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Geneva

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 4, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR KAREN PATTERSON  
OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

FROM: DEBORAH K. OWEN *DO*  
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Multiple Mailings

I have reviewed the four drafts of proposed multiple mailings to persons who have expressed support for the President's policies and have no legal objection to them.

*Told WNL 1/7/85*  
*Roger G. Gamble*  
*CR Neb. State Chairman*

*After he was  
elected he  
actively supported  
dem candidates*

*- Xeroxing and  
sending it to  
various GOP -  
CR get vote  
on executive  
committee*

*- Nancy Boeskor-*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 3, 1985

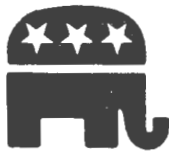
MEMORANDUM FOR DEBORAH OWEN

FROM: KAREN PATTERSON 

SUBJECT: Legal Sign Off

I would like to request for you to sign off on the attached letters. Each form letter will be mailed to the attached lists.

Thank you for your time and attention.



Republican  
National  
Committee

Maryann D. Fitzgerald  
Director  
Liaison Department

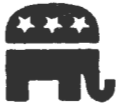
Bill -  
What do  
you think?  
Let's get 'em  
a letter  
- Wm

11/27/85

Sanford -

Kudy + Lining gave me  
these names to pass on,  
if you all are still  
planning on sending  
W.H. Thank you notes. I know  
they would appreciate it.

Thanks - Maryann



# College Republican National Committee

**David Miner**  
Chairman

November 22, 1985

**Geoffrey Ziebart**  
Co-Chairman

**Gene A. Taylor, Jr.**  
Vice-Chairman

**Annette Glenn**  
Vice-Chairman

**Albert B. Braunfisch**  
Secretary

**Vic Bancroft**  
Treasurer

**George Hancock**  
Executive Director

MEMORANDUM TO BILL LACY

FROM: DAVID MINER

SUBJECT: CR involvement in phoning

---

Bill, enclosed please find the list of addresses of club and state chairmen whom I chose to participate in the phoning for the summit speech. These 117 club chairmen and 34 state chairmen are the ones who really came through for us.

As you mentioned, I think a letter from you to these CR leaders would be a very nice gesture.

Thank you for wanting to do this. It will really motivate the troops in the field.

Also, for your information I've enclosed a copy of the data we used in working on the project.

Bill, thanks for calling on the CR's. We are always ready and willing to pitch in for our President. Thank you.



# College Republican National Committee

November 22, 1985

**David Miner**  
Chairman

MEMORANDUM FOR CRNC STAFF AND INTERNS

**Geoffrey Ziebart**  
Co-Chairman

FROM:

DAVID MINER 

**Gene A. Taylor, Jr.**  
Vice-Chairman

SUBJECT:

Phone Bank Success

**Annette Glenn**  
Vice-Chairman

---

Thanks to all of you on a terrific job last night on the phone bank operation. The CR's placed a record number of calls into the White House, according to Bill Lacy's office. I appreciate your hardwork on this project.

**Albert B. Braunfisch**  
Secretary

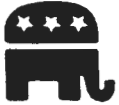
**Vic Bancroft**  
Treasurer

Also, we were able to contact in one day, 117 club chairmen and 34 state chairmen for their help. This enabled us to work jointly on a project with our grassroots. You simply cannot put a pricetag on that.

**George Hancock**  
Executive Director

Again, great work!

Thanks.



# College Republican National Committee

## MEMORANDUM

**David Miner**  
Chairman

**Geoffrey Ziebart**  
Co-Chairman

**Gene A. Taylor, Jr.**  
Vice-Chairman

**Annette Glenn**  
Vice-Chairman

**Albert B. Braunfisch**  
Secretary

**Vic Bancroft**  
Treasurer

**George Hancock**  
Executive Director

TO : All staff and interns

FROM : David Miner 

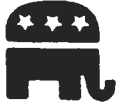
RE : Phone Bank Project

DATE : November 19, 1985

On Thursday night, following the Helms Roast, I need you at the CRNC to man phones for President Reagan. The President will speak at a joint session of Congress concerning his exchanges with Lenin's successor, Mikhail Gorbachev, at the summit. Afterwards, an opinion line will be opened to take phone calls concerning the speech. The White House has asked us to make calls.

We will call 456-7639 500 times from our local national headquarters using our seven local lines to the max. Be here at 9:00 pm Thursday ready to pitch in.

Thank you for your help.



# College Republican National Committee

For Thursday night phone bank  
9:00 pm CRNC

**David Miner**  
Chairman

**Geoffrey Ziebart**  
Co-Chairman

**Gene A. Taylor, Jr.**  
Vice-Chairman

**Annette Glenn**  
Vice-Chairman

**Albert B. Braunfisch**  
Secretary

**Vic Bancroft**  
Treasurer

**George Hancock**  
Executive Director

- 1) David Miner
- 2) George Hancock
- 3) Dennis Kilcoyne
- 4) Becky Boulter
- 5) Roya Hakami
- 6) Mike Gesser
- 7) Teresa Drag
- 8) Alan Horenstein
- 9) Jeff Lubitz
- 10) Vince Farhat
- 11) "
- 12) "





# College Republican National Committee

**David Miner**  
Chairman

**Geoffrey Ziebart**  
Co-Chairman

**Gene A. Taylor, Jr.**  
Vice-Chairman

**Annette Glenn**  
Vice-Chairman

**Albert B. Braunfisch**  
Secretary

**Vic Bancroft**  
Treasurer

**George Hancock**  
Executive Director

CR effort to flood phone lines in support of  
President Reagan's address to Congress on the  
summit:

|                                  |                            |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 100 top club chairmen (20) each- | <u>phone calls</u><br>2000 |
| 50 state chairmen (10) each-     | 500                        |
| local office-                    | <u>500</u>                 |
|                                  | 3000                       |

PHONE SCRIPT

Club Chairmen

Hello \_\_\_\_\_. This is \_\_\_\_\_ with the CRNC. How are you?

\_\_\_\_\_, something really important has come up, and we need your help. David Miner was called to the White House this morning for a meeting with Bill Lacy, the White House Political Director. Bill asked David for a big favor from the CRs. The White House has asked that the CRs flood the phone lines Thursday night after President Reagan's address to Congress concerning the summit.

The White House thinks having public opinion in support of the President will be crucial to the outcome of the speech. The major TV networks will be monitoring the results from the phone lines, so we must have positive phone calls being made.

David wants our top 100 club chairmen to committ to twenty phone calls each to the phone lines in support of President Reagan. Will you have some CRs from your club make 20 calls?

The speech will be this Thursday night at 9:00 EST. The phone number is 202-456-7639. This is the comment line to call. The results will be released to the media. Just tell the operator that you liked the speech and that you fully support the President.

You should start calling as soon as the speech is over. The lines will be opened then and will stay open for two hours or longer. If the line is busy, keep trying until you get through.

Also, keep a record of how many phone calls you made, at least 20 hopefully. Then be sure to call the CRNC that night to give us your results. Call us at 1-800-424-9058. We will be here until midnight EST. David wants to give the White House the CR results from our top 100 chairmen early Friday morning.

Good luck! We really appreciate your help, and don't forget to call us if you have any questions. Thanks.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 3, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR DEBORAH OWEN

FROM: KAREN PATTERSON 

SUBJECT: Legal Sign Off

I would like to request for you to sign off on the attached letters. Each form letter will be mailed to the attached lists.

Thank you for your time and attention.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 3, 1985

Dear name:

David Miner, Chairman of the College Republican National Committee, has told me of your recent expression of support for the President. I wanted to thank you on the President's behalf for your efforts.

As you know, young voters played a major role in the President's landslide victory last year; and our current data from Dick Wirthlin, the President's pollster, indicates that voters in the 18 - 24 age group are critical to GOP strength. In short, your efforts in this critical group have paid off. Further, your continued efforts are crucial to our success in the future.

As we prepare to enter a key election year, please know how much we appreciate your efforts. Keep up the good work.

Best wishes,

William B. Lacy  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
Director, Office of Political Affairs

NAME  
TITLE  
ADDRESS  
CITYSTATEZIP

State Chairman

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

2. The second part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee.

3. The third part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee.

6. The sixth part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee.

7. The seventh part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee.

8. The eighth part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee.

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11. The eleventh part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee.

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17. The seventeenth part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee.

18. The eighteenth part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee.

19. The nineteenth part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee.

20. The twentieth part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee.









Club Chairman

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

2. The second part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee who have been elected to the office of the committee.

3. The third part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee who have been elected to the office of the committee.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee who have been elected to the office of the committee.

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10. The tenth part of the document is a list of the names and addresses of the members of the committee who have been elected to the office of the committee.

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific information required.

$$f(x) = \frac{1}{2} \left( \frac{1}{x} + \frac{1}{x^2} \right) \quad \text{for } x \neq 0, \quad f(0) = 0.$$

1000

4755

1. The first part of the document  
describes the general situation  
of the country and the  
state of the economy.

2. The second part of the document  
describes the state of the  
economy and the state of the  
country.

3. The third part of the document  
describes the state of the  
economy and the state of the  
country.

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describes the state of the  
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economy and the state of the  
country.

7. The seventh part of the document  
describes the state of the  
economy and the state of the  
country.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that this is crucial for ensuring the integrity of the financial system and for providing a clear audit trail.

2. The second part of the document outlines the specific procedures for recording transactions. It details the steps involved in the accounting process, from the initial entry to the final reconciliation.

3. The third part of the document discusses the role of the accounting department in the overall management of the organization. It highlights the importance of providing accurate and timely financial information to management for decision-making.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the importance of internal controls in the accounting system. It outlines the various types of controls that should be implemented to prevent errors and fraud, and to ensure the accuracy of the financial statements.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the importance of the accounting system in the overall business strategy. It outlines how the accounting system can be used to monitor the performance of the organization and to identify areas for improvement.







1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

2. The second part of the document is a list of the topics that were discussed at the meeting. The topics are listed in alphabetical order.

3. The third part of the document is a list of the actions that were taken at the meeting. The actions are listed in alphabetical order.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of the dates when the actions were completed.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were responsible for the actions.

6. The sixth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting.

7. The seventh part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting.

8. The eighth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting.

9. The ninth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting.

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14. The fourteenth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting.

15. The fifteenth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting.







1. Ministry of Education, Republic of  
Tanzania  
P.O. Box 12345  
Dar es Salaam  
Tanzania

2. Ministry of Education  
P.O. Box 12345  
Dar es Salaam  
Tanzania

3. Ministry of Education  
P.O. Box 12345  
Dar es Salaam  
Tanzania

4. Ministry of Education  
P.O. Box 12345  
Dar es Salaam  
Tanzania

5. Ministry of Education  
P.O. Box 12345  
Dar es Salaam  
Tanzania

6. Ministry of Education  
P.O. Box 12345  
Dar es Salaam  
Tanzania

7. Ministry of Education  
P.O. Box 12345  
Dar es Salaam  
Tanzania

8. Ministry of Education  
P.O. Box 12345  
Dar es Salaam  
Tanzania









THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 3, 1985

Dear name:

Rudy Beserra of the Republican National Committee, has told me of your recent expression of support for the President. I wanted to thank you on behalf of the President, for your efforts.

Grassroots supporters like you are so very important to the strength of the President and the Republican Party. Your efforts have been tremendously helpful and will be crucial to our success in the future.

As we prepare to enter a key election year, please know how much your efforts are appreciated. Please keep up the good work.

Best wishes,

William B. Lacy  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
Director, Office of Political Affairs

NAME  
TITLE  
ADDRESS  
CITYSTATEZIP



# Republican National Committee

LIAISON DEPARTMENT

November 27, 1985

MEMORANDUM

TO: MARYANN FITZGERALD  
Director, Liaison Department

FROM: RUDY BESERRA *RB*  
Hispanic Liaison

SUBJECT: List of People Working In Support of  
President's Summit Remarks

Roberto Rojas  
1625 I St., N.W.  
Suite 1002  
Washington, D. C. 20006

Tony Coterelo  
2905 Salsedo  
Coral Gables, Florida 33134

Carlos Andavin  
2434 Southwest 101 Court  
Miami, Florida 33165

Armando Lago  
4715 Cordell Ave.  
Bethesda, Md. 20814

Carlos Benitez  
9100 Conal Way  
P. O. Box 397  
Miami, Florida 33165

Jukio JO  
12020 Ramiro Street  
Gales by the Sea  
Coral Gables, Florida

Carlos Rivero  
380 N.E. 60th Street  
Miami, Florida 33137

Dorita Down  
1250 Eye St., N.W.  
Suite 402  
Washington, D. C. 20005

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 3, 1985

Dear name:

Lining Burnet of the Republican National Committee, has told me of your recent expression of support for the President. I wanted to thank you on behalf of the President, for your efforts.

Grassroots supporters like you are so very important to the strength of the President and the Republican Party. Your efforts have been tremendously helpful and will be crucial to our success in the future.

As we prepare to enter a key election year, please know how much your efforts are appreciated. Please keep up the good work.

Best wishes,

William B. Lacy  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
Director, Office of Political Affairs

NAME  
TITLE  
ADDRESS  
CITYSTATEZIP



# Republican National Committee

LIAISON DEPARTMENT

November 26, 1985

## MEMORANDUM

TO: MARYANN FITZGERALD  
Director, Liaison Department

FROM: LINING BURNET <sup>23</sup>  
Senior/Teacher Liaison

SUBJECT: Grassroots Support for President's Geneva Statement.

Those noted below agreed to coalesce support for the President's remarks on the 21st. If the White House acknowledges this help, it would be most helpful in securing similar assistance for future projects.

Franklin Black  
3100 Grand Ave., Apt. 1C  
Des Moines, Iowa 50312

Mrs. Anne Brevetti  
221 Waterford Crescent  
Delray Beach, Fl. 33446

Mrs. Billie Hogan  
3515 South Delaware  
Springfield, Mo. 65804

Fred McComb  
327 W. Minnehaha Parkway  
Minneapolis, Minn. 55419

Eugene Shoemaker  
111 Winterstown Road  
Red Lion, Pa. 17356

Robert Vater  
2044 Grande Ave., S.E.  
Cedar Rapids, Iowa 52403

Cecil Youngblood  
10 Gwaltney Circle  
Bella Vista, Ark. 72714

Mrs. Frances Smith  
2201 East Kleindale Road  
Tuscon, Arizona 85719

Mrs. Janet Goeske  
4025 Rice Road  
Riverside, Ca. 92506

Ms. Margueritte Bryan  
401 Linares Ave.  
Long Beach, Ca. 90803

Mrs. Mary Doggett  
801 N. Kinghighway  
Sikeston, Mo. 63801

Mrs. Catherine Hakerson  
1327 Dickerson Drive  
Clearwater, Fl. 33545

Mrs. Frank Kopicki  
21 Edgepark Road  
White Plains, New York 10603

Mr. Harrison Edinger  
Box 6846  
Orlando, Fl. 32852

Mrs. Josephine J. Wang  
13636 Glenhurst Road  
Gaithersburg, Md. 20878

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 3, 1985

Dear name:

Betty Rendel, President of the National Federation of Republican Women, has told me of your recent expression of support for the President. I wanted to thank you on behalf of the President, for your efforts.

Grassroots supporters like you are so very important to the strength of the President and the Republican Party. Your efforts have been tremendously helpful and will be crucial to our success in the future.

As we prepare to enter a key election year, please know how much your efforts are appreciated. Please keep up the good work.

Best wishes,

William B. Lacy  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
Director, Office of Political Affairs

NAME  
TITLE  
ADDRESS  
CITYSTATEZIP

10/16/85

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

|                              |                                                                                |                                          |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| President:                   | Mrs. Betty Rendel (Harold)<br>310 First Street, S.E.<br>Washington, D.C. 20003 | (202) 863-8770                           |
| Immediate<br>Past President: | Mrs. Betty Heitman (Henry)<br>310 First Street, S.E.<br>Washington, D.C. 20003 | (202) 863-8780                           |
| First Vice<br>President:     | Mrs. Judy Hughes (William J)<br>130 Pearl, Suite 1508<br>Denver, CO 80203      | (303) 778-0243                           |
| Second Vice<br>President:    | Mrs. Huda Jones (W.P.)<br>P. O. Box 129<br>Beattyville, KY 41311               | (606) 464-2550 (H)<br>(606) 464-2414 (O) |
| Third Vice<br>President:     | Mrs. Charlotte Mousel (George)<br>14475 Galy Street<br>Tustin, CA 92680        | (714) 838-3796                           |
| Fourth Vice<br>President:    | Mrs. Norene Bunker (Art)<br>721 Southwood Drive<br>Fargo, ND 58103             | (701) 235-3907                           |
| Secretary:                   | Mrs. Claudine Mansfield (John)<br>2141 Bradford<br>Montrose, CO 81401          | (303) 249-8524                           |
| Treasurer:                   | Mrs. Mary Jo Arndt (Paul)<br>35 South Stewart<br>Lombard, IL 60148             | (312) 627-6307                           |

Members  
at Large:

Mrs. Pam Bengson (Bradley) (208) 345-6168 (H)  
2704 Raindrop Drive (208) 334-2475 (O)  
Boise, ID 83706

Mrs. Lou Brown (Win) (915) 682-5044  
1400 Murray  
Midland, TX 79701

Mrs. Virginia (Peach) Kalat (Paul) (401) 272-4185  
419 Benefit Street  
Providence, RI 02906



*deliberate Summit*

## Outcome Themes

BACKGROUND POINTS: President well prepared for meetings.

- Our subject matter was shaped by the facts of this century. For 40 years the actions of the Soviet Union have complicated our hopes for peace and for the growth of freedom.
- Basis for this summit set by five years of firm and consistent policies. Reestablished our political, economic and military strength and reinvigorated our alliances. Thus able to establish dialogue based on realism and strength.

KEY POINT: A good start.

- Meetings very worthwhile. It was essential that the two leaders met. They had an intensive and frank examination of the issues.
- President had called for a fresh start in U.S./Soviet relationship. We have made that start. We needed to understand each other better, and we have started that process.
- Important step forward in our efforts to build basis for more stable and constructive East-West relations. Staying in close touch with friends and allies. President himself briefing NATO leaders, and senior officials branching out to brief others around the world.
- We have established a new and direct high level dialogue. This is centered on more frequent visits and exchanges by Cabinet officials and their counterparts. Will give us framework for intensifying discussions in all four key areas of agenda: regional issues; human rights; bilateral matters; and security and arms control issues.
- But we are realistic. We disagree on much. Point of this dialogue is to lay out these differences frankly. No illusions that dialogue, in and of itself, will resolve our differences, but we will solve problems where we can.
- Systems, values and ideologies are vastly different. Two strong leaders; each made clear where he stands. And both made clear the areas where we distrust each other.
- The leaders recognized that competitive nature of the relationship will continue. But they agreed they share an overriding responsibility: to ensure that this competition remains peaceful, and to work together to try to strengthen an unsure peace.

- There are, of course, areas of disagreement on how to strengthen the peace, but the two leaders recognized need to start now to establish new ways to address these issues.
- They agreed therefore to meet again and to set up a regular process of summit meetings in our respective capitals. There will also be a regularized process of meetings between Foreign Ministers, and other Cabinet level contacts will be intensified.
- Obviously, there remain areas of deep disagreement and -- in some cases -- distrust.
  - On regional issues, we have conducted our relations with developing countries very differently and have diverging interests in several areas. This was expressed frankly by both leaders.
  - On security and arms control, there was an extensive discussion of our differences over the relationship between strategic offense and defense. This discussion will continue in the Geneva negotiations.
  - On human rights, the President took this opportunity to note that respect for the individual and the rule of law is as fundamental to peace as is arms control. He pressed for greater Soviet adherence to international agreements such as the Helsinki Accords.
- There were, however, additional areas of agreement as well. For example, we were particularly pleased that in the Joint Statement which resulted from the meeting we were able to agree to specific language in a number of arms control areas. These include:
  - Nuclear and Space Talks -- agreed to principle of 50% reductions in nuclear arms and to seek an interim agreement on limiting LRINF missile systems.
  - Non-Proliferation Treaty -- agreed to enhance cooperation.
  - Chemical Weapons -- endorsed concept of CW ban.
  - Risk Reduction Centers -- agreed to study these.

-- MBFR Negotiations -- emphasized their importance.

-- CDE (Stockholm Conference) -- reaffirmed need for concrete confidence-building measures, plus non-use of force.

- Other areas of agreement included:

-- Recognized the need to build greater confidence in dealings with each other. Frank discussions contributed to this process. Two leaders agreed that real confidence must be built on deeds, not just words.

-- Strengthening people to people contacts, and signing of cultural exchanges agreement.

-- Intensification of other bilateral exchanges.

-- Intensification of dialogue between senior level experts on ways to address regional conflicts, which have undermined prospects for better relations, and agreement to seek ways to enable regional states to solve own problems without outside interference.

-- Joining together to advocate international cooperation to develop magnetic fusion as an inexhaustible energy source for the benefit of mankind.

- THE BOTTOM LINE:

- Leaders got off to a good start -- that's what was needed.

- They agreed to meet again, and to regularize meetings at other senior levels.

- They settled some issues, and at least began the long effort required to tackle those where serious disagreements remain.

## Outcome Themes

BACKGROUND POINTS: President well prepared for meetings.

- Our subject matter was shaped by the facts of this century. For 40 years the actions of the Soviet Union have complicated our hopes for peace and for the growth of freedom.
- Basis for this summit set by five years of firm and consistent policies. Reestablished our political, economic and military strength and reinvigorated our alliances. Thus able to establish dialogue based on realism and strength.

KEY POINT: A good start.

- Meetings very worthwhile. It was essential that the two leaders met. They had an intensive and frank examination of the issues.
- President had called for a fresh start in U.S./Soviet relationship. We have made that start. We needed to understand each other better, and we have started that process.
- Important step forward in our efforts to build basis for more stable and constructive East-West relations. Staying in close touch with friends and allies. President himself briefing NATO leaders, and senior officials branching out to brief others around the world.
- We have established a new and direct high level dialogue. This is centered on more frequent visits and exchanges by Cabinet officials and their counterparts. Will give us framework for intensifying discussions in all four key areas of agenda: regional issues; human rights; bilateral matters; and security and arms control issues.
- But we are realistic. We disagree on much. Point of this dialogue is to lay out these differences frankly. No illusions that dialogue, in and of itself, will resolve our differences, but we will solve problems where we can.
- Systems, values and ideologies are vastly different. Two strong leaders; each made clear where he stands. And both made clear the areas where we distrust each other.
- The leaders recognized that competitive nature of the relationship will continue. But they agreed they share an overriding responsibility: to ensure that this competition remains peaceful, and to work together to try to strengthen an unsure peace.

- There are, of course, areas of disagreement on how to strengthen the peace, but the two leaders recognized need to start now to establish new ways to address these issues.
- They agreed therefore to meet again and to set up a regular process of summit meetings in our respective capitals. There will also be a regularized process of meetings between Foreign Ministers, and other Cabinet level contacts will be intensified.
- Obviously, there remain areas of deep disagreement and -- in some cases -- distrust.
  - On regional issues, we have conducted our relations with developing countries very differently and have diverging interests in several areas. This was expressed frankly by both leaders.
  - On security and arms control, there was an extensive discussion of our differences over the relationship between strategic offense and defense. This discussion will continue in the Geneva negotiations.
  - On human rights, the President took this opportunity to note that respect for the individual and the rule of law is as fundamental to peace as is arms control. He pressed for greater Soviet adherence to international agreements such as the Helsinki Accords.
- There were, however, additional areas of agreement as well. For example, we were particularly pleased that in the Joint Statement which resulted from the meeting we were able to agree to specific language in a number of arms control areas. These include:
  - Nuclear and Space Talks -- agreed to principle of 50% reductions in nuclear arms and to seek an interim agreement on limiting LRINF missile systems.
  - Non-Proliferation Treaty -- agreed to enhance cooperation.
  - Chemical Weapons -- endorsed concept of CW ban.
  - Risk Reduction Centers -- agreed to study these.

- MBFR Negotiations -- emphasized their importance.
- CDE (Stockholm Conference) -- reaffirmed need for concrete confidence-building measures, plus non-use of force.
- Other areas of agreement included:
  - Recognized the need to build greater confidence in dealings with each other. Frank discussions contributed to this process. Two leaders agreed that real confidence must be built on deeds, not just words.
  - Strengthening people to people contacts, and signing of cultural exchanges agreement.
  - Intensification of other bilateral exchanges.
  - Intensification of dialogue between senior level experts on ways to address regional conflicts, which have undermined prospects for better relations, and agreement to seek ways to enable regional states to solve own problems without outside interference.
  - Joining together to advocate international cooperation to develop magnetic fusion as an inexhaustible energy source for the benefit of mankind.
- THE BOTTOM LINE:
  - Leaders got off to a good start -- that's what was needed.
  - They agreed to meet again, and to regularize meetings at other senior levels.
  - They settled some issues, and at least began the long effort required to tackle those where serious disagreements remain.

# Nancy Reagan's Peak Role

Public Image-Building & Private Advice at Geneva

By Donnie Radcliffe  
Washington Post Staff Writer

FIRST LADY, From B1

own-way in what aides expect to be a blaze of media coverage.

White House chief of staff Donald Regan said he expects the coverage of her and Mrs. Gorbachev's activities to have high appeal, especially to women.

"They're not . . . going to understand throw-weights or what is happening in Afghanistan or what is happening in human rights," he said. "Some women will, but most women—believe me, your readers for the most part if you took a poll—would rather read the human-interest stuff of what happened."

The high point of that coverage will come when she and Mrs. Gorbachev sit down Tuesday to have tea. The tea, which Mrs. Reagan initiated, will be the first meeting between Soviet and U.S. first ladies since Jacqueline Kennedy and Nina Petrovna Khrushchev met in 1961 at the Vienna summit.

"Since so much of summitry has to do with atmospherics and appearances and really less with the substance, a great deal of attention will fall on Mrs. Reagan and her encounter with Raisa," said Richard Allen, former national security adviser to President Reagan, in a recent interview.

It is an aspect of the Geneva talks that the White House has dared not overlook. Little available about Raisa Gorbachev, her interests and accomplishments, or her clothes, jewelry and behavior, has escaped Mrs. Reagan or her aides.

Mrs. Gorbachev, 52, is still an unknown quantity in the West despite reports of her savvy in political science and world affairs—she is a PhD professor at Moscow University. Mrs. Reagan, 64, after four years of "on-the-job" training, is a seasoned "diplomat" with an ability to warm hearts and stir concerns over her highly publicized interests in family, home and drug abuse.

The summit assignment may be the most challenging yet in a year in which Mrs. Reagan has increasingly volunteered her services as a diplomatic go-between, sent off on her own as a player in the high-stakes

game of international politics. Last month she was at the United Nations, hosting the first ladies of 30 countries at a conference on fighting drug abuse, a follow-up to a similar White House session with 17 first ladies in April. In September she flew to earthquake-stricken Mexico City, a condolence call White House aides judged a "major plus" for Mexican-American relations. In May, while Reagan was at the Economic Summit in Bonn, she traveled alone to Rome to meet privately with Pope John Paul II to talk about worldwide drug abuse.

This week, fully aware of the interest she and Mrs. Gorbachev will be generating together and apart, Mrs. Reagan will follow a well-established pattern of independent activities: something that involves children, a sampling of culture and an expression of interest in community concerns, usually drug abuse. This time it's a boat ride on Lake Geneva with American schoolchildren, a tour of a Swiss village and an alpenhorn band concert, a visit to a drug treatment center in Lausanne. She'll also unveil a sculpture in her honor and tape television and radio messages for UNICEF's worldwide vaccination campaign.

She will be seen with Mrs. Gorbachev at Tuesday's tea, Mrs. Gorbachev's reciprocal tea Wednesday, a Red Cross ground-breaking ceremony Wednesday, and—with their husbands and others—both nights at reciprocal dinners.

James Rosebush, Mrs. Reagan's chief of staff, said in a presummit interview that it was inevitable that the two women would be compared, but that he thought it should be done "carefully." Of particular interest to the White House will be Mrs. Gorbachev's Geneva schedule.

Today White House aides and the press were still trying to find out how she will spend her time while Gorbachev and Reagan are behind closed doors. In Paris and London she made headlines on what appeared to be media-targeted outings designed to show her as an attractive woman interested in clothes and culture. The generally favorable coverage that resulted raised a few eyebrows among Reagan supporters.

GENEVA, Nov. 17—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's secret weapon in the Star Wars opening here Tuesday may be his wife Raisa, but there is nothing secret about Ronald Reagan's. She is Nancy Reagan, now regarded inside the White House as a proven commodity in her ability to grab favorable headlines when the going gets rough for her husband.

As the other half of the team presidential aides refer to as "Reagan and Reagan," Mrs. Reagan has a strategic role to play—both on and off prime-time television—at the Reagan-Gorbachev summit.

Americans watching TV won't see her in the private role, the one Reagan aides say she plays best: that of presidential confidant and sounding board, someone to whom Reagan will turn with observations about his meetings with Gorbachev or with questions about the character and motives of the people involved.

What they will see is Mrs. Reagan on an international stage in a carefully thought out public role, one designed to provide what one insider calls the "warm, fuzzy" side of the administration's image at the summit. She'll be cast as a hospitable humanitarian/diplomat to enhance Ronald Reagan's image as tough-minded statesman/negotiator.

Since the Reagans arrived here Saturday—she wearing boots and a purple leather coat with fur collar—they have been side by side. Today she accompanied him to help look over the Villa Fleur d'Eau room in which the talks will take place, sitting in Gorbachev's chair while Reagan tried his chair—and prompting a presidential quip: "Well, you're prettier than I expected."

But while Reagan and Gorbachev talk Tuesday and Wednesday, Mrs. Reagan will go her

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"It is interesting to me that here Nancy four years ago was criticized for clothes, and this woman was going to couture houses in Paris and buying Tiffany diamonds and so forth," said Michael Deaver, former White House deputy chief of staff and longtime Reagan aide. "It's incredible."

But the frivolous "Fancy Nancy" image of 1981 has been replaced with an image of Mrs. Reagan as a serious woman, concerned with humanitarian issues and interested in domestic and world affairs. This Mrs. Reagan does her homework. In preparation for the summit she got her own weekly briefing papers from the National Security Council and read several books about Russia, aides said. Rosebush headed Mrs. Reagan's advance team to Geneva, telephoning her daily and bringing back pictures so she would be as familiar with the surroundings as possible.

"We'll be pursuing the same course we have on every other foreign trip," said Rosebush, who admitted a certain fascination with Mrs. Gorbachev's visits to the St. Laurent and Cardin fashion houses in Paris. "I think Nancy Reagan's record will continue to be on the level of what she's done before—more serious."

There is no agenda of suggested conversation topics when the two women meet for tea where the Reagans are staying, Maison de Saussure, an 18th-century residence rented by Prince Karim Aga Kahn.

Regan, who reportedly preferred a tightly focused summit with no wives present, said in a recent interview that he saw Mrs. Reagan and Mrs. Gorbachev here "to build bridges, talking as the wives of the two leaders as to how things could be done mutually."

He said he did not expect them to discuss the summit's substantive issues such as disarmament, international conflicts or human rights violations, but rather shared interests and concerns, perhaps "drugs and other common problems that affect people of both countries." Mrs. Reagan, he said, "doesn't get into throw-weights or warheads or methods of transporting these warheads."

But that doesn't mean Mrs. Reagan's teas with Mrs. Gorbachev or her other activities aren't part of the summit plan, he said.

"No, we think they are a very important part of it," Regan said. "This is not just a sideshow, far from it."

But there was at least some pre-summit concern that a sideshow could overshadow the main event—that the wives' activities, or other public activities, might obscure the issues.

"I have no problem with Mrs. Reagan going to the summit, but I don't want it to be a diversion from what's really going on there between the two main players," said Rep. Pat Schroeder (D-Colo.), a member of World Women Parliamentarians for Peace.

"A danger associated with summitry—therefore as much a danger associated with a first lady as the president—is that you seek to run the summit, to direct its results, according to press flackery or public relations," Allen said. "I do not see that as a likely danger on the part of the president but I certainly do in other respects."

"I see it coming from other quarters—those who are more interested in the domestic, political implication of this summit than in the substantive contributions to our national security and well-being."

Mrs. Reagan's activities, Rosebush said, are the kind that create a climate in which progress can be made on those substantive issues.

"Certainly the president has his very important role at the negotiations," he said. "But it should not be overlooked that things also can be accomplished between people, impressions conveyed and friendships forged and solidified in a more casual setting."

Rosebush said he doubted there would be any lulls in teatime conversation. He also predicted that the two women would not talk about clothes ("I've never heard Mrs. Reagan talk about clothes to wives of foreign leaders") or Marxism and Leninism, Mrs. Gorbachev's academic specialty.

"I think it should be open and free-wheeling. My opinion is there will be no problem at all. What I've read about Mrs. Gorbachev and know of Mrs. Reagan, they're both interesting, full-of-life people who are going to have something to say to each other," said Rosebush.

Another place White House aides believe Mrs. Reagan will hold her own is at the dinner she and the president will give for the Gorbachevs on Wednesday, as well as the one the Gorbachevs give for the Reagans Tuesday. Neither dinner will be formal, and, at the Reagans' at least, a certain intimacy is expected since space is limited.

Falling to Mrs. Reagan, he said, will be the responsibility of creating "the atmosphere and the feeling in which a good result can occur."

Behind the scenes, her job will be similarly strategic.

In Regan's view, her biggest contribution at the summit will be "to reinforce some of the president's positions that he's going to be taking, encouraging him to be up for it, watching his moods, his health, his diet, his hours of sleep—things of that nature so that he is in good shape."

"Remember," Regan continued, "these meetings are grueling on the nerves, physical wear and tear on the system. You have to be up for it. That's where she's superlative."

Because she is eager that her husband be known as "a man of peace," Regan said he expects Mrs. Reagan to reinforce the president's "natural inclinations in that direction ... without giving away the shop. She'll definitely reinforce the advice that the president is getting from his staff."

But where she might use her influence, said Deaver, is to "soften the rough edges" of an adviser by telling her husband, "I don't think you ought to say it that way."

Deaver, who has known Mrs. Reagan for more than 20 years, said he doubts public opinion could sway her, though she might help her husband see a way to sway public opinion. He said she knows when to hold off and when to push, and aides who might try to use her as a means of promoting a certain position this week could find it "counterproductive."

Deaver echoes what Ronald Reagan himself often says: that wherever he goes he wants Nancy Reagan with him.

"From the standpoint of companionship," said Deaver, "and secondly as a sounding board, he recognizes her antennae and judgment and knows she's the one person he can trust."



JOINT STATEMENT

File - Geneva  
Summit

By mutual agreement, President of the United Ronald Reagan and General Secretary of the Central the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev met in Geneva November 19-21. Attending the meeting on the U.S. side were Secretary of State George Shultz; Chief of Staff Donald Regan; Assistant to the President Robert McFarlane; Ambassador to the USSR Arthur Hartman; Special Advisor to the President and the Secretary of State for Arms Control Paul H. Nitze; Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Rozanne Ridgway; Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Jack Matlock. Attending on the Soviet side were Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Minister of Foreign Affairs E. A. Shevardnadze; First Deputy Foreign Minister G. M. Korniyenko; Ambassador to the United States A. F. Dobrynin; Head of the Department of Propaganda of the Central Committee of the CPSU, A. N. Yakovlev; Head of the Department of International Information of the Central Committee of the CPSU L. M. Zamyatin; Assistant to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, A. M. Aleksandrov.

These comprehensive discussions covered the basic questions of U.S.-Soviet relations and the current international situation. The meetings were frank and useful. Serious differences remain on a number of critical issues.

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While acknowledging the differences in their systems and approaches to international issues, some greater understanding of the each side's view was achieved by the two leaders. They agreed about the need to improve U.S.-Soviet relations and the international situation as a whole.

In this connection the two sides have confirmed the importance of an ongoing dialogue, reflecting their strong desire to seek common ground on existing problems.

They agreed to meet again in the nearest future. The General Secretary accepted an invitation by the President of the United States to visit the United States of America and the President of the United States accepted an invitation by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU to visit the Soviet Union. Arrangements for and timing of the visits will be agreed upon through diplomatic channels.

In their meetings, agreement was reached on a number of specific issues. Areas of agreement are registered in the following pages.

## SECURITY

The sides, having discussed key security issues, and conscious of the special responsibility of the USSR and the U.S. for maintaining peace, have agreed that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. Recognizing that any conflict between the USSR and the U.S. could have catastrophic consequences, they emphasized the importance of preventing any war between them, whether nuclear or conventional. They will not seek to achieve military superiority.

## NUCLEAR AND SPACE TALKS

The President and the General Secretary discussed the negotiations on nuclear and space arms.

They agreed to accelerate the work at these negotiations, with a view to accomplishing the tasks set down in the Joint U.S.-Soviet Agreement of January 8, 1985, namely to prevent an arms race in space and to terminate it on earth, to limit and reduce nuclear arms and enhance strategic stability.

Noting the proposals recently tabled by the U.S. and the Soviet Union, they called for early progress, in particular in areas where there is common ground, including the principle of 50% reductions in the nuclear arms of the U.S. and the USSR appropriately applied, as well as the idea of an interim INF agreement.

During the negotiation of these agreements, effective measures for verification of compliance with obligations assumed will be agreed upon.

## RISK REDUCTION CENTERS

The sides agreed to study the question at the expert level of centers to reduce nuclear risk taking into account the issues and developments in the Geneva negotiations. They took satisfaction in such recent steps in this direction as the modernization of the Soviet-U.S. hotline.

- Agreed

## NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION

"General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan reaffirmed the commitment of the USSR and the USA to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and their interest in strengthening together with other countries the non-proliferation regime, and in further enhancing the effectiveness of the Treaty, inter alia by enlarging its membership.

They note with satisfaction the overall positive results of the recent Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

The USSR and the USA reaffirm their commitment, assumed by them under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to pursue negotiations in good faith on matters of nuclear arms limitation and disarmament in accordance with Article VI of the Treaty.

The two Sides plan to continue to promote the strengthening of the International Atomic Energy Agency and to support the activities of the Agency in implementing safeguards as well as in promoting the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

They view positively the practice of regular Soviet-US consultations on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons which have been businesslike and constructive and express their intent to continue this practice in the future."

## CHEMICAL WEAPONS

In the context of discussing security problems, the two sides reaffirmed that they are in favor of a general and complete prohibition of chemical weapons and the destruction of existing stockpiles of such weapons. They agreed to accelerate efforts to conclude an effective and verifiable international convention on this matter.

The two sides agreed to intensify bilateral discussions on the level of experts on all aspects of such a chemical weapons ban, including the question of verification. They agreed to initiate a dialogue on preventing the proliferation of chemical weapons.

MBFR

The two sides emphasized the importance they attach to the Vienna (MBFR) negotiations and expressed their willingness to work for positive results.



Attaching great importance to the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe and noting the progress made there, the two sides stated their intention to facilitate, together with the other participating states, an early and successful completion of the work of the conference. To this end, they reaffirmed the need for a document which would include mutually acceptable confidence and security building measures and give concrete expression and effect to the principle of non-use of force.

## PROCESS OF DIALOGUE

President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev agreed on the need to place on a regular basis and intensify dialogue at various levels. Along with meetings between the leaders of the two countries, this envisages regular meetings between the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs and the U.S. Secretary of State, as well as between the heads of other Ministries and Agencies. They agree that the recent visits of the heads of Ministries and Departments in such fields as agriculture, housing and protection of the environment have been useful.

Recognizing that exchanges of views on regional issues on the expert level have proven useful, they agreed to continue such exchanges on a regular basis. They also agreed that regional issues would be addressed at the meetings of Foreign Ministers.

The sides intend to expand the programs of bilateral cultural, educational and scientific-technical exchanges, and also to develop trade and economic ties. The President of the United States and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU attended the signing of the Agreement on Contacts and Exchanges in Scientific, Educational and Cultural Fields.

They agreed on the importance of resolving humanitarian cases in the spirit of cooperation.

They believe that there should be greater understanding among our peoples and that to this end they will encourage and permit greater travel and people-to-people contact.

## NORTHERN PACIFIC AIR SAFETY

The two leaders also noted with satisfaction that, in cooperation with the Government of Japan, the United States and the Soviet Union have agreed to a set of measures to promote safety on air routes in the North Pacific and have worked out steps to implement them.

## CIVIL AVIATION/CONSULATES

They acknowledged that delegations from the United States and the Soviet Union have begun negotiations aimed at resumption of air services. The two leaders expressed their desire to reach a mutually beneficial agreement at an early date. In this regard, an agreement was reached on the simultaneous opening of Consulates General in New York and Kiev.

## ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

Both sides agreed to contribute to the preservation of the environment -- a global task -- through joint research and practical measures. In accordance with the existing US-Soviet agreement in this area, consultations will be held next year in Moscow and Washington on specific programs of cooperation.

## EXCHANGE INITIATIVES

The two leaders agreed on the utility of broadening exchanges and contacts including some of their new forms in a number of scientific, educational, medical and sports fields (inter alia, cooperation in the development of educational exchanges and software for elementary and secondary school instruction; measures to promote Russian language studies in the United States and English language studies in the USSR; the annual exchange of professors to conduct special courses in history, culture and economics at the relevant departments of Soviet and American institutions of higher education; mutual allocation of scholarships for the best students in the natural sciences, technology, social sciences, and humanities for the period of an academic year; holding regular meets in various sports and increased television coverage of sports events). The two sides agreed to resume cooperation in combatting cancer diseases.

The relevant agencies in each of the countries are being instructed to develop specific programs for these exchanges. The resulting programs will be reviewed by the leaders at their next meeting.

## FUSION RESEARCH

The two leaders emphasized the potential importance of the work aimed at utilizing controlled thermonuclear fusion for peaceful purposes and, in this connection, advocated the widest practicable development of international cooperation in obtaining this source of energy, which is essentially inexhaustible, for the benefit of all mankind.