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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 11, 1984

MEMORANDUM TO MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM: PAMELA G. BAILEY *PAB*

SUBJECT: Remarks to Republican Congressional
Leadership Council
September 17, 1984

Attached are draft talking points for your appearance at the Republican Congressional Leadership Conference meeting, September 17.

They're looking for brief, informal remarks from you followed by a lengthier Q&A. The topic they've suggested (but invite you to deviate from as you wish) is "The Campaign: The View from the White House."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Deaver:

Would you be interested in addressing
this group?

YES

NO

Thanks.

DB

get remarks

DONNA L. BLUME

PRESERVATION COPY

MEMORANDUM OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO:

JB

YOU WERE CALLED BY- YOU WERE VISITED BY-

Sharon Calhoun
OF (Organization)

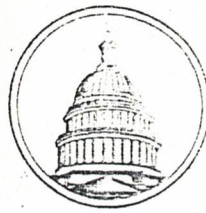
PLEASE PHONE ▶ FTS AUTOVON
Wyatt H Stewart

499-7030

WILL CALL AGAIN IS WAITING TO SEE YOU
 RETURNED YOUR CALL WISHES AN APPOINTMENT
MESSAGE

RECEIVED BY	DATE	TIME

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NATIONAL REPUBLICAN
CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE
June 19, 1984

SB ↓

Bill -
I think this
would be
a good thing
for Mike to
do -
Let me know
if you
can
work
it out
many
thanks
for

Mr. Michael K. Deaver
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mike:

Monday, September 17th, is the date of the pre-election meeting of the NRCC's major donor group, the Republican Congressional Leadership Council. I am writing to invite you to address our members.

At these one-day briefings, we seek to have key Administration, Congressional and political leaders share their thoughts with our major donors on timely issues. At recent meetings we have had Jeane Kirkpatrick, Drew Lewis, Dick Wirthlin, Jack Kemp, Bob Michel, William Clark and Malcolm Baldrige address the group. On earlier occasions both Jim Baker and Ed Meese have spoken to our members.

Our most recent meeting in April was capped with a reception at the White House as the guests of the President and First Lady. The meeting in September will conclude with a reception and buffet dinner at the Residence of the Vice President and Mrs. Bush.

Our September session will be our last before the election. We are expecting over 200 attendees and would be honored to have you participate. We are in the process of putting together the agenda and will work with you to find a time which is mutually convenient. Paul Laxalt has already agreed to be on the program. The session will be held at the Mayflower Hotel.

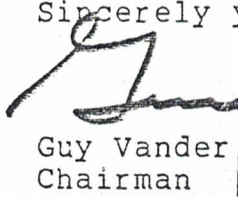
The Leadership Council is composed of individuals who have contributed a minimum of \$2,500 per year to the National Republican Congressional Committee. All of these funds -- almost \$2 million during each election cycle -- go directly to our candidates. This group, as you can see, is a most important aspect of our fundraising efforts.

I certainly hope we will be successful in getting you on board for this session. I know our members would appreciate the opportunity to hear from you.

Mr. Michael K. Deaver
June 19, 1984
Page Two

You may be in touch with me directly at 225-3511 or have a member of your staff contact Rick Carson at 479-7030.

Sincerely yours,



Guy Vander Jagt, M.C.
Chairman
National Republican
Congressional Committee

BRIEFING NOTES FOR MICHAEL DEAVER

The group you will be addressing on Monday, September 17th, at the Mayflower Hotel (due to renovation, use the 17th Street entrance; 347-3000) is the Republican Congressional Leadership Council. This is the major donor group of the National Republican Congressional Committee; members have contributed a yearly minimum of \$2,500 to the NRCC. (A short history of the goals and functions of the RCLC is attached; a membership brochure accompanies this memo).

Rich DeVos (President of the Amway Corporation and former Finance Chairman of the Republican National Committee) and his son, Dick, are Co-Chairmen of the RCLC. Congressman Guy Vander Jagt of Michigan is Chairman of the NRCC.

Approximately 200 RCLC members and their spouses/guests will be attending the all-day meeting on the 17th. An agenda for the day is attached.

You will be speaking in the State Room and will be introduced by Rich DeVos.

You are scheduled to address the group from 10:15-11:00 am on the topic, "The Campaign: The View From the White House". We are leaving the specifics of the presentation to your discretion although we feel certain the RCLC members would be particularly interested in hearing how you and other key advisors see the Presidential campaign progressing, what we can expect to see in the weeks ahead, and the importance being placed on the Congressional races (House in particular). Our suggested format is about 20 minutes of informal remarks and 25 minutes Q&A. No press will be present; your remarks will be taped for use in preparing copy for the RCLC newsletter, HOUSE COUNSEL (a recent edition is enclosed).

You have been invited to join the group at the Vice President's Residence for a reception and sit-down buffet dinner as guests of the Vice President and Mrs. Bush. It begins at 6:00 p.m. If you have not already RSVPed, please do so at your earliest opportunity to the RCLC office at 479-7011.

Should you have any questions prior to the 17th, please contact Rick Carson at the NRCC (479-7030). On the 17th, he may be reached at the Mayflower (347-3000); ask for the RCLC extension.

[PRELIMINARY]

P R E - E L E C T I O N M E E T I N G
O F T H E
R E P U B L I C A N C O N G R E S S I O N A L
L E A D E R S H I P C O U N C I L

Monday, September 17, 1984
The Mayflower Hotel
Washington, D.C.

9:00-10:00 a.m.
State Room

Registration

10:00-10:15

WELCOMING REMARKS

Rich DeVos
RCLC CO-Chairman

10:15-11:00

THE CAMPAIGN: THE VIEW FROM THE WHITE HOUSE

Michael Deaver
Deputy Chief of Staff and
Assistant to the President

11:00-11:45

THE MOOD OF THE COUNTRY

Bob Teeter
President, Market Opinion Research

11:45-Noon

Break

Noon-1:00 p.m.
The Ballroom

LUNCHEON

1:00-2:30

ELECTING THE REPUBLICAN TICKET

The Honorable Paul Laxalt, U.S.S
Chairman, Reagan-Bush '84
General Chairman, RNC

WHY REPUBLICANS CAN WIN IN NOVEMBER

1984 GOP Challenger House Candidates
Introduced by The Honorable Guy Vander
Jagt, M.C., NRCC Chairman

2:30-3:00

Break

3:00-3:30
State Room

SECURING AND DEFENDING U.S. INTERESTS

Robert McFarlane
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs

HISTORY AND GOALS OF THE
REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

The Republican Congressional Leadership Council (RCLC) is the major donor group of the National Republican Congressional Committee which is chaired by Congressman Guy Vander Jagt of Michigan.

The Leadership Council is limited to a membership of 435 individuals, a figure which corresponds to the number of Congressional Districts. Each RCLC member contributes \$2,500 or more each year to the NRCC; those 35 years of age or under may contribute \$1,000. All contributions go directly to Republican candidates running for election or reelection to the House of Representatives.

The RCLC was formed in the fall of 1979, and former Treasury Secretary William Simon and Amway Corporation President Rich DeVos were the founding Co-Chairmen. Rich DeVos and his son, Dick, currently serve as RCLC Co-Chairmen.

The goals of the RCLC are to:

1. Contribute over \$2 million during each election cycle to Congressional candidates in order to secure Republican control of the House;
2. Establish a forum (primarily periodic meetings) through which Congressional, Administration and Party officials can carry on a dialogue with business and other community leaders;
3. Develop a cadre of new Republican leaders to work on behalf of the Republican Party, its candidates and principles.



National Republican Congressional Committee

320 FIRST STREET, S.E. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003 • 202-479-7000

September 7, 1984

CHAIRMAN
Guy Vander Jagt, M.C.
Michigan

EXECUTIVE
DIRECTOR
Joseph R. Gaylord

VICE CHAIRMEN
Edwin R. Bethune, Jr.
Arkansas

Lawrence Coughlin
Pennsylvania

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Bob Livingston
Louisiana

Stan Parris
Virginia

Barbara F. Vucanovich
Nevada

Frank R. Wolf
Virginia

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Ohio

Sid Morrison
Washington

Matthew J. Rinaldo
New Jersey

Denny Smith
Oregon

Vin Weber
Minnesota

SECRETARY
Gene Taylor
Missouri

Ms. Donna Blume
Executive Assistant to the
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Donna:

You will find enclosed some background material for Mr. Deaver's appearance before the NRCC's Leadership Council meeting on September 17th.

If you have any questions about the enclosed or the event itself, by all means give me a call at 479-7030.

Thanks very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Rick Carson
RCLC Coordinator

Enclosures



House Counsel

President to RCLC Members: "We're Changing the Course of American History"



The President addresses the attentive and supportive crowd of RCLCers



Co-Chairmen Rich and Dick DeVos and NRCC Chairman Guy Vander Jagt listen appreciatively as the President praises RCLC members

President Reagan made 300 Leadership Council members and their guests feel right at home during the White House Reception which topped a day full of legislative and political briefings.

At the April 12th event the President extended his personal thanks to RCLC members for "your loyalty, hard work and commitment to our Republican cause." He credited the Leadership Council — as individuals and as a group — for having helped make the difference in "putting America back in the hands of the people."

Citing the progress which has been made in turning the economy around and strengthening our social institutions, he acknowledged that more work remains to be done. He pledged to do "all within my power" to see that the number of elected Republicans is increased so the unfinished job can be completed.

As a special "thanks" to the RCLC, each attendee had a personal photograph taken with the President and each received either a set of Presidential cuff links or a stickpin.

Earlier in the day, the members heard from U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, Congressman Newt Gingrich (GA 6), Reagan-Bush campaign official Lee Atwater,

Maureen Reagan and NRCC Executive Director Joe Gaylord.

RCLC Co-Chairman Rich DeVos welcomed the members at the morning session, extending special greetings to the many who were attending their first Leadership Council meeting.

Congressman Guy Vander Jagt, addressing the group after lunch, described the 1984 campaigns as "elections of destiny" and noted that their impact will be felt into the next century. The Congressman, who is Chairman of the Leadership Council's sponsoring group, shared his updated version of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address in describing the new concept of government introduced by Ronald Reagan and the upcoming test of whether it will endure. Said Chairman Vander Jagt, "I believe the President can make us better than we ever knew we are."

**Next Meeting
September 17th**

NEWT GINGRICH

Member of Congress
6th District of Georgia

"We think the future can be better."

Congressman Newt Gingrich, serving his third term, is one of the leaders of the "Conservative Opportunity Society" Republicans in the House of Representatives. He and his colleagues are seeking to push into public view issues which separate Democrats from Republicans and Democrats in Congress from majority opinion in the country.

The Congressman believes Republicans have a chance this year to do "surprisingly well" in House contests. What the Party does over the next few months will make the difference, he suggested. "In politics, you only have one day at the marketplace," and once election day passes the opportunity is gone. He believes it is possible for Republicans to increase their numbers in the House from the current 167 to 200. "It's only impossible because we don't go out and do it," he declared.

A history professor, the Congressman shared an analysis of past Presidential elections and their relation to Congressional contests. One reason the Democrats have been able to maintain such a majority in the House is that Democratic Presidents who have won a second term have helped their party realize an average gain of 56 seats in the House; reelected Republican Presidents have seen our party average only 5 seat gains.

The Congressman sees campaigns as having four levels. At the basic level are the tactical or day-to-day actions. The next step above is the operational, the tactics which accumulate over a longer time period. Above this is the strategic or overall goals. And at the highest level is the vision. A candidate will be defeated by an opponent who is better at the next higher level.

While the Congressman believes the Republican Party is better at the tactical and operational level, he feels it is terrible when it comes to strategy and vision. He singled out President Reagan and Congressman Jack Kemp as the Party's best first-rate visionaries because they "intuitively understand that you win at the visionary and strategic levels."



Congressman Newt Gingrich makes a point about the Conservative Opportunity Society

In a world dominated by the liberal welfare state, Congressman Gingrich advocates the "conservative opportunity society." While people may differ on some of the specifics of the term, he believes the majority of Americans subscribes to the concepts of economic growth, balanced budget, reduced taxes, decentralized government, competition and equal opportunity and that Republican candidates can win by advocating them.

As described by the Congressman, welfare versus opportunity is the difference between people as victims who need government support and people as resources who can be utilized. The state is the bureaucracy of government as distinguished from society at large with its resources outside government.

Congressional conservatives "don't just want to oppose brilliantly," he suggested, but want to assume the more demanding responsibility of governing.

The Congressman thanked RCLC members for contributing and belonging, and indicated that their personal decision on behalf of the conservative cause could well be the margin of victory come November.

JEANE KIRKPATRICK

U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations

"No one has found a way to defend our ideals except by using our power — not our violence but our power — to protect our interests and those countries which share them."

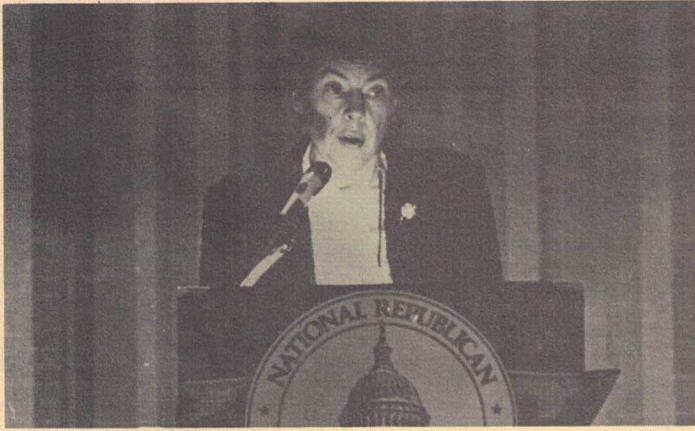
Jeane Kirkpatrick, the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, set aside the text she had prepared for the day to address instead the increasingly "strident voices" which are being raised against the Administration's Central America policy.

She quoted at length from *How Democracies End*, the latest work of French intellectual Jean Francois Revel. In his exposition, he suggests that democracies may not last, that they may only be "parentheses in the long history of dictatorships and autocracies." Her text for the morning, she said, was Revel's discussion of the "humility with which democratic civilization agrees to disappear and works to legitimize the victory of its mortal enemy."

She took strong exception to a prevailing argument that "self defense is immoral or at best superfluous and useless if not downright dangerous" and discussed the delegitimization of the U.S. by and within our own society.

The Ambassador believes that most current theories of international relations are not very realistic because most assume that the United States can somehow control events in the world. The "ball is not always in our court," she contended, and we are not at fault every time something goes wrong. She confided that her experience at the United Nations has confirmed this on a daily basis.

She was critical of those who are "charter members of the Blame America First Club" who are willing to give other nations, but not the U.S., the benefit of the doubt on almost everything. The truth is that we neither cause all the world's problems nor can we cure them, she argued.



UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick counters the "strident voices" against U.S. policy in Central America

As the Kissinger Commission reported, Central America is both vital and vulnerable. "Central America's crisis is our crisis," she said, "and that region is strategically important to the U.S. national security in a way that is unique in the world today" for reasons of the Panama Canal, sea lanes and access to our borders.

Appeasement, she contended, doesn't work as it only produces the opposite effect.

The pattern of activity by the guerrillas has been clear and expected: they cultivate insurgency, provoke repression by the government, lie about their role and are merciless in their criticism of the government and its supporters. Usually, she said, they end up winning.

What the U.S. government wants for Central America is clear, she argued, but "it is not easy to understand what the critics of our policies want." Neither free elections, democracy, an end to killing nor the protection of human rights is apparently enough.

The 1980 election rejected the very attitude we are witnessing today regarding our Central American policies. That election represented "a victory for all of us who refuse to believe in the inevitability of America's decline."

LEE ATWATER

**Deputy Campaign Director
Reagan-Bush '84 Committee**

"The Democrats invented deficits."

Lee Atwater, one of the top political strategists for the Reagan reelection effort, spoke as a last-minute replacement for Senator Paul Laxalt, who was detained by votes on the Senate Floor. Mr. Atwater brought Leadership Council members up to date on activities within the Reagan-Bush committee and in the Presidential campaigns.

Mr. Atwater sees the West as a virtual given for the President and considers the South almost a second geopolitical base. As of early April the Republican ticket was ahead of likely Democratic match-ups in almost every state. While Reagan-Bush plans to run a national campaign, it is hoped that certain areas of the country will not require as many resources as others.

He sees the four key issues of the campaign as leadership, competence, foreign policy and the economy and how they interrelate. It is important, he believes, that the campaign keep voter focus on these "macro" issues and not the "micro" ones.

One big negative that the campaign must deal with is the increased voter registration within groups opposed to the President's policies.

Looking at the economy as an election issue, Mr. Atwater does not foresee problems in this area which could seriously hurt the Reagan campaign. "No one has a worse credibility problem in American politics than the Democratic Party to try to assail us on any economic issues," he declared. He feels that the President will always be able to confidently ask the question, "Are you better off than you were four years ago?"

The Reagan campaign has enough pluses going for it always to be able to lead with the positive, he said.

In analyzing the on-going give-and-take between Mondale and Hart, Mr. Atwater attributed the continued struggle to the two candidate's failure to have "Plan Bs" when their campaigns have slipped. As a result, the Democratic campaign has been prolonged and has become very divisive.

Mr. Atwater shared that the President's campaign strategy cannot be based on the opponent for in effect it would become a defensive strategy. He cited President Carter's inability to run on his record or use his incumbency effectively in the '80 campaign. "The biggest single advantage an incumbent President has is the use of the incumbency," he stated.

According to Mr. Atwater, the President will not adopt a "Rose Garden strategy" as a candidate, and he will be making campaign swings about once a week. Plans are that Vice President Bush will do more of the "political" campaigning with help from surrogate speakers traveling about the country.

He sees the relationship between the Presidential campaign and the many Congressional races as a symbiotic one from which both can benefit. He looks to having reelection staff confer with NRCC staff to make certain there will be cooperative efforts in those close House contests where an extra nudge might mean victory.



Leadership and incumbency will be key for the President predicts Lee Atwater of the Reagan reelection committee

JOSEPH GAYLORD

Executive Director, National Republican
Congressional Committee

***"1984 offers tremendous potential
for us to make substantial Republican
gains in the House of Representatives."***

From his perspective as former Campaign Division head and now Executive Director of the NRCC, Joe Gaylord shared with the RCLC an appraisal of the status of campaigns for the House of Representatives.

Based on his sense of this election year, Mr. Gaylord feels the challenge facing our candidates is to convince the voters that voting Republican can make a positive difference in their lives.

He shared his belief that 1984 "can be a very good year" with the opportunity to significantly increase the number of Republicans in the House and regain lost ground from the '82 elections. Having Ronald Reagan at the top of the ticket and quality candidates running for Congress are the two major reasons he cited for his optimism.



Reasons for GOP House gains in November were outlined by NRCC Executive Director Joe Gaylord

Mr. Gaylord provided the audience with some "tell-tale" signs for election night which would give clues as to the Party's fortunes. One key indicator will be races in the Midwest where there is an opportunity for sizeable gains. Here, where traditional Republican roots run deep, is "where our recovery as a party must come first," he said. In the South and Border states, the Party historically has done well in Presidential years. Almost half the GOP's open seats this year are in this part of the country; if we hold on to these or defeat some Democratic incumbents, that, too, will be a good sign.

Another reason the prospects are promising is that 1982 was not as bad for GOP House candidates as the experts had predicted. As a consequence, Mr. Gaylord sees the Party entering these campaigns in a stronger position.

By his analysis, about 125 of the 435 Congressional Districts are basically Democratic. Of the 167 seats currently held by the GOP, about 100 are fairly safe Republican. The remaining 200 seats, to varying degrees, represent the battleground. In 14 seats in which the Republican incumbent is retiring, the Party has a good chance of retaining almost all. The NRCC is focusing on about 35 Democratic seats which are a priority in this election year due to the nature of the Congressional District or the particular incumbent.

Mr. Gaylord explained that because each District and candidate is different, the Congressional Committee tailors its approach and activities to each campaign accordingly.

The NRCC has a "model" of services, techniques and support which it has used in Special Elections that it will attempt to replicate in as many Districts as possible — in effect, running some 30 Special Elections simultaneously. Using the task force approach, NRCC staff are putting together demographic, survey, issue and opposition research with past vote history to lay the foundation for the formulation of campaign plans. Based on what is called for in each plan, the NRCC will provide to the campaigns those services which are required. Another 50-60 races will receive a variety of selected technical services.

The NRCC's top strategist ran through a list of two dozen "new faces" he predicted would likely be on the Republican side next January, beginning with Sonny Callahan in Alabama's 1st District and concluding with Cleve Benedict in West Virginia's 2nd.

MAUREEN REAGAN

Consultant to the Chairman
Republican National Committee

***"I want to be the Alice Roosevelt
Longworth of my generation."***

Maureen Reagan, the President's daughter, shared with RCLC members her experiences as an advocate for women and the Republican Party. As a special assistant to the RNC Chairman, Ms. Reagan is an outspoken proponent of the GOP and women working more closely with one another.

According to Ms. Reagan, there will be 6 to 7 million more women than men voters in this election, with a high number of first-time women voters. One reason cited by Ms. Reagan for the increased interest in politics by women is that women now are seen as more influential and able to make a difference in what is taking place in public affairs.

She believes one of the strongest messages that must be communicated to women is that the Reagan Administration is the first in which there have been three women serving simultaneously in the Cabinet. This is, she believes, a very concrete demonstration of the Party's commitment to women in government.

Recognizing the importance of "networking", she cited the newly-created Republican Women's Council (RWC) as a key element of support for women candidates. Ms. Reagan was critical of the so-called "bipartisan" women's movement which seems only to attack Republican women.

Believing that strong women candidates can be the Party's best communicators, she is working with the RWC, the RNC and others to learn what women in the community are thinking. High-level briefings for elected Republican women have been conducted in Washington, resulting in very positive publicity for both the women and the Party. Two more such briefings are planned prior to the elections.

★ **An Expensive House** — The expenses involved in operating Congress have quadrupled since 1970, which means it costs \$1.67 billion to operate the House and Senate and its support agencies. According to the Tax Foundation, the House expenses run about \$453 million annually.

★ **The President's Dinner a Success** — This year's annual Senate-House Dinner, known as The President's Dinner, was attended by 2,700 contributors on May 10th at the Washington Hilton Hotel. The \$4.7 million in proceeds will be divided equally between the NRCC and its Senate counterpart for support of Congressional candidates.

★ **Survey Soundings** — An early Spring survey conducted by the NRCC revealed that the GOP is benefiting from the fact that voters have a perception that things in the country are generally going in the right direction. The President gets high marks on his handling of the economy and his overall leadership. Data indicate that Republican House candidates should stress in their campaigns issues such as the balanced budget amendment, welfare fraud and abuse and government spending in general.

Over 70% of Americans want to see defense spending kept at present levels or increased, according to a nationwide poll conducted by the firm of Penn-Schoen.

★ **Vote Power** — SERVE, a group which has registered hundreds of thousands of new voters in welfare offices, bread lines and ghetto clinics and has a goal of five million, has an interesting "nonpartisan" approach. One volunteer, asked how she helps someone select a party, was quoted: "I ask them who they is for, the rich or the poor. Then I say the Democrats is for the poor, and the Republicans is for the rich." (*USA Today*, 4/11)

★ **Women and the GOP** — The RNC has established the National Women's Coalition, composed of over 70 business and professional women, to communicate the Administration's record during the campaign. Betty Heitman, Co-Chair of the RNC, heads the new group. Thus far, members of the Coalition have been paired with such



The Chaneys, Hayes and Duffys await the President

September Meeting Set For Vice President's

The Leadership Council will gather for its next Washington meeting on Monday, September 17th, for a round of legislative and political briefings.

Senator Paul Laxalt, Chairman of Reagan-Bush '84 and General Chairman of the Republican National Committee, and EPA Administrator Bill Ruckelshaus will be featured speakers during the day's proceedings. Other participants are to be named.

The day will conclude with a reception and dinner at the home of the Vice President and Mrs. George Bush, always one of the RCLC's most popular events.

Details on the program will follow.

prominent Democrats as Bella Abzug and Betty Friedan in speaking engagements.

★ **Quotable Quotes** —

"A party of minorities is on the way to becoming the minority party. That is the spectacle offered by the Democrats as the contest for the presidential contest winds on." Columnist Joseph Kraft (*Washington Post*, 4/5)

"What is really important is that first vote as a Member of Congress. When a Democratic Congressman with his first vote votes to make Tip O'Neill Speaker and put the control of the machinery of the House into the hands of liberal Democrats, it enables the Speaker to stack the committees 2-to-1 against the Republicans. A Democrat who does that with his first vote does more damage to the cause of conservative philosophy than he can possibly do with all the rest of his votes put together." NRCC Chairman Guy Vander Jagt



Jim Stamp asks a question during the morning session