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Spencer-Roberts & Associates, Inc.

MEMORANDUM

3/24

JAB
g. time to a free

TO: EDWIN MEESE III
JAMES A. BAKER
MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM: STUART K. SPENCER *JS*

DATE: MARCH 18, 1983

The impending chairmanship of the Fed cannot be taken lightly, wrong move could inflict great damage to a re-election effort. The notion that reappointing Volcker brings Reagan credibility is pure nonsense.

It essentially mortgages your future - allowing Volcker after this summer to do anything he wants. Remember Carter? Volcker began tightening up on the money supply just as the former president was gearing up to run for re-election in 1980.

In 1970 Nixon appointed his own man, Arthur Burns, to the Fed chairmanship - timed perfectly for his upcoming re-election. You'd better have someone in there who can influence the Fed your way in 1984.

There is an additional political dimension if Volcker is reappointed, be assured, that the press will give Reagan full credit for all the pain and suffering of the past few years, while giving Volcker credit for any of the positive results. Even if this is to the extreme, Reagan at best will be taking a bow to Volcker at a time when he would not wish to share the credit with anyone.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 15, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR: ✓ JAMES A BAKER, III
ED ROLLINS

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING 
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: RNC Meeting on Election Law Proposals

I have been invited to attend a meeting at the RNC this afternoon, to discuss Republican proposals for election law reforms in this Congress. Attending the meeting will be the House election law "leaders", Congressmen Vander Jagt and Frenzel, and the Senate and RNC campaign committee leaders, Senators Lugar and Laxalt, and RNC Chairman, Frank Fahrenkopf.

The purpose of this meeting is to secure united Republican support of the Frenzel election law proposals so as to provide an alternative to the Mathias and Obey public financing and PAC reform proposals which are expected to be pushed by their sponsors and the Democrats this year. Vander Jagt and Frenzel hope to secure a commitment from Laxalt and Lugar to cosponsor and actively support the Frenzel election law bill in the Senate. White House representatives were invited to this meeting because the Frenzel proposals, if enacted, would affect the 1984 presidential campaign and because, although it is recognized that the Administration may not wish to be an active participant on this legislation, Congressional Republicans believe it necessary to obtain tacit Administration support of these proposals.

The Frenzel proposal would strengthen the role of political parties in the campaign process, and in so doing would make certain changes in the Presidential election campaign financing laws. We have reviewed this proposal and believe all of its amendments affecting the Presidential elections are good. Attached is a summary of the Frenzel proposals affecting Presidential elections.

RECOMMENDATION:

The White House representatives to this meeting should encourage Senator Laxalt to cosponsor and support the Frenzel proposals, and be authorized to give tacit Administration support to this legislation (with the understanding, of course, that we would not become actively involved in the legislative deliberations on this issue).

SUMMARY OF FRENZEL BILL PROPOSALS
AFFECTING PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN FINANCING

1. It would extend the exemption from the definition of contributions and expenditures for payments for buttons, bumper stickers and other campaign materials used in connection with volunteer activities to payments for such things made by the national party committees. NOTE: A liberal interpretation of this amendment would allow the RNC to pay for these items for a Presidential campaign and not allocate such payments to its overall expenditure limit.
2. It would extend the exemption from the definition of contributions and expenditures for payments made by state and local party committees for voter registration and get out the vote (GOTV) activities for Presidential candidates to the national party committee and make the exemption available for all Federal candidates. NOTE: Just as above, depending on the implementing regulations adopted by the FEC, such payments by the RNC would not be allocated to its overall Presidential expenditure limitations.
3. It would increase the base expenditure limitation for Presidential primaries from \$10 million to \$18 million; eliminate the state expenditure limitations for the primaries, and increase the base expenditure limitation for the Presidential general election from \$20 million to \$30 million.
4. It would increase the base amount the national party committee may expend on behalf of its Presidential candidate in the general election by 50% (from 2¢ times the Voting Age Population, VAP, to 3¢ times the VAP).
5. It would eliminate the 20% exemption for solicitation costs from expenditure limits applicable to presidential campaign committees; but this is seen as a "wash" because of the increase in the base expenditure limitations for presidential campaigns. NOTE: We may wish to have this exemption reinserted.

Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates

117 Smith Avenue

Mount Kisco, N.Y. 10549

(914) 666-2750

file

DATE: APRIL 13, 1983
TO: JAMES BAKER
MICHAEL DEEVER
RICHARD WILLIAMSON
FROM: ARTHUR J. FINKELSTEIN
SUBJECT: CHICAGO

AF

The end result of Chicago means another substantial increase in black voter turnout. The Republicans ended up as racists without any permanent benefits nationally. The only good would be the development of an Independent candidate, but that is very unlikely.

In my view, for the short-term, the Republicans made a bad mistake.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

1/25/83

January 25, 1983

MEMORANDUM

TO: Edwin Meese, III
James A. Baker, III
Michael K. Deaver

FR: Ed Rollins *el*

RE: 1984 Senate Outlook

Even though it is very early, a number of clear trends have already developed in our key U.S. Senate races. At this point, it is unfortunately very difficult to predict any optimistic scenario for the GOP. In fact, the six most vulnerable incumbents are all Republicans and holding our own next year would have to be considered as a significant triumph. Of course, there are Democrats who have the potential to be very vulnerable (i.e. Joe Biden if he is challenged by Gov. DuPont and J.J. Exon if he is challenged by Rep. Bereuter). However, unlike our side, the Democratic incumbents will all be entering their re-election campaigns from positions of strength. Listed below is a state-by-state breakdown of the 16 most volatile races.

COLORADO

The consensus among Republican Party leaders here is that Sen. William Armstrong (R) will be a definite frontrunner if the major Democrat still being mentioned as his challenger--Rep. Tim Wirth--remains in the House. However, a Wirth candidacy will be a formidable threat to Armstrong if the Democrat does enter the race.

Throughout 1982, Wirth appeared to be a likely opponent to the Senator. The three other Democrats who might have given Armstrong a strong contest--Gov. Richard Lamm, Lt. Governor Nancy Dick, and Rep. Patricia Schroeder--have now all removed themselves from consideration. While Wirth said in September that it was "unlikely" he would leave the House if re-elected, he refused to rule out a future Senate race. Moreover, Wirth campaigned for other Democratic office-seekers and did extensive T.V. advertising through the far reaching Denver media market (in spite of the fact his own re-election was assured). Following his re-election by a 2-1 margin, Wirth publicly said he would like to see his protege and onetime aide, State Rep. David Scaggs (D), succeed him in Congress in the event "I seek another office."

Since November, however, Wirth has been "absolutely silent," according to State GOP Chairman Howard Callaway. He has done none of the early organizational spadework that other prospective Senate challengers (such as Iowa's Harkin) have done, and has made no indicative statements. At the same time, Armstrong has stepped up the pace of his own fund-raising.

Callaway told me that he now believes Wirth is "chicken" and will decide not to make the race.

DELAWARE

The sole Republican being mentioned as a 1984 opponent to Sen. Joseph Biden (D) is Gov. Pierre (Pete) duPont, IV, who by law must retire from the state-house when his term expires next year. For his part, the Governor has made no public decision, and says that his eventual answer will be determined by 1) personal desire and 2) what he wishes to accomplish further in public life. DuPont has given no clue as to when he will make up his mind.

Both duPont and Biden are very popular politicians and a race between them would be difficult to predict.

ILLINOIS

Rep. Thomas Corcoran (R) has now decided to challenge Sen. Charles Percy (R) in the 1984 Republican primary and has retained Russ Evans as his consultant and Arthur Finkelstein as his pollster.

Although former State Sen. Donald Totten (R) has long been mentioned as a prospective primary opponent to Percy, all signs point to Corcoran as the Senator's sole GOP foe. Totten and Corcoran are personally close, with the Congressman serving as campaign chairman of Totten's unsuccessful race for lt. governor last year. Corcoran was the only member of the Illinois House delegation to support Totten in the three-man contest. For this part, Totten has said "Percy will face one or the other of us, but not both" and is shortly expected to formally remove his name from consideration in the Senate race.

President Reagan was on hand on January 19th to address Senator Percy's kick-off fundraising dinner, along with the entire Senate leadership. The dinner raised close to \$1 million for Percy while a similar Corcoran function on the same evening raised only \$50,000.

With most of the media attention focused on the Republican primary, little --if any--coverage has been given to the prospective Democratic efforts to win the seat. The consensus is that party leaders will designate a Senate candidate at the "slatemakers" meeting of county Democratic chairmen in late 1983 and that their choice will be the favorite in the March primary. Among the leading Democrats in order of probability are State Controller Roland Burris, Secretary of State Neil Hartigan, State Treasurer Jerry Consentino, Rep. Marty Russo and 1978 nominee Alex Seith.

IOWA

The race here will almost certainly be between Sen. Roger Jepsen (R) and Rep. Thomas Harkin (D). While both former Democratic Senators Richard Clark (1973-79) and John Culver (1975-81) have maintained high-profile speaking schedules, they both have said that their eventual political goal is a 1986 race against Sen. Charles Grassley (R). Clark and Culver have also publicly praised Harkin.

Re-elected to his fifth term with 59 percent of the vote last year, Harkin virtually ignored his Republican opponent and spent the last three weeks of the campaign stumping for other Democratic office-seekers. In all of his speeches, the Congressman strongly attacked Jepsen.

In late December, Harkin made the initial steps toward setting up a campaign organization. Longtime Harkin administrative assistant John Fitzpatrick has resigned to organize a Harkin-for-Senate committee, while Des Moines consultant Julie Gammack has been retained to handle fund-raising. Most recently, the Congressman's cousin, State Rep. Phillip Davitt (D), has made soundings to run for Harkin's Fifth District House seat, presumably because it will be open next year.

Jepsen has raised over \$350,000 so far and is shortly expected to begin forming his re-election organization. All talk of a primary against the Senator by either former Gov. Robert Ray or Rep. James Leach has faded, but insiders expect some challenge to materialize.

KENTUCKY

Jefferson County Judge Mitch McConnell (R) appears to be the near-certain challenger to Sen. Walter Huddleston (D). The only other heavyweight Republican mentioned as a Senate candidate, Rep. Larry Hopkins, has now taken himself out of the race.

An attorney and administrative assistant to former Sen. (1969-75) Marlow Cook (R), McConnell served as U.S. Deputy Assistant Attorney General in the Ford Administration before he unseated the incumbent Democratic judge of Jefferson County. Last year, a WLKY-TV (Louisville) poll showed McConnell running ahead of Huddleston for the Senate by a 52-39 percent margin in the city of Louisville.

He plans to announce for the seat in late 1983, and now has nearly \$150,000 in cash-on-hand with pledges of another \$95,000. He has also retained National Direct Mail and plans to run an aggressive mail solicitation effort throughout the state. Also mentioned as a GOP candidate is State Sen. Jim Bunning, a former professional baseball player.

While polls show Huddleston to be personally popular, the Senator is also shown to have no strong statewide base of supporters.

LOUISIANA

State Rep. Louis (Woody) Jenkins (D) has indicated he will challenge Sen. Bennett Johnston (D) in the non-partisan primary in October, 1984 and has already filed a Jenkins for Senator Committee with the FEC. In 1978, Jenkins drew 41 percent of the vote against Johnston and two years later, received 39 percent of the vote against Sen. Russell Long (D).

In December, Jenkins sent out a nationwide mailing delineating his past races and strongly emphasizing his credentials as a leader of the conservative Independent Legislative Study Group in the state legislature. The mailing, which is designed to help retire past Jenkins debts, also underscores his pledge to vote with Republicans to organize the Senate.

Although Jenkins is easily the most visible of prospective opponents to Johnston, other possibilities have been mentioned, among them Rep. Buddy Roemer (D). Re-elected to his second term, Roemer was just selected to serve on the House Banking Committee, after having stated that Republicans had offered him a spot on the same committee if he switched parties. "If I don't get on Banking, the Republican offer will be hard to turn down," Roemer said.

MASSACHUSETTS

Both Democratic and Republican polls have shown Sen. Paul Tsongas (D) lacking a strong base for re-election, with a significant number of voters having no opinion whatsoever of his performance. State Auditor Thomas Finegan (D), a longtime critic of Tsongas, commissioned a Peter Hart poll last year to determine his chances in a primary against the Senator. Since then, Finegan has ruled out such a race, but that a well-known Democratic office-holder would publicly consider such a move is indicative of Tsongas' intra-party standing.

Industrialist Ray Shamie (R), who drew 41 percent of the vote against Sen. Edward Kennedy (D) last year, has already indicated his desire to run against Tsongas in '84. Many state GOP leaders have publicly questioned Shamie's chances against Tsongas, noting that he benefitted primarily from anti-Kennedy sentiment last year.

The early Senate favorite among GOP state committee members appears to be U.S. Attorney William Weld, who has won widespread publicity recently for his investigation of Boston Mayor Kevin White's (D) administration. Weld, however, is shortly expected to rule out any race for office next year to avoid charges his investigations are politically motivated, as White has charged.

MICHIGAN

Several Republican names are now being floated as possible challengers to Sen. Carl Levin (D). Most frequently mentioned is Joseph Hudson, owner of the Hudson's Department Store chain and chairman of New Detroit, a civic group dedicated to revitalizing the inner city.

Several supporters of 1982 gubernatorial nominee Richard Headlee (R)--particularly those in the LDS Church community--have already organized a committee to draft the Farmington Hills insurance executive for a Senate race. Yet most leaders of Headlee's campaign agree that his real aim is another race for governor in 1986.

A third Senate possibility is former Rep. (1981-83) Jim Dunn, who narrowly lost re-election in the Sixth District to Democrat Bob Carr. Dunn's latest direct mail piece, however, indicates he is more inclined to a rematch with Carr next year.

MINNESOTA

By all accounts, Sen. Rudy Boschwitz (R) is in better shape for re-election than fellow Sen. David Durenburger (R) was two years ago.

Durenburger's opponent, department store owner Mark Dayton (D), has released a poll showing him to be the choice of 41 percent of the state's Democrats to oppose Boschwitz, with State Attorney General Hubert Humphrey, III the runner-up with 15 percent. Humphrey is not expected to run for the Senate next year.

While he lacks the statewide name recognition of Dayton or Humphrey, Rep. James Oberstar (D) has done a considerable amount of spadework for a Senate race. Virtually unopposed for his fifth term last year, the Eighth District lawmaker spent most of his time campaigning for other Democrats throughout the state. He cut television and radio spots for Dayton and Gov. Rudy Perpich (D), and contributed extensively from his re-election fund to Democrats Timothy Penney and Gerald Sikorski, both of whom unseated GOP congressmen.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Most political eyes in the state seem focused on the scenario of a primary between incumbent Sen. Gordon Humphrey (R) and U.S. Assistant Secretary of Commerce Lawrence Brady (R). In a front-page editorial last year, the Manchester Union-Leader (which supported Humphrey in 1978) blasted him as "Bumbling Gordon" and called on Brady to enter the primary.

Although he has not made any public statements about a campaign, Brady appears to be leaning toward the race. Rep. Phil Crane (R-IL) has signed a nationwide fund-raising letter to retire the debt from Brady's 1980 Senate race and Jon Minarik, a former Vice President of the Richard A. Viguerie Company, has drawn up a financial plan for a Brady-for-Senate campaign. Sometime this year, Brady is expected to authorize formation of a "Friends of Larry Brady Committee," which will leave him the option of running for the Senate or against Rep. Norm D'Amours (D).

Humphrey himself, who recently received media attention for his role in the Senate fight against the gasoline surcharge, refuses any comment on Brady. He recently stated his intentions to seek a second term and, if re-elected, to retire in 1990.

Among Democrats, former Sen. (1975-81) John Durkin (D) has already formally announced his candidacy. The Democrat frequently portrayed as the strongest Senate hopeful, D'Amours, was hurt by the November elections, in which he overcame an obscure GOP challenger with only 54 percent of the vote.

Governor's Counselor Dudley W. Dudley (D) is also mentioned as a possible Senate hopeful. As she did in 1980, Mrs. Dudley had been expected to head up the state's Kennedy-for-President campaign. The Senator's withdrawal from the race now frees her for other political activity.

NEW MEXICO

Sen. Pete Domenici (R) has said his private polls show his statewide approval rating to be in the 80 percent range. The Senator, who will seek a third term in 1984, did not say who conducted the poll.

For a Republican to win statewide office in New Mexico, he traditionally has to do well among the states large number of senior citizens. This year, Sen. Harrison Schmitt's (R) defeat was due in large part to his poor showing in that group, with the social security issue playing a critical role in Democrat Jeff Bingaman's win. Moreover, Republicans traditionally have to hold down the Democratic margin among Hispanic voters in the Northern part of the state to achieve victory.

Domenici, who speaks Spanish and campaigns extensively in the Hispanic community, managed to hold down opponent Toney Anaya's (D) lead to 10,000 votes in the Northern counties in 1978. This year, Anaya won the Governorship and Bingaman won the Senate seat by 30,000-vote pluralities in North New Mexico.

The two Democrats considered most likely to challenge Domenici are State Party Chairman Nicholas Franklin and State Land Commissioner James Baca, a Hispanic who won re-election in 1982 by a 100,000 vote plurality.

NORTH CAROLINA

The sure race between Sen. Jesse Helms (R) and Gov. James Hunt (D) in 1984 is already the most-discussed news in the state.

The North Carolina Campaign Fund (a Democratic PAC dedicated to defeating Helms) most recently has taken out full-page advertisements in the Raleigh press attacking Helms and saying "North Carolina Deserves Better." Helms' own PAC, the National Congressional Club, responded with ads featuring quotes of praise from President Reagan and Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker.

In the two weeks preceding the adjournment of the 97th Congress, when Helms dominated press coverage throughout the state and nation with his filibuster against the gas tax, Hunt refused any comment on the bill and has yet to take a public position on the gasoline-highway bill. The Governor's aides say that their polls show him leading Helms by 8-16 points in head-to-head races, a lead which apparently has convinced them to maintain a low profile.

A mid-December fundraiser in behalf of the North Carolina Campaign Fund attracted 1500 guests and raised over \$250,000, by far the largest event of its kind in North Carolina. The fund has also initiated national anti-Helms fundraising and retained the nationally prominent Democratic direct mail marketing firm of Craver, Matthews, Smith and Company.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-SC) appears to be moving closer to a race for a sixth term. His most recent statement on the subject of re-election was that "People tell me when you reach your height of influence and the zenith of your career, you would not be treating your constituency right by quitting on them. I think there's some merit to that." The Senator has also approved formation of a committee to raise funds for a 1984 race.

Gov. Richard Riley (D) has repeatedly ruled out a challenge to Thurmond, having pledged to serve a full four-year term as governor. The most active Democratic Senate prospect appears to be Rep. Butler Derrick. Unopposed for a fifth term, Derrick campaigned vigorously for other Democratic candidates and has over \$150,000 in his campaign war chest. Derrick, however, has yet to declare any intentions for '84.

Former Rep. (1975-83) Kenneth Holland (D) announced his retirement last year by saying he would eventually return to politics as a candidate for governor or senator. The consensus of opinion in both parties is that Holland will pass up the Senate race and concentrate on the 1986 gubernatorial election.

SOUTH DAKOTA

The probability of Gov. William Janklow opposing Sen. Larry Pressler for re-nomination next year in the Republican primary has diminished significantly. The state's top two Republicans have never gotten along and the Governor has frequently spoken in public about the possibility of challenging Pressler. However, since his landslide win in November, Janklow has backed off from his previous statements and now says he will serve out his four-year term.

Rep. Thomas Daschle is the only Democrat being discussed as a serious Senate candidate. Had Janklow challenged Pressler, Daschle would almost certainly have

organized a campaign. The prospects of a united Republican Party may convince Daschle to forego a Senate race in 1984 and oppose Sen. James Abdnor (R) two years later. As of this writing, Daschle has said he is still "keeping my options open" for next year.

TEXAS

Sen. John Tower (R) has apparently ended any speculation that he will retire next year. So far, the Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman has raised \$2.5 million and stated that his probable plans are to seek a fifth term.

Both former Gov. (1973-78) Dolph Briscoe and former Rep. (1975-79) Robert Krueger, Tower's 1978 opponent, have long been running for the nomination to oppose the Senator. Briscoe is shortly expected to be endorsed by Gov. Mark White (D), whose political career was launched when Briscoe named him Texas Secretary of State in 1975. The former governor is also expected to name Dwayne Holman as his campaign manager. Holman orchestrated White's winning races for attorney general in 1978 and governor this year.

Krueger, however, is seen by many political observers as the front-runner. He has maintained close contact with his 1978 supporters and kept up a vigorous schedule of political appearances last year. Moreover, three newly-elected state officials are considered strong Krueger supporters, including State Land Commissioner Garry Mauro, Krueger's longtime campaign manager.

In late December, Krueger took the unusual step of publicly calling on Briscoe to withdraw from the race, pointing out that the former governor would be too old (61) to acquire sufficient seniority.

Press reports continue to mention Rep. Kent Hance (D) as a possible Senate candidate, although the Congressman has said he will seek re-election in 1984.

WEST VIRGINIA

Until recently, the consensus of political opinion here was that Sen. Jennings Randolph (D) would retire next year at 81. However, the Senator's latest leanings are toward seeking one more term.

Regardless of what Randolph does, it appears that Gov. Jay Rockefeller (D) is certain to run in the Democratic Senate primary. The Governor will complete his second term in 1984 and must by law step down.

At this point, no well-known Republican is considering the race. Former Gov. (1969-77) Arch Moore, Jr. (R), who lost to Randolph in 1978 by 3000 votes, is now planning another statehouse bid. Former Rep. (1981-83) Cleve Benedict (R), the 1982 Senate nominee, has ruled out a race for any office and is in the process of moving to Washington, D.C.

Former Rep. (1981-83) Mick Staton (R) has received the most speculation as a possible Senate candidate. Staton, who lost re-election in the Third District, has said publicly that a Senate race is one of several options he is considering. Privately, however, Staton is planning a race for his old House seat in 1984.

Least Vulnerable Senators

David Boren (D)	Bill Cohen (R)
Bill Bradley (D)	Mark Hatfield (R)
David Pryor (D)	Alan Simpson (R)
Sam Nunn (D)	Ted Stevens (R)
Howell Heflin (D)	Nancy Kassebaum (R)

Potentially Vulnerable Senators

J. J. Exon (D)	Thad Cochran (R)
Claiborne Pell (D)	Jim McClure (R)
Max Baucus (D)	John Warner (R)

SUMMARY

1984 ELECTION STRATEGY State-by-State Rundown

<u>SAFE REPUBLICAN</u>	(72 electoral votes)	<u>BATTLEGROUND</u>	(217 electoral votes)
New Hampshire	(4)	Delaware	(3)
Kansas	(7)	New York	(36)
Nebraska	(5)	Pennsylvania	(25)
North Dakota	(3)	Illinois	(24)
South Dakota	(3)	Missouri	(11)
Oklahoma	(8)	Ohio	(23)
Virginia	(12)	Wisconsin	(11)
Alaska	(3)	Alabama	(9)
Arizona	(7)	Arkansas	(6)
Idaho	(4)	Kentucky	(9)
Montana	(4)	Mississippi	(7)
Nevada	(4)	North Carolina	(13)
Utah	(5)	Tennessee	(11)
Wyoming	(3)	Texas	(29)
<u>LEANING REPUBLICAN</u>	(78 electoral votes)	<u>UPHILL</u>	(79 electoral votes)
Vermont	(3)	Maryland	(10)
Indiana	(12)	Massachusetts	(13)
Iowa	(8)	Rhode Island	(4)
California	(47)	West Virginia	(6)
Colorado	(8)	Michigan	(20)
		Minnesota	(10)
		Georgia	(12)
		Hawaii	(4)
<u>MARGINALLY REPUBLICAN</u>	(89 electoral votes)	<u>HOPELESS</u>	(3 electoral votes)
Connecticut	(8)	District of Columbia	(3)
Maine	(4)		
New Jersey	(16)		
Florida	(21)		
Louisiana	(10)		
South Carolina	(8)		
New Mexico	(5)		
Oregon	(7)		
Washington	(10)		

1984 ELECTION STRATEGY
State-by-State Rundown

(The following groups are primarily determined by (a) historical voting patterns; (b) the 1980 presidential election; and (c) current trends with emphasis on the 1982 congressional elections.)

SAFE REPUBLICAN (72 electoral votes)

EAST

New Hampshire (4)

Republican in 8 of the last 9 elections; 2 to 1 for Reagan in 1980

MIDWEST

Kansas (7)

Longtime Republican stronghold; 10 of last 11 times GOP

Nebraska (5)

Longtime Republican stronghold; 10 of last 11 times GOP

North Dakota (3)

Longtime Republican stronghold; 10 of last 11 times GOP

South Dakota (3)

Longtime Republican stronghold; 10 of last 11 times GOP

SOUTH

Oklahoma (8)

Increasingly Republican; nearly 2 to 1 for Ronald Reagan in 1980

Virginia (12)

GOP in 7 of past 8 elections; now has 2 GOP Senators with 1982 gains

WEST

Alaska (3)

GOP all but once since statehood; more than 2 to 1 for Reagan in 1980

Arizona (7)

GOP every election since 1948; solidly Reagan in 1980

Idaho (4)

Along with Utah, our strongest Republican state(s)..

Montana (4)

GOP in 7 of last 8 elections.

Nevada (4)

Moving heavily toward the GOP; Laxalt's home state more than 2 to 1 for Reagan in 1980.

Utah (5)

Along with Idaho, our strongest Republican state(s).

Wyoming (3)

Another component in our nearly solid Western bloc

LEANING REPUBLICAN (78 electoral votes)

These states are nearly as solidly Republican as the above list, but each has weakness that makes this group less solid. Still, this group should be considered nearly safe and require little effort in capturing:

EAST

Vermont (3)

The traditional heartland of the Republican Party has only gone Democratic once since the Civil War. Still, Democrats are on the upswing here and came within 5,000 votes of upsetting our Senate seat in 1982. The Anderson vote (from 1980) is vital here and could upset us if it all went Democratic (an unlikely prospect).

MIDWEST

Indiana (12)

Republican in 10 of the last 11 elections; solidly Reagan in 1980.

Iowa (8)

Traditional GOP stronghold which hasn't elected a Democrat statewide since 1974. Still, labor presence and tendency to vote anti-incumbent could pose a problem in 1984.

WEST

California (47)

Reagan's home state supported him by 1.5 million in 1980. Republican

in 7 of last 8 elections. But, Anderson vote of 750,000 here clearly hurt the Democrats, and growing Hispanic population could hurt in 1984.

Colorado (8)

The most erratic of Mountain states, but heavily for Reagan in 1980 and Republican in 7 of past 8 elections.

MARGINALLY REPUBLICAN (89 electoral votes)

The states in this category have gone Republican in the past three presidential elections. Reagan carried all of these states comfortably in 1980 and none showed serious deterioration in the recent off-year elections.

EAST

Connecticut (8)

A high suburban population favors incumbents here. The last one to lost Connecticut in a re-election bid was Wilson in 1916.

Maine (4)

Not as Republican as it used to be, but still has a strong GOP tradition. Has only gone Democratic twice since World War I, and should be ours despite 1982 statewide defeats. (We did retain both House seats in that election.)

New Jersey (16)

Like Connecticut, has a large and vital suburban population. GOP captured governorship in 1981, and state has been Republican since 1964 in presidential races. Also has pro-incumbent trend.

SOUTH

Florida (21)

Republican in 6 of last 8 elections and Reagan's by more than 600,000 in 1980. But, as nation's fastest growing state is more volatile than most states. Also, any serious reversal by senior citizens would show here.

Louisiana (10)

More Republican than most of her neighbors, state has oil presence as well as unique Cajun character. RR's best state in Deep South in 1980 provides more cushion for 1984 than other Deep South states.

South Carolina (8)

Again, populists and heavy black population handicap us. However, presence of Thurmond who may be on ballot again in 1984 always a plus for us. Enormously Republican suburbs carried state for us in 1980. Urban/rural split necessitates heavy "country club" turnout in state we've carried 4 of past 5 elections.

WEST

New Mexico (5)

Should be part of the new Rocky Mountain Solid Republican base. However, did go Democratic in 1960 and was close in 1976. Also, Democrats swept statewide in 1982, inflicting our only Senate loss.

Oregon (7)

Republican in 8 of last 9 elections. Very close in 1976, however GOP did well in 1982 despite faltering state economy.

Washington (10)

Republican in last 3 elections; heavily for Reagan in 1980.

The total number of electoral votes in the above categories is 239 leaving us just 31 short of victory. An even break in the "battleground" states listed below would give us nearly 80 votes in excess of our required minimum, and approach landslide proportions.

BATTLEGROUND (217 electoral votes)

All of these states supported Reagan in 1980. Although we won big in some, most were close.

EAST

Delaware (3)

A classic swing state, Delaware has supported every winner since 1948.

New York (36)

Anderson demonstrably hurt us in 1980, lowering our margin to 100,000. If we recapture most of this upstate normally GOP vote, it should offset any gains for the Democrats in the city caused by increased minority registration or increased Jewish support for the Democrats. Definitely winnable.

Pennsylvania (25)

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Illinois (24)

Hasn't gone Democratic since 1964. Heavy black turnout in Chicago hurt us in 1982, but alliance of Daley Democrats and blacks likely to be severed however mayoralty race turns out next month. Anderson's presence in his home state only hurt us in Rockford and environs in 1980. Probably less impact in 1984.

Missouri (11)

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Wisconsin (11)

Now a swing state with strong liberal presence. Farm vote carried state for Carter in 1976. Also, was McGovern's third best state in 1972.

SOUTH

Alabama (9)

Strong populist tradition reinforced by big Wallace in 1982. With increasing black turnout, we need at least 2/3 of white votes to win.

Arkansas (6)

Once our worst prospect in the South, Arkansas has increasingly solid Republican vote in northwest region. Bumpers' nomination would obviously hurt us here.

Kentucky (9)

Key to victory here is retaining strong support in the eastern mountainous region.

Mississippi (7)

Similar to Alabama, but with even higher black vote...which went heavily for Stennis in 1982. Southern state with lowest percentage of increase 1976-1980 indicates strong Democratic force to contend with.

North Carolina (13)

Severe losses suffered in 1982 and Helms-Hunt race for 1984 promises real donnybrook in state we've carried 3 of last 4 contests.

Tennessee (11)

Key to victory here is retaining strong support in the eastern mountainous region.

Texas (29)

Should be safe with 700,000 Reagan win in 1980. But, Bentsen ran 700,000 ahead of normal off-year Democratic vote in 1982, indicating strong organization and increased minority turnout. Also indicates we'll need heavy RR turnout in 1984 to combat efforts of new Democratic state administration.

UPHILL (79 electoral votes)

These states have to be considered leaning in the Democrats' direction. Six of them supported Carter in 1980, and all have longstanding Democratic traditions.

EAST

Maryland (10)

GOP lacks a base here with suburban vote mostly Democratic. We can carry Eastern shore and western Maryland, but need breakthrough in suburbs to offset Baltimore Democratic margins. Suburban Baltimore one area in 1980 where Reagan ran substantially behind Ford's 1976 showing.

Massachusetts (13)

Did support Reagan in 1980, but longtime citadel of American liberalism gives Democrats an advantage. Growing hi-tech industry and lessening of blue collar should benefit us in long run, but doubtful our day has

arrived. Democrats will have to run a liberal here or we could benefit from large Anderson (or other liberal) fallout from Democrats.

Rhode Island (4)

Longtime Democratic state; large blue collar, Catholic population. We do have half of state's delegation to Washington, but it's always uphill for us in Rhode Island.

West Virginia (6)

Again, a Democratic bastion. But, state has tradition of supporting GOP incumbent presidents (1956 and 1972) in a big way.

MIDWEST

Michigan (20)

One of our least likely states in the Midwest, but we've carried the last 3 elections. Economics certainly the key here.

Minnesota (10)

Undoubtedly the most liberal state in the Midwest, Minnesota has been heavily Democratic for past 20 years. But, GOP swept in 1978 and still has two senators. Mondale nomination would further handicap us; his defeat for Democratic nomination, however, could provide fallout in our favor.

SOUTH

Georgia (12)

Carter's home state is our weakest Southern state. We do well in Atlanta suburbs, but there aren't enough votes there to offset Democrats in increasingly black Atlanta or tradition-bound rural Georgia. A win in Georgia should signal a total sweep of the South.

WEST

Hawaii (4)

Has only gone Republican once since statehood (1972), but last two Democratic wins have been very close. Military seems to like incumbents, and may give us an edge for 1984 despite overwhelming Democratic registration edge.

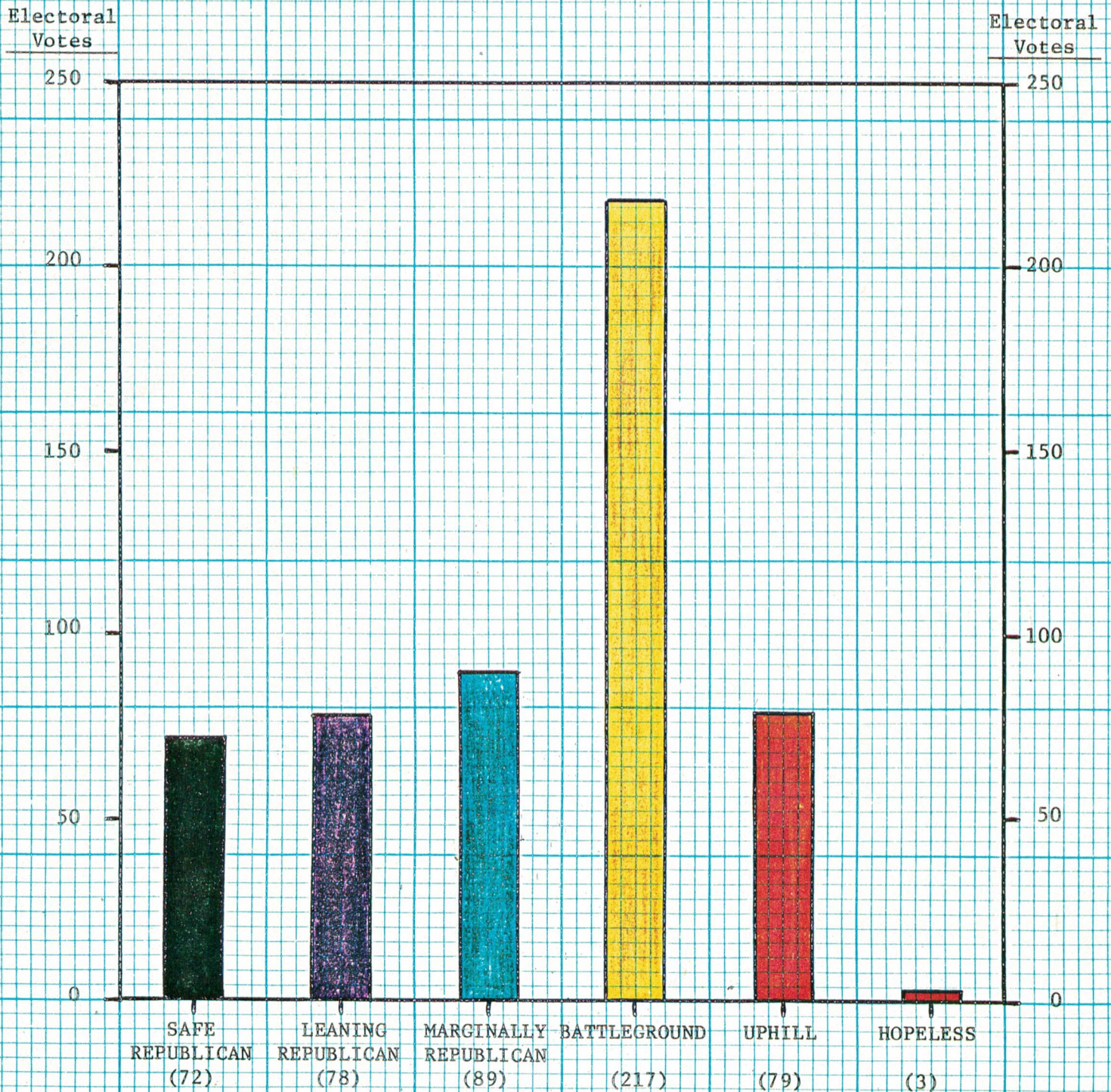
HOPELESS (3 electoral votes)

EAST

District of Columbia (3)

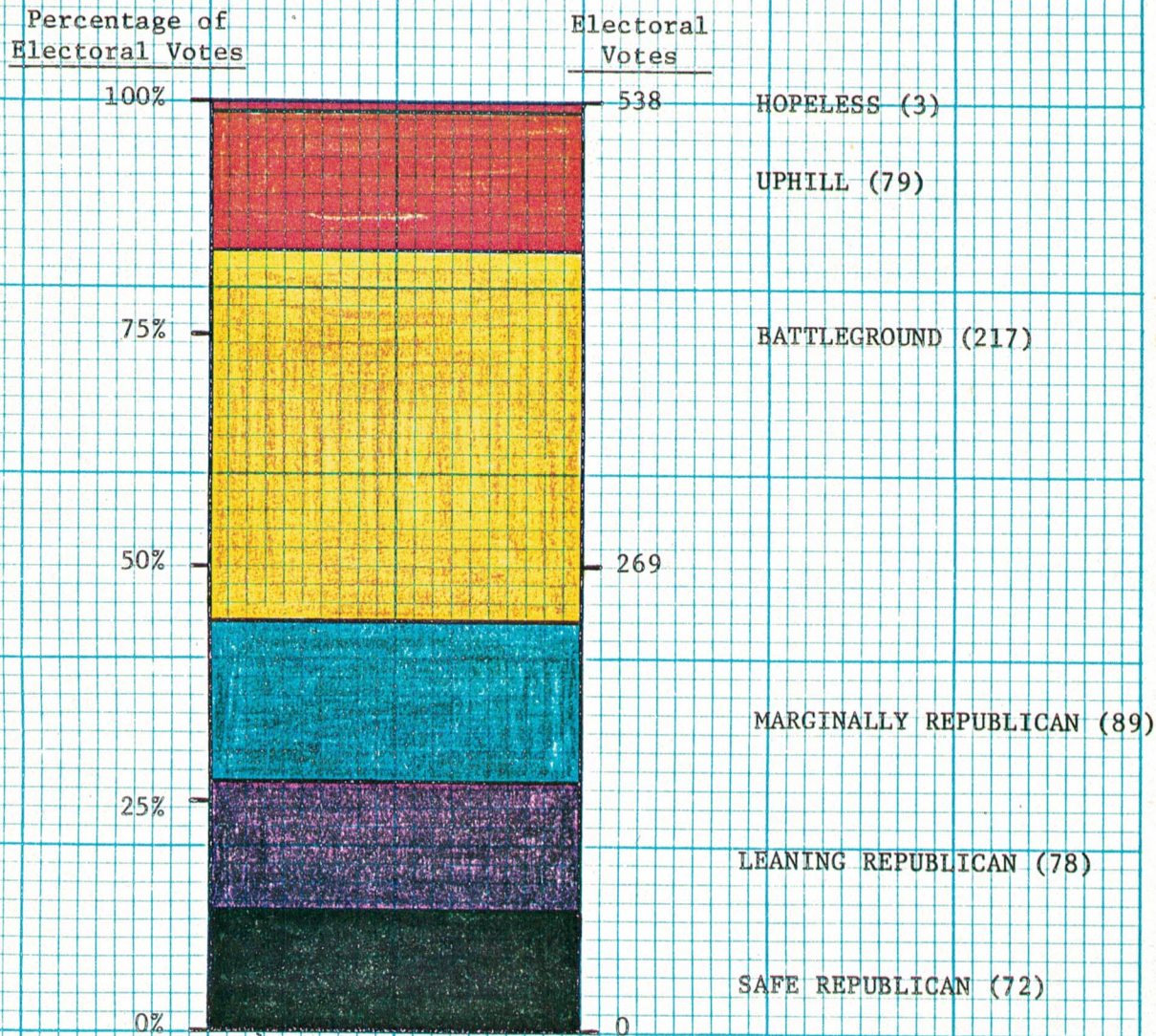
ASSESSMENT OF 1984 PROSPECTS

The height of the bars represents the electoral vote total for each of the six categories used in this assessment.



ASSESSMENT OF 1984 PROSPECTS

The width of the bands represent the electoral vote total for each of the six categories used in this assessment.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*McManus
drinks at
place 5:00*

PRESIDENTIAL VISIT REQUEST FROM SENATORIAL
COMMITTEE

Helms

PRIORITY #1

[Senator John Warner
Senator John Tower *November*
Senator Rudy Boschwitz
Senator Roger Jepsen
Senator Strom Thurmond

PRIORITY #2

Senator Bill Armstrong
Senator Pete Domenici
Senator Gordon Humphrey

PRIORITY #3

Senator Jim McClure
Senator Ted Stevens
Senator Larry Pressler

Requests for D.C.
rather than home
state event

Senator Jesse Helms
Senator Mark Hatfield

*- Texas
- Calif
- Penn
- N Jersey
- Virginia* } *Post November*

*April 5
Joe Coors-
drunk. / Set-up
file on
84*

You asked for leadership suggestions. The following are not in order of preference but alphabetical:

CLAIR BURGNER

Chairman of Deukmejian's campaign, experience from City Councilman to Assemblyman to State Senator to Congressman. Home state.

JOE COORS

Excellent administrator, knows national politics, a multitude of people. Longtime loyalist.

JOHN DALTON

Immediate past Governor of Virginia. Excellent record. Southern, when to deny the South to the Democrats is to win and win big. Yet Virginia is not all that Southern; more a border state with strong Republican leanings.

RICHARD DEVOS

Despite his unfortunate tenure as RNC Finance Chairman, he is a grass roots organizational genius. One of the necessities of 1984 will be to register, organize, and get our vote out. AMWAY type efforts would do it.

DREW LEWIS

May already be disenchanted with private life, from what I hear. Has general respect and is acceptable to all factions.

BILL MIDDENDORF

Another on the limited list of loyalists who are also respected and acceptable to most factions, and who have national political experience.

DON RUMSFELD

Capable and ambitious. Looking for a way to come again to national attention.

1984 ELECTION STRATEGY

(The following groups are primarily determined by (a) historical voting patterns; (b) the 1980 presidential election; and (c) current trends with emphasis on the 1982 congressional elections)

SAFE REPUBLICAN (92 electoral votes)

EAST: New Hampshire (4)

Republican in 8 of last 9 elections; 2:1 for Reagan in 1980

MIDWEST: Indiana (12)

Republican in 10 of last 11; solidly Reagan in 1980

✓ Kansas (7)

Longtime Republican stronghold; 10 of last 11 times GOP

✓ Nebraska (5)

Ditto above

✓ North Dakota (3)

Ditto above

✓ South Dakota (3)

Ditto above

SOUTH: Virginia (12)

GOP in 7 of past 8 elections; now has 2 GOP senators w/ '82 ga

✓ Oklahoma (8)

Increasingly Republican; nearly 2:1 for RR in '80

WEST: ✓ Alaska (3)

GOP all but once since statehood; more than 2:1 for RR in '80

Arizona (7)

GOP every election since '48; solidly Reagan in '80

✓ Colorado (8)

The most erratic of Mountain states, but heavily for RR in '80 and Republican in 7 of past 8 elections

Idaho (4)

Along with Utah, our strongest Republican state(s)

Utah (5)

See above

✓ Nevada (4)

Moving heavily toward the GOP; Laxalt's home state more than 2:1 for RR in '80

Wyoming (3)

Another component in our nearly solid Western bloc

PROBABLY SAFE REPUBLICAN (91 electoral votes)

These states are nearly as solidly Republican as the above list, but each has weakness that makes this group less solid. Still, this group should be considered nearly safe and require little effort in capturing.

EAST: Vermont (3)

The traditional heartland of the Republican party has only gone Democratic once since the Civil War. Still, Democrats are on the upswing here and came within 5,000 votes of upsetting our Senate seat in '82. The Anderson vote (from 1980) is vital here and could upset us if it all went Democratic (an unlikely prospect)

- MIDWEST: ✓ Iowa (8)
Traditional GOP stronghold which hasn't elected a Democrat statewide since '74. Still, labor presence and tendency to vote anti-incumbent could pose a problem in '84.
- SOUTH: Florida (21)
Republican in 6 of last 8 elections and Reagan's by more than 600,000 in 1980. But, as nation's fastest growing state is more volatile than most states. Also, any serious reversal by senior citizens would show here.
- WEST: ✓ California (47)
Reagan's home state supported him by 1.5 million in 1980. Republican in 7 of last 8 elections. But, Anderson vote of 750,000 here clearly hurt the Democrats, and growing Hispanic population could hurt in '84.
- ✓ New Mexico (5)
Should be part of new Rocky Mountain Solid Republican base. However, did go Democratic in 1960 and was close in '76. Also, Demos swept statewide in '82, inflicting our only Senate loss.
- ✓ Oregon (7)
Republican in 8 of last 9 elections. Very close in '76, however but GOP did well in '82 despite faltering state economy.
-

LEANING REPUBLICAN (73 electoral votes)

Five of the six states in this category have gone Republican in the past three Presidential elections and the remaining one (Missouri) has moved toward the GOP in recent years including 1982. Reagan carried all of these states comfortably in 1980 and none showed serious deterioration in the recent off-year elections.

- EAST: ✓ Connecticut (8)
A high suburban population favors incumbents here. The last one to lose Connecticut in a re-election bid was Wilson in 1916.
- Maine (4)
Not as Republican as it used to be, but still has a strong GOP tradition. Has only gone Democratic twice since World War I, and should be ours despite 1982 statewide defeats. (we did retain both House seats in that election).
- New Jersey (16)
Like Connecticut, has a large and vital suburban population. GOP captured Governorship in '81, and state has been Republican since '64 in presidential races. Also has pro-incumbent trend.

- MIDWEST: ✓ Illinois (24)
Hasn't gone Democratic since 1964. Heavy black turnout in Chicago hurt us in '82, but alliance of Daley Democrats and blacks likely to be severed however mayoralty race turns out next month. Anderson's presence in his home state only hurt us in Rockford and environs in 1980. Probably less impact in '84.
- ✓ Missouri (11)
Republican edge as weakening Democratic organization unable to pull together necessary components to victory. GOP coalition of suburbs and the Ozarks is formidable.

- WEST: ✓ Washington (10)
Republican in last 3 e ons; heavily for Reagan in 1980

The total number of electoral votes in the above categories is 256, leaving us just 14 short of victory. An even break in the "battleground" states listed below would give us nearly 100 votes in excess of our required minimum, and approach landslide proportions.

BATTLEGROUND (220 electoral votes)

All of these 15 states supported Reagan in 1980, although our margin was overwhelming in only two (Ohio and Texas) and substantial in another three (Louisiana, Ohio⁷ and Michigan.) The remaining gave very narrow wins to the GOP in the last election

EAST: Delaware (3)

A classic swing state, Delaware has supported every winner since 1948

New York (36)

Anderson demonstrably hurt us in 1980, lowering our margin to 100,000. If we re-capture most of this up-state normally GOP vote, it should offset any gains for the Demos in the city caused by increased minority registration or increased Jewish support for the Demos. Definitely winnable.

Pennsylvania (25)

The key to the Keystone State is the suburban vote. It eluded Nixon in '60 and '68, costing him the state both times. A matching of RR's 80 showing in the suburbs gives us a good chance of offsetting Philadelphia and Pittsburgh and repeating Pennsylvania's place in our column. Elections favored GOP in '82

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Erroneously regarded as solidly Republican, Ohio went for Carter in '76 and Truman in '48. Heavy labor presence and we "took a bath" here in '82. But, strong Republican organization's a plus for us. ^{No} Glenn candidacy would hurt us here as he's won twice by more than a million.

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Strong populist tradition re-inforced by big Wallace win in '82. With increasing black turnout, we need at least 2/3 of white votes to win.

Mississippi (7)

Similar to Alabama, but with even higher black vote..which went heavily for Stennis in '82. Southern state with lowest % of increase 1976-1980 indicates strong Demo force to contend with.

✓ South Carolina (8)

Again, populists and heavy black population handicap us. However, presence of Thurmond who may be on ballot again in '84 always a plus for us. Enormously Republican suburbs carried state for us in '80. Urban/rural split necessitates heavy "country club" turnout in state we've carried 4 of past 5 elections.

Arkansas (6)

Once our worst prospect in the South, Arkansas has increasingly solid Republican vote in northwest region. Bumpers nomination would obviously hurt us here.

Kentucky (9)

Key to victory here is retaining strong support in the eastern mountainous region.

Tennessee (11)

Ditto Kentucky.

✓ Louisiana (10)

More Republican than most of her neighbors, state has oil presence as well as unique Cajun character. RR's best state in Deep South in '80 provides more cushion for '84 than other Deep South states.

North Carolina (13)

Severe losses suffered in '82 and Helms-Hunt race for '84 promises real donnybrook in state we've carried 3 of last 4 contests.

Texas (29)

Should be safe with 700,000 Reagan win in '80. But, Bentsen ran 700,000 ahead of normal off-year Democratic vote in '82, indicating strong organization and increased minority turnout. Also indicates we'll need heavy RR turnout in '84 to combat efforts of new Demo state administration.

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HOPELESS: (3 electoral votes)

EAST: District of Columbia (3)