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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

STRATEGIC PLANNING MEMORANDUM #3

TO: Edwin Meese
James Baker
Michael Deaver

FROM: Richard S. Beal

SUBJECT: The 1982 State of the Union Message

DATE: September 25, 1981

This Strategic Planning Memorandum contains twenty-four recommendations on the 1982 State of the Union message. The recommendations are based on the President's election mandate, an extensive analysis of previous messages (see Strategic Evaluation Memorandum #3), an evaluation of the President's initiatives in the first year, plans for Phases IV and V of the President's Strategic Plan, and an assessment of the political focus that will be required during 1982.

The first seven recommendations pertain to the proposed form of delivery, the date of delivery, and preparation of the 1982 message. Recommendations #8, #9, and #10 cover the proposed three major goals of the message:

- To assure and inspire the American people about the President's understanding of their problems, his visions for the future, and his leadership goals;
- To enhance the coalition-building needed for the 1982 political processes; and
- To set the tone and pace for the policy focus of the President's Strategic Plan.

Recommendations #11 through #22 contain more specific thoughts on how these goals of the message might be accomplished. The final two recommendations concern the general communications strategy and the overall commitment needed to make the President's first global address in a year one of his very best yet.

THE STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE

The Constitution states: "[The President] shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient". Past presidents have employed several means for carrying out this responsibility. Basically, the President has these options:

- Transmit a written message;
- Deliver an oral address; or
- Communicate both a written message and an oral address.

Following 112 years of written delivery of messages, President Woodrow Wilson renewed the personal address used by Presidents Washington and Adams. Since Wilson's address in 1913, the personal delivery has become the dominant method used in this century. The State of the Union message is one of the most important opportunities for the President to talk to the American people and their Congressional representatives simultaneously. The people need to see and hear the President as he delivers his leadership message.

Recommendation #1: For the above reasons, and because this is an excellent opportunity for the President to employ his outstanding communication skills, it is recommended that the President deliver an oral address, and permit the Fiscal Year 1983 budget message and subsequent legislative proposals to serve as the written, accompanying information.

The 1982 State of the Union message comes at the beginning of the President's second year in office, which is also a critical year of elections. The message also initiates Phase IV of the President's Strategic Plan. It is of vital importance therefore, that the message be a "top-down", global speech that recognizes each of the above facts. It must be "top-down" in the sense that it continues the style of leadership and programs initiated at the top by the President thus far.

The speech must contain major statesmanship quotes which will be remembered. It should be a direct, understandable, and persuasive presentation of the President's philosophy and views, which will solidify his popular support. It must be the President's view of the nation and where he truly believes we are going. It should not simply be a compilation of statements about programs put together by the various units of the Executive Branch and floated up to speechwriters in the White House. Nor, can it be a potpourri of material presented in the styles of Presidents Johnson, Nixon, and Carter. Rather, it should be part of a sequence of leadership actions by the President, cues to which would have begun in the Fall of 1981, and which will carry over into the 1982 political activities.

Recommendation #2: It is recommended that the address be a sterling, visionary speech containing impactful statements which will be remembered historically, and that 1) inspire support for the goals the President has set for the nation during his Presidency, and 2) encourage the coalition-building and policy focus urgently needed for the 1982 political processes.

Date of the Message

Recommendation #3: It is recommended that the message be presented on Wednesday, January 20, 1982, the anniversary of the inauguration and a mid week day less likely to compete with other national events.

Preparation of the Message

Preparation of the message is of high priority, and will require concerted efforts by the White House Staff. Absolutely the best person to prepare the speech must be selected. That person must have direct knowledge of the interests and style of the President, and be given ample time and support to compile the necessary information, ensuring that all persons who might be able to contribute to the speech are consulted. The President must be involved from the very beginning, and be given adequate time prior to the date of the speech for final polishing and practice.

Recommendation #4: A competent person who has the confidence of the President should be selected to write the speech. The individual selected should begin work no later than October 1, 1981, be free from other commitments, and be allowed complete access to individuals whose contributions are required.

Recommendation #5: The President should be the first person consulted about the content of what he wishes to convey to the American people.

Recommendation #6: Key members of the Republican leadership, Cabinet members, and others of equal stature should be consulted on their ideas for the speech.

Recommendation #7: The President should receive a draft copy of the address no later than January 1, 1982. He should have at least three consecutive, uninterrupted days prior to the speech, preferably away from the White House, to provide time for reflection and to make final preparations.

OVERALL GOALS FOR THE ADDRESS

The President is viewed by most people as a strong individualist, who is pursuing conservative policies that have been absent from a major leader in a position of power for many years. People feel pretty good about the President thus far, for a variety of reasons, but this relationship may be fragile and continually needs to be solidified. That is why people should get from the State of the Union message answers to questions they may have about "why they trust Ronald Reagan." They should hear the views about the condition of the country he expressed in his campaign - but now as the President would express them. They should hear some of the promises he made in the campaign - but now as the President would make them.

People must react to the speech by saying "I hadn't really looked at it that way before, but the President has hit squarely on the nose what has happened to this country. His views of our society are quite accurate, thus I will presume that what follows (visions and leadership actions) will be equally correct and insightful." This is

a lot to hope for, since an analysis of the news coverage of past speeches has shown that State of the Union messages have had little impact on public opinion. But it is very important to gain the confidence of those people on the fence, and to reassure those who have believed in the President but not known quite why. More will be said about this in a later section.

Recommendation #8: It is recommended that the first major goal of the speech be to express, in terms the American people can understand and accept, inspiration and assurances about the President sharing their views of the current conditions in the country, visions of where the country should go, and his proposed leadership actions.

While it has not in the past had a measurable impact on public opinion, the State of the Union message can and should be a valuable political tool.

The message must be carefully tailored to appeal to various groups important to preserving and extending the coalitions needed for further implementation of the economic recovery program and national security strengthening. The cooperative spirit of Congress during the first year must be warmly acknowledged. Subtle messages should be sent to all parts of the country that the President understands their problems and that his visions and leadership cover those problems.

We have an extraordinary political situation in Congress. This is the first time since 1931 that control of Congress is split. (It also occurred in 1911, the only other time in the 20th century, ten times in the 19th century, and once in the 18th century.) Also, this is the first time the Republicans have controlled either House since the 83rd Congress (1953-54), 27 years ago. These facts might be pointed out as reminders to confused voters. More will be said in a later section about the political nature of the address.

Recommendation #9: It is recommended that the second goal of the State of the Union address be to set in motion the political focus which must occur in support of coalition-building needed for the 1982 political processes. (The press will say that it is a partisan political speech, anyway.)

The State of the Union message initiates Phase IV of the President's Strategic Plan. Phase IV concludes on May 15, 1982, the final date for submitting Fiscal Year 1983 authorizing legislation to Congress. During this period there will be a great deal of interaction between the Administration and Congress, through introduction of the President's legislative proposals, testimony at Congressional hearings, and general attempts to build coalitions and influence one another. (Since these interactions will continue through the Summer of 1982, Phase V (May 16 - September 30, 1982) will be treated with Phase IV for planning purposes.)

In the message, the President's agenda should be outlined, and the entire "team" of White House staff, Cabinet members, and agency executives should be poised to follow up through assigned roles. They should be prepared to interact with Congressional committees and subcommittees and important constituent groups, e.g. mayors, business leaders, labor leaders, professional associations, and to provide management direction to their respective departments and agencies. Following the speech and throughout the year, the President must be able to spend the bulk of his time on the agenda outlined in the speech, and not be drawn into issues and items not contained in the message. Members of the "team" should handle as many of these as possible.

Recommendation #10: It is recommended that the third goal of the State of the Union message be to set the tone and pace for the policy focus needed in Phases IV and V of the President's Strategic Plan for management of economic recovery and national security strengthening. It is also recommended that the speech provide the overall guidance and direction for the interactions between the Administration and Congress.

The following sections contain further recommendations and comments on how the above three goals might be achieved.

GOAL NO.1 - TO ASSURE AND INSPIRE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S UNDERSTANDING, VISIONS, AND LEADERSHIP

Tradition of the State of the Union Message

There are some important traditions attached to the message that the President should observe. Perhaps the most important is reference to the relationship between the President and Congress, and the President's view of that alliance. He might wish to acknowledge belief in the separation of powers, but should point out that there is a mutuality of responsibility for governing that must be shared by all three branches, and indeed by all levels of government: Federal, State, and local.

There is usually some mention during the speech of the two-party system. This might be particularly appropriate to mention in 1982 because, as previously mentioned, for the first time in 27 years Republicans are in the majority in one of the Houses of Congress. The point might also be made about the importance of transcending party or partisanship in the national interest, another theme which has occasionally appeared in the messages of the last 70 years.

A review of past messages shows that in their first annual message, most presidents describe a long list of national and international problems inherited from preceding Administrations. This is usually followed in future messages by reports of success in meeting those

problems, or blame on Congress for failing to act on presidential initiatives. This may be a "tradition" that President Reagan should not choose to respect.

Recommendation #11: It is recommended that the President warmly thank the Members of Congress for their hard work and bi-partisan efforts on behalf of his major goals, that he stress the difficult decisions and sacrifices that are still ahead, and that he appeal to Congress, to the judiciary and to States and local governments to make government work better for the the American people and at much less cost, in other words "less government - better governance".

The President's Views - National Heritage

While the more important parts of the State of the Union message will be those which emphasize the President's visions and leadership for the future, there must be some important reminders of America's heritage. This is especially timely with the various 200th anniversaries occurring during the President's term(s) of office. In fact, the 200th anniversary of the ratification of the Constitution may be as important, if not more important, as that of the Declaration of Independence. The Constitution, it might be pointed out, is actually the instrument that makes us a Union and that has kept us a Union throughout some very turbulent times. And, it is the continued life of that instrument which will shape the future of the Union and the directions we take.

America's religious heritage should also be mentioned. While some care must be exercised in the exact choices of words, various messages can be communicated to specific groups as well as to the general population. Phrases can be liturgical or cultural in character without offending.

Recommendation #12: It is recommended that the President stress the importance of remembrance, and indeed celebration of our heritage, through reference to some of the more noteworthy 200th anniversaries that will occur during his term(s) of office.

The President's Views - National Conditions

The President must frankly and honestly present his views on the problems the country now faces, and the solutions which he believes are the right ones. The views must be those of a citizen, a patriot, and a President. The views must offer hope, but not paint over difficulties.

Since Ronald Reagan may be seen as "different" from recent presidents, in whatever respect and for whatever reasons, the State of the Union message should perhaps be "different" from those given in recent years. That is, rather than single out issues, major and minor, the President might take a more global approach and truly describe how he sees our "205-years young" country. His view should

not be a 20th-century version of de Tocqueville's visit to America. Rather, it can and should be a contemporary description of what the United States of America has become.

The purpose is, as stated before, to give people confidence that the President indeed has a correct perspective of modern America. And, he should make clear that his policies and actions are based on this contemporary view. All of this should be aimed at overcoming whatever concerns people have that the President is wedded to the past, and not in touch with current conditions and life styles.

Throughout the discussion of his views on national conditions, the President must stress his continued belief that we are and will continue to be a Union, despite the fact that we are a much different Union than that which existed 200 years ago, or 100 years ago, or even 10 years ago. He should point out that we must constantly look at ourselves in the mirror of honesty to be sure of what we have become, since what we have become is the real foundation on which changes and solutions can be based.

With the above in mind, the President's analysis of "the state of the Union" should be kept relatively simple, but still different from that of his predecessors. A sociological (not social) assessment of the country might accomplish this.

In fact, this part of the address might be in two parts: 1) a look at the people who constitute the "Union", the individual citizens who reside in all parts of the country; and, 2) a look at the "uniting" that has taken place, in terms of the many organizations and interest-groups that people have joined for all the many reasons. Thus, the "state of the people", and the "state of their associations" equate to the "state of the Union."

In discussing the people who make up the Union, the President must be careful not to simply present a census briefing. However, he should stress some of the important points about where people live, how they live, their divergent behaviors, their hopes, fears, wishes, concerns, and what all of this really means, i.e. a country in which values are multiplying rather than becoming more uniform, and one in which government is less able to meet the diverse individual demands, hopes, and expectations of its people.

This part of the speech can send subtle messages to all parts of the country by covering conditions in each - east, west, south, and north; or, Northeast, Southeast, Midwest, North Central, Southwest, Far West, Northwest. Areas need not necessarily be mentioned by name for people to know which is being addressed. This type of coverage might be valuable in the appeal for coalitions needed for citizen-based, private-focused, governmental or political initiatives to follow. It would also show an awareness by the President of conditions in all parts of the country and how they vary. (For a detailed listing of the primary issues of concern to various regions of the country, see Table 1 on the following page.)

TABLE 1: REGIONAL ISSUES AND CONCERNS

For the ultimate purpose of providing a political analysis of the State of the Union message, the primary issues of concern to each region of the country are listed.

NEW ENGLAND - Energy Costs, Social Security, Enterprise Zones, Nuclear Power, Catholic Issues, Defense Spending

MID ATLANTIC - Crime, Unemployment, Enterprise Zones, Railroads, Coal, Steel, Shipping (International Trade), Catholic Issues, Dairy, Nuclear Power, Energy Costs, Minority Issues, Auto Industry, Foreign Policy

SOUTH ATLANTIC - Defense Spending, Federal Workers Issues, Shipping (International Trade), Cotton, Tobacco, Peanuts, Government Regulation of Industry, Minority Issues, Fundamentalist Issues

FLORIDA - Crime, Immigration, Drugs, Defense Spending, Social Security, Hispanic Issues, Interstate Citrus Problems, Shipping (International Trade), Minority Issues

DEEP SOUTH - Defense Spending, Shipping (International Trade), Sugar, Cotton, Minority Issues, Unemployment, Coal, Steel, Oil, Housing/Lumber, Fundamentalist Issues

TEXAS-OKLAHOMA - Oil, Gas, Shipping (International Trade), Immigration, Defense Spending, Interstate Citrus Problems, Hispanic Issues, Cotton

GREAT LAKES - Unemployment, Auto Industry, Steel, General Farm Issues, Dairy, Catholic Issues, Coal, Energy Costs, Minority Issues, Nuclear Power

FARM BELT - General Farm Issues, Land and Water Rights, Indian Issues, Social Security

SOUTHWEST - Immigration, Hispanic Issues, Land and Water Rights, Indian Issues, Social Security

ROCKY MOUNTAIN - Railroads, Coal, Oil, Synfuels, Land and Water Rights, Environmental Issues

PACIFIC NORTHWEST - Defense Spending, Housing/Lumber, Environmental Issues, Nuclear Power, Unemployment, Shipping (International Trade)

CALIFORNIA - Defense Spending, General Farm Issues, Oil, Environmental Issues, Nuclear Power, Shipping (International Trade), Hispanic Issues, Foreign Policy, Interstate Citrus Problems

ALASKA AND HAWAII - Shipping (International Trade), Defense Spending, Land and Water Rights, Oil, Environmental Issues

In reviewing the "uniting", or the phenomenon of people joining organizations, social groups, professional associations, clubs, committees, and for hundreds of purposes, the President must analyze thoughtfully what this "organizational society" we have become means for the concept of "Union". He must not simply describe this phenomenon. He must point out that it means that people are most likely turning to these special interest organizations because they are more nearly satisfying the many needs people have that are not being met by big government. And, rather than discouraging this trend toward joining, it is encouraged as a means for ensuring that local conditions are developed and maintained by and for the people who will benefit from them and have a stake in them, not from strangers in Washington.

This part of the speech is quite tricky, in that there are still many who are suspicious of and frightened by groups, no matter what their purpose. Therefore, it must be treated as a fact of life and another way in which the "Union" is changing. And, it is one that has numerous implications for leadership in all parts of the nation.

Recommendation #13: It is recommended that the President's views on national conditions be a major part of the State of the Union message, and that it lay the foundation for the President's visions for the future of the country.

The President's Visions and Leadership Actions

The President should present strong, statesman-like views when recounting his visions for where the country should be headed and the leadership he intends to provide. These sterling, visionary statements should be the rationale for the legislative agenda that he can promise will follow. In keeping with his personal principles, the President should perhaps recall that in the campaign he asked the question "Are you better off now than you were four years ago?" He should stress that he has not forgotten that statement, he has not forgotten what the condition of the economy was, he has not forgotten the sad shape of our defense capabilities, he has not forgotten that people were frustrated and without leadership and direction, and he has not forgotten that he promised to do something about this if elected.

Here he might also present some of the fundamental values he holds for America, and that indeed have held up throughout the values explosion that occurred in recent decades, i.e. the sixties and seventies. The two most prominent values that all Americans can and should relate to are 1) dignity of the person, and 2) the rule of law. The President should reference the deep body of literature and his study of government that has shaped a strong belief that "less government, but better governance", is the way to ensure greater individual freedom and control over the pursuit of happiness, treatment with dignity and adherence to laws.

He should not simply roll out and recount program after program that will address all the nation's ills. Instead, he should embellish the principles he stood for during the campaign with the Presidential cloak of confidence and the authoritative ring of concern. These principles should include, but not be limited to the following: shifting much of the responsibility for personal, social and economic objectives to private individuals, organizations, and the free enterprise system; encouraging a feeling of confidence and security among all Americans; reducing the involvement of the federal government in people's lives; making Presidential decisions on the basis of what is good for the country rather than for political expediency; not permitting long-term policy goals to be foreclosed by short-term interests or events; not raising expectations beyond what is reasonably achievable; trusting in the values of American society; and expending minimum amounts of dollars to achieve maximum levels of innovation in fulfilling priority policy goals.

While much of what should be in this part of the speech is well-known and very personal to the President, the caution might still be heeded of not roaming too far and wide from reality. Just as people should believe the President has a correct view of the country today, so too must they believe at the end of the address that he has a balance of realism to go with the all-important idealism they expect of him. In other words, people must also say "By golly, the President has a down-to-earth view of things, and is not as caught up in the world of his wealthy friends as I thought he was. He seems to really remember what the small-town, regular working person hopes and wishes for and is concerned about and fears."

Recommendation #14: It is recommended that the President include in the State of the Union message his visions for the country that were stated in the campaign, and which he has had time to refine following the real experiences of his first year in office. It is also recommended that he clearly describe the leadership actions he personally will take during his time at the helm to achieve "less government - better governance", while holding to the two fundamental American values of 1) dignity of the person and 2) the rule of law.

GOAL NO.2 - TO ENHANCE COALITION-BUILDING AS A NECESSARY POLITICAL PROCESS THROUGHOUT 1982 AND WHICH IS ESSENTIAL TO MAINTAIN THE REAGAN POLICY AGENDA TO THE END OF THE TERM IN 1984

The State of the Union message should be the vehicle which sets in motion the focusing of political issues which are critical to the important democratic processes that will occur in 1982. It should sound the themes and set the tone for those endeavors. In January, 1982, State elections will be well-underway. The party control situation in Congress has already been noted as a somewhat unique, or at least quite rare, one. It has also been pointed out that the need for coalitions with Congress are crucial to achievement of the President's visions, leadership, and legislative proposals. Not stressed

as much, but of equal importance, are the public coalitions to which the President can appeal, and has appealed, to win support for his initiatives. These two different, but very important, political coalitions must be treated in the message.

The Electoral Coalitions

First and foremost, electoral coalitions deserve credit for the President winning the office. Thus, the speech must be carefully tailored to appeal to the various individuals and groups in these coalitions. And, these coalitions must be thought of in terms of geography as well as individual and group identity. (The major issues of interest and concern in different geographical sections of the country were listed in Table 1.)

In appealing to citizens and citizens' groups comprising the Reagan coalitions, two approaches can be taken. The first is to appeal to the Reagan supporter as an individual who identifies with the President's aspirations and goals. This type of appeal must be made to appear inclusive rather than exclusive. That is, these individuals must feel that they are a part of the majority rather than a special, exclusive minority supporter. Second, the speech can be tailored to appeal to the various groups of Reagan supporters. In this approach the message cannot simply list proposals aimed at every group in the country, such as Nixon and Carter offered. On the contrary, it should be a precisely defined appeal that will serve to unite and increase the intensity and numbers of like coalitions. The news media will notice any omission of major population groups, such as Blacks. Even though this group is not a major part of Reagan coalitions, it may be necessary to reference their concerns.

To draw into the coalitions those who voted against Carter, the following strategy might be employed. If the country is doing well, we must draw comparisons to the Carter Administration performance. If the country is not doing well, we must speak in broader terms and of ultimate goals. We must stress the deep-seated problems of the past 20 years, and emphasize permanent solutions to problems. We must also indicate a longer time frame needed to accomplish goals, and stress, to a certain extent, social issues and moral ideals.

Recommendation #15: It is recommended that the State of the Union message be directed to Eleanor and Joe Q. Public. They are the audience, and the ultimate members of the coalitions the President will need to accomplish his goals and visions.

The Congressional Coalitions

Currently, many segments of the American public may be confused as to which party controls the House. There is a general feeling, according to the polls, that Congress is doing a better job than it was, perhaps partly due to Republican control. However, it would be politically astute to mention in the speech that the Senate is controlled by the Republican Party and the House by the Democratic Party.

For Congress generally, preserving and extending coalitions is a question of appealing to mostly conservatives and mostly Southerners. Seventeen of the 20 who supported the President on all four roll calls on budget and tax legislation were from the South, as were 9 of 11 who voted with us three of the four and 13 of 16 who voted with us two of the four times.

Great care must be taken not to offend any Democratic members of our House coalitions. This could be difficult in a time when we are sounding the battle cry for the 1982 elections. On the other hand, the bulk of our Democratic support comes from the South, and most of the "boll weevils" are from safe Democratic districts. About half of these Southern Democrats are from Democratic districts and can easily do as they please, while the other half represent potential Republican districts. Thus, there is the two-fold dilemma of not appearing too partisan for the "backwoods boll weevils" from Democratic districts, while determining whether or not to contest a strong supporter's district. The prospect cannot be discounted, no matter how slim, of persuading a few conservative Democrats to switch parties.

In the drive to gain control over the House, there has been much ado over the 17 shifting seats. These alone will not get us even half-way toward control; in fact, the absolute best we can hope for among these seats is a net gain of 12. A gain of 8 to 10 is more realistic, perhaps. Almost all of these seats will be predetermined for one party or the other, anyway.

The real political focus for the State of the Union message should be on the industrial states of the East and Great Lakes areas. In these states are found the vast majority of seats which have a realistic potential of changing hands. Most of the vulnerable Republicans are there, and they must be defended if we are to register even modest gains, let alone control. Most importantly, the bulk of Democrats who represent Republican districts, and who did not support the President, are there. It is in this group that GOP hopes for control lay. These are mostly urban or suburban seats with high percentages of Catholics, ethnics, working people, and unemployed.

In a state such as New York, due to momentous reapportionment, as many as 12 seats are capable of switching parties. In similar states, the numbers are also high: New Jersey - 9, Pennsylvania - 9, Ohio - 7, and Michigan - 7. This is not to say that there are not other significant battle grounds. However, most are in the nature of side shows.

Clearly, center stage belongs to the old industrial states if we are to register significant gains in the House. Thus, the speech must not only be a statement of the President's beliefs and programs, it must also be tailored to these older industrial states.

Recommendation #16: It is recommended that the political focus in the State of the Union message be certain to appeal to the industrial States of the East and Midwest, since these areas possess the greatest potential for preserving

and expanding needed coalitions by defending vulnerable Republicans, and for winning Democratic-held seats. It is further recommended that care be taken not to destroy coalitions developed during 1981.

GOAL NO.3 - TO SET THE TONE AND PACE FOR POLICY FOCUS AND STRATEGY OF THE PRESIDENT'S LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS AND STRATEGIC PLAN

To complement his visionary remarks on the "state and future of the Union", the President should set forth a limited number of relatively specific recommendations that link the coming year to his actions during the first year in office. The tone should be that of a leader providing the guidance and direction appropriate for coordinating the efforts of many individuals, groups, and activities. There must be toughness for those who better respond to this type of direction. There must be understanding and compassion for those who need this from a leader. There must be analytic thoughtfulness and logic for those who require these in leadership dicta. And, there must be political reasoning and focus for those who expect, and even demand it.

Recommendation #17: It is recommended that the pace proposed by the President be one of continued intensity in working on the major Administration policy areas and goals of economic recovery and national security strengthening. It is also recommended that he propose increasing the activity on adjusting the Administration policy areas and goals impacted by the many changes in the size and scope of the Federal government initiated during 1981. The message must communicate to the public, Congress, Federal, State and local government officials that the President and his team will manage the major changes in government they have initiated.

As previously recommended, the Fiscal Year 1983 budget message and subsequent legislative proposals (in February or March) should serve as the detailed written references for the State of the Union message. Thus, in this part of the speech the President should really only outline his agenda. The topics included should be those the President sincerely believes must be attended to by Congress and the Administration. This is the part of the speech in which visual aids would be quite impactful, except the logistics may be too difficult to arrange.

a. Economic Recovery - This policy area must be explained first, and should include a review and brief status report of each of the major goals i.e. budget reduction, tax cuts, regulatory relief, stability of monetary policy, and waste and fraud elimination. The President might hit hard on why this is needed at this time, recalling how bad things were a year ago, and why any additional delay only makes it more difficult and the nation more vulnerable. Some reflection on the "Dunkirk" analogy might be appropriate. The management aspects of economic recovery should also be stressed, since the Fall, 1981

initiatives in this area may have had some impact. Regardless, the President must provide some evaluation of the results, and make reference to more hopeful and realistic economic expectations. Evaluation of the President's initiatives and policies in connection with the economic recovery program will most likely be based on a wide-range of judgements about issues and events. However, there are several basic indicators which are fundamental reference points and which could be adopted for general evaluation purposes, both internally and externally. The following are suggested as those the Administration should propose to monitor more closely than others, and which the President might use in the State of the Union message:

1. Overall Economic Recovery
 - Growth of national income (GNP in real terms)
 - Total number of persons employed (a goal of 13 million new jobs)
 - Level of inflation (both CPI and deflator)
 - Annual housing starts and domestic auto sales
 - Rate of increase in productivity
2. Reduction of the Growth of Government
 - Quarterly estimate of deficit in national income terms
 - Total federal civilian employment
 - Annual rate of the budget deficit
3. Regulatory Relief
 - Level of paperwork burden
 - Savings in regulatory costs
 - Imposition of new regulations
4. Monetary Policy
 - Growth of money supply
 - Level of interest on federal borrowing
 - Housing interest rates

It is important to have a base period for these measures.

Recommendation #18: It is recommended that the President review the major goals of the economic recovery program, that he make strong arguments as to why his actions in this program are needed now, that he explain in layman's terms what the budget reduction and tax cut legislation really mean, that he report on selected economic indicators, and again in understandable terms describe what they mean, and that he list with very brief explanations the further economic steps that are necessary in 1982.

b. Foreign Policy and National Security - These topics can be mentioned separately or together. The President must stress that the state of our Union is closely linked to the state of the larger Union - the World. And, he must point out that in this larger context, we still stand first and foremost for PEACE. Unless there are significant international problems that confront us, concentration should be on the President's establishment of positive relationships with our

true international friends and allies. Special mention should be made of North American neighbors Canada and Mexico.

Defense initiatives and budgets, and their relationships to economic recovery, must not be skirted, but should be met head-on. If Congressional support is pending on any defense decisions or policies, these might be mentioned. On foreign policy, he should emphasize the twin themes of Peace and Respect. Peace is important because of the importance of the issue among women voters. Trouble spots might be listed if they can show that we have preserved the peace and gained or held respect.

Recommendation #19: It is recommended that the President remind the audience that our country stands for peace, and stress the positive aspects of our relationships with friendly nations, purposely omitting any other specific policy than being a good partner to those countries that respect us and our ways.

Recommendation #20: It is recommended that the President explain in direct terms the major initiatives aimed at strengthening the nation's defenses, especially those with high price tags. The major stress should be that they are needed for peace, not war. Care should be exercised in using comparisons with the Soviet Union military strength.

c. Social Renewal - This major policy area of the President's Strategic Plan should also be linked to economic recovery. It should be stressed that social programs are not being overlooked so much as they are being re-examined. And, since the President does not wish to appear insensitive to social concerns, he will ensure that the policies and goals adopted are those which will provide the right protection for the most people.

Social security, housing and health care must still be financed; however, the responsibilities should be refocused away from the idea that there is an unlimited federal government bank account from which to draw. Unemployment and welfare are still issues we must all work at, speak out on, and do something about; but the Federal government cannot provide all the solutions. Federalism and voluntarism, shifting the scene of the truly innovative public action programs to States and local governments and private individuals and institutions, must occur. The improvement of personal safety and confidence in the future of the social fabric of the nation must be reinstilled, and these should not be the responsibility of only a few. And, the development and respect for American values must persist as we continue struggling with our own future - we can't stop the world to get off.

Recommendation #21: It is recommended that the President stress that the Administration is still laboring at restructuring the social programs that are for the truly needy, but that help is needed from other levels of government and private individuals and organizations. He should also link

the success of this reexamination of social renewal to the success of economic recovery.

d. National Resources - The enhancement and management of our national resources - the labor force, natural resources, business and industry, and government - is vital to the success of economic recovery. This major policy area should also be cited as one in which some refocusing will occur. Especially in the areas of improving the work force, by stressing that people become more proficient and skilled with each passing generation; increasing the availability of the needed natural resources such as food and energy supplies; modernizing our business and industry, so that people are again satisfied that our places of work are indeed worthy of the workers who spend great parts of their lives there; and, of much importance, ensuring that with less government there is better governance, and that government management is improved to the point that it again gains the confidence of the people who support it through taxes.

Recommendation #22: It is recommended that the President make brief mention of goals for enhancement of national resources, and that it be pointed out that they are directly linked to economic recovery as both beneficiaries and determinants.

Some care must be exercised in these latter two areas, c. and d. above, that the speech does not begin to sound like a listing of something for everyone. This is not in keeping with the President's intent of less government - better governance.

POST-ADDRESS ACTIVITY

For media purposes, some attention should be given to the time slot. All four time zones should view the speech in either prime time, access, or news. We should encourage greater coverage by cable and radio, plus major independents, so as to provide a better chance of blocking other programs. We must not pre-empt a highly-rated show, or an on-going show such as a movie or sporting event, if possible.

We should not go much over 30 minutes. Some networks will cut back to regular programming quickly, while others will not. The time frame should be close to the half-hour so that a network has the option of not pre-empting the next time slot.

We might consider a delayed broadcast for Alaska and Hawaii, otherwise the speech will be at 4:00 p.m. for some. We might consider greater foreign coverage if the world situation justifies it.

An analysis of newspaper coverage of past State of the Union addresses indicates that newspaper coverage lags after one or two days unless special effort is made to keep one or more issues alive. Some advance information might be provided columnists and analysts, so that they have ample time to prepare their more thorough and thoughtful commentaries.

Comments by Republicans afterwards must be carefully orchestrated. We must be ready immediately to respond to Democratic criticism. Thus, the White House must monitor the instant Democratic rebuttals, and have responses ready by 11 p.m. EST news broadcasts. This means press availability of Baker, Michel, and others half an hour after the speech is completed.

We must expect some press criticism. However, press reaction will die down after only a day, except for the little-read editorial page. It may be possible to orchestrate an extra day's coverage by having prominent people (supporters) continue to comment on it for a few days.

Recommendation #23: It is recommended that the communications package be prepared sufficiently in advance so that the media are most effectively able to provide detailed, specific coverage of the speech, and that post-address activities are well coordinated.

COMMITMENT

As a concluding comment, if there is not sufficient support for the notion that in January, 1982 the country will need and should receive from the President the most inspirational and assuring message possible, then it would be unwise to expend more than minimum resources in preparation of the State of the Union message. In fact, a lead might be taken from President Truman in which he, in one year, delivered only a written message, which included the budget with his state of the Union message. These were read by the clerk, as is the custom, to a very uninterested and ill-attended session.

On the other hand, if we wish to leave a sustained and lingering aftereffect that would be of historical significance for President Ronald Reagan, the wherewithal should be applied to putting together a first-class bit of staff work and speechwriting. That notwithstanding, the task of turning the ship of state around, and applying power in a different direction has proceeded so rapidly through a very complex set of political and procedural stages that one could not excuse even the most enlightened citizen of needing a box score on what has occurred. And of most importance is, that they deserve that it come from their "communicator-in-chief", whom they must grow more to trust and respect every day.

Recommendation #24: It is strongly recommended that the President's 1982 State of the Union Message be a statesman-like, inspirational message which receives first-rate attention because of its national, political significance, or that it be simply a written message compiled by OMB and sent forward without waste of the President's precious time.

(UNCLASSIFIED/SENSITIVE)

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO: Edwin Meese
James Baker
Michael Deaver

FROM: Richard S. Beal

SUBJECT: List of State of the 1982 Union Message Recommendations

DATE: September 25, 1981

This memorandum contains recommendations pertaining to the 1982 State of the Union message. The recommendations are based on the President's election mandate, an extensive analysis of previous messages (see Strategic Evaluation Memorandum #3), plans for Phases IV and V of the President's Strategic Plan, and the 1982 Congressional campaigns. This list is from the more detailed Strategic Planning Memorandum #3, which includes background and ideas pertaining to each recommendation.

The Constitution states: "[The President] shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient". Past presidents have employed several means for carrying out this responsibility. Basically, the President has these options:

- Transmit a written message;
- Deliver an oral address; or
- Communicate both a written message and an oral address.

Following 112 years of written delivery of messages, President Woodrow Wilson renewed the personal address used by Presidents Washington and Adams. Since Wilson's address in 1913, the personal delivery has become the dominant method used in this century. The State of the Union message is one of the most important opportunities for the President to talk to the American people and their Congressional representatives simultaneously. The people need to see and hear the President as he delivers his leadership message.

Recommendation #1 - For the above reasons, and because this is an excellent opportunity for the President to employ his outstanding communication skills, it is recommended that the President deliver an oral address, and permit the Fiscal Year 1983 budget message and subsequent legislative proposals to serve as the written, accompanying information.

Recommendation #2 - It is recommended that the address be a sterling, visionary speech containing impactful statements which will be remembered historically, and that 1) inspire support for

the goals the President has set for the nation during his presidency, and 2) encourage the coalition-building and policy focus urgently needed for the 1982 political processes.

DATE AND PREPARATION OF THE MESSAGE

Recommendation #3 - It is recommended that the message be presented on Wednesday, January 20, 1982, the anniversary of the inauguration and a mid week day less likely to compete with other national events.

Recommendation #4 - A top competent person who has the confidence of the President should be selected to write the speech. the individual selected should begin work no later than October 1, 1981, be free from other commitments, and be allowed complete access to individuals whose contributions are required.

Recommendation #5 - The President should be the first person consulted about the content of what he wishes to convey to the American people.

Recommendation #6 - Key members of the Republican leadership, Cabinet members, and others of equal stature should be consulted on their ideas for the speech.

Recommendation #7 - The President should receive a draft copy of the address no later than January 1, 1982. He should have at least three consecutive, uninterrupted days prior to the speech, preferably away from the White House, to provide time for reflection and to make final preparations.

OVERALL GOALS FOR THE ADDRESS

Recommendation #8 - It is recommended that the first major goal of the speech be to express, in terms the American people can understand and accept, inspiration and assurances about the President sharing their views of the current conditions in the country, visions of where the country should go, and his proposed leadership actions.

Recommendation #9 - It is recommended that the second goal of the State of the Union address be to set in motion the political focus which must occur in support of coalition-building needed for the 1982 political processes. (The press will say that it is a partisan political speech, anyway.)

Recommendation #10 - It is recommended that the third goal of the State of the Union message be to set the tone and pace for the policy focus needed in Phases IV and V of the President's Strategic Plan for management of economic recovery and national security strengthening. It is also recommended that the speech provide the overall guidance and direction for the interactions between the Administration and Congress.

GOAL #1 - TO ASSURE AND INSPIRE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S UNDERSTANDING, VISIONS, AND LEADERSHIP

Recommendation #11 - It is recommended that the President warmly thank the Members of Congress for their hard work and bi-partisan efforts on behalf of his major goals, that he stress the difficult decisions and sacrifices that are still ahead, and that he appeal to Congress, to the judiciary and to States and local governments to make government work better for the American people and at much less cost, in other words "less government - better governance".

Recommendation #12 - It is recommended that the President stress the importance of remembrance, and indeed celebration of our heritage, through reference to some of the more noteworthy 200th anniversaries that will occur during his term(s) of office.

Recommendation #13 - It is recommended that the President's views on national conditions be a major part of the State of the Union message, and that it lay the foundation for the President's visions for the future of the country.

Recommendation #14 - It is recommended that the President include in the State of the Union message his visions for the country that were stated in the campaign, and which he has had time to refine following the real experiences of his first year in office. It is also recommended that he clearly describe the leadership actions he personally will take during his time at the helm to achieve "less government - better governance", while holding to the two fundamental American values of 1) dignity of the person and 2) the rule of law.

GOAL #2 - TO ENHANCE COALITION-BUILDING AS A NECESSARY POLITICAL PROCESS THROUGHOUT 1982 AND WHICH IS ESSENTIAL TO MAINTAIN THE REAGAN POLICY AGENDA TO THE END OF THE TERM IN 1984

Recommendation #15 - It is recommended that the State of the Union message be directed to Eleanor and Joe Q. Public. They are the audience, and the ultimate members of the coalitions the President will need to accomplish his goals and visions.

Recommendation #16 - It is recommended that the political focus in the State of the Union message be certain to appeal to the industrial States of the East and Midwest, since these areas possess the greatest potential for preserving and expanding needed coalitions by defending vulnerable Republicans, and for winning Democratic-held seats. It is further recommended that care be taken not to destroy coalitions developed during 1981.

GOAL #3 - TO SET THE TONE AND PACE FOR POLICY FOCUS AND STRATEGY OF THE PRESIDENT'S LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS AND STRATEGIC PLAN

Recommendation #17 - It is recommended that the pace proposed by the President be one of continued intensity in working on the

major Administration policy areas and goals of economic recovery and national security strengthening. It is also recommended that he propose increasing the activity on adjusting the Administration policy areas and goals impacted by the many changes in the size and scope of the Federal government initiated during 1981. The message must communicate to the public, Congress, Federal, State and local government officials that the President and his team will manage the major changes in government they have initiated.

Recommendation #18 - It is recommended that the President review the major goals of the economic recovery program, that he make strong arguments as to why his actions in this program are needed now, that he explain in layman's terms what the budget reduction and tax cut legislation really mean, that he report on selected economic indicators and again in understandable terms describe what they mean, and that he list with very brief explanations the further economic steps that are necessary in 1982.

Recommendation #19 - It is recommended that the President remind the audience that our country stands for peace, and stress the positive aspects of our relationships with friendly nations, purposely omitting any other specific policy than being a good partner to those countries that respect us and our ways.

Recommendation #20 - It is recommended that the President explain in direct terms the major initiatives aimed at strengthening the nation's defenses, especially those with high price tags. The major stress should be that they are needed for peace, not war. Care should be exercised in using comparisons with the Soviet Union military strength.

Recommendation #21 - It is recommended that the President stress that the Administration is still laboring at restructuring the social programs that are for the truly needy, but that help is needed from other levels of government and private individuals and organizations. He should also link the success of this reexamination of social renewal to the success of economic recovery.

Recommendation #22 - It is recommended that the President make brief mention of goals for enhancement of national resources, and that it be pointed out that they are directly linked to economic recovery as both beneficiaries and determinants.

POST-ADDRESS ACTIVITY

Recommendation #23 - It is recommended that the communications package be prepared sufficiently in advance so that the media are most effectively able to provide detailed, specific coverage of the speech, and that post-address activities are well coordinated.

COMMITMENT

Recommendation #24 - It is strongly recommended that the President's 1982 State of the Union message be a statesmanlike, inspirational message which receives first-rate attention because of its national, political significance; or, that it be simply a written message compiled by OMB and sent forward without waste of the President's precious time.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Jo Ann
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TO: OPE Staff
FROM: Ralph C. Bledsoe
SUBJECT: Comments on SPM-3
DATE: September 17, 1981

Attached is SPM-3 containing the 1982 State of the Union national message. This is to be discussed at the Friday, September 18th meeting from 9:30 AM to 12:00 Noon.

Please get comments to me of an editorial nature prior to then so that we can complete a revised version.

Thanks.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
(UNCLASSIFIED/SENSITIVE)

STRATEGIC PLANNING MEMORANDUM #3

TO: Edwin Meese
FROM: Richard S. Beal
SUBJECT: The 1982 State of the Union Message
DATE: September 18, 1981

This Strategic Planning Memorandum contains recommendations pertaining to the 1982 State of the Union message. The recommendations are based on the President's election mandate, an extensive analysis of previous messages (see Strategic Evaluation Memorandum #3), plans for Phases IV and V of the President's Strategic Plan, and the 1982 Congressional campaigns.

The Constitution states: "[The President] shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient". Past presidents have employed several means for carrying out this responsibility. Basically, the President has these options:

- Transmit a written message;
- Deliver an oral address; or
- Communicate both a written message and an oral address.

Following 112 years of written delivery of messages, President Woodrow Wilson renewed the personal address used by Presidents Washington and Adams. Since Wilson's address in 1913, the personal delivery has become the dominant method used in this century. The State of the Union message is one of the most important opportunities for the President to talk to the American people and their Congressional representatives simultaneously. The people need to see and hear the President as he delivers his leadership message.

Recommendation #1 - For the above reasons, and because this is an excellent opportunity for the President to employ his outstanding communication skills to reiterate his views on the future, it is recommended that the President deliver an oral address, and permit the Fiscal Year 1983 budget message and subsequent legislative proposals to serve as the written, accompanying information.

The 1982 State of the Union message comes at the beginning of the President's second year in office, which is also a critical Congressional election year. The message also initiates Phase IV of the President's Strategic Plan. It is of vital importance therefore, that the message be a "top-down", global speech that recognizes each of the above facts. It must be "top-down" in the sense that it continues the style of leadership and programs initiated at the top by the President thus far. It should be a direct, understandable, and persuasive presentation of the President's philosophy and views, which will solidify his popular support. It cannot simply be a compilation of material put together by the various units of the Executive Branch and floated up to speechwriters in the White House. It must be the President's view of the nation and where he truly believes we should be going. In other words, it should not be a potpourri of statements about programs in the style of Presidents Johnson, Nixon and Carter. Rather, it should be part of a sequence of leadership actions by the President, cues to which would have begun in the Fall of 1981, and which will carry over into the 1982 congressional campaigns.

Recommendation #2 - It is recommended that the address be a sterling, visionary speech appropriate as a kickoff of the 1982 campaigns, and as a message that inspires support for the goals the President has set for the nation during his Presidency, economic recovery and strengthened national security.

DATE AND PREPARATION OF THE MESSAGE

Recommendation #3 - It is recommended that the message be presented on Wednesday, January 20, 1982, the anniversary of the inauguration and a mid-week day less likely to compete with other national events.

Preparation of the message is of high priority, and will require concerted efforts by the White House Staff. Absolutely the best person to prepare the speech must be selected. That person must have direct knowledge of the interests and style of the President, and be given ample time and support to compile the necessary information, and to ensure that all persons who might be able to contribute to the speech are consulted. The President must be involved from the very beginning, and be given adequate time prior to the date of the speech for final polishing and practice.

Recommendation #4 - A top person to write the speech should be selected and at work no later than October 1, 1981. The individual selected should be free from other commitments, and should be allowed complete access to individuals whose contributions are required.

Recommendation #5 - The President should be the first person consulted about the content of what he wishes to convey to the American people.

Recommendation #6 - Key members of the Republican leadership, Cabinet members, and others of equal stature should be consulted on their ideas for the speech.

Recommendation #7 - The President should receive a draft copy of the address no later than January 1, 1982. He should have at least 3 consecutive, uninterrupted days between then and the speech, preferably away from the White House, to make final preparations.

OVERALL GOALS FOR THE ADDRESS

The President is viewed by most people as a strong individualist, who is pursuing conservative policies that have been absent from a major figure of power for many years. People feel pretty good about the President thus far, for a variety of reasons, but this relationship can be fragile and continually needs to be solidified. That is why people should get from the State of the Union message some answers to questions they may have about why they trust Ronald Reagan. They should hear the views about the condition of the country he expressed in his campaign - but now as the President would express them. They should hear some of the promises he made in the campaign - but now as the President would make them.

Recommendation #8 - It is recommended that the first major goal of the speech be to inspire people that the President's views of the current condition of the country, his visions of where the country should go, and his proposed leadership actions are consistent with theirs, and are expressed in terms they can understand and accept.

People must say "I hadn't really looked at it that way before, but the President has hit squarely on the nose what has happened to this country. His views of our society are quite accurate, thus I will presume that what follows (visions and leadership actions) will be equally correct and insightful." This is a lot to hope for, since an analysis of the news coverage of past speeches has shown that State of the Union messages have had little impact on public opinion. But it is very important to gain the confidence of those people on the fence, and to reassure those who have believed in the President but not known quite why. More will be said about this in a later section.

While it has not in the past had a measurable impact on public opinion, the State of the Union message can and should be a valuable political tool.

Recommendation #9 - It is recommended that the second goal of the State of the Union address be that it serve as a "platform" on which the 1982 Congressional campaigns are conducted. (The press will say that it is, anyway.)

The message must be carefully tailored to appeal to various groups important to preserving and extending the coalitions needed for further implementation of the economic recovery program and national security strengthening. The cooperative spirit of Congress during the first year must be warmly acknowledged. Subtle messages should be sent all parts of the country that the President understands their problems and that his visions and leadership cover those problems.

We have an extraordinary political situation in Congress. This is the first time since 1931 that control of Congress is split. (It also occurred in 1911, the only other time in the 20th century, ten times in the 19th century, and once in the 18th century.) Also, this is the first time the Republicans have controlled either House since the 83rd Congress (1953-54), 27 years ago. These facts might be pointed out as reminders to confused voters. More will be said in a later section about the political nature of the address.

The State of the Union message initiates Phase IV of the President's Strategic Plan. Phase IV concludes on May 15, 1982, the final date for submitting Fiscal Year 1983 authorizing legislation to Congress. During this period there will be a great deal of interaction between the Administration and Congress, through introduction of the President's legislative proposals, testimony at Congressional hearings, and general attempts to build coalitions and influence one another. Since these interactions will continue through the Summer of 1982, Phase V (May 16 - September 30, 1982) will be treated with Phase IV for planning purposes.

Recommendation #10 - It is recommended that the third goal of the State of the Union message be to set the tone and pace for Phases IV and V of the President's Strategic Plan, by providing the overall guidance and directions for the interactions between the Administration and Congress.

In other words, the President's agenda should be outlined in the message, and the entire "team" of White House staff, Cabinet members, and agency executives should be poised to follow up through assigned roles. They should be prepared to interact with congressional committees and subcommittees and important constituent groups, e.g. mayors, business leaders, labor leaders, professional associations, and to provide management direction to their respective departments and agencies. Following the speech and even throughout the year, the President must be able to spend the bulk of his time on the agenda outlined in the speech, and not be drawn into issues and items not contained in the message. Members of the "team" should handle as many of these as possible.

The following sections contain further recommendations and comments on how the above three goals might be achieved.

GOAL #1 - TO INSPIRE

The President's Views - Tradition of the State of the Union

There are some important traditions attached to the message that the President should observe. Perhaps the most important is reference to the relationship between the President and Congress, and the President's view of that alliance. He might wish to acknowledge belief in the separation of powers, but should point out that there is a mutuality of responsibility for governance of the country that must be shared by all three branches, and indeed by all levels of government, Federal, State, and local.

There is usually some mention during the speech of the two-party system. This might be particularly appropriate to mention in 1982 because, as previously mentioned, for the first time in 27 years Republicans are in the majority in one of the Houses of Congress. The point might also be made about the importance of transcending party or partisanship in the national interest, another theme which has occasionally appeared in the messages of the last 70 years.

A review of past messages shows most presidents describing a long list of national, and international, problems inherited from preceding Administrations. This is especially true in a president's first message, and is usually followed by reports of success in meeting those problems, or in future messages blaming Congress for failing to act on presidential initiatives. This may be a "tradition" that President Reagan should not choose to respect.

Recommendation #11 - It is recommended that the President warmly thank the Members of Congress for their hard work and bi-partisan efforts on behalf of his major goals, that he stress the difficult decisions and sacrifices that still are ahead, and that he appeal to Congress, and to the Judicial Branch and States and local governments to make government work better for the the American people and at much less cost.

The President's Views - National Heritage

While the more important parts of the State of the Union message will be those which emphasize the President's visions and leadership for the future, there must be some important reminders of America's heritage. This is especially timely with the various 200th anniversaries occurring during the President's term(s) of office. In fact, the 200th anniversary in 1989 of the ratification of the Constitution may be as important, if not more important, as that of the Declaration of Independence. The Constitution, it might be pointed out, is actually the instrument that makes us a Union and that has kept us a Union throughout some very turbulent times. And, it is the continued life of that instrument which will shape the future of the Union and the directions we take.

America's religious heritage should also be mentioned. While some care must be exercised in the exact choices of words, various messages can be communicated to specific groups as well as to the general population. Phrases can be liturgical or cultural in character without offending.

Recommendation #12 - It is recommended that the President stress the importance of remembrance, and indeed celebration of our heritage, through reference to some of the more noteworthy 200th anniversaries that will occur between now and 1989, the 200th anniversary of the Constitution.

The President's Views - National Conditions

The President must frankly and honestly present his views on the problems the country now faces, and the solutions which he feels are the right ones. The views must be those of a citizen, a patriot, and a President. The views must offer hope, but not paint over difficulties.

Since Ronald Reagan may be seen as "different" from recent presidents, in whatever respect and for whatever reasons, the State of the Union message should perhaps be "different" from those given in recent years. That is, rather than single out issues, major and minor, the President might take a more global approach and truly describe how he sees our "205-years young" country. His view should not be a 20th-century version of de Tocqueville's visit to America. Rather, it can and should be a contemporary description of what the United States of America has become.

The purpose is, as stated before, to give people confidence that the President indeed has a correct perspective of modern America. And, he should make clear that his policies and actions are based on this contemporary view. All of this should be aimed at overcoming whatever concerns people have that the President is wedded to the past, and not in touch with current conditions and life styles.

Throughout the discussion of his views on national conditions, the President must stress his continued belief that we are and will continue to be a Union, despite the fact that we are a much different Union than that which existed 200 years ago, or 100 years, or even 10 years ago. He must point out that we must constantly look at ourselves in the mirror of honesty to be sure of what we have become, since what we have become is the real foundation on which changes and solutions can be based.

With the above in mind, the President's analysis of "the state of the Union" should be kept relatively simple, but still different from that of his predecessors. A sociological (not social) assessment of the country might accomplish this.

In fact, this part of the address might be in two parts: 1) a look at the people who constitute the "Union", the individual citizens who reside in all parts of the country; and, 2) a look at the "uniting" that has taken place, in terms of the many organizations and interest-groups that people have joined for all the many reasons. Thus, the "state of the people", and the "state of their associations" equate to the "state of the Union."

In discussing the people who make up the Union, the President must be careful not to simply present a census briefing. However, he should stress some of the important points about where people live, how they live, their divergent behaviors, their hopes, fears, wishes, concerns, and what all of this really means, i.e. a country in which values are multiplying rather than becoming more uniform, and one in which government is less able to meet the diverse individual demands, hopes, and expectations of its people.

This part of the speech can send subtle messages to all parts of the country by covering conditions in each - east, west, south, and north; or, northeast, southeast, midwest, north central, southwest, far west, northwest. Areas need not necessarily be mentioned by name for people to know which is being addressed. This type of coverage might be valuable in the appeal for coalitions needed for citizen-based, private-focused, governmental or political initiatives to follow. It would also show an awareness by the President of conditions in all parts of the country and how they vary. (For a detailed listing of the primary issues of concern to various regions of the country, see Appendix A to this SPM.)

In reviewing the "uniting", or the phenomenon of people joining organizations, social groups, professional associations, clubs, committees, and for hundreds of purposes, the President must analyze thoughtfully what this "organizational society" we have become means for the concept of "Union". He must not simply describe this phenomenon. He must point out that it means that people are most likely turning to these special interest organizations because they are more nearly satisfying the many needs people have that are not being met by big government. And, rather than discouraging this trend toward joining, it is encouraged as a means for ensuring that local conditions are developed and maintained for the people who will benefit from them and have a stake in them, not from strangers in Washington.

This part of the speech is quite tricky, in that there are still many who are suspicious of and frightened by groups, no matter what their purpose. Therefore, it must be treated as a fact of life and another way in which the "Union" is changing. And, it is one that has numerous implications for leadership in all parts of the nation.

Recommendation #13 - It is recommended that the President's views on national conditions be a major part of the State of the Union message, and that it lay the foundation for the President's visions for the future of the country.

The President's Visions and Leadership Actions

The President should really "lay it on" when recounting his visions for where the country should be headed and the leadership he intends to provide. These sterling, visionary statements should be the rationale for the legislative agenda that he can promise will follow. He should not simply roll out and recount program after program that will address all the nation's ills. Instead, he should embellish the principles he stated he stood for during the campaign, but with the Presidential cloak of confidence and the authoritative ring of concern. These principles should include, but not be limited to the following: shifting much of the responsibility for personal, social and economic objectives to private individuals, organizations, and the free enterprise system; encouraging a feeling of confidence and security among all Americans; reducing the involvement of the federal government in people's lives; making Presidential decisions on the basis of what is good for the country rather than for political expediency; not permitting long-term policy goals to be foreclosed by

short-term interests or events; not raising expectations beyond what is reasonably achievable; trusting in the values of American society; and expending minimum amounts of dollars to achieve maximum levels of innovation in fulfilling priority policy goals. And these are but a few.

While much of what should be in this part of the speech is well known and very personal to the President, the caution might still be heeded of not roaming too far and wide from reality. Just as people should believe the President has a correct view of the country today, so too must they believe at the end of the address that he has a balance of realism midst the all-important idealism they expect of him. In other words, people must also say "By golly, the President has a down-to-earth view of things, and is not as caught up in the world of his wealthy friends as I thought he was. He seems to really remember what the small-town, regular working person hopes and wishes for and is concerned about and fears."

Recommendation #14 - It is recommended that the President include in the State of the Union message his visions for the country that were stated in the campaign, but which he has had time to refine following the real experiences of his first year in office. It is also recommended that he clearly describe the leadership actions he personally will take during his time at the helm.

GOAL #2 - TO PROVIDE A PLATFORM FOR THE 1982 CAMPAIGNS

The State of the Union message should be the platform on which the 1982 campaigns are conducted. It should sound the themes and set the tone for those endeavors. In January, 1982, the various State campaigns will be well underway. The political control situation in Congress has already been noted as a somewhat unique, or at least quite rare, one. It has also been pointed out that the need for coalitions with Congress are crucial to achievement of the President's visions, leadership, and legislative proposals. Not stressed as much, but of equal importance, are the public coalitions to which the President can appeal, and has appealed, to win support for his initiatives. These two different but very important political coalitions must be treated in the message.

The Electoral Coalitions

First and foremost electoral coalitions deserve credit for the President winning the office. Thus, the speech must be carefully tailored to appeal to the various individuals and groups in these coalitions. And, these coalitions must be thought of in terms of geography as well as individual and group identity. The major issues of interest and concern in different geographical sections of the country are listed in Appendix A.

In appealing to the citizens and citizens groups comprising the Reagan coalitions, two approaches can be taken. The first is to appeal to the Reagan supporter as an individual who identifies with the President's aspirations and goals. This type of appeal must be

made to appear inclusive rather than exclusive. That is, these individuals must feel that they are a part of the majority rather than a special, exclusive minority supporter. Second, the speech can be tailored to appeal to the various groups of Reagan supporters. In this approach the message cannot simply list proposals aimed at every group in the country, such as Nixon and Carter offered. On the contrary, it should be a precisely defined appeal that will serve to unite and increase the intensity and numbers of like coalitions. It should be pointed out that the news media will notice any omission of major population groups such as Blacks. Even though this group is not a major part of Reagan coalitions, it may be necessary to reference their concerns.

To draw into the coalitions those who voted against Carter, the following strategy might be employed. If the country is doing well, we must draw comparisons to the Carter Administration performance. If the country is not doing well, we must speak in broader terms and of ultimate goals. We must overstate the deep-seated problems of the past 20 years, and emphasize permanent solutions to problems. We must also indicate a longer time frame needed to accomplish goals and stress, to a certain extent, social issues and moral ideals.

Recommendation #15 - It is recommended that the State of the Union message be directed to Eleanor and Joe Q. Public. They are truly the audience, and the ultimate members of the coalitions the President will need to accomplish his goals and visions.

The Congressional Coalitions

Currently, the American public is confused as to which party controls the House. There is a general feeling, according to the polls, that Congress is doing a better job than it was, perhaps partly due to Republican control. However, it would be politically astute to mention in the speech that the Senate is controlled by the Republican Party and the House by the Democratic Party.

For Congress generally, preserving and extending our coalitions is a question of appealing to mostly conservatives and mostly Southerners. Seventeen of the 20 who supported the President on all four roll calls on budget and tax legislation were from the South, as were 9 of 11 who voted with us three of the four and 13 of 16 who voted with us two of the four times.

Great care must be taken not to offend any Democratic members of our House coalitions. This could be difficult in a time when we are sounding the battle cry for the 1982 elections. On the other hand, the bulk of our Democratic support comes from the South, and most of the "boll weevils" are from safe Democratic districts. About half of these Southern Democrats are from Democratic districts and can easily do as they please, while the other half represent potential Republican districts. Thus, there is the twofold dilemma of not appearing too partisan for the "backwoods boll weevils" from Democratic districts, while determining whether or not to contest a strong supporter's district. The prospect cannot be discounted, no matter how slim, of persuading a few conservative Democrats to switch parties.

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In the drive to gain control over the House, there has been much ado over the 17 shifting seats. These alone will not get us even half-way toward control; in fact, the absolute best we can hope for among these seats is a net gain of 12. A gain of 8 to 10 is more realistic, perhaps. Almost all of these seats will be predetermined for one party or the other, anyway.

The real political focus for the State of the Union message should be on the industrial states of the East and Great Lakes areas. In these states are found the vast majority of seats which have a realistic potential of changing hands. Most of the vulnerable Republicans are there, and they must be defended if we are to register even modest gains, let alone control. Most important, the bulk of Democrats who represent Republican districts, and who did not support the President, are there. It is in this group that GOP hopes for control lay. These are mostly urban or suburban seats with high percentages of Catholics, ethnics, working people, and unemployed.

In a state such as New York, due to momentous reapportionment as many as 12 seats are capable of switching parties. In similar states, the numbers are also high: New Jersey - 9, Pennsylvania - 9, Ohio - 7, and Michigan - 7. This is not to say that there are not other significant battlegrounds. However, most are in the nature of sideshows. North Carolina and Texas are examples, as are Governor's races in the rocky mountain states.

Clearly, center stage belongs to the old industrial states if we are to register significant gains in the House. Thus, the speech must not only be a statement of the President's beliefs and programs, they must also be tailored to these older industrial states.

Recommendation #16 - It is recommended that the political focus of the State of the Union message be certain to target the industrial States of the East and upper Midwest, since these areas possess the greatest potential for defending vulnerable Republicans, and for winning Democratic-held seats. It is further recommended that care be taken not to destroy coalitions developed during 1981.

GOAL #3 - TO SET THE TONE AND PACE FOR PHASES IV AND V OF THE PRESIDENT'S STRATEGIC PLAN

To complement his visionary remarks on the "state and future of the Union", the President should set forth a limited number of relatively specific recommendations that link the coming year to his actions during the first year in office. The tone should be that of a leader providing the guidance and direction appropriate for coordinating the efforts of many individuals, groups, and activities. There must be toughness for those who better respond to this type of direction. There must be understanding and compassion for those who need this from a leader. There must be analytic thoughtfulness and logic for those who require these in leadership dicta. And, there must be political reasoning for those who expect, and even demand it.

Recommendation #17 - It is recommended that the pace suggested by the President be one of continued intensity in working on the major Administration policy areas and goals set at the outset: economic recovery and national security strengthening; while increasing the activity on adjustments to the other Administration policy areas and goals impacted by the many changes in the size and scope of the Federal government initiated during 1981.

As recommended previously, the Fiscal year 1983 budget message and subsequent legislative proposals (in February or March) should serve as the detailed written references for the State of the Union message. Thus, in this part of the speech the President should really only outline his agenda. The topics included should be those the President sincerely feels must be attended to by Congress and the Administration. This is the part of the speech in which visual aids would be quite impactful, except the logistics may be too difficult to arrange.

a. Economic Recovery - This policy area must be cited first, and should include a review and brief status report of each of the major goals i.e. budget reduction, tax cuts, regulatory relief, stability of monetary policy, and waste and fraud elimination. The management aspects of economic recovery should be stressed, since the Fall 1981 initiatives in this area may have had some impact. Regardless, the President must provide some evaluation of the results, and make some reference to economic expectations.

Evaluation of the President's initiatives and policies in connection with the economic recovery program will most likely be based on a wide range of judgements about issues and events. However, there are several basic indicators which are fundamental reference points and which could be adopted for general evaluation purposes, both internally and externally. The following are suggested as those the Administration should propose to monitor more closely than others, and to use if needed in the State of the Union message.

1. Overall Economic Recovery
 - Growth of national income (GNP in real terms)
 - Total number of persons employed (a goal of 13 million new jobs)
 - Level of inflation (both CPI and deflator)
 - Annual housing starts and domestic auto sales
 - Rate of increase in productivity
2. Reduction of the Growth of Government
 - Quarterly estimate of deficit in national income terms
 - Total federal civilian employment
 - Annual rate of the budget deficit
3. Regulatory Relief
 - Level of paperwork burden
 - Savings in regulatory costs
 - Imposition of new regulations

4. Monetary Policy

- Growth of money supply
- Level of interest on federal borrowing
- Housing interest rates

It is important to have a base period for these measures.

Recommendation #18 - It is recommended that the President review the major goals of the economic recovery program, that he explain in layman's terms what the budget reduction and tax cut legislation really meant, that he report on selected economic indicators and again in understandable terms describe what they mean, and that he list with very brief explanations the further economic steps that are necessary in 1982.

b. Foreign Policy and National Security - These topics can be mentioned separately or together. Unless there are significant international problems that confront us, concentration should be on the President's establishment of positive relationships with our true international friends and allies. Special mention should be made of North American neighbors Canada and Mexico. Defense initiatives and budgets, and their relationships to economic recovery must not be skirted, but should be met head-on. If Congressional support is pending on any defense decisions or policies, these might be mentioned. On foreign policy, we should emphasize the twin themes of Peace and Respect. Peace is important because of the importance of the issue among women voters. Trouble spots might be listed if they can show that we have preserved the peace and gained or held respect.

Recommendation #19 - It is recommended that the President stress the positive aspects of the country's relationships with friendly nations, purposely omitting any other specific policy than being a good partner to those countries that respect us and our ways.

Recommendation #20 - It is recommended that the President explain in straightforward terms the major initiatives aimed at strengthening the nation's defenses, especially those with high price tags, but that the major stress be that they are needed for peace, not war. Care should be exercised in using comparisons with the Soviet Union military strength.

c. Social Renewal - This major policy area of the President's Strategic Plan should be also linked to economic recovery. It should be stressed that social programs are not being overlooked so much as they are being re-examined. And, since the President does not wish to appear insensitive to social concerns, he will ensure that the policies and goals adopted are those which will provide the right protection for the most people.

Social security, housing and health care must still be financed; however, the responsibilities should be refocused away from the idea that there is an unlimited federal government bank account from which to draw. Unemployment and welfare are still be issues we must all work at, speak out on, and do something about; but the Federal

government cannot provide all the solutions. Federalism and voluntarism, shifting the scene of the truly innovative public action programs to States and local governments and private individuals and institutions, must occur. The improvement of personal safety and confidence in the future of the social fabric of the nation must be reinstilled, and these should not be the responsibility of but a few. And, the development and respect for American values must persist as we continue struggling with our own future - we can't stop the world to get off.

Recommendation #21 - It is recommended that the President stress that the Administration is still laboring at restructuring the social programs that are for the truly needy, but that help is needed from other levels of government and private individuals and organizations. He should also link the success of this reexamination of social renewal to the success of economic recovery.

d. National Resources - The enhancement and management of our national resources - the labor force, natural resources, business and industry, and government - is vital to the success of economic recovery. This major policy area should also be cited as one in which some refocusing will occur. Especially in the areas of improving the workforce, by stressing that people become more proficient and skilled with each passing generation; increasing the availability of the needed natural resources such as food and energy supplies; modernizing our business and industry, so that people are again satisfied that our places of work are indeed worthy of the workers who spend great parts of their lives there; and of much importance ensuring that with less government there is better governance, and that government management is improved so that it again gains the confidence of the people who support it through taxes.

Recommendation #22 - It is recommended that the President make brief mention of goals for enhancement of national resources, and that it be pointed out that they are directly linked to economic recovery as both beneficiaries and determinants.

Some care must be exercised in these latter two areas c. and d. above, that the speech does not begin to sound like a listing of something for everyone, which is not in keeping with the President's intent of less government and better governance.

MISCELLANEOUS CONSIDERATIONS

The following are miscellaneous considerations and recommendations that might be of tactical or even strategic importance.

The Media and Post-Address Activity

For media purposes, some attention should be given to the time slot. All four time zones should view the speech in either prime time, access, or news. We should encourage greater coverage by cable and radio, plus major independents, so as to provide a better chance of blocking other programs. We must not preempt a highly-rated show, or an on-going show such as a movie or sporting event, if possible.

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We should not go much over 30-minutes. Some networks will cut back to regular programming quickly, while others will not. The time frame should be close to the half-hour so that a network has the option of not pre-empting the next time slot.

We might consider a delayed broadcast for Alaska and Hawaii, otherwise the speech will be at 4:00 p.m. for some. We might consider greater foreign coverage if the world situation justifies it.

An analysis of newspaper coverage of past State of the Union addresses indicates that newspaper coverage lags after one or two days unless special effort is made to keep one or more issues alive. Some advance information might be provided columnists and analysts, so that they have ample time to prepare their more thorough and thoughtful commentaries.

Comments by Republicans afterwards must be carefully orchestrated. We must be ready immediately to respond to Democratic criticism. Thus, the White House must monitor the instant Democratic rebuttals, and have responses ready by 11 p.m. EST news broadcasts. This means press availability of Baker, Michel, and others half an hour after the speech is completed.

We must expect some press criticism. However, press reaction will die down after only a day, except for the little-read editorial page. It may be possible to orchestrate an extra day's coverage by having prominent people (supporters) continue to comment on it for a few days.

Recommendation #23 - It is recommended that the communications package be prepared sufficiently in advance so that the media are most effectively able to provide detailed, specific coverage of the speech, and that post-address activities are well coordinated.

Style and Reference to Previous Presidents

Overall, it may be wise to use the broad political style of FDR, as opposed to other, less effective presidents. Allusions to other Presidents, if done at all, should always conjure up a positive image. For instance, a mention of Coolidge should paint an image of the prosperity of the Twenties, though many may have to be told or reminded that the Twenties were prosperous.

It may be safer to stay away from any references to previous presidents, since one intent is to concentrate on the present and the future, and to project the President's image as contemporary.

Humorous one-liners may be quite effective, especially at the beginning of the speech. However, if there is a serious climate, and/or some major crisis is confronting us, this should be respected.

Early in the speech, the President should briefly review what he will include and what he will not include. This might offset criticism from those whose pet projects or concerns are omitted.

A closing call-to-action with specific timetables for setting actions into motion and for monitoring and reporting results might be valuable, and a bit different from previous speeches. However, this may be too specific.

The message should have specific reviews and proposals, but should not be overworked with detail. The general public must identify with the reviews and proposals, i.e. they should not be over their heads.

APPENDIX A: REGIONAL ISSUES AND CONCERNS

For the ultimate purpose of providing a political analysis of the State of the Union message, the primary issues of concern to each region of the country are listed.

NEW ENGLAND - Energy Costs, Social Security, Enterprise Zones, Nuclear Power, Catholic Issues, Defense Spending

MID ATLANTIC - Crime, Unemployment, Enterprise Zones, Railroads, Coal, Steel, Shipping (International Trade), Catholic Issues, Dairy, Nuclear Power, Energy Costs, Minority Issues, Auto Industry, Foreign Policy

SOUTH ATLANTIC - Defense Spending, Federal Workers Issues, Shipping (International Trade), Cotton Tobacco, Peanuts, Government Regulation of Industry, Minority Issues, Fundamentalist Issues

FLORIDA - Crime, Immigration, Drugs, Defense Spending, Social Security, Hispanic Issues, Interstate Citrus Problems, Shipping (International Trade)

DEEP SOUTH - Defense Spending, Shipping (International Trade), Sugar, Cotton, Minority Issues, Unemployment, Coal, Steel, Oil, Tobacco, Housing/Lumber, Interstate Citrus Problems, Fundamentalist Issues

TEXAS-OKLAHOMA - Oil, Gas, Shipping (International Trade), Immigration, Defense Spending, Interstate Citrus Problems, Hispanic Issues, Cotton

GREAT LAKES - Unemployment, Auto Industry, Steel, General Farm Issues, Dairy, Catholic Issues, Coal, Energy Costs, Minority Issues, Nuclear Power

FARM BELT - General Farm Issues, Land and Water Rights, Indian Issues, Social Security

SOUTHWEST - Immigration, Hispanic Issues, Land and Water Rights, Indian Issues, Social Security

ROCKY MOUNTAIN - Railroads, Coal, Oil, Synfuels, Land and Water Rights, Environmental Issues

PACIFIC NORTHWEST - Defense Spending, Housing/Lumber, Environmental Issues, Nuclear Power, Unemployment, Shipping (International Trade)

CALIFORNIA - Defense Spending, General Farm Issues, Oil, Environmental Issues, Nuclear Power, Shipping (International Trade) Hispanic Issues, Foreign Policy, Interstate Citrus Problems


ALASKA AND HAWAII - Shipping (International Trade), Defense Spending, Land and Water Rights, Oil, Environmental Issues

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

(UNCLASSIFIED/SENSITIVE)

STRATEGIC PLANNING MEMORANDUM #2

TO: Edwin Meese III
From: Richard Smith Beal 
Subject: Phase III Policy Focus: A Synthesis
Date: August 14, 1981

- A. Time Period: September 7, 1981 (Labor Day) to mid-January, 1982 (State-of-the-Union)
- B. Primary Policy Focus: Management of the Economic Recovery Program

Presidential Tasks

1. Explain the final content of the budget reconciliation and tax bills; explain to the public that this is only the first step in the economic recovery process (early September address to the nation on the status of the Economic Recovery Program).
2. Issue directives to departments and agencies on cost containment, implementation of the Economic Recovery Program, and identification of additional budget reductions (Meet with cabinet secretaries, heads of agencies, senior appointees and career civil servants on September 29-30, 1981 at the beginning of the first full fiscal year of the Reagan Administration).
3. Continue to meet with state and local public officials to implement Reagan federalism (Meetings should continue through the phase).
4. Prepare the Economic Recovery Program component of the State-of-the-Union address (mid-January, 1981).
5. Give a public status report on regulatory reduction (Vice President, November, 1981).

6. Accelerate the Fraud, Waste and Abuse campaign (News conference with President and OMB).
7. Establish "Strike Forces" and "Citizen Task Forces" to continue the budget reductions initiative within the federal government (September-early October, 1981; Office of Policy Development).
8. Target, monitor and control defense spending, especially weapons and manpower decisions (late summer - early Fall, 1981).
9. Announce the creation of the National Productivity Advisory Committee (early September, 1981).

C. Secondary Policy Focus: National Security: Strategic Systems and Military Manpower

Presidential Tasks

1. Make and announce the decisions on the M-X missile system, new manned-bomber and Trident D-5 (August-September, 1981).
2. Prepare for the Haig-Gromyko meeting at the United Nations (September, 1981).
3. Continue consultations and preparations for LRTNF talks with the Soviet Union in December, 1981.
4. Issue Executive Order 12036 on the intelligence community (September, 1981).
5. Prepare for a positive leadership role at the Cancun North-South conference (October 22-23, 1981).
6. Prepare initiatives toward the Soviet Union with regard to arms reductions, Poland, Afghanistan, China, and East-West trade (Fall, 1981).
7. Monitor and contribute, where necessary, to the legislative adoption of the AWACS package (September-October, 1981).

8. Coordinate a series of foreign policy/national security policy statements and articles by top Administration officials, e.g. Secretary Haig on general foreign policy, relations with the allies and Soviet Union; Admiral Inman on intelligence; Walt Rostow on the Reagan Administration's concept of arms reduction; Fred Ikle on defense capabilities and manpower; the Vice President on crisis management; Richard V. Allen on the National Security Council system; and, Edwin Meese on the Reagan philosophy of governing with appropriate foreign policy references (September-December, 1981).
 - a. These statements should be published, an op-ed strategy developed, and the President should reference them in press conferences, interviews and weapons system or manpower announcements.
 - b. The Reagan Administration's foreign policy, using this strategy, will be developed and announced incrementally, highlighting the role of the principal departments and agencies, and pulled together into a comprehensive package in the State-of-the-Union Address by the President.
9. The President's own statement on foreign policy/national security should first come in the State-of-the-Union Address in January, 1982.
10. Prepare comments on the Interim Report of the Military Manpower Task Force (December 1, 1981).

D. Phase III Presidential Initiatives

Presidential Tasks

1. Remarks on Private Sector Voluntarism (September 16, 1981 at the announcement of the Private Sector Initiative Task Force).
2. Speech on Personal Safety, Serious Crime, and Drug Abuse (September 28, 1981 to the International Association of Chiefs of Police).

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3. TV Address on Social Security Reform (October, 1981 or when the legislation that is acceptable to the President is ready).
4. Speech on Housing Finance (After the October 30, 1981 Housing Commission's Interim Report).
5. American Values Theme (Remarks at the Yorktown Bicentennial on October 19, 1981, on Thanksgiving, November 26, 1981 and in the "Mending Fences" interview).
6. Remarks on the anniversary of the "Pledges on the Capitol Steps." (Theme of consistency, campaign commitments and achievements).

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PHASE III POLICY OPPORTUNITIES

8/10/81

#	DATE	POLICY OPPORTUNITY	SPM #1 POLICY AREA	PERSON(S) RESPONSIBLE
1.	8/19/81	<u>Press Statement or Address to Nation on Economic Recovery Program Status</u> Explain FY 1982 budget reduction and tax bill results	Economic Recovery	Gergen; Darman
2.	9/7/81	<u>Labor Day Remarks</u> Backyard picnic and national radio address	National Resources Enhancement	Speechwriters
3.	9/16/81	<u>Policy Statement on Private Sector Voluntarism</u> Identify voluntarism opportunities; announce Private Sector Initiative Task Force	Social Renewal	Deaver
4.	9/28/81	<u>Policy Statement on Personal Safety, Serious Crime, and Drug Abuse</u> Speech to International Association of Chiefs of Police	Social Renewal	Meese
5.	9/29-30/81	<u>Management of the Economic Recovery Program</u> Issue management directives; and hold meetings with departments and agencies to kick off FY 1982	Economic Recovery	Cabinet; Harper
6.	10-12/81	<u>Reagan Federalism</u> Continue meetings with State and local officials	Economic Recovery	Williamson; Carleson
7.	10/81	<u>Policy Statement on Social Security Reform</u> National TV address	Social Renewal	Anderson; Carleson
8.	10/81	<u>Policy Statement on Community Renewal/Enterprise Zones</u> TV coverage of a visit to an inner city area to establish the first Enterprise Zone	Social Renewal	Anderson; Kass
9.	10/81	<u>Presidential Proclamation on Rights of the Aged, Handicapped, Unborn</u>	Social Renewal	Anderson; Uhlmann
0.	11/81	<u>Speech on Excellence in Education</u> During American Education Week, present theme as context for dealing with education-related social issues	Social Renewal	Anderson; Fairbanks
1.	11/26/81	<u>Short Remarks to Nation on American Values</u> TV coverage of comments to intimate gathering on Thanksgiving Day	Social Renewal	Gergen
2.	12/81	<u>Status Report on Regulatory Reduction (Vice President)</u>	Economic Recovery	Miller
3.	12/81	<u>Policy Statement on Housing Finances</u> Describe progress of the Housing Commission	Social Renewal	Colton
4.	12/81	<u>Policy Statement on Workforce Improvement</u>	National Resources Enhancement	Porter; Simon
5.	12/28/81	<u>"Mending Fences" Interview</u> Taped interview on need for effective use and protection of national resources while "mending fences" at the Santa Barbara ranch	National Resources Enhancement	Gergen
5.	1/82	<u>State-of-the-Union Address and Message</u> Address to joint session of Congress, dealing with all four policy areas	All	Meese