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TARGET STATES

The following swing states should be the focus of our attention in the next few months. The number of electoral votes for each state is in parentheses.

WEST	MIDWEST	SOUTH	EAST
California (47) Washington (10) Colorado (8) Oregon (7) New Mexico (5)	Illinois (24) Ohio (23) Missouri (11) Wisconsin (11) Iowa (8)	Texas (29) Florida (21) N.Carolina(13) Virginia (12) Tennessee (11) Louisiana (10) Alabama (9) Kentucky (9) S.Carolina(8) Mississippi(7)	New Jersey (16) Connecticut (8)

Other states not mentioned are either considered safe or not probable win states at this time.

TARGET GROUPS

1. WOMEN

All regions; Protestants, and middle-aged married Catholics

2. BLUE COLLAR

Southern states and Ohio, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Connecticut, Iowa, Oregon, New Jersey, Washington, Arizona and New Mexico

3. HISPANICS

Cubans in Florida, Mexican-Americans in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, California and New Jersey

4. SOUTHERN WHITES

Especially lower income/blue collar

5. WHITE NON-UNION PROTESTANTS

Northeast and Midwest; low to moderate incomes

6. SENIOR CITIZENS

Florida, Arizona, Iowa and Missouri

TARGET ISSUES

Economy

The President must continue to position himself to receive full credit for the economic recovery. As the economy comes back, the Democrats will no longer have it as a political issue. The President must remind the public how bad things were when he took over, take credit for recent economic improvement, and continue to be optimistic about the future. He should stick to themes such as "Economic growth means more working Americans," or "We must re-tool and re-train America for the '80's."

The economy will be the paramount issue for 1984. We must be prepared to persuasively answer the question in 1984, "Are you better off now than you were four years ago?" in the affirmative. We will also have to address the fairness issue more effectively.

Leadership

The President is still viewed as a strong leader by most Americans, and this is a theme we need to build upon for re-election.

The image of a strong, steady leader who can continue to guide this country to peace, progress and prosperity will help win the support of not only our base constituencies, but also the non-ideological voters (29 percent of the total) who are attracted by and vote on the basis of their perceptions of performance, charisma, incumbency and leadership.

Foreign Policy/National Security

We are making steady progress in this area. Our own accomplishments coupled with the irresponsible statements coming from the liberal Democrats indicate that we have the opportunity to do well with this issue in 1984. Consistency, caution and concern are key watchwords for 1984. The President can carefully explicate the dangers facing us, demonstrating at the same time that his policy of peace through strength has provided America with both.

Education

Most Americans express deep concern about the quality of education in this country. A majority of parents feel that education has deteriorated in the past decade and that their children are not receiving as good a basic education as they did.

A "back to basics" theme would have widespread appeal among most Americans. Also, the public overwhelmingly supports voluntary prayer in public schools. The President should continue to push this initiative.

Other issues, such as tuition tax credits, should be boosted before targeted audiences.

The recent final report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education lends great intellectual support to the President's efforts to redirect the Department of Education toward an agenda for achievement in our public schools. An important aspect of this effort is competency testing for teachers and students.

Crime

Americans rate crime as the domestic problem they are most concerned with, after the economy.

They believe judges are too soft in issuing sentences to criminals.

A majority expect crime to increase over the next year.

An overwhelming majority feel homeowners should be allowed to use force against burglars breaking into their homes.

A majority of Americans favor the death penalty for those convicted of premeditated murder.

The President need merely advocate the same policies in 1983-84 that he did ten or twenty years ago to establish himself as <u>the</u> candidate who is tough on crime.

The public doesn't necessarily want another LEAA program. Tough speeches before law enforcement groups will go a long way.

The public's concern that judges aren't tough enough gives the President the opportunity to showcase some of his more conservative judicial appointments.

The President's Task Force on Drugs is another example of a vehicle to get the President out front on an issue of major concern to most Americans.

The President should continue to visit law enforcement agencies and express his support for their work. He should seize these opportunities to promote his anti-crime package.

NATIONAL THEMES VS. REGIONAL TARGETED THEMES

In spite of the fact that the major media follows the President wherever he goes and makes a national news story out of most Presidential events, the President from time to time needs to focus his remarks on activities of smaller, but more supportive, audiences. The recent speech to the National Rifle Association was a perfect example of effective "narrowcasting."

While it is true that most Americans support gun control, their support is lukewarm. The 2.8 million members of the NRA, however, are motivated and organized. The gains we make in courting these single-issue voters far exceed any potential losses we could suffer among the rest of the population over this issue.

Several other issues that the President supports are not popular among the public-at-large. He must target the specific constituencies to maximize his gains and minimize his losses when he addresses these issues. Abortion and tuition tax credits are examples of views held by the President that need special, receptive audiences.

The White House must develop the capacity to operate on two tracks at once. The overall message must be general and noncontroversial, while specific communications can be targeted and tailored to single issue supporters.

Optimism

The President is and must continue to be a symbol of hope and optimism to the American public. Ronald Reagan has a unique ability to portray the best side of an issue.

His message should be that America is on the mend, that inflation is down, unemployment is down, the stock market is up, and so is the American spirit. With President Reagan in the White House, we will enjoy peace, prosperity and progress.

An additional benefit of a strong climate of optimism will be better candidate recruitment in 1984 and higher levels of campaign enthusiasm and contributions.

why dud press out and gently gest production of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, Tuesday, January 10, 198

care of inflation and help the bondholders have another recession so you can take they get back into office and it's time to something for the dairy farmers. Then Polish polka parties and it's time to do ery four years. Then it's time to have the only move away from its core ideology evframework," he explains. "The party can

nario under which Mr. Reagan could be de-Mr. Ranney cautions there is one seeof America."

but trouble. will win reelection and then face nothing as that, the panelists presume Mr. Reagan bad." But, barring anything as dramatic West German border or something equally crisis, you know, the Soviets come over the feated for reelection - "a true international

Yield a Recession

Democratic Party will make impressive in 1986, at which point the congressional sion just in time for the midterm elections exception. He predicts it will yield a recesful." Mr. Reagan's, he says, won't be any Phillips, "have deen notoriously unsuccess-"Republican second terms," says Mr.

post heap," Mr. Phillips says. Republican second terms are a "com-

of retire after his budget message in Janutemperamentally. I think he's going to sort "Partly age," he says. "Partly the man, active Mr. Reagan in his second term. Mr. Dutton anticipates a relatively in-

Mr. Phillips sees the Republican Party ". 6891 TO YIE

Strategists Doubt the November Election

"that the Democratic Party is being forced

almost to speak of him in the past tense.

thoughts about Mr. Reagan-but they seem

that I personally doubt he'll be able to re-

getting a whole bunch of heavy plasters

in Mr. Dutton's words, "he (Mondale) is

the nomination, these experts agree. But,

a dynamic coalition is a Joke," says Mr.

ments. "The idea that Mondale is building

built a coalition formed of entirely new ele-

ganizational perceptions of himself, only

the special-interest constituency, only or-

Mr. Dutton agrees. "He is providing only

election this year. But he is John

says Mr. Sears, "he might well win the

and inarticulate and who can't muster a

(Sen. John) Glenn, who is very haphazard

Walter) Mondale, a mirror of the past, and

to choose between (former Vice President

"If John Glenn weren't John Glenn,"

"Mondale is appealing to things past,"

past orientation."

real challenge."

Franklin Roosevelt, the strategists note,

Mr. Mondale's strategy may win him

move later" in the general election.

The strategists share some warm

Will Mark Any Major Changes or Trends

Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal By JAMES M. PERRY

so much of it. cass the presidential campaign don't think to lunch by The Wall Street Journal to disstrategists and long-range thinkers invited big thing out of 1984, but five political WASHINGTON-George Orwell made a

Sears, former campaign chief for Ronald the broad context of things," says John "This isn't likely to be a big election in

"I think we're in for a period of contin-

ual drifting," says Fred Dutton, adviser to

tion-most think Mr. Reagan is a decided No matter who wins the November elec-





mer Lyndon Johnson aide, may be becom-

much." Politics, adds Horace Busby, for-

doesn't think "1984 can muster all that

Phillips, a populist-leaning conservative,

As for any substantive significance, Kevin

ing more irrelevant: "We don't have anything to turn to politics to decide for us."

As these political sages seek to put this year's election into some historical perspective, they aren't very upbeat about either party, although political scientist Austin Ranney argues that at least the Democrats are showing some life in Congress. (For biographies of these strategists, see accompanying story.)

The Democrats, the five strategists agree, are in disarray. "Lost," says Mr. Dutton, and no one demurs. With the possible exception of Mr. Ranney, everyone thinks Mr. Reagan will be reelected. But that shouldn't be cause for rejoicing, they concur, for his second term probably would be a disaster.

The strategists criticized the failure of the Democrats to match policies and candidates at the presidential-campaign level.

'Franchise Operation'

"The Democratic Party is a franchise operation," says Mr. Busby. "McDonald's, or whatever. It's the kind of thing I grew up with in Texas, in which every candidate built his own party with his own money, his own workers and his own managers."

"The presidential Democratic Party," says Mr. Ranney, "is to a political party what the United Nations is to a government. It is a coalition, very temporary and very limited."

There are opportunities for candidates to break out of the pack and seize the public imagination, the strategists agree. But they don't think any of the Democrats are succeeding in that.

"It strikes me," says Mr. Phillips,

"His greatest contribution," says Mr. Sears, "is that he demonstrated the government could be run. Maybe not perfectly. But he showed it could be run and that Congress, though divided politically, could show enough support to do something."

'Feeling of Uplift'

"Win, lose or draw," says Mr. Ranney, "Reagan has made it at least possible for us to look at our leader with a feeling of uplift."

As for the Republican Party, Mr. Sears says the best thing to be said is that it's an activist party. "For the first time in years, the Republicans came into office in 1980 not just as a group of people who might not be as bad as the other guys, but as people who had pledged to do some very different things. And they had impact. There is a new feeling we have to find ways not to spend so much money. That's totally different from anything the last 40 years."

The Republicans are still setting the national agenda, says Mr. Dutton. "The far left at this stage has really disappeared."

But, if Mr. Reagan suddenly disappeared, the outlook for the Republicans wouldn't be so bright.

At its base, says Mr. Phillips, the symbol of the GOP's ideology is the Cadillac Fleetwood, "It isn't a viable governing

breaking apart, with its right wing taking a walk, if it ever appeared that the likes of a George Bush or a Howard Baker were going to inherit power.

Mr. Sears believes Americans are becoming more interested in politics. He expects a real debate to occur within both parties in 1988, marking that election as crucial.

"We'll come out of that, hopefully, with some better solutions to all of this," he says.

Five Experts Wrote Over a Dozen Books, Advised Politicians

Three Are Democrats and
Two Are Republicans but
All Defy Simple Labels &

A WALL STREET JOURNAL News Roundup

The panel of political experts assembled to discuss the 1984 political campaign have written more than a dozen books and hundreds of articles on American politics, advised a score of national politicians of both parties and held a number of high government posts.

Politically, three are Democrats and two are Republicans. Ideologically, three gener-



ZIMBIA

Top row, left to right: Kevin Phillips, John Sears, Horace Busby. Bottom row: Austin Ranney, Fred Dutton.

ally are called conservatives while the others are considered moderate to liberal. But all five are iconoclastic enough to defy simple labels. In brief, they are:

HORACE BUSBY: The head of a Washington consulting firm and publisher of the Busby Papers, a twice-a-month analysis of political trends. The 59-year-old Mr. Busby, a conservative Texas Democrat, was secretary to the cabinet under President Johnson.

FRED DUTTON: A 60-year-old Washington lawyer and chief lobbyist for Saudi Arabia. Mr. Dutton was assistant secretary of state for congressional relations under President Kennedy and an adviser to the late Robert Kennedy and former California Gov. Jerry Brown.

KEVIN PHILLIPS: Author, former Republican strategist and publisher of the American Political Report, a biweekly newsletter. The 43-year-old Mr. Phillips was special assistant to the attorney general during the Nixon administration.

AUSTIN RANNEY: A resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and former president of the American Political Science Association. The 63-year-old Mr. Ranney is a prolific author and has served on a number of Democratic Party commissions.

JOHN SEARS: The 43-year-old Mr. Sears was Ronald Reagan's campaign manager in 1976 and the early part of the 1980 campaign. He also was deputy counsel to the president in the Nixon administration. He now is a Washington lawyer.

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON 11/22

TO: MICHAEL DEAVER

In your absence, the attached letter was submitted by NRSC. They needed approval by November 18th.

The letter has been signed-off on by Jim Baker, Fred Fielding and Dick Darman.

Margaret

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

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT PERKINS

FROM:

MARGARET TUTWILER MO

DATE:

NOVEMBER 22, 1983

SUBJECT:

ATTACHED LETTER

Attached is the resolicitation letter to be sent to members of the NRSC Presidential Task Force which you submitted for approval. With the noted changes, the letter has been approved by James Baker, Fred Fielding and Richard Darman.

It is our understanding that this is a $\frac{\text{one-time mailing}}{40,000}$ which will be dropped to approximately $\frac{40,000}{40,000}$ contributors on December 28th.

Dick Darman has asked what procedure will be used for printing the President's signature.

TASK FORCE

Ronald Reagan FOUNDER

Richard G. Lugar CHAIRMAN March 3,1983

Mrs. Margaret R. La Shelle 42 Clifton Terrace Weehawken, New Jersey 07087

Dear Mrs. La Shelle:

I'm writing to you personally to thank you for your financial support of the Republican Presidential Task Force.

Your steadfast commitment to our Presidential Task Force will always have special meaning to me.

You see, it was your unselfish generosity to the Task Force that proved it could do exactly what I prayed it would when I invited your membership.

For the first time in over half a century the Republican Party has successfully retained control of the United States Senate for longer than just two years.

Maintaining control of the Senate was my No. 1 political objective in 1982. And I'm happy to say we succeeded, with your help.

America may never know the debt of gratitude it owes you, Mrs. La Shelle. But I know. And I want you to know I'll never forget the personal and financial sacrifices you made.

Together we protected our precious Senate Majority during the 1981/82 election cycle. And together I'm confident we'll again repeat that accomplishment during the 1983/84 election cycle.

That's why it's a pleasure for me to send you your 1983 Task Force Membership Card. I urge you to sign it -- and carry it proudly... for it symbolizes your continued commitment to maintaining Republican control of the Senate.

When you originally became a Charter Member of the Task Force we reserved Member No. 091 177 just for you. And your 1983 Membership Card has been marked with this

408 C Street, Northeast • Washington, D.C. 20002
Paid for and authorized by the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

okw.JAB
charges "fr
"hasped "fr.
"hasped "fr.
"hasped ok
as corrected

exclusive number.

Even more important, your name on this card identifies you as a special friend who realizes these next few years may well be our last chance to rebuild our defenses and stabilize our economy.

But to restore our nation's economic and military strength, it's absolutely essential that scontinue to have a Republican Majority in the Senate, backing me up.

That's why I'm counting on you to send as generous a contribution as you can when you rededicate your commitment to our Republican Presidential Task Force.

Remember, during this election cycle both the Majority in the Senate and the Presidency are at risk.

And if the other side wins, they're certain to begin pursuing those dangerous liberal policies that once threatened our very survival as a free and independent people.

Think back for a moment to the days just prior to the 1980 elections when the Democrats controlled both the White House and the Senate.

At that time...

... American flags and American citizens were being dragged through the gutters of foreign capitals.

... American military power had deteriorated to a dangerous level.

... Every trip to the supermarket was an inflationary nightmare, especially for Americans on Social Security.

And government was treating American enterprise like it owned your business and American spiritual values like it owned your soul.

Certainly we've had some impressive victories over the past two years, but the result of pursuing forty years of liberal policies cannot be changed overnight.

That's why I want you to know that I am rededicating my efforts to continue our struggle to guarantee a more prosperous and secure future for all Americans.

And by continuing your support of the Republican Presidential Task Force, you'll be telling a grateful President that you are also rededicating yourself to this

same vision.

That means you'll be working with me and Senator Dick Lugar, our new Task Force Chairman, in safeguarding what is absolutely essential in reaching our goal: a continuing Republican Majority in the Senate.

As you probably already know, we must protect 19 Republican Senators during the 1984 elections, while the Democrats risk only 14 of their own.

So we have five extra chances of losing Republican Senators. And that's exactly the number of Senators the Democrats need to recapture control of the Senate.

And you've only to open a newspaper or turn on your television to see that the battle has already begun.

Every pressure group with a stake in big-government and tax-paid handouts has already taken the field against us.

But with your continued membership in our Presidential Task Force, I'm confident of victory on behalf of an America that's been mankind's flame of hope for over two centuries.

It's always fallen upon the few with vision to sacrifice for the many who cannot see.

My gratitude for all you're doing and the pride I take in our friendship are without limit.

God bless you.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

P.S. Remember, our opponents are determined and they've already begun implementing their plan to defeat at least five of our Incumbent Senators.

So I urge you to return your rededication contribution in the postage-free envelope I've enclosed.

That way you'll be helping our new Chairman Dick Lugar get off to a rousing start and insure we do everything possible to protect our precious Majority. Thank you!

11/14/83

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

till

MEMORANDUM FOR SHERRIE COOKSEY

FROM:

MARGARET TUTWILER MO

DATE:

NOVEMBER 15, 1983

SUBJECT:

ATTACHED LETTER TO GOP COUNTY CHAIRMEN

Sherrie, I understand from Ed Rollins' office that the attached letter was approved by Michael Deaver on September 29, 1983.

The RNC is now preparing to send the mailing out. It will go to county chairmen who are participating in the RNC's program of development. Per Fred Asbell at RNC, the number receiving the mailing is approximately 1,000.

They will be using a printed signature by "cutting and pasting" a signature from an earlier direct mail piece.

FYI.

cc: Michael K. Deaver

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM TO FRANK FAHRENKOPF

FROM:

ED ROLLINS ER M

DATE:

SEPTEMBER 30, 1983

RE:

APPROVAL FOR ATTACHED LETTER

Frank, the attached has been approved by the White House for your mailing to county chairmen who are participating in the RNC's program of development.

Hope it proves helpful to you.

RNC PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT LETTER

The attached letter is to be mailed to those county chairmen who are participating in the RNC's program of development at the local party level.

Ed Rollins approves of the letter.

APPROVED	
DISAPPROVE	ED

Frank Faulagh. Wereld like yours

SEP 29 1000.



Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr. Chairman



August 29, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR ED ROLLINS

SUBJECT:

Request for Letter from President

Attached is a draft letter from the President to be mailed to those county chairmen who are participating in the RNC's program of development at the local party level.

We would like to send it out as soon as possible as a further inducement to continue participation in our county program.

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.

Enclosure FF/pbh

August 29, 1983

DRAFT

This is the draft letter from President Reagan to the Republican County Chairmen.

Dear	:

Thank you for your participation in our effort to rebuild the Republican Party at the grass roots.

In preparation for 1984, we are making an unprecedented effort to strengthen our party, particularly at the county and local level. It is the nuts and bolts organizing by local GOP leaders like you that will be the key to victory for our candidates at all levels.

Thank you again for your willingness to participate in this important program. Your continuing advice and assistance are crucial to Republican National Committee Chairman, Frank Fahrenkopf and his staff as they work to make 1984 the best year yet for our party at the polls.

With best regards,

Ronald Reagan

fell

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL DEAVER

FROM:

MARGARET TUTWILER MOT

DATE:

NOVEMBER 21, 1983

SUBJECT:

ATTACHED LETTER FOR REAGAN-BUSH '84

In your absence, the attached letter under the President's signature was approved for use by Reagan-Bush '84. It is a thank-you to be sent to contributors who responded to the Reagan-Bush '84 direct mail piece signed by the President.

Reagan-Bush '84 was under a time crunch on this. As you can see, the letter was signed-off on by Jim Baker, Fred Fielding and Dick Darman. MEMORANDUM TO MARGARET TUTWILER

FROM:

ED ROLLINS

DATE:

NOVEMBER 17, 1983

RE:

REOUEST FOR PRESIDENTIAL SIGNATURE

I've attached a draft of the letter we would hope to have approved for use under the President's signature.

The letter is a thank-you in response to contributors who responded to our direct mail piece signed by the President.

While I am the first one to reject requests for the President's signature, it <u>does</u> make sense that since the President made the request for contributions that he be the one to thank them for responding.

I'd appreciate anything you could do to expedite the approval.

Let me know if this presents any problems.

As always, many thanks.

N. M.D

11/18/83

Dear Mr. Doe:

Nancy and I wanted to let you know how deeply appreciative we are for your contribution to the Reagan-Bush '84 Committee.

Since taking office in January, 1981, both Nancy and I have been overwhelmed by the support and encouragement which you and so many Americans have conveyed.

Many years ago, Thomas Paine said, "We have it in our power to make the world over again." The tremendous support and confidence you have given my administration and the support you are now giving to the Reagan-Bush '84 Committee are critical steps in making the world over again for Americans and all people who cherish freedom.

It is my sincere hope that you and I, working together, can continue to forge the new beginning which our nation deserves. Once again, please accept my most sincere personal thanks and appreciation for your kindness and support.

God bless you.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 3, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR WHITE HOUSE STAFF

FROM:

JAMES A. BAKER, III ABJU

SUBJECT:

Political Activity

By now each of you should have received a copy of a memorandum from Fred Fielding on the above-referenced subject. On Monday, November 7, 1983 at 2:00 pm in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building there will be a briefing on this subject. Every member of the White House Staff ("Hatched" personnel included) should attend this briefing.

It is incumbent upon each of you to read the memorandum and understand its contents. Please have any questions on this subject ready for presentation at the November 7 meeting. As will be explained in the briefing, it is most important that all members of the White House Staff be familiar with all aspects of prescribed and proscribed conduct with regard to the upcoming campaign.

Please make the necessary arrangements to attend.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

October 31, 1983

Sol file

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER III

MICHAEL K. DEAVER

FROM:

EDWARD J. ROLLINS

RE:

Reagan-Bush '84 Update

Our chief goal in the two weeks since we opened has been to finalize the choices for Co-Chairman of the campaign and for the 50 state Chairmen.

Phoenix Mayor Margaret Hance has agreed to Senator Laxalt's request to serve as Co-Chairman of Reagan-Bush '84. Senator Laxalt will send a final list of all the choices to the President today.

Senator Laxalt intends to begin notifying all the designatees on Tuesday. He expects to have contacted all of them by Thursday.

Reagan-Bush '84 will coordinate with Ken Duberstein to notify the Congressional delegation.

We plan to hold a press conference on Monday, November 7 to announce all the choices. We do not anticipate any further media activity until after the President announces.

Neither Margaret Hance nor any of the state Chairmen have been publicly announced.

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

October 19, 1983



Mr. William Phillips Chief of Staff Republican National Committee 310 First Street, S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003

Dear Bill:

Per our conversation, attached is the draft letter which you submitted for use in the RNC's First Renewal Mailing. Please note the four handwritten changes made by James A. Baker, III.

In the absence of Michael Deaver, this letter has been approved by James Baker, Fred Fielding, Richard Darman and Ed Rollins with Mr. Baker's changes.

As we discussed, it is our understanding that:

- 1) this fundraising letter will be dropped once to the entire RNC mailing list (approximately 1.4 million names) on December 2, 1983;
- 2) the letter will have the appropriate disclaimer "Paid for and authorized by the Republican National Committee;"
- 3) the RNC has obtained the information it needs from GSA and the Post Office to purge its mailing list of all Federal addresses and has done so prior to the mailing.
- 4) the return addresses for contributions received as a result of this mailing does not contain the President's name and P.O. Box:
- 5) the membership card does not contain a picture of the Presidential seal.

Please let us know if there are any further questions.

Sincerely,

Margaret D. Tutwiler

Special Assistant to the President and Executive Assistant to the

Chief of Staff

James A. Baker, III/Michael K. Deaver/Fred Fielding/ Richard G. Darman/Ed Rollins

4 Changes

Republican National Committee First Renewal (R-1) Alternate 3 October 1983

Dear Mrs. Solan:

I feel you and I are in a special partnership together, a partnership dedicated to rebuilding our nation.

That is why it is such a privilege for me to present you with your new 1984 Sustaining Membership card, which is a symbol of our dedication to achieving the goals we share for America.

To a degree parallelled by few other Americans, you have directly helped me, my Administration and our Party bring about the most dramatic change in government policy in 50 years.

Without your financial support of the National Committee, I could not have taken the first critical and long-overdue steps to restore economic stability and strengthen our nation's security.

As a result of our major tax and spending cuts, people are going back to work and there is again hope and optimism in our country.

And thanks to our long term commitment to rebuild and modernize our armed forces, we have let the world know that once again America will do what is necessary to protect our vital national interests.

Now I am hopeful you will help me complete our unfinished agenda for America by renewing your membership in our Party for 1984.

I am the first to recognize that if we lose the 1984 election to the Democrats, we will also lose, perhaps forever, the opportunity to carry to completion the programs that will ensure a better, more secure future for you and every American.

That's why your renewed financial commitment to the National Committee today is particularly critical.

The Committee will be making absolutely indispensable direct cash expenditures of \$6.4 million for our Presidential campaign after the National Convention in Dallas.

And above and beyond the key role the Committee will play in our Presidential effort, your membership renewal will help determinine whether or not we can retain our Senate majority and increase our strength in the House of Representatives next year.

As I watch events unfold on Capitol Hill and listen to what our Democratic opponents say, I am convinced that the election of a liberal Democratic President would be a disaster for you, me and generations of Americans that will follow us.

Our opponents have already declared they want to repeal our tax cut and restore their billion dollar welfare spending programs. They have also said they will impose a one-sided "nuclear freeze" on our nation and slow down, if not stop, our national defense build up which is so necessary to maintain world peace and our freedom.

The Democrats are making unjust and irresponsible attacks on us daily, falsely charging our cuts in wasteful spending programs have caused "misery" and "hardship" for our fellow citizens.

They are being supported by a well-financed coalition of special interest groups intent on restoring the taxpayer-funded giveaways that for years were the source of their income and political power.

To counter this liberal attempt to win back complete control of our government, the National Committee, which is spearheading our entire national campaign effort, has set a budget goal of \$XX.X million for 1984, its largest election year budget ever.

This figure represents the minimum the Committee must raise to fund its entire range of campaign programs, including cash to candidates, national advertising and a variety of key support services for our Presidential, Senatorial, and Congressional campaigns.

But they can only raise this sum if you renew your Membership now. Truly, if members as dedicated as you fail to make a renewal contribution to the Committee, our entire campaign will be in jeopardy.

I hope you will consider all that is at stake for our country when you sit down to write your check, and make every effort to increase your membership contribution for 1984.

We have worked too hard to repair the damage done by the last Democrat Administration to let them return to power and restore the same failed policies which brought America to the brink of economic collapse and strategic inferiority just three years ago.

Between now and the election I will devote every spare moment I can to taking our message of hope and optimism to the voters, contrasting our record of achievement to the Democrats' proven record of failure.

But X cannot win this election without your help as an active 1984 Sustaining Member. I pray I can count on you to play an important role in completing our unfinished agenda and making our vision of a stronger, freer and more prosperous America a reality.

Sincerely,

Ronald Reagan .

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 19, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MARGARET TUTWILER

SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

AND EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO THE CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM:

SHERRIE M. COOKSEY

ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

RNC Mailing for Presidential Signature

I can approve the attached letter on the basis that each of the following steps are agreed to by the RNC. (I am reasonably confident that the RNC has taken or will have taken these steps before this letter is mailed.)

- 1. The letter must have the appropriate disclaimer, i.e., "Paid for and authorized by the Republican National Committee".
- 2. The RNC has obtained the information it needs from GSA and the Post Office to purge its mailing lists of all Federal addresses and has done so prior to this mailing.
- 3. The return address for contributions received as a result of this mailing does $\underline{\text{not}}$ contain the President's name and a P.O. Box.
- 4. The membership card does not contain a picture of the Presidential Seal.

cc: Fred F. Fielding

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 18, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF

FROM:

JAMES A. BAKER, III JABI

SUBJECT:

REASSIGNMENT OF FUNCTIONS PERFORMED BY THE OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

With the establishment of the re-election committee, Reagan-Bush '84, the White House Office of Political Affairs will go out of existence.

The responsibilities performed by that office are to be transferred to the following individuals:

- -- Margaret Tutwiler, Special Assistant to the President and Executive Assistant to the Chief of Staff, will become the White House Liaison with the Republican National Committee, the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, the Republican Senate Campaign Committee, and the Reagan-Bush '84 Committee. Her office (in conjunction with the Administrative Office) will also coordinate and approve any political travel by White House staff or any White House event in which Republican National Committee funds might be used, and will be responsible for coordinating White House assistance to the re-election efforts of Republican Members of Congress.
- -- Michael A. McManus, Assistant to the President and Deputy to the Deputy Chief of Staff, will be the White House liaison on all matters relating to the 1984 Republican Convention. He will also coordinate with the Reagan-Bush '84 Committee on Presidential scheduling and advance activities, as well as the surrogate program.
- -- Ken Duberstein, Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs, and his office will now serve as the White House liaison with Republican Members of Congress on non-legislative political matters.

All contacts with the RNC and the campaign committees should be coordinated through Margaret Tutwiler unless such contacts are in accordance with procedures specifically approved by the Chief of Staff.

JAB TAIKED TO LAXAIT - 3.63 P.M.

Final Draft/2 PV 19 October 1983 ED ROllins is TO SEND A COPY
of ORIGINAL & This TO LAXALT ASAP

MOT CALLED ROllins WITH MO COMMENT

e JAB Changes & informed of JAB

CALL TO LAXALT - 10/25

MOT

Dear Mr. Smith:

As you probably know, I have recently authorized Senator Paul Laxalt to establish my re-election committee.

In advance of my formal announcement, I would like to take a private moment to ask you personally to become one of the first members of my official re-election committee.

the first members of my official re-election committee.

As a contributor to our Party, you have been so instrumental to the success of my first term that I can't imagine launching my campaign without your full support and active participation.

When I took the oath of office as President, you and I embarked on a historic mission to restore economic stability and rebuild our dangerously weakened national defenses.

I am deeply proud of what we have accomplished in just 34 months. We enacted the largest tax reduction in our nation's history and we cut the rate of growth in government spending for the first time in nearly fifty years.

As a result, inflation, mortgage, and interest rates have dropped dramatically. And over 103 million Americans are employed, 2 million more than when I took office.

Today renewed hope and optimism for the future have replaced the economic fears and uncertainties that plagued our nation when I entered office.

And men and women who serve our country in uniform around the world can once again hold their heads high because we have reversed America's tragic deterioration as a military power.

Despite our record of achievement, I am the first to recognize that the agenda we set for America is unfinished.

another

Yet if a liberal Democrat is elected President in 1984 our agenda will never be completed. Even worse, if we lose this election all that we've already accomplished would be overturned and destroyed within a matter of weeks or months.

After many talks with Nancy, we decided it simply would not be right for me to walk away from the White House when the goals for our nation have not yet been fully achieved.

The responsibilities of the Presidency are heavy. It is a demanding task that requires many personal sacrifices and I am well aware, obviously, of the physical dangers that accompany the office.

But these personal considerations pale when I weigh them against My belief that it will require another four years of responsible, conservative government to set America on a permanent course towards a safer, more prosperous future.

In the years ahead, I want to secure a lasting peace for our nation and the world. That is why I will do everything in my power to reach a mutually verifiable nuclear arms reduction accord with the Soviet Union.

But you and I can never forget that Soviet leaders place no value on human life and wantonly disregard internationally recognized standards of civilized behavior. They respect only strength.

We must, therefore, continue to modernize our nuclear and conventional military forces so that we can negotiate with the Soviets from a position of strength, not weakness.

At home, my number one priority is to carry to completion the economic recovery we are now experiencing.

I believe we stand on the verge of an economic rebirth that will bring greater prosperity to every American worker and ensure financial security for our nation's elderly.

The historic tax and spending cuts enacted in 1981 were the first critically needed steps in reducing the size and power of the federal government and in creating an economic climate that encourages private investment.

I am convinced that the undeniable progress we have made in streamlining the operation of scores of federal agencies, which has gone all but unreported in the national media, has contributed greatly to our growing prosperity.

But you and I have only begun this process. In the years ahead I will press vigorously for further cuts in wasteful spending programs, while at the same time working to build an even stronger social safety net for

disadvantaged Americans who truly need our help.

There are a host of other economic, social and foreign policy issues on my agenda for a second term.

The fight for a balanced federal budget, the crusade to restore prayer to our classrooms, the need to defuse the Cuban-Soviet threat in Central America, the battle to carry out all the programs I vowed to work for in 1980 -- these are all critical priorities for me.

But I cannot fulfill the vision you and I share of America's future if the Democrats win the Presidency.

I know I have written you in the past, asking you to contribute to our Party. I am grateful for the generous way you have responded to my appeals on the Party's behalf.

But because of the magnitude of what is at stake for our nation in the 1984 Presidential election, I hope you will join the Reagan-Bush '84 Committee by sending your most generous contribution today.

Let me emphasize that this committee is the only organization which I have personally authorized to raise and spend funds, on my behalf.

I understand from talking with my campaign chairman, Senator Paul Laxalt, and my finance chairman, Joe Rodgers, that we need to raise an initial \$1,750,000 by December 15th to launch our campaign.

These funds are needed to begin a national campaign that must reach 112 million voters in all 50 states, and motivate them to go to the polls next November to carry forward the conservative revolution we began in 1980.

Since I am relying on you to spearhead our campaign effort with me, I have asked that committee membership credentials in the form of a special card be prepared for you and enclosed with my letter.

Please validate this card by signing your name above mine. I hope you will carry it with you as a symbol of our partnership in this campaign with the .

In addition to making a financial contribution to my campaign, I have two additional favors to ask you.

First, I am eager to learn about issues you feel I should stress in the upcoming campaign.

That's why I have included space on your acceptance form for you to write me a personal note if you wish. Your

comments will be forwarded directly to the White House.

I want you to know that even if you would just like to write a note of personal encouragement, Nancy and I would both be very appreciative.

Second, if you can also volunteer your time to help my campaign in your community, please let me know. I would be deeply grateful to learn of your active support, in addition to your financial contribution.

Magan-Grante Committee

While I am confident of victory in this election, you and I both know the opposition from the Democrats, liberal special interest groups and professional welfare lobbyists will be intense and well-financed.

Led by their Presidential candidates, the Democrats have vowed to dismantle every part of our legislative program if they recapture the White House in 1984.

They would reinstitute the very same high tax and spend policies, which brought us record high inflation and interest rates and which had brought us to the economic crisis I inherited in the first place.

Even worse, they would return America to a defense policy that will, once again, lead to military inferiority and jeopardize our national security.

Nancy and I have decided to make the sacrifices needed to fulfil the mandate I received from the voters in 1980.

But I cannot win this election, nor accomplish the goals I have outlined in this letter, without your commitment of financial support.

So please, I urge you to send your contribution of XX, or even XXX, today along with your suggestions.

Your past support has helped me fundamentally redirect our nation's course. I pray I can count on you now to rededicate yourself to the goals and the vision we share by joining my re-election committee.

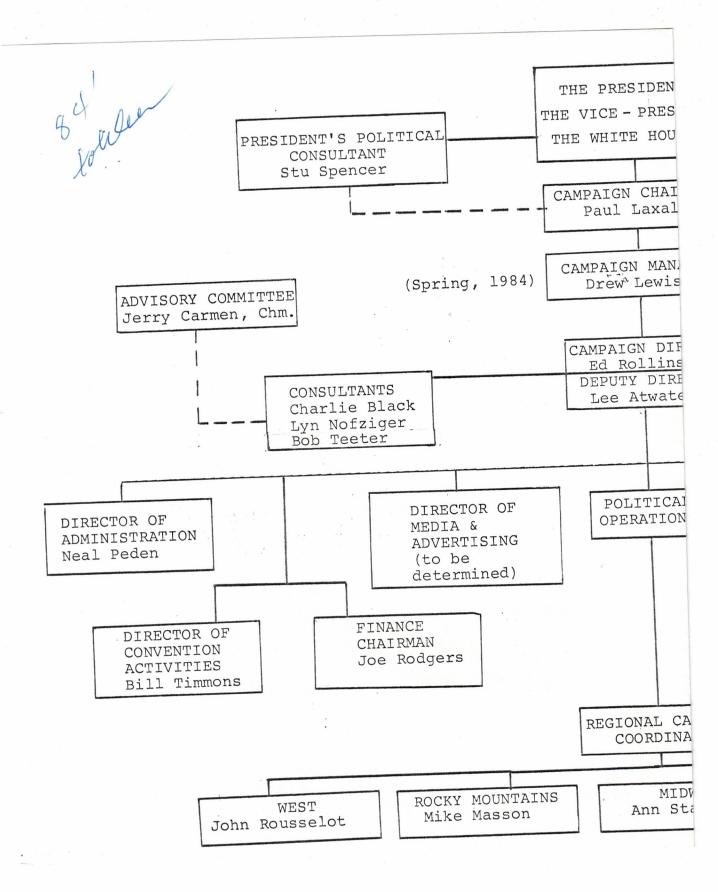
I want to complete our conservative agenda and build a secure and prosperous nation which you and I and every American can proudly leave to our children and grandchildren.

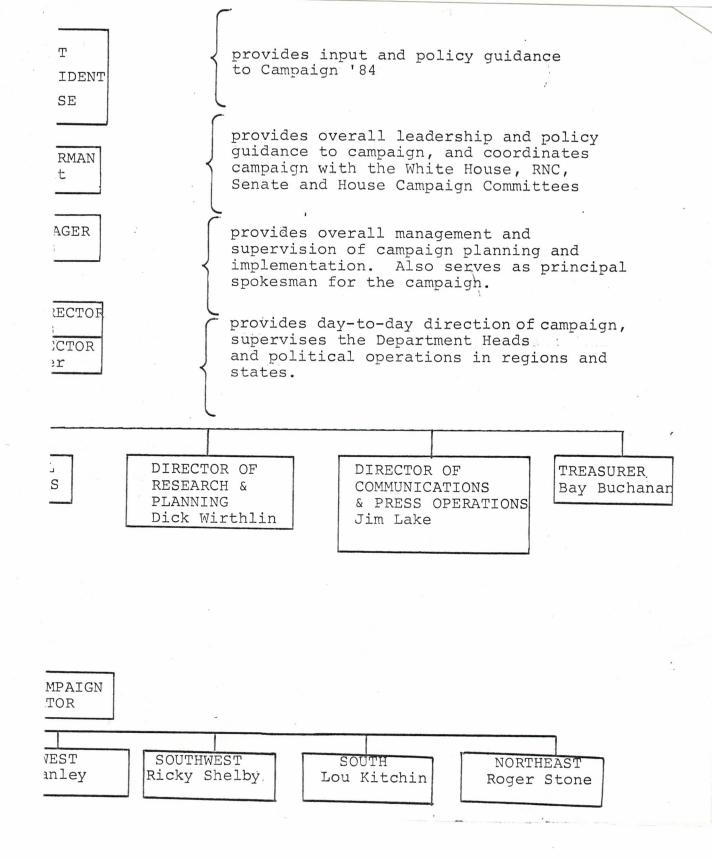
With God's blessing and your help we will succeed.

Sincerely,

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF CANDIDACY BY INCUMBENT PRESIDENTS SINCE 1940

	All of parties and the second	
Election	President	Date & Notes
1980	Carter	December 4, 1979
1976	Ford	July 8, 1975
1972	Nixon	January 9, 1972
		(Though CRP had been working for, months, this was the day that Nixon wrote to the chairman of his New Hampshire campaign to declare his candidacy officially. From Memoirs.)
1964	Johnson	No exact date found. Began political planning in early March, 1964, with assignment of Bill Moyers to oversee Democratic media campaign.
		(Note: Johnson announced he would not run for a second term on March 31, 1968. He had been a candidate in the New Hampshire primary without officially announcing.)
1956	Eisenhower	February 29, 1956
1948	Truman	March 9, 1948
		(Truman's availability and desire to run was communicated to the press by Sen. J. Howard McGrath. Truman himself made no such announcement. After losing the New Hampshire primary, Truman announced he would not seek another term in March, 1952.)
1944	Roosevelt (4th)	July 11, 1944
1940	Roosevelt (3rd)	Accepted a "draft" for third term at Democratic Convention, July, 1940 (Roosevelt made no official announcement on a third term prior to the convention.)





PENDING DECISIONS

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• Name of the Committee Rwintlein Sto

- Sign-off on State Chairmen
- Sign-off on State Finance Chairmen
- Announcement time frame
- Sign-off on Direct Mail package
- Decision on Media Director
- Decision on Convention Manager Row Walker
- Decision on documentary film for Convention Crew to Far Fost
- Start-up of the Committee and press plan for period October 17 November 1
- Definition of the campaign decision process; i.e. what does the White House sign-off on?
- Definition of Drew Lewis' role and time frame

Reagan Re-Election Committee

Americans for Reagan
Americans for Reagan-84
Americans for Reagan-Bush
Americans for Reagan & Bush
Americans for Reagan Bush '84
Americans for President Reagan
Americans to Re-Elect President Reagan
Americans in Support of President Reagan
Americans in Support of the President
Americans to Re-Elect Reagan Bush
Americans to Re-Elect President Reagan
Americans to Re-Elect President Reagan
Americans for the President
Americans United for Reagan-Bush

America for Reagan
America for Reagan

America for Reagan-Bush America for Reagan-Bush '84

People for Reagan
People for Reagan-84
People for Reagan-Bush
People for Reagan-Bush '84

Reagan-Bush
Reagan-Bush Re-Election Committee
Reagan-Bush '84
Reagan-Bush Committee
Reagan-Bush for America

Re-Elect Reagan Re-Elect Ronald Reagan Re-Elect Reagan Bush Re-Elect President Reagan

Citizens for Reagan
Citizens for Reagan-Bush
Citizens for Reagan-Bush--'84
Citizens to Re-Elect President Reagan
Citizens for the President

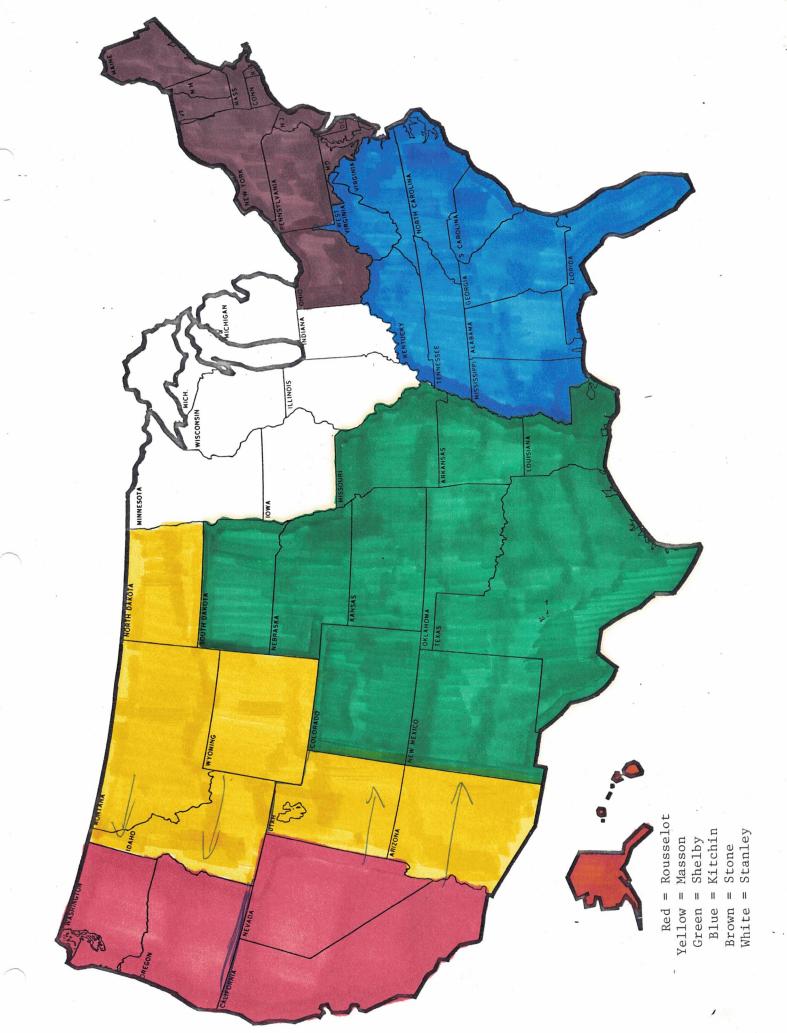
Campaign for Reagan-Bush Campaign for the President

President Reagan Committee President Reagan's Campaign for a Great America

Committee for President Reagan Committee for Reagan Bush 84 Committee for the President Committee to Re-Elect President Reagan and Vice President Bush Committee to Re-Elect Reagan-Bush

CAMPAIGN TIME TABLE

	CAMPAIGN TIME TABLE
October 1	Sign-off on direct mail packageSign-off on Organizational Structure
October 5	 Sign-off on State Chairmen and State Finance Chairmen
October 6-15	 Notification of State Chairmen and State Finance Chairmen on a tentative basis. Party officials, Members of Congress and Republican Governors will also be informed
	• Tentative decision are made on:
October 6-15	
	 Headquarters Space layout Telephone system Office equipment and furniture Payroll structure and insurance plans Phase I staffing Security arrangements
	• Press plan
October 15	 White House Office of Political Affairs closed down
October 17	 Authorized Committee is established FEC document filed Headquarters opened Printing of Direct Mail piece begins Loan arrangements are made
October 18- November 1	 Official announcement of State Campaign Chairmen and Committees; National Campaign and staff
November 1	 Have "in hand" \$5,000 from 20 states of contributions of \$250 or less
November 2	 The President leaves on Far East trip - (during trip, no campaign activity)
November 1-7	 Campaign implementation plan is drafted at Spencer's ranch in Oregon. (Participants: Spencer, Rollins, Atwater, Black, Wirthlin and Media Consultant)
November 10	 First Direct Mail piece is mailed 2 million pieces
November 15	• First mail should be delivered
November 15-3	Money from mail solicitation starts coming in (hopefully)



Dear Mr. Smith:

I will soon go on national television to formally announce my decision to seek a second term as your President.

I wanted to write you today, in advance of my announcement, and ask you to become a member of my official re-election committee.

I am asking for your help, because I so deeply appreciate and admire your loyal support of our Party.

Since your past support has meant so much to me personally, I would like to take a moment to share with you the concerns that led me to the decision to seek a second term.

When I took the oath of office as President, you and I together embarked on a historic mission to carry out the mandate entrusted to me to restore economic stability and rebuild our dangerously weakened national defenses.

I must tell you I am proud of what we have accomplished in just 34 months.

We enacted the largest tax reduction in our nation's history and we cut the rate of growth in government spending for the first time in nearly fifty years.

Today inflation, mortgage, and interest rates have dropped dramatically. And over 103 million Americans are employed, 600,000 more than when I took office.

Yet despite our record of achievement, I am the first to recognize that the agenda we have set for America is unfinished.

After long discussions with Nancy, we both decided it simply would not be right for me to walk away from the White House with our goals for our nation not fully achieved.

The responsibilities of the Presidency are heavy. It is a demanding task that requires many personal sacrifices and I am well aware, obviously, of the physical dangers that accompany the office.

But, frankly, these personal considerations paled when I weighed them against my belief that it will require another four years of responsible, conservative government to set America on a permanent course towards a more secure, prosperous future.

In the years ahead, I want to secure a lasting peace for our nation and the world. That is why I will do everything in my power to reach a mutually verifiable nuclear arms reduction accord with the Soviet Union.

But when negotiating with the Soviet leadership, we are dealing with men who place no value on human life and who wantonly disregard individual rights and freedom. They respect only strength.

We must, therefore, continue to modernize our nuclear and conventional military forces so that we can negotiate with the Soviets from a position of strength not weakness.

At home, my number one priority is to carry to completion the economic recovery we are now experiencing.

I believe we stand on the verge of an economic rebirth that will bring greater prosperity to every American worker and ensure financial security for our nation's elderly.

The historic tax and spending cuts enacted in 1981 were the first critically needed steps in reducing the size and power of the federal government and creating an economic climate that encouraged private investment.

But we have only begun this process. In the years ahead I want to press vigorously for further cuts in wasteful federal spending programs, while at the same time working to build an even stronger social safety net for disadvantaged Americans who truly need our help.

I am convinced that the undeniable progress we have made in in streamlining the day to day operation of scores of Federal agencies, which has gone all but unreported in the national media, is directly responsible, along with our tax and budget cuts, for our current economic upturn.

We must continue to further reduce in the years ahead unnecessary government regulation of business and industry and eliminate waste of your tax dollars.

There are a host of other economic, social and foreign

policy issues on my agenda for a second term.

The fight for a balanced federal budget, the crusade to restore prayer to our classrooms, the need to defuse the Cuban-Soviet threat in Central America, the battle to carry out all the programs I vowed to work for in 1980 - these are all critical priorities for me.

But I cannot fulfill the vision you and I share of America's future without your financial support. That is why I am asking you to become a member of my official campaign committee, the Reagan Re-election Committee.

Let me emphasize that this Committee is the only organization which I have personally authorized to raise and spend funds on my behalf.

I am counting you and other Committee members to help launch my campaign for a second term by making a special financial contribution to my Committee today.

I know I have written you in the past, asking you to contribute to our Party. And I am deeply grateful for the generous way you have responded to my appeals on the Party's behalf.

But I truly hope that, because of the magnitude of what is at stake for our nation in the 1984 Presidential election, you will be able to match, or even exceed, your previous most generous political contribution today.

I understand from talking with my campaign chairman, Senator Paul Laxalt, and my finance chairman, Joe Rodgers, that we need to raise an initial \$1,750,000 by December 15th to put our campaign operations into place in all 50 states.

And even more critically, we need to begin producing and airing national television advertising and undertaking early voter polling in critical swing states.

Since I am relying on you to spearhead our campaign effort with me, I have asked that Committee membership credentials in the form of a special card be enclosed for you with my letter.

Please validate this card by signing your name next to mine. I hope you will carry it with you as a symbol of our partnership in this campaign.

In addition to making a financial contribution to my campaign, I have two additional favors to ask you.

First, I am eager to learn about issues you feel I should stress in the upcoming campaign.

That's why I have included space on your acceptance form for you to write me a personal note if you wish. Your comments will be forwarded directly to me at the White House.

Even if you have no particular suggestions about the campaign, but would just like to write a note of encouragement, Nancy and I would both be very appreciative.

Second, if you can also volunteer your time to help my campaign in your community, would you please let me know. I would be deeply grateful to learn of your active support, in addition to your financial contribution.

While I remain confident of victory in this election, both you and I know the opposition from the Democrats, liberal special interest groups and from professional welfare lobbyists will be intense and well-financed.

Because I have followed my principles and refused to follow the short term quick fix solutions of the past, they are determined to stop us from completing our agenda.

And the liberal Democrats, led by their Presidential candidates and supported by powerful allies have vowed to dismantle every part of our legislative program if they recapture the White House in 1984.

That's why I am asking today for your support. Nancy and I are willing to make the sacrifices needed to fulfill over the next four years the mandate I received from the voters in 1980.

But I cannot win this election, nor accomplish the goals I have outlined in this letter, without your commitment of financial support.

So please, I urge you to send your contribution of XX, or even XXX, today.

When I am re-elected President, I will dedicate the next four years of my life to finishing our conservative agenda and building a secure and prosperous America which you and I and every American can proudly leave to our children and grandchildren.

Your help over the last 2½ years has helped me redirect our nation's course. I pray that I can count on you now to rededicate yourself to the goals and the vision we share by joining my re-election committee.

God bless you,

RRC Reply form

Dear President Reagan:

I accept your invitation to join the Reagan Re-election Committee, the only organization authorized by you to raise and spend money on your Presidential campaign.

I agree with you that we need another four years to complete our unfinished agenda for our nation. I have checked below the amount of my contribution to help you launch our campaign. My check is payable to Reagan Re-election Committee.

/	/ \$HPC	/	/	\$UP G	/	/	\$	
							other	

Mr. John Doe 123 Main Street Anytown, Anystate 00000

/ / I want to volunteer to help you in your campaign. Please have a member of your campaign staff contact me. My phone number is:

/ / (Optional) I have written below some personal comments and thoughts for you as you begin the campaign.

PAID FOR BY REAGAN RE-ELECTION COMMITTEE

USE THE SPACE BELOW FOR YOUR PERSONAL MESSAGE
TO PRESIDENT REAGAN

From the desk of Committee Member: John Doe

Dear Mr. President:

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REAGAN-BUSH '84 440 First Street, N.W. Suite 600 Washington, D.C. 20001 Set-ipfale on 1984 campaign

Donna:

I have several quick topics to discuss with Mike at our meeting. They are:

- The Campaign co-chairmanship NCA 1.
- Dan Terra, National finance co-chairmanship situation Call 2.
- Having the Rollins/Baker/Deaver/Tutwiler meeting at another time than breakfast 3.
- Update on 50 state chairmen--selected states
- Campaign administrative officer role 5.
- Campaign platform and issues development 6.

10/24/83 HLA/lew