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July 9, 1976

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# President Ford

## "A Winner in November"

All Republicans must now begin to look to the November campaign against the Democratic nominee, Jimmy Carter. We must choose our candidate based not only on his ability to express our principles, but one who has the greatest chance of being elected President this fall in a race against the former Georgia governor.

Let's take a look once again at the primary elections that we have just completed. In order to judge any candidate's electability, we can use these primary results to find just where his strengths are concentrated. What regions are his best? How much depth does his support have? Below are the regional results of this years primary elections.

<u>REGION</u>	<u>FORD</u>	<u>REAGAN</u>	<u>CARTER</u>
Northeast	24%	5%	12%
Midwest	43%	37%	27%
West	18%	37%	10%
South	15%	21%	51%
	100%	100%	100%



ITEM: A full 31% of Ronald Reagan's votes came from the state of California-- and barely 5% from all the states of the Northeast.

ITEM: More than half of Jimmy Carter's votes are confined to the South-- with only 12% from the Northeast and 10% in the West.

It is a simple fact of politics that the Presidential election is won and lost on the basis of electoral votes. It takes 270 electoral votes to win in November, votes that are divided around the country as follows:

<u>REGION</u>	<u>ELECTORAL VOTES</u>	<u>REGION</u>	<u>ELECTORAL VOTES</u>
Northeast	144	Midwest	145
South	147	West	102

ITEM: If the Presidential campaign had been a Presidential election between President Ford and Ronald Reagan, the President would have already won, 294 electoral votes to 208 for Reagan. Even the states that are undecided could not change this result.

ITEM: In the states where President Ford, Jimmy Carter, and Ronald Reagan all ran in the primaries, based upon their respective popular vote totals, President Ford beats Jimmy Carter in the total electoral college vote. The President would have received 190 electoral votes to 158 for Carter--and that is only 80 votes short of the Presidency. Reagan would win only 96 electoral votes to Carter's 235-- putting Carter only 35 votes short of the White House.

ITEM: The President holds a commanding electoral lead against Carter in every region except the South, where 65% of Carter's current electoral strength is concentrated. This lead is especially significant when you consider that registered Democrats outnumber Republicans by more than a 2-1 margin.

ELECTORAL VOTE PROFILE BASED ON PRIMARY RESULTS

<u>REGION</u>	<u>FORD</u>	<u>CARTER</u>	<u>REAGAN</u>	<u>CARTER</u>
Northeast	65	14	4	58
Midwest	66	39	30	75
West	59	3	62	0
South	0	102	0	102
<b>ELECTORAL VOTE TOTALS</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>235</b>



MYTH OF THE WEEK

MYTH #4: In Montana recently, Ronald Reagan told the delegates that if all the delegates were divided up proportionately to each candidate's percentage, "...I would be the winner already."

TRUTH: If the vote were divided proportionately, Reagan would LOSE 4 of the delegates that he presently has -- but President Ford would GAIN 57 delegates.

	<u>FORD</u>		<u>REAGAN</u>	
	<u>Present</u>	<u>Prop.</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Prop.</u>
Primaries	849	906	687	683

So why does Reagan keep hawking this obvious myth?? The reason is simple -- Reagan has conveniently pushed the Northeastern states of Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey -- which represent 85 electoral votes between them (it takes only 270 to win) -- completely out of his mind.

\* \* \*

PRESIDENT FORD - THE WINNER IN NOVEMBER

According to a July 12 TIME Magazine poll, "...Ford remain(s) a much stronger potential candidate than Reagan, even in the Sunbelt states." And, they reported that in the West, President Ford's support was almost the same as Carter's (42% to 44%), while Reagan trailed Carter 37% to 46%. In the Midwest, President Ford led Carter 43% to 41% -- but Reagan was far behind Carter, 34% to 47%.

		<u>FORD</u>	<u>CARTER</u>	<u>REAGAN</u>	<u>CARTER</u>
In the WEST:	<u>TIME</u> (7/12)	42%	44%	37%	46%
	<u>HARRIS</u> (6/24)	45%	51%	41%	52%
In the MIDWEST:	<u>TIME</u> (7/12)	43%	41%	34%	47%
	<u>HARRIS</u> (6/24)	48%	46%	42%	51%

So what's the conclusion? It's simple. Even in Reagan's supposedly strongest areas -- he isn't. Jimmy Carter beats him everywhere, resoundly.

And President Ford? That's simple too. It will be a tough fight. But President Ford was a winner in the primaries -- and he'll win in November.

# President Ford Committee

1828 L STREET, N.W., SUITE 250, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 (202) 457-6400

✓  
June 25, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR PRESIDENT FORD COMMITTEE ADVOCATES

FROM: ROGERS C. B. MORTON

SUBJECT: Items of Interest

President Ford's record, as well as the "electability" issue, continue to dominate discussions regarding who the Republican nominee should be in the fall. The attached information should provide you with useful background information on these subjects.

I hope you will have an opportunity to use this information in your own discussions as well as in any speeches you might give where such topics are of interest. While pointing out the President's strengths, this polling data and others which I am sure you have seen, indicate that the fall campaign will be a great challenge demanding the maximum effort from us all.

Thank you for your continued support and assistance.



# 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 Republicans, we have all been listening carefully to the arguments from both campaigns. Governor Reagan has based his electibility on his supposed strength in the South and the West, and among Independent and Democratic voters.

Similarly, we have heard that President Ford runs stronger in the big Northeastern industrial states and the Midwest--where Jimmy Carter is at his weakest.

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?

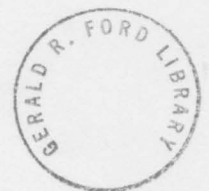
MYTH #1: Ronald Reagan will run stronger than Ford against Carter in the South.

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

	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Carter</u>	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Carter</u>
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%

\*Taken among Republicans only

@Taken among Republicans and Independents only



MYTH #2: Reagan will dominate the West against Carter.

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

In fact, the most recent Mervin D. Field California Poll shows that President Ford draws even with Carter-- and Ronald Reagan loses, in his home state, by 8%.

	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Carter</u>	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Carter</u>
HARRIS SURVEY* May 6, 1976	50%	39%	40%	49%
FIELD SURVEY (California) June 10, 1976	40%	41%	38%	46%

\*Taken in the West only

MYTH #3: Ronald Reagan is better able than President Ford to put together the coalition of Republicans, Independents, and unhappy Democrats necessary to win in November.

TRUTH : President Ford holds a 60-30% lead over Reagan among Republicans and Independents--an advantage which has built steadily over the last 9 months.

And, among Democrats, President Ford runs a full 11% stronger against Carter than does Reagan.

Republicans and Independents

<u>HARRIS SURVEY</u>	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Reagan</u>
May 76	60%	30%
Feb. 76	51%	34%
Nov. 75	44%	43%



Democrats

	<u>Ford</u>	<u>Carter</u>	<u>Reagan</u>	<u>Carter</u>
GALLUP POLL June 21, 1976	22%	71%	17%	77%

A Winner in November -- President Ford.

- ITEM: President Ford runs stronger than Reagan against Carter in every region of the country; and among college educated voters, business executives, and independents. (Harris Survey, May 6, 1976)
- ITEM: Ford runs even with Carter in the East, and beats Carter in the West. Reagan loses to Carter in every region.
- ITEM: 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.
- ITEM: In the Northeast, where Republicans will have to pick up the electoral votes of states like New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, Ford runs even with Carter--but Reagan loses to Carter almost 2 to 1.
- ITEM: The President has far greater electoral strength in comparison with Ronald Reagan. Reagan's primary state victories represent only 153 electoral votes. President Ford, on the other hand, has won primaries in 10 of the 13 major electoral states which represent 258 electoral votes. Needed to win in November: 270 electoral votes.

\* \* \* \*

President Ford and the Republican Party

President Ford has dedicated his political career to ensuring the success of the Republican Party. During his seven years as House Minority Leader, Gerald Ford made 511 appearances at Republican fundraisers and events across the country. He continued this activity by making 55 appearances while Vice President; and, despite opinion polls which advised to the contrary, President Ford made 24 major appearances for the Republican Party after assuming the Presidency.

10 of the living former Republican National Committee Chairmen--including Ray Bliss, Bill Miller, Sen. Bob Dole, Dean Burch, and Thruston Morton--have endorsed President Ford's candidacy.

\* \* \* \*



On the other hand, Richard Viguerie, a leading Conservative backer of Governor Reagan, and former fund raiser for George Wallace, has pledged "...to move heaven and earth..." to defeat President Ford in order to bring about the demise of the Republican Party.

"...If Reagan is not the nominee, we will do everything we can to cause Ford to lose...The public has made it very clear that it will not buy the word Republican."

\* \* \*

In this crucial election year, Republicans need candidates who are interested as much in strengthening their Party and their Nation as they are in their own political success.

PRESIDENT FORD

10 REASONS WHY HE SHOULD CARRY THE GOP BANNER IN NOVEMBER

1. Ford has a strong record as President.

-- Under President Ford's leadership, the U.S. is now in the full surge of economic recovery. Inflation has been cut from 12% to less than 6%. Over 1.3 million new jobs have been created since early 1975, erasing the losses of the recession.

-- Ford is the first President since Eisenhower who can campaign with America at peace.

-- President Ford is also building new faith and trust in the Presidency itself.

-- President Ford's leadership has ended a long period of turmoil and dislocation. Through continuity in the Presidency, we can sustain our economic recovery, ensure peace and restore integrity to our public institutions.

2. Ford runs ahead of Reagan on all key issues.

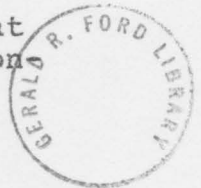
-- Polls consistently show that the economy is the number one concern of the American people. Among independents and Republicans, pollster Louis Harris finds that Ford is rated as better able than Reagan to handle inflation (47-26), better able to handle unemployment (44-24), and better able to control Federal spending (51-31).

-- Integrity in government is the second most important issue to voters, and here Ford beats Reagan by 44 to 26.

-- Only in some areas of foreign policy does Reagan beat Ford, and foreign policy is a distant fourth among voter concerns this year.

3. Ford runs better against Carter.

-- In every major poll by Gallup and Harris, Ford runs consistently better than Reagan against Jimmy Carter. Both Republicans are now running behind, but President Ford has a much better chance of overcoming Carter's early lead. In December of 1975, when Reagan was in the first flush of his candidacy, he was the choice of the Independents over Ford by 47 to 32 and was tied among Republicans at 45-45, Gallup, January 11, 1976. By June, the President had clearly overcome the Reagan lead and was the preferred choice over Reagan by a 60 to 30 margin among Republicans and 58-30 among Independents, Harris, June 6, 1976.



4. Ford has shown broad, national appeal; Reagan has not.

-- President Ford is the only candidate in either party who has demonstrated broad, national support. He has beaten Reagan in the Northeast (New Hampshire, Massachusetts, etc.), in the big industrial states of the North (Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey), in the South (Florida), in the border states (Kentucky, Tennessee), in the Midwest (Michigan, Illinois), and even in the Far West (Oregon).

-- According to the New York Times/CBS New poll of May 28, 1976, Ford beats Reagan among Republicans in the South 44 to 39. Ford wins in the East 59 to 30, loses in the West 35-50 and wins in the Midwest 59 to 28.

-- With the exception of Indiana, Reagan has never demonstrated an ability to win outside the Sunbelt.

-- Overall, in the 30 state primaries this year, Ford won more votes than Reagan by a margin of 52-48.

5. Ford has a much more credible electoral strategy than Reagan.

-- Ford has a natural, strong base in the big states of the Midwest where Carter has not shown great strength. Those states represent over 140 electoral votes. Ford would also be able to draw upon traditional Republican strength in the Great Plains and Mountain states, could make inroads in the South and border states, and -- despite the claims of the Reagan campaign -- would have as good a crack at the West as Reagan. Because of Carter's weaknesses in the Northeast, Ford would have a better-than-even chance there.

-- Reagan, on the other hand, is a candidate whose strength is confined to the South and the West. In the South, Carter's total votes in the primaries have been higher than Reagan's by about a 3-1 margin, raising serious questions about Reagan's ability to win there.

-- Reagan's chances would clearly be improved in the West, but standing alone, the Western states are far less than needed for victory. It is also important to recognize that in California, Ford runs better against Carter than does Reagan. A Field poll conducted May 31 - June 5, 1976 shows Carter holding a slim 41-40 lead over Ford, but Carter leads Reagan 46-38.



-- To win, a Republican candidate must be able to sweep some of the bigger, most populated states. The primary states where Reagan has won have often been the ones with the fewest primary votes; altogether, Reagan's primary states represent 153 electoral votes. Ford, on the other hand, has won primaries in 10 of the 13 major electoral states which represent 258 electoral votes. Needed to win in November: 270 electoral votes.

6. Ford is better able to run against Carter's weaknesses.

-- Carter's greatest weaknesses are his lack of experience on the national and international levels and his lack of clarity on a broad range of issues.

-- In more than a quarter of a century of public life, President Ford has taken positions on thousands of issues and has many concrete programs for the future. Moreover, for those voters who want a man of experience in the most powerful office on earth -- and the number of such voters will grow as the election draws closer -- Ford represents a clear choice.

-- Reagan, on the other hand, has not been forced to deal with national and international issues in great detail, and more importantly, he has no practical experience in meeting such issues. Just as he is stronger where Carter is strong among the anti-Washington voters, he is weaker where Carter is weak. For the voter who does not like Carter because of his lack of experience and reliability, Reagan does not offer a clear choice. Only President Ford does.

7. Ford does not have Reagan's liabilities.

-- Fairly or not, if Reagan were the GOP nominee, the Democrats would use his statements on his \$90 billion plan, Social Security and the TVA to depict Reagan as an extremist. No one who has ever been successfully branded as an extremist has ever won the Presidency.

-- Fairly or not, the Democrats would use Reagan's statements on Angola, Panama and Rhodesia to brand him as a dangerous, trigger-happy candidate.

-- Fairly or not, the Democrats would seek to exploit Reagan's background as an actor.

-- Fairly or not, the Democrats would try to portray Reagan as a man who would lead the country into nuclear war. We might even see the daisy ads again.



-- Fairly or not, Democrats will try to rip holes in Reagan's record as Governor of California, arguing that he increased taxes, that his welfare program failed, etc.

-- Fairly or not, Democrats will also seek to exploit Reagan's personal tax records. For instance, a recent commentator on 60 Minutes blasted Reagan for accepting public funds to run his campaign while paying only minimal personal taxes to the Government.

8. Reagan presents the risk of another 1964.

-- In one of his most recent national surveys, May, 1976, Lou Harris found Carter beating Reagan 53-34 while holding a narrower 47-43 lead over Ford. Reagan could beat Carter only among conservatives (46-43); among all other constituencies, Reagan ran considerably behind Carter. Concluded 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."

-- In 1964, the GOP lost 20% of its seats in the House, 6% of its seats in the Senate, and some 600 seats in State Legislatures.

-- A repeat of that 1964 performance in 1976, combined with retirements that have already been announced, could reduce GOP membership in the House to just over 100 Members -- the lowest ebb for the Republican Party since 1934.

-- With better than a 3-1 majority of Democrats in the House, a 2-1 lead majority in the Senate, and a Democrat in the White House, the liberal Democrats could run rough-shod over every Republican position.

-- State House losses could be even more devastating. As of today, Republicans control only a fourth of the Governors' chairs. Six GOP Governors are up this year. Can we afford another 1964 in the State Houses?

-- Who would suffer most from a debacle? In 1964, conservative Republicans suffered the greatest losses while their more liberal colleagues remained unscathed.

9. Only Ford can unite the Republican Party.

-- NBC polls indicate that the potential rate of defection to Carter among Reagan and Ford backers could be as high as 45% -- enough to devastate either Republican candidate. For a



Republican to win, it is essential to keep these voters in the fold and then reach out to Independents and Democrats dissatisfied with Carter.

-- A Reagan nomination -- representing, as it would, a repudiation of Republican leadership, could split the party so badly that it is very questionable whether the GOP could be put back together again.

-- President Ford, on the other hand, has demonstrated that he can work with Republicans of every political belief, from one end of the spectrum to the other. His allies include not only conservatives such as Senator Tower but liberals and moderates such as Senator Percy. That sort of broad appeal will be essential to a Republican victory in the fall.

10. President Ford deserves the Republican nomination.

-- Gerald Ford never sought the Presidency. He was asked to come forward at a time when his party -- and his Nation -- were in deep trouble. He has served both as well as any man could.

-- For his party, Gerald Ford has traveled from one end of the country to the other, helping other Republican candidates, raising money for State parties that were in need, and reviving Republican hopes. In the fall of 1975, even when the polls showed that his political trips were hurting his standing with the public, he went to GOP fundraisers in order to put many State parties back in the black.

-- For his country, Gerald Ford has guided us gently, but firmly, out of one of the deepest troughs in recent history. He has put the nightmares of the past behind us. He has put the economy back on an upward path. And he has kept America strong and at peace.

-- Above anyone else in either party, Gerald Ford now deserves a chance to finish the job he has set out to do.

# # # #



*File -  
Ford  
Electab. 1976*

June 1, 1976

## WHY PRESIDENT FORD IS THE STRONGEST REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE, REGARDLESS WHO IS NOMINATED BY THE DEMOCRATS

There are a few states which will be very difficult for any Republican Presidential candidate to carry against any Democrat in 1976. These include: New York, West Virginia, Hawaii, and the District of Columbia -- although there would be an outside chance for President Ford to carry New York if Carter is the Democratic nominee -- with an electoral vote total of 54.

On the other hand, there are a number of states that except in a landslide election will probably support the Republican Presidential candidate. These include the Plains States (North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas) and the Mountain States (Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Montana, Idaho, and Arizona) -- although in a contest between Reagan and Humphrey, Humphrey would have a fair chance in both Dakotas and perhaps Colorado -- with an electoral vote total of 47.

Pretty much regardless of candidates, therefore, the Republican nominee starts off with about 47 probable and the Democrat with 54 probable of the 270 electoral votes needed for election.

### IF CARTER IS THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE

If Carter is the Democratic nominee, he will probably carry all of the Deep South States (South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas), with an electoral vote of 52, bringing his total up to 106. The battleground states then will be: New England (37 electoral votes), Pennsylvania and New Jersey (44 electoral votes), the Coastal States of the Upper South (Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, and North Carolina - 38 electoral votes), the Interior Border States (Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri - 31 electoral votes), the Great Lakes States (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota - plus Iowa - 114 electoral votes), Florida (17 electoral votes), the Southwestern Sunbelt States (Texas, Oklahoma, and New Mexico - 38 electoral votes), California and Nevada (48 electoral votes), the Northwest (Washington and Oregon - 15 electoral votes), and Alaska (3 electoral votes).



New England, in Presidential elections, normally splits into the three upper states, probable Republican (11 electoral votes), and three lower states, safely Democratic (26 electoral votes). If Reagan were the Republican nominee, however, the upper tier would become doubtful. If Carter is the Democratic nominee, on the other hand, doubts about Carter among liberals in the lower tier would give Ford a shot at carrying all three of these states, even Massachusetts. Reagan would have no chance against Carter in any of the lower tier states. Ford, therefore, would have a chance of carrying all 37 electoral votes in this region against Carter. Reagan could lose all of them, and would certainly lose 26.

Pennsylvania and New Jersey will be difficult states for any Republican candidate this year, but Ford will have a fighting chance in both. Reagan would have no chance.

In the Great Lakes states, Ford would battle on equal or better terms with Carter -- even in Michigan, normally leaning Democratic in Presidential elections, because of the President's demonstrated popularity in his home state. Reagan would have no chance against Carter in any of these states except Indiana.

The states of the Upper South will be difficult for any Republican against Carter, with Ford having a somewhat better chance in Maryland and Delaware, and Reagan somewhat better in Virginia and North Carolina.

In the Interior Border States, Ford has demonstrated that he would have a better chance than Reagan.

Ford would have a somewhat better chance against Carter in Florida, and Reagan somewhat better in the Sunbelt States -- though all will be tough for the Republican candidate to carry against Carter.

In California, Reagan would have the native son advantage -- but recent elections have shown that while California Republicans are somewhat more conservative than average, the overall California voting population is moderate. Ford would have a better chance to reach out to moderates. In the Northwest and Alaska, Ford would have a better chance against Carter than Reagan.





Of the 385 electoral votes in the battleground states, therefore, Ford would have a better chance than Reagan of carrying at least 274 against Carter -- which combined with the 47 probable Republican votes would give Ford a comfortable majority in the electoral college. Even giving Reagan the advantage in California, on the other hand, would give him only 111 electoral votes for which he might have a better chance than Ford -- which, added to the 47 probable Republican votes, would give him only 158 -- more than 100 votes short of the necessary majority in the electoral college. Moreover, Reagan would have virtually no chance of carrying against Carter the lower New England states, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, or any of the Great Lakes States except Indiana -- states with a total of 181 electoral votes. These, combined with Carter's safe votes, would give Carter against Reagan a majority of 287 in the electoral college -- even if Reagan carried every state in which he might have a fighting chance.

#### IF HUMPHREY IS THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE

If Humphrey is the Democratic nominee, the distribution of electoral strength would shift substantially -- but Ford remains much the stronger Republican candidate.

With Humphrey leading the ticket, the Democratic presidential slate would probably carry the three states of lower New England against any Republican. Humphrey would also have a good chance against Reagan in upper New England, but would probably lose these three states to Ford.

The Deep South, the Upper South, the Interior Border States, Florida, and the Sunbelt States (except perhaps New Mexico), on the other hand, would probably be safe for any Republican against Humphrey -- if Carter were not put on the ticket for Vice President. Even if Carter were selected by Humphrey for Vice President, as he probably would be, the Democratic ticket led by Humphrey would probably carry only Georgia among these states.

Humphrey would add Minnesota's 10 electoral votes to the probable Democratic column.



Ford, therefore, would start off with about 218 probable electoral votes against 102 for Humphrey-Carter. Reagan would start off with about 207 probable against 102 for Humphrey-Carter. Either Republican would be reasonably close to the 270 needed for election. But those last 50 or so electoral votes against Humphrey-Carter would be hard fought.

Reagan would have little or no chance against Humphrey-Carter in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, or any of the Great Lakes States except Indiana. If the electoral votes of these states are added to the other Humphrey-Carter probables, the Democratic ticket would have 237 electoral votes. To have any chance of election against Humphrey-Carter, therefore, Reagan would have to sweep the Far West -- California, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, and Alaska -- a very difficult feat, particularly in Oregon and Washington.

Ford, in contrast, would have a fighting chance against Humphrey-Carter in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois, and Wisconsin, and would have the advantage in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Iowa. Just by carrying these latter four states, plus the Republican probables, the President would have a majority of 285 in the electoral colleges -- even if he failed to carry California or any other Far Western state -- a most unlikely circumstance.

Reagan, therefore, would run Humphrey a stronger race than he would run Carter. But Ford would still be much the stronger Republican candidate.

#### OTHER POSSIBILITIES

Against any of the other liberal Democrats, including Kennedy, the distribution of electoral strength would be about the same as against Humphrey, except that Ford would have a good chance to carry Minnesota against any other liberal. Against Brown, who seems very unlikely to be nominated, the distribution would be somewhat different -- chiefly in that Reagan's relative advantage in California would be negated. Church, another unlikely nominee, might have a shot at some of the probable Republican states in the Mountain States, but would be easier for Ford to beat in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.



Royal David, FYI

Electability

June 1, 1976

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Ford would have a somewhat better chance against Carter in Florida, and Reagan somewhat better in the Sunbelt States -- though all will be tough for the Republican candidate to carry against Carter.

In California, Reagan would have the native son advantage -- but recent elections have shown that while California Republicans are somewhat more conservative than average, the overall California voting population is moderate. Ford would have a better chance to reach out to moderates. In the Northwest and Alaska, Ford would have a better chance against Carter than Reagan.



Of the 385 electoral votes in the battleground states, therefore, Ford would have a better chance than Reagan of carrying at least 274 against Carter -- which combined with the 47 probable Republican votes would give Ford a comfortable majority in the electoral college. Even giving Reagan the advantage in California, on the other hand, would give him only 111 electoral votes for which he might have a better chance than Ford -- which, added to the 47 probable Republican votes, would give him only 158 -- more than 100 votes short of the necessary majority in the electoral college. Moreover, Reagan would have virtually no chance of carrying against Carter the lower New England states, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, or any of the Great Lakes States except Indiana -- states with a total of 181 electoral votes. These, combined with Carter's safe votes, would give Carter against Reagan a majority of 287 in the electoral college -- even if Reagan carried every state in which he might have a fighting chance.

#### IF HUMPHREY IS THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE

If Humphrey is the Democratic nominee, the distribution of electoral strength would shift substantially -- but Ford remains much the stronger Republican candidate.

With Humphrey leading the ticket, the Democratic presidential slate would probably carry the three states of lower New England against any Republican. Humphrey would also have a good chance against Reagan in upper New England, but would probably lose these three states to Ford.

The Deep South, the Upper South, the Interior Border States, Florida, and the Sunbelt States (except perhaps New Mexico), on the other hand, would probably be safe for any Republican against Humphrey -- if Carter were not put on the ticket for Vice President. Even if Carter were selected by Humphrey for Vice President, as he probably would be, the Democratic ticket led by Humphrey would probably carry only Georgia among these states.

Humphrey would add Minnesota's 10 electoral votes to the probable Democratic column.



Ford, therefore, would start off with about 218 probable electoral votes against 102 for Humphrey-Carter. Reagan would start off with about 207 probable against 102 for Humphrey-Carter. Either Republican would be reasonably close to the 270 needed for election. But those last 50 or so electoral votes against Humphrey-Carter would be hard fought.

Reagan would have little or no chance against Humphrey-Carter in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, or any of the Great Lakes States except Indiana. If the electoral votes of these states are added to the other Humphrey-Carter probables, the Democratic ticket would have 237 electoral votes. To have any chance of election against Humphrey-Carter, therefore, Reagan would have to sweep the Far West -- California, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, and Alaska -- a very difficult feat, particularly in Oregon and Washington.

Ford, in contrast, would have a fighting chance against Humphrey-Carter in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois, and Wisconsin, and would have the advantage in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Iowa. Just by carrying these latter four states, plus the Republican probables, the President would have a majority of 285 in the electoral colleges -- even if he failed to carry California or any other Far Western state -- a most unlikely circumstance.

Reagan, therefore, would run Humphrey a stronger race than he would run Carter. But Ford would still be much the stronger Republican candidate.

#### OTHER POSSIBILITIES

Against any of the other liberal Democrats, including Kennedy, the distribution of electoral strength would be about the same as against Humphrey, except that Ford would have a good chance to carry Minnesota against any other liberal. Against Brown, who seems very unlikely to be nominated, the distribution would be somewhat different -- chiefly in that Reagan's relative advantage in California would be negated. Church, another unlikely nominee, might have a shot at some of the probable Republican states in the Mountain States, but would be easier for Ford to beat in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

