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Election Year Scheduling

February 27, 1984

ELECTION-YEAR SCHEDULING

February 27, 1984

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I. OVERVIEW

This memorandum presents a Presidential scheduling strategy for the period of March through June.

Scheduling is the allocation of scarce resources. In this instance, we seek to allocate the most precious of our resources--the President's time--in the most effective manner.

A second consideration of Presidential scheduling in an election year is targeting. Given the nature of our closely competitive two-party system, Presidential elections are fought in the narrow zone of the middle 5 percent to 15 percent of the American electorate. The gap between Carter's victory in 1976 and his defeat in 1980 was less than ten percentage points. Therefore, the fight for the White House is "a game of inches." Presidential scheduling must be played the same way.

To make certain that our scheduling pinpoints the swing groups rather than sprays the whole electorate, we need to structure our decision-making process.

We propose a three-phase scheduling process:

PHASE ONE. Establish themes and the matrix of decision-making variables.

In this phase we determine our overall thrust for the period in question, in this case March through June.

We identify target issues, groups and states. These constitute the matrices that aid in allocating our resources.

The primary product of our work during Phase One should be a series of hypothetical "ideal image" events. These will weave together and advance our themes and issues and blanket the target groups and areas. In effect, we are creating commercials for the President's campaign. The "ideal images" developed in Phase One are analogous to the creation of storyboards on Madison Avenue.

This memorandum includes some sketchy ideas for potential events, which would be fleshed out in Phase Two.

PHASE TWO. Identify events.

Once the best concepts and "ideal images" are selected, actual events are planned and advanced.

PHASE THREE. Implement the scheduling strategy through Presidential events.

The event takes place, with the scheduling matrices serving almost as a checklist of themes to articulate, bases to touch, constituencies to massage, etc.

II. ASSUMPTIONS

- The key theme for President Reagan, as with all incumbents seeking re-election, is leadership. The 1984 elections, after all, will determine whether or not the American people want President Reagan to continue to be their leader.

- Events for the March through June period should be designed to help the President reach out to the center. This will involve throwing symbolic bones to those on our left. Therefore, during the course of this memorandum we make suggestions for marginal changes in policy and perceptions that will broaden the President's base. Well-publicized displays of flexibility and moderation can only reassure centrists about the President's goals in his second term.

- The pre-convention period is ideal for base-broadening activities because the President's actions will be perceived as more Presidential than political. An arms control treaty with the Russians signed in October would be seen as contrived and manipulative. A productive meeting with the Soviets, or even favorable overtures in May or June, will still seem Presidential.

- In addition, some of our targeted groups--suburbanites, upper-income women--are quite sophisticated. They are more likely to be impressed by substantive actions now than they will by stylistic gambits in the fall.

- Events should remind voters (and the media) that the President delivers on his promises. In other words, the President's leadership produces results. We should look back as far as the 1980 GOP platform and as recently as the State of the Union address for opportunities to highlight the President's follow through.

- By using the pre-convention period to positively reinforce the President's image as President and leader, we will give the President a boost that will enable him to attack the Democrats from the high ground of incumbency this fall, when partisanship will dominate.

- With a broad base of support heading into August and September, we can use the remaining months of the campaign to energize our core conservative supporters and get out the vote.

III. THEMES

One of the most important tasks in Phase One is establishing the proper theme. In 1984, the theme is leadership. This is generally true of any incumbent, but not always. In 1980, Carter had no choice but to run negative campaigns against Kennedy in the primary and Ronald Reagan in the general election.

People vote on the basis of emotion and self-interest, in a matrix of stability and fair play:

Emotion is enthusiasm, pride, patriotism and values;

Self-interest is at the root of the question, "Are you better off now than four years ago?"--the personal condition of the voter and his family;

Stability is trust in a candidate's judgment, based on his statements and ideology;

Fair play is trust in a candidate's sense of honesty and fairness.

Other themes are important, though they tend to blend into issues:

1980 GOP Platform

- Family
- Work
- Neighborhood
- Freedom
- Peace

1984 State of the Union

- Ensure steady economic growth
- Develop America's next frontier
- Strengthen our traditional values
- Build a meaningful peace

IV. ISSUES

The first set of issues are the most important we face in 1984, ranked roughly in order of importance:

Will this issue
help the President?

War and Peace/Foreign Affairs

Yes and No

(Conduct of American foreign policy/
Soviets/Middle East/Central America/
Europe/Asia/Threat of War)

The Economy

Yes and No

(Unemployment/Inflation/Interest Rates/
Taxes/Conditions/Are You Better Off Now...)

Crime and Justice

Yes

(Death Penalty/Victims' Rights/Justice
in America/Rise and Decline of Violent
Crime)

Traditional Values

Yes

(Social-conservative issues/school prayer/
Protestant work ethic/American Dream)

Fairness/Compassion/Sensitivity

No

(Budget Cuts, real and perceived/Cuts
and Reductions in Entitlements/Social
Security/Medicare)

Education

Yes and No

(Quality of education/Education Depart-
ment/Spending for Education/Crime in
Schools)

Below are other issues whose current political weight places them lower on the national agenda:

Women's Issues

No

(Hiring/Equal Opportunity/ERA/
Comparable Worth)

Defense/Strength	Yes and No
(Peace through strength/Jobs through Defense/B-1/MX/Nerve Gas/Pentagon Waste/A More Secure America)	
Trade and Protectionism	Yes and No
(Domestic Content Legislation/declining industries, joblessness/RR 1981 agreement with Japan on limiting auto imports/ Balance of Trade deficit)	
Environment	No
(Perceived and real shifts from protectionist policies/Watt/Burford)	
Deficit	No
Union Power and Abuse/Democrats as Party of Special Interests	Yes
(Special Interest Politics/Goon Tactics/Strikes/Right to Work)	
Agriculture	Yes and No
(Grain Embargo Halt/New Grain Sales/ Agriculture Support Programs/Bankruptcies)	
Energy/Utilities	Yes and No
(Larger Supply/Lower Prices/ Deregulation/Energy Security)	
Telephones	No
(AT&T Breakup)	
Immigration	Yes and No
(Simpson-Mazzoli Bill/rising alien tide)	
Pro-Life	Yes and No
(Abortion/Baby Doe)	
Presidential/Administrative Conduct, Contrast to Carter	Yes and No

V. TARGETED VOTER GROUPS

The following targeted voter groups are vital to the re-election effort.

At least nine voter groups are so huge and so widespread that they can't be targeted at this point. Later on in the season, it may be possible to isolate the states where subsets of these "macro" voter groups need to be targeted. For the time being, however, they each should be treated as a 50-state constituency.

- Blue-Collar Workers
- Senior Citizens
- Women
- Democrats and Independents
- Populists
- Catholics
- Fundamentalists
- Republican Moderates
- Families

The 11 groups listed below are small enough, regional enough, and marginal enough that we can target them now.

These 11 are broken down in geopolitical maps in Section VI:

- Yankees
- Unreconstructed South
- Border States
- Hispanics
- Copperheads (*Southern sympathizers - downstate Illinois/Ohio*)
- Heartland Republicans
- Social Conservative Democrats
- Eastern Suburbanites
- Mountain Republicans (Appalachians/Alleghenies/Ozarks)
- Farmers
- Jews

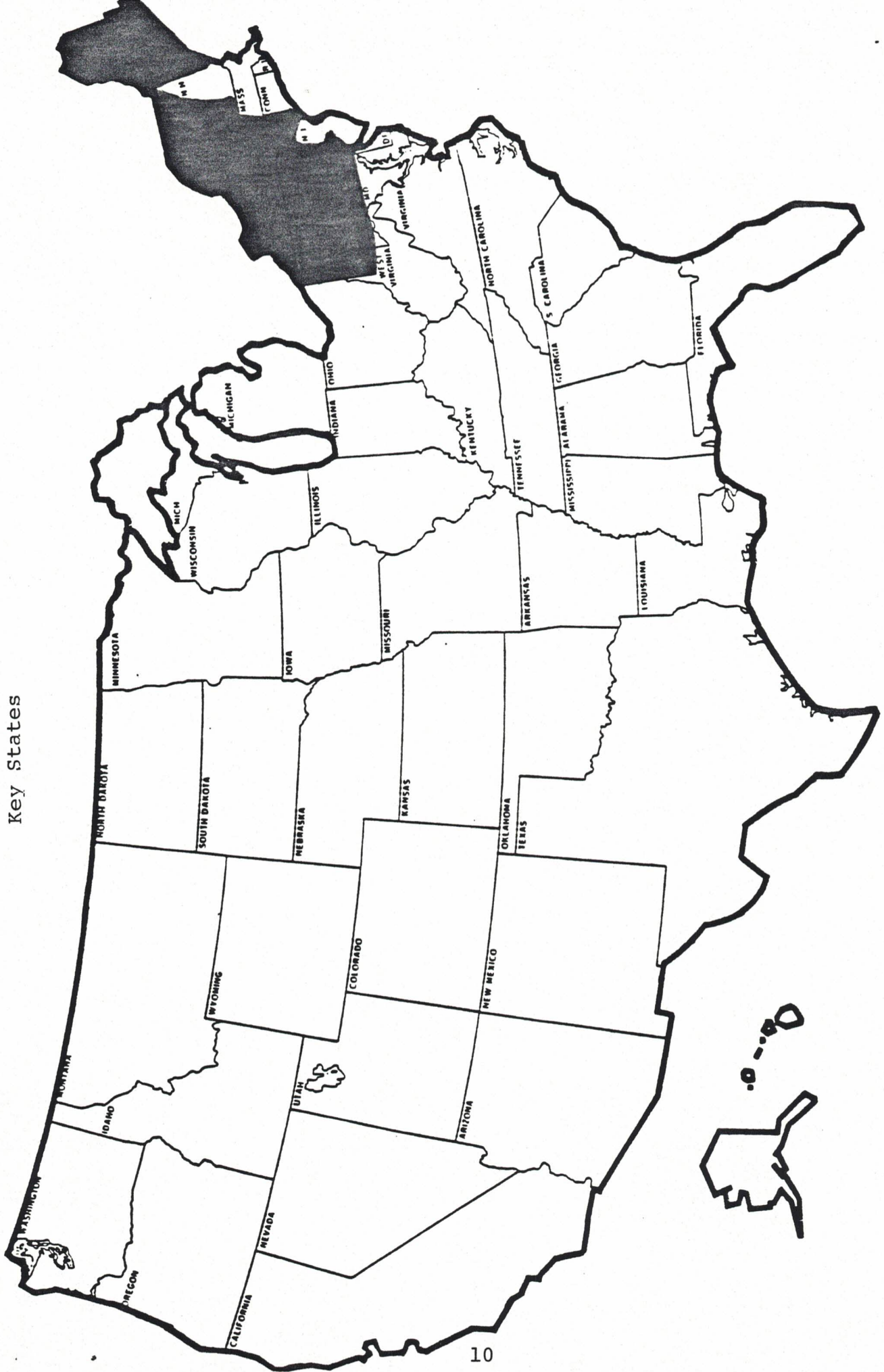
VI. GEOPOLITICS

The states listed in this geopolitical analysis section do not represent all the states where the targeted voter group is present. The lists do not even mention all the states where the targeted voter group is influential.

Instead the following lists are limited to states that are marginal in 1984--states that we can win and states that we can lose. States we are fairly sure to win and fairly sure to lose are not listed.

YANKEE

Key States



Unreconstructed South

These states have significant numbers of "unreconstructed" voters, who still vote straight Democratic tickets on nearly all occasions.

North Carolina

South Carolina

Georgia

Alabama

Mississippi

Arkansas

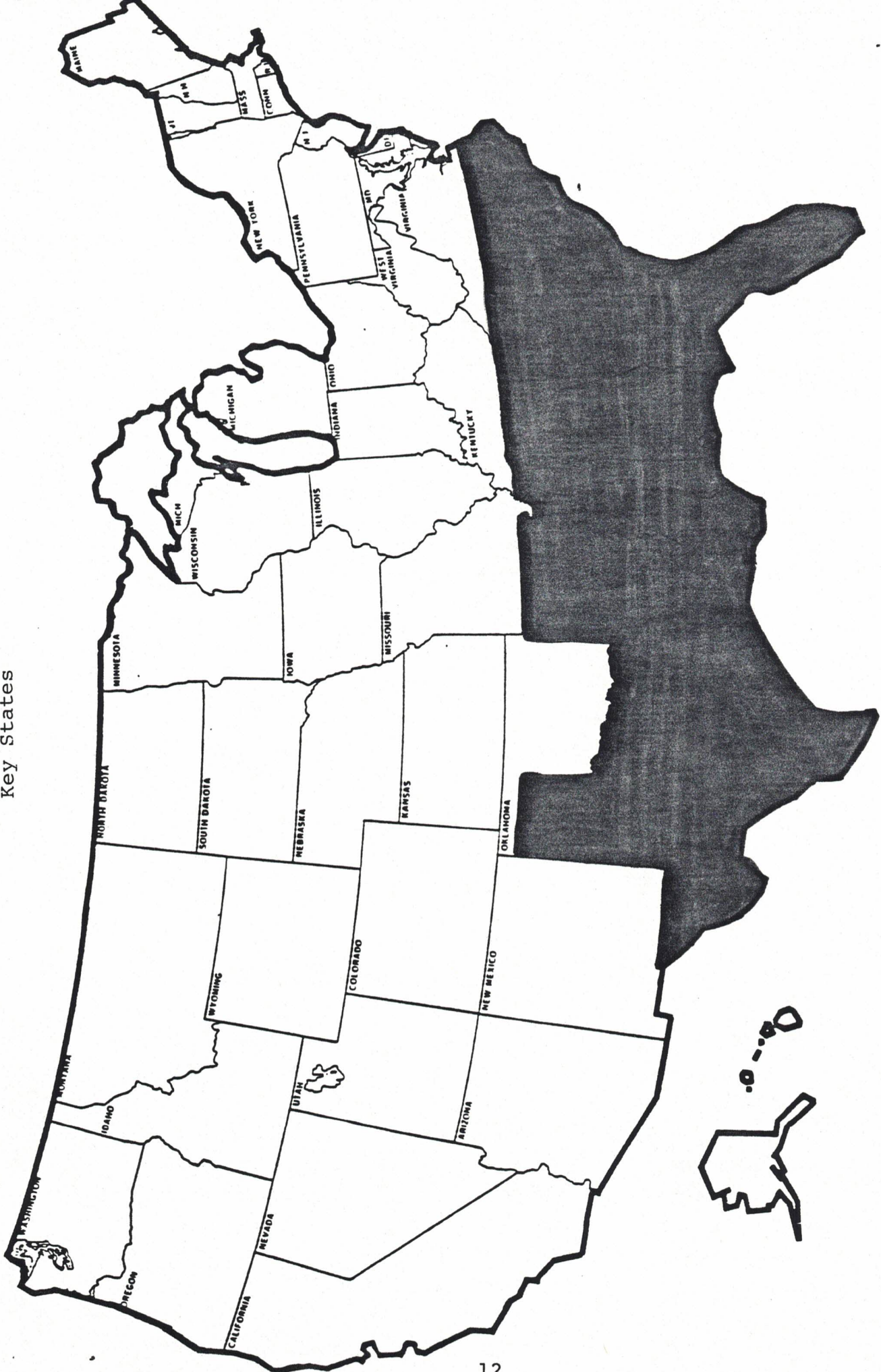
Tennessee

Texas

Louisiana

Florida

Key States



Border States

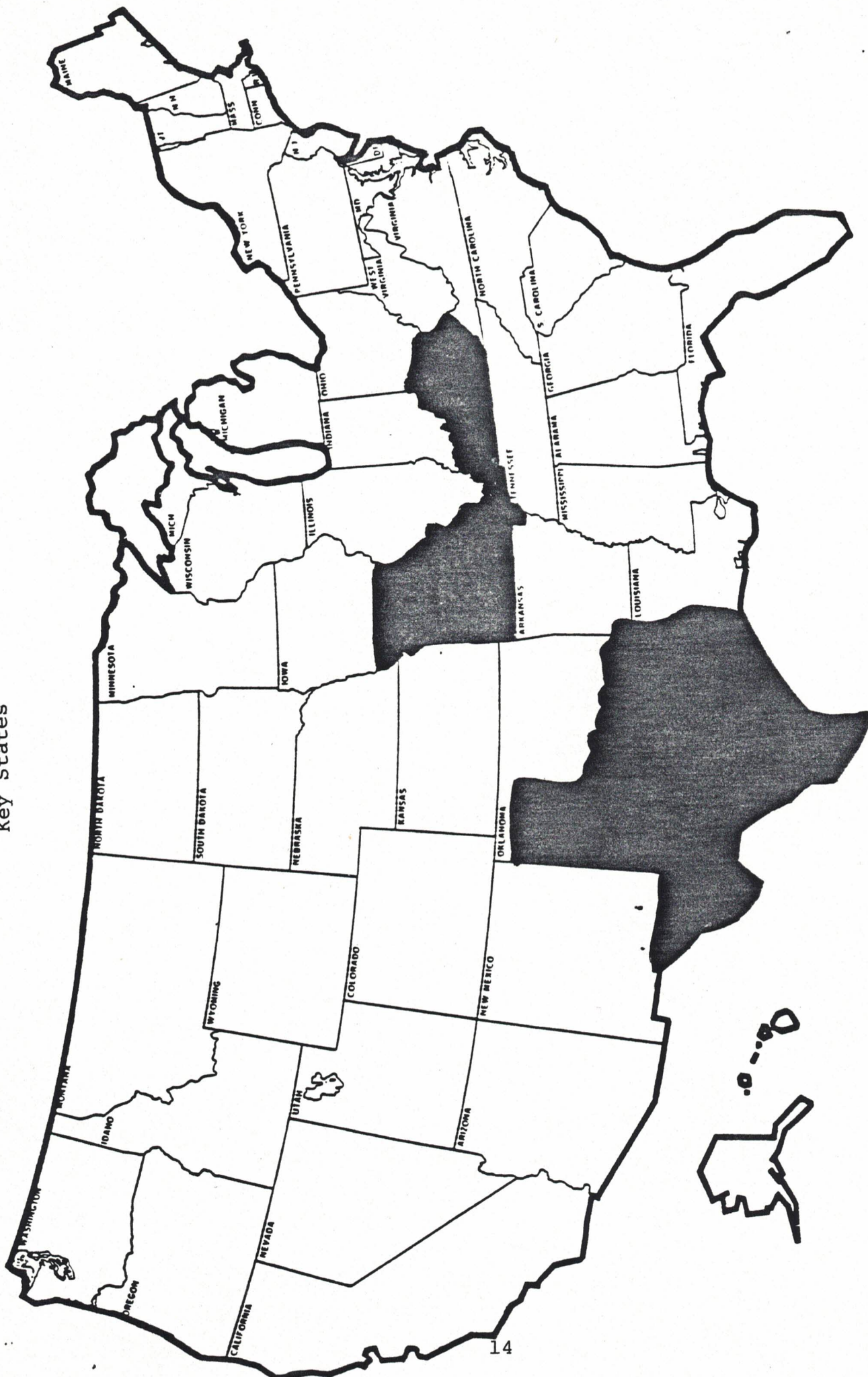
Kentucky

Missouri

Texas

BORDER STATE

Key States



Hispanics

New Mexico

Texas

Florida



Copperheads

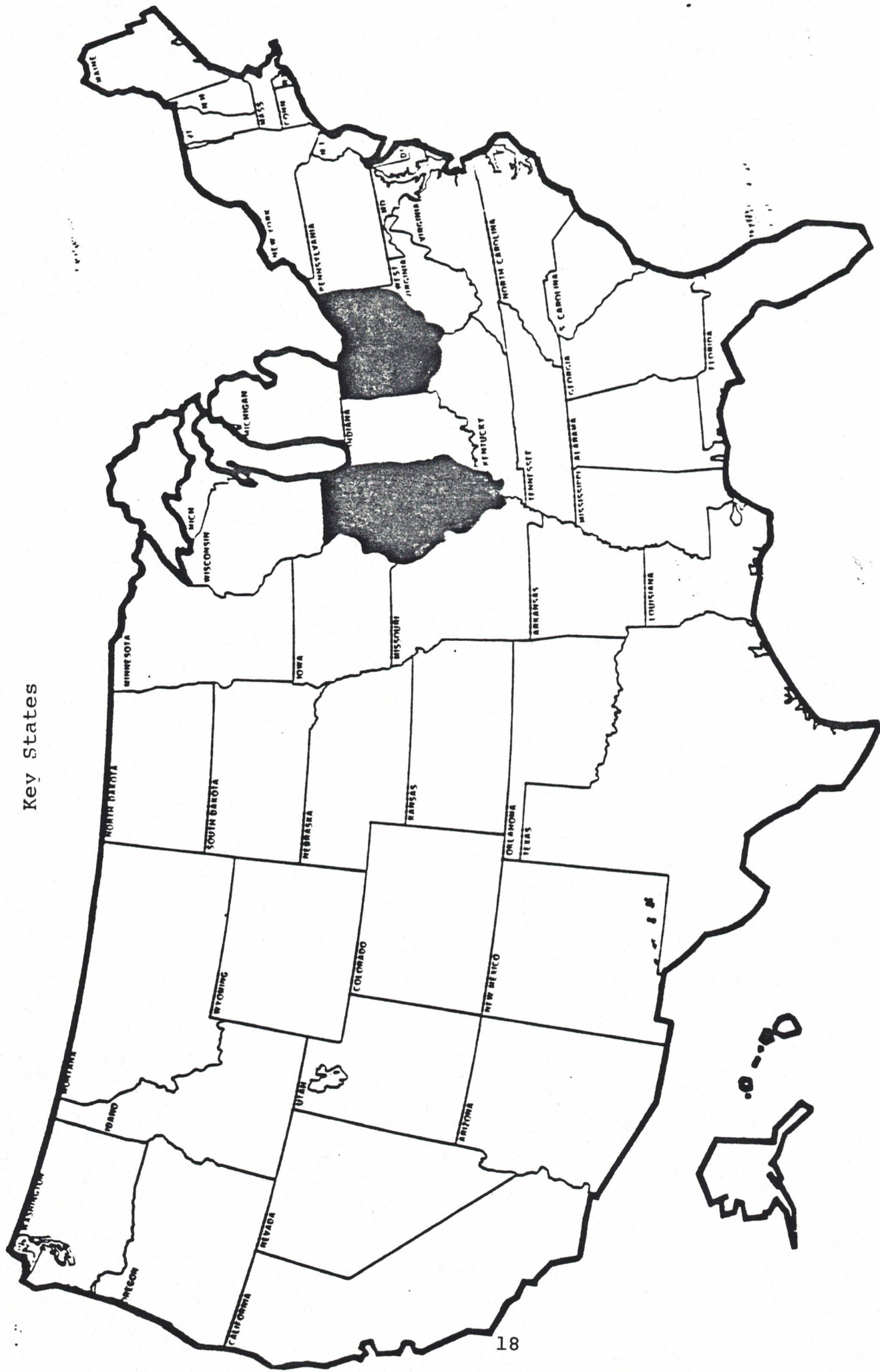
(Southern-leaning Midwestern Democrats in rural areas)

Ohio

Illinois

COPPERHEAD

Key States



Heartland Republicans

Ohio

Illinois

Iowa

Michigan

Wisconsin

Heartland Republicans

Ohio

Illinois

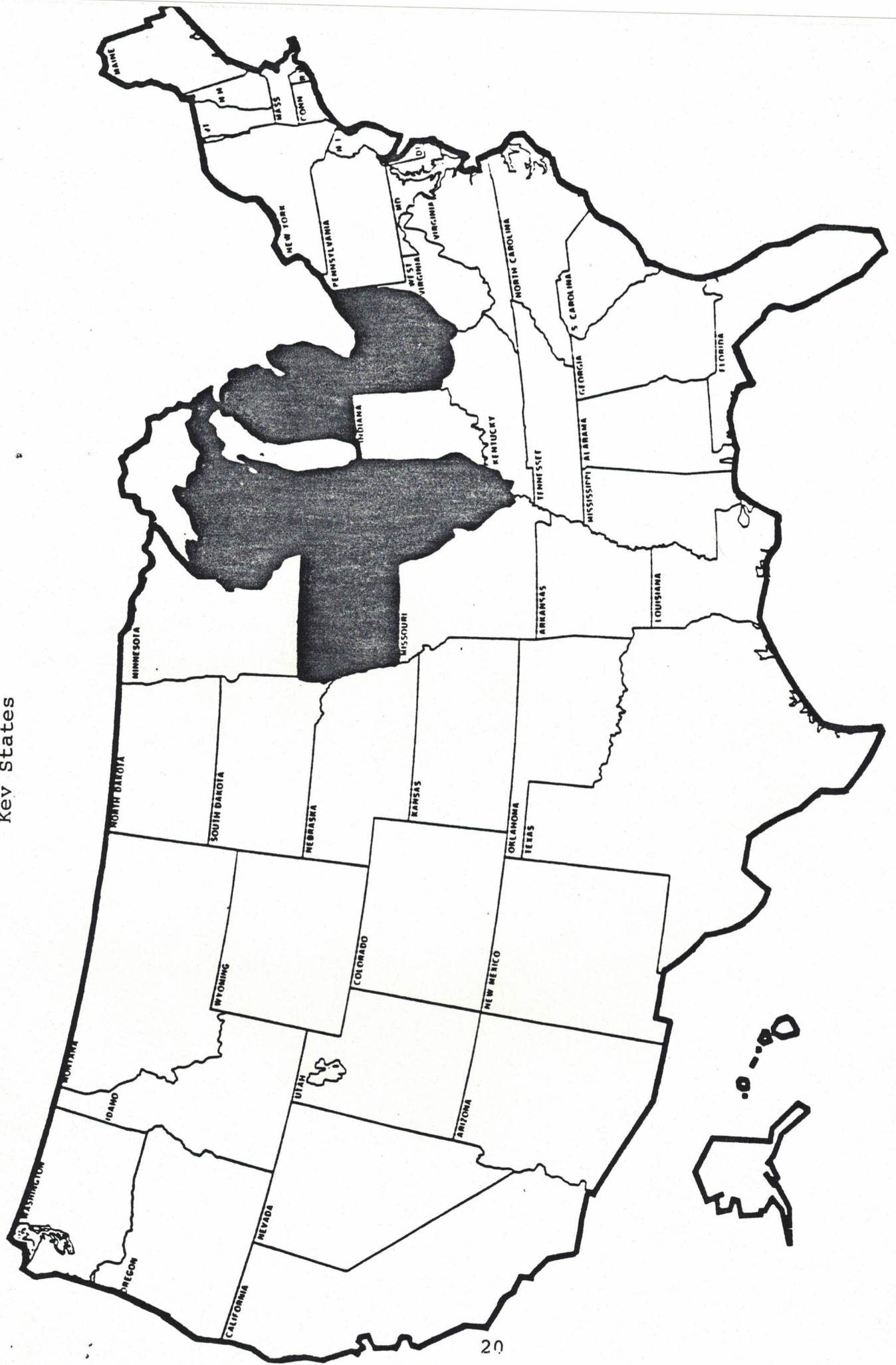
Iowa

Michigan

Wisconsin

HEARTLAND REPUBLICANS

Key States



Social-Conservative Democrats

(generally, Blue collar ethnic Catholics)

New York

New Jersey

Pennsylvania

Connecticut

Michigan

Ohio

Illinois

Wisconsin

Key States



Eastern Suburbanites

Connecticut

New York

Pennsylvania

New Jersey

Delaware

Illinois

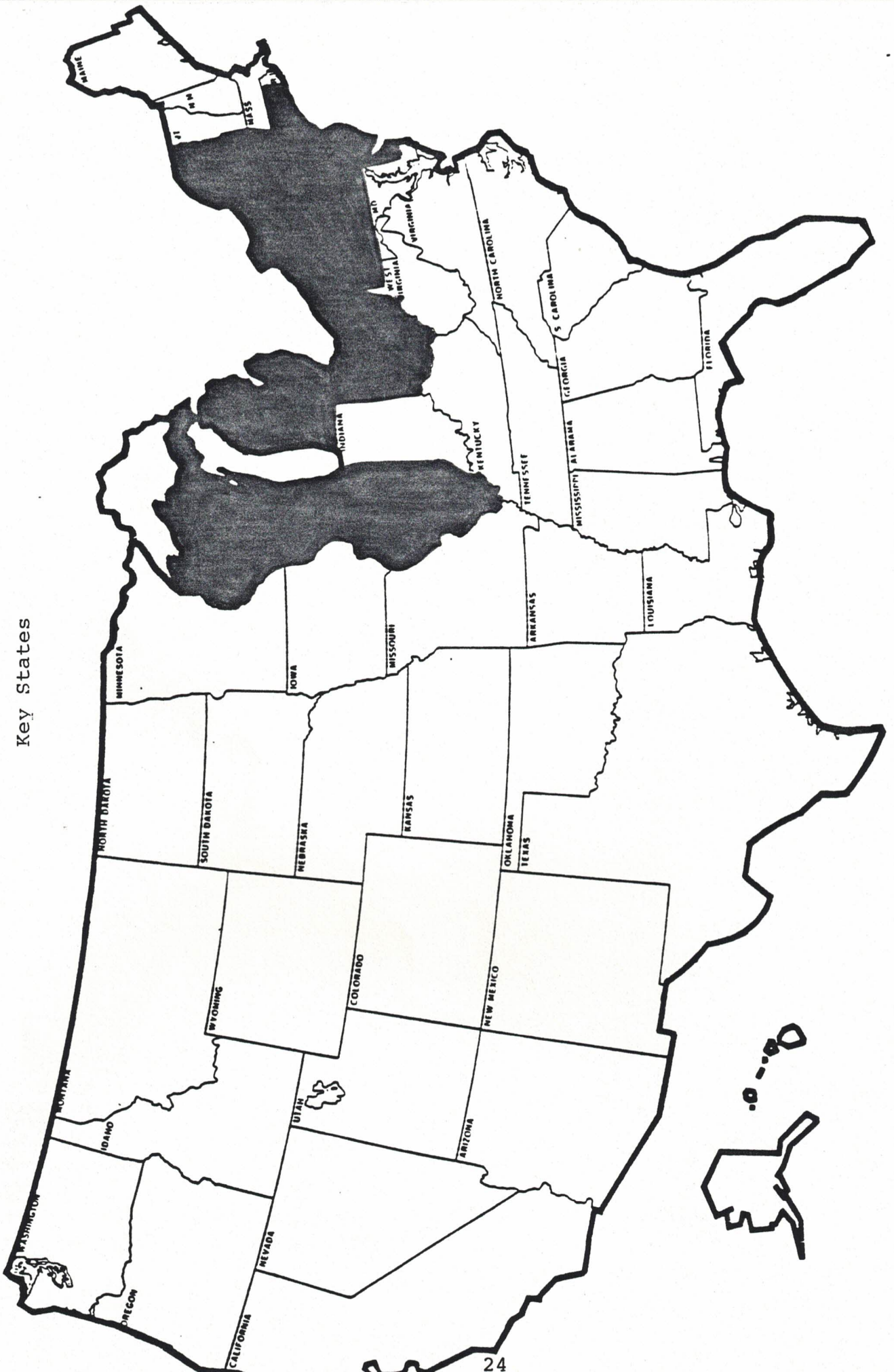
Ohio

Michigan

Wisconsin

EASTERN SUBURBANITES

Key States



Mountain Republicans

(Appalachians/Alleghenies/Ozarks)

Tennessee

Kentucky

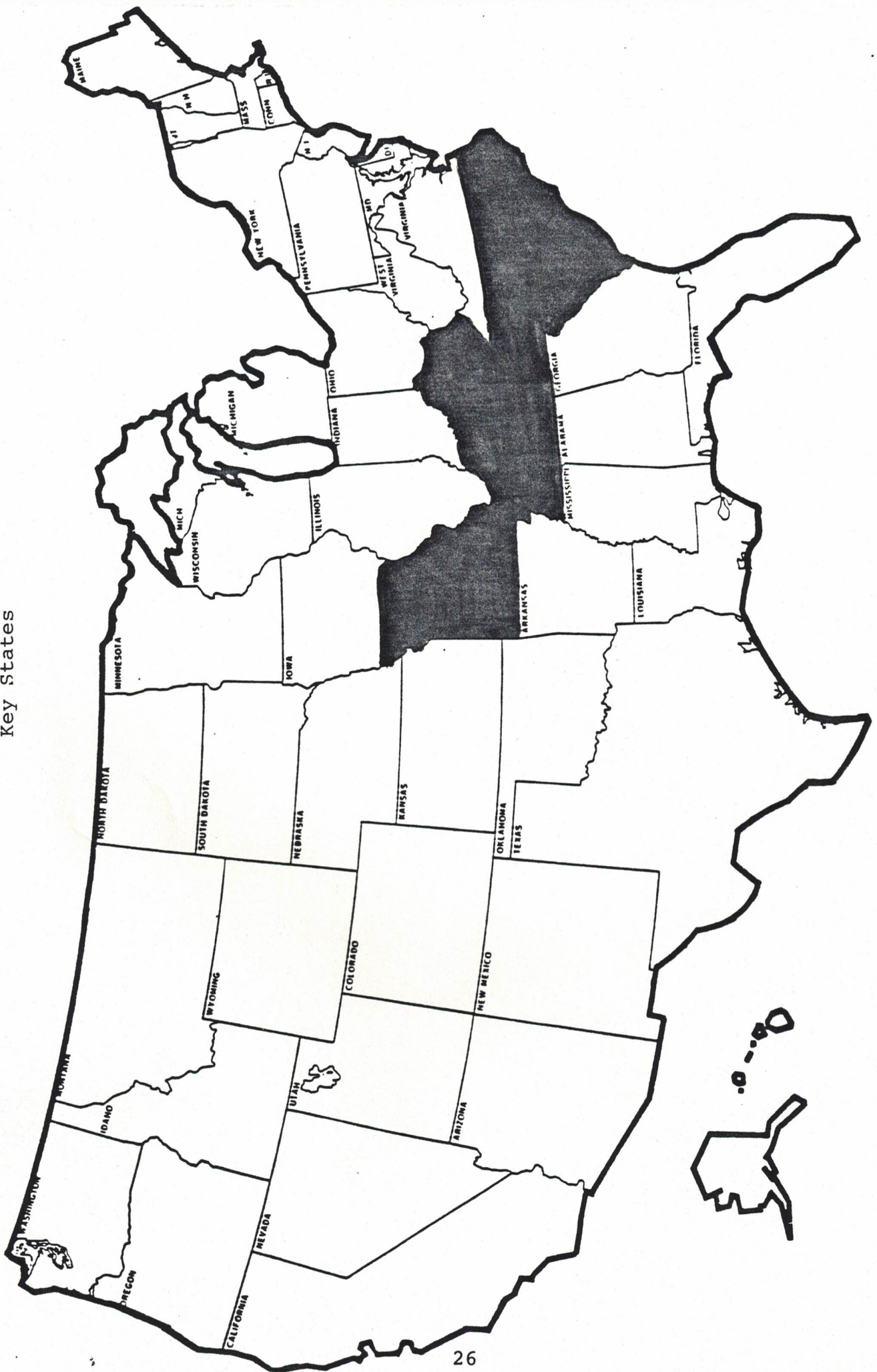
North Carolina

South Carolina

Missouri

MOUNTAIN REPUBLICANS

Key States



Farmers

Wisconsin

Iowa

Illinois

Missouri

Kentucky

Arkansas

Texas

Louisiana

Tennessee

North Carolina

South Carolina

Georgia

Alabama

Mississippi

FARMERS

Key States



Jews

New York

New Jersey

Florida

Connecticut

Pennsylvania

Key States



VIII. POSSIBLE EVENT DATES

MARCH

- 2--1836 Texas declared its independence from Mexico.
- 2--1867 First Board of Education established in the U.S.
- 2--1917 Inhabitants of Puerto Rico became U.S. citizens.
- 3--1849 U.S. Department of the Interior established.
- 4--1888 Knute Rockne, football great, born.
- 4--1917 First woman in Congress (Jeannette Rankin of Montana) began her term.
- 5-- Boston Massacre/Crispus Attucks Day.
- 5--1946 "Iron Curtain" phrase coined by Winston Churchill at Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri.
- 6--1896 Charles King completed the first Detroit-built car.
- 7--1949 First homes at Levittown, Long Island housing development, went on sale.
- 8--1845 Commodore Perry's treaty with Japan ratified by U.S.
- 10--1880 First Salvation Army Mission to the U.S. landed in New York.
- 10--1948 Jan Masaryk, Czech prime minister, supposedly committed suicide.
- 12--1912 Girl Scouts of America founded.
- 12--1947 President requested \$400 million to combat Communism in Turkey and Greece.
- 14--1879 Albert Einstein, scientist, born.
- 15--1919 Andrew Jackson, 7th President, born.
- 15--1919 American Legion organized in Paris.
- 16--1903 Senator Mike Mansfield born.
- 16--1945 U.S. capture of Iwo Jima completed.

18--1949 NATO established.

21--1866 First National Soldiers' Home authorized.

21--1921 Poland became an independent republic.

26--1930 Sandra Day O'Connor's birthday.

31--1870 First black voted in a municipal election (Perth Amboy,
New Jersey).

31--1931 Knute Rockne, football great, killed in plane crash.

APRIL

- 1--1948 Communist blockade of Berlin began.
- 4--1968 Martin Luther King assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee.
- 8--1730 First Jewish synagogue in New York City consecrated.
- 9--1865 Confederates surrendered at Appomattox.
- 9--1886 Civil Rights Act passed by Congress over President Cleveland's veto.
- 9--1939 Marian Anderson Easter Concert on steps of Lincoln Memorial.
- 12--1945 FDR died.
- 13--1743 Thomas Jefferson, 3rd President, born.
- 14--1910 William Howard Taft started the custom of the President's throwing the first baseball of the season.
- 15--1874 Compulsory education law passed by New York legislature.
- 15--1984 Income Tax Pay-Day.
- 17--1524 Giovanni da Verrazano discovered the Narrows and New York Harbor (Verrazano Day in New York).
- 18--1949 Ireland established as a republic.
- 21--1836 Mexicans defeated at San Jacinto (Texas State Holiday).
- 22--1541 St. Ignatius of Loyala, founder of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), elected its first general.
- 22--1864 "In God We Trust" became the U.S. motto.
- 22--1930 Naval reduction treaty of London signed by U.S., Britain, France, Italy, and Japan.
- 22--1970 Earth Day, reclaiming purity of air, water and environment; "Give Earth a Chance."
- 24--1890 General Federation of Womens' Clubs organized.
- 30--1984 American Newspaper Publishers Association Convention, April 30 - May 2.
- 30--1984 Girls Clubs of American National Conference, April 30 - May 3.

MAY

- 1--1984 Feast of St. Joseph the Worker
Loyalty Day in U.S.
- 2--1984 President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped:
Annual Meeting, May 2 - 4.
- 4--1796 Horace Mann, educational reformer, born.
- 5--1862 Cince de Mayo, Mexican national holiday celebrating the
anniversary of Battle of Puebla.
- 7--1945 Germany surrendered unconditionally to the Allies at
Reims, France.
- 8--1884 Harry S. Truman, 33rd President, born.
- 8--1945 Germany surrendered (V-E Day).
- 9--1914 Mother's Day established by Presidential proclamation.
- 11--1888 Irving Berlin, composer, born.
- 11--1949 Israel joined the United Nations (Official Israeli
Independence Day Holiday).
- 12--1984 Mother's Day.
- 14--1607 First English settlement founded at Jamestown, Virginia.
- 14--1804 Lewis and Clark expedition left St. Louis, Missouri.
- 14--1948 State of Israel proclaimed and recognized by the U.S.
- 17--1954 U.S. Supreme Court ruled against school segregation.
- 18--1904 Jacob J. Javits, U.S. Senator, born.
- 20--1861 Homestead Act passed.
- 25--1983 National Missing Children's Day.
- 28--1865 Memorial Day.
- 28--1912 Jim Thorpe, American Indian athlete, born.

JUNE

- 5--1723 Adam Smith, Scottish economist and philosopher, born.
- 6--1944 Invasion of Normandy began (D-Day).
- 6--1978 Proposition 13 passed in California.
- 12--1939 Baseball Hall of Fame established at Cooperstown, New York.
- 14--1777 Flag Day, introduction of the original flag before the Continental Congress in Philadelphia.
- 15--1215 King John signed the Magna Carta.
- 18--1873 Susan B. Anthony, suffragist, fined \$100 for having voted.
- 18--1983 Dr. Sally Ride became the first woman in space.
- 22--1870 Birthday of the U.S. Department of Justice.
- 24--1928 A treaty idea that would outlaw war was announced.
- 25--1903 George Orwell, author of 1984, born.
- 26--1934 Congress approved the idea for a Jefferson Memorial.
- 27--1950 Truman ordered intervention in Korean War.