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News & Comment

The President's Daily News Summary



Leading The News...

FOR TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1976

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Kissinger Plan Still Alive

The Rhodesian plan negotiated by Sec. Kissinger may be shaky, but it still is alive, following objections from five African leaders, a State Department official said Monday.

"The African presidents have accepted the overall package," Undersecretary William Rogers told a news conference. But Rogers said several crucial points will have to be reopened for bargaining.

State Department officials said Monday they had heard privately from the African presidents assuring the U.S. that their statement was not a rejection of the negotiating process and insisting they simply want a conference to work out details of an interim government without pre-conditions, Barrie Dunsmore reported. (ABC)

"What apparently happened is that Kissinger gave Smith a package the principles of which he knew were acceptable to the Africans but with details that had been discussed but not formally approved," Dunsmore said.

Kissinger met with Prime Minister of Tanzania Monday who reportedly explained in person the black African presidents did not reject the American-British peace plan for Rhodesia.

In an NBC interview, Kissinger suggested the African presidents were talking for domestic consumption when they expressed opposition for some part of the plan.

Kissinger said, "One has to understand that each of these leaders has his own constituency. For African leaders to say that they express the proposals of Smith is almost impossible. They have indicated that certain things they want to negotiate. They have indicated they have made no pre-conditions. We have received messages today from three of those leaders who attended the meeting stressing that they think matters are on track and that they're looking forward to early negotiations. So I think we should cut through the rhetoric and look at the real issues and there is going to be a lot of rhetoric in the next few weeks." (NBC) (This excerpt was taken from an interview done by Richard Valeriani and Tom Jarriel to be shown on the Today Show Tuesday.)

Valeriani said, "Kissinger believes that the plan could still break down in such radical states as Mozambique and Angola...In order to set up an anti-Western regime there or if South African Prime Minister John Vortster comes under such heavy pressure from his right wing that he has to stop putting the squeeze on Rhodesia. But as of now, Kissinger expects that actual negotiations will get underway fairly soon." (NBC) AP,UPI,Networks -- (9/27/76)

The African Situation
(By Eric Sevareid, CBS)

Serious diplomacy in this age of world-wide communications is conducted publicly as well as privately. At the moment, what we are seeing at this stage of negotiating over the white vs. black, peace vs. war contest for southern Africa is public diplomacy.

First, Rhodesia's white Prime Minister announced his acceptance to the British-American program for the end of white rule there. Next, the so-called Frontline country presidents in the region publicly announced what seemed to be a rejection of the program. Then, today the State Department publicly affirmed that they had not at all rejected the plan. At this time, the private has been made public... private letters coming in now from those mostly moderate African leaders which assure the American administration that indeed they have not rejected the plans.

Each of those have to do a balancing act with their own people.-- so fragmented are the various political movements in southern Africa. What... would appear to be automatically and unquestionably of taking a white Rhodesian Prime Minister at his own word.

Now there is some slight worry here, though it appears to be only slight, that Prime Minister Ian Smith will use a negative-sounding black statement as an excuse to back down on his own acceptance of the program.

Black rule... objecting only to the location of the preliminary conference to work out construction of an interim government for Rhodesia. And... white and black occupying certain posts in the interim regime. All that is negotiable.

In the background are the radical black militants, encouraged by the Soviets, who want either no peace plan at all or who want a constitutional convention to precede an interim government. That would... over a long period in which the... could take over much of Rhodesia's territory.

But the educated guess in Washington now is that the chances for peaceful negotiations going forward reducing the risks of spreading race war are about six to four in favor. The odds may look even better by Oct. 6 when President Ford will debate his foreign policy with Jimmy Carter.

One thing that would have to be done immediately is for Administration officials to persuade many suspicious black American groups that this is no trick to perpetuate white rule in Rhodesia and the 2-year transition period to majority rule is not too long.

Unhappy surprises are always possible... So far as one can now see, Secretary Kissinger has indeed put on the tracks a peaceful negotiating vehicle, originated by the British, must now take over the driver's seat. CBS -- (9/27/76)

U.S. Oil Dependence Reset; Saudi Arabia Denies Embargo

The nation's dependence on foreign fuels continued to increase this year with oil imports up 16.7 percent in the first six months, the FEA says.

The findings, in FEA's latest monthly statistics, coincided with published reports -- denied by the State Dept. -- that Saudi Arabia was threatening a new oil embargo if the U.S. Congress adopts legislation unfavorable to the Arab economic boycott of Israel.

Saudi Arabia Monday flatly denied it is considering a new oil embargo against the U.S., but not before the Administration intervened to stop Congress from killing a proposed \$30 million missile deal with that nation.

The development took place as Congress neared final action on legislation designed to weaken the Arab boycott of Israel by forbidding U.S. firms from participating in that or any other international boycott. The bill is expected to pass Congress quickly. Some Administration officials say the way to fight the boycott is through diplomacy and they are urging President Ford to veto it, Irving R. Levine reported. (NBC)

The report that Saudi Arabia might reimpose the oil embargo it lowered during the 1973 Arab-Israeli war originated with a Middle East news agency report from Washington Sunday saying the threat was made to Assistant Treasury Sec. Gerald Parsky. Parsky and the State Dept. both denied it Monday.

A few hours before the denials were made, the Senate, at the urging of Vice President Rockefeller, temporarily scrapped a resolution to kill the proposed sale of 650 Maverick air-to-ground missiles to Saudi Arabia. AP,UPI,NBC,CBS -- (9/27/76)

Rhodesian Peace Plan Likely to Survive Black African Rejection of Some Aspects

By ROBERT KEATLEY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON.— The Rhodesian peace plan negotiated last week by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has run into trouble. But it probably will survive as the outline of a settlement for black-white political dis-

The other issue involves ending the guerrilla war in Rhodesia. Mr. Smith said he has "assurances" from Secretary Kissinger that fighting will stop soon. The black leaders said it won't stop as long as whites dominate the Rhodesian government. However, they mightn't have given equal attention to Mr.

Interim Regime

Perhaps more significant, though, is that neither side rejected the idea of forming an interim regime of black and white Rhodesians for a two-year transition to majority (black) rule. Further diplomatic scurrying probably will resolve the latest difficulties and keep the peace plan on track.

One inducement for the white Rhodesian capitulation is a Kissinger promise of major economic aid to Rhodesia. This involves an international program, to be funded by the U.S., Britain, South Africa, France, West Germany and perhaps others, which will have two main objectives.

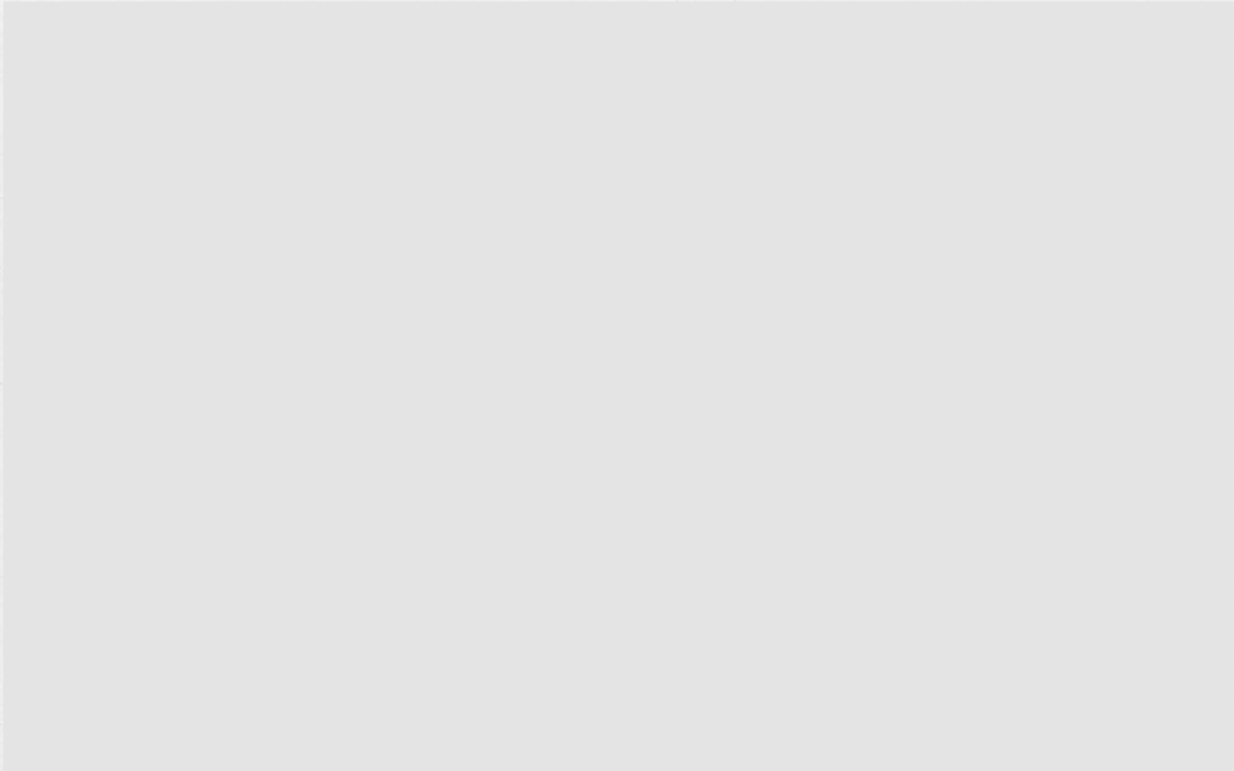
First, it will provide capital and technical

Southern Africa's New Climate

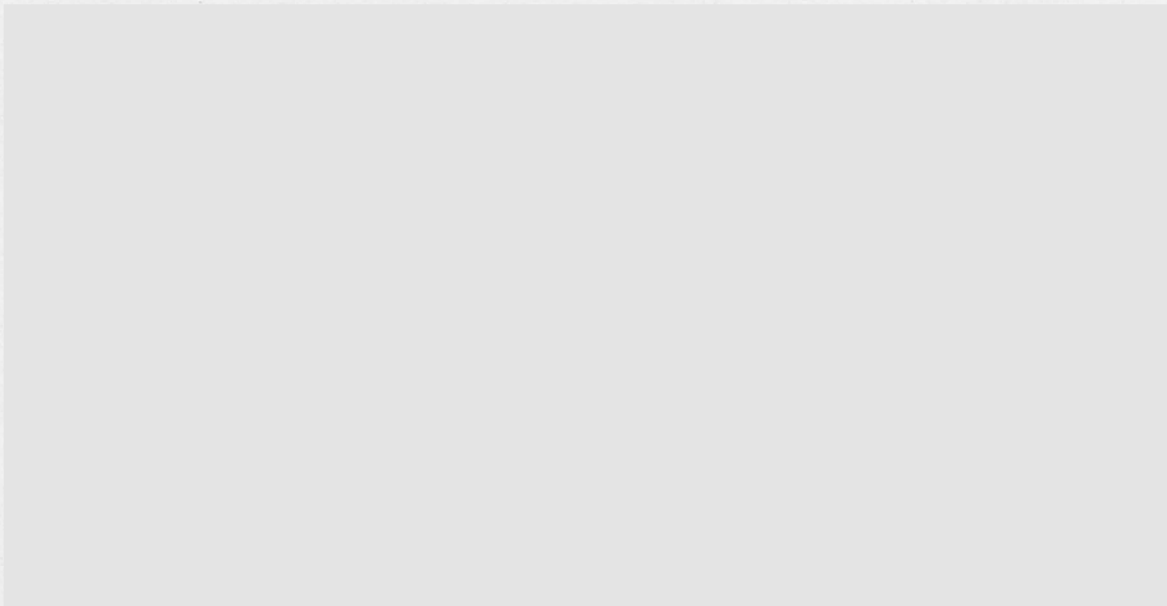
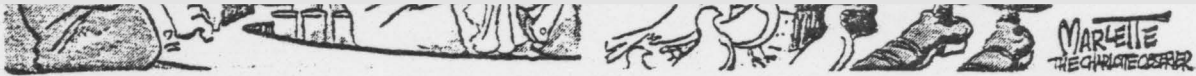
There is new hope for a peaceful settlement of the Rhodesian question, and with it renewed hope for the peaceful settlement of some of the other problems of southern Africa. That is no small ac-

tionists, however. Yet, if they are not accepted, the very act of rejection will raise fundamental questions about the capacity of the black nationalists to enter useful constitutional negotiations.

L.A. Times,
9/27/76



Charlotte
Observer,
9/22/76



Charlotte
Observer,
9/22/76



Ford Presents Crusade Against Crime

President Ford said Monday in Miami 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 in Miami closed out his three-day campaign swing through the deep South, and he was to return to Washington later 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 anti-crime legislation." (AP)

The President said more progress could be made against crime if Congress would pass the programs he has proposed. Ford said: "We cannot count in dollars. We cannot count in cents the loss of a single citizen who is murdered, the humiliation on who's raped, the pain of one who is assaulted. It is time to give the streets back to the law-abiding citizens and to put the criminals behind bars." (ABC/CBS)

Ford continued: "I've called for legislation increasing the number of federal judges. I called for compensation for victims of federal crimes. The Congress has done nothing. American voters will examine their ballots in November and identify those candidates who have demonstrated indifference or permissiveness toward crime and they should." (NBC/CBS)

Bob Schieffer reported that the speech brought one of the most enthusiastic responses of the trip. (CBS)

The President also shook hands with FBI Director Clarence Kelley. The President had been praised at the convention for not firing Kelley. (NBC)

The President later visited a Catholic nursing home in North Miami where he promised more attention to the needs of the elderly. Tom Jarriel said at times there were emotional encounters when the candidate met patients confined by poor health and old age. (ABC)

"Florida has a recent record of voting Republican in five of the past six Presidential elections," Jarriel reported. "But the Ford campaign, by its own count, trails Jimmy Carter by 11

Strategy

8

percentage points in the state. And when Ford campaign officials optimistically thought of breaking Carter's grip on the solid South, no one predicted the first crack will come here." (ABC)

But, Bob Jamieson reported, "The President's aides tonight are telling him that the southern swing was a success, that the crowds are larger than they anticipated, and that local politicians are telling them that Carter does not have a lock on the votes here..." (NBC)

Schieffer added that the Ford aides believe Louisiana, Mississippi and possibly Alabama are now winnable. (CBS)

Jarriel's 2:00 report, which ran #2 on ABC, included excerpts from Ford's speech and film of the President talking to children and old people on the campaign trail.

NBC's #3 report, running 2:10, included film of Ford speaking to the convention in Miami, shaking hands with Kelley and appearing at a nursing home. Bob Jamieson gave a brief review of the riverboat trip.

The 1:55 spot, which led CBS, included excerpts from the President's speech, and concluded with a comment by Bob Schieffer voiced over film of Ford campaigning. AP,UPI,Networks — (9/27)



Momentum still with Ford

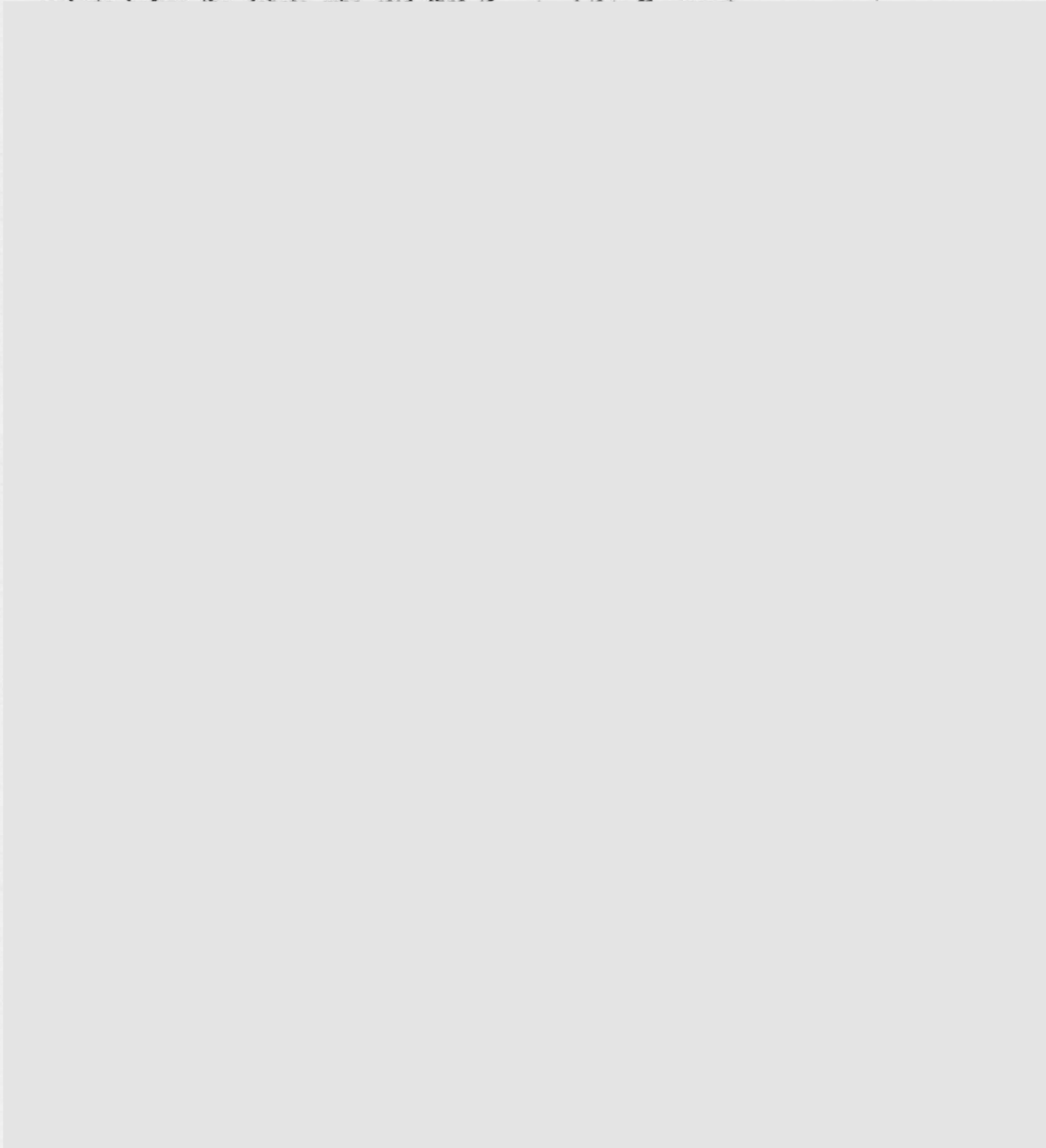
By Godfrey Sperling Jr.

Washington: It was very much like two antagonists looking coolly into each other's eyes to see who would blink first. Now the consensus among political observers seems to be growing that no real winner emerged.

Perhaps. But we talked to some political

men, these findings showed, almost deadlocked, 47 percent for Carter and 45 for Ford, the remainder undecided.

Beyond this a Roper poll indicated this same slight gain for Ford as a result of the debate. And finally, on Sunday morning, a Harris-ABC poll showed Ford "won" the debate by a mar-



Jaworski: No Cause for Further Probe of
Ford Campaign Finances

An inquiry into maritime union contributions to Gerald Ford's congressional campaigns in Michigan, conducted while Leon Jaworski was Special Watergate Prosecutor, turned up nothing that "called for further action," Jaworski said Monday.

"We found no connection with Watergate," Jaworski told reporters. Jaworski's observation came amid reports the Special Prosecutor's office has begun a new inquiry into the handling of the union's political contributions.

President Ford's Special Counsel, Philip Buchen, complained earlier about the timing of the reported new inquiry, which comes a little more than a month before the election.

Jaworski himself said: "I wouldn't conduct an investigation of this kind at this time myself. But I'm not second-guessing anyone else. I'm just saying what I would do. I wouldn't do it at this time for fear that it would have a misleading effect... I would want to carefully protect the rights of every individual under investigation. If I faced a statute of limitations question, then I would have to go ahead because time required it. Otherwise I would probably let the investigation be conducted after the election." (CBS)

Jaworski added that Ruff is a professional, and Jaworski is sure that politics has not entered into any of it. (CBS) Fred Graham observed: "It is a situation without parallel in American history. The Special Prosecutor is conducting criminal investigations relating to both members of the Republican ticket." CBS

Robert Schnake's 1:35 background report ran #4 on CBS.

Fred Graham's 1:30 report, which ran #5 on CBS, included film of Ford and Dole at the GOP convention and an interview with Leon Jaworski. AP,UPI,CBS -- (9/27/76)

Dole Implies Camp. Probe Is Politically Motivated

Sen. Dole, campaigning in Ill. Monday, implied that election year politics lurked behind the Special Prosecutor's Michigan investigation. Asked if the investigation would have any political implications for the GOP, Dole said: "I don't know. I mean it's all one-sided... I don't see him looking any other place... They should be looking everywhere, I guess. I think it's rather coincidental that it would arise right now," Dole added.

Eric Engberg reported that there was an enthusiastic student rally on hand for a hastily arranged Dole visit to Augustana College in the western Illinois farm country. Engberg said Dole is deeply concerned that the GOP could lose the Midwest forfeiting all hope of winning. Dole will spend nearly 2 full days in Ill. and another 2 in Ohio this week alone. CBS -- (9/27/76)

James Squires

Is the prosecutor in a China shop?

WASHINGTON—The current investigation into some of President Ford's old campaign contributions clearly illustrates both the need for and danger of having a special prosecutor independent

stirred up late last year after Ford had a falling out with the maritime industry, including the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association [MEBA], a maritime union that had been one of his biggest

moved the allegations from the "rumor" category and virtually assured that they would be reported in the news media.

Chicago Tribune,
9/26/76

Chancellor Says Ford Looks Better

NBC's John Chancellor, traveling with President Ford on his campaign swing through the South made several observations on the President and his campaign.

Chancellor, in Miami, told David Brinkley: "He looks a little bit like a changed man, David. He seems now to behave as though he thinks genuinely that he has a chance to win this election.

"His speeches, adlib speeches have improved immensely. They're full of short, sharp phrases now. 'We're here and we're here to win. Vote for me and I won't let you down.' He is a much more vigorous candidate now than he was earlier this year."

BRINKLEY: Does it look as if he can carry any of the Southern states?

CHANCELLOR: Not as the polls stand now. The Ford people were perplexed, and I think quite disappointed, this weekend when new regional polls came out showing him way behind -- 20, 30 percentage points behind Carter in the South. Texas, on the other hand, is a different matter. What Jimmy Carter said to Playboy magazine about Lyndon Johnson's lying has angered a number of Texans, and the Ford people are going to hit him very hard on that one with John Connally, and they think may have a chance to carry Texas.

BRINKLEY: John, tell us about your steamboat ride.

CHANCELLOR: Well, it was one of the great media stunts of all time. The President was aboard for eight or nine hours saw only a very few people really. But the boat was a floating studio, and the river was a terrific background. It was hot, it was fun, it was noisy. One note: the band was not allowed to play "Hail to the Chief" I think because they tried it out and it sounded just too awful.

BRINKLEY: What do the Ford people think now about their chances?

CHANCELLOR: They think that they may be able to catch Carter and maybe to beat Carter. There's a new sense of enthusiasm based, in part, on Carter's recent performance. He has not been doing well and the Ford people know that. I think that Jimmy Carter has had a lot to do with the new enthusiasm that we found this weekend in the Ford campaign. NBC -- (9/27/76)

Mike Ford: Playboy Interview Not All That Bad

President Ford's eldest son Mike, a 26-year-old theology student, has said he does not think Carter's Playboy interview is so bad.

Mike said: "He expressed the tenets of his personal and Christian faith, and how it related to various human temptations that he and all of us encountered."

ABC reported an interview published in the Boston Globe Sunday quoted Mike Ford on a variety of subjects such as his sister Susan is somewhat spoiled by White House living. Richard Nixon was not honest with Mr. Ford about the total implication of Watergate, the Playboy interview of Jimmy Carter was not that bad, the President and Mrs. Ford will not be crushed if he loses in November and the children will be relieved. ABC, CBS -- (9/27/76)

Mrs. Dole

Library of Congress: Mrs. Dole's Campaigning Legal

A Library of Congress study concludes that Mrs. Elizabeth Dole is not violating any federal laws in campaigning with her husband, Sen. Robert Dole. But Rep. John Moss (D-Calif.) said Monday she should resign as a member of the FTC.

"The partisan political activities of Mrs. Dole are absolutely inconsistent with the quasi-judicial nature of her responsibilities as a commissioner," Moss wrote to FTC Chairman Calvin Collier.

Mrs. Dole took a leave of absence from the FTC and said her salary in that period would be turned over to the Federal Treasury until after the Nov. 2 election and her husband's fate as President Ford's running mate is decided.

Moss asked the Library of Congress to research the question of whether a leave of absence was sufficient to comply with federal laws and rules affecting ethics and conflict of interest of federal officials. UPI -- (9/27/76)

Carter Raps Ford on Unemployment;
Answers More Questions on Playboy

Jimmy Carter said Monday that President Ford's economic policies placed a record 2.5 million Americans below the official poverty line last year and have created a new class of poor for whom the American dream has been denied.

Campaigning by boat in Portland's Deepwater Harbor and with speeches, rallies and impromptu news conferences, the Democratic candidate pledged that if elected President, he would never increase taxes on Americans who work for a living, or whose major source of income comes from wages and salaries rather than interest, dividends and capital gains.

It was an assertion that Carter has made repeatedly in efforts to clarify statements he made concerning taxes in an AP interview.

Some aides of Carter's said his weekend campaigning in California was a waste of time, Judy Woodruff reported. (NBC)

Reporters asked Carter about the situation in Rhodesia. Carter said: "The last few weeks since Sec. Kissinger has become involved in it, and I'm glad that he has and hopefully we can work out with those countries involved, and those factions involve a peaceful settlement. This, I think, would be a very good thing for world peace and I have no feeling about it except a hope for success." (NBC)

In every speech he made Monday, Carter against what he stressed the insensitivity of the Ford Administration, blaming the Republicans for high unemployment and the housing shortage.

Carter also used the question about the Playboy interview to attack Ford. He said he would not apologize for what he said, but said he would rather be accessible to the public and risk making a few mistakes than hide in the Rose Garden for two months and be cut off from the people. (networks)

Sam Donaldson said the Playboy interview is haunting Carter. "Here in Oregon, Jimmy Carter wanted to focus on unemployment and poverty, but his most carefully listened to statement came when someone asked him not about jobs, but about Playboy." (ABC)

Ed Bradley said Carter's Playboy interview is reminiscent of his ethnic purity gaffee. Bradley said at every stop along the campaign trail, the Playboy interview is the prime interest of the voters. (CBS)

"Carter has improved his campaign style, cutting back on his schedule to get more rest, returning to some tried and true themes from the primaries, looking and sounding better than he has in days," Donaldson reported. "He is determined not to make any more big mistakes in the future, but above all hoping that the public verdict will not be too harsh on his big mistakes of the past." (ABC)

Bradley said the Carter campaign have fired a half dozen people and are gearing down, with fewer stops per day, focusing on media events which attract local coverage. (CBS)

Donaldson's spot, which led ABC, included film of Carter's Playboy comment and a standup comment by Donaldson.

Following the Ford story, NBC's #4 Carter piece, running 1:30, showing film of the boat Carter traveled on and film of Carter speaking. The story ended with a standup comment by Judy Woodruff.

The 2:15 spot, which ran #2 on CBS, included film of Carter defending comments in his Playboy interview. During his remarks, the camera shifted to a napping woman, and Ed Bradley commented that Carter's Playboy interview is now hounding him.
AP,UPI,Networks — (9/27/76)

Labor starts its push for Carter—with reservations

By Saul Friedman
Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The nation's trade unions, united for the first time since 1964, have launched the largest and most expensive political offensive in their history on behalf of Democratic presidential nominee Jimmy Carter.

In contrast to their euphoria of a month ago, some labor leaders and knowledgeable Democrats now have doubts about the effectiveness of the union effort and their presidential candidate.

On paper, the plans for the labor movement's campaign are impressive. Virtually every white-and blue-collar international union — with the major exception of the Teamsters — has endorsed Carter. None is supporting President Ford.

Led by the AFL-CIO, the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the National Education Association (NEA), labor expects to spend at least \$10 million directly for thousands of telephone banks, door-to-door canvassing and 10 million pieces of literature to turn out votes for Carter among 20 million members and their families.

More of labor's millions will be spent indirectly for Carter through the use of volunteers and by local unions working for candidates running for Congress or local offices on the Democratic ticket.

And a small cadre of political organizers have transferred from their unions to the Carter campaign payroll to work almost exclusively on getting out the Democratic vote in the 16 biggest states.

The union effort on Carter's behalf is vitally important, from the financial point of view, and it cannot be matched by the Republicans, although Ford has saved money by campaigning from the White House.

The planned financial outlay by labor is entirely legal.

Under federal election laws, neither candidate can collect or spend more than the \$22 million allotted to each from public funds. However, unions may spend as much as they wish on behalf of a candidate if they confine their efforts to their members and their families. Thus a union may send literature to a member, but it may not buy buttons, placards or bumper stickers that would be seen by non-union voters.

Despite the heavy union artillery, a skeptical UAW official said, "All the literature and phone calls in the world won't work unless the members want to get out and vote. And so far the motivation isn't there."

Alan Baron, a Democratic political consultant with close labor connections, added:

"Labor will make a reasonably strong effort for Carter, but within the context of its declining influence with the rank-and-file. The big problem is convincing members to vote —

and vote for Carter, the unions can't do that, only Carter can. And there is an uneasiness among the unions."

The biggest gun in labor's arsenal is the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE), which draws on the resources of unions representing more than 14 million members.

AFL-CIO president George Meany and his executive board endorsed Carter soon after the Democratic convention. On Aug. 31, the general board of the federation, which includes the president of every AFL-CIO union, pledged COPE's "total, complete, all-out support" for the national Democratic ticket.

With Carter on hand to accept the formal endorsement, the board blasted Ford and the Republicans an "anti-worker, anti-labor and anti-progress." At the same time, it announced plans for the labor's efforts and distributed the first copies of a four-page flyer contrasting Carter's "promise of progress" with Ford's "record of recession."

Yet even at that celebration, there were signs of the troubles in the labor movement. Carter's most ardent union admirers acknowledged that his speech was flat. The promises made by the labor chiefs on the general board had a hollow ring to more sophisticated union leaders.

For example, much of COPE's clout rests on its huge, computerized list of union members, their employers, home addresses, telephone numbers and voter registration status. B pushing a few buttons, local unions and the candidates they support should be able to obtain those lists for mailings and telephone campaigns.

A few weeks before the general board meeting, Mikel Miller, the political operative for the Communications Workers of America (CWA) asked for an inventory of the computer information about his union.

"What I found was terrifying," Miller said. "In New York, where we have 42,000 members, the COPE computer gave us 76,000 names. In Texas, where we have 41,000, the computer had us at 26,000. In California, the computer did not have the registration status on 92 percent of the names. And in other places, 80 percent of the addresses and telephone numbers were out of date."

The first phase of the labor effort calls for getting 100 percent of union members and their families registered to vote. But one union source said 70 percent was more likely.

Miller said he had not yet received COPE's computer lists of members in his own union who were not registered to vote, and he presumed that other unions were in the same shape.

"With registration deadlines coming in the first week of October, I don't see how we can get these lists to the local unions in time to do much good," he said.

Carter fighting to keep lead

By John Dillin

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

With the Carter campaign

Jimmy Carter's big early lead over President Ford is evaporating in the wake of the first debate.

Political polls, field reports, and party officials all tell the same story: The race is tightening fast, and Mr. Carter will have to fight to

Reporting the news

Carter's use of a vulgarism poses a problem for editors

By James Yuenger

To some people in this fast-changing world it may sound stuffy, and maybe even a little silly, for a daily newspaper to consider guarding public morals to be

by **Nick Buchanan**

Plaid is bad for chameleons

WASHINGTON—"Ours is the party of a great-hearted Texan . . . who went on to do more than any other President . . . to advance the cause of human rights — Lyndon Johnson."

him in the early days found that, as Carter read out his roll call of American heroes, the name of Martin Luther King Jr. was invariably dropped when he crossed south of the Mason-Dixon Line.

cal of federal aid to New York City. Now he is Mayor Beame's bosom buddy, the champion of the Big Apple.

In the Texas primary he seemed the single candidate opposed to breaking up

Chicago Tribune,
9/26/76

A CHANCE TO WINK, SNICKER AND GRIN

WASHINGTON—Well, there's one thing you can say about Jimmy Carter's lust. It beats tax reform as an attention-grabber, as Playboy magazine knew all along.

By Jerald terHorst, Chicago Tribune

(9/26/76)

John Connally tells reporters "I never liked to talk about a subject I know nothing about." They don't have to. Just

...ent spokesman, who made a much publicized obscene gesture the other day, takes the pious approach to Carter's lust: "Judge not, lest ye be judged." Robert Dole, President Ford's running mate, says he wouldn't touch it with a 10-foot pole.

New Orleans Times-Picayune,
9/22/76

FINALLY, THE CABOOSE

Neither President Ford, Jimmy Carter nor the audience of 80 million or more Americans was a big winner in the first of the Great Debates.

It was, for the most part, a turmoil of statistics that could not have held the attention of the most

tions, gross national product, long-term estimates of the rate of unemployment and inflation, and other issues relevant to economics and domestic affairs—and those *did* make up the agreed-on theme of the first debate.

*Our Man Survives
The Great Debate,
Is Glad It's All Over*

* * *
He Asks 4 Questions, Watches
Foes Suffer the Silence;
Like a March to a Hanging

By JAMES P. GANNON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

PHILADELPHIA—"I'm just glad the first question wasn't on adultery," Jimmy Carter said. The smiling Democratic nominee was shaking the hand of ABC newsman Frank Reynolds, just after finishing his first televised debate with President Ford.

"I appreciated that, too," drawled Rosalynn Carter, who was standing at her husband's side now on the stage of the old Walnut Street Theater here. Mr. Carter's remarks about adultery in a Playboy interview had dominated campaign discussion in the previous few days, and the Carters clearly were relieved not only that the debate was over but also that adultery hadn't come up.

Actually, everyone involved was relieved after the weird ending to this first debate between presidential candidates in 16 years—and after the biggest broadcasting foul-up of all time. Everyone, that is, except ABC producer Elliot Bernstein, the man responsible for seeing that the program went off without a hitch. He was outside in a television trailer, so distraught over the 27-minute loss of the program's sound that his co-workers reportedly warned others not to go near him.

I was certainly relieved, despite the electronic snafu, because the end of the debate last Thursday night also marked the end of six days of dreadful tenseness for me. As one of the three journalists on the questioning panel, I had spent almost a week alternating between euphoria over being selected for this important task and stark terror at the possibility of bungling it.

Citizens & Kooks

But in those tension-shedding moments just after the event, it was obvious that we all had survived—the panelists, the debate's sponsors from the League of Women Voters, and the candidates. There would be two more debates, and the campaigns would go on pretty much as before. But a piece of history had happened, and I was lucky enough to get an insider's look at it. What follows are some glimpses and impressions of the event from my perspective.

The announcement last Monday that the league had selected Mr. Reynolds of ABC, Elizabeth Drew of the New Yorker magazine, and me to be the three panelists had started things happening to each of us. Suddenly we were the targets of every special interest group, ordinary citizen and kook who wanted to plant a question for President Ford or Mr. Carter.

The phone calls and wires poured in. Callers were told politely that I wasn't available, but some left their questions with my office. The National Gay Task Force wanted a question asked on homosexuals' rights. The American Bakers Association had an irritated query on Mr. Ford's recent decision to raise the tariff on imported sugar. A friend in Green Bay, Wis., suggested asking about "genetic engineering." A wire from Fort Worth, Texas, tried to plant a query on "how much 1975 peanut subsidy did Carter receive." A telegram delivered to the theater just before the debate proposed this zinger: "How soon do you think it will take for a complete Soviet take-over of the U.S.?"

The panelists had decided that we would prepare our own questions independently, without any consultation or coordination. We also agreed to keep our mouths shut before the debate, and so for the first time in my life I was in the awkward position of refusing calls from reporters and dodging my own friends and colleagues.

Testing the Sound System

I collected a stack of news articles, speeches and position papers of the two candidates and began reviewing their stands on issues. Then I prepared a list of 12 questions (I only asked four of them) on topics that seemed to me to be of concern to voters: inflation, education, housing, unemployment. Because of my own journalistic background, my questions dealt mostly with economic issues.

In early afternoon of the debate day, panelists and moderator Edwin Newman of NBC joined two stand-ins for Mr. Ford and Mr. Carter for a dry run. Its purpose is richly ironic now: to test the sound system.

"President Ford" was John Kostic, a truck salesman from Wilmington, Del., who is strong-voiced, husky and six-foot, one-inch tall, just like Mr. Ford. "Jimmy Carter" was Bob Salica, a student at Temple University here, who, clad in a Levi denim suit, is soft-spoken and stands 5 feet, 9 inches, just like the former Georgia governor. The dry run went like this:

Question from Mr. Reynolds: "Gov. Carter, what is your position on your position on your position?"

Jimmy Carter: "My position on that is that I have a position, and I have researched that position."

Rebuttal from President Ford: "My position on that position is the opposite of his position."

During this necessary nonsense, a tiny problem became clear: Although the televi-

Panel Of Debate Coaches Picks Ford, 4-1

• The Hearst Newspapers assembled a panel of championship debate coaches from across the country in a unique attempt to judge the first debate between President Ford and Jimmy Carter. Linked by a nationwide telephone hookup with John Hall and Marianne Means of the Hearst Washington Bureau, the panel scored the debates and discussed their conclusions. Here is a partial transcript of the interview.

HALL: Good morning . . . and good evening. Most of you know each other personally or by reputation, but I want to identify you at the outset. Scott Nobles of Macalester College, President of the American Forensic Assn. for the past two years; Donn Parsons of the University of Kansas, who coached the 1976 intercollegiate championship debating team; Howard James of Dartmouth, whose teams have won national championships for a record three years; Mrs. Esther Kalmbach of St. Francis De Sales high school in Toledo, Ohio, who led her team to national victories in 1970 and 1971; and Mrs. Selma Ridgeway of Montgomery Bell Academy in Nashville, whose team has won several national invitational debates this year.

We have brought you together with an audacious request: to choose the winner of tonight's presidential debate. We want you to use the same standards in reaching your judgment that you would use in an academic debate. We realize the limitations of that process, since this has not been a debate in the formal sense. Also, the public may or may not use the same standards as you.

I think we would have to search far to find a group more capable of making an objective judgment on the question we ask tonight, which is: who in your judgment was the better debater, Mr. Carter or Mr. Ford.

RIDGEWAY: In this debate, I would say Mr. Ford was the better debater.

KALMBACH: President Ford.

JAMES: President Ford.

PARSONS: I would love to be in the minority, but I would choose Mr. Ford.

NOBLES: I'll take that opportunity to be in the minority, Mr. Carter.

HALL: Dr. Parsons, let's start with you.

PARSONS: I thought it was close and in some ways kind of a less than stimulating debate . . . I guess I saw a little bit of advantage for Ford in the kinds of responses he made, and I would like to illustrate it in a couple of ways . . . at the very end, (Ford) spotted what he thought was an inconsistency in the Carter position, that you can't have it both ways, that you can't attack the deficits we've had as being staggering and attack the number of vetoes . . . the Carter position I think needed to be answered . . . He did not do that.

In a second area . . . President Ford said he just found some new things out about Georgia and found that expenditures were up over 50 per cent and employes up over 25 per cent (during the Carter administration). I thought Carter, if he possibly could have done it, should have come back and countered the one attack on his record as governor of Georgia.

JAMES: Well he really didn't have an opportunity, given the format.

PARSONS: I agree that the format prevents that, but there are some things that one wants to clear up if you possibly can.

NOBLES: I'm a minority of four to one here and I just came away from watching the debate with nine other judges in Minnesota. The decision, by the way, was 10-0 for Mr. Carter . . . I saw it coming out pretty much as a tossup. I thought in respect to tax change and new programs I would have agreed with Donn that there did seem to be some inconsistency in the Carter position. President Ford was arguing that you can't have it both ways, but Carter was rescued a little later by a very sharp question from Miss Drew, who asked Ford how he was going to cut taxes and at the same time have the programs he had promised . . . neither one can have it both ways.

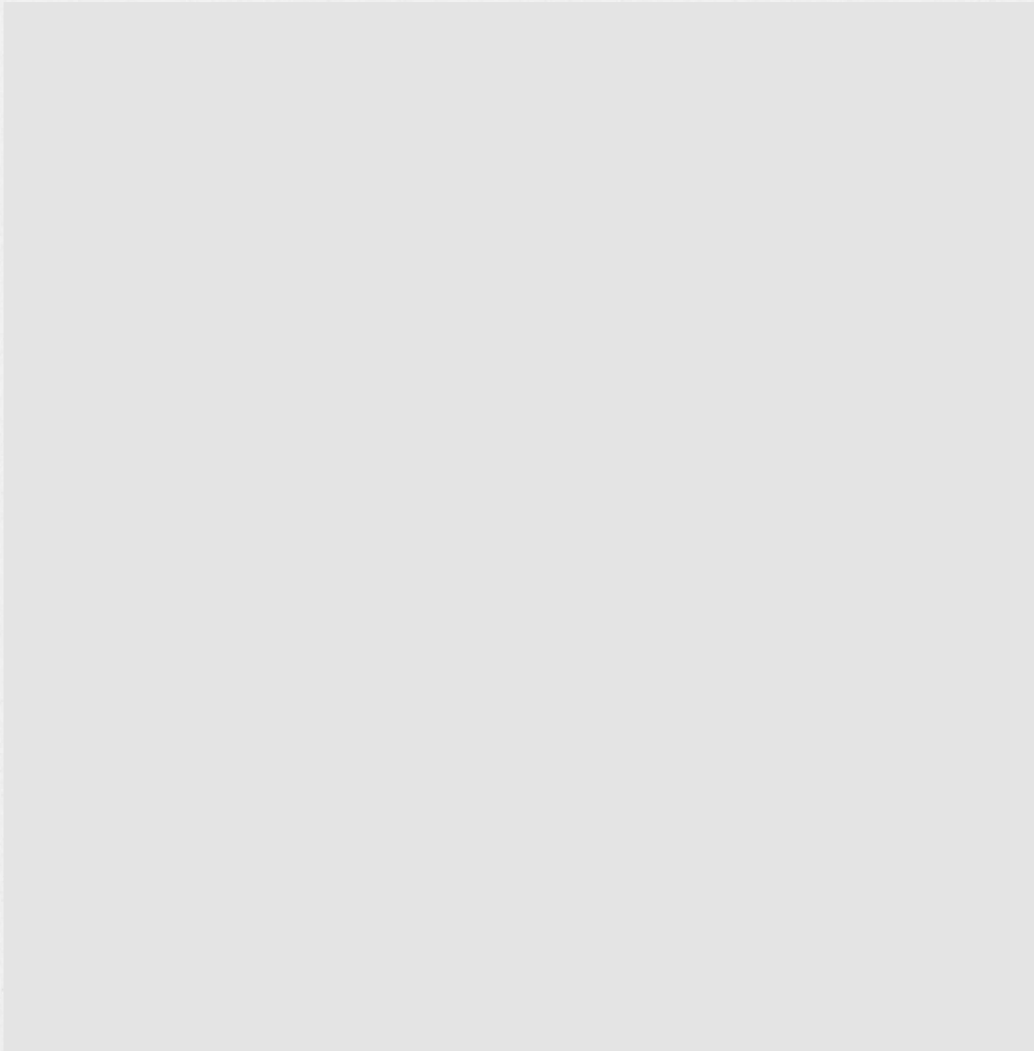
But it is not on the tangible, content issues that I awarded the decision to Carter . . . on the economy it was a tossup. On government reorganization I would have given it to Ford. I thought Carter won the amnesty issue, easily won the trust in government issue. I would have given a very close ballot to Carter just on what I perceived as the direct content issues.

But I don't think we have to be conventional about what the issues are. We have the waffling and flip-flopping issue, the uncertainty and trust issue, the competency issue, the whether-or-not-you-have-a-vision-for-government issue, and of course the character and party image issue. It was on these it seemed to me that the debate was going to revolve, and I don't think those have to be judged entirely subjectively. I thought for the most part Carter carried the offensive and Ford was somewhat on the defensive.

It seemed to me all Carter had to do was seem as informed as President Ford and I believe he did do that . . . all in all, Mr. Carter seemed much more at ease, seemed much more friendly, warm and direct. That's unfortunate in a way because Mr. Ford is warm, friendly and direct, but he didn't come through that way tonight. If you look at the further issue of which man seems to authenticate the image of a better candidate, judged as objectively as you can by what you know about standards of rhetoric, there I gave a clear edge to Gov. Carter.

JAMES: As a debate coach, I found it very difficult to judge the debate. I think in many instances the candidates were not specifically responsive to the questions directed to them. They were really responding to some other questions. So it was sort of a tangential, circuitous discussion . . . I think Ford and Carter dropped the ball in a number of places. Amnesty was one area where Carter could have gotten more mileage.

But at the substantive level, I truly felt that on balance Ford appeared more knowledgeable. I expect a lay audience would have much less difficulty because they're looking for something else. I'm raising the question who won the issues. My tally comes out five issues for Ford, four issues for Carter, and two or three or four that could have gone one way or the other. In short it's very, very marginal.



L.A. Times,
9/27/76

Nielson Releases Debate Rates

More than 38 million American households were tuned in to the televised debate last Thursday night between President Ford and his Democratic challenger, Jimmy Carter, the A.C. Nielson rating service said today.

The rating for the broadcast was 53.5, an average of 53 percent of all households with television was tuned in at any minute in the two-hour duration of the program, Nielson said.

A spokesman for the National Broadcasting Co. said the networks estimated, based on the rating, that 90 million persons saw some or all of the debate.

The rating was based on sets tuned to the three major commercial networks and did not include stations of the Public Broadcast Service, which also carried the event live. AP,ABC -- (9/27/76)

ELECTIONGOP-Demo Workers Differ in Views

A study by the Harvard Institute for International Affairs and the Washington Post shows that between Republican and Democratic activists, there are great differences philosophically.

One clear difference was in answer to the following question: Do you believe the poor nearly always have themselves to blame for their poverty? The Republican workers answered 4-1 yes; the Democratic workers answered 5-1 no.

The Republican view is that those in good health and willing to work need not be poor. The Democratic view is that it is not their fault, it is the system's fault for not giving them all and equal chance. NBC -- (9/27/76)

What Non-Voters Want

More than nostalgia is needed to explain why the American *non-voter* prefers John Kennedy, Dwight Eisenhower, Harry Truman and Franklin D. Roosevelt to Lyndon Johnson, Richard

health insurance, inflation, money supply, etc., are mainstream liberal Democracy.

So why aren't voters planning to exercise their right to make a choice? According to the

International Trade Deficit Up

Despite a major reduction in oil imports, the U.S. posted its third largest international trade deficit in August, the Commerce Department said Monday.

In its monthly report on trade, the Commerce Dept. said the nation imported \$757.7 million more in goods than it exported last month, marking the seventh time this year the country has recorded a trade deficit.

Aided by a \$256.2 million decline in petroleum imports, overall imports dropped by 3.7 percent or \$403 million in August to a seasonably adjusted annual rate of \$10.44 billion, the department said. Exports also registered a decline, dropping 3.3 percent or \$334 million to \$9.69 billion. AP,UPI,ABC -- (9/27)

Voters See Little Economic Improvement

Despite economic statistics, two-thirds of the American people still think the nation is in a recession, Dan Cordtz reported Monday.

The fact is that the recession did end over a year ago, and the recovery is well underway, Cordtz said. GNP, retail sales, and number of jobs are up; while the rate of inflation is half of what it was in 1974.

The reasons why public opinion disagrees with the figures are several, according to Cordtz. And some people are not better off. For instance, the average factory worker's take-home pay buys less than it did a year ago. Second, other people are still suffering financial scars from the past three years. Third, many people are not confident about the future.

Cordtz said this makes it tough for the President, because what counts in the election is not what the economists know, but what the voters think. ABC -- (9/27/76)

American family's wallet — about like it was in 1967

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor
Washington

Official government statistics now report that 1 American in 8 is "poor."

The poor, as arbitrarily defined by the Census Bureau, have increased 2.5 million in the

past year — the largest jump since the bureau started compiling such figures in 1959.

Once again politicians ask if jobs and living costs are not the biggest issues in the campaign, and whether the current economic upturn has come in time for President Ford.

Other aspects:

- Government figures show that the pur-

Jack Anderson Sues Nixon

Newspaper columnist Jack Anderson filed a \$22 million damage suit Monday accusing former President Nixon and 19 subordinates of conducting a concentrated five-year campaign to destroy Anderson's credibility and take away his First Amendment rights as a newsman.

Lawyers for Anderson said the suit is the first of its kind. The civil damage suit, filed in U.S. District Court, cites 17 separate allegations of harassment, investigation, or surveillance by the White House investigative unit known as the Plumbers or the CIA. AP,CBS -- (9/27/76)

FORD: WHAT TO EXPECT IF HE'S ELECTED

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.

Washington

If the President is returned to office in November, what will be the shape of the next Ford administration? Maverick Democrat Eugene McCarthy — not exactly a supporter of Gerald Ford — says that Mr. Ford “has a fairly good sense of what the presidency is all about” and that, unlike Jimmy Carter and very much like Harry Truman, he doesn't confuse the presidency with himself. Mr. McCarthy, expressing his views to reporters over breakfast recently, held that what the public had seen of Mr. Ford in the last two years would be pretty much what they would see in the next four years.

Political analyst Richard Scammon thinks that the next four years — if under Mr. Ford — “would not be very different.” “Policy,” he says, “would remain what it is. Like most conservatives, his inclination will be to conserve. So he will continue in that direction. Oh, there may be some new proposals — like his plan for spending for the park system — but there won't be much.”

But those who are close to Mr. Ford see a more confident GOP President emerging, and say that the first appearance of the “new Ford” came at his acceptance speech at the convention.

Explains Bryce Harlow, long-time adviser of several GOP presidents and a confidante of Mr. Ford, “A good deal of the tentativeness of Jerry Ford would be gone if he were elected in his own right. That would be reflected in his relationship with those in his administration, with Congress, and with party leaders and the public.

‘He would be different’

“He would be a different person,” says Mr. Harlow, “more assertive, more crisp, more decisive, more take-charge. Being elected on his own would dispel a good deal of the fuzz that surrounds him as a leader.”

Adds presidential aide William Baroody Jr.: “Now if after beating Ronald Reagan the President can come from behind and beat Jimmy Carter, these two achievements of themselves are bound to give the President great respect from people all over the country. This will mean that he will have better rapport with Congress and with groups everywhere — including labor.”

GOP House Minority Leader John Rhodes says: “There is no doubt but what Ford will change psychologically if he becomes an elected president. He will be more sure of himself — and in a better position than he now is to be innovative.”

And long-time friend, William Whyte, vice-president for public affairs at U.S. Steel, assesses: “We'll see a more confident President, hard-hitting, a man who has many things he wants to do for this country and who will be intent on doing this during the next four years.”

From conversations with members of Congress, presidential aides, and those in Mr. Ford's so-called “kitchen cabinet” of unofficial advisers comes this picture of the road ahead — if Mr. Ford is once again at the helm:

• He would feel, if elected, that his victory came primarily because taxpayers felt he would be easier on their pocketbooks than opponent Carter. Thus, he would continue to be cautious in federal spending.

• He would continue to refrain from saber-rattling in foreign affairs — no matter who is Secretary of State.

However, buoyed by his experience in dealing with foreign policy during the last two years, Mr. Ford would likely be much more his own Secretary of State.

• He would continue his pursuit of peace and undoubtedly continue his traveling abroad in pursuit of that goal. A very likely early trip would be to Peking in a move to cement U.S. relations with the post-Mao regime.

• He would not forget Watergate. He would, as in the past, continue to make a special effort to keep his White House operation as open and above board as possible — and to make this effort toward visibility and candor a mark of his administration.

• He would continue to lean on his perception of what he thinks the people want — a period in which to catch their breath, after Watergate and Vietnam. He feels they would welcome a few years in which there is less action coming from the center and in which there are fewer government-connected shocks and surprises. President Ford would likely continue to set a quiet, tranquil tone in his relationship with the public at large.

Hence, in time, he might well be viewed somewhat as Dwight D. Eisenhower was: as a chief executive who presided over an era of goodwill — one who did not stir up people by creating events, one who responded when necessary but avoided rocking the boat, and one who tended to stress national unity as opposed to disunity by going all out to achieve human-rights objectives.

More specifically a new Ford administration would probably look something like this:

PRIORITY THRUST IN LEGISLATION

1. The President would continue to seek economies by consolidating federal grants to states and localities.
2. He would still push for reform of regulatory bodies.

Times of TV News Items
September 27, 1976

	ABC	NBC	CBS
<u>ADMINISTRATION NEWS</u>			
1. Ford/Camp. probe		2:00 (7)	1:35 (4) 1:30 (5)
2. HAK/Rhodesia	2:00 (9)	:30 (2)	2:35 (11) 2:25 (Sevareid)
3. Ford/campaigning	2:00 (2)	2:10 (3)	1:55 (lead)
4. Mike Ford/Playboy			:20 (3)
5. Ford/Chancellor report		2:10 (10)	
6. Dole/Camp. probe			1:35 (6)
<u>OTHER MAJOR NEWS</u>			
1. Syria	:40 (8)	1:00 (lead)	2:05 (9)
2. Carter/Oregon	2:10 (lead)	1:30 (4)	2:15 (2)
3. Aircraft industry		4:00 (5)	
4. Embargo threat		1:50 (6)	1:00 (10)
5. Chrysler/indicted	:30 (16)	:20 (8)	:25 (14)
6. Joffa/Kidnapping		1:50 (9)	
7. Political study		:40 (11)	
8. Africa/Background report	2:30 (10)		
9. S.Africa/violence	:30 (11)		
10. Arafat/Sarkis	:30 (12)		
11. Hearst	1:15 (13)		:20 (17)
12. Nazis deported	:30 (14)		
13. Teton Dam/report	:20 (15)		
14. Estrogen/birth control	:20 (17)		
15. Modes of transportation	2:50 (18)		
16. Anderson/Nixon			:20 (7)
17. Towels/ Secret Service			:20 (8)
18. British lb.	:10 (7)		:10 (12)
19. Stocks	:15 (6)		:15 (13)
20. Danish Tall Ship			:25 (15)
21. Small Pox			:16 (15)
22. Earthquakes			2:10 (18)
23. Nielson/debates	:10 (3)		
24. Economy	2:00 (4)		
25. Balance of trade	:15 (5)		

News & Comment

The President's Daily News Summary



Leading The News...

FOR TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1976

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WHEN THEIR POWER FAILED

With no strong issues really gripping the public, with a great deal of apathy hanging over the voters, the '76 presidential contest has become mostly a test of personality and character. Just which man—Gerald Ford or Jimmy Carter—has the temper, courage, determination and cool to lead the nation? The answer was supposed to be forthcoming in the much-anticipated first presidential debate of 1976. It turned out to be an underwhelming event, the debate in which the power failed and in which neither man gained a decisive edge. The situation after the 90-minute confrontation—interrupted by a 27-minute audio blowout that was a testament to the fallibilities of television—was much the same as before. Carter was out front but slipping; Ford was coming up from behind, and the election had suddenly turned into a close race.

Carter badly needs to be born again, this time politically. He has been off on a gaffe-a-week streak, and he can scarcely afford another week like the past two. His remarks on sex in an ill-advised interview with *Playboy* (see story page 33), his gratuitous insult in listing Lyndon Johnson along with Richard Nixon as a President who had "lied" to the American people, the distortion of his confused and confusing remarks on tax policy—all these and more have hurt him. He has also been damaged by some disarray in his campaign organization and disputes between his Atlanta headquarters and the Democratic old pros in Washington, as well as between his local officials and his campaign chiefs in some states (most of whom had been brought in from other states to stand above local rivalries). Moreover, Carter may be hurt because in a number of contests for Senator or Governor, Republicans have fielded strong candidates or Democrats have fielded weak ones. This is the case in California, Illinois, Rhode Island, Indiana and Missouri.

In sum, Carter is still ahead, but his base of "sure" states has been declining. On the other hand, Ford could just as easily lose his recent gains. In a year of voter indecision and general indifference, quick and sharp fluctuations in sentiment are more likely than not.

After all of the buildup and suspense, the televised clash in the pressure-pot atmosphere of Philadelphia's Walnut Street Theater failed to crystallize voter opinion. Each man pointedly assailed the other at times. But neither seemed eager for—and the non-debate format prevented—a direct and personal showdown. The language occasionally was tough, yet both candidates seemed wary of breaking any new ground. Perhaps having overstudied the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon debates and apparently intent on showing how knowledgeable they were, both candidates threw out briefing-book statistics in baffling profusion. But, unlike John Kennedy, they rarely marshaled the numbers to establish a more general point. The questioning from the panel of reporters concentrated heavily on taxes, budget balancing and economic policy—vital but dry topics.

Yet the trouble was not so much that the candidates used facts and figures, but that they used too many for quick understanding and yet not enough for really thorough exposition. Besides, they tended to talk past each other, with the arguments only rarely meshing.

Millions of viewers failed to hear out the candidates. The initial Nielsen survey of viewers in the New York City area showed that 73% of households had their TV sets turned on at the beginning of the debate (although a small percentage of these were watching a baseball or hockey game on local channels); this fell to 65.3% after one hour and to 54.2% in the middle of the audio breakdown. The 27-minute sound cutoff, caused by failure in one of ABC's audio amplifiers in a trailer outside the theater, was acutely embarrassing to the network. It was even more awkward for the candidates.

Carter was just launching into a denunciation of intrusions into the privacy of U.S. citizens by the CIA and FBI during the Republican administration when all networks lost their pooled sound, provided by ABC. At the time, an enlivened Carter was scoring against a somewhat

fading Ford. Incredibly, no one invited the debaters to leave their statuesque positions and await the resumption in comfort. Each avoided looking at the other. Breaking the stand-up standoff first, Carter after twelve minutes sat down on his tall stool behind his podium and folded his arms across his chest. This brought shouts of "Yay!" from the 500 balcony observers. When both men, after quickly glancing at each other, wiped their brows with handkerchiefs, the audience applauded. Ford remained standing until the sound resumed.

When the candidates finally had a chance to summarize their cases, Carter's impressive windup raised an intriguing question: What if each man had been offered a chance to open the debate with a similar thematic appeal, as Kennedy had done so effectively in 1960? Carter's sum-up was a honed version of his successful basic campaign pitch. "It's a time to draw ourselves together . . . with mutual respect for a change, cooperating for a change, in the open for a change. So the people can understand their own Government . . . I don't claim to know all the answers. But I've got confidence in my country. Our economic strength is still there. Our system of government—in spite of Viet Nam, Cambodia, CIA, Watergate—is still the best system of government on earth."

Ford ended his summary in more prosaic terms, with a political barb: "A President should never promise more than he can deliver and a President should always deliver everything that he's promised. A President can't be all things to all people. A President should be the same thing to all people . . . I think the real issue in this campaign, and that which you must decide on Nov. 2, is whether you should vote for his promises or my performance in two years in the White House."

By that time, unfortunately, the speakers had lost a chunk of their audience. Few viewers who had sat through the first 32 minutes could claim that they had gained refreshing new insights into economic problems and policies. Said Harvard's Otto Eckstein, a liberal member of TIME's Board of Economists: "I've got to teach freshman economic on Monday and I'd be hard put to find something useful in the debate to teach them. The candidates just completely missed a grand educational opportunity." Yale's Robert Triffin, another member of TIME's Board, found the debate "desperately dull and desperately uninformative." A top industrial economist was even harsher: "Neither of them would have passed Economics 1." Perhaps because they were intent on winning political points, both men seemed shallower on the economic issues than they have in past statements.

Other academicians and politicians interviewed by TIME correspondents generally saw no clear winner. "I wouldn't think either man was damaged," said Louis Koenig, professor of government at New York University. Historian Theodore Kovaleff of Barnard College disagreed: "Carter went in a clear leader and he came out looking terribly poor." Asked who won, Northwestern University Political Scientist Louis Masotti replied with a derisive comment on the audio breakdown, "The Luddites," a reference to the early 19th century workers who smashed machines in protest against industrialization. Added Masotti: "Carter came across as a Southern Baptist preacher, and Ford was reciting high school platitudes. I may not go to the polls in November. I just can't get up for this." Douglas Fraser, director of the United Auto Workers' political arm, predictably thought Carter came out all right, but no better: "He didn't have to win. He just had to be credible and I think he showed that."

The most enthusiasm expressed for Carter's performance came from the Democratic majority leader of the House of Representatives, Massachusetts' Thomas ("Tip") O'Neill: "I thought Carter creamed him." Independent Candidate Eugene McCarthy, who was not allowed to participate in the debate, gave it a typically sardonic review. It was he said, "like a bad baseball game where after seven innings everybody wants to go home." Observed George Reedy, who was Lyndon

WHAT THE VOTERS SAY

In a special survey conducted for NEWSWEEK, The Gallup Organization interviewed a national sample of voters to assess the impact of last week's debate. The telephone polling was done last Thursday and Friday with 488 registered voters who watched all or part of the debate.

How much of the debate did you see?

ALL	HALF	SOME	HARDLY ANY
68%	14%	15%	3%

CARTER

FORD

How would you rate his performance in the debate?*

EXCELLENT	GOOD	FAIR	POOR	EXCELLENT	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
14%	50%	27%	8%	16%	55%	22%	4%

How much did you learn about him in this debate?

A LOT	SOME	LITTLE	NOTHING	A LOT	SOME	LITTLE	NOTHING
19%	32%	31%	18%	15%	30%	31%	24%

Do you think that the following applied to him in the debate:

CARTER

FORD

"He appeared thoughtful and well informed"

YES	NO	SOMEWHAT	DON'T KNOW	YES	NO	SOMEWHAT	DON'T KNOW
71%	16%	9%	4%	38%	6%	4%	2%

"His answers to questions were unclear"

37%	45%	15%	3%	25%	57%	15%	3%
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"He seemed too aggressive"

20%	74%	3%	3%	16%	77%	5%	2%
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"He seemed rehearsed and artificial"

29%	50%	8%	3%	35%	50%	12%	3%
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"He appeared unsure of himself"

22%	53%	13%	2%	15%	77%	5%	3%
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*Don't know 2 percent or less

HOW TO IMPROVE THE DEBATES

Is there a better way? This week representatives of the League of Women Voters will meet with agents from the Ford and Carter camps to chew over changes that could make the next two

that's needed is an interlocutor who can keep them at each other's throat." But another panelist, *New Yorker* Correspondent Elizabeth Drew, disagrees. Says she: "At least

Time Magazine, 10/2/76

THE ISSUES

BATTLING OVERTAX REFORM

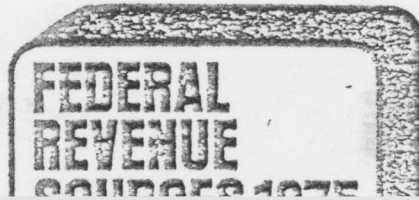
Gerald Ford urged "giving greater relief to the so-called middle-income taxpayers—those in the earning brackets of \$8,000 to \$30,000 a year."

easy because they are unwilling to give up the certainty of a deduction in return for only a promise to lower tax rates. In *Federal Tax Reform: The Im-*

Louis lawyer reduced his taxable income in 1975 to \$29,000. Because a Los Angeles taxpayer bought 300 head of cattle for \$45,000 and borrowed \$75,000 from a bank through a cattle-feeding loan program, he will be able to deduct about \$55,000 from his projected gross income of \$160,000 this year. Other tax shelters include silver options, oil leas-

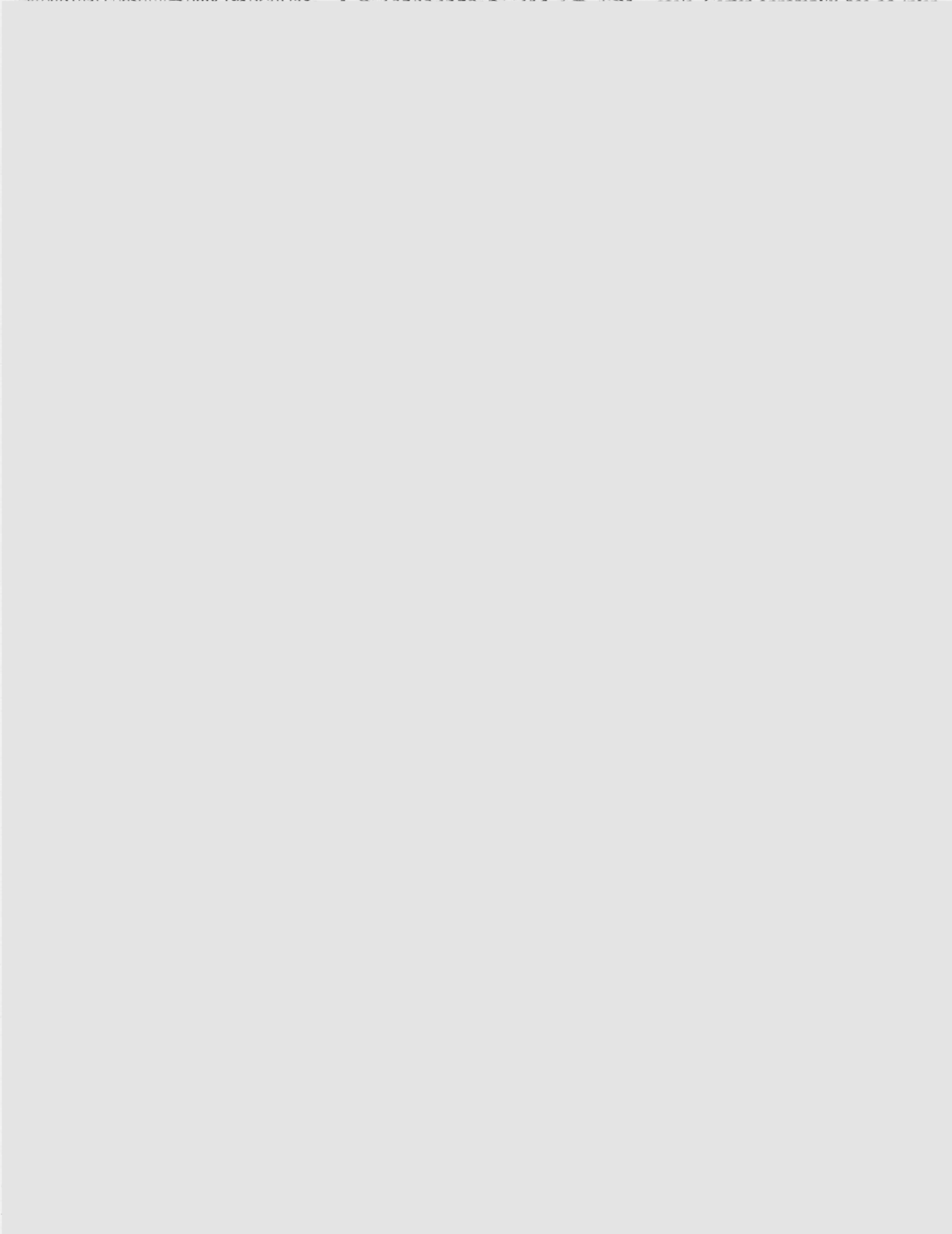
Time Magazine, 10/2/76 (Cont.)

quently have large mortgages. About 25% of the \$60 billion in personal income that escapes taxation each year because of deductions, credits and exemptions is kept by people with adjusted gross incomes of \$50,000 or more, a group that constitutes only 1% of all tax



of Carter's tax policy would be to close the loopholes that aid people with annual incomes of \$50,000 or more.

Early in the campaign, Carter liked the drastic Simon tax reforms. Lately, however, he has voiced more modest





By George F. Will

The Big Sneeze

In the top half of the first inning of the debate, Jimmy Carter called for more "202 programs." Most of the vast viewing audience had not the foggiest idea what he meant, *and that is why he said it*. It is a curious fact that incomprehensible

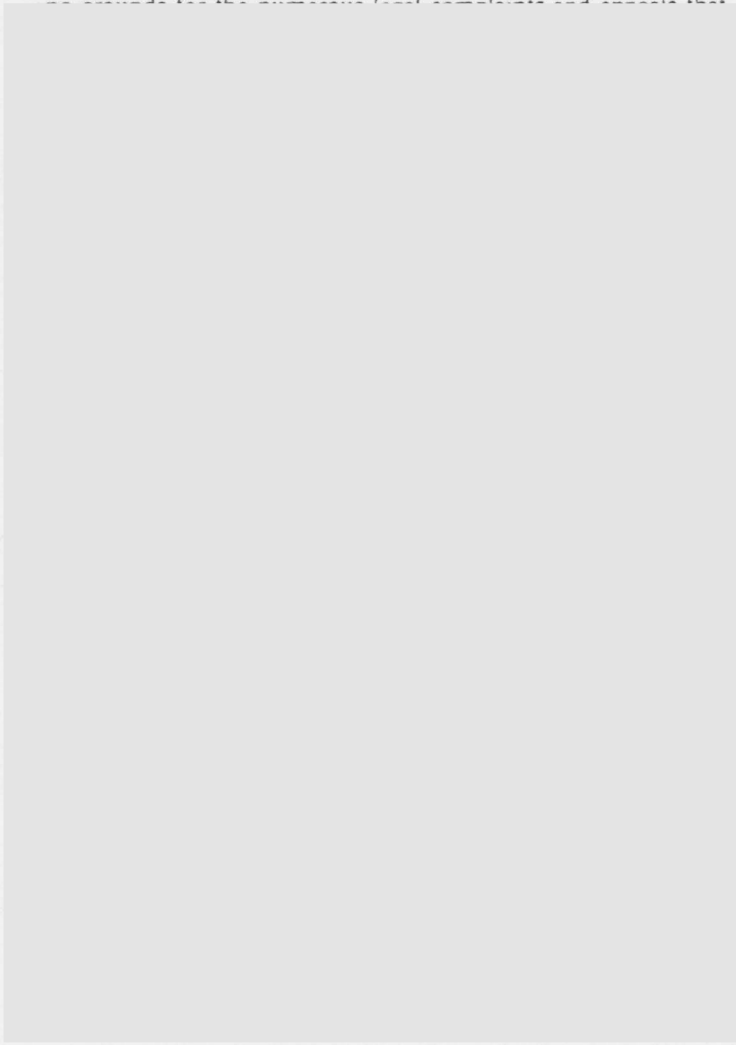
stantial new support for having done so.

The debate did not fully indemnify the nation for the dismal campaigning that preceded it, but it was useful in showing that each candidate is up against the painfully sharp edge of a fact. For Ford

substantial new revenues can be painlessly wrung from "special interests" such as the "rich corporations" and

Political device

Whatever the political consequences of the Ford-Carter debates that began last week, the events are certain to create a good case for repeal of Section 315, the political broadcasting law. Without a Section 315, there would have been no need for a contrivance such as the forum arranged by the League of Women Voters and



Campaign in Northeast—

A SHAKY LEAD FOR CARTER

First in a Series of Surveys

In the first regional survey of the 1976 presidential race by *U.S. News & World Report*—

Jimmy Carter holds an early but shaky lead over Gerald Ford in most of the States of the Northeast, a region crucial to the strategies of both candidates.

There is considerable uncertainty about Carter among many voters. It would shock few experts if Ford were yet to overtake the Democratic nominee to capture the bulk of the 125 electoral votes at stake in the 10-State region.

Those are conclusions reached by a team of the magazine's political reporters who visited all the States in the area—talking to leaders in both parties, consulting with news executives and weighing results of latest public-opinion polls.

The survey was conducted before the full impact of the first Ford-Carter debate was known in detail. Initial reaction indicated that, if anything, the debate made Carter's advantage more tenuous.

Carter, strongly supported by labor unions and favored by most minority groups, is running ahead in all the big industrial States of the region and in some of the smaller ones as well.

If the election were held now, the Georgian would carry a total of six States with 111 electoral votes: New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island.

Yet, some Carter supporters appear to be wavering—uncertain how the Democratic candidate would perform in the White House.

President Ford, although hurt badly in the Northeast by high unemployment and other after-effects of recession, still could win the ballots of many as representing a known quantity.

The President is considered clearly ahead now only in Vermont, with 3 electoral votes.

The races in Maine, New Hampshire and Delaware, with a total of 11 electors, are regarded as too close to call. Local observers predict that they could well tilt Republican by November 2.

The 125 electoral votes are a little less than half of the 270 needed to elect a

President. In recent presidential elections—with the exception of the 1972 Nixon landslide over George McGovern—the big industrial States of the Northeast have been the most reliable Democratic territory in the nation.

In 1960 and 1964, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson carried New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts—four of the 10 most populous States in the U.S. In 1968, Hubert Humphrey lost New Jersey to Richard Nixon. In 1972, Massachusetts was the only State to go for McGovern.

Political analysts caution that precincts are out the window this year because of the unique characteristics of the contest between an unelected Republican President who has never run in national campaign before and a relatively unknown opponent who came up out of the Deep South to capture the Democratic nomination.

In the Northeast, the *USN&WR* survey found these political trends:

Ford enjoys the advantage of being the incumbent President, a familiar figure. He is credited with being a sincere and honest man, although he is seen neither as a dynamic leader nor a magnetic campaigner.

Likes and dislikes. The President's major liabilities: He is linked with the Nixon pardon after Watergate and he gets the blame for high unemployment caused by loss of defense contracts in some places.

Carter is viewed as an appealing fresh face in politics—a "non-Washington" type at a time when many citizens are disillusioned by what has gone on in Washington.

At the same time, the former Georgia Governor is not the sort of liberal Democrat who has appealed in the past to urban, ethnic, Catholic and Jewish voters in the Northeast.

Many see Carter as vague and contradictory on the issues, and they are uncertain what he might do if he became President. There also is a feeling among some that he is not broadly experienced in national and world affairs.

Helping Carter are these factors:

- A Democratic Party united at the national level for the first time in a dozen years.

- Massive labor-union political organization and registration drives.

- Support from urban blacks and white evangelical Protestants in rural and small-town areas.

Politicians in both parties regard the economy as the major issue. This includes a wide variety of factors—unemployment, inflation, taxes, Government spending, fuel costs and utility rates—in a region that has not recovered from the recession as rapidly as other parts of the country have.

More than on specific issues, however, many political observers predict the election will turn on the question of public confidence: Which candidate would the voters trust to handle the affairs of the United States Government during the next four years?

On a State-by-State basis, the survey indicates:

NEW YORK—This is the big prize on the East Coast, with 41 electoral votes. Carter at present is seen as the winner—but not by much.

A poll taken for the Gannett News Service late in September shows Carter with a 3-point lead over Ford, with 9 per cent favoring former Senator Eugene McCarthy, an independent, and 13 per cent undecided. If McCarthy is removed from the ballot because of challenges to his petitions, the poll shows Carter's lead standing at 9 percentage points.

Party leaders claim Carter must campaign hard and often in the State to overcome resistance from many Catholic, Jewish, ethnic and middle-income voters. Said one: "His main weakness is that people don't know him."

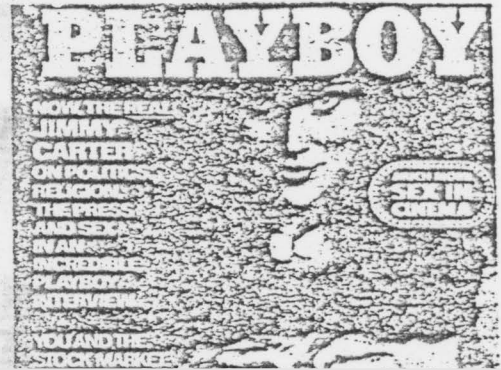
For the first time, the AFL-CIO is conducting a major political operation in New York, with the names of 2 million union members on computer printouts. The Carter campaign is being co-ordinated with Democratic State and local races.

Playboy Interview

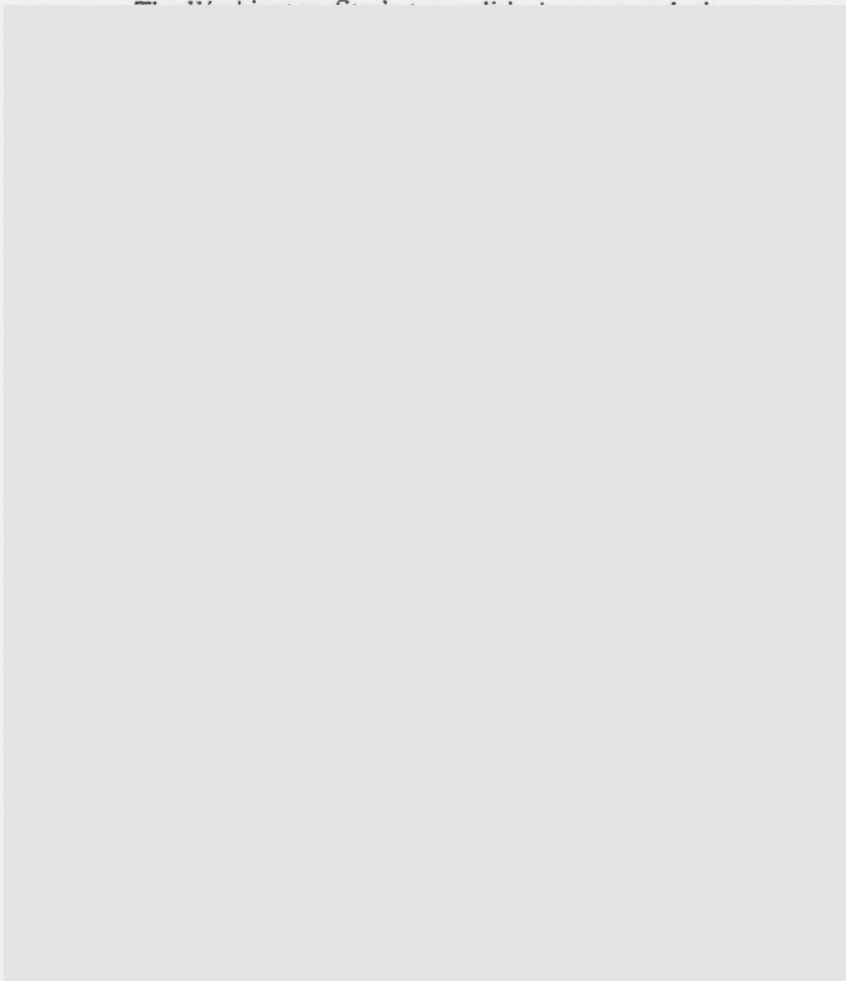
TRYING TO BE ONE OF THE BOYS

In the Democratic cloakroom just off the Senate floor, Hubert Humphrey cracked, "Segretti did it. It had to be one of the dirty-trick guys." Los Angeles *Times* Cartoonist Paul Conrad lost not a second in sketching a lascivious

thoughts. With that, the Democratic nominee opened himself to titillating ridicule, blue-nose outrage and serious questions about his judgment: should a presidential candidate choose a public forum where he will share attention with



Sen. Ernest Hollings (D.-S.C.) said: "I don't think the deepest, most intimate thoughts in a fellow's heart—that ought not to be part of a person's campaign. . . . Let's hope that when he becomes President, he quits talking about adultery."



Carter Would Soak Rich and Poor Alike

Whatever the public verdict on the first presidential debate, Jimmy Carter—the virtual shoo-in Democratic candidate in July, appeared to be self-destructing in September. He's been pyramiding one goof upon another on the campaign-trail, and politicians believe President Ford can now take him.

In about one month's time, Carter has managed to offend the Catholic hierarchy and wind up with egg on his face over FBI Director Clarence Kelley. (In the Kelley flap, Carter carried the art of waffling to new heights, calling upon Ford to fire Kelley for receiving a few gifts from subordinates, but then refusing to say what he would do with Kelley if elected.)

Carter has also gotten into hot water with his raunchy language and questionable theology in the *Playboy* interview (see page 4), and has lost ground with his remarks on tax reform. And it is his tax policies—the most serious of these issues—that we should like to dwell upon for a moment.

Carter can protest all he wants to about Republican distortions of his remarks, but the Plains, Ga., presidential candidate can hardly blame folks if they think he's going to soak anyone with a spare dime in his jeans.

In a recent cover story on Carter, *Newsweek* acknowledged: "His spending priorities are substantially different from Ford's. He is committed by his own word or the Carterized party platform to a full-employment economy and to a potentially costly bag of social programs—national health insurance; additional aid to cities and to schools; a federalized welfare program, simplified down to straight cash payments of \$4,000 a year." The Office of Management and Budget asserts the Carter program would cost at least \$100 billion the first full year of implementation.

The House Republican Policy Committee, after consulting various economic experts, asserted in a detailed analysis of Carter's programs that they would, if adopted, "amount to an annual cost of over \$217.1 billion in additional federal spending by 1980 and almost a trillion dollars over a four-year period. A 64 per cent tax increase would be needed to finance this spending."

In his response in the Associated Press interview last week and in his subsequent explanations, Carter hardly reassured anyone that he wasn't going to be a high-tax President if elected. After airing his tax reform program, Carter said: "The overall effect would be to shift a substantial [tax] increase toward those who have the higher incomes and reduce the income [tax] on the lower-income and middle-income taxpayers."

Question: What do you mean when you say shift the burden?

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

Question: In dollar figures, what are you thinking of as higher?

Answer: I don't know. I would take the mean or median income level and anything above that would be higher and anything below would be lower.

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

Answer: I understand. I can't answer that question because I haven't gone into it. I don't know how to write that tax code now in specific terms. It is just not possible to do that on a campaign trail. But I am committed to do it and I have already talked to congressional leaders in the House and the Senate about the need and have found an agreement among them. As far as telling you specifically what the tax code would be, there is no way I can do that."

What is fascinating here is that Carter, despite his many clarifications later, in no way refuted the basic thrust of what the AP reporter was trying to get at. He did not say that the newsman had jumped to some erroneous conclusions about his taxation policy, that the idea of piling the tax burden on those above the median was somehow incorrect. He just said he didn't know the precise income benchmark he would use before trying to alter the tax load.

Carter then went on to bolster the impression that his real aim is not even a lowering of taxes, but a "fair" tax system. Indeed, he doesn't think "most" Americans want their taxes lowered in the first place.

Here's a continuation of that AP dispatch:

Question: You are saying that you would like voters to make you President and you are not able to say what the impact might be of this very major change you are talking about. How would you respond to that?

Answer: It hasn't created a problem for me as far as I have been able to detect. I think the principles that I have spelled out to you would in every instance convince the average American family that the taxes are going to be no higher or perhaps even lower in some instances, depending on their income, and that their taxes as levied will be fair.

"I don't think most of them want to see their taxes lowered. They want to be sure that when they do pay taxes they are given the same treatment as those who are more influential and have a wider range of opportunities on taxed income."

When Republicans began pointing out that Carter seemed to be saying that he would increase the tax burden for every

(Continued on page 6)

The Catholic Defection

Jimmy Carter has a growing Catholic problem which could cost him the presidency. If present trends continue, the 1976 election will be the first national contest since scientific opinion polling started in 1935, perhaps the first presidential election ever in American history, in which Catholics have not been considerably more supportive of the Democratic nominee than Protestants.

The most recent national opinion survey, taken for NBC between September 16th and 19th, found Carter with a statistically insignificant lead of only one percent (44 to 43 percent) among registered Catholic voters. Evidence that Carter has lost the considerable Democratic advantage among this group, which he had in early polls, is not limited to this survey alone. Two recent state polls report the same phenomenon. An Illinois survey conducted for *The Chicago Tribune* indicated Ford was ahead 50 to 37 percent among Catholics in Richard Daley's state. According to a *Detroit News* study, the two candidates divided the Catholic electorate evenly 37 to 37 percent in Michigan. In predominantly Democratic and Catholic Massachusetts (remember: McGovern won there) *The Boston Globe* reported a poll taken in late August, when Ford was much weaker in the polls than now, which gave the President a favorable rating over Carter of 49 to 44 percent.

Carter's weakness among Catholics, a group that has invariably supplied victorious Democratic presidential nominees with a large part of their majority, has also brought about their defection from the registered electorate as a whole. The NBC poll found the gap between the two candidates, which was well over 30 percent following the Democratic convention, is now smaller than at any time since April: 46 percent for Carter to 41 percent for Ford. If probable voters, as distinct from registered ones, are taken into consideration, Ford's deficit may be even less, for all the polls agree that 1976 is a very low-interest election, and that a quarter or more of registered voters will probably not go to the polls. Since non-voters tend to come heavily from less privileged, darker and younger Democratic ranks, the difference in popularity between the two nominees among those most likely to vote suggested by the latest NBC poll was probably around three percent.

Religious affiliation and ethnic background continue to affect the way people vote. Carter does best with traditionally Democratic and liberal Jews, with over a two-and-one-half to one lead among them. His fellow Baptists, who comprise a quarter of the entire elec-

torate, give him 61 percent to the President's 26, according to NBC's poll. Ford, in turn, leads by well over two-to-one among Presbyterians and Episcopalians, while he is slightly behind among Methodists and Lutherans.

Looking at the same data in ethnic terms, Ford appears well in the lead among voters of Scottish and English ancestry (64 to 29 percent). He has considerable strength among some groups of white ethnics. Thus, he is ahead by 48 to 32 percent among Italians, by 54 to 30 among those of German descent, and by 67 to 23 among Scandinavians. Voters of Irish ancestry, a category which includes almost as many Protestants as Catholics, are easily divided 43 for Ford and 42 for Carter.

Carter still has an overwhelming lead among the two prototypical Democratic minority groups, blacks and Jews, 74 to 11 among the former and 60 to 23 with the latter. Without black and Jewish backing, the Georgian would in fact trail the President among all registered voters. Other pro-Democratic ethnic groups include Slavs (47-41 percent for Carter) and Hispanic-Americans, too small a segment of the registered electorate for a reliable estimate in an opinion poll.

The decline in Carter's support among Catholics and some other white ethnic groups is reflected in the distribution of regional strength. Two weeks ago, Carter continued to hold his overwhelming advantage reported in all earlier polls in the South (56-34 percent) and to lead by a lesser margin (47 to 43 percent) in what has become in recent years the most Democratic region, New England. Ford was in the lead, however, in the densely populated middle Atlantic (47 to 44 percent) and the Midwest industrial states (47-36), while the two candidates were about even (42 for Carter and 41 for Ford) in the West.

What accounts for the Catholic defection? There is no reliable answer to this question, particularly since no publicly available opinion poll has focused on this issue. We know from surveys taken during the primary that Jimmy Carter's main support came from black and white Protestants. Historically victims of bigotry they identify with Southern Protestantism, the largely urban and non-southern Catholics and Jews seemingly found his evangelical religion, his accent and his cultural style alien to their experience and backed his rivals for the nomination. Following the New York convention, the majority of Catholics and Jews supported him, but pollsters recorded that Carter voters in these groups expressed many more reservations about their

Jimmy Carter's New Energy Adviser

Presidential candidate Jimmy Carter has hired a new energy expert, S. David Freeman, who has become attached to the Carter policy-planning operation in Atlanta. He's concentrating on energy policies and options that Carter is likely to consider if elected.

Freeman has an interesting background. He worked on energy policy under President Nixon, but resigned that position on Aug. 31, 1971, out of disappointment with the conservative approach taken toward energy by the Republican Administration.

After returning to the academic community, he persuaded the Ford Foundation to undertake a \$4-million energy study and to name him director. In his report titled, "A Time to Choose: America's Energy Future," Freeman recommended the creation of "a federal oil and gas corporation . . . that would explore, develop and produce oil and gas on federal lands." Its function would also be "to assert public control over oil industry activities."

Following completion of his Ford Foundation energy study, Freeman joined the U.S. Senate Commerce Committee as a consultant and assisted Sen. Adlai Stevenson (D.-Ill.) to draft a bill to implement the Ford Foundation energy recommendation.

Writing for the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, Michael Harrington praised the bill Freeman helped to draft, claiming that the federal oil and gas corporation to be established by the bill would enable "America . . . to learn the skills and techniques for the eventual (as soon as possible) socialization of the rest of the industry. Therefore, Socialists see the . . . bill . . . as a first step toward, a laboratory for, further socialization. We agree in principle with those who insist on public ownership, but we want to be very careful to specify practical ways to shift not simply the title of ownership, but real power into the people's hands."

Fighting the Image War

by Walter Dean Burnham

They're off and running. As of now the ultimate outcome of the Ford-Carter contest obviously is unknown. But it is not too soon to make some predictions about the unfolding shape of this election campaign and discuss their underlying rationale. First, turnout in this election will be at or below the all-time lows of 1920 and 1924: probably less than half of the potential electorate will bother to make a choice. Second, the Republican campaign will be oriented toward stressing all the old traditional values of American politics and economics. It will also, naturally, stress Gerald Ford's incumbency, his old-shoe personality, and the current state of peace and an improving economy. Third, this conservative campaign will do much better than the conventional wisdom of midsummer would have supposed, for two reasons: the personality and issue-projections of Jimmy Carter, and the relative importance of inflation as against unemployment for the half of the population that will actually vote in November. Finally, the public-opinion polls are more suspect than usual. Public opinion this year is both extremely volatile and charged with free-floating hostility toward politics and politicians. Paradoxically, this hostility may once again work to the benefit of the incumbent rather than the challenger. Above all, however, the election will be decided by the aggregate judgment of those who vote on the personal qualifications, as they see them, of the two men. Victory will go to the winner of the image war.

Analysis of each of these themes can cast useful light on our electoral politics as it operates today. We may begin with the question of who votes and who doesn't. Turnout in American presidential elections has always been lower during this century than participation rates in virtually any other Western nation. The data in *World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators* reveals that, for the mid-1960s, the United States ranked 12th from the bottom among 104 countries, between the turnouts of Barbados (91st) and Mexico (93rd). Moreover, participation has been falling at an accelerating rate since 1960. Only 55.7 percent of the potential electorate voted for President in 1972, and only 41.1 percent for congressmen in 1974.

It is a truism of mainstream thinking on the subject that our low participation rates have much to do with the registration hurdles that would-be voters have to cross in order to cast their ballots, hence such initiatives

as the McGee post-card registration bill and the projected AFL-CIO registration drive. Clearly these hurdles do matter: if the state took full responsibility for enrolling voters, as it does everywhere else in the Western world, this by itself would raise participation rates by between 10 and 12 percent. For 1976, however, this would probably mean that turnout would return to about the mediocre 62 percent reached in 1960, despite the great gains in Southern electoral participation since then, which were stimulated by the Civil Rights Acts of 1965 and 1970. In 18 other countries with competitive Western-style party systems, a mean of 83.4 percent of the potential electorate cast valid votes in the early 1970s. We can reasonably assume, then, that about two-thirds of the enormous American abstention rate finds some directly political explanation, and this assumption is given major support by a just-released survey of prospective nonvoters by Peter Hart. In this poll, far the most important single reason given by nonvoters for their prospective abstention is that "Candidates say one thing and do another" (68 percent of the sample regard this as important). The question receiving the second largest proportion of "important" responses (55 percent) is no more cheerful: "It doesn't make any difference who is elected because things never seem to work out right." The first question involves a fundamental issue of democratic accountability, and the second an almost equally basic issue of the meaningfulness of elections in the shaping of public events. If Hart's projections are correct, the sense of alienation and futility is now so widespread among the adult population that only about 47 percent of them will bother to vote in November. If so, this will be the lowest level of participation since the creation of the party system in the late 1820s.

Who votes and who doesn't in American elections? The answer here has been clear for years: broadly, the upper half of the American class structure participates, the lower half abstains. The typical nonvoter would be, say, a nonwhite young woman who had not completed high school and whose family's income was below \$8000 per year. The typical voter, on the other hand, would be a professional or managerial white middle-aged male who had completed college and whose family income was \$15,000 or more. Long ago, in discussing this problem, I pointed out that this hole in the active electorate corresponded to the place in the social structure where a Socialist or Laborite party "ought" to have developed in the United States, as such parties did develop in almost all other Western political systems.

Image

ELECTION

THE FORD-CARTER CHARACTER TEST

The meanings people find in the ink patterns of a Rorschach test reveal their personality. Americans have been intently studying, as they would Rorschach patterns, the images of Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter—not to find out about themselves, but about the candidates. The first TV debate failed to bring that one lightning revelation of character that many had hoped for. Thus there is no substitute for studying the candidates through careful reporting and psychological surmise.

The two contenders share many traits. Both are men of integrity and decency. The cornerstone of Ford's campaign is his claim to have restored trust to the White House. Among the Democratic candidates who competed in the primaries, Carter was the first to perceive that trust would probably be the major issue in the campaign. Each is offering his record of probity as an index to his trustworthiness. Both are devoted family men and each has a deep religious faith. Carter is a born-again evangelical; Ford is an Episcopalian who participates in weekly White House prayer meetings. Says Georgetown University's Political Scientist Jeane Kirkpatrick: "They come from modest origins, having achieved personal success with hard work. Neither has the style of an urban sophisticate like a Kennedy or Roosevelt. Both have high levels of self-control."

Carter was never a star athlete, but he shares the competitive instincts that Ford honed on the gridiron at the University of Michigan. In less positive ways, too, there are similarities. Both candidates can also be quite stubborn when they have decided on a political course of action.

But there are major and obvious differences as well. Ford is affable and gregarious and enjoys nothing more than a bull session in the White House with old friends. Carter, although a good one-on-one campaigner who likes to meet people in public, has a deep sense of privacy and relaxes by taking solitary walks in the Georgia woods. Both are highly intelligent. But Carter is a quick study, introspective and contemplative; Ford assimilates information more slowly, but has an impressive grasp of complex and diverse subjects. Fred Greenstein, a political science professor at Princeton, believes that Carter is sometimes "almost too cool in his capacity to turn the other cheek," but he displays flashes of anger ("when he's hot, he's very hot"), which Greenstein contrasts with Ford's equanimity.

As only five weeks remain before the election, and the "personality issue" seems more crucial than ever, TIME here presents assessments of the candidates by two correspondents who have regularly covered them. Dean Fischer reports on Ford, Stanley Cloud on Carter:



He is the prototypical Midwesterner—big, bluff, hearty, unassuming, everyone's favorite neighbor. Gerald Rudolph Ford Jr.—Eagle Scout, football hero, Yale Law School alumnus, 13-term Congressman, House minority leader, accidental President—never aspired to the office he inherited. Since Aug. 9, 1974, his strengths and faults have been on public display. If what makes Jimmy Carter tick still remains obscure to millions of Americans, Ford is no secret to anyone.

At this stage, Ford is unlikely to change his basic careful, conservative philosophy, but he has grown in office. He is less narrowly partisan than he was. Exposure to national and international problems has broadened his perspective. He no longer feels uncomfortable in the presence of such world leaders as West Germany's Helmut Schmidt and the Soviet Union's Leonid Brezhnev.

Ford is not often angry, but he is more easily irritated now than he was two years ago. He has realized the ne-

TEAM PLAYER MAKES GOOD

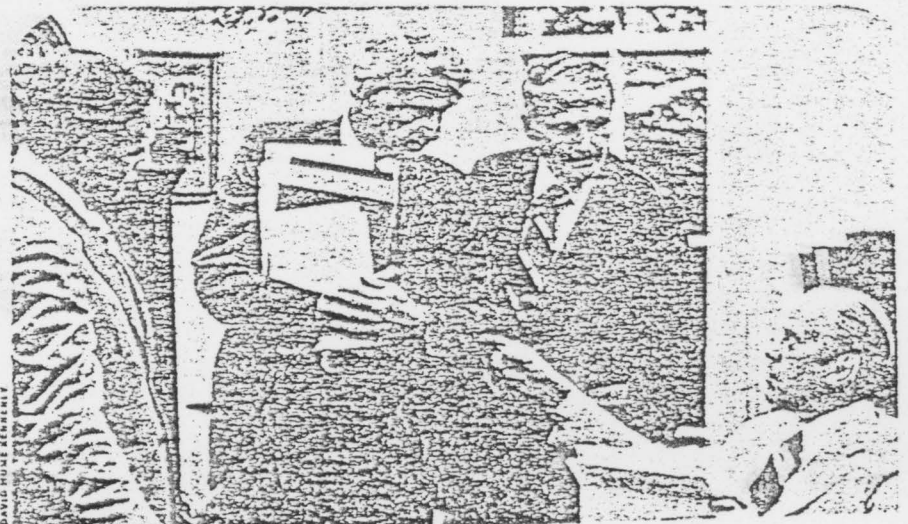
cessity of rationing his time; when he is caught in open-ended discussions, he clenches his pipe firmly in his teeth—a sign of smoldering irritation. His infrequent outbursts are set off by issues that challenge his convictions. He startled an aide a few months ago by denouncing, in barracks-room language, Congressmen seeking to abolish covert activities of the CIA abroad.

Still, the friendly man from Grand Rapids has not let the White House go to his head. He would never experiment—as Richard Nixon briefly did—with dressing up the guards in comic-opera uniforms in the hope of evoking

grandeur in the European manner.

If Ford is perceived as an honest and forthright man, a majority of Americans still do not feel he is a strong leader. After two years as President, he remains the slight underdog in a struggle with a man—all but unknown a year ago—who has no national record at all. Ford is not a dynamic President. He is sound, solid and steady—a known quantity. If his caution prevents him from providing exciting leadership, it also minimizes the risks. His composure is unlikely to crack under the strain of crisis. Ford was notably relaxed while handling the celebrated *Mayaguez* affair. "We've got a

FORD AT WORK WITH AIDES RICHARD CHENEY, MAX FRIEDERSDORF & JOHN MARSH



HOW BUSINESSMEN SIZE UP THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Among many of this country's business leaders, there is a feeling that no matter who wins the Presidency next month, they still will have a friend in the White House.

That is the view of a cross section of corporate executives, bankers and economists asked by this magazine to appraise candidates Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter—their strengths and weaknesses, their leadership qualities, and their stands on business issues.

Most of those surveyed predict a continuation of good times next year, regardless of who is elected.

A majority favor Ford, giving him high marks for having controlled inflation and having kept the economy moving ahead at a steady pace.

But even among Ford supporters there are some who say they would not be unduly distressed by a Carter victory. While still in the dark about many of his economic beliefs, they feel that Carter "understands business" and in any case would face restraints from Congress should he propose abrupt changes in economic or social policies.

The business leaders who are firm backers of Carter—a minority among those surveyed—feel that he would provide "a fresh face and a fresh point of view" in a jaded capital and could exert strong leadership in such legislative areas as tax reform and moves to cut unemployment.

Some of those polled did not speak for attribution. Others agreed to be quoted. What follows are appraisals in their own words from a sampling of those who gave their views to *U.S. News & World Report* on the record.

Irving S. Shapiro,
Chairman, the
Du Pont Company.



I START from this premise: If businessmen look back at 1972 and the choice that they then had, 1976 is a glorious period.

I'm comfortable with both candidates from a business point of view. They both are in the mainstream of American thinking and action. My hunch is that if they were just seated in a room by themselves, each with a martini in his hand, you'd find they agreed more than they disagreed.

Both are dedicated to the health and prosperity of the country, to civil rights and liberties in the real meaning of those words, and dedicated to strength in our relations abroad.

President Ford has done a fine job of taking over a total mess when he became President. And Governor Carter is obviously no Senator McGovern. He is a man who comes from the soil, and he is one who understands the role of business in the American system.

On Governor Carter's economics, I would quarrel with his support of the consumer-protection-agency bill. It is totally useless. You shouldn't need a special agency in Government to protect the consumer's interests when that is what government is supposed to be all about.

Arthur M. Wood,
Chairman, Sears,
Roebuck & Company.



MY MAIN CONCERNS at this time center on inflation fueled by Govern-

ment deficit spending, on excessive federal regulation of business and on the reluctance of Government to provide a tax structure that will stimulate capital investment. The consumer is still very much worried over whether the Government can control inflation.

I strongly support President Ford's action in using his veto power to control excessive spending.

One of my concerns about a Carter Administration is that it would mean the loss of that veto power over new congressional spending programs.

A. Robert Abboud,
Chairman, First
National Bank
of Chicago.



GENERALLY, I AGREE with Governor Carter's analysis that a little more stimulation for business is needed now. The recovery we've seen so far is mainly a technical reaction by business to the deep slide we suffered in the recession. There's always a risk of higher inflation from adopting greater stimulation, but that's a tightrope any Chief Executive has to contend with.

I don't favor the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, which Carter supports. It calls for spending too much money to create jobs—spending that would not be offset by savings in unemployment payments or by new taxes.

I'm bothered by Carter's talk about cutting defense spending; that would be a mistake. And I don't think farmers want to go back to a subsidy program. In Illinois, at least, there is overwhelming sentiment for getting the Government out of the commodity business.

One issue that neither candidate has addressed is the problem of the cities. The need for new investment to refurbish and rebuild them makes other problems pale by comparison.

Businessmen generally have great respect for the President and some apprehension about Carter. But you can't dis-

Campaigns are Gunning for Those Who 'Vote the Man not the Party'

While the campaigns have different ideas about who should be in the White House next year, they have similar ideas about how their candidates can get there.

BY MICHAEL J. MALBIN

It's no surprise that the campaign teams of President Ford and Jimmy Carter have different ideas about who should be sworn in as President next Jan. 20. What is a surprise is that the campaign

which candidate they can trust to make their decisions for them.

With the character of the presidential candidates assuming increasing importance, the volatility of this year's national polls becomes more understandable. The major party candidates this year

and that "no issue has any significance at all to presidential voters" except as it influences the voters' perceptions of the candidates.

States: Once one gets beyond generalities to the two candidates' state-based electoral vote strategy, the campaign

Playing Politics with Vacancies

Presidential campaign promises are not to be taken too seriously, as everyone knows. On the other hand, campaign promises cannot be taken too lightly, as Richard Nixon learned.

Inasmuch as the 1976 presidential campaign is the first since Nixon's demise, the Democratic presidential candidate naturally promises to "take a new broom to Washington."

crats, Carter charges that half the Ford and Nixon Administrations' regulatory appointees came from regulated industries. On the other hand, regulators must be qualified "by training and equipment." If training and equipment cannot come from direct or indirect association with regulated industries, it can come only through government experience.

State experience, however, seems not to qualify a nominee

ENERGY: EMERGING ISSUE IN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

Few problems are as pressing, but until the first debate energy was hardly mentioned. A fresh look puts a deepening crisis in perspective.

The nation's energy crisis is drifting from bad to worse, and those who chart America's fuel needs give these reasons:

- Gasoline usage alone is breaking all records, averaging around 7.2 million barrels a day for much of the summer. That is 3.5 per cent above 1975 levels.
- U.S. wells can't begin to supply the fuel for this driving binge and the nation's many other needs for oil. Production now is down to 8.1 million barrels of crude oil per day—a drastic drop from the 1970 peak of 9.6 million barrels.
- Foreign oil is coming into this country in a flood tide to take up the slack. Imports, running a million barrels a day above last year's level, supply more than 40 per cent of U.S. needs.
- Arab nations are providing more and more of the imported oil. Vulnerability to another embargo is far greater than during the 1973-74 stoppage by Arabs. Saudi Arabia has taken over from Canada and Venezuela as the No. 1 supplier of foreign oil to the U.S.
- Another sharp boost in world oil prices seems almost certain when the

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries—the OPEC cartel—meets December 15 in Qatar on the Persian Gulf. Present basic price of \$11.51 a barrel is expected to rise by at least \$1.50—adding as much as 2 cents per gallon to the pump price of gasoline in this country.

- Oil from Alaska may not arrive on schedule in the "Lower 48" States in mid-1977 as had been promised. Faulty welds and other setbacks threaten to delay completion of the trans-Alaska pipeline on schedule. Use of California ports to handle oil that would be sent by pipeline to other parts of the U.S. is being fought by State officials.

- Natural-gas production continues to dwindle. Interstate pipelines will curtail deliveries 27 per cent below last year. Even a normally cold winter may force some factories to shut down for lack of gas. Many plants are converting their operations to oil, a move that will mean the importation of even more petroleum into this country.

- Use of electricity, after leveling off for two years, now is growing at the same rate as before the Arab embargo shocked Americans into the realization that this country could not meet all its own energy needs. Power use increased by 5.2 per cent in the first half of this year. If that rate of growth continues, widespread brownouts and blackouts are predicted in the early 1980s.

- Little, if any, progress has been made toward production of synthetic fuels. Plans to wring oil from shale are in abeyance. Plants to produce gas and oil from coal are not off the drawing boards. Congress has refused to approve measures that have been proposed to encourage such ventures.

Given these discouraging trends, energy analysts are hoping that the candidates will come forward soon with more specific plans to bring the crisis under control than those presented in the first debate.

Many feel the President is vulnerable on this issue. He largely abandoned his original plan to deal with the crisis when he signed the Energy Policy and Conservation Act late in 1975. That measure rolled back oil prices at the start of the 1976 election year, and now lets them rise only gradually.

Before signing that bill, Mr. Ford had advocated sharply higher fuel costs as the best way to encourage both production and conservation of energy.

Candidates' views. Mr. Carter, on the eve of the first debate, unveiled a plan to create a Cabinet-level energy agency. In the debate, citing the rising tide of imported oil, he said:

"We need to shift from oil to coal... We need to shift very strongly toward solar power and have strict conservation measures and then, as a last resort only, continue to use atomic power."

Mr. Carter said, too, that he would require mandatory conservation of fuel, but did not spell out details. Nor did he outline specific plans to bring about the shift from oil to coal.

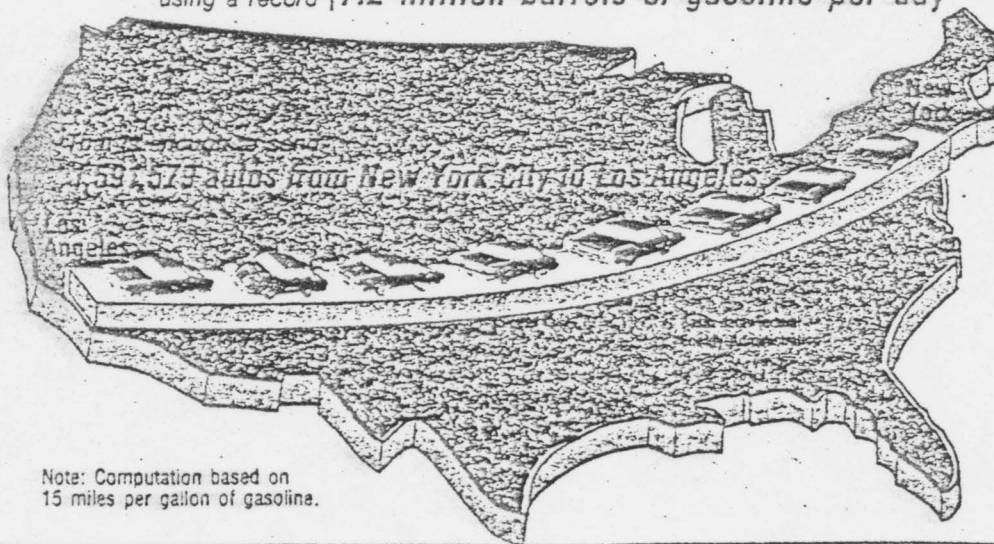
Earlier, the Democratic candidate had advocated continuing oil price control and a study of the possible breakup of big oil companies.

President Ford, in rebuttal to Mr. Carter, said: "I think you have to have greater oil and gas production, more coal production, more nuclear production, and...energy conservation."

Meanwhile, U.S. highways are again clogged with cars, campers and recreational vehicles—

One Measure of U.S. Gasoline Use

Americans have been using a record | 7.2 million barrels of gasoline per day



Note: Computation based on 15 miles per gallon of gasoline.

WHY AFRICA IS SUCH AN INVITING TARGET FOR RUSSIA

Joseph Fromm, a Deputy Editor of the magazine, attended a meeting in Europe of strategic planners from key nations. Following is his cabled report of how these experts assess the impact that Russia's mushrooming military strength is having on the rest of the world.

VIENNA

The spectacular build-up of global military power by the Soviet Union raises crucial questions for the United States and its allies.

One question that is getting attention now is whether Russia will try to exploit racial unrest in southern Africa and sabotage American efforts to bring peace to the region.

Leading Western strategists, meeting here in mid-September, came to this conclusion:

The Kremlin, reluctant to gamble on a direct military confrontation with the U.S., will find irresistible the temptation to give increasingly active support to black "national liberation" guerrillas on the African continent.

"The Soviet interest," observes a French analyst, "is in a protracted military conflict between blacks and whites, rather than in success of America's last-minute attempt at conciliation in Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa."

Upper hand. Western authorities stress that aggravating tensions in Africa is one of the few cards Russia has to play in competition with the U.S. for influence in the "third world."

They make this point: Developing countries, even those that are the most anti-American, realize they must look to Washington—not Moscow—if they hope to break out of their poverty and backwardness. It is the U.S. and its industrial allies that are being called upon to construct a new economic order that would narrow the enormous gap between the have and have-not nations. Russia, economically inferior to the Western countries, is relegated to the sidelines.

In this situation, specialists say the Kremlin may view a race war in southern Africa as a chance to turn the third world against America and to reinforce Soviet interests by lining up actively behind the blacks, particularly if blacks can be convinced that the United States is too protective of white-minority interests in the region. Russia is wasting little time.

Even while Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was in Africa, shuttling from capital to capital, Moscow's controlled press was leveling a strident propaganda

campaign against the U.S. peace effort on the continent. Other, more dangerous avenues for troublemaking are open to the Kremlin. Experts agree that the Russians will continue to supply weapons and training to guerrillas seeking black-majority rule in Rhodesia and Namibia. Another possibility: intervention by the Moscow-supported Cuban expeditionary force that was instrumental in bringing a Marxist-oriented regime to power in Angola.

Oblique course. Direct use of Soviet military power is virtually ruled out. Such drastic action would surely jeopardize détente with the U.S. and Western Europe, which some authorities still see as the Soviet Union's No. 1 foreign-policy objective. And Russia, for all its new-found military muscle, is not eager to lock horns with America.

Few Western planners expect Russia itself to jump directly into fresh African adventures. The Kremlin is too cautious for that. Moscow's major fear is that it could become bogged down in a debilitating Vietnam-type situation. "Also," says a European analyst, "the allure of manipulations in southern Africa could be moderated by a fear of hazardous counteractions by the West."

Russia's experience in the Mideast is cited as a good example of the trouble the heavy-handed Kremlin can run into when it tries to meddle directly in the affairs of other countries. For 20 years, the Soviets poured billions of dollars' worth of modern arms into radical Arab states in a naked bid for influence and military advantage. Yet today much of that

investment appears to be going down the drain. Not only have the Russians been kicked out of Egypt, but they also are losing ground in most other Arab nations.

Despite Moscow's humiliating stumble in the Middle East, Allied strategists are convinced that Kremlin leaders will press on with their attempts to capitalize on Soviet weaponry. A top European specialist on the Soviet-American balance of power explains why: "The Soviet Union, given its lack of cultural and economic attraction, is now almost completely dependent on arms to make friends and influence people."

But Moscow has its work cut out for it. Experts agree that Russia's impressive gains in armed strength, even its hurried construction of a modern "blue water" Navy, may have come at a time when it is increasingly difficult for any country to convert its military punch into global influence. Says one of Britain's foremost



"THE CHOREOGRAPHER."

News & Comment

The President's Daily News Summary



Leading The News...

FOR TUESDAY AFTERNOON, September 28, 1976

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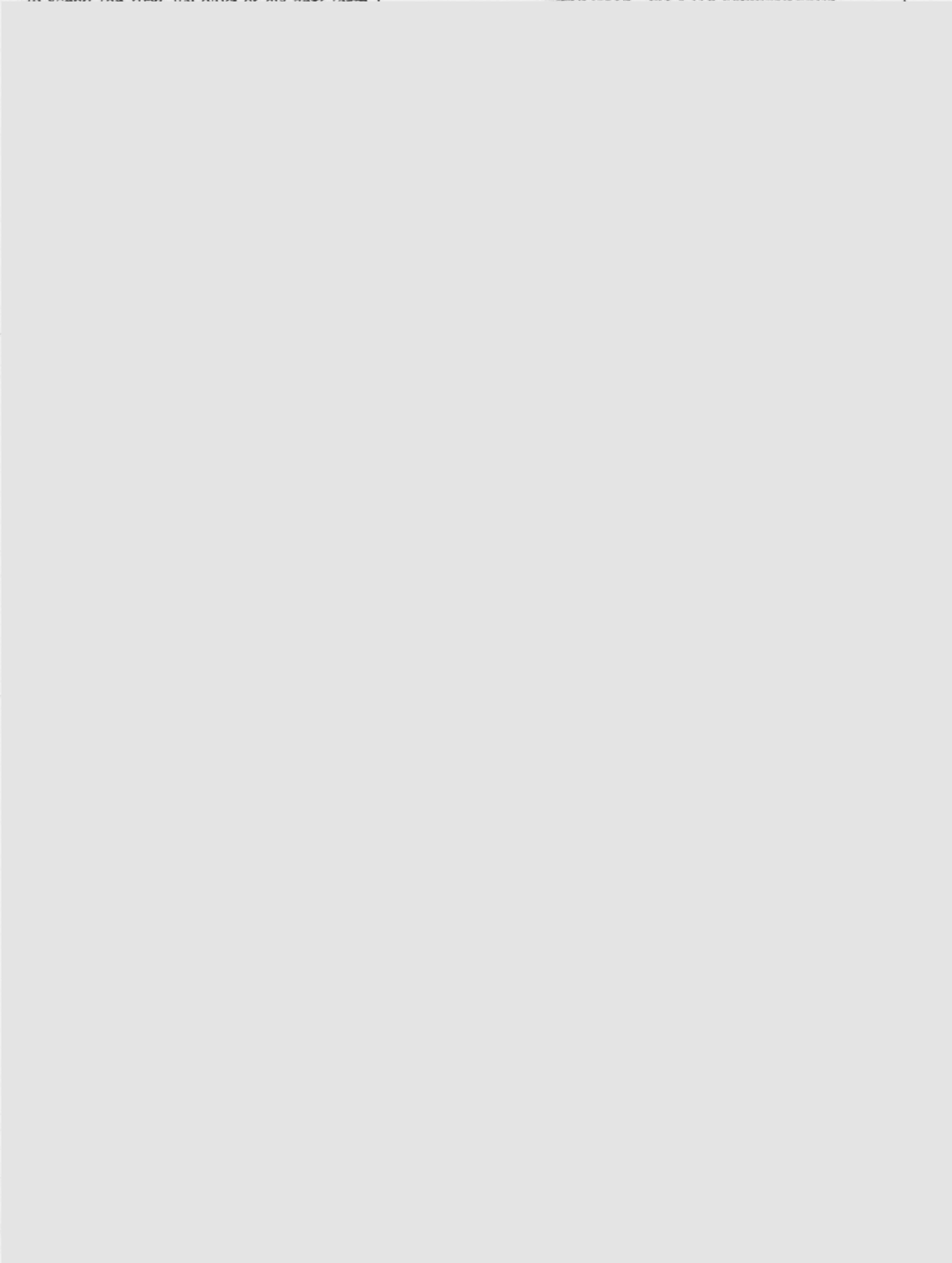
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World-Wide

FORD PROMISED to fight crime; Carter said the GOP has made millions poor.

President Ford wound up a three-day swing through the South by telling a convention of police chiefs in Miami that he intends to spend the first 100 days of his next term

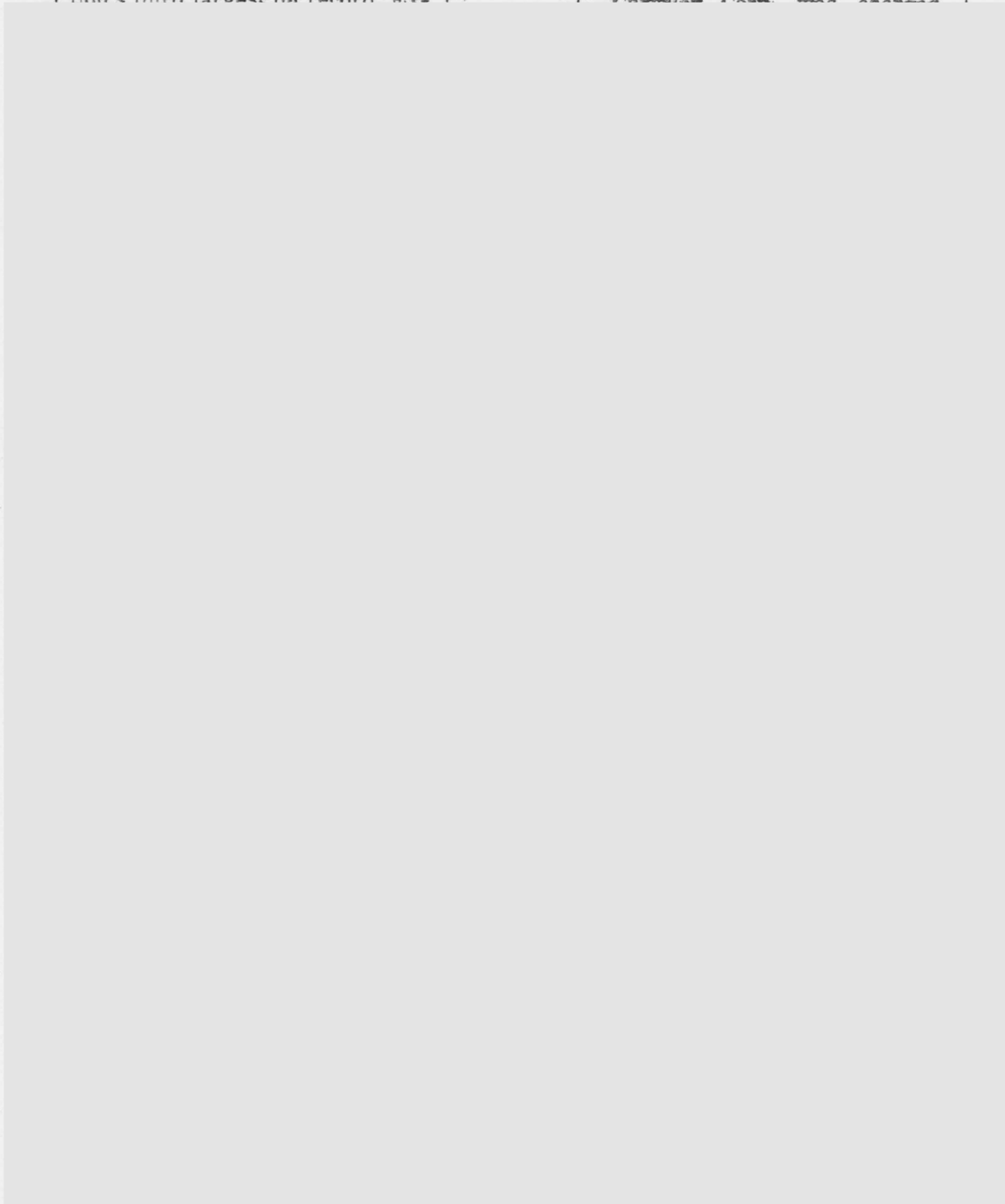
A resolution to block the sale of 650 missiles to Saudi Arabia will be reconsidered by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which approved it late last week. Chairman John Sparkman (D. Ala.) withdrew the resolution from the Senate calendar after Vice President Rockefeller told him it "greatly distressed" the Ford administration.



Business and Finance

THE TRADE DEFICIT narrowed last month to a seasonally adjusted \$737.7 million from July's \$827.1 million, but August's red-ink showing was still the nation's third largest on record. Ex-

* * *
Saga Petroleum withdrew as an active participant in Guatemala's first oil field. That makes Saga the second Norwegian concern in months to curtail Western Hemisphere oil activities.



Ford to Confer with Foreign Ministers

President Ford plans to do some scene-setting for his second televised debate with Jimmy Carter by conferring at the White House with a procession of visiting foreign ministers today.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher, foreign minister of West Germany, was to start the parade to the Oval Office.

Ron Nessen said foreign ministers of the Soviet Union, Britain, France, Italy and other unspecified nations would follow Genscher.

To help underscore his claim of on-the-job experience, Ford summoned Democratic and Republican leaders of Congress to the White House today to discuss efforts to promote racial peace in southern Africa.

Secretary Kissinger was to brief the lawmakers and, at a subsequent meeting today, the full Cabinet.

Nessen said the foreign ministers who will confer with Ford will be in the United States in connection with the annual session of the United Nations General Assembly.

--AP, UPI, Morning Shows (9/28/76)

Dole Says Farmers Will Fare Better Under GOP

Senator Bob Dole said Monday U. S. Farmers should have greater access to world markets, an export policy he says he'll help foster if the GOP ticket is elected.

Dole's message in farm areas is clear: Even if farmers are still mad about President Ford's 1975 grain embargo, they stand to fare a lot better under another Ford administration than they will if Jimmy Carter is elected.

He hammered away at this theme at campaign stops in Moline, Rock Island and Quincy, Ill, and was expected to make similar appeals today in Decatur, Ill., and in Marietta and Newark, Ohio.

It's all part of a renewed effort by the Dole campaign to try to pick up votes in traditionally GOP areas of the rural Midwest where campaign strategists feel the ticket has run into some problems.

Dole told a meeting sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce at Quincy College Monday night that it is "not going to happen again unless there's some extreme emergency."

And he depicted Carter's farm policy as one leading to more federal regulation of farmers and their products, while claiming that the Ford administration would help farmers find new overseas markets for their crops.

Meanwhile, the Secret Service was "monitoring" an investigation of four bombs which exploded Monday night at a Quincy industrial plant and a fifth explosion that damaged a bridge retaining wall.

A Secret Service spokesman in Washington said, "We don't think there is any connection between the explosion and the visit of Sen. Dole in the area."

Dole told reporters earlier he and Ford are slightly ahead in Illinois, though local Democrats claimed otherwise. (CBS)

Republican gubernatorial candidate James "Big Jim" Thompson, is far ahead of his Democratic opponent in the polls and Dole told a rally at Ford headquarters in a converted tire store in Quincy "we're going to hang onto his coattails -- any coattails we can find."

--AP, UPI, Morning Shows (9/28/76)

South welcomes Ford, but hedges on endorsement

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

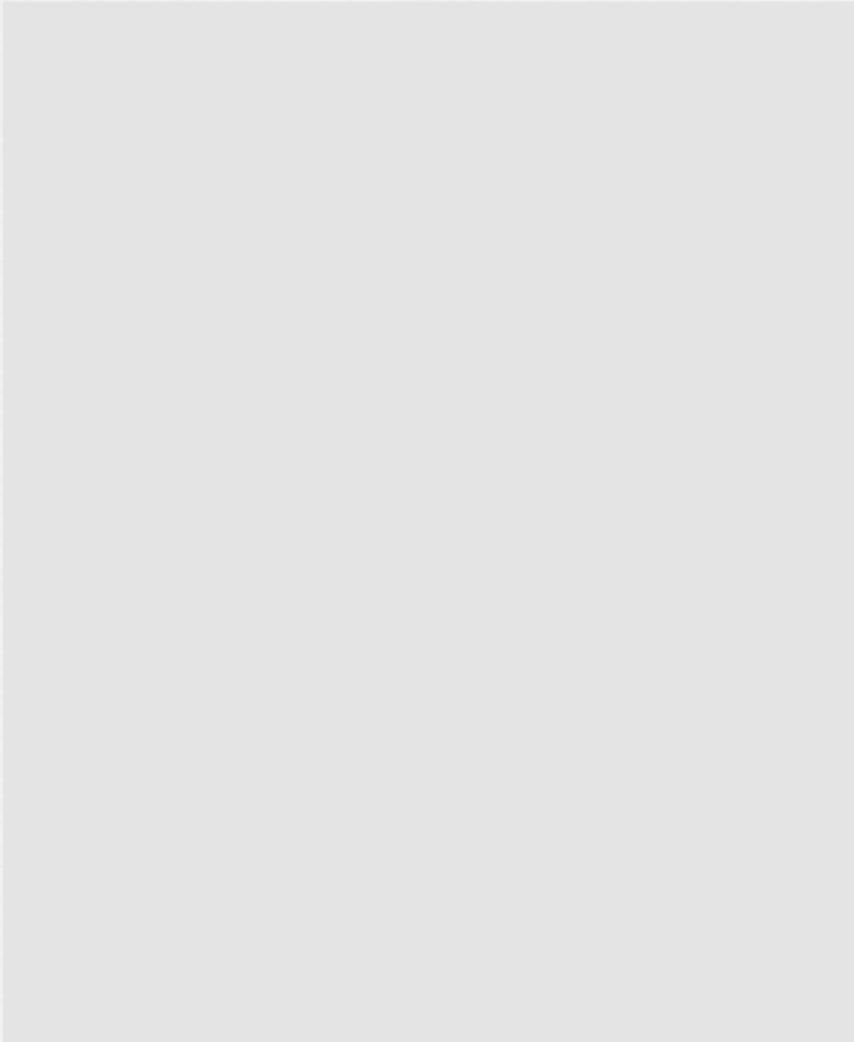
Miami

President Ford now is getting smiles and even approval in the South.

But reporters in the sizable and friendly crowds Mr. Ford is attracting find that while Southerners may be weakening in their support

• Mr. Ford was pushing his "I am the conservative -- Carter the liberal" theme wherever he goes.

The debate appears to have helped Mr. Ford in selling this thesis. If nothing else, Mr. Ford



ENGELHARDT
ST. LOUIS POST-Dispatch
This time you'll be signing a proclamation for
National Chuckwalla Week, a postcard to
Jack and your laundry list

Houston Chronicle, 9/22/76

Ford clouds gun-control issue

President Ford ought to be clearly defining the issue of gun control and taking a presidential lead in achieving it before the national record of carnage becomes even worse. Instead, according to the reports of his Southern

ensuring the hunters that they are *not* the targets of gun control. It is the federal registration and control of handguns that are being sought — guns whose primary use is against people.

• Mr. Ford also made fuzzy statements such

C.S. Monitor, 9/28/76

"Either it's the Secret Service or something to do with seeing if anybody is picking up his latest golfing tabs."

Chicago Tribune, 9/28/76

Carter in Plains to Reassess Strategy

Jimmy Carter is back home for two days of rest and re-evaluation of his strategy for the remainder of the campaign.

Campaign aides have long said that he would take time off near the end of September to decide how best to spend his time during the remainder of the campaign.

Jody Powell acknowledged that the nominee has changed his basic campaign speech since the debate with Ford last Wednesday. He said Carter's speeches have had the human and intimate quality of the primary season.

In his two days at home, Carter also plans to pore over a thick briefing book on foreign policy and defense for the debate with President Ford, and to look at video tapes of the first debate.

Carter begins a three-day campaign trip, primarily in the East, on Thursday.

Carter ended a four-day campaign swing to the West and Midwest Monday with new sarcasm in his assaults on Ford during speeches to rallies in Portland, Oregon, and Evansville, Indiana.

At the Evansville Democratic party rally, Carter declared that Ford "serves in the great tradition of Warren Harding, Herbert Hoover and Richard Nixon." (ABC)

"When he became President, he said he was not a Lincoln but a Ford. He told the truth. Ford's a good automobile that's not doing too well in the White House. It's stuck in the mud with four flat tires, out of gas, gears locked into reverse. If it ever does move again, which I doubt, I'm sure it will try to back into the future." (Networks)

The audience of some 6,000 in an indoor auditorium responded with laughter, cheers and applause.

Earlier, in Portland, Carter indirectly accused Ford of close collusion with lobbyists and special interest groups, disregarding the American people.

--AP, UPI, Morning Shows (9/28/76)

Carter Team Gearing to Make Watergate Big Issue

Carter strategists are considering making Watergate a major campaign issue, Jack Anderson reported today.

They may call upon the President to release all of the tapes of his private conversations with Richard Nixon to see whether Ford made an advance deal to pardon Nixon.

Anderson said that Ford can hardly refuse to release the tapes without leaving the impression he has something to hide.

--Good Morning, America (9/28/76)

Carter Has Shaky Rock Music Link

Some of the most crucial funds raised by Jimmy Carter's Presidential campaign came from rock concerts arranged by Capricorn Records Inc. which has been torn by bitterness and a major drug inquiry.

Phil Walden, President and owner of Capricorn, sponsored at least five concerts for Carter at a time when the former Georgia Governor's campaign was financially strapped.

According to Carter Treasurer Robert Lipshutz, the concerts netted \$151,000 in profits and federal matching funds, far less than reports of \$700,000.

In the October issue of Los Angeles Magazine, it is reported that two Carter stays last year at the posh Beverly Hills Hotel were paid for by Frank Fitner, executive vice president of Capricorn Records, Rona Barrett noted.

The records of Carter's two visits are missing according to the manager of the hotel. (ABC)

--UPI, Good Morning, America (9/28/76)

★ Carter takes on newsmen; assails Ford 'hiding' tactic

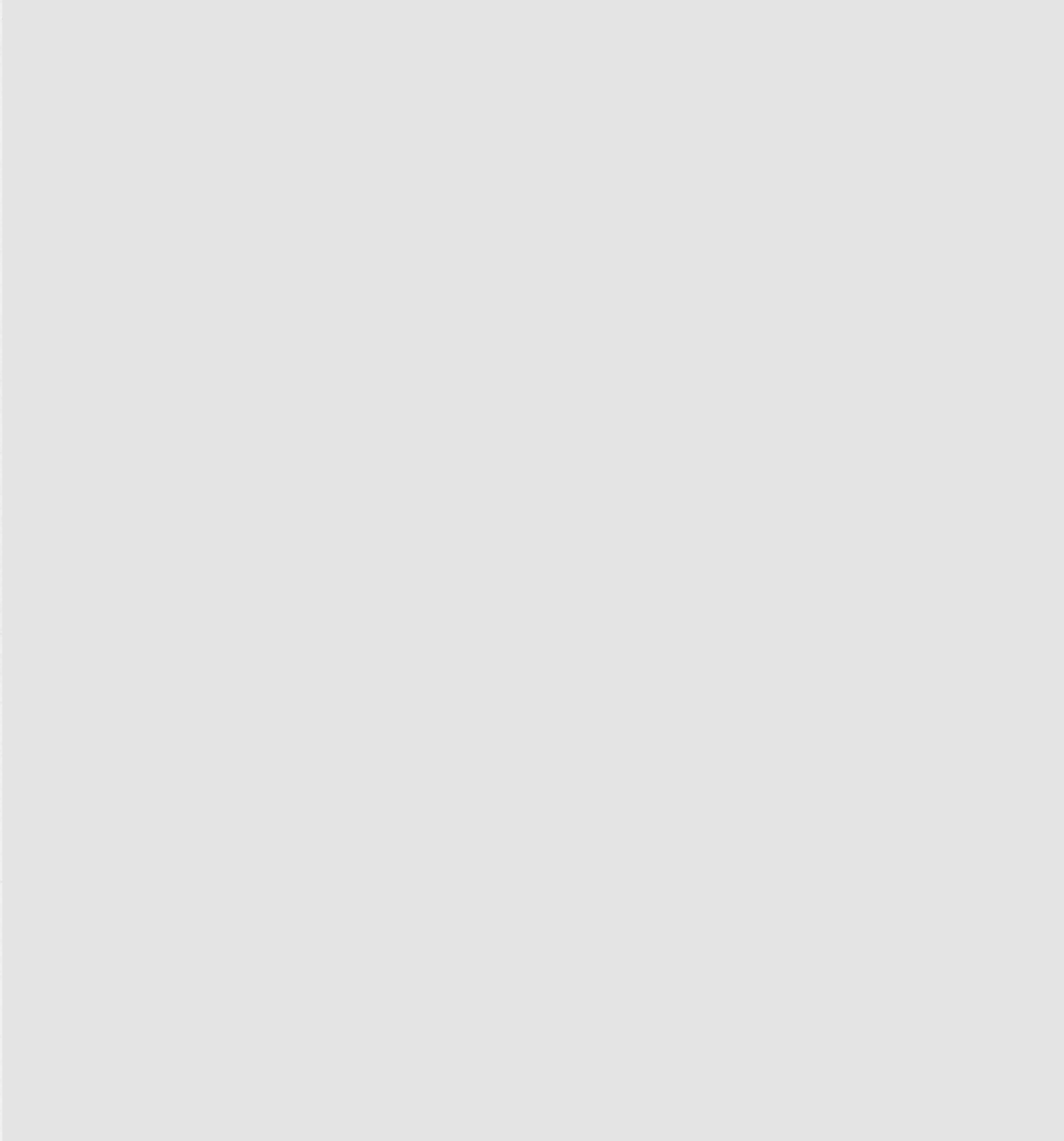
With the Carter campaign Jimmy Carter and key members of his staff are becoming increasingly frustrated and unhappy with much of the press coverage of this year's presidential campaign.

Mr. Carter, speaking to a small group of newsmen, complained that his own campaign

Off-the-record session

Later, eight to ten reporters were summoned to a private "gripe session" with Mr. Carter in the Royal Inn Hotel in San Diego.

The meeting was off the record, but details have leaked out.



Carter poses threat to 'right-to-work' laws

Measures that let workers reject union tie expected to be attacked if candidate wins

By Guy Halverson
Business and financial correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor.

Washington

Controversial "right-to-work" laws — legislation prohibiting workers from having to join a union as a condition for employment — are expected to come under sharp attack if Democratic contender Jimmy Carter is elected to the White House.

Frankly, 14-B is far down the line for us at this point."

At the same time, the official adds that if repeal were to be brought up, it would stand a "fair chance" of making it through congressional hurdles. That would be particularly true, he says, if labor made substantial Senate and House gains in November.

Senate prospect unclear

Mr. Larson of the Right-to-Work Com-

CARTER: 'I LOST MY COOL'

By JUDITH MICHAELSON
N. Y. Post Correspondent

MISSION VIEJO, Cal. —
In the midst of his long California campaign weekend, Jimmy Carter got up at a cocktail party and confessed

boy—and Norman Mailer—
too much.

"Vows of silence, vows of
silence," California Gov. Jerry
Brown said at one point. In
the back of Carter's cam-
paign plane Peanut One:

Or was Carter simply try-
ing to prove he was not a
square? At least one Carter
intimate suggested in a casual
way that the candidate
sometimes says what people
want to hear.

And press secretary Jody
Powell added

It was Carter's first post-
Labor Day trip to California,
but it is hardly his last. With
45 electoral votes, the most
of any state, California pro-
vides one-sixth of the margin
needed for victory. As Powell
says, "If we carry the south
and can hold New York and

GERALD
NACHMAN

Playboy Religious Adviser

ALTHOUGH JIMMY CARTER told Playboy that he looked at other women with lust in his heart (perhaps even one or two in Playboy), his revelation is but the tip of the volcano.

In an interview with New Sinner, Carter confesses that he has likewise "eyed with pleasure a graven image" (a totem pole), but finally decided that



What happened to poetry in politics?

PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

WASHINGTON—The Great Debate was a Great Disappointment. The nation did not see two men arguing spiritedly with one another about the issues and matters on men's minds—but two men giving carefully rehearsed, oft-repeated speech segments in response to questions

the difficulty of the individual confronted with the perils of unemployment—and began to manifest an impatience, an anxiety, a concern to do something.

Who won? On points, Mr. Ford, Carter, however, was assisted mightily by being placed, before the eyes of the nation, in a debate setting with the President of the United States—thus blacking out temporarily the terrible campaign blunders of the previous week, the tax boo-boo, and the Playboy interview.

What Happened to Civil Rights?

By ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR.

The first debate appears to have left things pretty much as they were. It has not had anything like the electric impact of the first Kennedy-Nixon encounter. That, you will remember, produced a sharp increase

have done better, for themselves as well as for us, if they had insisted on raising the deeper issues of our future. Like the pudding famously deplored by Winston Churchill, they lacked a theme.

With the broad panorama of our na-

ety. that makes pious gestures toward equal opportunity while shoving non-whites back into semi-subordination? Are black Americans stalemated by the division between the few who have been able to capitalize on the limited progress toward equal

Britain Sends Envoy to Settle African Stalemate

Britain's top official for African affairs was en route to Botswana today to try to break a stalemate between black leaders and Rhodesia over the US-British plan for bringing black majority rule to Rhodesia within two years.

The plan, negotiated by Secretary Kissinger, ran into problems Sunday when the five "front-line" black Presidents rejected portions of it, particularly those dealing with the interim government that will rule until the country's 5.9 million blacks gain full power.

Rhodesian government sources said Premier Ian Smith's Cabinet might begin formulating its reaction to the black demands today.

--AP, UPI, Morning Shows (9/28/76)

AfricaFOREIGN POLICYHAK Says Black Leaders Have Accepted Basic African Plan

While black African leaders have indicated there are certain points of the minority rule plan which they wish to negotiate, they have accepted the basic proposal, Secretary Kissinger said today.

"Each African leader has his own constituency," the Secretary said. "Obviously there will have to be negotiations for the transitional government."

The African Presidents have made a general statement that they will not accept the "dictation" of all of Ian Smith's details, he said. But the real differences will not be known until the conference between both sides convenes.

Kissinger said the immediate problem is to bring the various sides to the conference table within the framework of the present principles.

"Britain has to take the lead in this because they have the historical and constitutional responsibility," Kissinger noted, "We will back it up diplomatically."

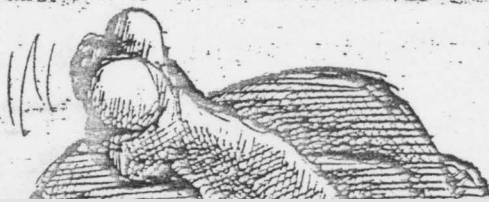
After the transitional government has been established, he said, the US will then consider what kind of economic and military cooperation it will provide to Africa.

"There are no secret commitments. There are economic plans being prepared which will be submitted to Congress before they are implemented," he added.

Kissinger also reiterated that he will not return to Africa.

--Today Show (9/28/76)


THE COMMERCIAL APPEAL



REVIEW & OUTLOOK

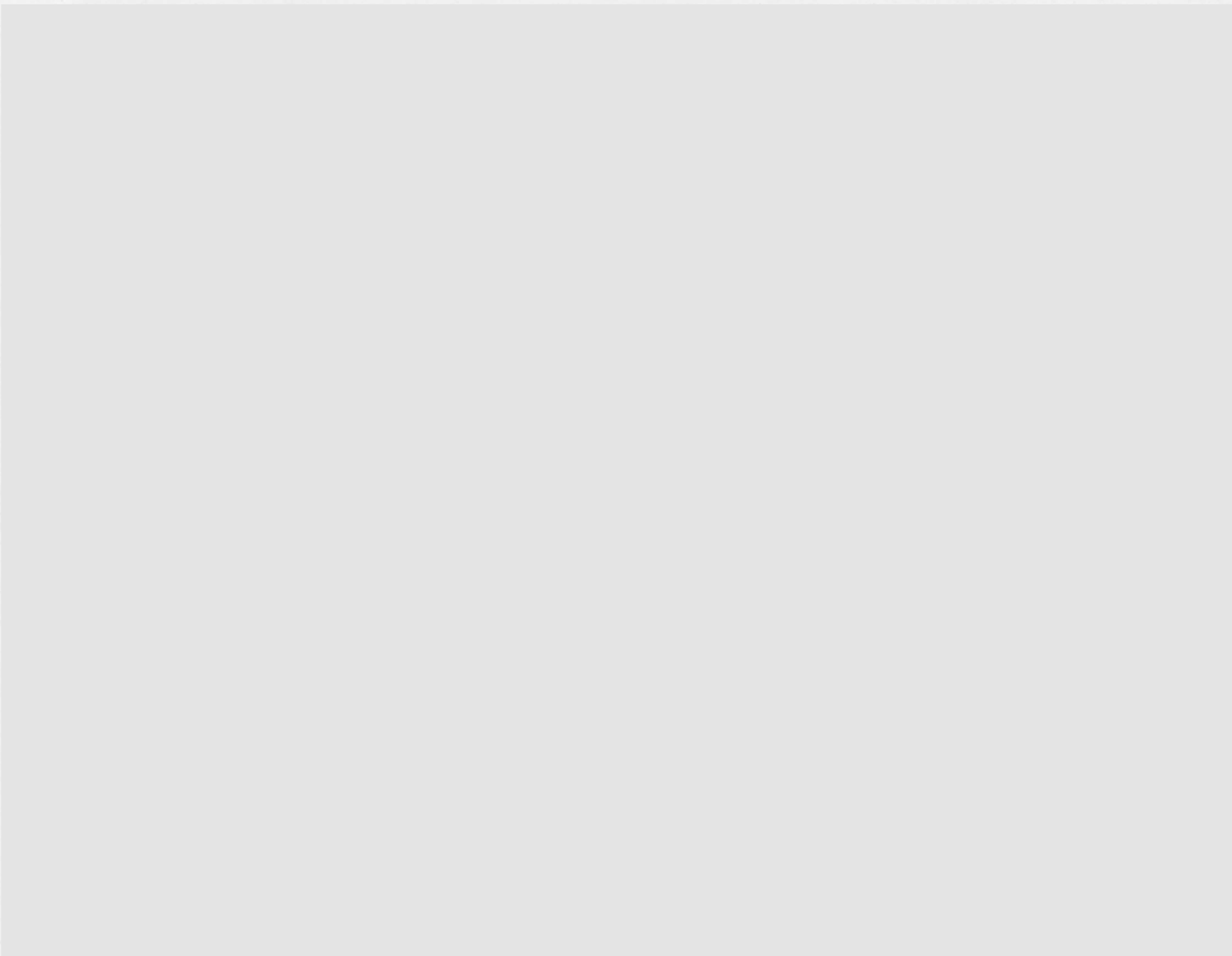
Explaining Rhodesia

Mr. Kissinger's risky personal intervention in southern Africa has achieved its specific objective—Rhodesia's agreement to accept

have told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the American share could come to several hundred million (one source says



ADMINISTRATION



Bob Taylor

—By BOB TAYLOR, Times Herald Staff Cartoonist

"But it went off by accident — I didn't even know it was loaded!"

Dallas Times-Herald, 9/19/76

Rumsfeld: Soviets Building Nuclear Arsenal

Defense Secretary Rumsfeld said Monday that the Russians have an array of new missiles with deadly mirv warheads and greater accuracy--but there is no urgent need to change U. S. plans to meet the threat.

"In short, the Soviets appear to be on a steady building program which could carry them to a capability in excess of that needed merely to deter nuclear war," Rumsfeld said.

John Cochran reported that Rumsfeld stopped short of accusing the Soviets of preparing for a first-strike but said the Soviet threat can only be countered by improving the U. S. arsenal. (NBC)

--AP, UPI, Morning Shows

MideastINTERNATIONALRenewed Fighting Breaks Out In Lebanon

Savage fighting was reported today as Syrian troops and tanks launched a new offensive to dislodge Palestinian guerrillas from mountain strongholds overlooking Beirut, Lebanon.

The Palestinians said the attacks are an effort to push them completely out of the Lebanese mountains. (CBS)

-- AP, UPI, MORning Shows

The food gap

In the world's richest country, the number of poor people rose by 2.5 million last year, the biggest increase since the United States started keeping such statistics in 1959. If such

The World Bank confirms the repeated wisdom of the past several years that the most rational way to meet the bulk of future food needs is through increased production in the



White House Fears Hill Actions May Alienate Arabs

The Ford Administration is concerned that two proposals in Congress may antagonize Saudi Arabia.

Administration officials, while warning that acts against Saudi Arabia could lead to higher world oil prices, denied a report that Saudi Arabia has threatened the United States with a new oil embargo.

The two sources of potential irritation are steps to halt Ford Administration plans to sell 650 Maverick air-to-surface missiles to Saudi Arabia and moves to penalize American firms that honor the Arab boycott of Israel.

Secretary Kissinger appears today at a closed session of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee seeking reversal of its 8-6 vote last Friday urging the Senate to veto the Maverick missile sale.
--AP, UPI, Morning Shows

Revenue Sharing

Conferees Vote to Extend Revenue Sharing

Congressional conferees reached agreement early today on a bill providing \$25.5 billion in federal revenue-sharing funds to states, cities and counties through 1980.

The compromise bill is expected to be given final approval by the House and Senate this week. It then would go to President Ford, a supporter of revenue-sharing.
-- AP, UPI, Morning Shows