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PM-FORD 1STLD-PICKUP3RDGRAF A067 [9-24]

BY HELEN THOMAS  
UPI WHITE HOUSE REPORTER

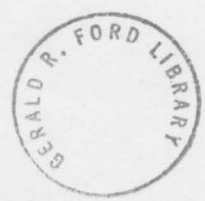
PHILADELPHIA (UPI) -- A BUOYANT PRESIDENT FORD SAID TODAY HE WAS  
VERY PLEASED WITH THE RESULTS OF THURSDAY NIGHT'S DEBATE WITH JIMMY  
CARTER.

FORD SPOKE WITH REPORTERS BRIEFLY AS HE LEFT A PRIVATE HOME WHERE  
HE SPENT THE NIGHT AND HEADED FOR A DOWNTOWN HOTEL FOR AN ADDRESS TO  
THE POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS.

"I ENJOYED IT VERY MUCH," SAID THE PRESIDENT, OBVIOUSLY FEELING HE  
HAD TOPPED HIS DEMOCRATIC OPPONENT IN THE FIRST OF THEIR THREE  
PLANNED FACE-TO-FACE MEETINGS.

FORD CAMPAIGN AIDE MIKE DUVAL, WHO HELPED SET UP THE DEBATE, SAID  
THE PRESIDENT WAS IN "EXTREMELY GOOD HUMOR -- VERY, VERY HUMOROUS."  
EARLIER TODAY, FORD TOLD A POST-MIDNIGHT PARTY OF SUPPORTERS HE IS  
KEEPING THE CAMPAIGN AROUND ON HIS DEMOCRATIC OPPONENT. AND A TOP  
WHITE HOUSE AIDE SAID THE PRESIDENT MIGHT SOON TAKE THE LEAD IN  
NATIONAL POLITICAL POLLS.

PICKUP 3RDGRAF: "WE'RE AT  
UPI 09-24 10:57 AED



A  
PM-DEBATE-BROKE 9-24

NEW YORK (UPI) -- A PIECE OF MACHINERY SIMILAR TO A COMPONENT IN A  
CAR RADIO OR HOME STEREO SET APPARENTLY WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE  
MINUTE SILENCE DURING THE FIRST PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE, AN AMERICAN  
BROADCASTING SYSTEM SPOKESMAN SAID TODAY.

THE SPOKESMAN FOR THE NETWORK, WHICH HANDLED THE POOL TRANSMISSION  
OF THE DEBATE, ANSWERED A QUESTION ON THE CAUSE OF THE FAILURE BY  
SAYING:

"ALL WE KNOW AT THIS POINT IS THAT AN AUDIO AMPLIFIER SEEMS TO  
HAVE BEEN BLOWN. WE ARE INVESTIGATING FURTHER."

HE SAID THAT AMPLIFIERS COME IN ALL SIZES, AND ADDED:  
"IT IS NOT BY NATURE A COMPLICATED PIECE OF MACHINERY. EVERYONE  
HAS ONE IN HIS CAR RADIO OR STEREO SET."

UPI 09-24 10:59 AED

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[9/24/76]

FAM-DEBATE POLL; BJT; 2 TAKES 490-940

F BY DICK BARNES

file

F ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITER

WASHINGTON (AP) - WHILE FINDING THE FIRST FORD-CARTER DEBATE A VIRTUAL DRAW; AN ASSOCIATED PRESS NATIONAL VOTER POLL SHOWS THE PRESIDENT IS INCHING A BIT CLOSER IN A TIGHT ELECTION CONTEST.

THE SCIENTIFIC TELEPHONE SURVEY OF 1,065 REGISTERED VOTERS ALSO DISCLOSED THAT:

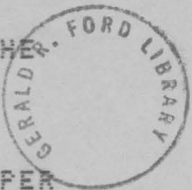
-FORD IS WINNING THE INDEPENDENT VOTE; VITAL FOR A REPUBLICAN IN ANY NATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST THE LARGER DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

-THE NUMBER OF UNDECIDED VOTERS DROPPED SIGNIFICANTLY FOLLOWING THURSDAY NIGHT'S DEBATE; BUT ENOUGH YET REMAIN TO WIN THE ELECTION FOR EITHER CANDIDATE.

-VOTERS WHO THOUGHT CARTER WON THE DEBATE WERE MORE LIKELY TO CITE HIS POSITIONS ON ISSUES AS THE REASON THAN PEOPLE WHO THOUGHT FORD WON.

-THOSE WHO CALLED FORD THE VICTOR WERE MORE LIKELY THAN THE CARTER GROUP TO CITE SUCH REASONS AS "MORE KNOWLEDGEABLE ON MOST SUBJECTS" AND "HE JUST SOUNDED LIKE HE WOULD MAKE A BETTER PRESIDENT."

THE SURVEY RESPONDENTS WERE QUESTIONED DURING THE WEEK BEFORE THE DEBATE AND AT THAT POINT EITHER PREFERRED OR WERE LEANING TOWARD CARTER BY A MARGIN OF 45.3 PER CENT TO 41.1 PER CENT FOR FORD.



CONTACTED AGAIN WITHIN 90 MINUTES AFTER THE DEBATE ENDED; 34.4 PER CENT THOUGHT FORD HAD WON; 31.8 PER CENT GAVE THE NOD TO CARTER; 26.0 PER CENT CALLED IT A DRAW AND 7.8 PER CENT SAID THEY DIDN'T KNOW WHO WON.

ASKED TO STATE THEIR PREFERENCE FOR PRESIDENT FOLLOWING THE DEBATE; 46.9 PER CENT SELECTED OR LEANED TOWARD CARTER; 44.9 PER CENT PICKED FORD.

ALTHOUGH FORD PICKED UP 3.8 PERCENTAGE POINTS TO CARTER'S 1.6; THAT DIFFERENCE AND THE 2.0 MARGIN BETWEEN THE TWO IN OVER-ALL PREFERENCES ARE SO NARROW THE RESULT CANNOT BE TAKEN AS CERTAIN.

BUT WITH THIS NATIONAL SAMPLE OF 1,065 PERSONS; THE CHANCES ARE ONLY ONE IN 20 THAT THE PERCENTAGES WILL VARY BY ANY MORE THAN 2.9 POINTS FROM THE RESULT THAT WOULD BE OBTAINED IF THE ENTIRE REGISTERED VOTER POPULATION WERE SURVEYED.

BASED ON THESE RESULTS; HOWEVER; THE ELECTION IN LESS THAN SIX WEEKS IS PRESENTLY TOO CLOSE TO CALL.

FORD'S PRESS SECRETARY; RON NESSEN; EXPRESSING PLEASURE AT THE OUTCOME OF THE AP POLL; SAID THAT THE SIGNIFICANT POINT IS THAT THREE OUT OF FOUR RESPONDENTS WHO WERE UNDECIDED BEFORE THE DEBATE MADE UP THEIR MIND TO CHOSE FORD AFTER THE PERFORMANCE.

HOWEVER; NESSEN SLIGHTLY OVERSTATED THE RATIO OF THE INCREASE IN FORD STRENGTH TO THE INCREASE IN CARTER STRENGTH; WHICH WAS SLIGHTLY UNDER 5-TO-2 RATHER THAN 3-TO-1. ADDITIONALLY; SOME VOTERS MOVED FROM ONE CANDIDATE TO THE OTHER IN SHIFTS THAT WERE IN MANY CASES OFFSETTING.

CARTER'S RUNNING MATE; SEN. WALTER MONDALE; SAID: "I DON'T KNOW WHAT THE POLL RESULTS MEAN. I WAS VERY PLEASED WITH THE DEBATE. IT SET THE ISSUES WHERE THEY NEED TO BE."

THE POLL WAS CONDUCTED FOR THE AP BY CHILTON RESEARCH SERVICES IN THE PHILADELPHIA SUBURB OF RADNOR. THE FIRM SPECIALIZES IN RAPID NATIONAL TELEPHONE SURVEYS.

F MORE  
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# EVANS-NOVAK POLITICAL REPORT

WHAT'S HAPPENING . . . WHO'S AHEAD . . . IN POLITICS TODAY

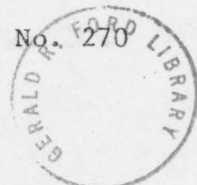
1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. • Room 1312 • Washington, D.C. 20006 • 202-298-7850

To: Our Subscribers

From: Evans-Novak

*File*

September 29, 1976 - No. 270



Despite an unimpressive performance in the first Presidential debate and the continuing flap caused by his Playboy interview, Democratic Presidential nominee Jimmy Carter still maintains a fairly substantial, though diminishing, popular vote lead (7 percentage points, according to some polls) and a large, though shaky, electoral vote lead over Republican President Gerald R. Ford. Carter is benefiting from an initially broad base of support and, although Ford is picking up at the same time that Carter is slipping, the President remains the underdog today.

The election is rapidly boiling down to this: Will the public decide that Jimmy Carter is so weird and unreliable that the gap in key industrial states, already narrowing, closes entirely and tips the election to Ford?

The answer may depend, in large part, on Debate No. 2 next Wednesday evening on foreign policy and national security, subjects in which we do not believe the supposed Ford advantage is as great as is generally perceived. If Carter takes a hard line, he might regain his lost momentum.

The dark cloud over the Ford campaign is the Special Prosecutor's investigation. If it continues (even without reaching a conclusion), it could damage the President badly. We can tell you that the White House is very worried, much more so than aides let on.

## PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION ROUNDUP #4

Since our last Report, the narrowing of the popular vote has had little effect on our electoral vote projection. In fact, we still call an electoral vote landslide for Carter if the election were held today. The major change is a heavy flow of states from "Probable for Carter" to "Leaning to Carter," shifting his "Probable" total from 351 four weeks ago to 153 two weeks ago to 90 this week, a substantial erosion. Thus, the election is at the tipping point: Any further shift will result in some electoral vote payoff for Mr. Ford.

States Probable for Carter: Arkansas (6), District of Columbia (3), Georgia (12), Hawaii (4), Kentucky (9), Massachusetts (14), Minnesota (10), New Mexico (4), Oklahoma (8), Rhode Island (4), Tennessee (10), West Virginia (6). Total: 90 electoral votes.

States Leaning to Carter: Alabama (9), Alaska (3), California (45), Delaware (3), Florida (17), Iowa (8), Louisiana (10), Maine (4), Maryland (10), Mississippi (7), Missouri (12), Montana (4), Nevada (3), New Jersey (17), New York (41), North Carolina (13), Ohio (25), Oregon (6), Pennsylvania (27), South Carolina (8), South Dakota (4), Texas (26), Vermont (3), Wisconsin (11). Total: 316 electoral votes.

Total Carter electoral votes: 406

States Probable for Ford: Idaho (4), Kansas (7), Utah (4), Wyoming (3). Total: 18 electoral votes.

a103

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PM-Leading Indicators, 2nd Add, a088-89, 110  
WASHINGTON: economic activity.

John W. Kendrick, chief economist for the Commerce Department, said the latest figures are in line with the slower rate of growth in the economy this summer, but they aren't likely to signal a downturn in economic activity generally.

He said increased expectations for business spending in Commerce's long-term surveys, higher stock prices this month and recent growth in the money supply all suggest a drop of no more than one month in the composite index.

"Most past business cycle expansions have lasted at least three years, so I don't think this one-month decrease should be interpreted too negatively," he said. "It would be very unusual for the economy to fall out of bed at this stage in the expansion."

1140aED 09-28



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PM-Debate 340

WASHINGTON AP - The second debate between President Ford and Jimmy Carter will take place the evening of Oct. 6 in San Francisco's Palace of Fine Arts Theater, the League of Women Voters announced today.

The Palace of Fine Arts Theater, located at the approach to the Golden Gate Bridge, is an ornate, domed building, the only one remaining from the 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition. The exposition celebrated the opening of the Panama Canal and the rebuilding of San Francisco, devastated by the 1906 earthquake.

The league, which is sponsoring three debates between the Democratic and Republican contenders for the presidency and one between their running mates, announced that the vice presidential debate will be broadcast the morning of Oct. 15 from a still undetermined location.

The site of the third presidential debate, scheduled for Oct. 22, has not been officially announced. But Republican vice-presidential candidate Bob Dole said Monday that it will take place in Williamsburg, Va., the colonial capital of Virginia which has been restored through the influence and largesse of the Rockefeller family.

Dole has challenged his Democratic counterpart, Sen. Walter F. Mondale, to hold the debate in the South and had said earlier he thought Birmingham, Ala., would be a good setting.

Jim Karayn, director of the league's Presidential Forum, said Williamsburg is among several cities under consideration as a site for the third debate, but he refused to name the others or say how many there were.

When word of the choice of San Francisco as the site for the second debate leaked out ahead of an official announcement, Karayn denied then that any decision had been made.

The second debate is to be on foreign policy and defense issues, and the league said San Francisco "is a most fitting location for a foreign affairs debate in light of the fact that the U.N. Charter was signed there in 1945."

Both the second presidential debate and the vice presidential debate are scheduled to begin at 9:30 p.m. EDT and run for 90 minutes, the league said. The first debate, last Thursday, was scheduled for the same time and duration, but a breakdown in the sound transmission caused a 27-minute interruption near the end of the debate.

1148aED 09-28

10 Next Business Book

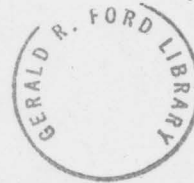
② Fam. then Rehearsal (Weekend)

③ + her cards.

Get  
Channing  
a copy

a032

r w czczyvbyl  
PM-Ford-Debates, Bjt, 490  
By FRANK CORMIER  
Associated Press Writer



WASHINGTON AP - President Ford is sharpening his script this week for the first televised debate with Jimmy Carter, and dress rehearsals are expected to begin this weekend.

Although aides shrink from the comparison, Ford's preparations for the encounter with Carter reflect the fact that the Sept. 23 debate will amount to a high stakes exercise in political show biz.

Ford aides prefer to think of the Philadelphia meeting as a chance for Ford to show mastery of the factual nitty-gritty of government while acting like a statesman, not a television performer.

With the first of three Ford-Carter debates to focus exclusively on economic affairs and domestic issues, Ford is described by one adviser as having pertinent factual material "down pretty cold."

Others say Ford now is concentrating on "how to organize the material" and how to present his points without wasting words.

In short, he is honing the script he hopes to be able to follow.

By this weekend, an aide said, Ford will be ready for the first in a series of rehearsals. At that time he will face some of his most knowledgeable advisers who, pretending to be reporters, will hit him with tough questions likely to be posed during the actual debate.

At the rehearsals, Ford is expected to use a video tape camera to record his performance. Consultant Don Penny, a comedy writer and show business professional, and other advisers then will review the films and suggest ways to make Ford's presentation more effective.

Ford used this technique in rehearsing for his well-received acceptance speech at last month's Republican convention.

Penny, labeled by Carter as a \$40,000-a-year "gag writer," played an important role in the convention success and is said to be deeply involved in the current effort. Quietly transferred recently from the White House payroll to the campaign staff, Penny modestly describes his contribution as that of "editor and suggestor."

Another key figure in debate preparations is Michael Raoul-Duval, a presidential aide responsible for providing Ford with the briefing books on issues that form the backbone of the presidential script.

Because Ford has been dealing with these issues on a week-to-week basis, and was questioned repeatedly about many of them during the pre-convention campaign, Raoul-Duval says his task "is really not as complex as you might expect." He says it mainly involves keeping Ford abreast of the most recent facts and figures.

Perhaps more important in the debate context are two other briefing books, prepared by the Republican National Committee and the Ford campaign staff, that catalog Carter's record as governor of Georgia and his statements on economic and other domestic issues.

Ford's strategy for the debates will be to cite the Carter record whenever possible in an effort to portray his opponent as a "flip-flopper," while trying to portray himself as a confident, decisive leader, who has stuck to a steady fruitful course.

White House aides insist Ford really has spent very little time preparing for the first debate with Carter. They say he is so preoccupied with affairs of state that he has had to do most of his thinking about the debate during the evening and on weekends.

0424aED 09-14







FEC OK's Ford/Carter Debates

Federal election officials Monday agreed to permit the League of Women Voters to finance a series of presidential campaign debates, which are likely to begin the third week in September.

By a unanimous vote, the FEC adopted a policy statement declaring that the league, or any other comparable, non-partisan organization, could sponsor presidential debates without running afoul of federal law forbidding private financing of presidential campaigns.

The commission did not require the league to open the debates to candidates other than President Ford and Jimmy Carter. But the league said it might hold special debates for other candidates. (CBS)

Carter, meanwhile, said tentative agreement has been reached on a format of three debates, each lasting 75 minutes. He said the first would be held the third week in September and patterned primarily after the league's proposal. A Ford spokesman would say only that no final arrangements have been made.

Carter said he would be willing to debate on specific issues such as government leadership, responsibility and unemployment. Jim Walker noted that all of these happen to be among Carter's favorite topics for criticizing Ford. (ABC)

Carter said the freer the debates are, the more chance he and the President will have to cross-examine one another, and thereby let the voters see their general opinions. Carter said if the President is allowed to go in briefed on just one subject, it will remove a great deal of the debate aspect from the meeting. (NBC/CBS)

Don Oliver reported that Carter believes his memory and ability to think fast on his feet will bring him out ahead in the debates. "That's why he wants at least one with no limit on the subject matter," Oliver said. (NBC)

White House officials, however, say the issue is not whether a candidate can think fast on his feet, but whether the debates can get down to specifics, Marilyn Berger reported. Berger said the White House is holding out for separate debates on separate issues. (NBC)

An unstructured debate, they say, would be nothing but a mass of generalities, a media event. The view at the White House is that Carter has been ducking the issues, and "President Ford is willing to gamble on his performance to force Carter out, and put him on the record." (NBC)

Reliable sources outside of the Ford and Carter camps said that the debate format will not be exactly what either side wants, Tom Jarriel reported. (ABC)

One administration source remarked that Carter looks like he is trying to grab some of the initiative that he's lost. Jarriel said that White House sources believe Carter's lead will shrink to five percent before the debates, and hope the debates will provide the means for eliminating the remaining five percent, Jarriel added. (ABC)

Following an anchor report by Howard K. Smith on the FEC ruling, ABC presented separate reports on Carter and Ford. Jim Walker's 1:32 report showed film of Carter talking to reporters in Plains, Ga., and later leaving by plane for campaign trips. The 1:25 Ford segment by Tom Jarriel showed film of the Cabinet meeting, followed by Jarriel's stand-up report outside the WH.

NBC presented a 1:30 lead story by Irving R. Levine on the FEC decision, including film of the Commission's vote this morning. The lead story was followed by a 1:30 story by Don Oliver on Carter's statements Monday morning concerning the debates. Film was shown of Carter's remarks to reporters and his arrival in Atlanta. The third story on NBC was a 1:15 report by Marilyn Berger on the WH position on the debates. Berger spoke in front of the White House.

CBS led with the debates story, running separate reports on the FEC and Carter. Myria McLoughlin's 1:40 report on the FEC included Ed Bradley's 1:40 minute report on Carter's reaction to the FEC decision included comments by Carter in Plains. Carter was casually dressed. AP,UPI,Networks -- (8/30/76)

#### Debates Should Avoid Rhetoric

The Ford-Carter debates should be more than just a time to air campaign rhetoric, Howard K. Smith commented Monday.

He feels rhetoric was the problem with the Kennedy-Nixon debates. Kennedy and Nixon rarely addressed the questions, giving well-rehearsed campaign speeches instead.

Smith said the debate format should have reporters asking questions of each candidate. Time then should be set aside to let Ford and Carter question one another.

"The heat and friction will rub off the fuzziness typical of campaign speeches, and we'll get to what's called the 'nitty gritty'," he stated. ABC -- (8/30/76)

a094

PM-Political Rdp - 2nd Ld, a086, 140  
By CHRIS CONNELL

Associated Press Writer today that his representatives and President Ford's had reached tentative agreement on a format for debates between the candidates. According to Carter, the plans call for three debates of 75 minutes each.

Interviewed on the NBC "Today" show, Carter said the tentative agreement called for the first debate to take place in the third week of September and be patterned after a proposal by the League of Women Voters.

That would mean debates of a general nature - as Carter advocates - rather than on specific topics as proposed by Ford. The Democratic presidential candidate said he would not object to minor party candidates such as the American Independent party's Lester Maddox participating in the debates, but added: "I think that would ruin the debate format. It would be more like a forum."

There was no immediate comment from Ford.  
Ford and: 4th graf  
1125aED 08-30

A094

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PM-DEBATE 1STLD-PICKUP7THGRAF A022 8-30

(EDITORS: THE FEC MEETS AT 11 AM EDT)

BY IRA R. ALLEN

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- PRESIDENT FORD "CAN'T WAIT" TO DEBATE JIMMY CARTER, WHO WANTS AN UNSTRUCTURED SERIES OF DEBATES IN WHICH THE TWO PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEES CAN CROSS-EXAMINE EACH OTHER.

CARTER SAID TODAY THE TWO SIDES HAVE TENTATIVELY AGREED ON THREE 75-MINUTE DEBATES BEGINNING IN LATE SEPTEMBER, BUT THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION MUST DECIDE WHETHER THEY WOULD BE WITHIN THE LAW IF SPONSORED, AS PROPOSED, BY THE NONPARTISAN LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS.

CARTER TOLD REPORTERS THIS MORNING HE OBJECTS TO FORD'S PROPOSAL FOR THE DEBATES TO BE LIMITED TO A SINGLE TOPIC EACH TIME. "THE FREER THE DEBATES ARE, THE MORE CHANCE THAT I THINK GERALD FORD AND I HAVE TO CROSS-EXAMINE ONE ANOTHER."

FORD SAID SUNDAY, "I CAN'T WAIT FOR THE FIRST DEBATE BECAUSE WE'RE GOING TO PIN HIM DOWN."

ASIDE FROM ANY LEGAL PROBLEMS WITH THE NEW FEDERAL ELECTION LAWS, THE DEBATE COULD RUN INTO COURT CHALLENGES FROM CANDIDATES EUGENE MCCARTHY AND LESTER MADDOK, BOTH OF WHOM HAVE ALREADY SAID THEY WILL TAKE ACTION TO PREVENT DEBATES LIMITED TO FORD AND CARTER.

MURPHY SAID AFTER LAST WEEK'S FEC MEETING, "I GET THE IMPRESSION THE COMMISSION WANTS TO PERMIT THE STAGING OF THESE EVENTS UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF THE LEAGUE."

BUT FIRST THE SIX-MEMBER COMMISSION HAD TO DECIDE:

PICKUP 7THGRAF: -- WHETHER THE \$150,000

UPI 08-30 10:35 AED

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PM-Debates W c3eryroryy 120  
WASHN to update sub 8th and 9th grafs: Both sides

... Carter camp. Carter said today tentative agreement has been reached on a format of three debates, each lasting 75 minutes. He told reporters the first would be the third week in September and patterned primarily after the league's proposal.

According to that plan, the debates would be of a general nature, as Carter advocates, and not on specific topics, as Ford has said he would like. Carter added that he wants the debates in "neutral territory," saying that holding the first in Washington would give Ford an advantage.

Carter also said he would not object to participation by other presidential candidates, although he added that this would turn the debate format into something "more like a forum."  
Both Carter: 10th graf

A263

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AM-CARTER 1STLD-PICKUP4THGRAF A240 9-15  
(PREVIOUS LAKE CRYSTAL, MINN.)  
ADV FOR 6PM EDT

BY WESLEY G. PIPPERT

DEARBORN, MICH. (UPI) -- JIMMY CARTER, CAMPAIGNING A FEW MILES AWAY FROM PRESIDENT FORD, WEDNESDAY NIGHT CHARGED EIGHT YEARS OF REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION HAVE GIVEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE "THE WORST ECONOMIC RECORD SINCE THE GREAT DEPRESSION."

CARTER CAME TO MICHIGAN AS FORD OPENED HIS CAMPAIGN IN NEARBY ANN ARBOR, AND THE TWO PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES WERE STUMPING IN A STATE SHAKEN BY THE MIDNIGHT STRIKE DEADLINE OF 170,000 FORD MOTOR CO. WORKERS.

CARTER FLEW TO MICHIGAN FROM MINNESOTA, WHERE HE TEAMED UP WITH HIS RUNNING MATE, SEN. WALTER MONDALE, AT THE FARMFEST AGRICULTURAL SHOW IN LAKE CRYSTAL AND ACCUSED THE FORD ADMINISTRATION OF FAILING TO SUPPORT THE FAMILY FARMER.

"WE HAVE HAD ECONOMIC PROBLEMS BEFORE," THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE SAID IN REMARKS PREPARED FOR THE MICHIGAN AFL-CIO. "WE HAVE HAD POOR LEADERSHIP BEFORE, BUT NEVER BEFORE HAVE WE HAD SUCH WIDESPREAD LACK OF TRUST IN OUR GOVERNMENT."

"BECAUSE OF A WAR OUR PEOPLE DID NOT WANT, BECAUSE OF SCANDALS OUR PEOPLE DID NOT WANT, BECAUSE OF ECONOMIC MISMANAGEMENT OUR PEOPLE DID NOT WANT, MILLIONS OF AMERICANS HAVE LOST FAITH IN OUR GOVERNMENT."

CARTER CITED "NINE ECONOMIC ERRORS OF THE NIXON-FORD YEARS":

-- RICHARD NIXON'S 1969 ANNOUNCEMENT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD TAKE NO ACTION WHEN MAJOR COMPANIES RAISED PRICES.

-- THAT IN LESS THAN A YEAR, NIXON DECIDED TO FIGHT INFLATION THROUGH INCREASED UNEMPLOYMENT, AND WITHIN TWO YEARS 2.2 MILLION AMERICANS WERE JOBLESS.

-- NIXON'S WAGE PRICE CONTROLS, "A SHORTSIGHTED AND POORLY PLANNED APPROACH" CAUSING A 13 PER CENT INFLATION RATE.

-- NIXON'S 1972 PLAN TO PUMP THE ECONOMY THROUGH FEDERAL SPENDING AND A LOOSE MONETARY POLICY.

-- "THE MASSIVE, CLANDESTINE SALE OF WHEAT TO RUSSIA CHEATED THE AMERICAN FARMER AND LEFT THE AMERICAN CONSUMER TOTALLY UNPROTECTED AGAINST INFLATION."

-- THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD'S 1973 ATTEMPT TO CUT BACK THE MONEY SUPPLY WITH THE RESULT OF SOARING INTEREST RATES AND A 60 PER CENT DROP IN NEW HOUSING UNITS.

-- FORD'S WIN (WHIP INFLATION NOW) PROGRAM SOUGHT AN INCREASE IN TAXES WHICH WOULD HAVE CAUSED "MANY MORE MILLIONS" TO HAVE LOST THEIR JOBS.

-- "POTENTIALLY THE MOST DISASTROUS," THE ATTEMPT TO RAISE ENERGY PRICES.

-- FORD ACTIONS THAT "HAVE DESTROYED PRECISELY THE PROGRAMS THAT COULD REDUCE EMPLOYMENT AND INCREASE PRODUCTIVITY BY TRAINING AND TARGETING WORKERS FOR THE JOBS THE NATION NEEDS DONE."

PICKUP4THGRAF: THE DEMOCRATIC

ADV FOR 6PM EDT

UPI 09-15 06:26 PED

L. R. FORD LIB.

a032

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PM-Ford-Debates, Bjt, 490  
By FRANK CORMIER  
Associated Press Writer



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Perhaps more important in the debate context are two other briefing books, prepared by the Republican National Committee and the Ford campaign staff, that catalog Carter's record as governor of Georgia and his statements on economic and other domestic issues.

Ford's strategy for the debates will be to cite the Carter record whenever possible in an effort to portray his opponent as a "flip-flopper," while trying to portray himself as a confident, decisive leader, who has stuck to a steady fruitful course.

White House aides insist Ford really has spent very little time preparing for the first debate with Carter. They say he is so preoccupied with affairs of state that he has had to do most of his thinking about the debate during the evening and on weekends.

0424aED 09-14

# 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.

choice between now and the election. Among this group, representing about one-fourth of the electorate, the President won 32% to 18%. Fifty

tionally and by region and key population groups:

	Ford	Carter	Same-or no opinion
Nationwide	32%	25%	43%
Republicans	63	8	29
Democrats	17	39	44
Independents	33	17	50
18-29 years	32	25	43
30-49 years	30	25	45
50 and over	35	25	40
College	37	20	43
High school	31	27	42
Grade school	28	29	43
Men	32	23	45
Women	32	27	41
East	33	22	45

# Rivals Duck Foreign Policy, But Debate May Force Issue

By Henry S. Bradsher

Washington Star Staff Writer

So far, Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter have hit only glancing blows at each other on foreign and defense issues, but the approach of the second debate Oct. 6 might force some issues into sharpened focus.

The presidential campaign has been mostly concerned with economic and personal matters up to now. Recent replays of the 1960 campaign debates over Chinese offshore islands and missile gaps, and recollections of the attention to Vietnam in 1968 emphasize the contrast with the current concentration on domestic subjects.

More recent recollections of Ford's Republican nomination fight with Ronald Reagan also point up the present preponderance of domestic issues. Panama has scarcely been mentioned since the Kansas City convention, for instance.

**WITH REAGAN'S CHALLENGE** out of the way, unemployment-inflation troubles at home and a post-Vietnam turning inward have combined to reduce the importance of foreign affairs during

that's a moving target right now," the spokesman commented.

Another delayed Carter speech is on Soviet-American relations. Some Soviet affairs experts in Washington think it is the administration, rather than Carter, however, that most wants to keep that subject as much out of the campaign as possible.

With a retreat already beaten from claims about detente, the administration might want to keep Soviet relations in a low profile because of a feeling that it is a no-win subject. Topics like the lack of Soviet compliance with the Helsinki agreement's human rights provisions could be awkward to explain from a political platform.

**IN THE MOST DIRECT** connection of foreign and defense policies, the strategic arms talks (SALT) with the Soviet Union, Ford's advisers thought in early summer that there would be political gains to be made from pushing to a treaty before the Nov. 2 balloting. But the prospect of sharpened controversy over the terms of a treaty, plus a lack of Soviet urgency in reaching a compromise, has brought a reversal of this thinking.



But Carter lead is trimmed

# Debate-winner Ford still lags in race

By Louis Harris

© 1976 Chicago Tribune

ALTHOUGH PRESIDENT Ford won the first debate by a clear 40 to 31 per cent, Jimmy Carter still holds a comfortable 50-to-41 per cent lead nationwide in the contest for the presidency.

But in a four-way race, which would take account of the potential impact of the independent candidacies of Eugene McCarthy and Lester Maddox, Carter's



crat's lead is a much wider 52-to-37 per cent.

However, to conclude that the debate produced this difference in Carter support might well be misleading, since the debate watchers were drawn disproportionately from the most articulate, educated, and higher-income voters.

Following this first debate, Carter holds a clear and unmistakable lead. Nevertheless, his enormous early leads of 39 and 25 per cent reported by previous surveys have obviously evaporated

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File

r a byluivvyx  
AM-Nielsen, 120

NEW YORK, AP - An estimated 90 million Americans saw all or part of the initial debate between President Ford and Democratic rival Jimmy Carter, an NBC spokesman said Monday.

The estimate was based on an A.C. Nielsen finding that 53.5 per cent of all American households were tuned in on the confrontation between the two presidential aspirants last Thursday night.

Nielsen's rating was based on a survey of 1,200 homes around the country that have meters attached to their TV sets. The company estimates that 71.2 million American households have sets.

The rating was compiled from the number of sets tuned to the debate on the three major commercial networks. Not included was the Public Broadcast Service, which also televised the event.

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r a bylzyveev  
AM-Ford, Bjt, 400 up  
By WALTER R. MEARS

AP Special Correspondent

MIAMI AP - President Ford said Monday that a crusade against crime, including a drive to jail career criminals and "violent and street-wise" youthful offenders, would keynote the first 100 days of a new term if he wins the election.

Ford said the voters should and will check their ballots on Nov. 2 "and identify those candidates who have demonstrated indifference or permissiveness toward crime . . ."

Ford's appearance here closed out his three-day campaign swing through Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter's home territory, the Deep South, and he was to return to Washington later on Monday.

In a stern law-and-order speech to more than 2,000 policemen, Ford accused Congress of inaction on his own crime-fighting proposals and said:

"I serve notice today that a top priority of the first 100 days, beginning with Inauguration Day for the Ford administration next January, will be the rallying of America behind federal anticrime legislation."

Ford's speech to the International Association of Chiefs of Police was in tune with the conservative line he has espoused during the three days of campaigning in southern states.

The President skipped one issue he had pressed in four Sunday appearances along the Mississippi Gulf Coast, where he repeatedly declared his opposition to federal gun registration. He said all law-abiding citizens should have the right to keep firearms for their own protection and should not be required to register guns if they want to go hunting.

The administration does advocate restrictions on some cheap handguns, although Ford didn't mention that Sunday. The President also favors mandatory sentences for crimes in which a gun is used.

Carter's position on gun control is that he favors registration of handguns and a ban on the sale of cheap "Saturday night specials," but no restrictions on rifles and shotguns.

The police chiefs' association has not taken a position on gun control or registration, but the issue is expected to come up when its Miami convention adopts policy resolutions later this week.

Ford told the convention that "Congress has done nothing," on his crime-fighting proposals, including an overhaul of the federal criminal code, mandatory minimum sentences for violent or repeated federal offenders, compensation of victims and an increase in the number of federal judges.

More  
1535pED 09-27

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 29 1976

FOR:

MIKE DUVAL

FROM:

BILL CARBOTHERS

For your information.

Attachments

H. S. W.  
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9.29.76

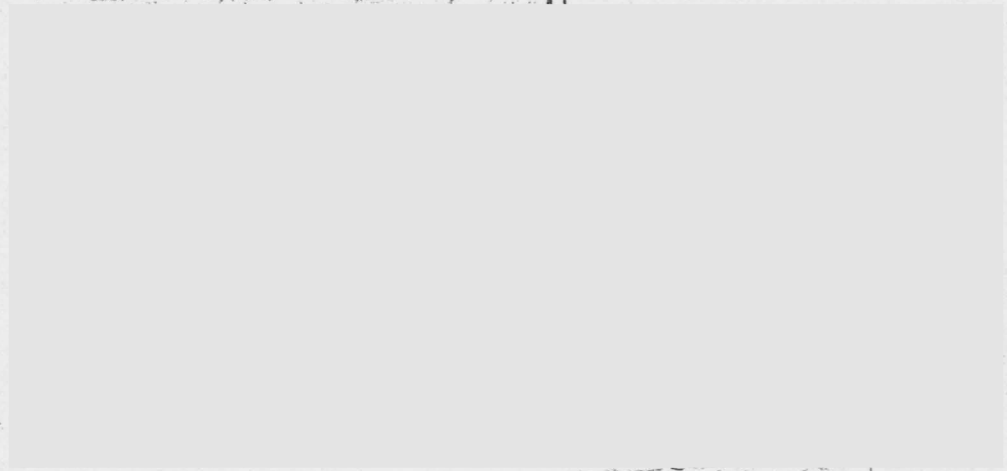
PINK PANTHER  
FYI

**Debate Round 2:  
format the same**

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

There will be no major changes in the  
format for next week's presidential de-  
bate. So says the League of Women Vot-  
ers.



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 PM-Leading Indicators, 2nd Add, a088-89, 110  
 WASHINGTON: economic activity.

John W. Kendrick, chief economist for the Commerce Department, said the latest figures are in line with the slower rate of growth in the economy this summer, but they aren't likely to signal a downturn in economic activity generally.

He said increased expectations for business spending in Commerce's long-term surveys, higher stock prices this month and recent growth in the money supply all suggest a drop of no more than one month in the composite index.

"Most past business cycle expansions have lasted at least three years, so I don't think this one-month decrease should be interpreted too negatively," he said. "It would be very unusual for the economy to fall out of bed at this stage in the expansion."

1140aED 09-28

r a zvtczculv  
 PM-Debate 340

WASHINGTON AP - The second debate between President Ford and Jimmy Carter will take place the evening of Oct. 6 in San Francisco's Palace of Fine Arts Theater, the League of Women Voters announced today.

The Palace of Fine Arts Theater, located at the approach to the Golden Gate Bridge, is an ornate, domed building, the only one remaining from the 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition. The exposition celebrated the opening of the Panama Canal and the rebuilding of San Francisco, devastated by the 1906 earthquake.

The league, which is sponsoring three debates between the Democratic and Republican contenders for the presidency and one between their running mates, announced that the vice presidential debate will be broadcast the morning of Oct. 15 from a still undetermined location.

The site of the third presidential debate, scheduled for Oct. 22, has not been officially announced. But Republican vice-presidential candidate Bob Dole said Monday that it will take place in Williamsburg, Va., the colonial capital of Virginia which has been restored through the influence and largesse of the Rockefeller family.

Dole has challenged his Democratic counterpart, Sen. Walter F. Mondale, to hold the debate in the South and had said earlier he thought Birmingham, Ala., would be a good setting.

Jim Karayn, director of the league's Presidential Forum, said Williamsburg is among several cities under consideration as a site for the third debate, but he refused to name the others or say how many there were.

When word of the choice of San Francisco as the site for the second debate leaked out ahead of an official announcement, Karayn denied then that any decision had been made.

The second debate is to be on foreign policy and defense issues, and the league said San Francisco "is a most fitting location for a foreign affairs debate in light of the fact that the U.N. Charter was signed there in 1945."

Both the second presidential debate and the vice presidential debate are scheduled to begin at 9:30 p.m. EDI and run for 90 minutes, the league said. The first debate, last Thursday, was scheduled for the same time and duration, but a breakdown in the sound transmission caused a 27-minute interruption near the end of the debate.

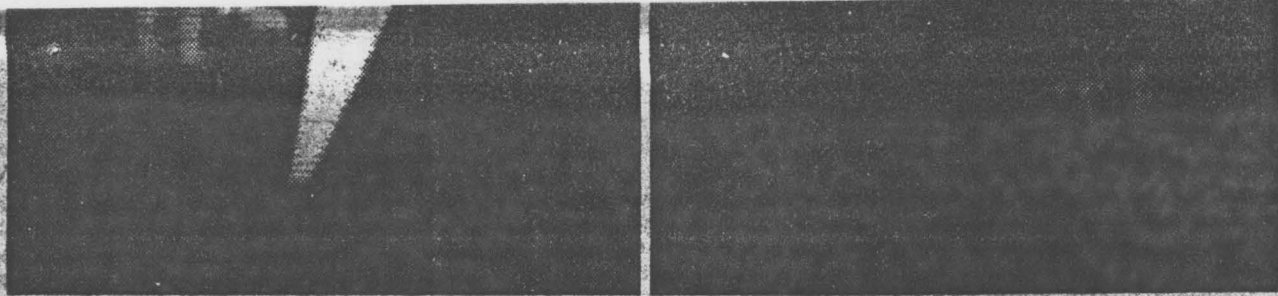
1148aED 09-28

## Even Mr. McLuhan Was Disappointed



Photos of Mr. Carter and Mr. Ford taken from a television screen during the debate. The New York Times/Larry Morris

# The Debates: A Marketplace In the Global Village



The New York Times/Larry Morris  
Photos of Mr. Carter and Mr. Ford taken from a television screen during the debate.

# The Debates: A Marketplace In the Global Village

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON

WASHINGTON—Presidents sometimes rail at Congress, recriminate against critics or tongue-lash bureaucrats. From time to time they govern. But they hardly ever debate.

Thus it may have been just as well that, for all the breathlessness that preceded it, the first of the "great debates" between President Ford and Jimmy Carter hardly seemed to have decided their contest.

To hear the participants and pundits tell it, both won. Or neither did. One instant voter survey, on the morning-

to discuss issues but to use them as a way "to tell you about his character and ability and intelligence."

Mr. Ford, an accidental President with an exaggerated reputation for physical clumsiness, sought to display competence and self-assurance. His aides, aware that he is ill at ease looking into impersonal television equipment, made certain the cameras would be positioned so that Mr. Ford would seem to make eye-to-eye contact with television viewers while actually looking at his questioners.

Mr. Carter, attempting to get off the defensive for impolitic statements about sex and taxes made to interviewers recently, and needing to demonstrate an ability to make the

# Stormy CBS Walkout In Debate on Debates Clouds TV Coverage

By William Delaney

Washington Star Staff Writer

Television network news executives, protesting plans to ban camera shots of the audience at next Thursday's opening Carter-Ford debate, got the sponsoring League of Women Voters to agree yesterday to reconsider the ban on audience-reaction shots.

None of the commercial network

AS FOR THE unresolved matter of audience-reaction shots, the Walker-Minow statement said the League had initially agreed with the "unanimous recommendation" of both Ford and Carter advisers to keep cameras off the League-invited audience and press in Philadelphia's Walnut Street Theater. Their fear is that that zoom-ins on smirks or frowns in the audience while either candidate is speak-

participant or another."

Similarly, Carter debate adviser Barry Jagoda, in New York City, said by telephone that the decision on audience shots remains entirely with the League.

WHILE KARAYN said that the panelist-selection process was "too difficult" to explain, ABC News Vice President Walter Pfister said he was told at the closed-door League-network meeting that it worked this way:

Both the Ford and Carter camps recommended to the League debate project lists of 45 journalists. Some names were on both lists. The League added suggestions of its own (resulting in a final list of around 90, according to one source). Then, through "consultations" with both camps, the paring-down process began.

"The question of whether a person



## Ford Tells South He Opposes Firearms Registration

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON

Special to The New York Times

BILOXI, Miss., Sept. 26—President Ford promised Southern sportsmen today that he would never favor the confiscation or registration of their firearms.

Campaigning across the bayous and beaches of Mississippi's Gulf Coast, the President time and again told residents of this Deep South recreation area that "the law-abiding citizens of this country should not be deprived of the right to have firearms in their possession."

White House officials said that they saw potential political profit, across the nation as well as in the conservative South, in attempting to contrast Mr.

Deep South.

As he had to audiences along Mississippi River levees in Louisiana yesterday, the President depicted himself as the more fiscally conservative of the two major party nominees.

"There are some people running for this office of president," he said, without naming Mr. Carter, "that want to add more spending, bigger and bigger deficits, more and more inflation. We're against that," he added, to cacophonous praise from applauding families in their shirt-sleeves and sports clothes.

Mr. Ford seemed to labor at times to raise the subject of firearms. After motoring, in a long, serpentine caravan, from the New Orleans through the wooded and

in the commission of crimes, and has supported the Justice Department's attempts to stem the circulation of the cheapest, most dangerous handguns.

One senior White House official said privately that, while he believed there was no justifiable reason to keep a handgun in the home, he sensed that there was little to be gained and much to be lost politically in saying so.

Mr. Ford, his suitcoat doffed and his white business shirt soaked through with perspiration, spoke to or waved at thousands of individuals as his entourage made its way along 140 miles of interstate and Federal highways hugging the sandy Gulf of Mexico. He stopped frequently on the eight-hour journey to Mo-

# Both Sides Consider Changing Format of Remaining Debates

By Myra MacPherson

Washington Post Staff Writer

Although both President Ford and Jimmy Carter expressed pleasure over the first television debate, aides conceded that there were some problems with the format they wouldn't mind changing.

"The panelists did a superb job," Jagoda said, "but maybe they could have come down harder on their follow-up questions. Just say, 'You did not answer my question.'"

Questions on domestic issues that evoke considerable emotional responses from the public—quality edu-

out to see how they can do these seemingly contradictory things."

She agreed that there was some overlap in areas of inflation and unemployment but those are "central questions on where this country's going. If we had left some of those areas wide open, people would have been down

PM-Debates, Bju - 10:00 AM, -

WASHN: today's meeting.

But Wednesday, Carter aides said their side is fairly flexible on the timing and subject matter of the debates - as long as Ford's people do not attempt to display a presidential seal on his podium or microphone.

Meanwhile, another face-to-face meeting between the two presidential candidates was being urged by a group within the National Press Club.

Warren Rogers, a free-lance journalist and cochairman of the press club's Professional Relations Committee, said invitations have been extended to both Ford and Carter to appear as soon as possible after Labor Day at a forum sponsored by the club.

At the forum, each candidate would make an opening statement, answer written questions from an audience of editors, publishers and broadcast executives, and then finish with brief closing statements, he said.

Both camps have expressed interest in the offer, but there have been no firm commitments, Rogers said.

However, he said the press club would provide an "ideal location" for such an encounter, especially if the League of Women Voters' proposal becomes snarled in legal controversy.

0103aED 08-26

PM-Debates, Bjt - 2 takes, 490-680

By TOM RAUM

Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON AP - Although some major legal issues remain unresolved, representatives of President Ford and Jimmy Carter are ready to begin arranging details for the proposed debates between the presidential candidates.

Emissaries from both camps planned to discuss specifics today with officers of the League of Women Voters, which has offered to sponsor the series of televised debates.

The Federal Election Commission, meanwhile, also planned to meet to discuss the claim by some staff attorneys that the debate format proposed by the league might violate federal campaign financing laws.

Peggy Lampi, executive director of the league, said this legal uncertainty looms as the biggest potential obstacle to the debates.

"It deeply concerns us," she said. "Not only could an adverse ruling by the election commission upset our plans, but it could preclude any appearance by presidential candidates before private organizations in general."

Daniel Swillinger, assistant general counsel for the commission, has claimed that the league-sponsored debates could violate the provision that forbids presidential candidates from accepting private contributions once they have agreed to accept public financing of their campaigns.

Both Ford and his Democratic challenger have gone the public-financing route, with each expected to get about \$21 million in tax funds.

The league estimates that the debates will cost \$150,000 - most of which it plans to solicit from labor unions, corporations and other groups.

President Ford, who laid down the challenge to debate Carter in his acceptance speech last week's Republican National Convention, announced Wednesday that Dean Burch and William Ruckelshaus would represent him in the negotiations over the debates.

Burch, a former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission and deputy director of Barry Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign, has served as an adviser in the President's re-election campaign.

Ruckelshaus, who quit as deputy attorney general in 1973 rather than carry out the order of former President Richard M. Nixon to fire the special Watergate prosecutor, is a lumber firm executive in Tacoma, Wash. He has not played an active role in Ford's campaign.

Carter's team of negotiators is headed by Jody Powell, the former Georgia governor's press secretary and a top adviser.

The League of Women Voters had proposed four debates - three between Ford and Carter and the fourth between GOP vice-presidential nominee Sen. Robert Dole and his Democratic counterpart, Sen. Walter Mondale.

Ford, however, has suggested four 90-minute debates between himself and Carter, with the first on either Sept. 8, 9 or 10, dealing with national defense policy. The other debates should be on domestic, foreign and economic policies, he added.

The Carter camp initially registered objections to Ford's outlining plans for the debate prior to today's meeting.

MORE

0059aED 08-26



most popular, who can help me the most, is Gov. Brown," he said.

Alluding to Brown's strong primary showings, including the California con-

Carter discussed the limits that were facing the world, the restraints imposed by government, the alternate views that people have as to the ability

he and I have a remarkable compatibility of thoughts and ideas about what this country ought to be, and I'm very proud of his friendship," he added.

Associated Press Photo

## Ex-Foes Carter and Brown: Promises of Help

# Carter Disowns Bush Memo

By FAY S. JOYCE

Constitution Staff Writer

PLAINS—Jimmy Carter disowned a staff memo Friday that claimed CIA Director George Bush got his job as a political favor and declared, "I happen to think a lot of George Bush.

Carter said he had never discussed Bush's qualifications with any of his staff and added that it was "a serious mistake on some staff member's part to reveal an intra-staff memorandum."

The two-page memo was put together by Carter workers to back up his

It lists 19 persons that President Ford or ex-President Nixon nominated to government posts, including Bush, who lost a Texas Senate race before Nixon named him ambassador to the U.N. and then to China.

Ford later picked Bush to head the

"It's not the worst mistake I've ever made," Powell said Friday, shrugging.

He said he had explained the situation to Carter, who said he didn't even know the memo existed until he saw news reports about it.

Asked if his boss had cussed him

campaign spokesman charged Friday that Republicans are using distortions, half-truths and outright lies in an effort to convince farmers that a Carter administration would revive export embargoes on farm crops.

EXCEPRT FROM CARTER INTERVIEW WITH AP

September 18, 1976

The overall effect would be to shift substantial increases toward those who have the higher incomes and reduce the taxes on lower and middle income taxpayers.

Q. What do you mean when you say shift the burden?

A. That means people who have a higher income would pay more taxes at a certain level.

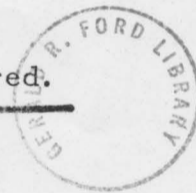
Q. In dollar figures, what are you thinking of as higher?

A. I don't know. I would take the mean or median level of income and anything above this would be higher, and anything below that would be lower.

Q. The median family income today is somewhere around \$12,000. Somebody earning \$15,00 a year is not what people commonly think of as rich...

A. I understand....

I don't think most of them want to see their taxes lowered.



Patrick Buchanan

# Time for the Right to stop its crying



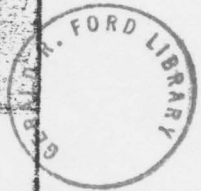
WASHINGTON—Nursing the bruises from their beating at Kansas City, the conservative brethren are fly-specking the Ford campaign, talking of “going fishing” election day. “Serve ‘em right if they go down the tubes” summarizes the attitude of some.

My advice: Stop bawling into the Coors beer, and get to work for the Republican ticket.

country will catch a dose of socialism from which it will never fully recover.

Where Ford has fought for modest hikes in defense, Carter would chop the United States security budget \$5 to \$7 billion—more than the entire defense budget of most Western nations.

Ford's vice presidential choice is a war hero and fiscal conservative with one of the strongest national security



## Andrew Jimmy

A NUMBER of  
about Jimmy C  
lem.”

First of all,  
tions of a numb  
ter's people are  
a real problem.

Secondly, the  
and can't figure  
Thirdly, they  
about it, but do  
actly what to do

Carter's still  
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tional Catholic  
were both obv  
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of his support  
polls, the Cath  
larly “soft.”  
vey shows tha  
Carter's Catho  
committed to h  
aster in the ur  
west.

CARTER, HOWEVER, is promising national health insurance, the Humphrey-Hawkins “full employment” monster, federalized welfare, situs picketing, repeal of right-to-work laws, more bus-

zhenitsyn thing, the Schlesinger firing, the energy bill. He pays too much heed to Henry Kissinger. There have been too many compromises, not enough fights with the friends of Tip O'Neill.

But he is infinitely better for the coun-

# REVIEW & OUTLOOK

## Mr. Ford's Opportunity

President Gerald Ford has won his party's mandate, the first step toward winning in his own right the office that fate has bestowed on him. He now faces his first national campaign, and in it finds his best opportunity to fashion the clear sense of direction his presidency has so far lacked.

So it is of no small moment what kind of campaign Mr. Ford will wage. He starts some 30 points behind in the public opinion polls, but with the considerable advantage of incumbency. He has a creditable record in his two years in the office, and a reassuring nice-guy personality. Above all, as a sitting President he has the power not merely to orate but to move events.

In Jimmy Carter the President faces a skillful opponent who has so far profited immensely from being a relative unknown. In recent weeks Mr. Carter and his supporters have been making curious statements about expecting the Republicans to wage a harsh and highly personal campaign. Unless they know something we don't, there is no reason the attack should be particularly personal. Indeed, in his acceptance speech last night, the President seemed to be running against not Mr. Carter but the Democratic Congress. Yet a cutting edge that forces Mr. Carter out on the issues would serve both political and public interests. The nation needs some firmer idea of where *he* would take

economists of the stripe now advising Mr. Carter. The problems of the economy have of course not all been solved in the interim, but the simultaneous progress against both inflation and unemployment vindicates Mr. Ford's analysis and prescription. And as a political matter, our sense is that the public understands that in our current circumstances the greatest economic menace is a new outbreak of destabilizing inflation.

It will not be enough for Mr. Ford to point to what has been done so far, particularly since both inflation and unemployment remain too high. He has to offer a program for continued economic progress in the years ahead. What that program should be is clear enough: Mr. Ford has to spend the next two months depicting his party and his administration as the paths to lower taxes.

In the last week it has been widely noted that the conservative mood settling on the nation pertains to social issues and not to economic ones. This is in some sense true; the mood is far from one of dismantling the New Deal. Yet it by no means follows that so long as you issue the right bromides about the American family you can go on buying votes by handing out money from Washington. Indeed, if you look at the state and local elections of the last few years, you could easily carry away the impression that the new conservative mood is principally a re-

#  
(NEXT PAGE - SAME COLUMN)

(NEXT PAGE - SAME COLUMN)





self against high and rising taxes.  
Republicans have had trouble  
tagging this sentiment nationally  
for a number of reasons. For one  
thing, they have been overly  
preoccupied with deficit con-  
cerns proposing to increase taxes  
to cover them—though borrowing  
and taxing in fact take the same  
resources from the private sector.  
But the larger reason is that in  
general reducing taxes will re-  
quire reducing spending which is  
widely assumed to be ultimately  
beneficial to the nation as a  
whole.

Which would the public really  
rather have: the maximum tax rate  
imposed during the 1970s or the  
equivalent variation imposed in  
later years? President Ford will  
probably be the first to answer  
the question. He will probably  
reply that the latter is the better  
solution. But let us consider what  
John F. Kennedy would have  
said. The answer is that he  
would have chosen the former.  
It is between now and November  
Mr. Ford can tell the public he  
has the answer but crucially  
during the election the answer  
between higher government and  
lower taxes he will have found  
the answer not only in the campaign  
but in his presidency.

P's Sharp flops -

never said one thing  
in — and another  
that's different  
than changing your mind.

The necessity to attack op-  
tiously explains much about Mr.  
Ford's selection of Kansas Senator  
Robert Dole as his running mate.  
Senator Dole has a fairly estab-  
lished record as a tough fighter,  
though seldom mentioned pre-  
siding as a possible President.  
He has the political clout that  
enables the party's larger figures  
to use the powers of his office to  
the best advantage. As it happens,  
Dole is a Republican and will help  
the party's larger figures to  
win the election in the  
close fight. The incumbent of in-  
distinguishable record has been  
chosen to be the vice president.

The biggest difference be-  
tween President Ford and Mr.  
Carter lies in the field of econo-  
mics and it seems to me that Mr.  
Ford should state his ground here.  
Mr. Carter argues that we should  
fight unemployment first and  
worry about inflation later, and  
that the government should for the  
moment supply more economic  
stimulus presumably higher de-  
bits and faster money growth. Mr.  
Ford argues, for example in his  
most recent economic report, that  
the recession was caused by the  
loose money policy and that the way  
to end the unemployment problem  
is to end the inflation problem.

In this debate Mr. Ford can cite  
his own record for the same argu-  
ments were made a year ago,  
when the unemployment problem  
was far greater. The Ford admin-  
istration rejected the advice for  
more stimulus offered by most

~~little~~  
~~letter~~

# The Debate: 100 Million 1st-Nighters

By Lou Cannon

Washington Post Staff Writer

The first of three one-act political dramas, known as the presidential debates opens tonight in Philadelphia on the stage of one of America's most famous theaters.

No one knows precisely what the performance will contain or how polished it will be, but it is considered likely to sharpen the focus of what has until now been a desultory and inconclusive political campaign between President Ford and Jimmy Carter.

It is the first such staging since John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon engaged in four debates in 1960 before a nationwide television audience, and great care has been taken to prepare the participants, the set design and all other aspects of the production before the curtain goes up at 9:30 tonight. The playbill for the evening:

**PRINCIPALS**—In addition to Mr. Ford, the Republican, and former Georgia Gov. Carter, the Democrat, three reporters will play the roles of panelists. They are Elizabeth Drew of The New Yorker, James P. Gannon of The Wall Street Journal and Frank Reynolds of the ABC network. Edwin Newman of NBC appears as the moderator.

**SETTING**—The Walnut Street Theater, a graystone building five blocks from Independence Hall, which boasts of being the oldest theater in continuous use in the English-speaking world. It was first used in 1809 as a circus ring and in 1964 was designated a national historic landmark.

**STAGING**—A curved, semi-circular set done in blue and white and intended to minimize distraction. Set designer Robert Weightman says it will "present a neutral and comfortable environment for the political candidates."

**AUDIENCE**—The first debate, 90 minutes without an intermission, will be before a group hand-picked by the producer, the League of Women Voters. It will include 270 officials of the league and 230 reporters. But the real audience will be the estimated 100 million or more American television viewers who will be watching over the four networks. Several hundred million more persons in other lands will see the debate via a satellite hookup.

**SYNOPSIS**—The debate is an unusual match between Carter, the first truly Southern nominee of his party since 1848, and Mr. Ford, the first person to inherit the presidency under the 25th Amendment. Carter reached the Philadelphia stage after a series of successful engagements that began with the New Hampshire and Florida primaries.

Mr. Ford, also, was an unlikely prospect for this engagement. He survived a strong challenge from Ronald Reagan and then defied political custom by issuing a debate challenge from the White House, in the hopes of overtaking Carter's lead in the polls.

Tonight's drama is essentially an effort to convince skeptical voters about the candidates' presidential qualities. Polls taken by the candidates show that the voting audience has questions about Carter's personality and stands on some issues and doubts about Mr. Ford's leadership ability. A Gallup Poll yesterday showed that 36 per cent of the voters are uncertain about how they will cast their ballots in November.

The conventional wisdom is that Carter holds a narrowing lead over the President among potential voters. A Harris Survey yesterday showed that a plurality of voters now think that Mr. Ford is doing a good job as President; two out of three voters thought he was doing a poor job six weeks ago.

**FORMAT**—There will be no opening statement. Each candidate will be asked a question on a subject relating to the economy or a domestic issue. He will have up to three minutes to reply. The questioner may then ask a follow-up question and the candidate may give up to a two-minute answer. The opposing candidate will be able

to comment on this answer for up to two minutes. Each candidate also is allowed a closing statement of up to three minutes. Questions will rotate among the panelists.

**SET DESIGN**—Each candidate will stand at a waist-high half-circle oak podium with a plain flat top for note-taking. Each will have a chrome and-leather stool on which to sit when not speaking. Panelists will be seated at a 12-foot-wide table directly in front of the candidates.

**SPECIAL EFFECTS**—These reflect a compromise between the desires of the two camps. Carter's spokesmen were concerned about the impact of the presidential seal in front of Mr. Ford, and his spokesmen agreed not to use it. But the candidates will stand, which the Carter side did not want because it emphasizes Mr. Ford's height advantage (6'1" compared with Carter's 5'10"). But they will be separated by eight feet of distance so that this difference will not be readily apparent on television.

Another special effect is the deep blue of the set, which the Ford side wanted because it de-emphasizes the President's high forehead. Carter's negotiators wanted a lighter shade of blue.

Other special effects include a digital clock, so that each candidate will know how much time he has left, and a shelf with an indentation for a glass and carafe of water.

**REPEAT ENGAGEMENTS**—A second debate, on foreign affairs, is scheduled for Oct. 6 in San Francisco. A third debate, at an undetermined location on the East Coast, will be held Oct. 22.

**CREDITS**—Principal stand-ins for the two candidates in the negotiations leading to the debates have been Jody Powell, Carter's press secretary, and Michael Duval, a special counsel to the President.

Behind the scenes, black, loose-leaf briefing books have been prepared for both candidates. In Carter's case this project was directed by Ted Van Dyk, former issues director for Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.). He was assisted by Theodore Sorensen and Frank Mankiewicz, top aides to John F. and Robert F. Kennedy, respectively, and John Stewart, a former

# Debate Telecast Imperiled

## Networks Insist On Video Shots Of Audience

By Stephen Isaacs  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The four national television networks are threatening not to cover the debate between the two major presidential candidates next Thursday.

Network officials expressed outrage at being forbidden to televise reactions of the hand-picked audience—270 League of Women Voters officials and 230 reporters—invited by the league to Philadelphia's Walnut Street Theater.

They claim that this restriction amounts to prior censorship, and insist that they cannot tolerate it.

The restriction was agreed to earlier by the league, sponsor of the debate, at the request of the candidates themselves.

Top news officials of the three commercial networks and the Public Broadcasting System have demanded a hearing today before the league to try to change the restriction.

The meeting will be at 10 a.m. at the league's national office, 1730 M St. NW.

The networks had tried to obtain a waiver of the equal time provisions of broadcast law to stage the presidential debates themselves as they did in 1960. Their proposal called for the debates to be held in a studio with no audience whatever.

Congress refused to waive the provisions of the equal time law—which would require the networks to give a long list of presidential candidates an equal forum—as it did for the 1960 debates.

The networks have aimed their ire mostly at James Karayn, the project director for the debates, on the assumption that the ban on televising the audience was his decision.

But the league, it was determined yesterday, is actually complying with the insistence of the candidates' representatives.

Walter J. Pfister Jr., a vice president of American Broadcasting Co.—chosen by the networks to be the "pool" agency for all of them and produce the first debate on Thursday, said yesterday:

"We have a major problem, and that is that Karayn and the league say we cannot take reaction pictures of the audience. They're forbidding us to light the audience or 'mike' it (put microphones in the audience) or to have a camera put on it.

"We are covering this as a news event, covering it as we would any other news event. The audience is part of the news event and we should not be denied the right to cover that part."

Pfister said that, at a meeting Tuesday in Philadelphia, Karayn "got tough on it and said, 'That's our position and these are the rules. If you don't want to cover it under the rules, that's your own decision.'"

Michael Duval, special counsel to President Ford, when told of the networks' threat in effect to boycott the debates, said simply:

"I suppose we could have the biggest newspaper and radio show in modern history."

The League of Women Voters chose three persons to negotiate a format for its "'76 Presidential Debates" (four debates are planned, one of them between the two vice presidential candidates). Two of these negotiators—called chairmen—will be at today's appeal meeting.

One chairman, former Nixon administration official Rita Hauser, said yesterday that "CBS wants to do a number of things that we're not prepared to have them do."

CBS also is insisting that it have its own camera on the set, in addition to the nine pool cameras planned, although the other networks are not apparently making an issue of the extra camera—called a "unilateral camera"—for themselves.

"We don't want the networks to show reactions," said Hauser, "and the candidates feel strongly about it. The respective candidates don't want the audience to be a factor in this. We don't want the audience all across America to prejudge this because someone in the audience has a reaction."

Hauser said that, when representatives of the candidates met with league officials some weeks ago to set up the format for the debates, "we discussed the fact that the audience would only be a passive factor, and that the reaction of 150 million viewers would not be influenced by one, two or 10 people who might be in the hall. We thought that was a reasonable requirement."

Duval, who was the President's spokesman at those negotiations and who is responsible for briefing the President for the debates, said:

"The characterization I got from the President out of Vail was that it was not to be a television show, a theatrical event, but it was to be done seriously, and that's why the whole format was done this way. We've got, by way of agreement, exactly that.

"I agree totally with the league's decision," Duval said, "and in fact recommended it, along with Mr. Carter, that television coverage be exclusively on the stage."



File

### No Firm Commitments Made

# Ford, Staff Eye 4 Debates With Carter

VAIL, Colo. Aug. 22 (UPI) — President Ford and his political advisers plan on a possible series of four debates with Jimmy Carter and have begun quiet talks about arrangements with the Democratic nominee's staff, White House sources said today.

They said the President has made

Vail has been named the liaison from the Ford camp to make debate arrangements with Carter aides and the contacts were under way, they said.

Mr. Ford used today to complete a weekend of relaxation sandwiched between work devoted more to governmental business than presidential politics.

face was puffy and the President steadied her with an arm when she swayed a bit on the church steps while posing for photographers. Mr. Ford's personal doctor, Rear Adm. William Lukash, said the First Lady was "doing all right. She's just a little stiff."

Mrs. Ford has been suffering from

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URGENT

BY ARNOLD SAWISLAK

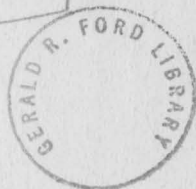
WASHINGTON (UPI) -- PRESIDENT FORD AND JIMMY CARTER AGREED WEDNESDAY TO HOLD THREE TELEVISED PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN DEBATES, WITH THE FIRST TO BE A 90-MINUTE CONFRONTATION ON DOMESTIC POLICY SEPT. 23.

A FOURTH DEBATE PITTING REPUBLICAN VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE SEN. ROBERT DOLE AGAINST CARTER'S DEMOCRATIC RUNNING MATE, SEN. WALTER MONDALE, WILL ALSO BE INCLUDED IN THE SERIES AT A DATE AND PLACE YET TO BE DECIDED.

MORE

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X X X DECIDED.

AGREEMENT ON GROUND RULES FOR THE FIRST PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES SINCE THE NIXON-KENNEDY MATCHUPS OF 1960 EMERGED FROM THE SECOND MEETING BETWEEN FORD AND CARTER REPRESENTATIVES UNDERS SPONSORSHIP OF THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS.

SPOKESMEN SAID THE FIRST DEBATE, SEPT. 23, WOULD DEAL WITH DOMESTIC AND ECONOMIC POLICY -- A DEPARTURE FROM FORD'S STATED DESIRE TO CONFINE THE FIRST MEETING TO DEFENSE ISSUES. THE PLACE OF THE FIRST DEBATE REMAINS TO BE DECIDED.

THE SECOND PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE WILL DEAL WITH FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE, AND THE THIRD WILL LEAVE THE CANDIDATES OPEN TO QUESTIONS ON ANY TOPIC.

NO DATES OR PLACES HAVE YET BEEN DECIDED FOR THE FINAL TWO PRESIDENTIAL ENCOUNTERS.

THE SPOKESMEN SAID ONLY THE FIRST ONE WILL DEFINITELY BE 90 MINUTES IN LENGTH.

THE VICE PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE WILL BE SCHEDULED BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THIRD PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES, THEY SAID.

THE LEAGUE WILL PICK A MODERATOR AND THREE JOURNALISTS TO CONDUCT THE QUESTIONING.

PICKUP 5THGRAF: THE TWO SIDES

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PH-CARTER 1STLD-PICKUP5THGRAF A049 8-30

BY ROBERT KAYLOR

PLAINS, GA. (UPI) -- JIMMY CARTER, PREPARING TO LEAVE ON A TWO-DAY VOTE-GETTING SWING NORTHWARD, TODAY ISSUED A CALL FOR A SERIES OF FREE-WHEELING DEBATES WITH PRESIDENT FORD THAT WOULD NOT BE RESTRICTED TO NARROWLY DEFINED SUBJECTS.

THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE TOLD REPORTERS IN AN EARLY MORNING QUESTION-AND-ANSWER SESSION FOLLOWING A TELEVISED INTERVIEW THAT TENTATIVE AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED WITH THE FORD FORCES FOR A SERIES OF THREE DEBATES OF 75 MINUTES EACH BEGINNING ABOUT THE THIRD WEEK IN SEPTEMBER.

FORD HAS CALLED FOR FOUR DEBATES, EACH OF THEM TO CENTER ON SPECIFIC CAMPAIGN SUBJECTS.

BUT CARTER SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO COVER MORE GROUND IN EACH ONE. HE SAID, "THE FREER THE DEBATES ARE, THE MORE CHANCE THAT I THINK GERALD FORD AND I HAVE TO CROSS-EXAMINE ONE ANOTHER ..."

"IF PRESIDENT FORD CAN GO IN BRIEFED ON JUST ONE NARROW SUBJECT WITH A WHOLE SHEAF OF DOCUMENTS, I THINK THAT WOULD REMOVE A GREAT DEAL OF THE DEBATE ASPECT FROM IT, AND THAT'S WHAT I DON'T WANT TO SEE."

CARTER SAID THAT WITH "AN UNSTRUCTURED FORMAT" IN THE DEBATES, THE PUBLIC WILL BE BETTER ABLE "TO DECIDE HOW MUCH I KNOW COMPARED TO WHAT HE KNOWS AND WHAT OUR GENERAL OPINIONS ARE."

CARTER SAID HIS OWN PREFERENCE FOR SUBJECTS IN A FIRST DEBATE WOULD INCLUDE THE COMPETENCE OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT, THE PROPER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE WHITE HOUSE AND CONGRESS, THE TRUST OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN GOVERNMENT, AND THE OPENNESS IN WHICH GOVERNMENTAL DECISIONS ARE NOW REACHED.

DURING THE TELEVISED INTERVIEW ON NBC'S "TODAY" PROGRAM, CARTER SAID HE COULD NOT BE MORE SPECIFIC AT THE MOMENT ON DETAILS OF THE PROGRAMS HE HAS PROMISED TO REORGANIZE THE GOVERNMENT AND REVAMP THE COUNTRY'S BUDGET AND TAX SYSTEMS, BUT THAT THESE WOULD BE SPELLED OUT "WEEK BY WEEK" DURING THE CAMPAIGN.

HE SAID THAT IN A SPEECH HE WILL MAKE TO THE AFL-CIO GENERAL BOARD IN WASHINGTON TUESDAY, "SOME OF THESE POINTS WILL BE MADE ON ECONOMICS," BUT DID NOT GO INTO FURTHER DETAIL.

CARTER ARRANGED TO LEAVE LATER TODAY FOR A FUND-RAISING APPEARANCE IN ATLANTA AND A MEETING WITH CAMPAIGN AIDES WHO RECENTLY MOVED INTO A NEW HEADQUARTERS, THEN GO ON TO WASHINGTON.

THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE HAS REJECTED PRESIDENT FORD'S LATEST CAMPAIGN PROPOSAL FOR IMPROVING THE NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM AS "A CALCULATED ELECTION YEAR FLIP-FLOP."

PICKUP 5TH GRAF: CARTER'S CHIEF

A REPORTER IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

SPRING NOTES-I

THAT this is our Bicentennial Year might not be of more than passing interest—we might see it merely as something to get through with as little offense from the promoters and the politicians as possible—if it were not for the context in which it falls. The celebration coincides with our first Presidential election since Watergate, which placed our system of government in unprecedented danger and made us more sharply conscious of the ideas that went into our founding. This is also our first Presidential election since Vietnam. Both the domestic and the foreign crises of these past few years shook our faith and our confidence—wiped out old assumptions and left us with new questions. At the same time, another set of perplexing questions has arisen: questions about how to manage our nation—about the economy, the federal government, race relations, to name just some—and about how to cope with an increasingly armed and restive world. All these form the background against which we are choosing our next leaders. In the foreground are men struggling for the greatest position of power which this

nation has to offer. As a reporter based in Washington, I've been watching that struggle closely and keeping a journal in which I've tried to record some of what is happening in this unusual political year.

APRIL 13

THE Sheraton Hotel, Philadelphia. Tuesday afternoon. Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia and current candidate for the Presidency, has just flown in from Atlanta. He looks positively relaxed. One would never guess from his appearance that he is believed to be in the worst trouble so far in his long campaign. He apologized last week for having said that federal housing programs should not break up the "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods, but the stir he caused has not abated, nor have the suspicions about him that the incident raised. He returned home to Georgia, exhausted, late on Saturday (he has not been able to keep to his intended schedule of taking Saturdays and Sundays off), and this morning he held a rally in Atlanta, where several blacks, including the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King,

Sr., embraced him. For good measure, Carter has flown in some blacks from Atlanta to stand here at this press conference with him and, along with some Pennsylvania blacks, attest to his *bona fides*.

It had begun to seem that Jimmy Carter would not make a big mistake, and then, on the eve of last week's Wisconsin and New York primaries, he did. He told an interviewer for the *New York News*, "I see nothing wrong with ethnic purity being maintained" in a neighborhood, and, under questioning in subsequent press conferences, defended his remarks by saying that there should not be "intrusion of alien groups" into neighborhoods. Whether Carter understood the full import of the code terms he used, and intended to use them, cannot be known, so the incident raised questions about his understanding, his judgment, and his character. Moreover, when it happened, it seemed to some—perhaps because they wished it to—that this might be one of those statements catastrophic to Presidential aspirants, like George Romney's statement about "brainwashing." Part of the reaction stemmed

from the fact that there is so much suspicion of Carter, so much uneasiness about him, that the statement reverberated. Because so many people had been waiting for Carter to make a mistake, because it just might be a historic event, it became magnified. Furthermore, the next two important primaries for Carter are in Pennsylvania and Indiana, states with large "ethnic" populations, and the question had been raised of whether Carter could do well in a Northern industrial state; Pennsylvania, in two weeks, is the test. From his record as governor, it is clear that he is not a racist. From his comments, it appears that he may have been dipping into the literature of Michael Novak and others who celebrate ethnicity and try to fan it into a political movement. (Carter has talked with Novak.) The honoring of ethnic identity and diversity is fine until it ventures into unreality—suggesting an America that can never be again—and into exploitation by the politi-



"If the treatment hasn't helped, Mrs. Jensen, I think the best thing you can possibly do is sue me. Litigation is often very therapeutic."



Pool Report, Air Force One, Andrews to San Francisco

P-Sub  
GERALD R. FORD LIBRARY

Wheels up at 4:40 p.m. After a while, Nessen came back and said as follows:

On Wednesday's debate: "The President is a man who deals with foreign policy every day. He has dealt with national defense and foreign policy affairs as President and even before that in Congress. The President expects to do well in the debate."

Nessen said Mike Duval was "not entirely pleased by the small amount of time the President has spent in preparing for this debate." Nessen went on to say that everything Ford says in this debate "will be interpreted by foreign leaders as reflecting American policy." Carter, Nessen said, "doesn't have that restraint."

Nessen said Carter had advocated cuts in the defense budget but lately had been taking a tougher line toward Russia. He said the White House would be watching "to see where he (Carter) and his advisers place him in this debate"--that is, tougher or easier.

Mike Duval came back later and added some observations on Wednesday's debate, pretty much along the same line as Nessen. Duval said: "When the President answers questions (on foreign policy), he has got to think about what he is going to say; he has to consider the impact on foreign listeners as well as the domestic audience."

The President, Duval said, has to consider "ongoing multi-lateral and bilateral negotiations. I have one in mind particularly in the nuclear area."

Duval said Ford spent two hours with Kissinger on Sunday discussing various foreign policy matters. He said the debate came up and Kissinger offered some advice, but "the center of gravity, I gather, was not on the debate."

Asked whether Ford would be on the defensive in this debate, Duval said: "Absolutely not. No way. He has a record (in foreign policy) of which he is rightfully proud." Duval also cited what he said was Carter's "total lack of experience" in foreign policy.

Still awake? Back to Nessen, then:

On Earl Butz: Nessen first said he had nothing to add to what Ford said in his statement. Asked whether the White House put pressure on Butz to resign, he said: "As Earl said today, that was his own decision and didn't result from any pressure from the White House. I think Earl answered that question today. He said there wasn't (any pressure) and there wasn't."

more

THE WASHINGTON POST  
Wednesday  
October 20, 1976

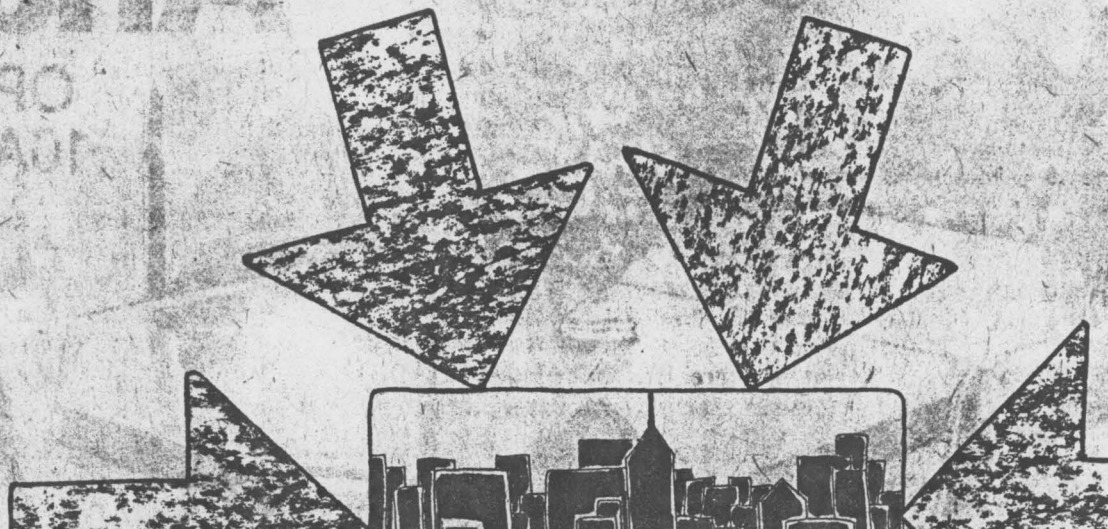
*David S. Broder*

## Campaign 76: A Neglect of Urban Ills

DETROIT—There was a stunning bit of symbolism in Jimmy Carter's appearance here in the nation's sixth largest city last week.

The Democratic presidential nominee was picked up by a car waiting at the foot of the ramp when his chartered airplane landed outside Detroit. He was driven 20 miles down freeways cleared of traffic by his police escort, and remained in his car until it was well within the walls of Cobo Arena. Then he walked 50 feet to the platform of the Detroit Economic Club luncheon, where he described to an affluent, white suburbanite audience his plans for dealing with crime in America.

An hour later, he was back on his plane, leaving Detroit and its problems behind him.



Q and A

## Director Sees Final Debate As Exciting

Jim Karayn, a veteran television newsman and founder of the National Public Affairs Center for Television, is director of the 1976 presidential debate series for the League of Women Voters Education Fund. He was interviewed by Washington Star Staff Writer William Delaney.

## KARAYN

Continued From A-1

dynamic leader. People said 'maybe he is presidential.' I don't think you could come out of these two debates with that absolute idea that you all of a sudden knew something new, a whole new image.

**Q:** *But if you watch the debates and your perceptions of the candidates are the same as they were, why have the debates?*

**A:** I've never thought the debates

THE WASHINGTON STAR  
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1976



Michael Novak

## Was Carter mouse-trapped?

Jerry Ford used to play center in football, and one may assume that he may now pull a "trap play" on Jimmy Carter. For Carter picked up two liabilities while trying to capitalize on Ford's mistake on Eastern Europe.

First, Carter has mobilized Eastern Europeans and made foreign policy central to the discussion in the closing weeks of the campaign. Foreign policy is not an issue on which he can win. Not with the Democratic platform.

Secondly, Carter came out of the second debate far more jingoistic than half of his supporters will like. His earlier commitments to cuts in the defense budget do not square with his recent bellicosity. He is in the classic position of speaking stridently, while wiggling a weak stick.

Carter threatened economic war in the Near East. He threatened a minor war in Panama. He threatened to foment national liberation in Eastern Europe — unless, of course, his differences with Ford are wholly rhetorical.

Eastern Europeans number almost 10 per cent of the population, are thickly concentrated in states with the largest electoral votes, vote with higher turn-out than any other group save the Jews, and normally provide the Democrats with the large majorities they need to overcome conservative Protestant voters in key states.

Having aroused such voters, Carter's problem now is how to avoid waffling, fuzziness, and substantive weakness. His position is contradictory. Can he really help to extend human rights in Eastern Europe, while cutting back billions on defense? Do the Soviets respect empty rhetoric?

What will Carter do to diminish Soviet domination in Eastern Europe? His pledges to the Polish-American Congress on October 10 were even weaker than President Ford's.

One of two things will now become apparent: (1) Either Carter is once again hiding behind empty rhetoric and pious indignation; or (2) Carter has now adopted the jingoism always implicit in populism. Neither alternative wins admiration.

Carter's bold rush into the breach left by President Ford's seeming error at the second debate may split Carter's constituency down the middle. Those who do not trust the Soviet Union do not have the same vision of foreign policy and defense spending as those whose response to Soviet power and determination is constant "accommodation."

No one desires war, or even increased tension, in Eastern Europe. Yet, surely, if there are any nations in the world congenial to western values, to democratic traditions, and to sheer humanistic energy —

nations that might through adroit politics be drawn into the western orbit — they are the nations of Eastern Europe.

There is, nonetheless, a clear double standard in the press. Few peoples of the world have such low status in American public life as the Eastern Europeans. When human rights in Africa are at stake, echoes of moral indignation tremble behind public voices. When human rights in Eastern Europe are at stake, condescension and faint embarrassment echo. Moral concern is absent.

When Earl Butz insulted blacks, he was forced to resign. When he insulted Italians and Catholics, complaints were muted. "Polish jokes" suffuse American public life and even television.

President Ford, meanwhile, has much to gain — if he is shrewd enough — by keeping foreign policy at the center of attention. Carter exhibits an unsettled and uncertain personality. His pretensions to "toughness" are signs of ominous weakness. They awaken scary memories of the early Kennedy rhetoric.

Carter's strident personal attacks on Gerald Ford, his smirks, his sarcasm, his childlike satirical flourishes, give an unsettling glimpse into his character. What sort of man is he, under the iron discipline? The little glimpses, the partial revelations, are not reassuring. He has gone far on bluff and on bravado.

# Ford's Strategy for Debates: a Working President Facing an Aspiring Politician

BY RICHARD BERGHOLZ  
Times Political Writer

WASHINGTON—The first thing you should understand, said one of the President's men, is that when it comes to preparing for the Ford-Carter debates, the President is in a separate and distinct class.

For one thing, explained Michael Duval, former San Francisco lawyer and now a special counsel to the President, Ford is both a political candidate and an incumbent President, and what he says during the face-off with Carter must be filtered through those dual capacities.

*In an ad-lib situation, the President will shine, Duval said.*

val said. This kind of practice with videotape playback was credited for his effective delivery of his nomination acceptance speech in Kansas City last month.

Bill Carruthers of Los Angeles is Ford's television adviser and it will be his job to prepare the President in regard to such technical matters as camera locations, makeup needs and lighting.

Don Penny, a television producer, actor and comedy writer, has been credited with helping to sharpen the

THE WASHINGTON POST, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1976

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

## Special Counsel For the Debates

*file*

Michael Duval, who is paid \$38,000 plus a year out of the U.S. Treasury to be special counsel to the President, is spending full time these days representing President Ford's interests in debate arrangements—a sign that the Ford campaign is as contemptuous as ever of the new election campaign law.

stalwart, is acting against a diplomatic appointment made solely as a reward for helping to beat Reagan. However, the fight goes much deeper—to Helms' hard-line opposition to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

What interests conservatives about the Bahamas post is not so much Olson

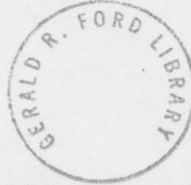
# EVANS-NOVAK POLITICAL REPORT

WHAT'S HAPPENING . . . WHO'S AHEAD . . . IN POLITICS TODAY

1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. • Room 1312 • Washington, D.C. 20006 • 202-298-7850

To: Our Subscribers

From: Evans-Novak



November 3, 1976 - No. 276

Democratic President-elect Jimmy Carter's extraordinarily narrow electoral vote victory over Republican President Gerald R. Ford last night was barely achieved by: 1) JC's Southern near-sweep (save for Virginia), built on the back of a near-solid heavy black turnout; and 2) The last-minute rescue efforts of the traditional Democratic power centers that Carter disavowed for two years - i.e. Big City politicians, led by Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo, organized labor and its unprecedented get-out-the-vote drive, and organized minorities (leading to a huge black vote). Despite all this, Mr. Ford ran remarkably well in the Big States, far better than anybody would have imagined two months ago.

Some highly placed Democrats have privately expressed satisfaction that Carter was not given a large mandate and would, therefore, show some humility in taking office. We are not so sure that JC will long remember or be greatly influenced by the narrowness of his victory. In any event, there are very few plans in place for the high-level staffing of his administration.

The loss of the Presidency is only the most visible and most important element of another Republican debacle. Failure to recover significantly from the horrendous '74 losses in the Senate and, particularly, in the House reveals the weakness of the Party. The GOP's conservative wing lost two of its brightest stars in the East, Tennessee Sen. William Brock and New York's James Buckley, although gaining conservative Senators in California, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming. The growing conservatism of the West continues.

Economically, we have heard much private talk from business leaders about the freeze of capital investment in the event of a Carter victory. To avoid that, JC is being urged to give a clear signal to the economic community by the appointment of a conservative Secretary of the Treasury, perhaps even a Republican. But don't count on it.

## ELECTION '76

Presidential: The debate, already begun, as to whether GRF's comeback peaked too soon or whether the election came too early is totally academic. What is important is why Ford failed to catch Carter and why Carter was unable to win a mandate:

1) Most important was JC's total domination of the South, including Texas (save for Virginia), which was completely unexpected by Ford's campaign aides. This was based less on his supposed kinship with "redneck" rural whites than on a massive, monolithic vote by Southern blacks. The classic case was Mississippi, where estimates show that whites voted well over 60% for Ford but the extremely heavy and virtually unanimous vote among the state's newly enfranchised blacks gave Carter about 50.5% of the state's total vote.

2) The failure of ex-California Gov. Ronald Reagan to make a greater effort in Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana may or may not have cost President

# EVANS-NOVAK POLITICAL REPORT

WHAT'S HAPPENING . . . WHO'S AHEAD . . . IN POLITICS TODAY

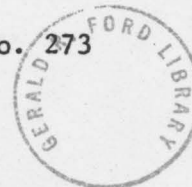
1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. • Room 1312 • Washington, D.C. 20006 • 202-298-7850

To: Our Subscribers

October 20, 1976 - No. 273

From: Evans-Novak

Election '76  
Special Report



We can now report that, barring a major new development (most likely in Debate #3), Democratic Presidential nominee Jimmy Carter quite probably will be elected President on November 2nd. He now leads in five of the Big Seven states and has been on the clear upswing in four of them. An electoral vote landslide is in sight.

Carter appears to have strengthened his lead in the big Northeastern states and recaptured the lead from President Gerald R. Ford in Illinois - a critical shift. On the other hand, Ford has overtaken Carter in California and is on the upswing in the South where he now leads in Virginia, Louisiana and Mississippi and is close in South Carolina, Florida and Alabama.

This is an extremely difficult election to forecast precisely. Animosity toward both candidates has grown, creating substantial blocks of undecided and non-voters - and, consequently, uncertainty. The margin in the Big States is narrow enough so that victory for Mr. Ford is not impossible. His requirement: keep ahead in California and Michigan, move ahead in Illinois and Ohio.

Carter's gains are scarcely the results of his own efforts but rather the results of Ford's continued fumbling since the second debate - particularly his ill-advised counterattack against Carter. We find the Carter camp relatively self-assured in facing Debate #3, while the Ford camp is uneasy and divided on strategy. On balance, Sen. Robert Dole's (R) blood-and-guts performance in last Friday's Vice-Presidential debate hurt the President. By appearing as the heavy, Dole turned a drab showing by Sen. Walter Mondale (D) into a plus. But does it matter? People vote for President, not V.P.

## PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION ROUNDUP #6

Despite darkening gloom over President Ford's prospects, we are reporting a net gain of 43 electoral votes for Ford in the last week. The 43 net gain is primarily the result of the switch in California's 45 electoral votes which are still very much in doubt. Finally, this latest roundup shows Illinois sliding back to Carter, which - if it holds - is a calamity for Mr. Ford outweighing other gains.

States Probable for Carter: Arkansas (6), District of Columbia (3), Georgia (12), Hawaii (4), Massachusetts (14), Minnesota (10), Rhode Island (4), West Virginia (6). Total: 59 electoral votes.

States Leaning to Carter: Alabama (9), Florida (17), Illinois (26), Iowa (8), Kentucky (9), Maryland (10), Missouri (12), New Jersey (17), New York (41), North Carolina (13), Ohio (25), Oklahoma (8), Oregon (6), Pennsylvania (27), South Carolina (8), South Dakota (4), Tennessee (10), Texas (26), Wisconsin (11). Total: 287 electoral votes.

Total Carter Electoral Votes: 346.

States Probable for Ford: Arizona (6), Idaho (4), Kansas (7), Nebraska (5),

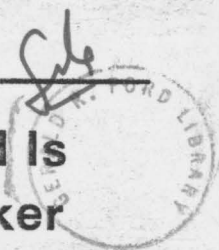


Mike  
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# Washington Whispers®

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## Round Three: It'll Be Tooth and Nail ... Lady Bird Is Still Simmering ... Kosygin's American Pacemaker

Both camps are predicting a rough session when Ford and Carter meet in their final debate on October 22 at Williamsburg, Va. Any and all subjects are open to discussion, and the indications are that both men will dispense with courtesies and go after each other tooth and nail.

\*\*\*

*A Texas friend of Lady Bird Johnson's says she has not forgiven Jimmy Carter for virtually calling her husband a liar. Adds an influential Texan: "She won't campaign for either party. And, if you think she was angry, her daughter Luci is absolutely furious."*

\*\*\*

Carter campaign officials plan to file a protest soon over the full-time employment of some White House aides on preparing for Ford's TV debates while drawing Government paychecks.

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*One more indication of voter apathy this year: A poll of New Jersey voters in mid-September showed more than*

# EVANS-NOVAK POLITICAL REPORT

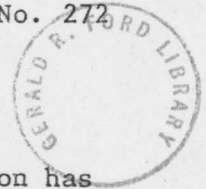
WHAT'S HAPPENING . . . WHO'S AHEAD . . . IN POLITICS TODAY

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October 13, 1976 - No. 272

To: Our Subscribers

From: Evans-Novak



Within the last week, the question most often asked in Washington has changed from "Who's ahead?" to "Is it all over?" Our answer: it is not all over, but Democratic Presidential nominee Jimmy Carter - after Debate #2 - has arrested his slide, which had left him just two points ahead of President Gerald R. Ford in the latest Gallup Poll (taken before the second debate) and has regained his momentum. We think that Carter will win unless Ford does something about it.

But it looks increasingly as though Gerald Ford is incapable of doing anything about it. He compounded his poor showing in Debate #2 by 1) waiting five days before admitting he'd said anything wrong on Eastern Europe, and 2) trying to recover with the Jewish vote by promising weapons to Israel over long-standing Pentagon veto.

Bear in mind two factors, however: 1) Many states are now carried by Carter by only a few percentage points, so that even a small shift could change many electoral votes; 2) JC has appeared harsh, strident and unattractive in pressing his sudden advantage, and it could cost him.

The economy, apparently stalled on dead center, looms as an ever more important campaign issue, with President Ford naturally on the defensive, and Carter ineffectually (to date) on the attack. We now believe that voter (consumer) concern about the apparent inability of the Federal Government to come to grips with inflation and unemployment is having a major depressing effect on voter (consumer) reaction to the Presidential campaign, turning them off. All this could lead to a very low voter turnout and a new President actively supported by only one-quarter of eligible voters.

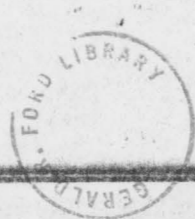
In summary, we think that Carter has to lose the election for Ford to win it. Unless Jimmy Carter makes another major error, he is the President.

## PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION ROUNDUP #5

Thanks partly to damage from Debate #2, we are still forecasting a Carter electoral vote landslide. It seemed that GRF was about to pull ahead in Ohio California and possibly Texas, but we cannot - based on polls and talks with politicians - make that judgment now. The electoral vote shift, from Carter to Ford, since Roundup #4 two weeks ago is a mere 14 electoral votes -- moving our projections from 406-132 to 392-146.

States Probable for Carter: Arkansas (6), District of Columbia (3), Georgia (12), Hawaii (4), Kentucky (9), Massachusetts (14), Minnesota (10), New Jersey (17), Rhode Island (4), Tennessee (10), West Virginia (6). Total: 95 electoral votes.

States Leaning to Carter: Alabama (9), Alaska (3), California (45), Florida (17), Iowa (8), Louisiana (10), Maryland (10), Mississippi (7), Missouri (12), Montana (4), Nevada (3), New York (41), North Carolina (13), Ohio (25), Oklahoma (8),



NATIONAL AFFAIRS

# PREPPING FORD

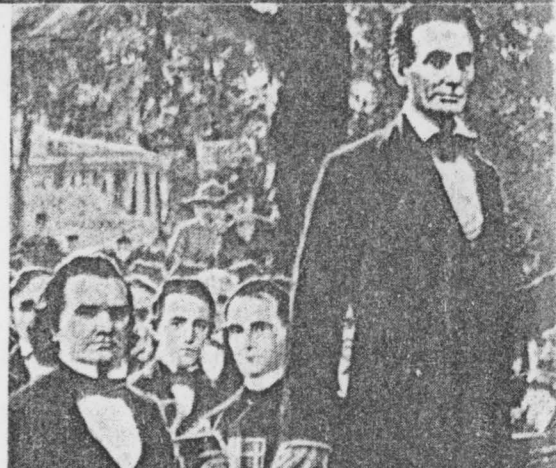
**G**erald Ford's debate coaches have spent much of their time in recent weeks living in the past—poring over every detail of the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon debates. Michael Raoul-Duval, the debate "project manager," has gone so far as to study a 1961 master's thesis on the debates written by a Stanford University journalism student, while William Carruthers, the White House television consultant, has sat through the kinescopes of each of the four debates three times. The rigorous research is characteristic of the two men's approach to any task.

At the White House, they often refer to Mike Duval, 38, as a member of the "junior varsity." That seems like a distinct misnomer. In two years of working

for the President, Duval has been assigned to one top-rated project after another: the development of Ford's energy policy, the overhaul of the intelligence agencies, the negotiations with Ronald Reagan's staff over the Republican platform and finally the war-gaming for the debates. A Georgetown University graduate with a law degree from the University of California, Duval is plainly excited about his latest assignment. "For the first time in history, a sitting President has agreed to debate," he said last

"But he always gets the job done."

Cosmetic and technical details are the province of the 45-year-old Carruthers. Now head of his own independent TV production company, Carruthers has directed or produced such programs as the Soupy Sales comedy show, "The Newlywed Game" and "The Dating Game" during his two decades in television. He worked as a TV consultant to Richard Nixon for two years (Nixon, he remembers, liked his TV studio as cold "as a




# '76 PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES

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# RULING CLASS HERO

How Pat Moynihan became a credit to his race

BY TIMOTHY CROUSE

*Norman Podhoretz had done us all a service by pointing to the unvarying political content of the proclamation of impending doom. The person making such a statement is asking that power someone else has been given to him or her.*

—Daniel Patrick Moynihan in COPING



On the last day Daniel Patrick Moynihan actively served his country as ambassador to the United Nations, I stepped onto the floor of the Security Council (for I thought that was what his secretary had instructed me to do), walked past the chattering Chinese delegation in their beautifully tailored uniforms of black and gray, planted myself some three yards distant from the Honorable DPM and waited to catch his eye. ~~Moynihan was busy overwhelming the Somali ambassador with charm; now he had his arm around the dapper little man, now he was using both arms to make sweeping Wagnerian gestures. Moynihan roared away; the Somali smiled and nodded. When at last it was time for the session to start, Moynihan headed for his seat at the head of the big horseshoe table and I stepped~~

*Timothy Crouse, a contributing editor of 'Rolling Stone,' is the author of 'The Boys on the Bus.'*

into his path to introduce myself. He put on an expression of alarm. "I've got to get you out of here!" he said, taking me by the arm. "My God, I thought you were the Bulgarian!" He ushered me to one of the side entrances of the Council room. "See that guy across the way, standing in the door? That's Mike Berlin of the *New York Post*, standing as close to the Security Council as he's allowed to get."

"Oh," I said, "nobody told me."

"No, no, no," said Moynihan, jollying up. "That's all right. You could pass for a Bulgarian." He turned and looked back into the room. "Well, the Ethiopians have just come in so we'll have to start. Maybe we could meet afterwards for a beer." He began to back away. "I'm president of the Security Council, you know."

I went up to the empty press section, took a seat and slipped on the headphones. The day's debate concerned an incident on the border between French Somaliland and Somalia (the Somali Republic). Somali terrorists had seized a busload of French schoolchildren; the French authorities eventually called in sharpshooters to pick off the terrorists; now the Somali government was accusing the Frenchmen of picking off a large number of innocent Somalis as well. I followed the proceedings sporadically, since my mind was occupied with trying to decide just how insulting it was to be called a Bulgarian—probably some subtle professional variation on the common Polack joke.

The French ambassador was stating his case in a Comédie Française accent smooth as Mouton-Lafite, claiming that the legionnaires had opened fire only after a machine gun started firing from the Somali side of the border. I twiddled the dial and listened to him in Chinese. ~~Moynihan sprawled in his seat, yawned, drummed the desk with his pencil, yawned again.~~ The representative from Somalia launched a counterattack in fractured English and handed out stacks of photographs taken at the scene of the skirmish. Moynihan rifled through his stack, threw up his arms and shook his head. Several minutes later, a UN guard tapped me on the shoulder and handed me a package. It was the photographs, with a note written in Moynihan's own scrawl: "You are something of an authority on buses—herewith examples of those which ply the North East Coast of Africa." ~~It was, I thought, the best yet. I had sent him as a calling card. The debate began to peter out and finally I heard Moynihan announce, "The luncheon hour has arrived with its magical effect upon the members."~~

The ambassador led me through a pair of glass doors, around a corner, and we were in the Security Council bar, where so much of the really important business is conducted. He ordered two Heinekens and insisted on paying. "This is my bar," he said. At 49 Moynihan was a whale of a man, heavier than I would have guessed, and his face was livid with broken veins of maroon and blue, like the threads in a dollar bill. He wore a charcoal gray Saville Row suit, cut square, with no vent and narrow lapels—the style went out about the time of Suez. As late as 1967, Moynihan was known to carry his handkerchief up his sleeve, in the English manner, but now he had his white shower carelessly planted in his breast pocket. ~~His eyes were glazed, and bristling away on his upper lip, just off center, was a patch of hair that the razor had missed. He also gave off a distinct odor—pungent, gamy, not the odor of Dial. ("It is the height of anglophilia," a Moynihan acquaintance later told me. "In imitation of the British aristocracy, he bathes infrequently.")~~

"This is a very interesting situation," said Moynihan, referring to the debate. I could not tell whether this was the first line of a lecture or the prelude to a quiz, so I thought it best not to take sides. "Yeah," I said. "It's right out of *Rashomon*."

"No, no," said Moynihan, "it's very clear who's right. Somalia is very clearly right." He gave a flick of the wrist, motioning me away from two beer-drinking Africans. "Come here, move your stuff down to this end of the bar." He lowered his voice. "As president of the Council, I'm supposed to maintain a position of *absolute neutrality*. Here," he said, flipping through the pile of photographs until he found one of the besieged bus, "look at this." I stared at it, as dumb as Watson. "Look,"