

June 21, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO ROGERS MORTON

FROM : ROB QUARTEL
 RALPH STANLEY

SUBJECT : "ELECTABILITY"

Rob Quarrel
Ralph Stanley

In the last several days, Reagan has concentrated on the argument that he is "more electable" than President Ford. The attached wire story indicates that he has sent maps to all delegates which most certainly support his argument in a very dramatic--if misleading--manner.

This is a problem of special concern given those actions, and the seeming plausibility of his argument.

Reagan's primary argument is that he has run better than the President in those areas of the country in which Carter will be of the greatest threat to the Republican nominee.

That argument is superficially correct--Reagan has won more primaries--numerically--than the President in the South.

The argument is blatantly false upon analysis, as the following independent polling data indicate:

1. President Ford runs stronger against Carter in every region of the country in both the NY Times (May 28) and Harris Survey (May 6).
2. President Ford runs ahead of Reagan in every area of the country, except the West--despite the myth that Reagan runs better in the South, Ford beats Reagan 44 - 39% (NY Times).
3. Ford runs even with Carter in the East, and beats Carter in the West. Reagan loses against Carter in every region (Harris Survey).

Several myths must be countered immediately:

MYTH: Reagan runs stronger than Ford against Carter's stronghold in the South.

TRUTH: Ford runs ahead of Reagan in the South. Ford enjoys a greater advantage against Carter in the South than does Reagan according to the only independent polling information available.



MYTH: Reagan will dominate the West against Carter; and dominates the traditional Republican areas in the Midwest.

TRUTH: Almost 75% of the voting age population in the West lives in California, accounting for the bulk --well over 60%--of Reagan's total vote in the West.

Ford, in fact, runs a full 11% ahead of Carter in the West, while Reagan runs 9% behind.

This is bolstered by the fact that Carter picks up only 10% of the vote, versus 64% for other Democratic candidates, in the West.

* * *

In the Midwest, Ford beats Reagan 2 to 1 (59% to 28%).

Ford's advantage here is particularly important, since the Midwest is Carter's second strongest area.

MYTH: Reagan will pick up the Independent vote.

TRUTH: Reagan loses to Carter by 18% among Independents, according to the NY Times survey.

Ford, on the other hand, runs even with Carter among Independents--and better among the College educated and the business community (Reagan loses by 17% among businessmen--traditionally strong Republican sector).

Finally, in the East, where Republicans will have to pick up electoral votes from states like New York and Pennsylvania, Ford draws even with Carter--but Reagan loses to Carter by almost 2 to 1.

CONCLUSION:

Reagan enjoys no advantages in any area of the country against Carter--and no advantages over Ford, except in his own state of California.

Ford, on the other hand, does better than Reagan against Carter in the South; has at least an even chance against Carter in the critical East; and enjoys a strong advantage over Carter in the West.

Ford is not only more electable than Reagan--he's more electable against the one that counts--Jimmy Carter.



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DONALD LANBRO

LOS ANGELES (UPI) -- IN HIS RACE-TO-THE-WIRE SPRINT AGAINST PRESIDENT FORD, RONALD REAGAN IS INCREASINGLY HAMMERING AWAY AT THE ONE ISSUE HE THINKS MAY DECIDE WHO WINS AT KANSAS CITY -- ELECTABILITY.

DESPITE EARLY RELUCTANCE TO TAG FORD AS A LOSER, REAGAN IS NOW STRIKING HARDEST ON THE CLAIM THAT HE HAS A BETTER CHANCE THAN THE PRESIDENT OF DEFEATING JIMMY CARTER IN NOVEMBER.

UNCOMMITTED DELEGATES AND THOSE YET TO BE CHOSEN ARE PROVIDED BY REAGAN'S FORCES WITH MAPS SHOWING THE CALIFORNIAN HAS WON A BROADER BASE OF SUPPORT IN MORE REGIONS OF THE COUNTRY THAN FORD.

MOREOVER, BEFORE CLOSED DOOR CAUCUS MEETINGS WITH IOWA DELEGATES AT THEIR WEEKEND CONVENTION, REAGAN BLUNTLY DECLARED THAT ONLY A NON-WASHINGTON CANDIDATE SUCH AS HIMSELF COULD WAGE A WINNING OFFENSIVE AGAINST CARTER'S ANTI-WASHINGTON CAMPAIGN.

"ONLY AN ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT CANDIDATE IS GOING TO HAVE A CHANCE AGAINST JIMMY CARTER," ONE GOP DELEGATE QUOTED REAGAN AS SAYING. "FORD HAS BEEN PART OF THAT ESTABLISHMENT MOST OF HIS ENTIRE ADULT LIFE."

IN APPEARANCES IN IOWA AND WASHINGTON STATE SATURDAY -- WHERE HE WON 48 DELEGATES TO FORD'S 26 -- REAGAN CLOSED HIS STANDARD CAMPAIGN SPEECH WITH A FERVENT PITCH ON "THE ISSUE OF ELECTABILITY IN NOVEMBER."

REAGAN STRATEGISTS SAY THAT IN THE CLOSING DAYS OF THE BATTLE FOR DELEGATES, THE ISSUE WILL BE PRESSED EVEN HARDER.

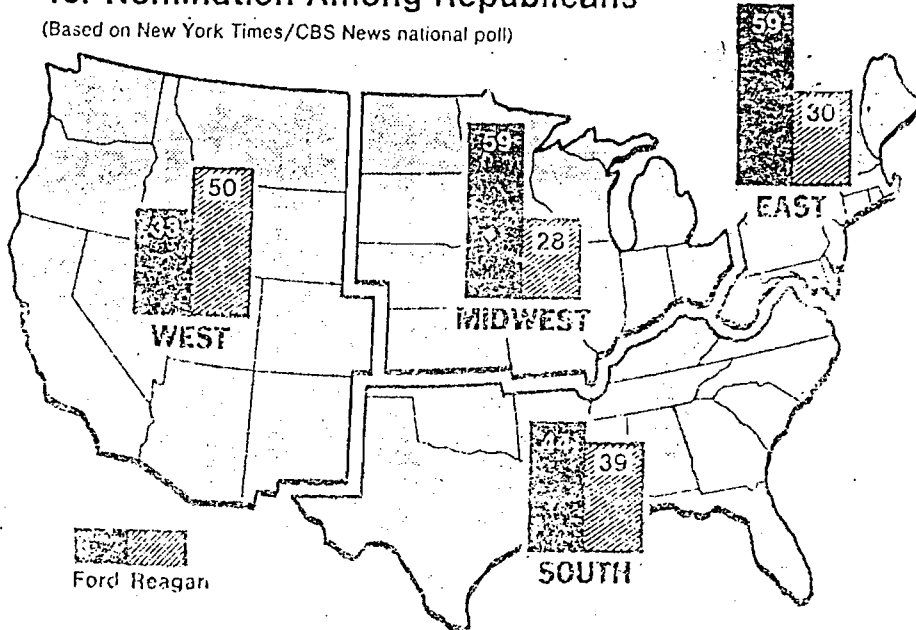
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Regional Distribution of Support for Nomination Among Republicans

(in percent)

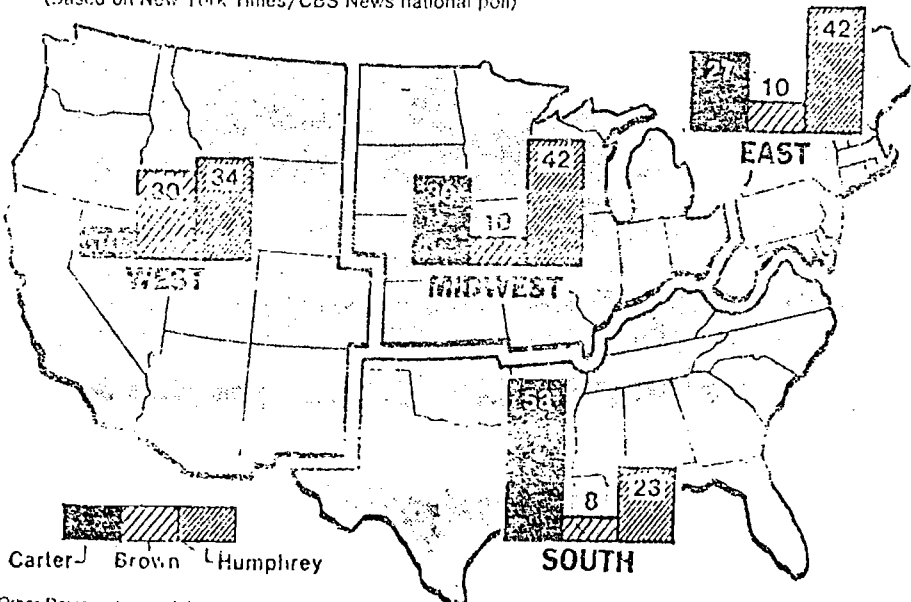
(Based on New York Times/CBS News national poll)



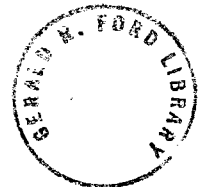
Regional Distribution of Support* for Nomination Among Democrats

(in percent)

(Based on New York Times/CBS News national poll)



* Other Democratic candidates were not included because their national support was too small to allow significant regional breakdowns



STANDINGS: FORD - REAGAN v. CARTER

Harris, May 6, 1976

	<u>FORD</u>	<u>REAGAN</u>	<u>CARTER</u>
Total:		34%	53%
	43%		47%
East:	44	28	44
			54*
West:	50		39
		40	49
Mid-West:	41		48
		38	52
South:	36		55
		32	56
College educated:	48		43
		31	57
Business execs:	51		42
		34	51
Independents:	45		45
		34	52

*Reagan's weakness in the East;
not Carter's strength

Q: "Suppose for President next November, it were between Gerald Ford for the Republicans and Jimmy Carter for the Democrats. If you had to make up your mind right now, would you vote for Ford the Republican or for Carter the Democrat?"

same question asked re: Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter

