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May 5, 1980

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Bill Casey

From: Max Hugel

Subject: Volunteer Plan for the General Election of Governor Ronald Reagan and all Republican candidates

Objective: To develop and institute the largest and most effective volunteer organization ever attempted in a general Presidential Election to elect Governor Reagan as President and to help in the election of Republican Congressional and Senatorial candidates in this effort.

Theme: Together, a fresh start!

This theme is to be used throughout the volunteer effort and the campaign itself, also print materials and personal messages.

Also, all volunteers will be called RA's -- Reagan Aides. An RA can also mean Republican Aides when we are working to elect Republican candidates

Everyone recognizes that because the funds for the campaign are limited and fixed that the importance of this volunteer effort is essential and critical to winning the election. In addition, we are going to have a very tough election and we must either sell Governor Reagan or take advantage of the strong anti-Carter feeling that is prevalent throughout the country. Our RA's will be trained and equipped to do this.

Activity to Date: For three weeks since I have been here, I have defined and started to organize this important effort. Since we have had no funds to use, I have limited my efforts to defining the organizational structures by categories and have assigned the best and most knowledgeable people to head up the initial effort. Attached are the groups we are organizing and the current status of our efforts.

In addition to the groups listed, I have also started to look into organizing various national business groups that can be meaningful to our campaign, such as the

National Association of Automobile Dealers. As we identify additional important national groups we will add them to our volunteer groups.

We will also make certain that all the special interest groups that are supportive of the Governor are contacted and effectively use their influence and extensive contacts to enlist RA's to our cause. Some of the groups are The Right to Life, National Rifle Association, etc. A list is enclosed

Plan: All campaigns on whatever level use volunteers. Some are effective and some are not.

An effective volunteer effort is one which truly uses the volunteers and makes them part of the team. Our plan is to put together this massive RA organization which will include people from every political spectrum on the basis that all our RA's are trained and become part and parcel of Governor Ronald Reagan's personal team. They will be charged with the responsibility of selling to their friends and neighbors the Governor's positions and principles and to:

- (a). Identify his supporters and enlist them as RA's so that they in turn can contact their friends and relatives and identify them as voters for the Governor;
- (b). To make certain that all registered Republicans vote for and work for the Governor and all Republican candidates;
- (c). To enlist Democrats and Independents who are not committed to join with us to elect the Governor as President and, if possible, all Republican candidates;
- (d). To also take advantage of the anti-Carter feelings within group (c) in enlisting their vote.

How to accomplish this:

- (1.) Continue our efforts from now to the Convention in organizing the various groups.
- (2.) Have the current Reagan State organizations identify and enlist volunteers to

be RA's. The plan would be to have every Reagan state chairman have his organization within his state to immediately identify and enlist five RA's each. RA cards should be filled out, giving the names and addresses and sending them to us as well as given to the appropriate people within the states.

- (3). Have the current Republican State organizations do the same.

Right after the Convention in Detroit we will meet with the heads of each volunteer group, Reagan State Chairmen, the Republican State Chairmen and appropriate people from the RNC.

Each group will present their plan of action to enlist RA's and we will then explain to everyone our original game plan and enlist everyone's aid and enthusiastic support.

This effort can be the greatest political accomplishment ever done but it will not fully succeed unless we get the over-all cooperation and support from every group and every political organizational structure. I believe Governor Reagan himself must direct our political organization as well as the Republican organization to fully get behind this effort.

The Game Plan: For the first time in any campaign the volunteer effort on every level will be directly from the candidate to his team (the RA's).

Our goal is to have organized and identified one million RA's by the end of August.

Our plan is to turn out these one million personal RA's in early September to central locations.

We are investigating various methods of communications directly to these RA's as well as the places that these RA's can be assembled. Some of the alternatives are:

(A). Communications

1. Closed circuit TV through satellite transmission
2. Film
3. Video cassette tape

(B). Locations

1. Theaters
2. Holiday Inns
3. Large arenas in closed places
4. Homes
5. Meeting halls

All the above are being investigated as to cost and logistics. I am also gathering ideas on how best to put on this meeting to be most effective and will finalize the plan within 10 days.

These one million RA's will then be simply and professionally trained by our people on how to be an RA.

I suggest preparing a kit for each RA which should include:

- (1). An authorized RA certificate signed by Governor Reagan plus additional certificates for each RA. The RA certificate should be official looking so that it can be displayed by the RA's in their homes. Generally, it should state "Authorized Ronald Reagan Aide." It should list Governor Reagan principles. "Give America a fresh start" and signed by the Governor. Each RA will fill out a card in duplicate, giving their name and address, one to be sent to the person in charge of RA's on the state level and the other to national headquarters.
- (2). Eleven RA pamphlets, laying out Governor Reagan's positions and principles in simple and easy to understand manner.
- (3). Eleven pamphlets on President Carter stating his original positions and principles and the results of his record.
- (4). Eleven Ronald Reagan personal RA posters that can be put up in a prominent place outside each RA's home.
- (5). Eleven RA buttons.

These kits are to be handed out to each RA as they enter the locations designated.

We will put on an interesting teaching session on how to use the kit to interest additional RA's as well as converting non-committed Independents and Democrats to vote for Governor Reagan.

The purpose of giving each RA eleven of each is because they are to be instructed to enlist ten additional RA's and to teach them how to use the material when calling on their friends and neighbors. The original RA's are to be instructed that when they enlist an RA they are to send in their names and addresses to the person responsible for RA's in their state as well as to the national headquarters. The additional RA's are to be instructed to identify ten Governor Ronald Reagan supporters from their friends and relatives and are to fill out voter cards in duplicate to be given to the appropriate people in the state and to be sent to the national headquarters.

The over-all plan is developed so that at the second and last RA meeting at the end of October, which will be "to get out the vote meeting", it is feasible that we can turn out at least 10 million RA's across the country and have already identified and recorded many more millions of voters for Reagan.

After the instruction session we will then present our program, which will conclude with a message from Governor Ronald Reagan and Nancy to the RA's in which he will instruct them about his principles and positions and explain to them the importance of their acting as his personal aides in talking to their friends and neighbors, in enlisting their support to vote for him and all Republican Congressional and Senatorial candidates.

In the second meeting the purpose of Governor Reagan's and Nancy's message will be to "get out the vote" and to thank them for their efforts and support.

Conclusion: Since time is of the essence, we have to start preparing the materials we need in draft form so that we are ready for the initial organizational meeting right after the July Convention and to have these materials finished and distributed to the specific locations for the first RA meeting.

In addition, we have to have finalized the method of communicating the message to the RA's directly and the locations before the Convention so we can present these actual locations to all the groups and tell them the numbers of RA's we want in each location and their responsibility to get them there.

The location and the method are directly related to cost. As stated, we are currently investigating all the various options we have open to us and we will work up a cost for this over-all plan so decisions can be made and the plan implemented in enough time to make it an overwhelming success.

Again, I repeat: This can only be successful if it is well planned and thoroughly communicated on every level and providing everyone gives us their enthusiastic support.

It would also be imperative that our political strategist tells us which states and which districts we should target so we can concentrate on getting the maximum turnouts there.

Another plus factor to this program is that when it is actually implemented we will be able to get maximum local and national press, which will translate into a bandwagon image effect, which will lead to victory in November!

Campaign Organizational Chart

Chairman

Political Operations

Strategy and Policy

Operations--Political and Volunteer

Targeted states

Other states

RNC operations

Special projects

Special groups

Water contact

State Party liaison

Candidate liaison

Rolling and Political Research

Rolling, demographics, etc.

Information sharing with

Media group

RNC

Candidate Group

States

Information Utilization

General Campaign Management

Controller

Treasurer

Coordination with Candidate
Media group
Operations
Steering Committee

Future planning

Fund-raising by RNC and State
GOP Committees for voter I.D.
and get-out-the vote purposes

Surrogate Activities

Advisory Groups and Task Forces

Media

TV, Radio, Print advertising,
graphics and coordination of
graphics

Time buying

Space buying

Candidate Activities

Schedule

Logistics

Securities

Press

Research, speech writing

arrogate activities

Advisory group and task forces

Special groups (operational)

Technicians, professional, business, Democrats
or, nationalities, Blacks, Jews, Special
Interest, Labor, Women, Hispanics, etc.

RNC Operations:

It is essential we put an able person with good political
experience or background into the RNC to make certain that:

1. Their money is spent according to the campaign
leadership wishes;
2. RNC leadership follows and abides by campaign
policies;
3. Any anti-Reagan people are kept under control.

State Party Liaison:

Understand changes in the law allow state parties to spend
money directly in the Presidential get-out-the-vote effort.
It is, therefore, imperative that the campaign work closely
with them, even though it will have its own organization in
the states. We should investigate whether the states party
organizations can pay for our RA effort as per my plan with-
out taking away from our funds.

NOTE: -- Voter contact through direct mail, telephone banks,
etc. needs to be directed by somebody who under-
stands mailing lists, walking sheets, putting phone
numbers on precinct lists, etc.

NOTE: -- Professional scheduling is vital. The one that controls
the scheduling controls the candidate.

Vice President's Campaign

President, V.P. liaison and
coordination

Scheduling

Logistics

Press

Research; speech writers

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION STATISTICS

Electoral and Popular Vote in 1972 and 1976

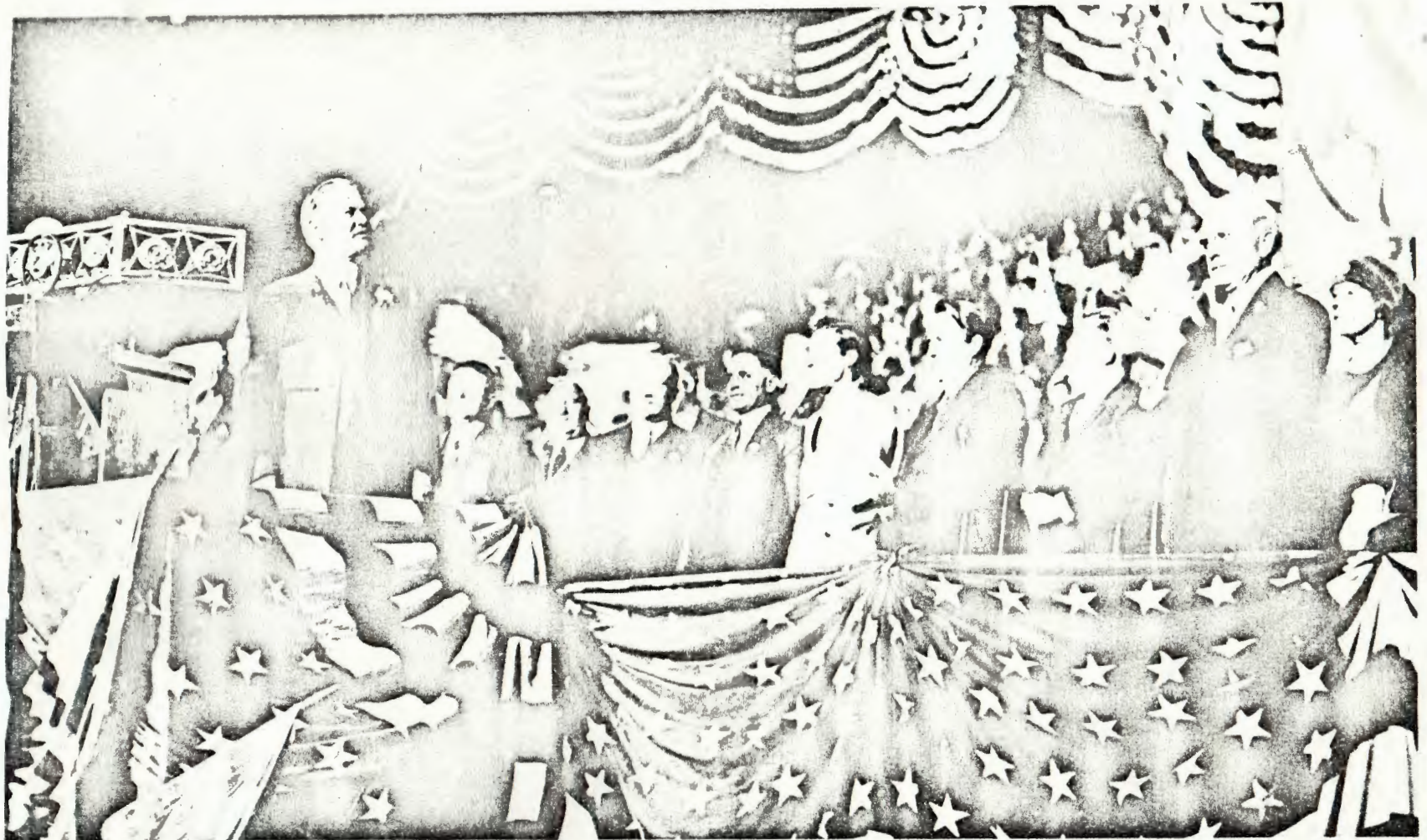
1972	Electoral Vote		Popular Vote		1976	Electoral Vote		Popular Vote	
	McGovern	Nixon	McGovern	Nixon		Carter	Ford	Carter	Ford
Alabama	—	9	256,923	728,701	Alabama	9	—	659,170	504,070
Alaska	—	3	32,967	55,349	Alaska	—	3	44,058	71,555 ✓
Arizona	—	6	198,540	402,812	Arizona	—	6	295,602	418,642 ✓
Arkansas	—	6	198,899	445,751	Arkansas	6	—	498,604	267,903 ✓
California	—	45	3,475,847	4,602,096	California	—	45	3,742,284	3,882,244 ✓
Colorado	—	7	329,980	597,189	Colorado	—	7	460,353	584,367 ✓
Connecticut	—	8	555,498	810,763	Connecticut	—	8	647,895	719,261 ✓
Delaware	—	3	92,283	140,357	Delaware	3	—	122,596	109,831
District of Columbia	3	—	127,627	35,226	District of Columbia	3	—	137,818	27,873
Florida	—	17	718,117	1,857,759	Florida	17	—	1,636,000	1,469,531
Georgia	—	12	289,529	881,496	Georgia	12	—	979,409	483,743
Hawaii	—	4	101,409	168,865	Hawaii	4	—	147,375	140,003
Idaho	—	4	80,826	199,384	Idaho	—	4	126,549	204,151 ✓
Illinois	—	26	1,913,472	2,788,179	Illinois	—	26	2,271,295	2,364,269 ✓
Indiana	—	13	708,568	1,405,154	Indiana	—	13	1,014,714	1,183,958 ✓
Iowa	—	8	496,206	706,207	Iowa	—	8	619,931	632,863 ✓
Kansas	—	7	270,287	619,812	Kansas	—	7	430,421	502,752 ✓
Kentucky	—	9	371,159	676,446	Kentucky	9	—	615,717	531,852 ✓
Louisiana	—	10	298,142	686,852	Louisiana	10	—	661,365	587,446 ✓
Maine	—	4	160,584	256,458	Maine	—	4	232,279	236,320 ✓
Maryland	—	10	505,781	829,305	Maryland	10	—	759,612	672,661 ✓
Massachusetts	14	—	1,332,540	1,112,078	Massachusetts	14	—	1,429,475	1,030,276 ✓
Michigan	—	21	1,459,435	1,961,721	Michigan	—	21	1,696,714	1,893,742 ✓
Minnesota	—	10	802,346	898,269	Minnesota	10	—	1,070,440	819,395
Mississippi	—	7	126,782	505,125	Mississippi	7	—	381,309	366,846
Missouri	—	12	698,531	1,154,058	Missouri	12	—	999,163	928,808 ✓
Montana	—	4	120,197	183,976	Montana	—	4	149,259	173,703 ✓
Nebraska	—	5	169,991	406,298	Nebraska	—	5	233,287	359,219 ✓
Nevada	—	3	66,016	115,750	Nevada	—	3	92,479	101,273 ✓
New Hampshire	—	4	116,435	213,724	New Hampshire	—	4	147,635	185,935 ✓
New Jersey	—	17	1,102,211	1,845,502	New Jersey	—	17	1,444,653	1,509,688 ✓
New Mexico	—	4	141,084	235,606	New Mexico	—	4	201,148	211,419 ✓
New York	—	41	2,951,084	4,192,778	New York	41	—	3,389,558	3,100,791 ✓
North Carolina	—	13	438,705	1,054,889	North Carolina	13	—	927,365	741,960 ✓
North Dakota	—	3	100,384	174,109	North Dakota	—	3	136,078	153,470 ✓
Ohio	—	25	1,558,889	2,441,827	Ohio	25	—	2,011,621	2,000,505 ✓
Oklahoma	—	8	247,147	759,025	Oklahoma	—	8	532,442	545,708 ✓
Oregon	—	6	392,760	486,686	Oregon	—	6	490,407	492,120 ✓
Pennsylvania	—	27	1,796,951	2,714,521	Pennsylvania	27	—	2,328,677	2,205,604 ✓
Rhode Island	—	4	194,645	220,383	Rhode Island	4	—	227,636	181,249
South Carolina	—	8	186,824	477,044	South Carolina	8	—	450,807	346,149 ✓
South Dakota	—	4	139,945	166,476	South Dakota	—	4	147,068	151,505 ✓
Tennessee	—	10	357,293	813,147	Tennessee	10	—	825,879	633,969 ✓
Texas	—	26	1,154,289	2,298,896	Texas	26	—	2,082,319	1,953,300 ✓
Utah	—	4	126,284	323,643	Utah	—	4	182,110	337,908 ✓
Vermont	—	3	68,174	117,149	Vermont	—	3	78,789	100,387 ✓
Virginia	—	11	438,887	988,493	Virginia	—	12	813,896	836,554 ✓
Washington	—	9	568,334	837,135	Washington	—	8	717,323	777,732 ✓
West Virginia	—	6	277,435	484,964	West Virginia	6	—	435,864	314,726 ✓
Wisconsin	—	11	810,174	989,430	Wisconsin	11	—	1,040,232	1,004,987 ✓
Wyoming	—	3	44,358	100,464	Wyoming	—	3	62,239	92,717 ✓
Total	17	520	29,170,774	47,167,327	Total	297	240	40,828,919	39,186,940



Herb

ular Vote

- Ford
- 504,070
- 71,555
- 418,642
- 267,903
- 3,882,244
- 584,367
- 719,261
- 109,831
- 27,873
- 1,469,531
- 483,743
- 140,003
- 204,151
- 2,364,269
- 1,183,958
- 632,863
- 502,752
- 531,852
- 587,446
- 236,320
- 672,661
- 1,030,276
- 1,893,742
- 819,395
- 366,846
- 928,808
- 173,703
- 359,219
- 101,273
- 185,935
- 1,509,688
- 211,419
- 3,100,791
- 741,960
- 153,470
- 2,000,505
- 545,708
- 492,120
- 2,205,604
- 181,249
- 346,149
- 151,505
- 633,969
- 1,953,300
- 337,908
- 100,387
- 836,554
- 777,732
- 314,726
- 1,004,987
- 92,717
- 39,186,940



Herbert Hoover's first campaign speech in New York leading into the 1928 presidential campaign. Madison Square Garden held 22,000 for what was then described as the largest political rally in New York history.

:: PRESIDENTIAL POPULAR VOTE TALLIES ::

	::1972::		:: 1976 ::
Of Voting Age	140,068,000	Of Voting Age	150,041,000
Total Voting	76,712,000	Total Voting	81,551,000
Democratic	28,168,000	Democratic	40,826,000
Republican	47,165,000	Republican	39,148,000

:: Percentage of Voting Age Population Casting Ballots ::

:: 1972 54.8% :: :: 1976 54.3% ::

On November 4th the voting age population will approach 155,000,000 people.

60
93M

April 7, 1980

Ten Commandments for Campaigning

Preamble:

No individual can carry in his mind all the substantive and factual data which needs to be marshalled and brought to bear in national policymaking. That's why the President has a staff of hundreds and the Congress a staff of thousands.

National policymaking is not an exact science but the application of broad judgment and experience to a range of estimates and probabilities. The electorate is interested in and makes up its mind on the basis of the thrust of a candidate's thinking and its trust in his purposes and judgment. Nevertheless, a Presidential candidate will have his every word scrutinized by the media and his opponents with a view to finding inaccuracies or questionable statements which can be used to stir controversy or attack his credibility.

Here are ten guidelines that I view as particular important in light of the kind of campaign Carter will conduct:

1. To maximize his effectiveness and avoid distraction, confusion and unproductive wrangling, stay away from specific and arguable statements which are not relevant in policy terms. For example, all that is relevant in making oil policy is that there is a hell of a lot of oil to be found in Alaska. Don't get caught up in conflicting predictions as to whether it can turn out to be more than in Saudi Arabia or not. Don't take the risk that the press will convey or the public grasp qualifiers like "potential".

2. Stay away from unnecessary predictions. It is enough to justify getting the government out of the way of our oil explorers if that will reduce our dangerous and costly dependence on Middle East oil. It is not necessary to carry the difficult burden of an argument that this will make us self-sufficient in five years.

3. Make policy arguments comprehensive. The combination of coal, oil, nuclear and synthetics will solve our energy problem more surely and more permanently than oil alone. The combination of tax cuts, expenditure cuts, reduction of excessive restrictions and paperwork, getting greater accountability by eliminating layers of government will reduce inflation more quickly and surely than tax cuts alone.

4. Support proposals by citing more than one beneficial result. A tax cut will not only increase the incentive to work and invest. It will also increase buying power in families and shift

effort from public payrolls which produce restrictions and paperwork to private payrolls which produce goods to satisfy family needs and to pay our way in the world.

5. Don't get drawn into a numbers game. Economists can argue but no-one knows how fast tax cuts will generate enough new revenue to make up for the revenue lost by lower rates. In campaigning it is sufficient to set a direction. Only when in office will anyone have the up-to-date information necessary to make a decision on how fast to proceed and what policy mix to use. To stay out of an endless numbers game which no-one can win and will lose the interest of the public, set a direction (production rather than contraction) and specify a variety of policy instruments which are available to move there (tax cuts, expenditure cuts, fewer restrictions, less paperwork).

6. When specific data will sharpen a proposal or an attack attribute it to a specific source or be ready to cite a recognized authority.

7. Stay away from statements or positions that are too technical for public understanding, i.e. the gold standard.

8. Stay away from statements that can be made to look warlike or provocative (blockade Cuba), particularly when they are based on a judgment about what someone will do or think in the future (the Russians are not ready to confront us yet).

9. Stay away from statements that can be twisted to an attack on the patriotism or character of an opponent, i.e. the Soviets want to see Carter win.

10. Don't hesitate to say "I'm not prepared to address that question yet", or "I'm still studying and discussing that issue with my advisors."

There is also an eleventh commandment, which is: Don't use facts or ideas picked up in ad hoc briefings, discussions or general reading until they are checked out by the research staff.