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WILLIAMSBURG: THE VINTAGE THEIR DEBATES NOW INCONCLUSIVE HISTORY;  
GERALD FORD AND JIMMY CARTER ARE WAGING THE FINAL BATTLES OF THE 1976  
CAMPAIGN WITHOUT THE DOMINANCE EACH SOUGHT FROM THE ENCOUNTERS. AN  
ASSOCIATED PRESS SURVEY SHOWED TODAY THEIR LAST FACE-OFF WAS A VIRTUAL  
DRAW.

10/23

A.P.

AFTER LEAVING PHI BETA KAPPA HALL AT THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY, SITE OF THE DEBATE, FORD WAS SCHEDULED FOR CAMPAIGN STOPS IN RICHMOND, VA., NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA AND THEN WAS TO HEAD FOR CALIFORNIA. THE PRESIDENT HAD NO PLANS TO RETURN TO THE WHITE HOUSE BEFORE ELECTION DAY.

CARTER PLANNED TO ATTEND A RALLY IN ALEXANDRIA, VA., AND THEN TO CAMPAIGN IN NEW JERSEY BEFORE RETURNING TO HIS PLAINS, GA., HOME. AFTER TWO DAYS OF REST THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE WILL HEAD FOR ILLINOIS ON TUESDAY.

DURING THE DEBATE, THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY AND THE COMPARATIVE QUALIFICATIONS OF THE TWO VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES WERE THE TOPICS THAT PROMPTED THE SHARPEST EXCHANGES.

BOTH CANDIDATES SEEMED EVEN MORE CAUTIOUS, MORE WARY OF MAKING A SLIP THAT COULD PROVE DISASTROUS AT THIS LATE STAGE OF THE CAMPAIGN, THAN THEY HAD BEEN DURING THEIR FIRST TWO ENCOUNTERS.

NONE OF THE THREE PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES WAS A FREE-SWINGING ENCOUNTER. ALL WERE MARKED BY RESPONSES THAT ECHOED THE CANDIDATES' STUMP SPEECHES.

"NO ONE KNOWS HOW IT'S GOING TO COME OUT," CARTER SAID AFTER THE DEBATE, REFERRING TO THE CAMPAIGN.

FORD LEFT THE HALL QUICKLY, AND HIS BRIEF POST-DEBATE COMMENTS WERE SIMILAR TO WHAT HE HAD SAID AFTER THE FIRST TWO MEETINGS: "IT WENT VERY WELL. I AM OPTIMISTIC. I ENJOYED IT."



IN THE WEEK BEFORE THE THIRD DEBATE, A NATIONAL SAMPLE OF 1,602 REGISTERED VOTERS WAS RECRUITED BY CHILTON RESEARCH OF RADNOR, PA. THESE PERSONS AGREED TO ACCEPT A TELEPHONE CALL AFTER THE DEBATE.

IN THE AP POLL, A SAMPLE OF [1,027 VIEWERS] IN THE HOUR AFTER THE DEBATE SHOWED 35.5 PER CENT THOUGHT FORD WON; 33.1 PER CENT GAVE THE DEBATE TO CARTER; AND 31.4 PER CENT SAID THEY DIDN'T KNOW WHO WON OR CONSIDERED IT A DRAW.

HOWEVER, THE 2.4 PERCENTAGE POINTS SEPARATING CARTER AND FORD CANNOT BE PROJECTED RELIABLY TO STAND FOR THE NATION AS A WHOLE BECAUSE THE MARGIN OF ERROR FOR A SAMPLE THIS SIZE IS ABOUT 2.9 PER CENT IN EITHER DIRECTION.

MOREOVER, THE INTERVIEWERS FOR THE SURVEY FOUND A SMALLER PERCENTAGE OF THE PRESELECTED SAMPLE WATCHED THIS DEBATE THAN THE FIRST TWO. THE VOTERS WHO DID WATCH TENDED TO BE OLDER AND WERE SLIGHTLY MORE LIKELY TO BE REPUBLICANS THAN DEMOCRATS.

ASKED AFTER THE DEBATE TO STATE THEIR PREFERENCE FOR PRESIDENT, THOSE INTERVIEWED RESPONDED THIS WAY: FORD 49 PER CENT; CARTER 44.9 PER CENT AND UNDECIDED 4.1 PER CENT. BECAUSE OF THE MARGIN OF POSSIBLE ERROR, THESE FIGURES MIGHT BE REVERSED IN A POLL OF EVERY VIEWER IN THE NATION.

THESE RESULTS APPEAR TO CONFLICT WITH RESULTS OF A POST-DEBATE POLL CONDUCTED FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING SERVICE BY BURNS ROPER. THAT SURVEY GAVE CARTER A 40 PER CENT TO 29 PER CENT EDGE AMONG 353 VIEWERS WHO WERE ASKED WHO HAD WON THE THIRD DEBATE. THE REMAINDER CALLED IT A DRAW. PROJECTED NATIONWIDE, SUCH A POLL COULD HAVE AN ERROR MARGIN OF SIX PERCENTAGE POINTS IN EITHER DIRECTION, MEANING THE RESULT COULD BE 35-34 FOR FORD.

AN ASSOCIATED PRESS POLL AFTER THE FIRST DEBATE, WHICH COVERED THE ECONOMY AND OTHER DOMESTIC ISSUES, GAVE FORD A NARROW EDGE OF 34.4 PER CENT TO CARTER'S 31.8 PER CENT. IN THE SECOND DEBATE, COVERING FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE ISSUES, CARTER WAS GIVEN THE EDGE BY A NARROW MARGIN OF 38.2 PER CENT TO FORD'S 34.6 PER CENT.

# News & Comment

The President's Daily News Summary

A.P.  
(1023)

36-F  
34-C  
30-

20e  
4A-F  
44-C

Leading The News...

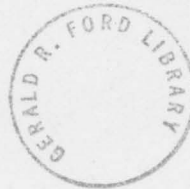
FOR SATURDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1976

## DEBATE SUPPLEMENT

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*file*



Roper Poll Gives Carter 3rd Debate

Jimmy Carter bettered President Ford by a margin of 40 percent to 29 percent but almost one-third of the persons who watched Friday's debate considered it a draw, according to a Public Broadcasting System-Roper poll.

The poll was based on telephone calls to 353 persons. Asked who did the best job in the debate, 40 percent picked Carter, 29 percent said Ford and the remaining 31 percent called the match a standoff.

Among undecided voters, 33 percent thought Carter won the debate, 20 percent thought Ford did, and 47 percent called it a draw.

60 percent of the Ford supporters polled thought the President won, 12 percent thought Carter won and 28 percent called it a draw.

Among Carter supporters, 62 percent of those polled believed he won, 9 percent thought the President won, and 29 percent called it a draw.

Burns Roper said that the sample has a 6 percent margin of error.

If the Roper polls are to be believed, Carter has emerged from the three debates with two wins and only the single loss in the opener. Previous surveys by PBS-Roper gave Ford the first debate 39 percent to 31 percent, 30 percent calling it a draw, while in the second one, Carter was called the winner 40 percent to 30 percent, with 30 percent calling it a tossup.  
UPI,PBS -- (10/22/76)



Ford: Debate Went Well

President Ford said Friday he thought his third and final debate against Jimmy Carter "went very well" as the opening volley in a final campaign push that will keep him on the road until Nov. 2.

"I enjoyed it. I thought it went very well," Ford commented as he went to a reception on the William and Mary College campus where he asked Pearl Bailey, a White House favorite, to sing. She responded with "Hello Dolly!"

Ford attended the reception shortly before taking a motorcade to Richmond where he was to spend the night in the Governor's Mansion.

Mrs. Ford, Susan, vice presidential candidate Robert Dole and Mrs. Dole watched the debate from a side room. His top campaign aides watched from another room in the Phi Beta Kappa Hall.

Ford's aides felt the President won. They said he scored strongly on the issue of Yugoslavia, Constitutional amendments and Carter's concession he made a mistake in granting an interview with Playboy magazine. They agreed, however, that Carter benefitted by the mere mention of Watergate. (UPI)

Sen. Robert Dole said "President Ford really won this debate," and he predicted it will lead the ticket to victory. "The President won the playoff. He won the first debate, Gov. Carter won the second and the President took this one. He won the big banana," Dole said. (UPI)

Mike Duval, Special Counsel to the President, said the President conveyed clearly that he is a man that ought to be President of the United States and "compared directly to Mr. Carter, he is the man of experience; Carter is not." (CBS)

James Baker said he advised the President to "be himself... He's best when he's relaxed, when he's himself and he was tonight. He was confident and in control of the facts and pretty much in command. His summation of that was a good example." Baker added that the debate was better from the standpoint of both candidates but it was clearly a win for the President. (CBS) AP,UPI,Networks  
-- (10/22/76)



Carter: Debate Will Strengthen Support

Jimmy Carter said Friday the third debate with President Ford would strengthen his support. Carter said he scored his major points on questions dealing with the environment, inflation, housing, cities, jobs and added, "I thought the comparison between the vice presidential candidates was a good thing to come up." (UPI)

But Carter said he did not think there were any exciting moments in the debate and added, "If the American people remember this debate after two weeks, I'll be surprised."

Both Ford and Carter went to a student rally at William and Mary Hall on the college campus but Ford had come and gone by the time Carter arrived. Both received warm and noisy welcomes.

Carter, speaking to the collegiate crowd said, "No one knows how the campaign will come out in the next 10 days" but then told a Democratic fund raising event "I think the debate tonight will help fortify my support."

Sen. Walter Mondale said the debate helped Americans choose. "It was very helpful in making it clear that Gov. Carter is their choice," he said. (UPI)

Jody Powell said we will probably never know if the debates made a difference, but that they "made a difference in the general picture in creating an obligation for candidates to respond to questions, to appear before the American people and state their positions on the issues that are of concern... very few people shift their votes following the debate. It has had a consistent effect of firming up our support, and that's helpful to us from a political standpoint." (UPI, CBS)

Mrs. Carter said her husband talked to the people and did not merely recite a lot of facts and figures. "Jimmy showed more concern. He cares more about people and I think you could tell it..." (CBS) AP, UPI, Networks -- (10/22/76)



Reporters: Both Did Well, No Blunders

Reporters generally agreed President Ford and Jimmy Carter did well in Friday night's debate and that neither one made any major blunders.

The debate ended in a draw, most reporters conceded, but Harry Reasoner and Carl Rowan said they thought if anyone won it was Carter.

With the exception of Reasoner, however, other ABC reporters Sam Donaldson and Tom Jarriel all agreed the debate ended in a draw.

Both candidates were more relaxed and self-confident it was generally agreed among all network reporters. Roger Mudd said both candidates were very careful and were "laying back" for fear of making a major mistake. Mudd said it was a hard debate to evaluate, but added both were bad at times and neither was exceptional. Mudd speculated the high point of the debate was probably when "Gen. Brown was sworn in as sewer commissioner." Carter was probably more aggressive than Ford, but both said some "silly" things, Mudd said.

The last debate was "cool, cautious, careful, controlled" according to David Brinkley. He said neither Ford nor Carter "drew any more blood than you would draw with a flu shot." Both men were careful not to make any mistakes they would have to explain later, Brinkley said. "It's getting to be a little late now for apologies and explanations," Brinkley noted. (NBC)

John Chancellor, noting that the first debate was generally regarded as dull, and said, "If you liked the first debate, you probably loved this one." Chancellor said it was "simply a re-statement" of the candidates' positions. He added that he thought both Ford and Carter were glad that "this ordeal" is over. (NBC)

Jimmy Carter was asked Friday afternoon that if he were elected President, would he debate his opponent. He reserved his decision on that question, Ed Bradley commented.

Bob Schieffer said neither candidate made any points with sewer commissioners, but they are probably a low portion of the electorate. (CBS)

Sam Donaldson, who has been covering Carter throughout the campaign, said President Ford seemed to be in control and was self-assured during the debate. Carter, he said, looked tired and seemed to be hiding from the ghost of the Playboy interview.

Jarriel said Joseph Kraft hurt President Ford more than anything Carter said when he described the Administration's record as a "rotten record on the economy." Jarriel said it was a difficult question to answer because of the phrasing.

George F. Will also said he was disappointed at the editorializing of the questions by the panel members. (WTOP)

Bill Moyers said there was more reason to be undecided after this debate because the differences between the two candidates seemed to narrow instead of becoming more distinctive. (CBS)

Ed Bradley said one of Carter's top aides told him Thursday night they wanted Carter to be more aggressive and go after the President, which he did not do in the debate. (CBS)

Donaldson and Jarriel both agreed the Yugoslavian question might haunt Carter. "It's perfectly sensible to say you won't go to war over Yugoslavia." But, President Ford got the "debating point" by saying he would leave his options open, Donaldson said.

If the debates have done nothing else, they have produced unusual statements on Eastern Europe, Schieffer said. President Ford did well when Carter said the U.S. would not go to war for Yugoslavia. "You sort of take the teeth out of the leverage of foreign policy when you draw up a list of the countries of the world that you do not interpret that it is allright to invade them." Schieffer added that Carter is going to have to talk some more about the subject, and the Ford people are probably talking about Carter's stand and wondering how they can exploit it. (CBS) Networks -- (10/22/76)

#### Jack, Steve Ford Discuss Politics and Dad

Jack Ford said this country should not have a president who will "beat the American people over the head with his grandiose plans and schemes" but one who will let the people be free to decide what to do.

Jack and Steve Ford, interviewed on ABC Friday night, both said that politics is interesting, but they will not pursue it as a career.

Steve said when the campaign is over, he intends to get on his horse and ride into the sunset. Jack said he prefers local level politics where he can "let someone else be the front man."

Of Jimmy Carter, Jack called him a "fine man." However, he is compassionate and understanding one minute and the next is vicious in his attacks, Jack and Steve agreed.



Using Watergate as the "classic example," Jack said in the beginning, Carter said it would never be an issue. Yet, he has brought up the subject at every opportunity.

Jack said one of his father's strongest points is that he is a man of his word. ABC -- (10/22/76)

Rosalyn Carter: Jimmy Only "Making a Point" in Playboy

Rosalyn Carter said her husband was just "making a point" in the controversial Playboy interview by using words like "shacking up" and "screw."

He does not use the language around the house, she said.

Mrs. Carter said she was concentrating some of her efforts on programs for the elderly and mentally ill.

If her husband is elected president, she said she wants him to appoint a president's commission on mental health to study the situation. "More money needs to be spent in research for the mentally ill, she said. ABC -- (10/22/76)

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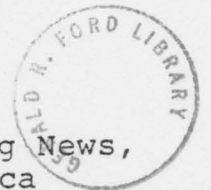
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# News & Comment

The President's Daily News Summary

## Leading The News...

FOR MONDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 25, 1976

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**VIETNAM ACCEPTED** a U.S. proposal to open talks on relations.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger confirmed a report from the Vietnamese News Agency in Paris that Vietnam officials have

Lebanese Christian rightists said they were preparing a major sweep through South Lebanon, where fighting close to the Israeli border threatens collapse of a truce



↓ *Business and Finance*

**M**ACHINE-TOOL orders rose 13% in September to \$228.3 million, and producers are more optimistic about further increases.

Irvine Co.'s stock is being sought by a U.S. subsidiary of Cadillac Fairview of Toronto for



# The college-educated are deserting Carter

By Louis Harris

THE MOST STARTLING political news of this season is that Democrat

CARTER'S PROBLEMS with the college educated are that he has simply not dispelled key doubts that these people held about him over the summer and still hold as election day an-

● In late summer, the college-educated were divided 42-to-42 per cent on the claim that Carter would be "the kind of new, fresh face that is needed in the White House." Now, as the elec-

# It Looks Like Northeast Is Carter Country

By JEROME CAHILL

Of the News Washington Bureau

Pittsburgh—Traveling aboard a twin-engine Cessna, or in a Winnebago camper when the weather gets too bad for flying, Jim Mahoney is barnstorming the wooded hills and valleys of Pennsylvania these days with a message for the state's 1.5 million union members: Get out the vote for Jimmy Carter, "a candidate we can be proud of."

A few months back, Mahoney was roaming Pennsylvania with a different message, one that pictured Carter as no friend of organized labor. That was in the days before the Pennsylvania primary in April, however, when the leaders of the state AFL-CIO were backing Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington for the Democratic presidential nomination. Mahoney (and Jackson) lost that battle.

The fact that union leaders like Mahoney have swallowed that setback and are now waging an all-out "educational" campaign for Carter is an important reason why the Democrats are believed to hold a narrow edge in the Nov. 2 contest for Pennsylvania's 27 electoral votes.

In recent weeks, the diverse elements that have combined for Democratic election victories in Pennsylvania in the past — labor, organization Democrats and liberals—appear to be coalescing behind the party's standard bearer for the first time since Hubert Humphrey carried Pennsylvania eight years ago.

A survey by The News of the Northeast, where 144 electoral votes are at stake, showed similar stirrings of Democratic unity, with notable exceptions in Connecticut and New Jersey.

The survey found Carter leading in the District of Columbia and six states with a total of 105 electoral votes: New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Maryland, Rhode Island and West Virginia. But only Massachusetts, West Virginia and D. C. were rated as out of Ford's reach.

The President was given the edge in four states with 18 electoral votes: Connecticut, Delaware, Vermont and New Hampshire. Rated as tossups were New Jersey, with 17 electoral votes, and Maine, with 4. There was hope for Ford in Maine however. A poll published on Saturday by the state's largest newspaper, the Bangor Daily News, showed the President had moved ahead of Carter by almost two percentage points after trailing him for two consecutive weeks. Ford was favored by 26.3%, while Carter got 34.4% of those questioned.

## Republican Upsets Possible

For the record, Republican strategists believe the race is so volatile that President Ford can upset the form chart in both Pennsylvania and New York, can win with a good turnout in Maine and

might even turn the trick in heavily Catholic and traditionally Democratic Rhode Island. Some think he can win in Maryland, too.

Robert Teeter, the top pollster of the President Ford Committee, rates Carter and Ford within three points of each other in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, margins so close as to be effectively even.

And in an election campaign that he calls the volatile in recent history, Teeter sees Ford on the upswing in New Jersey, where Carter has been less successful than in Pennsylvania in uniting warring Democratic factions and where he has been hit with the spillover of public resentment over an income tax installed by Gov. Brendan Byrne, an early Carter supporter.

## Sees Moynihan Helping Carter

The Democratic National Committee's Mark Siegel, who claims that "almost everything about this race looks iffy," concedes that the Carter campaign is in trouble in New Jersey and Connecticut. But he maintains that in New York, Democratic Senate candidate Daniel Patrick Moynihan is helping Carter among Irish and Italian Catholics.

The New York situation is particularly volatile for Carter. Although he leads Ford in the various polls, his support among traditionally Democratic Jewish and Catholic voters is very soft, and the danger of a significant drop in the turnout from these two blocs is of deep concern to his strategists.

The News Straw Poll's first survey of New York State on Saturday gave Carter 53% to 44% for Ford.

Ford, on the other hand, has pulled out all the stops in trying for a win in New York. He has campaigned in the city and upstate more intensively than in most states, and it is on his itinerary for his final 10-day campaign blitz. He has also showered federal largesse on New York City during this past week, indicating approval for the long delayed \$1.76 billion Westway project and giving the green light to federal housing officials to grant a quick okay for a \$65 million mortgage insurance application for the 100-acre Battery Park City project in lower Manhattan.

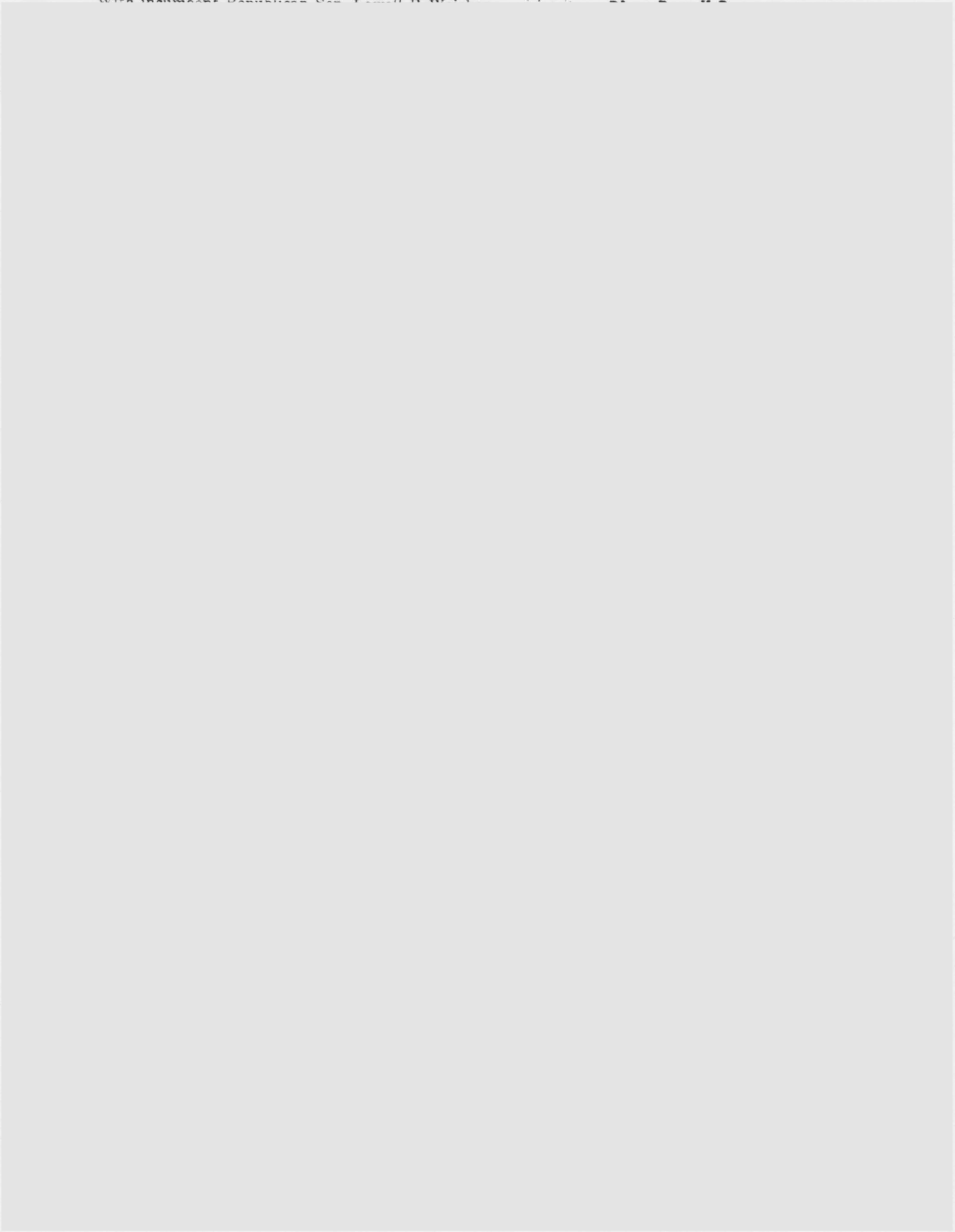
## Jimmy Bestows Sympathy

Carter, aware of Ford's effort, continues to stress his sympathy for the city, which he has also included in his last-minute campaign swing, and frequently quotes last year's famous headline in The News when Ford turned down a "bailout" plan: "Ford to City: Drop Dead." The Georgian is also counting on a "reverse coattail" boost from Moynihan, who holds a big lead over conservative Republican Sen. James L. Buckley.

In Connecticut, the Carter campaign has been buffeted between rival factions and appears to have had less success than in New York in over-

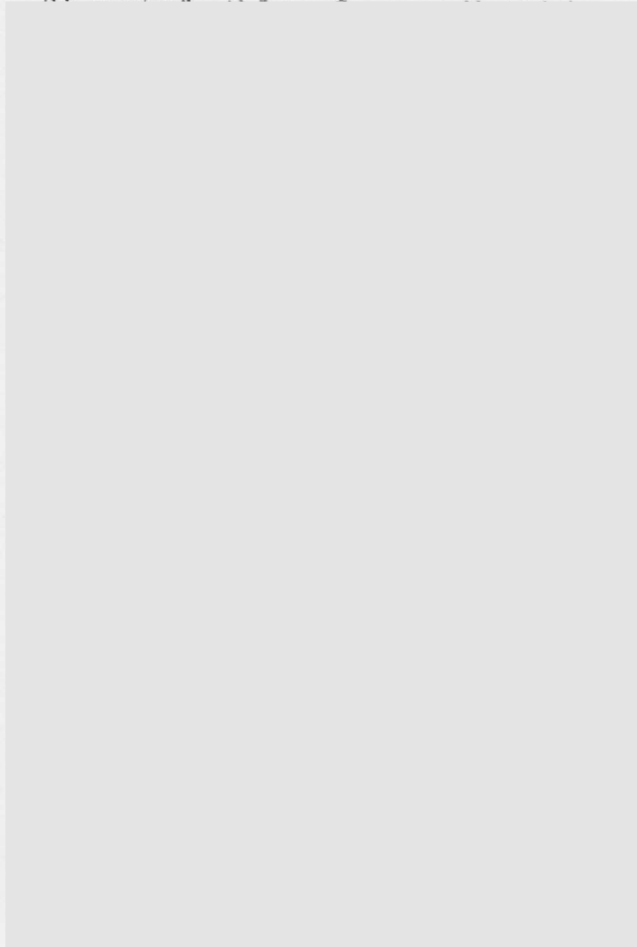


coming the suspicions of Catholic ethnic voters.  
With incumbent Republican Sen. Joseph P. ...



**Expects No Ethnic Effect**

"If the next President of the United States can't say what he felt, there is something wrong with



Carter Survived Lust, Butz Hurt Ford: News Poll

By MARK ANDREWS

New Yorkers interviewed in The Daily News Opinion Poll feel that Jimmy Carter wasn't hurt as badly by his interview in Playboy magazine as President Ford was by Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz'

Another question was: "Did Jimmy Carter's remarks about adultery that were quoted in Playboy magazine make you think more or less of him?" The response was:

... have hurt the President's chances in the presidential election campaign?" The answers were:

Yes	54%
No	34%
Don't know	12



Pardon Concerns Most Voters,  
Gallup Survey Shows

A Gallup telephone survey of 560 registered voters across the country shows most of them feel concerned about President Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon, Newsweek reported Sunday.

The poll, conducted for Newsweek, disclosed that 53 percent of those questioned said the pardon will affect their choice on election day.

The poll also revealed that 62 percent of the respondents were unconcerned by Ford's recent remarks on Eastern Europe, while 37 percent did feel concerned.

Seventy-two percent of the persons polled said Jimmy Carter's Playboy interview would not affect their decision. Twenty six percent said it would have some influence on their vote.

Carter came out ahead of Ford on the matter of ability to build trust in government, cut unemployment and control inflation. But 62 percent thought Ford could do a better job on foreign policy.  
--UPI (10/25/76)

EndorsementsELECTION

Ford Leads in Endorsements

With the understanding that the list is assuredly not complete for either candidate, here follows a list of daily newspaper endorsements for President Ford and Governor Carter, as of Oct. 24.

This is a cumulative list, but most of the endorsements have come during the last two weeks.

FORD ENDORSEMENTS

Dallas Morning News	Selma (Ala) Times Journal
Orlando Sentinel Star	Oskaloosa (Iowa) Herald
Nashville Banner	Manchester Union Leader
Shreveport Journal	Nashua (NH) Telegraph
Shreveport Times	Dayton Journal Herald
Birmingham News	Glendale (Calif.) News Press
Jackson (Miss.) Daily News	New York Daily News
St. Louis Globe-Democrat	Chicago Tribune
Topeka Capital Journal	Philadelphia Inquirer
Chattanooga News Free Press	Boston Herald American
Buffalo Courier Express	Oklahoman
Buffalo Evening News	Houston Chronicle
Lubbock (Tex) Avalanche Journal	Dallas Times-Herald
Tuscaloosa (Ala.) News	Salina (Kansas) Journal
Natchez (Miss.) Democrat	Galveston Daily News
Portsmouth (NH) Herald	Miami Herald

FORD ENDORSEMENTS (continued)

Memphis Commercial Appeal  
Winston-Salem Journal  
Rome (Ga.) News Tribune  
Marietta (Ga.) Journal  
Savannah News and Press  
(COMBINED SUNDAY EDITION)  
Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, Herald  
(COMBINED SUNDAY EDITION)  
Albany (Ga.) Herald  
Baltimore News American  
Baltimore Sun  
Richmond Times-Dispatch  
Maine Sunday Telegram  
Syracuse Herald American  
Jacksonville (Fla.) Times-Union

WESTCHESTER ROCKLAND CHAIN  
New Rochelle Standard-Star  
Mount Vernon Argus  
Mamaroneck Times  
Nyack Rockland Journal-News  
Ossining Citizen-Register  
Port Chester Item  
Tarrytown News  
White Plains Reporter Dispatch  
Yonkers Herald Statesman

CARTER ENDORSEMENTS

Denver Post  
Hutchinson (Kan.) News  
Nashville Tennessean  
St. Petersburg Times  
Arkansas Gazette  
Dayton Daily News  
Long Island Press  
Miami News  
Daytona Beach (Fla) News Herald

Macon (Ga.) Telegraph, News  
(COMBINED SUNDAY EDITION)  
Staten Island Advance  
New York Times  
St. Louis Post-Dispatch  
Minneapolis Tribune  
Louisville Courier Journal, Times  
(COMBINED SUNDAY EDITION)  
Saratoga Springs (NY) Saratogian  
Charlotte (N.C.) Observer



# A Certainty: Whether It's Ford or Carter, He Won't Have a Mandate

## As Democrat's Lead Shrinks, President Pins His Hopes Largely on TV Campaign

### Late Irony for the 'Outsider'

By DENNIS FARNEY and ALBERT R. HUNT  
Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
WASHINGTON—Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, limping down the homestretch of an uninspiring campaign, have already made one outcome certain: The next President won't have a mandate to make major changes.

If the election were held tomorrow, most political analysts agree, Jimmy Carter would win. But his popular-vote victory would be so narrow, and the way he campaigned so unimpressive, as to raise serious doubts about his ability to command the strong allegiance of the people or even the Democratic Congress.

"This election should have been a shoo-in," complains a Democratic leader in one major state. "The fact that it's even close shows what a lousy candidate and campaign we've got."

Mr. Carter's lead has shrunk dangerously in state after state, giving President Ford an outside chance of overtaking him. But Mr. Ford's hopes rest less on barnstorming than on a television-advertising blitz that will overshadow the Carter television effort in the closing days. And a Ford upset would be due more to his opponent's shortcomings than to the President's own ability to sell his record and political philosophy.

#### A Plan for the Week

Conceding as much, a top Ford campaign strategist gives this tongue-in-cheek description of the plan for the final week: Flood the country with so much paid television, and so much activity by presidential supporters, that "presumably nobody will notice what the President is doing" as he barnstorms.

The final presidential debate last Friday night evidently did little or nothing to arouse the electorate and alter the candidates' prospects. Neither man committed any serious gaffe, but neither broke any new ground. Surveys taken afterward indicate that voters felt the result was rather inconclusive (though Carterites argue that the President needed and failed to score decisive gains and that the debate therefore helped the Democrat).

Lack of voter enthusiasm for either candidate is reflected in the 15 or 20 states considered still undecided at this point, an unusually high number for so late in the campaign. Public apathy could hold the national turnout below 55% of the eligible voters, which would be the lowest in 28 years, and Democratic defections to third-party candidate Eugene McCarthy could further hurt Mr. Carter in closely fought Wisconsin and possibly in larger industrial states as well. "This thing is going to be decided in the last four days," predicts Ford strategist Stuart Spencer.

#### Eight States Hold Key

The key to the election continues to be the eight big states that both sides have targeted from the beginning: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Texas and California. Together, they hold 223 of the 270 electoral votes needed to win. Even though the President now appears to have a chance in such Southern states as Virginia, Louisiana and Mississippi, his own strategists say he still must win at least five, and probably six, of these eight major states.

The President enjoys a fairly comfortable lead in only one of the eight, Michigan (21 electoral votes), where polls give him a margin of four to eight percentage points. Mr. Carter appears to lead in New York (41 votes) and Texas (26). The Democrat's strategists think he is also ahead in New Jersey (17), although conceding that his margin has slipped; Mr. Ford's men think they have pulled even in New Jersey.

The other four states — California (45 votes), Pennsylvania (27), Illinois (26) and Ohio (25)—are considered too close to call. Ford men are increasingly optimistic about California, a "must win" state in their calculations. The Carterites are guardedly optimistic that their candidate is somewhat ahead in the three other states, but Democratic politicians in those states believe his lead is shaky.

#### Daley and Rizzo

Ironically, the fate of Mr. Carter, who ran as an anti-politician "outsider," now appears to rest with old-line politicians and their political machinery — with Chicago Mayor Richard Daley in Illinois, with Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo in Pennsylvania, with the Essex and Hudson County Democratic organizations in New Jersey, for example. Last week top Carter strategists Hamilton Jordan and Charles Kirbo, abandoning their customary cocksure confidence, began asking top Democratic politicians for advice. The almost unanimous recommendation was to hit hard on the issues of jobs and inflation, and these will be Mr. Carter's main themes from now on.

President Ford's main hope is a saturation television campaign that his strategists say will be even heavier, in the final week, than Richard Nixon's in 1972. (Partly by design and partly because the Ford campaign started so late, the President has had some \$3 million to \$4 million more to spend than Jimmy Carter in the closing two weeks, and most of this has been plowed into advertising.)

The blitz will include at least five half-hour programs beamed to statewide audiences in battleground states: California, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Ohio and New York. The Ford campaign will be augmented by eight five-minute-long national radio addresses by the President and will close with an election-eve national telecast on all three networks. Mr. Ford will take the high road in these programs, but his strategists are considering use of other TV spots that would hit hard at Mr. Carter's past acceptance of favors from special interests and his use of tax "loopholes."

As the final push begins, here is how the Carter and Ford camps view the prospects and are shaping their strategies:

Despite the erosion in a once-huge lead, the Carter camp remains cautiously confident about the election. "It's going to be close, closer than some people think, but the numbers look good for us," says Patrick Caddell, the Carter pollster.

Generally, most top Democratic strategists foresee a popular-vote victory of around 5% to 6%. They think it is possible that with narrow wins in most of the major states, Mr. Carter could get as many as 350 to 400 of the 538 Electoral College votes. That would be cited as an impressive endorsement of the Democratic nominee.

But many Democratic politicians privately suggest that even with such a victory, Mr. Carter would not have received a forceful mandate. A truly effective campaign, they believe, would have cinched the presidential election weeks ago. Outside the South, almost all Democratic congressional candidates now are saying that Mr. Carter brings little, if any, strength to party tickets.

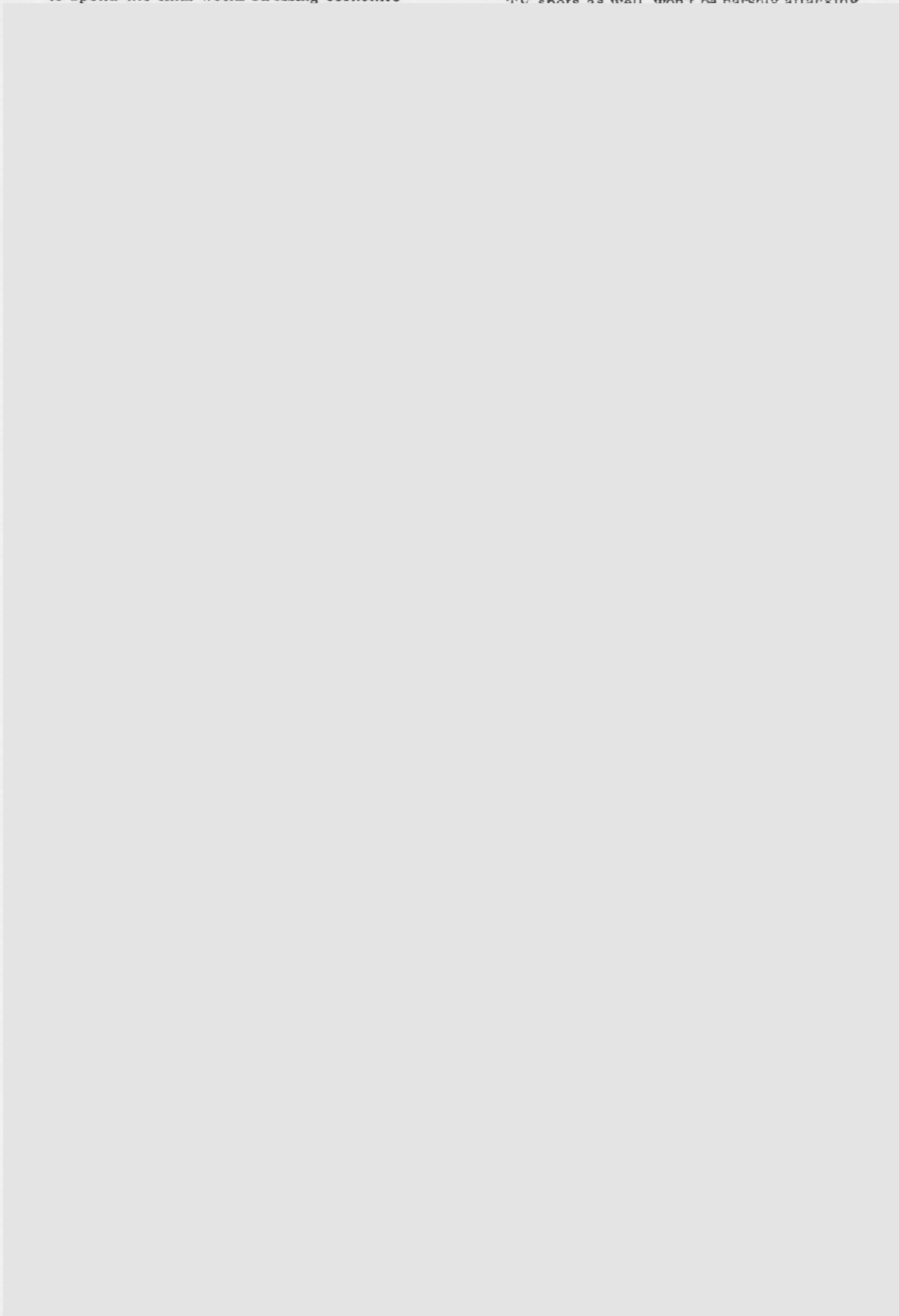
The key to the Carter optimism is the assumption that there won't be a dismally low turnout of voters. The strategists contend that a number of hitherto turned-off Democrats will trudge to the polls Nov. 2 to cast a traditional vote.

Still, Mr. Carter feels compelled to seek help in rousing the apathetic in the party. He now is courting powerful Democratic political bosses all over the country. On Wednesday, for instance, he will publicly embrace Philadelphia Mayor Rizzo, who was a chief target of Mr. Carter during his successful Pennsylvania primary run last April. That evening the Democratic candidate will go to Pittsburgh to attend an Allegheny County Democratic dinner.

"We are relying very heavily on local organizations," says Diana J. Rock, the Carter campaign coordinator in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Ohio. In Pittsburgh, where Miss Rock is directing the get-out-the-vote effort, "the party organization's ability to turn out people is the key," she says. Miss Rock believes that, despite some disaffection with the candidate, these organizations will revert to party loyalty and deliver a big vote on Election Day. (In Philadelphia, Mayor Rizzo, the old Carter enemy, has privately promised top Carter operatives that he will produce the desired 300,000 Democratic plurality on Nov. 2.)

To stir partisan fervor in Pennsylvania and other industrial states, Mr. Carter plans to spend the final weeks stressing economic

This lofty approach doesn't mean that stand-ins for the President, and perhaps new TV spots as well, won't be harshly attacking



# 'Farm Vote' Eroded, Split in '76 Race

By Dan Morgan

Washington Post Staff Writer

BISON, Okla.—Bud Ptacek, manager of the grain elevator here, is so angry about falling wheat prices that he has added a defiant postscript to the sign where he posts wheat quotations every day. It reads:

"Remember the embargo."

Underneath that reminder of President Ford's temporary curtailment of grain exports to the Soviet Union in 1975, Ptacek's sign traces the course of falling-wheat prices and rising bread prices: "Wheat \$5.30 [a bushel], bread 42 cents . . . wheat \$3.60, bread 53 cents . . . wheat \$2.92, bread 61 cents."

In the presidential campaign now under way, neither candidate inspires Ptacek, who voted for President Nixon in 1972. Hurrying out from behind the counter where he grades and weighs grain brought in by farmers, Ptacek volunteers that he would "vote for a hound dog if there was a good one running." Since there isn't, he intends to "go for Jimmy Carter" on Nov. 2.

In this part of the farm belt, wheat prices are the main barometer of economic prosperity. Farmers tend to vote their pocketbooks rather than their party allegiance, which around here is overwhelmingly Republican.

Wheat is so important that signs outside local banks flash the closing Kansas City wheat quotations instead of the time and temperature, and the economies of the small farming communities contract and expand in step with shifts in grain prices.

John Camp III, president of the Waukomis State Bank a few miles north of here, is as concerned as anyone about the \$1.10-a-bushel decline in wheat prices since July 4 to \$2.54 last week. He figures the steady price slide has reduced the value of the unsold wheat stored in local elevators by more than \$1 million—and that is money lost to the farmers, stores and businesses served by Camp's bank.

"As far as we're concerned, that's a recession," he said.

To Republican strategists trying to put together a winning combination of states for President Ford, the widespread complaints about the 1975 grain embargo, as well as about wheat, corn, hog and cattle prices (all down from a year ago), are worrisome. They say that the Midwest farm states are crucial to a Ford victory.

Ever since Harry S. Truman put together his upset victory in 1948 with the help of a half dozen farm states, presidential candidates have eagerly wooed "the farm vote." The President's recent 50 per cent increase in wheat price supports was a move in that political tradition.

In an election campaign as close the polls indicate this one is, the votes of the 3.5 million Americans living on farms will be important. Yet it would be risky to draw sweeping conclusions about the outcome in the Midwest on the basis of farmer complaints alone.

For a number of reasons, the days when a powerful, united farm bloc could easily swing elections are long past. If there is a farm vote today, it is amorphous, diverse and subject to many of the same emotional pulls and ideological divisions as the electorate as a whole.

In this nation's one-man-one-vote democracy, farmers and their families make up only a tiny percentage of the population. When Truman beat Gov. Thomas E. Dewey in 1948, nearly one in six Americans lived on a farm. Today it is fewer than one in 20.

At the same time, the farm bloc's political power has been eroded by the changes that have swept through American agriculture and the countryside since 1950.

Even in states where agriculture provides the main economic underpinning, such as Kansas and Iowa, large segments of the electorate are several steps removed from the farm. In both those states the urban population far outnumbers the rural, so that political analyst Richard Scammon says it is fair to ask whether the "farm states" are more industrial than agricultural today.

Waterloo, Iowa, with 75,000 people, illustrates Scammon's point. Located in the middle of some of the world's choicest farming country, the city's economy is closely linked to the farming activity around it. The huge John Deere tractor plant provides jobs for more than 12,000 persons, including nearly 10,000 members of the United Auto Workers. Some of the plant's workers are part-time farmers and many more have relatives who are.

"Whether the farmer makes out or not will decide whether the factory runs—and whether our community survives," said Ted Anderson, 32, a UAW vice president who is running for the Iowa Senate from Waterloo as a Democrat.

Sen. Dick Clark (D-Iowa) says it would be difficult for almost any po-



litical candidate to get elected without being "closely tied to agricultural issues." and he notes that 17 per cent of as unlimited grain exports) while live-stock men who feed corn to animals: may favor policies that keep corn "But now they're saying down at the Baptist church that he drinks champagne and lusts after women, and that

# Pa. toss-up race for electoral votes apparently is enveloped in apathy

By **DAM CLYMER**

*Sun Staff Correspondent*

Philadelphia—Pennsylvania seems to have put a toss-up contest for the nation's third biggest pot of electoral votes on a political back burner.

President Ford and Jimmy Carter both

sue, he would cut them. And if they had backed him against blacks and liberals seeking his ouster, they would have lost strength there and elsewhere.

One differing view, but a definite minority opinion, came from Drew Lewis, Mr. Ford's chairman here, who argued

affair in Pittsburgh the next night.

The direct impact between the Senate and presidential campaigns is hard to measure. One odd feature is a Heinz ad, which quotes Mr. Carter (apparently believing Mr. Heinz was a Democrat) as

# The undebatable impact of the debates

**JAMES WIEGHART**

**WASHINGTON** — The 1976 presidential debates are history and, although it has become

edge (including this viewer) and others giving the nod to Carter.

The important difference between 1960 and 1976 is that the television audience today is far more sophisticated. And why shouldn't they be, after having more than a decade of demonstrations, the war in Vietnam and the

Carter strategists have always felt that no matter how the debates turned out — barring a complete disaster — they would be a plus for the Georgian



## The New York City Issue

Curiously little attention in the campaign has been given to the "New York City issue," which we were told by some last fall would be a classic liberal vs. conservative, rural vs. urban confrontation. We suspect one reason for the neglect, Jimmy Carter's New York supporters to the contrary, is that there is fundamentally little disagreement on the subject between Mr. Carter and President Ford.

To be sure, Mr. Carter has been saying that it may take New York City longer than its present schedule to bring its budget back in balance. (A balanced budget for the '78 fiscal year is now required to be in place by June 30, 1977.) In that case, he would extend the federal "seasonal loan" program, which now expires June 30, 1978. The Ford administration is still in-

guarantee which Senator Proxmire was pushing last year included far more stringent federal direction of the city than did the administration's substitute.

The Ford administration, retaining a gut attachment to the federal system of local responsibility, took refuge in a convenient fiction. Once New York City and State removed some debt pressure by a de facto default through the note moratorium, it reasoned, the main problem was lack of cash flow. This resulted in part because the city had to pay billions for joint federal programs and then wait months for federal reimbursement. So Washington could legitimately lend it money for the length of the fiscal year, until the accounts were cleared.

Mr. Carter, as a former South-

W.S. Journal,  
10/25/76



"Am I apathetic about the election? What election?"

STAYSKAL  
CHICAGO  
TRIBUNE

Chicago Tribune, 10/25/76



Ford Has More Campaign Funds Left

President Ford has \$2.6 million more than Jimmy Carter to spend in the final week of campaigning, according to the final pre-election Federal Election Commission reports.

The reports, filed late Saturday by both candidates, showed that through Oct. 18 the President spent \$14 million of the slightly more than \$22.3 million he started with for the general election campaign, leaving him with \$8.3 million.

Carter spent \$16.7 million of the \$22.4 million he began with and has \$5.7 million left.

The largest single chunks of money spent by each candidate in the first 18 days of October went to advertising. Carter spent at least \$1.6 million on radio and television advertising, most of it through the Gerald Rafshoon advertising agency in Atlanta.

Ford listed more than \$1.9 million in broadcast advertising, most of it spot announcements paid for Oct. 1. The states where most of the money went are among the high priority states Ford has identified: California, Illinois, New York and Ohio.  
--AP, UPI, CBS Morning News (10/25/76)

IssuesFORD/DOLEDash Claims Ford was "Shocked" at Pardon Reaction

President Ford did not understand what Watergate meant to the American people before he pardoned Richard Nixon, Sam Dash, former Chief Counsel for the Senate Watergate hearings, stated today.

Dash added that Ford was "shocked at the way the nation reacted to the pardon."

Dash reiterated his charge that Senator Howard Baker (R-Tenn) really "sabotaged" the Watergate hearings. Dash claims John Dean told him that Baker met privately with President Nixon to discuss the hearings.

--Today Show (10/25/76)



Ford Promises to Limit Federal Spending

Ford said today he will continue to restrain federal spending, if elected, "because I don't believe the American people should be taxed any more, and inflation is just another high tax."

In his text for a nationwide Mutual radio broadcast, Ford argued that federal spending contributes to inflation. He boasted that during his presidency the inflation rate has been cut from 12 percent annually to less than 6 percent.

The broadcast was the first of eight that will be aired daily from now until election day, except next Sunday.

Before taking his campaign to Seattle and Portland today, Ford bid for support Sunday evening in California with the first of at least five "Jerry and Joe Shows," statewide live television broadcasts featuring the President and, acting as master of ceremonies, sportscaster Joe Garagiola.

In the program beamed from Hollywood to all parts of California son Steve and former Democratic Rep. Edith Green of Oregon also participated.

The broadcast was sandwiched between rallies at Fountain Valley in politically conservative Orange County and La Mesa, in San Diego County. The two affairs attracted thousands, making them among his best attended appearances of this election year.  
--AP, UPI, Morning Shows (10/25/76)

Polls Will Tell Dole Where to Stump

Sen. Bob Dole is looking toward the polls to help him decide where to spend the final week of his Republican vice presidential campaign, a drive he claims could take him to up to 18 states.

Dole is being dispatched to areas where campaign strategists feel a personal appearance will do the most good. Today, he campaigns in Maine, Rhode Island, upstate New York and Pennsylvania.

On Tuesday, he goes to Ohio and Indiana. But beyond that, his schedule is still vague -- deliberately so -- although a west coast trip is tentatively planned for the end of the week.

"It's a very volatile election," Dole said Sunday. "The polls are changing everywhere. We just feel very optimistic. Everything's upbeat.

"The last debate was good, President Ford's out on the road, and we're going to win this election."  
--AP, UPI (10/25/76)



# Reagan snubs Ford's appeal to California

By Aldo Beckman

Chicago Tribune Press Service

LOS ANGELES—Embarrassed by Ronald Reagan not appearing on his statewide appeal for votes in California, President Ford told voters here Sunday the

Recent polls in California show Ford leading Jimmy Carter by about two points, but Republican officials at Ford rallies Sunday stressed the need to get out the





10-19-76

CHICK LARSEN



# The Real Mr. Ford

By Anthony Lewis

How can a nice guy be so insensitive, politically to human concern? How

-22-

Gerald Ford's humanity stop at the edge of his politics. His old friend and former press secretary, Jerald ter-Horst, put it graphically in Newsweek: "If he saw a school kid who needed clothing, he'd give him the shirt off his back, literally. Then he'd go right in the White House and veto a school lunch bill."

There is the same discontinuity in his judgment of people. He backed Richard Nixon to the end, and kept Nixon people around him afterward. He has made some fine appointments as President. But his most important personnel choice in 1976 was a candidate for Vice-President. He picked

The last debate was highly significant, but not in the sense of point-scoring. It was important because it focused attention on what should have been the central issue in this campaign all along: the mind and record of Gerald Ford.

The reminder was especially important for one group: Democrats who are doubtful about Jimmy Carter for one reason or another and say they may stay home this year, or vote for Eugene McCarthy. Those voters had the opportunity to see the reality of the man they would thereby help keep in office. Jimmy Carter has made mistakes, but he does unquestionably



### Carter Rests in Plains

Appearing confident that he has the election sewn up, Jimmy Carter took a second day off from the campaign trail today to rest before his final swing through eight crucial states.

Aides indicated Carter now feels he has regained the momentum and his mistakes are behind him.

Carter plans to focus on the economy and unemployment in the last days of his campaign. Returning to the hustings Tuesday, he plans appearances in South Carolina, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Missouri and Texas before winding up with two hard-hitting days in California next weekend.

He spent Sunday afternoon taping half hour "fireside" television addresses to be aired at different times on election even on all three major networks.

Carter issued a Veterans Day statement Sunday defending his own approach to defense spending and promising to appoint Vietnam Veterans to policy making positions "if I am elected."  
--AP, UPI, Morning Shows (10/25/76)

### Gov. Brown Says "Activist" Carter Will Win

Jimmy Carter will win the election because he is progressive, activist and looks to the future, Gov. Jerry Brown (D-Calif.) said in an ABC interview today.

The spending programs Carter advocates, Brown said, will help stimulate the economy because they are good investments. "Although there aren't a lot of quick answers and these things are complex, you can be sure of one thing, that if you sit around and do nothing, that's exactly what'll happen."

Brown said Ford is "more willing to let the marketplace do its thing and hopefully that'll make everything alright." The President wants to lower taxes for middle Americans but knows he'll never do it, Brown added.

Asked if he planned to run for the presidency in 1980 or 1984, Brown replied, "I'm looking to get Jimmy Carter elected and going back to being a good Governor of California."  
--Good Morning, America (10/25/76)

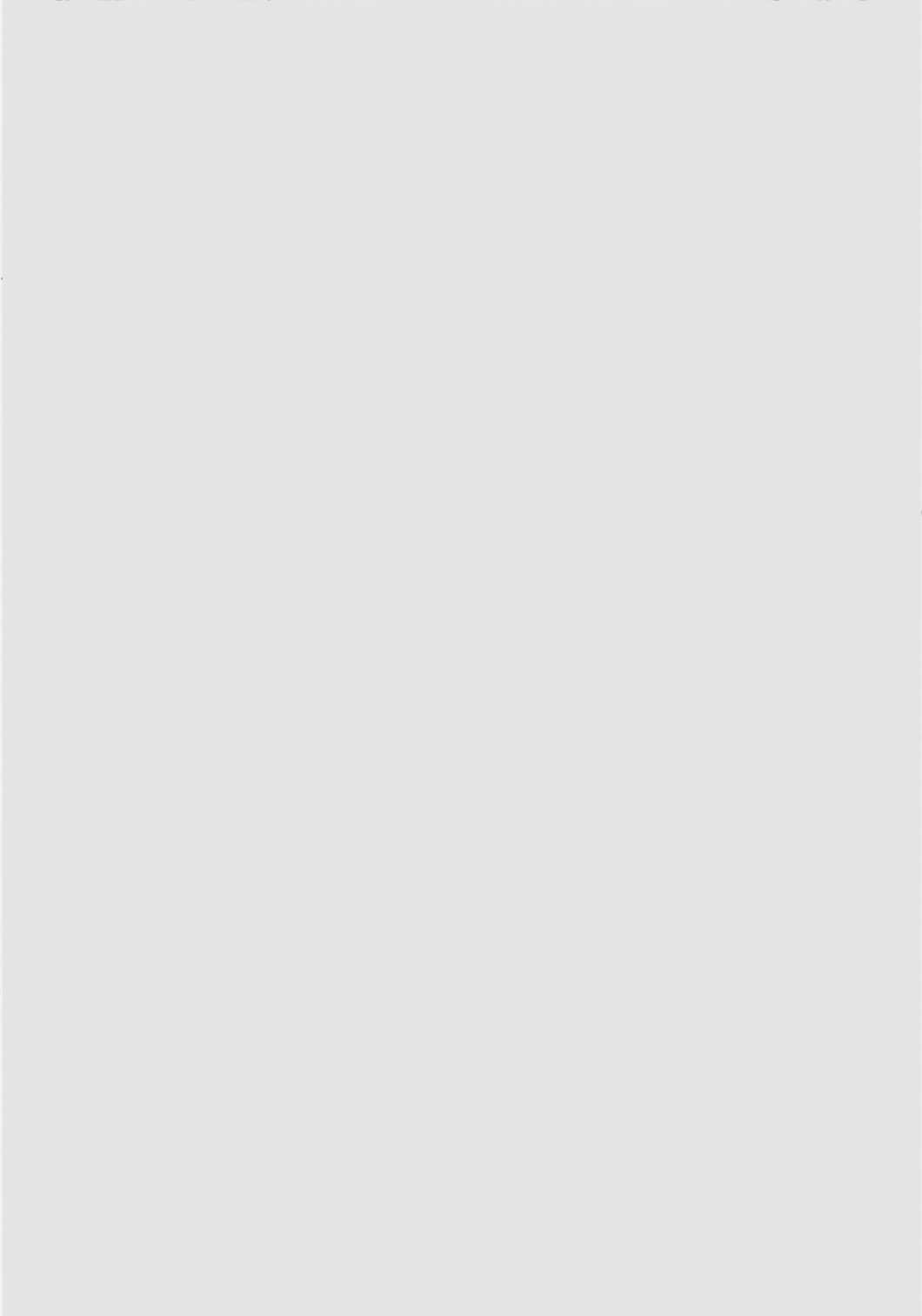
# Carter touches the high road, then goes

WASHINGTON—The Carter campaign was lying in wait for President Ford when the final debate was held—just waiting to ambush him. Its people very nearly ambushed themselves.

It wasn't a bad battle plan for the last

## downhill fast

ing, "There are two people whose remarks I've never honored by respond-



Strategy



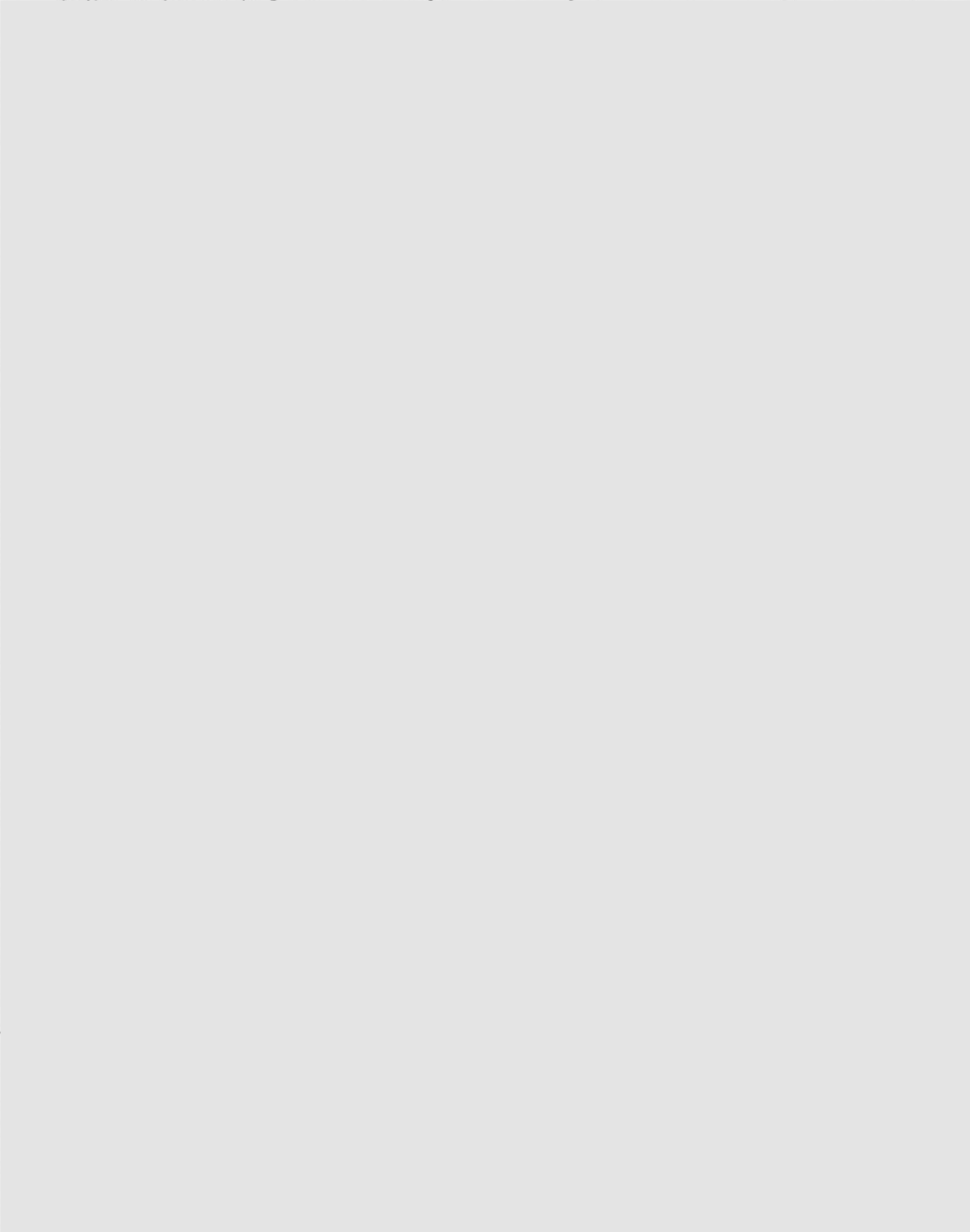
BOYS ON CARTER BUS SAY HE'S A TOUGH NUT

By Bill Neikirk

Chicago Tribune Press Service

PLAINS, Ga.—Jimmy Carter's campaign jet bumped and bounced through a driving Georgia thunderstorm while the Democratic presidential nominee stood in the aisle con-

● New York Times reporter Charles Mohr broke a story earlier this year pointing out the apparent contradiction between Carter's campaign statements on Viet Nam and the fact that as Georgia governor he declared a "Fighting Man's Day" during the controversy over Lt. William Calley, convicted of mur-



BOYS ON CARTER BUS SAY HE'S A TOUGH NUT

A WIRE-SERVICE reporter said Powell's technique is working to his disadvantage, because reporters are increasingly seeking out

Reporters covering Carter went up the wall over that statement. The New York Times' Mohr called it nonsense. "His has been the

South Korean Congressional Funds Investigated

A federal grand jury is investigating allegations that South Koreans, seeking to curry favor for their country, offered bribes to several U.S. Congressmen.

The New York Times reported today that the investigation has reached the point where several South Korean diplomats might be asked to leave the country.

On Sunday, the Washington Post quoted sources within the investigation as saying that the South Korean group, led by businessman Tongsun Park, had recorded the disbursement of \$500,000 to \$1 million per year in gifts to Congressmen and other officials.

Park, identified by the investigators as an operative of the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency, financed the gifts through commissions he earned as the exclusive agent for the sale of American rice to South Korea, a franchise granted him by the South Korean government, the Post reported.

The Post said Park has told investigators he made payments to former Reps. Cornelius Gallagher, D-NJ; Richard Hanna, D-Calif.; and Edwin Edwards, D-La.; and Rep. William Broomfield, R-Mich.  
--AP, UPI, Morning Shows (10/25/76)

Iran

FOREIGN POLICY

Election Won't Affect US-Iran Relations, Shah Says

The Shah of Iran says he believes the American presidential election will have no effect on U.S. relations with Iran.

"Iran controls a good part of the free world's energy resources, and the free world could not tolerate the loss of Iran," Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi said in an interview published today in the newspaper Kayhan International.

The Shah said the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries would "definitely" raise its oil prices at its December meeting but did not predict what the increase would be.

--AP, UPI (10/25/76)





Pound Drops to Record Low

The British pound dropped seven cents to a new record low of \$1.5765 on the London foreign exchange today.

The sudden drop in less than an hour of hectic trading followed a report in the Sunday Times that the International Monetary Fund wants the British currency to fall to \$1.50 before permitting Britain to draw \$3.9 billion to help the country in its gravest economic crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Sterling closed at \$1.6481 on Friday and was quoted at \$1.6150 when the market opened today.

--AP, UPI, CBS Morning News, Good Morning America (10/25/76)

Arab SummitINTERNATIONALSadat Opens Arab Summit

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat opened a 20-nation Arab summit Conference seeking a Lebanese peace settlement with a warning to Israel against any interference in Southern Lebanon.

"We shall all resist with full firmness and strength Israeli moves in regard to Southern Lebanon," Sadat told the Arab leaders at their inaugural session.

Sadat did not elaborate on his warning to Israel, but Mahmoud Riad, Secretary General of the 21-member Arab League sponsoring the Summit, had more to say.

"Today we see an escalation of Israeli aggressive interventions in Lebanese territory and flagrant attacks on the Lebanese south," he told the conference.

Tunisian Foreign Minister Habib Chatti, who presided over a preparatory foreign ministers meeting Sunday night, told newsmen continued fighting in Southern Lebanon would figure prominently in summit deliberations. He said the situation there was "very serious."

--AP, UPI, Morning Shows (10/25/76)