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#### Ford Defends Integrity, Denies Wrongdoing

Defending "my record of personal integrity," President Ford Thursday denied he ever misused campaign funds and said his golf dates with lobbyists were proper, innocent outings with friends. "My conscience is clear," he said.

Ford called reporters into the Oval Office to deal personally with reports the Watergate special prosecutor is investigating his congressional campaign finances and to discuss the golf controversy that has popped up in the midst of his presidential campaign.

He predicted the Watergate prosecutor's probe would clear him completely -- if such a probe is in progress -- and said he hoped the investigators would finish their efforts soon.

The President said he had instructed his staff not to find out if he was the target of the investigation to insure there be no suggestion of impropriety on his part. (CBS)

Asked why these companies were willing to pick up the tab for the golfing weekend trips, the President said, "I think you will have to ask the people who offered me the invitation. These are personal friends and I don't ask in advance why you want to pay my green fees." (NBC)

The President said he had reciprocated and invited the men to his home and golf club on occasion, (NBC,CBS)

Asked if government business was ever discussed at the weekend trips, Ford said, "not to the best of my recollection," but later added, "in a casual way, of course, we might have informally talked about certain matters but I happen to feel that they were not asking me and I was not asking them." (Networks) Ford also added that he "can separate friends from lobbists even if Gov. Carter cannot." (ABC)

Ford conceded he found the reports questioning his integrity somewhat painful, but maintained he is not worried about their impact on him personally. "I can say with complete confidence that when the investigation is completed, I would be free of any allegations that I've read about," he said.

"It's more important to me personally that it be cleared up because I'm very proud of my record of personal integrity. It's more important to me than the election." (ABC)

In Boston, Jimmy Carter said he was satisfied with Ford's explanations and that closes the matter, "as far as I'm concerned." (NBC,CBS)

Bob Schieffer reported that some White House sources said the President called the news conference because his political strategists felt that in raising the golfing trips as an issue, Carter had gained the offensive in the campaign. Additionally, Ford's White House aides had "so further fouled up the situation" with their own public remarks that the President decided late Wednesday night to clear the air personally. (CBS)

Anne Compton noted that, although the investigation continues, Jimmy Carter can no longer charge the President with "hiding out" from reporters' questions. (ABC)

. Despite public pressure to reveal what his investigation is about, Special Prosecutor Ruff declined comment Thursday.

CBS News investigative repoters in Grand Rapids have found no indication that the probe so far has turned up any evidence against the President. (CBS)

The 1:46 lead ABC story viewed silent film of the President's news briefing in the Oval Office with excerpts of his comments superimposed on the film. Compton did her wrapup in fron of WH.

NBC led with the 2:20 Ford spot, where Don Oliver voiced excerpts of Ford's speech over silent film. The film was accompanied by a superimposed transcript on the screen of the speech, and a wrapup comment at the studio desk.

CBS' lead report, ran 1:51 in length, and viewed silent film of the news conference in the Oval Office with the President's comments superimposed over the film. Schieffer gave his concluding remarks outside the WH. — (9/30/76)

#### Dole Says Ledger Contained No Missing Pages

Sen. Robert Dole said THursday a campaign contribution ledger book being looked at by the Watergate special prosecutor does not have any missing pages that might have recorded an alleged 1973 contribution from Gulf Oil Corp.

"They were always missing. They were never there. Nothing was taken out," Dole said of the first 10 pages of the book which was kept by his personal secretary.

"I didn't keep the records," he added. "They'll have to talk to whoever keeps the records."

The Washington Post reported Thursday that the pages were "ripped out" before Dole made the book available to the special prosecutor last March. UPI,NBC -- (9/30/76)

# ord Traili VitaluStates

By Patrick J. Slovan Newsday Washington Bureau

President Ford is trailing Jimmy Carter in traditionally Republican states that Ford must carry if he is to: have a chance of winning in November.

At the same time, there is widespread uncertainty among voters of those Republican midwestern and western states. With only six weeks to go before the Nov. 2 election, that factor adds to the importance of the debates between Ford and Carter, which begin Thursday evening.

Those are among the findings of a Newsday survey in Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa, Nebraska and Colorado that included interviews with voters, Democratic and Republican party leaders and campaign directors for both sides.

The five states are among 16, with 97 electoral votes, that voted Republican in the last-two close presidential races-1960 and 1968. The other states are Arizona, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont and Wy-

Ford strategists view these states as the President's electoral foundation; he big states. But as it stands now, Ford. must battle to win states that previous GOP standard bearers could have counted as "safe."

"We can't turn our backs on these states," Cliff Humphrey, the midwestern regional director for the President Ford Committee, said. "We've got anuphill battle."

Ford's difficulties stem from a varicty of reasons, both old and new. There have been a series of dramatic Democratic gains in these Republican states in recent years. In addition, conservative Ronald Reagan's challenge of Ford in these states has left wounds.

Perhaps most important is the aggressive Carter campaign under way in these states.

will try to knock Carter off balance by campaigning next week in the Deep South states that supposedly are solid for Carter.

In all the states surveyed, both sides agreed that despite Carter's lead there remained a substantial undecided vote. Officials and voters in these states indicated that his lead could vanish depending on developments in 'he remaining weeks of the campaign.

Here is a state-by-state look at the emerging campaign:

#### INDIANA

Ford is the least popular member. according to polls, of a statewide GOP ticket that could cancel Carter's current lead in the Hoosier state. Republican Gov. Otis Bowen is a country doctor seeking reelection, with coattails President.

Another Republican, former Indianapolis Mayor Richard Lugar, has a - narrow lead over incumbent Democratic Sen. Vance Hartke, who barely won a bruising Democratic primary.

Ford plans no personal visits and has hopes to add to it California and other allotted only \$20,000 for a statewide campaign. Reagan, who upset the President in the state's May primary, will campaign for Ford next month. "If Reagan were the nominee," one GOP ·leader said, "he'd have a look on this state."

> Meanwhile. Carter has visited the state, as have his wife, Rosalynn Carter, other family members, and his running mate, Sen. Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota. "This is a battleground state," Doug Coulte, Carter's Indiana and in other states in the region is ordirector, said.

> Reagan's win over Ford in Indiana left many state voters with the impres- tensive voter registration and get-outsion that Ford was a moderate-to-liberal Republican. Interviews with voters in Martinsville, Ind., a GOP stronghold in the southern farming area, indi-

To counter this Carter strategy, Ford cated surprising Carter strength, "Carter is more conservative than Ford,' said one saleswoman who said she has voted Republican in the past three presidential elections. "And, Carter walks with Jesus."

#### WISCONSIN

Charles Davis is a Milwaukee advertising man who organized Richard M. Nixon's Wisconsin victories in 1963 and 1972. He wistfully recalls the days when money flowed like icewater and "at least Jeb Magruder at CREEP [the Committee to Re-elect the President] could make a snap decision."

Today, Davis is head of the Ford Wisconsin campaign, which is behind in the polls and short of cash, and he is suspicious of Washington headquarters.

"Do those guys at Ford headquarters that may be big enough to carry the have any strategy?" Davis asked repeatedly. "I don't see any long-range strategy. Those guys get up every morning and ask, "What will we do today?"

Ford apparently will not campaign in the state and Davis has rejected offers of an appearance by Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz. "The dairy farmers don't like Butz," Davis said.

Davis says the outlook is gloomy for Ford, who will get no support from anywhere else on the state ticket.

"Proxmire isn't helping Carter, either," said Bill Dickson, who is directing Carter's race in Wisconsin. "Prox only works for Prox." Carter has made one brief visit to the state and plans more. Mondale and the Carter family are also working the state.

Giving Carter an edge in Wisconsin ganized labor. The United Auto Workers and other unions are involved in exthe-vote drives, which are not subject : to federal spending limitations.

"We have nothing to compare to this sort of support. Carter is getting from

#### Dole Woos Industrial Vote in Pa.

Sen. Bob Dole told about 500 persons in Johnstown, Pa., Thursday that Carter is a man of "facility, agility and flexibility" because he constantly changes positions on the issues.

Later, speaking before the Kiwanis Club in Williamsport, Pa., Dole seemed to aim his address to the big industrial worker constituency which traditionally votes Democratic.

"I suggest that labor has a big influence in America. They should have. I don't think the working men and women of this country necessarily want bigger spending, a weaker defense, more and more programs, higher taxes. That's what Governor Carter advocates," Dole stated. (ABC)

In response to questions in Williamsport, Dole also talked aoub the "missing" pages to his campaign ledger.

The 1:30 Dole story, which ran #5 on ABC, included excerpts of Dole's remarks. Herb Kaplow reported. AP, UPI, ABC -- (9/30/76)

CARTER/MONDALE CAMPAIGN

#### Issues

#### Carter Hits Economic Policies in N.E. Swing

On his swing through the Northeast Thursday, Carter criticized Ford's handling of the economy, especially unemployment. "Gerald Ford has no concern about people out of wok," he told unemployed persons gathered in a diner in Buffalo, first stop on the day's tour. He claimed Ford had cost the nation 2 million jobs by vetoing bills that would have generated employment potential.

Sam Donaldson said the lack of jobs is the issue Carter is really counting on to get him elected in November. (ABC)

Carter also addressed the MIA problem saying, "We need a presidential delegation, authorized by me next January, not only to go to Vietnam but also to Cambodia and Laos. And that will be one of the first responsibilities I will assume." (ABC)

Later, without mentioning Ford by name but leaving no doubt of his target, he told a Boston College audience the nation has been damaged by the dependence "a president" has upon special interest lobbyists.

Carter accused the Ford Administration of pressuring Congress to reverse its ban on the sale of 650 Maverick air-to-ground offensive missiles to Saudi Arabia. He also noted Ford's statement to a B'nai B'rith convention that he means business in opposing the Arab boycott of firms doing business with Israel.

"But the administration has consistently opposed strong enforcement of the anti-boycott laws now on the books, and now it is doing everything in its power to keep needed new legislation from being passed," Carter said.

In Portland, Maine, Carter said that he will make available to reporters a partial list of contributors and suppoters of his 1970 gubernatorial campaign in Georgia. Reporters had sought the list for some time.

He told a news conference that "within the last couple of weeks" his campaign organization had been informed that a "box of file cards" had been found in the basement of his chief 1970 fundraiser. "All of the information we have on contributions is available to you," Carter said. "There is nothing secret about it."

NBC's 6:30 show made a brief mention of Carter's NE swing in a #3, :20 anchor report.

ABC's #2 story, which ran 1:44, presented excerpts of Carter's comments. AP, UPI, ABC, NBC — (9/30/76)

#### Mondale Charges WH Fights Moves Opposing Arab Boycott

Walter Mondale Thursday accused the Ford administration of trying to fight legislation opposing the Arab boycott of U.S. firms dealing with Israel while at the same time saying it opposed the boycott. The Democratic vice presidential candidate said the boycott, which has also affected U.S. companies with Jewish executives is "pernicious, outrageous, racist."

Speaking at a breakfast of Jewish leaders, he said the Ford administration and oil lobby had carried out an all-out effort to fight adoption of legislation that would make it illegal for U.S. firms to cooperate with the boycott.

Later, he told a news conference that Gerald Parsky, a Ford administration Treasury official dealing with energy policy, and Ford's campaign director, James Baker, had fought proposals to counter the boycott. He said Baker's role in this was when he was an undersecretary of commerce.

Baker has denied Mondale's charge that he served as an apologist for the Arab boycott, saying the Ford administration finds it "deplorable." But he says it also believes there are better ways to deal with the boycott than the legislation now pending.

The #4 report on ABC, running 2:20, included film of Mondale campaigning all over Pa. and excerpts of his remarks. Don Farmer reported. AP,UPI,ABC — (9/30/76)

# Carter Defies Gravity

Americans from coast-to-coast have watched with increasing amazement as Jimmy Carter continues to defy gravity: He has his feet firmly rooted in mid-air.

scheme would raise taxes for half the American families.

Carter has squirmed, wiggled, equivocated and done everything but dance on the head

Shreveport Journal, 9/21/76

## Carter to Seek Offensive, Aides Say (By Kenneth Reich, excerpted, L.A. Times)

In the Carter campaign, the word is out. After three weeks of near-constant slipping and sliding, Jimmy Carter is going to try to take the offensive in his contest with President Ford.

What the campaign needs, senior Carter aides said, is a diversion -- something that everyone will begin talking about and that will shift the mood of the campaign and put the pressure on Ford rather than on Carter.

Yet even some members of Carter's staff wonder whether the liabilities that have piled up for their candidate in September can effectively be brushed out of sight.

On his way back to Georgia Monday night from the West Coast, Carter stopped in Evansville, Ind., where he drew a sizeable crowd, and tried out some new lines in a sharp attack against Ford.

The new lines in the speech, which staff members said were a foretaste of what is to come, revolved around these tactics:

- -- Repeatedly identifying Ford with prior Republican Presidents Warren G. Harding, Herbert Hoover and Nixon and their alleged callous attitude toward the common people;
- -- In a more general sense, identifying the President with the "in-crowd" of Washington, D.C.

Use of this outside-vs.-inside theme would be a return, in a sense, to a theme of Carter's successful bid for the Georgia governorship in 1970, when his major opponent, former Gov. Carl Sanders, was depicted as "Cufflinks Carl," the representative of the Atlanta in-crowd.

In the last several days, there has been evidence that Carter and his advisers hope to make this week -- and particularly a three-day swing into several Northeastern states beginning today -- an upward turning point of his campaign.

The Democratic candidate's advertising chief, Jerry Rafshoon, in Plains Wednesday to meet with Carter, said he believed the economy to be the only really "cutting" issue of the presidential race at this point, and he indicated that it would be at the center of the new Carter offensive in the big industrial states of the north.

Beyond the stepped-up economic attack, there is rising hope in the Carter camp that two other developments may divert attention from Carter's campaign problems of the last few weeks:

-- The disclosure that, as a congressman, Ford accepted free golfing holidays from several business corporations.

-- Reports that the Watergate special prosecutor has renewed an investigation into Ford's congressional campaign finances.

Carter staff members here said privately that they hoped the Ford golfing and the investigation of the finances would replace Carter's Playboy magazine interview as a prime subject of public and press discussion.

Publicly, Carter aides insisted that the Georgian's remarks in <u>Playboy</u>, particularly those about lustful thoughts, had been blown out of all proportion.

But privately, some expressed fear that the <u>Playboy</u> interview might have revived doubts they had thought were being resolved, about Carter's fundamentalist religious beliefs.

One aide who went on record with his doubts was Rafshoon, who said Wednesday that he thought the impact of the <u>Playboy</u> interview with its fundamentalist overtones, might be particularly adverse for Carter in California, which he described as the "most free-thinking state in the union."

At the beginning of the fall campaign, Carter insiders felt that he had four serious potential problems standing in the way of his election:

- -- A tendency to make inopportune or overly aggressive remarks.
- -- A reputation for fuzziness or straddling of issues.
- -- A reputation as a politician who fades in the stretch.
- -- A feeling in some quarters that he was unknown, untried and perhaps culturally alien and, therefore, represented a risk in the White House.

Even as Carter attempts now to regain campaign initiative, some staff members worry that these problems continue to dog him. The recent controversy over his <u>Playboy</u> remarks, in this view, revived the impression that Carter is prone to making extremely inopportune statements. Polls followins his first presidential debate with Ford indicate that many people continue to believe that Carter is not as clear on the issues as Ford.

The reputation that he acquired in the late primaries as a person whose successes diminished in the late going has been added to by what has happened in Sept., during which he has lost a good part of his early lead over Ford in the polls and otherwise has been perceived to be losing ground.

And the question of his being untried and thereby risky has evolved into one of the soundness of judgement in giving the Playboy interview -- one that GOP vice presidential candidate Robert Dole is raising at every turn. -- (9/30/76)

Carter Grip on Pa. Slipping
(By John J. Farmer and Joseph R. Daughen, excerpted, Phila. Evening Bulletin)

Jimmy Carter's once firm grip on Pennsylvania voters has slipped noticeably. Interviews with key Democratic country chairmen indicate Carter has been hurt somewhat by his stands on issues such as taxes and abortion, and by some organizational lapses.

Carter's most notable problems at this time appear to be in southwestern Pennsylvania, where six counties provide about 30 percent of the state's 2.8 million registered Democrats. These counties, all of them heavily Roman Catholic and ethnic, voted in large numbers for Carter in the primary.

For a Democrat to carry Pennsylvania, he normally must win those counties as well as Philadelphia and Lackawanna and Luzerne counties in the northeast by substantial margins. -- (9/23)

#### Poll

#### Poll: Georgians Like Ford, Prefer Carter

A poll commissioned by the Democratic National Committee has found that residents of Jimmy Carter's home state have a favorable opinion of President Ford personally, but hold Carter in even higher regard.

Ford was rated far lower by Georgia residents on his performance as President than on his personal qualities, according to the poll taken the week of Aug. 18 by Cambridge Research Reports -- which does Carter's polling.

Mark Siegel, executive director of the Democratic National Committee, said the poll results were confidential and for use by state party officials and some of the party's candidates in Georgia.

But the Atlanta Constitution reported Thursday on the contents of the 40-page report on the survey. Siegel then released the major survey findings. AP -- (9/30/76)

MALEYERANDER

FRONT RELIEVE IT!

Richmond News-Leader 9/26/76

MAEDISAMORISTE I

SAY, WHO IS THAT

Richmond News-Leader, 9/29/76

## Carter and the truth

JIMMY CARTER'S promise to Playboy that he would never "take litical idiocy of the remark, the selfon the same frame of mind that Nixon or Johnson did - lying, cheating, distorting the truth" was, to put it charitably, stupid.

True, Lyndon Johnson never

Excluding the injustice and porighteous piety of its delivery is enough to raise doubts about Mr. Carter's understanding of the presidential job. How can a former Georgia governor who has never experienced the pressures of political sur-

## The Playboy Interview

NO DOUBT Jimmy Carter's contro-versial Playboy magazine interview achieved its main purpose by

have-which puts the "self-righteous" tag right on their backs. Carter might have been more dis-

> Atlanta Journal, 9/22/76

## Mr. Carter's candor

Playboy interview might better have been the President's wife we know such truths as left in the locker room, it's comforting to the one that, gasp, she sleeps with her husknow that Jimmy Carter has his biological band. urges like the rest of us. It has been one of candidates for elective office - especially might as well appreciate that in advance of

THOUGH SOME of the language in his indeed, that through the forthrightness of

Presidents, as it turns out, often are more the great hypocrisies of American life that human than we give them credit for, and we

> Louisville Courier-Journa 9/22/76

#### Carter In The Gutter

Jimmy Carter's widely publicized interview in the salacious Playboy magazine makes one wonder just what kind of a spiritual "rebirth" the man has that "God forgives" him.

a sinful habit - a habit which Carter evidently has no qualms about continuing, presuming, as he does at his own peril,

undergone. That he would sully the No doubt Playboy readers will be prestige of the office he seeks by cheered that Jimmy doesn't condemn consorting with those who inhabit the those who find lustful thoughts insufficient

## The 'Playboy' Thing (Editorial, excerpted, Richmond News Leader)

Jimmy Carter's comments in his now celebrated <u>Playboy</u> interview are so bizarre that they very likely will lose him the votes of many people throughout the country -- particularly the South. And well they should.

Carter used the sort of locker-room language the public associates not with a purportedly high-toned moralist, but with the "expletivve deleted" Nixon transcripts. Many voters will correctly conclude that as such language was inappropriate when used by Richard Nixon in the Oval Office, surely they should not send to that office another man who uses the same swaggering language.

But to concentrate on the language alone is to miss the implications of what Carter is saying. Specifically, he is saying (1) that he has coveted other men's wives, (2) that although it may be wrong to have done so, God forgives him, and (3) that because he has done it, he does not criticize other men for doing it. All of which smacks of the dubious permissiveness.

Elsewhere in the interview, he says, "I'm just a human being like everybody else." Just so: The American voters prefer thier Presidents to be uncommon men. -- (9/23/76)

## Carter's Boo-Boo (Editorial, excerpted, Baltimore News American)

Jimmy Carter pulled a big political blunder in his interview with Playboy magazine. Critics from coast to coast have been making a big deal out of the fact that Carter used gutter language in discussing his sexual morals, and that he publicly admitted to the curse of lust. We say — so what? In essence the Democratic presidential candidate simply said he had been attracted by various women, but that he had restrined his natural instincts because he is married. Not too many virile men would have had the courage or honesty to speak the truth in this area.

At the same time it was a political mistake of the first magnitude. Unhappily, it does not behoove a presidential candidate to be so forthright on a personal matter. Carter's words and expressions undeniably demean the dignity of what the White House is supposed to represent to the American public. -- (9/25/76)

# Ford Seen Winning Debate 32%-25% in Gallup Poll

Special to The Times

PRINCETON, N.J.—President Ford was viewed as the winner of his first debate with Democrat Jimmy Carter, according to a Gallup poll.

The findings were based on doorto-door interviews with 1,204 adults conducted last weekend in 240 locations across the nation. choice between now and the election.

Among this group, representing about one-fourth of the electorate, the President won 32% to 18%. Fifty percent, however, said the debate was a draw or did not express an opinion.

Those who indicated they had seen

lation groups:			
Ford Carter	Same-c	r no or	noinion
Nationwide	.32%	25%	43%
Republicans	63	8	29
Democrats		39	44
Independents	33	17	50
18-29 years		25	43
30-49 years		25	45
50 and over		25	40
College	37	20	43
High school	31	27	42
Grade school :		29	43
Men		23	45
Women	32	27	41
East	33	22	45
Midwest	33	26	41
South	29	28	43
West	36	24	40
Ford "hard supporters	66	1	33

tionally and by region and key popu-

#### Ford: The Presidential Tone He Sets

#### By Roderick Nordell

What kind of stamp has Gerald Ford placed on the inner workings of the government after Watergate? A key part of the answer came on the telephone from a Washington official who has watched administrations from the inside since the last days of President Kennedy.

"I wouldn't even be talking to you if I were still in the Nixon White House," he said. "Or I'd have called up [the two mutual friends this reporter had mentioned by way of introduction] to see if they'd go bond for you. Then I'd have called you up from a pay telephone."

Under President Ford, "them days is gone forever," as the old saying has it, and as everyone seems to agree in different words. Mr. Ford has brought "peace, warmth, and security" to a White House that was full of hostility and even terror, said the official on the phone. He told of bygone meetings when a Nixon aide would say to his subordinates: "See this piece of paper? I could write a few words on it, and you'd be out of a job."

#### 'A great relief'

Now, said this survivor of such sessions, the Ford White House may be confused and inexpertly run, but it is "still a great relief" from the Nixon era. "Managing government he's not," this official said of Mr. Ford. "But that might be deliberate. The Nixon crowd in the early days overmanaged.

"They tried to root people out even on the civil service level. The Kennedy people, too, overmanaged. Johnson's approach was more live-and-let-live. Just by relaxing, Ford is achieving a certain goal. If he's doing it in a calculated fashion, he's doing a masterful job."

What besides a tone of decency and integrity distinguishes the operation of the Ford administration? One facet is Mr. Ford's well-publicized effort toward reining in the regulatory agencies. Another facet is the barely noticed fact that this White House is the first to request a General Accounting Office review of White House accounts (albeit those prior to the Ford administration) and to receive a GAO report recommending improvements in White House financial management. Another facet of interest to a public inundated by federal forms is Mr. Ford's effort to reduce paper work. The White House claims the number of forms was cut 12 percent by last July, and it cites such figures as these:

"Two years ago, a local government seeking grant assistance for community development had to fill out an application that averaged 1,400 pages in length; today that same application is 25 pages in length; the length of processing for this application dropped from 31 to 8 months; and the regulations governing the program have dropped from 2,600 pages to 50."

Here are some other views, from inside and outside the White House, on the Ford administrative ap-

proach, beginning with his generally applauded conduct of relations with Congress even while often in conflict with it.

A key legislative aide in the Senate majority leader's office confirmed that former longtime Congressman Ford is "not at all objectionable in his dealings" with Congress. But he found those dealings "very, very limited," at least with the Democratic majority, and thus hard to characterize in terms of Mr. Ford's approach to government. This aide said:

"Most of the manifestations of the White House that come to mind have been in a very negative way—to veto or to prevent something. I just don't feel that he has made his presence known enough, at least at this distance. With Lyndon Johnson the motion and activity were felt this far away even though we were of the same party. That doesn't mean Ford's approach is not as effective. It may just be more subtly applied."

The man primarily charged with applying the Ford approach — along with presidential counselor John O. Marsh Jr. — is Max L. Friedersdorf, assistant to the President for legislative affairs. "The most noticeable thing to me," said Mr. Friedersdorf recently, is that the President "really insists on" a "constant flow" of information.

#### A step ahead of you \_

This means following some legislation "minute by minute" and having "instant access" to Mr. Ford "if we think it's worthwhile." Then the President is likely to say: "Let's get him on the phone," referring to someone in Congress. "He's always a step ahead of you on congressional relations, because he stays in touch with his friends."

Mr. Ford has also institutionalized the kind of meeting President Nixon used to have on a "need-to-know" basis, said Mr. Friedersdorf. "He instituted a daily-meeting with Jack Marsh and myself." There is a biweekly meeting with Republican congressional leaders — and a meeting on alternate weeks with leaders from both parties.

So, for all the vetoes and other strains between President and Congress, Mr. Friedersdorf said: "I can't think of a single allenation. It's been marvelous to be part of that."

As for citizens' groups making known their views on legislation, Mr. Friedersdorf spoke of various means of access, including talks with Mr. Ford himself. "I can't conceive any president with the demands on his time seeing any more people. He's a very good listener. I feel like the doors of the White House are wide open."

#### Ford to Sign Both Job Bills

White House officials said Thursday President Ford will sign both of the major job bills passed this year by Congress.

Speaker Carl Albert interrupted debate on the House floor on an Alaskan natural gas bill earlier in the afternoon to announce the planned bill signings which had been a major factor on whether Congress could adjourn this weekend.

Ford had twice vetoed the earlier authorization version of the public works bill, saying it would create only half the number of jobs claimed and would risk inflation. The first time Congress narrowly upheld the veto. The second time it overrode the veto. AP,UPI,Networks -- (9/30/76)

#### FOREIGN POLICY

U.N.

#### HAK Blasts Soviet Intervention in Africa

Secretary Kissinger declared on Thursday that southern Africa is on a course toward peace and racial justice but outside powers "fueling the flames of war and racial hatred" could "doom opportunities that might never return."

Kissinger, making his annual speech before the U.N. General Assembly, peppered the review of world affairs with thrusts at the Soviet Union.

He said the U.S. is disturbed by the continuing accumulation of Russian arms and, in an obvious reference to Angola, "by recent instances of military intervention to tip the scales in local conflicts in distant continents." (Networks)

That reference was clearly aimed at Soviet and Cuban action in Angola and recent Soviet propaganda efforts to undercut Kissinger's African mission, Richard C. Hottelet stated. (CBS)

"The future of mankind requires coexistence by the supwerpowers," Kissinger said, "and restraint must be reciprocal and global -- there can be no selective detente."

Kissinger was clearly warning the Soviet Union not to meddle again in southern Africa. He also appeared to be laying the groundwork for blaming the Russians in the negotiations over Rhodesia break down, Richard Valeriani reported. (NBC)

Kissinger associated the U.S. with China in battling Soviet military blackmail and "hedgemony," a Chinese code-word for Soviet domination, and one, Hottelet noted, that "infuriates Moscow." (CBS)





Besides the evident irritation with Moscow, he jabbed at the Third World for bloc voting and a widespread tendency "to come here for battle rather than negotiation." If these trends persist, Kissinger said, "the hope for world community will dissipate."

Kissinger advanced no new major policy initiatives in the hour-long speech, although he forecast that a comprehensive program for nuclear controls to be announced shortly by President Ford would have as its goal restoring the atom "as a boon and not a menace to mankind."

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko was not in the assembly as Kissinger spoke. But Gromyko will see President Ford in Washington tomorrow. (CBS)

Hettelet said diplomats were impressed with Kissinger's "cold and critical" tone on U.S.-Soviet relations. (CBS)

Barrie Dunsmore said there was "considerable tough talking" in what may be Kissinger's last U.N. address. (ABC)

Following an anchor lead-in for the #6 story, CBS presented excerpts of HAK's speech. The report ran 2:26.

The 2:20, #7 ABC story, reported by Barrie Dunsmore, showed excerpts of HAK's speech.

NBC's #10, 2:00 story featured Kissinger arriving at the U.N. and excerpts of his speech. The spot was concluded with a standup comment by Valeriani. AP, UPI, Networks — (9/30/76)

#### CONGRESS

#### Congress Overrides HEW, Labor Veto

The Senate joined the House Thursday in an overwhelming override of President Ford's veto of a \$56.6 billion measure funding the Departments of Labor and HEW, putting the measure immediately into law.

Sen. Walter Mondale returned to the Senate to vote for the override. His Republican counterpart, Sen. Dole was absent.

Congress also completed action on and sent to the White House the bill extending the revenue sharing program for four years. AP, UPI, Networks -- (9/30/76)

## Slapping at Saudi Arabia

A dangerous power vacuum confronts the non-Communist world in the oil-rich Persian Guif area, and the Senate Forcign Relations Committee very nearly scuttled efforts to improve the situation. The senators voted 3 to 6 to bar the sale of 650 air-to-surface Maverick missiles to Saudi Arabia.

A dangerous power vacuum confronts turn the missiles over to one of the Arab rations confronting Israel. But as Mr. Persian Guif area, and the Senate Forcign Relations Committee very nearly only on American planes and none of

Chicago Tribune, 9/30/76

### A Troublesome Case

Displaying belated wisdom, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has decided to abandon its ill-considered attempt to block the

ing the Maverick to the Saudis could have foreign policy risks all out of proportion to the risks of letting the deal on through. That is

## The foreign aid lag

Passage of the foreign aid bill by the Congress is a reminder of a disturbing trend of recent years. The United States, which used to be a world leader in economic aid giving, is no longer pulling its share of the burden in this field. It will have to do much better if it is to convince the developing nations it genuinely wants to help lift them into the modern age.

needy is ever needed. Nor is it a matter simply of developing markets abroad for American goods or serving U.S. commercial interests. Such traditional foreign aid factors remain.

But there is now an added dimension to aid giving, and this is the dialogue between the North and South nations over the use, cost, and distribution of the world's raw material re-

C.S. Monitor, 9/30/76

#### Rhodes Says Weekend Trips Commonplace

House Republican Leader John Rhodes disclosed Thursday that corporations had picked up the tab for some of his weekend golf outings -- and added that the practice was commonplace for members of Congress.

The Arizona congressman, talking to reporters about President Ford's golf outings while the chief executive was a House member, said he thought it was a "strange sort of morality" that would focus on golf outings which "had previously been accepted in the open and regarded by everyone as common practice." AP -- (9/30/76)

#### ECONOMY

#### British Pound Hits New Low

The troubled British pound rallied briefly Thursday on foreign exchange markets but tumbled back again to close the day at another loss.

The pound opened at \$1.665 and with a boost from government plans to seek a \$3.9 billion international loan soared more than 3 cents to \$1.70.

However, as buying interest fell off, the pound's earlier gains were wiped out and it closed at \$1.661. AP,UPI,ABC -- (9/30)

#### Stocks Drop, Slow Trading

Prices closed lower Thursday in slow trading on the New York Stock Exchange where jittery investors were awaiting the Federal Reserve Board's money supply report later in the day.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average was off 2.58 points to 998.53 shortly before the close. It had fallen more than 21 points the previous two sessions, including 3.74 Wednesday. Prices were lower in moderate trading on the American Stock Exchange. AP, UPI, ABC, CBS -- (9/30/76)

## Rizzo Will Not Face Special $\frac{U.S.}{Election}$

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court Thursday ruled that controversial Mayor Frank Rizzo does not have to face a special recall election in November.

The court, in a 4-2 opinion, reversed Common Pleas Court Judge David Savitt, who earlier had ruled a citizens' committee had collected the required number of valid signatures to force a recall election. Savitt then ordered the "yes-no" question placed on the Nov. 2 election ballot. AP, UPI, Networks -- (9/30/76)

## It's Not All Right, Jack (Editorial, excerpted, Los Angeles Times)

Prime Minister James Callaghan has spoken some tough words in an effort to rouse Britain against the disastrous slide in its economy.

It was a rousing speech, almost Churchillian, that "Sunny Jim" Callaghan gave at the ruling Labor Party's conference in Blackpool. Yet Callaghan is no Winston Churchill, and Britain is not faced with a foreign threat that would unify its still class-conscious and quarrelsome factions in a successful assault against an easily recognized common enemy.

Calls for sacrifice in the face of economic problems that saw the pound sink to an all-time low on Tuesday have been made before by Callaghan and his predecessor Harold Wilson.

Under voluntary pay-increase limits and other restraints, the powerful trade unions have slowed the wage-price spiral that pushed Britain's inflation rate. There have been dramatic reductions in strikes, cuts in public spending, and heavy overseas borrowings to shore up the pound.

But such efforts do not come to grips with the fundamental problem, which is as much political as it is economic. Britain is divided into two major camps that block or inhibit economic recovery. One camp is composed of moderates and conservatives who want to hold the line or roll back Britain's ventures into socialism. In the other camp are leftists who want to push ahead with more social programs, more nationalization of industry.

Such polarization might be overcome through clear, decisive government action if it were limited to the populace. But the fact is that the split is reflected, to a lesser degree, in Callaghan's own party and even in the government. Labor's growing and increasingly militant left wing is fighting the Callaghan-Wilson economic programs as ardently as the opposition Conservative Party. The leftists are actually the more deadly, because they are part of the power structure that the government must accommodate to remain in office.

As a result, Callaghan's government is a cursious bird indeed -- a noncoalition hybrid composed of quarrelsom coalitions grasping for solutions that are completely satisfying to no one.

Britain has no lack of talent and brains to overcome its economic problems. What it does need is to suppress outdated class antagonisms and narrow interests, and to embark on a pragmatic program of reform that concentrates on actual economic ills rather than on the political philosophies of the right or left.

Only then will it regain the confidence of the international financial community that is needed to save the pound. - (9/30/76)

## To Stem Britain's Slide (Editorial, excerpted, Christian Science Monitor)

It seems like only yesterday that the once proud British pound sterling stood at \$2.40, but that was 18 months ago. Next it slid below \$2.00 earlier this year. Then in recent days, it plummeted to under \$1.65. This spells crisis with a capital C for Britain and the Labour government of Prime Minister James Callaghan -- so vigorous steps are being taken to rectify the situation. But now as earlier, the question is whether corrective measures will stem the downward spiral more than temporarily.

Already Mr. Callaghan has told his Labour colleagues at the party conference in Blackpool how grim the predicament is. His effort to drive home the economic facts of life did not go down well with the party's left wing, which already is chafing under restrictions on pay increases.

At the root of the problem is Britain's long-ailing economy, which features lagging industrial productivity, high inflation and record unemployment. What can be done about these obstacles? One solution plainly would be to institute major cutbacks in public spending and to bring in compulsory wage curbs, as conservatives and businessmen demand.

At present, the government is counting on a policy of agreed wage restraint. But a powerful left-wing segment of the Labour Party views the problems quite differently. It opposes big reductions in public spending at a time of high unemployment and is restive under wage curbs. Nevertheless Labour was put on notice by Mr. Callaghan that the British cannot "buy cur way out by printing confetti money and paying ourselves more than we produce.

The trouble is that past moves have only eased the situation for a brief time, after which inexorable economic pressure once more forced the indicators downward. Many times before Britain has faced — and survived — such challenges, and it may be that the crisis now is extreme enough for steps that are terribly hard, economically and politically, at last to be taken, despite the protests that might ensue. Otherwise, the best that can be expected is another temporary respite. — (9/30/76)

## Times of TV News Items September 30, 1976

ADM	MINISTRATION NEWS	ABC	NBC	CBS
2.	Ford/probes HAK/U.N. Dole/Pa.	1:46 (lead) 2:20(7) 1:30(5)	2:20 (lead) 2:00 (l0)	1:51 (lead) 2:26(6)
4.	Ford/Jobs bills	2.30 (3)	:10(6)	
OT	HER MAJOR NEWS			
1.	Ruff/CBS Ford probe			:12(2)
2.	Carter/Ford probe		:20(3)	:12(3)
3.	Veto override	1:59(3)	:10(5)	:50(4)
4.	Lebanon division	:30(8) 2:00(Smith)	:30(9)	2:36(5)
-	W.German elections	2:00 (SILLEI)		2:14(7)
	Viking II		:15(11)	1:38(8)
	Allied Chemical/kepone	:15(12)	:20(16)	:17(9)
	Study/environment	• 13 (12)	•20 (10)	:32(10)
	Medicare/hospital costs	:15(14)	:20(7)	1:45(11)
	Swine flu vaccines	.10 (11)	***************************************	2:06(12)
	Stocks	:19(11)		:13(13)
	Study/tax forms	,,	3:00(8)	:28(14)
	Rizzo	:15(6)	:10(4)	:14(15)
14.	Youngstown strikes	2:00(13)	1:30(15)	1:27(16)
15.	NYPD/ no settlement		:10(14)	:10(17)
16.	Detroit police chief			:11(18)
	Babi Yar/Kiev Jews			2:50(19)
	Carter/campaign probes	1:44(2)		
	Mondale/Pa.	2:20(4)		
	Missing F-14	:20(9)		
	British pound	:20(10)	AF (0)	
	Dole/cash book	1.15(1.6)	:45(2)	
	NAACP/Miss. boycott	1:15(16)	2:00(12)	
	Nixon letters		:20(16)	
	W.Point wamen	1.30/75)	1:30(18)	
20.	Oregon/school class	1:30(15)		



The President's Daily News Summary



### Leading The News...

FOR FRIDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 1, 1976

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#### World-Wide

FORD'S VETO of an HEW money bill was overridden; he will sign jobs legislation. For the second year in a row, Congress enacted an appropriation for the departKISSINGER WARNED RUSSIA against undermining U.S. peace efforts abroad. Addressing the United Nations General

Addressing the United Nations General Assembly, Kissinger warned those who would try to sabotage American diplomacy in Africa that "coexistence and negotiations on arms control don't take place in a vacuum." In an apparent reference to the Soviet Union, the Secretary of State assailed countries that "see a chance for advantage

January, the Social Security Administration said. Patients will pay a total of \$124 for the first 60 days of hospitalization, then \$31 a day for the next 30 days of longer stays.

#### Business and Finance

THE MONEY SUPPLY slid a record \$2.8 billion in the week ended Sept. 22 on the M1 basis after the previous week's record interests. The drop \$1.4 billion on

The Big Board fined Marvin A. Kirschenbaum \$10,000 and suspended him for four months. The New York Stock Exchange said Kirschenbaum, a partner of Seskis & Co., tried to give a \$500 cash gift to an exchange officer who

# Carter's Lead Over Ford Drops to 8% in Gallup Poll

Special to The Times

PRINCETON, N.J.—The gap between Jimmy Carter and President Ford in the race for the White House has narrowed to eight points, according to a Gallup Poll survey.

ing to a Gallup Poll survey.

The survey, conducted by personal

firming up support among his own party members, and gaining the lead among independent voters.

This question was asked:

If the presidential election were be-

# Buckley Leads By Wide Margin In County Poll

By GEORGE BORRELLI

News Political Reporter

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Sen. James L. Buckley has jumped off to a commanding lead in Erie County in his bid for re-election to a second term, according to The Buffalo Evening News Poll.

The professional poll, conducted by Buffalo Survey &

Research Inc., headed by Frank Levin, gives the Conservative-Republican a (News Poll

VOTERS IN BUFFALO responded this way when asked their preference in a Buckley-Moynihan contest:

Buckley ..... 33.9 Per Cent Moynihan ..... 29.6 Per Cent Undecided ...... 36.5 Per Cent

The telephone poll tabulated responses from 409 voters in the countywide survey. Only voters who said they were registered and planned to vote in the Nov. 2 lection were included in The News Poll tabulations.

Of the total sampling used in the poll, 90.7 per cent said they definitely planned to vote and 9.3 per cent indicated they probably would vote.

The Erie County results constitute an early sampling of the Senate race, since Mr. Moynihan's place on the ballot was not assured until after the primary election 15 days ago.

Sen. Buckley also had a primary contest in the Republican Party, in which he easily defeated Rep. Peter A. Peyser of Westchester. However, the senator was unopposed in the Conservative primary and was assured of that party line in the November election.

#### Schieffer, Bradley Observe Campaign

CBS correspondents Ed Bradley and Bob Schieffer, on CBS Morning News, commented on the impact of Jimmy Carter and President Ford accepting lobbyist trips, and on both campaigns.

"The Carter campaign is very concerned about Carter's accepting invitations from corporations," Ed Bradley said. "It could potentially be a political windfall but it's not a very strong issue Carter could make a strong statement about. He's been very cautious. Carter backed off quickly after President Ford answered newsmen's questions saying immediately he accepted Ford's answer."

Bob Schieffer said the "Ford people were very worried that Carter had finally seized the offensive on this issue for the first time since the GOP convention...The Ford people kept hoping the issue would die but it didn't. Every news briefing this week ended with an exasperated Ron Nessen saying he would try to get more information," Schieffer said.

He noted that "White House spokesmen themselves had so fouled up the issues with their own comments that the President had to have a news conference to clear the air."

Bruce Morton noted that before Watergate no one was at all bothered about accepting a golfing or tennis game with a lobbyist. Now everything is quite critical. "You can find some dirt about everybody," Morton said.

Schieffer said the question was "Was the President making a habit of accepting golf games from lobbyists?"

Asked if the Jimmy Carter campaign style has changed lately Bradley said, "Yes, it had substantially. He's going back to what he used during the primaries. He's talking about leadership and morality. He has discarded many of the lines submitted to him to make him sound like a traditional Democrat."

The Ford camp has a "whole new feeling about Texas" since Jimmy Carter made his remarks about LBJ, Schieffer said. The Ford campaign will probably be on the road a lot from here on in.

"If there's one thing that really irritates Gerald Ford as a person, it's for someone to challenge his integrity. I think you're going to see his dander up. I think there's going to be some sharper remarks from his mouth than we've seen before," Schieffer noted

Bradley said Carter has been very tired in the last few weeks and that he's been the victim of very poor advance work. But now they're cutting back the number of speeches and appearances, Bradley said.

-- CBS Morning News (10/1/76)

## Campaign scorecard: The veto . . .

President Ford has clearly and properly chosen fiscal integrity as a primary issue of the campaign, with himself as the hero and the Democratic Congress as the villain: hence his 59th veto, this time of a \$56.6 billion appropriation bill for assorted programs in

paign, which makes it more difficult for him to blame the President's vetoes on "insensitivity." Since the appropriations are for the fiscal year that begins on Friday, Congress will have to act quickly either to override the veto or, preferably, to pass a new and more acceptable appropriation bill

# When do Jimmy and Jerry get down to work?

### JAMES WIEGHART

ASHINGTON—Now that President Ford has publicly denied pocketing contributions to his past congressional campaigns and has declared that no improprieties stemmed from his subsidized golf outings with corporate lobbyists, perhaps Ford and Jimmy Carter can get down to the real issues of the 1973 presidential campaign.

There are some issues, of course. Take the economy. There are almost 8 million Americans looking

President was a crook — did Ford while a member of Congress convert campaign contributions to his own use and did he repay weekend golf trips paid for by friends who were fat cat corporate lobbyists by pushing their interests on legislation before Congress?

Ford, whose personal reputation for honesty and integrity never has been seriously questioned, answered in the negative and his answer will undoubtedly be accepted by the vast majority of voters. Even Carter, who has been publicly demanding that Ford face reporters to make such a declaration, said he was satisfied with the President's response.

But there may be a few voters out there in real America, voters like me, for instance, who were out-



"Well, don't go blaming it on TV violence. . . . You haven't seen the President punching Carter around, have you?"

### Levi Gave Ruff Information from Informant on Ford

Attorney General Edward H. Levi and other top Justice Department officials handed the Watergate Special Prosecutor the information that started his investigation into President Ford's congressional campaign finances, a Department official says.

The New York Times Friday quotes government sources as saying they expect that the Special Prosecutor will end his investigation soon, announcing that he found nothing to justify bringing charges or to continue the probe.

The Justice Department's involvement began when an unidentified informant told the FBI about alleged campaign spending irregularities in Ford's former congressional district in Grand Rapids, Michigan, the official said Thursday night.

The FBI referred the informant's allegation to Levi. After Levi conferred with Deputy Attorney General Harold R. Tyler, FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley and other top Justice Department officials, the decision was made to send the matter to Watergate Special Prosecutor Charles Ruff.

The Department official said Tyler sent Ruff a memo in July describing the informant's allegation because Ruff is responsible for investigating any charges of campaign financing irregularities.

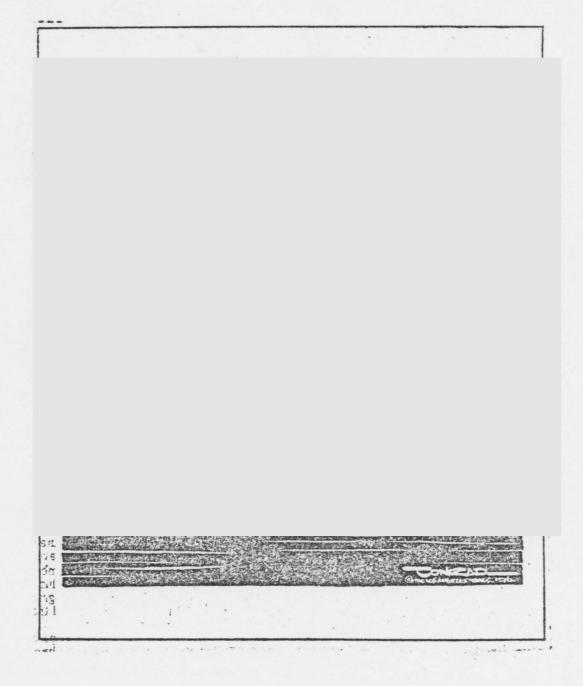
The Justice Department official said that when Tyler sent his memo to Ruff in July, Tyler was uncertain whether the FBI informant's allegation involved Ford.

Since then, Tyler and other Justice Department officials have kept an "arms-length attitude" toward Ruff's work in order to avoid any appearance of impropriety, the official said. As a result, Tyler and other Justice Department officials have no knowledge of the status of Ruff's work and Ruff does not have to keep the Department informed, the official said.

The Justice Department has no reason to believe Ruff is "doing anything irresponsible," the official said.

The official quoted Tyler as saying only three matters have been referred by the Justice Department to the Special Prosecutor during the past 18 months.

--AP, UPI, Morning Shows (10/1/76)



Los Angeles Times 10/1/76

### Dole Attacks Carter, New York Times

At his last major speech of the day Thursday, in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Dole made one of his most personal attacks on the Democratic nominee, hitting hard at Carter's interviews with Playboy Magazine and with Norman Mailer in the New York Times.

Dole said Carter's campaign is "beginning to self-destruct" and that he makes "a constant effort to cloud every issue and mislead our people in his attempt to be all things to all people." (CBS)

Dole noted the Georgian's "misguided use of obscene language" in the Mailer interview and spoke of his "wild ambition."

Dole said, "Who are those faceless and nameless rich that Mr. Carter attacks. They include Henry Ford and other businessmen he lunched with at the 21 Club in New York about a week after the convention when he told Henry Ford and these other small businessmen 'Don't worry about taxes, it will take me at least a year to look it over.' Are these the small businessmen? Do they include the Lockheed Corporation who flew him to South America when he was Governor of Georgia? I don't know why he gave the interview. I think it shows bad judgment. That only affects Governor Carter. That's a judgment he made that affects him. What I'm concerned about is what judgment is he going to make that's going to affect us if he's the President of the United States. Who is he going to confide in? Is he going to call the editor of Playboy and ask him if its good judgment?" (CBS)

The White House has not been altogether pleased at some of Dole's biting rhetoric, UPI reported.

For instance, top Ford campaign strategists, while happy with the Kansas Senator's gift for phrase making and his ability to attack the Democrats, are said to want him to stop picking on AFL-CIO President George Meany and the New York Times when he could use valuable television news time to go full tilt against Carter. (UPI)

Eric Engburg said Dole's campaigning and language is getting rougher and more personal as Dole "fires one barb after another at Carter." (CBS)
--AP, UPI, CBS (10/1/76)

### Ford, Carter Pleased with Debate By Jack Anderson, Good Morning America

President Ford was pleased with the debate last Thursday. He acknowledged to his aides that it wasn't the most exciting show on TV but he felt the format allowed him to get his points across to the public and therefore he doesn't want any major changes in the debate format.

I've also learned that Jimmy Carter is, in his words, "comfortable" with the format, but he's more concerned over the public reation to the debates so he would like to make the next debate in San Francisco more informal.

The two debate advisors, Ford's Mike Duval and Carter's Barry Jagoda, discussed the format on Wednesday night. Jagoda would like to have the candidates sitting instead of standing behind the lecturns but Duval, following the President's instructions, objected to any major changes. They are close to agreement on only one minor change: the reporters would not use their follow-up question to ask an unrelated question. They would be required to follow up their original question. (10/1/76)

# 'Betty Ford for President'? Of What?

### BY ELLEN GOODMAN

BOSTON—It appears that Betty Ford is going to get equal billing on the billboards of America. The Ford-for-President people last week announced that this marital running

the loss-leader, the liberal illusion, the impotent asset on the campaign trail.

The notion exists among some moderates and liberals that Jerry couldn't be all that conservative if he is married, and lovingly so, to Betty. To some degree they are applauding

ANTERLANDICHOIGHTS ANGELS TIMES

"Ford has a monkey on his back with Watergate!"

Los Angeles Times 10/1/76

# Carter Is Now Teeing Off

on Golfer Ford

By JEROME CAHILL
Of the News Washington Bureau

As the presidential campaign enters its final month, Jimmy Carter has replaced his gingerly, kid glove "Mr. Nice Guy" approach to President Ford with a new hardling attack in which he compares Ford un-

'Outsider Image'

Carter used the "outsider" —image successfully in the primaries, fanning the anti-Washington mood of the electorate as he out distanced a field of Democratic presidential rivals drawn almost en-

11 - Washington astablishment Aides

New York Daily News, 10/1/76

# Ga. Pulp Firm Says Carter Was '73 Guest

By JOSEPH VOLZ

Washington (News Bureau)— Democratic presidential nominee Jimmy Carter was the guest of a major Georgia firm, Brunswick Pulp and Paper Co., at the company's Cabin Bluffs facility on two term as governor, was thinking about merging two departments that regulated Brunswick Pulp and Paper.

"It was a big program, one that was of interest to our business," Murdock said. "We wanted to find out what was happening, what his motives were."

One-Day Trip
Carter also visited Cabin Bluffs on
July 28, 1973, for a one-day dtip. "It
appeares that someone asked if he could
use the property for a small meeting,"
Murdock said. "There is no question, the
company paid for it."

Carter aides in Atlanta, asked about the trips yesterday, referred reporters to statements that Carter made at a news conference in Plains, Ga. on Wednesday. Carter said then that he had accepted transportation on private aircraft owned by major firms when he was governor. He also said that the governments of

### Mondale: Bilingual Programs Needed

Senator Mondale wants a stepped up program of bilingual education so children from different cultural backgrounds will be respected, not shunned.

"The deadliest of all possible sins is the mutilation of a child's spirit," he said. "It's not just wrong, it's sinful, immoral, unnecessary, inhumane, unjustified and it's got to stop."

Speaking to a banquet of the National Congress of Hispanic American citizens, Mondale hailed the action of Congress Thursday in overriding President Ford's veto of a \$56.6 billion measure funding the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare.

He said education programs frequently don't address the special needs and cultural differences of children from homes where English is not the native language. Often, he said, these children have a look in their eyes that makes it appear "life has gone out of them."

"That is happening too much in this country to Spanishspeaking children, to children who bring differences that should be honored and respected and built upon," said Mondale.

"Running all through that measure were funds to finally get going in this whole areas of respectful education and help for people who differ," Mondale said.

He said Ford's budget, \$4 billion less than the HEW bill, would have slashed funds for bilingual education, special reading programs, the training of bilingual teachers and cut by nearly 20 percent, if inflation is considered, the money for Title I of the Federal Education At.

Mondale called Title I "the main artery of support for so-called disadvantaged children in America" and "one of the best things we've ever done."
--AP, UPI (10/1/76)

# Baptist leaders back Carter on theology

By Tracy Early
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

New York

Jimmy Carter's theology as expressed in his Playboy magazine interview gets full endorsement from the president of his denomination.

"Many people criticizing him misunderstood the theology," said the Southern Baptist Convention official, the Rev. Dr. James L. Sullivan in a telephone interview with the Monitor wouldn't have known what he was talking about," he added.

Mr. Carter, a deacon and Sunday school teacher in the Plains, Georgia, Baptist Church, is one of the 12.7 million members that make his denomination the largest Protestant body in the United States. It has churches in all 50 states, though the bulk of its strength remains in the South.

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Backing qualified

C.S. Monitor, 10/1/76

From the Long Beach Independent

Metamorphosis

# Ford worse than Nixon, Carter says

By Loye Miller Jr.
Inquirer Washington Bureau

PORTLAND, Maine - Jimmy Carter made his toughest attack yet on

The tactic is a calculated risk for Carter. Prominent Democrats have warned him that Ford is so personally attractive even to voters who doubt his ability that such aggresive criticism may only create sympathy for the President.

Carter's press secretary, Jody Powell, said yesterday that no backlash was expected because, "Jimmy made it clear he was talking about Ford's handling of the economy, and there is no question that the average American is economically worse off than he was when Ford took office."

Later yesterday, however, Carter did criticize Ford personally in a speech outside a Western Electric



# State Dems Tell Jim: All Is Not Peachy in N.Y.

### By BRUCE DRAKE

Washington (News Bureau)—Democratic congressmen from New York have warned a key adviser to Jimmy Carter that Carter's campaign in the state "has not caught fire" and has suffered from the failure of his strategists to give the congressmen a role in the election drive.

### Mrs. Carter: Jimmy Talks Too Much but He's Honest

Rosalynn Carter says her husband "talks too much" but "at least people know he's honest and he doesn't mind answering questions."

"Everybody knew what he meant when he said 'ethnic purity'" Mrs. Carter told the Macomb County Federation of Democratic Women in Mount Clemens, Michigan. "He said people like to live in their own neighborhoods and keep to their own culture and their own language and that the federal government should not force them to break these neighborhoods up.

"But he said 'purity' and they jumped on that word. He probably should have said 'ethnic heritage.'"

Mrs. Carter criticized President Ford for "building a wall around himself" and not facing public questions often enough during his tenure in office. "I think the President of the United States ought to be accessible to the people," she told reporters after her speech.

Mrs. Carter said her entire family has been available for public scrutiny throughout the campaign, but she charged that Ford had appeared only in formal settings.

Mrs. Carter added that last week's opening round in the Carter-Ford television debates made her husband "nervous. It was just natural. I mean, here he was with the President of the United State."

AP (10/1/76)

### The Big Pork Battle

Consider Jerry Ford. He trails Jimmy Carter in the polls only a month before the election. Labor unions, particularly public employes, say he's a stingy President and they want his scalp. Walter Mondale is accusing him of having, on several occasions, acted like a Congressman when lobbyists have offered to pick up the

tive engines. Congressman Rooney put through a bill to spend \$282.5 million to find ways to make things out of garbage. Only eight House members could see anything wrong with this boondoggle. The President vetoed them all.

Then along came the \$56.6 billion HEW and Labor appropria-

### PRESIDENCY

### Ford to Meet with Gromyko, Dole

President Ford, his conscience "clear" about his political past, turned Friday to problems of the present -- the election and a number of foreign policy issues. (UPI)

Ford divided his schedule Friday between election strategy talks with Republicans, including Sen. Dole, and foreign policy sessions with foreign ministers Andrei Gromyko of Russia and Louis de Guiringaud of France.

Ford wanted the meeting with the Frenchman chiefly to meet Paris' new foreign minister, aides said.

But with Gromyko, that 35-year veteran of Soviet-American relations, the President had an agenda that included Africa, the Middle East and the snail-paced negotiations on a treaty limiting strategic offensive nuclear weapons.

Aides said the President planned to discuss with Dole and impact of Ford's meeting with the press Thursday.

--AP, UPI, Morning Shows (10/1/76)

### FOREIGN POLICY

### Soviets Have Equaled U.S., Poll says

Americans believe the Soviet Union has virtually equaled the United States in overall power and importance and will edge ahead in the future, according to a private foreign policy poll released Thursday.

"The public does not like this state of affairs," according to the findings of the Washington-based Potomac Associates, which conducted the poll in cooperation with the Gallup organization.

"The majority of Americans now agree with the proposition that the United States should maintain its dominant position as the world's most powerful nation at all costs, even going to the brink of war, if necessary," according to the 46-page study.

The findings were based on a poll of 1,071 Americans conducted during May 1976.

The poll showed:

### FOREIGN POLICY

- -- Respondents rated the United States 8.5 on a scale of 10 in power and importance in 1976, dropping to 8.4 in the future.
- -- They rated the Soviet Union 8.2 in 1976, rising to 8.6 in the future, slightly edging out the United States.
  - -- China was rated 6.6 in 1976, and 7.7 in the future.

Asked if the United States should maintain its dominant position as the world's most powerful nation at all costs — even going to the brink of war if necessary — 52 percent of respondents said they agreed. In a similar poll in 1972 only 39 percent agreed. Forty-two percent agreed in a 1974 poll. —-UPI (10/1/76)

# Saudi Arabia Holds a Big Stick Over the Head of America

BY ERNEST CONINE

Saudi Arabia didn't lose much time this week before shooting down reports that it might impose a new oil embargo if Congress enacted legislation prohibiting American businessmen from cooperating with the Arab boycott of Israel.

Frince Saud al Faisal, the Saudi Arabian foreign minister who is on a visit to the United States, denied a report by the Middle Eastern News Agency that he had voiced such a threat to officials in Washington. His country, as he put it, "believes strongly in cooperation," not confrontation."

That's a relief, considering Commerce Secrétary Elliot L. Richardson's estimate that a prolonged new embargo, even if only 50% effective, would slice up to \$170 billion off the gross national product and trigger severe unemployment.

The trouble is that the Saudis could always change their minds. And even short of an em-

rageous interference in this country's internal affairs. If America is to maintain its self-respect, compliance should be outlawed.

There is no use denying, however, that this is a case where adherence to principle could prove expensive.

U.S. merchandise exports to the Arab world are expected to run around \$5 billion this year, and the vast majority of the companies profiting from these sales have been complying with Arab boycott requirements.

Mobil Oil Corp., in an ad warning against enactment of an antiboycott bill, said the Arabs would merely take their business elsewhere—that the result would be a gigantic windfall for America's competitors abroad.

Many businessmen agree. William E. Leonhard, president of the Pasadena-based Ralph M. Parsons construction company, says the big engineering contracts now going to American firms would be lost to companies in Japan and Western Europe. They, in turn, would design projects to use the equipment, and materials manufactured in their own countries.

Antiboycott legislation would "have an enormous effect, a cascade effect, on our esonomy," Leonhard warned.

No doubt some contracts would be lost, but such concerns are almost certainly exaggerated. A more serious cause for worry is the Arab capacity for punitive manipulation of the oil supplies on which America is increasingly dependent.

The United States relies far more on Araboil now than at the time of the embargo three years ago. More than 40% of this country's petroleum supplies are now imported; of this foreign oil, about a third comes from Arabolations, and the proportion is growing every

Thanks to this country's foolishly lackadaisical attitude toward the energy problem, the siluation is bound to grow worse.

Domestic production of crude oil is declin-

#### Ernest Conine is a Times editorial writer.

bargo, they have other ways of hitting the American economy where it hurts.

L'Congress and the Ford Administration Rhow all this. And because they do, the anti-boycott legislation will not become law, and American companies doing business in the Middle East will continue to act as enforcing agents for the Arab boycott of Israel.

Arab leaders make the point that they have as much right to press an economic boycott against Israel as the United States had to impose sanctions against trade with Cuba. And indeed they do.

Saudi Arabia and other Arab nations have the right to refuse to do business with corporations that deal with Israel. There is a strong case that individual U.S. companies also have a right to decide against doing business with Israel in order to conduct more profitable operations in the Arab world.

To the degree that the new California antiboycott law or ultimate federal legislation tries to deal with this aspect of the boycott, they are probably mistaken.

But the Arab boycott goes much further. The boycott rules, fortunately not always enforced, also require foreign contractors to certify that they don't have Jews or Zionists on their boards of directors, and that they won't use subcontractors that do business with Israel.

# Rhodesian momentum picks up

By Geoffrey Godsell Overseas news editor of The Christian Science Monitor

Momentum is being maintained toward imementation of the Kissinger package deal for ansferring political power from whites to acks in Rhodesia. to take charge to block any attempt by Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith to run the conference. Mr. Smith's own response to the British initiative for the meeting was not forthcoming at the time of this writing. But it was almost certain to be positive.

Des Frost, chairman of Mr. Smith's Rhodesia Front Party and often in the past a baernment cannot be formed. Even more impor-

desia who are trying to come out on top as their country's first black prime minister.

The lack of unity among Rhodesian blacks is crucial at this stage. It is the rock on which the Anglo-American plan for Rhodesia could easily crash. It could be used by white Prime Minister Ian Smith to say that an interim government cannot be formed. Even more impor-

### Diplomats Tell HAK To Be Firm

African and other Third World diplomats have counseled Secretary Kissinger to be firm and cautious in negotiations with white leaders of South Africa and Rhodesia.

Commenting on Kissinger's policy address Thursday before the General Assembly, Foreign Minister Frederick R. Wills of Guyana said he sees "potential" in the secretary's shuttle diplomacy to southern Africa.

"When dealing with an intransigent tyrant the use of the sword has often induced a climate of favorable negotiations," he said.

Nigerian Foreign Minister J. N. Garba said his government has no confidence in any dialogue with Prime Minister John Vorster of South Africa. "Any bargaining with South Africa is suspect," he said.

Both Wills and Garba made their statements in the Security Council debate on Namibia, the South African controlled territory also called South-West Africa.

But Sam Nujoma, leader of the South-West African People's Organization, SWAPO, took issue with Kissinger. Nujoma said if anyone is inciting racial hatred in the region "it has to be blamed on Vorster."

SWAPO, the main black nationalist group in the territory has b-en designated "the authentic representative" of the Namibian people by the United Nations, but South Africa has refused to allow it to take part in independence talks.

--AP (10/1/76)



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BALTIMORE, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1976

WILLIAM F SCHMICK, JR., Publisher • PAUL A. BANKER, Managing Editor • J.R.L. STERNE, Editorial Page Editor

# SALT in Mid-Campaign

President Ford meets Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko today in circumstances that contrast bleakly with the hopes for nuclear arms control of the last presidential election. In 1972 the atmosphere was such that a Republi-

threaten the United States; the Soviet SS-20 rocket, a two-stage rocket aimed at Western Europe that, with a third stage, could reach this country; and the American cruise missile, a delivery vehicle of vast range, accuracy and ver-

### Swine Flu Shots Begin

The first swine flu inoculations will be administered Friday at the County Health Fair in Indianapolis.

Some 80 thousand doses will be available free to anyone who wants the shots.

Interviewed on the Today show Friday, Theodore Cooper, Assistant Secretary of Health, said the shots are safe and should cause very few reactions.

Cooper said only 15 percent of those who received the shots will have a sore arm, and some 2 percent will run a slight fever, which is less than the reaction from childhood shots.

Cooper said although a vaccine is not yet available for children, the "high risk" children, such as those with heart disease and other ailments, should receive the shots. A meeting at the National Health Institute in the near future of health experts will determine what action to take on the children's vaccine.

Contacting a public health official or one's own doctor is the best way to find out how to receive the shots. A public health famility will give the shots free of charge, but a family doctor may charge his own fees for administering the shots, Cooper said.

-- Morning Shows (10/1/76)

### Youngstown Mayor Asks for Guard Support

The Mayor of Youngstown, Ohio, has asked the Governor to send in National Guard troops to provide police and fire protection.

The Governor's office said the city should exhaust all legal remedies before using Guardsmen, possibly going to court to obtain an injunction against the strike.

Burglaries and armed robberies are increasing in Youngstown.
--AP, UPI, Morning Shows (10/1/76)

### UNITED STATES

### Brown Signs Right to Die Bill

Gov. Jerry Brown Thursday night signed the nation's first "right to die" bill, allowing patients to instruct physicians to withhold life-sustaining procedures in terminal illnesses.

The bill is supported by the 25 thousand members of the California Medical Association.
--AP, UPI, Morning Shows (10/1/76)



The President's Daily News Summary



### Leading The News...

Friday, October 1, 1976

### DEBATE REACTION SUPPLEMENT

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#### MIDWEST

### MICHIGAN

### Debate Sharpened Focus of Presidential Campaign (Editorial, excerpted, Detroit Sunday News)

Confirmed partisans know, of course, that their candidate won the opening debate between President Ford and Jimmy Carter.

The nation's undecided voters, who hope to be enlightened and persuaded by the presidential debates, are probably more inclined to regard Thursday night's joust as a standoff -- which is not to say that the debate failed to serve a purpose.

Neither candidate committed a major blunder. Neither delivered a stunning blow. Carter seemed stiff and nervous in the beginning and Mr. Ford a bit tired in the end, but for the most part they appeared and spoke well. In short, the first of the series of debates neither won nor lost the election of 1976 for anybody.

To nobody's surprise, Carter's most effective issue was the national economy, particularly the high rate of unemployment. He probably did some damage, too, with his frequent subtle efforts to tie Gerald Ford to Richard Nixon. Mr. Ford clearly had the better of the spending and tax issues and displayed a firmer grasp of federal data and governmental operations.

Mr. Ford looked best and Carter worst in their lively exchange about the Democratic Congress. In fact, Carter eneded up in a contradiction that must have left Democrats in Congress shaking their heads.

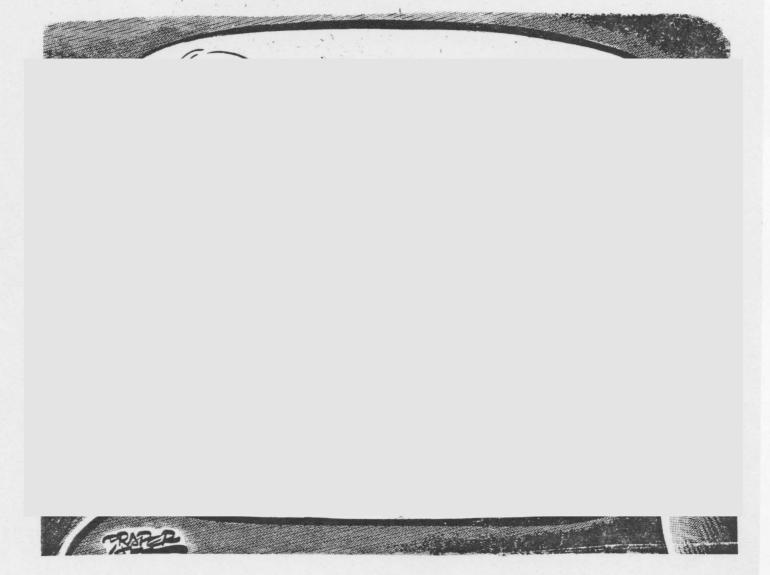
Did the debate tell the voters anything they didn't already know about the candidates? Very little. Yet, it did serve to sharpen the focus upon the candidates' differences.

It confirmed Carter as a promiser in the tradition of the Democratic Party's biggest spenders — a promiser without any very firm ideas about how the bills will be paid. The debate confirmed Mr. Ford as a conservative moderate who thinks government can make its greatest contribution to American progress by restraining its own appetites for power, regulation and expenditure. We suspect that this point of view has been making some headway among the voters.

In a different way, each man scored well in his closing statement. Carter's rapid summation and warm appeal to American idealism and fellowship were highly effective. Mr. Ford, who seemed at the last minute to be running out of gas, groped for words and repeated himself -- and then with a flash of insight hit the nail squarely on the head.

What is this election about? What big decision must the voters make? It boils down, he said, to a question of "his promises or my performance." That, it seems to us, is a precise drawing of the battlelines of 1976 — (9/26/76)

# 'Gee, that's a tough one!'



Debate Resolves Little for Voters
(By Allan Blanchard, excerpted, Detroit News)

Everyone who watched had a winner today but, if the first of the 1976 presidential debates showed anything, it was that the candidates do not offer a clearly defined, unmistakable choice in their view of what the federal government should be to its people.

Rather, where they differed was by degree and in approach to solutions. Also, neither President Ford nor Jimmy Carter put anything before the American public that they have not said in this year-long battle for the presidency.

So, when summed up, the measure of each man's success in the debate last night probably hangs on the perception of the two, as expressed in the words of Ford as the session drew to a close: "I think the real issue in this campaign, that which you must decide on Nov. 2, is whether you should vote for his promises or my performance in two years in the White House."

Those promises and that performance, unfortunately, were portrayed by each of the candidates in a profusion of often contradictory facts and figures. TWey left even Washington observers, whose job it is to keep track of such things, scratching their heads in an attempt to place the answers and rebuttals in proper perspective.

However, out of the deluge of statistics there did emerge the themes of each man's campaign.

The debate showed both men to be well prepared for the ordeal of public scrutiny. The format caused a lack of spontaniety that might have occurred had the candidates been permitted to directly address each other.

The only sparks occured when, in moments of brief rebuttal, the men put a personal tone in their remarks. -- (9/24/76)

### First Debate Helps Show Some Clear Differences... (Editorial, excerpted, Detroit Free Press)

During the first of the great debates for the presidency, Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford offered clear-cut choices to the voters, especially on economic issues.

Carter was firm in his belief that the federal government should play a larger role in curbing unemployment. Ford was equally firm in standing against federal spending that might refuel inflation.

We thought Carter had the better of this crucial argument. James P. Gannon of the <u>Wall Street Journal</u>, one of the panelists,

#### MIDWEST

#### MICHIGAN

framed the issue well when he asked President Ford if it were better for the country to pay out \$17 billion or \$20 billion a year in unemployment compensation, as it has been doing, or put people to work in public service jobs to bring down unemployment and also regain some tax revenues now lost.

Ford stuck with traditional Republican views. The private sector alone can best bolster the economy. Further inflation must be prevented at all costs. Business incentives are needed. Carter's views seemed more responsive to the real dilemma plaguing the country.

His view was more traditionally Democratic, but he offered a scenario by which the country could use federal spending to ease unemployment while also attempting to balance the budget and thus hold down inflation.

In this area, Carter seemed to offer more of a program for moving the country forward, for meeting some of our problems directly. Ford offered less of a program and was more stand pattish.

Particularly in terms of the problems of America's great cities, including Detroit, Carter's definitions and proposals seemed to address reality to a greater degree than the President's. In other areas, their disagreements were just as sharply defined. Ford scored some telling points, Carter was equally effective in some of his jabs.

There is a perception that the basis for judging their performance in these debates will be more on their style than on their substance. Perhaps that is true; certainly style and mannerisms can tell a lot about what kind of president voters want or what kind each would be.

The President clearly eradicated any fears that he might fumble or stumble. He was presidential and forceful. As the first polls suggest, that may have helped him somewhat.

What really matters, however, is that they were talking face-to-face about issues. These are keys to the decision voters will make on Nov. 2. The specific nature of the first debate, if carried through the remaining confrontations, may well allow Americans to make their most well-informed judgement in many years. -- (9/25/76)

### ...Voters Came Out on Top (Editorial, excerpted, Detroit Free Press)

While there were some skeptics, some "sophisticates," who found themselves disenchanged with the format of the Thursday evening presidential debates -- "too formal," some said, or "too rigid" -- nonetheless, it cannot be denied that the debate did offer a rather rare opportunity to the American people.

It brought together both candidates -- face to face -to talk about the issues, and to present their philosophies of
government. The contest took place on a high plain. While
each candidate was perceived as winning or losing a round or
two, the debate itself never seemed to get sidetracked, and
it never seemed to descend to the level of personal attacks
or "low blows."

The questions themselves could have been more broad-ranged. The debate was supposed to focus on domestic affairs and the economy; the questions, though, dealt mostly with the economy. No one asked about the candidates' plans for managing the problems of the cities.

The audio failure was farcical, of course. The awkwardness of watching Gov. Carter's lips soundlessly moving, then seeing both candidates standing around with nothing to do -- being careful not to talk to each other -- was an ignominious near-ending to what had until then been a dignified performance by all participants.

What is important is that the differences between the candidates came through clearly. This is going to be an election in which the American people will be able to cast their ballots decidedly for one political philosophy and against another. The League of Women Voters is to be commended for helping to make the comparison easier, as are all of the people both in and out of government who worked to bring about the kinds of campaign financing reforms that have opened up this year's elections and helped make such things as presidential debates more feasible. -- (9/25/76)

### No Instant Winners in Big Debate (Editorial, excerpted, Michigan State Journal)

Technical difficulties, not withstanding, the first of the great debates between President Ford and Jimmy Carter came off reasonably well on Thursday evening.

But anyone anticipating some dramatic turning point in the Carter-Ford race must have been sorely disappointed, for both candidates generally pursued the same themes they have been using throughout the campaign.

The ultimate in prepared partisan comment had to come from State Sen. David Holmes, (D-Detroit). He issues a press release in Lansing praising Carter's performance in the debates and asserting that Carter had shown himself to be the better qualified candidate. Not surprising in content, but the press release came out four hours before the debate took place. Clairvoyance?

The episode does, however, help demonstrate the absurdity of trying to determine an instant winner in this type of debate. The definitive answer will not come until Nov. 2, and even then the roll played by the debates may still be unclear. Ford and Carter will just have to continue to polish their styles and hope for the best. -- (9/25/76)

### The Debate (Editorial, excerpted, Rockford Register)

It was the night of the gray men. Neither Jimmy Carter nor Gerald Ford struck any major sparks during their face-to-face confrontation on Thursday night. They both appeared equally adroit in fielding and often side-stepping the questions of the panel of reporters. Both came to the podium with their strategies well-mapped and their arguments well-marshalled. They knew where each other's weaknesses lay and moved quickly to define and exploit those weaknesses.

Whatever else can be said about Ford and his policies, he appeared to be very much in command before the cameras during the debate. The event was critical to both men, but especially so to Carter in that he had to maintain and strengthen his image of leadership and ability. His base of support is so soft that he could not be content to be perceived as being at least as strong as Gerald Ford. He had to be seen as being stronger, much stronger. He was unable to convey this in the debates, and is now probably in serious trouble because of it.

Given the choice between two candidates of apparently equal capabilities, the American people can be expected to stay with the one they already know -- with the man who already holds the office.

Score Uncertain, But Ford Carried Ball More (By Don Campbell, excerpted, Mich. State Journal)

Whoever won Thursday night's first presidential debate, President Ford was clearly the more aggressive candidate.

Ford barred no holds in his effort to paint Democrat Jimmy Carter as wishy-washy and loose with the facts, and Carter was forceful in his attempts to portray Ford as "insensitive" and incapable of leadership.

But Ford was much more adamant and more personal in attempting to picture Carter as a big spender, and to hang about his neck the Democratic Party platform and the record of the Democratic Congress.

Carter's most telling points of the night came when he sought to portray Ford as an adherent of the Republican philosophy that has made the tax code a "welfare program for the rich," and when he declared that if he was responsible for the Democratic Congress, as Ford intimated, then Ford was responsible for the Nixon administration, "of which he was a part."

The debate featured a lot of facts and statistics that many viewers might not have understood. The heavy use of statistics simply indicated that both men had done their homework. But there was little new in what they said; for the most part, it was a rehash of the points they've been trying to make on the campaign trail all year.

Who "won" will be a judgment for the American people to make. Ford had set out to present himself as one in sharp command of the facts and figures with which he deals daily. Carter had set out to present himself as one intimately familiar with the economic and other domestic problems of the country.

To a large extent, both succeeded. But Carter seemed to take longer in warming to the task than Ford, and at times appeared to be groping for words in the early going.

It was important for Carter to do well in this first debate because domestic issues are naturally his strong suit. In the next debate, the topic will be foreign and defense policy -- an area where Ford has much more knowledge and experience. -- (9/24/76)

Debate Bores Locals
(Editorial, excerpted, [University of] Michigan Daily)

Despite predictions that Thursday night's much-publicized "Great Debate" between President Ford and Jimmy Carter would sway undecided voters, the event seems to have failed to do so. In Ann Arbor, many viewers called the first of the three televised meetings "boring" and "unimpressive."

"The whole thing was unexciting, uninspiring and uninformative," said Edie Goldenberg, assistant professor of political science and specialist in media-politics relations. "I went to bed very disappointed."

Though she called the debate a draw, she said Ford was more successful in conveying an image of leadership. "One candidate might have come out of this looking but it didn't happen."

Goldenberg praised Ford's coached speaking, and said that while Carter seemed more nervous, both were bland. "I think a lot of people were looking at the debates to help them make up their minds," she said. "But it was heavy on numbers and just plain confusing."

University president Robben Fleming also said he thought there was no winner. Fleming noted the debates had been well-organized and the candidates seemed prepared, although "both seemed somewhat uptight. I think they could have benefited from some humor."

Ann Arbor councilwoman Carol Jones said, "Although both made things clear, I really feel that Ford was the loser on certain issues. One thing which really stuck in my mind was energy. Carter came out clearly (with proposals) on the issue." She also cited the different policies of the two in respect to the question of amnesty for draft evaders. -- (9/25/76)





OHIO

#### The Debate - Not Great

(Editorial, excerpted, Youngstown Vindicator)

Little new developed out of the first Ford-Carter debate Thursday night. Except for the historic nature of the event itself, there was little excitement -- some newsmen reported that six persons in the invited audience were awakened by the silence when the sound system failed.

Jimmy Carter appeared slightly nervous at first, but hit his stride in a short time. President Ford did not have an opportunity to equal his Kansas City speech, but succeeded in firm presidential devlivery.

There were only a few surprises. President Ford dug into Jimmy Carter's record on reorganizing the government of Georgia and said Carter's successor had complained that he inherited a "mess." He repeated the theme of Carter's inconsistency. Carter renewed his charge that Ford and the Republicans are more interested in statistics than people -- except just before election. Perhaps his most telling thrust was at the Ford leadership.

Only once did a speaker fail to respond directly to a question. When Frank Reynolds of ABC asked Carter whether he would consider wage and price controls, the candidate said there is "a long way to go" before we shall have inflationary pressures, but he did not commit himself on controls. -- (9/25/76)

Ford, Carter Are No Orators
(By Clingan Jackson, excerpted, Youngstown Vindicator)

President Ford and Jimmy Carter were farther apart in their seats Thursday night than they seemed to be on the issues.

Neither proved himself an orator. Moreover, neither really said anything new, and both used pretty much the same words they have been using in their campaigns and at the national conventions.

The stands taken by the candidates very well showed the patches of votes they are reaching for to win the election, and oth the score the President appeared to be appealing more across the whole spectrum of america. Carter was appealing to the unsatisfied and Ford seemed to be counting on the satisfied. Carter cited the unemployed and Ford the employed, a larger number of americans than ever before.

OHIO

# TV Debate Was A Draw (Editorial, excerpted, The Plain Dealer)

There was no knockout in last night's presidential debate between Jimmy Carter and President Ford.

Some issues were raised, some jabs were landed, but neither man scored a clear-cut victory in the first of three debates.

Both men, as might be expected, seemed tense at the beginning of the debate. Carter especially seemed to relax and become more animated as the debate went on.

As the incumbent, President Ford often was called upon to defend existing policies. Carter had no such liability, but Ford took him to task for Carter's performance as governor of Georgia.

The televisied debate gave an estimated 100 million Americans the opportunity to weigh the viewpoints of the candidates and to judge their abilities to think on their feet. Those viewers who expected a fiery exchange were disappointed. Most often the candidates" answers to questions from a panel of newsmen were tedious explanations of fiscal policy and taxation. -- (9/24/76)

#### Debates Require Work

### (Editorial, excerpted, The Plain Dealer)

However, much some might wish otherwise, the debates are not intended as entertainment. They are deadly serious business, and with the presidency of the United States at stake, the caution of both candidates is understandable. Admittedly there were no real verbal fireworks Thursday evening, but mixed in with the dull recitations were nugets of information valuable to those who must make the final decision Nov. 2.

While urging the audience to work at the debates, we wish also to suggest two improvements in the format for the second and third debates.

The noted political writer Theodore White proposed that the candidates be permitted to begin the debate with an opening statement. We agree. Like White, we believe this would enable both men to develop and propound a unifying theme that was lacking Thursday evening.

It might also help if the candidates had a chance to question each other. That might lead to something more akin to a real debate and less like the semblance of two men standing side by side holding separate news conferences. -- (9/26/76)

#### OHIO

The party contest aspect of the election was somewhat diminished by the debate, for the viewer saw two men giving an account of their campaigns rather than rising a donkey or an elephant. Many Americans, perhaps, a majority, will go to the polls Nov. 2 not especially conscious of party affiliation but rather trying to determine the better of these two men to lead the nation -- (9/26/76)

#### Majority In Dispatch Poll View Ford As the Winner

(By Gene Jordan, excerpted, Columbus Dispatch)

A <u>Dispatch</u> poll showed 43 persons believed President Ford won Thursday's night debate, 34 thought Jimmy Carter won and 48 considered it a tie.

In the personal interview portion, 56 of 102 persons questioned said they didn't watch the debate. In the telephone poll, 19 persons indicated they will vote for Ford, 13 favored Carter and 30 said they are undecided.

Among those who said the debate changed their minds on how they will vote, Carter lost three votes. Two persons said they would switch to Ford and one said he had supported Carter but was now undecided. However, Carter broke even, gaining three votes from previously undecided voters.

Ford didn't lose any votes, and gained the two from previous Carter supporters and three from previously undecideds.

In on-the-street interviews, 40 said the debate didn't change their minds concerning who they had decided earlier would receive their votes. One person said he switched from indecision to Carter.

Among those who answered a question of party support, 18 said they were Democrats, 15 said they were Republicans and 13 said they were independents. -- (9/24/76)

The Debates: Round One (Editorial, excerpted Chicago Daily News)

Who won the opening round in the Great Debate between Gerald Ford and James E. Carter? It's hard to say. Partisans had their answers ready long before the debate began, so it is no surprise to hear the proclamations that "Jerry won" or "Jimmy won."

But for the objective viewers and listeners, a waiting period is still in order. The Thursday night debate was limited to domestic and economic questions and the answers fell into predictable Democratic and Republican patterns. Next come the questions about foreign policy and defense, and from those should emerge more pieces to fill out the picture to be put before the American people on November 2.

Still, the opening debate, marred though it was by a technical failure that brought a 28-minute interruption in the flow of thought, brought out significant differences in the philosophy of the candidates, making it clearer that the choice given the voters is a real one.

Thre were points of style as well as substance, such as Carter's obvious newvousness at the outset, which he conquered later on. And there was Ford's obvious effort to appear "presidential" and thus sharpen the contrast between his White House experience and Carter's relative inexperience. But the decision that lies ahead goes beyond matters of style, to the basic tenets embraced by the two contenders.

Carter tried hard to portray Ford as unfeeling, uncaring—about the unemployed, the poor, the self—exiles from the Vietnam War. Ford tried just as hard to portray Carter as the big spender, the outsider lacking in understanding of the intricate problems facing a President.

Ford could and did refute Carter's charge of inaction and lack of leadership by reminding him of specific administration proposals deflected by a Democratic Congress. To this Carter could respond with additional charges of "government by stalemate" and a reminder of Ford's long list of vetoes—vetoes which, by Ford's accounting, saved the taxpayers billions of dollars.

Carter missed some opportunities to lay to rest the charge that he is unclear on the issues, particularly when it came to taxes and the economy. Asked whether he favors an "incomes policy"—meaning wage and price controls—he strayed from the subject without answering. He responded with scorn rather than clarity when Ford returned to the much-discussed and still unexplained question of how a Carter administration would launch new and expensive social social welfare programs and at the same time balance the budget by 1980.

But Ford was left hanging when he tried to reconcile his cutbacks in federal aid, particularly in education, with his proposal to increase funding for national parks.

There were some "cheap shots" on both sides. Ford got off a few in his repeated references to Carter's term as governor of Georgia, as if the contrast between a sitting (though unelected) President and a one-term governor did not speak for itself. Carter approached the edge of demagogy in dredging up Herbert Hoover, Richard Nixon and Watergate at every opportunity, and in blaming a Republican White House for a "disgraceful" tax structure erected by a Democratic Congress.

But this was, after all, a partisan slugging match, in which the broad, unsupported generality may be deemed more effective than the reasoned specific. How the generalities sway the voters is what remains to be determined, in the coming debates and at the polls. (9/25-26/76)

### The Jerry-and-Jimmy Show (Editorial excerpted Chicago Sun-Times)

A confession: After a night's sleep on the whole situation, we're not ready to declare a winner in the first Ford-Carter debate.

A suggestion: Neither should any of our readers concerned with selecting the best possible President on November 2.

The debates should not be contests. They should be examinations. The voting public should not be led into thinking in terms of a winner and a loser. It should instead be seeking information to help in choosing a winner on election day. There is a difference.

The performance in the Walnut Street Theater Thursday night gave the public as clear a depiction as it has ever gotten in one session of the difference in philosophy between the Republican and Democratic parties. After listening to Jimmy Carter and President Ford expound their views of government's duties, there can be no doubt that voters this year face a meaningful choice.

Left still unresolved is the question of the ability of each man to carry out his intentions. The first debate's biggest shortcoming was its failure to help resolve that. Ford and Carter did not have the opportunity to go at each other in traditional debate style. Both were carefully programmed, and as you watched you could almost see the key words in the questions triggering the prepared responses. There were simultaneous press conferences, not a coherent debate.

As a result, neither had the opportunity to demonstrate his ability to think quickly or analyze carefully. The presentation did show that either was qualified to be President. It failed in giving an indication of which would be better qualified.

It would help, for example, if each candidate were required to make a brief opening statement in the next two debates. That would allow them to phrase the issues in foreign policy, defense and other matters as they saw them. Then some provision should be made for interchange between the two candidates. They should be compelled to question each other, following up on disagreements, making each other amplify on vague points as each feels necessary.

Each still has the opportunity to make a case to the public that will be listened to. The challenge to the league now is to make certain that the case is presented in a way that will help voters make up their minds. (9/25/76)

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### Ford Wins! -- By Billions (By Mike Royko, excerpted Chicago Daily News)

My guess is that if anybody helped himself in the first debate, it was President Ford.

Not that he said anything new, or especially bright. But he didn't have to. Merely by not falling down or swallowing his tongue in public, he increases his stature. All he has to do is sound average and many people, out of sheer relief that their President isn't subnormal, considdr him outstanding.

Ford also showed that he can think big. Every second sentence contained a few hundred billions of dollars. By the end of the evening, he must have gone through a trillion, at least.

I don't think anybody, especially Ford, could keep track of where all that money was going to, or coming from. I think some of it was being stolen by Congress, and a lot of it was being coveted by Jimmy Carter. I think he said he was going to give us a few billion. Or at least not take it away from us. In any case, when your phone rings, answer it by shouting: "President Ford will make me rich."

So for many vieers, it had to be reassuring to see Ford talk about billions with such confidence and only his normal visual glassiness.

Carter, on the other hand, made what I consider to be a serious tactical error. Because he didn't have millions of dollars, he talked about compassion.

That was a mistake. Compassion was big in the early and mid-1960s. If you looked even slightly downtrodden, you weren't safe from help. These are the hard-eyed 1970s. People still have compassion, but mostly for themselves.

So Carter was on the wrong end of the statistic when he pointed out that 8 percent of the work force is out of work, and they are human beings and that's a lot of people and a lot of misery. He was right. But 92 percent of the work force has a job, and they aren't going to stare at the bedroom ceiling worrying about those who don't.

Ford, in contrast, did a moaterful job of keeping his compassion under control, just as he always did when he was a congressman, except when he got teary-eyed about the pligyt of downtrodden corporations.

Even when Carter brought up Ford's pardon of Nixon, to show that Ford is capable of selective compassion. Ford refused to take credit for being an old softie at heart. He made it clear that the pardon was mainly a way for him to be a more efficient chief executive. He made it sound like he had tossed out some garbage.

So if the debate on domestic issues told us anything, it is that Jerry Ford, the nice guy, is the wrong person to ask for a dime for a cup of coffee. (9/24/76)

The Debate Nobody Won

(By Peter Lisagor and William J. Eaton, excepted, Chicago Daily News)

Nobody could possibly claim that a knockout or even serious damage has been inflicted by either man.

The first of the debates gave viewers no new insights into the positions of President Ford or Jimmy Carter. It did, however, demonstrate that each man had prepared himself fairly and had remembered arguments right down to the last rhetorical detail made in campaign speeches in the last few weeks.

They may have, as some experts blieve, firmed up soft or wavering support. But it would be hard to imagine, on the basis of any thing either man said Thursday night in Philadelphia, a rush to register by voters who have been apathetic or indifferent toward both candidates until now.

Carter's low-key performance took on a sharp cutting edge when he criticized Ford for lack of leadership and called recent administration proposals a public relations stunt.

What viewers saw and heard was an almost classic rendering of Republican and Democratic dogma. Ford espoused reduced government spending, encouragement of the private sector to create jobs through tax incentives, and the use of vetoes to check what he called congressional excesses.

Economic questions to both men were almost too arcane for most viewers. And neither man, surprisingly, was asked about recent developments involving their personal judgment, taste and decorum.

The Georgia Democrat was, at times, faintly patronizing. He came through as confident, self-assured, even talky, saying at one point that "if I am elected — and I intend to be" he would implement his program for reorganizing the federal establishment. Ford was his usual ernest, unexciting, sober, cautious self, trying no polemical tricks. — (9/24/76)

#### ILLINOIS

To Daley, Carter Won on Jobs Issue
(By Harry Golden Jr., excerpted, Chicago Sun-Times)

Mayor Daley said Friday that Jimmy Carter scored heavily in the first presidential campaign debate "on the questions that concern people" -- jobs most of all.

But former Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie, President Ford's Illinois campaign manager, said he thought Ford won. "I have no doubt about it for myself, but from what I have been hearing this morning from Independents and Democrats who haven't made up their minds, the President was a clear victor."

At a Cith Hall press conference, Daley said, "Jimmy Carter came on very strong on jobs, inflation, on leadership, on reorganization of government, on taxes, on energy -- on the fact that energy programs should be in one department.

The mayor acknowledged, however, "In fairness, the President in the first part of the debate showed knowledge of government."

Pressed to name the winner, Daley said: "Our viewpoint -- my viewpoint -- would be Carter."

But Daley indicated he didn't think the debate was conclusive and cited again a University of Michigan study that found that the voters who control a national election do not make up their minds until the final 15 days of the campaign.

Gov. Walker did not hesitate in proclaiming Carter the debate victor. "I see this morning that the great debate over who won the debate is still raging. I believe Jimmy Carter won."

Sen. Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.) was ecstatic, an aide said, over Ford's performance. "Percy called an aide at 1 a.m. to gloat," the spokesman for the senator said.

Ogilvie claimed victory for Ford on the basis that "the President was in clear command of his facts and he was very calm. I thought Carter was pretty nervous for the first portion and talked very generally and said somethings that don't stand close inspection. Ford just nailed him good and solid. -- (9/25/76)

#### ILLINOIS

Political Leaders Uncertain About Impact on the Voters (By Edward S. Gilbreth, excerpted, Chicago Daily News)

Illinois Democratic leaders, as expected, awarded Jimmy Carter victory in the first Ford-Carter debate, while Republicans, just as predictably, said they though President Ford was the winner.

Most were unwilling to assess the debate's impact on Illinois, although a telephone poll commissioned by Ald. Roman C. Pucinski (41st) in his Northwest Side ward showed Ford picking up the support of two out of three undecided voters on the basis of the debate.

There was criticism of the performances of both candidates from a surprising source -- Prof. John Bartlow Martin of Northwestern University, a key speech writer for every Democratic presidential candidate from 1952 to 1972.

If the election were held tommorrow, Martin said after watching the debate, "I'd stay home." Martin called the debate a "bore," but Sec. of State Michael J. Howlett, Democratic candidate for governor, disagreed. "It was a lively debate," Howlett said. "It clearly showed that Jimmy Carter has the ability to govern the nation and bodes well a clean Democratic sweep in November... I will welcome his assistance in providing the return of more federal tax dollars to Illinois when I am governor."

Howlett's Republican opponent, James R. Thompson, missed the debate, while campaigning Downstate. He had planned to catch the last portion of it on radio during a drive from Logan County to Springfield, but the drive coincided with the 28-minute breakdown in sound from the debate platform.

Sen. Charles Percy said that of the 11 questions asked both candidates, he thought Carter outscored Ford on two, one dealing with energy and the other with amnesty for draft resisters. "But Ford was the clear winner in eight of the questions and it was a tie on the other," Percy said.

Percy disclosed that his son Roger, a partner in a new market reserach firm on the West Coast, helped conduct an experiment by the University of Washington measuring the emotional responses of 100 persons watching the debate while wired electronically.

Percy said his son reported that Ford achieved the highest positive resopnse in attacking the Democratic Congress and his biggest negative response when discussing the Nixon pardon and amnesty. Carter his his peak during his summation, Percy said.

Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson (D-Ill.) said, "Gov. Carter knew the facts and offered a vision of the future. I thought he was more presidential than the President, but it is a format which offers little chance to understand the issues or the men."

#### MIDWEST

#### ILLINOIS

Gov. Dan Walker, a Democrat, said Carter "showed the same understanding, intelligence and compassion that got him nominated. I think you have to conclude that Jimmy Carter won Round 1 on merit." -- (9/24/76)

## The Not-So-Great Debate (Editorial, excerpted, St. Louis Globe-Democrat)

The first of the long-awaited Great Debates between President Ford and Jimmy Carter simply wasn't all that great. Most objective observers agree President Ford was the winner on points, but the sterile staging caused any hopes for a fireworks display to fizzle.

Forensically it was not a debate at all, but a two-headed press conference. Americans would get much greater insight into the two men if they met head-on, asking each other sharp questions without being filtered by a panel of pseudo-reporters.

On style and substance, Ford carried the evening. Debate experts, including those who conceded a political leaning to Carter, expressed disapopintment in the Georgian's performance. Carter did little to dispel the complaints of critics who say he does not give specific answers to questions.

At the outset Carter was reminded he had made jobs his
No. 1 priority, and had pledged a drastic reduction in unemployment. He was asked, "Can you say now, Governor, in specific terms,
what your first step would be next January, if you are elected,
to achieve that?"

In a three-minute monologue, Carter went on in nonspecifics to restate the problem instead of giving reasonable solutions.

Ford, in contrast, as the debate experts agreed, was in command of himself. He gave straightforward, direct answers to questions in a generally effective manner. He was able to give the lie to some of Carter's criticisms.

When Carter sought to paint his opponent as the most veto-happy President in history, Ford was able to answer that Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman, two of Carter's idols, vetoed legislation at a greater rate than he has. And Ford deftly said that Carter, while Governor of Georgia, vetoed more bills yearly than Ford has as President. Ford got extra mileage out of reminding Carter that Congress has upheld 42 of his 56 vetoes and that the taxpayers have been saved \$9 billion, which isn't peanuts.

Carter was whistling Dixie when he complained about tax laws being "welfare for the rich," because Ford was able to counter with the obvious truth that the Democrats who control Congress have written the tax laws for the last 22 years.

Carter was ineffective in his summary, though he did not appear to be rattled by the long delay preceding it. Ford, having the advantage of speaking last, was earnest in saying the voters had a choice in voting for Carter's promises of more

spending and more inflation, or Ford's performance for the last two years.

Based on what the two had to offer as economic prescriptions, the choice of clear heads should be Ford. -- (9/25/76)

Carter Given Boost
(By Thomas W. Ottenad, excerpted, St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

Political professionals tend to believe that Jimmy Carter gained a slight but not decisive edge from his debate last night with President Ford.

In their judgment, the main effect was that Carter might have halted, at least for the time being, the politica slide that his campaign had been experiencing for the last week. Carter benefited also, these experts say, because economic issues formed the focus of much of the first debate.

Although there tended to be partisan differences among the experts interviewed by the <u>Post-Dispatch</u>, Democrats and Republicans agreed that both candidates handled themselves reasonably well, accomplished some of their objectives and that neither succeeded in knocking the other out.

Ford, it appeared, failed to attack Carter in any sustained or effective way on the point on which the former Georgia governor is most vulnerable -- his reputed ambiguity on issues.

Carter, on the other hand, appeared more successful in striking at the President's weakest point -- the perception that he is a weak and indecisive leader. The Democrat used his answers to questions to make this charge several times in the nationally televised encounter.

The first of the three debates in which the two men will meet had been billed in advance as so significant that it might decide the presidential election. But none of the political and other expert sources questioned by the Post-Dispatch believed that it would have that decisive an effect. They expressed doubt that the debate would swing many undecided voters to either candidate, but thought that it reinforce voters' predispositions toward one or the other candidate.

In political arithmetic, this in itself constitutes a plus for Carter. Because Democrats far outnumber Republicans, if Carter merely managed to hold his own supporters in his encounter with Ford, he had to emerge from the debate in a better position than his opponent. -- (9/24/76)

Tight Race for President May Soon Get a Lot Tighter
(By Thomas W. Ottenad, excerpted, St. Louis Post-Dispatch)

The presidential race has tightened up and soon may get a lot closer. Politicians in various parts of the country -- along with polling data -- indicates that although Jimmy Carter is still ahead, his position has weakened, and President Ford has picked up momentum. And one pollster says Ford will have the lead by Oct. 15.

What will develop as the eight-week campaign reaches the midwat point a week from now appears to depend on several factors. They include the fallout from Thursday's debate, the eventual impact of potentially costly errors by Carter and significant improvement in the President's position and performance.

The next few days may show whether the opening debate has resulted in any spurt of enthusiasm for either nominee, both of whom have won only lukewarm support so far.

Two key questions remain unanswered about the effect of the debate: Did Carter's performance reassure his followers, and how many viewers turned off the program after the first 30 or 45 minutes.

Both are important. Carter needed to quiet new doubts that had developed as a result of his recent errors. The New Hampshire Democratic leader who felt the tide has been running against the Southerner expressed the feeling that Carter had shown "an inner quality" in the television appearance that would help to dispel doubts.

Hamilton Jordan, too, was optimistic. "I think it (the debate) has put the <u>Playboy</u> interview and other things behind us. It makes some of those things seem pretty trivial."

The question about the size of the television audience after the opening half of the debate could be highly important for Ford. Those who turned off their television sets early may well have taken away a highly favorable impression of Ford and a poorer one of Carter, who appeared nervous and unsure of himself at first. If a large share of the audience stopped watching by mid-point, the President may have gained a bonus that was not measured in early political evaluations of the debate.

As the new stage of the campaign opens, Ford starts with high momentum after having been far behind. Carter, slumping after his initial fast start, now has a chance to regain speed.

Most observers say that Ford's performance in the debate has dispelled some of the doubts about his presidential competence. Carter, too, is regarded as having performed reasonably well, but it's still not clear whether recent doubts about his judgement or character have been put aside permanently or only temporarily. — (9/25/76)

### The Debate's Winner So Far: The U.S. Public (Editorial, excerpted, Kansas City Times)

Only in America could there have been an event quite like this one and the American people clearly were the winners of the first Ford-Carter debate. As entertainment it was so-so, even bad theater in its occasional awkwardness and especially the 27-minute breakdown caused by a sound system failure. But the public was doing its civics-class homework in preparation for the payoff voting in November. That made worthwhile this high point of the 1976 presidential campaign thus far.

What the television audience saw were two intelligent men who earned the nominations of their parties for the nation's highest office. Ronald Reagan and Hubert Humphrey might have put on a sprightlier contest but oratorical stylishness is not essential to the presidency. Neither President Ford nor Gov. Carter is a brilliant speaker but each is adept at getting his points across.

Little they said on this occasion was surprising or new, other than Ford's statement that he probably would sign the tax reform bill despite his misgivings about some of its provisions. Carter's discussion of jobs, governmental reorganization and the economy did not provide all the details his critics have been asking for, but his comments cannot fairly be described as vague. In general it can be said that both candidates were well-armed with facts in defense of their party's platform and their chief political positions.

Regardless of immediate changes in the polls, it cannot be said with conviction or authority that either candidate was the clear-cut winner of the first round. But the American people are a little farther along than they were on their all-important task of getting ready to choose the next President. -- (9/25/76)

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Fred G. Luber, chairman of the board of Super Steel Products in Milwaukee, and the only man wearing a Ford button said Ford appeared to have the edge for two reasons: the prestige of his office and his concise answers. "But I'm not sure the American people are going to feel that way, " he added. (9/24/76)

# Reactions Here As Expected (excerpted, Milwaukee Sentinel)

Thousands of Milwaukeeans watching the debate on television in their homes Thursday night had their own reactions to the event, but the feelings of political figures broke predictably along partisan lines.

Viewing of the debates was not particularly intense in a sampling of a dozen Milwaukee taverns, where rock music, card playing and bar conversation competed successfully with the debates for patron' attention.

The reaction from political officials:

\*Ody Fish, GOP national committeeman and a member of Ford's national campaign steering committee: "The president was clearly more accurate in his projections and evaluations on the economy and taxes. There were some rather unusual and inaccurate observations by Gov. Carter on the number of vetoes by the President on the projection that the economy might produce a \$60 billion surplus by 1980."

\*Democratic Lt. Gov. Martin Schreiber: "The most important impression the public got was Gov. Carter's compassion and Ford's inability to explain the Nixon pardon. The lack of correlation between Ford's record and his campaign promises was evident. He had a mumbo-jumbo approach to the economy."

\*Herbert H. Kohl, State Democratic Party Chairman: "Both men were well informed and addressed the issues. I don't think there was a winner in the sense there was in 1960. Both did a good job and I think the public was the winner."

\*Mayor Maier, chairman of the National Conferende of Democratic Mayors: "I was glad that Gov. Carter made a direct reference to the underlying problem of the cities - unemployment and underemployment. President Ford referred only obliquely to a program for the cities - one in which he made cuts - economic development for the cities. When President Ford first requested a debate I felt Mr. Ford would be like a groundhog gnawing at the tail of a tiger and the debate confirmed my belief. It was a decisive plus for Jimmy Carter because for the first time 80 million Americans were able to judge first hand Gov. Carter grasp of the issues facing America. (9/24/76)



'Well, I'm Ready — Where's Governor Carter?'

### Largely A Draw (Editorial, excerpted, Milwaukee Journal)

Sometimes illuminating, sometimes murky, sometimes sharply partisan, the first presidential debate was pretty much of a standoff.

Both candidates were under immense pressure. Jimmy Carter, bent on proving himself the competent challenger, had a stronger ending than beginning. Gerald Ford, aiming to show presidential command, seemed to have a stronger start than finish. Along the way, both came accross as serious, knowledgeable and well drilled.

They had several enlightening exchanges, but also lapsed into simplicity. They accused each other of distortion, sought to inflict damage with slicly selected statistics, got tangled in a few contradictions and left some important questions - such as job creation - and tax cutting only partly answered.

Although each scored his share of points, both often strained to exaggerage differences and to paint each other as bumbling as well as wrong. Ford spent some time running against the Democratic controlled Congress, while Carter took aim at Republican presidential ghosts.

In sum, the first debate had few peaks and quite a number of ragged edges - including an astonishing failure in the television sound system. When over, it was hard to belive that this debate would be the crucial point in the presidential campaign. Although pollsters may find otherwise, the evening seemed to lack that kind of decisice kick .. (9/24/76)

### Ford Won: Businessman (excerpted, Milwaukee Sentinel)

"Just write Ford win," demanded Russell L. Thill, president of Thill, Inc., an Oshkosh (Wis.) manufacturing company Thursday night.

"You're talking to a Reagan Republican," he said to a reporter.
"But Ford was straightforward and honest. He won the first debate."

Kenneth A. Cook, chairman of the board of Ken Cook Co. in Milwaukee agreed. "I have a deep conviction, " he said. "You can't con the American people."

Their comments were among those voiced after the first presidential debate was televised into a meeting of the state's leading business and industrial leaders in Stevens Point.

Paul Hassett, president of the Wisconsin Manufacuters and Commerce Organization agreed that ford did "very well."

Other participants at the three day meeting weren't so sure that Ford was a clear winner. "Confirms everything you already believed, right?" one industrialist said.

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## Was McCarthy Winner of Ford-Carter Debate? (excerpted, Des Moines Register, by James Flansburg)

If you're looking for a winner in the first Ford-Carter debate, try Gene McCarthy.

Nothing that Jimmy Carter or Jerry Ford said appeared to take votes away from McCarthy in his independent quest for the presidency, and that could be awfully important come Nov. 2.

The debate showed some surface differences between Carter and Ford, but, more importantly, it also showed they are remarkably alike. That opens the door for a McCarthy success.

McCarthy doesn't expect to win this fall. But he does hope to get on the 1980 federal campaign matching-money gravy train by winning 5 per cent of the vote this year. Some polls show him at 6 to 8 per cent. It seems doubtful that he'll hold that strongly because he is more poorly organized this year than he was in 1968 or 1972 , if that can be possible.

But the performances of Ford and Carter Thursday night forced consideration of hte possibility. Wooden, slicked programmed monotones that generate neither love nor hate. And , like it or not, the love-hate factor is a basic part of American politics.

A case can be made that the McCarthy effort can hurt either Ford or Carter, but the strongest case is that it would hurt Carter. Carter is aware of the McCarthy peril and so in one respect Carter was the winner in Thursday night's debate. His election strategy is simply to call Democrats to arms. If they respond and go to the polls, he wins becayse there are so many more Democrats than Republicans in the country.

Ford's task is to take the great middle of the undecided voters and some of the Democrats. But in the main Thursday night, the President's language seemed designed to attract the Republicans he already has in the bag.

But there still seemed to be a great sameness in it all, which could only benefit McCarthy. (9/25/76)

#### THEY BOTH PASSED

Americans will not go to the polls in November to elect a televidebating society, so how well debate. The scoring is based on how Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter clearly and fully each candidate "performed" Thursday night is ir-

The Register's editorial page staff scored the candidates on nine sion personality or a member of a lissues raised during Thursday's

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## The First Presidential Debate (Editorial, excerpted, Minneapolis Tribune)

Millions of Americans Thursday night witnessed an extraordinary event. The first of three Carter-Ford debates not only put the presidential election campaign back onto the high road of examining serious issues, after a detour into peripheral metters; it also gave voters an invaluable opportunity to compare the candidates in a setting devoid of the usual hoopla of campaign appearances.

The comparison benefited both President Ford and Jimmy Carter, showing each to have a good grasp of domestic problems facing the country and ideas about how to solve them. At least as important, American voters benefited by observing how the candidates responded in considerable detail to well-thought-out questions, and how they differed.

Those who find a 90-minute debate too long to sustain interest should not the number of subjects omitted for lack of time. Environment, agriculture, health, abortion and civil rights are some that either were not discussed or mentioned only in passing. The omissions should prompt voters to watch carefully what the candidates say about those matters in the coming weeks.

Those who still have doubts about the candidates' views on taxes, jobs, energy and federal spending — the main topics discussed Thursday night — now have a good opportunity to resolve them. They have watched and heard Carter and Ford discuss those issues. Full or partial transcriptions of their responses have appeared in the newspapers. There will be more said as the campaign continues. In short, Americans this fall should have an excellent opportunity to base their votes for president on a clear understanding of the candidates' attributes and positions — thanks in large part to the League of Women Voters' television debates. — (9-26-76)

## The First Debate (Editorial, excerpted, Minneapolis Star)

The first of the great 1976 presidential debates produced neither a clear winner nor a clear loser. Both candidates generally handled themselves well and showed an impressive grasp of complex issues in an extremely difficult test.

But the debate was successful in highlighting the differences between the two men and their philosophies. No one can legitimately make the claim, so often heard in political races, that there

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isn't a dime's worth of difference between the two men.

Both candidates got something out pf the match. Carter had been in a slump, it seemed, and was losing much of the respect he gained in a remarkable primary campaign. His debate performance should have assured his partisans and some of the undecided that he is a person of substance. Ford, frequently dogged by unflattering remarks about his intelligence, should have convinced viewers he is quite capable of playing in the big leagues.

Beyond that, we thought Carter made telling points on jobs, on energy, on the pardon and on the question of Ford's leader-ship as governor, on the size of the budget and government and on the fact that Democrats have written the tax laws Carter so vehemently attacks.

In sum, it was a useful exchange. The voters were well served. -- (9/24/76)

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### A Good Debate (Editorial, excerpted, Atlanta Journal)

It's easier to say that neither Gerald Ford nor Jimmy Carter lost. Neither man hurt himself by the image he projected or by the answers he gave to questions.

There were not major blunders and there did not appear to be any major surprises either. The differendes between them, probably were clarified for those who tune in on politics only for the most publicized confrontations.

Jimmy Carter clearly established himself as a person capable of holding hiw own in the big leagues. This must dispell any lingering notions that he is a country bumbkin from the provincial South. His campaign should be back on the track after a period in which it appeared to be sagging.

Gerald Ford kept his coold and counterattacked vigorously. This should dispel any lingering illusion that he is a mere headbumper from the Middle America.

The contestants defined their positions ably and clarified the issues. The difference in emphasis between Ford and Carter now seems sharp enough for the public to make up its mind which course it wants to follow. The first of the 1976 debates did hinge on substantial issues and the public will not be making up its mind on the basis of accidents of makeup, lighting or verbal trickery. (9/24/76)

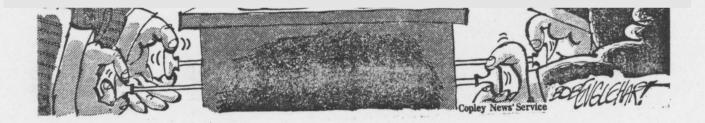
# Who Won? (Editorial, excerpted, Atlanta Journal and Constitution)

Watching the debate we had no doubts about who won. The voters did. On the issues. And on the duel of images, millions had the chance to judge which man appears to be the stronger and more capable leader. But it was clear immediately after the candidates went off the air that our impressions were like those of millions of viewers. If the candidate said what we wanted to hear, he won; if he said what we didn't want to hear, he lost; and if neither said much of anything it was a tossup.

President Ford certainly did not come across as the stumbling dummy some have said he is. His command of facts and gifures was impressive So was his knowledge of Carter's weaknesses. The Presidnet fought a good fight.

But we also think Carter did exceptionally well in his first and perhaps most imporant of the debates. He seemed more concerned with the problems of people. Carter didn't have John Kennedy's aggressive, forceful delivery, or his wit, but he did have Kennedy's quickness of mind and depth of knowledge. Those qualities should take over the rest of the campaign spell the difference in whose message gets across most clearly to the American people. (9/25/76)

Debates



Charleston, S.C., News and Courier, 9/10/76

# Jimmy Carter Should've Stood in Bed (by Bill Shipp, excerpted Atlanta Journal and Constitution)

It was not a good time for the Libra from Plains. The week began with headlines revealing his inner most thoughts about sex... then there was the great debate that capped the whole thing off. The people who write horoscopes clearly indicated that Carter's week was going to be a bit bumpy.

On the day of the debate, Libras were told by some newspaper astrologers, "Key now is organization. Leave no loose ends..."

Seer Jeanne Dixon, who usually reads Republican horoscopes best wrote: "...present yourself in the best possible light without distorting the facts."

Wonder what the stars have in store for Jimmy next week. Probably something better. Carter seems to be a more likeable fellow after a run of hard luck that leaves him in the position of underdog. When Carter is willing and well ahead of the game he strikes a lot of folks as a first class sap, no matter what his stars may say. (9/25/76)

#### Tennessee

#### First Debate: People Won

It is impossible at this time to say who "won" the first debate in the sense of attracting more voters to his cause. The answer will emerge only after extensive public opinion polling in the next two weeks.

In the meantime, however, it is safe to say the American people won for the face to face confrontation helped give the public a clearer idea of the candidates and the policies they would take to the White House.

With so much at stake, it would have been too much to expect the candidates to be intellectually honest at all times. Both used the standard politician's tricks of misleading statistics, partial misquotation and damaging innuendo proving of course that there were two ambitious humans and no saints on the platform ( 9/24/76)

# Was There a Winner? (Editorial, excerpted, Memphis Commercial Appeal)

Perhaps too much was expected of this match. It was not even a true debate. Instead it was a sort of extended Sunday morning television interview program. Neither candidate offered anything new. But with the viewing and listening audience as large as it was, surely there were many who were getting a broad view of the candidates for the first time.

What happened Thursday night was part of a process of evaluating the two major candidates. It will continue for the next five weeks, with the same candidates returning in the same format to discuss other issues and perhaps to create different impressions in the minds of the citizens. (9/25/76)

### Points Aside, Mr. Carter May Have Won the Most (Editorial, excerpted, Nashville Tennessean)

Who won on points seems to be up to the individuals who watched. President Ford demonstrated the obvious value of rehearsal, but he was better at the beginning than the end. For Jimmy Carter, the reverse was true. He started off slowly, but he was hitting full power when the electronics failed.

Although Mr. Ford tried to dwell on the idea that his opponent was vac the fact is that Carter was as forthright on the issues and plans as the President.

Mr. Ford didn't stumble on the podium or knock his notes off, but he was wooden and throughout he maintained a white-knuckle grip on the lectern. He displayed nervousness over the issue of the Nixon pardon but he managed to act "presidential" most of the time. Mr. Carter stumbled a few times early on, but he displayed a grasp of issues and detail impressive enough for most.

The important factor may not be who won , but who won the most from it. That may be Carter, whose campaign has seemed to wander off into extraneous controversy recently. What he needed was to bring the campaign and himself back into focus and to put Mr. Ford on the defensive. He seems to have accomplished that in the opening debate. If he can maintain that focus in those that follow, the debates will be materially helpful to him. (9/25/76)

# How You Can Win the Debate (editorial, excerpted, Chattanooga News-Free Press)

It was a dignified confrontation of two able presidential candidates dealing familiarly with issues of great importance to the American people

Challenger Jimmy Carter began somewhat nervously, which is not to his discredit. President Ford was at his best as a calm,, collected, firmly in control, experienced President who had the facts and figures at his fingertips.

Supporters of both have claimed victory. But the real winners are as they should be, the American people who had the issues of an important presidential campaign called to their attention. There was little said by either to change the opinions of their opponents. If you bought

the Carter promises in the first place, Mr. Ford did not give much reason for change. If you thought Mr. Ford was more solid in the first place, Mr. Carter presented nothing to sway you. But if you had entered the debate hall without prejudice, without personal or philosophical favoritism, you would have to conclude that Mr. Carter's ½romises are not supported by his claims that his offerings of what he will "give" just do not mathc his estimates of cost.

Mr. Carter is clearly intelligent, informed and overpromising. Mr. Ford is clearly intelligent, informed and trying to curb taxation and government. (9/24/76)

# Debate Even in Student Poll (Excerpted, Nashville Tennessean)

Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford fared about evenly with Nashvillians who watched the debates and a large number of viewers could pick no winner, according to a survey by high school students.

Politically perhaps the most important finding of the student's survey is that no persons identifying themselves as Republicans thought Carter won the debate. More than one-fourth of the Democrats gave Ford the edge.

The 19 students interviewed 172 persons at a variety of downtown Nashville locations Friday. The persons interviewd included 112 men and 60 women and 74 persons who identified themselves as Democrats 20 Republicans and 78 as not aligned with either party.

Asked to pick a winner in the debate, 61 persons chose Carter 60 picked Ford and 51 called the debate even. When divided according to party identification, the Democrats split with 37 calling Carter the winner, 20 for Ford and 17 saying it was even. But among Republicans 16 picked Ford and only four persons called the debate even. None saw Carter as the winner. With persons identifying themselves as independents, Ford was viewed as the winner by 19 persons, while 14 gave Carter the edge and 14 saw no winner. A number of persons declined to give any indication of their political leanings.

Ford was shown doing equally well among men and women, getting a favorable response from one-third of each group. Carter got a favorable response from about 40 per cent of the females interviewed but from only about 30 per cent of the males.

Among black and white voters, Carter got a favorable response from almost half the blacks and interviewed and about one third of the whites. Ford was given the edge by about one fourth the blacks and almost 40 per cent of the whites. (9/26/76)



The Atlanta Constitution, 9/25/76





"YES, DEAR, THOSE TWO CLOWNS DON'T KNOW THE MEANING OF THE WORD 'PRESIDENTIAL'...
NO, DEAR, NO ONE COULD LOOK PRESIDENTIAL LIKE YOU COULD LOOK PRESIDENTIAL!

#### SOUTH

# More Than A Draw (Editorial, excerpted, Birmingham News)

During the portion of the debate before technical difficulties, President Ford certainly had the advantage in poise and confidence. After the interruption, however, Carter managed to deliver this summation with the same relaxed, confident manner he has sustained throughout the campaign. Mr. Ford's summation was about on par with the early party of the debate.

The Roper Poll supports the view from this quarter that the debates were more than a draw. --(9/24/76)

### The Great Debates-I (Editorial, excerpted, Montgomery Advertiser)

Very few votes were changed as a result of the debates, both men made their points in their divergent philosophies and neither man suffered any real defeats or setbacks.

It is difficult to say which one of them won. Ford may have come out of it with a slight edge, he was more aggressive, but this was offset by Carter's opportunity to get the national exposure he needed.

The President sought to protray Carter as a spendthrift upstart. Carter accused Ford of economic mismanagement, weak leadership and callous disregard for the plight of the unemployed. Both failed.

On the whole, it was a pretty dull show with contestants throwing dollar digures and percentages at each other. We predicted that Carter would tear up Ford, but he certainly didn't. Early in the debate, he seemed stiff and tentative while Ford was relaxed and confidant. But, when he unwound, Carter did much better.

Cur guess is that their respective poll standings remained virtually unchanged.—(9/25/76)

# 'O.K., let's debate!'



#### The (Sort of) Great Debate (Editorial, excerpted, The New Orleans Times-Picayune)

We might take this first debate as a kind of preliminary bout, a basic presentation and a feeling-out of the format that put the candidates on their best and most serious behavior.

The Dole-Mondale debate may satisfy the public appetite for rhetorical blood. But the final meeting, we may expect, will produce more flashing personal ferformances that may aid the voters in judging the character element that looms so large in this year's election. — (9/25/76)

#### Who Was The Winner? (Editorial, excerpted, Shreveport, LA. Journal)

Both men won. Carter proved that he has a lot of information in his head and he can pull names, dates, statistics out at will and he can use them to illuminate his opinions on the issues.

The President proved that he can stand before a microphone for 90 minutes and hold his own. He didn't falter or lack for recall information and he expressed his views with clarity.

To us, it seems that Mr. Ford had the edge. He came across as a man of of present and as a man of the future. In our opinion, Gov. Carter was looking backward to the days of the Depression and dwelling on social problems, many of which are no longer with us. He was too bent, we thought, on pressing for governmental solutions rather than solutions in the private sector. This seems to us to be a turn around from his position in the primaries. Before he was nominated, Mr. Carter constantly told us Washington was bad and the federal government was too big. Now he comes forth with proposals for more government programs. This is no time to shackle the private sector with more government and the expense that more government entails.

We thought Mr. Frod scored in his attacks on the Congress. Congress, especially in an election year, is prone to come with all sorts of vote-catching programs. We thought Mr. Ford got a point or two in stating that a president belonging to one party can act as a check-and-balance on a Congress dominated by another party. It may be that the American people have come to that conclusion themselves.—(9-27-76)



KENTUCKY 37 SOUTH

# What Light Did The Debate Cast on Our National Opinions? (Editorial, excerpted, Louisville, Ky. Courier-Journal)

A nation went on jury duty Thursday evening, committed to a fair examination, with the help of the candidates, of the national issues these presidential debates are supposed to illuminate.

In the few rare moments when Thursday's clash provided legitimate insight, the debate was more a reminder that the nation faces long-deferred decisions about priorities and goals and less of the test of President Ford's and Jimmy Carter's popularity than "Who won?" suggests.

There is a deeper question the debate should have been able to answer, but didn't: What illumination did President Ford and Carter offer a nation thinking not only about its candidates, but also about its future? --(9/25/76)

NORTH CAROLINA SOUTH

Who Won? The First Debate Was A Draw
(Editorial, excerpted, The Charlotte Observer)

Put us down as undecided, a status we share with the big chunk of the electorate which will decide the election. Teh 90-minute session turned out to be more revealing than we had anticipated.

The possibility that one of the other candidate might perform badly was' not fulfilled. Mr. Ford scored often. Noting Mr. Carter's complaint about his use of the presidentail veto, Ford observed that Carter used his veto power freely as governor of Georgia.

We have to say the debate did nothing to give a considerable boost to either camapign. Carter supporters wanted theit man to appear solid, know-ledeable and sensitive to human needs and the way government could serve them. Ford supporters wanted theri man to "look presidential," to demonstrate his grasp of the responsibilities of the office and to chide Mr. Carter for fuzziness on the isses. Neither group seems dissatisfied with the result.

The first debate served more to confirm what was already known about each man than to alter public opinion of either.—(9/26/76)

MARIEI E THE CHARLOTTE OBSERVER



DEBATES

# The First Debate (Editorial, excerpted, Richmond Times-Dispatch)

The day before his debate with President Ford, Jimmy Carter spent some time, a news story reported, "curled up on a couch, reading a comic book with Amy." His press secretary quoted Mr. Carter as saying "that might be just as good preparation for the debate as anything."

Mr. Carter's performance in the debate showed the effects of his "preparation." He was, to put it charitably, unimpressive. In this first confrontation, concentrating on domestic issues, Carter was supposed to have had a slight advantage, according tomany experts, and had been expected to keep Mr. Ford on the defensive much of the time. Nervous Ford supporters feared that their man might not make it through the debate without faltering embarrassingly, encouraging the belief that he really is the blunderersome of his critics have attempted to portray him to be.

But that is not the way it went. Far more articulate and confident than Mr. Carter, the President came out ahead. This is the opinion of a panel of debate coaches assembled by AP to judge the results, it is the prevailing view of those people interviewed by the Roper poll and it is our own conclusion.

While Carter clearly scored some points, he was on the defensive more often than Mr. Ford. Mr. Ford was clearly the voctor in this first debate. His performance should accelerate his rise in the public opinion polls and imbue his canpaign with new confidence and vigor.—(9/25/76)

### The Debate (Editorial Excerpted) Boston Sunday Globe

The first Ford-Carter debate was dismally dull. The candidates, their ideas and their rhetoric have already been overexposed, and the debate added nothing new.

Tactically both sides won partial victories. Ford was "presidential"--tall, robust, calm and commonsensical. He didn't stumble over words or get wound up in convoluted phrases as he so often does at press conferences. But he also reminded us too often that he is pledged to the Republican policies of the last eight years, which have produced the worst and longest recession in four decades.

Carter scored occasionally, on unemployment and the Nixon pardon, without seeming ruthless or disrespectful toward the President. He reminded us, after the kookery of the Playboy interview, that he has a sound and sober grasp of issues. But he was nervous and uncomfortable, much less smooth and sharp than we remembered him from the primaries. He did not even hit hard with his rebuttal of President Ford, who misquoted Carter on income taxes. And he all but acknowledged during and after the debate that the trend had been turning against him.

By that next debate Carter will probably be back in command of his campaign. It seems incredible that Gerald Ford, should have pulled virtually even in the race. Yet Carter has lost the drive and direction that won him all those primaries, and he may have to come from behind.

-- September 26, 1976

## Aggressive Ford On Top (By Robert Healy, Excerpted, Boston Globe)

President Ford hoped to project an image of being presidential and in command. He did. And he agressively destroyed some of Jimmy Carter's best arguments, specifically that Carter had been an effective Governor of Georgia, had saved money in the state government there through reorganization, and would do the same with the Federal government as President. So, if there was a winner, it was Ford.

In the end the President accomplished what he had intended to in these debates. He did not stumble. He looked good. He was decisive. He controlled the debate from beginning to end, simply because Carter did not advance anything new.

He got the broad message across that things were getting better in the nation, we were at peace, that the economy was improving, and he had brought the nation from the brink of disaster after the Nixon resignation. Carter did not pin the Nixon disaster on Ford. And Ford effectively brought to the surface Carter's basic weakness—his vagueness on issues. —September 24, 1976

Hub Reaction Mixed on Debate
(By Alexander Hawes Jr., Excerpted, Boston Globe)

The first debate between Ford and Carter brought mixed reviews from a random sample of greater Boston resident, although a majority of those telephoned thought the President fared better last night.

Typical of the reaction were the comments of a resident who said, "I would say it was pretty much what I expected. I think Carter makes a good appearance and talks well (but) he ducked and dodged some questions as he's done throughout the campaign. I thought the President didn't look brilliant, but he was steady."

Some of Carter's support seemed still to be soft. Those who favored Ford did so because he was "aggressive," "specific," and he "had his feet on the ground." -- September 24, 1976

....and Globe Journalists Appraise It
(By Mike Barnicle and David B. Wilson, Excerpted, Boston Globe)

Almost anything would have been more exciting and more informative than the confrontation between Ford and Carter.

It was unfortunate that the sound cable didn't break five minutes after the start instead of 80 minutes. It would have saved us from an endless assault of statistics, percentages and the assurance that things would be terrific with either guy in the Oval Office come next January.

It was close. Neither man emerged a clear winner. Neither committed a fatal blunder.

The Carter television technique was clearly superior. While Carter addressed the television audience via the camera, establishing eye contact, Ford tended to reply directly to questioners.

The President was confident and forthright, and his mastery of statistics was impressive. His adversary did not, perhaps cannot, deal with the awesome fact that only one of the contestants is the President.

Ford, the lawyer, was the more skillful debater. But, Carter may have been the more attractive personality. -- September 24, 1976

## Ford, Carter Missed Debate Opportunities (By John Hall, Excerpted, Boston Herald Advertiser)

It wasn't a debate. It wasn't even a discussion. You can hear a better argument on any Saturday morning in any courthouse square in Indiana. What President Ford and Jimmy Carter gave to the nation Thursday night was a series of disjointed two-and-three-minute campaign speeches.

The Hearst Newspapers assembled a panel of college and high school debate coaches to monitor the event and try to determine a winner by standard debate scoring procedures. By a 4 to 1 vote, they gave the debate to Ford. But their most significant and unanimous conclusion was that it was a dismal performance by both men--a chain of missed opportunities to spot the opponent's weaknesses and puncture them. Ford and Carter did not seem to be alert to each other most of the time, let alone try to exploit each other's misstatements.

MASSACHUSETTS 43 NORTHEAST

It is not enough to blame it on the format for the debates. There was plenty of opportunity for rejoinder. The candidates simply chose not to engage each other--either deliberately for political reasons or because their mental processes do not work in the direction. The latter possibility is the most disturbing of all.

Ford and Carter were like automatic rotary files that flip through the cards when a certain button is pushed and disgorge the appropriate recipe--"budgetary receipts, effect of 3 percent unemployment on." They became captives of the facts rather than masters of them. They were so busy flipping the mantal cards they didn't seem to listen to each other.

"Both speakers had a number of opportunities in their two-minute reply to really nail down their opponents at a level that could have really been very meaningful to them," said Professor Herbert James of Dartmouth. "I was amazed that in so many instances neither Ford nor Carter really used that opportunity in a way that would effectively repute their opponents."

At times they seemed almost to be afraid of each other and afraid of themselves. It could well be that the much-maligned American voter will be watching the two debates next month to see if either candidate dares to break his chains. --September 26, 1976



# How academics rate debate

associate professor of speech and communication at Emerson College, teaches courses in body language and nonverbal communication. Walter Dean Burnham is professor of political science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and an authority on American political history.

Edwin Diamond, a senior lecturer in political science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, heads the New Study Group at MIT which analyzes press coverage of politics.

The whole field of nonverbal communication, where we might look at as many as eight to 10 various aspects of communicating, was not available in this particular TV format. In this format, there were only three aspects available for observation and analysis. And because of these limitations I'd have to call it a draw.

The three we had were facialresponse, to a small degree; gesture; and "paralanguage," which is how each candidate uses his voice. I would say that, in all three instances, Carter was the weaker during the first three questions.

There was appreciable blinking of the eyes, a weight shifting from one leg to another and an obvious dryness in the throat, which manifested itself in the quality of his voice.

After that, it was anyone's guess, as far as nonverbal communication "cues," as to who was the more confident.

However, if one is to really ascertain the weakness and strengths of the two candidates, the format needs to be changed so that a more extemporaneous manner in presentation is followed.

The candidates should be free to question each other more fully and directly. I think the debate shows that both men did quite well. It was vastly superior to the Kennedy-Nixon debate, because both men last night stuck closely to the issues and they were dealing with basic differences in their philosophy as Democrat or Republican. I think the people could get a very clear impression of those differences from last night.

As to which person won it, I'm personally inclined to give Carter the edge. Ford seemed a little wooden and became tired toward the end, while Carter seemed to warm up.

Carter's two strongest points were on the energy question—and his knowledge of that subject was considerable—and on the unemployment question.

Carter made the point, which a lot of Republicans are sensitive about debating, that a lot of human beings are being hurt. He offered a sense of compassion and the possibility of doing better. Carter also went to work on the leadership issue, arguing that a President could get along with Congress and that Ford was practicing the politics of stalemate. Ford was ahead on the taxation business, and both were good at counterpunching.

If I were scoring, I'd give seven rounds to Carter, four or five to Ford, and the rest a draw.

There is no way to escape the boxing metaphor. Ford and Carter have obviously trained for the meeting. Overall, they were cautious, circling, shadowboxing. Each did have an offensive strategy; but each used it sparingly.

Ford's big move came first. He attacked Carter directly in his first response, accusing him of being unspecific. But then, cautiously, Ford drew back and didn't become aggressive again until well into the meeting. Carter's big weapon — also used sparingly — was, curiously enough, his smile. He was grim and unsmiling through the early questions. The smile became a visual signal of his disdain for Ford's statements.

But if this was a fight, even metaphorically, the question was who won. I would pick Carter by a narrow margin as he scored on such targets as unemployment, tax policy and the Republican insensitivity to the "common people." But in the tradition of championship fights when a challenger edges the incumbent, they usually call it a draw. Carter, I think, looked good to Democratic voters and Ford looked Presidential.



L.I. Poll Shows Debate Edge For Ford
(By Bernie Bookbinder, excerpted, L.I. Newsday)

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President Ford won last week's debate with Jimmy Carter, according to a survey of potential Long Island voters, but it is questionable whether that has helped Ford's campaign here.

That tentative conclusion is based on interviews with about one-third of a panel of 1,675 Nassau and Suffolk residents whose reactions to the presidential race are being studied by the LI Poll.

Ford's success in the debate seems conclusive from virtually every stand-point, according to Prof. Stephen Cole, a sociologist from the STate University at Stony Brook who analyzed the data. For example, to the question, "In general, which chadidate did the best?" 20 percent said Ford, 28 percent said both did about the same and 6 persent were undecided.

When these opinions were broken down by whether the respondents had favored Carter, Ford or had been undecided prior to the debate, this assessment was confirmed. Among peiple who had supported Carter prior to the debate, that is, who said that they preferred him when originally interviewed in early Sept.-41 percent felt that Carter, 18 percent said that Ford had been undecided prior to the debate, this assessmen was confirmed. Among people who had supported Carter prior to the debate, that is who said that they preferred him when originally interviewed in early September, 41 per cent felt that Carter had won, 18 per cent siad that Ford had won, 33 per cent siad that both had done the same and 7 per cent were undecided.

Among those people who had supported Ford prior to the debate, 73 per cent siad that Ford had won, 6 per cent said that Carter had won and 19 per cent siad that both had done the same and 1 per cent undecided. Most significantly, among those who had been undecided before the debate, 7 per cent said that Carter had done better, 44 per cent said that Ford had done better, 34 per cent siad that both had done about the same and 15 per cent said that they were uncertain.

To further clarify these judgments, the Long Islanders were asked to compare the debate with what had been expected of him. The net result was another indication of Ford's strength: while 29 per cent of the respondents said Carter had done worse than they had expect, only 7 per cet said Ford had done worse; and while only 19 per cent said Carter had done better than t-ey expected, fully 40 per cent said that Ford had done better than anticipated.

Still further evidence emerged when the panelists were questioned more specifically about the debate: Ford got substantially higher ratings in terms of knowing more about the issues and inspiring greater confidence. (9/27/76)

## Debate Narrows Campaign Gap (editorial, excerpted, Buffalo Evening News)

So the first of the hostoric Ford-Carter debates is over and both of the candidates looked impressive. Neither blundered in any crucial sense. But on that balance we think it is pretty clear that the net effect of the debate is to narrow the race, to mkae it closer today than it looked yesterday.

New York NORTHEAST

Both candidates and questioners were well-prepared. The debate was dignified, serious and closely focused on important issues. Nobody lost his cool and President Ford and Mr. Carter developed in their answers clear differences of approach that offer voters significant alternatives.

If the President won a slight edge in this debate- and we share the view of initial polls and some debate experts that he did - it was due to his command of facts and his effective use of them in his sharp, concise rebuttals: (9/24/76)

## A Worthwhile Encounter (Editorial, Excerpted, The Evening Bulletin)

While neither Mr. Ford nor Mr. Carter advanced new programs or ideas in last night's debate, what did emerge were clearly defined campaign themes. Each theme draws heavily on the strength of the American people and on the national heritage.

For Mr. Carter it was an emphasis on the hopes of the American people and their right to a unified Federal Government they can trust to serve them fully and well. For President Ford it was an emphasis on checks and balances in government and on the self reliance of the individual.

There are important differences here. And, if developed fully in the remaining meetings and in the campaign itself, these differences should help the American people make the right decision on November 2. For what it brought to a presidential campaign that has been generally inconclusive and even confusing, the encounter in Philadelphia last night was indeed worthwhile. -- September 24, 1976

### Democrats Disappointed in Carter

(By John J. Farmer and Joseph R. Daughen, Excerpted, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin)

Democrats, generally, were disappointed by Jimmy Carter. Republicans were pleasantly surprised by President Ford.

That was the initial reaction disclosed in a national spot survey of 30 persons of various political persuasion and occupations by The Bulletin immediately after last night's debate.

Republicans unanimously thought Mr. Ford the winner, and all indicated their intention to vote for him was unchanged. Democrats' opinion were more varied. Some

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said Mr. Ford had won. Others complained that Carter was "not forceful enough." And only a few said the Georgian had won.

The debate changed few votes among those questioned, but those who said they were swayed were invariably Democrats made more uneasy by Carter. Most Democrats, however, indicated they would not desert Carter.

Some said the Ford-Carter confrontation left them dissatisfied with both.

Among the Democrats expressing concern about Carter, many cited their uneasiness over his record as governor of Georgia and the President's exploitation of it.
--September 24, 1976

First Debate: Not Conclusive, but Useful, Nonetheless (Editorial, Excerpted, Providence Journal Bulletin)

Whatever may have come out of Thursday night's debate between President Ford and Jimmy Carter, it most certaily was not the watershed event that the Lincoln-Douglas debates were in 1860 or the Kennedy-Nixon debates exactly 100 years later. The format was restrictive, the candidates wooden, and the overall impact uninspiring.

Mr. Ford's success in maintaining a "presidential" appearance, and in showing an ability to field hard questions and a capacity for skillfull ripostes to Mr. Carter's thrusts could only help him overcome the image of being a not too smart bumbler.

But if Thursday's debate did not set the viewing public on fire, it did accomplish some worthwhile things. For the first time in the campaign it gave the public a chance to see and hear both candidates elaborate on their philosophical and pratical approaches to key national issues. Their comments on diverse questions illuminated real differences and thus real choices for the voters.

If President Ford was able to reverse his poor image, the debate may also have helped Jimmy Carter shuck some of the criticism he has been receiving for being "fuzzy" or for "flipflopping" on issues, or for too blandly asking the public to "trust me." He was particularly strong and lucid in sketching out a national energy policy and assigning priorities to energy sources, putting coal ahead of oil and calling for stronger federal support of solar development, while consigning nuclear power to a last-resort position.

With three debates yet to go, it is to be hoped that the League of Women Voters will give some thought to a format more in line with usual debating procedures. And if Thursday's format is retained, it would be helpful if each candidate were given a few minutes to present an opening statement from which the reporters would formulate their questions. On balance however, the debate was a plus, not only for the candidates but for the voting public. -- 9/25/76

MAINE NORTHEAST

No Knockout
(Editorial, Excerpted, Maine Sunday Telegram)

Neither Ford or Carter emerged as the decisive winner of the first debate.

It is unlikely that many voters saw their fundamental conceptions of the two men materially altered. Governor Carter's views of the government he hopes to lead continue to be hazy and imprecise; President Ford remains the unexciting chairman of the board of a lackluster administration.

Carter may have succeeded in arresting his recent decline in the polls. President Ford, on the other hand, exhibited a considerable knowledge of the intricacies of government and on that basis he may have gained a slight edge. But viewers who anticipated that the first debate would produce a clear victor were disappointed. -- 9/26/76

## Candidates Show Unexpected Firmness on Issues (Editorial by Arthur Wiese, excerpted, Houston Post)

The jokesters on Capitol Hill have been spreading the story recently that Jerry Ford and Jimmy Carter are really twins -- twins appropriately enough named "Hobble" and Wobble".

A lot of the sting was removed from that punch line Thursday night by both men's performances in the first presidential debate.

Ford, the "Hobble" of this dynamic duo, seemed to toss his crutches away. He seemed stronger, firmer, more presidential than many of the 100 million Americans watching him on television may have believed he could.

Carter, the "Wobble" was steadier, less evasive and more specific than his critics probably expected.

Who won? Any answer to that question reveals the inevitable prejudices of the respondent.

As far as the issues are concerned, it seemed a draw from this corner -- particularly in the crucial first 30 minutes of the debate.

The incumbent, presiding over the highest unemployment rate since World War II, nevertheless clearly bested Carter on that question. He also seemed to have the upper hand in the exchanges on inflation and how to achieve a balanced budget.

But Carter was an aggressive success with his blunt attacks on the tax system. On the matter of reorganizing the federal government, the Democratic nominee likewise appeared to take it, despite a good rejoinder from Ford about how state spending and employment soared in Georgia while Carter was governor.

On the other big topic of discussion, each man probably cancelled out the other's advantage, with Carter making strong points about the Nixon pardon but the President coming out ahead on the controversial amnesty dispute.

While the result on the issues may have been a draw, the matter of images wasn't.

If style was the determining factor Thursday night, it seemed as though Ford was the winner, however narrowly.

A lot of that edge was the result of the all-important first impression

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the candidates made in the debate's opening minutes.

Carter started off absymally. He seemed nervous and extremely ill at ease. His adam's apple bobbed up and down like an automobile piston. He stammered, he gulped and he stared straight ahead at the camera with a frozen expression. Even his tie was askew.

By contrast, Ford -- carefully dressed in his trademark vest to give him a lawyer-like "presence" on the tube -- seemed calmer and more self-assured.

Marshall Mcluhan divides the kinds of images people make on television into two broad categories -- "cool" and "hot".

The Democratic nominee quickly overcame his initial problems and made a combative comeback. But perhaps it was too combative considering the polls which show most Americans identify Ford as a decent and good man if sometimes a bumbling leader.

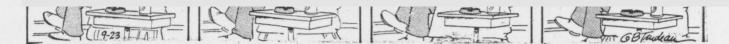
The format of a debate almost always favors the challenger, who can attack and cricize the status quo, over the challenged, who usually is forced to defend it.

A question exists, however, over who was the challenger Thursday night. Carter certainly would seem to have been since he was facing an incumbent. But on the other hand Carter is the election front-runner at the moment so he obviously had the most to lose.

Jimmy Carter is also more of an unknown quantity to the voters than Ford. In that situation Carter benefits and looks like presidential timber just by holding his own with the incumbent, which he certainly did.

Perhaps the most important question about the debate is not one that was asked by the reporters. Instead it is whether such confrontations as these are really any way to choose a president?

--September 24, 1976



The Washington Post , 9/23/76



'If ya ask me, the audio difficulty set in long before the sound went off'

TEXAS WEST

## <u>Unfortunately, Big Debate Was Dull</u> (Editorial, excerpted, <u>Houston Chronicle</u>)

The opening debate between President Ford and Governor Jimmy Carter was, unfortunately, dull.

The reason it was dull was because so many restrictions were imposed by the format of the debate.

The result was a debate that resembled a carefully staged play. The questioners were unable to get into topics of current interest such as the <u>Playboy</u> interview given by Carter or the assistance provided by U.S. Steel to Ford on his vacations.

The most unfortunate result of the way the program was structured is that viewers may have been lulled to the point they lost interest in the economic positions taken and may be discouraged from tuning in for subsequent debates.

In the <u>Chronicle's</u> view, the debate did make apparent the deep differences between the two candidates on how to handle the national economy.

The positions expounded by both candidates were not new ones, and were cautiously stated, perhaps even deliberately understated. The effect was entirely low-key, save for a rare barb or two.

While neither man can claim a great victory in the debates, the <a href="Chronicle">Chronicle</a> does believe that in the area of taxes Ford made the more convincing impression and was more sure of himself. Perhaps the President's best point of the night was that the tax system Carter criticized was written by a Democratic Congress.

It is interesting that four of the five members of a panel of college debate coaches gave President Ford an edge in the debate, and did so on the basis of Ford's superiority on the tax questions.

It is unlikely that Governor Carter changed any minds from the impression given in a weekend interview that he would increase the taxes for half of the people, if not more than half. During the debate, Carter was unable to clarify just where the money would come from for promised programs.

The average viewer was probably disappointed in the debate, and a good segment probably didn't wait out the audio interruption to hear the final remarks.

-- September 26, 1976

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### No Clear Victor Emerges in First Round of Debates

(Editorial by Norman Baxter, excerpted, Houston Chronicle)

There was tension, some conflict and a few harsh words in the debate between President Ford and Jimmy Carter, but no clear advantage for either candidate.

Since neither man overwhelmed the other it appears that President Ford, still trailing Carter in the polls, was the loser because he gained no advantage in the debate.

To defeat Carter the President must broaden his base of support. Ford must follow the example of his predecessor, Richard Nixon, and get the votes of independents and some Democrats to win the election. There was little in his statements at the debate that did not mirror his conservative Republican philosophy.

The opening question was on unemployment and addressed to Carter who appeared to be nervous. The Democrat said he would use research and development, housing programs, joint federal-private work programs in the central cities.

In rebuttal Ford accused Carter of not being specific. But as the debate neared the end it was Carter who became aggressive after the President attacked the Democratic majority in Congress and implied that Carter should be held partly responsible for any congressional excesses.

The President's most obvious effort to win voters of almost all ideological persuasions was in reiterating his proposal for more tax cuts. -- September 24, 1976

### At Least, Carter Didn't Blow It (Editorial by Norman Baxter, excerpted, Houston Chronicle)

Jimmy Carter didn't blow it in the first presidential debate and that is probably the most joy that his supporters can get from the encounter.

Lately he has been making one solid mistake a week and before the confrontation with President Ford the challenger's quota of goofs for last week had already been filled.

One of Carter's goals in the debate was to regain tax reform as his issue. By the time a clarification was made, that it was the rich and

'. . . And now some comments from the man on the street!'

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businesses which would be Carter's target. Republicans had pummeled Carter.

But Carter, who should have used the national forum of the debate to straighten out his tax stand, never did score in this area and used one of the weakest defenses of all when he accused the President of misquoting but did not back this up with specifics.

When the two opponents did go into specifics during the debate they fell back on statistics. You needed a computer to sift through their answers.

For the most part, the format of the debate worked well, although it was more of a shared press conference than a debate.

There wasn't much in the debate to hold attention or excite or linger in the mind for use in the following day's conversation.

The content was not new. The answers and positions are the same ones that the candidates have had for months of campaigning. The unasked questions (about Carter's interviews and Ford's entertainment by U.S. Steel) might have stirred things up a little but it is doubtful that the answers would have shed much light.

It did not seem justified, but Ford was the more jubilant after the debate. He contended that the momentum is now with his campaign.

The polls do indicate that the wide lead that Carter held after the Democratic convention is shrinking; that the presidential contest will be far closer in November than it appeared to be in July.

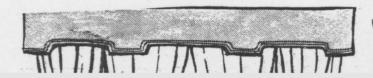
The changing margins in the polls were expected. Historically a candidate has a surge in popularity or acceptance after the nationally televised conventions.

Ford continues to gain. It's not his momentum though, but the benefits he gets from the erosion of Carter's campaign. The Democrat has not been able to get in gear since he was nominated.

There's been a lot of travel and media events by Carter but they don't seem to be proudcing results. Reports of campaign difficulties in some of the vote-rich states, California, Texas, Illinois and New York, are becoming frequent.

Even at their best, the debates cannot take the place of traditional campaign effort. If they continue in a similar way to the first, the public will be the principal beneficiary rather than the candidates, since the debates give millions an easy way to inspect and assess the two major candidates --September 26, 1976

<u>Debates</u> <u>ELECTION</u>



WHAT DO YOU MEAN THEY
GAVE US THE CHOICE OF THE
FORMAT AND ISSUES IF WE

Rocky Mountain News, 9/14/76

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Ford, Carter Trade Barbs Over Political Skeletons (Editorial by Margaret Mayer, Excerpted, Dallas Times Herald)

The season opener in the 1976 presidential debates will be remembered as the Democratic Congress-Watergate tradeoff.

Jimmy Carter's idea of playing one embarrassment off against another was the only new development in the presidential contest as he and President Ford sweated through their first direct confrontation.

Viewers who tuned out and turned in to bed early - to dream of growth rates chasing deficits - missed the excitement.

Carter pushed social programs supported by a tax system that takes from the rich and gives to the poor and tried to make Ford look like a flunky for Richard Nixon.

Ford stolidly maintained it wouldn't work - that all the fat cats with their tax shelters couldn't satisfy the gluttony of those programs. And, meanwhile, inflation and unemployment would gobble up the middle income wage earners.

Ford was getting up a pretty good head of steam. The whole thing, he said, was the fault of the Democratic Congress, a big bunch of spendthrifts. Ford said if Carter didn't like the tax structure, he had the Democratic Congress to thank. After all, they had been writing the tax bills for the last 22 years.

That did it for Carter. "If he insists I take responsibility for the Democratic Congress, of which I was not a part, then it's only fair he take responsibility for the Nixon administration, of which he was a part," said Carter with a smile.

It wasn't exactly a mind-blowing idea, but it must have caused at least a ripple because something caused a failure in the audio transmission a few minutes later.

When the candidates got back on the air for the final kill, their only ammunition was what they have been saying for the past two years.

Carter, evidently forgetting about having traded off Congress a half hour earlier, said it was time "to have a president and Congress that can work together in mutual respect."

He tossed out the buzz words - Vietnam, Cambodia, CIA and Watergate - for the viewers to chew on for a late night snack.

Ford played Lincoln for his windup with admonitions that: "A president should never promixe more than he can deliver and de-

liver everything he has promised."

"Mary Hartmann, Mary Hartmann" it wasn't. But good solid stuff it was - mostly - for those who perservered. -- 9/24/76

# Opinion in Dallas: 'Nobody Won' (Article by John Bloom, Greg Graze, Excerpted, Dallas Times Herald)

The straw poll may not be very scientific, but it proved accurate at several places around Dallas where people gathered to watch the first Ford-Carter debate. Neither candidate won, according to a sampling of 40 people, but several voters changed their position to uncommitted after the debate had run its course.

Only one person, Mike Moran, said the debate caused him to switch candidates, "I was for Carter," he said. "Now I think Ford. I believe Carter may be too truthful. I just don't think Carter could sit down at the peace table and talk to some of our enemies."

Opinions weren't quite so strong at other places around town. At the Railhead Restaurant in North Dallas those who did watch agreed that Ford's performance was better than expected, and although no one's opinion was changed, several Carter supporters said they are now sliding toward uncommitted.

At Boaz Hall, a dormitory on the campus of Southern Methodist University, 31 students squeezed around a television set in the lobby and watched what they considered a Ford victory. The vote was Ford 27, Carter 4.

State Senator Oscar Mauzy said, "I admit I'm partisan, but I really think this totally exploded the concept that Carter is fuzzy on the issues. Carter was very specific on tax reform and President Ford was terribly fuzzy."

"I was disappointed in the demagoguery engaged in by Mr. Carter," said Tom Unis, the Dallas attorney who heads the Dallas County Texans for Ford. "He is the same kind of demagogue against the Republicans we've been using (in Texas) for 50 years, which I don't think befits a man of his position and the office he is trying to seek."

U.S. Senator Lloyd Bentsen termed the debate "inconclusive" as far as settling the presidential race. -- 9/24/76

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"The way I see it, the debate was a toss up —
Ford's makeup was excellent, and Carter's
hairdo was very sharp!"

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## (Editorial, Excerpted, Dallas Times Herald)

Those voters who hoped that the first Ford-Carter debate would clear the uncertainty from their minds and move them finally into one camp or the other must be disappointed.

For while the confrontation displayed more of the candidatesparticularly Mr. Carter- than most of us have been able to see in a single glance, it revealed no new warts or blemishes, unveiled no traits of mind or character that we had not seen before.

Standing before us was a classic Democrat and a classic Republican, each of whom seemed to have a solid grasp of the domestic issues facing the country, each of whom prescribed solutions well within the orthodoxy of their political creeds.

Mr. Carter proposed— as he has consistently— a modern—day version of the New Deal. He wants more government manipulation of certain aspects of the economy.

President Ford, on the other hand, proposed stimulation of the private sector of the economy by tax-incentives to business which, in theory at least, would lead to industrial expansion and growth of the job market.

This issues leads inexorably to two others- government spending and taxation. And again the candidates replied along classic lines.

These are the "bread and butter" issues, and the candidates articulated them concisely and specifically. They are important to this campaign, for they force the voters to decide whether they are among the "haves," who are more likely to favor Mr. Ford, or the "have-nots," who might find Mr. Carter's plans tempting.

The voters must also decide whether it is better for the country to have a single party in control of both the Capitol and the White House. Or are we better off with the present adversary relationship between the President and the Congress?

These are traditional American choices, and millions of Americans- perhaps a third of the electorate- have not yet made them. The Magic Something that so may awaited to help us make it did not appear in Round One. -- 9/25/76

TEXAS WEST

## One for the Negative (Editorial, Excerpted, Dallas Morning News)

Debate propositions ordinarily are couched in terms of innovation and change. Therefore the proposition debated Thursday night would have gone something like this: Resolved, that Gerald Ford should be ejected from the White House on Nov. 2 and Jimmy Carter installed therein.

Carter spoke for the affirmative side, Ford for the negative. Judgments in such matters are always subjective, but in our own judgment the negative side carried the day.

This is to say nothing of Carter's fundamental claims to the White House. It is to say merely that, in the specific setting of the Walnut Street Theater, Ford repelled the contention that it is time for a change in White House occupants. Carter scored occasional points, overall, however, he failed to persuade.

This is because of two telling thrusts by Ford and a dissatisfying response by Carter on a point important to him.

The first Ford thrust came when Ford challenged Carter's claim to have reorganized effectively the Georgia state government. The President noted that under Carter, the state budget actually increased 50 per cent; state unemployment likewise went up. Doubt thus was cast on his ability to shake up Washington, as so may times he has promised to do.

The second thrust came in response to Carter's contention that tax loopholes supposedly benefiting the wealthy should be closed. Such loopholes, Carter plainly implied, help mostly Republicans. Beg pardon, said Ford; the loopholes were written by Democratic Congresses. To compound the injury done him, Carter lamely replied that if he was responsible for the work of the Democratic Congresses, Ford was responsible for Watergate. It was not only a cheap shot but a non sequitur.

Otherwise, the match was relatively even. Ford, who had been rather diffident at the outset, grew more animated as the affair proceeded and spoke much more dynamically than Carter. On the other hand, Carter's long suit is quiet confidence, and this he displayed to good advantage. Carter's closing statement seemed more effective than Ford's.

The format of the debates was rather constraining and ought to be changed before the series resumes. The two candidates never spoke to each other; they conversed through mediators. Far more interesting would it be in future for them to ask each other questions— or at least to respond directly to each other's points without prompting from a panelist. —— 9/25/76

WEST TEXAS 64

#### Presidential Debate Needs More Spark (Editorial by Richard Morehead, Excerpted, Dallas Morning News)

The next presidential "debate" needs a better format or it is destined to attract a smaller audience. The general feeling is that the performance was dull, even boring.

To persons who follow politics, what the two men said was hardly new- except for Ford's indication that he will sign the tax reform bill.

The next debate should permit the candidates to address questions to each other. After a panel reporter asks a question, and the candidate replies, it would be livelier to permit a question form his adversary rather than a followup from the panelist. The candidate first addressed should be given brief rebuttal time.

Several viewers thought the candidates were "stiff." Both seemed uneasy in the beginning, and Carter appeared to loosen up more than Ford as the program progressed.

Carter was graded best on appearance (possibly in his smile), while Ford kept his eyes downcast in the early part of the program rahter than eyeing the television audience.

The candidates managed to convey to those who do not follow politics closesly that the main issue is expansion of government programs (Carter) versus concern for the taxpayers (Ford).

Ford's best line was the summary on whether the voters will choosed Carter's promises or Ford's performance record. -- 9/25/76

### The Great Debate: Just a Big Fizzle (Article by Kent Biffle, Excerpted Dallas Morning News)

The results are in. Nothing much happened. Dr. James T. Kitchens of Texas Christian University and the 14 students in his political communications course analyzed the presidential debaters' styles and conducted a survey.

The conclusion: Carter supporters didn't think Ford won; Ford supporters didn't think Carter won.

In a sampling, undecided voters tended to score the first debate a victory for Ford, however. Immediately following the debate, students phoned 140 people at random from the Fort Worth phone book.

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A projection of the 115 who responded indicated 32.15 per cent for Carter; 30.35 per cent for Ford; and 37.5 per cent undecided.

Ninety-seven per cent of the Carter fans watched the debate; 82 per cent of the Ford supporters watched it; and 57 per cent of the undeiced voters bothered to look in.

About 46 per cent of the undecided voters were undecided about who won the debate. The others felt Ford won- two-to-one.

-- 9/26/76

\* COLORADO WEST

> Score Seven Rounds for Ford, Three for Carter, Three Even (Editorial by Robert Pattridge, excerpted, Denver Post)

Have no illusions, that wasn't Abe Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas debating Thursday night. As in the Lincoln-Douglas debates, it was Jimmy Carter -- "The Little Giant" -- taking on an opponent of Lincoln's physical stature -- Gerald Ford. Neither damaged their chances Nov. 2 at the polls. Neither was in the Lincoln-Douglas debate class.

Neither turned much of a lasting phrase in the great debate tradition of thorough, skillful language demonstrated by Lincoln nor the adroit, ready tactician that was Douglas.

But while the critics pick away, Coloradans should remember Mr. Ford and Mr. Carter deported themselves well in the heat and glare of lights and failure of the sound system.

When you cut through the baloney the debate on 13 rounds went 7 for Mr. Ford, 3 for Mr. Carter and 3 even. The Georgian started weak, came on stronger and copped the summation somewhat narrowly.

Mr. Carter won, besides the summary, the pardon question as well as how to pay for new programs. Energy, unemployment and intelligence agencies questions were even. Mr. Ford took the balance with his incumbent knowledge.

There is a lingering sense the erudite questions from news persons detracted from a head-on confrontation. Neither Mr. Ford nor Mr. Carter exhibited a knockout punch. They didn't sever any jugular veins.

The mass of memorized economic figures recited by the debaters is beyond the grasp of most of us.

Lacking the bitterness of the Lincoln-Douglas meetings, the first Ford-Carter debate whets the voter appetite.

All in all it was a grim debate. Two ex-Navy men in their blue suits. Both likeable human beings. Both well prepared. Like Lincoln and Douglas, both from humble backgrounds where great Americans originate.

Both were reluctant to smile, laugh or relax. Perhaps that too reflects the uncertain mood of American voters as they evaluate what was not the most earth shaking debate in our history. -- September 26, 1976

## Both Candidates Score; Future Debates Crucial (Editorial, excerpted, Denver Post)

The first of the nationally-televised presidential debates between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter is now history, but the results are far from conclusive. One thing is clear: The debate confirmed the two candidates are in a close, tight race which will probably go to the wire.

Both men scored debating points, and were well primed for the pressure-packed confrontation before millions of Americans. They provided no surprises in philosophical differences and in restating previously-presented views on key domestic issues.

But there was no breakthrough -- no clear-cut winner in the debate. Carter did not score a knockout blow nor did Ford.

If an advantage was gained, it was probably Ford's He looked and sounded more forceful and "presidential" than he has in the past; and, since the President had been the underdog in the opinion polls, that must be considered a definite "plus" for his campaign.

Those who thought Ford would be dealt a severe political blow by the initial debate clearly were proved wrong by his performance. If anything, the debate confirmed that the presidential contest is turning out to be closer than the early public opinion samplings indicated.

Carter, who was expected to do well, sounded tentative at first, but came on stronger as the debate progressed, and he was more effective than Ford in the final summations.

The format was far too stilted. Each debater responded virtually in a vacuum to the excellent, incisive questions of the reporters.

It was apparent that both candidates were ultra-cautious, afraid of being caught off-guard with the sound suddenly switching on again. Under the circumstances, it was difficult for the public to get anything but a "programmed" view of the candidates. Perhaps the two men will loosen up in the remaining debates, and thereby project more clearly their images as national leaders.

Valuable as they undoubtedly are, the verdict is still out on whether the debates will turn out to be the watershed of the 1976 presidential campaign.
--September 26, 1976

COLORADO WEST

## Revamp the Debate Format (Editorial, excerpted, Denver Post)

The big loser in Thursday night's TV debate was neither President Ford nor Governor Carter.

The big loser was the League of Women Voters, which promoted the event. What isn't excusable and understandable is the putrid and arrogant performance by the League and candidate representatives who set up the debate and made the arrangements.

The Thursday night performance was remindful of an old TV show -- the \$64,000 question -- which put contestants in isolation booths while they participated in a trivia quiz and were suitably rewarded for their answers.

The staging of the debate could hardly have been more effective in placing the participants in a setting which destroyed TV's ability to communicate in personal, intimate and revealing ways.

Because it was so depersonalized, the relevancy of the complex, important issues at hand was no doubt lost to many viewers.

Get rid of the panel of questioners. Let the debates be held in a place where each TV network can set up its own equipment, use its own personnel, and cover the event in its own way. Eliminate the pooling arrangement, so that a technical breakdown won't cause a total interruption such as that Thursday night. Give the audience the option of turning to another channel.

And let there be sights and sounds which provide variety, and a sense of the drama involved, instead of the severely limited range of sensual stimuli -- dominated by deadly "talking heads" -- which characterized Thursday night's telecast.

If they are to be called debates, let them conform in at least some measure to the traditional form of genuine give-and-take confrontation, instead of a carefully managed and restricted recitation of facts and figures which ebb and flow in the precisely measured rhythm of an ocean swell.

Let there be barbs and quips, an oral jousting with thrust and parry, involving opponents who are in a setting designed to enhance rather than encumber and stultify their efforts to make points with the public.

Eliminate the stiff formality and set up a situation which provides some semblance of an adversary relationship. Offer an opportunity for some verbal fireworks.

We're not asking for circuses instead of bread -- we think we ought to have both.
--September 26, 1976

## Coaching is Urged for Debaters (Excerpted, Rocky Mountain News)

Jimmy Carter sometimes sounded as though he were parroting the words of some "Harvey Hack" speechwriter.

President Ford's closing statement was embarrassingly weak.

Both men were seriously deficient of animation -- occasionally seeming "as lifeless as wax dummies."

Those were some of the critical observations of Thursday night's presidential debate by a Denver expert, Frank Sferra, who said both contenders could stand a lot of coaching before their next encounter October 6.

Sferra, one of six board members of the National Forensic League, judged the contest a "disappointing tossup."

He said he thinks voters would get a more revealing look at the candidates if they were under more pressure and were required to speak directly to each other.

Sferra said he would rate the debate a tossup because Carter started weakly and made a strong comeback while the President appeared to fade towards the end.

What advice would Sferra give the candidates if he were coaching them for their next meeting?

"I'd tell Carter to get rid of the statistics,"
(particularly on taxation), Sferra said. "He went on too long.
I'd tell him not to make it sound like something your speechwriters and your Harvey Hacks wrote."

Sferra said he would direct the President to punch up his next closing statement and try to sound a little more as though he were speaking off the cuff.

While critical of the format, Sferra praised both men for recognizing and using some of its peculiarities to good advantage.

"They really used the hatchet work on the response," he said. "If these people (the candidates' advisers) have any brains at all, the first statement will become more and more innocuous in future debates and the response will become more and more of a hatchet job." -- 9/24/76

This was effective, he explained, because the respondent was able to make a strong last impression on a particular question while his opponent had no opportunity to defend the initial answer.

"Cheap shot! Cheap shot!" Sferra yelled when Carter executed a neat so-called hatchet job by following a reference to Ford with the statement, "Nixon was a strong leader, at least."

He said neither man's voice was particularly advantageous for debating, but that "I found Carter easier to listen to."

Although the President is a "more impressive looking man" than Carter in terms of size, Sferra said camera angles tended to nullify that factor -- which often is considered a valuable advantage in debate.

Another way in which both men demonstrated their appreciation for the unusual format, Sferra said, was by not treating it like a real debate.

"They spoke to the audience. They both avoided Nixon's mistake -- debating."

Sferra said that if he could make a single change to make the next debate better for the candidates and their audience alike, it would be to shorten the program from 1-1/2 hours to one hour.

Asked what he thought was the best feature of the debate, he said, "I thought the questions were the best part. They were superbly good. I thought the answers were incredibly evasive or shallow."

-- September 24, 1976

## Partisans Believe Their Man Won Bout (Excerpted, Rocky Mountain News)

A key worker for Jimmy Carter said he'd never seen President Ford "that clever."

The comment following Thursday night's debate came from Mark Hogan, the former lieutenant governor who is now chairman of the Colorado executive committee for the Carter campaign.

While Hogan was pleased with the Democratic candidate's overall performance, he said, "I thought Ford was very facile."

He was well prepared, according to Hogan.

Hogan's remark was atypical.

Most post-debate opinion sampled by the News split along party lines. Democrats thought Carter won and Republicans gave the victory to Ford.

To Keith Brown, Ford's Colorado campaign chairman, Carter was straight out of "Li'l Abner."

All the Ford supporters were impressed by Carter's slow start and the President's assertiveness. On both appearance and content, their man was a clear winner, the verdict went.

A clearly partisan crowd of 20 Carter campaign workers gathered at their headquarters on E. Colfax Avenue to watch their favorite.

The cheers soon began, however, when they felt their man was scoring some points on tax reform.

"He's killing him," one campaign worker said after Carter attacked Ford on unemployment.

Perhaps the biggest cheers of the night came when Carter said that if Ford insisted on holding him responsible for the Democratic-controlled Congress, then Ford should be considered part of the Nixon administration.

On the whole, Carter's workers seemed buoyed by his performance, unanimous and sincere in their feeling he'd carried the debate.

Similar divergence of opinion was found among advertising men, economists and pollsters specializing in politics, though most agreed that the contest between the President and the Georgia peanut farmer was informative and will help some people decide how to vote on Nov. 2.

--September 24, 1976

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## Who Won? Each Side Stakes Claim (Excerpted, Daily Oklahoman)

Republicans said President Ford won. Democrats tended to think Jimmy Carter won.

That was the predictable reaction of Oklahoma lawmakers to the Ford-Carter debate Thursday night.

And with one exception, they thought the panel of questioners was pretty good.

Said GOP Sen. Dewey Bartlett, "The best thing that happened to Carter was when the sound blew."

He said, "The President clearly won."

Said Democratic Rep. Ted Risenhoover, "The breakdown of the TV transmission was typical of the lack of communication between Ford and the people."

Republican Sen. Henry Bellmon said Carter's objective was to prove a need to change presidents, "and I believe he failed to do so."

Democratic Rep. Tom Steed said no one won or lost, "but I think the long-range effect of the debate will be in Carter's favor...He re-established himself as a well-informed man."

Rep. Glenn English, Democrat, said the debate didn't bring out wide differences between the two candidates. And, he said, he was "extremely disappointed" that they did not talk about agriculture or about deregulation of natural gas or decontrol of oil.

Bartlett said that although the President won the first round, it was not a knockout blow in the campaign.

"I think we will see a wild-swinging Carter in the next debate."

He said the President "hit hard -- about as hard as a president should hit."

Bellmon said he would give them both good scores as debaters, so far as their understanding of the issues is concerned.

"It seemed to me that Ford scored heavily twice: when Carter was trying to blame the mess in Washington on the president when Congress wrote the laws, and on the federal reserve question -- Carter wanted it politicized."

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He said Carter "seemed a little smug, whereas Ford came on as solemn and earnest."

Steed said that Ford "adroitly tried to avoid his handicap -- an administration cursed with high unemployment and inflation."

"His diversionary tactics were good."

Steed said the debate will not change many minds, but that "Carter reinforced the confidence his voters have in him more than Ford."

He said that "Ford may have gone a little too far in antagonizing Congress."

Risenhoover said that Carter "displayed a sensitivity to the problems of this country and the problems of the ordinary, everyday American."

He contended that Carter was more relaxed, "because he had nothing to defend -- Ford had a poor administration to defend."
--September 24, 1976

## The Not So Great Debate (Editorial, Excerpted, Daily Oklahoman)

Victimized by a 28-minute audio blackout, President Ford and Jimmy Carter may have put as many Americans to sleep as they convinced in the first of their nationally televised verbal confrontations.

But on the positive side, the first Ford-Carter clash did serve an informative and constructive purpose by further exposing the sharp distinctions between the two candidates on economic policy.

Carter's populist demagoguery was never more evident than in his repetition of the theme that our tax system is a "disgrace" and that it amounts to a "welfare system for the rich."

That is political bunkum of a rather tawdry sort, and the suspicion grows that more than a few American voters will recognize it as such.

True, our federal tax code is riddled with disincentives for savings and investment but that law was put there by the Democrats who have controlled congress for all but four of the last 44 years. And that is a fact Jimmy Carter cannot denv. -- 9/27/76