS that by the time the vote was taken he was hoarse and hungry. The President did not have time to eat lunch on Wednesday until after the 5 p.m. vote, and he told aides that the first thing he wanted to do afterward was to get something in his stomach.

c: mls lt dr jf jg bfr gr dxt jwm dcb lh rek pe pgh dm From: sjf

FJ:

The following comes from a backround interview with James Baker, White House Chief of Staff.

_ President Reagan intends to get more visibly involved in the Middle East peace process in the wake of the AWACS victory, according to Baker.

"We've talked a lot about how now's the time to get into this is a visible way," he said. "It's a fortutious time to move toward special action in the Middle Bast."

Frecisely what Peagan intends to do is unclear. Baker said he hopes to build upon Saudi Arabia's 8-point peace plan to pring that country into the peace process. The U.S. so will proceed with the autonomy talks, put together a peace-keeping force in the Sinai and `move with more view in maintaining peace in Iebanom.'

Raker acknowledges that the AWACS right strained U.S.lsraeli relations. 'It was devisive.' he said, 'but all that will be behind us in 10 days.'

The acknowledges that some deals were implied in the loobying for AVACS, but insists that none of them were made by the President. He says they could have gotten additional votes had they agreed to put synfuel plants in a couple of aistricts. Some Senators sought a specific commitment that the b.S. will provide more arms aid to Israel, which the resident rejected on grounds that a 'general commitment' to the security of Israel already exists.

Shakeur. The President was furious about a report on CBS out an impending foreign policy staff shakeup. He sees it as ``further mischief-making.''

For his own part, Baker no longer wants to talk about the haig-Allen feud. He said he is taking the view that it's neese's problem, not his. 'It's not on my watch,' he said. 'I've decided to stay out of that.'

Eucast Strategy. Baker, Meese, Deaver and other members of the legislative strategy group will meet on Monday morning to set strategy for achieving additional budget cuts in Congress. He said they will be reacy by Wednesday to announce ``which way we'll go.''

has the one-major-issue-at-a-time strategy backfired?

Faker says no. The White House cannot tackle more than one

ing at a time. he added: "We've got a lot of things

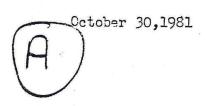
cooking here. We can bat and chew gum at the same time."

Leficit. It's possible the administration will publish a new set of economic projections before the next legally mandated report. He says the White House is particularly anxious to come clean on the deficit figures. The recession will be thamed for the new projections. (As if the recession came as a surprise.) Their new strategy will be to ignore the 1962 deficit figure and simply concentrate on balancing the budget by 1984.

_Veto._Eaker expects the President to veto budget bills in excess of his proposal. The Interior Lepartment proprietion as ``a good candidate for his first veto.'' (MORE)

Precise the plant. Baker acknowledged that the administration pects unemployment to exceed 8 percent scon. "In a recession, it's natural that it might creep up some—but not ruch over 8 percent," Baker said.

Fig Three. Faker thought the Big Three story was fair.
"You took a jab at all of us," he said.



To MIS, LT, DR, GP, SF, RAK

From PA

Private Life of the Reagans

While the public side of Ronald and Nancy Reagan's life at the White House has been much publicized, little has been reported on their day-to-day life upstairs in the family quarters and of their weekends at Camp David.

U.S. News & World Report spoke to White House aides, Reagan friends and with written enswers from the Pirst Lady has put together this picture of the presidential couple whose life out of the spotlight is spent increasingly on ever-present paperwork, viewing movies with friends occasionally, daily exercise and weekend reading. In many aspects, it is a life not that different from that led by many busy Americans today.

Weekday routine: The Reagans' day begins with a wake-up call from the White House switchboard at 7:30 am. The President showers and shaves and then is joined by Mrs. Reagan in the family dining room where they breakfast on fruit and cereal, sometimes are egg with fresh fruit, and decaffeinated coffee. The President reads the morning paper then walks over to the Oval Office for his first meetings at 9:00am. The First Lady then goes down the second-floor corridor her study across from the Yellow Oval Room to begin several hours of desk work. She speaks by phone to her Chief of Staff, Peter McCoy, her press secretary Sheila Tate and Social Secretary Muffie Brandon. She then calls in her secretary, Elaine Crispin and dictates official correspondence followed by her own hand-written summons letters to friends. Every Monday, the First Lady gather with her senior staff to her upstairs office/stduy where the group wit gather around a sofa and coffee table to plan her public schedule.

(Nancy consults at various times during the day with Chief Usher, Rex Scouten, on the management of the Executive Mansion upstairs and down.)

Mrs. Reagen

Her deskwork completed, moves down the corridor to a bedroom now temporarily converted into an exercise roum. Since the assassination attempt, exercises become part of the Reagans' daily routine at the suggestion of the Fresident's physicians.

Mrs. Reagan works out for 20 minutes using a machine called a fitness center.

The President, does his stint of 20 minutes after his return from the Gwal Office.)

The Reagans do not lunch together. If there is not public event on her schedule, the First Lady will have a light real of soup or chicken saled with tomato at her desk. About every two weeks Mancy lunches out at the home of new momen friends she has met in Mashington such as Mrs. David Bruce (Evangeline)

Mrs. John Sherman Cooper (Acrraine), Mrs. Mark Hatfield (Antoinette) or restly and publisher May Craham.

Mrs. Peter Quesada. **Rexxionally** Occasionally, she invites some women in for lunch in the White House solerium. **Radffinial** An old friend from Hollywood,

Mary Martin was guest of honor not long ago.

The afternoon is uselly taken up with Mrs. Reagan's public schedule.

children who live in New York and California have come for birthday visits.

Said Mrs. Reagan: "The children set their visits into our schedule especially on weekdays. We like to spend as much time as we can just talking and catching up on the latest news inxiking with them. We had particular fun last spring on Ron's birthday when he came down from New York and taught me how to ride a tandem bike."

Nore recently, actress daughter Patti Davis, 29, had a birthday visit on the weekend of October 24-25. Friends were invited in for Sunday night dinner and a movie "Ragtime", shown in the ground fixer floor theater. Said Nancy:

"It was a nice relaxing visit and we were able to do a lot of catching up when Ronnie returned from Cancun."

It is not just Reagan children who get to sleep in the Lincoln Bedroom.

Bob Hope was in town recently for a USO dinner and spent the night at the White House So have Billy Graham, Douglas Wick, a childhood chum of Ron and Patti, and Ann Davis, the young daughter of Dr. Richard Davis, the First Lady's step brother.

An Evening Rlone: When there are no xxxx in the house, the Reagan routine is a quiet one. The President walks back from the Oval Office by 6:30 pm. He changes his clothes, and goes to the exercise room where he works out at the fitness center for 20 minutes. He then walks down the kxkkxtxxxxx second floor corridor to join Mrs. eagan in the West Sitting Hall to watch the seven o'clokk evening cocktail news while each have an evening xxxtxiil of orange juice and vocks. Commented Mrs. Reagan: "We do try to watch the evening news before dinner. It's about the only time we have to watch television during the workweek."

The Reagans then walk back down the corridor to the family dining room for dinner. The Reagans eat lightly, avoid sauces and heavily caloric foods.

When dining alone, for example, they do the drink wine but do serve California wine when guests are invited. White House Chef Henry Haller cited these menus which he prepared for the Reagans when they dine a deux.

Yankee pot roast with Bibb lettuce salad.

Broiled sword fish, fresh green beans and lettuce and grapefruit

Broiled lamb brochette, tomato rice, green beans and salad.

For dessert the eagans almost invariably select fresh fruit sorbet (sherbert) or accasionally apple tart.

After dinner, it's back to work for the Reagans. Said Mrs. eagan:

"My husband is never really free of paperwork. He usually works until he retires. I use that time to catch up on EXXXESPARIAGE correspondence or to review report (on proposed schedules) and guest lists."

The President goes back to his study--next to the bedroom-- newly decorated in red carpeting and his collection of Western paintings. He sits down in a large easy chair, puts his feet up and continues studying the voluminous briefing papers

on hand for the a Chief Executive. Nancy, meanwhile, divides her time between her own study and a desk in the bedroom. Here she continues her own paperwork and makes phone calls usually to her children. She tries to keep in daily touch with them. She also is in frequent touch with her girl friends.

The Reagans retire between 11:30 pm and midnight. The President, says his rife, is not one to raid the icebox but she often has fruit before going to sleep crunchy bananas, not kruckey apples, which would keep him awake.

<u>Guests upstairs?</u> Earlier this year, the Resgans often invited small groups of people upstairs for dinner but in recent months, says Mrs. Resgan:

"It's selfom that we have a chance. We used to have small groups for dinner but as habits became established with weekeends often spent at Camp David, we have begun to have somewhat larger groups in for dinner and a movie once or twice a month." (The Reagans pay the costs of private entertaining out of their own pocket by the way)

Mike Deaver, working closely with the First Lady, has an active hand in the Reagans' social life. Said one Reagan friend: "Tike is keenly aware of how isolated a President can become in the Break earlier President have noted, it can become a type of prison. He works hard with Mancy to Feep the "eagans in touch with a wide variety of people." The Reagans are not card players and prefer chatting and relaxing with friends.

In recent months, the Reagans, as the First said, have tried to have larger groups of 30 in for dinner and a film screening. On October 25, when Patti Davis was at the White House for a birthday weekend, is 💢 d guests for 🛌 xokkzimx at 6:30 in the Blue Room . At 7:00pm Nancy announced that dinner was ready to be served in the Red Room at four tables for eight. The fire place was aglow with logs, white votive candles with fresh flowers served as centerpieces. The menu was black bean soup, Roulade of chicken Forentine, Homemade noodles, tiny peas with fresh mint, watercress and endive salad and for dinner raspberry souffle with petits fours. The "eagans served their guests a Simi (Napa Valley) rose of cabernet sauvignon, Guests included friends from Hollywood who appeared in the film to be shown later. James Cagney O'Brien, producer Dino de Laurentis, director Milos Forman and Jack Valenti-There was a smattering of journalsits including Roger Mudd, John Palmer and Robert Kittle and of course, White House senior staff, Baker, Meese and Deaver. After dinner, popcorn was served in the White House theater wkerext during the film screening. Some of the films the Reagans have selected to see with their guests: "Chariots of Fire", "Breaker Morant", the "French Liqutenant's Woman" and a boisterous comedy "Continental Divide" starring John Belushi. The President favors action, adventure filsm and a good comedy. Mrs Reagan selects a list of possible films to be shown then goes over with the President and they choose together similar to most couples in when xing deciding what movie to see.

In the warmer months, the Reagans, both of whom are accustomed to and miss the outdoor climate and fresh air of California, had invited friends over to play tennis on the White House courts. Neither the President nor Nancy play tennis but they enjoy watching round-robins which are followed by an outdoor warkseam Western barbecues.

Tennis requerx regulars were the British Ambassador Nicholas Henderson, Paul Laxalt Senator from evada and a good esgan friend, publisher Kay Graham, journalists such as Time Magazine correspondent Larry Barrett and Loy Willer of Newhouse Newspapaers how also been monthly by un the world and say on for a barbow.

Weekends in the country: The Reagans, like their predecessors, love to get away on

weekends to the presidential retreat in the Catoctin Mountains of Maryland. Camp David. On board the helicopter, are the everpresent briefcase of papers, his and hers, along with books the eagans are reading. Long walks, horseback rides, the eagans have brought some horses to camp avid, swimming in the outdoor pool in good weather form the picture of a Reagan weekend. It is at Camp David that the "eagans have the most chance to read for pleasure. The President has become intrigued by the character of Teddy Roosevelt and has read various biographies of the 26th President including "Mornings on Horseback". Journalist turned novelist Allen Drury was a recent guest at the White House. The President has just finished one of DrurySfew nonfiction book's "A Very Strange Society" published in 1967. It is a report on South Africany life, government and economy Nancy, meanwhile, who favors memoirs and biographies, has just finished "Clementine" a biography of the wife of Winston Churchill. In recent weeks she has read "An Ambassador's Wife in Iran" by Cynthia Helms, wife of ex CIA Direcotr Richard Helms who served as Ambassador to Iran and "Portrait of a First Lady" by Sylvia Morris and Helen Thomas gave the First Lady a copy of her own book, "Dateline: The White House;" which Mancy has just completed.

Guests are occasionally invited to join the eagans on the weekend. Charles Wick, head of the International Communications Agency of the U.S. Government and his wife Mary Jane-old Reagan friends from California—have been invited up there for the weekend. Wick, a skilled pianist, played the piano for the Reagans while they sang old show tunes. (The Reagans enjoy "sing alongs" with their friends) The Jim Bakers and the Messes have been guests there as well along with their children.

They gathered by the swimming pool this summer. According to Susan Baker, via RAK, the President is a crack diver and can still do a jack knife. The President privad played diving coach to the Baker's daughter and two instructed her in the art.

The Reagans return to the White House by helicopter ready on Sunday afternoon, refreshed and ready to start the Week's routine.
