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see [June 1976?]

NYT / CBS New Hampshire NYT 2/25/76

NYT
2/26

1. Issues - those ^{GOP members} who took conservative positions on the issues (defense, pollution/energy trade off, social spending, federal/local, social security, investment, help for minorities) went 40-60 to Reagan. The GOP moderate liberal vote went 5-4 for the president.

2. Times Analysis - 2/25/76

"Most of the conservative Republicans a NYT/CBS poll showed of 1235 voters across the state showed, chose Ronald Reagan, former Governor of California, and most of the liberals chose President Ford, with the moderates divided. (2/3 choose Reagan; 2/3 liberals Ford; mod. divided for Ford). Reagan strength outside conservatives was with lower status voters. Reagan ran better in small towns + Manchester area.

NYT Mass 3/3/76

But the challenger's [Reagan] disappointing showing - he was beaten by about 2-1 and did not even get the hard-core Republican base in Massachusetts... There was one additional bit of gloom for the Californian in the data from the Times/CBS poll. Mr. Ford ran powerfully here among older voters, a highly significant element of the Republican electorate in Florida.

Mass Dems split -	foreign policy	job/tee
	minorities	sec. serv
	pollution	big buy. power
		cut

60% L 49000
 60% M 147000
 48.1% C 124000

588 64680 L + 17 = 82¹⁵ 39129
 229320 M + 17 = 246¹⁵ 137000
 C 241080 / + 17 = 258¹⁵

NYT / CBS Florida 3/4/76

Ford runs first among liberals, conservatives + Democrats. Ran strongly among older people. Reagan got Latin vote.

1. Reagan Ford split debate cubic - Ford won w/ pro (60-40)
2. Maj saw economic upswing 2-1 Ford
 " down 2-1 Reagan

Illinois NYT / CBS 3/17/76

Ford gets maj. of both sides of grain sales + detente issue

80% of the 4 in 10 who saw integrity as crucial chose Ford

75% of 5 in 10 who saw econ. improving

Wisconsin: 21% GOP = Wallace (Dem primary)

Rep. primary voters

Liberals > 4/5 Ford

Moderate

Conservative 4/5 Reagan

13/12

Reagan gets 2/3 of Dem

crossover to

GOP vote

Reagan better re: blue collar + ^{lower} educ. (total 11% of vote)
 Ford better: young + old

NYT after Pa Carter / HHH:

Protestants - Cath / Jews

Younger older

split Heavy union

smaller govt larger govt.

soc. serv trade no s.s. trade

60% Jack = HHH

50% Utah = "

40% Carter = "

Wall poll early Feb 1st week
Neth poll 2nd week April

↓
May 5/6

NYT 2/13/68 issues

Job site

70 Yes
26 No
4 DK

Abortion

67 Yes
26 No

Defence

No ~~43~~ 50
Yes ~~33~~ 33
DK 17

Cut Defense

7 DK
Yes 37
No 52
DK 11

Poll / every trade

45 Y

43 N

11 DK

Busing

Yes 20

No 71

DK 7

Fed / Local

Local 63

Fed 24

DK 13



of total
GOP votes

NYT May 6 NYT/CBS

1/3 of Wallace '72 voters voted GOP -

3:1 Reagan
moderates 50 conservatism 50
3:2 Ford 3:2 Reagan

Kissinger Bad 70/30 Reagan
Good 70/30 Ford

economy same or worse 2:1 Reagan
40% better → 2:1 Ford

same split
in welfare,
race.

NYT
4/25/76

Carter voters more likely poor
more likely to desert if Carter doesn't get -

economic issues [40% too much
fed. govt size [govt help
minorities]

Carter: winner / outsider

Michigan - defection

1/2 left Wallace '72 voters
went GOP - mostly Reagan
those who stayed Dem went
mostly for Carter



moderates
Dem

liberal { - Ford defectors: 1/3 would go Carter in
Carter - Reagan

Wallace - Reagan defectors: nearly 40% would go
to Carter in Ford - Carter

[June 1976]

Electability → Holding Mc Center
Carter as foil

1) States → Electoral

2) Polls

3) Elements of Winning Constituency

4) Key Issues

5) Personality

G.V.C.



- Arguments as winner
- 1) Regional - NO
 - 2) States will cross over? - NO
 - 3) Popular Votes - NO
 - 4) Polls - Yes Indeps + Demos
 - 5) States needed to win general - YES

Border states + California

Regan strength wrong places and/or not enough

Capturing the Center - CAU

Turnout low → Wallace voters → defect Regan

Regan Record of Party in Calif

People on ticket set off with Ford

Young strength → big section of independents

Peaking of Democ. Coalition

68 - Wallace + Humphrey vs RN.

Raising specter of '64

Knocking off incumbent President - lame ducks



Ford as Winner

I. Use of Argument

- A Public → News
- B Advocates → Public
→ Conventions
- C PFC → Delegates
- D Party Pros + Elected Officials

II. Types of Arguments

- A Empirical Evidence
 - Polling - Public National/state by state
 - Voting - Primaries + Post
- B Conventional Wisdom
- C Electoral Strategy
- D Sophistication → Strengths + Weaknesses

III. Carter - ABC Democrat

Ford as winner
Reagan as loser



[June 1976?]

FORD/REAGAN IMPACT ON NORMAL DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUENCY:

A COMPARISON

In the race against Carter, the GOP nominee will probably be significantly less able to draw the votes of former supporters of Wallace away from the Democrats. Thus it becomes of critical importance that the GOP candidate attract votes from other elements of the normal Democratic constituency. The President can do this, but with some exceptions, Reagan cannot. Following is an element by element comparison of the predicted Ford/Reagan performance among normally Democratic constituencies.



I. JEWISH VOTERS

American Jews represent only 3-4% of the American population, but two factors combine to give them an importance far out of proportion to their numbers. The first is that they are concentrated in a relatively small number of very large states -- NY, Illinois, California, Pennsylvania and Florida (156 electoral votes) where a shift in their voting patterns can be decisive. The second is that they have the highest percentage of voters of any identifiable group in the population. They voted solidly Democratic until 1972. While Jews apparently dislike Carter, this clearly does not mean that any GOP candidate will receive their support. Rather, if Carter takes positions on certain issues acceptable to the Jewish community, the critical question will be how much of their vote the GOP candidate will draw away. Ford will clearly draw more of their vote than will Reagan. The reasons for this are:

1. Jewish economic liberals are less likely to be alienated by (indeed many of them support) the President's economic reform proposals such as deregulation, antitrust reform, and so on than they will be by Reagan's insistence that government leave the marketplace altogether.

2. Jewish social liberals are less likely to be alienated by the President's plan to minimize busing than by Reagan's proposal for a total ban on busing.

3. Administration foreign policy toward Israel in the U.N. has been supported by the Jewish community, so Reagan would do no better on this front.

4. A Reagan candidacy will clearly be less acceptable to Jews from a religious point of view. Reagan takes a religious tack similar to Carter's, an approach which has clearly alienated Jewish voters. Reagan's attack on the school prayer decisions is also likely to cause severe losses among Jewish voters.

CONCLUSION: A Carter candidacy will probably mean a substantial vote for the GOP nominee if the nominee is President Ford.



II. BLACK VOTERS

Blacks contribute from 15-20% of total Democratic support. While they have apparently ~~v~~oted fairly heavily for Carter in the early Democratic primaries, poll data shows that their loyalty to him, a compared to other Democratic candidates is not that strong. This suggests that their 90+% loyalty rate to Johnson and Humphrey may return to earlier 70% levels if Carter is the candidate. This will be far more likely to happen, however, if Ford rather than Reagan is the GOP candidate. The reasons for this are as follows:

1. African Policy -- Even the most superficial analysis of the positions taken by the Ford Administration as compared to those taken by Reagan suggests that Reagan has very probably alienated many black voters, while the Ford policies are seen as at least steps in the right direction.

2. Busing -- Again, Reagan's views are almost calculated to alienate many blacks.

3. Economic Policy -- President Ford will be running on a strong record of economic recovery, while Reagan has no record in this area and his views on the economic role of government are, as poll data clearly indicates, anathema to blacks.

4. Ford has appointed a number of prominent ^{and} visible blacks.

CONCLUSION: In general, a Ford candidacy seems likely to produce at least some black support, while a Reagan candidacy would mean this vote would go completely to the Democrats.



III. CATHOLICS

Catholics and Jews taken together have consistently contributed approximately 40% of ^{the} Democratic vote. Governor Reagan and the President would probably do about equally well among Catholic voters who vote Republican if Carter is the Democratic candidate. Catholic voters tend to be economic liberals, but social conservatives. Thus Reagan's slight edge among Catholic voters based on his social issue stands (abortion, busing, to a lesser extent school prayer) would probably be offset by losses of potential GOP Catholic voters as a result of his economic views. The probability that this is the case is strengthened by the fact that the President has far stronger support among younger voters, of whom many are Catholic.

CONCLUSION: The social issue stands of significance to these voters would probably be abortion, busing and to a significantly less extent, school prayer.



IV. UNION MEMBERS

Union members generally contribute a high proportion of Democratic support. Union members have rarely been overwhelming loyal to the Democrats, and a Carter candidacy seems likely to leave open the possibility that the GOP candidate will receive a higher than average number of union member votes. While neither candidate has a record which suggests that it would naturally draw large numbers of union votes, the President's position with union members would probably be stronger than that of Reagan. The President has a strong proven track record on economic issues and has been considerably less critical of labor in general than has Reagan. The common situs veto would ~~probably~~ be a neutral factor -- between Ford and Reagan because Reagan probably wouldn't have signed it either.





Key Issue Differences between President Ford and Governor Reagan and their impact on the Electorate

Both President Ford and Governor Reagan are conservative men, a fact which the GOP primaries held this year have tended to obscure. Both men agree that the United States needs to maintain a strong national defence posture, and that the federal government ^{in particular} should otherwise play a much smaller role in our national life than it now does. But on a number of issues the candidates have taken somewhat different positions, ~~thus suggesting~~ ^{making it probable} that they will appeal to different constituencies in the general election. ~~The trouble is that~~

In general, Governor Reagan is slightly more likely to have appeal ^{to} the deep south than is the President, and considerably less likely to appeal to Northern voters, if the GOP primaries are any indication of ~~the~~ the likely pattern of ~~the~~ voting in the Fall. [↑] But this means that unless Reagan can defeat ~~the~~ Carter in his home territory, he is likely to lose very badly.

It is also clear that Governor Reagan has also taken certain positions which will probably break his support in the group to which he would

TROOPS V. ~~US~~ NEGOTIATION

Foreign Policy - Based on his recent public statements, Reagan is considerably more willing to commit ~~time~~ the United States to foreign land wars than is the President. While this position clearly has some appeal in the South and perhaps in the West, it seems unlikely to

~~because~~ of Carter's military background and his consistent support for a strong defense posture are likely to blunt Reagan attacks.

On the other hand, Reagan's position will

cost Carter significant numbers of votes in the South, ~~and~~ it will clearly cost ~~Reagan~~ ^{him} votes everywhere else in the country. President Ford's attempts to negotiate settlements of various international disputes seem ^{much} more likely to have broad popular appeal, ^{and} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~supported~~ ^{supported} by Jackson's loss to Carter in Florida and the collapse of his Jackson campaign nationally. Recent Gallup poll data (WP, June 6) indicates that secretary Israel - Reagan's attacks on the Ford policy toward Israel were misguided and are unlikely, for reasons discussed ~~above~~ ^{above}, to draw significant numbers of Jewish voters to him.

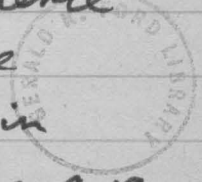
Kissinger, whom Reagan has often attacked, is a definite asset to the Administration in this area.

Domestic Policy

which the Ford policy might well garner for the GOP.

R the Admin. can point to substantial progress in this area during the Ford administ. Furthermore, the President has the advantage of his experience and of his position as incumbent.

Busing - Discussed elsewhere are the impacts of the Reagan busing position on various Democratic Econ. Policy: Delegation + Reform v. Laissez faire support groups has been discussed elsewhere. ~~As~~ As was shown there, the Reagan busing position is likely to mean the loss of ~~potential~~ ~~votes~~ potential votes from various Democratic groups. ~~On the~~ ~~other~~ ~~hand~~ ~~there~~ ~~is~~ ~~little~~ ~~evidence~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~Reagan~~ ~~position~~ ~~will~~ ~~be~~ ~~more~~ ~~successful~~ ~~than~~ ~~the~~ ~~President's~~ ~~position~~ ~~in~~ ~~drawing~~ ~~the~~ ~~votes~~ ~~of~~ ~~former~~ ~~Wallace~~ ~~supporters~~ ~~away~~ ~~from~~ ~~Carter~~. Carter's anti-forced busing position seems likely to satisfy those who would otherwise be inclined to support him



Economic Policy

General - The major difference between the President and Reagan on matters of economic policy seems to have been that the President has recognized, ~~the fact~~ that ^{to effect a} ^{substantial} change in economic policy, the economic role of government will ~~be~~ require some time, and ^{that reform} may not be as thorough-going as some of the ^{pure} laissez-faire school ^{might} like. _{if thought}

while Reagan does not,

the members of

1. The President signed a budget which contained provision for some deficit spending because he felt that it was a workable compromise and it would have generally beneficial effects. Reagan opposed this budget because it contained a deficit, the President appears to have decided correctly because the economic picture has steadily improved.

and because the signing took the steam out of much of the Dem. attacks on Admin. ec. policy.

2. Reagan proposed the sale of the TVA to private industry. This proposal alienated even the conservative voters who would otherwise favor Governor Reagan, as the TN/KY ^{the results in} ^{primaries} showed. 3. Reagan proposed that the social security trust fund be invested in equity securities of private companies. This would ^{the fall} ^{election.} have turned the government into a major ~~private~~ investor in private enterprise. This was clearly an undesirable result, and thus conservatives ~~proposed~~ opposed this proposal. At the same time the President has proposed increases in social security payments to ease the burdens of inflation on SR. citizens who will represent a powerful voting block in



4. Ford proposals for deregulation and strengthened
 arbitral enforcement have been extremely
 well received. The fact that the
 President has ^{approached} ~~made~~ ^{the} ~~proposals~~ ^{problem} ~~as~~
^{after a} case by case study, rather
 than ~~to~~ simply ^{proposing} ~~because~~ he believes
 the free market system should always be
 given maximum play, has had 2 important
 effects: first, it makes Administration
 deregulation proposals far more credible
 among groups who normally strongly oppose
 such action and secondly, it makes
 Administration opposition to certain
 Democratic proposals much more believable
 and more likely to succeed. This is
 an area where, if potential non Republican
 voters are not to be alienated, change
 must be gradual and public consensus
 must be carefully shaped. The Ford
 Administration has shown it can develop
 this consensus. It seems clear that
 Reagan's position would be far more likely
 to drive those potential voters away.
 To take just one concrete example, Illinois
 + Wisconsin ^{primary} voting results suggest substantial
 support for Admin. FARM policy which
 promises to ~~to~~ largely eliminate government involvement
 in the agricultural sector of the economy.

basis +
 proposed
 changes
 only after
 careful
 study

Poll
 data
 suggests

promises to

(over)



Conclusion

General - In general, Reagan economic policy seems far more likely to cost the party the support of large numbers of voters who are social conservatives but economic moderates or liberals. The Ford policies, on the other hand, make it likely that substantial change will in fact occur. ^{At the same time} the economic record is unlikely to be vulnerable to an attack which many economic moderates will agree with.

Bureaucracy - Governor Reagan's attacks on the federal government will be deprived of a large part of their effectiveness if Carter is the Democratic candidate. While Reagan can point to his mixed record in California on this issue, Carter can point to his in Georgia, and he has clearly been able to run well with this issue. Nor will the President be vulnerable to Carter on this score. The President can point to his record of vetoes, his consistent opposition to the creation of wasteful new programs, and his plans to make some of the agencies significantly less intrusive ~~by~~ through his deregulation, anti busing, and revenue-sharing policies.

11


~ ~ ~

~ ~ ~

style +
The Personalities of President Ford and Governor
Reagan and their impact on the Fall Election -
A Comparison

Survey data consistently demonstrates that elections in which both candidates are seen as moderates on the issues are decided at least in substantial part on personality, while elections in which either one or both candidates are viewed as extremists are likely to be based somewhat more on issue voting. ~~If Carter~~ If Carter is the Democratic nominee, and if both GOP candidates are perceived as moderates by the electorate, President Ford's personality would compare much more favorably with Carter's than would that of Governor Reagan. Not only would Governor Reagan's ^{style or} personality have independent negative associations for many voters, it would tend to reinforce many negative stereotypes of the GOP held by large numbers of American voters.

1. Style - Governor Reagan is somewhat more articulate than is the President, as his ability to get enthusiastic responses from his audiences shows. However, Reagan's ^{these} audiences are usually partisan audiences, and Reagan's articulateness has strong negative associations for voters other than Reagan partisans. Reagan is often thought of as too "slick" - and this perception is often combined with the following negative associations - indifferent or uncaring, superficial, perhaps dishonest, a "politician."



which they
have later
had to withdraw.

effect
to the

It is important to note that these negative associations are very similar to widely held negative stereotypes of the Republican party - that the GOP is uncaring and dishonest.

Furthermore, Reagan is personally a good deal wealthier than the President. He is therefore much more likely to be viewed as a friend of Big Business, less sympathetic to the needs of the poor and the middle class (groups in which many of the Wallace voters are concentrated).

Again, these associations reinforce certain widely held, and very negative stereotypes concerning the Republican party. Since Carter is also personally quite wealthy, and Ford is, much more likely to be able to capitalize on this than is Reagan.

which made regrettable statements during the course of their campaigns.

Enthusiasm/Temper - Both Reagan and Carter have been susceptible to outbreaks of anger at inappropriate moments. ~~The President~~ Indeed, Jackson ~~attacked~~ used this as a basis for his attacks on Carter in Pennsylvania. The President is widely perceived as more restrained and judicious in his choice of words and actions. This difference could prove to be of tremendous importance in a race where personalities are a significant issue since this type of restraint appears to be an essential attribute of a President ^{to the public} in a nuclear age, in the public mind.



Sincerity - Both Ford and Reagan will project equally well on this dimension against Carter.

Decisiveness - As President, Ford will obviously be in a much better position to demonstrate his decisiveness. While the President will be vulnerable ^{to attacks based on} ~~with regard to~~ shifts in Administration policy, there is no reason to believe Reagan will fare better on this score. Indeed, Kevin Phillips recently noted that Reagan's credibility had been severely damaged by his abandonment of several positions thus making him more vulnerable in the general election (Phillips, During the primaries).

Openness - The Democratic Party is perceived by voters as much more open than the GOP to change in all respects. President Ford is much more likely to be perceived as open than is Reagan. Betty Ford will clearly be a tremendous asset to the President in this respect.

Religiosity - Ford will probably be stronger ^{against Carter} on this dimension than Reagan because he brings less "evangelical fervor" to what he does. This will be an asset for him with more moderate Protestant (+ Catholic?) denominations members. Any drawing power Reagan might have on this dimension ~~and~~ would probably be offset by other Carter associations.



General Election Turnout and its effect on Ford/ Reagan Candidates: A Comparison

The ~~the~~ results of this year's primaries strongly suggest that the election this year will be characterized by relatively low voter turnout. The evidence from the primaries so far is that the substantial decrease in primary turnout on the Democratic side, to the extent that is not simply a reflection of an overall decline, is ~~disproportionately~~ a result of the fact that many of Wallace's former voters have stayed at home. Since the Reagan constituency, if Reagan is to win the general election, must include large numbers of these voters, this suggests that, when combined with other factors discussed below, a Reagan candidate would be weaker than might be indicated by poll results taken alone. In a low turnout election:

<p>Groups whose ^{ally} historically high Relative Turnout gives them Exaggerated Importance</p> <p>Jews Republicans Catholics</p>	<p>Groups whose historically ^{ally} low turnout gives them less importance</p> <p>Union members Blacks Southerners Young Voters</p>
--	--



~~The~~ This table reinforces the impression that Wallace votes which Reagan must depend on more heavily than the President will play a much less important role in this election than they have previously. On the other hand, the President will do better than Reagan

Since many of Wallace's votes are from the South and from union members.

General Election... A Comparison

The results of the vote... suggest that the election... the Democratic side to the extent that is not... a reflection of an overall decline in... of Wallace's former voters has shifted... Since the Oregon constitution, if... in the general election, must... large number of these voters, this suggests... that when combined with other factors... a Oregon candidate will be weaker... than might be indicated by poll results... In a two-man election:

114
55
590
570
126
13

groups where... important from... see references



Union members
Blacks
Farmers
Young Voters

Teachers
Republicans
Catholics

191
13
470
280

The President will be better than... less important role in the election than... the President will play a role... whose vote which Oregon must depend on were... this tells us... the impression that

Handwritten notes at the bottom right corner.

among Irish voters and would run about
evenly among Catholics. Both these groups
will be even more significant than they
usually are in the 1976 elections.



If the split had been Democratic, HHH would have won by either ~~4~~ or 10 votes. (274 or 286)

1968 Election Results — Assuming 55-45 Wallace Vote Split

State	1968 Winner	Electoral Vote (1972)	Margin Wallace %	Winner if Split to D	Winner if Split to R
Wash.	HHH	9	2.1 7.4	HHH	HHH
MN	HHH	10	12.5 4	HHH	HHH
Texas	HHH	26	1.2 19.0	HHH	RMN
W. VA.	HHH	6	8.8 9.6	HHH	HHH
MD	HHH	10	1.7 14.5	HHH	RMN
Penn.	HHH	27	3.6 8.0	HHH	HHH
New York	HHH	41	5.5 5.3	HHH	HHH
Conn.	HHH	8	5.2 6.1	HHH	HHH
D.C.	HHH	3	63 —	HHH	HHH
Hawaii	HHH	4	.22 1.5	HHH	HHH
Rhode Isl.	HHH	4	32.2 4.1	HHH	HHH
Maine	HHH	4	12.2 1.6	HHH	HHH
Mass.	HHH	14	30.1 3.7	HHH	HHH
* ⁵⁰⁻⁵⁰ Ark	GCW	6	N/A 38.8	HHH	RMN
LA.	GCW	10	N/A 48.3	HHH	RMN
Miss.	GCW	7	N/A 63.5	HHH	HHH
Ala.	GCW	10	N/A 67.2	HHH	RMN
* ⁵⁰⁻⁵⁰ GA.	GCW	12	N/A 43.8	HHH	RMN
Iowa	RMN	8	12.2 5.7	RMN	RMN
Ks	RMN	7	20 10	"	"
Ky	RMN	9	6 18.3	"	"
Mo	RMN	12	1.2 11.4	?	RMN
Mont	RMN	4	9 7.3	RMN	RMN
Nebr.	RMN	5	28 8.4	RMN	RMN
Neva.	RMN	3	8.2 13.3	RMN	RMN
NH	RMN	4	8.2 3.8	"	"
NJ	RMN	17	2.1 9.1	"	"
NM	RMN	4	12.1 7.9	"	"

1968 Election 55-45 Wallace Split

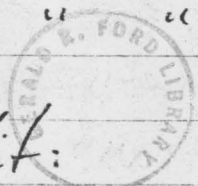
State	1968 Winner	Elect. Vote (1972)	Margin	Wallace %	Winner if Split D	Winner if Split R
NC	RMN	13	16.3	31.3	RMN	RMN
ND	RMN	3	17.7	5.8	"	"
OH		25	2.2	11.8	"	"
OKla		8	15.7	20.3	"	"
Oreg.		6	6	6.1	"	"
SC		8	8.5	32.3	"	"
SD		4	11.3	4.8	"	"
TN		10	9.8	34	"	"
Utah		4	19.4	6.4	"	"
Vt.		3	9.3	3.2	"	"
Va.		13	10.9	23.6	"	"
Wisc.		11	3.6	7.6	"	"
Wyo.		3	20.3	8.7	"	"
Alaska		3	2.6	12.1	"	"
Ariz.		6	19.8	9.6	"	"
Calif.		45	3	6.7	"	"
Colo.		7	9.2	7.5	"	"
Del.		3	3.5	13.3	"	"
Fla.		17	9.6	28.5	"	"
IDAH.		4	26.1	12.6	"	"
Ill.		26	2.9	8.5	"	"
Ind.		13	12.3	11.5	"	"

States HHH won which go GOP w/ 55-45 GOP split:
 (Total Elect. votes) : ~~45~~ 36

States Wallace won which go GOP w/ 55-45 GOP split:
 (Total Elect. votes) : 38

States Wallace won which go DEM w/ 55-45 Dem Split:
 Total Elect votes : 45

States RMN won which go DEM w/ 55-45 DEM split:
 Total Elect votes : 0 OR 12 (Missouri).



[June 1976]

Electability

Primary Results

Natl Polls

Electoral strategy

State Polls

1964

incumbent President

RR margin behind

Positioning - RR extreme

RR Arguments

↳ Anti-Washington

↳ Wallace + Republicans

Strong in Right Places



[June 1976]

President Ford - The Winner in November

I Gerald Ford has a strong record as President

A. Under his leadership, inflation has been cut in half and there are 1.3 million new jobs.

B. President Ford is the first incumbent since Eisenhower who can campaign with the nation at peace

C. President Ford has restored trust and confidence in ~~the~~ government.

II President Ford runs ahead of Reagan against Carter in every national poll

~~Harris~~

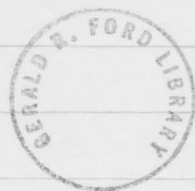
	Ford	Carter	Undec.	Reagan	Carter	Undec.
Harris	40	53	7	35	58	7
Gallup	39	53	8	35	58	7
Time?						
Wash Post?	37	48		32	50	

NBC

III President Ford has a national appeal

A. He is the national choice of Republicans

	Ford	Reagan	Undecided
Harris	60	30	10
NBC	60	30	10
Gallup	51	41	8



B. He is the national choice of independents

Gallup	Ford	Reagan	Undecided
	52	33	13

C. President Ford is the only candidate ^{in either party} to win primaries in all sections of the country

NH 4

Vt. 3

Mass 14

Fla. 17

Ill 26

Wisc 11

N.Y. 41

Penn. 27

DC 3

W. Va. 6

Md. 10

Mich 21

Ky 9

Tenn 10

Ore. 5

RI 4

NJ 17

Ohio 25

253



Reagan has ~~been~~ only one primary outside the Sunbelt. The total

electoral vote strength of his previous victories is 141,
far short of the 270 needed to win

[June 1976]

1. Ford has a strong record as President
Peace Prosperity + Trust
2. Ford runs ahead of ~~Carter~~^{Reagan} against Carter in every
national poll.
3. Ford has a national appeal to
Republicans
Independents
Primary Victories
Electoral Votes
4. Reagan risks another 1964
23 points behind (no one else like that since Stevenson)
Reagan's strength is in wrong places
won't get Wallace vote
Too Extreme



[June 1976]

AFTER THE PRIMARIES: SOME STATISTICS WHICH SHOW RELATIVE STRENGTHS OF REAGAN, FORD, AND CARTER

All regions are PFC regions. All percentages are based on the Ford and Reagan vote.

<u>REGION</u>	<u>FORD %</u>	<u>REAGAN %</u>	<u>ELECTORAL VOTE</u>
Northeast	77	23	165
South	47.3 ^v	52.7	100
Great Plains	46	54	49
Southwest	33	67	40
Northwest	36	64	70
Rocky Mountain	29	71	18
Midwest	58	42	96

Using these figures as showing regional leads, :

Ford leads 63-37 in regions containing 261 electoral votes (MW+NE)
Reagan leads 60-40 in regions containing 277 electoral votes (W,S,GPAH)

BUT: When the Northeast, South, and Midwest are combined (361 electoral votes), Ford leads Reagan 60-40.

When the Northeast, South, Midwest, and Great Plains regions are combined (410 electoral votes), Ford leads Reagan ~~59.5-40.5~~ 59.5-40.5

2. Reagan leads Ford in regions containing 177 electoral votes: Great Plains, Southwest, Northwest, Rocky Mountains: 64-36; but in those regions, Democratic primary voters cast 62% more votes than GOP primary voters.
3. In the Northeast, South, and Midwest, regions containing 361 electoral votes, Carter received nearly 100% more votes than Reagan, but in these same regions, Ford outran Reagan by 20% (50% more votes) and got nearly 80% of Carter's vote.



* NDC poll rel. 6/14 shows 1 pt. diff. betw. Carter/Ford + Carter/Reagan in So.

4. When the home states of both Ford and Reagan are omitted (to compensate for home state advantage), Ford led Reagan 56 to 44 in all of the rest of the primary states.
6. Ford led Reagan 55-45 when the South and Midwest are combined. (265 electoral votes)
7. In the Midwest and Northeast, with a total of 261 electoral votes, :

Ford: 3461579
Carter: 3472171
Reagan: 2025307

Thus, Carter received 71% more votes in the Midwest and Northeast than Reagan, but only .3% more than Ford.

8. When the South, Midwest, Southwest and Northwest are combined: (306 electoral votes)

Ford: 4010333 or 49.7%
Reagan: 4057107 or 50.3%

9. When the South, West, and Northeast are combined: (375 EV)

Ford: 2919000 or 48.8
Reagan: 3061000 or 51.2

10. When the West, Midwest, and Northeast are combined (371 EV):

Ford: 4573 or 53
Reagan: 4035 47



11. Reagan won only 1 primary outside of the South + West, and by a 51-49 margin. A survey data NY 7 5/6 76 shows he would have lost Indiana without the benefit of Wallace crossovers he would not have gotten in 1964.

June 9, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN DEERDOURFF
FROM: FOSTER CHANOCK
SUBJECT: Missouri Convention Handout

1. Ford-Reagan among Republicans.

	<u>GALLUP</u>			<u>HARRIS</u>		
	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
May	60	35	5	60	30	10
April	56	32	12	59	30	11
March	51	41	8	60	30	10
February	55	35	10	51	34	15

2. No Republican can be elected without Independents.

	<u>GALLUP</u>		
	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
May	52	33	15
April	50	32	18
March	49	37	14
February	44	31	25



3. No Republican can win the Presidency without carrying a majority of the following states' electoral votes.

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------|
| * Pennsylvania (27) | Missouri (12) |
| * Illinois (26) | * Wisconsin (11) |
| * Michigan (21) | * Maryland (10) |
| * Ohio (25) | * Florida (17) |
| * New Jersey (17) | * Kentucky (9) |
| California (45) | * Tennessee (10) |
| Texas (26) | |

(* States won by President in the primaries.)

4. Ford is a stronger national candidate than Reagan.

GALLUP

	<u>Ford/Carter</u>	<u>Ford/Humphrey</u>	<u>Reagan/Carter</u>	<u>Reagan/Humphrey</u>
June 1976	40 / 52	45 / 46	37 / 55	42 / 52

HARRIS

May 1976	43 / 47	35 / 53
----------	---------	---------

June	40/53	35/58
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 3, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: FOSTER CHANOCK
FROM: DAVE GERGEN *DX*
SUBJECT: Voting in Primaries

Judy Muhlberg has just pulled together results from all of the primaries held so far. With three big ones left, here's how things stand:

-- The President has a margin of a little better than 52-48% over Reagan in all of the votes in Republican primaries. The actual vote margin is about 340,000 in the President's favor.

-- Breaking the vote into regions (the same regional definitions used by the PFC), the President has more votes than Reagan in the Midwest and Northeast and is about even in the North West. Reagan is leading in the South, the Plains, and the Rocky Mountain states.

-- On the Democratic side, Carter has collected about 42% of the total Democratic votes cast so far.

-- Overall, about twice as many voters have pulled the Democratic lever in the primaries as the Republican one. Note that the Democratic total is inflated by over a million votes because there were no GOP votes in Pennsylvania and D.C. Nonetheless, the Democratic margin is still about 2-1.

-- Total GOP votes have exceeded total Democratic votes in the Great Plains and Rocky Mountain areas and have been almost equal in the Midwest.

-- Total Democratic votes have exceeded total GOP votes by a margin of 3-1 in the South, 3-1 in the South-west, and 2-1 in the North East.



-- Total GOP votes have exceeded total Democratic votes in the following states: New Hampshire, Illinois, Michigan, Nebraska, South Dakota and Idaho.

Attachments



PRIMARY VOTE BY REGION

<u>REGION</u>	<u>REPUBLICAN</u>			<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>DEMOCRAT</u>		
	<u>FORD</u>	<u>REAGAN</u>	<u>OTHER</u>		<u>CARTER</u>	<u>OTHER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
North East	451,807	320,880	25,887	799,071	1,074,433	2,375,017	3,479,934
Southern	621,807	691,586	3,362	1,316,755	1,925,155	1,724,705	3,910,244
Mid West	1,780,376	1,260,720	16,499	3,059,595	1,625,595	1,729,225	3,370,505
Great Plains	129,983	154,743	-----	288,237	90,018	133,946	231,141
South West	151,032	309,936	2,052	463,020	736,161	679,429	1,544,907
North West	160,678	164,858	-----	325,536	131,102	352,593	488,290
Rocky Mtns	37,462	91,593	-----	129,844	21,830	105,100	127,934
<u>TOTALS</u>	3,333,145	2,994,316	47,800	6,382,058	5,604,294	7,100,015	13,152,955



REGION	R E P U B L I C A N				D E M O C R A T		
	FORD	REAGAN	OTHER	TOTAL	CARTER	OTHER	TOTAL
<u>North East</u>							
Conn							
Del							
D.C.	-- Ford ran unopposed --				9,281	14,079	23,360
Kent	67,868	62,567	-----	130,435	181,291	112,423	305,566
Maine							
Mass	115,375	63,555	14,481	193,411	101,948	645,686	747,364
N.J.							
N.Y.							
Penn	--Ford ran unopposed --				506,898	855,164	1,362,062
R.I.	9,329	4,406		14,232	18,141	23,357	60,400
Va							
W Va	82,281	62,975	-----	145,256	-----	321,701	321,701
N.H.	55,156	53,569	11,155	119,880	23,373	59,008	82,381
Ver	27,014	4,892	251	32,157	16,335	22,379	38,714
Md	94,784	68,916	-----	163,700	217,166	321,220	538,386
	451,807	320,880	25,887	799,071	1,074,433	2,375,017	3,479,934
<u>Southern</u>							
Ala	19,114	35,007	-----	54,121	167,804	318,430	683,000
Ark	11,449	20,209	-----	31,658	315,553	129,091	502,151
Ga	59,801	128,671	-----	188,472	411,616	78,941	490,557
La							
Miss							
N.C.	88,897	101,468	3,362	193,727	324,437	280,395	604,832
S.C.							
Okla							
P.R.							
Tenn	120,564	118,394	-----	238,958	256,901	66,362	329,374
Vir Is							
Fla	321,982	287,837	-----	609,819	448,844	851,486	1,300,330
	621,807	691,586	3,362	1,316,755	1,925,155	1,724,705	3,910,244
<u>Mid West</u>							
Ill	456,750	311,295	7,848	777,893	630,915	680,999	1,311,914
Ind	307,582	323,772	-----	631,354	417,463	196,898	614,361
Mich	689,540	363,791	8,651	1,061,982	305,997	382,020	703,702
Ohio							
Wisc	326,504	261,862	-----	588,366	271,220	469,308	740,528
	1,780,376	1,260,720	16,499	3,059,595	1,625,595	1,729,225	3,370,505
<u>Great Plains</u>							
Iowa							
Kans							
Minn							
Mo							
Neb	93,299	112,116	-----	205,415	65,263	107,152	172,415
N.Dak							
S.Dak	36,684	42,627	-----	82,822	24,755	26,794	58,726
	129,983	154,743		288,237	90,018	133,946	231,141
<u>South West</u>							
Ari							
N.Mex							
Texas	151,032	309,936	2,052	463,020	736,161	679,429	1,544,907
Utah							
	151,032	309,936	2,052	463,020	736,161	679,429	1,544,907
<u>North West</u>							
Alaska							
Guam							
Hawaii							
Nev	13,767	31,616	-----	45,383	17,538	53,090	75,223
Ore	146,911	133,242	-----	280,153	113,564	299,503	413,067
Wash							
Calif							
	160,678	164,858		325,536	131,102	352,593	488,290
<u>Rocky Mtns</u>							
Col							
Idaho	22,240	66,583	-----	88,823	8,782	62,904	72,690
Mont	15,222	25,010	-----	41,021	13,048	42,196	55,244
Wyoming							
	37,462	91,593		129,844	21,830	105,100	127,934

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 17, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY
FROM: DAVE GERGEN *DP*
SUBJECT: Voting in the Primaries

Judy Muhlberg has pulled together the final results from the primaries. From this information, one can make the following observations:

-- The President had a margin of 52-48% (51.5-47.8%) over Reagan in all of the votes in Republican primaries. The actual vote margin is about 388,000 in the President's favor.

-- Breaking the vote into regions (the same regional definitions used by the PFC), the President had more votes than Reagan in the Midwest and the Northeast. Reagan led in the South, the Great Plains, the Northwest, and the Rocky Mountain states.

-- On the Democratic side, Carter collected about 39% of the total Democratic votes cast. Prior to the June 8th primaries, he held 42% of the total Democratic votes.

-- Overall, the Democratic vote exceeded the GOP vote by about a 60-40 margin (57-43). Note that the Democratic total is inflated because there were no GOP votes in D. C. and New Jersey. Nonetheless, the Democratic margin is still about 2-1.

-- Total GOP votes exceeded total Democratic votes in the Great Plains and Rocky Mountain areas.

-- Total Democratic votes exceeded total GOP votes by a margin of 3-1 in the South, 3-1 in the Southwest, and 4-1 in the North East (Keeping in mind, however, that there were not GOP votes in two of the contests in the North East region.)



-- Total GOP votes exceeded total Democratic votes in the following states: New Hampshire, Indiana, Michigan, Nebraska, South Dakota, and Idaho.

-- The President ran ahead of Carter in the Mid West, the Great Plains, the Northwest, and the Rocky Mountain states, although Carter's actual vote margin over the President is approximately 2 million votes.

Attachments





PRIMARY VOTE BY REGION

<u>REGION</u>	<u>FORD</u>	<u>REAGAN</u>	<u>OTHER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>CARTER</u>	<u>OTHER</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
North East	1,185,315	361,468	26,395	1,573,177	1,278,090	2,513,748	4,016,985
Southern	621,807	691,989	3,846	1,317,613	1,925,155	1,724,705	3,910,244
Mid West	2,276,264	1,663,839	19,050	3,960,153	2,194,081	2,252,117	4,461,883
Great Plains	130,218	155,120	4,055	289,393	90,018	133,946	231,141
South West	151,032	309,936	2,052	463,020	736,161	679,429	1,544,907
North West	961,230	1,701,279	2,365	2,664,874	821,556	2,949,958	3,852,519
Rocky Mtns.	37,462	91,593	-----	129,844	21,830	105,100	127,934
TOTALS	5,363,328	4,975,224	57,763	10,398,074	7,066,891	10,359,003	18,145,613

REGION	R E P U B L I C A N				D E M O C R A T		
	FORD	REAGAN	OTHER	TOTAL	CARTER	OTHER	TOTAL
<u>North East</u>							
Conn							
Del							
D.C.	-- Ford ran unopposed --				9,281	14,079	23,360
Kent	67,868	62,567	-----	130,435	181,291	112,423	305,566
Maine							
Mass	115,375	63,555	14,481	193,411	101,948	645,686	747,364
N.J.	-- Ford ran unopposed --				203,657	138,731	537,061
N.Y.	by Delegate						
Penn	733,472	40,514	-----	733,986	506,898	855,164	1,362,062
R.I.	9,365	4,480	508	14,352	18,141	23,357	60,400
Va							
W Va	82,281	62,975	-----	145,256	-----	321,701	321,701
N.H.	55,156	53,569	11,155	119,880	23,373	59,008	82,381
Ver	27,014	4,892	251	32,157	16,335	22,379	38,714
Md	94,784	68,916	-----	163,700	217,166	321,220	538,386
	<u>1,185,315</u>	<u>361,468</u>	<u>26,395</u>	<u>1,573,177</u>	<u>1,278,090</u>	<u>2,513,748</u>	<u>4,016,985</u>
<u>Southern</u>							
Ala	19,114	35,007	-----	54,121	167,804	318,430	683,000
Ark	11,449	20,612	484	32,546	315,553	129,091	502,151
Ga	59,801	128,671	-----	188,472	411,616	78,941	490,557
La							
Miss							
N.C.	88,897	101,468	3,362	193,727	324,437	280,395	604,832
S.C.							
Okla							
P.R.							
Tenn	120,564	118,394	-----	238,958	256,901	66,362	329,374
Vir Is							
Fla	321,982	287,837	-----	609,819	448,844	851,486	1,300,330
	<u>621,807</u>	<u>691,989</u>	<u>3,846</u>	<u>1,317,613</u>	<u>1,925,155</u>	<u>1,724,705</u>	<u>3,910,244</u>
<u>Mid West</u>							
Ill	456,750	311,295	7,582	775,627	630,915	680,999	1,311,914
Ind	307,582	323,772	-----	631,354	417,463	196,898	614,361
Mich	689,540	363,791	8,651	1,061,982	305,997	382,020	703,702
Ohio	495,523	403,855	-----	899,378	568,486	522,892	1,091,378
Wisc	326,869	262,126	2,817	591,812	271,220	469,308	740,528
	<u>2,276,264</u>	<u>1,663,839</u>	<u>19,050</u>	<u>3,960,153</u>	<u>2,194,081</u>	<u>2,252,117</u>	<u>4,461,883</u>
<u>Great Plains</u>							
Iowa							
Kans							
Minn							
Mo							
Neb	93,299	112,116	-----	205,415	65,263	107,152	172,415
N.Dak							
S.Dak	36,919	43,004	4,055	83,978	24,755	26,794	58,726
	<u>130,218</u>	<u>155,120</u>	<u>4,055</u>	<u>289,393</u>	<u>90,018</u>	<u>133,946</u>	<u>231,141</u>
<u>South West</u>							
Ari							
N.Mex							
Texas	151,032	309,936	2,052	463,020	736,161	679,429	1,544,907
Utah							
	<u>151,032</u>	<u>309,936</u>	<u>2,052</u>	<u>463,020</u>	<u>736,161</u>	<u>679,429</u>	<u>1,544,907</u>
<u>North West</u>							
Alaska							
Guam							
Hawaii							
Nev	13,747	31,637	2,365	47,749	17,538	53,090	75,223
Ore	146,911	133,242	-----	280,153	113,564	299,503	413,067
Wash							
Calif	800,572	1,536,400	-----	2,336,972	690,454	2,597,365	3,364,229
	<u>961,230</u>	<u>1,701,279</u>	<u>2,365</u>	<u>2,664,874</u>	<u>821,556</u>	<u>2,949,958</u>	<u>3,852,519</u>
<u>Rocky Mtns</u>							
Col							
Idaho	22,240	66,583	-----	88,823	8,782	62,904	72,690
Mont	15,222	25,010	-----	41,021	13,048	42,196	55,244
Wyoming							
	<u>37,462</u>	<u>91,593</u>	<u>-----</u>	<u>129,844</u>	<u>21,830</u>	<u>105,100</u>	<u>127,934</u>



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June 21, 1976

Dear Fellow Delegate:

As you may know, I am helping President Ford in his search for Delegate support in the South. Attached is a column by N.Y. Times writer James Reston echoing a course I have suggested we pursue in seeking to re-unite our party, hold the White House, help our other candidates, and keep our party viable.

Winning in 1976 is vital for all Republicans, especially Southern Republicans. An Imperial Carter Presidency would betray the conservative tide running in America today. It would stifle our progress in building a 2-party system in Dixie. Also, it would accelerate the unionization of Southern industry, thus stalling the rapidly expanding economic and political power which has been shifting from North to South.

The Democrats have agreed on a fuzzy candidate and a fuzzy platform which newsmen say are viewed as conservative by those who want the conservative approach and liberal by those who want the liberal approach. Wisely, the Democrats want no repeat of their 1972 disaster.

In view of the good record our Republican President has compiled in maintaining peace, promoting prosperity, and exemplifying personal integrity and public trust, it would be unwise and unfair to dump him at our convention. His record is worthy of party and non-party support, and no one has a better, longer, or more effective record of service to our party and our Country.

I have not agreed with all the President's actions. However, no one we can elect can do all we may desire because a President has to be responsive to all the people, and he has more information upon which to make the big judgments, as I learned in my service in the White House.

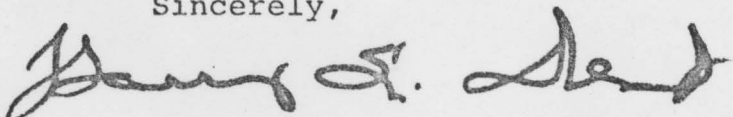
I concede the President is not a good salesman for himself and his record. However, we can give him a running mate and others who can do a better job of selling him, and that is as it should be. Governors Reagan and Connally could do the selling job either as running mates or otherwise.

The attribute of Jerry Ford that most compels me to give my best effort is the undisputed fact that he is a good and just leader who does what he believes to be right and best for America.

If I can answer any questions I will be glad to try or get you the answer.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely,



Harry S. Dent

HSD:ldw





The U.S. News-Letter

WASHINGTON

A Private Weekly Report And Forecast From U.S. News & World Report

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Friday, June 25, 1976

Dear Subscriber:

The talk in the Oval Office at the White House is -- "team up with Reagan."

Though cool to the idea, President Ford is starting to see the logic of it. He is turning it over carefully -- hearing out the proponents who come to call.

Ford's a realist. He knows that Jimmy Carter is way out front in the polls and he knows too that internal discord could destroy the GOP's election hopes.

Old, close advisers have been putting it to him bluntly: Join with Reagan or forget it -- "only a unified Republican Party can be successful this year."

The victory formula? Hold onto all Republican votes, then go out and get enough Democrats and independents to offset Carter's basic numerical advantage. Conversations at the White House sift some bleak probabilities: Should the GOP fail to come to terms with itself and get Ford and Reagan into the same harness there will be bitterness, defections and perhaps the worst GOP loss since 1964.

Neither Ford nor Reagan can afford at this point to talk openly of a merger. They would lose face and credibility. But -- their friends can do some talking, and that is what will happen in the weeks ahead -- gradual moves toward unity, meetings that don't get in the papers, cooling down of the roughhouse rhetoric.

Ford will take the initiative, because he has a narrow edge in delegates and could make the reconciliation bid in a graceful way through intermediaries.

The approach will be simple: We'd make a great team. Reagan to nail down votes in the South and West -- including some conservative Democrats -- and Ford to exploit Carter's rather shaky position in the Midwest and Northeastern states.

Note that Reagan -- even as No. 2 on the ticket -- would still have stature. Why so? He's made a comeback that is already one of the year's biggest stories. Now a seasoned campaigner, Reagan is persuasive and has proved he's no quitter. Some Carterites, by the way, say a Ford-Reagan team is the only fear they have.

Survey Finds Ford as Strong as Reagan in the South

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON

President Ford would be at least as strong a Republican Presidential nominee in the South and West as would Ronald Reagan, according to the latest national survey of voter attitudes by The New York Times and CBS News.

But the survey also showed that if the election were held today, Jimmy Carter, the apparent Democratic Presidential nominee, would swamp either Republican by a margin of about 2 to 1.

Those findings, along with others in the survey, suggested that electability—the focus of contention between Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan in their current struggle for a majority at the Republican National Convention—might be a moot point. The two rivals seemed, in effect, to be beating a dead elephant in debating which of them would be more electable in November.

The nationwide opinion sampling indicated that the contest for the Republican nomination had produced a more intense and a broader split in the party than had been previously detected.

It suggested that as many as half of the Republicans who supported each contender were prepared either to defect to Mr. Carter or to boycott the elec-

tion in November if their favorite lost the Republican nomination.

The magnitude of the potential defections could buttress emerging sentiment at the President's national campaign headquarters for the consideration of Mr. Reagan as a running mate if Mr. Ford won the nomination.

Conversely, it could compel Mr. Reagan to use the choice of a ticket mate to make some overture to Mr. Ford's supporters if the Californian emerged as the Republican nominee.

The Times/CBS sampling of opinion among 1,453 voters, including 466 Republicans, indicated that Mr. Reagan's successes in party primaries and delegates contests in the South and West would not necessarily make him a more formidable nominee than Mr. Ford in the two regions, as the Californian's strategists have contended.

According to the survey findings, the President would fare better than would Mr. Reagan among all voters in the south—Republicans, Democrats and independents—and in the West would be about as strong a Carter challenger as would Mr. Reagan.

Ford Widens Lead

Despite continued evidence that Mr. Reagan was the preferred nominee of Republicans in the West, the survey showed that Mr. Ford had substantially widened a lead in popularity among Southern Republicans in the last month, a period marked by the President's widely advertised search for an alternative to court-ordered busing as a means to desegregate public schools.

The poll findings most relevant to the intense contest for the Republican nomination were those suggesting the scope of the division that it had created in the party.

While earlier Times/CBS surveys of voters in Republican primaries had indicated that a third or more of each candidate's partisans might defect if the other won the nomination, the new nationwide survey pointed toward an even broader split.

Among Republicans identifying themselves as supporters of Mr. Reagan, 30 percent said that if Mr. Ford won the nomination, they would vote for Mr. Carter and 20 percent said they would not vote at all.

Among those who said that they backed Mr. Ford, 31 percent said that if Mr. Reagan were nominated they would defect to Mr. Carter, and 25 percent said they would not participate in the Nov. 2 election.

The magnitude of the potential defections in the fall campaign could compel the President and Mr. Reagan to give serious consideration to joining forces on a Republican ticket.

A majority of Republicans on both sides of the nominating contest agreed that Mr. Ford had been correct to pardon former President Richard M. Nixon, that school busing under court orders should be curtailed, that the scope of Federal Government activity should be reduced, that the President was right in regarding inflation as a more serious economic problem than unemployment, that military spending should be increased and that the United States should be wary of détente with the Soviet Union.

One curious facet of the survey was that the bulk of Republicans supported Mr. Reagan's contentions that the United States was slipping behind the Soviet in military preparedness and that détente had been more advantageous to Moscow than to Washington.

Even so, the party as a whole preferred the President over Mr. Reagan by slightly less than 2 to 1, a margin comparable to those in four previous Times/CBS national surveys.

The explanation for the apparent contradiction appeared to rest in large part on the fact that the economy was a somewhat more dominant issue among Republicans than was national security. Support for the President among those on both sides of the foreign policy issues rose in direct proportion to the extent of Republicans' satisfaction with the health of the economy.



President Ford

"A Winner in November"

The greatest concern to all Republicans as we draw near the National Convention in Kansas City, is selecting a Presidential candidate who is most capable of leading the Party to victory against the probable Democratic nominee--Jimmy Carter.

As concerned Republicans, we have to listen to every argument, because we are the ones who would feel the grass-roots effect of a Democratic sweep. So what do the non-partisan, independent pollsters have to say?

MYTH #1: Ronald Reagan will run stronger than Ford against Carter in the South.

TRUTH : President Ford has run consistently better than Reagan against Carter in the South.

	Ford	Carter	Reagan	Carter
HARRIS SURVEY May 6, 1976	38%	55%	32%	56%
N.Y. TIMES* May 28, 1976	44%	-	39%	-
HARRIS SURVEY [@] June 4, 1976	48%	-	40%	-
GALLUP POLL June 21, 1976	32%	61%	30%	65%

Ford Most Electable GOPer

By LEE BANDY
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — If Republican Ronald Reagan has a better chance against Democrat Jimmy Carter in the South in November, as he claims he would, it certainly isn't reflected in the latest Gallup Poll.

The new figures show the Californian would get clobbered by the Georgian in Dixie by an even wider margin than President Ford.

The survey gave Carter a landslide lead of 65 to 30 percent over Reagan, with 5 percent undecided. The former Peach State governor lead Ford 61 to 32 percent, with 7 percent undecided.

That's not encouraging news for either Republican. But it successfully shatters Reagan's main argument that he, not Ford, would do better in the South against Carter.

Reagan has run what he likes to call a "sunbelt strategy," aimed at winning the South, the Southwest and some far west states. He virtually has ignored the rest of the United States.

Nationally, the latest Gallup Poll also shows Ford doing much better against Carter than Reagan. The President trails the Georgian by 14 points. Reagan is much further behind, 23 points to be exact.

So, the question of electability is raised again as both Ford and Reagan pursue delegates between now and the Kansas City convention August 16. And at this point, judging by the surveys, Ford appears to have the better sales pitch: "I'm more electable." He could also add: "I have more experience and am better qualified."

Harry S. Dent, architect of the successful 1968 "southern strategy" for Richard Nixon and now chief Dixie delegate hunter for the Ford campaign, says the latest Gallup Poll findings show "why we need the President at the top of the ticket." Dent is promoting a Ford-Reagan ticket, and claims the Reagan delegates are receptive to the idea.

The former White House aide to Nixon also says the

President now is telling delegates that no one, including Reagan, is being ruled out as a running mate. Ford points out he offered Reagan two Cabinet positions and that he would not have done so if the Californian were not compatible.

"A Ford-Reagan ticket is more of a possibility today than a few weeks ago," Dent stated. He said that with a few exceptions, "every Reagan delegate I talked to, likes that (a Ford-Reagan ticket). It's selling. The Reagan delegates are buying this. They want to preserve the Republican party."

Gov. James B. Edwards, meanwhile, is working at cross purposes with Dent, twisting arms in favor of Reagan. He and other Reagan apostles refuse to bend or believe the Gallup Poll. They don't believe any survey unless it makes their man look good.

While Reagan is considered an effective spokesman for conservative ideas and is liked and respected as a human being, those who have worked closely with him in the past say the former movie actor is unqualified to be President.

Reagan is pictured as a nine-to-five executive who has difficulty involving himself in the day-to-day world of government. His past associates say he lacks persistence and stamina required by a round-the-clock Presidency.

Reagan, the eldest candidate running at age 65, appears to know little about the workings of the federal gov-



ernment and less about foreign policy.

While Ford may not be the strongest and most attractive nominee the GOP could find, he appears to be much more acceptable to the national electorate than Reagan.

A party that represents only 18 percent of the people could be flirting with disaster, if not destruction, should it defeat an incumbent President at its Kansas City convention.

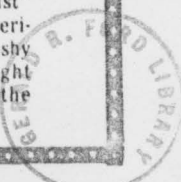
If Reagan is the nominee, Jimmy Carter will be free to travel the middle road which seems to appeal to the majority of Americans.

But with Ford at the helm of the GOP, the Carter forces fear the President will preempt, the middle ground, thus forcing the Democratic nominee to be cast as the liberal in November.

So, the Republican delegates are faced with two choices: picking a nominee who, regardless of how hard he tried, would not be able to shed his "reckless, extremist" image, or selecting an experienced, steady but not flashy politician who has brought decency and honesty to the White House.

IMPACT
Region

4-C THE STATE — Sunday, June 27, 1976



Comment & Opinion

Together, Ford-Reagan May

WASHINGTON — President Ford and Ronald Reagan have got themselves and the Republican Party into such a pickle in the presidential election that maybe their best hope now is to leave room for a Ford-Reagan ticket and fight the Democrats together.

This is not now a happy thought for either side. They are engaged for the moment in a scramble for delegates and are cutting each other up, but if this goes on and if the polls mean anything, the Republican Party will be the loser, no matter who gets the GOP presidential nomination at Kansas City.

THE NEW YORK Times-CBS News polls of Republican voters in California, Ohio and New Jersey dramatize the GOP's problem. These polls indicate that about 35 per cent of Ford supporters will vote for Carter if the President is rejected at Kansas City, and that about the same percentage of Reagan supporters will desert their party if Ford is nominated.

This may be a little misleading. In the end, party loyalty would probably cut the defection rate, but even so, the Republicans, with less than 20 per cent of the registered voters of the country, obviously need all the Ford and Reagan supporters they can get if they are to have a chance against the Democratic coalition of governors, mayors and labor union leaders in the big Northern electoral states, who are now reluctantly backing Carter and his supporters in the South, the Middle West, and else-



Win

James Reston

IT IS INTERESTING that Ford has not ruled out a Ford-Reagan ticket. The President has said he would consider Reagan as his vice presidential running mate, and if he is to hold the Republican Party together, this may be the best he can do.

Separately, Ford and Reagan are in trouble against a Democratic Party that has been captured by Carter. The political and labor union leaders have their doubts about the former governor of Georgia, but they have been out of power for eight years, and will back him rather than Ford or Reagan.

But together, Ford and Reagan might have a chance. At least they would avoid a split in their minority party. They have the presidency, and they have the experience of age, and maybe Reagan could get the electoral votes of California, and maybe even of Texas, while Ford might hold Michigan and other parts of the Middle West.

FOR THE MOMENT it seems an unlikely combination, but no worse than any other. Ford, if he wins, could go to John Connally of Texas as his vice presidential choice. Reagan,

body else, but unless Ford and Reagan supporters combine against the Democrats, the Republicans will be in serious trouble.

Would Reagan accept second place? The chances are that, if he lost the scramble for the uncommitted Republican delegates, he would. He has done very well in the primaries, better than he expected against a President of his own party. He has clung obstinately to everything that's out of date, but he has a dedicated following, and in the vice presidency, he would have a better role in Washington than he ever had in Hollywood.

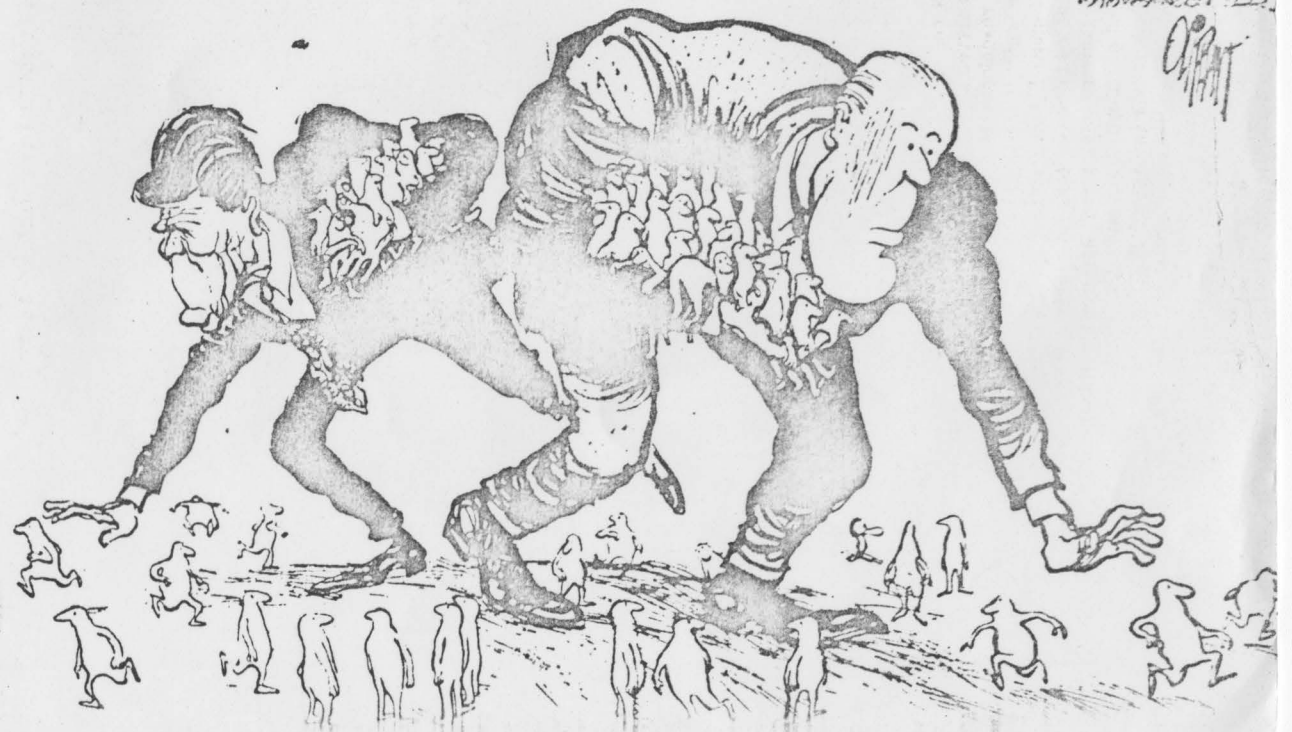
In fact, the vice presidency, if it weren't for the possibility of leading to the presidency, is almost perfect for Reagan: decorative, theatrical, and not too much work. Besides, he would have more power to argue his conservative philosophy in Washington as vice president than in retirement, and even if a Ford-Reagan ticket lost in November, he would have at least one last part to play on the national stage.

WOULD FORD ACCEPT Reagan on the ticket after all Reagan has said against Ford's policies? Probably yes. Ford knows the dangers of going into the autumn campaign with a divided party. He can read the polls. He is not the sort to take Reagan's political remarks about Panama, Rhodesia or the Soviet Union too seriously. He is a forgiving man, and having pardoned Nixon, he could presumably forgive Reagan.

At the beginning of this election, the Republicans had the option of finding their young men and looking to the future, but they have an infalli-

The Democratic leaders, if they had had their way, would probably have done the same thing, but Carter, the new boy, knocked them over, and is now putting together the party organization, the labor union leaders and the Democratic governors and mayors in a unified effort to recapture the White House.

This would be a problem even for a unified minority Republican Party. Accordingly, a Ford-Reagan ticket may not be as unlikely or silly as it now seems.



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Orant



Friday, June 18, 1976

The Ford-Reagan race for the GOP nomination gets tighter as the hours pass. The one who wins the day at the August convention will do so by a whisker. Here's how they're now positioned: delegates for Ford, 960; for Reagan, 873, according to an Associated Press tally. Of those remaining, 170 are uncommitted, 255 will be picked in state conventions, one backs Commerce Secretary Richardson. As to those to be divvied up at state conventions, we did a nose count -- projections based on calls to sources in the states. Here is how it looks:

	June 18-19				June 24-26			July 8-10		July 16-17		
	Iowa	Delaware	Texas	Washington	Minnesota	Montana	New Mexico	Colorado	North Dakota	Connecticut	Utah	Total
Ford	18	17	0	6	15	2	0	10	11	35	0	114
Reagan	18	0	4	32	3	18	21	18	7	0	20	141

If our figures are right (you'll be able to check that starting tomorrow), the score as they head for Kansas City will be Ford, 1,074, to 1,014 for Reagan.

They will both be within one good lunge of the 1,130 needed for nomination, and that's why the name of the game is "commit the uncommitteds." As for them, big blocs of Reagan leaners in states like Mississippi, Virginia and Wyoming give the Californian an edge, but it now appears that he still won't have enough to overcome the President's lead. That's why most forecasters are picking Ford.

However there's this to consider: Some Ford support is wavering. In states like New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania there is hidden backing for Reagan. This means if he charges in the stretch and Ford trips over platform issues -- such as detente or the wheat "giveaway" -- Reagan has a chance to turn it around.

But we still think Ford will win it, then pick Reagan as his running mate.

Sorry for a sour note about the Bicentennial, but best you be forewarned. It has ... national birthday.



Labor Has High Hopes In '76

By LEE BANDY
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Big labor has two goals this year and next — to elect a Democratic president and to organize the South.

But the latter cannot be accomplished, union bosses contend, until the Democrats are assured of winning the White House in January. Right now, those chances look bright with all but certain nominee, former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter.

Labor leaders are deliberately remaining silent about their goals. They do not want to scare off voters who think unions exert too much influence in Congress now. Only a Republican President has kept big Labor from getting everything it wants.

Most of the pro-union programs the last eight years

have been vetoed by the President and subsequently sustained by Congress, which was unable to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority to override.

But with a Democrat in the White House next year, labor leaders see the Presidential veto, the most effective weapon used against them the past decade, being removed from the political arsenal.

Hence, the path between the generally pro-labor Congress and the White House will be cleared for realization of the most sought after goals of union bosses — repeal of right-to-work laws in 19 states and legalization of secondary boycotts at construction sites.

LABOR, however, prefers not to discuss it. The union bosses are hoping to tip-toe by the November 2 election and then zap the voters in January

with their pro-labor package. And by then, it will be virtually too late for any one person or group to stop them with a Democrat in charge of the nation's affairs.

Carter has already sent a signal to labor leaders promising not to veto a repeal of state right-to-work laws. That's all union officials needed to hear. There's little doubt what Congress will do, especially now that the Senate has made it easier to cut off a filibuster.

Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act gives states the authority to adopt right-to-work laws. South Carolina is one of the 19 states with such statutes banning the union shop, or compulsory unionism. Proponents of right-to-work maintain workers should have the freedom to join or to refrain from joining a labor organization.

Union leaders contend that Section 14-B has served as one of the biggest roadblocks to organizing in the South. If that barrier can be removed, they say they are prepared to move their legion of organizers into Dixie with the goal of unionizing every industry they can get their hands on. And Carter appears to be the key to success at this point.

But labor bosses aren't going to stop there. Common-



come the centerpiece of the Democratic Presidential platform.

The legislation makes the federal government the employer of last resort. Program costs are estimated anywhere from \$16 to \$44 billion a year. Carter caved into pressure from the Congressional Black Caucus after his "ethnic purity" gaffe and said he would support the Humphrey-Hawkins site picketing, which allows construction and building it will lead to "an economic police state."

Others caution that Humphrey-Hawkins will create a highly organized federal employment force that every elected official will eventually have to reckon with. And the worst fear is that such a powerful group could organize and paralyze the government someday if it doesn't get its way. Once these people are on the federal payroll, the agreement goes, you'll never get them off.

There is one other piece of legislation high on labor's priority list. It's the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill which also has been

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Region

4-C THE STATE — Sunday, June 20, 1976

June 21, 1976

MEMORANDUM TO ROGERS MORTON

FROM : ROB QUARTEL
RALPH STANLEY

SUBJECT : "ELECTABILITY"

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.



167 DONALD LAMBRE

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.

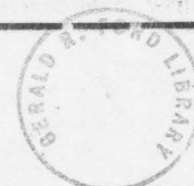
MOREOVER, BEFORE CLOSED DOOR CAUCUS MEETINGS WITH IOWA DELEGATES AT THEIR WEEKEND CONVENTION, REAGAN BLUNTLY DECLARED THAT ONLY A NON-WASHINGTON CANDIDATE SUCH AS HIMSELF COULD WAGE A WINNING OFFENSIVE AGAINST CARTER'S ANTI-WASHINGTON CAMPAIGN.

"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.

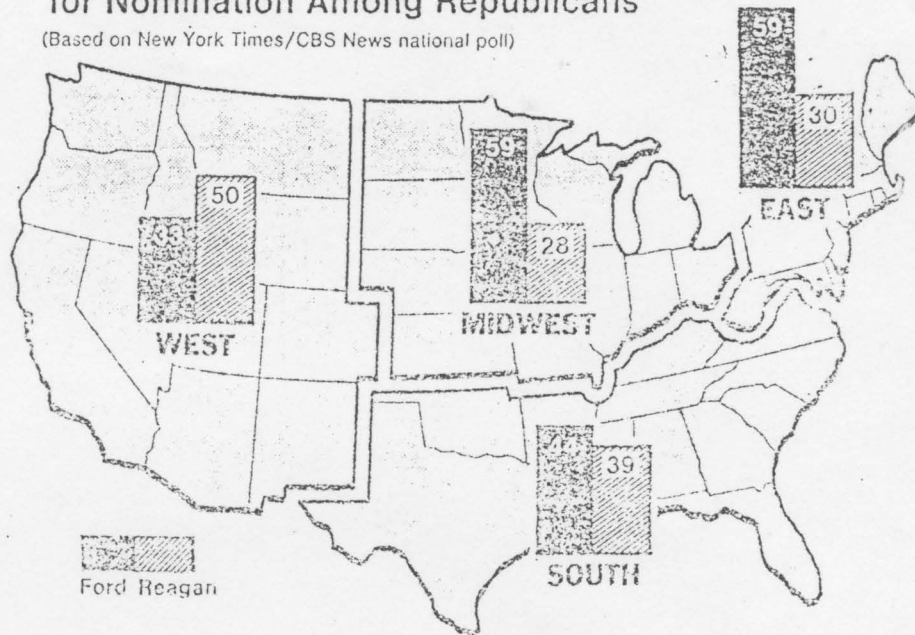
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Regional Distribution of Support for Nomination Among Republicans

(in percent)

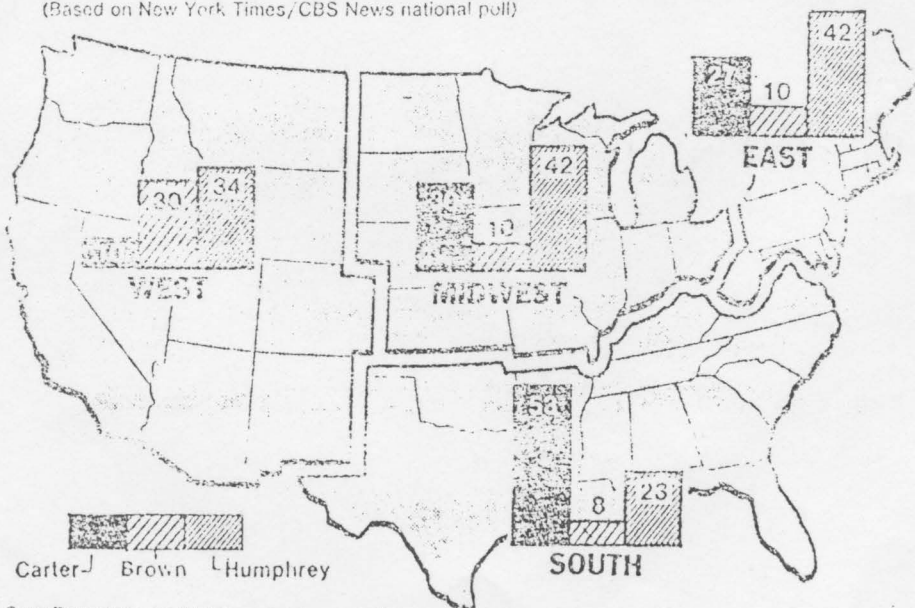
(Based on New York Times/CBS News national poll)



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		44
		28	54*
		*Reagan's weakness in the East; not Carter's strength	
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

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 the Republican or for Carter the Democrat?"

same question asked re: Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter





THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 25, 1976



Dick:

This is a first cut at the electability memo you requested. What else would you like added? Whom should I give it to for lay out and distribution?

Foster

Goodstart - see comments.

also - script + arguments can be varied according to - 1.) target group - north-south; liberal-conservative; and 2.) who publishes - keep in mind we may want others to say some things.

PRESIDENT FORD -- THE WINNER IN NOVEMBER



- I. Gerald Ford has a strong record as President.
 - A. Under his leadership, inflation has been cut in half and there are 3.6 million new jobs.
 - B. President Ford is the first incumbent since Eisenhower who can campaign with the nation at peace.
 - C. President Ford has restored trust and confidence in government.

II. President Ford runs ahead of Reagan against Carter in every national

add separate col. - shows not difference - Ford vs. Carter

what about regional break down - N.Y. Times poll of last week - Bully + Harris also have regional breaks

	Ford	Carter	Undecided	Reagan	Carter	Undecided
Harris 6/23	40	53	7	35	58	7
Gallup 6/21	39	53	8	35	58	7
NBC 6/15	37	52	11	35	58	7

AND IN STATE POLLS

California 5/31 - 6/5	40	41	19	38	46	16
Minnesota	46	43	11	39	46	15
Iowa	47	46	7	41	50	9
Missouri	38	44	18	31	49	18
Michigan	36	35	29	21	48	31

↓
 we also have results from N. Dak, Missouri, - also Mo. results which show Bond + Danforth running 7-9 pts. better w/ P. than w/ R.R.

III. President Ford has a national appeal.

A. He is the national choice of Republicans.

	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
Harris	60	30	10
NBC	60	30	10
Gallup	51	41	8

B. He is the national choice of Independents.

	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
Gallup	52	33	13

C. President Ford is the only candidate in either Party to win primaries in all sections of the country.

NH 4	NY 41	KY 9
VT 3	PA 27	TN 10
MS 14	D.C. 3	OR 6
FL 17	WV 6	RI 4
IL 26	MD 10	NJ 17
WI 11	MI 21	OH 25

ELECTORAL VOTE TOTAL254

Reagan has won only one primary outside the Sunbelt. The 144 total electoral vote strength of his primary victories is far short of the 270 needed to win.

he won Neb. + Indiana.



A REAGAN CANDIDACY WOULD MEAN A REPEAT OF 1964

A Reagan candidacy in 1976 will result in a loss of landslide proportions. National polls taken in recent months show Governor Reagan from 18 to 23 points behind Carter. The two most recent polls show Reagan further behind Carter than ever before, indicating that Reagan is losing ground to Carter. More importantly, Reagan is nearly as far behind Carter now as Stevenson was behind Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956 -- and Stevenson lost both elections. Reagan trails Carter by more than Humphrey ever trailed Nixon in 1968, when Humphrey lost.

This evidence shows that Reagan cannot close the gap and would lose to Carter. The pattern of the inevitable Reagan defeat indicates that Republicans nationally would fare as badly as they did when Reagan was Governor of California. When Reagan became Governor in 1967, Republicans in California had:

While ^{BEFORE} Reagan Governor	After Reagan Governor
2 U.S. Senators	None
17 of 38 Congressmen	15 of 43 Congressmen
19 of 40 State Senators	15 of 40 State Senators
38 of 80 State Assemblymen	25 of 80 State Assemblymen
5 of 6 Statewide Offices	1 of 6 Statewide Offices

Said independent pollster Louis Harris:

The pattern now being run by Reagan against Carter is highly reminiscent of that of Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater in the 1964 Presidential election, when he lost by a landslide to Lyndon Johnson. This pattern thus indicates that in 1976 the electorate is highly unlikely to vote for an all-out conservative for President. (Harris, 5/6/76)

This estimate was confirmed by widely respected conservative political analyst Kevin Phillips. In the May 28 edition of Phillips' newsletter, American Political Report, Phillips predicted that Reagan would carry only a handful of smaller states with very few electoral votes.

There are three major reasons why a Reagan loss in 1976 would be a loss of landslide proportions:



1. Governor Reagan's strength is in the wrong places;
2. Governor Reagan is far too conservative to attract the large numbers of middle-of-the-road voters any Republican must get in order to win;
3. The hidden "Wallace" or "new conservative" voters which are supposed to bring Reagan victory are not going to vote for Reagan.

Governor Reagan's strengths will do him little good and his weaknesses mean a certain Democratic victory in November.

Governor Reagan claims enough strength in the South and West and in traditionally Republican areas to bring him victory in November. There's just one problem with Reagan's claims -- they're not true. Look at the facts:

The West -- A recent Field poll in California, the center of Reagan's Western "strength," showed Reagan losing to Carter by a wide margin.

<u>Ford</u>	<u>Carter</u>	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Carter</u>
40	41	38	46

A Gallup poll released on June 27 showed that Ford runs better than Reagan against Carter throughout the entire West:

<u>Ford</u>	<u>Carter</u>	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Carter</u>
44	46	42	47

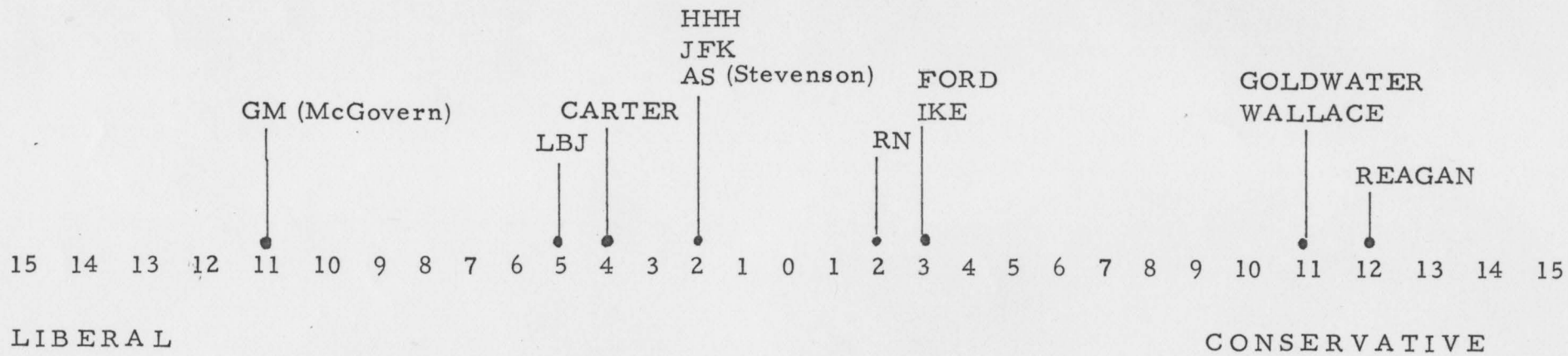
Reagan has no advantage in the South. Carter has a 30 point lead over both candidates as measured by Gallup, Harris, CBS and NBC.

So Governor Reagan is strong only where Carter is stronger -- the difference between Ford and Reagan is that Ford is strong in areas where Carter is weakest -- and these are areas where political analysts are agreed that the polls and the primaries both show that Reagan has no chance of winning.

Reagan is too conservative to win the votes of essential moderates.

As the attached chart shows, Governor Reagan is placed by the voters at the extreme right.





Past Presidential elections have repeatedly shown that a candidate as extreme as Governor Reagan (or someone equally far off-center to the left) will go down in defeat by a wide margin (see attached table). The reason for this is that the middle-of-the-road voter is the center of gravity in American politics. Any candidate who doesn't get a large share of moderate votes loses badly. Reagan's position on the ideological spectrum means that he won't get those votes, and his support in the primary states shows that he won't get those votes.

Another 1964 would cost the GOP dearly. In 1964, the GOP lost:

6% of its United States Senate seats (2)
 20% of its United States House seats (38)
 602 seats in state legislatures

A repeat of that performance in 1976, combined with GOP retirements already announced, could reduce GOP House membership to just over 100 members -- the lowest number since 1934. This would give the Democrats complete and unchallengeable control over the Federal government for the first time since the New Deal.

At the state level, substantial GOP losses in 1976 could mean that the GOP would end the year with control of only eight of the state-houses across the country.

It should not be forgotten that in the 1964 debacle it was conservative Republican candidates who suffered most.

Reagan is not going to get the "Wallace" vote which is an essential element of his "New Majority."

Reagan has, as everyone knows, been the recipient of the largest share of crossover votes cast in the primaries by former Wallace voters. But most of the former Wallace voters this year either did not vote or voted Democratic, usually for Jimmy Carter. Kevin Phillips estimates that the Wallace vote split 4 to 1 for Carter over Reagan in the primaries (Phillips, 5/28). There is no evidence from the primaries which suggests that Reagan will get a large enough share of this vote to offset the losses that his candidacy will produce in other numerically more important parts of the voting population. In fact, the Democratic party has nominated a candidate that George Wallace feels comfortable with and has endorsed.



[June 25, 1976]

PRESIDENT FORD -- THE WINNER IN NOVEMBER

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 - B. President Ford is the first incumbent since Eisenhower who can campaign with the nation at peace.
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- II. President Ford runs ahead of Reagan against Carter in every national poll.

	Ford	Carter	Undecided	Reagan	Carter	Undecided
Harris 6/23	40	53	7	35	58	7
Gallup 6/21	39	53	8	35	58	7
NBC 6/15	37	52	11	35	58	7

AND IN STATE POLLS

California 5/31 - 6/5	40	41	19	38	46	16
Minnesota	46	43	11	39	46	15
Iowa	47	46	7	41	50	9
Missouri	38	44	18	31	49	18
Michigan						



III. President Ford has a national appeal.

A. He is the national choice of Republicans.

	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
Harris	60	30	10
NBC	60	30	10
Gallup	51	41	8

B. He is the national choice of Independents.

	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
Gallup	52	33	13

C. President Ford is the only candidate in either Party to win primaries in all sections of the country.

NH 4	NY 41	KY 9
VT 3	PA 27	TN 10
MS 14	D.C. 3	OR 6
FL 17	WV 6	RI 4
IL 26	MD 10	NJ 17
WI 11	MI 21	OH 25

ELECTORAL VOTE TOTAL254

Reagan has won only one primary outside the Sunbelt. The 144 total electoral vote strength of his primary victories is far short of the 270 needed to win.



A REAGAN CANDIDACY WOULD MEAN A REPEAT OF 1964

A Reagan candidacy in 1976 will result in a loss of landslide proportions. National polls taken in recent months show Governor Reagan from 18 to 23 points behind Carter. The two most recent polls show Reagan further behind Carter than ever before, indicating that Reagan is losing ground to Carter. More importantly, Reagan is nearly as far behind Carter now as Stevenson was behind Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956 -- and Stevenson lost both elections. Reagan trails Carter by more than Humphrey ever trailed Nixon in 1968, when Humphrey lost.

This evidence shows that Reagan cannot close the gap and would lose to Carter. The pattern of the inevitable Reagan defeat indicates that Republicans nationally would fare as badly as they did when Reagan was Governor of California. When Reagan became Governor in 1967, Republicans in California had:

<u>Before Reagan Governor</u>	<u>After Reagan Governor</u>
2 U.S. Senators	None
17 of 38 Congressmen	15 of 43 Congressmen
19 of 40 State Senators	15 of 40 State Senators
38 of 80 State Assemblymen	25 of 80 State Assemblymen
5 of 6 Statewide Offices	1 of 6 Statewide Offices

Said independent pollster Louis Harris:

The pattern now being run by Reagan against Carter is highly reminiscent of that of Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater in the 1964 Presidential election, when he lost by a landslide to Lyndon Johnson. This pattern thus indicates that in 1976 the electorate is highly unlikely to vote for an all-out conservative for President.
(Harris, 5/6/76)

This estimate was confirmed by widely respected conservative political analyst Kevin Phillips. In the May 28 edition of Phillips' newsletter, American Political Report, Phillips predicted that Reagan would carry only a handful of smaller states with very few electoral votes.

There are three major reasons why a Reagan loss in 1976 would be a loss of landslide proportions:



1. Governor Reagan's strength is in the wrong places;
2. Governor Reagan is far too conservative to attract the large numbers of middle-of-the-road voters any Republican must get in order to win;
3. The hidden "Wallace" or "new conservative" voters which are supposed to bring Reagan victory are not going to vote for Reagan.

Governor Reagan's strengths will do him little good and his weaknesses mean a certain Democratic victory in November.

Governor Reagan claims enough strength in the South and West and in traditionally Republican areas to bring him victory in November. There's just one problem with Reagan's claims -- they're not true. Look at the facts:

The West -- A recent Field poll in California, the center of Reagan's Western "strength," showed Reagan losing to Carter by a wide margin.

<u>Ford</u>	<u>Carter</u>	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Carter</u>
40	41	38	46

A Gallup poll released on June 27 showed that Ford runs better than Reagan against Carter throughout the entire West:

<u>Ford</u>	<u>Carter</u>	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Carter</u>
44	46	42	47

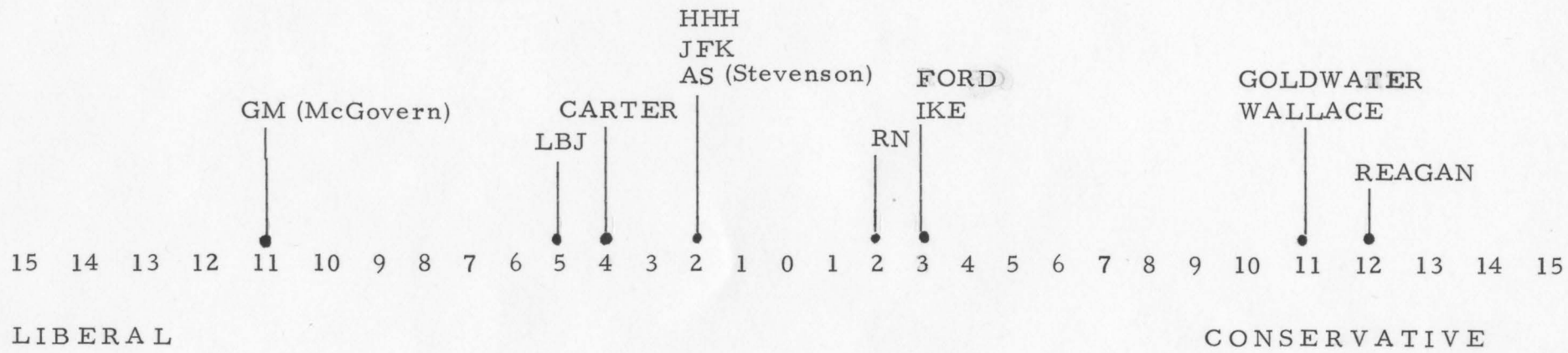
Reagan has no advantage in the South. Carter has a 30 point lead over both candidates as measured by Gallup, Harris, CBS and NBC.

So Governor Reagan is strong only where Carter is stronger -- the difference between Ford and Reagan is that Ford is strong in areas where Carter is weakest -- and these are areas where political analysts are agreed that the polls and the primaries both show that Reagan has no chance of winning.

Reagan is too conservative to win the votes of essential moderates.

As the attached chart shows, Governor Reagan is placed by the voters at the extreme right.





Past Presidential elections have repeatedly shown that a candidate as extreme as Governor Reagan (or someone equally far off-center to the left) will go down in defeat by a wide margin (see attached table). The reason for this is that the middle-of-the-road voter is the center of gravity in American politics. Any candidate who doesn't get a large share of moderate votes loses badly. Reagan's position on the ideological spectrum means that he won't get those votes, and his support in the primary states shows that he won't get those votes.

Another 1964 would cost the GOP dearly. In 1964, the GOP lost:

6% of its United States Senate seats (2)
20% of its United States House seats (38)
602 seats in state legislatures

A repeat of that performance in 1976, combined with GOP retirements already announced, could reduce GOP House membership to just over 100 members -- the lowest number since 1934. This would give the Democrats complete and unchallengeable control over the Federal government for the first time since the New Deal.

At the state level, substantial GOP losses in 1976 could mean that the GOP would end the year with control of only eight of the state-houses across the country.

It should not be forgotten that in the 1964 debacle it was conservative Republican candidates who suffered most.

Reagan is not going to get the "Wallace" vote which is an essential element of his "New Majority."

Reagan has, as everyone knows, been the recipient of the largest share of crossover votes cast in the primaries by former Wallace voters. But most of the former Wallace voters this year either did not vote or voted Democratic, usually for Jimmy Carter. Kevin Phillips estimates that the Wallace vote split 4 to 1 for Carter over Reagan in the primaries (Phillips, 5/28). There is no evidence from the primaries which suggests that Reagan will get a large enough share of this vote to offset the losses that his candidacy will produce in other numerically more important parts of the voting population. In fact, the Democratic party has nominated a candidate that George Wallace feels comfortable with and has endorsed.

