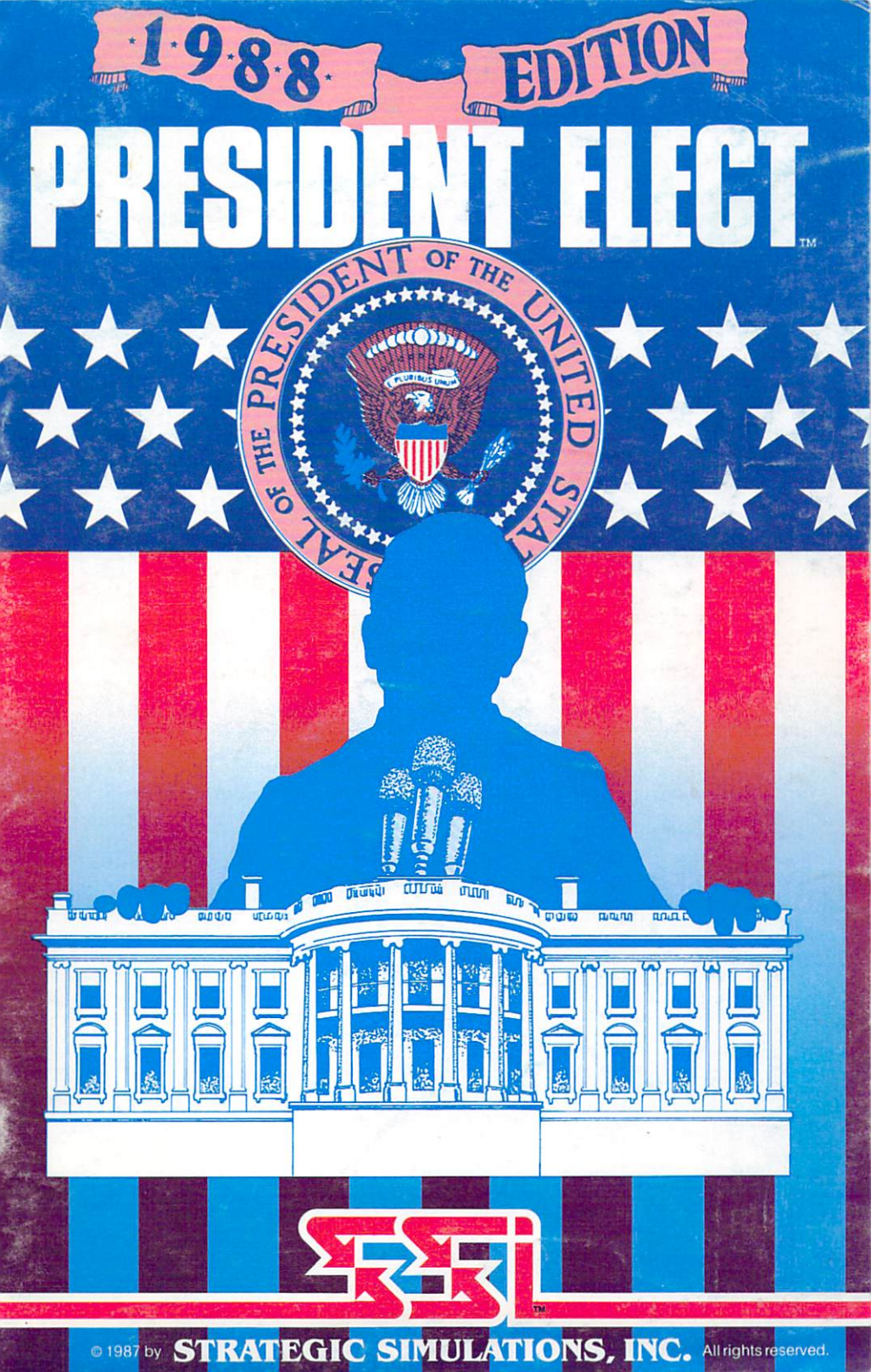
1988 EDITION

PRESIDENT ELECT™



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QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS: Our main business telephone number is (415) 964-1353. We also have a Technical Support Hotline number: (415) 964-1200, which you can call if you have problems with your disk or need a clarification of the game/rules. Both numbers can be called every weekday, 9 to 5 Pacific Time.

I. DESCRIPTION OF PLAY

A. GENERAL DESCRIPTION

PRESIDENT ELECT™ is a computer simulation of a presidential campaign from Labor Day to Election Night. The game can be played by up to three players, each assuming the role of campaign manager/candidate. The game proceeds through nine weekly turns, in which the players decide where and how to concentrate their campaign efforts. Weekly polls are provided to give the players a rough idea of how they are doing, and to help them determine where to concentrate their campaigning efforts. Candidates may elect to take a trip to a foreign country or may agree to debate their opponents. At the end of the campaign, election returns come in on a minute-to-minute basis until a winner is determined.

B. STARTING A GAME (APPLE)

To begin a game, boot your game disk and the game will begin automatically. If you have a caps lock key, it must be depressed.

C. STARTING A GAME (C-64)

To begin the game, insert the disk, type LOAD"*",8 and press RETURN. When READY appears, type RUN and press RETURN.

D. STARTING A GAME (IBM)

Boot your system normally using DOS 2.1 or greater. You should then make a copy of the game disk before beginning to play. Set aside the original and use the copy for playing the game. You will also need to format a blank disk before starting if you want to save a game during play.

To begin the game, make sure you see the A prompt (A>). If you do not, type 'A:' and hit RETURN. Make sure your play disk is in Drive A. Type 'Start' and hit RETURN.

You may put PRESIDENT ELECT on your hard disk. Simply COPY *.* to your hard drive.

E. SAVING A GAME

Upon completion of the debate phase, the computer will allow the player(s) to save the game in progress. If you choose to save the game you will need a scratch disk to store the data. The scratch disk must be initialized for SSI use by following the instructions included in the program. IBM users must format a disk before beginning a game. Once the game is saved, you will be able to restart it from the point at which you left off.

II. SHORT RULES

A. INTRODUCTION

PRESIDENT ELECT is a comprehensive simulation of presidential campaigning from Labor Day to election night. Game functions are rooted as closely as possible in real life; to campaign, players must plan and execute strategies of their own choosing. Success in a campaign is a function of these strategies, the inherent strengths and weaknesses of the candidates, chance events, and the pre-campaign situation.

B. THE SET-UP

To begin play, load the game into your computer. The first question will ask you whether you wish to 1) start a new game, 2) continue a saved game, 3) demonstrate the graphics, 4) have the computer demo the game by playing the 1960 campaign without player

participation. After choosing an option you will be asked whether you have a color or black-and-white monitor. Subsequent questions are self-explanatory.

If you have selected a new game, you must construct your own scenario. The importance of this segment cannot be overstressed, as the variables you enter have a direct and powerful influence on the course of the game. To construct a scenario, answer each question as requested on the screen and refer to the game manual when necessary. Following are a few notes on setting up a scenario:

1) Election years are different in two ways. First, the number of popular and electoral votes conform to history, adjusted in the case of popular votes by likely voter turnout. For example, Florida has 10 electoral votes in 1960 and 21 in 1984, due to population shifts. Second, each state is biased to a different degree for one party or another. Massachusetts is much more liberal than Utah. This bias changes from election to election.
2) Historical scenarios are just that — the historical candidates and conditions are entered automatically. An ahistorical scenario gives you the ability to change conditions and candidates, even to the point of constructing a fictitious candidate. This allows YOU to run for president.
3) Candidates can be selected irrespective of their party or actual time frame, however unrealistic George McGovern running as a Republican in 1984 may seem.
4) How the state of the union affects the campaign depends upon who is the incumbent, what the state of the union was when the incumbent party took office, and how good or bad current conditions are.

The computer can manage all, some, or none of the candidates. It will make the game decisions a human must, without cheating. If you want all candidates to be run by the computer, then you can run the simulation on "autopilot". The campaigning segment will take 20-60 minutes (depending on the computer) without any player inputs required. You regain control when the election returns begin.

C. THE GAME

The campaign is nine weeks (turns) long. Each week players receive a poll that shows the national popular vote with a 2% margin of error (on rare occasions the error may be greater). The individual states have a 4% margin of error. For a state to be considered likely to vote for a candidate the polls must show the candidate leading by over 4%. For a state to be considered solidly in support of a candidate the candidate must be leading by over 8%. During the campaign the candidates try to improve their positions through the expenditure of resources or PAPs (political action points) on overhead, advertising, campaign stops, and foreign travel.

1. Overhead.

Overhead is unavoidable; for major candidates overhead starts at 500 PAPs a week and increases by 100 PAPs each week, although this will be less if you choose a weaker organization. It does not contribute directly to swaying votes, but is essential in running a campaign. Overhead is variable for third-party candidates.

2. Campaigning.

There are three kinds of campaigning, each serving a different purpose:
1) National campaigning covers the

entire nation. PAP-for-PAP, it sways the most net votes; however, it is not focused and is not the most effective way to swing particular states.

2) Regional campaigning is more effective in swaying states, but only in the region chosen.
3) Individual state campaigning is excellent for swaying large states where the voting is close, but it is a very expensive way to buy votes. To select a state, enter its two-letter postal code shown on the map.

3. Campaign Stops.

Each candidate may make appearances in the states/regions of his choice. These personal appearances are different than the campaigning listed in section II, which is primarily the use of advertising. Costs are incurred when entering a region, when entering a given state, and for each stop made. Fatigue effects occur after a given number of stops, and no more than a given number of stops may be scheduled for a single week. Stops have a diminishing marginal effectiveness in a given week, but have a gradually increasing effectiveness week after week (e.g., 2 stops in each of three weeks is more effective than 6 stops in one week, but is also more expensive).

4. Foreign Visits.

In the first week only, all candidates decide whether to take a trip, and if so who will go, where they will go, when, and for how long. Trips are a pure gamble; sometimes they help, sometimes they hurt.

All players receive an intelligence report at the end of the campaign phase, showing an estimate of each candidate's PAP expenditures in each state. Also shown are the number of stops made by each candidate in each state.

Each week the players are offered the opportunity to debate, if they are willing. Agreement comes only through the mutual consent among potential debaters on who will debate and how many questions will be asked.

At the end of each week, strengths are adjusted based on the decisions of the candidates and the events that have transpired. Each new week begins with a new poll.

D. ELECTION NIGHT

After the ninth week, the results of the election are given and a winner declared. The election night may be simulated in real time (2-6 hours) or the votes may be tallied in less than 15 seconds. The players are given the opportunity to decide how to resolve the election night.

III. SEQUENCE OF PLAY

A. SET UP PHASE

1. Select Graphics Mode.

PRESIDENT ELECT is equipped for black-and-white or color terminals. Select the type you will be using by pressing the "B" or "C" key.

2. Play, Continue, or Demonstrate Option.

Pressing "1" will begin a new game, pressing "2" will begin the procedure for continuing a game that had been previously saved, and pressing "3" will give you a picture of the 1980 Reagan Landslide. Once the picture is complete, hitting any key will begin a new game.

3. Select a Scenario.

Comment:

PRESIDENT ELECT has seven his-

torical scenarios and a virtually unlimited number of hypothetical, or ahistorical, scenarios. Though scenarios all begin on Labor Day of the year you select, running for President begins months, even years before then. Sometimes, as in 1964, 1972 and 1984, the period of the campaign covered by this game was hardly decisive; for one reason or another, the outcome was never much in doubt.

In selecting or constructing a scenario, you are putting many pieces of the puzzle into place before the game has even begun. As an illustration, an incumbent seeking re-election while unemployment and inflation are running at 15%, while the economy is in a depression, and while an unpopular war in is progress is virtually assured of losing by a historic landslide (or possibly by a bloody revolution), regardless of his campaign efforts. It therefore cannot be overstressed how important the initial variables are in shaping the outcome.

Of the seven historical scenarios, only two — the 1960 and 1968 elections — are truly toss-ups. The 1976 and 1980 scenarios slightly favor the Democrats and Republicans, respectively. The 1964, 1972 and 1984 scenarios are almost hopelessly lopsided in favor of the parties that historically won those elections. By changing the candidates or historic conditions, the final outcome can be changed anywhere from radically to not at all. However unlikely, conditions can be manipulated to favor a third-party candidate! Even political extremists can find satisfaction in PRESIDENT ELECT.

Procedure:

(a) Enter Scenario Year. Any election year from 1960 through 1988 is acceptable. The 1988 scenario is automatically ahistorical. Each scenario will reflect the historical number of electoral votes for each state for that election year.

NOTE: In 1960 the District of Columbia has 0 electoral votes.

(b) Enter Scenario Variables. If you want a historical scenario, press "H". Doing so will automatically load the historical candidates and conditions, and lead you to the next section. Pressing "A" will result in the following questions:

- Enter Democratic Candidate. Type in the last name (only) of the candidate desired. Since history is now irrelevant, you can pit Lyndon Johnson against Ronald Reagan. Or, you can jump party lines and have Barry Goldwater show down Nelson Rockefeller.

  Alternatively, you can enter the last name of someone who never was a candidate for president — yourself, for example. You will be required to answer a battery of 21 questions on topical, litmus-test issues to determine that candidate's ideological persuasion. (Note: extremist candidates frighten away voters and are punished accordingly). Following this, the candidate's speaking ability, magnetism, and poise under pressure are gauged. Finally, the candidate's home state is determined.

- Enter Vice-Presidential Candidate's Home State. PRESIDENT ELECT, much like history, gives the designated running mates the short end of the stick in that they are almost ignored during the game (they are considered to cancel each other out). The presidential candidate will accrue some benefits in

the states and regions to which his running mate belongs.

- Enter Republican Candidate and Running Mate. The procedure is repeated.
- Enter Third-Party Candidate. Third-party candidates are optional. They go through the same procedure as major candidates or can be avoided by pressing "RETURN".
- Determine Party in Power. Pressing "R" or "D" will determine which party gets the credit or blame for the way things are and the way they develop during the campaign.
- Determine if Incumbent is Seeking Election. If an incumbent is seeking election or re-election, he receives the full impact of the situation at hand, be it good or bad.
- Determine Domestic and Foreign Conditions. If conditions are the same as they were historically, an answer of "Y" will put you in the next section. If anything is to be changed, answer "N". The appropriate inflation, unemployment, and GNP growth figures must then be entered. Historic figures are provided as a benchmark for comparison and for nostalgic reasons.

The nation must be designated as either at war or at peace.

If the nation is **at war**, as in 1968 and 1972, a subjective evaluation must be made of how popular the war is with the voters. More to the point, this evaluation should measure how united the nation is regarding the incumbent administration's recent foreign policy moves. Examples: 1968 was a year of great controversy and turmoil regarding the Vietnam conflict, and rates a subjective "3" on a 1 to 9 scale. In 1972, Vietnam was still an important factor, but dissension was somewhat less and the administration had just completed some very successful diplomatic overtures to the U.S.S.R. and China, hence a "7".

If the nation is **at peace**, a subjective evaluation must be made of national morale and self-confidence relative to the rest of the world. The lowest in the last two generations was probably during the 1980 campaign after a year of foreign policy frustrations and fiascos . . . therefore a "2.5".

It should be stressed that the player making this evaluation should try very hard to filter out personal prejudices and be fair. This is a very important variable and unreasonable, extreme numbers can decisively affect the game and the final outcome.

4. Management Determination.

For each candidate in turn, indicate whether or not he will be computer-managed. All, some, or none of the candidates may be so designated.

Computer-managed candidates make all the campaign decisions a human would, and sometimes with alarming effectiveness. Watching the computer's weekly thrusts may give some hints as to what may be good strategy.

B. CAMPAIGN PHASE

1. Poll and Projection Phase.

Shown will be the percentages pollsters are, on average, giving each of the candidates. The pollsters claim a **2%** margin of error on the national poll and a **4%** margin of error on individual state polls. The actual error will very seldom exceed these margins, and sometimes

will be insignificant. For a state to be considered slightly leaning towards a candidate, he must have at least a 4% lead in the state. For a state to be considered strongly leaning towards a candidate, he must have a 8% lead in the state.

Every week, you are likely to notice certain states shift in the polls from one candidate to another. Changes in state strengths result from current events and the different forms of campaigning.

2. Current Events Phase.

News items on the economy, foreign developments, and extraordinary campaign events are displayed prior to the start of weekly campaigning. Bad economic news will hurt the incumbent party, and good news will help. The consequences will seldom be of great importance, as voters are notoriously indifferent to monthly unemployment, inflation, or economic statistics. The main effect is cumulative: if the news is unremittingly good or bad, the effect may be important. Candidates have no control of economic events.

Foreign news has the same effect on a campaign as economic news, except that extremely bad news, such as an impending crisis, may serve to unite the country behind the President. Crises rarely occur in the game, but can be rather exciting because so much hinges on how they are resolved.

If one of the candidates is an incumbent president during a crisis, he will receive a short briefing of what the problem is, and a list of options available. He must select one (presumably the one which will both serve the country best and look good to the voters), and hope the outcome is favorable. The spectrum runs from "overwhelming support" to "strong opposition." If things don't work out . . . well, Napoleon had his Waterloo, Kennedy his Bay of Pigs.

Also shown will be a tally of any campaign gaffes or questionable statements the candidates made in the previous week — questionable in the opinion of the press, at least. "Gaffes" are defined as things like brazenly lying, mudslinging with malice (as distinguished from merely routine mudslinging), or making a statement that reveals a profound lack of understanding on a fundamental issue (the classic example in recent history is President Ford's stunning "Poland is **not** under Soviet domination" — akin to saying the Amazon River flows through the United States).

"Questionable statements" are considerably less harmful, and can be described as "small gaffes." Errors of this genre include using an inaccurate statistic or quote in a speech, making a joke in bad taste, or waffling on a minor issue. Generally, errors of both sorts will happen more frequently to candidates with less poise under pressure and those who make more campaign stops (greater exposure to the public and the press, plus fatigue, causes more blunders).

Last, if a candidate or his running mate took a foreign trip in the previous week, a summary of the trip's outcome will be shown. The better the press, the better the effect at home.

3. Trip Scheduling Phase (Week 1 only).

All candidates must decide once and for all if they or their running mates will take a foreign trip. These visits, ostensibly for the purpose of reaching some "understandings" with the host country, are actually primarily for the purpose of getting good press at home, gaining credibility as a statesman,

and getting photographed at venerable monuments.

These trips are not inexpensive, except for an incumbent, and can be both risky and time-consuming. However, the benefits of a successful trip outweigh the costs. In effect, they are a gamble. Usually, the riskier the trip (longer, later in the campaign, to less-friendly countries, with the presidential candidate going), the greater the potential benefits. The decision to go or not to go rests with you.

4. Organization Phase (Week 1 only).

Each candidate must decide how much of his campaign budget will be spent on organizational overhead, which covers things like rents, telephones, salaries, pollsters, literature, coffee, and booze for the victory celebration. This is done abstractly by selecting a number between 1 and 100. Lower numbers will free more funds for campaigning, but will make campaigning less effective. Less than 75 will generally hurt a candidate (and his staff) noticeably.

5. Campaigning Phase.

Players now rotate at the terminal, each entering his weekly campaign moves secretly. Though the order of entry is invariably Democrat, Republican, and Third-Party, the order is irrelevant; all campaigning is considered to occur simultaneously.

Each candidate starts the campaign with 30,000 Political Action Points (PAPs). PAPs are an abstraction of time, money and effort. They can be thought of as thousands of dollars, but that doesn't quite convey the fact that money is only one component of the election process.

PAPs are consumed each week in the process of campaigning. A steadily increasing amount will be spent automatically each week on overhead, depending on the number entered in the Organization Phase. Third-Party candidates have a variable overhead which generally increases each week and depends largely on that candidate's standing in the polls.

Each week the computer will budget each candidate a maximum amount of PAPs which may be spent that week. This constraint is designed to prevent the candidate from exhausting his resources early in the campaign. There are advantages to using considerably less than the maximum in the early weeks and making a strong push towards the end of the campaign, although this can be overdone as well.

There are several ways to spend PAPs, each having a different impact. Well-run campaigns use all methods in the course of a campaign so as to win the most electoral votes in the election. (Winning the popular vote is not the main thing, as Samuel Tilden found out in 1876).

- **National Campaigning.** This consists primarily of nationally televised speeches or advertisements, but also covers promotions or themes that have a national impact. This is the most efficient use of PAPs in absolute terms. It covers the entire nation, swinging votes in every state, while other uses may only affect a region or an individual state.

  National campaigning is indispensable in the course of any campaign. Major candidates should only under unusual circumstances consider using fewer than 500 PAPs per week this way; over 1500 may be appropriate on occasion. Weeks where there is a significant disparity in this form of campaigning may be

bleak for the candidate caught short, though after a certain amount returns diminish on additional PAP expenditures.

National campaigning, as with other forms of campaigning, increases very slightly in impact each week. Additionally, candidates with greater magnetism will have an advantage which may be important cumulatively.

- **Regional Campaigning.** This form of campaigning is designed to sway the voters of specific regions. It entails special media blitzes that address issues important to regional voter blocs. In the Midwest, for example, a greater emphasis is placed on agricultural issues. In the present-day South, issues such as oil, agriculture, civil rights, religion and anti-Communism may be stressed.

Only 500 PAPs may be allocated to any one region in a single week, though this amount could conceivably be allocated to every region. These efforts are marginally more effective than national campaigning, having a more direct impact on all the states of the region. As can be surmised, this form of campaigning is best used when an entire region is relatively close or when a candidate wants to mount a blitz in a particular region.

Though regional efforts are more effective than national ones, it would be unwise to concentrate exclusively on regional campaigning to the neglect of national campaigning. Regional efforts are more narrow in scope than national ones, and usually the most effective strategy is to use a combination of both, thereby swinging both the voters primarily concerned with the regional issues and those concerned with the larger, national ones.

- **Individual State Campaigning.** This form of campaigning targets the voters of a single state. It consists of addressing state and local issues, getting local politicians to stump for you, sending key campaign personnel out to rally the troops, and so forth.

To indicate a state where you wish to employ this form of campaigning, merely enter that state's postal abbreviation (e.g., "NY" for New York, "CA" for California). You have three opportunities per week to use this form of campaigning. You may elect to use all, some, or none. To indicate "no state", press 'RETURN' when asked for which state you want. You may spend up to 150 PAPs in each of the three states, or you may, if you desire, indicate the same state every time, spending up to 450 PAPs in a single week for a particular state.

While individual state campaigning is highly effective in a particular state, it is relatively very "expensive." While 1 PAP used in national campaigning may swing several thousand votes, scattered all over the country, 1 PAP used in state campaigning may only swing several hundred . . . which could mean the difference in a key state. It should be used only in special situations because of its costs. No manager can really afford to mount narrow attacks on a consistent basis: the sacrifices in other areas are too great.

The most effective way to use this type of campaigning is in tandem with all other forms simultaneously. First, the manager allo-

cates a healthy amount of national campaigning. Then, he spends the maximum for a target region. He follows this up with a good dose of state campaigning. Finally, the candidate himself comes in for a few campaign stops. If the region is close and there is no significant opposition, the overall effect should be very gratifying.

- Campaign Stops. Finally, we reach the most publicly noticed and traditional form of campaigning — speeches and appearances by the candidate. This is the most potent campaign tactic of all, and like all campaigning increses in impact with each passing week.

There are drawbacks, however. First, the cost of a stop is not inexpensive, as these extravaganzas require much planning, organization, staff work, plus travel for the entire entourage. Second, the candidates are limited by time — they can make a maximum of 35 stops in a week, less in weeks in which they take trips — and, just as important, their human condition. In other words, even the best of them get tired after a while, becoming more susceptible to gaffes and other ill-considered moves.

On the other hand, as candidates they are expected to actively campaign. Undercampaigning may conserve money, but is viewed dimly by the press and general public. While holding back for a big finish is a fine campaign strategy, it **can** be overdone. There is no "optimal" number of stops, just as there is no reliable, "scientific" way to run a campaign.

Candidates incur campaigning cost when they elect to go to a region, when they elect to go to a state within a region, and for each stop they make. For example, if a major party candidate wants to make a swing through the Pacific Coast region, making one stop in Oregon, two in Washington, and three in California, he must use up 45 PAPs for entering the region, 20 PAPs for each state entered (60 PAPs), and 35 PAPs for each stop (210 PAPs more). Thus the total cost of the swing is 45 + 60 + 210 or 315 PAPs. Costs are lower for third party candidates, as their appearances tend to be low-budget affairs.

Campaign stops have a diminishing marginal effectiveness. In other words, the difference between making one stop in a state and two will be much greater than the difference between eight and nine. As a rule, it is seldom worth making more than five stops a week in a single state. It is much more effective to revisit a state in following weeks. The additional cost is made up by the better effect.

Candidates with greater magnetism and speaking ability have an edge over their opponents in campaign stops, as in all forms of campaigning. Here, however, the edge is more pronounced. A good campaigner is urged to press the campaign home through more stops. Over the course of a campaign, this edge should be manifested in the polls.

6. Intelligence Phase.

Once the last candidate has completed his turn, there will be several beeps. This will signal other players to return to the terminal. When they are all assembled, any key should be pressed

to begin the weekly campaign summary. Shown will be the candidates' approximate PAP expenditure in each region and state for the week just past. Figures are inaccurate by up to 10%, just to keep the players unsure of the exact amount their opponents are spending. The inaccuracy is not enough to hide any states where candidates are making significant efforts. Also listed is the number of stops made by each candidate in each state.

Expenses from overhead and national campaigning are spread around the country, with states having more electoral votes receiving proportionately more. Regional expenses are distributed to states within each region, again with larger electoral states receiving more. PAPs used in individual states are added undiluted.

The numbers can be misleading if you let them be. You must always remember that different kinds of campaigning have different effects. For example, California, which represented 8.74% of all electoral votes in 1984 (47 of 538), will always receive a proportionate amount of national campaigning efforts, or about 87 PAPs per 1000 used. However, 87 PAPs of national campaigning will not be nearly as effective in California as 87 PAPs spent in strictly California state campaigning. In short, the figure is useful as a rough estimate of where the opposing candidates made an effort in the week, and where they didn't. The summary, along with the weekly polls and projections, should give many clues as to opposition strategy, and perhaps suggest what your own strategy should be.

Regional summaries are viewed until all candidates agree to go on to the next. There is no time limit on the digestion of information.

7. Debate Phase.

All candidates, in turn, express their desire to debate or not to debate. This expressed desire has nothing to do with whether the opponent is willing to or not; it merely indicates that the candidate has, during the week, indicated that he would be willing to debate. If a candidate is willing to debate but he knows his opponent is unwilling, he should still indicate his willingness, as he will receive a small sympathy vote for his frustration. This advantage is not large, so unwilling candidates should not feel forced to debate.

Once all candidates have registered their disposition towards debating, the computer checks to see if there are two or more candidates willing. If there are, the candidates must either agree, or not agree, to debate. If any two or more candidates agree, the campaign process is immediately interrupted and a debate takes place. If the candidates cannot agree for some reason, the game proceeds to the next phase.

As an example, let's say the Democratic candidate is eager to debate, the Republican is against the idea, and a Peace and Freedom candidate polling 1% wants to debate for publicity reasons. The computer will ask the Democrat and the P&F candidates if they are willing to debate each other. If the Democrat has any smarts, he'll flatly refuse because any votes the P&F gains are likely to be at his expense, and there is very little to be gained from his opponent's constituency. The same might go for a Republican being challenged by a member of the John Birch Society.

If one of the candidates is computer-managed, then the other candidate's manager enters his disposition to de-

bating alone. The computer will separately decide whether or not to agree. The decision will be immediately flashed on the screen. Obviously, if the human does not agree, the debate cannot come off.

Debates consist of between two and six questions on contemporary issues with the candidates deciding on the number before the debate begins. (Note: We would have liked to have included questions from every election year, but they take up gobs of disk space.) There are 45 questions possible, on social, economic, and foreign policy issues. Once a question is asked during a campaign, it is never repeated. Consequently, no two debates are exactly alike. Some questions are weightier than others. You must intuitively figure out which ones these are (almost impossible in itself). Each question consists of an initial answer and a rebuttal by all participants. (Three-way debates are possible).

Each candidate is required to enter the percentage of time that will be devoted to each of five possible lines of argument. The distribution is entirely up to the candidates, though no more than 100% of the time allotted may be used. (If you accidentally exceed the limit, the time will be redistributed proportionately to equal 100% — since this is not always desired, don't make the mistake.) The different lines of argument are broad and somewhat ambiguous because, as you can easily realize, the true possibilities in a debate are much larger than those provided. For the sake of playability and programmability, the options have been narrowed.

The object of the debate is to outpoint your opponents by skillfully allocating time and being lucky enough not to commit mistakes. There are two kinds of points — debate points and intangibles. Debate points are things like damaging (or positive) statistics, well-stated points of view, or trenchant criticisms of the opponent's position. In short, the use of logic and reason. Intangibles are almost everything else . . . ease of delivery, confidence, general demeanor, sense of humor (if called for), relationship with the viewing audience, and so forth. This is the area in which Kennedy beat Nixon in their first debate, and which Reagan beat Carter in their only debate. Points scored either way are equally important in the final analysis of who "won" and "lost."

Some lines of argument, such as "Discuss Relevant Considerations", "State Own Position", or "Attack Opponent's Position" are more heavily weighted in debate points than intangibles. Others, such as "Kill Time", or "Criticize with Witticisms", are more heavily weighted in intangibles than debate points. The exact relationships we will not divulge; the last thing intended in this game is for someone to methodically calculate what would be the optimum course on a given question. (Theoretically, there is one on every question, but we haven't bothered to figure out exactly what it is.)

There are penalties for overdoing it in some lines of argument. For example, really pasting the opponent with moral indignation will make you look like a hothead, and have detrimental effects. If you kill too much time, you may be loved but not respected. Discussing the considerations too much will make you look like an egghead, and not decisive enough. Contrasting too much will make you appear deferential; too many witticisms, a clown. So . . . read the question carefully, gauge

what your opponent might do, and make a gut answer. That is what they do in real life.

Candidates with greater speaking ability and magnetism will generally outpoint their opponents, unless they commit gaffes. If a candidate happens to be strong in one area but weak in another, he should work his strength as much as possible. His advantage may make up for the deficiency.

Some lines of argument are riskier than others when it comes to making a gaffe. The safest line is killing time. The most dangerous (and probably most intellectual) is discussing the relevant considerations. (It is easy to stumble under the intense pressure of a debate.) The other lines of argument fall somewhere in between. (How we delight in keeping you in the dark!)

Gaffes during a debate range from slight to serious. Serious gaffes are calamitous: credibility goes down the drain along with points. Slight gaffes are not fatal: they represent only a slight stumble and can be made up, especially by strong debaters. In addition to risk in the lines of argument chosen, a candidate's poise under pressure comes strongly into play. Someone lacking poise will be eaten alive in a debate, and should avoid such confrontations at all costs.

At the end of a debate, the point tallies are shown. Scoring over 20 points in either category represents a respectable showing in that category. Between 10 and 20 is rather ordinary, and less than 10 is poor. If the number of points scored is a minus figure, the candidate would have been better off gagged.

The total points are then compared, and added to the week's campaigning effects. The game goes on to the next section.

Only one debate is allowed per week; a maximum of six are allowed in a campaign.

8. Save the Game Option.

Games may be saved on separate disks. The details of saving a game are listed in the program when a player asks to save a game. To go on to the next phase, merely press "C".

9. Strength Adjustment Phase.

This phase passes in a few seconds, as the computer changes all candidate strengths in each state in accordance with the changes that have occurred during the week. The game proceeds to the Poll and Projection Phase for the start of a new week. If the week just ended is Week 9, the game will proceed to Election Night.

C. ELECTION RETURNS PHASE

Election coverage begins at 8:00 pm Eastern Standard Time. States will begin reporting returns when the local time is 8:00 pm. That is to say, returns from the East Coast start at 8:00 pm EST, and returns from the Pacific Coast begin at 11:00 pm EST (8:00 pm local time). The last states to report, Alaska and Hawaii, begin reporting at 2:00 am EST.

Coverage is possible three ways: minute by minute, which is highly realistic but can be a drag for people in a hurry; instantaneous, where you hit the appropriate key and get the final results in seconds; or rapid, where you may have blocks of minutes counted quite quickly, and receive several state projections at once.

States are projected for one candidate or another when, in the opinion of

(continued on page 15)

PRESIDENT ELECT™

Week	1	2	3	
PAPs Remaining				
Overhead				
National Campaign				
Regional Campaign				
Names: _____				
_____				
_____				
_____				
_____				
_____				
_____				
Individual State Campaigning				
States: _____				
_____				
_____				
Campaign Stops				
Total PAPs Spent Campaigning				
Notes, Like "Debate" or "Trips Abroad"				
Total PAPs Spent				
Weekly Poll Total Votes				
Candidate #1 _____	%	%	%	
Candidate #2 _____	%	%	%	
Candidate #3 _____	%	%	%	
Electoral Votes				
Candidate #1 _____				
Candidate #2 _____				
Candidate #3 _____				
Too close to call				

CAMPAIGN STRATEGY SHEET

CANDIDATE _____

4	5	6	7	8	9
%	%	%	%	%	%
%	%	%	%	%	%
%	%	%	%	%	%

(continued from page 12)

the computer, enough votes have been counted to predict the winner. The closer the state, the longer it will take to project a state. Sometimes, the state will require up to 99% of the vote to be counted, if the election is close enough to warrant it. This system of projections produces very realistic effects. Places like the District of Columbia are usually decided almost immediately — the Democrats have an almost insurmountable advantage there due to the composition of the voters — while close states may take hours to decide.

Running totals are kept of the votes counted and the projected electoral votes received. When a candidate receives enough "projected" electoral votes to win, the computer makes the announcement. It is therefore possible for you to tell your friends "Candidate Bumble was proclaimed winner at 10:57 pm, when Michigan was called in his favor with 86% of the vote counted."

Returns will come in slower, on a percentage basis, from bigger states. Also, returns countrywide will come in slower the earlier the year of the scenario (methods of counting and transmitting vote totals were slower in the past).

When the decision is made to get the final results, the computer will figure out how many votes are left to be counted in each state, and then divide up these votes according to each candidate's strength at the end of the final week. Note that this is **not** the procedure in minute-by-minute coverage. Each minute, the candidates receive a random gain or loss to their strength (which remains fixed in memory). This way, candidates can suddenly surge or fall back. The final result, however, should be very close to the final strength.

IV. NOTES ON STRATEGY

A candidate's strategy should be readily apparent — hold on to what you control, grab the undecided, and make inroads into what the opponent controls. Players have great latitude in how to go about doing this, and the variety of perfectly plausible strategies cannot be covered here. Nonetheless, some platitudes bear repitition.

First, plan ahead. Upon seeing the first poll map, you should formulate a game plan of sorts. Determine which regions you will make an effort in. What will be the pace of your spending (saving for a big smash in the final week can be very successful sometimes, and very demoralizing for an opponent who spent like there was no tomorrow in early weeks) . . . what states will be indispensible in putting together a victory . . . what states you would like to force your opponent to fight for.

Second, measure each candidate's strengths and weaknesses. Try to exploit your candidate's and your opponent's. If your candidate is strong, campaign actively. If you are a good debater, don't duck debates.

Third, for maximum effectiveness, use all forms of campaigning in a sort of "combined arms" assault. Do **not** use these methods in states of little importance. The big bucks should be reserved for the big states, particularly those that are close. As a rule of thumb, your effort should roughly equal the equation

Electoral Votes × Tightness of the Race.

It is not unusual for a candidate to throw close to 1000 PAPs into California in the final week, if the state is a horse race.

Fourth, on campaign swings it is

better to hit a state a few times in several different weeks than many times in a few weeks. Also, one should not venture into a region unless at least two states are going to be visited. This is merely for economic reasons — the regional costs of campaigning should be spread out, on the average, over more than one state. Sometimes such a move can be justified, however. If a large, crucial state is the only one in a region where the race looks very close, visiting that one state alone may be the better overall decision.

With regard to debating, candidates should not agree to debate unless they feel they have a significant chance of gaining by it. Candidates who are well ahead in the polls have almost no reason to debate their opponents. If a campaign is close, the decision should be based on a realistic appraisal of which candidate is the stronger. If your candidate is weaker or has significantly less poise, there should be no debate. If a candidate is behind and desperate, a debate may be the only gamble with any chance of improving the situation. Likewise, a major candidate should not debate a third-party candidate unless the latter is a serious contender **or** would make any gains in a debate at the expense of the **other** major candidate. No candidate should ever feel intimidated into debating; it should always be a calculated decision (or risk).

Taking a trip is the purest gamble of all. It may work, or it may not. Third-party candidates should not even consider trips unless they are reasonably high in the polls. (This means they won't be strapped for cash). Risk-averse players are probably best off avoiding trips, because they are more in control of the situation that way. Incumbent Presidents should be much more willing to board Air Force One and take the risk, because no campaign money is involved.

Every election will be slightly different, but some axioms hold true in most every election. The Democratic candidate usually cannot win unless he is successful in the Mid-Atlantic states, which are traditionally more liberal. Likewise, he should try to capture at least some of the Industrial Midwest states, because they are usually very close and are rich in electoral votes. The South is a fickle region (our apologies to the Southerners nice enough to buy this game), because it is normally very conservative but often will swing behind the Democrat if he is from the South or if his running mate is. Depending on the variables present, the Democrat can sweep the South or be swept in the South. Because of the number of electoral votes involved (138 in 1984 and 1988 — over half the number required to win), this is a swing region. The Midwest is generally quite conservative, with the exception of Minnesota. Iowa and Missouri are usually quite close. The Republicans should be able to sweep the rest of these states easily. (They are in trouble if they can't.) The Western states are consistently Republican — this region can almost be written off by any Democrat, particularly in the more recent elections. States like Utah, Idaho, and Wyoming are virtually hopeless for any liberal presidential candidate. The Pacific Coast is, of course, dominated by California, which has more electoral votes than all the other states in the region combined. These states can go either way, and can be won by either candidate in most situations. Usually, the stronger effort will carry the day. However, Hawaii usually goes Democratic, and Alaska is usually

Republican.

Republican strategy is, from the above, fairly evident. If they hang onto the Western states, avoid a Democratic sweep in the South, and pick off several states in the Mid-Atlantic and Industrial Midwest regions, they should be able to win. Strategy is a little easier for the Republican candidate, because his strong regions are so solidly in support he hardly need worry about them.

A third-party candidates in almost every situation faces a quixotic struggle. Except in the most extreme circumstances (e.g., the country is in turmoil, the major candidates are buffoons, the third party candidate is another Alexander the Great, etc.), he hasn't a ghost of a chance of winning the election. The function of a third-party candidate is primarily to wreck the support of one of the major party candidates. Had George Wallace not run in 1968, it would never have been as close as it was: he cut into Nixon's constituency. Had John Anderson not run in 1980, Carter would still have lost, but not by so wide a margin. Certainly Carter would have picked up states like Massachusetts and New York, which traditionally are Democratic. Playing the manager of the third party candidate has few psychic rewards, and is often best played by the computer. A third-party candidate who can hold 15% of the vote on election day should claim a moral victory.

When the computer runs its campaigns, it incorporates all the advice given in this section into its multifarious decision routines. The computer, however, lacks one crucial element — the human touch. Although its weekly tactics are usually sound, they lack context. The computer, in short, has no carefully thought-out strategy. It merely attacks targets of opportunity as they arise. While this is a good, safe strategy, it is not necessarily the best one. A good, experienced player has an edge over the computer, at least as far as making campaign decisions is concerned. When you are just beginning to gain experience, watching how the computer operates through the intelligence reports may be valuable.

V. HISTORICAL STATE OF THE UNION DATA

	INFLATION	UNEMPLOYMENT	GNP GROWTH	PEACE/WAR	PEACE/WAR LEVEL
1960	1.6	5.5	2.3	PEACE	4
1964	1.3	5.2	5.3	PEACE	6
1968	4.2	3.6	4.4	WAR	2.5
1972	3.3	5.6	5.7	WAR	7
1976	5.8	7.7	6.2	PEACE	5
1980	13.5	7.1	−.3	PEACE	3
1984	4.3	7.5	6.8	PEACE	6.5
POSSIBLE 1988 SCENARIO					
	5.0	6.5	2.5	PEACE	6.5

VI. AUTHOR'S NOTES

I designed this game with knowledgeable followers of politics in mind. The constant struggle of any game designer, or historian, is to include critical elements and exclude unnecessary detail . . . in short, to make the game both fun and playable and yet keep its integrity as a representation of history — or reality.

Judging by the reviews I've read since the original version of this game

was issued in 1981, it seems this tension between fun and realism has been resolved with some success.

The initial version did frustrate a lot of people, though, on the grounds that it predicted a smashing Reagan landslide in 1984, almost any way you stacked the deck against him. Some said this hurt playability (it did). Others thought an extreme landslide such as the game seemed to be predicting was preposterous. But I judged in 1981 and thereafter that this was very likely the virtually inevitable outcome, and to change the program to make it a better (closer) game was a violation of the sensibilities of fellow political pundits. So I resisted the temptation, and the 1984 election went very much as the game said it would.

As I write, the 1988 election is yet a year and a half away. The game as a model of reality has not been significantly altered, only all the variables fitting into the model have changed. Playtesting shows the Republican party to have an edge in most likely matchups. There are many reasons for this, analysis of which I do not have space to elaborate here. One thing seems sure: a smashing landslide such as the last two elections is not likely for either party. But still, assuming (1) economic and foreign variables don't materially change between now and then, (2) the 1988 Republican Convention doesn't turn into a fratricidal bloodletting, and (3) the two candidates are relatively equal in personal charm and rhetorical skill, the game tells us the 1988 election is the Republicans' to win . . . by probably 5-7 percentage points. I'm sure that won't please everyone (otherwise what is the point of this game?).

I hope that you enjoy playing PRESIDENT ELECT as much as I have enjoyed creating it. Your comments are welcomed.

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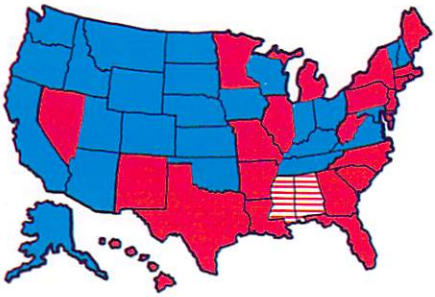
Apple Version:
Produced using copyrighted software products of
Einstein Corporation.

VII. SUMMARY OF ELECTIONS 1960-1984



Electoral votes for each state

1960

Alabama 11	Massachusetts 16	New Mexico 4
Alaska 3	Michigan 20	New York 45
Arizona 4	Minnesota 11	North Carolina 14
Arkansas 8	Mississippi 8	North Dakota 4
California 32	Missouri 13	Ohio 25
Colorado 6	Montana 4	Oklahoma 8
Connecticut 8	Nebraska 6	Oregon 6
Delaware 3	Nevada 3	Pennsylvania 32
Florida 10	New Hampshire 4	Rhode Island 4
Georgia 12	New Jersey 16	South Carolina 8
Hawaii 3		South Dakota 4
Idaho 4		Tennessee 11
Illinois 27		Texas 24
Indiana 13		Utah 4
Iowa 10		Vermont 3
Kansas 8		Virginia 12
Kentucky 10		Washington 9
Louisiana 10		West Virginia 8
Maine 5		Wisconsin 12
Maryland 9		Wyoming 3

Vice-President Richard Nixon was the logical candidate to follow President Eisenhower into the White House. While many in the country were tired of the peaceful, if uninspired leadership during the previous eight years, Nixon was well ahead in the polls as the campaign against John Kennedy began. There are several reasons for his very narrow defeat, some mentioned in his book **Six Crises**. For example, in August, when President Eisenhower was asked by reporters what role the Vice President had played in any of the important decisions in his term in office, Eisenhower said "give me a week and I'll think of one [of Nixon's suggestions that was used]". The Democrats were delighted by the response which diluted Nixon's claim of greater experience than Kennedy's. At the convention, Nixon had pledged to visit "all 50 states" during the campaign. This was ill-considered because, while it was dramatic, it was impractical. Forced to abide by his promise, Nixon ended up spending the final weekend of the campaign in Alaska, of all places.

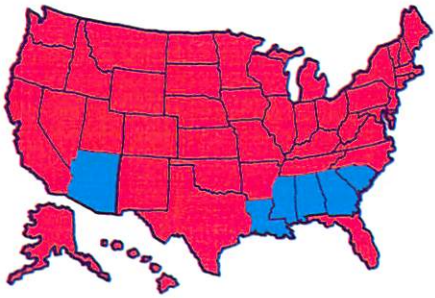
Another blow to the Nixon camp was his coming down with a knee infection at the very start of the campaign. This illness gave Kennedy a boost in the polls, as Nixon was hospitalized for about ten days, unable to campaign.

In the most remembered events of that campaign, Kennedy and Nixon held four debates; Nixon apparently won the last three, but was defeated in the first, which had the largest television audience. Not only was Nixon improperly dressed for the appearance (his suit blended into the background), but he was overly deferential to Kennedy, often talking to him instead of to the cameras.

■ Democratic
■ Republican
□ Third party

Perhaps most important, Kennedy simply had a more magnetic personality than Nixon. He was younger, more attractive, self-confident, and well connected. The public perceived this.

The election was the closest of the century. Kennedy received only 118,000 votes more than Nixon. 9,000 votes in Illinois and 47,000 votes in Texas would have given Nixon the victory in electoral votes. Hawaii was decided by only 115 votes in Kennedy's favor.



Electoral votes for each state

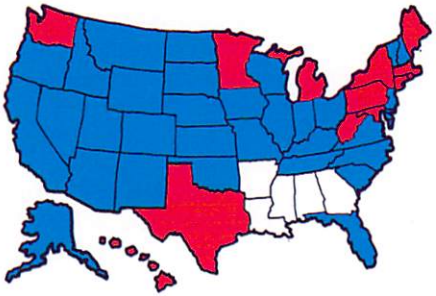
1964

Alabama 10	Massachusetts 14	New York 43
Alaska 3	Michigan 21	North Carolina 13
Arizona 5	Minnesota 10	North Dakota 4
Arkansas 6	Mississippi 7	Ohio 26
California 40	Missouri 12	Oklahoma 8
Colorado 6	Montana 4	Oregon 6
Connecticut 8	Nebraska 5	Pennsylvania 29
Delaware 3	Nevada 3	Rhode Island 4
Florida 14	New Hampshire 4	South Carolina 8
Georgia 12	New Jersey 17	South Dakota 4
Hawaii 4	New Mexico 4	Tennessee 11
Idaho 4		Texas 26
Illinois 26		Utah 4
Indiana 13		Vermont 3
Iowa 9		Virginia 12
Kansas 7		Washington 9
Kentucky 9		West Virginia 7
Louisiana 10		Wisconsin 12
Maine 4		Wyoming 3
Maryland 10		Dis. of Columbia 3

Barry Goldwater's smashing defeat in 1964 is fairly easy to figure out. The country in 1964 was in very good condition, by all reasonable standards. President Kennedy had been very popular, and his assassination gave the Democrats a considerable boost, however inadvertent. Most important, Goldwater was caricatured as a man destroying Social Security cards with one hand, and pressing the nuclear button with the other. His famous dictum "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice; moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue" was taken by many as the ends justifying the means. Basically, he scared the daylights out of people at a time when the country was in relatively good condition. He received the nomination much like George McGovern did two elections later — a small, very active, and almost religiously dedicated band of followers outmaneuvered the other, inert elements in the party.

Johnson was not so much a brilliant campaigner as a wily politician, and exploited Goldwater's obvious defects to perfection. That year, it would have been difficult for any of the possible Republican candidates — Nelson Rockefeller, William Scranton, Henry Cabot Lodge, or even Richard Nixon — to have defeated Johnson.

The landslide was one of the biggest in history, ranking with FDR's walloping of Alf Landon in 1936. Goldwater carried five states in the Deep South and his native Arizona, Johnson the rest. The margin of victory was nearly 16,000,000 votes, with Johnson receiving 61.1% of the vote.



Alabama 10
Alaska 3
Arizona 5
Arkansas 6
California 40
Colorado 6
Connecticut 8
Delaware 3
Florida 14
Georgia 12
Hawaii 4
Idaho 4
Illinois 26
Indiana 13
Iowa 9
Kansas 7
Kentucky 9
Louisiana 10
Maine 4
Maryland 10

Electoral votes for each state

1968

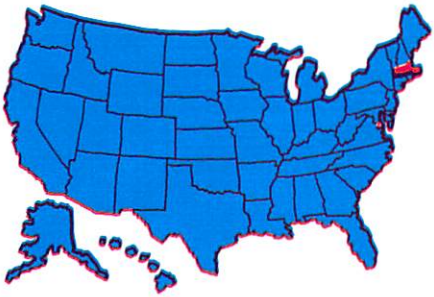
Massachusetts 14
Michigan 21
Minnesota 10
Mississippi 7
Missouri 12
Montana 4
Nebraska 5
Nevada 3
New Hampshire 4
New Jersey 17
New Mexico 4
New York 43
North Carolina 13
North Dakota 4
Ohio 26
Oklahoma 8
Oregon 6
Pennsylvania 29
Rhode Island 4
South Carolina 8
South Dakota 4
Tennessee 11
Texas 25
Utah 4
Vermont 3
Virginia 12
Washington 9
West Virginia 7
Wisconsin 12
Wyoming 3
Dis. of Columbia 3

LBJ was politically toxic by 1968, and the country was in a turmoil unseen since the Civil War. The cities were in unrest, the war in Vietnam was at its height and rapidly becoming unpopular, massive antiwar demonstrations were in the news, and campuses were the scene of revolutionary ferment. Martin Luther King was killed in April, Robert Kennedy in June. It was a black year in American history.

Johnson announced at the end of March that he would "neither seek nor accept" the Democratic nomination, throwing the election wide open. In a fierce struggle, Hubert Humphrey, the Vice President, prevailed over the other contenders, most notably Eugene McCarthy, the "peace" candidate. Richard Nixon, with a better organization, took the Republican nomination, beating out Nelson Rockefeller and Ronald Reagan, then Governor of California. George Wallace formed the American Independent Party, and ran as a third candidate. The campaign was close all the way to the finish.

The tables had turned from four years earlier. This time, conditions in the country were so poor that the incumbent Democrats lost the advantages of being in power.

Nixon wound up winning by just over 500,000 votes, taking 301 electoral votes. Wallace won five southern states taking 13% of the national vote (heavily concentrated in the South). Some of the keys to the election were Humphrey's failure to win any southern states besides Texas and any states in the Industrial Midwest besides Michigan. Nixon's campaign strategy in this election was, in the final analysis, decisive.



Alabama 9
Alaska 3
Arizona 6
Arkansas 6
California 45
Colorado 7
Connecticut 8
Delaware 3
Florida 17
Georgia 12
Hawaii 4
Idaho 4
Illinois 26
Indiana 13
Iowa 8
Kansas 7
Kentucky 9
Louisiana 10
Maine 4
Maryland 10

Electoral votes for each state

1972

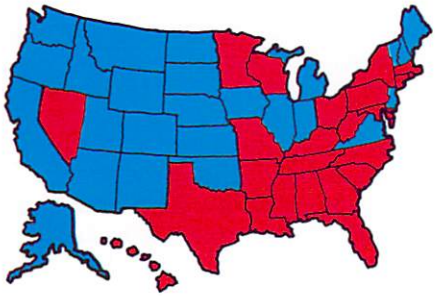
Massachusetts 14
Michigan 21
Minnesota 10
Mississippi 7
Missouri 12
Montana 4
Nebraska 5
Nevada 3
New Hampshire 4
New Jersey 17
New Mexico 4

New York 41
North Carolina 13
North Dakota 3
Ohio 25
Oklahoma 8
Oregon 6
Pennsylvania 27
Rhode Island 4
South Carolina 8
South Dakota 4
Tennessee 10
Texas 26
Utah 4
Vermont 3
Virginia 11
Washington 9
West Virginia 6
Wisconsin 11
Wyoming 3
Dis. of Columbia 3

President Nixon's political position was almost impregnable in 1972 after a series of foreign policy successes in the year before the election. In February, he visited China, the first American president to do so. In May, he visited the Soviet Union. Though there had been dissent on the way he had wound down the American involvement in Vietnam, there could be no doubting that American involvement had been significantly reduced and would eventually cease to be a cause of discord. On the domestic front, he had not turned in a sterling performance but matters had not badly deteriorated since the last election.

Against so formidable an incumbent the Democrats were again divided. George Wallace, up to the time of the attempt in mid-May to assassinate him, did surprisingly well in several Democratic primaries. Hubert Humphrey, seeking the presidency again, also did well. George McGovern and his loyal, well-organized band of extreme liberals eventually pulled the party sharply to the Left after successive wins late in the primary season. Pledging an immediate halt to American involvement in Vietnam, a virtual gutting of the Armed Forces to a level below that which existed on the day of Pearl Harbor, an ill-conceived welfare plan by which every man, woman and child would be entitled to $1,000 in transfer payments (soaking the rich to feed the poor), and unilateral nuclear disarmament, McGovern represented the most liberal national candidate since Henry Wallace ran on the Progressive ticket in 1948. McGovern was an easy target, and his wealth-redistribution schemes filled Nixon's campaign coffers to overflowing.

Nixon pulled out all stops in getting re-elected, and buried McGovern in November by the largest electoral landslide in history — 521 to 17. Nixon won every state in the nation except Massachusetts, and also lost the district of Columbia. The margins of victory were uniformly overwhelming. Nixon received almost 80% of the vote in Mississippi, a margin approaching what could be expected from an undemocratic country. Unfortunately for Nixon, this mandate bore the seeds of his eventual downfall.



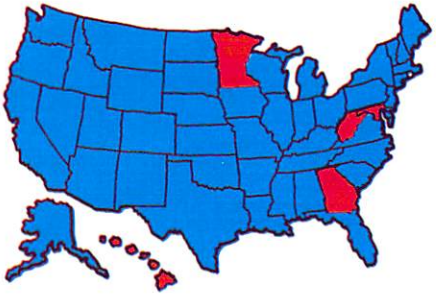
Electoral votes for each state

1976

Alabama	9	New York	41
Alaska	3	North Carolina	13
Arizona	6	North Dakota	3
Arkansas	6	Ohio	25
California	45	Oklahoma	8
Colorado	7	Oregon	6
Connecticut	8	Pennsylvania	27
Delaware	3	Rhode Island	4
Florida	17	South Carolina	8
Georgia	12	South Dakota	4
Hawaii	4	Tennessee	10
Idaho	4	Texas	26
Illinois	26	Utah	4
Indiana	13	Vermont	3
Iowa	8	Virginia	12
Kansas	7	Washington	9
Kentucky	9	West Virginia	6
Louisiana	10	Wisconsin	11
Maine	4	Wyoming	3
Maryland	10	Dis. of Columbia	3
Massachusetts	14		
Michigan	21		
Minnesota	10		
Mississippi	7		
Missouri	12		
Montana	4		
Nebraska	5		
Nevada	3		
New Hampshire	4		
New Jersey	17		
New Mexico	4		

By 1976, the nation was only beginning to recover from the Watergate trauma. President Ford's period in office was brief and not particularly distinguished. He will be remembered for his role in healing the country. In any event, the Republican party was in a shambles, and there was talk of extinction following the Nixon debacle. Ford's position was worsened after an extremely bitter struggle for the nomination against Ronald Reagan, one that was not decided until the night the ballots were cast at the convention. Meanwhile, the Democrats fielded an odd assortment of candidates, among which Jimmy Carter, a relatively moderate, low key, and obviously sincere man, emerged the strongest. An outsider to national politics, Carter was an enigma wrapped in a mystery to many Americans. Fed up with the Republicans, however, many decided to put their trust in Carter, a man who promised never to lie to them.

Ford started the campaign far behind in the polls, but steadily gained on Carter as the campaign progressed. Then came their remembered debate, in which Ford insisted that Poland was not under Soviet domination. Ford's Polish joke was raked by the press and reviled by conservatives who would have reluctantly voted for him. (Ford's natural constituency was the moderate wing of the Republican party; the conservatives solidly supported Reagan in the primaries.) The campaign faltered. Though Ford continued to close the gap, in the end it was not enough; Carter won 50%-48%. The popular vote margin was a little over 1,500,000 votes. Had 6,000 votes changed hands in Ohio and 4,000 in Hawaii, Ford would have won an electoral victory.



Alabama 9
Alaska 3
Arizona 6
Arkansas 6
California 45
Colorado 7
Connecticut 8
Delaware 3
Florida 17
Georgia 12
Hawaii 4
Idaho 4
Illinois 26
Indiana 13
Iowa 8
Kansas 7
Kentucky 9
Louisiana 10
Maine 4
Maryland 9

Electoral votes for each state

1980

Massachusetts 16
Michigan 20
Minnesota 11
Mississippi 7
Missouri 12
Montana 4
Nebraska 5
Nevada 3
New Hampshire 4
New Jersey 17
New Mexico 4
New York 41
North Carolina 13
North Dakota 3
Ohio 25
Oklahoma 8
Oregon 6
Pennsylvania 27
Rhode Island 4
South Carolina 8
South Dakota 4
Tennessee 10
Texas 26
Utah 4
Vermont 3
Virginia 12
Washington 9
West Virginia 6
Wisconsin 11
Wyoming 3
Dis. of Columbia 3

Many things contributed to Ronald Reagan's sweeping victory in 1980, and in hindsight, it is hard to imagine any Republican candidate, short of Nixon, losing to Carter that year. The economy was in recession; the jobless rate was up, inflation hovered for a few months near 18%, the bond market had been wiped out, Carter himself spoke of a "national malaise." On the foreign front, Iran taunted the U.S. month after month with impunity, while a rescue mission to free the hostages became a national tragedy. The Soviets invaded Afghanistan in an act of brazen aggression, and the President's response was essentially to punish the nation's farmers and athletes. Granted, many of the events that occurred were out of the President's control, but nonetheless, the nation was uneasy. Carter's leadership, justly or not, was mercilessly criticized in the media. The nation looked at Carter's record in office, and could view only the Camp David accords as a significant achievement.

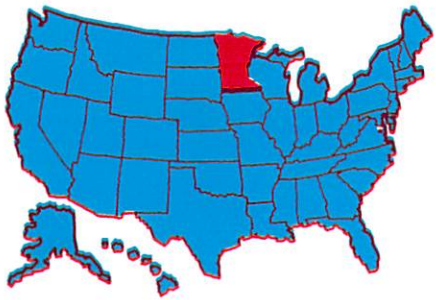
Enter Ronald Reagan, seeking the presidency for the third and probably last time. Reagan was vulnerable on many of his positions, and, given different circumstances, could have been caricatured much as Goldwater was in 1964. This time, however, the Democrats had come remarkably close to ousting Carter and replacing him with Kennedy, who certainly better embodied the traditional ideals of the party. The party embraced Carter with reluctance and an obvious lack of enthusiasm. (Ex-Senator Bob Clark of Iowa was witnessed by this writer touring college campuses on behalf of President Carter, starting off his presentation with "I **know** Jimmy Carter is a SORRY Democratic candidate for President, but think of the alternative — Ronald Reagan (pained expression) . . ."). Reagan, who buried his Republican opponents in the primaries with an awesome regularity, spoke brilliantly at the convention before a crowd drunk with victory.

The campaign was a bitter struggle to the very end. The pollsters gave Reagan a slight edge through-

out, and were later embarrassed by their final predictions of "too close to call."

The highlight of the campaign was the single debate held on October 28th, one week before the election. On points, most everyone agreed the debate was a standoff. Reagan's self-confidence and casual ridicule of some of the charges made by Carter made the difference. Where Carter needed to successfully paint Reagan as an irresponsible extremist, his efforts failed, above all because of Reagan's communicative skills which far exceeded those of Carter. Reagan never stumbled, while Carter made a maladroit reference to his daughter Amy in connection with nuclear proliferation. In sum, the debate, plus suddenly raised and dashed hopes about returning the hostages from Iran, destroyed Carter's support in the final week. He went down to a humiliating defeat.

Carter only carried six states, plus the District of Columbia. The final electoral count was 489 to 49. The margin of victory was nearly 10,000,000 votes. John B. Anderson, running on an Independent ticket, received over 5,000,000 votes and 7% of all votes cast. His strength steadily eroded after the conventions, and in the end, the main effect of his candidacy was to deepen the size of the landslide.



Electoral votes for each state

1984

Alabama 9
Alaska 3
Arizona 7
Arkansas 6
California 47
Colorado 8
Connecticut 8
Delaware 3
Florida 21
Georgia 12
Hawaii 4
Idaho 4
Illinois 24
Indiana 12
Iowa 8
Kansas 7
Kentucky 9
Louisiana 10
Maine 4
Maryland 10
Massachusetts 13
Michigan 20
Minnesota 10
Mississippi 7
Missouri 11
Montana 4
Nebraska 5
Nevada 4
New Hampshire 4
New Jersey 16
New Mexico 5
New York 36
North Carolina 13
North Dakota 3
Ohio 23
Oklahoma 8
Oregon 7
Pennsylvania 25
Rhode Island 4
South Carolina 8
South Dakota 3
Tennessee 11
Texas 29
Utah 5
Vermont 3
Virginia 12
Washington 10
West Virginia 6
Wisconsin 11
Wyoming 3
Dis. of Columbia 3

In terms of excitement and interesting events, 1984 was probably the most boring and one-sided election since Roosevelt beat Alf Landon in 1936. Walter Mondale, former Senator and Vice-President, took an early lead in the Democratic primaries over Gary Hart, John Glenn, and the Rev. Jesse Jackson, and there was never serious doubt of his eventual nomination. But his challenge to President

Reagan was doomed from the very beginning.

Reagan carried very high popularity ratings into 1984 based on many things: his undeniable personal charm, a recent successful military action in Grenada, a much stronger economy than the one he had inherited, and a palpable sense that the country was moving on, leaving the turmoil of Vietnam, Watergate, Iran, and economic instability behind. "Reaganomics" was no longer a term of derision. Certainly by the standards of every president going back to Eisenhower, Reagan's term in office could only be considered a success.

Mondale opposed Reagan with the most liberal platform since McGovern's abortive run in 1972. While the country was becoming politically more conservative, he was supported by a coalition of activists calling for more taxes, more government, more wealth redistribution, and less defense.

The campaign was uneventful. Reagan's lead in the polls hardly changed during the entire campaign, and the issues themselves became lost in the realization that Mondale was about to lose the election by no small amount. The highlights, as in the previous two elections, were the two debates. Reagan seemed unprepared in the first debate, making no serious gaffes but generally having less grasp of the facts (as, it can be argued, is his custom). Though Reagan was clearly outpointed, the debate had no clear immediate impact on the election. Two weeks later, the men met again. Mondale was perceived to need a "knockout punch" — to hand Reagan a decisive licking. It didn't materialize. While putting in a credible performance in terms of debate points, Reagan humorously disparaged Mondale's youth and inexperience, reaffirming public confidence in his abiity to operate when the chips were down.

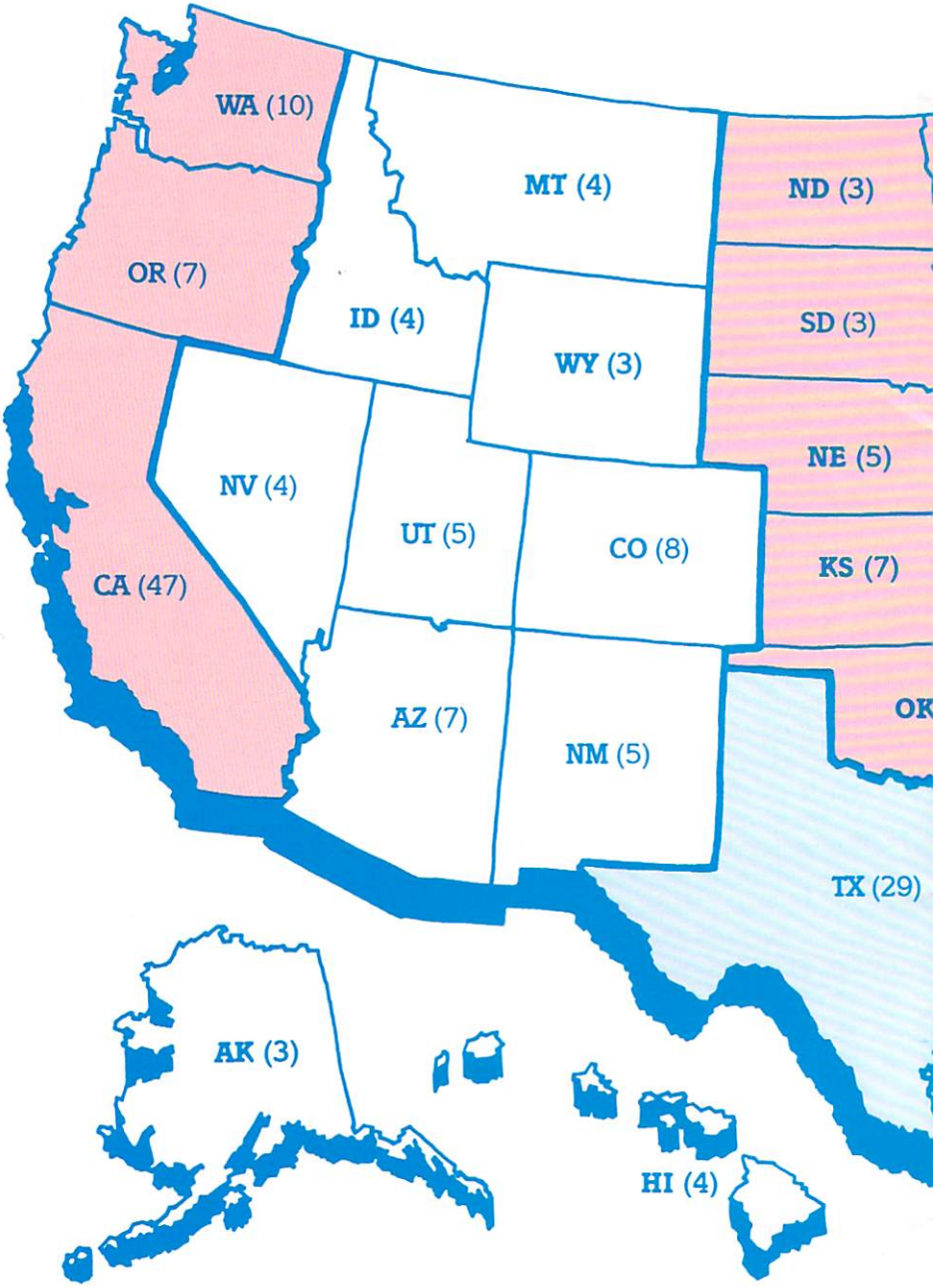
The election was electorally the most one-sided since President Roosevelt's thumping of Landon. Reagan won every state except Mondale's native Minnesota, and lost that one by only 3,000 votes. In popular vote, Reagan's win ranks with the greatest landslides of the century.

Electoral votes for each state

1988

Alabama	9	Massachusetts	13	New York	36
Alaska	3	Michigan	20	North Carolina	13
Arizona	7	Minnesota	10	North Dakota	3
Arkansas	6	Mississippi	7	Ohio	23
California	47	Missouri	11	Oklahoma	8
Colorado	8	Montana	4	Oregon	7
Connecticut	8	Nebraska	5	Pennsylvania	25
Delaware	3	Nevada	4	Rhode Island	4
Florida	21	New Hampshire	4	South Carolina	8
Georgia	12	New Jersey	16	South Dakota	3
Hawaii	4	New Mexico	5	Tennessee	11
Idaho	4			Texas	29
Illinois	24			Utah	5
Indiana	12			Vermont	3
Iowa	8			Virginia	12
Kansas	7			Washington	10
Kentucky	9			West Virginia	6
Louisiana	10			Wisconsin	11
Maine	4			Wyoming	3
Maryland	10			Dis. of Columbia	3

Electoral Votes per St



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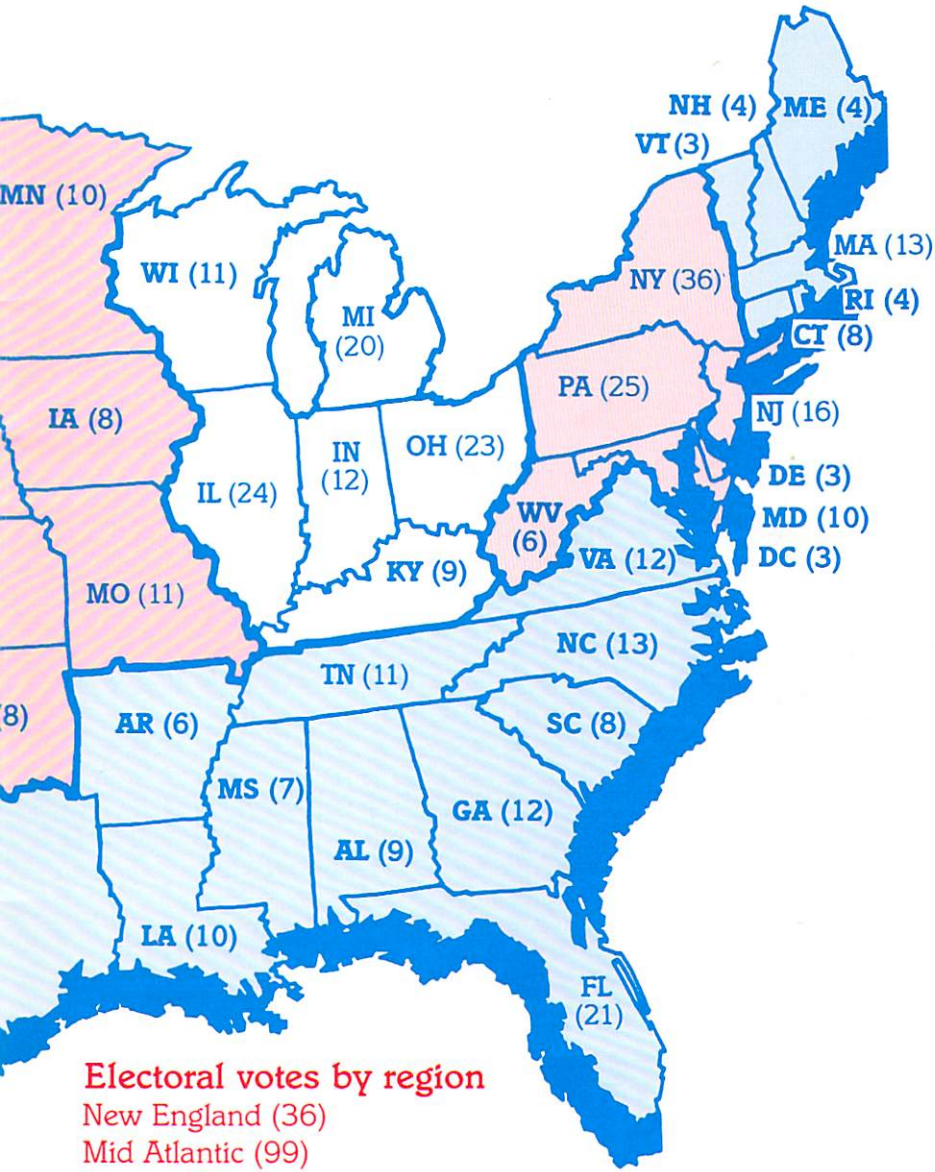

Electoral votes by region

New England (36)
Mid Atlantic (99)
South (138)
Industrial Midwest (99)
Midwest (55)
West (40)
Pacific Coast (71)

Total Electoral votes (538)

REPUBLICANS

NAME	SOCIAL VIEWS	ECONOMIC VIEWS	FOREIGN POLICY VIEWS	OVERALL	SPEAKING ABILITY	MAGNETISM	POISE	HOME STATE
ANDERSON, JOHN	68	30	55	51	8	6	7	IL
BAKER, HOWARD	28	32	36	32	5	5	6	TN
BUCHANAN, PATRICK	10	3	1	4	8	2	7	DC
BUCKLEY, JAMES	3	9	10	7	7	4	7	CT
BUSH, GEORGE	39	28	20	29	6	4	7	CT
CONNALLY, JOHN	7	7	16	10	8	5	6	TX
CRANE, PHIL	3	2	15	7	5	4	3	IL
DEUKMEJIAN, GEORGE	49	18	22	29	4	2	8	CA
DOLE, ELIZABETH	54	27	30	37	5	5	7	KS
DOLE, ROBERT	39	25	20	28	4	3	6	KS
DUPONT, PIERRE	44	21	32	32	5	4	6	DE
FORD, GERALD	22	25	17	21	4	4	5	MI
HAIG, ALEXANDER	8	10	3	7	3	3	3	PA
HATCH, ORRIN	7	8	10	8	5	3	7	UT
HELMS, JESSE	0	1	2	1	4	1	4	NC
GOLDWATER, BARRY	1	5	7	4	5	4	5	AZ
KEMP, JACK	36	9	8	17	7	7	5	NY
KIRKPATRICK, JEANE	51	23	1	25	5	1	9	PA
LAXALT, PAUL	9	8	12	10	5	3	6	NV
LINDSAY, JOHN	93	93	80	84	4	5	5	NY
LUGAR, RICHARD	15	12	22	17	5	6	5	IN
NIXON, RICHARD	39	41	30	36	6	5	8	CA
REAGAN, RONALD	10	4	10	8	8	8	7	CA
ROBERTSON, PAT	2	18	14	11	8	4	1	VA
ROCKEFELLER, NELSON	40	30	40	36	5	4	6	NY
SCRANTON, WILLIAM	27	32	15	25	5	5	5	PA
THOMPSON, JIM	26	21	28	25	5	4	6	IL
WEICKER, LOWELL	78	57	74	70	6	3	4	CT

DEMOCRATS

NAME	SOCIAL VIEWS	ECONOMIC VIEWS	FOREIGN POLICY VIEWS	OVERALL	SPEAKING ABILITY	MAGNETISM	POISE	HOME STATE
BABBITT, BRUCE	80	53	78	70	7	6	7	AZ
BIDEN, JOSEPH	71	76	83	76	8	6	3	DE
BRADLEY, BILL	86	32	72	63	5	7	7	NJ
BROWN, JERRY	82	40	86	69	4	4	4	CA
BROWN, JOHN	61	56	55	57	5	6	6	KY
BUMPERS, DALE	69	63	73	68	7	6	6	AR
BYRD, ROBERT	79	64	65	69	6	6	8	WV
CARTER, JIMMY	59	59	65	61	3	4	8	GA
CHISHOLM, SHIRLEY	97	100	98	98	6	3	3	NY
CISNEROS, HENRY	79	70	69	72	8	7	3	TX
CUOMO, MARIO	95	80	84	86	9	7	5	NY
DUKAKIS, MICHAEL	92	79	85	85	4	4	6	MA
FEINSTEIN, DIANNE	91	61	68	73	5	5	7	CA
FERRARO, GERALDINE	94	82	88	88	4	3	4	NY
GEPHARDT, RICHARD	83	47	75	68	6	6	6	MO
GLENN, JOHN	76	61	63	66	3	3	7	OH
GORE, ALBERT	70	76	63	70	6	7	6	TN
HART, GARY	91	77	80	82	5	6	6	CO
HOLLINGS, ERNEST	59	68	65	64	3	4	5	SC
HUMPHREY, HUBERT	91	79	85	85	5	5	7	MN
IACOCCA, LEE	53	36	45	44	6	7	4	MI
JACKSON, HENRY	54	42	31	42	4	2	7	WA
JACKSON, JESSE	87	84	94	88	8	5	2	SC
JOHNSON, LYNDON	78	66	38	60	5	6	9	TX
KENNEDY, JOHN	84	57	37	59	7	8	7	MA
KENNEDY, ROBERT	91	82	70	81	7	8	8	NY
KENNEDY, TED	92	86	87	88	7	7	5	MA
McCARTHY, EUGENE	86	81	97	88	4	7	7	MN
McGOVERN, GEORGE	94	77	95	89	4	3	5	SD
MONDALE, WALTER	92	83	84	86	6	5	6	MN
MOYNIHAN, D. PATRICK	59	62	46	56	8	4	8	NY
MUSKIE, ED	82	75	74	77	4	5	4	ME
NUNN, SAM	56	53	64	57	4	3	7	GA
ROBB, CHARLES	69	47	45	53	6	7	7	VA
ROCKEFELLER, JAY	75	65	69	70	2	4	5	WV
SIMON, PAUL	83	88	88	86	8	5	8	IL
UDALL, MO	72	74	82	76	3	4	5	AZ
WALLACE, GEORGE	11	36	8	18	6	6	4	AL
YOUNG, ANDREW	97	96	98	97	6	6	1	GA

THIRD PARTY

CLARK, ED	28	0	62	30	2	2	5	CA
COMMONER, BARRY	97	95	93	95	3	2	3	MA

0 (extremely conservative) 50 (moderate) 100 (extremely liberal) 9 (good/high) 1 (bad/low)