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THE WHITE HOUSE  
Office of the Press Secretary  
(Geneva, Switzerland)

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PRESS BRIEFINGS  
BY  
LARRY SPEAKES

November 20, 1985

Press Filing Center  
The Hotel Intercontinental

6:17 P.M. (L)

MR. SPEAKES: I will read a statement, if I can have your attention, that summarizes the situation at present. Then I will go back into detail as far as times of meetings and sub-meetings that have taken place today. And then it will be followed by your questions. I will not give any specifics, as usual, but I will give this overview which has been agreed to by my counterpart of the Soviet side.

The leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union and their advisors met for three hours this afternoon for further discussions on a number of major issues that have been the subject of talks at the summit here in Geneva for the past two days. During the afternoon good progress was made but some work remains to be done. The two leaders have asked a working group of their advisers to continue their discussions and report to the two leaders at dinner at the President's residence this evening.

Among the issues under review is the manner and content of the report on the summit by the United States and the Soviet Union. There are broad areas of agreement and other areas on which further discussions must take place. The group will report at dinner on their discussions, reporting on areas of agreement and issues that remain to be decided. The President and the General Secretary will make final decisions.

The United States is committed to finding areas of agreement and seeks progress in improving understanding. We are dedicated to this end.

End of statement. If you will listen closely, please, on the times because they are complicated and you will confuse your colleagues if you ask too many questions.

Q Go slowly.

At 2:25 p.m., the President arrives Soviet Mission; 2:29 p.m. the two leaders begin one-on-one session; 2:43 p.m., the two leaders conclude one-on-one session -- fourteen minutes. At 2:43 p.m. the larger group begins a session. At 3:30 p.m., the larger group recesses session -- forty-seven minutes before the recess. At 3:30 p.m. the President and General Secretary Gorbachev begin a one-on-one in a stand-up fashion with interpreters in the Grand Hall of the Soviet Mission. While this continued for a period of ninety minutes or so --

Q Ninety?

MR. SPEAKES: Ninety -- nine, zero minutes -- I'll come to the time in a minute -- the groups of their advisors, including Secretary Shultz, Bud McFarlane, Don Regan, and others that had participated in the talks, moved out of the Soviet compound up the street to the United States Mission. At the United States Mission a

MORE

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meeting had been taking place during the early part of the afternoon between U.S. and Soviet experts on the topics of discussion, working on areas of agreement. The group that was meeting at the U.S. Mission split up and went to their respective embassies -- the United States group, of course, remaining at their embassy, and the Soviet group going to their Mission.

They reported on their current status to the group of advisers in both embassies. At 4:15 p.m. Secretary Shultz and the others returned to the Soviet Mission and sat down for further discussions without the leaders. The leaders, meanwhile, had moved into a room for their discussions, and which continued over coffee.

At 5:00 p.m. the group without the leaders ended their meeting and proceeded to report to the leaders. So that was from 3:30 p.m. until 5:00 p.m. the two leaders met. And from 4:15 p.m. until 5:00 p.m. the second session of the discussion group met. At 5:03 p.m. they began reporting to the leaders. And at 5:25 p.m., they concluded their report to the leaders; the President returned to his residence.

Q What was that last figure?

Q What was the last --

MR. SPEAKES: 5:03 p.m. to 5:25 p.m. was the report of the Secretary, Foreign Minister and others to their leaders.

Questions?

Q What kind of guidance can you give us, Larry, on when you or others might be reporting to us this evening?

MR. SPEAKES: I'm certain, Lou --

Q Question?

Q Question, please.

MR. SPEAKES: What time guidance might we be reporting -- what time might we be reporting. We will report, I am sure, at the conclusion of the dinner, unless things continue further. We'll keep you posted if we're out away from here and let you know where we stand. But --

Q So are you coming back here?

MR. SPEAKES: -- I don't anticipate anything -- I can't advise you whether you should leave or not. At the moment, we're going to the reception, we're going to the dinner. Sometime during that course of the dinner, at the end of it, we'll receive a report, at which time we'll be able to -- possibly be able to report at that time.

Q Has any of the evening schedule changed? Has there been --

MR. SPEAKES: Any of the evening schedule changed? No, with the exception of the afternoon schedule, ran one hour over the allotted time. The evening schedule will proceed as we had figured.

Owen.

Q -- you identify the major issues you referred to in your opening statement?

MR. SPEAKES: No. Working within our agreement, I don't think we will be specific on issues.

Q Well, I was told that -- in one of the pool reports

there, you or someone had mentioned arms control, regional issues and bilaterals. Is that correct?

MR. SPEAKES: That's the entire group of issues, yes, that's under discussion at the summit. And you can assume --

Q That's what you mean by major issues, then --

MR. SPEAKES: Well, yes, that's the issues that are -- the major issues of the summit are those that remain under discussion and final agreements are pending.

Q I know agreements are pending on all three -- all three areas?

Q What happened to human rights?

MR. SPEAKES: Mike.

Q Do you anticipate an end to the blackout tonight?

MR. SPEAKES: It's hard to say, Mike. The --

Q What was the question, Larry?

MR. SPEAKES: An end to the blackout. I'm sorry. An end to the blackout tonight. I don't -- It's difficult to say. It depends on what the two leaders say when they see the report. We may very well come back here and say that we have a discussion, and if there's something further to report, we'll announce a time for reporting.

Q Has there been any schedule developed for the President tomorrow morning?

MR. SPEAKES: No, there has not.

Q Larry, I want to just be clear that we're not misunderstanding you. In the statement, you said there were broad areas of agreement. And a minute ago, you said that final agreements are pending. You are not limiting that to the bilateral issues that --

MR. SPEAKES: No, I've not limited in any fashion. The way to sum it up is there are a number of issues that have been discussed at the summit. On some of those issues we have agreement on how we will talk about them and what method we will use to talk; on others, we don't. Until final agreement is reached on this subject, then, the method of reporting has not been determined.

Q But is the agreement on how you will report what was discussed, or agreement on the substance of what was discussed?

MR. SPEAKES: Both of those topics remain open for discussion and final decision. That is, how we report and what we report.

Q Larry --

Q You said -- Larry, let me -- you said there are "broad areas of agreement."

MR. SPEAKES: That's true.

Q You're talking about substantive issues beyond the bilaterals, is that correct?

MR. SPEAKES: That's correct. I'm talking about the broad areas of agreement and the full range of issues. There are others within the full range of issues that remain to be decided.

Q -- other issues include arms control and regional disputes. Is that correct?

MR. SPEAKES: Well, no. The entire list of issues that we discussed here, the broad groupings of issues, those have been the topics of the summit. Those are the topics of discussion. Within some of those, some of them have been agreed on, others have not.

Q Larry --

Q Larry --

MR. SPEAKES: Yes, Helen. And then I'll work --

Q How does it go this evening? You mean that over dinner they're going to make this decision? Or are they going to go off in another meeting? Or what is the --

MR. SPEAKES: I think we have two leaders that know what they want and how they want to go about it. And I think once their advisers report to them, they'll decide whether it's appropriate to have it over the dessert course or whether to --

Q Well, I mean, will they report --

MR. SPEAKES: -- adjourn to an additional room or what.

Q -- at dinner -- during dinner? Or will --

MR. SPEAKES: That has not been determined. They could very well come in between courses -- between the soup and nuts -- or they could come in at the end of the thing.

Andrea.

Q Just to clarify, so there's no misunderstanding about what you were saying to John, were you saying that there is agreement on some issues in all of the four categories?

MR. SPEAKES: Well, I don't want to be that specific.

Q You seem to be implying that.

MR. SPEAKES: There are four major -- four categories that we have outlined. Out of all of these categories, there are some areas of agreement, and there are other areas that are not. Now, whether they are all in one or in all four or in three out of the four, I just don't want to be specific. So --

Q Larry --

Q And was there an American decision not to participate in a joint news conference? Has that already been put aside?

MR. SPEAKES: I don't know that a joint news conference was ever discussed.

Q Was it proposed by the Soviets?

MR. SPEAKES: I'm not aware of it if it has been.

Q And is it still -- is it something that has been completely ruled out as a possibility by the American side?

MR. SPEAKES: I don't know that it's been discussed.

Q Larry, could you repeat the question?

Q Are you aware that the Soviets --

MR. SPEAKES: Yes, I'll try to.

Q You're aware that the Soviets have scheduled a Gorbachev news conference --

MR. SPEAKES: Yes.

Q -- for tomorrow morning at 10:00 a.m.?

MR. SPEAKES: Right, yes.

Q That would signal the end of the news blackout for them. So, how are you going to handle that, and is that a problem for you?

MR. SPEAKES: No, it's not a problem for us. I think once the two leaders make their decisions tonight, then we will make our decisions about how we report. So, let's go.

Morton?

Q I still don't quite understand what you mean by agreement. Are you saying they have agreed on how to resolve some of the major differences or they've just agreed on what --

MR. SPEAKES: No, they have agreed on how to -- in some areas, they have agreed on how to report on their discussions here; what to report, how to report. In other areas, they have not agreed.

Q So, you're not saying that they have resolved any of the differences?

MR. SPEAKES: They are working on a way to express the results of their discussions here. That's what it amounts to.

Q But does that imply agreement or --

Q Does that mean there's no agreement on a substantive issue?

MR. SPEAKES: Well, you'll have to wait until the end of the session in which we'll report to you fully.

Q Well, what are you saying?

MR. SPEAKES: I'm not saying anything either way until the two leaders make final decisions.

Q But when you said there were broad areas of agreement, just to be precise --

MR. SPEAKES: Yes.

Q -- you meant agreement on how to report substance or you meant agreement on substance?

MR. SPEAKES: There are broad areas of agreement on what to say about their discussions here and some areas that remain for further discussion. The how of reporting -- how they will report, when they will report -- is also a subject for discussion that has not been agreed to.

Q But are you saying that there were agreements on --

MR. SPEAKES: John?

Q Well, are you saying that there are no agreements on substantive issues, not considering the bilateral --

MR. SPEAKES: I have not said.

Q Larry --

MR. SPEAKES: Let me say it one more time. Everybody tuned up here? Now, is anybody going to ask this question again tonight?

Q Yes.

Q Yes.

MR. SPEAKES: Okay. Ask it.

Q I think the problem is that in your opening statement and in some of this Q&A you have suggested that -- you were talking about broad areas of agreement on substance. That is, to use an illustration, they may have agreed on a new common approach to SDI or a new common approach to X. And now, just now --

MR. SPEAKES: I don't think the word "substance" has been contained in any of mine. They are discussing ways to report. Let me just read my statement again, and it's very clear.

Q Okay. Good idea.

Q Hold on.

Q Because I probably did miss it in the statement. It sounded like you were talking about substance. Go ahead and read it.

MR. SPEAKES: I am --

Q All right.

MR. SPEAKES: -- as soon as I find it among my writing here.

Among the issues under review are --

Q No, go back to the good progress being made, if you will, because that kind of, you know --

MR. SPEAKES: Okay.

During the afternoon, good progress was made, but some work remains to be done.

Then, picking up an adjacent paragraph: Among the issues under review is the manner and the content of their report on the summit.

Q Well, where did I get the words the manner and content on summit reports? There are broad areas of agreement --

MR. SPEAKES: There are broad areas of agreement.

Q -- and other areas that need further discussion.

MR. SPEAKES: That's right. On the manner and content of their report on the summit. It refers back to --

Q -- you're right. I missed it. Forgive me.

MR. SPEAKES: Okay.

Anybody else got questions on that subject?

Q Yes, I do.

Q Larry --

MR. SPEAKES: Leo! I could have guessed it. Go.

Q In answer to a question, whether the earlier agreement was limited solely to bilaterals, you did say, no --

MR. SPEAKES: That's right.

Q -- which seemed to be an indication that on substantive matters they have reached agreement going beyond bilaterals?

MR. SPEAKES: No, Leo.

Q So, it's all strictly on the reporting?

MR. SPEAKES: They're reporting on the manner -- they're talking about what they have discussed here, Leo.

Q Okay.

MR. SPEAKES: Got it?

Q I've got it.

Q Larry --

MR. SPEAKES: Anybody else hurting on this?

Q Yes --

Q Are you saying that they're working on a communique on this?

Q Larry, let me ask you one question only, just one --

MR. SPEAKES: Okay. One question on this.

Q Are you saying, then, that -- you're not saying one way or the other whether they have reached any agreement on how to solve any of the problems before them?

MR. SPEAKES: What I am saying is that there have been discussions on a variety of topics here at the summit. These people are working on how we will report it and what we will say about the discussions here. Now, I did not answer the question about what kind of agreements have been reached.

Q Anybody else hurting now on that? You hurting on that? Okay.

Q Can you rule out for us the kinds of ways they might report that they have already rejected, to give us some sense of where you're going?

MR. SPEAKES: Nope, I can't help Jack out tonight. Sorry.

Q Well, this is on another related topic. When the advisers reported to the two leaders, did they report together -- Soviet and Americans -- together to the two leaders?

MR. SPEAKES: I will describe the room to you if you would like.

Q No. Well, what want to know is --

MR. SPEAKES: I will describe the situation to you. It



may be helpful.

Q Did Shevardnadze report to Reagan?

MR. SPEAKES: Let me tell you. Wait a minute -- if you'll stop, I'll tell you. It was a room of about fifteen feet by thirty feet. The two leaders had been meeting there seated on couches drinking coffee. The coffee cups remained, and finger sandwiches. The walls were covered in green silk. The furniture was covered in gold and brown upholstery.

The two leaders stood when the groups walked in -- both groups of both sides, led by Secretary Shultz and the Foreign Minister. They stood before their leaders. Secretary Shultz gave a summary of their discussions and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze added some things, and agreed. The two leaders then discussed it among themselves and then agreed that the groups would then proceed separately while dinner was going on.

The General Secretary escorted the President from the room and to his car and said goodbye with a handshake, and they left.

Q And the two groups remained while the two leaders discussed among themselves the report that Mr. Shultz gave them?

MR. SPEAKES: That's right. There were probably thirty people in the room when that took place.

Q May I follow on that, please?

MR. SPEAKES: Yes.

Q When you said that the two leaders then agreed that they would go and discuss -- the groups would discuss this during dinner, who will be in the discussions during dinner? Will it be the Foreign Minister and the Secretary --

Q Question?

MR. SPEAKES: What will the level of discussions be? It will be -- our group will be headed by Assistant Secretary Ridgway and there will be others that have been involved -- the experts that come from Defense, State, and NSC will be involved. On the Soviet side --

Q Will Nitze participate on the American side?

MR. SPEAKES: I don't know. I presume he will, but we'll see.

Q Larry, if you fail to reach agreement tonight on whatever it is you are trying to agree on, will the talks continue perhaps through tomorrow or will they end regardless of the progress?

MR. SPEAKES: The key to your question, Pat, is if, and I don't answer if questions. We'll cross that bridge when we get to it.

Q But you've said in the past, Larry, that there is going to be nothing tomorrow beyond the reporting process. Are you standing by what you said earlier, that there won't be more meetings between --

MR. SPEAKES: No, Andrea, you're misquoting me once again. I did not say that. I said there is nothing on the President's schedule for tomorrow morning. That remains the truth at this very moment.

Q Well, the questions earlier were whether you would

expect another plenary tomorrow, and you said, no, that that was not expected, but that the rest of the President's schedule was still to be determined.

MR. SPEAKES: Whatever I said on it, I said I was speculating and I would still be speculating if I speculated on tomorrow morning. The schedule has not been developed for tomorrow.

Q Clearly the adjective "businesslike" would appear to apply to the afternoon session. Are there any others that you can use? Go as far as you can.

MR. SPEAKES: No, I think that's very good.

Q I hope I am not asking something you have answered already --

MR. SPEAKES: I do, too, but I won't dump on you if you are.

Q -- but these experts that are doing the paperwork, are they -- any of them people who have been at the table?

MR. SPEAKES: Some are, yes. Nitze was one name mentioned here.

Q Okay. Are any of them legal experts?

MR. SPEAKES: I would presume --

Q What was the question?

MR. SPEAKES: Are any of these people legal experts? I would presume the legal expertise --

Q The legal counsel in the State Department?

MR. SPEAKES: I don't know. I don't know all the faces from the State Department, so I don't know who all would be there, Barry, but I'm sure --

Q Are there lawyers in there writing legal documents?

MR. SPEAKES: I don't know. Barry?

Q Larry, I just want to take one more shot at this if I can. Could you just answer two questions?

MR. SPEAKES: Yes.

Q Have any substantive agreements been reached? Apart from the how-to-report?

MR. SPEAKES: Have any substantive agreements been reached? I would prefer to leave it in the words as I stated it.

Q Larry, earlier today Mr. Zamyatin said that this summit could be a beginning in the American-Soviet relationship. That suggests that he seems to be buying President Reagan's idea that a fresh start can be made. Do you find that encouraging?

MR. SPEAKES: That --

Q Question?

MR. SPEAKES: Does Zamyatin appear to be buying the fresh start statement that we made based on what he said earlier? I can't pass judgment on what is going on in Mr. Zamyatin's mind or the mind of his associates. We remain hopeful that this is the start of a process of better understanding between the United States and the

Soviets.

So, Owen, I'm running overdue. I've got to help some other people.

Q If you could clarify once more from your statement at the beginning. You had said during the afternoon good progress was made. The good progress -- did that refer to solving any of these major issues in dispute or in understanding any of these issues in dispute, or were you referring to the manner on -- at the reporting results?

MR. SPEAKES: Good progress refers to manner and content. That's the question and the answer all in one.

Q Larry, you mentioned that there were about thirty people in the room when they reported to the President and General Secretary. We have, as I understand it, seven main participants on each side. Who were the rest of them?

MR. SPEAKES: They had been joined, Don, by others. For instance, on our side Perle had come in, Nitze had come in, Roz Ridgway had come in -- some of the people that were involved in the discussions that were taking place at the U.S. Mission.

Q Could you get us a list of who they were?

MR. SPEAKES: I don't think so.

Q Larry, with regard to the experts who were working at the U.S. Mission, can you tell us, first, when they went to work? Can you tell us whether they worked overnight? Can you tell us whose idea it was to have the parallel discussions?

MR. SPEAKES: They did work last night very late. They did meet -- I'm not sure whether they met this morning -- they met this afternoon. I don't know the times -- the running times on it.

Q With regard to how this parallel process got started, was that a mutual decision?

MR. SPEAKES: I'm sure it was, yes. I don't know whether it was something agreed upon by the leaders or whatever. Let me go way on the far corner. There we go.

Q Could I get a list --

Q -- verification on one point?

MR. SPEAKES: Yes.

Q -- Sunday, but let me try to go back over this. When somebody says that the subjects were bilateral, regional, and -- you quickly said that's the whole range of subjects.

MR. SPEAKES: No, I didn't say that was. I said "the whole range."

Q I'm sorry, sir, that's what you said. Later on you said there are four subjects. My question is whether human rights is still a separate subject?

MR. SPEAKES: You can assume that the United States, for its part, has discussed all of the issues that we laid out in advance of this meeting during the course of the last two days.

Where are we? Nelson.

Q I wanted to try to fine-tune and oil there a little bit there.

MR. SPEAKES: That's --

Q Well, it's not fine-tuning. I'm still -- I'm confused. You used the content. Does content mean something different from substance of agreement?

MR. SPEAKES: No. Let me see if I can find other words to describe that. It simply means that the two leaders have had two days of discussions. During the course of those discussions they have covered many topics. They are looking for a way to tell the -- to speak about the content of their discussions and a method to bring it to the public -- how we do it -- a venue.

Q Why such a difficulty?

Q Larry, you seem to be implying that there's going to be one statement --

MR. SPEAKES: Let me go to Candy. I promised to work here.

Q Let me just ask you, on matters of substance, the subject is closed -- is that correct? They have either agreed or they have agreed to disagree.

MR. SPEAKES: I just don't want to be specific on that. We're looking for ways to report on our range of topics that have been discussed here at the summit. You got it, Sam?

Q I got it finally.

Q But the thing is that then, you know, you're saying they are talking about process now -- how to report and what to say in it.

MR. SPEAKES: That's right.

Q Okay. That much I get. What I am trying to figure out is, they are trying to report on something, but yet you say it is not -- you never mentioned the word "substance," so the subject matters, the issues are closed one way or the other?

MR. SPEAKES: They're reporting on what they talked about.

Q Right.

MR. SPEAKES: That's as simple as I can figure it out.

Do we have any volunteers to come up here and try their hand at it?

Let me -- I promised to work over here, so let's go here.

Q Does that mean that the two leaders have stopped negotiating on the substance as of now and -- they're just discussing the ways they will brief -- whatever news they want to bring?

MR. SPEAKES: Well, they have a dinner schedule tonight and once the dinner begins then it's -- each side has an opportunity to bring up whatever they wish. Once the group reports, if there are outstanding issues for the two leaders to decide, they will go back and forth if they so desire. It is an open ball game here.

Q Larry, were they, late last night and today discussing substance, negotiating or already discussing ways to report the news?

MR. SPEAKES: Probably both.

Q Larry, you said in that opening statement, this manner and content on the report on the summit is among the issues under review. What else are they reviewing -- what other issues are under review?

MR. SPEAKES: What other issues are under review? The content of their discussions is --

Q You said, among issues under review are the manner and content of the report on the summit. That's among the issues. What other issues are they talking about?

MR. SPEAKES: When you discuss the content of a report, within the content of the report are a number of different subjects. Within the different subjects are different issues. Have we --

Q Larry --

MR. SPEAKES: Lesley wants it, and then I'm going to the far right.

Q You keep saying content of a report. Do you mean to tell us that there will be one statement?

MR. SPEAKES: That has not been decided.

Q Is it possible?

MR. SPEAKES: Everything is possible. The full range of options is possible.

Q Are you trying to -- is the whole point that you are working very hard to put out a single statement that both of them have agreed to? Isn't that what you're trying to tell us here? It seems to be over --

MR. SPEAKES: Yes, we could put out a joint statement if that's what the two leaders desire. They may --

Q Well, is that what they working for? Is that what they're trying so hard for?

MR. SPEAKES: They may decide not to do that once the two leaders look at it --

Q Are they trying hard to do that?

MR. SPEAKES: We're working on a way and a content of the reporting. If they do it jointly, that's one way. If they do it separately, that's another way. If they do it in separate locations, that's another way. There are many options.

Q But you seem to be indicating that all this hard work and bringing them together means that they are continuing at least to try to put out a single statement.

MR. SPEAKES: They're considering a number of ways of reporting on the summit. That's among them.

Q Well, what are they working so hard for?

MR. SPEAKES: That's among them.

Let me go here.

Q Is what you're saying that they disagree on a manner

--

MR. SPEAKES: You're going to have to be quiet in the back or leave the room. Those who talk should talk outside.

Q Can you tell us where the difference lies? Are there objections to a joint appearance, are there objections to different statements --

MR. SPEAKES: Won't go into the content.

George?

Q Larry, to clarify your answer to Andy's question, did the working group of experts have any meetings before yesterday or did all this start yesterday?

MR. SPEAKES: I think it started yesterday. I'm not sure.

Rick, you just got here. You'll have to wait your turn. Colonel?

Q Will you or any official of the United States government come back in the --

MR. SPEAKES: I'm going to clear the back of the room if you can't be quiet because if I misunderstand a question and give a misstatement, then we've got problems. So those of you who don't have business in here, the door's straight in the back. Find it as quickly as possible.

Colonel.

Q Will you or somebody from the United States government come back into this room this evening and give us a status report?

MR. SPEAKES: We will --

Q Question.

MR. SPEAKES: Status report, will somebody come back this afternoon. I would judge, yes, but it could be a written report that simply says that -- announces something. That's the best I can do.

Bob?

Q have you determined how the two leaders are addressing one another?

MR. SPEAKES: They are addressing one another -- or were as of noon when I talked to the President -- by their respective titles, General Secretary and Mr. President.

Johanna.

Q Larry, when we first arrived -- when the leaders first started talking, the first thing they agreed on was to have a news blackout. And now you seem to be suggesting that the bulk of today's discussion was how to report. Are you meaning to leave the impression that the bulk of this summit was about how to manage the press?

MR. SPEAKES: No. (Laughter.) There are two things -- how to report and what to report. What to report has been the larger portion than the how to report. I'd rate them about like so.

So, okay, next to Rick and then Rick.

Q Is the news blackout over?

MR. SPEAKES: As I said before I began my statement, the Soviet Union and the United States have agreed to lift the curtain on the blackout to tell you what is going on but not to deal with substance, and that's what I've done.

Rick?

Q Larry, before we came here, you ruled out the idea of a joint communique. Are you now saying that that could happen, and if so, what's happened to change that?

Q That's right.

MR. SPEAKES: Rick, there -- you get into semantics then of whether a joint communique, joint statements, statements by leaders, or whatever.

Q Well, it was pretty negative on the joint anything before we came here. Has that changed, and if so, why?

MR. SPEAKES: As I say, among the things of discussion are the manner in which we report, and that would fall under the heading of the manner in which we report.

Johnny?

Q Are government officials -- U.S. government officials free as of this point to talk to us, or --

MR. SPEAKES: No.

Q -- that embargo continues?

MR. SPEAKES: That embargo continues with the exception of this agreed-upon language.

Q Until there is a decision by the two leaders?

MR. SPEAKES: That's right, and the two leaders could say tonight, you know, let's wait until tomorrow to do something.

So -- Carl.

Q Clarification on the experts who have been separately meeting. Have the U.S. and Russian experts been meeting together, or have just been the U.S. --

MR. SPEAKES: Together -- together. They met together today, and yes, they met together last night.

So -- yes, sir.

Q You were going to say something about the composition of the Soviet group, I think, when you were interrupted.

MR. SPEAKES: No, I think I paused and said I would let the Soviets talk about it because I honestly don't know.

Annette.

Q Who was dealing with regional issues at a lower level?

MR. SPEAKES: Regional issues? Who would that be -- it would be -- regional issues, Ed? I guess that would be the various people involved -- Roz Ridgway for the most part --

MR. DJEREJIAN: -- the Secretary.

MR. SPEAKES: -- but there are others that are beneath the Secretary level that are experts in the various areas; I don't know their names.

Q Murphy?

MR. SPEAKES: Let me work the back. Yes.

Q Larry, you said a little earlier the two leaders know what they want and how they want it. Which do they disagree over, what they want or how they want it?

MR. SPEAKES: Well, I think once they see what their advisers recommend to them and if there are differences between the two -- two groups, U.S. and Soviet, then the two leaders will discuss that and see if they can come to some resolution at the summit, so to speak.

Q Larry.

MR. SPEAKES: Helen.

Q Did the leaders ever meet with these experts to tell them which way they want it to go?

MR. SPEAKES: That has been -- the experts are working from the direction given by the leaders over the past two days.

Q How? At the luncheons and the morning meetings?

MR. SPEAKES: Many of them, Roz Ridgway for instance, Paul Nitze, were both involved in the discussions, so they know what the two leaders have directed.

So -- Pat.

Q Larry, the advisers present their final version to the leaders this evening. I'm under the impression it could be decided this evening at dinner or after dinner. But you said it's likely that you'll only have a page -- something written here later tonight. Could you brief -- if they agree tonight, could you brief -- would you brief tonight?

MR. SPEAKES: If they agree tonight, could I brief tonight on what they agree. They may, in their agreement, agree to report tomorrow, so I will be bound by what they agree to do.

Q If they --

MR. SPEAKES: I will announce that if that's what they agree.

Q Tonight.

MR. SPEAKES: I will announce that they've agreed to -- how they are going to report.

Mike.

Q Yes. When it -- whatever and whenever the outcome, would you caution people against having high expectations for the results of the summit? Is that what you're trying to tell us?

MR. SPEAKES: No, I'm simply stating matters as they stand at the moment.

Q What -- should we have high expectations, or low expectations? How do you feel about it?

MR. SPEAKES: How do I feel about it?



Q You've told us for weeks what our expectations should be.

MR. SPEAKES: How do I feel about it, Mike asked. You know, I've never been surprised about anything that happens as long as I've had this job, one way or the other.

Q How about, are you happy?

MR. SPEAKES: Am I happy? I'm always happy.

Q Good. (Laughter.)

MR. SPEAKES: So -- New York Times. Bernie.

Q Have you been -- has the U.S. been informed about Gorbachev's press conference, and what is our reaction to it?

MR. SPEAKES: Gorbachev's press conference -- have we been informed? I don't know that we have been formally and officially in the sessions informed. I did not ask Zamyatin about it this afternoon.

Q Do we have any reaction to this?

MR. SPEAKES: No, we don't. I mean, that's certainly within his prerogative.

Rick.

Q I don't quite understand how that fits with the leaders working out how to report. Gorbachev has clearly decided that one way he's going to report is to have a press conference. Is the President going to have a press conference?

MR. SPEAKES: The President decided one way he -- two ways. He will report it to NATO leaders -- 15 or 16 of them -- and we have a list of them that we will release to you for tomorrow, and to the United States Congress and the American people. That's two ways he'll report.

Q But here in Geneva will he have -- report as well?

MR. SPEAKES: That hasn't been determined by the President.

So -- yes?

Q There is a report that U.S. authorities have asked for one hour of time on World Television Network tomorrow morning at 9:00 a.m. Can you confirm or deny it?

MR. SPEAKES: Report is incorrect.

Okay -- Johanna.

Q Have any -- have the plans changed in terms of how the speech will be written on the plane going to Belgium -- going to the States?

MR. SPEAKES: No. Hasn't, no, sure don't.

Q Larry, were any members of the actual arms negotiating team present?

MR. SPEAKES: Of the actual arms negotiating team in the sessions this afternoon?

Q In any of the working -- lower level working

sessions.

MR. SPEAKES: Nitze and Perle, who are two arms experts -- whether there are any members of the team in there --

Q Kampleman, Tower.

MR. SPEAKES: Kampleman, Tower. I do not know whether they were in the working group -- they did not come back to the Soviet embassy where I stayed.

Okay, we're getting pretty low on questions. Let me go right there -- the man with a carnation.

Q Can I go back to this afternoon, Mr. Speakes.

MR. SPEAKES: You can't.

Q -- experts were concerned with manner and content. Was the period of 90 minutes which the two leaders spent together devoted entirely to matters of substance?

MR. SPEAKES: I'm sure over an hour and a half their topics ranged far and wide. What they discussed specifically, I don't know. I talked to the President briefly about it. He said simply to say that their discussions from previous days and today continued.

Q So they were not discussing matter and content? They were on substantive issues?

MR. SPEAKES: I don't know.

Q On the note-takers --

MR. SPEAKES: May have done both.

Q Did you ever decide how the --

MR. SPEAKES: Note-takers, yes. Note-takers. In the private sessions with the President there are no note-takers, they're interpreters. The interpretation is consecutive. The President speaks, then it's interpreted; Gorbachev speaks and then it's interpreted. Only present are the interpreters. There is, as I have stated, in our belief, an adequate historical political diplomatic record of what the two leaders discussed, we're confident of that.

Q How is that?

MR. SPEAKES: Once again, we're confident of it and I'll let it stay at that.

Q Is it a secret?

MR. SPEAKES: I'll let it stay there.

Q Did the interpreters take notes?

Q Is it a secret?

MR. SPEAKES: Is it a secret?

Q Yes.

MR. SPEAKES: I don't think you know what went on in the other sessions.

Q Well, are there tape recorders?

MR. SPEAKES: A lot of people don't know what went on in

this briefing today. (Laughter.)

Q Are there tape recorders?

Q That may be true, but what -- you say you are confident that there is a historical record?

MR. SPEAKES: Yes, I am.

Q But you won't say why you are confident?

MR. SPEAKES: We just don't go into details about how we report.

Q Well, are there tape recorders, Larry?

Q Did the interpreters take notes, Larry?

MR. SPEAKES: There are no tape recorders.

Q Did the interpreters take notes, Larry?

MR. SPEAKES: So, Owen?

Q The experts began meeting when, Larry? When did you say?

MR. SPEAKES: Pardon?

Q When did the experts begin meeting?

MR. SPEAKES: Sometime yesterday, I believe, Owen. I don't know of any sessions on Monday, but I'll -- I would have to check that.

Q And did they talk --

Q Are you saying --

Q -- did they talk substance? I never got that clear from you -- or were they talking about --

MR. SPEAKES: You -- everybody's talked substance here. Mike?

Q Are you protecting your sources, Larry?

Q Larry, could you just clarify one point about the recess? When the recess was announced and the advisers left the Soviet mission, did both the American and the Soviet advisers go to the U.S. mission?

MR. SPEAKES: No, they were assembled at the Soviet mission -- the expert level. The Roz Ridgway group and the Soviet counterpart were at the U.S. Embassy. Discussions were taking place at the Soviet Mission.

Q Helen.

MR. SPEAKES: Once things broke, then the U.S. -- the remainder of the U.S. delegation except for the President went over to here from the U.S. people at the U.S. Embassy. The Soviet group came back to their --

Q What are some --

Q Larry, you -- does the President stand ready to meet with Mr. Gorbachev again tomorrow?

MR. SPEAKES: I think the two leaders would decide that tonight and I'd let them say how they feel.

Q So, that's open as a possibility?

MR. SPEAKES: Once again, you take iffy questions or possibility questions --

Q -- question. I just asked if --

MR. SPEAKES: -- it's sort of a refuse to rule out anything's possible, but --

Q No, no, Larry. What I mean is --

MR. SPEAKES: Yes.

Q -- the President has a schedule and there's some flexibility in it, but as you present the situation to us, we really don't know how much work these experts have to do -- how much has to be resolved. So it really isn't an iffy question. Is the President open to continuing his talks with Mr. Gorbachev tomorrow?

MR. SPEAKES: I would let the President make that decision when the report comes to him and the two leaders will decide whether they need to talk further.

Q -- ask you a fine point. Is there any area -- at least, you talk about four areas -- is there any area which -- in which all that's there to be -- all that's to be said has been said? Has any area been sealed from further discussion?

MR. SPEAKES: I just don't want to go into that -- to break that --

Q Larry, coming into this meeting administration officials said repeatedly that the chemistry between Reagan and Gorbachev would have a determining factor upon what happened here. A, can you tell us about what the chemistry is and how is it contributed to any progress that has been made?

MR. SPEAKES: For two leaders who have spent well in excess of four hours alone talking, I would think the chemistry would be very good between the two -- for a method of communicating, two men, two leaders who can communicate with each other. They have spent more time -- I think if time is totalled up in private one-on-one sessions than they have spent with their advisers in attendance.

So -- Jack?

Q And how --

Q What's the earliest possible time there'll be another briefing by you or anybody else on this?

MR. SPEAKES: Jack, I would guess that it would be following the dinner, which is at 10:00 p.m., roughly, I believe ending, so --

Q So we count on leaving and not missing a briefing not if you don't get back at 10:00 p.m.?

MR. SPEAKES: I can't guarantee that. I just cannot guarantee that. If you gonna cover the summit, you gotta stay at the summit.

Q Larry --

Q I'm talking about going to a work space.

MR. SPEAKES: Pardon.

Q I'm talking about going to a work space away from here to write.

MR. SPEAKES: Send Eleanor down here to stand by.

Q Larry, is the interpreters --

MR. SPEAKES: Hire a Swiss national to stay here for you.

Q Larry, is the interpreter the President's using the same one he used for the interview with the Soviet journalist?

MR. SPEAKES: He rotates.

Q What?

MR. SPEAKES: That is one of them. Same interpreter, yes, with the Soviet journalist, yes.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

6:58 P.M. (L)