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Cy to B. Walker
3/14

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 g

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 elections; 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, Ohio 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

MIDWEST: Ohio (23)

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. Glenn candidacy would hurt us here as he's won twice by more than a million.

Michigan (20)

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

Wisconsin (11)

Now a swing state with strong liberal presence. Farm vote carried state for Carter in '76. Also, was McGovern's third best state in '72.

SOUTH: Alabama (9)

Strong populist tradition re-inforced by big Wallace in 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.

UPHILL (59 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: Massachusetts (13)

Did support Reagan in 1980, but longtime citadel of American liberalism gives Demos an advantage. Growing hi-tech industry and lessening of blue collar should benefit us in long-run, but doubtful our day has arrived. Demos will have to run a liberal here or we could benefit from large Anderson (or other liberal) fallout from Democrats.

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 Demo margins. Suburban Baltimore one area in 1980 where Reagan ran substantially behind Ford's '76 showing.

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 ('56 and '72) in a big way.

MIDWEST: Minnesota (10)

Undoubtedly the most liberal state in the Midwest, Minnesota has been heavily Democratic for past 20 years. But, GOP swept in '78 and still has two senators. Mondale nomination would further handicap us; his defeat for Demo 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 Demos 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 Demo 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





Spencer-Roberts & Associates, Inc.

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E.O. 12958, as amended, Sect. 3.3(c)
BY NARA *605* DATE *7/18/11*

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Pet
Waled for
next meeting
with Stu.

TO: JAMES A. BAKER
MICHAEL K. DEEVER

DATE: MAY 2, 1983

FROM: STUART K. SPENCER *SKS*

Research is just one ingredient in an overall campaign strategy.
I would like to share some thoughts.

- 1) In the last few years, I have become increasingly convinced that survey research is not always the "best" political research tool.
- 2) Additionally, people seem to put too much emphasis on the ballot questions which have always been indicators, not projections.
- 3) The frequency of all types of surveys has convinced me that a survey sample is a sample of "people willing to answer questions at a point in time" -- not the entire voting population.
- 4) Post-Election speeches by pollsters seem to be "defensive" on why they didn't win rather than what the research showed.
- 5) The media makes it close to impossible to assume a survey is reflective of public opinion, because they are obsessed with changing it daily.
- 6) Reliance on "one" pollster is not necessary. All surveys have a certain amount of "sampling" error and "non-sampling" error. These errors could be minimized if you used more than one pollster (your own sample validation, in a way).
- 7) I don't think a Presidential pollster should be a visible "media" personality.
- 8) The kind of mind that truly takes a good survey is not necessarily the type of mind to strategize. "Their" world is number-oriented. "Your" world is not (thank God).

- 9) A possible solution to this would be for the White House to have a low-profile "Analyst" who contracts with survey research firms (standardizes questionnaires) and has the data returned to him for analysis.
- 10) Better yet, set up a computer data transmission system so that the data is immediately transferred to one point.
- 11) Each pollster need not know someone else was retained also.
- 12) I firmly believe there is an "additive" power we're missing by not using 3 or 4 pollsters.
- 13) Having the pollsters do absolutely no analysis would eliminate the implicit bias they all have in defending their numbers (believe me, I've seen it done in a million ways).
- 14) If you don't like the idea of having an in-house analyst --, consider a technician who could buy the research and work with consultants in analyzing it.
- 15) This may seem a bit crazy, but I think it could be so much better of an investment.
- 17) Additionally, with Initiative & Referenda data readily available, you could do some darn good analysis work on vote behavior. Of course, with precinct data and maps -- the direct mail alternatives for campaigning are terrific.

B.W.

MEMORANDUM - April, 1983

You asked for a first cut at a strategy for 1984.

A political strategy is only a plan for winning the election. The plan uses all assets to advantage, minimizes liabilities, and proceeds from strength to weakness; not the other way around. It stays on the offense, never becoming reactive. Appropriate tactics are employed to parry opposition thrusts, but they are interludes only, in the progressive execution of one's own campaign strategy.

A campaign theme such as "Peace and Prosperity" summarizes the usual benefits offered to the electorate in return for votes. That particular theme, however, is hackneyed, more passive than it might be, and not as issue-contemporary and specific as it ought to be.

There are two lines from the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" and two lines from "America the Beautiful" which could inspire a theme for 1984:

"As He died to make men holy
Let us live to make men free"

"And crown thy good with brotherhood
From sea to shining sea"

As "Peace and Prosperity" covers both foreign and domestic issues, respectively, so do the ideas of "making men free" and of "brotherhood". President Reagan's speech to the British Parliament envisioned a peaceful expansion of the Free World. This concept should be elaborated into his 1984 foreign policy campaign platform plank. And it should be reduced to a theme.

"Brotherhood", connoting national unity, embodies a unique political concept for this President in 1984. If he is to lead a peaceful advance of freedom in the world, the President must inculcate, concurrently, the highest degree of unity seen in the American polity since World War II. Vast storehouses of spiritual and material goods will be needed as ammunition in so momentous an undertaking. Unity will be essential to their production. A new national determination will have to replace domestic discord if we and our allies are to prevail. Such high determination and purpose will not be achieved unless a critical national danger is perceived. The reality of national danger is present, but will need to be enunciated by the President in rather dramatic terms. Our adversaries hold their own people in bondage and seek to enslave the rest of the world. It will not be too much then if the President casts this struggle as one between good and evil. And such a policy is not belligerent since we intend to pursue it by peaceful means.

It is time, in history, for the United States to follow such altruistic and humanitarian initiatives as the Marshall Plan and the Peace Corps with a Grand Design for total world freedom. No one can proclaim and lead that effort but the President of the United States.

The following are several phrases which describe this theme imperfectly but, taken together, may contribute to its understanding:

- "Let us join hands at home and lend a hand abroad."
- "America must hold aloft the lamp of liberty so all the world can see."
- "We seek no aggrandizement. We have fought four wars in my lifetime and have sought not one acre of territory. We are the most humanitarian of nations and the largest and longest surviving democracy. With these credentials we now assume a new and heavy burden: the worldwide defense of freedom and the eventual liberation of all oppressed peoples."
- Individual freedom, instead of collectivism, is inevitable!
- "We Americans have a spiritual duty to help other peoples achieve their liberty."

It will be argued that the many domestic and foreign policy issues which will be current in 1984 must be addressed directly; that you cannot, for instance, sweep ten percent unemployment under the rug. That is true. But that issue and all others will become subordinate and complementary to the President's theme of rebuilding America into the storehouse of the free world. "People will work in greater numbers than before, and productivity will soar as we unite in this historic effort." And, if Israel and the Arabs refuse reconciliation, then free world public opinion can be mobilized and focused on both countries so deliberately and so intensely that they are forced into a peaceful accommodation. "We cannot dissipate the strength of the free world in strife among ourselves, neither abroad nor at home." If the Democrats in Congress refuse appropriations for defense against Castro-Soviet guerilla operations, they will seem to cast themselves upon the side of our adversaries. The terms of debate will be altered entirely when the President sets his agenda and frames these issues asking for total unity at home and a deliberate, activist, but peaceful foreign policy that extends freedom eventually to all the world.

All except our most blinded political opponents will agree that freedom abroad and brotherhood or unity at home are desirable states of affairs. Those who attack, regardless, will be seen as

petty and carping. And the more they attack the more the President will seek to unite the country. With good humor he will be long suffering; positive in all things, leaving negativism to his critics . . . classic white hat versus black hat politics: Ronald Reagan's genre. The non-incumbent opponent will always be on the attack. But he should not be answered or noticed even, except when he errs and offers the President an opportunity to smite him; with humorous ridicule of course. Meanwhile the President remains busy being President of all the people. He is engaged in a great work. He speaks, does human interest events, places calls to people who have big problems, and meets with foreign leaders as he puts together a Great Alliance. The President summons American leaders from all walks of life to the White House and tells them that they must stand shoulder to shoulder as though we were at war. He says "Let us show the world that our nation . . . a mixture of all races and religions, can live together harmoniously in freedom and prosperity even as we seek the same blessings for others throughout the world." "It is our duty and our destiny to pass the torch of liberty beyond our borders to all peoples who yearn to be free."

At the end, in late October of 1984 the President will invite his Democratic opponent to come and to consult with him in the White House. The President will seek common ground, forgive him his campaign excesses, bind up all wounds, and love his (political) enemy . . . to death.

The high ground is lofty indeed as a political position. A sitting President who uses his enormous prestige to unite fractious elements in the society becomes an almost indispensable leader, in the public consciousness.

There are said to be at least five necessities to a winning campaign: a good candidate, enough money, thorough organization, the right issues, and accurate timing. The latter may be the one of greatest importance. While there is a great deal to be said for "peaking" on the Monday before the Tuesday and nothing to be said for "peaking too soon", timing also concerns the when of beginning and the pace thereafter. The plan outlined here should not begin on a date certain i.e. be noticed as a sharp departure from usual activity. It should begin now and as 1984 comes on, the frequency of activities increases and their impact intensifies. That way no cynic in the media can charge the President with sham re-election politics. Because, there is nothing phony or contrived. Ronald Reagan is a truly compassionate person. He does not like to see people in conflict. He is a natural peacemaker. This plan (strategy) simply points to the President's natural talents and suggests how they can be employed to the greatest advantage. He has described

his vision of a Free World. It remains for him to assume the leadership of it. To do so means first to motivate and to mobilize America.

Thus far our suggested strategy has dealt with theme, candidate posture, opposition reaction, etc. But other dimensions of the campaign are equally important, though not so complex psychologically. They have to do with organization, advertising, and polling. All of the other parts of the campaign such as finance, legal, and candidate support (including issues research, speech writing, scheduling, advance and tour) are not treated in this paper.

The traditional functions of registration and voter turnout should be assigned to and left to the Republican Party, from the RNC on down to the county central committees.

The "national citizens committee to re-elect" should undertake the organization of bipartisan support committees along socio-economic lines. Each committee should extend from national to state to local levels. The demographic groups which ought to be organized to some degree or other are as follows:

Occupational

Businessmen
Career Women
Clergymen
Clerical and Sales
Factory Workers
Farmers
Government Employees
Homemakers, Mothers
Military
Professionals
Senior Citizens (Retired)
Sports Figures
Students
Teachers

Ethnic

Blacks
Hispanics
Jews
Orientals
Poles

Political

Conservationists
Democrats
Independents
Union Members
Women

Religious

Catholics
Evangelicals
Protestants, Main Line

Miscellaneous

Crime Victims
Gun Owners
Property Owners
Sports Fans
Tax Payers
Veterans

These are the elements of any so-called "coalition" that "needs reviving" in order to re-elect Ronald Reagan. To the extent that leaders and activists from 1980 are available, willing, and enthusiastic about the 1984 campaign, they should be given suitable positions. However, in quadrennial campaigns there is much to be said for new blood; no time should be lost wheedling "old timers" to be helpful. This is not to say that one's organizational and demographic bases should not be pacified and strengthened. But for every disgruntled former leader there will be several new people, with equal or better credentials, eager to work for the re-election of a sitting President.

The 1984 re-election advertising campaign should be developed along conventional lines except for one major innovation. The President himself should be utilized on television in thirty minute formats wherein he introduces a subject, narrates documentary film on that subject, and then closes with a summary and an appeal, depending on the subject matter.

Ronald Reagan is the most effective television political orator of our time. And, in the context of the 1984 campaign, he should do some standard speeches. But, even as visuals (charts) are used now, on occasion, so can film be used to illustrate a subject and to "prove the truth."

If the President undertakes the formidable tasks suggested in this paper, he will need every available media tool to succeed. One of the most effective tools and one seldom used in political communication to date, is the motion picture. Used as an authenticating adjunct to advocative speech, and in the service of Ronald Reagan, the past master of the medium, it should be devastatingly successful.

Finally, while survey research should be used extensively in 1984, the state of the art is such that two and possibly three firms should be given identical missions. All proven techniques should be utilized, but one, in particular, should be given emphasis: pre-testing of the campaign's concepts, issue positions, and advertising, with representative citizen panels. Revealed attitudes should not, in any sense, dictate the President's positions. But they can tell us that there are dimensions to problems which may not have been considered; or that one thing is of greater relative importance than another.

Such testing enables the campaign strategist to craft his issue positions so they may weather the fierce storm and result in net votes on election day. He can, as well, with such information, cast his net toward a wider audience than he may have known existed, previously. In general, intensive pre-testing is essential in order to anticipate and prepare for the exigencies of 1984.

Brain trust
small school.
→ marketing orders
JAB wpc on floor
who's invited.
Scheduling memo
Education Task Force?

Chapel
Countries
→ Central American
Main-line
Protestant

Woman
Evans