

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library
Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

Collection: Baker, James A.: Files
Folder Title: Political Affairs January 1984-July
1984 (1)
Box: 9

To see more digitized collections
visit: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digital-library>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit:
<https://reaganlibrary.gov/document-collection>

Contact a reference archivist at: reagan.library@nara.gov

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/citing>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: Baker, James: Files

Archivist: ggc/jet

File Folder: Political Affairs 1/84-7/84(1 of 5) ^{Box 9} ~~0A10515~~

FOIA ID: F98-024

Date: 08/18/1999

DOCUMENT NO. & TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. Memo	For the Assitant to the President for Cabinet Affairs re:Comments on The Space Commercialization Decision Memorandum. 4p 2p.	7/18/84	DS CCB 10/5/00
2. memo	John McMahon to C. Fuller, 2p	7/18/84	DS CCB 10/5/00

RESTRICTIONS

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Ronald Reagan Library

Collection: Baker, James: Files

Archivist: ggc/jet

FOIA ID: F98-024

File Folder: Political Affairs 1/84-7/84(1 of 5)OA10515

Date: 08/18/1999

DOCUMENT NO. & TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. Memo	For the Assitant to the President for Cabinet Affairs re:Comments on The Space Commercialization Decision Memorandum. 4p.	7/18/84	P5

RESTRICTIONS

P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].

P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

7/26/84 .

MDT:

'84 JUL 27 A9:40

This came back to me in JAB's
R.F.

★ FYI, this did not come through
the mail system or me. Dick
Wirthlin must have handed it
to JAB when he came in earlier
this week. Just in case Darman
ever complains about not getting
Wirthlin material....everything
Wirthlin sends does not always
come through me.

FYI.

KC

7/26/84 →
copy to Darman

REAGAN-BUSH '84

The President's Authorized Campaign Committee

TO: James A. Baker, III
Michael K. Deaver
Frank J. Fahrenkopf
Paul Laxalt
Ed Rollins
Steve Spencer



FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE: July 24, 1984

RE: Attached Memorandum

Grayling Achiu adjusted the Gallup numbers for sample variance and came up with an interesting conclusion (see attached memorandum).

REAGAN-BUSH'84

The President's Authorized Campaign Committee

TO: Richard B. Wirthlin
Charles F. Rund

FROM: Grayling Achiu

DATE: July 24, 1984

RE: Gallup Surveys

The recent fluctuation in Gallup data might be attributed to sampling differences (see Washington Post Sussman, 7/24). The July 20 Gallup/Newsweek Poll (Reagan Margin: -2) and the earlier July 13 Gallup/Newsweek Poll (Reagan Margin: +6) both use a sample of 25% GOP while the July 15 Gallup (Reagan Margin: 14) used a sample of 33% GOP.

The following table illustrates the effect the GOP sampling differences has on the Reagan margin.

	% GOP of Gallup Sample		Reagan Margin
	<u>25% GOP</u>	<u>33% GOP</u>	<u>% change</u>
July 13 Reagan Margin	6*	13	7
July 15 Reagan Margin	10	14*	4
July 20 Reagan Margin	-2*	5	7

The starred numbers were those reported. If samples consisting of 33% Republican had been drawn, then the gaps would have been:

July 13: 13%
July 15: 14%
July 20: 5%

In any event, it appears that the conventions events had impact on the ballots, but well within historic parameters.

8/7/84 cc: Darma

REAGAN-BUSH '84

The President's Authorized Campaign Committee

TO: Jim Baker
Mike Deaver
Frank Fahrenkopf
Paul Laxalt
Ed Rollins
Stu Spencer

FROM: Richard Wirthlin

Date: July 26, 1984

RE: Ballot Impact of the Democratic Convention

The media has made a lot of the surge in support that Walter Mondale received as a result of the Democratic National convention. The campaign's opinion tracking over the convention period does show that the Democrats have indeed benefited from their well-orchestrated and largely orderly four day meeting (July 16-19, 1984). However, the benefits accrued by the Democrats did not flow from all constituencies equally; indeed, as the following table suggests, support for Reagan's reelection was actually strengthened over the course of the convention among some key voter cohorts.

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION ANALYSIS--
PRE-POST BALLOT IMPACT BY CONSTITUENCIES

	Pre Convention			Post Convention			Net*
	Reagn	Mndl	Diff	Reagn	Mndl	Diff	Diffrence
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
<u>LARGE NEG IMPACT</u>							
Jews	39	44	- 5	22	72	-50	-45
Irish	69	23	46	49	41	8	-38
Seniors	47	36	11	36	49	-13	-24
Hispanics	40	41	- 1	28	52	-24	-23
White Southrn Bap	49	39	10	41	52	-11	-21
<u>MODERATE NEG IMPACT</u>							
Women	50	37	13	43	47	- 4	-17
Independents	57	29	28	51	35	16	-12
Veterans	56	39	17	49	42	7	-10
<u>SMALL NEG IMPACT</u>							
Base GOP	92	6	86	86	9	77	- 9
**Professional	57	35	22	52	39	13	- 9
**Blue Collar	51	36	15	50	44	6	- 9
Catholics	51	39	12	48	43	5	- 7
<u>MODERATE POS IMPACT</u>							
Farm Belt	42	52	-10	50	44	6	16
Youth (18-24)	41	48	- 7	53	42	11	18

* Figured as the Pre RR margin minus the post RR margin.

** Pre convention figures are full month average.

440 First Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001 (202) 383-1984

Paid for by Reagan-Bush '84: Paul Laxalt, Chairman; Angela M. Buchanan Jackson, Treasurer

PRE-POST ANALYSIS--
RR MARGIN BEFORE AND AFTER

PRE LOSS		POST WIN	PRE WIN	
		! * BASE GOP (86,77)		
		! * INDEPENDENTS (28,16)		
	* YOUTH 18-24 (-7,11)	! * PROFESSIONAL (22,13)		
	* FARM BELT (-10,6)	! * IRISH (46, 8)		
		! * VETERANS (17, 7)		
		! * BLUE COLLAR (15, 6)		
		! * CATHOLIC (12, 5)		
		!		
	* HISPANICS (-1,-24)	* WOMEN (13,- 4)		
	* JEWS (-5,-50)	* WHT S. BAPS (10,- 4)		
		* SENIORS (11,-13)		
		!		
		POST LOSS		

(Figures in parantheses are RR margin (Pre-Convention, Post-Convention))
(Constituencies are ranked by post-convention margin within each cell.)

REAGAN'S STRENGTH CONSTITUENCIES

As the above tables indicate, the Democratic convention affected a wide variety of constituencies in widely different ways. Even among Reagan's strength constituencies, the effects were far from constant. The following points are especially noteworthy:

- o Base GOP--The Reagan/Mondale difference decreased 9 points among base Republicans. This group remains, however, the most supportive of Reagan's reelection bid. It is hard to imagine the decrease in support evident among this constituency as permanent.
- o Farm Belt--The news from the farm belt constituency is somewhat heartening. The convention actually cut into this group's support of the Mondale/Ferraro ticket. Indeed, closer examination of the three day averages from which this data was extracted suggests that Mondale lost ground over the period encompassing the balloting and acceptance speeches of the Presidential and Vice Presidential nominees. Our data is not specific enough to ferret out whether or not the Ferraro nomination hurt Mondale among these voters, but the fact that the dip in Mondale support occurred right around this time seems more than consequential. The campaign must move swiftly if it is to consolidate the gains made among this group.

KEY SWING CONSTITUENCIES

There are also some very interesting points to note about some of the key swing constituencies:

- o Jews--Jews appear to have been impressed by the reconciliatory tones offered by Jesse Jackson in particular and other party regulars in general. Reagan support among this group has never been overly strong. Perhaps the campaign is at a cross-roads as concerns the Jewish constituency. With this cohort's sudden and strong surge of support for the Democratic ticket, it may be time for decision-makers to decide whether pursuing the Jewish vote is worth the costs such a policy would most likely entail.
- o White Southern Baptists--The drop in White Southern Baptist support is somewhat surprising. One would not expect Ferraro to appeal to this group and Mondale's liberalism is somewhat out-of-tune with this constituency's attitudes. Perhaps Jimmy Carter--one of this group's own--was able to appeal to its pride and conscience. Nevertheless, the volatility over the convention period in this vote suggests that the post convention halo that these Baptists see around Mondale's candidacy may fade in the near future.
- o Youth (18-24)--Youth support for Reagan surged during the convention. This is good news, since many felt that the Ferraro candidacy would appeal to these voters and push them further into the Mondale camp.

- o Seniors--The senior group appears to have been another especially impressionable constituency. However, the senior vote has been very volatile over these early months of the campaign; it is therefore unlikely that this is a permanent change.
- o Independents--If Reagan is to win in 1984, he must augment his natural Republican base with a large contingent of independents. It is heartening, therefore, that this group was not affected significantly by the Democratic show in San Francisco.
- o Women--The impact among women is of special interest because of the unique element presented by the Ferraro candidacy. Compared to the expectations raised by the pre-nomination hype, the increase in support among women for Mondale is actually quite modest. However, it is yet too early to judge the true Ferraro effect--either negative or positive. Her candidacy must stand the tests of post-convention electioneering before such a determination can be made. That the Ferraro announcement did not have a larger impact on this constituency does nonetheless promote some optimism.

In summary, it seems that the first of this year's political conventions did help the Mondale campaign considerably. However, even though Reagan did lose ground among several constituencies, he nevertheless hung on to sizeable leads among key groups.

MCH

REAGAN-BUSH'84

The President's Authorized Campaign Committee

TO: Jim Baker ✓
Mike Deaver
Frank Fahrenkopf
Paul Laxalt
Ed Rollins
Stu Spencer

FROM: Richard Wirthlin

DATE: July 26, 1984

RE: Ballot Impact of the Democratic National Convention:
Regional Analysis

=====

This memo summarizes the effect of the the Democratic Convention on Reagan's ballot strength in the four major regions of the U.S. As was expected, the Democratic ticket benefited from a relatively large post convention surge. However, a regional view of the convention effect on the ballot yields mixed reviews; indeed, in two regions, the Reagan reelection bid actually picked up strength over the course of the Democratic spectacle. The following table reflects those changes:

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION ANALYSIS BALLOT IMPACT BY REGION

	Pre Conv July 13- July 15 (%)	Conv July 16- July 19 (%)	Post Conv July 20- July 22 (%)	Pre-Post Difference (%)
<u>NORTHEAST</u>				
Reagan	48	44	39	- 9
Mondale	39	42	47	8
Difference	9	2	- 8	-17
<u>SOUTH</u>				
Reagan	61	52	48	-13
Mondale	30	37	45	15
Difference	31	15	3	-28
<u>MIDWEST</u>				
Reagan	45	43	49	4
Mondale	44	41	43	- 1
Difference	1	2	6	5
<u>WEST</u>				
Reagan	51	53	52	1
Mondale	39	38	38	- 1
Difference	12	15	14	2

Source: DMI Tracking Surveys conducted daily and reported every day as three day rolling averages. (Sample sizes: Pre-convention, N=750; Convention N=1,000; Post Convention, N=750)

The following points are especially noteworthy:

Northeast

- o If a list of the most exciting moments of this convention were drawn up, two events which showcased Northeasterners would make the top five. With Geraldine Ferraro's nomination and Mario Cuomo's speech, it should be no surprise that Northeastern support for Mondale jumped eight points over the course of the convention.

MIDWEST

- o Some pundits suggest that Ferraro will not have much appeal in America's heartland. The fact that the convention actually produced an increase in Midwestern support for Reagan lends some credence to this view.

SOUTH

- o It is somewhat surprising that the Democratic convention played so well in the South. Events dealing with two personalities combine to form a probable partial explanation for the Mondale surge: First, memories of Carter's ineptitude may have been overshadowed by regional pride as he spoke to the convention as the only living Democratic ex-President. Second, the convention may have served to allay concerns about Jesse Jackson's role in the Democratic party.
- o If the Democrats take note of the increase in support in this region for their candidate, the South may yet become quite a battleground during the election. This suggests that Reagan should move quickly to shore up his support among these Southerners, most of whom are very similar to the President ideologically.

WEST

- o The West remains a bastion of solid Reaganism. Note that there was virtually no movement in the ballot over the course of the convention.

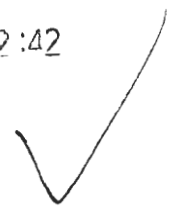
JAB - Your ATTACHED NOTES REQUESTED THIS -
MOT
7/26

MEMORANDUM FOR MARGARET TUTWILER

'84 JUL 25 P2:42

RE: Attached Memo

DATE: July 25, 1984



This memo has some good points concerning our campaign for the women's vote. However, many of the author's suggestions are already being implemented by the campaign and the RNC.

Ferraro's nomination makes her a hot property in July, but she could well fade in September and October. Newsiness will wear off, and voters' patience may wear thin as well.

Regarding current GOP activities, Betty Heitman is coordinating GOP speakers under the heading of "National Women's Coalition." Female activists and professionals will advance the party's cause in speeches throughout the country. Women for Reagan-Bush has similar leaders speaking on behalf of the President and Vice President.

Sonia Landau, who chairs Women for Reagan-Bush, is preparing for high visibility for our female supporters in Dallas. Heitman's group and the National Federation of Republican Women are doing likewise.

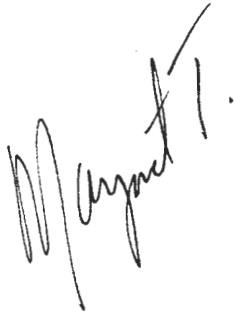
The memo's author makes a good point about the Vice President--he can help the ticket greatly with women. A solid campaign piece regarding Ferraro and her record might also be effective.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

7/19

TO: LEE ATWATER

Please see JAB's self-
explanatory note.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Margaret D. Tutwiler", written in black ink.

MARGARET D. TUTWILER
Office of James A. Baker III
456-6797

July 16, 1984

7/19

BH: Thanks. Pls read annotated →
PERSONAL
JAB

7/19 To MDT
Send to Atwater
no campaign can consider
these suggestions which
may or may not
have merit.
JAB

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Barbara Hayward

FROM:

[Redacted]

SUBJECT:

Ferraro - Helen of Troy or Trojan Horse?

Barb, I've been watching the papers for several days to see how the campaign response to the Ferraro nomination looks, and I don't think it looks very good!

Too much has come from Reagan men and nothing (except praise for the nomination "as women") from Reagan women. The President was excellent when he declared that the first woman president will be a Republican. It was combative. It was clear he assumes a woman is able to run for the Oval Office. It showed he thinks women are true competitors, etc. That's a very good tack, and I'm glad he and the others are backing off the merit issue. However, I read they intend to rely on her liberality to hold down her impact and I think that is unrealistic.

Excitement about a woman nominee is running very, very strong. It is going to influence politically independent women, working women and restless traditionalists. Also, there are supposedly 22 million unregistered voting age women; millions of them could respond to the call to help make history and put a woman in the White House this year. It is needlessly risky to be doing little to stem the tide. Ferraro does have to be criticized on her fitness. It has to be done from several different angles and it can only come from other women, at least for awhile.

[Redacted]

For credibility with women, the main campaign needs to have the Women for Reagan-Bush arm get on the ball and not try to handle it themselves. They are squandering a resource for projecting an opposing female view. Good visible use of WFRB is essential to cast doubt on Ferraro's claim to women's loyalties. Other women can convincingly question the way she was picked and her fitness to be vice president without making the ranks close. Here are some suggestions:

1. As soon as the Democrats make the nomination, get Reagan women on the record (prepared statement, press conference, whatever's the right volume) with the view that this is a woman's Trojan horse.
2. If WFRB's profile is going to be low at the convention in Dallas, see whether it's possible to elevate it and do something in prime time clearly addressed by women to women. I know the convention's going to be almost half female, but I am thinking of that part of the audience that needs things spelled out for them. Also, reporters

are going to be asking the women delegates about Ferraro, so some good material ought to be waiting them on arrival from the Women for Reagan-Bush. Finally, WFRB should be thinking about imaginative use of our female luminaries in and around the convention while all those cameras are there.

3. The campaign should turn over some of Bush's quality time to WFRB to reinforce the idea that Reagan women are just as responsible for their one-gender ticket as the men. This time it matters to scotch the stereotype of Republican women trailing along after the male lead. WFRB ought to do some events around the country showcasing Bush as their candidate representing their leadership standards.

4. The campaign and WFRB should move out smartly with major appearances by Reagan's big women on the issues where Ferraro is deficient, like defense and foreign affairs. The contrast will be unfavorable to Ferraro and the message to women is that they don't have to send a woman to the White House lacking knowledge. It would be nice to get started on this while Ferraro is still telling reporters that she's going to read up on these subjects.

5. The campaign could get some more mileage out of the President's remark that the first woman president will be a Republican. Many women are a bit vague about their definition of a qualified woman, and they should get a look at some really leaderly women who have been carrying heavy responsibilities in political life. People like Jeane Kirkpatrick, Elizabeth Dole, Paula Hawkins and Nancy Kassebaum could be moved way out front and close to the President in campaign settings that emphasize them as accomplished and truly self-made political women. The message is that with Reagan and Republicans, female leaders arise, while the Democrats manufacture them. The object is to counsel patience based on realistic expectations that 1988 will be a woman's year.

6. A tough (but fair) campaign piece ought to be developed by Women for Reagan-Bush that disputes Ferraro's fitness for the office and characterizes her nomination as a cynically motivated setback for women. It can say:

-- As women we deplore the nomination of Ferraro. We think she has fine credentials for Congress, but the choice of her for the second highest post in the land shows that Mondale and the Democrats do not really believe in women as leaders able to assume the heaviest burdens. Thinking only of women's numbers and the need for a novel stroke, Mondale offended the seriousness with which women view their ability to wear the mantle of leadership. It is a setback to women for a major national party to officially elevate an unimpressive woman for superficial purposes.

-- Even her supporters admit she has advanced on Capitol Hill by caniness and adroit politicking more than by originality or distinguishing herself in public policy. She has been faulted

by her own Democratic colleagues for having little interest in substance. Her admirers are at best able to say she works hard and is "one of the guys." This is no claim to leadership. Women are not content to settle for such sparse achievement to stand as the number one female political figure in the land.

-- She is the sponsored candidate of Tip O'Neill, who personifies the smoke-filled room. The first woman in the White House cannot be beholden to one powerful politician rather than being the leader of many.

-- She is an acknowledged hypocrite who claims that her personal values differ from her votes in Congress. She is trying to have it both ways, to seek votes from those who share her "personal" values and votes from those who favor policies antagonistic to those values. Leaders are not allowed to ignore the relationship between legislation and the values society lives by.

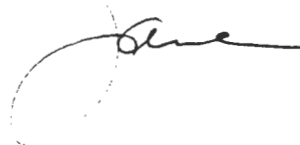
-- Her intemperate remark about the President's Christianity and her impatience with questions about her experience are rude dismissals of things that matter to many Americans. Women should and do expect the vice president to respond to all issues of importance to Americans with public dignity, self-discipline and respect for their concerns.

-- We reject equality of mediocrity. It is too late for women to take advantage of the idea that many male nominees have been mediocre. The acceptability of such nominations ended in 1980 (Mondale would say 1976). Today the President uses the Vice President to help manage many sensitive situations and crises, and the vice president must be steeped in experience. That Ferraro lacks the confidence of Mondale and his advisers, even in purely political problems, immediately became evident when her participation was not sought in their convention deliberations on a campaign chairman nor in the unity negotiations held with Hart and Jackson at that time.* Women have not worked so hard for leadership only to have their maiden voyage take place in a rowboat. For both the country and themselves, women do not want to sap the vigor of the vice presidency, but to preserve it for another female leader (or her vice-presidential running mate).

-- The liberality of her record is out of step with the majority of American women, blah, blah, blah.

Well! I'm glad that's off my chest. Now I can go back to Hamilton.

Luv

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to be 'Luv', written in black ink.

* the second point needs confirmation.

the Mississippi Republican Party

P/S. SEND A COPY TO
✓ Jim BAKER
FAITH -
FYI
MOT
7/26/84

'84 JUL 26 A9:47

July 24, 1984

Mr. Frank Donatelli
Office of Public Liaison
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Frank:

As we discussed over the telephone last week, our party leadership is unanimously agreed that the statements made by Trudi Morrison regarding Senator Thad Cochran's staff were totally inappropriate. Although we are capable of understanding the inevitability of occasional tactical errors and slips when speaking before the media, we believe the stridency of Ms. Morrison's tone indicates that she was quite aware of the magnitude of her statements. It is unfortunate that one placed in a position of such importance would allow herself to be manipulated by a few disgruntled individuals, particularly when the cost is borne by a United States Senator engaged in an extremely tight race.

You may know that Senator Cochran has been extremely conscientious of his support in the black community and has made great progress in improving our image among that group of voters. Only the passage of time will disclose the true impact of Ms. Morrison's remarks, but none of us believes she aided us in our efforts.

I have enclosed audio copies of two television news broadcasts and a newspaper clipping which reflect the damage that has been done. These materials should give you a fair reading of the situation as it was reported. Upon reviewing the information, your response would be of great interest to our party leadership. In light of the seriousness of Ms. Morrison's mistake, it is difficult to justify her retaining a key Administration post.

Please let me know if I may provide you with further information. I look forward to your reply.

Sincerely,

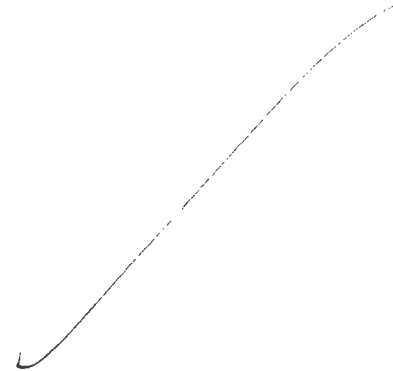
Andy Taggart
Executive Director

cc: Margaret Tutwiler
William Lacy

C
O
P
Y

REAGAN-BUSH '84

The President's Authorized Campaign Committee

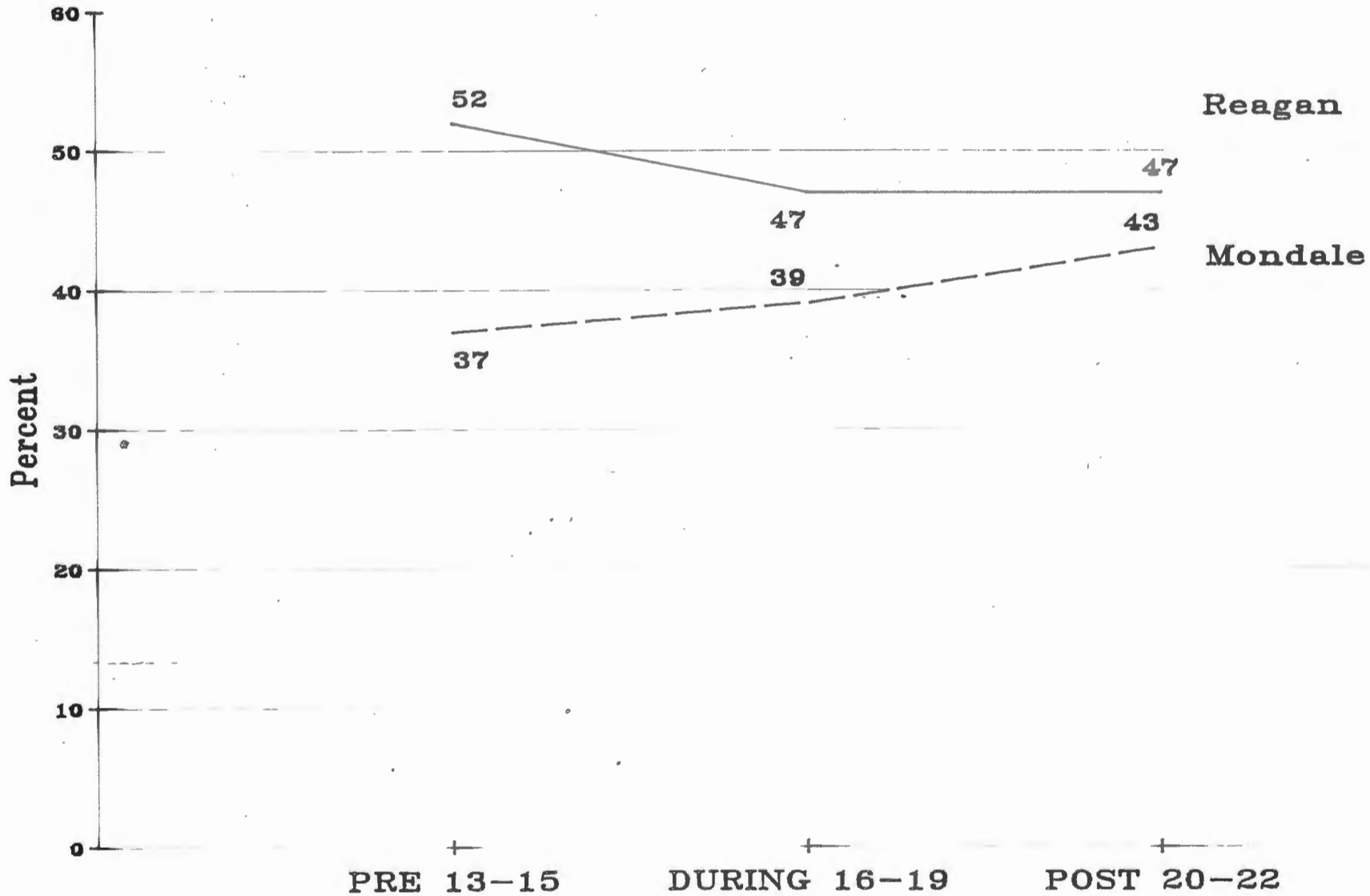


FLASH RESULTS

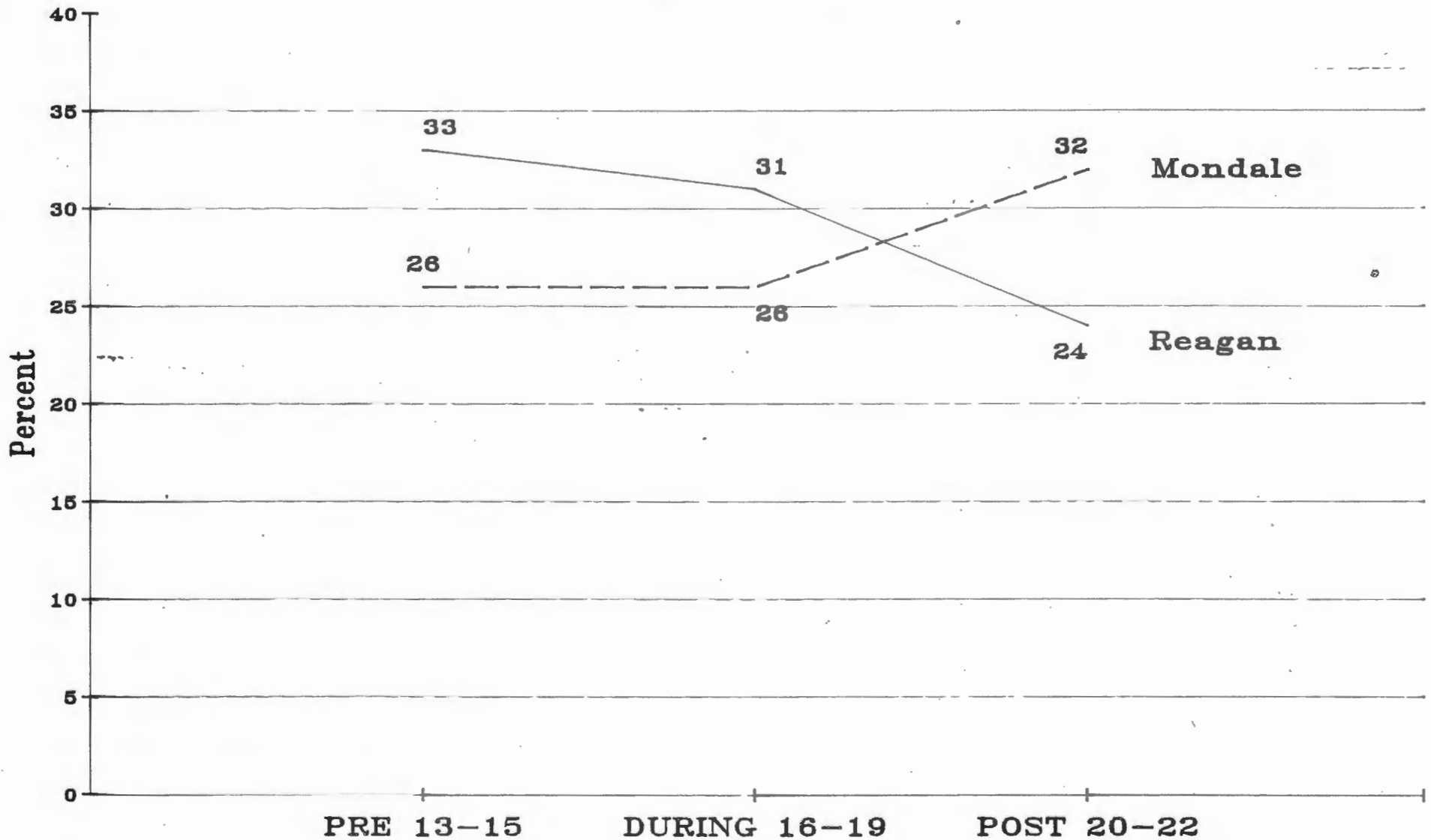
Pre and Post Democratic Convention

- July 13-15
- July 16-19
- July 20-22

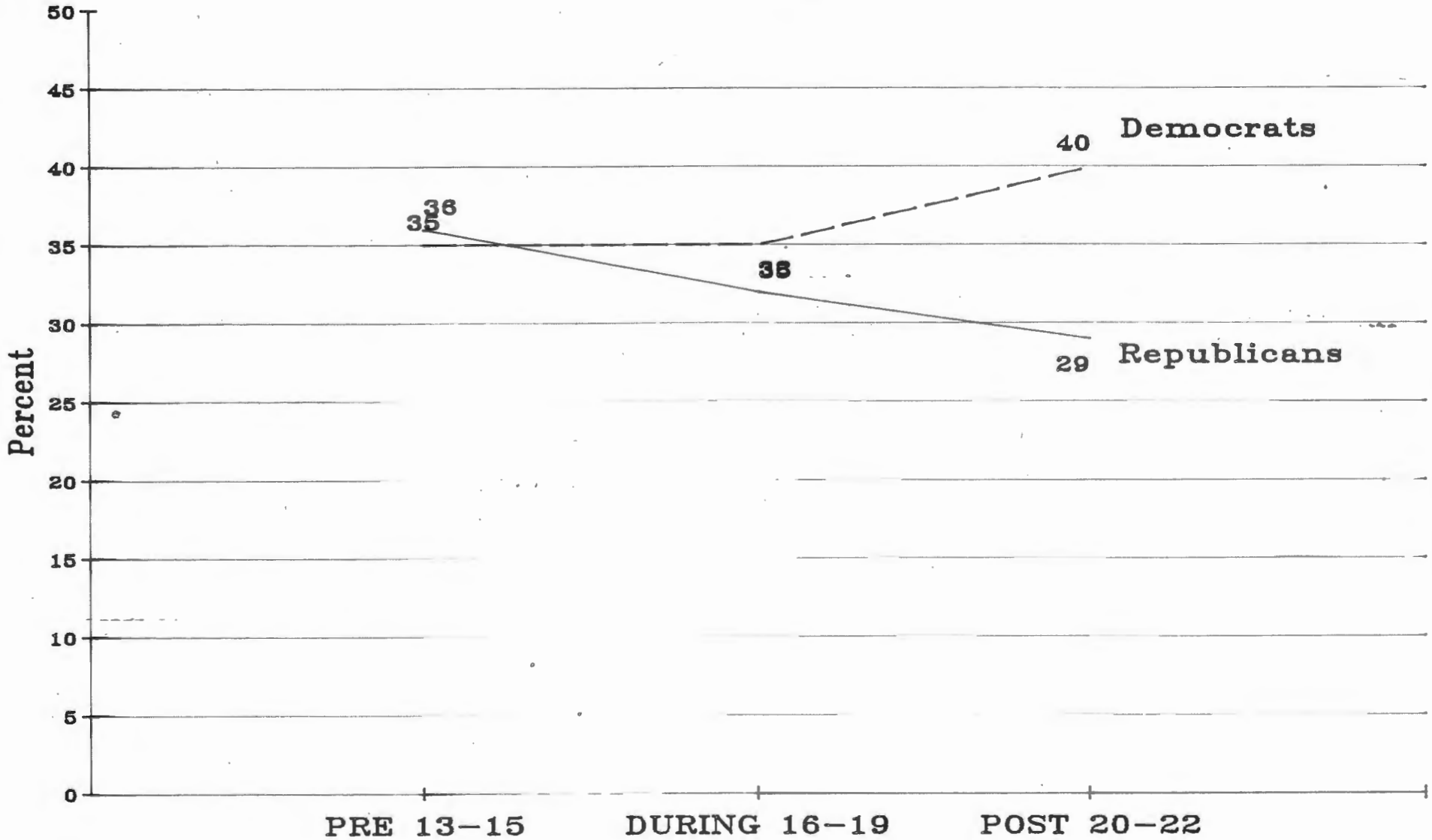
*National Reagan - Mondale Ballot
Pre to Post Democratic Convention
July 1984*



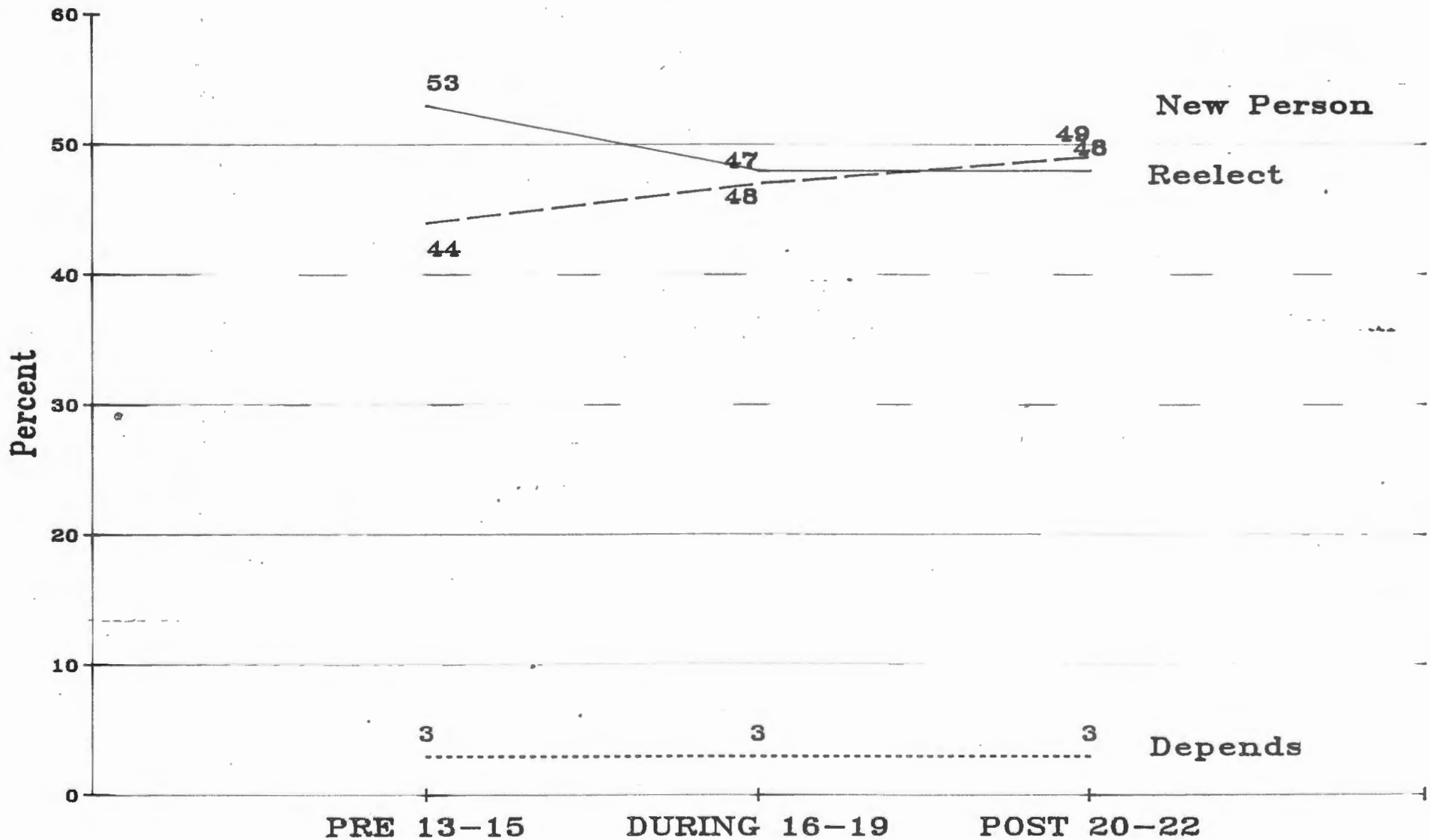
*Will Balance Budget In Four Years
Pre to Post Democratic Convention
July 1984*



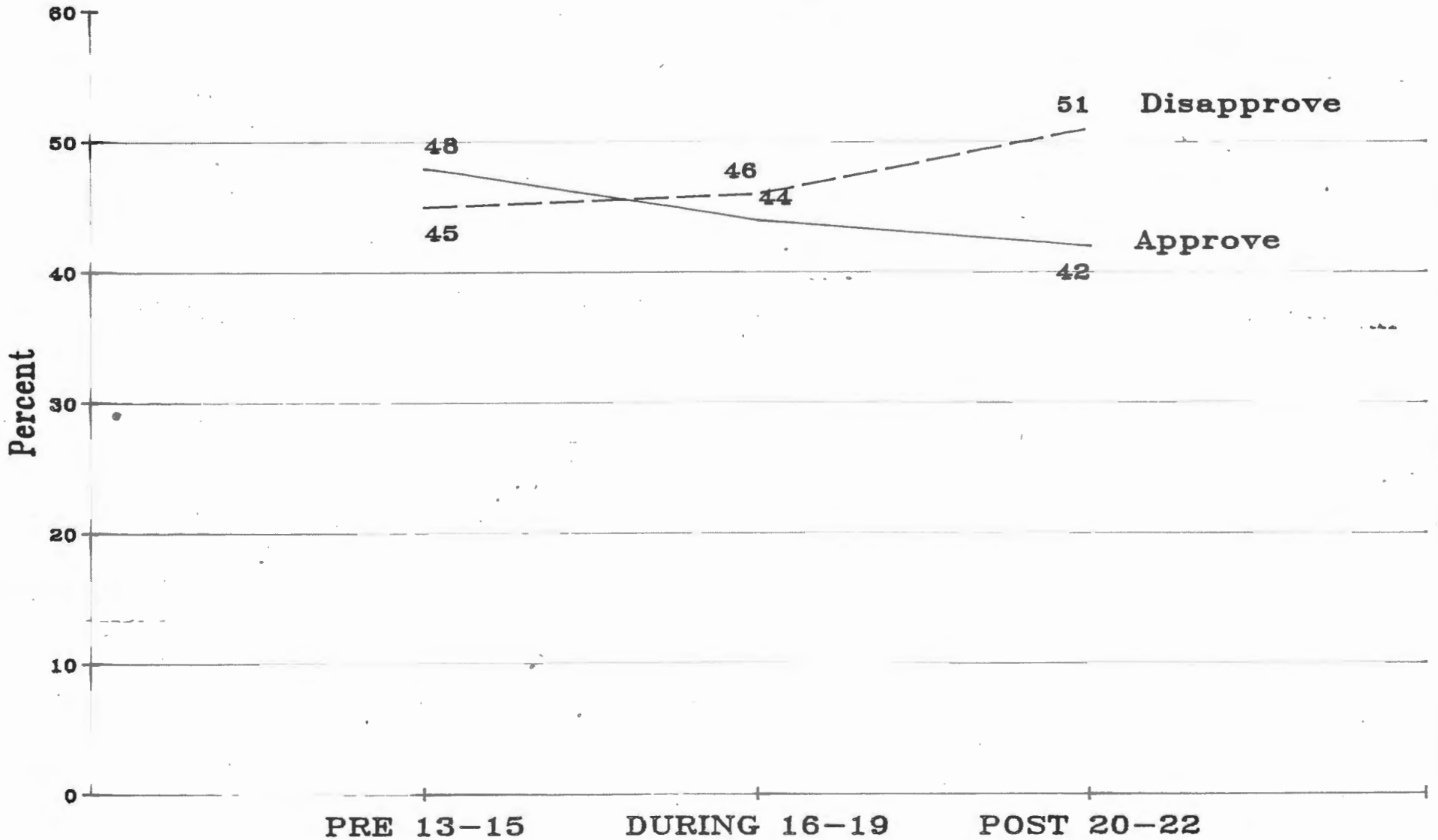
*Party Favors Balanced Budget Amendment
Pre to Post Democratic Convention
July 1984*



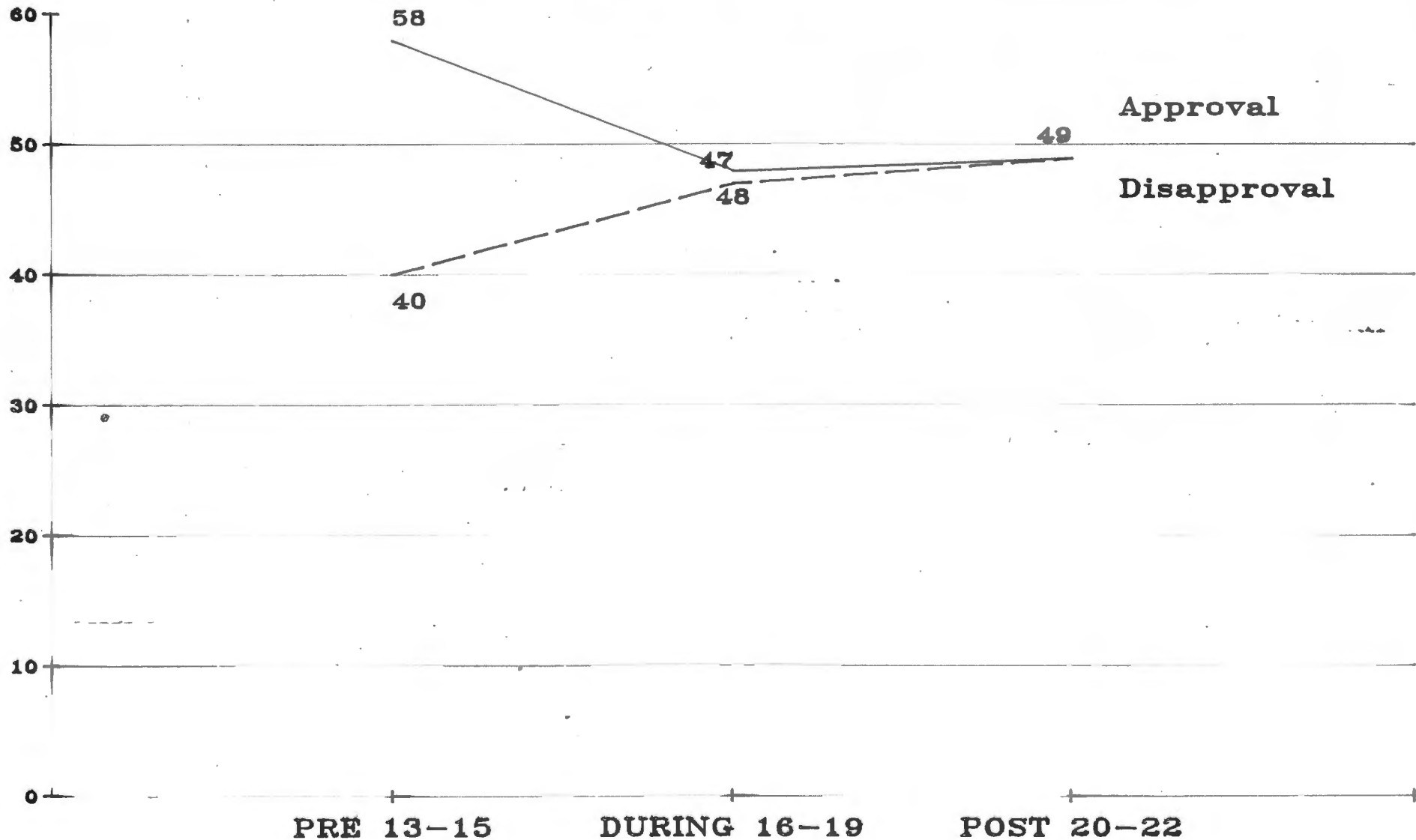
*National Reagan Reelect
Pre to Post Democratic Convention
July 1984*



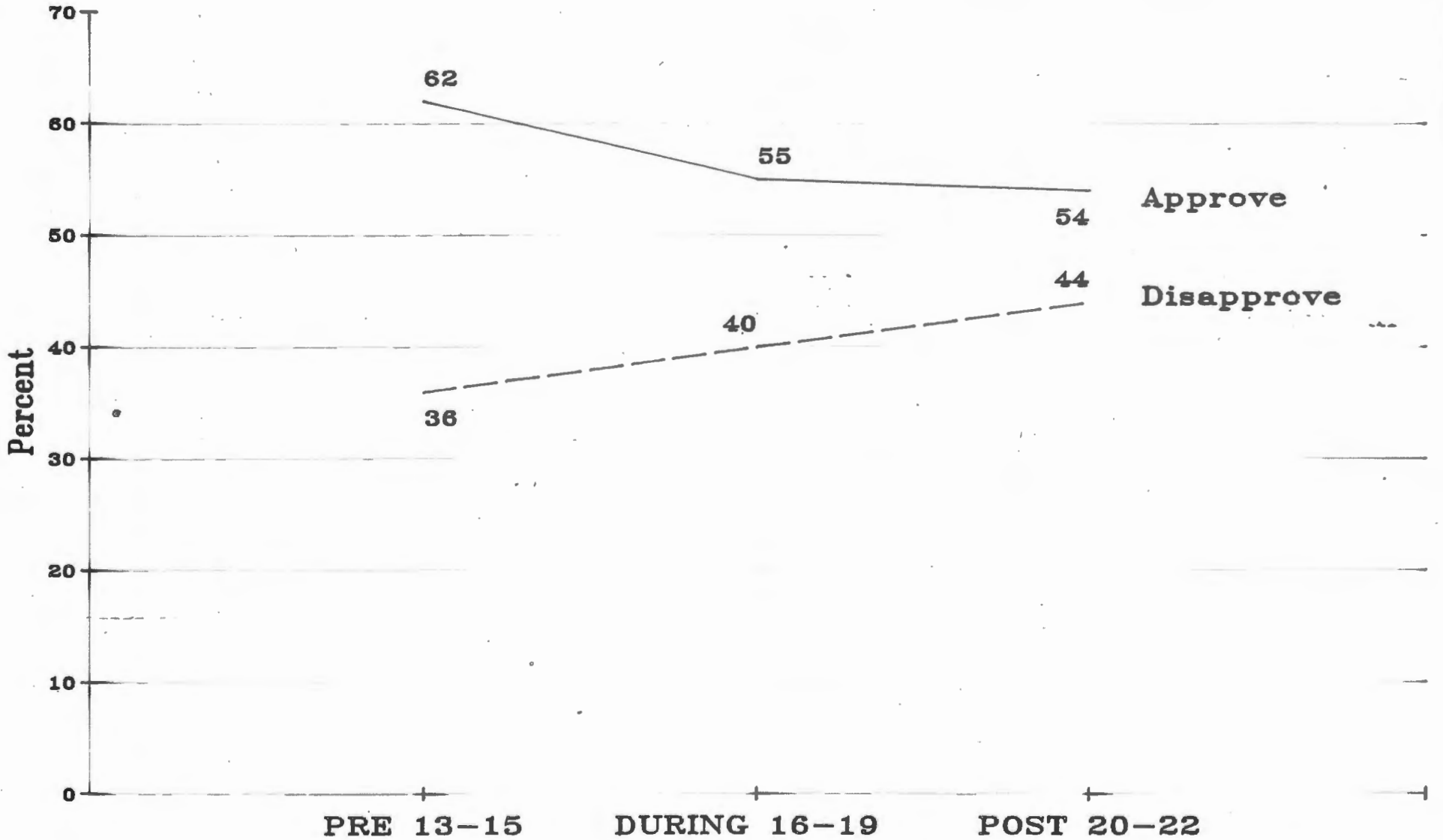
*Reagan Foreign Policy Approval
Pre to Post Democratic Convention
July 1984*



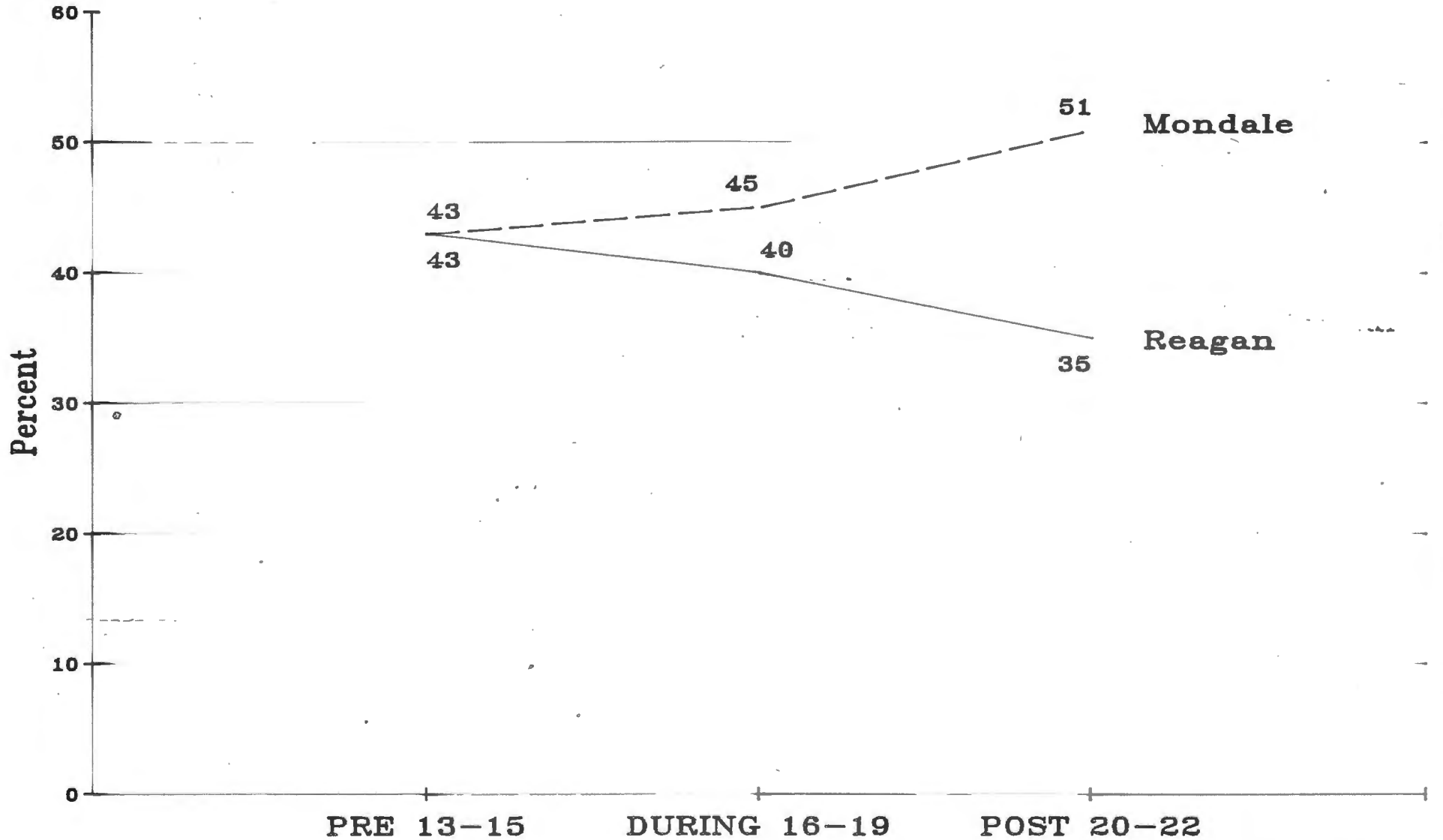
*Reagan Economic Approval
Pre to Post Democratic Convention
July 1984*



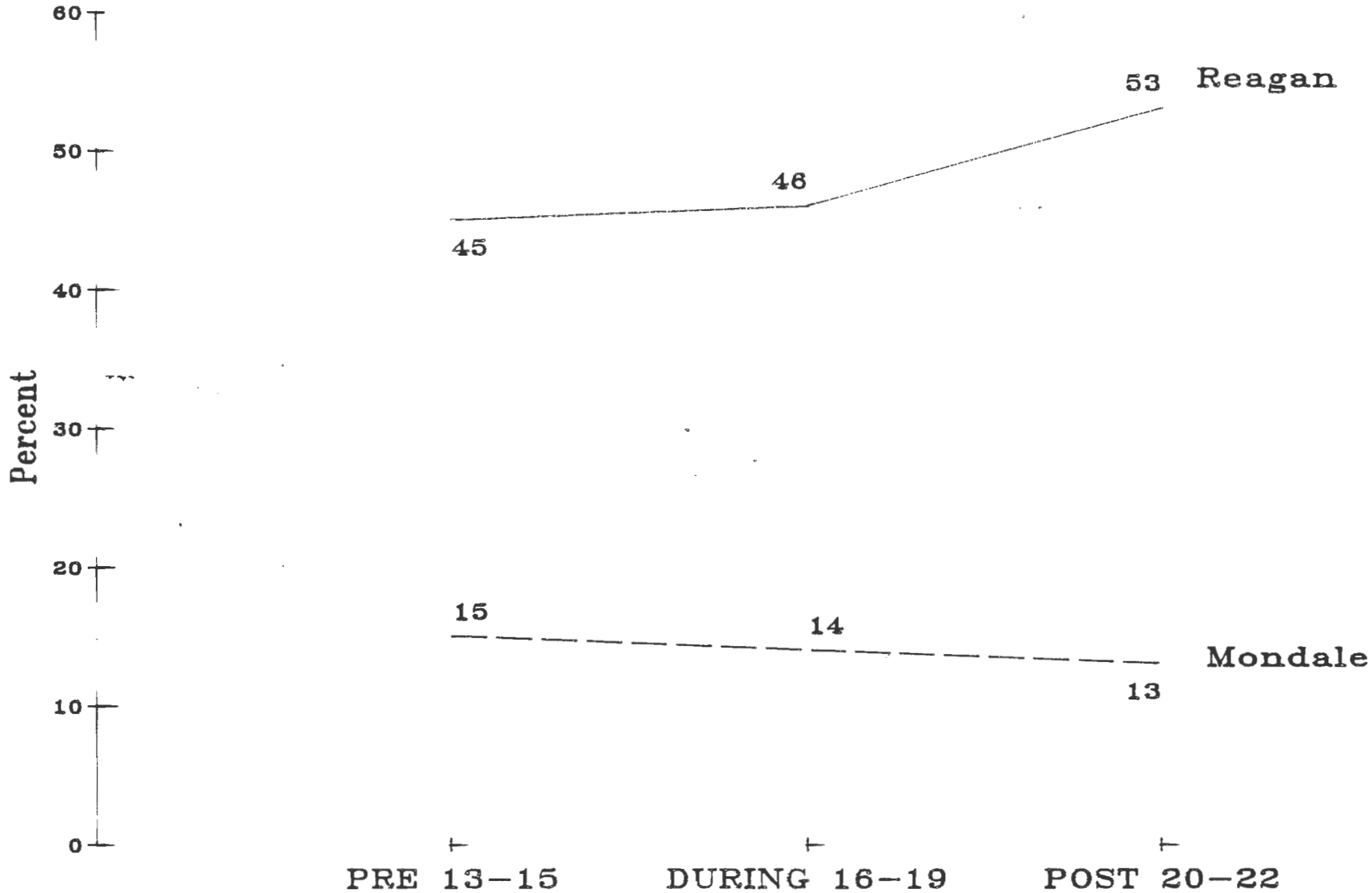
*Reagan Job Approval
Pre to Post Democratic Convention
July 1984*



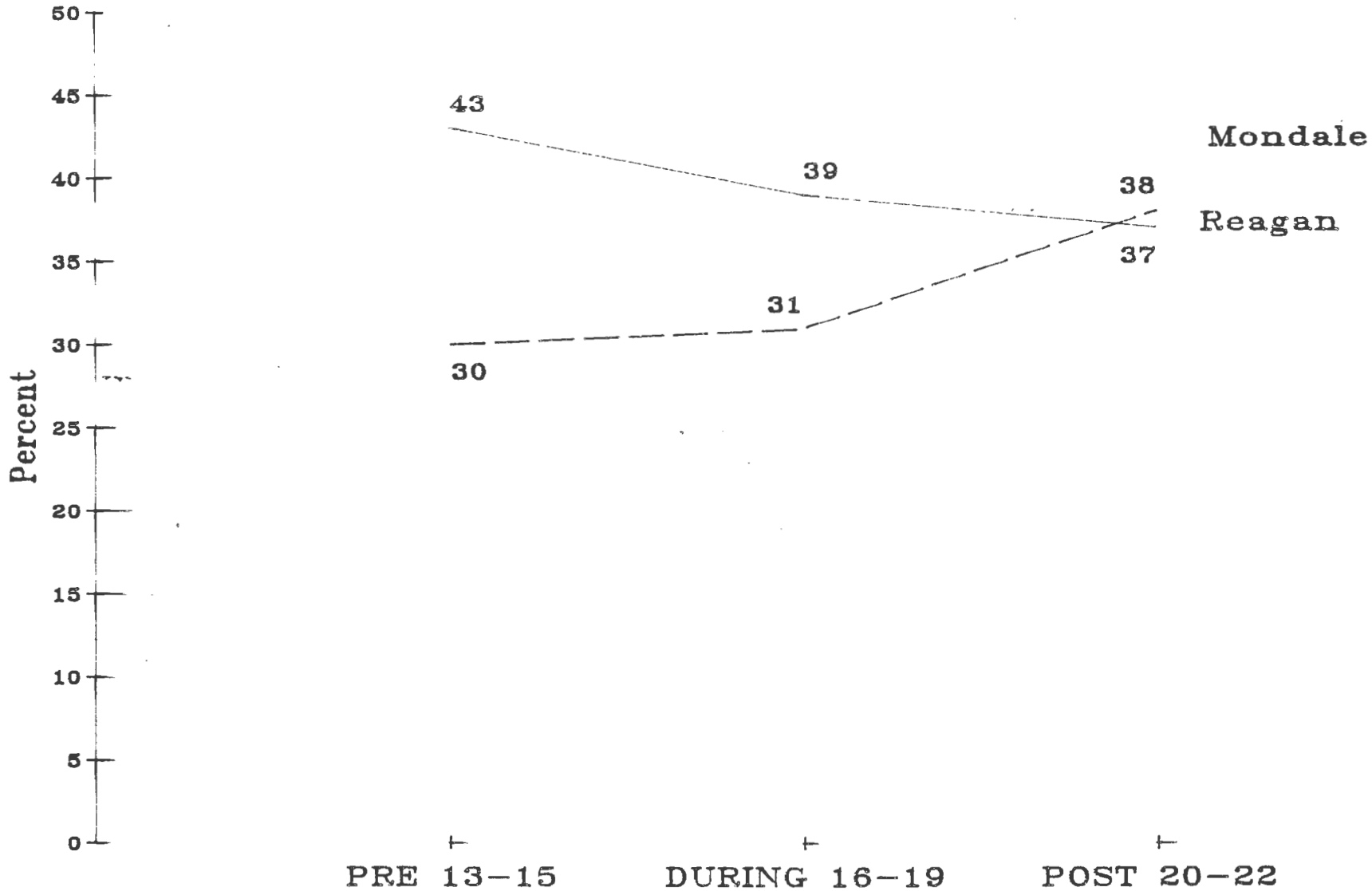
*Cares And Is Concerned About People
Pre to Post Democratic Convention
July 1984*



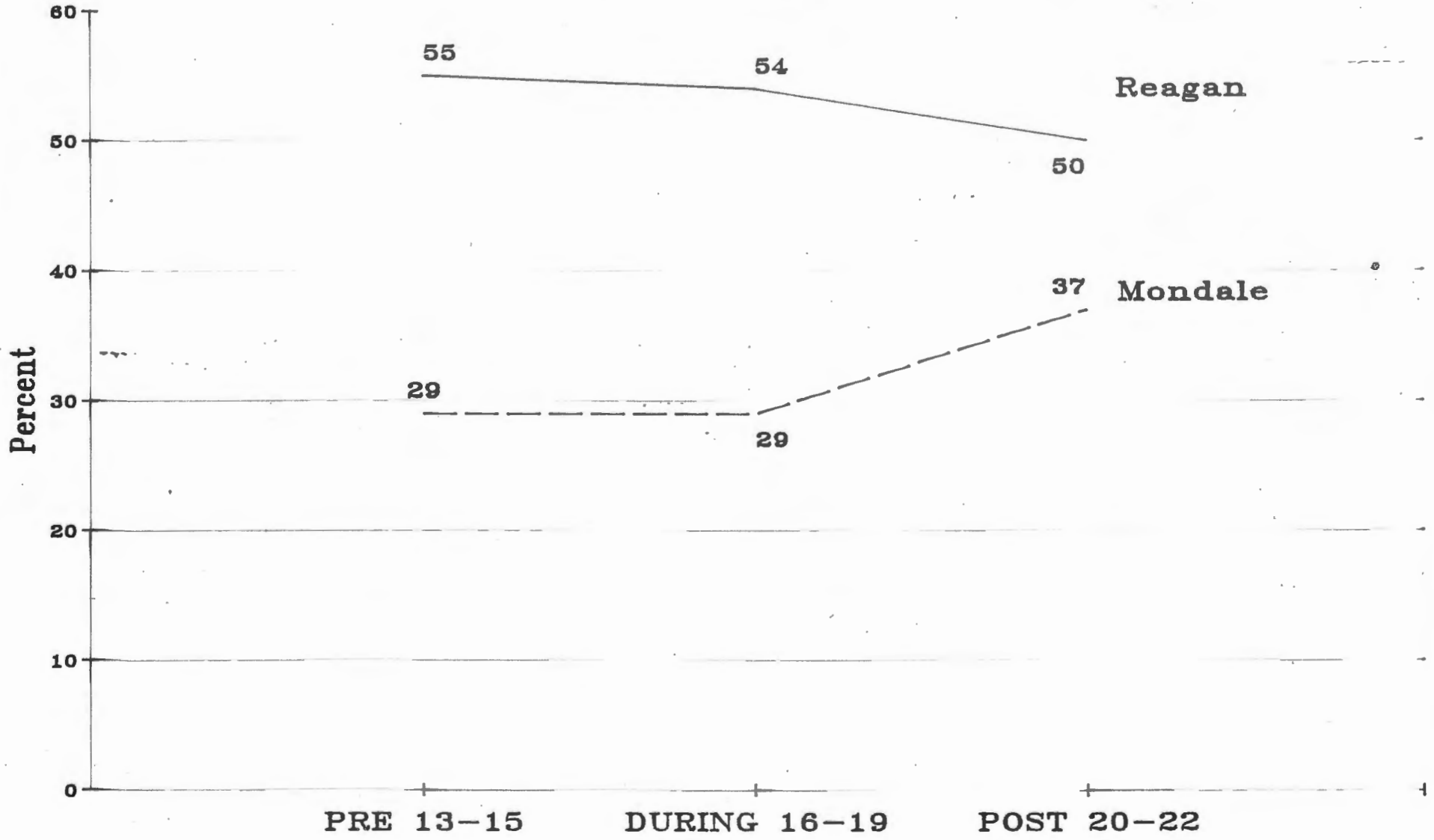
*Will Start An Unnecessary War
Pre to Post Democratic Convention
July 1984*



*Trustworthy
Pre to Post Democratic Convention
July 1984*



*Has Strong Leadership Qualities
Pre to Post Democratic Convention
July 1984*



BAKER

TO JAB -
FYI - 7/27

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 25, 1984

'84 JUL 27 A9:42



MEMORANDUM FOR ALL ASSISTANTS TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHAEL A. McMANUS, JR. *McManus*

SUBJECT: 1984 Republican National Convention

In an effort to avoid confusion regarding White House staff members traveling to Dallas for the Convention on an official vs. non-official basis, I would appreciate your passing the following information along to your staff.

The official White House traveling party consists of those staff members going to the Convention as a part of the White House working group. These staff members will have their travel and lodging arranged, and these expenses will be covered by Reagan-Bush.

Those members of the White House staff traveling to Dallas in an unofficial capacity are expected to arrange their own travel and accommodations and will be responsible for their own expenses. Unfortunately, it is not likely we will be able to provide Convention tickets for these staff members.

For your information, I have attached our most updated list of official and unofficial staff members going to Dallas from your office.

If there are any other questions, please do not hesitate to call my office.

Thank you.

Jim Baker's office

Official Staff:

Jim Baker
Margaret Tutwiler
Jim Cicconi
Barbara Hayward
Andrea DesCoteaux
Caron Jackson

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 20, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III ✓
MICHAEL K. DEEVER
RICHARD DARMAN
MICHAEL MCMANUS

FROM: MARGARET TUTWILER ^{MDT}

SUBJECT: DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION COVERAGE

Please find attached the fourth of the nightly reports on the Democratic Convention as prepared by the campaign.

① ~~Regan~~
(1) ~~Must - monetary pol.~~
(2) ~~Testify before Platform Comm. ? Why want to?~~

② ~~RF - Angelom str; saying~~

'84 JUL 20 A9:11

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

DAY 4 -- REPORT

Highlights:

● Mondale and Ferraro make sharp rhetorical turns to the Right in their acceptance speeches, attempting to reach out for moderate votes. Both stress "rules" and "values" of American society.

● "Elitism vs. populism" themes dominate the final day's proceedings, but Edward Kennedy's introduction of Mondale underscores the "gloom and doom" world-view held by the Democrats.

● Mondale spent five minutes on balancing the budget and "the Reagan deficit," challenging the President to admit he will raise taxes in 1985 but omitting any real specifics of his own plan.

● Both candidates preach "strength" in defense and foreign affairs, while advocating a nuclear freeze and immediate pullout in Nicaragua and Central America.

● Mondale finally gains control of the convention's schedule, managing to place all three speeches (Ferraro, Kennedy and his own) in prime time.

July 20, 1984

CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS

● Ferraro's Acceptance Speech.

Ferraro gave a very conservative speech, given her self-description as "the representative of the Rainbow Coalition" on the Democratic ticket. (In her meetings before black, Hispanic and Asian delegate groups, she identified with "Rainbow" and called herself a "minority," as broadcast on ABC and CBS.)

Ferraro spoke repeatedly about "the rules," which she feels the Reagan Administration has broken. "Keeping faith" was another recurring theme: "To those concerned about the strength of American and family values -- love, caring, partnership -- we are going to restore them," she said.

Just as Ferraro (and Mondale) went on the offensive concerning "values," there was a defensiveness apparent on the issue of "strength." While dishing out support for the nuclear freeze, Ferraro returned (as did Mondale) to mouthing support for a strong defense: "Let no one doubt that we will defend America's security and the cause of freedom throughout the world," she said.

Ferraro could have said very little and still receive an enthusiastic reception. As it transpired, she gave a competent address that unveiled the "new" Democratic strategy. Beyond some tearful memories of this "first" for women, there is little that will be remembered from her address.

One note of interest: the only mention of crime and criminal justice in all of the major addresses of this convention came from Ferraro. "I put my share of criminals behind bars. . . The rules say, if you break the law, you should pay for it," she said as part of her self-introductory remarks to the audience.

Ferraro's remarks received plaudits from all commentators. CBS's Dan Rather dubbed it "a pretty conservative speech to a pretty liberal crowd." Her main achievement of the evening was the momentary puncturing of the budding "brassy Queens housewife" image fostered by her shoot-from-the-lip remarks of the past week. Nowhere in her speech were President Reagan's Christianity or Vice President Bush's experience called into question. Still, as ABC's George Will described it, Ferraro's speech was "Reagan-bashing boilerplate."

● Kennedy's Introductory Remarks.

Kennedy gave a most un-Kennedyesque speech -- hard-liberal and gloom-and-doom to the core, but said in a crowd-raising, bellowing, almost comic manner. It was about 70% slogans, a series of sound bites that warmed the convention for Mondale's appearance.

No "dream will never die" inspiration was evident -- only low-road cheap shots (e.g. offering voters the alternative of Mondale or nuclear war) in a bargain-basement version of Cuomo's Monday-night keynote address. Kennedy was enjoying himself -- and at the same time was using his Irish charisma and stock of natural gestures

to subtly remind voters and Convention delegates what a real politician looks and sounds like.

One incredible statement offers possibilities. In the heat of the 1980 race, Kennedy said, "I never lost my friendship for Walter Mondale." Does this include the time Mondale questioned Kennedy's patriotism for opposing the grain embargo? Kennedy's statements and reconciling actions of the last month begs the question: what was Kennedy promised for his cooperation this year that he was not promised in 1980?

Kennedy's speech received no analysis or commentary by the networks, as it was followed (and overshadowed) by Mondale's acceptance speech.

● Mondale's Acceptance Speech.

Mondale's address made it to prime time on the East Coast through what must have been an organizational miracle in San Francisco. Ferraro at times seemed to race through her address -- often stepping on her applause lines -- and Kennedy also refrained from milking his time on the podium. In retrospect, it wasn't worth the trouble.

With one speech, Walter Mondale hopes to obscure 24 years of hard-core liberalism in public life. Proclaiming a "new realism" in the Democratic Party, Mondale appeared to apologize to the nation for what happened in 1980. "He (Reagan) beat the pants off us. I heard you, and our party heard you," Mondale said. ". . . We didn't tell the American people (then) that they were wrong. Instead, we began asking you what our mistakes had been."

Whether Mondale's post-election comments in November 1980 reflected such humility and grace is not yet clear. What is clear is that Mondale has been hurt by his continuing ties to Jimmy Carter. "If Mr. Reagan wants to rerun the 1980 campaign, fine. Let them fight over the past. We are fighting for the American future, and that's why we're going to win," he said.

Low support among young voters, and his obsession with the politics of the past were among the recurring themes of Mondale's address. Several times, he turned full-face to the camera and talked about himself, his family and his hopes for the future. Nothing in Mondale's gloom-and-doom scenario for the near-future was changed -- only the packaging was different. Mondale even took a flyer from Jesse Jackson's oratorical handbook, admonishing parents and students to work harder at home and at school.

The strongest section of Mondale's speech concerned his economic challenge to President Reagan. Mondale spent more than five minutes of his address discussing the deficit and how he would reduce it "by two-thirds by the end of my first term." (Earlier, Mondale had claimed he would reduce the deficit by one-half.)

"Mr. Reagan will raise taxes (in 1985), and so will I. He won't tell you; I just did," Mondale said. Looking straight at the camera, Mondale continued: "To the corporations and freeloaders. . .

I tell you, your free ride is over.

"To Congress, my message is: we must cut spending and pay as we go. If you don't hold the line, I will; that's what the veto is for. Now that's my plan to cut the deficit. Mr. Reagan is keeping his plan a secret until after the election. Now, that's not leadership, that's salesmanship."

This was the most effective part of the speech; but even this offers excellent opportunities for response by the President. Mondale asks that the President put his plan for cutting the deficit on the table, alongside his own (which he refuses to elaborate further), and debate them before the American people. In Mondale's view, this forces the President to undermine his own base by proposing unpopular tax hikes or spending cuts. (The idea of Walter Mondale standing up to an array of special-interest supporters on a sugar-daddy big-spending bill is ludicrous; if he couldn't fire Chuck Manatt, he can hardly tell Lane Kirkland to go jump.)

Class warfare once again reared its ugly head, as Mondale decried the GOP as the "cold citadel of privilege," while the Democrats were "the mirror of America. . . .When we speak for America, it is America that is speaking." No Democratic fat cats were in sight.

And what Mondale speech would be complete without overweening references to self, e.g. because of the primary fight, "I will ~~be~~ a stronger, better President." Or references to personal appearance: "(The) bags under my eyes. . . .I earned them." Or his stirring and inspired closing line, the immortal, "I want to be President of the United States." Meet the new Fritz. . . same as the old Fritz.

In brief, Walter Mondale is trying to outflank President Reagan for the votes of moderates. He and Ferraro preached "strength" throughout their speeches, fully cognizant of the "weakness" issue emerging among voters and in the media.

Mondale and Ferraro have begun a "values offensive" in an attempt to steal moral high ground from the President. Target groups appear to be blue-collar ethnic Catholics, moderate and conservative women, and young voters -- i.e., target groups for Ferraro.

Mondale and Ferraro are attempting to cast the election in terms of "elitism vs. populism," and are scrupulously avoiding the term "liberal." This involves heavy use of the fairness issue and repeated pleas to "working Americans," i.e. the middle class.

The Democrats are using and will continue to use the deficit issue to undermine the President's support among fiscal conservatives. Deficits were the economic issue of the 1984 Convention, and the Democrats seemed determined to use it against Republicans throughout the year.

Foreign affairs as described in the Mondale speech may offer undreamed-of opportunities, for Mondale seems intent on making Nicaragua an issue of Vietnam proportions in the war-and-peace debate.

Mondale said he would press for removal of all foreign forces from Central America, "and in my first 100 days I will stop the illegal war on Nicaragua."

Mondale's pro-Nicaragua stand smacks of McGovernism as foreign policy; as "moral" policy, it undermines his entire "values offensive" against the President. Ferraro said in her speech that "We will fight to preserve the freedom of faith for others." Presumably, this includes Nicaraguans whose priests and rabbis have been severely persecuted. (Nicaragua also insulted Pope John Paul II on his visit there a few years ago.)

Removal of "foreign" troops from Central America is a code for removal of all U.S. troops, leaving our hemisphere open for Soviet and Cuban aggression. Add to this the refugees -- millions of them -- that would flee those countries for the U.S., and one sees that Mr. Mondale has a first-class problem on his hands.

In his speech, Mondale prides his platform for its lack of defense cuts (which he supports anyway), its lack of new business taxes (though he does want tax hikes), and its lack of "laundry lists that raid our Treasury" (which he has pledged to his special-interest backers).

This hypocrisy has one root cause -- Mondale's ambition. He is denying not only his 24 years of liberalism in office, but also the promises he has made in 18 months of presidential campaigning. Indeed, when Mondale says, "I want to be President," there is apparently nothing that will keep him from it -- not scruples, not promises, not honesty.

● Media Reaction to Mondale's Speech.

Network reaction was generally favorable. ABC's Tom Wicker said, "It was one of the few times he didn't go by the textbook -- he used candor." ABC's George Will said Mondale had challenged the President to be specific in his deficit plan, no small thing.

ABC's Brit Hume noted that "the future theme picked up by Mondale was a bitter lesson learned from Gary Hart." CBS's Dan Rather said that the speech emphasized four "F's" -- Fairness, Fear, Ferraro and Family. Walter Cronkite of CBS called the Mondale speech "long on promises, short on specifics."

● Media Notes/Miscellany

---Every delegate to the convention was given an American flag; some 30,000 were eventually distributed. ABC's David Brinkley, noting the unusual spectacle of flag-waving at a Democratic Convention, observed, "This convention looked more like a Republican rally."

CBS analyst Kevin Phillips observed that most of the people in the hall Thursday night were burning draft cards, bras, "or worse, burning flags" just a few years ago. He doubted whether the Mondale patriotism ploy would work in the short term.

---Prior to the Ferraro acceptance speech, Democratic leaders packed their female alternates into the front areas of Moscone Hall. "It would not be fair not to have every woman alternate on the floor for the Ferraro speech," Texas state chairman Robert Slagle said. Dozens of male delegates "made a gallant gesture" and gave up their seats.

---Interviewed on the convention floor, Ron Reagan quoted his father as saying that Dianne Feinstein would have made a better choice than Ferraro, because she had better executive qualities. Asked if recent attacks had angered the President, he said that his father doesn't get easily upset. "It's just politics," he said; they have to vilify him and make him seem like "a real animal."

---Georgia Governor Joe Frank Harris, interviewed on NBC, said that "local tickets will help the national ticket" (Mondale-Ferraro) in 1984 -- a sign that some Southern state parties already are anticipating problems with the convention's selection.

---The Democrats' final night looked staged and made for TV, so much so that commentators became cynical about it. At one point, Dan Rather of CBS quipped, "We'll return to the Democratic sound and light show in a moment."

One note of interest: not one network carried the Democrats' elaborate and well-produced film biography of Walter Mondale. This may not bode well for any Republican film prepared for airing in prime time next month in Dallas.

---Tip O'Neill continued to give highly partisan, if occasionally incomprehensible quotes to the media. "Let's look at the past, let's correct the mistakes that we have. We said we we don't have any new programs. . ." he told Dan Rather following the Ferraro speech. He praised his protege for acting "adroitly, as a woman who knows what law and order is."

● Issues and Themes

The principle Democratic focus was on traditional values: family, hard work, education, caring, and love of country (given credibility by delegates constantly waving U.S. flags.) Speeches by Mondale and Ferraro, in fact centered around these themes, and they emphasized them by pointing to their working class roots.

A second focus was the future. All three speakers set forth the stakes for the future, including safeguarding the world from nuclear annihilation, improving education, improving U.S. competitiveness and protecting the environment.

A third focus, slightly toned down from earlier nights, was opening the door for the "left out" members of the society. All speakers, primarily Kennedy, painted a sharp contrast between Democrats and Republicans on this issue, declaring that the Republicans were a party "of the rich, by the rich, and for the rich" and labeling the GOP as the "cold citadel of special interest." The latter was a clear attempt to turn the special interest issue against the Republicans. Mondale told non-taxpaying corporations that their "free ride" was over. All three speakers repeatedly returned to both aspects of this theme.

Fourth, and the principle theme of Mondale's speech, was a "new realism." He emphasized this concept most vividly in declaring that whoever becomes President in 1985 will have to raise taxes, except that Reagan will not admit it.

A fifth focus was Mondale's preparedness to be a leader, carried out through two messages. First was the Mondale documentary, which was meant to illustrate that throughout his career, Mondale has "made a difference." Second was Mondale's explanation that he had listened to the voters to determine why he and Carter had been beaten in 1980 and had "changed."

The evening was filled with the requisite Reagan-bashing, although nothing approaching the hatred with which Tip O'Neill vilified the President last night. The typical litany was repeated, with emphasis on nuclear war, space wars, budget deficits, trade deficits, war in Central America, education, and competitiveness. There were some ad hominem attacks on the President, appearing most vividly in Senator Kennedy's occasional ridicule of President Reagan.

Mondale dwelt more on substance than did the other speakers. He said he would raise taxes and cut spending to reduce deficits, and challenged President Reagan to lay his deficit cutting plan on the table and debate it on television. Mondale said he would cut trade deficits and improve U.S. competitiveness by reducing budget deficits and interest rates

(Issues and Themes, continued)

and being tough on governments that erected trade barriers to U.S. exports. He also condemned companies that exported jobs abroad, saying the government would not help a business that did not help the country. Mondale proposed to work to remove foreign troops from Central America, and promised to end the "illegal war" in Nicaragua within his first 100 days in office. For reducing tensions with the Soviets, Mondale proposed to hold annual summits and negotiate a mutual and verifiable freeze on all nuclear weapons.

Mondale mentioned no new proposals or programs. He did make two new promises, however. He declared that by the end of his first term, he would reduce the deficit by two-thirds; throughout his campaign, he has been saying he would reduce it by "more than half." He also promised to use the veto if Congress did not adequately hold the line on spending. Of note, Mondale did not talk about slowing the growth of the defense budget, except to say that he would scrap the MX. Nor did he mention inflation, and he only tangentially dwelled on unemployment.

• Vulnerabilities

The most salient vulnerability from the evening's proceedings was the Democrats' continuing lack of realism, in particular contrast to Mondale's assertion that his presidency would provide a "new realism." (See talking points attached)

A second continuing vulnerability was the Democrats' refusal to specify how they plan to implement their programs or meet their goals. Although Mondale added a little flesh to the vague objectives, he remains short on substance. For instance, he asserts he'll remove all foreign troops from Central America, but never says how.

A third major vulnerability was taxes. Mondale, in asserting that whoever is President in 1985 will have to raise taxes, declared that "Ronald Reagan will raise taxes, and so will I." While Mondale claims he would raise taxes fairly and not "sock it to" the middle class, Mondale's proposed elimination of indexing, plus the certain return of inflation, would result in a major tax increase on all working Americans, particularly those at the lower end of the economic scale. And what is worse, the tax increases would come surreptitiously and automatically; Congress would never have to vote on them. Therefore, Mondale would return to using inflation to raise working Americans' taxes.

A fourth vulnerability is values. While the Democrats self-righteously promoté themselves as the party of traditional values and the working class, their economic policies of the 70s seriously hurt the working class, undermining the very values they claim to uphold.

(Vulnerabilities, continued)

A fifth area of vulnerability is deficits. Mondale and the Democrats have adopted this as their principle domestic issue. But we can convincingly prove that: (1) the deficit results from Democrats' high spending and the recession (that was a legacy of the economic policies of the 70s.); (2) that Mondale would worsen the deficit because of huge spending proposals; and (3) that Mondale's main prescription for the deficit is big tax increases on average Americans, which he would only use as a cushion for more spending.

A sixth vulnerability is Mondale's willingness to invite Soviet intervention in Central America. (See attached talking points)

A seventh vulnerability is arms control, in particular the nuclear freeze. Republicans can convincingly show that Mondale could not negotiate an effective arms control agreement and in particular that the freeze would be affirmatively harmful to American interests.

Lastly, Mondale's duplicity is another vulnerability. He repeatedly distorts the record (going beyond mere ignorance of reality) in a way that is not becoming of a leader. For instance, he accuses President Reagan of increasing taxes on the lower and middle class, when the reason taxes did increase on this group was because of the Social Security tax increases passed by Carter and Mondale. And he accuses Reagan of refusing to talk to the Soviet leader, when it is the Soviets who walked out of the arms talks.

● Convention Perspective

Speeches at the Republican convention will automatically be compared to those at the Democratic convention, which were widely viewed as well-delivered, emotional and even moving. Their prime-time speakers were dynamic and charismatic, generating enthusiasm and conviction among listeners. But while Democratic speeches lacked nothing in rhetoric and emotion, they were almost totally devoid of substance. Had their speeches said something as well, they would have had an even greater impact.

Also of note were the Nielsen ratings, which showed that Monday night's Democratic convention coverage had a 71% share, while Tuesday's garnered less than half that.

#

7/20/84
5 a.m.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 18, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CRAIG L. FULLER

SUBJECT: Decision Memorandum on Commercial Use
of Space

The attached decision memorandum concerning the commercial use of space was amended to incorporate the views expressed at the meeting of the Cabinet Council on Commerce and Trade. The memorandum was recirculated and there were no new issues raised by the Cabinet departments and agencies, nor was there objection to the memorandum being signed.

The Secretary of Defense expressed concern about transferring the Space Transportation System to the private sector. However, the decision memorandum says only "develop a plan for privatization of specific government space activities." And planning would involve DOD; hence, I do not believe Secretary Weinberger's concern should pose a problem.

Secretary Weinberger and Director Casey both questioned the need to review shuttle pricing policy. As I suggested at the meeting, this is a critical issue that needs further study and such an effort is now underway within the NSC Coordinated Senior Interagency Group on Space.

Since I believe these concerns can be accommodated during future discussion, I recommend you sign the attached decision memorandum.

Attachment

cc: Edwin Meese III
→ James A. Baker III
Robert C. McFarlane
Richard G. Darman

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 18, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CRAIG L. FULLER 

SUBJECT: Commercial Use of Space

A Cabinet Council on Commerce and Trade Working Group has reviewed an assortment of initiatives designed to encourage commercial activity in space. These suggestions were invited as part of our effort to develop a clear policy for space related commercial activities. The CCCT Working Group, chaired by Bud Evans at NASA, has completed its review and has presented the attached material for consideration.

There were four general categories considered:

- I. Economic Initiatives. Tax laws and regulations which discriminate against commercial space ventures need to be changed or eliminated.
- II. Legal and Regulatory Initiatives. Laws and regulations predating space operations need to be updated to accommodate space commercialization.
- III. Research and Development Initiatives. In partnership with industry and academia, government should expand basic research and development which may have implications for investors aiming to develop commercial space products and services.
- IV. Initiatives to Establish and Implement a Commercial Space Policy. Since commercial developments in space often require many years to reach the production phase, entrepreneurs need assurances of consistent government actions and policies over long periods.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

The following proposals are recommended for Presidential approval:

Economic Initiatives:

- Replace the current "carry-on test" for the 25% research tax credit with provisions allowing corporations engaged in a trade or business to form joint ventures and be eligible to use any R&D tax credits resulting from the venture. (I-1)
- Modify the tax code to assure that space capital projects owned principally by United States interests and operated for domestic purposes are eligible for the 10% Investment Tax Credit and the accelerated cost recovery system. (I-2)
- Facilitate long-term contracts with new space ventures if the Government has a need for the product and if the purchase would be cost-efficient. (I-3)
- Direct the Treasury to develop a proposal designed to identify those prototypes eligible for the R&D credit even though eventually used in commercial service, in a manner that would reduce uneconomic incentives that may currently exist. (I-4)
- Clarify the appropriate tariff regulations to ensure space-made products are not considered imports when returned to the United States. (I-5)

These proposed changes are in reference to the current tax law. They would, of course, be revised in accordance with decisions made on fundamental tax reform later this year.

Legal and Regulatory Initiatives:

- Assure that radio frequency assignment for private sector use is timely. Consult with departments and agencies as appropriate. (II-1)
- As a first step, transfer, through Executive Order, the responsibility for controlling space launches from non-government facilities to the Department of Transportation. As a second step propose legislation to confirm this action and streamline the process. Consultation is required as part of both steps with State on foreign policy issues and with the Department of Defense on national security issues. These departments and any other affected agencies would be given an opportunity to concur in the interagency review process. (II-2)

- Provide additional protection of proprietary information through the Space Act. (II-3)
- Assure fair international competition. (II-4)

Research and Development Initiatives:

- Expand current practices to increase private sector awareness of space opportunities and to encourage increased industry investment in high-tech, space-based research and development. (III)

These initiatives would not alter the Administration's basic policy of focusing Federal funding on basic research. It would also not involve any change in the previously approved NASA multiyear funding levels for fiscal years 1984 and 1985. Proposals for additional funding would be presented in the 1986 budget process.

Initiatives to Establish and Implement a Commercial Space Policy:

- Establish and implement a consistent space policy. Immediate steps would include announcing commercialization decisions and increasing public awareness about the commercial opportunities in space. (IV-1)
- Develop a plan for privatization of specific government space activities. (IV-3)
- Establish a high-level national focus for commercial space issues by creating a CCCT Working Group on the Commercial Use of Space. The Working Group would be chaired by a representative of the Department of Commerce with a representative of NASA serving as vice chairman.

Membership would consist of all interested departments and agencies. All departments and affected agencies will be invited to participate in the initial meeting of the working group and may determine the degree of participation they desire.

The Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and the Assistant to the President for Cabinet Affairs will oversee the development of a memorandum of understanding clarifying the coordination process between the SIG(Space) and the CCCT Working Group on the Commercial Use of Space, and the functions and responsibilities of the two bodies.

The proposals listed below were considered and are recommended for further study:

Economic Initiatives:

- Modify research tax credit for space industries where their unique characteristics may warrant distinct provisions. (I-1)
- Explore the tax treatment of free government services for research and development. (I-6)

Initiatives to Establish and Implement Commercial Space Policy:

- Assure reasonably priced access to the Shuttle. (IV-2)

The following proposal was considered and it is recommended that you reject it.

Economic Initiatives:

- Reduce space investment risk through Government loan guarantees, purchase of securities options and by allowing sale of R&D debentures. (I-3)

ACTION:

- _____ Approve as recommended
- _____ Not approved
- _____ Approved as modified

Attachments



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

18 JUL 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR CABINET AFFAIRS

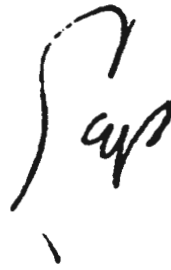
SUBJECT: Comments on the Space Commercialization Decision Memorandum

I have reviewed the revised decision memorandum and offer the following comments:

- While each recommendation in the decision memorandum is keyed to the appropriate issue paper, it is sometimes unclear which option is being supported. This is particularly true for the recommendations relating to the commercial space policy initiatives on page 3.
- The recommendation to "develop a plan for privatization of specific government space activities (IV-3)" correlates to both options 1 and 2. I do not support option 1 to the extent that it includes the Space Transportation System (STS). I disagree with establishing a goal or developing a plan to transfer STS operations to the private sector. This has been studied several times, and the conclusion consistently has been that such action was premature, if not undesirable.
- The recommendation to create a CCCT Working Group on the Commercial Use of Space does not correspond to any of the options described in Issue Paper IV-4. While I do not object to the establishment of a working group, I am concerned that careful thought be given to defining the roles and responsibilities of this group and its relationship with the SIG(Space) and its working groups. I endorse the proposal that you and Bud MacFarlane develop a memorandum of understanding to this effect.
- Clearly the policies of each of the national space sectors must be carefully coordinated to ensure synergism. Many of the suggestions in the Issue Papers appear to have been made without full consideration of many other, space-related decisions and on-going activities.
- An example is the recommendation to defer for further study the STS pricing policy for commercial users. That decision was made in May of last year and documented in NSDD-94. The decision has recently been reviewed and reaffirmed in the draft language of the pending National Space Strategy. This only serves to reinforce my concern that too many separate groups working on closely related issues may prove counterproductive and delay implementation of policy decisions.

In general, we support a strong commercial space program for the private sector. As you are aware, we have not reviewed the detailed aspects of the recommendations embodied in this decision memorandum. Therefore, with the exception of those general issues previously noted, we cannot comment on the specific initiatives. We will continue to work closely with all agencies to ensure that the President's commercial space initiatives are effectively pursued within the constraints imposed by prudent national security interests.

I recommend that every effort be made to resolve the apparent inconsistencies arising from the proposed decision memorandum and offer our help in defining the proper relationships between commercial space policy and that of the civil and national security sectors.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'J. Cap' or similar, located in the lower right quadrant of the page.

7/18/84
Note for file: items
reviewed.

CF

18 JUL 1984

cc: Gil Rye
Bud Evans

MEMORANDUM FOR: Craig L. Fuller
Assistant to the President for Cabinet Affairs

SUBJECT : Comments Concerning Your Revised Decision
Memorandum on the Commercial Use of Space

1. We are supportive of the effort to encourage the commercial use of space and wish to continue to participate in the continuing efforts in this area.

2. We do, however, have some major concerns with certain items in the Decision Memorandum and with the corresponding items in the initiatives paper. These are:

. Issue III-1: How Can Industry Participation in High-Tech Space Ventures be Increased? - Option 3 includes "expanded dissemination of non-security related technical information to potential commercial users of space." This effort was not requested in the original industry option but was added by the Government working group. We believe that an expanded program to disseminate unclassified data essentially worldwide, in the hope that some industry members might eventually be interested in commercial space activities, would greatly exacerbate the problem of technology transfer to the Soviets. We cannot support this statement and believe it should be deleted or that a more balanced approach should be specified that would selectively support those US industry members that request specific information.

not in
decision
memo
language

. Issue IV-2: How Can We Assure Industry That a Favorable Commercial Space Policy Will Endure? - Option 1 essentially calls for "reasonable", i.e., less than full cost, pricing of the shuttle. Shuttle pricing policy is already established by the Government and further defined in the soon to be approved NSDD on National Space Strategy. We do not believe that further study is required at this time. We further believe that, if the study is mandated, the NSDD's participants should be included in the study group.

everyone else
believes
shuttle pricing
needs to be
reviewed & it
will include

NSDD participants

SUBJECT: Comments Concerning Your Revised Decision Memorandum on the Commercial Use of Space

Issue IV-3: To What Extent Should the Private Sector Develop and Operate Space Facilities? - Option 1 calls for the development of a plan for the privatization of the shuttle. We believe that shuttle privatization could have severe impact on national security programs and would result in Government loss of critical launch capabilities over which it has control. We believe, therefore, that before any implementation plan is contemplated there should be an interagency evaluation of the desirability of privatization. We further believe that such a study group should be composed of all affected parties including the affected national security associated agencies.

Affected parties will be involved

Issues IV-4: How Can We Establish a National Focus for Space Commercialization? - The options call for the setting up of groups which would assume the commercial space function of SIG(SPACE). We believe that the assumption of the commercial space functions of SIG(SPACE) by a new group would fractionate the decision process with regard to national space issues. We recommend against the establishment of such a group although we will support it fully if it is initiated. If established we would urge that its activities and recommendations be coordinated with the SIG(SPACE).

Point made w/ P. + coordination approach agreed to by those at Cabinet meeting


John N. McMahon

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III
MICHAEL K. DEEVER
RICHARD G. DARMAN
MICHAEL A. MCMANUS

FROM: MARGARET TUTWILER *MT*
DATE: JULY 16, 1984
SUBJECT: AGENDA FOR WEEKLY TUESDAY MEETING

Please find attached the agenda for the meeting tomorrow in Mr. Baker's office at 10:30 a.m.

Thank you.



AGENDA

Tuesday, July 17, 1984

- The President's future schedule
- Post Democratic Convention activities
- PLATFORM

By Cuomo: Pitany of Air

7/16 → Copy to ...

REAGAN-BUSH'84

The President's Authorized Campaign Committee

TO: James A. Baker III
Michael K. Deaver
Frank Fahrenkopf
Paul Laxalt
Ed Rollins
Stuart Spencer

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE: July 16, 1984

SUBJECT: Major Findings from the July National Survey
(Field Dates: July 5 - 8, 1984)

SUMMARY

Americans feel good about the country and their President. Nonetheless, the race is tightening as expected and there remain some worrisome vulnerabilities. Specifically, some of the highlights of this study are:

- o Consistent with trends over the past several months, Americans are now more optimistic about the country than at any time in the last four years.
- o Although June was the highwater mark of the past two and a half years of presidential job ratings, the President remains popular and retains very favorable ratings for his handling of most issues. The glaring exceptions are Central America (although approval of his handling of foreign affairs continues to rise) and the medicare program.
- o A disturbing plurality of Americans continue to feel that the world is less safe now than it was four years ago.
- o The election may well hinge on economic issues. Americans are most concerned about unemployment and economic issues followed closely by foreign affairs and war/peace. Reagan receives high marks for his handling of economic issues.
- o Among registered voters, the President leads Mondale by 13 points (49% to 36%), down from the 16 point lead he held in early June. The Reagan/Bush ticket leads a Mondale/Hart team by 5 points (49% to 44%). With Ferraro as Mondale's running mate, Reagan/Bush wins by 12 points (52% to 40%).

- o The choice of Ferraro, though not unexpected, marks an historic precedent. As a result, a complete assessment of the impact on the November election is impossible to measure now. However, at this juncture, we do know there is a seven point drop in support for a Mondale/Ferraro ticket compared to a Mondale/Hart ticket.

GENERAL TRENDS

Mood

America celebrated her 208th birthday in grand fashion this past fourth of July. For the first time in years, a sense of unconditional well-being permeated the nation. There was an unashamedly strong manifestation of support and affinity for this country.

Our July poll quantified those feelings. More Americans now than at any time in the previous four years, including the period subsequent to Reagan's nomination, think that the country is moving in the right direction (52%). Additionally, a majority (52%) feel that they are better off now than they were four years ago. Only slightly more than a quarter (27%) feel that they are worse off, and 20% say their lives remain basically unchanged.

Rating Reagan

On the issues, Americans continue to approve of the way he is handling the Presidency. In June, 64% approved and 33% disapproved; now, 62% approve while 36% disapprove. The following table displays voter perceptions of the way the President is handling a series of other salient issues.

	<u>Approve</u> (%)	<u>Disapprove</u> (%)	<u>No</u> <u>Opinion</u> (%)
The economy	62	37	1
Inflation	59	39	2
Relations with the Soviet Union	54	40	6
Arms control	53	41	6
Foreign affairs	53	43	4
The situation in the Middle East	45	45	10
The situation in Central America	39	48	13
The medicare program	36	51	13

Major Findings
Page Three
July 16, 1984

Approval is higher now than in June for his handling of the economy (up 2 points), Inflation (up 3 points), foreign affairs (up 1 point), relations with the Soviet Union (up 5 points), and the situation in Central America (up 1 point). The situation in the Middle East and the medicare program are first time measures.

The higher approval ratings may be attributable to several factors: reports of attempts at progress in improving relations with the Soviet Union (this includes the proposed meeting in Vienna to discuss the disarmament of space and attempts to reopen an arms control dialogue), the recent progress in Beirut toward peace between the warring factions, the Persian Gulf war simmered but did not boil over, the economy kept expanding without a corresponding rise in the rate of inflation, and finally, the unemployment rate dopped .4 point to 7.1% -- the lowest rate in over four years.

As in June, Americans, on a thermometer scale of 0 to 100, rate the President a comfortable 62, the highest of any individual tested in July. His thermometer is 4 points higher than Mondale and 6 points higher than Gary Hart.

When asked "What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think about Ronald Reagan ...", 51% supply a positive attribute while 41% mention something disparaging (As a comparison, in June, 49% gave a positive response for Mondale while 45% responded negatively). Specific likes include: strong leader (10%), doing a good job (7%), his stand on the economy (5%), his appearance (3%), and honest/sincere (3%). Dislikes include: an actor (5%), favors the rich (4%), does not help people (3%), and his stand on government cutbacks (3%).

The Issues

General

Four years ago, when asked "What is the first thing you would do to help improve our situation [the problems facing the nation]?", 19% said reduce inflation. Now, only 5% list inflation as the number one problem facing the nation.

When asked what they feel is the most important problem facing the nation, the most frequent mention is defense/foreign affairs issues (31% -- down 7 points), followed by unemployment (19% -- up 4 points despite a large decline in June), other economic issues (20% -- up 1 point), social and other domestic issues (9% -- up 1 point), and crime/drugs/morals (7% -- up 1 point).

Foreign Affairs

Although elections may historically hinge on the performance of the economy, the broad context of foreign affairs remains a very important part of the vote-decision-making process. The hostage situation was a symptom of Carter's problems and also a contributor to his demise. Obviously, we have some vulnerabilities of our own.

When asked what they like or dislike about Reagan the following foreign affairs related responses were given:

	<u>Like</u>	<u>Dislike</u>
Total Foreign Affairs	6%	5%
Stand on foreign policy	2	2
Relations with Soviets	1	*
Stand national defense	2	1
Stand world peace	1	2
Stand arms race	*	*

* Less than 0.5%

Over the past several months, Americans are sending mixed signals about their feelings toward this Administration's foreign policy. On the one hand, they have been more positive about the way Reagan is handling foreign affairs. On the other hand, disapproval has remained high on how he is handling the situation in Central America. They split over his handling of the situation in the Middle East. Opinions about the way he is handling the situation in the Middle East were probably moderated by Reagan's diplomatic approach toward the Persian Gulf war.

Still, 31% mention specific foreign policy issues as the number one problem facing this country. Further, an uncomfortable 47% (up 4 points since June) feel that the world is "less safe now than it was four years ago." Slightly more than a quarter (28% -- down 2 points) feel that the world is more safe, and an unchanged 22% think the situation is about the same as it was four years ago. Nevertheless, concern about a safe world goes beyond and is more diffused than just worry over nuclear war.

Those who felt the world is less safe were then asked why they felt this way. Fifty-nine percent (59%) express concerns relating to international affairs and the arms race including: Nuclear weapons (15%), world hostility/unrest (11%), U.S./Soviet relations (10%), the threat of war (8%), and the arms race (5%). Interestingly, 21% say crime and 4% mention moral decay.

Additionally, Americans feel that Reagan is more likely than Mondale to start an unnecessary war, but also say that Reagan is more likely than Mondale to preserve world peace.

At the core of this issue is the Soviet Union. Currently, a majority of Americans approve of his handling of relations with the Soviet Union. They split on the sincerity of Reagan's efforts vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. An even 50% disagree with the concept that he is not making a sincere effort to improve U.S.-Soviet relations. A nearly equal 47% agree with the statement. Further, they also tend to agree that the "leaders of the Soviet Union are making every effort to prevent Ronald Reagan from being reelected." (57% agree, 44% disagree).

The Economy

Reagan is enjoying high approval for his handling of most economic issues. However, equally important to us are future expectations for the performance of the economy in a Reagan second term. In general, the news is good. Americans anticipate the unemployment rate to continue declining and expect the economy and inflation to remain the same. They are, however, pessimistic about interest rates.

"Thinking about a year from now, do you think _____ will get better, get worse, or be about the same as it is now?"

	Get Better (%)	Get Worse (%)	Stay The Same (%)
The national economy	35	20	42
Inflation	26	31	41
unemployment	43	22	33
Interest rates	21	48	28

When asked who best will handle these issues, more Americans feel that Reagan, rather than Mondale, will reduce unemployment (4 points) and interest rates (4 points). They also think Reagan will be better able than Mondale to balance the federal budget (8 points), cut government spending and reduce government waste (11 points), and produce a simple and fair tax system (1 point).

Supreme Court

Another issue that has been raised is concern about a Reagan second term and its possible impact on the Supreme Court. Perceptions of the current court are fairly positive. A bare majority of Americans (51%) feel that the Supreme Court's decisions are about right. Twenty-seven percent (27%) think its decisions are too liberal while the remaining 16% say their decisions are too conservative.

A large number of Americans agree that "If Ronald Reagan is elected to a second term, he will appoint more conservative judges to the Supreme Court." Sixty-eight percent (68%) of those who agree with the statement that would be a good thing. This translates into 42% of all Americans who think Reagan will appoint conservative justices and that this would be a good thing; 16% who think he will appoint conservative justices and this would be a bad thing; and 27% who do not think he will appoint conservative judges in his second term.

Illegal Aliens

The country is divided about granting amnesty and citizenship to illegal aliens who entered the United States prior to 1982. A slim majority (51%) disagree with granting amnesty to illegal aliens (Regionally, disagreement is greatest in the Midwest (56%). Additionally, base Republicans (56%) and military veterans (56%) register more disagreement). However, fully 72% agree that "employers who knowingly hire illegal aliens should be prosecuted." Only 26% disagree with the statement.

PERSONALITY AND ISSUE ATTRIBUTES

We again asked a series of personality and issue attributes asking respondents to rate the two candidates on who best fits each issue or personality attribute. The President continues to outshine Mondale on the dimensions of leadership and effectiveness. He is perceived as stronger, more decisive, trustworthy, and capable than Mondale. As in previous months, however, the distinctions blur on the issues. Americans do not perceive clear distinctions between the two men's issue agendas. We also remain suspect on the fairness issue and pandering to special interest groups, i.e., favoring the rich.

Major Findings
Page Seven
July 16, 1984

The following table traces the differences over time between the two candidates

	June Difference RR - WM <u>(%)</u>	July Difference RR - WM <u>(%)</u>	Net Difference June - July <u>(%)</u>
<u>Leadership</u>			
Inspires confidence in the White House*	+34	+41	+7
Strong leadership qualities*	+27	+28	+1
Provides strong moral leadership*	+28	+29	+1
Trustworthy*	+19	+20	+1
Controlled by special interests	-2	-5	-3
Qualified and capable to serve as President*	+19	+16	-3
Decisive	--	+42	--
Overpromises	--	-3	--
<u>Governance</u>			
Effective in getting things done*	+35	+40	+5
Reduce unemployment*	+8	+4	-4
Reduce crime and drugs	--	+24	--
Cut government spending and reduce government waste	--	+11	--
Select ethical people for administration	--	+8	--
Balance the federal budget	--	+8	--
Reduce interest rates	--	+4	--
Produce a simple and fair tax system	--	+1	--
Improve public education	--	-5	--
Deal effectively with environmental pollution	--	-10	--
Handle social securtiy	--	-10	--
<u>Fairness</u>			
Cares about people*	+5	0	-5
Build individual opportunities*	+3	0	-3
Fair	--	+13	--
Best deal with equal rights for women and minorities	--	-23	--
Will favor the rich	--	-50	--

	June Difference RR - WM <hr/> (%)	July Difference RR - WM <hr/> (%)	Net Difference June - July <hr/> (%)
<u>Future Orientation</u>			
Deal with future problems effectively and boldly	--	+24	--
Best handle future problems*	+16	+15	-1
<u>Foreign Affairs</u>			
Preserve world peace*	+4	+6	+2
Start an unnecessary war*	-26	-28	-2
Negotiate meaningful arms control agreement with the Soviet Union*	+7	+3	-4

* Positive net difference May to June

THE NOVEMBER OUTLOOK

The Ballot

With all but the formalities of the convention remaining, Walter Mondale is now concentrating on the fall campaign. His efforts to unify the party and the search for a Vice-Presidential running mate provided significant press coverage. Reagan now leads Mondale by 13 points -- 49% to 36%, four points less than his lead in June. There is a higher undecided element factoring into the mix. Mondale's share of the vote also dropped 2 points. Although Reagan's share of the vote is diminished, 54% of the respondents still feel he deserves reelection, 43% want a new person -- unchanged from early June readings.

The President's largest drops in support are among White Southern Baptists (-13 points), blue-collar workers (-11 points), small business owners/managers (-8 points), and Catholics (-5 points). Evidence of the greater voter uncertainty is the relatively small gains made by Mondale. He picked up support from blue collar workers (+6 points), White Southern Baptists (+4 points), veterans (+2 points), professionals (+1 points), and small business owners/managers (+1 points).

Reagan supporters are less committed than last month while Mondale's committed vote is virtually unchanged. Nevertheless, the President still enjoys a significant advantage among those voters very committed to a candidate.

VOTE COMMITMENT VERSUS MONDALE

Reagan/Very strong	31%
Reagan/Somewhat strong	12
Reagan/Not strong	6
Undecided	15
Mondale/Not strong	5
Mondale/Somewhat strong	11
Mondale/Very strong	20

The Opposition

Walter Mondale

Perceptions of Mondale's image and issue positions are more favorable than in previous months. Currently, adult Americans rate him at 58 on a thermometer scale of 0 to 100 -- 3 points higher than in June and equal to his rating in May.

Also, 75% of those queried agree that Walter Mondale "does represent what the Democratic Party really stands for." An overwhelming 82% of base Democrats concur that Mondale does indeed represent the Democratic party. There are, however, 13% of the base Democrats who disagree with the concept that Mondale personifies the Democratic party. This number is even higher among registered Democrats (38% disagree).

Most Americans do not feel that a Mondale Presidency, if elected, would be just like Carter's (62%). Only 32% equate a Mondale Presidency with a repackaging of Jimmy Carter.

Specifically, when asked what they like about Mondale, respondents most frequently mention: he's a Democrat (7%), cares for the people (7%), better than Reagan (5%), and honest/sincere (4%). Thirty-three percent (33%) say they don't like anything about him and 21% were ambivalent. The dislikes include: his campaign (7%), indecisive (7%), don't like him in general (7%), poor Vice-President (5%), and his appearance (4%). Sixteen percent (16%) say there is nothing they dislike about him; 29% did not express an opinion.

In 1980 we asked what would be a good thing and a bad thing to happen if Ronald Reagan were elected President. Asking the same question about Walter Mondale, we find the most frequently mentioned positives are less unemployment (19%), he would help the people (11%), improve the economy (10%), do a good job (8%), more aid to the elderly (6%), reduce inflation (5%), and reduce interest rates (4%). A small hard-core-anti-Mondale sentiment exists among 16% of the country who say that absolutely nothing good would result from a Mondale victory.

Major Findings
Page Ten
July 16, 1984

The perceived dangers are that he will not do a good job (13%), higher inflation (11%), get the United States into a war (10%), a poor economy (9%), poor foreign policy (6%), increased welfare (6%), poor advisors (4%), higher interest rates (4%), lose the support of big business (4%), and he will not be firm with the Soviet Union (47%). Mondale also has a hard-core support group of 13% who say that nothing bad will result from his election.

The Other Democrats

Jeese Jackson

His thermometer is two points higher in July (42), but his appeal remains almost exclusively to Blacks (77), with lesser support from younger voters (50) and Democrats (51).

Gary Hart

He keeps talking bravely about being the nominee, but that appears highly unlikely at this stage. He, next to Mondale, is the best known (95% of the respondents) and highly rated (56) of the Democrats. Further, at this juncture, he adds the most strength to the ticket. Nevertheless, Mondale selected Ferraro.

Other Democrats rated on the 0 to 100 thermometer scale include:

Tom Bradley	57	47
Tip O'Neill	55	85
Mario Cuomo	51	30
Lloyd Bentsen	50	24
Dale Bumpers	46	20
Jimmy Carter	51	99

Other Players

Thermometers were also done for Vice-President Bush and several other political figures and unions.

	<u>Rating</u>	<u>Percent Identification</u>
George Bush	55	90
Richard Nixon	38	98
AFL-CIO	48	81
National Education Association	61	79
American Federation of Teachers	62	81

Reagan Job Rating -- General
(Approve)

=====

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as President? Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?"

	May 27-30 1983	Aug 17-22 1983	Sep 6-9 1983	Sep 23-25 1983	Oct 18-21 1983	Nov 25-29 1983	Dec 14-17 1983
Aggregate	56	50	50	54	58	62	64
Base Republicans	85	82	80	80	89	87	93
Small business	59	58	55	*	68	69	74
Farm Belt states	57	52	53	63	56	60	55
Blue-collar workers	58	51	45	56	61	62	71
Senior citizens	44	48	44	47	52	57	60
Women	49	44	47	46	52	58	59
Catholics	57	52	51	58	64	61	58
Independents/Leaners	60	57	51	55	58	66	65
White Baptists	58	54	53	55	62	70	78
18-24 year olds	57	55	64	50	61	56	62
Professionals	54	64	63	60	70	68	61
Veterans	*	56	*	*	*	69	*
Irish	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

	Jan 18-21 1983	Feb 2-4 1984	Mar 7-11 1984	Apr 4-7 1984	May 4-8 1984	Jun 2-5 1984	Jul 5-8 1984
Aggregate	62	58	59	60	60	65	62
Republicans	90	89	88	89	90	87	88
Small business	67	70	66	67	*	72	65
Farm Belt states	65	71	60	67	60	62	80
Blue-collar workers	66	59	60	62	65	64	61
Senior citizens	61	47	50	47	46	62	60
Women	56	53	56	55	58	59	58
Catholics	61	54	61	61	65	65	61
Independents/Leaners	62	61	63	64	63	68	67
18-24 year olds	65	66	68	62	64	66	63
Professionals	69	64	56	57	64	65	66
Veterans	66	63	58	53	61	71	62
Irish	*	*	61	61	64	68	67
White S. Baptists	*	*	*	67	62	72	66

Reelect Reagan

=====
 "Thinking ahead to the 1984 presidential election ... do you think Ronald Reagan has preformed well enough as President to deserve reelection, or do you think it will be time to give a new person the chance to do better?"

Reelect/New Person

	<u>Apr</u> 7-11 1983	<u>May</u> 27-30 1983	<u>Aug</u> 17-22 1983	<u>Sep</u> 6-9 1983	<u>Oct</u> 18-21 1983	<u>Nov</u> 25-29 1983	<u>Dec</u> 14-17 1983
Aggregate	39/53	45/48	43/50	36/56	46/47	49/44	52/43
Base Republicans	57/20	80/16	78/16	64/28	77/17	79/17	82/15
Small business	49/40	52/41	49/43	42/29	52/40	58/36	59/37
Farm Belt states	50/45	57/37	43/49	36/52	48/37	42/49	48/48
Blue-collar workers	35/56	42/51	44/52	32/62	46/47	57/47	55/42
Senior citizens	43/49	37/57	46/47	29/58	42/50	46/44	48/47
Women	35/58	37/56	37/55	31/61	39/55	42/51	47/48
Catholics	40/54	40/53	44/48	33/58	48/44	49/46	48/49
Independents/Leaners	42/50	45/45	48/43	37/53	45/45	53/39	53/41
White Baptists	*/*	52/44	48/49	39/54	44/46	57/35	66/23
18-24 year olds	36/59	37/55	42/54	41/52	45/57	45/53	48/49
Professional	46/46	49/45	49/39	48/48	50/43	55/40	51/45
Veterans	45/48	*/*	*/*	*/*	*/*	59/36	*/*
Irish	*/*	*/*	*/*	*/*	*/*	*/*	*/*

	<u>Jan</u> 18-21 1984	<u>Feb</u> 2-4 1984	<u>Mar</u> 7-11 1984	<u>Apr</u> 4-7 1984	<u>May</u> 4-8 1984	<u>Jun</u> 2-5 1984	<u>Jul</u> 5-8 1984
Aggregate	53/42	53/43	49/45	51/43	50/47	54/42	54/43
Base Republicans	86/12	86/12	82/14	84/11	85/13	87/11	90/9
Small business	59/36	62/36	54/40	59/35	*/*	60/33	58/40
Farm Belt states	54/38	59/35	47/48	51/47	47/48	57/33	67/28
Blue-collar workers	52/43	56/42	49/45	50/44	52/45	53/42	49/48
Senior citizens	62/35	47/49	47/48	41/53	40/57	56/39	60/39
Women	47/48	49/49	45/50	46/49	48/49	46/49	50/47
Catholics	56/38	49/48	47/46	51/45	51/46	52/43	53/44
Independents/Leaners	55/39	59/38	50/42	52/41	57/38	58/37	61/35
18 to 24 year olds	51/48	56/42	51/44	54/44	46/52	54/42	49/49
Professional	65/32	57/42	48/44	54/39	55/41	53/38	61/36
Veterans	58/37	59/36	51/43	55/39	54/44	60/36	57/39
Irish	*/*	*/*	51/41	53/40	56/39	52/43	58/39
White S. Baptists	*/*	*/*	*/*	57/31	52/47	64/32	58/40

REAGAN-BUSH '84

The President's Authorized Campaign Committee

TO: James A. Baker III
Michael K. Deaver
Frank Fahrenkopf
Paul Laxalt
Ed Rollins
Stuart Spencer

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE: July 12, 1984

SUBJECT: The Ferraro Impact

Mondale's choice of Geraldine Ferraro as his Vice-Presidential runningmate raises many questions about the effect she will have on the November election -- the plusses and minusses of his decision.

The choice of Ferraro, though not unexpected, marks an historic precedent. As a result, a complete assessment of the impact on the November election is impossible to measure now. However, at this juncture, we do know that:

- o Slightly more Americans (2 points) admit they are less likely to vote for a ticket with a woman Vice-President.
- o Americans rate the generic term "A woman Vice-President" a respectable 54 on a 0 to 100 thermometer scale.
- o There is a seven point drop in support for a Mondale/Ferraro ticket compared to a Mondale/Hart ticket.

The term "a woman Vice-President" is rated lower by senior citizens (40), White Southern Baptists (45), and base Republicans (47).

Base Republicans (46%), White Southern Baptists (42%), senior citizens (41%), professionals (30%), men (29%), and military veterans (27%) are the most likely to admit they would vote against a candidate who chose a woman as his running mate. Youth (42%), Catholics (33%), and women (31%) say they are more likely to vote for a presidential aspirant with a female running mate.

The following tables compare the impact of the Mondale/Ferraro versus the Mondale/Hart tickets.

	Reagan/ Bush (%)	Mondale/ Hart (%)	Diff (%)	Reagan/ Bush (%)	Mondale/ Ferraro (%)	Diff (%)	Net Diff (%)
Aggregate	49	44	5	52	40	12	7
Male	53	40	13	56	37	19	6
Female	46	47	-1	49	42	7	8
17 - 24 years	54	43	11	58	39	19	8
25 - 34 years	47	48	-1	50	45	5	6
35 - 44 years	52	40	12	54	39	15	3
45 - 54 years	51	42	9	53	37	16	7
55 - 64 years	37	54	-17	42	45	-3	14
65 and older	58	36	22	59	35	24	2
Base Republicans	86	11	75	89	7	82	7
Independents/Lean	57	22	35	61	21	40	5
Base Democrats	20	74	-54	22	69	-47	7
Less than H.S.	42	50	-8	43	47	-4	4
H.S. graduate	50	44	6	53	40	13	7
Some college	56	35	21	60	33	27	6
College graduate	56	39	17	59	34	25	8
Postgraduate	52	42	10	52	39	13	3
White	56	38	18	59	34	25	7
Black	11	82	-71	11	80	-69	2
Hispanic	27	71	-44	31	65	-34	10
Other	55	32	23	61	28	33	10
Northeast	48	42	6	50	40	10	4
Midwest	48	45	3	51	42	9	6
West	52	42	10	56	39	17	7
South	50	44	6	52	38	14	8
Professional	57	40	17	57	39	18	1
White collar	56	36	20	58	35	23	3
Blue collar	43	52	-9	48	46	2	11
Retired	50	42	8	54	36	18	10
Other	44	46	-2	46	43	3	5
Baptists	40	54	-14	46	46	0	14
Other Protestant	58	34	24	59	33	26	2
Catholic	47	47	0	50	43	7	7
Other	83	9	74	83	9	74	0
Agnostic/Atheist	46	50	-4	48	46	2	6

Ferraro Impact
 Page Three
 July 12, 1984

	<u>Reagan/ Bush</u> (%)	<u>Mondale/ Hart</u> (%)	<u>Diff</u> (%)	<u>Reagan/ Bush</u> (%)	<u>Mondale/ Ferraro</u> (%)	<u>Diff</u> (%)	<u>Net Diff</u> (%)
Conservative	62	30	32	66	26	40	8
Moderate	40	47	-7	42	47	-5	2
Liberal	29	67	-38	32	62	-30	8
Small business	52	42	10	55	39	16	6
Farm belt states	58	28	30	65	23	42	12
Military veterans	47	42	5	50	37	13	8
Irish	50	44	6	53	41	12	6
White southern Baptists	49	44	5	57	29	28	23

The Mondale/Hart ticket runs stronger among all the demographic subgroups listed, including women (+8 points) and Catholics (+7 points). This will undoubtedly change once America gets more accustomed to hearing her name and Mondale/Ferraro become the official nominees of the Democratic party.

We do run behind the Mondale/Ferraro ticket among 55 - 64 year olds, base Democrats, Blacks, Hispanics, moderates and liberals. We run even with their ticket among Baptists.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III
MICHAEL K. DEEVER
RICHARD G. DARMAN
MICHAEL A. MCMANUS

FROM: MARGARET TUTWILER ^{NOT}

DATE: JULY 12, 1984

SUBJECT: AGENDA FOR WEEKLY TUESDAY MEETING

Please find attached the agenda for the meeting today in Mr. Baker's office at 5:00 p.m.

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

AGENDA

July 12, 1984

- Commercials
- Democratic Convention
- Democratic VP Selection

July 12, 1984

Superfund expires at the end of FY 1985.

The Congress is considering reauthorizing it before the election with several expensive and expansive add-ons.

The House version is scheduled to pass between the two conventions.

Issue:

Should the President endorse a two-year straight reauthorization of Superfund with more money (say \$1 billion) and no add-ons?

The prerequisites for such an endorsement would have to be an ironclad agreement from Senators Baker, Dole, et al, to bring a bill to the floor only if it embodied the President's version.

Pros:

1. Would give the President a positive environmental initiative and would offset the argument that we are stalling and really want to kill Superfund, next year.
2. Would give us more time to show some progress in cleaning up the dumps and calm emotions which are likely to peak during this election period.
3. Would remove this contentious issue from the legislative agenda next year.
4. Would give us more time to complete analysis on victims compensation, waste end tax, etc., and come up with more sensible approaches.
5. Would focus the election debate on victims compensation, etc., rather than whether the President was trying to kill Superfund.

Cons:

1. Could backfire, if poorly timed, by providing just enough momentum to pass a bad bill and present the President with a real dilemma. (Sign a monster or veto it.)
2. Would be politically attacked as too little and too late.

Decision: Recognizing that timing is everything:
Should we approach Senator Baker?
If so, who?
when?