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Summary for 26-a
Coyne memo
Seaga - South Carolina
Textiles
what leads?

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 16, 1984

Debate 2 or 3 Oct
2nd 16-17

meeting with
Leadership
on Tues?

meeting on Hill
Monday PM
all GOP

Bush
on vacation

plan
for meeting
S. Barbo

7/14 over

NR on Drug

NOTE FOR MICHAEL K. DEEVER

SUBJECT: FOLLOW-UP RE BAKER-DEEVER-DARMAN-SPENCER
MEETING OF 7/16/84

Per our conversation, the following notes what the four
of us tentatively sketched out:

- July 24 : evening press conference with kick-off
of campaign-against-the-House
("CATHOUSE")
- July 25 : day trip to N.J. (CATHOUSE)
- July 26-27 : trip to Georgia and Texas (CATHOUSE)
- July 28 : California/Olympics/ranch as planned
- August 20-22: "3 days to Dallas"--Ohio, Illinois
(blue collar events); Iowa/Missouri
(farm/fair events)
- August 22-24: Convention
- August 24 : Chicago for VFW
- August 27-31: Thoughtful speeches on education;
high tech/R&D; families; soft crime;
aging
- September 3 : Anaheim campaign kick-off speech
- September 4 : American Legion speech (Salt Lake)
- September 6 : televised economic speech (anniversary
of Sept. 9, 1980)
- Later in
September: UNGA speech

We will begin developing speeches. Please keep me posted
on actual schedule. Thanks.

Dick

Richard G. Darman

PLANI. GENERAL COMMENTS

- The key strategic concept is to dominate the issues. This is highly desirable; clearly worth affirming and trying to do. But note:
 - (a) it will only be feasible if we are both lucky and highly disciplined;
 - (b) its value, beyond controlling the agenda, depends importantly on choosing the right issues for the right constituencies in the right way at the right time. (The plan does not provide the rationale on these points -- it is presumably available orally.)
- Beyond "dominating the issues," the strategy emphasizes:
 - (a) using the umbrella theme of "leadership";
 - (b) reminding re Carter-Mondale;
 - (c) being believable, upbeat, but not overoptimistic;
 - (d) establishing vision;
 - (e) emphasizing benefits to the entire country;
 - (f) building a coalition around 1980 -- with extra support from the 18-24 group and from suburban ticket-splitters -- but with a key constituency of "middle income working people."

Elements (a) through (e) seem right, even if now part of the conventional wisdom; (f) would seem to merit discussion with the planners -- in light of data, and in relation to the issues. (It is not entirely clear which constituency groups are to get emphasis when; and it is not clear how the issue strategy relates to the constituency strategy -- especially re the young and ticket-splitters.)

II. MISCELLANEOUS PARTICULARS (IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE IN TEXT)

- (1) Is a "new offensive of balanced budget amendment" (p. 3) intended to go beyond the Truman-style attack on Congress? In the short-term it is probably best to emphasize the bottled-up "House" (not Congress) more than the balanced budget -- and to have the balanced budget amendment be just one among several examples (as proposed). We should not focus on the Senate -- because the Senate would embarrass us by failing to act, or worse, getting bogged down on a host of troublesome amendments. We should probably not now focus exclusively on the balanced budget because it unnecessarily raises the deficit issue without credibly dealing with it. (Note: The timing of the President's involvement in the anti-House push would better be before he goes to the ranch. There will be no credible telephoning to be done from the ranch.)

- (2) Does the plan mean to suggest that mutual assured destruction is not a deterrent and that deterrence is not the key to survival until "star wars" is here (next century). If so, this is a major change in the Administration's position (p. 3). (This needs to be drafted with care.)

- (3) "Peace through strength" is ^{*Prepared for Peace*} a good slogan, even if hackneyed. What do we think of adding -- with care -- the thought that weakness is a threat to peace.

- Supporting Companies — High Tech Companies*
- (4) What specifically is meant under the international trade heading (p. 4)? The plan recommends greater use of Bill Brock. Much of what he recommends is unpopular in key states (free trade). Much of the rest is inconsistent with the President's current program (he favors raising taxes to close the deficit -- and sounds like Feldstein in discussing deficits, interest rates, the dollar, etc.). Note: It is probably better to highlight trade potential with artful use of symbols (visiting export industries and high tech plants) than it is to count on substantive policy declarations.

- (5) The "secondary themes" idea is important -- but must be done right.

-- The subjects need to be consistent with the objective of seeming thoughtful and forward-looking. The selection on page 5 is much more traditionalist -- and needs to be complemented with a more forward orientation.

-- In the same way, the subjects need to be made consistent with the constituency analysis. (What's here, for example, for ticket-splitters and younger voters? Don't we have an opportunity also with olders that should lead us to do something on aging?)

-- Doesn't the whole thing have to come as one tight, well-ordered block, rather than two fragmented pieces (back-up p. 3)?

- (6) What exactly is intended to be done with respect to each of the areas of "innoculation" (p. 5)? Yes, these are areas of vulnerability. But: The earlier Spencer plan emphasized a wholly different -- less defensive -- set of topics for inoculation. That seemed right. What happened to that? It had the virtue of going on the offensive.

(Note: The Spencer inoculation emphasized that "Democrats have hurt national security; hurt the poor; hurt peace and freedom; and hurt families.")

- (7) The farmer-blue-collar emphasis of convention week seems right. Might want to add high tech, too. (back-up p. 2).
- (8) The September 9 speech is too thin with just these two economic initiatives (the tax one being abstract, the budget one being old by then). This requires further discussion.
- (9) The "Peace through strength" section needs more work. UNGA speech is good idea -- content is, of course, key. Vienna idea may not be workable. "World trade" notions still seem to be just that. (See comments above.) Darman tour idea should be revisited. (Even though it may seem risky, it's entirely consistent with the dominate-the-agenda concept.)
- (10) Overall: In light of the Ferraro nomination -- and whatever sophisticated polling analysis we may get on this -- it seems worth considering whether we might have some special opportunities: Could an early and strong blue-collar, industrial state blitz really put this thing away? Is there a serious chance to get back older voters? If we got these (and the South and West) under good control early, could we then go for a big win by seeking to cut into the yuppies?

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

We need to establish the framework to guide campaign and Administration planning for the next four months. The most important element of the entire campaign is what the President and Administration do and say. The campaign can soften or amplify Administration statements and actions, but cannot change the direction they establish. White House, Administration, and campaign actions need to be closely coordinated. This is particularly important as our advertising begins.

We are suggesting that issue-cycles be developed now to control the agenda of the campaign. An issue-cycle is a predetermined period in the campaign when all resources are concentrated on the same themes. This allows the President and campaign to have a major impact on public perception of the issues as we prolonged exposure. The cycles we propose are timed around events which present opportunities, and allow us to avoid ad-hoc planning.

The plan is flexible and subject to change, but establishes a framework for considered and deliberate modification. We propose the following major cycles:

- o Attack on congressional inaction, particularly concerning economic issues
- o Agriculture and industrial stops building toward the convention
- o In-depth speeches on secondary issues with a strong future orientation
- o Campaign kick-off and a two-week period concentrating on economic accomplishments and major economic initiatives for the second term
- o Foreign policy and world peace with an international trade and competitiveness dimension building toward the debates
- o A second series of in-depth speeches during the time of the debates

Attached is an overview of the themes and issues, a preliminary calendar of the issue-cycles, and summaries of the themes and concept for each cycle.

orig. JAB
tax budget on: ① funding / under Bill?
② borrowing money more cheaply abroad + borrowing cheaper here?
(Sup. bill or Tax package)

Balanced-Budget Trip

Working Document

① Weaknesses
pages 2-5

② Unseen - to date
an

③ Issue - logical
plan that ~~emphasizes~~
emphasizes our
strengths:

Realize we can't
can't do things.
But campaign
advertising + WH
activity all
start out in
same dir. on
same issue.

PROPOSED PLAN TO REELECT THE PRESIDENT

I. OBJECTIVE

Our primary goal is to expand our current lead and inhibit Mondale's ability to draw Democratic-leaners back to the ticket. This can be accomplished by dominating the issues and depriving Mondale of the opportunity to establish his campaign agenda. Our mode must be offensive rather than defensive, as we work to solidify our lead.

II. CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

We need to establish the over-arching themes required in a national election. It is relatively clear what we will say to a variety of groups, but we have not determined the overall theme we want delivered to the electorate as a whole. There needs to be a central message to our campaign. This election will be decided on the major issues of the economy, peace, and the President's personal qualities, particularly his leadership and competence.

The umbrella theme will be leadership. The President has fundamentally changed the direction of the country, particularly the economy, in a manner that has produced good results and will continue to do so. We must:

- o Remind voters of the problems of the late 1970s and the Carter-Mondale record
- o Cite the President's accomplishments in a believable way
 - use facts without ignoring remaining problems
 - don't overstate successes or deny existence of continuing problems
- o Establish the President's vision of the future and the direction he will take and priorities for a second term.

We must maintain that our program has helped the entire country and that everyone has shared and will continue to share in our economic successes, not just particular constituencies.

The tone of the campaign should be upbeat, but not so confidently optimistic that we are vulnerable to the charge we believe things are better than facts warrant. The future vision the President establishes should include challenges, but reaffirm our faith in the country's ability to progress and meet those challenges.

Our base of support from 1980 is still available to us. We can expect to improve our support from two groups, younger voters between the ages of 18 and 24 and suburban ticket-splitters. Our key constituency, however, remains middle-income working people. Farmers, middle-income people, and small business owners should be the focus of our efforts throughout the campaign.

III. MONDALE

Mondale's attack will center on the fairness issue and charges that we have helped the well-off at the expense of the average working person. In addition to fairness, Mondale's attacks will include Social Security, excessive defense spending, whether the world is a safer place, disengagement, and now, obviously, women.

We can also learn from Hart's example during the primaries. Hart held a substantial lead and momentum favored him over Mondale. But Hart allowed himself to be sidetracked by Mondale's negative attacks. Once Hart was on the defensive, Mondale was able to effectively control the agenda and the outcome. We must be constantly aware of the temptation to respond to Mondale's negative attacks, and refrain from Hart's mistake at all costs. Once we are on the defensive, Mondale can set the tone and themes of the campaign and detract from our lead.

Mondale can be prevented from setting the agenda if we aggressively control the campaign by establishing issue-cycles for the remaining months. In each cycle, presidential activity will be supported by campaign media, Administration and campaign surrogates, Administration actions, and the activities of the First Lady and Vice President.

We must use the obvious Mondale vulnerabilities throughout the campaign. They include:

- o Affiliation with Carter
- o Combined consistent liberal records of Mondale and Ferraro
- o His lack of leadership qualities.

IV. ISSUES

Economy:

When voters make their presidential choice based on economic issues the President is strongly favored. In addition to being the most important set of issues, and the area where the President has had the greatest success, there is an added psychological benefit to economic issues. They convey optimism because of our success, and a positive dimension for the campaign as opposed to other issues where we deal primarily with problems.

The campaign needs to remind people of how bad the state of the economy was four years ago, cite our accomplishments and success with particular emphasis on low inflation and job creation, and acknowledge how far we still have to go economically. We should establish that a second term would include deficit reduction, further spending reductions with an emphasis on eliminating waste and fraud, and a drive for a balanced budget amendment. We should also establish the need for tax simplification, sound money, and improvement in our competitive position in the world economy on a long-term basis.

In contrasting the President's leadership to the Carter-Mondale record, we should seek opportunities to identify the President with symbols of our future and a growing economy. Young entrepreneurs, start-up industries, high-technology, and the comeback of basic industries should be highlighted.

Traditional values such as the importance of education in training the workforce of tomorrow should be tied to strengthening America's competitive edge. We need to pay particular attention to American strengths over Japan in innovation, corporate research and development strategies, and pioneering new fields such as bio-engineering in agriculture and medicine.

Because middle-income working people and their children are our key constituency, we must emphasize that our economic future will be brighter for average working people. We should also say that all our citizens will benefit, including minorities and the disadvantaged, and those in traditional industries. This should be focused through two major economic initiatives for the second term:

- o A new offensive on the balanced budget amendment
- o Announcement of a major tax reform and simplification in the second term, by establishing our criteria and the need for reform but without specific details.

*Don't use
these
words*

Foreign Affairs:

Three dimensions of our policy require emphasis, but the first and most important is the President's commitment to world peace and desire for reduced international tension. This manifests itself primarily in the arms control issue, but also in terms of the overall issue of relations with the Soviet Union.

Our issues framework needs to show that the President is sincere about wanting to make the world a safer place through arms reduction, a change in the philosophy of deterrence from mutual destruction to mutual survival, and by reaching agreement with the Soviets without sacrificing U.S. interests. His repetition of these themes and the record of arms reduction proposals rather than a single major address will convince the media and the public of the President's personal involvement and concern.

The second dimension we must emphasize is national defense and our fundamental commitment to peace through strength. We should not backtrack on spending what is necessary to keep that commitment, pointing out that we spend only half the percentage of GNP the the Kennedy Administration did and are at about the levels of defense spending recommended by Carter-Mondale. But we must also emphasize that we are committed to preventing waste and fraud in defense spending and that the Pentagon and Department of Defense have not escaped the President's desire to cut waste and fraud.

The final dimension is a bridge to the future and our economic strong points: international trade and competition. In this regard, Bill Brock has been underutilized as a spokesman.

When people make their presidential choice based on foreign policy issues, we do not do as well as when their decision is based on our handling of the economy. This is primarily because foreign policy issues deal with problems. This is not to say, however, that a foreign policy problem that presents an opportunity for success should be avoided.

Secondary Issues:

In addition to the economy and foreign policy, there is a cluster of secondary issues that appeals to traditional American strengths and a social foundation to meet the challenges of the future. It would be helpful during the campaign to take one or two periods of several days each for the President to deliver in-depth, thoughtful speeches dealing with the substance of these issues. The tone of the speeches should be educational rather than rhetorical, and he should demonstrate a mastery of the subject matter and intellectual depth. The advantage is that he not only communicates concern on the issues but also portrays his knowledge.

Among the subjects we recommend are:

o Education -- quality and reform should continue to receive presidential attention, particularly the connection between quality education, the basics, and economic competitiveness.

Higher education should also receive attention. We should show our commitment to student financial assistance. Higher education costs are a major concern of middle-income families. For many of our target voters, the most important goal is to send their children to college.

o Crime -- "Soft" crime issues such as drug abuse, particularly as it effects the young and schools, child abuse and exploitation, and crimes against women should be featured.

o Waste and Fraud -- Waste and fraud in government spending still ranks highest in intensity of nineteen major issues.

o Agriculture -- We should show awareness of the changing nature of American agriculture, export markets, agri-business, family farms, etc.

o Family Issues -- Family stability, breakdown, importance as a mediating institution, etc.

V. INNOCULATION *AGNIE* — *The Future*

There are five major issues we need to inoculate against:

o Fairness -- The fairness issue cuts against us because of the perception that our policies favor the wealthy over working people, and favor defense spending over domestic priorities.

o Social Security -- The importance of inoculating against charges of benefit reductions cannot be overstated.

o Nervousness -- The use or avoidance of the use of force in a world crisis.

o Disengagement -- This is the opposition's way to lead into the age issue and must be countered with a man-in-charge image. It is important that the decision to present him as fully engaged not be seen as a staff decision.

o Deficit and Interest Rates -- This is the opposition's means to undermine confidence in the recovery, and may be successful to the extent that they succeed in linking these issues to negative results such as joblessness.

CONGRESSIONAL INACTION

Communications Objective: Focus attention on unfinished economic legislation pending in Congress. A list of potential bills is appended, but we recommend concentrating on the balanced budget amendment, enterprise zones, spousal IRAs, and job retraining.

Sub - Minimum wage

Duration: July 23 - Aug. 11

Keep focus on money issue.

Concept: Congressional Democrats will use the session following the Democratic convention to attack the President. Our best defense is a vigorous offense.

On July 23, the President attends a bipartisan Hill leadership meeting convened by Howard Baker and Bob Michels. The tone is confrontational as the President takes the Democratic House to task for inaction on important legislation.

GOP only

On July 25, the President delivers a five-minute televised speech following up on the importance of the legislation and excoriating the Democrats for rhetoric without substantive action. If they cared about the country as much as they claimed during the convention, they would pass the bottlenecked legislation.

In the week of July 29, the President summons Vice President Bush to California and gives him specific instructions to follow the fight over deadlocked legislation, demonstrating his engagement and personal commitment to the bills.

During this week and the week of Aug. 5, the President personally calls selected committee leaders to lobby for passage of the legislation.

The cycle ends with the ^{Aug}Sept. 11 radio address summarizing the results, lessons learned about the Democrats, and the cost of a do-nothing Congress.

HOUSE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE

Legislative Agenda for the Remainder of the 98th Congress

I. ECONOMIC POLICY

1. Individual Appropriation Bills
2. Line Item Veto, Impoundment
3. Balanced Budget —
4. Monetary Reform
5. Regulatory Reform

II. JOBS AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

1. High Technology Initiatives
2. Enterprise Zones —
3. Job Retraining —
4. Summer Youth Jobs Incentive

III. HOME AND FAMILIES

1. ~~Day Care Tax Credit~~ —
2. Spousal IRA —
3. Equal Access and School Prayer
4. Fair Housing Act

IV. EDUCATION

1. Head Start Program
2. Tuition Tax Credits

V. CITIZEN AND COMMUNITY SAFETY

1. Omnibus Crime Legislation
2. Drug Trafficking and Abuse
3. Hazardous Waste Disposal

VI. REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

1. Legislative Branch Reform

CONVENTION WEEK

Communications Objective: During the three days to Dallas and at the VFW convention immediately following, the President establishes the economic successes and future challenges he will campaign on, but withholds major initiatives until the campaign kick-off.

Duration: Aug. 19 - Aug. 24

Concept: The President uses his travel to Dallas to shore up agricultural support in the midwest, combining industrial and farm stops that emphasize the economic recovery.

On Aug. 19, he begins with an industrial stop at a steel plant or blue-collar enterprise in Ohio and continues with a downstate farm stop.

On Aug. 20, he continues with an industrial stop in Illinois and a downstate farm event.

On Aug. 21, he concludes the three days to Dallas with a day of farm events in Iowa or Missouri, demonstrating his understanding and commitment to agricultural concerns.

On Aug. 24, the President uses the VFW speech to discuss future economic challenges, world peace, and the country's ability to compete internationally for the rest of the decade and beyond.

SECONDARY ISSUES

Communications Objective: Demonstrate depth of understanding through a series of speeches on secondary issues on difficult subjects. The tone of the speeches is educational rather than rhetorical.

Duration: Aug. 26 - ^{Sept 2}~~Sept. 31~~; Oct. 4 - Oct. 9

Concept: We suggest two possible periods for a series of speeches around the country centering on future-oriented topics such as education and economic competitiveness, soft crime, agriculture, family, children and the future, youth drug abuse, and America's ability to compete in a world economy.

Events must be selected or created for these speeches, although the Sept. 31 American Legion Convention in Salt Lake City presents one forum and gets the President to Santa Barbara for the weekend before the campaign kick-off.

CAMPAIGN KICK-OFF

Communications Objective: Launch the major economic themes of the campaign, establish the President's vision of the future, and announce the economic initiatives of the second term.

Duration: Sept. 3 - Sept. 15

Concept: The President begins the campaign on the strength of the economic recovery, his vision of our economic future for the remainder of the decade and century against the background of the challenges we face, and announces that the balanced budget amendment and tax simplification and reform will be major initiatives of his second term.

*Present to
St Louis
in PM for
Inches
Guy Event.
then to
make an
announcement.*
On Sept. 3, the President kicks-off the campaign with a morning mass GOP rally at Anaheim Stadium, beginning his last campaign from his home state. The tone of the speech is shirt-sleeves and rousing, establishing the reasons for his candidacy and how far the country has come since 1980. He continues the kick-off after departing El Toro en route a midwestern state and industrial stop, saying he is carrying the campaign to the heartland.

On Sept. 9, a half-hour televised speech on the anniversary of his 1980 Reaganomics speech announces his agenda for the second term, including reducing the deficit, spending reductions, peace through strength, fighting waste and fraud, and two major economic initiatives: the balanced budget amendment and tax simplification (but withhold specific details until after the election).

He continues to campaign on economic issues until the opening of the General Assembly of the United Nations. *where?*

DEBATES, SECONDARY ISSUES

Communications Objectives: Between the debates, the President demonstrates depth of understanding through speeches on secondary issues which also communicate his concern.

Duration: Oct. 4 - Oct. 9

Concept: Return to the secondary issues outlined above during this period such as quality of education, family issues, agriculture and bio-engineering, America's lead in research and development and innovation over Japan, and soft crime.

The speeches demonstrate depth of understanding, inoculate against disengagement, and correct any misimpression from the first debate.

Week of: 7/22-7/28 7/29-8/4 8/5-8/11 8/12-8/18 8/19-8/25 8/26-9/1 9/2-9/8 9/9-9/15 9/16-9/22

Issue:	Congressional Inaction	None	Convention	Secondary Issues	Major Themes	Econ. Initiatives	Peace
<u>Activities</u>							
National/ International	7/29 NGA 7/30 ABA and Urban League	8/6 Pop. Con.	8/20 AFT conv.	8/27 AFGE 8/29 APA	9/3 Lab. Day		9/17 CPI/ Housing starts
Non-political	7/24 CPI	8/7 Knights of Colum.	8/20 Hous starts, CPI	8/27 reconvene	9/7 unem stats		
Congress	7/23 recon.	8/11 recess			9/5 reconvene		
Admin. actions							
RR sched.	<u>CYCLE</u> 7/23 Hill lead.	Ranch: RR calls VP to ranch re: Hill	Ranch: calls to cttee. leaders	8/12 close Olympics	8/19, indus/ag stops in OH/MO/IA	8/31, AM Legion en route Calif. campaign kick-off	9/9 30 min speech on annivers. of Reaganomics 9/? Send off team to for Vienna
	7/25 5 min. speech		8/13 Medalists	IL en route TX	8/31, AM Legion en route Calif. campaign kick-off	9/11 MOH Humphrey	9/18 U.N. Gen. Ass.
	7/28 Olympics	Calls to Hill	8/15 return Wash.	8/22 Con.	8/24 VFW inter. econ.	Econ. events w/future orientation	
	7/28 radio on Congress	8/4 radio on Hill progress	8/11 radio address closes cycle on Congress	and peace w/future outlook CYCLE	CYCLE	9/7 econ event	
				9/1 Ranch CYCLE	9/8 radio on major themes		

Week of: 9/23-9/29 9/30-10/6 10/7-10/13 10/14-10/20

Activities	Issue:		Issue:	
	Peace/ Intl.Trade	Domestic Debate	Foreign Debate	
National/ International		9/30 Pol- lution conference 10/2 Auto Assn.		
Non-political	9/28 Shuttle launch	10/1 FY begins		10/17 Business Women's Assn.
Congress		10/5 unem. 10/4 ten. recess		
Admin. actions			Secondary issues 10/10 Foreign Policy debate/ CYCLE	
RR schedule	CYCLE Shift from peace to economic dimension of foreign affairs/ trade/ competition future outlook	10/2 or 10/3 Domestic policy debate CYCLE	Shift back to major campaign themes and economy	HOLD

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 4, 1984

Read file
Fy1
d

file

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM SITTMANN

FROM: MARGARET TUTWILER ^{MDT}

SUBJECT: COMPARABLE WORTH MAILING

Per your request, I've checked with Maureen Reagan's office to see if they have done a mailing on comparable worth. Mary Joy Jameson in Maureen's office says they have not.

Michele Davis indicated that such a mailing has not been done by Reagan-Bush '84 either.

cc: Michael K. Deaver

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 2, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III
MICHAEL K. DEEVER ✓

FROM: MARGARET TUTWILER MDT

SUBJECT: BACKGROUND FOR TOMORROW'S 3:00 PM MEETING

Tomorrow at 3:00 pm you will be meeting with the leadership of the RNC, NRSC, NRCC and Reagan-Bush '84 to discuss their respective needs regarding letters under the President's signature and Presidential appearances.

A primary purpose of the meeting is to reiterate that 1984 is the President's campaign year. The White House provided all support possible to congressional candidates during the 1982 midterm elections. Similarly in 1983, the White House agreed to Presidential appearances on behalf of six incumbent Senators; each request was either fulfilled or withdrawn by the requesting Senator.

In preparation for this meeting, attached please find:

- draft agenda for 4/3/84 meeting at 3:00 pm (Attachment A).
- list of letters which have been approved under the President's signature since 10/17/83 (Attachment B);
- list of problems with NRSC fundraising mailings (Attachment C);
- list of events which have been done since 10/17/83 or are committed to being done in coming months for RNC, NRSC and NRCC (Attachment D);
- copy of 1982 Rollins' memo on approval guidelines for fundraising letters (Attachment E);

Please let me know if there is any additional information you might need.

DRAFT AGENDA

Tuesday, April 3, 1984 -- 3:00 pm
Room 175 EOB

- o Discuss past problems with operating outside of the approval process for fundraising letters under the President's signature
- o Review approval process for fundraising letters under the President's signature:
 - prior White House approval on the text of the President's letter and of the package which will accompany it
 - prior approval of the blue-lines of the letter and package by the White House Counsel's Office (for disclaimer, return address, type of seal used, etc.)
 - prior approval of mailing schedule and number of pieces to be mailed
 - approval for a letter signed by the President is valid for 30 days
 - mailings which refer to the President or his programs are also subject to this approval process
- o Discuss pending requests each Committee will have for letters under the President's signature
 - fundraising solicitations
 - endorsement letters for incumbent/challenger House/Senate candidates
 - miscellaneous others (thank-you's after Senate-House Dinner, pub notes, etc.)

DRAFT AGENDA (Con't.)

- Discuss pending requests each Committee will have for Presidential appearances
 - major donors
 - state GOP organizations

Note: The President will not be campaigning for individual candidates per se. When a Reagan-Bush '84 event is scheduled, every effort will be made to include the respective candidates in the region.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4/16/84

TO: MICHAEL DEAVER

JAB reviewed his copy of the
attached this afternoon.

Thought you might want a copy
of his decisions on these
requests.

MDT

File

MARGARET D. TUTWILER
Office of James A. Baker III
456-6797

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 16, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III ✓
MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM: MARGARET TUTWILER *not*

SUBJECT: REQUESTS FROM THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Below is a list of requests which the Republican National Committee's Finance Division will have between now and the 1985 Inauguration.

This list has been submitted by the RNC as a follow-up to the April 3rd meeting you had with the leadership of RNC, NRSC, NRCC and Reagan-Bush '84.

1. Post-Convention Mailing to RNC Contributor File over President Reagan's Signature.

Mailing Date:	August 23, 1984
Copy Approval By:	early July
Quantity:	1.8 million
Description:	Mailgram-type notice to all past and present RNC contributors requesting additional support for the RNC during the final days of the campaign. This will be similar to the highly successful 1980 Post-Convention mailing which was signed by the President.
Projected Income:	\$3 million



Approve

Disapprove

2. Post-Convention Presidential Trust Reception Hosted by the President and Mrs. Reagan at the White House.

Date: Mid-September
Purpose: To show appreciation for the financial commitment of those individuals who have contributed to the RNC's Presidential Trust - the \$6.9 million fund for the Presidential campaign during the general election.

Approve



Disapprove

3. 1985 First Renewal Mailing to RNC Contributor File over President Reagan's Signature.

Mailing Date: December 3, 1984
Copy Approval By: Early October
Quantity: 1.8 million
Description: Renewal of RNC Sustaining and Campaigner Memberships for 1985.
Projected Income: \$6.5 million



Approve

Disapprove

4. 1985 Inauguration Reception for Presidential Trust Members.

Date:

During the week of the 1985
Inauguration.

Description:

RNC is requesting a special reception
with the President for Presidential
Trust members. While RNC cannot assign
a specific fundraising goal to this
event, they hope that the meeting will
be viewed as a benefit to those \$10,000
donors who provide the funding for the
Presidential Trust account.

TOO FAR IN ADVANCE TO CONSIDER PER JAB -

Approve

Disapprove

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 16, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III
MICHAEL K. DEEVER ✓

FROM: MARGARET TUTWILER *mt*

SUBJECT: REQUESTS FROM THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Below is a list of requests which the Republican National Committee's Finance Division will have between now and the 1985 Inauguration.

This list has been submitted by the RNC as a follow-up to the April 3rd meeting you had with the leadership of RNC, NRSC, NRCC and Reagan-Bush '84.

1. Post-Convention Mailing to RNC Contributor File over President Reagan's Signature.

Mailing Date:	August 23, 1984
Copy Approval By:	early July
Quantity:	1.8 million
Description:	Mailgram-type notice to all past and present RNC contributors requesting additional support for the RNC during the final days of the campaign. This will be similar to the highly successful 1980 Post-Convention mailing which was signed by the President.
Projected Income:	\$3 million

Approve

Disapprove

2. Post-Convention Presidential Trust Reception Hosted by the President and Mrs. Reagan at the White House.

Date: Mid-September
Purpose: To show appreciation for the financial commitment of those individuals who have contributed to the RNC's Presidential Trust - the \$6.9 million fund for the Presidential campaign during the general election.

Approve

Disapprove

3. 1985 First Renewal Mailing to RNC Contributor File over President Reagan's Signature.

Mailing Date: December 3, 1984
Copy Approval By: Early October
Quantity: 1.8 million
Description: Renewal of RNC Sustaining and Campaigner Memberships for 1985.
Projected Income: \$6.5 million

Approve

Disapprove

4. 1985 Inauguration Reception for Presidential Trust Members.

Date: During the week of the 1985
Inauguration.

Description: RNC is requesting a special reception
with the President for Presidential
Trust members. While RNC cannot assign
a specific fundraising goal to this
event, they hope that the meeting will
be viewed as a benefit to those \$10,000
donors who provide the funding for the
Presidential Trust account.

Approve

Disapprove

REAGAN-BUSH '84

The President's Authorized Campaign Committee

MEMORANDUM

4/9/84

TO: Mike Deaver

FROM: Jim Lake

Here is our proposed final version of the media paper we have prepared for our meeting tomorrow. Please let me know if you have any comments.

*file
here*

rec'd 4/9 - 4:25 pm (ji)

440 First Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001 (202) 383-1984
Paid for by Reagan-Bush '84: Paul Laxalt, Chairman; Angela M. Buchanan Jackson, Treasurer

REAGAN-BUSH '84

The President's Authorized Campaign Committee

REAGAN-BUSH '84 INITIAL MEDIA FLIGHT

OBJECTIVES

- Generate initial awareness of the campaign
- Establish an umbrella theme to carry the campaign through the convention
- Revitalize the President's perceptual standing with voters following the vigorous anti-Reagan onslaught of the Democratic primaries
- Project the reality of strong, confident, successful leadership that assures hope for the future as a contrast to the Democratic debate

THEMES

- Leadership. Reagan is a highly trusted, strong leader. His leadership has induced considerable positive change.
- Competence. Reagan gets things done, as evidenced by the economic recovery and control of inflation.
- Future Vision. Reagan's changes have given rise to a new era of opportunity for America's future. Administration accomplishments in quality education, expanding economy, and controlling inflation are issues which bridge the past and the future.
- Traditional Values. Reagan has re-established and reinforced traditional values which offer stability and security.
- Caring. Reagan is caring and concerned about people and has drawn strength from his populist appeal.

TONE

- Focus attention on the past to anchor the scope and benefit of the changes Reagan has made and project that change into the future, essentially answering the question "are you better off today than you were four years ago?", while postulating, "things can get even better with continued Reagan leadership."
- The spots should be generally positive in tone, drawing upon some of the first term's accomplishments and emphasizing that the President's leadership has made, and will continue to make,

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REAGAN-BUSH '84

The President's Authorized Campaign Committee

Media Flight, p. 2

a vital difference.

- The tone should also build on the feelings of optimism and confidence in ourselves, our leaders, and our country.

TIMING

The emphasis on leadership will work best in the period between the President's China trip in late April and his June summit meeting in Europe. Therefore, the optimum time for a first flight is the ten-day period just before the Memorial Day weekend. The period has the advantages of:

- Intensity of audience interest in political messages is higher during this period than it will be in June or July because of the proximity to the attention given to the Democratic primary contest.
- A divided opposition still in contention for the nomination will provide us with a unique opportunity to present our positive message of presidential leadership in stark contrast to their bickering and pointless debate. This contrast can and should be achieved indirectly, with no specific reference to the Democratic contest.
- Media coverage in late April and early May will be dominated by the Normandy event and the June summit meeting in London. These events will generate substantial print and electronic media coverage fitting neatly under our umbrella theme of leadership, and thus reinforce our primary objective.

TARGETS

- In general, our target is the slightly upscale voter.
- We need to softly target the blue collar, catholic and middle-aged voters.
- If cost permits, we may want to supplement the television campaign with radio spots aimed at hispanics in California and Texas and younger voters (under 35).

REAGAN-BUSH '84

The President's Authorized Campaign Committee

Media Flight, p. 2

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- If cost permits, we may want to supplement the television campaign with radio spots aimed at hispanics in California and Texas and younger voters (under 35). Cost should permit this.
we should do this. (addition per Baker - 4/9 '7pm)

A few comments on the "themes paper"
for the "initial media flight"

In general, the paper seems unobjectionable. But a few qualifying points may be of value:

(1) "Objectives"

- The first objective -- generating "awareness of the campaign" -- seems unnecessary, ill-placed (in terms of implicit emphasis), and possibly counterproductive. People will be aware enough of the campaign. Why explicitly try to increase awareness? Aren't we better off being Presidential, and just concentrating on getting across the ideas that America is better, the future is brighter, etc. -- all implicitly (or explicitly) because RR is President?

(2) "Themes"

- Re "Leadership": Fine. But it seems too self-serving (uncharacteristically so) and too self-centered to focus this directly on Reagan. In the State of the Union, we used "America is back." In the CSIS speech, we used "American leadership is back." Aren't we better off emphasizing points directly about America -- trusting either that the tie to RR's personal leadership is obvious, or that it can be subtly made to show through?

- Re "Future Vision": Fine. But shouldn't we spice this up a bit -- as we have when we've tied our economic program to a "new industrial renaissance," a society "bursting with opportunity," etc. And shouldn't we add our emphases on space, high tech, etc. -- i.e., things with which the President can be associated visually that are themselves futuristic?

- Re "Traditional Values": Again, fine. But we have been trying to link this theme with the future at the same time as it looks to the past. The idea is to avoid seeming too "nostalgic" or "outdated" -- and rather to emphasize that traditional values are a sound foundation for the building of a strong, vital, dynamic, creative, constructive future.

- Re "Caring": Again, fine. But the explanatory sentence seems garbled. What exactly is meant by the alleged connection between "caring" and "concerned about people," on the one hand, and "populist appeal" on the other? We want both themes -- caring and populism -- but, as ordinarily understood, these are rather different concepts.

(3) Tone

- Re "optimism": Yes. But mightn't we make this a theme in its own right -- contrasting it, as we have been, with the days of "gloom" and "doomsaying" that we've been saying should be gone for good?

(4) Targets

- I trust someone knows what is meant by "the slightly upscale voter" -- and how this relates to the other targets noted.

- As a matter of curiosity, what do we mean by "middle-aged" (why not state the age range?) -- and why have we decided to focus on this age range?

REAGAN-BUSH '84

The President's Authorized Campaign Committee

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Michael K. Deaver/Michael A. McManus
THROUGH: Edward J. Rollins
FROM: Jim Lake
DATE: April 5, 1984
RE: First Flight of Media Campaign

Attached is a draft memo based on the meeting yesterday afternoon for your comments. We've agreed to have a final draft ready for use on Tuesday when Mike McManus, Roger Ailes, Dick Wirthlin, Doug Watts and I will be in New York for an all day meeting with Jim Travis and all three of the creative teams.

DRAFT:jr
4/5/84

MEMORANDUM TO :
FROM :
SUBJECT : FIRST FLIGHT OF MEDIA CAMPAIGN

This memorandum outlines the suggested themes and tone, timing, targets, and length of spots for the first flight of the media campaign.

THEMES AND TONE

Within the limits of its duration and cost, the first flight should achieve the following objectives:

- o Establish an umbrella theme to carry the campaign through the August convention
- o Present an image of presidential leadership
- o Reinforce feelings of confidence and optimism
- o Subliminally suggest a solid record and vision of the future.

A. Umbrella Theme

The three creative teams have the assignment of establishing an over-arching theme of presidential leadership to set the tone for the campaign through the Republican National Convention.

The tone should be soft-sell, building on feelings of optimism and confidence, and carrying over this renewal of faith to the President's leadership. It should emphasize the President as a trusted, competent, caring leader who gets things done and has set the country in the right direction.

The spots should be institutional in tone, emphasizing that the President's leadership has made, and will continue to make, a vital difference.

B. Presidential Leadership

Younger voters have no living experience of a successful presidency. They have seen four failed presidencies in a row before Ronald Reagan. Successful presidential leadership

THEMES AND TONE

is a new experience to them, and one that needs to be reinforced.

The following are essential elements for emphasis:

- o The President is s strong, trusted leader
- o He has a clear vision of the future
- o He has brought about change through more responsive and responsible government
- o His leadership has set the country in the right direction.

The spots should connote positive elements of the President's record (outlined below) and inoculate against the charge that the President is not in control through visual images and symbols, as with the President at work in a darkened study, or projecting his competence through his stride, and on the fairness issue by emphasizing populist images and a cross-section of the electorate.

C. Reinforce Confidence and Optimism

The electorate knows that things are different today; they sense positive change and confidence and optimism are on the rebound. The economy has recovered; inflation is under control; we have more faith in ourselves and our institutions.

The first flight should in effect hold up a mirror to the voters, and let them know that the reason they feel better about themselves is the President's leadership.

President Reagan has made the vital difference; he will continue to make a difference.

D. President's Record and Vision of the Future

The electorate credits the President with economic recovery, control of inflation, and leadership on quality education. Education and economic recovery are issues which bridge the past and future.

Subthemes of traditional values -- family, neighborhood, work, peace and freedom -- should be cast in a populist light. In emphasizing the accomplishments subliminally, we should move away from economic elitism and large institutions, concentrating on ordinary working people and small business.

THEMES AND TONE

These subthemes inoculate against the fairness issue and play to the President's populist strength.

TIMING

The emphasis on leadership will work best in the period between the President's China trip in late April and his June summit meeting in Europe.

The optimum time is the ten-day period just before the Memorial Day weekend. This period has the advantages of:

- o Intensity of audience interest in political messages because of the proximity to the primary contest
- o A divided, bickering opposition with the Democrats still in contention for the nomination
- o Reinforcement of the leadership image from the China trip and the opportunity to set the tone for the London summit
- o Sufficient time for the Republican National Committee to continue to inoculate against opposition themes before the Democratic convention in July.

A. Intensity of Audience Interest

The ten day cycle before and after a primary contest is the optimum time to reach voter interest in political issues through the media.

Although the size of the listening audience in June will be approximately as large as the late May audience, it listens with an appreciably lower level of interest. The first flight should take advantage of the heightened interest during the final stages of the Democratic primary race.

TIMING

B. A Divided Opposition

By June, a clear Democratic frontrunner will have emerged and the opposition will be closing on the issues. By launching the first flight in May, we also have the advantage of painting a stark contrast between presidential leadership and a divided opposition.

This contrast can be achieved indirectly. There should be no direct reference to the Democrats. The themes and tone of our media will provide sufficient contrast.

C. Reinforcement of Foreign Trip Coverage

In late April and early May, media coverage will be dominated by the President's China trip. Immediately following the first flight, coverage will again be dominated by the Normandy event and June summit meeting in London.

The first flight of the media campaign will generate substantial non-paid coverage in the print and electronic media. With the umbrella theme of presidential leadership, both our media and the coverage it receives will reinforce the dominant coverage over an eight-week period.

D. Innoculation

Mondale's attack themes have remained consistent throughout the Hart challenge. Mondale continues to emphasize:

- o Fairness
- o A just society
- o The button issue

The timing of the first flight allows us to incorporate some inoculation, but it also allows sufficient time for the Republican National Committee to inoculate before the July Democratic convention.

SCHEDULING IMPLICATIONS

Any taping involving the President will have to be scheduled before April 19 if the first flight is to go out before Memorial Day. As soon as production schedules are established, time should be committed on the President's schedule to allow for taping before the China trip.

Page 5

TARGETS

TARGETS:

In general, our target is the slightly upscale voter, with a strong populist emphasis.

Other target groups include:

- o Farm-belt
- o Blue-collar
- o Catholics
- o Independents
- o Hispanics
- o Under-35s

The characteristics of these voter groups will be elaborated in briefings for the Tuesday group.

LENGTH OF SPOTS

Thirty and sixty second spots only.

Using the guidelines given above, the creative teams should devise a variety of approaches to the umbrella theme with thirty and sixty second messages.

#