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km 12/11
10:00

Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates
132 Main Street
Mount Kisco, N.Y. 10549
(914) 666-2750

DPB
I want to have a late after noon meeting with this guy after trip.

October 31, 1983

Honorable Michael Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mike:

The last time we met I said I thought the gender gap was caused by the issue of war and peace. I said there were two options; You can either make the President appear more peaceful, or you could make the threat of war more apparent. I thought the peaceful tack wouldn't work.

(Deaver)

I think you now have a glorious opportunity to solve this problem. Do well.

Best,

Arthur J. Finkelstein

AJF:dhd

I'd like to see you at this meeting

Done

12/6/83
10:00 a.m.
Arthur Finkelst
file

Finkelstein
Poll

Fall
winter

MICHIGAN

The Finkelstein survey from Michigan, showing RR beating Mondale or Glenn, is very encouraging. Bear in mind that the poll was taken in mid-August--before the Korean Air Lines incident.

In a three-way race between RR, Mondale and Anderson, the numbers are RR 43%, Mondale 33%, and Anderson 12%. With Glenn as the Democratic nominee, the numbers are RR 37%, Glenn 32% and Anderson 13%.

RR's favorable/unfavorable rating is 52% to 37%. That is high, but it is below the fatal 40% threshold. Furthermore, we need to remember that the data came from Michigan, one of the most unionized states in the country, where the unemployment rate--13.1% in July--is the third highest in the nation. If our numbers are this good before the campaign really gets going, then we are in very good shape. If the Democrats can't take Michigan for granted in '84, what states can they put in the bag? Only a few, such as West Virginia, Rhode Island, and of course, the District of Columbia. If we can keep the recovery going, we will force the Democratic nominee to actively campaign and spend money in their "safe" states.

The focus of the Finkelstein poll is the Michigan senate race, which, by the way, shows former Congressman Jim Dunn beating Loret Ruppe in the GOP primary, 64% to 36%. However, these numbers show Dunn with barely 40% name i.d., compared to Ruppe's 64%. So the race, if there is one, is an open question.

Finkelstein's survey report is short on detail and long on advocacy. The report, in the form of a memorandum to Dunn from Finkelstein, is obviously intended to persuade Dunn to get into the race. Whoever leaked it to the Washington Times may well have used the positive numbers about the presidential race to grab headlines, but with the real purpose of calling attention to the senate race.

Therefore the numbers are somewhat suspect. However, since they do conform with Bob Teeter's numbers coming from Michigan, we certainly have grounds for optimism in the industrial Midwest in '84.

Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates

132 Main Street

Mount Kisco, N.Y. 10549

(914) 666-2750

Finkelstein

TO: Jim Dunn
FROM: Arthur J. Finkelstein and Associates
DATE: August 29, 1983
RE: Michigan Statewide Survey - August, 1983

Methodology: This statewide survey of political attitudes was administered to 606 eligible voters in Michigan between August 15th and 17th, 1983.

All interviews were conducted by professionally trained interviewers via telephone. Interview selection was random within predetermined units. These units were structured to statistically correlate with actual voter distributions in national elections.

The accuracy of this survey sample of 606 voters is within $\pm 4.0\%$ at a 95% confidence interval.

why 606? : uw male/female 50/50

Reading the Tables:

The following is a brief explanation of how to read the tables contained in this report.

The column of numbers immediately to the right, under the heading "TOTAL," shows the percentage of respondents who gave each of the answers listed to the left. The percentage is most useful for comparison purposes.

Immediately to the right, under the heading "ADJUSTED," is a column of numbers which shows a re-calculation that removes those respondents in the "DON'T KNOW/REFUSED" category at the bottom, and then adjusts the remaining percentages for the listed responses. For selected questions, there may be a column headed "ADJUSTED (2)." This column removes those responses next up from the bottom. (Often these would be those with "No opinion"), and adjusts the remaining percentages for those with the opinions listed.

Preface: The Jim Dunn candidacy for the United States Senate is extremely viable due to the following factors:

- Statewide political demographics clearly favor a conservative over a liberal opponent, especially in a Republican Primary, as well as the general election. This conservative bias of Michigan voters cuts sharply against liberal incumbent Carl Levin in favor of the more conservative Jim Dunn.

Preface: (Cont'd)

- The national issue agenda among Michigan voters is clearly dominated by economic issues. Strongly related to these economic issues are favorable perceptions among the voters for businessmen and free enterprise solutions. This admiration and respect for business leaders should cut strongly for businessman Jim Dunn.
- Ronald Reagan appears to be the strong favorite to win Michigan in either a Reagan/Mondale/Anderson or a Reagan/Glenn/Anderson contest. Reagan already has significant leads over both Democratic challengers in either probable three-way race. This likelihood of a Reagan victory will help a conservative Republican challenge to Carl Levin and would certainly benefit Jim Dunn, who supported Reagan in Congress.
- Already conservative, businessman Jim Dunn registers a strong lead over the liberal Lorette Ruppe among Republican Primary voters. Such a primary allows Jim Dunn to gain credibility and momentum for his challenge to Carl Levin.
- Carl Levin is clearly one of the most vulnerable, if not the most vulnerable, of all Democratic Senators up for re-election in 1984.

Demographic Analysis: Regarding political ideology, among all voters, conservatives outnumber liberals at a seven-to-four ratio. Although the center rests with moderates, all other things being equal, it is far easier for a conservative to form a majority coalition over a more liberal opponent.

Republican voters are even more conservative in their political orientation with conservative Republicans outnumbering liberal Republicans at a nine-to-two ratio. Among Republicans who are most likely to vote in their primary, the majority are conservatives.

Political Ideology

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Adjusted</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Republicans Very Prime</u>
Liberal	19.0%	20.2%	10.5%	12.6%
Moderate	41.7	44.5	37.8	33.1
Conservative	33.0	35.2	46.9	51.2
Don't Know/Refused	6.3	—	4.9	3.1

Political Ideology (Cont'd)

In sharp contrast among those voters who have an opinion of Carl Levin's ideology, the majority perceive him as a liberal. However, only about three out of ten voters see Levin as a liberal, while the largest segment, about four out of ten, don't know what ideology Levin professes.

Relating voter perception of Carl Levin's ideology to voter opinion of him, Levin's favorables see him as a liberal, however, those with no opinion of Levin don't know, and the majority of voters unfavorable to him see Levin as a liberal. It is clear that increased voter awareness of Levin as a liberal will cut sharply against him.

"Would you say that Carl Levin is a Liberal, a Moderate, or a Conservative in his political beliefs?"

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Adjusted</u>	<u>Levin Favorable</u>	<u>Levin Unfavorable</u>	<u>Levin No Opinion</u>
Liberal	30.2%	51.5%	31.6%	53.8%	22.9%
Moderate	18.2	31.0	28.7	8.8	11.0
Conservative	10.2	17.5	15.8	5.5	6.7
D.K./Ref.	41.4	—	23.9	31.9	59.5

crossstab to see if there are conservatives

Issue Analysis: Among all Michigan voters, economic issues are the top national concerns for roughly two-thirds of the electorate. About one out of four voters cited foreign policy/defense issues, while the smallest segment cited various domestic social issues.

"In your opinion, what is the single most important issue facing the United States today?"

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Adjusted</u>
Unemployment	29.0%	30.2%
Economy	23.9	24.9
Military/Defense	6.6	6.9
Nuclear Weapons Freeze	6.3	6.5
Foreign Affairs	4.8	5.0
Inflation	3.8	4.0
War/Peace	3.1	3.3
Taxes	2.1	2.2
People/Morals	2.0	2.1
Government Spending	1.5	1.5

With such high concern for economic issues, it is significant that Michigan voters cite businessman Lee Iacocca as the person, other than a political figure, that they most admire.

"Other than a political figure, which person who lives, works, or is from Michigan, do you most admire?"

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Adjusted</u>
Lee Iacocca	9.4%	19.4%
Family Members	7.9	16.6
Religious Figures	5.8	12.1

So what!

The one solution to maintain a strong economic recovery that also cuts sharply against Carl Levin is the fact that an overwhelming majority of Michigan voters favor a balanced federal budget.

"Would you tell me whether you approve or disapprove of a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget?"

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Adjusted</u>
Approve	68.3%	75.7%
Disapprove	21.9	24.3
Don't Know/Refused	9.7	—

!!

The issue of capital punishment also receives strong approval from four of every five Michigan voters and cuts against Levin.

"Would you tell me whether you approve or disapprove of capital punishment for specific crimes?"

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Adjusted</u>
Approve	79.7%	84.0%
Disapprove	15.2	16.0
Don't Know/Refused	5.1	—

Jackie's opinion?

As the dominant focus of next year's election, the Presidential race is shaping up as an influence that will benefit Republican candidates in Michigan.

At present, the majority of Michigan voters have a favorable opinion of Ronald Reagan and outnumber his unfavorables at a roughly six-to-four ratio. Reagan receives increasingly higher intensity of support among conservatives, Republicans, and Reagan is extremely popular among Republican Primary voters.

Opinion Ronald Reagan

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Adjusted</u>	<u>Conservatives</u>	<u>Repubs</u>	<u>Republican Prime Voters</u>
Favorable	51.8%	57.9%	68.0%	78.3%	81.2%
Unfavorable	37.6	42.1	23.5	11.9	12.2
No Opinion	10.6	—	8.5	9.8	6.6
Never Heard Of	—	—	—	—	—

of course

At this time, Ronald Reagan maintains significant leads over both of the leading Democratic challengers--Mondale and Glenn--with John Anderson as a distant third party candidate.

Vote for President

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Adjusted</u>
Reagan	42.9%	49.1%
Mondale	32.7	37.4
Anderson	11.9	13.6
Undecided	12.5	—
Reagan	37.1%	45.0%
Glenn	32.3	39.2
Anderson	13.0	15.8
Undecided	17.5	—

Candidate Analysis:

A) Republican Primary - In a Republican Primary for United States Senate between Jim Dunn and Lorette Ruppe, among those voters who at this time have made their firm choice, Dunn has a two-to-one lead over Ruppe.

Combining those Republicans who are leaning to either Dunn or Ruppe, with those who made a strong choice, among all Republicans who have heard of both Dunn and Ruppe, Dunn maintains a sizeable lead and receives roughly seven votes for every four votes Ruppe receives. Although there is a significant undecided segment, there is every indication that the undecided voters will cut strongly for Dunn and give Dunn a six-to-four win over Ruppe. Indicative of Dunn's popular edge over Ruppe is the fact that Dunn defeats Ruppe in the Lansing media market (Dunn's former Congressional District) at a six-to-one ratio. As Dunn's imagery grows throughout Michigan, it is likely that Dunn will receive similar support in other key regions.

Fallacy

*wait till Corst's
Name I.D. cat
up:*

Republican Primary - Vote for Senate

	<u>Adjusted</u>	<u>Combining Vote and Leaning</u>		
		<u>Heard of Both</u>	<u>Adjusted</u>	<u>Lansing</u>
Ruppe	36.2%	22.2%	39.7%	12.5%
Dunn	63.8	35.2	60.3	66.7
Undecided	—	42.6	—	20.8

Jim Dunn wins in a Republican Primary among conservatives, moderates, Reagan favorables, as the age of the voter increases, middle-income households, and both male and female Republicans.

Lorette Ruppe leads only among liberals, Republicans voting for John Anderson, and households earning more than \$50,000 annually.

Lorette Ruppe wins only among the "wine and cheese set," while Jim Dunn is the choice of middle class and blue collar Republicans.

With Republican Primary voters strongly biased towards conservatism, and ideology as the leading contrast between Dunn and Ruppe, Dunn widens his lead among all Republicans and already receives a majority of all voters. In such a case, Dunn defeats Ruppe in a landslide by at least a three-to-one ratio.

"If you knew the race was between Conservative Jim Dunn and Liberal Lorette Ruppe, for whom would you vote?"

Push question

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Adjusted</u>	<u>Heard of Both</u>
Vote Ruppe/Liberal	14.9%	22.9%	20.4%
Vote Dunn/Conservative	50.3	77.1	55.6
Don't Know/Refused	34.8	—	24.1

Already the perception is growing among Michigan voters that cuts for Jim Dunn.

"Tell me something about Jim Dunn?"

	<u>Adjusted</u>
Conservative	9.8%
Congressman	9.8
Good Man/Like	9.8
Good Ideas	7.8
Honest	5.9

< 50% perception

"Tell me something about Lorette Ruppe?"

	<u>Adjusted</u>
Phil's Ex-Wife	20.5%
Peace Corps	15.9
Good Speaker	9.1
ERA Advocate	6.8
A Federal Employee	6.8
Liberal	4.5

is this positive or neg?

63% perception

nominal

Already Lorette Ruppe is perceived as the liberal versus Jim Dunn, the conservative.

In three key descriptions that will cut for Jim Dunn, Dunn is viewed as more supportive of business, the conservative, and the Reagan supporter over liberal Lorette Ruppe.

"Between Jim Dunn and Lorette Ruppe, who is better described by each of the following phrases?"

Among Voters Who Have Heard of Both Dunn and Ruppe

	"Supports Business"	"A Conservative"	"Supports Ronald Reagan"
Dunn	25.9%	35.2%	25.9%
Ruppe	1.9	7.4	3.7
Both	5.6	1.9	5.6
Neither			
Don't Know/Refused	66.7	55.6	64.5

In actual pre-announcement match-ups with the incumbent Carl Levin, Dunn already demonstrates the greater potential to succeed against Levin. Against Levin, Dunn receives a higher percentage of Republicans than Lorette Ruppe and receives higher percentages from those who have heard of both candidates.

Combination Firm Vote and Leaning for United States Senate

	<u>Republican</u>		<u>Republican</u>
Ruppe	42.0%	Dunn	58.0%
Levin	26.6	Levin	23.1
Undecided	31.5	Undecided	18.9
	<u>Heard of Both</u>		<u>Heard of Both</u>
Ruppe	25.2%	Dunn	30.8%
Levin	53.4	Levin	48.6
Undecided	21.4	Undecided	20.6

These will erode to 8-10 % anyway

Jim Dunn would be better able to unite the Republican Party and has a stronger popular appeal than Lorette Ruppe.

B) General Election - Incumbent Democrat Carl Levin is clearly vulnerable with a very low level of awareness and generally soft imagery among all voters.

When asked what voters associate most with Carl Levin, two-thirds of all voters didn't know, while the leading answers cited Levin as a liberal Democratic Senator.

"What issue or action do you most associate with Carl Levin?"

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Adjusted</u>
Don't Know	66.3%	
United States Senator	9.7	28.9%
Liberal	2.6	7.8
Good Man/Like	2.0	5.9
A Politician	2.0	5.9
Democrat	1.7	4.9

positive or negative?

good!

Levin's image as a liberal who has done a poor job creates the foundation for what voters dislike about him.

"What do you like least about Carl Levin?"

Adjusted

- ↑ Liberal *same*
- ↑ Poor Views/Standards
- ↑ Wishy-Washy
- ↑ Poor Job
- ↑ Not Visible Enough
- ↑ Big Spender
- ↑ Pro-Welfare
- ↑ Tax Issue
- ↑ No Accomplishments

20.2%

that's all?!

46.2 issue-oriented

Some key indicators that illustrate Levin's real vulnerability are that Levin receives a favorable rating from less than half the voters, and comparing Levin's positive job ratings of excellent and good with his negative fair and poor ratings, gives Levin an overall negative rating of -4.2%.

Opinion Carl Levin

	<u>Total</u>
Favorable	44.9%
Unfavorable	15.0
No Opinion	34.7
Never Heard Of	5.4

Levin Job Rating

	<u>Total</u>		
Excellent	3.1%		
Good	27.6	Positive	+30.7%
Fair	28.1		
Poor	6.8	Negative	-34.9
Don't Know/Refused	34.5	Difference	-4.2%

Another significant indication of Levin's vulnerability is the fact that by a roughly seven-to-three ratio (among voters with an opinion), they believe Levin can be defeated for re-election.

"Carl Levin can be defeated for re-election?"

So what!

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Adjusted</u>
True	44.7%	68.8%
Untrue	20.3	31.2
Don't Know	35.0	—

Among all voters, only about one in five would vote for Carl Levin regardless of his opponent.

"Would you vote to re-elect Carl Levin, Senator, regardless of who ran against him?"

	<u>Total</u>
Yes.	21.9%
No/Depends/Don't Know	78.1

still a good base!

For this re-election statistic, a fairly invulnerable incumbent would register 30% or higher, while vulnerable incumbent Senators score between 20 and 30%. A score of less than 20% indicates a very probable loss.

Levin's score of 21.9% places him in a very vulnerable position and almost within the probable loss category.

All combined, Levin is very vulnerable with no intense degree of support among the voters. In fact, Levin may very well be the most vulnerable Senate Democrat up for re-election in 1984.

In spite of a significantly lower level of name recognition, Jim Dunn already holds Carl Levin to less than majority percentages among those voters who have heard of both. However, once again indicative of Dunn's potential to beat Levin is the Lansing media market where Jim Dunn has greater name recognition. In Lansing, Dunn leads Levin by a five-to-three ratio. As Dunn's name identification rises throughout Michigan, other key areas will follow this pattern. *Don't be so sure!*

and has run 2 large campaigns + served 2 yrs. in Congress

Vote for Senate

LEVIN'S WILL RISE TOO.

He has such low perception, it's bound to go up.

	<u>Heard of Both</u>	<u>Lansing</u>
Dunn	29.1%	50.0%
Levin	45.3	31.0
Undecided	25.5	19.0

Combination Vote for Senate (Including Leaning Voters)

	<u>Heard of Both</u>	<u>Lansing</u>
Dunn	30.8%	52.4%
Levin	48.6	31.0
Undecided	20.6	16.7

very bad

So Dunn will carry
Lansing -
Levin will pick up -
from undecided
from Dunn

what about gender gap?
what about Rippe vs Levin - women?

teeter
Poll

MICHIGAN

The survey from Michigan is very good news. Note that the poll was taken in July--before the Korean Air Lines incident and before the recent good ten day auto sales figures.

RR beats Mondale 48-45 and ties Glenn, 45-45. Keep in mind that the July unemployment rate for Michigan was 13.1%, the third highest in the nation. Michigan is not only one of the most unionized states, but the leadership of the dominant union--the UAW--is aggressively anti-Reagan.

If we can carry Michigan, we can carry every Snowbelt industrial state against Mondale and all of them save Ohio against Glenn. Since for all practical purposes we have the states West of the Mississippi in the bag, we should have the luxury of taking our campaign into "gravey" states to build a mandate and help other GOP candidates.

At the same time, the data suggests the Democratic nominee will have to work to pin down "must" states, like Michigan.

The gender gap is in evidence, but it is not much wider than in 1980. RR beats Mondale 52-43 among men, but loses among women 44-47. He beats Glenn 49-41 among men, but loses among women 41-47.

The reason we are doing so well is that our support remains high among white middle class groups. In Michigan, the home of Walter Reuther, we only lose the union vote 39-54 to Mondale and 38-54 to Glenn. RR wins the middle class vote 49-43 against Mondale and 47-44 against Glenn. RR carries Macomb County, a blue collar stronghold just outside of Detroit, 50-46 against Mondale and by a startling 55-40 against Glenn.

The Catholic church was once the backbone of the Democratic Party. However, RR loses the Catholic vote to Mondale by just 1%, 46%-47%, and to Glenn by just 4%, 44%-48%.

If we can keep this up, we will win well over 400 electoral votes in 1980.

Peter

M.O.R. JOB NO. P83042
MICHIGAN STATEWIDE (FIELD 7-16/7-25, 1983)

T- 1
8/29 2/14
Page 1

Question 35+35a If the election for President were being held today, who would you be voting for/which way do you lean as of today...

TOTAL	POLITICAL REGION													
	DE-TROIT	SUBURBAN	OAKLAND	MACOMB	TRI-COUNTY	METRO	RURAL	DE-TROIT	FLINT/SGV	G.R./KAL.	LAN-SING			
800	188	319	255	85	100	96	59	340	320	140	398	124	124	100.
100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.

Total Vote	VOTER TYPE															
	2. Ronald Reagan	1. Walter Mondale	8. Don't know	9. Refused/No answer	Committed vote	Ronald Reagan	Walter Mondale	Normal vote	PDI (Reagan minus normal vote)							
386	166	165	38	20	38	20	38	57	30	144	163	78	175	57	68	36
48.	88.	52.	15.	23.	38.	38.	59.	50.	42.	51.	56.	56.	44.	46.	55.	55.
359	18	125	201	62	56	30	27	176	133	51	199	50.	45.	56	48	24
45.	10.	39.	79.	73.	56.	32.	46.	52.	42.	36.	36.	9	22	45.	39.	37.
48	4	24	16	3	5	8	2	18	20	7.	9	6.	7.	9	5.	5.
6.	2.	7.	6.	3.	5.	8.	4.	5.	6.	7.	7.	6.	7.	7.	5.	5.
7	1	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.	2.

Committed vote	VOTER TYPE													
	2. Ronald Reagan	1. Walter Mondale	8. Don't know	9. Refused/No answer	Committed vote	Ronald Reagan	Walter Mondale	Normal vote	PDI (Reagan minus normal vote)					
745	184	290	239	82	94	87	57	320	296	129	374	113	116	60
100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.
386	156	165	38	20	38	57	30	144	163	78	175	57	68	36
52.	90.	57.	16.	24.	40.	65.	53.	45.	55.	61.	47.	50.	59.	60.
359	18	125	201	62	56	30	27	176	133	51	199	50.	48	24
48.	10.	43.	84.	76.	60.	35.	47.	55.	45.	39.	53.	50.	41.	40.
48	80	50	22	27	44	51	46	42	51	53	44	46	54	56
4	10	7	6	3	4	14	7	3	4	8	3	4	5	4

(**= PERCENT LESS THAN .5)

MICHIGAN STATEWIDE (FIELD 7-16/7-25, 1983)

Question 35+35a If the election for President were being held today, who would you be voting for/which way do you lean as of today...

3 REAK TWO		TOTAL															
		SAMPLE 18-24 25-34 35-54 55-64 OVER 65 & HIGH INC. INTEL CLASS END LOWER BLACKS MALE FEMALE UNION OLIG CATH															
		100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.

Total	800	77	179	289	136	116	208	76	215	151	69	401	399	260	237
2. Ronald Reagan	386	28	94	144	60	58	131	40	105	70	5	208	177	100	110
1. Walter Mondale	48.	37.	52.	50.	44.	50.	63.	52.	49.	47.	8.	52.	44.	39.	46.
8. Don't know	359	42	74	130	65	48	67	30	93	71	63	171	188	141	112
9. Refused/No answer	45.	54.	42.	45.	48.	42.	32.	39.	43.	47.	91.	43.	47.	54.	47.
	48	7	10	15	6	9	7	6	16	10	1.	18	29	19	12
	6.	9.	6.	5.	5.	8.	4.	8.	7.	6.	1.	5.	7.	7.	5.
	7	1.	1	2	4	1.	3	2	1.	3	1.	3	4	4	4
	1.														

Committed vote		PDI (Reagan minus normal vote)															
		4	4	4	6	5	3	11	1	4	5	16-	5	3	3	7	
Ronald Reagan	745	70	169	273	126	106	198	70	198	141	68	380	365	241	221		
Walter Mondale	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.		
Normal vote	48	40	52	47	43	51	55	56	49	45	24	50	46	39	43		

(* = PERCENT LESS THAN .5)

MICHIGAN STATEWIDE (FIELD 7-16/7-25, 1983)

Question 36+36a If Ronald Reagan was the Republican candidate and John Glenn was the Democratic candidate for President, who would you be voting for/which way do you lean as of today...

TOTAL	VOTER TYPE		POLITICAL REGION										MEDIA MARKET				
	REP	T/S	DE	DE-TRIT	SUB MAINE	OAK-LAND	MACOMB	TRI-COS.	OUTSTATE-METHO	RURAL	DE-TRIT	FLINT/SGH	G.R./KAL.	LAN-SING			
800	188	319	255	85	100	96	59	340	320	140	398	124	124	64			
100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.			

BREAK ONE

Total vote	1. John Glenn	2. Ronald Reagan	8. Don't know	9. Refused/No answer
363	45.	45.	69	7
160	23	85.	3.	1.
150	41.	47.	10.	5
38	196	15.	8.	1.
25	63.	30.	6.	1.
35	56	35.	8.	1.
50	37.	52.	9.	2.
33	40.	55.	4.	1.
143	169	42.	3	1.
149	138	46.	3	1.
71	55	51.	10.	1.
172	191	43.	8.	4
51	59	42.	10.	2
65	48	53.	8.	1.
30	28	47.	10.	1

Committed vote	John Glenn	Ronald Reagan	Normal vote	PDI (Reagan minus normal vote)
725	362	363	48	2
183	45.	100.	80	7
281	12.	100.	50	3
235	6	100.	22	6-
79	33	100.	27	5
91	10.	100.	44	5-
86	9.	100.	51	7
57	7.	100.	46	12
312	25	100.	42	4
286	30	100.	51	1
127	13	100.	53	3
363	31	100.	44	3
110	8.	100.	46	1
113	10.	100.	54	4
58	6	100.	56	4-

MICHIGAN STATEWIDE (FIELD 7-16/7-25, 1983)

Question 36+36a If Ronald Reagan was the Republican candidate and John Glenn was the Democratic candidate for President, who would you be voting for/which way do you lean as of today...

TOTAL 1-----AGE-----||-----STATUS GROUPS-----||-----SEX-----||-----SEL.GRPS. 1
SAMPLE 18-24 25-34 35-54 55-64 OVER 65 & HIGH INC. INTELL CLASS END LOWER BLACKS MALE FEMALE UNION OLIC CATH-

800 77 179 289 136 116 208 76 215 151 69 401 399 260 237
100. 100. 100. 100. 100. 100. 100. 100. 100. 100. 100. 100. 100. 100. 100.

Total vote

2. Ronald Reagan	363	35	84	134	54	54	118	38	101	68	11	198	165	98	104
1. John Glenn	45.	48.	44.	43.	48.	48.	34.	41.	44.	45.	16.	49.	41.	38.	44.
8. Don't know	69	5	15	27	15	6	18	7	17	14	3	24	44	19	18
9. Refused/No answer	1.	7	1.	2	1.	1.	2	1.	1.	1.	1.	4	3	2	2

Committed vote

Ronald Reagan	725	72	162	260	119	110	189	69	196	136	65	373	352	239	217
John Glenn	50.	49.	52.	52.	45.	49.	62.	55.	51.	50.	16.	53.	47.	41.	104
Normal vote	48	40	52	47	43	51	55	56	49	45	24	50	46	39	43

PDI (Reagan minus normal vote) 2 9 5 2 2- 7 1- 2 5 8- 3 1 2 5

MICHIGAN STATEWIDE (FIELD 7-16/7-25, 1983)

Question 1 Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

	TOTAL		VOTER TYPE		DE-TROIT		SUBURBAN		POLITICAL REGION		OUTSTATE		MEDIA MARKET		LAN-SING														
	SAMPLE	REP	T/S	DEM	DE-TROIT	DE-TROIT	WYAND	OAKLAND	MACOMB	TRI-COS	TRI-COS	TRI-COS	TRI-COS	TRI-COS	TRI-COS	TRI-COS													
Total	800	100.	188	100.	319	100.	255	100.	85	100.	100	100.	96	100.	59	100.	340	100.	320	100.	140	100.	398	100.	124	100.	124	100.	64
2. Right direction	352	44.	123	65.	130	43.	73	29.	26	31.	36	36.	52	54.	29	49.	142	42.	142	44.	67	48.	163	41.	58	47.	52.	64	28
1. Wrong track	367	46.	45	24.	147	46.	157	62.	54	64.	53	53.	28	29.	27	46.	163	48.	147	46.	58	41.	194	49.	53	43.	48	32	
8. Don't know	72	9.	17	9.	29	9.	22	9.	5	6.	9	9.	16	17.	3	5.	33	10.	26	8.	13	9.	38	10.	9	7.	10.	4	
9. Refused/No answer	1.	1.	2	1.	4	1.	2	1.	2	2.	2	2.	1.	1.	2	2.	1.	2	5	2.	1.	2	3	1.	3	2.	3	2.	1

MICHIGAN STATEWIDE (FIELD 7-16/7-25, 1983)

Question 1 Do you feel things in this country are generally going in the right direction or do you feel things have pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

	AGE-----										STATUS GROUPS-----					SEX-----				SEL. GRPS	
	18-24	25-34	35-54	55-64	65 & OVER	HIGH INC.	INTELL	MID CLASS	LOWER END	BLACKS	MALE	FEMALE	UNION	OLIC	CATH-						
BREAK TWO	800	77	179	289	136	116	208	76	215	151	69	401	399	260	237						
Total	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.					
2. Right direction	352	41	90	130	42	48	113	39	101	58	14	199	153	112	99						
1. Wrong track	44.	53.	50.	45.	31.	41.	54.	51.	47.	38.	20.	50.	38.	43.	42.						
8. Don't know	367	32	75	130	78	51	74	30	94	77	48	165	202	122	110						
	46.	42.	42.	45.	57.	44.	36.	39.	44.	51.	70.	41.	51.	47.	46.						
9. Refused/No answer	72	3	13	27	15	14	20	5	15	15	5	30	42	21	25						
	9.	4.	7.	9.	11.	12.	10.	7.	7.	10.	7.	7.	11.	8.	11.						
	1.	2	1.	3	2	3	3.	2	5	1.	3.	2.	1.	2.	2						

MICHIGAN STATEWIDE (FIELD 7-16/7-25, 1983)

Question 5 How strongly do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as president?

Total	BREAK ONE													
	DE- TROIT	DE- FLINT/SGW	DE- TROIT	DE- TROIT	DE- TROIT	DE- TROIT	DE- TROIT	DE- TROIT	DE- TROIT	DE- TROIT				
800	188	319	255	85	100	96	59	340	320	140	398	124	124	64
100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.
160	95	51	11	4	14	26	16	59	71	30	74	23	30	12
20.	51.	16.	4.	5.	14.	27.	27.	17.	22.	21.	19.	19.	24.	19.
253	68	128	42	17	25	37	16	95	106	52	114	43	49	21
32.	36.	40.	16.	20.	25.	39.	27.	28.	33.	37.	29.	35.	40.	33.
126	10	55	54	24	19	11	8	61	38	26	68	21	11	9
18.	5.	17.	21.	28.	19.	11.	14.	18.	12.	19.	17.	17.	9.	14.
201	5	60	128	38	28	18	17	102	75	25	114	28	24	18
25.	3.	19.	50.	45.	28.	19.	29.	30.	23.	18.	29.	23.	19.	20.
47	9	20	16	3	12	3	2	19	24	4	20	7	10	4
6.	5.	6.	6.	4.	12.	3.	3.	6.	8.	3.	5.	6.	8.	6.
13	1.	4	2.	3.	3.	1.	2.	4	7	2	9	1.	1.	2.
2.	1.	4	5	2.	3.	1.	1.	1.	2.	1.	2.	1.	1.	1.

Collapsed codes

Approve	Disapprove
413	327
163	9.
180	36.
53	71.
21	73.
38	47.
63	30.
32	42.
154	48.
177	35.
82	37.
187	46.
66	40.
78	28.
33	41.

MICHIGAN STATEWIDE (FIELD 7-16/7-25, 1983)

Question 5 How strongly do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as president?

BREAK TWO

	AGE-----										STATUS GROUPS-----				SEX-----				SEL.GRPS	
	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 & OVER	HIGH INC.	MID INTEL	LOW CLASS	END	BLACKS	MALE	FEMALE	UNION	CATH-	OTIC				
Total	800	77	179	289	136	116	208	76	215	151	69	401	399	260	237					
1. Strongly approve	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.					
2. Somewhat approve	160	9	33	67	25	25	62	17	43	27	2	93	68	39	46					
3. Somewhat disapprove	20.	12.	18.	23.	18.	22.	30.	22.	20.	18.	3.	23.	17.	15.	19.					
4. Don't know	253	32	68	88	37	28	83	23	73	40	10	126	127	74	76					
5. Refused/No answer	32.	42.	38.	30.	27.	24.	40.	30.	34.	26.	14.	31.	32.	28.	32.					
6. Strongly disapprove	126	11	29	43	26	16	24	11	39	29	11	53	73	38	42					
7. Somewhat disapprove	16.	14.	15.	15.	19.	14.	12.	14.	18.	19.	16.	13.	18.	15.	18.					
8. Don't know	201	20	39	71	39	32	27	21	44	37	41	102	99	84	59					
9. Refused/No answer	25.	26.	22.	25.	29.	28.	13.	28.	20.	25.	59.	25.	25.	32.	25.					
10. Strongly disapprove	47	4	8	14	7	14	11	2	12	15	2	21	26	19	13					
11. Somewhat disapprove	6.	5.	4.	5.	5.	12.	5.	3.	6.	10.	3.	5.	7.	7.	5.					
12. Don't know	13	1.	1.	2.	3.	2.	1.	1.	2.	3.	2.	7.	6.	6.	2.					
13. Refused/No answer	2.	1.	2.	5.	2.	2.	2.	1.	4.	3.	3.	2.	2.	2.	1.					

Collapsed codes

Approve	413	41	101	155	62	52	145	40	116	66	13	219	195	113	122
Disapprove	52.	53.	56.	54.	46.	45.	70.	53.	54.	44.	19.	55.	49.	43.	51.
Total	327	31	68	115	65	48	51	32	83	66	52	155	172	122	100
Refused/No answer	41.	40.	38.	40.	48.	41.	25.	42.	39.	44.	75.	39.	43.	47.	42.

Question 6+7 Do you think President Reagan's policies have been fair and even-handed or not/All in all, are you and your family better off, worse off, or about the same as you were when Ronald Reagan first took office?

Q6 President Reagan's policies	TOTAL ---VOTER TYPE---																											
	SAMPLE REP	T/S	DEM	DE-TROIT	SUB-WAYNE	OAK-LAND	MACOMB	TRI-COS	OUTSTATE-METRO	RURAL	DE-TROIT	FLINT/SGW	MARKET-C.A.R./LAN-SING															
Total	800	100.	188	100.	319	100.	255	100.	85	100.	100.	100.	59	100.	340	100.	320	100.	140	100.	398	100.	124	100.	124	100.	64	100.
2. Fair and evenhanded	367	46.	147	78.	151	47.	50	20.	17	20.	35	58	30	51.	140	41.	154	48.	73	52.	167	42.	57	46.	67	54.	31	48.
1. Not fair and evenhanded	365	46.	26	14.	133	42.	190	75.	64	75.	53	32	25	42.	174	51.	139	43.	52	37.	199	50.	60	48.	44	35.	26	41.
8. Don't know	57	7.	13	7.	30	9.	12	5.	4	5.	11	5	2	6.	22	6.	21	7.	14	10.	25	6.	5	4.	12	10.	9.	6
9. Refused/No answer	11	1.	2	1.	6	2.	3	1.	2	2.	2	1.	1	2.	4	1.	6	2.	1	1.	7	2.	1	1.	1	1.	1	2.

Q7 Since Ronald Reagan first took office

3. Better	143	18.	71	38.	48	15.	18	7.	7	8.	13	29.	10	17.	58	17.	64	20.	21	15.	72	18.	16	13.	26	21.	14	22.
2. About the same	450	56.	100	53.	199	62.	128	50.	43	51.	62	46	30	51.	181	53.	179	56.	90	64.	212	53.	77	62.	70	56.	34	53.
1. Worse	200	25.	17	9.	68	21.	107	42.	35	41.	25	22	19	32.	101	30.	71	22.	29	21.	112	28.	31	25.	24	19.	16	25.
8. Don't know	5	1.	1	1.	3	1.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	2.	1	1.	1	1	1	1	4	3.	4	4
9. Refused/No answer	2	1.	1	1.	1	1.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1.	1	1.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2

(*) = PERCENT LESS THAN .5)

MICHIGAN STATEWIDE (FIELD 7-16/7-25, 1983)

Question 6+7 Do you think President Reagan's policies have been fair and even-handed or not/all in all, are you and your family better off, worse off, or about the same as you were when Ronald Reagan first took office?

BREAK TWO

Total	AGE										STATUS GROUPS										SEX										SEL. GRPS									
	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 & OVER	HIGH INC.	MID INC.	LOW INC.	END	BLACKS	MALE	FEMALE	UNION	OLIC	BLK	W	M	F	U	OT	BLK	W	M	F	U	OT	BLK	W	M	F	U	OT							
800	77	179	289	136	116	208	76	215	151	69	401	399	260	237	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.						

U6 President Reagan's policies

2. Fair and evenhanded	367	37	84	134	53	57	130	38	103	60	7	190	177	97	100
	48.	4.8.	4.7.	4.6.	3.9.	4.9.	6.3.	5.0.	4.8.	4.0.	1.0.	4.7.	4.4.	3.7.	4.2.
1. Not fair and evenhanded	365	36	83	132	66	48	65	35	90	71	58	183	182	143	113
	46.	4.7.	4.6.	4.6.	4.9.	4.1.	3.1.	4.6.	4.2.	4.7.	8.4.	4.6.	4.6.	5.5.	4.8.
0. Don't know	57	4	11	19	14	10	11	4	19	16	3	22	35	17	22
	7.	5.	6.	7.	10.	9.	5.	5.	9.	1.1.	4.	5.	9.	7.	9.
9. Refused/No answer	11		1.	2.	3	2	2		3	3	2	1.	6	4	2
	1.		1.	2.	2.	2.	1.		1.	2.	3.	1.	1.	2.	1.

U7 Since Ronald Reagan first took office

3. Better	143	13	41	52	19	19	56	14	39	17	3	88	55	31	42
	18.	1.7.	2.3.	1.8.	1.4.	1.6.	2.7.	1.8.	1.8.	1.1.	4.	2.2.	1.4.	1.2.	1.8.
2. About the same	450	43	93	154	77	81	118	48	119	84	36	209	241	153	133
	56.	5.6.	5.2.	5.3.	5.7.	7.0.	5.7.	6.3.	5.5.	5.6.	5.2.	5.2.	6.0.	5.9.	5.6.
1. Worse	200	20	42	83	38	17	35	13	53	50	30	102	99	74	61
	25.	2.6.	2.3.	2.9.	2.8.	1.5.	1.7.	1.3	2.5.	3.3.	4.3.	2.5.	2.5.	2.8.	2.6.
0. Don't know	5	1	1	1	2			1	3			1	4	1	1
	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.			1.	1.			1.	1.	1.	1.
9. Refused/No answer	2		2						2			2		2	1
	2.		2.						1.			1.		2.	1.

(**= PERCENT LESS THAN .5)

MICHIGAN STATEWIDE (FIELD 7-16/7-25, 1983)

Question 11 In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator?

	TOTAL		POLITICAL REGION		OUTSTATE		METRO		RURAL		MEDIA MARKET				
	SAMPLE	REP	T/S	DEM	DE-ROIT	SUB-WAYNE	OAK-LAND	MACOMB	COS.	TRI-METRO	1-OUTSTATE-RURAL	DE-ROIT	FLINT/SGW	G.R./KAL.	LAW-SING
BREAK ONE															
Total	800	188	319	255	85	100	96	59	340	320	140	398	124	124	64
01. Straight Democratic	105	13.	105	41.	32	14.	7	6	60	36	9	60	16	12	1
02. Mostly Democratic	150	19.	150	59.	25	22.	20	14	81	45	25	86	19	17	13
03. A few more Democrats than Republicans	78	10.	78	24.	7	11.	3	7	28	34	15	35	17	9	5
04. About equally for both parties	164	21.	164	51.	11	13.	18	18	65	70	30	76	25	30	16
05. A few more Republicans than Democrats	77	10.	77	24.	2	8.	9	5	23	37	12	29	17	15	8
06. Mostly Republican	136	17.	136	52.	5	6.	13	23	50	55	30	62	17	23	11
07. Straight Republican	52	7.	52	29.	6	6.	9	2	15	27	11	20	10	10	9
08. Other	3	*	3	*	1	1.	2	1	3	1	1	3	1	3	1
09. Never voted	6	1.	6	1.	1	1.	1	1	2	4	1	5	1	1	1
98. Don't know	23	3.	23	3.	2	2.	4	4	10	11	2	11	3	5	2
99. Refused/No answer	5	1.	5	1.	1	1.	2	2	3	1	1	3	2	2	2

Combined Voter-Type

Republican	188	188	188	100.	5	18	32	11	65	82	41	82	27	33	20
Ricket-Splitter	319	319	319	100.	6.	33.	19.	19.	26.	29.	21.	22.	27.	31.	31.
Democrat	255	255	255	100.	20	37	30	28	115	140	63	140	58	53	28
Marginal	38	38	38	5.	4	8	7	5.	18	17	3	22	3	6.	3.

(* = PERCENT LESS THAN .5)

Question 11 In the last general election in which you voted, which answer best describes how you voted for state and local offices such as governor and senator?

	AGE										STATUS GROUPS					SEX					SEL. GRPS				
	18-24	25-34	35-54	55-64	65 & OVER	HIGH INC.	INTELL	MID CLASS	LOWER	BLACKS	MALE	FEMALE	UNION	OLIG	CATII										
Total	800	77	179	289	136	116	208	76	215	151	69	401	399	260	237										
01. Straight Democratic	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.										
02. Mostly Democratic	105	16	14	31	24	20	16	5	15	24	34	53	52	46	28										
03. A few more Democrats than Republicans	150	12	37	62	25	14	26	15	40	31	20	74	76	65	54										
04. About equally for both parties	164	18	37	58	30	21	36	17	53	42	6	73	91	50	53										
05. A few more Republicans than Democrats	77	7	14	34	13	9	30	7	21	9	1	47	30	19	24										
06. Mostly Republican	136	7	36	48	23	21	58	12	35	15	4	79	56	27	33										
07. Straight Republican	17.	9.	20.	17.	17.	18.	28.	16.	16.	10.	6.	20.	14.	10.	14.										
08. Other	52	3.	11	13	6	18	14	10	12	13	23	6.	29	9	10										
09. Never voted	3	*	2	2	2	3	1.	3	1.	3	1.	1.	1.	1.	1.										
98. Don't know	6	4	2	1	4	5	3	1.	3	10	1.	2	4	1.	2										
99. Refused/No answer	1.	5	1.	1.	2	1.	5	1.	3	7.	1.	1.	4	1.	3										

Combined Voter-Type

Republican	188	9	48	61	29	39	71	22	47	28	4	103	86	36	44
Ticket-Splitter	24.	12.	27.	21.	21.	34.	34.	29.	22.	19.	6.	26.	22.	14.	19.
Democrat	319	34	73	123	50	38	89	33	103	58	10	158	161	102	105
Marginal	40.	44.	41.	43.	37.	33.	43.	43.	48.	38.	14.	39.	40.	39.	44.
	255	27	51	94	49	33	43	20	56	55	54	127	128	110	82
	32.	35.	28.	33.	36.	28.	21.	26.	26.	36.	78.	32.	32.	42.	35.
	38	8.	4.	4.	5.	6	5	1.	10	10	2	14	24	12	6
	5.	8.	4.	4.	7	5.	2.	1.	5.	7.	3.	3.	6.	5.	3.

(* = PERCENT LESS THAN .5)

recd. 8/17/83
FXI

Arthur J. Finkelstein & Associates
132 Main Street
Mount Kisco, N.Y. 10549
(914) 666-2750

August 9, 1983

Honorable Michael Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Michael:

If there is one thing I have preached to you, it has been to set an agenda in three distinctly different areas - the economy, foreign policy, and social issues - and continue to say the same thing in different and interesting ways over and over again. I still think the three issues should be crime, Soviet expansionism (especially Western Europe and now Central America), and cutting spending or balancing the budget.

Just as I thought the postman commercial on Social Security was a mistake because it talked to the Democratic issue, so too is it a mistake to talk to the gender gap, blacks, etc.

We cannot ignore women, minorities, liberals, but we must talk to every special interest group on our turf. Certainly there is a package that can be put together on crime, the economy, and national defense which will appeal to women as women. A speech to a black group could start off with, "I know I am not going to receive any votes in this audience, but I have a commitment, a mandate to continue the precise economic policy that is lifting America out of the deepest recession since the 1930's. This economic miracle, built on cutting government spending, reducing taxes is working. Black Americans, indeed all Americans, are going back to work. Inflation rates are down, interest rates have come down, and this administration is going to fight to keep what's working, working. I am not going to turn back to the failed policy of the previous Democratic administration. This country is not going to turn back to the liberal programs which got us into the economic chaos that we found when we took office. Etc. Etc."

Hon. Michael Deaver
August 9, 1983
Page Two

Michael, the point is that whether it's a woman's group, a black group, or left handed punks, this administration must say the same thing over, and over, and over again.

Finally, although education would not have been my number one choice of an issue to exploit, clearly, simply by taking the initiative you were able to put some Democrats on the defensive. Don't let go of it.

Someone told me something like 60 percent of the teachers in Houston were unable to pass a simple reading skills test. What a tremendous way for the President to promote the issue. If he were seen outside a middle class public school in Houston, holding up the report and saying this is why we need merit pay.

Best as always. Keep trying.

Sincerely,



Arthur J. Finkelstein

AJF:dhd

659/10
name ID
12-39
Darman
R. Nixon

OSG AGENDA

J. Saunders

(1) Introduction of "OSG"

Baker/Deaver/Darman

-- modelled on "LSG":

- limited membership/principals only/guests only as invited by chairman/co-chairman/coordinator;
- collegial/frank/oriented toward building consensus and mobilizing coordinated action;
- focused on limited number or priorities -- with measurable objectives, and lead individuals responsible for each;
- both strategic and action-oriented;
- leak-proof;
- invisible to public for at least six months from inception and/or at least 3 months from achievement of two major objectives;
- capable of fitting agendas on a single page.

(2) Initial priorities

Darman

-- develop and implement plans to increase support among:

- (a) "populists" *Catholic*
- (b) "blue collars" *Women*
- (c) Hispanics *Small Businessmen*
- (d) Older Americans

-- develop and implement a plan to give meaning/momentum to principal secondary domestic theme: to wit, education for the future/high technology development.

(3) Initial discussion re "Populists"

Atwater

[Note: Previoulsy circulated paper is for background only. Discussion should focus on action agenda items.]

(4) Next steps re other Priorities

Group

RECOMMENDATIONS

There are some concrete steps we can take to improve our standing with the populists--in terms of symbolism and issues.

A. Symbolism

As we plan our populist strategy, we should remember that populists appreciate honesty, candor, and straight-forwardness. They loathe hypocrisy, condescension, and pretense. Our strategy must be carefully planned and be consistent to avoid these pitfalls. Below are some specific suggestions:

1. The President could do the play-by-play for a pro baseball or football game. How many people know that the President is a former sportscaster? The President's image would be boosted immeasurably if he were to show off his microphone expertise alongside populist heroes such as Curt Gowdy or Frank Gifford.
2. Many presidents (though not lately) have thrown out the first ball at the beginning of the baseball season. This is a tradition which could easily enough be revived. Perhaps the President could be with Jim Brady if the Bear throws out the first ball for a Chicago Cubs game again.
3. The President could go to a stock car race. Although stock car racing is neglected by the media, it is one of the nation's biggest spectator sports. And those spectators are almost 100% populists.
4. The President could host a group of football or baseball stars--former and current--over to the White House. It is just as important to invite retired stars, as populists are old as well as young. We cannot over-emphasize the importance of sports to the populists. Sports like baseball and football are literally as American as apple pie. Sports--team and individual--epitomize valuable characteristics such as discipline, hard work, and perseverance. The President's connection with sports has been neglected. The public should be reminded that the President is a former athlete and sportscaster, and that he still enjoys watching a game on TV as much as the next guy.
5. The President could ask the 50 Reagan-Bush State Chairmen to each designate one blue collar worker to come to the White House and tell President Reagan what he or she thinks he ought to know.
6. If this program worked well, it could be repeated indefinitely. For example, the Reagan-Bush Chairmen could each choose an entrepreneur from their state who has recently started a small business that provides jobs. Additionally, the Chairmen could each select a farmer, working mother, Social Security recipient, outstanding student, star athlete, etc.

- TOUR
7. Populists like to see the chasm between themselves and the elite narrowed. We could narrow that gap overnight by inviting some of the hundreds of thousands of Americans who write to the President each year to actually come visit the White House and talk to him in person.
 8. Also in the interest of narrowing the gap between the government and the governed, we should give some serious thought to accepting some of the myriad invitations to conventions, parties, weddings, baptisms, etc. that the President gets each year.
 9. The President is personally the greatest conservationist since Teddy Roosevelt. Not since TR has there been a president who spent so much time in the great outdoors. Not only does the President spend as much time as he can on his ranch, but he actually works with his hands when he's out there. Perhaps the President could invite others to come along. They could be rodeo champions, working cowboys, or perhaps "dudes" who would like to try "roughing it" for a few days. Our one "in house" rodeo champion is Malcolm Baldrige. Perhaps the President could do the announcing at an event where the Secretary performs.
 10. No other president, no matter how beloved by the Sierra Club, can claim the same level of genuine familiarity and affinity with outdoor life. The President may want to stop at a national park some time to make this point in person. He might say that people can honestly differ over the nuances of environmental policy, but that people who say that Ronald Reagan is out to damage the environment are not being honest.
 11. An event could be arranged at the White House for "blue collar environmentalists," those non-granola eating working class Americans who drive their pickups and RV's into the country to hunt, fish, boat, etc. Perhaps they could all drive to the White House in their pickups and campers to discuss issues of common concern with the President.
 12. The President could stress "blue collar environmentalism" in a speech to the National Rifle Association. Its members have a great interest in pragmatic environmental policy. Also, their political clout is much greater than most people realize, viz. the defeat of the California gun control initiative. Recall that Ronald Reagan was the first candidate the NRA ever endorsed. However, the current pro-Reagan leadership of the NRA is being seriously challenged by forces allied with Michigan Democrat John Dingell. An appearance by the President at an NRA fundraiser would greatly strengthen the pro-Reagan incumbents.
 13. The President could greatly advance his education agenda and help himself with the populists if he spoke to a conservative education group, such as the PTA or the National Association of School Boards.

The President might also consider speaking at a high school or grammar school commencement. There is no reason why the school has to be large. Surely we can find a traditionally-minded public school which never lost sight of the three R's and still graduates achievers without huge expenditures or frills.

14. Since nationalistic themes appeal to the populists' patriotism, the President might consider an event marking the anniversary of some great battle or treaty, preferably dating from the Revolutionary War. Another important date on the horizon is the 40th anniversary of D-Day, which comes up on June 6, 1984.
15. *Krol* The President should seize the opportunity to emphasize his continuing commitment to human rights in the captive nations of Eastern Europe. He could meet with Cardinal Cooke of New York, and participate in a candlelight vigil for Solidarity, Soviet Jews, imprisoned Pentecostals, etc.
16. The President has great communication skills. He could utilize them to the fullest to a sympathetic audience if he were to do a question-and-answer show over a nationwide hookup of FM country music radio stations. The advantage of radio is that the market is so segmented that we can seek out and find the precise populist audience we want.
17. The President could also lend his stature to a charity telethon, such as the Jerry Lewis telethon for muscular dystrophy. A Presidential appearance would certainly generate record contributions.
18. The President's philosophy and that of voluntarist groups like the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts are very much in tune. We should keep this in mind as we weigh the numerous invitations that pour into the White House every day.
19. The family has a special place in American life. The President is a son, husband, brother, father, and grandfather. All Americans enjoy celebrating holidays, birthdays, and reunions. They are showing increasing interest in their "roots." The President is uniquely qualified to explain to his fellow citizens how his vision for America speaks to their concerns and aspirations and how his policies address those concerns and aspirations. By word and deed, the President can help the families of America celebrate their unity and their diversity.
20. After the family, the greatest American social institution is the neighborhood, or community. From the Mayflower Compact, through quilting bees, all the way to Mothers Against Drunk Driving, Americans have seen the necessity, and the desirability, of uniting to achieve common goals. As the President draws attention to the diversity of American neighborhoods, he should devote careful attention to the unique sounds, sights, words, and foods of each.

Particular attention should be given to ethnic foods. The President eating pizza or munching on a gyros is always worth a spot on TV or a picture in the newspaper.

21. Work is what built this country. Incentives and rewards for productive work are central to the President's Economic Recovery Program. The President can visit high schools where the workers of the future are being trained, and he can visit the high tech factories where the products of the future are being produced. Just as importantly, the President can visit the older workplaces of smokestack America, where he can offer his assurances that the heavy industries that built this country will not be left behind.
22. To have peace, we must have strength. This is the essential message of the Administration's national security policies. The President must cut through the noisy rhetoric of our opponents and remind the American people of the bottom line: America is at peace. Populists in particular feel strongly that we must not only have peace; we must have peace with honor. Populists don't want any more Irans. They are less worried about America being loved than they are about America being respected. The President can "humanize" our national defense policies and bring the issue down to "human scale" by visiting with ordinary soldiers and sailors. After meeting with those who are bearing the burden of our freedom today, he can meet with those who have borne it in the past: veterans and their dependents.

B. Issues

We have to remember that populists are in sympathy with us mostly on cultural and nationalistic issues, i.e. social and foreign policy. On economic issues the populists tend to side more with the Democrats. The economic issues we should stress with the populists are:

1. Jobs. Populists are still loyal to the WPA/CCC-type programs that gave jobs to their fathers and grandfathers. They would rather be working in the private sector, but they consider public works employment to be better than nothing--and much better than welfare.

The gas tax legislation and now the jobs bill will both put blue collar, hard hat Americans back to work. We should not hesitate to take credit for these bills.

In the future, we should continue to emphasize the job creation aspects of all our economic policies. Populists want to hear "jobs, jobs, jobs" over and over again.

2. Housing. Closely related to the jobs issue is housing. Construction workers tend to be populists, but they are pro-Republican. The key to making them happy is putting them back to work, and the key to putting them back to work is lowering interest rates. We should always mention how many Americans will be able to afford new

homes--and how many jobs will be created in the construction of those homes--thanks to our success in lowering interest rates.

The foreign policy issue we should emphasize with the populists is:

1. National Defense. Populists are hawks. Long after much of the elite had abandoned our cause in Vietnam, the populists continued to stand up for America's national honor. Populists still wear American flag decals on their hardhats. They still say: America--love it or leave it.

We should continually stress nationalistic themes in our communications. We should emphasize that America is once again respected around the world, thanks to President Reagan's defense buildup. We can point out that there have been no more Irans and Afghanistans since President Reagan's inauguration.

We believe that the social issues listed below serve to reinforce our strength with the populists while not jeopardizing our overall coalition:

1. Education. Americans are deeply concerned about deteriorating standards and discipline in our schools. President Reagan has already addressed these concerns, with programs and proposals to improve computer literacy, to direct special aid to science and math instruction, to eliminate counterproductive school busing, promote tuition tax credits, and so on.

The President can continue to press for educational reforms. He can push for higher teacher competency standards, for more job-oriented instruction, and further advances in high technology training. At the same time, he can continue to stress the importance of basic instruction, school prayer, and morality.

2. Immigration. Just about everyone agrees that the current situation is out of hand. Populists are not racists because they want to regain control of our borders. They worry about their jobs and that traditional American values and institutions are being eroded.
3. Crime. In terms of politics, the issue comes and goes. But in terms of victims, the problem gets worse and worse. Populists lean toward no-nonsense justice that puts cops on the streets and crooks in jail.