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Tab B

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 4, 1982

TO: RICH WILLIAMSON

FYI

FROM: JIM MEDAS <sup>JM</sup>  
                                    <sup>BWRH</sup>

SUBJECT: GUBERNATORIAL RACES IN 1982 (36)

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I. Governorships up in 1982 presently held by Republicans  
(16 + Guam)

|              |            |
|--------------|------------|
| Alaska       | Hammond    |
| Arkansas     | White      |
| Illinois     | Thompson   |
| Iowa         | Ray        |
| Michigan     | Milliken   |
| Minnesota    | Quie       |
| Nebraska     | Thone      |
| Nevada       | List       |
| Oregon       | Atiyeh     |
| Pennsylvania | Thornburgh |
| South Dakota | Janklow    |
| Tennessee    | Alexander  |
| Texas        | Clements   |
| Ohio         | Rhodes     |
| Vermont      | Snelling   |
| Wisconsin    | Dreyfus    |

II. Governorships up in 1982 presently held by Democrats  
(20)

|               |          |
|---------------|----------|
| Alabama       | James    |
| Arizona       | Babbitt  |
| California    | Brown    |
| Colorado      | Lamm     |
| Connecticut   | O'Neill  |
| Florida       | Graham   |
| Georgia       | Busbee   |
| Hawaii        | Ariyoshi |
| Idaho         | Evans    |
| Kansas        | Carlin   |
| Maine         | Brennan  |
| Maryland      | Hughes   |
| Massachusetts | E. King  |
| New Hampshire | Gallen   |

|                |           |
|----------------|-----------|
| New Mexico     | B. King   |
| New York       | Carey     |
| Oklahoma       | Nigh      |
| Rhode Island   | Garrahy   |
| South Carolina | Riley     |
| Wyoming        | Herschler |

### III. Governorships up in 1982 - No incumbent likely

|            |                                      |
|------------|--------------------------------------|
| New York   | (Carey is not running)               |
| Alabama    | (possibly open)                      |
| California | (Brown running for Senate)           |
| New Mexico | (King cannot run by law)             |
| Ohio       | (Rhodes cannot run by law)           |
| Vermont    | (Snelling announced he will not run) |
| Alaska     | (Hammond cannot run by law)          |
| Georgia    | (Busbee cannot run by law)           |
| Minnesota  | (Quie is not running)                |
| Michigan   | (Milliken is not running)            |

### IV. Incumbent Republicans

#### A) Fund Raising Assistance

|              |                                                                                   |
|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Arkansas     | White                                                                             |
| Illinois     | Thompson (Fund raiser - September 1981)                                           |
| Oregon       | Atiyeh                                                                            |
| Pennsylvania | Thornburgh (already requested)                                                    |
| Tennessee    | Alexander (already requested)                                                     |
| Texas        | Clements (scheduled June 1982; President and Vice President tentative acceptance) |
| Wisconsin    | Dreyfus (already requested)                                                       |

#### B) Substantive and Political Assistance

|           |         |
|-----------|---------|
| Arkansas  | White   |
| Nevada    | List    |
| Oregon    | Atiyeh  |
| Wisconsin | Dreyfus |

#### C) Other Incumbents

|              |         |
|--------------|---------|
| Iowa         | Ray     |
| Nebraska     | Thone   |
| South Dakota | Janklow |



## STATES WITH INCUMBENT REPUBLICANS

### 1. Alaska

Governor Hammond cannot run for reelection. A key issue in Alaska is the Outer Continental Shelf Oil Lease Royalty Trust Fund. Alaska, California, Texas, and Louisiana are all concerned about the percentage of the Trust Fund that will be given to their state. The Trust Funds in Louisiana and Texas are quite large at this point (\$3 billion in Louisiana) and are the subject of settlement negotiations. There are no funds in the California and Alaska Trust Funds at this time. A precedent based on a settlement favorable to the states of Louisiana and Texas by the Reagan Administration will provide a Republican candidate for Governor with a stronger argument regarding the Administration's concern for Alaska.

Republican Lt. Governor Terry Miller (R) has announced his candidacy for Governor. Incumbent Governor Jay Hammond (R) cannot run for reelection. I have added Lt. Governor Terry Miller and other Republican Lt. Governors who are candidates for Governor to our list of key statewide elected officials who should receive briefings and appropriate materials.

### 2. Arkansas

Incumbent Republican Governor Frank White won election primarily on his promise to close Ft. Chaffee as a refugee facility. In the past few weeks, we have effectively accomplished the closing of Ft. Chaffee (perhaps as few as 30 refugees remain). In spite of this, the Governor still faces a tough reelection challenge from former Governor Bill Clinton (D). Governor White has already raised in excess of \$400,000 for his reelection. We have recommended him for appointment to the President's Advisory Committee on Drunk Driving, an issue of some importance to him.

### 3. Illinois

Adlai Stevenson is preparing to argue that Jim Thompson has been a poor manager of the State's business and finances. The recession has had a heavy impact on Illinois state revenues. It is important that on issues such as AFDC, Medicaid, and unemployment insurance the Federal government not pursue a national policy which causes a disproportionate and disruptive impact on Illinois, thereby supporting Stevenson's argument.

I do not know if the Republican Lt. Governor situation has been resolved. At a meeting with the President on February 1st on the Federalism Initiative, Governor Thompson approached Ed Meese to discuss this matter.

A recent Chicago Tribune poll showed Thompson ahead of Stevenson by 39 percent to 30 percent.

We have recently been able to assist the Governor on the "employment service" issue (we gave him a quote from you for release). Still pending is the East St. Louis transportation issue which has now reached Secretary Lewis' desk.

#### 4. Iowa

Governor Bob Ray (R) should receive a boost from the scheduled Presidential visit February 9th. In addition, our decision on the "employment service" problem gave Governor Ray the opportunity to rightfully take credit for a change in Administration policy which aided Iowa.

The Iowa Supreme Court has ruled that former Senator Hughes (D) does not meet the residency requirements.

#### 5. Michigan

Governor Milliken has announced he will not be a candidate for reelection.

Lt. Governor James Brickley is the lead Republican candidate for Governor. He may face a significant challenge though (per your comments). If he is the clear leader, I will place him on our list of statewide elected officials to receive briefings and appropriate materials.

We should be very careful to coordinate with White House Congressional Affairs. As you recall, last year Representative Jim Blanchford (D) the likely Democrat Gubernatorial candidate, was allowed to announce a federal grant to Detroit. This kind of thing cannot be allowed to happen in the 1982 election year.

#### 6. Minnesota

Governor Quie announced he would not be a candidate for reelection. One of the first acts Governor Quie pursued after his election was to have the state income tax indexed. Indexing, along with the current recession, has caused tremendous shortfalls in state revenues. This has made Governor Quie's reelection possibilities impossible.



This same issue may transfer to Lt. Governor Lou Wangberg (R) who has announced that he is a candidate for Governor. Again, if he is the front runner, we will put him on our list of key officials to be briefed and supplied with appropriate materials.

7. Nebraska

Governor Thone has been appointed to the President's Council on Exports. This is an especially important area of concern for Nebraska's farmers. We should look for opportunities where Thone can receive exposure at the White House on this issue.

8. Nevada

Governor List faces a tough reelection campaign. Democrat Attorney General Bryant and Former Democrat Governor O'Callahan are possible opponents.

9. Oregon

Governor Atiyeh met with the President on January 7, 1982, to discuss Oregon's economic problems. He received considerable media attention after his visit. We are working on a number of items he requested which would show that his ties to the Reagan Administration are beneficial to Oregon.

10. Pennsylvania

Governor Thornburgh has two serious, high visibility, environmental problems. One is Three Mile Island. Recently, a federal district court ruled that the damaged reactor at Three Mile Island could not be be produced from that reactor which could be used to help in the clean up process necessary on the damaged reactor.

The second item concerns the underground coal fire at Centralia. After granting certain initial requests, Secretary Watt had indicated that the remaining financial responsibility is Pennsylvania's. The local Democrat Congressman is using this statement to indicate that the Reagan Administration is insensitive to the problem at Centralia and that Governor Thornburgh has been ineffective in his contacts with the Administration.

Governor Thornburgh (R) made extremely supportive statements after the President's State of the Union speech. Governor Thornburgh appeared on NBC immediately after the President's speech and on ABC Nightline that evening and MacNeil-Lehrer the next day. On all shows, he was questioned about the current high unemployment in Pennsylvania in light of the President's comments in the State of the Union speech. He continued to be a strong and persuasive advocate for the President's proposals. He is facing serious fund raising challenges for his reelection. Much of his time and money has been spent in the next few years on Republican party fund raising. I strongly recommend that the White House make a commitment to the Governor for a Presidential appearance at a fund raiser some time in 1982. Please note that this situation is complicated by Senator Heinz's request for a fund raiser. Senator Heinz made some negative comments on the President's State of the Union speech, in particular, it's failure to address defense cuts.

11. South Dakota

Governor Janklow remains a strong Reagan supporter. He was actively involved in the AWAC's vote and on the economic initiatives.

12. Tennessee

Lamar Alexander is a strong candidate for reelection. The President's scheduled visit and speech March 15th should provide the Governor with some helpful media coverage. Governor Alexander is one of the key Governors on the Federalism Initiative and his close friendship with Senator Howard Baker should not be overlooked.

13. Texas

Governor Clements met with the President on January 11, 1982, to discuss the deregulation of natural gas. In addition, he is involved with the Administration in the possible settlement of a lawsuit relating to the Outer Continental Shelf Oil Lease Royalty Trust Fund (see Alaska above). Governor Clements has also been in the forefront of the discussion regarding a new immigration policy. This is a key political issue in Texas. Another key political issue is the Federal suit against the State of Texas for prison overcrowding. Governor Clements has been in contact with Attorney General Smith on this issue.

Governor Clements is planning a fund raiser in early June. He has invited the President and the Vice President. He expects to raise \$3 million.



Attorney General Mark White is definitely planning to oppose Governor Clements for the Gubernatorial election. Recent polls indicate that Governor Clements has a higher unfavorable rating than was first assumed.

14. Ohio

Governor Rhodes cannot run for reelection and recently announced that he will not be a candidate for U.S. Senate.

15. Vermont

A recent newspaper report indicated that Governor Snelling would reconsider his decision not to run for reelection if a sincere and honest draft movement developed.

16. Wisconsin

Governor Dreyfus has taken the position that he is prepared to make himself unelectable in order to support the President's economic program. He is placed in a difficult position when he defends Federal cuts in social programs because of the "progressive" political climate in Wisconsin.

STATES WITH INCUMBENT DEMOCRATS

1. Alabama

Democrat Governor Fob James has been a strong supporter of the President's programs but may not be a candidate for reelection. He has been successful in implementing significant cuts in the state Medicaid program. The State of Alabama is presently under court order to relieve overcrowding in its state prison system and state mental health system. The Department of Justice has been in contact with the Governor on this matter, but it remains a sensitive issue in Alabama.

2. Arizona

Governor Babbitt (D) was recently shown in a newspaper poll to have commanding leads over his potential Republican challengers (primarily State Senate President, Leo Corbitt). Governor Babbitt is a key Democrat in terms of the development of a compromise on the President's Federalism Initiative. It may be necessary to balance our chances of defeating his reelection against the considerable help he could be on the Federalism question. Even a White House meeting with other Democrat Governors and the President should not be excluded.

### 3. California

A recent Field poll shows Attorney General George Deukmejian ahead of Lt. Governor Mike Curb for the Republican nomination 43 percent to 32 percent. My information is that Deukmejian has done very little outside of his normal duties as Attorney General. If the above poll is accurate, it reflects a strong anyone-but-Curb vote. Curb still has nearly \$3 million in his campaign war chest. In a media state like California, a well-thought out last minute media blitz could cause considerable movement in the primary vote. Whether it could overcome a ten point lead is problematic.

### 4. Colorado

Governor Lamm may run for a third term. A number of Republicans are looking at the seat: State Senator Bill Hughes (who has independent wealth); State Senator Joel Heffly; Congressman Ken Kramer, and Former Speaker John Fuhr; Former Secretary of the Army, Bo Calloway, would like to run but as State Party Chairman has promised he would not.

I believe that Governor Lamm (D) is being very careful not to offend the Reagan support in Colorado. After the State of the Union speech, the Governor was quoted in a Baltimore paper as saying that the New Federalism amounted to a dictatorship. In my conversations with the Governor and his Chief of Staff, this statement has been denied. In fact, I am being sent copies of press reports indicating that the Governor is supportive of the concepts underlying the President's New Federalism proposal. would not.

### 5. Connecticut

A recent New York Times article quoted Governor O'Neill (D) as stating that he had not decided whether he should run for reelection. It had been widely presumed that because of his recent heart attack, he would drop out of the race. The Gubernatorial race may be affected by the U.S. Senate race. This is especially true if the Senate race turns into a Republican-Democrat-Independent contest. If the Republican Senate primary is contentious, the dynamics of the Gubernatorial race may change.

### 6. Florida

Governor Graham is a strong campaigner. Republicans looking at the race are State Senator Van Poole and State Rep. Tom Gallagher.



Crime and refugees continue to be the key issues in this state. The Governor was offended when he was not forewarned about the Miami Crime Commission White House meeting. This meeting was announced by the Press Office without any notification to White House IGA.

The Governor has been in contact with our office on the issue of the new HHS regulations regarding welfare support for refugees. As you know, we have cut back the number of weeks of coverage from 36 to 18. Florida does not have a general assistance program which can pick up the refugee payments after the 18th week and which would then be covered by HHS repayments. It appears to me that Governor Graham, in the documents he has submitted to me, is preparing to lay this problem at the feet of a "insensitive and irresponsible federal government."

#### 7. Georgia

Jack Watson and Bert Lance are running for the Democrat nomination as are other people. On the Republican side Former Congressman Ben Blackburn and the National Committeeman Gillis have announced their interest.

#### 8. Hawaii

Stu Spencer, consultant to Republican State Senator Andy Anderson, continues to suggest that this is a "doable" race. I am coordinating an information program to the Senator with Judy Peachee so that Anderson is aware of all issues being raised by Governor Ariyoshi.

#### 9. Idaho

Governor Evans is seeking reelection. There will be a competitive Republican primary between Lt. Governor Phil Batts and State Rep. Olmstead.

Republican Lt. Governor Phil Batt has announced his candidacy for Governor. Once filing is closed, I will place Lt. Governor Batt on our list of key statewide elected officials to receive briefings and appropriate material, assuming he is the clear front runner for the nomination. Idaho is affected by the Northern Tier Pipeline situation, the Bonneville Nuclear Power Plant problems, and other regional energy projects.



10. Kansas

Our recent contacts with Governor Carlin (D) have been neutral at best. He listened to the briefing on the Federalism Initiative without making any significant comments. State Senator Ross Doyen is apparently considering a race against him. Governor Carlin may resent the constant attention Doyen is receiving from the White House. It should be noted that Governor Carlin is one of the moderate Democrats who should be in favor of a resolution on the Federalism Initiative at NGA.

11. Maine

Governor Brennan has many traditionally Republican businessmen backing him. Republican State House Rep. Bud Chinchett is considering a race against Brennan.

12. Maryland

Governor Hughes may be vulnerable. He is likely to be opposed by Republican County Executive Bob Pascal from Anne Arundel County.

Governor Hughes (D) has apparently decided to focus his reelection campaign on an anti-Reagan theme. His State of the Union speech was reported to be a blistering attack on Reaganomics and his comments on the State of the Union speech and the Federalism Initiative were highly negative. He recently requested emergency aid for the Chesapeake fishermen who have been unable to fish because of ice in the Chesapeake Bay. I am told that we are unlikely to grant such a request. The Governor's request for a declaration of disaster may be the first in a series of ploys by which he sets himself up as the defender of Maryland's interests against the Reagan Administration.

13. Massachusetts

Governor King is presently third in polls for the Democrat primary behind Former Governor Dukakis and Lt. Governor O'Neill. Republican State House Whip, Amy Card and Republican House Floor Leader Bill Robinson are possible Republican candidates.

14. New Hampshire

Governor Gallen is seeking reelection. Lt. Gov. Monier is planning to enter the Republican primary as is John Zununu, a former candidate for the U.S. Senate. Former Governor Mildred Thompson is a possibility.

15. New Mexico

Governor King cannot seek reelection.

16. New York

Governor Carey will not run for reelection because of personal reasons. It is important to note that the proposed Federalism initiative will have a major impact on New York given the size of New York's Medicaid program.

17. Oklahoma

Governor Nigh (D) is seeking reelection. He made very favorable comments about the President when I informed him that the President would be going to Oklahoma to address a joint legislative session. He is also a moderate Democrat Governor whose support for our resolution at the upcoming NGA Conference on the Federalism Initiative would be extremely helpful.

18. Rhode Island

Governor Garrahy (D) will seek reelection.

19. South Carolina

Governor Riley is up for reelection. Governor Riley was one of three Governors mentioned in a New York Times article because of his relatively quiet response as a Democrat to the President's economic program.

20. Wyoming

Democrat Governor Herschler will likely be opposed by Former Republican House Speaker, Nell Smith.

February 3, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD S. WILLIAMSON

FROM: JUDY PEACHEE  
BOB GLEASON *Judy*

SUBJECT: Political Report on State Legislative Races

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The following are the legislative chambers which need to be targeted in 1982. We have addressed the marginal chambers only; other states/chambers are either GOP control hopeless or safe.

ALASKA

Senate 10 R to 10 D

Current coalition gives the Democrats the Senate Presidency plus four committee chairmanships, and Republicans get five committee chairmanships.

House 18 R to 20 D with 2 Libertarians

Gubernatorial race will be the key because Hammond cannot succeed himself. Obvious opportunity to control Senate; need to target at least five House seats for a minimum win of three to take control.

ARIZONA

Senate 16 R to 14 D

Senate President Leo Corbet will vacate his seat to run against Governor Babbitt. Babbitt is very strong so we have to worry about his coattails in the legislative races and give special assistance to Senate candidates.

CALIFORNIA

Senate 17 R to 23 D

While we're within four seats of control, state senators have so much power in California that it's very tough to knock off an incumbent. Need to target five open seats or weak incumbents under redistricting.



ILLINOIS

Senate 29 R to 30 D; House 91 R to 86 D

Gubernatorial race extremely tight. Need for comprehensive targeting obvious. Strong legislative races could reinforce the statewide races.

MAINE

Senate 17 R to 16 D

Don't know enough about the gubernatorial to predict how it will influence; but one seat difference makes attention to this chamber obvious.

MINNESOTA

House 64 R to 70 D

While a swing of four will take control, this is always a tough state for us -- compounded by the fact that Governor Quie has announced he won't run again and has not been popular. Worthy of careful review.

NEW MEXICO

Senate 19 R to 23 D

Target five seats to gain minimum of three.

House 31 R to 39 D

Conservative political coalition has Democrats controlling the Speakership plus seven committee chairmanships; we have nine committee chairmanships. For partisan reasons, we might use the tactic of running moderate Republicans against liberal Democrats to capture Speakership.

OHIO

Senate 18 R to 15 D

Need to protect control. Ed Rollins's last political report says state party having money problems. This will impact most heavily on legislative races. We're in a tough gubernatorial position here, too. We need to get money into the legislative races.

PENNSYLVANIA

Senate 26 R to 24 D; House 103 R to 100 D  
Obvious.

VERMONT

Senate 16 R to 14 D

With an unpredictable gubernatorial, we need a special effort to hold this slim margin. Governor's race could impact either way. Need insurance with effective targeting and support from RNC.

WASHINGTON

Senate 23 R to 26 D

Obvious striking distance.

WISCONSIN

Senate 14 R to 19 D

Striking distance, but tough gubernatorial race. Merits careful targeting review.

RECOMMENDATION

That the Vice President and selected Cabinet Members commit to three fundraisers each during late winter and early spring with proceeds being divided between the state party and legislative candidates; and that the President be scheduled for 1/2 hour per week for photo opportunities with legislative candidates from targeted states.

Also recommend that the RNC make resources available to targeted races.

|               | SENATE |      |       | HOUSE |      |       |
|---------------|--------|------|-------|-------|------|-------|
|               | Dem.   | Rep. | Other | Dem.  | Rep. | Other |
| Alabama       | 35     | 0    |       | 100   | 4    |       |
| Alaska        | * 10   | 10   |       | * 20  | 18   | 2     |
| Arizona       | * 14   | 16   |       | 17    | 43   |       |
| Arkansas      | 34     | 1    |       | 93    | 7    |       |
| California    | * 23   | 17   |       | 47    | 33   |       |
| Colorado      | 13     | 22   |       | 25    | 40   |       |
| Connecticut   | 23     | 13   |       | 82    | 69   |       |
| Delaware      | 12     | 9    |       | 16    | 25   |       |
| Florida       | 28     | 12   |       | 81    | 39   |       |
| Georgia       | 51     | 5    |       | 156   | 23   | 1     |
| Hawaii        | 17     | 8    |       | 39    | 12   |       |
| Idaho         | 12     | 23   |       | 14    | 56   |       |
| Illinois      | * 30   | 29   |       | * 86  | 91   |       |
| Indiana       | 15     | 34   |       | 37    | 63   |       |
| Iowa          | 21     | 29   |       | 43    | 57   |       |
| Kansas        | 12     | 24   |       | 53    | 72   |       |
| Kentucky      | 29     | 9    |       | 76    | 24   |       |
| Louisiana     | 38     | 0    | 1     | 96    | 8    | 1     |
| Maine         | * 16   | 17   |       | 84    | 67   |       |
| Maryland      | 40     | 7    |       | 125   | 16   |       |
| Massachusetts | 32     | 7    | 1     | 125   | 33   | 2     |
| Michigan      | 24     | 14   |       | 76    | 53   |       |



|                | Dem. | Rep.               | Other |  | Dem. | Rep. | Other       |
|----------------|------|--------------------|-------|--|------|------|-------------|
| Minnesota      | 45   | 22                 |       |  | * 70 | 64   |             |
| Mississippi    | 48   | 4                  |       |  | 117  | 4    | 1           |
| Missouri       | 24   | 10                 |       |  | 112  | 51   |             |
| Montana        | 22   | 28                 |       |  | 44   | 56   |             |
| Nebraska       | 49   | (non-<br>partisan) |       |  |      |      |             |
| Nevada         | 15   | 4                  | 1     |  | 26   | 14   |             |
| New Hampshire  | 10   | 13                 | 1     |  | 127  | 186  | D & R<br>33 |
|                |      |                    |       |  |      |      | R & D<br>54 |
| New Jersey     | 22   | 18                 |       |  | 43   | 37   |             |
| New Mexico     | * 23 | 19                 |       |  | * 39 | 31   |             |
| New York       | 25   | 35                 |       |  | 85   | 64   | 1           |
| North Carolina | 40   | 10                 |       |  | 96   | 24   |             |
| North Dakota   | 9    | 39                 | 2     |  | 27   | 73   |             |
| Ohio           | * 15 | 18                 |       |  | 56   | 43   |             |
| Oklahoma       | 37   | 10                 | 1     |  | 73   | 28   |             |
| Oregon         | 23   | 7                  |       |  | 33   | 27   |             |
| Pennsylvania   | * 24 | 26                 |       |  | *100 | 103  |             |
| Rhode Island   | 43   | 7                  |       |  | 81   | 19   |             |
| South Carolina | 41   | 5                  |       |  | 107  | 17   |             |
| South Dakota   | 10   | 25                 |       |  | 21   | 48   | 1           |
| Tennessee      | 20   | 12                 | 1     |  | 58   | 40   | 1           |
| Texas          | 24   | 7                  |       |  | 115  | 35   |             |

|               | Dem. | Rep. | Other |  | Dem. | Rep. | Other |
|---------------|------|------|-------|--|------|------|-------|
| Utah          | 7    | 22   |       |  | 16   | 58   | 1     |
| Vermont       | * 14 | 16   |       |  | 62   | 85   | 3     |
| Virginia      | 31   | 9    |       |  | 66   | 33   | 1     |
| Washington    | * 26 | 23   |       |  | 42   | 56   |       |
| West Virginia | 27   | 7    |       |  | 79   | 21   |       |
| Wisconsin     | * 19 | 14   |       |  | 59   | 40   |       |
| Wyoming       | 11   | 19   |       |  | 23   | 39   |       |

\* These states should receive a special review by strategy committee because of the close breakdown between parties. (16 chambers indicated)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 3, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR: RICHARD S. WILLIAMSON

FROM: J. STEVEN RHODES  
EVE BASKOWITZ

SUBJECT: LOCAL ELECTIONS IN 1982

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Attached is a table outlining all cities over 30,000 in population which have Mayoral elections in 1982. In addition, attached is a summary of Mayoral races worth noting.

The information is very sketchy and not nearly as in-depth as it should be but, we have not been able to call upon the RNC for assistance.

As you will note, we have little to no information on county races.



| STATE         | NUMBER<br>OF<br>CITIES | INCUMBENT PARTY AFFILIATION |    |    |         |
|---------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|----|----|---------|
|               |                        | R                           | D  | NP | UNKNOWN |
| Alabama       | 3                      | 1                           | 1  | -  | 1       |
| Alaska        | 1                      | 1                           | -  | -  | -       |
| Arizona       | 2                      | 2                           | -  | -  | -       |
| Arkansas      | 2                      | -                           | -  | 2  | -       |
| **California  | 87                     | 22                          | 13 | 37 | 15      |
| Colorado      | 1                      | -                           | -  | -  | 1       |
| Connecticut   | 0                      | -                           | -  | -  | -       |
| Delaware      | 0                      | -                           | -  | -  | -       |
| Florida       | 16                     | 4                           | 7  | 3  | 2       |
| Georgia       | 3                      | -                           | 2  | 1  | -       |
| Hawaii        | 1                      | 1                           | -  | -  | -       |
| Idaho         | 0                      | -                           | -  | -  | -       |
| Illinois      | 2                      | -                           | 1  | 1  | -       |
| Indiana       | 0                      | -                           | -  | -  | -       |
| Iowa          | 1                      | -                           | -  | 1  | -       |
| Kansas        | 5                      | 2                           | -  | 3  | -       |
| Kentucky      | 0                      | -                           | -  | -  | -       |
| Louisiana     | 4                      | -                           | 4  | -  | -       |
| **Maine       | 1                      | -                           | -  | 1  | -       |
| Maryland      | 2                      | 1                           | -  | 1  | -       |
| Massachusetts | 9                      | -                           | 5  | 1  | 3       |
| Michigan      | 1                      | -                           | -  | 1  | -       |
| Minnesota     | 5                      | 1                           | 3  | 1  | -       |
| Mississippi   | 0                      | -                           | -  | -  | -       |
| Missouri      | 5                      | 3                           | 1  | 1  | -       |
| Montana       | 0                      | -                           | -  | -  | -       |

| STATE          | NUMBER<br>OF<br>CITIES | INCUMBENT PARTY AFFILIATION |    |    |         |
|----------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|----|----|---------|
|                |                        | R                           | D  | NP | UNKNOWN |
| Nebraska       | 1                      | 1                           | -  | -  | -       |
| Nevada         | 1                      | -                           | 1  | -  | -       |
| New Hampshire  | 0                      | -                           | -  | -  | -       |
| New Jersey     | 19                     | 5                           | 9  | 4  | 1       |
| New Mexico     | 5                      | -                           | 5  | -  | -       |
| New York       | 0                      | -                           | -  | -  | -       |
| North Carolina | 1                      | 1                           | -  | -  | -       |
| North Dakota   | 3                      | 2                           | 1  | -  | -       |
| Ohio           | 2                      | 1                           | 1  | -  | -       |
| Oklahoma       | 4                      | 1                           | 1  | 1  | 1       |
| Oregon         | 3                      | 1                           | -  | 2  | -       |
| Pennsylvania   | 0                      | -                           | -  | -  | -       |
| Rhode Island   | 2                      | 1                           | -  | 1  | -       |
| South Carolina | 0                      | -                           | -  | -  | -       |
| Tennessee      | 1                      | -                           | 1  | -  | 1       |
| Texas          | 22                     | 5                           | 2  | 14 | 1       |
| Utah           | 0                      | -                           | -  | -  | -       |
| Vermont        | 0                      | -                           | -  | -  | -       |
| Virginia       | 12                     | 2                           | 7  | 3  | -       |
| Washington     | 0                      | -                           | -  | -  | -       |
| West Virginia  | 0                      | -                           | -  | -  | -       |
| Wisconsin      | 5                      | 2                           | -  | 1  | 2       |
| Wyoming        | 0                      | -                           | -  | -  | -       |
| TOTAL          | 235                    | 60                          | 67 | 80 | 27      |

\*\*/ - Mayor's seat rotates annually; not an actual election

## NOTABLE MAYORAL ELECTIONS IN CITIES OVER 30,000 IN POPULATION

### ALASKA

#### Fairbanks

The only major city in the state that has an election this year. Mayor Ruth Burnette (R) faces reelection this fall.

### ARIZONA

#### Glendale

George Renner (R), a Reagan supporter and Mayor of Glendale (a suburb of Phoenix) faces reelection in early spring.

### ARKANSAS

#### Fort Smith

Jack Freeze, the only Republican Mayor of a major city within the state is up for reelection this fall. It is a non-partisan race.

### CALIFORNIA

While many mayors will step down in the state this year, it is mainly due to rotations from the city councils.

#### Anaheim

Republican Mayor John Seymour faces reelection in early spring.

#### Long Beach

Reagan supporter Mayor Eunice Sato (R) has expressed concern over her reelection bid this spring, as she faces stiff opposition.

#### San Jose

Democrat Mayor Janet Gray Hayes is up for reelection this fall. A unique city council make-up (over half of the council are women) will make it a race to watch.

### GEORGIA

#### Savannah

Considered by some to be too liberal for his city, vocal Mayor John Rousakis (D) faces reelection this fall.



## HAWAII

### Maui County

Hannibal Tavares (R), Mayor of the unique city and county of Maui, faces reelection this fall.

## LOUISIANA

### New Orleans

Black Mayor Dutch Morial (D) is almost assured of reelection in early spring. As one of the major cities in the South, this is a race to watch.

## MINNESOTA

### Minneapolis

As Mayor of one of the "twin cities", Don Frasier (D) faces reelection this fall.

### St. Paul

Mayor George Latimer (D) is up for reelection this spring. In Washington, D.C., Latimer has muted his criticism of the President's proposals but is apparently very critical upon returning home to St. Paul.

## MISSOURI

### St. Joseph

Mayor Gordon Wiser (R) plans to retire this year and is seeking a job with the Administration. His retirement will leave the Mayor's seat up for grabs.

### St. Louis County

County Executive Gene McNary (R) is up for reelection in November. McNary has very good name identification and is not anticipating much opposition. It is likely that he will ultimately seek higher office.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

Liberal Democrat Mayor Ken Gibson is up for reelection this spring.

## NEW JERSEY (continued)

### Paterson

Mayor Pat Kramer (R) Who earlier this year ran for the Republican nomination for Governor, is up for reelection this spring. A Reagan supporter, Kramer was recently appointed to the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.

### Trenton

Liberal Democrat Mayor Art Holland faces reelection this spring.

## NEW MEXICO

### Santa Fe

Mayor Arthur Trujillo (D) is up for reelection in early spring. It has been rumoured that he may run for the newly apportioned Congressional seat.

## NORTH CAROLINA

### Durham

Durham is the only major city within the state with an election this year. It is considered by some to be a "liberal" city particularly for the South, mainly due to its college population. Mayor Harry Rodenhizer (R) is up this fall.

## NORTH DAKOTA

### Bismarck

Strong Republican Mayor "Bus" Leary faces reelection in early spring.

## OKLAHOMA

### Tulsa

Strong Reaganite Mayor Jim Inhofe (R) faces reelection this Spring. While not facing stiff opposition, Inhofe wants to beat his opponent by at least 2 to 1.

## TEXAS

### Garland

Republican Mayor Charles Clack faces reelection this Spring. A Reagan supporter and part-time Mayor, Clack is a pilot for American Airlines.

## VIRGINIA

### Richmond

Liberal Democrat Henry Marsh faces reelection this spring.

### Newport News

Republican Mayor Joe Ritchie is up for reelection this spring.

### Norfolk

Mayor Vincent Thomas (R) faces reelection this spring.

## WISCONSIN

### Greenfield

Regan supporter Mayor Francis Havey is up for reelection in early spring.



# PUBLIC AFFAIRS CALENDAR

RAFT

MONTH OF FEBRUARY

| Sunday                                                                                                     | Monday                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Tuesday                                                                                                                                                                                           | Wednesday                                                               | Thursday                                                                                                                    | Friday                                                                                                                                             | Saturday                                           |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
|                                                                                                            | <b>1</b><br>Construction Expenditures for December<br>Reform of Health Care Financing<br>Entitled Ref. Leg<br>Change in Home Health Care rules<br>Legislation to be submitted:<br>-User fees<br>-Highway/transit Legis.<br>-Maritime Legislation | <b>2</b><br>Reception for Council on Physical Fitness<br>Regulatory Actions:<br>-Bumper standards<br>-uniform tire modifications<br>-transit service for the handicapped<br>-paperwork reductions | <b>3</b><br>Selected Interest Rates for January<br>P Arrival of Mubarek | <b>4</b><br>P/VP National Prayer Breakfast                                                                                  | <b>5</b><br>P Visit Dept. of Trans.<br>Proposed trip to Saudi Arabia<br>Unemployment Rate for January<br>Sec. Regan addresses Press Club on Budget | <b>6</b><br>Launch Coast Guard Cutter Harriet Lane |
| <b>7</b><br>Meeting of the Nat'l. Cotton Council/Dallas<br>Meeting of Religious Broadcasters Assn. in D.C. | <b>8</b><br>Budget Deadlines<br>Team Spirit '82, Annual large scale military exercise in Korea<br>Monthly Wholesale Trade for December                                                                                                           | <b>9</b><br>VP Rep. Shareholders Convention (Texas)                                                                                                                                               | <b>10</b>                                                               | <b>11</b><br>Advance Monthly Retail Sales for January                                                                       | <b>12</b><br>LINCOLN'S B-DAY<br>P.P.I. for January<br>Annual Meeting of Gold Commission                                                            | <b>13</b>                                          |
| <b>14</b><br>VALENTINES DAY<br>NAT'L. PATRIOTISM DAY<br>1982 Conference of the American Legion in D.C.     | <b>15</b><br>G.W. B-DAY HOLIDAY<br>Yields on FHA Insured New Home 30-Year Mortgages as of February 1<br>National Inventors week                                                                                                                  | <b>16</b><br>Reserve Officers Mid Winter Conference in D.C.                                                                                                                                       | <b>17</b><br>Housing Starts for January                                 | <b>18</b><br>P Arrival of King Hassan<br>Review of NYC Loan Guarantee<br>VP 9th Annual Energy Tech. Conference & Exposition | <b>19</b><br>Personal Income and Outlays for January                                                                                               | <b>20</b>                                          |
| <b>21</b>                                                                                                  | <b>22</b><br>WASHINGTON'S B-DAY<br>Economic Message Due<br>Gross National Product for 4Q '81                                                                                                                                                     | <b>23</b><br>P NGA State Dinner<br>Regan, Stockman & Weidenbaum testify on Budget<br>VP Creve Coeur Club of Peoria 84th Banquet in Honor of George Washington (Illinois)                          | <b>24</b><br>ASH WEDNESDAY<br>40th Anniv of Voice of America            | <b>25</b><br>C.P.I. for January<br>Real Earnings for January                                                                | <b>26</b><br>Agricultural Prices as of Mid-February<br>P CPAC Dinner<br>National Convention of School Administrators<br>Work Stoppages for January | <b>27</b>                                          |
| <b>28</b>                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                         |                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                    |                                                    |

## PUBLIC AFFAIRS CALENDAR

MONTH OF MARCH

RAFT

| Sunday                                                                             | Monday                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | Tuesday                                                                                                                                                                                       | Wednesday                                                                                    | Thursday                                                                                                                          | Friday                                                                                           | Saturday                                                                                    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                                                    | <b>1</b><br>Senate consideration of Criminal Code revision<br>New Food Safety Legislation Proposed<br>Construction Expenditures for January<br>Composite Indexes of Leading, Coincident, & Lagging Indicators for January | <b>2</b><br>Selected Interest Rates for February<br>Announcement of Proposed Military Construction Projects Worldwide<br>Convention of National Assn. of Evangelicals, Arlington, Hgts, Ills. | <b>3</b><br>P To California                                                                  | <b>4</b><br>Unemployment Rate for February                                                                                        | <b>5</b>                                                                                         | <b>6</b>                                                                                    |
| <b>7</b>                                                                           | <b>8</b><br>Monthly Wholesale Trade for January<br>P Return from Calif.                                                                                                                                                   | <b>9</b><br>P Nat'l Conference of Christians & Jews Dinner (Tentative)                                                                                                                        | <b>10</b>                                                                                    | <b>11</b><br>Advance Monthly Retail Sales for February<br>P Meeting with Siad Barre of Somalia                                    | <b>12</b><br>VP Mtg. of the Assoc. of Gen. Contractors, Houston, Texas                           | <b>13</b>                                                                                   |
| <b>14</b>                                                                          | <b>15</b><br>Yields on FHA Insured New Home 30-Year Mortgages as of March 1<br>ICA name change                                                                                                                            | <b>16</b><br>Housing Starts for February                                                                                                                                                      | <b>17</b><br>P ST. PATRICKS DAY Lunch for PM of Ireland                                      | <b>18</b><br>Personal Income and Outlays for February<br>Meeting of Nat'l Assn. of Manufacturers in D.C.<br>P Senate-House Dinner | <b>19</b><br>P Nat'l Agriculture Day Visit Dept. of Agriculture<br>National Energy Education Day | <b>20</b>                                                                                   |
| <b>21</b><br>Afghanistan Day<br>Mtg of Latino Elected & App'ted. Officials in D.C. | <b>22</b><br>C.P.I. for February<br>Real Earnings for February<br>Draft Maritime policy for Presidential review                                                                                                           | <b>23</b>                                                                                                                                                                                     | <b>24</b>                                                                                    | <b>25</b>                                                                                                                         | <b>26</b>                                                                                        | <b>27</b><br>Meeting of Nat'l Assoc. Equal Opportunity in Education<br>P Gridiron Club Din. |
| <b>28</b>                                                                          | <b>29</b><br>Supreme Court consideration of the Los Angeles & Seattle busing cases                                                                                                                                        | <b>30</b><br>Work Stoppages for Feb.<br>Composite Indexes of Leading, Coincident, & Lagging Indicators for February<br>Meeting of Petro Council, San Antonio, Texas                           | <b>31</b><br>Agricultural Prices as of Mid-March<br>Gold Commission submits financial report |                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                  |                                                                                             |



# Public Affairs Calendar

MONDAY APRIL

RAFT

| Sunday                                                                                | Monday                                                                                                                                         | Tuesday                            | Wednesday                                                                                       | Thursday                                                                                                                 | Friday                                                                                                           | Saturday                             |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
|                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                |                                    |                                                                                                 | <b>1</b><br>Construction Expenditures for February<br><br>Sec. Preferred Sail Conservation Plans to President            | <b>2</b><br>CONG RECESS<br>Selected Interest Rates for March<br><br>Unemployment Rate for March                  | <b>3</b>                             |
| <b>4</b>                                                                              | <b>5</b>                                                                                                                                       | <b>6</b>                           | <b>7</b><br>P Nat'l Assoc. of Broadcasters                                                      | <b>8</b><br>PASSOVER<br>Monthly Wholesale Trade for February<br>P.P.I. for March<br>P President to Calif.                | <b>9</b><br>GOOD FRIDAY                                                                                          | <b>10</b>                            |
| <b>11</b><br>EASTER SUNDAY                                                            | <b>12</b><br>Advance Monthly Retail Sales for March<br>P Return to D.C.<br>National Cath. Educ. Assoc. Conf. in Chicago                        | <b>13</b><br>CONG. RECONVENES      | <b>14</b><br>PAN AMERICAN DAY<br>Yields on FHA Insured New Home 30-Year Mortgages as of April 1 | <b>15</b><br>Proposed trip to China, Japan, Korea<br>Senate & House report first Budget Resolution                       | <b>16</b><br>Housing Starts for March<br>P Law Day Proc. Signing Summary of International Transactions for 1Q'82 | <b>17</b>                            |
| <b>18</b><br>Meeting of Nat'l. Assoc. of Social Workers in DC.                        | <b>19</b><br>Personal Income and Outlays for March 1<br>Corporate Profits for 1Q'82<br>G.N.P., for 1Q'82<br>P Queen Beatrix to visit President | <b>20</b><br>P Yale Dinner in D.C. | <b>21</b>                                                                                       | <b>22</b><br>C.P.I. for March<br>Real Earnings for March                                                                 | <b>23</b><br>Teacher of the Year Award                                                                           | <b>24</b><br>P Correspondents Dinner |
| <b>25</b><br>U.S. Chamber of Commerce Meets in D.C.<br>National Consumers Week Begins | <b>26</b><br>P 70th Annual Chamber of Commerce Meeting                                                                                         | <b>27</b>                          | <b>28</b>                                                                                       | <b>29</b><br>Composite Indexes of Leading, Coincident, & Lagging Indicators for March<br>P Meeting with Mzali of Tunisia | <b>30</b><br>Work Stoppages for March<br>Agricultural Prices as of Mid-April                                     |                                      |



| Sunday                                                                                                                                                 | Monday                                                                                                               | Tuesday                                             | Wednesday                                                                | Thursday                                                                                                                        | Friday                                                                                                                                                                           | Saturday                                                                              |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                                                                                                                        |                                                                                                                      |                                                     |                                                                          |                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                  | <b>1</b> <small>LAW DAY</small><br>To Knoxville for Opening of World Fair<br><b>P</b> |
| <b>2</b><br>OCEAN VENTURE '82<br>(Joint Exercise Caribbean/Atlantic)                                                                                   | <b>3</b><br>Construction Expenditures for March<br>Selected Interest Rates for April<br>N.R.A. Meets in Philadelphia | <b>4</b><br>Unemployment Rate for April             | <b>5</b>                                                                 | <b>6</b>                                                                                                                        | <b>7</b><br>National Right to Washington Mtg. in D.C.                                                                                                                            | <b>8</b>                                                                              |
| <b>9</b> <small>MOTHER'S DAY</small><br>To Eureka for commencement<br>Sec. Regan to Finland for World Bank Meeting<br><b>P</b>                         | <b>10</b><br>Monthly Wholesale Trade for March<br>P.P.I. for April<br><b>P</b> Chicago YMCA                          | <b>11</b><br>Advance Monthly Retail Sales for April | <b>12</b><br>American/Jewish Comte. Meets in New York, N.Y.              | <b>13</b> <b>P</b><br>President of Brazil to visit President                                                                    | <b>14</b><br>Yields on FHA Insured New Home 30-Year Mortgages as of April 1<br>Complete Action of First Budget resolution;<br>Deadline for reporting FY 1983 Authorization Bills | <b>15</b> <small>ARMED FORCES DAY</small>                                             |
| <b>16</b> <small>NAT'L TRANSP. WEEK</small><br>Presidential signing of proclamation<br>Transportation Stamp Day<br>National Defense Transportation Day | <b>17</b><br>Housing Starts for April<br>World Trade Week                                                            | <b>18</b><br>Personal Income and Outlays for April  | <b>19</b><br>Meetings of American Assoc. of Retired Persons, New Orleans | <b>20</b><br>United Jewish Appeal (20-23) in D.C.                                                                               | <b>21</b><br>C.P.I. for April<br>Real Earning for April                                                                                                                          | <b>22</b>                                                                             |
| <b>23</b><br>Red Cross Convention in St. Louis                                                                                                         | <b>24</b>                                                                                                            | <b>25</b>                                           | <b>26</b> <b>P</b><br>To California                                      | <b>27</b><br>Composite Indexes of Leading, Coincident, & Lagging Indicators for April<br>Int'l Monetary Conference in Vancouver | <b>28</b><br>Senate Recess to June 7<br>Work Stoppages for April<br>Agricultural Prices as of Mid-May<br><b>P</b> U.S.-Mexico Conference                                         | <b>29</b>                                                                             |
| <b>30</b>                                                                                                                                              | <b>31</b> <small>MEMORIAL DAY</small>                                                                                |                                                     |                                                                          |                                                                                                                                 |                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                       |

# PUBLIC AFFAIRS CALENDAR

MONTH OF JUNE

RAFT

| Sunday                              | Monday                                                                                       | Tuesday                                                                                                                                                          | Wednesday                                                                    | Thursday  | Friday                                               | Saturday  |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
|                                     |                                                                                              | <b>1</b><br>Announce OSHA revisions<br><u>Report of WH Conference</u><br>on Aging submitted to<br>President<br><u>Construction for</u><br>Expenditures for April | <b>2</b><br>Selected Interest Rates<br>for May                               | <b>3</b>  | <b>4</b><br>Unemployment Rate for<br>May             | <b>5</b>  |
| <b>6</b><br>Anniv. of Marshall Plan | <b>7</b>                                                                                     | <b>8</b><br>Monthly Wholesale Trade<br>for April<br>P.P.I. for May                                                                                               | <b>9</b>                                                                     | <b>10</b> | <b>11</b><br>Advance Monthly Retail<br>Sales for May | <b>12</b> |
| <b>13</b><br>CHILDRENS DAY          | <b>14</b><br>FLAG DAY<br>Yields on FHA Insured<br>New Home 30-Year<br>Mortgages as of June 1 | <b>15</b>                                                                                                                                                        | <b>16</b><br>Housing Starts for May                                          | <b>17</b> | <b>18</b><br>Personal Income and<br>Outlays for May  | <b>19</b> |
| <b>20</b><br>FATHERS DAY            | <b>21</b>                                                                                    | <b>22</b><br>C.P.I. for May<br>Real Earnings for May                                                                                                             | <b>23</b>                                                                    | <b>24</b> | <b>25</b>                                            | <b>26</b> |
| <b>27</b>                           | <b>28</b>                                                                                    | <b>29</b><br>Composite Indexes of<br>Leading, Coincident, &<br>Lagging Indicators for<br>May                                                                     | <b>30</b><br>Work Stoppages for May<br>Agricultural Prices as of<br>Mid-June |           |                                                      |           |



## YEAR TWO OF PRESIDENTIAL FIRST TERMS

Of the eight Presidents who served from 1933 to 1980, 5 came to office by election and experienced "normal" second years -- in which off-year Congressional elections were held.

Attempts at further generalization about Presidential experience cannot easily be stretched beyond the following:

- Because of the off-year election, there is (particularly in the second half of the year) a more partisan cast to Presidential behavior, travel and rhetoric.
- Election outcomes are viewed as referenda on Presidential performance with most failing the test. No one has gained seats in off-year elections since 1934, when FDR won big with "non-political" speeches.
  - Ike lost control of the House by 29 seats, despite extensive campaigning
  - JFK balanced the loss of 4 House seats with a pick-up of 4 in the Senate.
  - Like JFK, Nixon invested much personal time, travel, in off-year election -- unlike JFK, he lost badly.
- There is a tendency for Presidents to spend more time on foreign policy in the second year. Foreign travel is also more extensive than in the first year.
- The overall pace of public activity, particularly pre-campaign is about the same as the first year.

e.g. FDR gave 2 fireside chats in 1934 (one June, one September) compared to 3 chats in 1933. Kept to roughly 2 a week press conference pace.

As a general rule, a loss of momentum is reported during the second year, early for some, later for others.

- Broder, on Nixon: "The second year of the Nixon Administration was one of steady deterioration in the quality of performance and leadership."
- Reston on Kennedy (as 3rd year began) "The exuberant optimism of the first few months....has vanished....there is a feeling that something is seriously wrong, that men are trapped by institutions."



-- Steve Hess, generalizing on all since FDR:

"By the end of his first year the President should have learned two lessons: first, that the unexpected is likely to happen; second, that his plans are unlikely to work as he had hoped."

Hess adds that after the first year, President's "turn inward," start holding fewer news conferences, and granting exclusives to friendly press, begin to doubt cabinet members, enlarge the White House staff, centralize policy formulation and focus attention to foreign policy because here Presidents have most authority and "until recently" least public and congressional restraint."

Hess also generalizes that Presidential popularity tends to trend downward in Year 2 -- an overall drop of about 6 points over the course of the year.

-- On Congress LBJ said: "You've got to give it all you can that first year. Doesn't matter what kind of majority you come in with. You've got just one year when they treat you right and before they start worrying about themselves. The third year, you lose votes."

Some second year efforts at restarting momentum or innovation include:

-- Nixon's January 1st bid to capture the "issue of the decade" with strong call for strengthened environmental protection. On December 31, the same year, he signed the Environmental Protection Act, a victory overshadowed in the press accounts by the exclusion of Muskie from the signing ceremony. While the Nixon policy initiative bore fruit, Muskie's pre-eminence on the environment seemed unshaken.

-- JFK's first "rocking chair chat." Informal interview with 3 TV reporters won rave reviews as Reston called JFK "just about the most effective character to hit the TV screen since Huntley and Brinkley." Not tried til very late in the second year (December) JFK profited perhaps more from the editing out of mistakes in the tape than even from the easy informality of the hour-long interview.

## Nixon: An Example of the Second Year

- Started with strong environmental push; at year's end, could claim victory legislatively, but not politically. Muskie retained edge.
- Trials of Chicago Seven, Bobby Seale, Black Panthers kept civil unrest, anti-war protests in headlines.
- Strikes of public employees, railroad and private sector employees occurred throughout the year.
- Cambodian offensive and Kent State moot positive impact of troop withdrawals, rekindle anti-war protests. Nixon's meeting with protestors at Lincoln Memorial fruitless.
- U.S. and North Vietnamese traded rival peace plans and denunciations.
- Declared "war on crime" securing passage of four major bills.
- Lengthy SALT negotiations were held in Vienna.
- Family Assistance Plan dies in Congress.

Vietnam, domestic unrest dominated the year. Not until December did Nixon offer a comprehensive economic plan, proposing major changes in policy. He abandoned hopes for a balanced budget, adopted deficits as a stimulative device, and set the stage for the new economic plan of August, 1971.

## PRESIDENTIAL HOLIDAYS DURING SECOND YEAR IN OFFICE

### ROOSEVELT

- 2-week fishing trip to the Bahamas
- At least 4 overnight or weekend cruises out of Washington
- 3 trips to Hyde Park, New York
- 1 trip to Warm Springs, Georgia

### TRUMAN

- 18-day cruise to New England and Bermuda
- Week in Key West, Florida, plus one additional short trip
- Christmas in Independence, Missouri, plus 2 additional short trips
- 3 short trip to Shangri La (Camp David)
- 5 cruises on the Potomac

### EISENHOWER

- Fishing trips (frequently with Hoover) to Denver and Fraser, Colorado
- Thanksgiving and Christmas in Augusta, Georgia
- 13 weekends at Camp David or Gettysburg
- Short trips to:
  - Thomasville, Georgia
  - Palm Springs, California
  - Augusta, Georgia
  - Potomac cruise
  - Toledo, Ohio

### KENNEDY

- 10-day trip to Palm Beach
- Frequent trips during summer months to family home in Hyannis Port
- Thanksgiving in Hyannis Port
- Christmas in Palm Beach
- 14 weekends at Glen Ora (Middleburg, Virginia estate)
- 4 short trips to Palm Beach
- Several weekends in Newport
- 2 weekends in Hyannis Port
- Other short trips to:
  - Palm Springs
  - Cape Cod
  - Boothbay Harbor, Maine
  - Boston

### JOHNSON

- Thanksgiving, Christmas, Easter at the LBJ ranch, Texas
- 11 other trips to the ranch, ranging from a few days to one 23-day convalescence
- 9 weekends at Camp David



NIXON

- 7 trips to San Clemente, 4 ranging from one to two weeks
- 7 trips to Key Biscayne/Bahamas, one for 10 days
- 22 or more weekends at Camp David
- 2 short trips to Gettysburg

FORD

- 2-week trip to Vail, Colorado
- Christmas vacation in Vail
- 3 or more weekends at Camp David

CARTER

- 2-week vacation in Plains, Teton Mountains and Salmon River
- Thanksgiving at Camp David
- Christmas at Camp David and Plains
- 2 several-day fishing trips off Virginia Beach and St. Simons Island, GA
- 2 trips to Plains
- 7 or more weekends at Camp David

|            |                                                                                                                                                      |          |                                         |                                                                  |  |
|------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
|            |                                                                                                                                                      |          | CONFERENCE                              |                                                                  |  |
| FDR        | (2) Fireside Chats<br>6/28/34<br>9/30/34                                                                                                             | about 75 | 24 trips<br>(includes one 7-state tour) | 1 - 10,000 mile cruise with<br>Caribbean stops and Hawaii        |  |
| TRUMAN     | (4) World Relief 4/19/46<br>Rail Strike 5/24/46<br>Wage/Price Policy 6/29<br>Lifting Price<br>controls 19/14                                         | 39       | 6 trips                                 | 1 trip to Mexico                                                 |  |
| EISENHOWER | (4) Taxes 3/15/54<br>General Domestic 4/5<br>83rd Congress 8/23<br>Election 11/1                                                                     | 34       | 30 trips                                | none                                                             |  |
| KENNEDY    | (5) Nuclear tests 3/2/62<br>Economy 8/13<br>U. of Miss integration<br>9/20<br>Cuban missile 10/22<br>Cuban missile 11/22                             | 26       | 49 including 18<br>campaign stops       | Mexico<br>Bahamas (met with British<br>Prime Minister Macmillan) |  |
| LEAHY      | (3) Dominican Republic<br>5/2/65<br>Steel shutdown 8/30<br>Steel settlement 9/3                                                                      | 17       | 21 trips                                | none                                                             |  |
| NIXON      | (5) Progress in Vietnam<br>4/20/70<br>S.E. Asia update 4/30<br>Cambodian sanctuary 6/3<br>Economic policy 6/17<br>S.E. Asia peace<br>initiative 10/7 | 6        | 47 including 25<br>campaign stops       | 6 countries                                                      |  |
| ROOSEVELT  | none                                                                                                                                                 | 18       | 84 including 40<br>campaign stops       | 5 countries (2 summits)                                          |  |
| TRUMAN     | Panama Canal 2/1/78                                                                                                                                  | 19       | 31 including 13<br>campaign stops       | 7 countries, 5 Th. World<br>plus Brazil, West Germany            |  |

POTENTIAL PROBLEMS -- UNLESS REMEDIAL ACTIONS ARE TAKENFOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY

The risks are of three broad, interrelated kinds:

(A) Substantive Risks

- (1) Mid-East peace process breakdown -- or at least substantial confusion -- when (if) the Sinai is returned (and the more if it is not returned), and autonomy arrangements are not worked out; and if the "Camp David process" is evidently passee, but a successor process has not been developed (as Saudis, we, Europeans, and others all vie for one negotiating scheme or another). The risk is not only that the negotiating process will break down, but also that one interested party or another may take military action; and/or that revolutionaries may take destabilizing action within one of the "moderate" states.
- (2) Further degradation in Central American region -- with the possible "loss" of one or more countries and/or increased attention to the ugliness of the conflict, and/or significantly heightened East-West tension as an outgrowth of U.S. defensive/counter-actions.
- (3) Strains in the Alliance -- as Europeans split over responses to Soviets, as leftists re-agitate over nuclear arms, as protectionist tensions increase, as U.S. interest rates hamper European economic recovery, as Congress (and others) talk of U.S. troop pull-backs.
- (4) The usual mix of uncertain possible complications associated with: Soviet troublemaking; terrorist-"liberationist" activities; and inherent instabilities in Asia and Africa.

(B) Congressional Risks

- (1) Difficulties getting defense budget through. (Note: There is a fundamental incongruity here: requested defense resources are less than amounts necessary to be consistent with declaratory foreign policy, yet more than amounts the political system will now provide.)
- (2) Difficulties getting Clark amendment repeal and various assistance packages through -- with highlight on sensitive policy issues re each.

(C) Risks to Presidential Image

The combination of the foregoing -- unless offset -- may lead to increasing characterization of U.S. foreign policy management as: simultaneously unsuccessful and unimaginative; blustering, while insufficiently idealistic; incoherent; incapable of assuring a stable peace.



## II. DOMESTIC POLICY

Again, the risks are of three, interrelated kinds:

### (A) Substantive Risks

- (1)-(5) Risk of insufficiently prompt, strong and sustainable economic recovery. [See paper by AG -- which puts the risks of interest rates rising again at "two out of five." NOTE: The AG paper assumes that markets already expect budget deficits of \$120-140 billion for 1984. Let's hope that's right -- because the political realities likely to become clear in the next month will make such deficit projections (or higher) common. (Our own projections will not be judged to be feasible -- without movement on defense or taxes.)]

### (B) Congressional Risks

- (1) The main risk, in general, is the risk of an unfavorable stalemate -- one in which we can't get satisfactory Senate action -- preventing us from being able either to get the economic program under control or to campaign effectively against the House.

- (2) For more detail, see RGD Legislative memo.

### (C) Risks to Presidential Image

If the economy does not turn favorably soon enough and strongly enough, and if an unfavorable Congressional-Executive stalemate is the mode, the President's program -- as well as his leadership image and "the new partnership" -- will be (temporarily) discredited. If social tensions rise (as the temperature rises), and/or if the image of a "rich-man's President" takes hold, the problem will be compounded.

## III. WHAT TO DO

### (A) ON FOREIGN/DEFENSE SIDE:

- (1) Play for PR "successes" at Economic Summit and NATO meetings (after systematically deflating expectations).
- (2) Set up a Brezhnev summit to agree upon a comprehensive framework for arms reduction negotiations. (NOTE: It is not possible to conclude either a responsible INF agreement or a responsible START agreement in 1982. It might be possible to agree on a "framework for negotiations" -- and, if not a substantive framework, at least a timetable. This would help on several fronts.)

- (3) Separate the play on the economic/developmental/island-oriented elements of the Caribbean Basin Initiative (positive) from the broader Central American story line (negative). These are, of course, substantively linked. But for PR planning purposes we should bear in mind that the economic development/island-oriented story has a chance of playing positively -- if separated from the incursion/war story. The idea of linking the two to take the sting out of the military action just doesn't, and won't, work.
- (4) Develop a workable (even if only damage-limiting) strategy for the Mid-East, not just continuation of the "Camp David process."
- (5) Find a way to return to -- and reinforce -- the North American theme (Mexico/U.S./Canada) that was emphasized at the start of the Administration. (NOTE: this theme does not have much natural appeal at State.)
- (6) Increase and improve substantially U.S. intelligence and covert action capabilities. (This is essential in a context where the U.S. aspires to a global role in both stabilization and development, and where conventional military and economic resources are inadequate for the achievement of the aspiration.)
- (7) Consider visit to exotic land(s) -- if desirability of distractive strategy increases.

(B) ON DOMESTIC SIDE

- (1) Do what's necessary to get a budget resolution out of the Senate (but don't plan on getting a satisfactory one out of the House).
- (2) Hype Federalism for as long as it will play.
- (3) Develop and implement plans for minor (low cost) and symbolic actions for key constituencies -- aged, Spanish-surnamed, white ethnics/blue collar, populist/rednecks, (other?).
- (4) Distract attention from economic focus until the economy is clearly turning up -- via a combination of foreign and domestic actions, as noted above.



## OBJECTIVES AND PRIORITIES: 1982

CLF 2/4/82

There are many areas that require the administration's attention during 1982. Events will force the administration to take actions that we cannot predict now; however, it is useful to consider our priorities and our objectives early in the year and to use a listing of priorities to evaluate our degree of success periodically throughout the year.

The following is offered not as an exhaustive list, but rather as a starting point for determining what we would like to spend time accomplishing.

### Objectives:

Objectives may be obvious, but they are worth stating and considering as the use of the President's time is determined and as the administration's priorities are set.

- o Build and maintain the President's ability to govern.
- o Advance major administration initiatives.
- o Demonstrate that the President and the administration understand the problems and challenges facing the nation.
- o Become associated with positive events.
- o Achieve broader congressional support through the 1982 election process.
- o Keep the base of Presidential support as broad as possible.



## Priorities

There will always be many items competing for the President's time and for the administration's attention. As part of our planning process, we should consider our own priorities and we should reevaluate them periodically (perhaps during quarterly sessions at Camp David). We will be handed opportunities and we will face numerous problems. Hopefully, an agreed upon set of administration priorities will serve us well as we chart a course and organize for 1982.

The following list raises issues I am familiar with, primarily domestic, that are candidates for our priorities list.

|                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Federalism                              | Obviously, a high priority that will be a primary focus for the administration.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| FY83 Budget                             | Also a major priority for the administration. We need to develop a legislative strategy for achieving some degree of success.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Interest Rates/<br>Monetary Policy      | The administration needs to be seen as being effective at further reducing high interest rates. This requires more serious attention and study than we have yet given it, but the process has started.                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Managing<br>the Government              | This, in my view includes a large variety of activities: waste, fraud and abuse; controlling the bureaucracy; personnel considerations within the departments; dismantling Education and Energy; possibly other reorganization efforts.                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Unemployment/<br>Training/<br>Placement | With record high unemployment, the administration needs a strategy for countering a major domestic problem with positive initiatives. At the same time the initiatives cannot take so long that we are in the middle of a recovery when our program takes affect. To ignore the problem seems to me to be impossible. We need to appear to understand the problem. Emphasizing training and placement activities with site visits by |

the President and administration officials could help considerably.

#### Major Industry Relations

We face two realities: 1) economic conditions will improve and major industries will become healthier and it would be helpful to be associated directly with the turn-around; or, 2) the alternative and then we will need to keep the major job producers "alive." We started last year with targeted meetings with major industry groups and I believe the same should occur in Washington and on the road in 1982. Suggested targets:

- o Automobile industry
- o Housing and Construction Industry
- o Steel Industry
- o Financial Institutions
- o Agriculture

#### Science & Technology

Few things capture people's imagination anymore and even fewer things that do can be controlled. Scientific achievements (specifically the space program) provide very positive events with which we can become associated. There may be only a few opportunities, but we should consider how to take advantage of them (e.g. the first shuttle landing at the Cape, which occurs this year). More intellectual efforts should be considered, like charting a course with regard to where we would like to be with the US space program. Such activity could be seen as forward looking and positive. There are also many "partnership" opportunities with a growing private sector that is interested in such an effort.

#### Trade Policy

There is an increasing awareness that the U.S. must compete more effectively in the international marketplace. We ought to consider being more aggressive in this area. It means jobs. Whether we need to reduce non-tariff trade barriers or work to stimulate exports, we have been promised a great deal of



industry assistance and we ought to take advantage of it.

#### Small Business and Entrepreneurs

This important, growing and seemingly natural constituency of the President's should be given increased attention. Opportunities for meetings should be considered as the President moves around the country. Tax policy, regulatory policy and other policy considerations should be reviewed to determine how the administration might aid this segment of the economy. These businesses represent the new industries and some of the real success stories of the American economy. Many are also the hardest hit by the current economic situation.

#### Education

As we search for ways to show understanding and compassion as an administration, we ought to consider initiatives in the education area. Education is the great equalizer for many people. The poor, minorities and the unemployed all recognize education as something valuable. We ought to balance some of the criticism we will receive with regard to the Education Foundation with some form of direct involvement by the President in activities that stress our recognition of the importance of education. We could do this in a manner which stresses our attitudes about the role of the Federal government in education. Consider visits to training centers, proprietary schools and even "corporate" colleges. We ought to work with the Private Sector Initiatives group to find various learning environments worth highlighting.

#### Urban Policy

It seems likely that we will face increasing urban problems. The Enterprise Zone experiment will serve as only an element of what needs to be a broader urban policy. We need to focus on this early, even if we produce nothing until 1983.

#### Labor

We need a plan. If the goal is to build



relationships with the local leadership, that must be done during the President's trips. A specific strategy ought to be developed.

Private Sector  
Initiatives

We should maintain some focus on the program throughout the year. The Presidential trips should include stops at PSI Task Force recommended centers. Other administration officials should participate and meet with groups recommended by the PSI Task Force.

Environmental  
Policy

We have seriously alienated the leading environmental groups. We ought to charge the Council on Environmental Quality with the task of determining whether we have a constituency within any environmental organization as well as with the task of determining whether there are any initiatives we could take to improve our standing in this area (the initiatives would have to be consistent with our philosophy). CEO believes progress can be made in this area and it seems to me worth trying.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 3, 1982

MEMORANDUM FOR DICK DARMAN

FROM: JIM JENKINS 

SUBJECT: Friday's meeting

Problems which might be discussed:

- Hard core, or "structural" unemployment
- High interest rates, likely continuation thereof
- Low rate of investment of capital generated by tax cuts, IRA, Saver's Certificates, etc.
- Plight of the thrift industry
- Paucity of optional sanctions against foreign antagonists
- Declining Merchant Marine

Bright Ideas (bright?):

- Revive the CCC
- Purchase of low-interest mortgage balances
- Maritime sanctions
- Bilateral shipping agreements

Overall subjects:

OMB's compilation of legislation awaiting introduction