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News & Comment

The President's Daily News Summary



Leading The News...

FOR TUESDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1976

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StrategyFord Campaign in Northwest

President Ford warned Monday against letting "inexperienced hands" guide the economy and campaigned in Washington state, where strategists say he holds a slight lead.

Ford hammered away at the need for a strong defense and its obvious impact on aerospace and shipyard interests in the state.

He also called for an end to "noise pollution" at American airports and for regulatory reform to "free aviation from arbitrary and unnecessary restrictions and regulations."

Ford toured a shipyard in Seattle, where the unemployment rate is 8.7 per cent, viewed Puget Sound on an air-cushioned hydrofoil and dedicated a tree at the Veterans Administration hospital before flying to Portland, Ore., and Pittsburgh.

His entrance into a harbor off Puget Sound was even more spectacular than planned, however Bob Schieffer reported that a group of local fishermen moved their boats to block the President's arrival and draw attention to a local fishing rights dispute. (CBS)

But Coast guard boats held the fishermen at bay, and the President's boat docked without incident. Despite the fishermen's attempt to drown out Ford's speech with their fog horns, the President's reception was friendly, Schieffer said.. (CBS)

Aides and the President show an air of confidence that the President will catch up with Carter by election day, Bob Jamieson reported. (NBC) Ford said at a rally "I'm absolutely confident, with the enthusiasm that you have, that we're going to carry the state of Washington on Nov. 2, and we're going to win in this election across the country." (NBC)

Washington has only nine electoral votes, but Ford decided on this trip because he believes those votes are still very much up for grabs, Schieffer reported. His pollsters tell him he is slightly ahead here, but they say 34 per cent of the state's voters are still undecided. It was to that group that this trip was aimed, Schieffer said. (CBS)

Tom Jarriel said Ford's political advisors know their boss is behind despite original plans to have him tied or leading in the polls by now. (CBS)

Still, they convey no sense of desperation, Jarriel said. They take consolation in feeling they still have a chance, and in believing the final week of heavy campaigning is all they can do at this point - "win, lose, or draw." he said.

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The President's final media blitz will give him an edge over Carter, Janieson said. The Ford campaign is counting on a series of telecasts in key states, both positive about Ford and negative about Carter, and a final nationwide program on election eve to make the difference, Janieson added. (NBC)

Although excerpts of the President's speech will be omitted, ABC included Ford arriving at Washington Airport, inspecting the shipyard, and riding the hydrofoil. Jarriel concluded his 2:00 spot, which led the show, with a standup comment.

NBC led with this 1:45 report, showing the President arriving in Seattle, crossing Puget Sound then addressing a rally. Bob Jamieson closed the spot with a stand-up comment.

CBS's 2:00 report, which led the news, included film of the President cruising into harbor on the hydrofoil, speaking to crowds and touring a shipyard. The spot ended with a standup comment by Schieffer.

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

Dole Visits Veterans

Robert Dole spent Veterans Day visiting war wounded in a hospital and criticizing the Democrats as a party that will weaken America.

Dole went from room-to-room in the Providence Veterans Administration hospital shaking hands and talking with wounded.

At times Dole seemed self-conscious to be politicking in the Hospital, but he told two bed-ridden men "this is Veterans Day so I suppose it's legitimate even if it is just a week before the election."

A Dole aide said in the past few weeks the Republican Vice Presidential candidate has stayed away from VA hospitals to avoid the appearance of exploiting the wounded for a political purpose, but on Veterans Day "he wanted to go to a veterans hospital."

Dole began a coast-to-coast final week campaign swing in Maine where he delivered one of his sharpest attacks against Democrats and Jimmy Carter's running mate Senator Walter Mondale.

"Veterans in particular should shudder at the thought of a man like Walter Mondale a heartbeat away from the most powerful job in the free world," Dole said in a speech in Presque Isle, Maine. (CBS)

Strategy

Dole said while Carter's "irresponsible proposals" on defense spending are bad, "the prospect of Senator Mondale sitting near the seat of power, offering advice and counsel on defense policy, is more than just bad. It's downright frightening." (CBS)

Dole said: "Senator Mondale is very big on government spending, big on welfare, big on make-work programs for America, like leaf raking and ditch digging, the Defense Department estimates, for example, that Jimmy Carter's minimum proposal would cut spending by \$5-7 billion would cost an estimated 200,000 to 560,000 jobs (NBC)

"Any cut in defense spending right now is too much. I haven't noticed the Russians cutting defense spending. I haven't noticed the People's Republic of China cutting defense spending. You know it, and I know it, the President Ford knows it. I say I would rather spend a billion to preserve peace than to spend a single human life in pursuit of war." (NBC)

Dole knows that the undecided voters may decide the election, Barry Seraphin reported." With this in mind, Dole is coupling his we-are-at-peace theme with the question: Why change? In effect, he is saying if you can't make up your mind, why not stick with what you have," Seraphin added. (CBS)

NBC's #2 report, running 2:00, showed Dole arriving in Maine and sped to the crowd. Only his Maine appearance was covered.

CBS' L;30 spot, which ran #3, included film of Dole speaking in Maine and touring a VA hospital in Providence. The spot ended with a standup comment by Seraphin.

NBC's Herbert Kaplow included excerpts of Dole's Maine speech in his #3, 1:45 report. Film of Dole talking with reporters in Rhode Island, and at the VA hospital was also included.

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

The Faltering Comeback

(Editorial by William Murchison, excerpted Dallas Morning News, 10/19/76)

From all the granaries where political intelligence is sifted and weighed, the unmistakable word has been coming in: Ford is in trouble. The great comeback is foundering. The President, who just a couple of weeks ago was being talked of as a possible winner, looks ready to blow himself an election.

These are highly tentative assumptions and forecasts, of course; just like the assumptions and forecasts they displace. But they are to be listened to respectfully and, by all the President's well-wishers, with fear and trembling.

Strategy

The most immediate cause is clearly the Great Eastern Europe Gaffe. The President was getting over his image problems of some months back, when he was being portrayed by cartoonists and comedians as a fatherly fumbler. Then came the second debate, and, lo, the "new Ford" disappeared from view. There was the old Ford with us once more, tripping, stumbling, blundering.

As he blundered on his way, the President offered Carter a splendid target at which to hurl shafts of ridicule. So many shafts did Carter throw that in a few days his advisers prevailed on him to tone down his remarks, lest he be accused of cruelty to dumb presidents.

The President, in truth, is anything but dumb. He is less quick than Carter, but, then, "quickness" is not a synonym for "brainpower." All the same, Ford has been hurt by the debate. And Carter has at the same time been fortunate. There have been no more Playboy interviews, no more "median income" blunders.

Besides all this, however, the President has failed in a more fundamental sense. He has exploited--but he has not exploited nearly enough--the philosophical differences between himself and the man from Plains.

It is granted that philosophically fingering Carter is no easy job. The Democratic nominee flits like a fly pursued by a flyswatter when reporters try to get a fix on his basic beliefs.

But enough of those beliefs here emerged in the course of the past year to establish Carter as a garden variety liberal Democrat. He backs Mr. Humphrey's and Mr. Hawkins' celebrated scheme for spending an extra \$40 billion a year or so to guarantee virtually everyone a job. Things like this are indicative, and the President, who is a conservative, ought to talk about them at every opportunity.

For example, in the second debate, Ford might have retrieved much of his lost ground had he hammered at the foreign policy issue that all Americans understand, even those who think Poland is somewhere in North Dakota. That issue is imply: "Who's No. 1" Is it Uncle Sam? Or is it the Russians?

Ford could have deflated Carter's tough talk about making America respected by asking Carter just how he proposes to make us respected and at the same time cut the defense budget by as much as \$15 billion. Detente may hang about the President's neck like the albatross, but on military superiority he is miles apart from Carter.

FORD/DOLE CAMPAIGNStrategy

Carter's stands are, as I say, garden-variety liberal stands. But it is doubtful whether they are the stands of the American people, who are shown by poll after poll to support clear U.S. superiority over the Soviet Union.

Similarly, Ford fails to make an issue of bringing the government under control. Carter talks of reorganizing the government. Phooey! the President should say. To reorganize is not to reduce. Reduction ought to be the order of the day--reduction in bureaucratic meddling, reduction in taxes. But these things the President does not say.

What the President ought to be running--if I may presume to suggest it--is an unabashedly conservative campaign. He need not be Ronald Reagan. No one thinks he is anyway. All he need be is the man who speaks to the needs and desires of the majority that hefted Richard Nixon to victory in 1972 and repudiated in 1968, through voting for Nixon and Wallace, the Great Society.

That Carter, a liberal, should be first in the hearts of Alabamans is evidence not so much that Alabamans like Southern candidates as that Ford has failed to show them he is more their kind of guy than Carter.

A candidate frequently sneered at, one who heads a party patronized by fewer than one in five Americans--such a candidate has a hard row to hoe. If he cannot make Americans positively eager to keep in office, the least he must do is show them how much worse the alternative would be. So far Ford has not done so, and there is not a lot of time left to him.

"Remember—your name is Gerald Ford —you're happy to be in Duluth...DU-LUTH. Just follow the script."



FORD/DOLE CAMPAIGNIssues

Time For A Change
(Editorial, excerpted, Nashville Tennessean)

President Ford and members of his administration have been trying hard the last few weeks to put a bright face on the state of the national economy.

But try as they may, they cannot hide the fact that recovery from the recession of the last couple of years is slowing down.

It has been apparent to the general public for some time that something was going wrong with the recovery and that the President's plan to solve all economic ills by fighting inflation, using the veto stamp and trimming helpful government programs, was not working as intended.

Mr. Ford was not brought to the admission of this until last week, when he adopted the term "pause" in a news conference.

Mr. Ford had been committed to a campaign pledge of prosperity and steady recovery from the recession. No doubt it is distressing to the President to be faced with the necessity of admitting--just two weeks before the election--that the recovery is in a "pause." This is the same as recognizing that his economic policies have failed.

Although the economic news is painful, it is fortunate that the voters are able to see the results of a policy of negativism and sluggishness in time to vote for a change in November. (10/22/76)

Opinion Ford Policies Too Cautious
To End Economic Slowdown
(Editorial, excerpted, Louisville Courier-Journal)

The state of the economy, is a political minefield for both the President and Governor Carter.

The danger to Mr. Ford is that the public will perceive the administration as bullheadedly resisting the sort of fiscal stimulation that would encourage business expansion and put the jobless to work. Mr. Ford is hardly in a position to offer a persuasive rebuttal to this view, since he has vetoed a number of spending proposals sent to him by the Democratic Congress and since it has just been learned that federal spending is running \$12-\$15 billion below expectations.

Mr. Carter's problem, despite the administration's appearance of uninformed stubbornness, is that most Americans probably are still more afraid of renewed inflation than of a jobless rate that remains close to eight per cent. Unemployment, though painful, affects only a relatively small segment of the population. Inflation of the sort the

FORD/DOLE CAMPAIGNIssues

nation suffered in 1974 hurt almost everyone and is disastrous to retirees and others on fixed incomes.

To the extent that voters buy the administration argument that too much federal spending could provoke a new round of inflation, Mr. Carter's criticisms of the administration will get less than a resounding reception. Worse yet, by implying that the third-quarter pause signals a collapse of the recovery. Mr. Carter and his fellow Democrats who are running for Congress lay themselves open to the charge that they are helping to create a psychological climate that discourages the very business expansion they say is needed.

On balance, however, Mr. Carter's criticisms of the administration's economic performance appear valid and needed. Even if this weren't an election year, it would be inconceivable that the nation would fail to note that during the current administration the jobless rate has been and remains higher than during any other period since the end of the Great Depression. Inflation, meanwhile, far from conquered, remains at an unacceptably and historically high level of more than five per cent.

Moreover, though administration spokesmen talk about the "old-time religion" of fiscal and monetary restraint, Mr. Ford has promised, if elected, to give the recovery a boost early next year through a \$10 billion tax cut--so long as the cut is lined to an equal reduction in projected federal spending. This promise, in itself, may help boost lagging consumer and business confidence, but more can and should be done.

First, the administration should, as quickly as possible, find the reasons for the \$12-\$15 billion shortfall in federal spending and pump this already budgeted money into the economy. Second, the President should, once the election is past and if he is the winner, concede that the recovery is stalled and promise more cooperation with Congress in getting it moving again. This needn't mean opening the doors of the Treasury to any and all spending proposals. But there is no reason Washington can't do more to generate or directly create jobs in geographical areas and among population groups, such as teenage blacks, where the need is greatest.

CARTER MONDALE CAMPAIGNIssuesCarter Prepares for Final Swing
Releases Environment Statement

Jimmy Carter relaxed at home Monday and prepared for a final seven-day campaign drive that aides said will focus on economic issues and appeals to get out the vote.

Carter press director Rex Granum said that the Democratic candidate would avoid personal attacks on President Ford, and instead employ his standard criticisms of Ford's policies for dealing with inflation and unemployment. No major issue speeches are planned, Granum said.

Carter will be trying to "demonstrate to the nation what kind of president he would be," Granum said.

Carter will appear primarily at large rallies, urging those present not to give up hope in politics and government and to go to the polls on Nov. 2. He will concentrate on closely contested states with large electoral vote totals, including Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, California, and Texas. Other stops are scheduled in Louisiana and Missouri, where the race also is considered close.

Carter spent Monday briefly visiting his peanut warehouse in the morning, relaxing and preparing for his final push.

Meanwhile, his office released a statement on the environment, in which he promised as president to "put the best brains in this country to work" to try to find ways to achieve economic growth without unacceptable pollution damage.

He also called for vigorous enforcement of pollution control and occupational health laws and the new Toxic Substance Control Act.

New chemicals intended for commercial use must be screened before they hit the market to prevent human and environmental exposure to dangerous compounds, he added.

"Pollution control does not prevent economic progress," Carter said. "This is a tremendous new industry which can give us many new jobs and a better quality of life at the same time." He accused the Nixon and Ford administrations of "showing no serious concern for our environment."

CARTER MONDALE CAMPAIGNIssues

CBS mentioned Carter's day in an anchor intro to the lead story on Ford's day.

ABC covered Carter in a :20, #2 anchor report.

NBC's #3 report running :10, only mentioned Carter spent the day in Plains. AP, UPI, Networks

Carter Sends Telegram to Jewish Protestors in Moscow

Moscow police reportedly detained about 30 Moscow Jews Monday following a week of protest demonstrations. Spokesmen for the Jews said they had received a telegram of sympathy from Jimmy Carter.

All of them had taken part in demonstrations last week at the Soviet Parliament and the Communist party central committee following their repeated failures to get visas to emigrate from the Soviet Union.

One of those detained, Vladimir Slepak, was reported later Monday by Jewish sources to have been sentenced to 15 days, imprisonment, a standard Soviet term for disorderly conduct or insubordination to authority. He has been waiting for an exit visa for seven years.

The telegram from Carter was sent to Slepak through the American Embassy. Slepak's wife, Maria, told reporters.

Apparently referring to an incident last week in which some of the Jewish protesters claimed they were kicked and punched by Soviet auxiliary policemen, Carter said he had read "with great concern" of the Jews' treatment.

As you know, I have spoken out on this matter... and have referred to your case by name," the telegram said. "I want you to know my deep personal interest in the treatment you and your colleagues receive."

The telegram, dated Oct. 21, was signed, "Sincerely, Jimmy Carter, Atlanta, Ga."

Mrs. Slepak said her husband has sent a reply to Carter on Sunday in which he said he was "deeply touched by your concern in our fate."

AP, ABC (10/25/76)

Carter on Campaign and Debate
(An interview with Harry Reasoner)
ABC

Harry Reasoner of ABC News, in his interview with Jimmy Carter, started off by asking Mr. Carter's thoughts on a possible Constitutional amendment to limit the amount of money the government can spend.

CARTER: I think some sort of limit on federal expenditures would be worthy of a very deep consideration and if it was worked out to at least permit this country to have some flexibility to defend itself for instance or to meet unpredictable kinds of economic setbacks -- that would be worthy of consideration. As a matter of fact, I operated four years as governor of Georgia under a constitutional prohibition against deficit financing. We can't have a unbalanced budget in Georgia, or spend more than we take in, unless the state is invaded. And for four years we had a balanced budget and a substantial surplus -- I think the accumulative surplus was about \$495 million.

REASONER: One of the other things you said during the debate, Governor, that was fairly strong, was that you felt there would be fewer sacrifices required to Americans in a Carter administration than in a Ford administration. Considering the problems that you've been talking about, and the goal you have set for the country, how can they be not without sacrifice?

CARTER: Well, they have to be sacrifices. And I believe with better management of the government, and setting reasonable goals and working hard for them and having cooperation between the President and Congress for a change, and having the people involved in government for a change, we can reduce the number of people who are sacrificing by being an employe, we can reduce the sacrifices now being made by minimum low-income families who pay income tax... unfair system. So I think that in general, I can restore confidence in the people in the government, and reduce the degree of sacrifice required compared with what Mr. Ford will do, with the continuation of these policies that are now in existence.

REASONER: There's been some concern about whether you have an overweening sense of mission. That you want to be president too badly, that you believe your end justifies means. Are you at all frightening in that way, Governor? Suppose you lost, not only on Nov. 2, but suppose you became president and you lose a few battles. Would that upset you?

CARTER: I prefer to win battles than to lose them. What I did when I was governor of Georgia and what I did during the two terms as state senator and what I did for seven years as a school board member -- most of the time I was chairman of it -- was to

Issues

make plans very carefully ahead of time, to try to involve in the decision-making process as many people as I possibly could, to hold down opposition, and to make sure that we made the right decision before a public commitment was made. Also, I tried to let the Georgia legislators, for instance, get as much credit as they could for the advances and improvement made in the state government. On those few occasion, when we came down to a point where we couldn't compromise and had to lose, the governor or legislation, I took my case directly to the Georgia people. And I would never hesitate to do that in the future on a matter of great importance -- to go over the heads of Congress if necessary, directly to the people throughout this country and say this is my proposition, these are the alternative decisions we have to make, will you help me with this proposal. And if the people are with me, and I hope they will be, then I think they are the best ones to induce the members of Congress in the House or Senate to vote the way the folks back home want them to vote. But I won some and lost some when I was governor of Georgia and I'm sure I'll do the same thing as president.

(10/25/76)

CARTER MONDALE CAMPAIGNIssuesMondale Hits GOP Economic Record

Senator Walter Mondale said Monday that despite Republican confidence about the economic outlook there are signs everywhere of continued high unemployment and inflation.

Standing beside unemployed steel workers and union officials in Duqueshe, Pa., Mondale noted that their town has an unemployment rate of 14 per cent or nearly double the national average.

Mondale began his day before dawn, hoping to catch steelworkers changing shifts at the sprawling U.S. steel plant. But through a staff mixup, he arrived five minutes late and missed all but a handful of the 1,700 arriving and departing workers.

Mondale took the error in good spirits, joking, "this campaign is off to a very good start. As a result of detailed planning and careful calibration we arrived five minutes after everyone came out. As a result we were able to see a landscape unfettered by potential voters. We are on our way, things are moving along, they can't get worse. We are very, very happy." (NBC/CBS)

Later Mondale had breakfast with unemployed steelworkers, who said they expect more layoffs by the steel industry in towns surrounding Pittsburgh. Only 19 of expected workers showed up. (CBS)

From western pennsylvania, Mondale flew to northeastern New Jersey, in a Paramus shopping center, Mondale linked Veterans Day to his continued criticism of high unemployment under the Republican administration.

Mondale's role in the final days of the campaign is to work the industrial states where the outcome could hinge on a few votes, and to encourage wavering Democrats to get to the polls, Bill Plante reported. One thing Mondale does not want to do is make waves, since the Democrats think they have the election won. (CBS)

NBC's #4 report, running 1:30 report included film of Mondale in Pa. and N.J., and ended with a standup comment by Plante. The spot which ran #2, also focused on Mondale's bad luck. (AP, UPI, CBS, NBC (10/25/76)

DEMOCRATS TRYING TO MOBILIZE BLACK VOTERS IN KEY STATES

By ROBERT L. JOINER

A Washington Correspondent
of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON

THE BLACK VOTE, that potentially influential but largely unmobilized block of ballots in the hands of the nation's largest racial minority, may well tilt the election scale in favor of Jimmy Carter in his race with President Gerald R. Ford.

Democratic Party leaders here, however, express constant concern that apathy, alienation and lack of enthusiasm among black voters may irrevocably damage the party's hopes of capturing the White House in November.

Efforts to keep this from happening have been under way since August. The Democratic Party has spent nearly \$2,000,000 in voter registration drives in several cities and it estimated that about 3,000,000 blacks and Hispanic voters were added to the rolls. The party is now following up that drive by cosponsoring a tour by black political and civil rights leaders to several cities where they are encouraging minorities to vote in November.

In addition, a coalition of fraternal, religious and civil rights groups organized a separate drive in 13 states and they said that they were able to register about 200,000 voters. Although nonpartisan, this registration drive is expected to benefit Carter, because most of those who were signed up were black and are expected to vote for the Democratic presidential nominee.

THE STRATEGY IN BOTH drives was to concentrate voter registration efforts in key states where there are a substantial number of electoral votes and where black voter participation can make a difference in the outcome of the election.

These states include New York, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan and Ohio.

"In all of the big industrial states, you have a black voter population that's significant enough to affect the outcome of the election," says Robert Kefee, director of the Democratic Party's campaign steering committee.

"Blacks traditionally have voted heavily Democratic. Their part of the party's vote could range anywhere from 5 to 10 per cent and that is why the main goals of the committee in the last two weeks of the campaign is to stir up interest and to persuade these people to vote."

The performance of black voters in the November election is of particular interest to some because blacks, like voters in general, have been taking less interest in elections in recent years. According to statistics kept by the Bureau of the Census, there are more than 14,000,000 blacks in the nation's voting age population of more than 125,000,000 persons.

But only about a third, or slightly more than 4,700,000, of these blacks cast ballots in congressional races in 1974. The black voter turnout that year was 10 per cent less than the turnout for congressional races in 1970 and 18 per cent less than the turnout during the 1972 presidential election, the bureau said.

NUMEROUS REASONS have been given to explain the failure of these voters to participate in elections. Some are purely regional. For example, in the South, where about half of the nation's blacks live, some observers contend that black voter participation is hampered by whites.

"In some places, we are encountering the same problems we faced in the 1960s," says Stanley Alexander, research director of the Atlanta-based voter education project.

"The problems include intimidations and changes in polling places without proper notification of registered voters about to change before election day.

"We encourage blacks who encounter this problem to inform us immediately and we report it to the Justice Department. But in many cases, the election is over by the time the problem is corrected."

A nationwide study, done by a Washington group called the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate, suggests that apathy and alienation are the two chief reasons why blacks and voters in general fail to take advantage of the power of the ballot.

"The reasons blacks gave for not voting included a feeling that the candidates can't be trusted, that they say one thing and do another," says Curtis Gans, director of the committee.

"Others feel that it won't matter whether they vote or not because they feel nothing seems to come out right. They think all candidates are pretty much the same, that elected officials are

out for themselves and that a person's vote doesn't make a difference."

STILL OTHER explanations were offered in a report by the Census Bureau.

"Among the 2,600,000 blacks who were registered but did not vote in the 1974 congressional election, about 45 per cent indicated that they had been unable to get to the polls," the census report said.

"A lower proportion (33 per cent) of the whites had given this reason. About a fifth of both blacks and whites reported that they were not interested (in politics) as their primary reason for not voting. Among the 5,200,000 blacks who were not registered in 1974, nearly half reported that they were not interested or disliked politics."

Regardless of the reasons for the decline in black voter participation, the Democratic Party hopes to reverse the trend in the November election.

"We've shifted our emphasis from voter registration to making certain that those who are registered will go to the polls on Nov. 2," said Ms. Ceceilia Jakovich, co-ordinator of the party's get-out-the-vote campaign.

Defeat, Like Marsh Gas, Clouds Democratic Camp

By Jeffrey Hart

King Features Syndicate

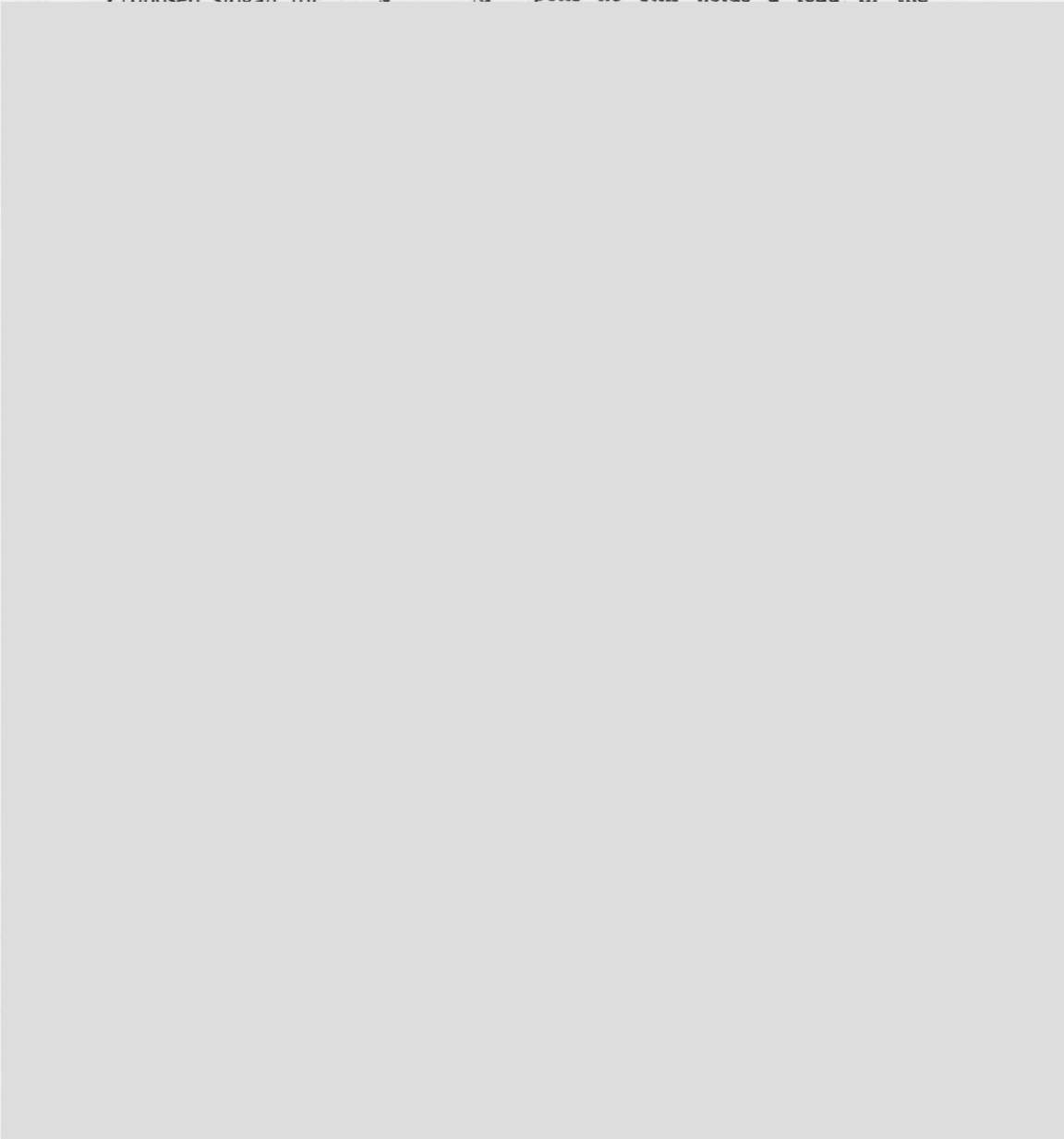
Although most polls favor Jimmy Carter, the idea he may well be going to blow the election has begun to seep like marsh gas through the Democratic establishment in Washington. A particularly evil sign is that the fact that Carter jokes have become the rage.



Proposed slogan for calculated he could get away with it on television.

Mr. Carter also apparently thinks we "overthrew the elected government of Chile" — an assertion that will come as a surprise to the truckers, housewives and military in Santiago.

Political commentators have been assuring us and each other that though Mr. Carter has slipped badly in the polls he still holds a lead in the



Carter Style, Vision Snowballing Ford

By KINGSBURY SMITH
National Editor,
The Hearst Newspapers

BOSTON — Failure of the final debate to mark a decisive turning point for either contender finds President Ford moving into the race

with promises about achieving "great things." Ford was more pragmatic with warnings about the danger of big-spending programs that would re-ignite inflation.

However, neither came out with any specific solution for unemployment or inflation.

Carter Given Thin Edge In Debate Series

By THOMAS W. OTTENAD
A Washington correspondent
of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON, Oct. 23 — Jimmy Carter goes into the final days of the presidential campaign with a thin edge from his series of debates with President Gerald R. Ford.

But Political experts question how much he has gained in practical political terms.

They see a number of sleeper issues in Friday night's debate that could backfire on Carter and cost him votes in the 10 days remaining before the election.

The series of encounters between Mr. Ford and Carter raises the possibility that presidential debates will be a fixture of future campaigns, but some political analysts have strong reservations as to whether that is good.

The final debate at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Va., was rated a narrow victory for Carter by most of the political professionals who have evaluated each of the three televised meetings in conversations with the Post-Dispatch.

Some of them, however, thought the last debate was a draw, with both candidates performing well. One or two put Mr. Ford ahead. Most tended to rate it the best of the three although there were sharp differences on this point.

None of the political professionals believed that the debates had the decisive impact on the campaign that had been widely predicted. Probably few votes were changed, they said.

Mark Shields, a Democratic campaign consultant, thought the televised meeting was "just awful." He said, "on a scale of 10 points, like that used in judging olympic diving, I'd give Carter 2.1 and Ford 1.9.

"Jerry hit the diving board on the way down, and Jimmy missed the pool once."

Carter had been rated the winner of the second debate, Oct. 6, when the President blundered on Eastern Europe, saying that Communist satellite nations there were not under Soviet domination despite the presence of Russian troops. The Democratic nominee was said to have lost the first encounter on Sept. 23.

The won-lost column came out contrary to advance expectations. Observers thought Carter lost the opening debate on domestic issues, which were believed in advance to be most favorable to him. Mr. Ford managed to lose

in the discussion of foreign policy, which he had been expected to win because of Carter's inexperience.

Political consultant Ted VanDyk and others noted several sleeper issues that could turn Carter's apparent victory in the third debate into a political setback, depending on how they are treated.

Most potentially damaging of them was a misstep by Carter on foreign policy, which was quite similar to Mr. Ford's Eastern European error. The Democratic nominee was questioned about a recent statement that as President he would not go to war over Yugoslavia even if the Soviet Union should send troops into that independent Communist nation in an effort to bring it back into the Russian bloc after the death of President Tito.

The issue itself is not regarded as of major consequence. However, Mr. Ford immediately warned that "it is unwise for a President to signal in advance the options he might exercise."

"It's a serious policy gaffe," said VanDyk, who was on the staff of Hubert H. Humphrey when Humphrey was Vice President. "It adds to the impression that Ford knows how to handle foreign policy better."

Several analysts said it was impossible to tell immediately whether Carter's statement would cost him votes. It will depend, they said, on whether Mr. Ford uses the issue skillfully in the remainder of the campaign and on whether the press treats it as evidence of a serious shortcoming in Carter's presidential ability.

On several other issues Mr. Ford probably scored political points by appealing to special constituencies. Thus he restated his strong opposition to registration of handguns, a position popular with hunters and other gun enthusiasts who oppose gun control.

Similarly he pleased advocates of school prayer by calling for an enabling amendment to the Constitution; appealed to the law-and-order vote by supporting Supreme Court decisions limiting the rights of criminal defendants; and courted military votes with his strong defense of Gen. George S. Brown, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who has come under fire for his critical remarks about Great Britain and Israel.

Looking back at the three debates, the political professionals said that the debates had become an integral part of the campaign, but they questioned how important they were and worried about adverse effects.

F. Clifton White, a Republican campaign consultant, was an early skeptic but now believes the debates have played an important part, at least on the technical level.

"Almost in the McLuhan sense," he said, "they have become THE event. Your whole campaign was pivoted around them. The media focused on them, which means, I suspect, that the public did, too."

White said he was worried about the impact of television on the kind of candidates chosen in the future if debates became a fixture of presidential elections. Candidates may then be selected primarily for their appearance and ability to perform on television, he suggested.

Robert Teeter, President Ford's pollster, expressed doubt that the debates had had any dramatic effect on the way voters intend to vote on Nov. 2. Teeter also questioned whether the debates had been beneficial for either the public or the candidates.

"What they have really done to both campaigns," he observed, "is to impede them. They've taken about three weeks out of campaigning time. They've made both sides very cautious."

As for the public's interest, he said, "the purpose of a campaign is to communicate with the public. I'm not sure we couldn't do it better, more accurately, without debates."

Teeter and White agreed that the debates helped to reduce serious discussion of issues. With one debate designated for foreign policy and another for domestic questions, it was easy for the candidates to avoid detailed policy speeches on grounds that all issues would be covered in their television meetings, they said.

Yet not all issues were covered, and the answers given on the television sessions usually were brief and often little more than standard campaign rhetoric, they said. Few in-depth speeches on major issues have been given by either Mr. Ford or Carter, observers note.

Sander Levin, a former Democratic candidate for governor of Michigan, believes that the debates, together with the new federal financing law, have changed the traditional style of presidential campaigning, "nationalizing" it and seriously weakening some traditional aspects.

"The debates," he said, "have become the main way the people see the candidate today."

ReactionCarter Won Debate, Panel Says
(Editorial, excerpted, Baltimore News American)

Five professional debate coaches who were divided over the outcome of the first two presidential encounters, unanimously picked Jimmy Carter as the winner of the third debate Friday.

The academic panel was selected by the Hearst Newspapers to judge the three debates. The panel unanimously awarded the overall confrontation to Carter, primarily because President Ford failed to defend and explain his record effectively. The panel, on a split vote, gave the first debate to Ford, the second to Carter.

The coaches said both candidates handled themselves with more aplomb than in their earlier debates. They felt, on balance that Carter displayed a sharpness on tough questions that the President did not. They said, however, that they gave the decision to Carter "narrowly."

The panel included Dr. Scott Nobles of Macalester College; Dr. Don Parsons, of the University of Kansas; Prof. Herbert James, of Dartmouth College; Esther Kalmbach, of St. Francis De Sales High School of Toledo, Ohio; and Selma Ridgeway, of Montgomery Bell Academy, Nashville, Tenn.

The panel unanimously agreed that both candidates were cautious and that they did not know much more about either candidate than they had before the debate began. But they said they expected more of Ford than he delivered.

"Ford came across as painting everything in the country as rosy and fine," Kalmbach said. "That's a gap right there between what the public believes and what Ford said. It was a Carter debate in terms of how people react."

Nobles said that many issues on which he felt Carter scored had not been raised in the earlier debates such as problems of urban areas, racial integration, and the environment. He also noted that Carter "handled very nicely" two sensitive areas by conceding he made a mistake in giving an interview to Playboy magazine and by gently waiving his turn to respond to a question which Ford ducked dealing with his role in blocking an early congressional effort to probe the Watergate burglary.

"I have a more comfortable feeling about Carter than I did before," observed Kalmbach, who gave Ford the victory in earlier debates.

"I don't understand why Ford didn't try to answer some of Carter's charges against him or defend his policies better,"

DEBATEReaction

Rideway, said. "Carter cited all sorts of economic figures; I want to know what the conomists say Carter's programs would cost."

The two questions the panelists generally agreed that Ford handled best were on gun control and a recent Carter remark that this country would never militarily defend Yugoslavia against a Soviet invasion. (10/24/76)

On inflation issue

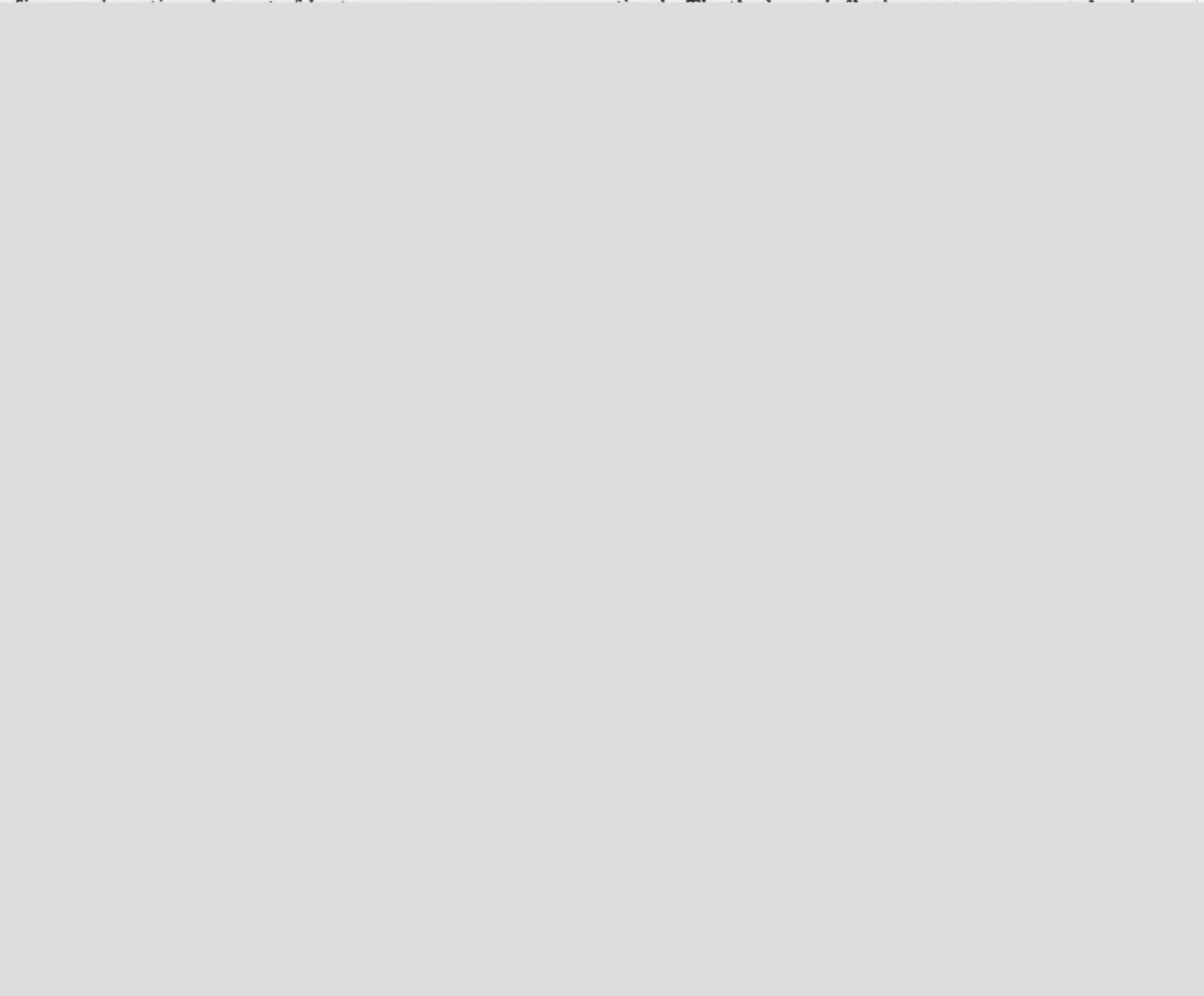
It's the Ford record vs. Carter's promises

However the Democrats complain about the economy, they can't deny that the rate of inflation has been drastically reduced during President Ford's regime.

True, the inflation rate still is too high and, true, it has hit a plateau in recent months without continuing the sharp decline that started after December, 1974, just four months after Mr. Ford took of-

payments are linked to the cost of living, they tend to lag behind the rise in costs.

Those unprotected against the rise in living costs are in even worse shape. Thus, even with an annual inflation rate of 6 percent, a person who retired on a private pension of \$500 a month would need after just five years an income of \$650 a month to buy what his \$500 purchased when he re-



What John Q Public Doesn't Head
(By Eric Sevareid, USS)

You don't see much any more that cartoon figure called John Q Public with the wispy mustache and the puzzle look in his eye. But if he is still around, he must still be puzzled about the things the presidential candidates don't say.

They don't tell them about how the deregulated natural gas prices is going to produce mass new supply, in view of the fact for years and years, particularly since new oil prices not up, people have been drilling for oil and gas like mad at every likely spot in the country without finding very much.

Carter doesn't tell John Q why big business groups are special interest, while small business or labor or ethnic groups are not special interest.

Mr. ord doesn't tell him why cats, dogs, and bicycles must be registered, while deadly weapons must not be.

Both candidates are fiercely determined to get after those who break the law. John Q hasn't heard a word from either one about the 6 to 8 million people who bribe the immigration laws, and now are here illegally, considerably complicating the employment problem.

John agrees with Carter that a lot of fat cats law breakers escape jail but he is a bit troubled when Carter says poor law breakers do go to jail. John knows about 2 per cent of all thefts, burglaries, muggings, and rapes result in jail terms for the guilty.

Even John's droopy mustache bristles at the thought of those big rich or corporates who pay very little in taxes. But he hears no mention of the millions of ordinary people who deal in cash like waiters, taxidrivens, small fisherman, domestic servants, porters, some doctors, dentists, farmers-people who illegally evade taxes, the total of sum of which must be hudge.

He hears Mr. Carter repeatedly cite the overall unemployment figure, and never hears him say that a sizable percentage of that figure includes teenagers, that the increase in the number of teenagers in the last decade broke all previous records, raising the question if any economy could build fast enough to take care of them all.

John Q hears Mr. Carter say how low and steady the inflation rate was under Kennedy and Johnson. He does not hear him say that the Vietnam War of those years, plus the great society programs, plus the space program, plus an immense roll even before the oil crisis set off the inflation in the consequently recession.

And to hear Mr. Ford warn that inflation dangers proposed new social programs, while Dole supports the B-1 bomber, which has not been fully tested or even debated in the present Congress, which would cost tens of billions, which in view of many defense experts normally gets there after the missile warheads, in order, in the Churchill phrase, to make the rubble bounce. -- (10/25/76)

PollsMidwest Industrial Areas Show Close Race

The industrial areas of the upper Midwest are supposed to be some of President Ford's best territory, but his race with Democrat Jimmy Carter is running neck-and-neck in these critical states with a total of 96 electoral votes.

An AP survey of five Great Lakes states indicates Ford may be running slightly ahead on the aggregate, but taken one state at a time, most of the races are too close to call. Ford's best hope in this area is his home state of Michigan. There, most polls show him significantly ahead of Carter, although high unemployment and labor support for the Democrat could make it close.

Carter seems strongest in Ohio, benefitting from a combination of labor support in the industrial centers and strength among small farmers in the Appalachian foothills of the state's southeastern region. Most of the states in the industrial cluster in the upper Midwest have conservative Republican tendencies in presidential elections, but the union influence apparently is more united and working harder than in recent years.

Recent developments that could affect the vote in this region are the resignation of Agriculture Sec. Butz and Ford's verbal slip in saying the nations of Eastern Europe are not dominated by the Soviet Union. AP -- (10/25/76)

FORD/CARTER OHIO RACE CALLED TOSSUP

By Joseph D. Rice

Jimmy Carter's latest poll shows him leading President Ford by 2% in Ohio, his smallest margin of the campaign. Pollsters for both Carter and Ford rate Ohio a tossup.

San Francisco. Carter is said to have won the debate, aided by Ford's statement, later retracted, that Eastern European nations are not under Russian domination.

Caddell's poll showed Carter had gained among ethnic voters since the second debate, a source familiar with the poll said. Ethnic are be



Ford defeats Carter, 2-1, in Troy 'straw poll'

By PAT MURPHY

News Staff Writer

In a "straw poll," which was precisely that, Gerald Ford has defeated Jimmy Carter by a margin of almost 2-1.

The poll, conducted by Somerset Cinema in Troy, showed that moviegoers who voted favored Mr. Ford by 63 percent to 37 percent for Democrat Carter.

Theater patrons cast their informal

And, while officials of the movie chain don't claim that their poll is an accurate indication of things to come in the Nov. 2 election, they do note that the poll has a 100 percent accuracy rating in two previous presidential races.

In 1968, the theater chain's poll showed Richard M. Nixon a narrow winner over Hubert H. Humphrey, and four years later it indicated that Nixon would handily defeat George McGovern.

PollsNBC Polls Voters on Issues, Images

NBC Monday reported its latest poll on how people perceive President Ford and Jimmy Carter.

- Q. How much difference does it make who is elected President?
- A. Great deal 32%
 Quite a lot 25%
 Some 21%
 Very little 18%
- Q. Is there much of a difference between Ford and Carter?
- A. Great deal 31%
 Quite a lot 29%
 Only some 32%
- Q. Which candidate would be better on foreign affairs? (Question asked before Eastern Europe statement.)
- A. Ford 53%
 Carter 30%
 No difference 6%
- Q. Which candidate would be better on making the tax system fair?
- A. Carter 49%
 Ford 30%
 No difference 9%
- Q. Which candidate would do better on inflation?
- A. Carter 39%
 Ford 32%
 No difference 15%
 Not sure 14%
- Q. Which would do better on streamlining the government?
- A. Carter 50%
 Ford 22%
 No difference 11%
 Not sure 17%
- Q. Who would do better on unemployment?
- A. Carter 50%
 Ford 24%
 No difference 11%
 Not sure 15%

PollsConservatives Reluctantly Pick Ford

A poll among conservatives shows they have "little enthusiasm" for President Ford, but that he will win their "lukewarm" support because virtually none of them want Jimmy Carter in the White House.

The American Conservative Union, which has 8,000 members conducted a poll of its membership and found 66.8 percent favoring Ford. Only 0.3 percent supported Carter.

"A large number of those expressing a preference for Ford indicated they will vote for him reluctantly," said James Roberts, ACU executive director. "Judging from this poll, Ford's conservative endorsement appears lukewarm at best."

The poll, which received responses from more than 4,000 members, also showed that 11.6 percent supported American Party candidate Tom Anderson, 4.8 percent backed American Independent Party candidate Lester Maddox and 2.4 percent said they would vote for Libertarian Party nominee Roger MacBride.

Asked whether they would sit out the elections, 67.1 percent said they would vote and 32.9 percent saw no reason to cast a ballot.

Roberts said the poll found that most of Ronald Reagan's supporters "have decided to go with Ford -- albeit reluctantly." A survey taken last year gave Reagan a 75-11 edge over Ford.

Foreign policy issues stirred much of the dissatisfaction. The poll showed that 81.2 percent felt Ford should fire Secretary Kissinger, and 94 percent believe the U.S. should break off the SALT negotiations. UPI -- (10/25/76)

Thompson Boosts Lead Over Howlett

By Michael Smith

DESPITE NEARLY two months of strenuous campaigning, Democrat Michael Howlett has been unable to gain ground in his underdog race for governor and now, eight days before the elec-

set in 1976.

Prof. Norman Nie, the University of Chicago political scientist who helped direct The Tribune Poll, summarized Howlett's problems with Illinois voters this way:

Tribune Poll in September.

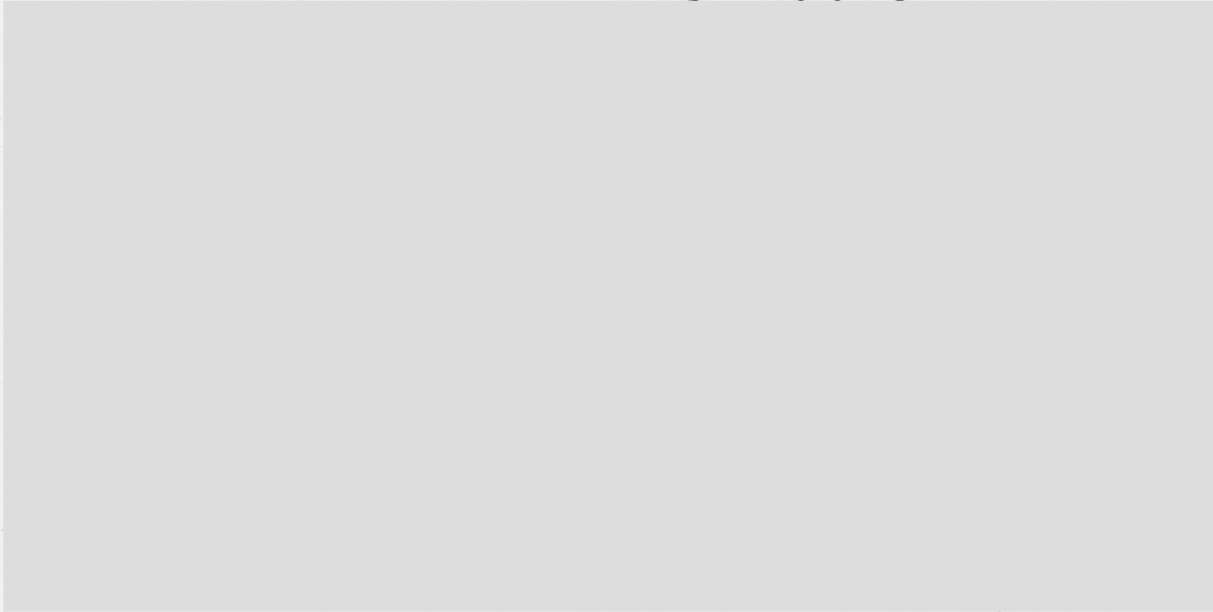
The original sample was a probability sample based on unmodified random digit-dialing in Downstate Illinois and on modified random digit-dialing in metro-

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end made it possible to find the reasons why Howlett has failed to turn long years of political popularity into an as-

Chicago Tribune (10/25/76)

MIKE SETER
WYOMING DAILY NEWS 1976



Charlotte Observer (10/21/76)

SOME SAY I'M USING
THE DAWED OF THE

... SO I'VE CALLED THIS LIVE, PRIME-



ImageRace Between Ford, Carter Degenerating to Free-for-All
By Arthur Wiese, excerpted, Houston Post)

Despite Gerald Ford's and Jimmy Carter's professed desire to raise the quality of the presidential campaign, it actually has deteriorated to the level of a mud-hurling, name-calling free-for-all more typical of a race by two ward-healers for city councilman.

First came Carter's attack on Ford's incautious remarks about eastern European freedom. The Democratic nominee's premise -- that Ford was "brainwashed" and his position was "a disgrace to America" -- amounted to a verbal overkill on an atomic scale.

Then there was Carter's accusation that the present administration is even more secretive (and, by implication, sinister) than the previous one led by Richard Nixon. Not even as partisan an operative as Robert Strauss ever said anything like that.

The allegation was so outrageous that Carter's own advisers quickly turned down the shrill volume.

Ford, meanwhile, was pretty much matching his opponent by claiming the Democratic nominee is "slandering the United States" by alleging the nation is weak and unrespected in the world. The President followed that up by charging that Carter would say "anything anywhere" to win the election and that he has a strange way of changing his accent as he campaigns in different parts of the country.

There is truth in what Ford alleged about Carter -- he has shaded his positions and tried to appeal to both the left and right wings of his party. But it also is true that the President sounds somewhat like Ronald Reagan when he campaigns in the South on hardline issues like gun control and welfare and somewhat like Nelson Rockefeller when he appears in the Northeast and emphasizes economic recovery and jobs. Rhetoric and politics certainly are no strangers.

Nevertheless, this fall's emphasis on Carter's Playboy interview, his religious fundamentalism, Susan Ford's potential lovelife, Earl Butz' racial jokes, Ford's bloopers and Carter's hedging collectively do not make up for a high-principled, enlightening confrontation on the real issues.

This sad state of affairs was never better spotlighted than by the vice presidential debate in Houston, with Robert Dole's wisecracks about "conceding the bunny vote" to Carter and Mondale's rejoinder that his challenger is a "hatchet man."

ELECTIONImage

Mondale practically blamed Ford for Nixon's illegalities and definitely for an economic mess he largely inherited. Dole unbelievably implied that the Democrats were responsible for World War II and ought to stop "kicking Richard Nixon around."

Political scientists are already predicting a record low turnout on Nov. 2. The level of both parties' campaigns may be a major contributing reason. Ford is understandably upset by Carter's thinly veiled aspersions on his integrity in regard to the controversy about his congressional financing. Carter is understandably upset by Ford's portrait of him as a "wandering, wavering, wiggling, waffling" opportunist.

Both candidates have exploited each other's slips of the tongue more than they have concentrated on the real and significant differences in their policies and philosophies.

Unfortunately, neither man seems to be listening to the other -- or at least not to what they don't want to hear. --
(10/18/76)

With the election fast approaching, many newspapers are beginning to endorse the candidate of their choice. The following is a list of endorsements which have come to the attention of the News Summary during the past two weeks.

FORD ENDORSEMENTS

Dallas Morning News
Orlando Sentinel Star
Nashville Banner
Shreveport Journal
Shreveport Times
Birmingham News
Jackson (Miss.) Daily News
St. Louis Globe-Democrat
Topeka Capital Journal
Chattanooga News Free Press
Buffalo Courier Express
Buffalo Evening News
Lubbock (Texas) Avalanche Journal
Tuscaloosa (Alabama) News
Natchez (Miss) Democrat
Portsmouth (NH) Herald
Selma (Alabama) Times Journal
Oskaloosa (Iowa) Herald
Manchester Union Leader
Nashua (NH) Telegraph
Dayton Journal Herald
Glendale (Calif.) News Press
New York Daily News
Chicago Tribune
Philadelphia Inquirer
Boston Herald American
Oklahoman
Houston Chronicle
Dallas Times-Herald
Salina (Kansas) Journal
Galveston Daily News
Miami Herald
Memphis Commercial Appeal
Winston-Salem Journal
Rome (Ga.) News Tribune
Marietta (Ga.) Journal
Savannah News & (COMBINED SUNDAY EDITION)
Savannah Press

Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle
Augusta Herald (COMBINED SUNDAY EDITION)
Albany (Ga.) Herald

Baltimore News American
Baltimore Sun
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Maine Sunday Telegram

WESTCHESTER-ROCKLAND CHAIN

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

Syracuse Herald American
Jacksonville (Fla) Times-Union
Cleveland Plain Dealer
Springfield (Mo) News Leader
Columbus Dispatch
Hartford Courant
Okland Tribune
Bainbridge (Ga.) Post Searchlight
San Francisco Chronicle
The Madison (Wisc.) State Journal
San Jose Mercury

Denver Post
Hutchinson (Kan.) News
Nashville Tennessean
St. Petersburg Times
Arkansas Gazette
Dayton Daily News
Long Island Press
Miami News
Daytona Beach (Fla) News Herald
Philadelphia Daily News
Macon (Ga.) Telegraph (COMBINED SUNDAY EDITION)
Macon News
Staten Island Advance
New York Times
St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Minneapolis Tribune
Louisville Courier Journal (COMBINED SUNDAY EDITION)
Louisville Times
Saratoga Springs (NY) Saratogian
Charlotte (NC) Observer
Minneapolis Star
Akron Beacon-Journal
Des Moines Register
Cartersville Tribune News (Ga.)
Columbus (Ga.) Ledger
Columbus (Ga.) Enquirer (on 10/26)
Dalton (Ga.) Citizen News
Waycross (Ga) Journal Herald
Madison (Wisc.) Capital Times

News Endorses Gerald Ford — Best For Nation

VOTING AMERICA has been listening to both Gerald R. Ford, Republican, and James Earl Carter, Democrat, and, after weighing their words, their positions on all of the issues and matching the experience between the two candidates. The News feels the nation

For President: Gerald R. Ford

THE NEWS AMERICAN
endorses the return of Gerald
R. Ford to the White House.

That is where we have
trouble with his opponent, a
man whose major executive
experience is limited to one
term as Governor of Georgia.

On Aid to New York City 8'
In the Sept. 22, 1975 issue of
U. S. News and World Report,
Carter is quoted as saying, "If

The Choice For President

Nine days from now, the voters of America will cast their ballots for President. For many, the choice is neither an easy nor a particularly happy one. To say that the current campaign has been undistinguished from almost any point — style, substance, relevance — is to engage in understatement. Indeed, it is a comment on something more than the customary apathy of the electorate that there are projections that for the first time in more than a half century a majority of those eligible to vote will not go to the polls.

Yet the fountainhead of American democracy is the quadrennial freshening it receives in the form of a new popular mandate for a particular candidate of a particular party to serve as Chief Executive. To participate in the formation and delivery of that mandate is both a right and a solemn civic responsibility; so no matter what the choice, Americans serious about their government will vote Nov. 2.

To voters who find neither President Gerald R. Ford nor former Gov. Jimmy Carter appealing, the alternative of casting a ballot for the independent candidacy of former Senator Eugene McCarthy may well be tempting. In doing so, they may find some personal satisfaction, but in fact they will be leaving the actual selection of the president to others.

Voters who wish to have a personal effect on the presidential decision, then, must decide between Mr. Ford, candidate of the Republicans, and Mr. Carter, the Democratic nominee. Mr. Ford has a record of 26 months in the White House and a quarter century in the House of Representatives. Mr. Carter has no record in national office, but he has served a term as a state senator and one as governor of Georgia and these in addition to the positions he has assumed in his long run for the White House provide an adequate basis for judgment.

The three televised debates, to be sure, have sharpened the public's perception of the candidates, but they have not provided either man with a decisive advantage. As for the rest of the campaign, all too much of it has focused on matters of trivial consequence: Mr. Carter's *Playboy* interview, the Butz affair, gaffes here, distortions there and a stifling fog of generalities everywhere.

* * *

The two years of Mr. Ford's presidency have been a distinct improvement over the six of his disgraced predecessor. The Ford Administration has presided over the closing out of a long and nearly ruinous foreign war, and it can point to signs — albeit with less sureness now than a short time ago — that the economy is improving. If one cannot detect a sense of national purpose or buoyancy, one can easily perceive that the hatred, rage and fear that so characterized the Nixon years have been replaced by a far more benign public mood.

Yet even in considering the positive aspects of this Administration, much of what one sees cannot legitimately be ascribed to the performance of the President. Yes, the United States is out of Indochina, but it was Congress that ended the fighting by refusing Mr. Ford's request for 1 billion dollars for still another attempt to keep the regime in Saigon alive. And it was Congress, not Mr. Ford, that kept America from military involvement in Angola. He authorized covert assistance there.

As to the economy, has the improvement, such as it is, been due to Mr. Ford and his advisers or is some credit appropriate for Congress, which refused to capitulate to the President's largely deflationary policies? In any case, the unemployment rate remains shameful, being higher today than when Mr. Ford took office (7.9 per cent now, 5.5 per cent then). In human terms that is 7,500,000 Americans officially classified as jobless. The real total doubtless is much higher. There are more Americans now living in poverty — nearly 26,000,000 — than there were during the first year of the Nixon Administration.

It can be fairly said that the President has conducted an administration by veto, of which he has cast more than 60. There is no clearer index of his domestic philosophy than his veto record. Here have been attempts to kill legislation that would create federally-funded jobs, expand the school lunch program, further day care, develop pollution-free autos, strengthen the Freedom of Information Act, provide money for health and education, stimulate housing construction and reduce environmental damage caused by strip mining.

In foreign affairs, Mr. Ford has been fortunate to have retained the assistance of Secretary of State Kissinger. Despite some wavering, the Administration has held to the desirable course of detente. The Vladivostok agreement on strategic arms, though not yet completed, was a significant achievement as were the Sinai accord and possibly Mr. Kissinger's constructive efforts to bring about black majority rule in Rhodesia.

ELECTIONEndorsementsFord for President
(Editorial, Savannah Morning News)

We endorse the candidacy of Gerald R. Ford for President of the United States. This hardly is a surprise, because two days after his opponent announced his candidacy we stated that Jimmy Carter, in our opinion, lacked the qualifications for the office. We now are more convinced than ever.

President Ford, though beset by critics, is one whose honesty and decency, those very same critics recognize. He probably enjoys greater respect for integrity and intentions than has any President of recent years. This, after confidence in government has been shaken by scandals in both parties, is important.

President Ford took over the office at a difficult time, when the nation was in trouble, tense and divided, and he brought America out of it. The country has enjoyed a period of domestic calm under his Presidency. This, too, is important. The President represents fiscal integrity and moderation and is willing to stand firm against reckless Congressional spending. True, he has been at odds with Congress, but chances are he understands better than his opponent the inter-relationship between branches of government because he was for so many years a member of Congress. Since the Democrats will retain their majority in Congress, we need a President to provide a curb on recklessness by the legislative branch.

One thing we like about Mr. Ford is that he does not pass the buck. He accepts blame and he shares credit. His philosophy and policies are clear. He favors limiting the government's influence on the lives of citizens. He favors expansion of employment in the private sector rather than through government-created and tax-supported jobs. To facilitate this he advocates tax reduction through reduction of federal spending.

He does not favor increasing taxes on the people who bear the majority of the tax burden, and he doesn't advocate the creation of new, expensive programs which would worsen inflation and raise the new national debt.

Mr. Ford and Henry Kissinger together have administered our foreign policy. Not always have we agreed with Mr. Kissinger, but America's diplomatic efforts have reduced strife in the world. Foreign policy during Mr. Ford's tenure has brought calm and tranquility in our relations with other countries, even our traditional enemies. Our only foreign relations crisis under Mr. Ford has been the Mayaguez incident. He addressed that crisis directly and forcefully.

ELECTIONEndorsements

President Ford's two years in the White House have made a remarkable difference in the morale of America, and they have qualified him for a full term of his own. He is a known quantity, while his vague and vacillating opponent, guilty of many misjudgments during this campaign, is not. We urge your favorable consideration of President Ford when you go to the polls a week from Tuesday. -- (10/24/76)

Ballots15 to Appear on Ballots

A total of 15 persons have qualified to appear on the presidential ballot in one or more states next Tuesday, the FEC reported Monday.

And only in three states -- Arkansas, Georgia and Maryland -- are Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter the only two candidates. The 15 who qualified for ballot positions are among 146 persons officially running for president, according to FEC records as of last Friday. At one point, the commission said, it had reports from 172 candidates

Libertarian Party candidate Roger MacBride was the most successful minor party candidate, getting on the ballot in 31 states plus the District of Columbia, followed by former Democrat Eugene McCarthy in 29 states.

New Jersey and Washington State each have 12 presidential candidates on the ballot; Minnesota, North Dakota and Wisconsin 11 and Iowa and Tennessee 10. UPI, CBS -- (10/25/76)

Henry Kissinger Removes Himself from Geneva Talks

Secretary Kissinger does not plan to go to the Geneva conference on Rhodesia, where disagreement has flared over proposals for an interim government to transfer power to Rhodesia's black majority.

"He believes it would be inappropriate" to involve himself in the talks, a State Department official said Monday.

Kissinger is represented at Geneva by a liaison officer, Frank Wisner, Director of the Agency's Southern African Affairs office, whose mission is to maintain close contact with the conference's British Chairman, Ivor Richard.

AP, UPI, ABC, CBS, (10/25/76)

Brezhnev Says U.S. Slow on Arms-Limitations

Soviet communist party leader Leonid Brezhnev accused the United States of dragging its feet in important Arms-Limitation negotiations and chided both the American presidential candidates for backing "the so-called tough line" in relations with the Soviet Union.

In a 10,000 word address to the Soviet communist party central committee, Brezhnev also held out an olive branch to China and Albania, accused capitalist "aggressive circles" of frantically building up armaments for no healthy purpose and said Japan's handling of a Soviet pilot who flew his secret warplane there in September had clouded Soviet-Japanese relations.

"Matters are actually at a standstill in such an important question of Soviet-American relations as the drafting of a new long-term agreement on the Limitation of Offensive Strategic Weapons, although the main content of this document was agreed at summit level already late in 1974," Brezhnev told the committee session.

"Having received our latest proposals on the remaining questions already in March of this year, the American side has not yet given an answer to them."

Turning to the American presidential campaign, Brezhnev said both President Ford and Democratic nominee Jimmy Carter appear to generally favor good U.S.-Soviet relations.

AP, CBS (10-25-76)

Soviet Grain Harvests May Break Records

Leonid Brezhnev announced Monday that the Soviet Union has harvested 216 million tons of grain so far this year, and may "approach or even exceed" the all-time Soviet record of 222 million tons achieved three years ago.

"This is a great victory," The Communist Party General Secretary told a closed meeting of the 287-member party central committee during a broad review of Kremlin domestic and foreign policy.

The 216-million-ton figure alone is a 65 per cent increase over last year's drought-ravaged harvest, which forced the Soviet Union to import large quantities of grain from the west and boosted bread prices in the United States.

UPI NBC (10/25/76)

VietnamVietnam, US to Start Talks

The No. 2 diplomats from the U.S. and Vietnamese embassies in Paris "soon" will hold the first Washington-Hanoi talks since the Vietnam war in an effort to improve relations between the two countries, a U.S. official said Monday.

"Each side will raise the issues it wishes to," the official said. He said these would include Vietnamese accounting for the hundreds of American GIs missing in action and U.S. reconstruction aid specified by the 1973 Paris Peace Accords.

The embassy spokesman said the talks will begin soon. "It would even be difficult to say whether they will start before or after" the presidential elections next Tuesday, he said.

The official said there were no "preconditions" to the talks, but he said Hanoi's willingness to disclose information about missing U.S. servicemen would determine the chances for improved relations.

Rinfret Advises Business on Election

The man who warned industry in 1969 that "the best way to protect yourself against inflation is to raise your prices faster than other raise their prices," is doing it again.

In a report being circulated this week, Pierre Rinfret tells clients that prudent businessmen should assume a victory by Jimmy Carter, and that price controls might follow.

Therefore, he advises, "management should work to obtain as high a base profit as possible in 1976 and in 1977."

Rinfret wrote that "the point is very basic and very simple but, nevertheless, fundamental. When wage and price controls come, they will be in essence profit controls... Don't get caught as some did in 1971. Forewarned is forearmed."

The attitude expressed by Rinfret is believed to be spreading throughout industry, and might have contributed strongly to a recent hefty increase in the Wholesale Price Index, which is based on catalog or listed prices.

AP (10-25-76)

Exxon Profits Slip

Exxon Corporation, the world's largest industrial corporation and largest oil company, reported Monday its profits slipped 3.8 per cent in the third quarter despite a gain in revenue.

Losses on foreign currency transactions cut profits, the company said. It was the second straight quarter earnings have dropped.

AP (10-28-76)

Ford Company Reports Losses

Ford Motor Company lost an estimated 40,000 car sales during the middle 10 days of October due to a strike which continues to plague a handful of assembly plants, the company said Monday.

The nation's No. 2 car producer reported dealer sales of 52,353 cars in nine selling days during the Oct. 11-20 period this year compared with 68,176 in eight days a year ago. That represents a 32 per cent decline based on the daily selling rate--the industry's yardstick for measuring gains and declines.

ECONOMY

General Motors and Chrysler, meanwhile, reported modest sales gains for the period. GM said it sold 154,508 cars, an 8 per cent increase on a daily sales basis over a year ago. Chrysler reported sales of 36,046, up 5 per cent from last year.

For the year-to-date, GM reported sales were up 31 per cent, Chrysler said it has a 36 per cent increase and Ford said its sales were up 20 per cent.

Stocks Close Lower

Prices closed slightly lower Monday in slow Veterans' Day holiday trading on the New York Stock Exchange, with many investors retreating to the sidelines amid economic and political uncertainties.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average, off by four early and up by more than a point in the afternoon, was off 1.08 to 937.67 shortly before the close. Declines led advances by a narrow margin among the 1,829 issues crossing the tape, There were a large number of unchanged issues.

Louisiana Governor Edwin Edwards Admits Korean Gifts

Louisiana Governor Edwin Edwards acknowledged Monday that his wife was given \$10,000 in cash in 1971 by a South Korean businessman.

A federal grand jury is investigating allegations that South Koreans, seeking to curry favor for their country, offered bribes to several U.S. Congressmen. Edwards was a Congressman at the time he said his wife received the money.

"I don't see anything unusual about it," Edwards said when asked about the propriety of his wife, Elaine, accepting the money." They (his wife and children) come and go pretty much on their own."

Edwards told a news conference he knew nothing of the cash gift until 1974 when he was trying to track down some expenditures questioned by the Internal Revenue Service.

Edwards' comments were in response to questions based on newspaper reports that South Korea funneled up to \$1 million a year to U.S. congress members and other officials in cash, gifts and campaign contributions during the 1970s.

"When I was running for Governor," Edwards said today, "Tunasun park visited me in New Orleans. Although he made no specific offer of a campaign contribution, I got the indication that's what he was trying to do.

"At the time I was still a Congressman. I told him, "no."

"He went downstairs and had coffee with Elaine. In that conversation he told her that Edwin doesn't want any help. But he gave he an envelope and said it was a gift strictly for her and the girls to use as they wanted."

Edwards said he found out in 1975 that the envelope contained \$10,000. He said he believed his wife would not have accepted the envelope had she known there was that much money in it.

UPI, AP, NBC CBS, ABC (10-25-76

Dean: Better in jail than White House

Says Watergate role 'destroyed my life'

Chicago Tribune Press Service

WASHINGTON—Former White House Counsel John Dean, whose revelations toppled the Nixon White House, said the pressures of the Watergate coverup finally brought him to the breaking point and forced him to talk to prosecutors.

"Sitting in my office I began feeling that it might be better being in jail than working in the White House because it absolutely destroyed my life for all practical purposes," Dean told the Tribune's Washington bureau chief, Jim Squires, and Harry Kelly in an interview.

Dean has fanned new controversy with his new book about Watergate, "Blind Ambition." Unlike other top Nixon aides such as H. R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman, who have had "other challenges to keep them busy," Dean said he became Nixon's "full time coverup" man.

Dean served a four-month prison term for his Watergate role.

IN THE INTERVIEW, he:

● Admits he cut short his lecture career because of charges he was making money off Watergate. "I wish I could write a book and not have to make a living."

● Says he thinks other Watergate conspirators have suffered enough and should not have to go to prison. "I'm not one who is of the school of retribution."

Q.—In a review of your book you were referred to as a "white-collar gangster" making money off your crime. As a lawyer, do you view yourself as a rehabilitated criminal now profiting from your crime?

A.—I'm sure I've been called worse than a "white-collar criminal." The issue of making money off Watergate is not a new one and one that I do feel a sensitivity to. When I went out and had a number of lectures—and the issue of making money came up—I cut short my lecture tour because I felt indeed there was a legitimate charge that could be made that you could be viewed as someone who was being infamous and making money off of it. I could lecture 20

bookings.

I very seldom go out now—maybe one or two every other month . . . because I enjoy them, because the audiences have been nice. There was talk about all the pickets and things I was confronted with. But what happened in the few times I remember any pickets, they all came in the hall and listened to the lecture and many of them came up afterward and said they were glad they came into the hall.

I spent a lot of time working on the book. I turned down some rather attractive employment that I wasn't really interested in because I wanted to write I enjoy writing and I wish I could lecture. I wish I could write a book and not have to make a living. But unfortunately I have to make a living and I am trying to make the best one I can. I have no desire to get rich, just to live a comfortable life.

Q.—Do you still have a substantial legal-fee commitment?

A.—No, I have gotten most of my debts paid. That is one of the reasons I was lecturing initially. I had to pay off debts. Two years of cooperating with the government and not working, other than going into a prosecutor's or investigator's office, really drained us the minus side.

Q.—Did you deliberately say allegations for your book, such as charge that Jerry Ford was going to interfere in the 1972 investigation, Watergate by Rep. Wright Patman Banking Committee?

A.—No, it's also available in my own testimony. No one ever asked about it. And I wasn't going to the investigator's office and say, "Hey, tell you everything I know, because there was so much in my head that was sort of the reverse."

Q.—Some of the most interesting allegations in your book were about the behavior of aides and abuse of the power inherent in the White House. Are what you have described exceptions rather than the rule?

A.—I tried to paint a very accurate picture and I tried to paint it as an insider looking out. This is the type of thing I could not testify about. It's relevant to understanding how a White House operated, though, and that's what it is in the book and absent from my Watergate testimony.

Q.—How is the response of people when they recognize you?

A.—Interestingly enough, I have not had anyone come up to me who hasn't said something nice. And there have been hundreds and hundreds of people over the years. If people feel nasty thoughts, they never say them to me.

Q.—Most people around Washington credit you for bringing down the Nixon White House. I think you obviously feel that you had a key role.

A.—I don't. I think that Richard Nixon brought himself down.

began to deal with the prosecutor and the Watergate coverup begin to come apart. Were the Magruder dealings and the other pressures enough that it could have happened without you?

A.—I feel that even before that I had reached the breaking point, as you can tell from reading the book. Sitting in my office I began feeling that it might be better being in jail than working in the White House, because it absolutely destroyed my life for all practical purposes.

Q.—From your account, the tapes, and other accounts, you seemed to be almost unique in feeling that pressure, which was not apparent on H. R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, and the President. Do you think that they were immune to that kind of pressure?

A.—Well, more and more was being handed to me as the coverup went along, because I had done such a good job and they were less and less interested. They had other challenges to keep them busy. I had become full-time coverup by then, and you could see it getting worse.

Q.—Was their arrogance such that they thought that no matter what happened they could keep the lid on it?

A.—I feel that maybe even today they don't believe they have done anything wrong, and I'm not sure a person like Bob Haldeman really hasn't convinced himself that he's right. And I've thought about that and I know where he is—I know there was a time when I thought my motives justified my actions, that I was trying to protect the President. That doesn't make the actions proper, however.

You know it's like Jean Valjean and the loaf of bread he steals for his starving wife. He still goes to jail despite his motive. I also realized it was more than just protecting the President. I realized that this was a way that a young man could make it because I was pleasing the bosses.

Q.—But there doesn't seem to be in your book or in their reaction any place and any indication that they felt that the walls were closing in on them and that they were scared.

A.—I would agree with that. They were ready to tough it out. I think you will see Mitchell in my book, more than the others, realizing that the thing is going to crumble. I suspect that Ehrlichman reached the point, and particularly when he started maneuvering me to write the Dean report and his own investigation, that he realized what was happening.

Q.—In your book you discuss several possible motives for the original bugging of the Democratic National Committee office of Larry O'Brien. One of these was that the President, Haldeman, and Ehrlichman might have been so obsessed with the threat of O'Brien as an enemy that they were out to get any kind of information against him. Is that what you meant to imply in that book?

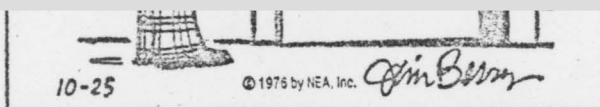
The boss revenooer and his own rules

JACK ANDERSON
with **LES WHITTEN**

WASHINGTON — Internal Revenue Commissioner Donald Alexander violated his

to the IRS chief counsel, Meade Whitaker. The memo reiterated the recommendation of the intelligence division that Alexander should have nothing to do with the tax-haven investigation.

Yet the commissioner soon became involved in impeding the investigation. It began with the intelligence agents, themselves, who became concerned that their evidence might not be admissible in court. Not



"Since you are going to not vote for either candidate, which one will you not vote for more apathetically?"

News & Comment

The President's Daily News Summary



Leading The News...

FOR TUESDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1976

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Artist David Levine's impressions of the campaign, penciled for TIME: Clockwise, Carter carrying own bags; Polish-American children at rally; Carter at black church.

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE Nov. 1, 1976 Vol. 108, No. 18

TIME

THE CAMPAIGN

AVOIDING A KNOCKOUT

ter, 42% for Ford, with 13% undecided. The Harris/ABC poll had precisely the same pre-debate spread between the two major candidates—45% to 42% for Carter, with 5% for Independent Candidate Eugene McCarthy, 1% for Lester Maddox and 7% undecided. An earlier Gallup sounding gave Carter 47%, Ford 41%, with the rest for other candidates or undecided.

The first round of two respected polls in crucial states also favored Carter. The New York *Daily News* gave the Democrat 53% to Ford's 44%—but Ford's strength is in the suburbs and upstate, where voter turnout is generally heavier than in New York City, where Carter is far ahead. The Chicago *Sun-Times* shows Carter ahead 51.1% to 47.5% in Illinois, but Ford appears to be gaining. Since the prize is still anybody's, neither candidate seems willing to try for a haymaker that could miss—and leave his own jaw fully exposed.

Nowhere was such zero-hour caution more conspicuous than in the Phi Beta Kappa Hall at William and Mary College in Williamsburg, Va. Before the

debate, a White House aide told the President, "The name of the game is not blowing it." Both Ford and Carter did their best to avoid a gaffe, but the result was something less than inspiring. "It was another case of Mr. Ready v. Mr. Steady," said California's Republican vice chairman Mike Montgomery. "I score it a negative draw—zero to zero."

The debate probably did not persuade many voters to switch from one candidate to the other. Most surveys, however, gave Carter the edge in the final confrontation. In a snap poll by Yankelovich, 33% rated Carter the winner, 26% Ford, and 41% called it a toss-up. A Roper survey for the Public Broadcast Service showed Carter the clear winner by 40% to 29%, with 31% viewing the encounter as a standoff. On the other hand, an Associated Press telephone sample of 1,027 voters gave Ford the victory, 35.5% to 33%. The A.P. sample also gave Ford the edge over Carter in the overall race for the first time, 49% to 45%—though the wire service conceded that there had been prob-

Like two wary prizefighters, each convinced that he will win by a decision if only he can avoid being kayoed, Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter last week feinted and jabbed, bobbed and weaved. If either had a knockout punch, he kept it under wraps. That was true throughout the week, but most emphatically during the third and final presidential debate.

The reason for the candidates' caution was clear: although the polls continue to give Carter an edge, it is extremely narrow. A new TIME-Yankelovich survey for Oct. 16 to 19, updated after the debate, showed Carter leading the incumbent by 47%—48% to 44%, with 8% still undecided. Before the debate, the figures had been 45% for Car-

Because Election Day falls on a Tuesday—in the middle of our regular work week—we are changing the publication schedule for our next two issues to bring you the results and a detailed analysis as soon as possible. The last pre-election issue will appear earlier than usual, reaching newsstands on Friday, Oct. 29, and most subscribers on Saturday, Oct. 30. Our election issue, with the winner's face on the cover, will go to press the day after the polls close. It will reach newsstands Thursday, Nov. 4, and subscribers on subsequent days. We will resume our normal publication schedule the following week.



THE NATION

IN THE CLOSING ROUNDS

lems with its sample that might have distorted the results.

On balance the last debate looked like a marginal victory for Carter, at

by leaving a penciled message on Carter's podium. Wrote the First Lady: "Dear Mr. Carter: May I wish you the best tonight? I am sure the best man



DECISION TIME

Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter scrambled into the homestretch of Campaign '76 last week amid uncertain signs from politicians and polltakers over who would finish first on Election Day. Carter appeared to retain a modest edge. But Ford told a cheering crowd on the White House lawn that he would pull off "the political surprise of the century" by beating Carter next Tuesday. And in their third and last debate, both men pledged to stress the issues—instead of each other's mistakes—in their final appeal to a seemingly confused and turned-off electorate.

Each camp claimed to have momentum on its side. Carter's aides said they had stopped the hemorrhage of support that all but obliterated the Democrat's midsummer lead of 30 points. Ford men argued that they were gaining rapidly in a number

of key states. And each side could cite polls to make its point. The latest Gallup survey, for example, showed Carter maintaining a modest 6-point lead (47-41 with 10 per cent undecided), while in last week's Harris poll Carter's margin dropped from 5 points to 3 (45-42, with 5 per cent for Eugene McCarthy, 1 per cent for Lester Maddox and 7 per cent undecided). And a post-debate telephone sampling by the Associated Press showed Ford ahead in the Presidential race for the first time—49-45 with 4 per cent undecided. But the consensus growing inside both parties was that Carter remained ahead in potential electoral votes. A NEWSWEEK LISTENING POST survey showed eight states and the District of Columbia with 83 electoral votes solid for Carter and sixteen states with 225 votes leaning in his direction—for a total of 308 electoral votes, 38 more than needed to win.

The final debate in Williamsburg, Va. (page 21), showed both men to advantage. Both seemed more relaxed than in previous confrontations and they successfully avoided any blunders that could have cost one or the other the election.

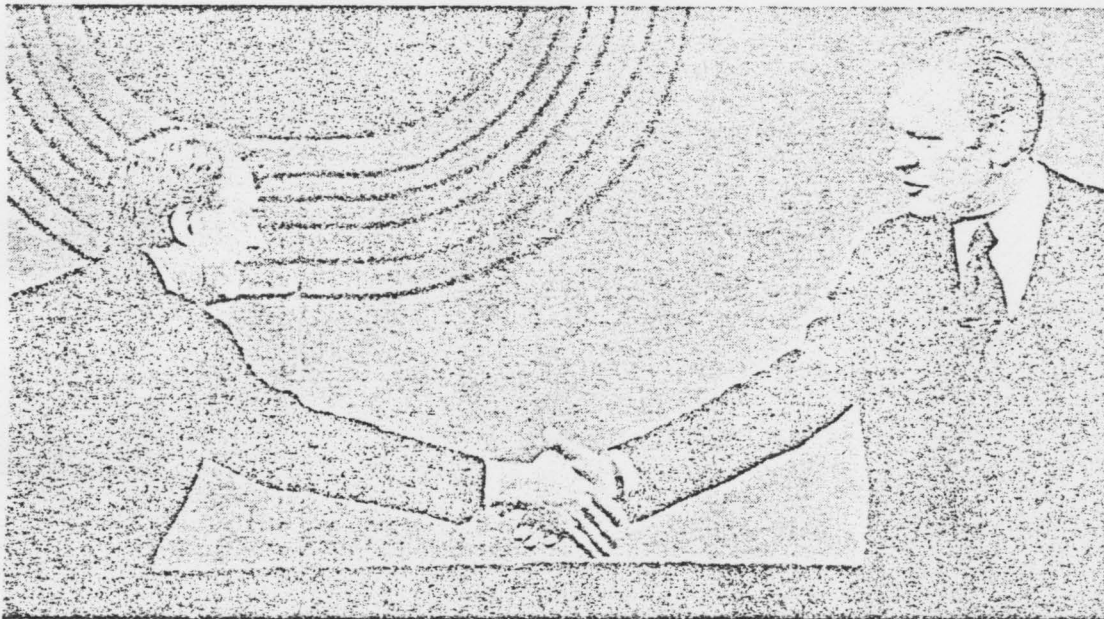
They sparred in a sober, gentlemanly fashion, but the thrust of the questions often turned the debate into a discussion of Ford's record in the White House—and thus put the President on the defensive for much of the evening. Ford had to defend his economic and environmental policies and argue that he showed "a clean bill of health" on Watergate. Carter's worst moment came on a question involving what he would do as President should Yugoslavia be invaded by the Soviet Union. (Carter's answer: not to send U.S. troops.) Unlike the first two encounters, neither man scored a decisive victory or picked up new support. A nationwide Gallup telephone survey for NEWSWEEK (page 20) showed the debate practically a tossup with Carter narrowly ahead among 566 voters (32-27 with 41 per cent rating the event a draw). An earlier Burns Roper sampling gave Carter the debate by a larger margin (40-29); the AP put Ford ahead 36-33.

TELLING RESULTS

Looking behind Carter's slim lead in the regular Gallup poll, the special NEWSWEEK survey turned up serious reservations about the Democrat. More than half those sampled were not sure they understood him and a larger group said he promised more than he could deliver. And while Carter scored better than Ford on questions of intelligence and the ability to reduce unemployment, the President led in most other areas. More people saw Ford as a sound, stable personality with strong leadership qualities. Ford even did better on the issue of handling foreign policy—despite his Eastern

European blunder. Perhaps more important, Ford was apparently hurt by his pardon of Richard Nixon; 53 per cent said it had affected their preferences and of those nearly half-including about half the uncommitted—said it made them less likely to support the President. But the uncommitted's greatest doubts were about Carter: only 8 per cent credited him with strong leadership and experience (relative to a majority for Ford), 17 per cent with good crisis judgment and 19 per cent with a more stable personality.

Both men clearly had their work cut out for them. Ford began a ten-day blitz of at least 25 cities in more than a dozen states—aides jokingly called it his Bataan Death March—in hopes of turning the tide. Without losing the mantle of Presidenciness, his major asset, Ford sought to build up the small base of states where he now leads (fifteen with 85 electoral votes) by winning most of the eleven near-even races and several in which Carter is significantly ahead (plus some in the Democrat's Southern backyard). "I can see how we can win," said top Ford strategist Stuart Spencer, "but I



A handshake in Williamsburg: Gentlemanly sparring and high-road promises

THE LAST LAP



GASSET FOR SCRIPPS-HOWARD

Candidates and voters alike are growing weary of one of the longest presidential races in history. After months of marathon campaigning, it was Carter clearly in the lead—but with victory not yet in his grasp.

The most mercurial presidential race in decades headed for the finish line with Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter clawing for the last-minute advantage.

As November 2 drew near, this was the picture:

Democrat Carter, thanks largely to solid backing in his native South and an edge in several populous States of the Northeast, looked to be within one final lunge of reaching the White House.

Republican incumbent Ford was scrapping to hang on to his power base in the Midwest and squeeze out majorities in States still too close to call.

The *U.S. News & World Report* final 50-State survey put Carter, as of October 22, within striking distance of the 270 electoral votes needed to win. Full details of the survey start on page 20.

The Gallup Poll saw Carter leading by 6 percentage points, and the Harris Survey found Carter ahead by 4 points, with neither candidate given a majority in either sampling.

The size of the undecided vote, plus an apparently huge number of people who only halfheartedly supported a candidate, led most experts to conclude that selection of the next President would remain uncertain right up to the hour that the polls closed.

Neck and neck. Aides said the President saw the contest as "virtually in a dead heat." Carter said, "I've always thought the election was up for grabs."

Closeness of the seesawing campaign added emphasis to the performances of Ford and Carter in the third and final televised debate on October 22 in Williamsburg, Va.

It was a generally restrained encounter, with both candidates clearly trying to avoid appearing harsh or bitter. Yet the debate covered a broad range of issues and was judged by many as the most illuminating of the series in outlining differences in the pair's positions.

Carter aides claimed a victory in the debate while Ford's side argued that it was pretty much a standoff.

A Burns-Roper telephone poll taken minutes after the debate ended found 40 per cent of the viewers seeing Carter coming out on top, 29 per cent for Ford and 31 per cent calling it a draw.

Inside the two campaign headquarters, top aides tried to project an atmosphere of controlled optimism as the race entered the home stretch.

"Carter may have a slight lead, but it is a toss-up and very winnable," asserted a Ford consultant.

In the Carter camp, an adviser claimed: "We've got the edge. Jimmy's in the driver's seat."

It was clear that the battle would be decided in a handful of big States during the final days of the campaign.

On a U.S. map in Carter's Atlanta headquarters, aides had drawn a rectangle outlining the crucial territory—New

Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Illinois. Together with Texas and California, these States constituted pivotal areas where experts agreed that the election would be won or lost.

Zeroing in. Both Ford and Carter planned to hit key States in nonstop drives over the last 10 or so days of the campaign, with Ford winding up in his home town of Grand Rapids, Mich., and Carter ending in Los Angeles.

Battle plans called for each candidate to stump from coast to coast with vigor but with care, sticking to broad issues and trying not to make what could turn into a fatal mistake.

Ford intended to be "more presidential," as one adviser put it, and hammer on the theme that Carter is inexperienced and fuzzy on major issues.

Carter planned to zero in on Ford as uncaring about people's problems and a failure as an inspirational leader.

In an effort to offset the glamour and pomp accompanying the Presidency, Carter's advisers urged him to do most of his campaigning in friendly areas where he could count on large, enthusiastic crowds that would create the image of a candidate who is picking up momentum and popularity.

Biggest fear in the Carter camp: that Ford would use his office at the last minute to "do something dramatic in domestic or foreign affairs" and leave

A Peanut Butter and Jerry Sandwich

At last, the presidential election is only a week away and, for most Americans, it comes none too soon. If it lasted any longer, the campaign might well have driven more voters away from the polls than already predicted.

Over-all, the campaign was a disappointment: as political theater, it was dull; as a forum to illuminate the candidates' personalities and policies, it was a failure. More than any-

believes that pro-business policies ultimately will produce jobs and that the less government interference in the private sector the better. He makes thunderous noises about the increasing cost of government—even as the federal budget climbs ever skyward.

For the most part, Ford is perceived in human terms as a decent individual, with ordinary qualities. Another side of

Campaign Highlights Conservative Yearnings

What seems to be clearly emerging from the Ford-Carter race is that the American electorate this year favors conservative, or moderate conservative, government. No matter who captures the presidency, he will have to press for his programs in a rightish political environment.

The proof of this pudding is in the debates and in the polls. Virtually all the pundits, for instance, believed Carter would massacre the President in the first debate on domestic policy, pointing to high unemployment and huge deficits under a Ford Administration. But to the surprise of the political soothsayers, Ford came out on top. Why?

While many chalked up Carter's loss to style (he supposedly wasn't aggressive enough), the overriding issue that emerged was domestic spending. What Carter stressed was that as soon as he could get his hands on the Treasury, he would begin lavishing money on dozens of new social programs he and his fellow Democrats have concocted.

Panelist Elizabeth Drew skewered Carter by pointing out that he had "proposed a number of new or enlarged programs, including jobs, health, welfare reform, child care, aid to education, aid to cities, changes in Social Security and housing subsidies." He hadn't even "put a price tag on those programs," she said, and how did he propose to do all this within the confines of a balanced budget?

Carter basically lost the first debate in his response. He predicted there would be a \$60-billion surplus by fiscal 1981, and he planned to spend it all on these new programs. Not once did he deny that he was in favor of a passel of new big government projects. He never once talked of tax cuts or emphasized a desire to see the common man relieved of the burden of government.

Ford then came in for the kill. Having previously spoken of his own wish to raise the personal income tax exemption from \$750 to \$1000 per person, he dumped on Carter's spending philosophy.

"If it is true," Ford said, "that there will be a \$60-billion surplus by fiscal year 1981, rather than spend that money for all the new programs that Gov. Carter recommends and endorses, and which are included in the Democratic platform, I think that the American taxpayer ought to get an additional tax break—a tax reduction of that magnitude. I feel that the taxpayers are the ones that need the relief. I don't think that we should add additional programs of the magnitude that Gov. Carter talks about."

In the second debate on foreign policy, in which most of the "pols" believed Ford would do better because of his experience in this area, Carter registered a major victory. Carter was not only more aggressive, but he sharply attacked Ford from the *right*, assailing the implementation of detente, criticizing its chief architect, Henry Kissinger, and exploiting Ford's much-publicized blunder on Eastern Europe.

Following the President's now famous gaffe that Eastern Europe isn't under Soviet domination, Carter said: "In the case of the Helsinki agreement—it may have been a good agreement at the beginning, but we have failed to enforce the so-called 'basket-three' part, which ensures the right to people to migrate or join their families, to be free to speak out. The Soviet Union is still undermining Radio Free Europe. Radio Free Europe is still being jammed.

"We have also seen a very serious problem with the so-called Sonnenfeldt document—which apparently Mr. Ford has just endorsed—which says there is an organic linkage between the Eastern European

countries and the Soviet Union. And I would like to see Mr. Ford convince the Polish-Americans and the Czech-Americans and the Hungarian-Americans in this country that those countries don't live under the domination and the supervision of the Soviet Union behind the Iron Curtain. . . .

"He's [Ford] always shown a weakness in yielding to pressure. The Soviet Union, for instance, put pressure on Mr. Ford and he refused to see a symbol of human freedom recognized around the world, Alexander Solzhenitsyn. . . ."

In their first two meetings, then, the winner was always on the more conservative side of the major issue that surfaced in the debates.

Moreover, Carter has frittered away his once formidable lead because of the growing perception of him as more liberal than Ford. *Time* magazine, in its October 11 poll conducted by Daniel Yankelovich, remarked:

"Ford has scored great gains with independent voters. He leads Carter among them by 45 per cent to 31 per cent; by contrast, Carter was ahead with this decisive group in August 41 per cent to 39 per cent. One reason for the shift is the growing belief that Carter is a liberal, which has become a negative label for many voters.

The Disease of Politics

The Thirty Years War began and ended at Prague, the English civil war at Powick Bridge, World War I at Mons. The Presidential campaign is ending where it began, in the Slough of De-

four years. This disjunction between campaigning and governing has occurred because candidates have abandoned the idea that campaigns can be exercises in public pedagogy. But it is

These take a severe toll against small towns, small enterprises, family farms, local governments,



THE POCKETBOOK

"There is a clear choice between Jimmy Carter and President Ford. The choice is: Do you want the Federal Government to spend more and more of your money and interfere more and more in your daily lives? ... Do you want your taxes raised so you can pay for those hundred-billion-dollar programs of Jimmy Carter?" [Crowd: "No! No!"]

—Gerald Ford on the stump

"Don't blame local officials when your property taxes double if the welfare load on you has been increased under a Republican Administration and when inflation goes up and housing gets scarce ... We had over 800 people who made over \$100,000 a year, 240 people who earned over \$200,000 a year and paid zero income taxes. When they don't pay their taxes, do you know who pays their taxes for them?" [Crowd: "We do!"]

—Jimmy Carter on the campaign trail

To hear Jerry Ford, the economy is moving onward and upward, recovering nicely (thanks to excellent Republican prescriptions) from deep recession and dire inflation, shaking off the effects of a little setback in the past few months. Says Ford: "We have had a pause. We are now coming out of the dip, and I believe that all, or practically all economists recognize that the economy is con-

WOMAN SEEKING WORK AT STATE OFFICE IN CHICAGO (TOP); WAITING FOR UNEMPLOYMENT CHECKS IN MIAMI (BOTTOM)



If they could bottle and market their bombast and bluster about the U.S. economy, Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford would become millionaires many times over. To hear Carter on the stump, the nation is heading right back to 1932, with serpentine lines of unemployed, shuttered factories and silent cash registers. After the Administration released some third-quarter statistics last week, Carter put out a statement that said they point to "a continuation of high unemployment, huge budget deficits and dim prospects for an improvement in the standard of living for the average worker."

tinuing to improve and will get better in this quarter and in 1977."

Is the economy as bad as Carter says? Is it as good as Ford contends? The answers the voters give to those questions may well swing the election, for next to the character and personalities of the candidates themselves, the mercurial, often mystifying economy has become the main issue of Campaign '76. Moreover, voters this year have a genuine choice between the candidates' differing economic philosophies.

In describing the present situation, Gerald Ford is more accurate than Carter, and he is correct that most econ-

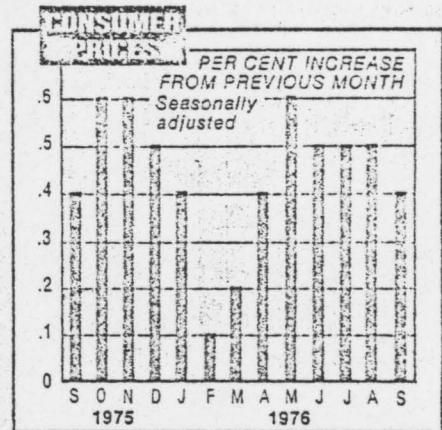
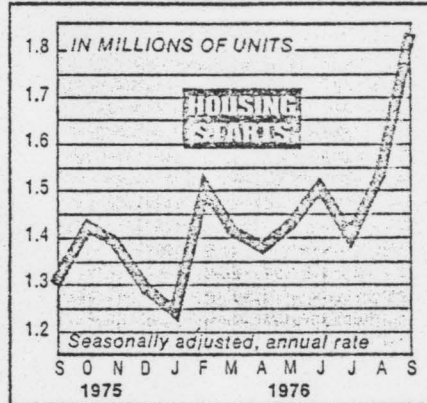
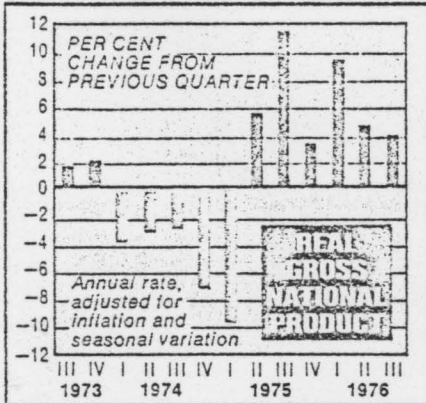
ELECTION

omists, including Democrats, believe the recovery has run into only a temporary slowdown. Nevertheless, last week's fig-

to reduce unemployment. Some of the sting was removed by the news that inflation in the entire economy eased from 5.2% in the second quarter to 4.4% in the third, and housing starts in September jumped 18%, to an annual rate of 1,814,000. Still, Ford was looking ahead with some apprehension to the report of the economy's index of leading indicators; it is due out this Friday, four days before the election.

started to creep back up—from a low of 7.3% in May to 7.9% in August and 7.8% last month. Layoffs rose and help-wanted ads declined. After Labor Day, the signs of listlessness grew: there were fall-offs in factory orders and commercial building contracts.

What had gone wrong? Economists could easily find reasons to fit their own politics and prejudices. The monetarists, who are mostly Republican and conser-



Fensa & Freyer

The Election Day Ledger

It was the last set of fresh economic statistics that would come out before Election Day, and both camps were poised expectantly when the numbers were released last week. Predictably, the President's men and Jimmy Carter read them differently. All told, the new figures seemed to add up to a short-term plus for Gerald Ford—but hardly enough to win him many uncommitted votes.

On the positive side, housing starts rose to an annual rate of 1.8 million in September, apparently confirming the recovery in an industry that had been lagging for several years. And most important, the inflation rate, measured by both the consumer price index in September and the much broader gross national product deflator, was better than expected. The CPI rose by 0.4 per cent during the month to an annual rate of less than 5 per cent, compared with more than 6 per cent over the previous three months. The GNP deflator, which measures inflation in the economy as a whole, tracked out at 4.4 per cent during the

third quarter, well below the second quarter's 5.2 per cent. "The decline in the rate of inflation is quite significant," exulted a top Administration economist.

But there were negative numbers as well. Real GNP increased by only 4 per cent during the third quarter, compared with 4.5 per cent in the second quarter and an explosive 9.2 per cent in the first. The increase was barely enough to keep pace with the rising labor force, leaving the unemployment rate at 7.8 per cent—though that figure was open to skepticism (page 66). And workers with jobs found their real spendable weekly earnings declining by 0.5 per cent during September, the second straight setback.

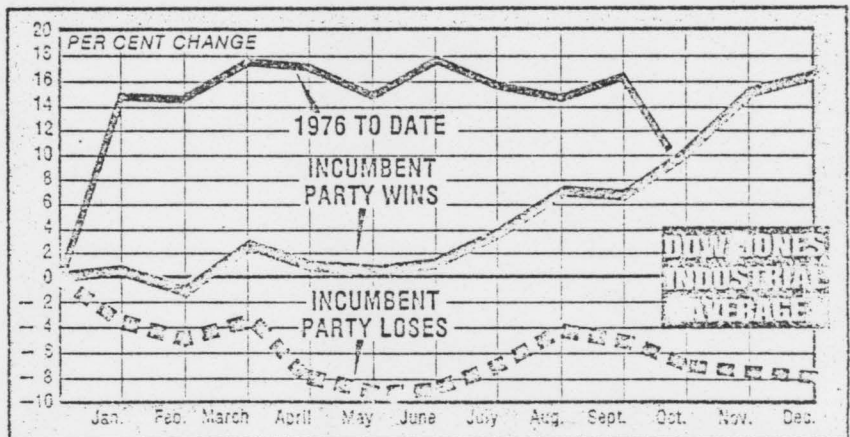
In the perspective of the campaign, the economic issue was still a disappointment to the President's men. They continued to boast, as Treasury Secretary William Simon put it, that "We have a proud record here. We are reducing inflation while getting a recovery." Indeed, the official forecast now was for even more growth and less inflation for

1976 as a whole than had been expected in January. But for fear of triggering another inflationary boom, the targets had never been set very high, and Democrats have complained from the start that not enough was being done. To make matters worse, most of this year's growth was concentrated in the early months, with a recent "pause" that felt a good deal less than zesty. While the new statistics reassured economic worriers—"We aren't in as bad shape as we thought a month ago," said economist Robert Gough of Data Resources Inc.—Carter could still win votes by saying, "The average worker is actually losing ground every month. [That's] the bottom line of [Ford's] disastrous economic policies."

If Carter is elected, more stimulus seems inevitable. "The recovery will continue," says Lawrence Klein, Carter's chief economic adviser. "But it is just so soft, so slow, that we should not be reluctant to help it along." Since September, NEWSWEEK was told, Klein has been suggesting that Carter propose a

THE DELPHIC DOW

Can the stock market predict the outcome of Presidential elections, and what is it saying? In nineteen elections since 1900, the incumbent party has won thirteen times—and the Dow Jones index has risen in those years by an average 13 per cent from Jan. 1 to Nov. 1. The six years incumbents lost, the Dow fell an average 6 per cent. That looks good for Gerald Ford—but most of this year's gain came in January, and the market has declined since September. Anyway, averages are only that: in three election years since 1900, the Dow was wrong.



Source: Stock Trader's Almanac

PROFILE OF A SPUTTERING RECOVERY

THE BUSINESS RECOVERY that early in the year seemed likely to be a big plus for President Ford in his effort to win election has now slowed to such an extent that it may become a political liability.

As the year began, business was expanding at boom-time rates, unemployment was falling rapidly, and inflation was far less than any of the experts dared to hope.

Now, however, signs of a marked slowing of business activity are to be found in many places. Few new jobs are being created. Unemployment has bounced up from 7.3 per cent of the labor force in May to 7.8 per cent in September. Output of industry has flattened. So have sales in stores, if the measurement is made in terms of volume.

The accompanying charts show what is happening. Note that housing starts are about the only indicator that has performed well of late, jumping up to a level of more than 1.8 million units per year in September after being stuck on a much lower plateau for months.

The Administration contends that the economy is merely experiencing a normal "pause" and that the pace will speed up markedly before the year ends. Most economists and many business executives agree with that appraisal. Commonplace are estimates that the nation's output of goods and services, adjusted for inflation, will grow at an annual rate of 5 per cent or more in 1977, in contrast to only 4 in the third quarter of 1976.

Pattern of history. If you look back at what happened in prior periods of expansion since World War II, you find this 4 per cent rate is moderately less than average. September 30 marked the end of the sixth quarter of recovery. At that point in the other postwar expansions, the economy was growing at a rate of 4.8 per cent, if the unusual Korean War period is excluded. If past patterns hold, economic growth can be expected to slow, not speed up, during the next six months or so.

That would make it difficult to reduce the unusually high level of unemployment in the face of a labor force that is bulging with teen-agers and career-minded women.

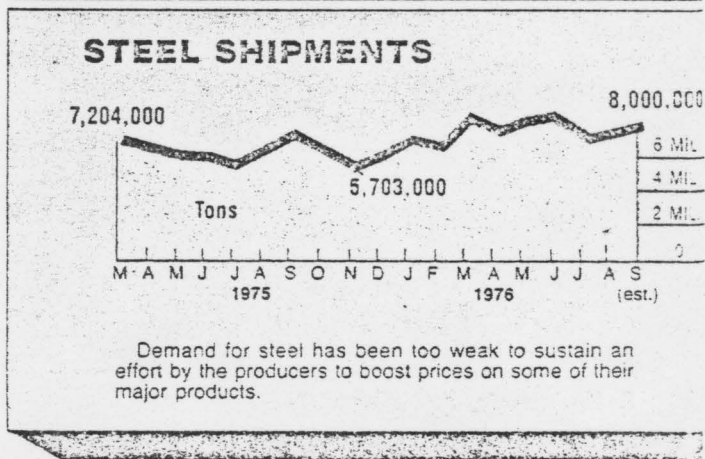
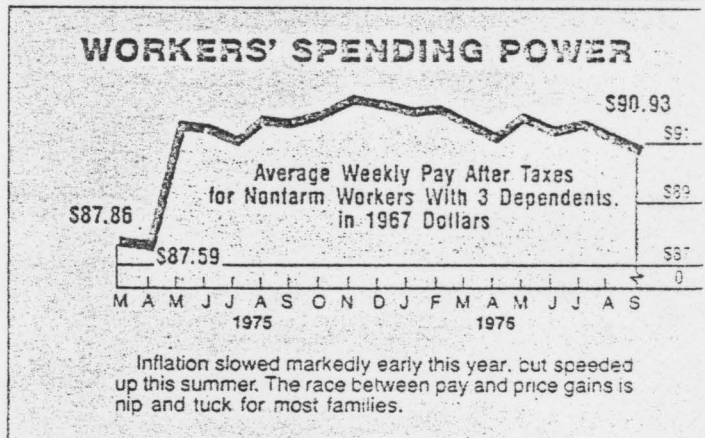
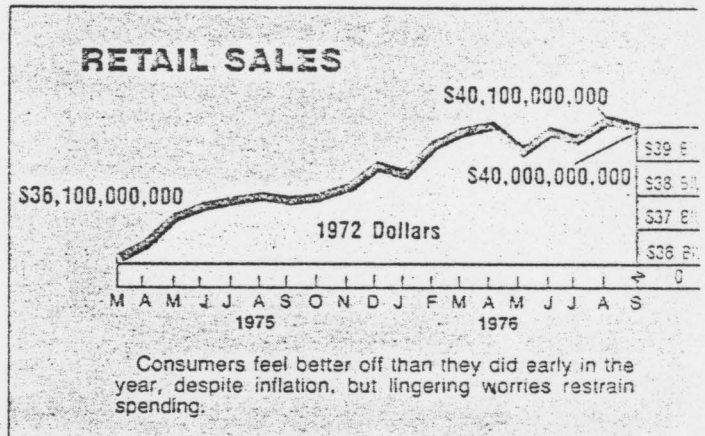
The Administration figures that the federal budget and the Federal Reserve Board's money policy will allow business to grow at rates of nearly 6 per cent well into 1977, while holding inflation to about 5 or 6 per cent a year.

The inflation goal still seems within reach. Consumer prices, which rose 7.8 per cent in the year ended September, 1975, increased just 5.5 per cent in the past year and were rising at an annual rate of less than 5 per cent in September of this year.

Lower farm and food prices are partly responsible for the more moderate pace of inflation that has developed recently. And the posted wholesale prices of a number of other commodities—sheet steel, copper, lead and zinc—have been lowered in the past few weeks, because of weak demand from manufacturers.

The weakness of demand for these major industrial materials is just another sign that the pace of economic growth has slowed much more and for a longer time than almost anyone in Government or business expected.

Both the Ford and Carter camps agree that the economy needs to grow faster than it has recently. There are wide differences on how to speed things up. Both sides, however, agree that another personal income-tax cut may be needed, as well as new incentives for business investment.



The best laid plans . . .

Politicians and their economic advisers who think the giant U. S. economy can be planned and programmed like a player piano should take a careful look at what happened to the federal budget in the first nine months of this year. To the embarrassment of the Administra-

The high cost of votes

The United States is primarily an urban nation. Only about one-quarter of its population lives in rural areas, and less than 5% lives on farms.

This is what the census figures say, but the candidates in this year's Presidential election obviously have not looked at the figures. They are scrambling so badly

THE SAD STATISTIC

BY HOWARD FLIEGER

BY HOWARD FLIEGER

Periodically, some sort of Government indicator appears that shows the U.S. economy is heading upward over the long term.

These are happy statistics. They serve as evidence that the country is moving forward,

Slowly but surely, State budgets are being bent out of shape because of the increased welfare load, to say nothing of the size and duration of unemployment compensation payments that could not be anticipated.

Who'll Win?

Results of 50-State Survey

Carter has a big lead in electoral votes, but he is still short of a majority. It's the huge block of undecided voters who hold the key.

Unless the political omens are wrong, Jimmy Carter is nearing victory in the battle for the White House.

That is the finding in a final nationwide survey by the editors of *U.S. News & World Report* on the political outlook a week before the November 2 election.

The survey shows that Carter has not yet nailed down the 270 electoral votes he needs to win the Presidency but is close enough so that, barring last-minute developments, he has victory almost in his grasp.

Late shifts in sentiment cannot be ruled out, however. Political analysts caution that the campaign is still volatile and that, with many voters undecided and others who may not vote at all, the election could still tilt to President Gerald Ford.

In short, the 1976 race carries the seeds of an upset by Ford that would rank with Harry Truman's victory over Thomas Dewey in 1948.

That conclusion is based on in-depth reports by a team of the magazine's staff members who traveled over the country in September and October, consulting leaders of both parties, newspaper editors, pollsters and other expert observers of local public opinion.

Earlier reports were rechecked for latest political trends through October 22. What the final canvass shows:

- Democrat Carter is leading in 19 States and the District of Columbia, with a total of 244 votes—only 26 short of an electoral majority.

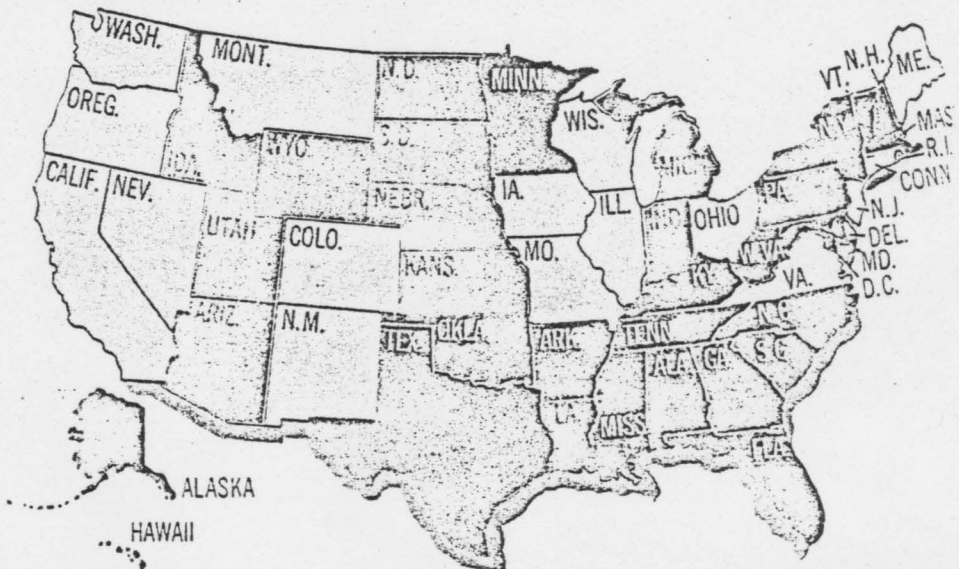
- Republican Ford is leading in 14 States with 90 electoral votes.

- The balance of power lies in 17 States with 204 electors, where the race is considered too close to call.

These figures suggest that the possible outcome ranges from a narrow electoral victory for Ford to a massive electoral triumph for Carter.

However the electoral margin turns out, all signs point to a relatively close contest in the popular vote.

In the doubtful category are four of the 10 most populous States, with the largest blocks of electoral votes: California, Illinois, Ohio and New Jersey. Other



LEANING TO FORD 14 States, With 90 Electoral Votes

LEANING TO CARTER 19 States and District of Columbia With 244 Electoral Votes

IN DOUBT 17 States, With 204 Electoral Votes

NEEDED TO WIN: 270 ELECTORAL VOTES

key States considered in doubt: Connecticut, Virginia, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, Colorado, Oregon and Washington. Polls indicate that the margin of difference between the two candidates is so small in these pivotal States that they could go either way.

One pollster pointed out: "This campaign is unique in that we still have 15 or 20 important States with more than 300 electoral votes where the difference between the candidates is not more than 2 or 3 percentage points."

The magazine's survey indicates a lack of enthusiasm for both presidential contenders on the part of many voters. The key to the election is said to lie with the undecided voter. In pivotal electoral-vote States, those who are still uncommitted range from 12 to 25 per cent of the electorate.

Still, Carter starts from a strong position. The former Governor of Georgia is counting on a solid base in Southern and

Border States, with nearly 150 votes leaning to him—more than half the 270 needed.

To achieve an electoral-vote majority, Carter thus has to pick up only a little more than 100 additional votes in big Northern industrial States that often vote Democratic. The survey indicates he is close to that goal and to a revival of the traditional Democratic formula for putting together a winning combination of States.

Ford, on the other hand, must compete for the same big electoral-vote States, while scrambling to put together a collection of smaller-vote States in the Midwest and Far West.

Ford strategists figure that he must carry 5 or 6 of the 10 most-populous States in order to win. The magazine's survey shows him clearly ahead in only one—his home State of Michigan, with 21 electoral votes.

The electoral votes of five of the "Big

TIME POLL

CARTER TAKES A NARROW LEAD

In the up and down battle for the presidency, Jimmy Carter last weekend moved ahead of Gerald Ford by 48% to 44%, with 8% of the U.S. electorate still undecided. Even before the third presidential debate, voter sentiment had shifted in Carter's favor by 3 percentage points. In late September a surge for Ford turned the race into a dead heat, with 43% of the vote going to each candidate. But the final 90-minute debate firmed up Carter's slim lead over Ford in a week that saw substantial numbers of undecided voters begin to take sides. These conclusions were drawn from two nationwide polls conducted for TIME by the opinion-research firm of Yankelovich, Skelly and White Inc. The findings:

1) A telephone survey, which was conducted from Oct. 16 to Oct. 19, of 1,578 registered voters showed Carter leading Ford by 45% to 42%, with 13% of the voters undecided.

2) Interviews held immediately after the debate with 608 voters—a cross section of the original nationwide sample—indicated that Carter's margin had grown slightly to 4 percentage points.

The debate apparently helped many of the undecided voters to make up their minds about the candidates. Two out of three people interviewed in the second survey had watched the debate: they backed Carter by 49% to 45%, with only 6% undecided. When those polled were asked who won the debate, 33% said Carter, 26% said Ford, and 41% called it a draw. Reflecting the closeness of the debate, voters with an opinion of who won were almost equally impressed with the personalities that the candidates displayed during the debate, the stands they took on the issues, and the way in which they handled the questions. Further, while debate watchers thought, by 47% to 38%, that Carter had come out better than Ford on questions about the economy, the President struck them, by 56% to 26%, as stronger on questions dealing with foreign affairs.

THE TRENDS. According to the survey before the debate, voters by 48% to 37% now expect Carter to win the election, a reversal in their perceptions two weeks earlier. At that time, by a margin of 44% to 40%, they predicted a Ford victory.

Carter's gains came chiefly from outside the South. In the eleven states of the old Confederacy, his lead over Ford has held almost steady at 48% to

39%. But the Georgian has moved up 3 points in the rest of the country, where he now edges Ford by 44% to 42%. Carter has also increased his majority of the Democrats' vote by 3 points, to 68% (v. 20% for Ford). His share of the independents' vote has gone up by 2 points, to 33% (v. 45% for Ford). Further, he continues to have a solid 50% (to 36% for the President) grip on the blue-collar vote, and also has made some inroads among professional and managerial voters. But he still trails Ford in that category 43% to 46%.

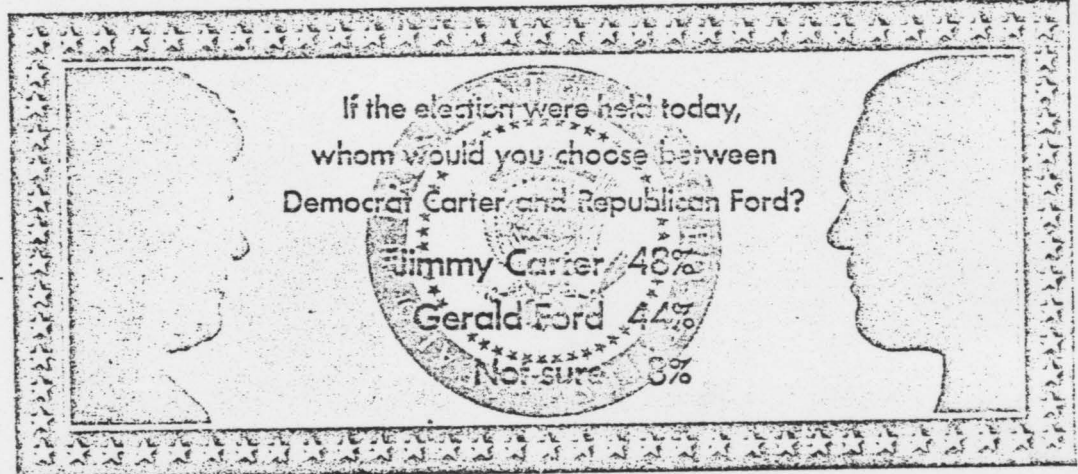
Carter's lead held up even when the Yankelovich analysts figured in the support for Eugene McCarthy. Though McCarthy could conceivably have a spoiler role in some states, the poll showed that he is actually losing ground in the 29 states in which he is on the ballot. In the nationwide sample, McCarthy wins

er he is the right man for the job, as compared with two out of five Ford supporters who have similar misgivings about their candidate.

THE CAMPAIGN. One result of the final debate was to mend somewhat the public images of both candidates. Of those polled, 41% said their impressions of Carter have improved, and 26% reported a similar rise in their opinions of the President. But this effect may prove to be fleeting because the pre-debate survey found that many voters' opinions of the candidates had actually grown worse during the course of the campaign. Asked in the Oct. 16-19 poll how their impressions of the candidates have changed, they gave these responses:

| | Improved | Same | Worse |
|--------|----------|------|-------|
| Carter | 30% | 35% | 31% |
| Ford | 20% | 54% | 22% |

In particular, voters are displeased with the way in which Ford has handled the issue of providing jobs, dealing



the backing of 7% of the voters surveyed, the same proportion as in late September. But when the analysts subtracted his strength in states where he is not on the ballot, the presidential race shaped up as follows:

| | Sept. | Oct. |
|---------------|-------|------|
| Carter | 41% | 44% |
| Ford | 42% | 41% |
| McCarthy | 5% | 3% |
| Lester Maddox | 1% | 1% |
| Undecided | 11% | 11% |

Nonetheless, two factors indicate that Carter's lead is still quite volatile. First, among the hard core, who the analysts concluded would be the most likely to vote, the race remains a draw, with 42% for each candidate. Second, the electorate is still dissatisfied with both candidates. One out of five independent voters is undecided about which candidate to support, compared with 13% of the total Oct. 16-19 sample. In addition, almost half the Carter backers have some doubts about wheth-

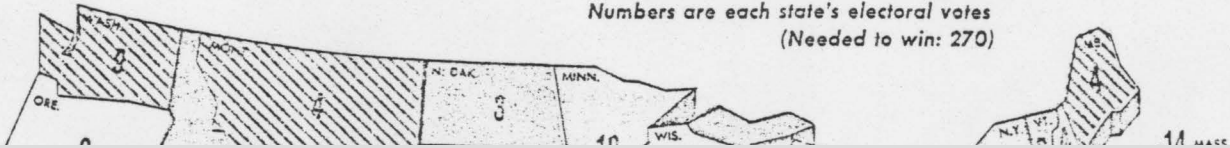
with the Soviet Union and reducing the federal bureaucracy. They give him notably high marks only for the way in which he has stated his views. In Carter's case, voters are unhappiest about his stand on the defense issue. But Carter has scored well with his promise to make the Government more efficient and has come through to voters as a fairer campaigner than Ford.

Each candidate's campaigning has done more to hurt his opponent's image than to improve his own standing with the voters. More than half those polled still regard Carter as overpromising and too fuzzy on the issues; slightly fewer people accuse him of changing his stands. About half those surveyed fault Ford for pardoning Richard Nixon and for being too close to business; almost the same proportion of people charge that he cannot deal with Congress. About a quarter of those polled feel Ford is not intelligent enough for the job; almost the same proportion believe his mistake during the second debate in saying that the U.S.S.R. does not dominate

WHO'S AHEAD STATE BY STATE

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 60 FORD LEADS | 176 CARTER LEADS | 168 TOO CLOSE TO CALL |
| 37 LEANING TO FORD | 97 LEANING TO CARTER | |
| Total: 97 | Total: 273 | |

Numbers are each state's electoral votes
(Needed to win: 270)



THE STORY STATE BY STATE

Though he has lost ground in recent weeks, Carter now leads Ford in 24 states and the District of Columbia with 308 electoral votes—38 more than the 270 needed to win the

election. In a state-by-state guide, NEWSWEEK correspondents examine the current shape of the Presidential race and highlight key Senatorial and gubernatorial contests.

| | Electoral Votes | Presidential Race | Gubernatorial Race | Senate Race | House Seats | |
|---------------|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|--|
| ALABAMA | 9 | C | | | D-4 R-3 | Led by Wallace, Alabama Democrats—black and white—are now working hard for Carter. |
| ALASKA | 3 | F | | | R-1 | Alaska traditionally votes Republican in Presidential races and should do so again this year. |
| ARIZONA | 6 | F | | D DeConcini R Steiger | D-1 R-3 | A mudslinging GOP primary may have done Steiger in. DeConcini should pick up a seat now held by the Republicans. |
| ARKANSAS | 6 | C | D Pryor * R Griffith | | D-3 R-1 | Gov. Pryor will have no trouble winning re-election. Carter looks strong in this southern state. |
| CALIFORNIA | 45 | ? | | D Tunney * R Hayakawa | D-28† R-14 | Carter's 20-point post-convention lead has evaporated. Tunney is running neck and neck with political newcomer Hayakawa. |
| COLORADO | 7 | F | | | D-3 R-2 | Both Ford and Carter forces say the race is now a dead heat, but undecided voters seem to be opting for Ford. |
| CONNECTICUT | 8 | C | | D Schaffer R Weicker * | D-4 R-2 | Although Democrats easily outnumber Republicans, Carter has only a slight edge. Weicker is safely ahead. |
| DELAWARE | 3 | C | D Tribbitt * R du Pont | D Maloney R Roth * | D-1 | Du Pont is expected to defeat Tribbitt, who is plagued by a deficit-ridden budget and an unpopular state lottery. |
| FLORIDA | 17 | C | | D Chiles * R Grady | D-10 R-5 | Superconservative Grady, a John Bircher, is making some headway attacking Chiles as a superliberal. |
| GEORGIA | 12 | C | | | D-10 | Despite a little down-home grumbling, Georgia will go all the way with favorite-son Carter. |
| HAWAII | 4 | C | | D Matsunaga R Quinn | D-2 | Organized labor's influence in the state should give Carter and Matsunaga an edge. |
| IDAHO | 4 | F | | | R-2 | With no statewide races and no visits yet from the Presidential candidates, the campaign is in low gear in this conservative state. |
| ILLINOIS | 26 | ? | D Howlett R Thompson | | D-12† R-11 | Ford's best hope in Illinois may be a ride on the coattails of Jim Thompson, who is running a very strong race for governor. |
| INDIANA | 13 | ? | D Conrad R Bowen * | D Hartke * R Lugar | D-9 R-2 | The President's Polish blooper gave Carter a big boost with ethnic voters. Hartke is expected to lose his bid for a fourth term. |
| IOWA | 8 | ? | | | D-5 R-1 | A well-run GOP organization controlled by allies of popular Gov. Ray could spell the difference for Ford. |
| KANSAS | 7 | F | | | R-4 D-1 | Kansas farmers are still mad about the grain embargoes, but favorite-son Doie should carry the day for Ford. |
| KENTUCKY | 9 | C | | | D-5 R-2 | Carter's Playboy interview hurt him in this fundamentalist state, but he regained lost ground with his strong showing in the second debate. |
| LOUISIANA | 10 | F | | | D-6 R-2 | Carter's views on abortion have gotten him into trouble with the state's Roman Catholics. |
| MAINE | 4 | F | | D Muskie * R Monks | R-2 | Muskie is running a no-holds-barred campaign but Monks is closing the gap. |
| MARYLAND | 10 | C | | D Sarbanes R Beall * | D-5 R-3 | Carter was a big loser in the primary but black leaders have put on a last-minute blitz to register voters in a state already 3 to 1 Democratic. |
| MASSACHUSETTS | 14 | C | | D Kennedy * R Robertson | D-10 R-2 | Ford is barely making an effort in the only state to vote for McGovern in 1972. Kennedy is a shoo-in. |
| MICHIGAN | 21 | F | | D Riegle R Esch | D-12 R-7 | Ford has an edge in his home state. Riegle's early lead may fade in the face of a messy, office-sex scandal. |
| MINNESOTA | 10 | C | | D Humphrey * R Brekke | D-5 R-3 | Home-stater Mondale will put Minnesota in the Democratic column. HHH's recent cancer operation won't dim his chances for re-election. |
| MISSISSIPPI | 7 | ? | | D Stennis * | D-3 R-2 | Wallace has campaigned for Carter but Ford and Reagan forces have united to launch a strong GOP offensive. |

C Solid for Carter

C Leaning to Carter

F Solid for Ford

F Leaning to Ford

? Too close to call

CLOUDED SIGNALS FROM THREE WEATHERVANE COUNTIES

Areas that have called every presidential winner this century are agonizing over their choice this year. Neither candidate has it wrapped up.

The only three counties in the nation that have voted for the winner in every presidential election this century are sending fuzzy signals to the forecasters this time around.

By late October, no clear favorite had emerged in any one of the three. Enthusiasm for either President Ford or Jimmy Carter appeared mild at best. The number of voters professing to be still uncommitted remained unusually high. One voter, questioned as to his choice, replied: "Is there a choice?"

The counties are Laramie in the southeastern corner of Wyoming, Crook in the geographical center of Oregon, and Palo Alto in north-central Iowa.

Can the three be right again? One Crook County observer who believes the race will be close compares the span of being right since 1884 with gambling and says that "one day the hot streak has got to end."

Gerald Parshall, Tom York and Robert Shoup of the magazine's staff visited these counties and filed these reports:

CHEYENNE, Wyo.

Talk with people here in Laramie County and you find them generally apathetic about the presidential election.

The county is dominated by the State capital, Cheyenne. It is sharing fully in the brisk economic expansion brought to Wyoming by the surface mining of coal. Joblessness in the fast-growing population of 80,000—up from 58,000 just four years ago—is only 3.9 per cent. And, says Cheyenne Mayor Bill Nation: "Anyone who wants a job can have one."

By all political rules, such prosperity ought to make incumbent Gerald Ford an easy winner here. Although Democrats have a slight edge in registrations, Richard Nixon carried Laramie County in 1972 by a 2-to-1 margin. But in the days just before the election, neither Ford nor Carter has a clear lead in this county which has voted for the winner in every presidential election since Wyoming became a State in 1890.

A recent visitor found a substantial



In Cheyenne: the economy booms, but political apathy prevails.

number of residents still undecided. Those who had made a choice were split about evenly. Many made it emphatically plain that neither candidate had aroused their enthusiasm.

"Neither is saying what people want to hear—a solution to the economic situation, crime, inflation, the whole ball of wax," declared Estelle Bowen, a 53-year-old Cheyenne housewife.

G. P. Laub, a clerk in a coin and rock shop, expressed his discontent this way: "To me, both candidates and both parties are equal. They are both just a bunch of front men for the federal bureaucracy. It will not make a bit of difference who wins."

At Laramie County Community College, Jeanne Uphoff, feature editor of the student newspaper, said: "A lot of kids haven't decided. I haven't either."

Voters supporting or leaning toward Ford sometimes refer to his experience. "He's a man of quiet strength, and with what he's had to work with, he's done the best he could," said Janet Young, a 27-year-old housewife. "Between the two, he's better qualified for the job."

Worry about spending. Some Ford supporters seem to be swayed primarily by fear of Carter. For example, John C. Clay, 53, a Cheyenne stockbroker, worried that "if we get Democrats back in the White House and lose the check of having a Republican Executive with the veto, the Democratic Congress will spend us to death."

Among those who favor Carter, the economy and a desire for a change in Washington were two factors cited.

"I've got nothing against Ford personally," said Rick Golden, a 22-year-old railroad brakeman, "But he is sort of a

spin-off from Nixon and Watergate, and it's time for a change."

Carl D. Johnson, manager of Cheyenne's Red Wing shoe store, commented that "I've lived 48 years, and I can save money when the Democrats are in, but I lose money when the Republicans are in. The Republicans are for the wealthy man and the Democrats are for the common man."

A railroad retiree, Frank R. Davidson, declared that "I'm for No. 1. I'm for the guy who is for me." Ford, he said, "meddled in my livelihood" by vetoing an increase in railroad retirement benefits—a veto Congress overrode.

Expressing a sentiment heard from other Carter supporters, Mr. Davidson added: "I don't know if Carter will be any better, but a little change won't hurt."

PRINEVILLE, Oreg.

Crook County's 6,049 registered voters are in no hurry to make up their minds about a choice for President.

Fence-sitters abound. Many insist, at least to visitors, that they won't pick their man until they go into the voting booths. Of those who have decided, Carter supporters appear to be slightly more numerous.

Ever since 1884, Crook County has mirrored the national outcome in presidential elections. Four years ago, Nixon got 53 per cent of the county's votes to 42 per cent for George McGovern and 5 per cent for minor candidates, even though Democrats outnumber Republicans almost 2 to 1 in this farming and lumbering area of central Oregon.

County Clerk Grace Bannon predicted a close race this time around and said

Many forecasters are talking about an exceptionally low voter turnout, despite a razor-close race for the presidency that normally would draw more people to the polls. Why? TIME National Political Correspondent Robert Ajemian sent this report:

Field Coordinator Nick Nicholson was ready for trouble as he turned briskly into the Jimmy Carter storefront of-

pollster Peter Hart: "It's the best thing Ford has going for him, and he knows it." Ford staffers do not disagree. They are purposely running negative television ads—like the ones that feature fellow Georgians running down Carter's record as Governor—not to convert voters to the President but to undercut his opponent and depress the vote.

Political scientists are disturbed by the steady voter decline since 1960. "We're building a huge vacuum at the

pitch that lifts fieldworkers like Nick Nicholson through the tough days. He views Carter as a public healer. When sour voters challenge him—and they often do—about Carter's fuzziness, he tells them that in the end it is a matter of character. "There's no doubt that voters are cynical," says Nicholson, "but underneath they want to believe so bad." Then he stopped and thought for a moment. "You know, I'm a cynical guy myself," he said, "and I want to believe so

Time, 11/1/76

inclined to vote. The national party leadership is making a massive effort to spin that around. The AFL-CIO is mailing millions of pieces of literature—including tons of the buttons and stickers that are in such short supply in many places—to its union members, beseeching them to vote.

A Reluctant Vote For Gerald Ford

This election year is a "bummer" for conservatives, and we can understand why there are those who want to go fishing, write in Ronald Reagan's name, or cast a protest vote for Tom Anderson, Roger MacBride or even Lester Maddox. With so many Democrats echoing Reagan and with Milton Friedman acquiring a Nobel Prize, the mood of the country seems perfect for the election of a solid, conservative President. But that is not to be. Come January either Jerry Ford or Jimmy Carter will be running the country.

And while we're not happy with either of these fellows, we urge a reluctant vote for Ford. On foreign policy, we confess, there doesn't seem much to choose between the two. Jerry Ford in the Oval Office means four more years of Kissinger—or, at the least, Kissingerism—which, in turn, almost certainly means a SALT II agreement that gives the Soviets a break in strategic arms; the end of U.S. sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone; the breaking of our Mutual Defense Treaty with Taiwan; further pressures on such conservative, anti-Communist regimes as Chile, Rhodesia and South Africa; and a generally softish diplomacy.

But is Carter better? We can't decipher any hopeful signals. Despite some of his hard-line rhetoric once in awhile, he, too, favors detente; continued trade with the Communists; at least \$5 to \$7 billion in defense cuts; the delay—and perhaps elimination—of the B-1 bomber; a pullout of our troops in South Korea; and even greater pressure on Chile, Rhodesia and South Africa than even Ford and Kissinger are applying.

In certain areas, his pronouncements have been even more dovish than Administration policy. Though the U.S. tried to arm the anti-Communist factions in Angola before it fell to the Soviet-Cuban dominated MPLA, Carter scored

Ford and Kissinger for their efforts to help these pro-Western elements, demagogically accusing them of trying to start another Vietnam.

To its credit, the Administration waged a successful campaign to prevent the Italian Communist party from gaining a foothold in the Italian government. Carter, on the other hand, has looked with favor on coalition governments in Eastern Europe. In an ominous statement in the May 10, 1976, European edition of *Newsweek*, Carter gave us perhaps a glimpse of how much further he would carry detente by saying:

"I should think it is shortsighted of us to deal openly with Brezhnev and leaders of the Soviet Union and refuse to understand and become acquainted with leaders in a NATO country who are Communist. I believe we should support strongly the democratic forces in Italy, but still we should not close the doors to Communist leaders in Italy for friendship with us.

"It may be that we would be better off having an Italian government that might be comprised at least partially of Communists, tied in with the Western world than driven into the Soviet orbit irrevocably."

There is a remote chance, we concede, that Carter could turn out to be somewhat better than Ford in foreign policy, but that "hope" lies with his temperament, not with his rhetoric or his advisers. While he has campaigned on a platform of love, it is now apparent to all but his most devoted admirers that he is a mean, vindictive sort of person—but that might be useful in dealing with the Soviets.

If the Soviets double-cross Carter the way they did Kissinger in Angola, for instance, there is the possibility that he would let his combative nature overrule his inclinations for detente. But this is

mere speculation. Overall, we think neither candidate is likely to reverse U.S. foreign policy and get tough with the Russians.

On the domestic front, however, we see a world of difference. Here we really feel more positive toward Pres-

Carter, in our view, is a dedicated liberal Democrat, who willingly wants to take this country down a path toward socialism. While some contend he shouldn't be held accountable for the Democratic platform—even though his issues man, Stuart Eizenstat, had a significant hand in shaping it—Carter can be held strictly accountable for his own statements.

And what has Carter personally endorsed? The list is almost endless. He has championed a "comprehensive" national health insurance program; a guaranteed annual income plan; "an expansionary fiscal and monetary policy"; the Humphrey-Hawkins "Full Employment Act of 1976" (though he admittedly has some reservations about the original plan); billions of dollars in new education programs; expansion of the mass transportation system; federal construction of "high-quality, accessible child-care facilities"; increased revenue sharing; billions of dollars for "countercyclical" assistance to the cities, and dozens of other measures that the Office of Management and Budget and others have estimated would cost between \$100 billion and \$200 billion a year.

Taking the conservative estimate, Carter would increase the budget by a full 25 per cent. If the \$200 billion figure is correct, the Carter programs would swell the budget by half its present size.

A GENTLEMANLY ROUND THREE

They seemed calm and confident, and except for an occasional stinging jab, Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter debated last week in an almost genteel fashion. Both were clearly practicing damage control—eager to avoid the mistake that could cost them the election—and both succeeded. Carter, the current leader in the polls, had the most to lose, but he gave his best performance to date and his aides claimed he had shored up his support—even if he did not gain much new ground. The President, more animated and less stern than in past encounters, was also effective—but whether he closed on Carter was open to question. When the television klieg lights blinked off and the last of the three 1976 Presidential debates became history, the pro forma claims of victory on each side were far more muted than before.

For much of the debate, the questions were more pointed than the answers—and far tougher on Ford than on Carter. The debate focused largely on Ford's two years in the White House, and the President was repeatedly forced to defend his record on the economy, Watergate, the environment and civil rights. When Carter had to justify his own record and campaign statements, he fielded one challenge well—admitting candidly that his Playboy magazine comments on religion, sex and "lust" were ill-advised—and bobbled a second one when he foreclosed any American military support for Yugoslavia even in the event of an attempted take-over by the Soviet Union. Neither man charted any new, bold course, but each candidate's advisers ritualistically applauded the performances. "Ford did all the things we hoped he would, and he didn't do anything we hoped he wouldn't," said one of the President's strategists. "Anybody who needed reassuring

about Jimmy got it," remarked one of Carter's top aides.

The setting for the final debate was vintage Bicentennial, the campus of the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Va. Carter arrived first, and broke his usual pre-debate pattern by going through an on-the-spot question-and-answer rehearsal with staff members playing the role of his journalist interrogators. Ford was content simply to check the lighting and the sound system inside the auditorium, the Phi Beta Kappa Memorial Hall. But the First Lady, who accompanied the President to a debate for the first time, strolled over to the lectern that Carter would use and penciled a note: "Dear Mr. Carter, May I wish you the best tonight. I am sure the best man will win. I happen to have a favorite candidate, my husband, President Ford. Best Wishes, Betty Ford."

The first half of the debate was marked by several questions that called on the candidates to justify past personal actions. Challenged to explain whether he had helped to limit one of the early Watergate probes, Ford insisted that his actions had been fully investigated and that he had been given "a clean bill of health." (Carter let the matter rest without response, the first time in any debate that either candidate has waived his rebuttal.) The President also had to defend Gen. George S. Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who described Britain as a "pathetic" country. Ford praised Brown as America's "outstanding military leader and strategist," and said that since the Air Force officer had apologized, there was no justification in asking for his resignation.

Carter managed to turn aside a potentially embarrassing question about his Playboy interview by acknowledging that it was a mistake and saying, "If I should ever decide in the

Regardless of which man you happen to prefer—Carter or Ford—which one do you feel can do a better job of handling each of the following problems? **

CARTER FORD

Reducing inflation

44% 43%

Handling foreign policy

25% 62%

Reducing unemployment

57% 26%

Holding down government spending

37% 49%

Building trust in government

47% 37%

**"Neithers" and "undecideds" omitted

In the course of the campaign, a number of things have been said by or about the candidates. Have the following affected your intention to vote for either candidate?

President Ford's comments that Eastern European countries are not dominated by the Soviet Union.

YES NO
37% 62%

DON'T KNOW/
HADN'T HEARD OF

1%

If yes, did this make you more likely or less likely to vote for him?

MORE LIKELY LESS LIKELY DON'T KNOW

2% 29% 6%

President Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon

YES NO DON'T KNOW/
HADN'T HEARD OF

53% 47% 0%

The language Jimmy Carter used about sex and his personal feelings about morality in the Playboy interview.

YES NO
26% 72%

DON'T KNOW/
HADN'T HEARD OF

2%

If yes, did this make you more likely or less likely to vote for him?

MORE LIKELY LESS LIKELY DON'T KNOW

3% 18% 5%

If yes, did this make you more likely or less likely to vote for him?

MORE LIKELY LESS LIKELY DON'T KNOW

4% 44% 5%

THE DEBATE

POLITE FIGHT ON CAMPUS

Jimmy Carter's first-debate nervousness had vanished. Gerald Ford's second-debate foot-in-mouth was cured. Both candidates were more poised, presidential and restrained than before—in fact, at times they sounded downright angelic. Both avoided the kind of fatal gaffe that inspires a politician's nightmares. The verbal slips were slight. Old Football Player Ford began to predict improved economic prospects for “the fifth quarter” and quickly checked himself. Carter, often accused of changing his mind, said he would select Supreme Court Justices “who would most accurately reflect my own basic political philosophy as best I could determine it.”

Overall, Ford was pushed more often into defensive positions. The three reporters, including a notably haughty Joseph Kraft, hurled some of their fastest pitches at the President—although other questions (about the propriety of constitutional amendments, the “urban intentions” of the candidates) were, in the trade idiom, real softballs. Carter exploited the challenger's advantage of attacking the incumbent's record. Both candidates probably reinforced their supporters' choice. Loosening his grip on the podium, Ford used hand gestures and head movements more freely than in the past. Carter's softer, yet still coolly assertive tone may well have gained him an edge among the voters who now matter most: the undecided. Highlights:

SACRIFICES. When asked what sacrifices they would ask the American people to make to achieve their presidential goals, neither candidate demanded much. Ford suggested vaguely that people would have to “tighten their belts” to meet some domestic problems and would have to spend “a few billion dollars more on defense,” but he made it all palatable by promising a tax cut for middle-income people. Carter contended that Americans would have to sacrifice less under him, mainly because of lower unemployment. He asked only for “voluntary price restraint” and guidelines to check inflation.

THE CAMPAIGN. Carter's most effective moment may have been his frank admission that he had made mistakes in the long campaign (“This is part of just being a human being”), particularly his *Playboy* interview. He ticked off other notables who had been interviewed by *Playboy* (Treasury Secretary William Simon, Walter Cronkite and Albert

Schweitzer) but conceded, “They weren't running for President.” He now knows, he said, that he should not have granted the interview. Then he vowed that his campaign would not get personal in its final days, but predicted that Ford's would. Ford admitted that he, like “most others in the political arena,” had been guilty of using “rather graphic language” in the campaign.

WATERGATE. Once again, Ford refused to amplify his role in blocking an early House Banking Committee inquiry into the origins of Watergate, standing on his testimony at the vice-presidential confirmation hearings in 1973. At issue is whether Ford acted at the direction of aides to Richard Nixon, as recently claimed by former White House Counsel John Dean, or only at the request of Republicans on the Banking Committee, as Ford claimed in the debate. Ford declined to urge that Nixon tapes of the period be examined. He was misleading in claiming that both the

Watergate special prosecutor and Attorney General Edward Levi had investigated the topic and cleared him; they had merely refused to open full investigations into it. As the *Los Angeles Times*' Jack Nelson pointed out, a clearer explanation could reasonably be asked of Ford. Carter scored by declining—for the first time in any of the debates—to comment at all on the opponent's answer.

YUGOSLAVIA. Ford's best moment came as he justifiably attacked Carter for saying that, as President, he would not send U.S. troops into Yugoslavia to counter a Soviet attack in the wake of President Tito's eventual death. Ford declared firmly that “it's unwise for a President to signal in advance what options he might exercise if any international problem arose.” He recalled that Secretary of State Dean Acheson had drawn a U.S. defense perimeter in 1950 that did not include South Korea and suggested (“I can't prove it's true or untrue”) that it may have invited the North Koreans to invade. Carter also flubbed by saying that a Soviet move into Yugoslavia involved “the internal affairs of another country.” He had a point when he argued that such a move was highly unlikely and would not directly threaten U.S. security. But security is a flexible concept; he failed to note that an invasion of Yugoslavia would rock all

of Europe and could have unforeseen global repercussions.

GENERAL BROWN. Neither debater distinguished himself in handling the question of what should have been done about the ill-advised comments of General George Brown, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In a recent interview Brown called Israel “a burden” to the U.S., and Great Britain “a pathetic thing”; in 1974 he had charged that Jews unduly influenced Congress, banks and newspapers. Ford claimed, erroneously, that Brown had been “reprimanded”—a severe step in dealing with high military officers. The general was not even given a personal presidential scolding, much less a formal reprimand. Carter said merely that Ford should have issued a quicker clarification that Brown's statements did not reflect U.S. policy.

VICE PRESIDENTS. Convinced that Walter Mondale has more presidential stature than Robert Dole, Carter cited his running mate as the kind of person he would bring into Government if he wins. Carter said he was now more sure than ever that Mondale was “the best person qualified to be President if something should happen to me,” and declared he had never heard Ford make a similar claim about Robert Dole. Ford defended Dole, who was in the audience with his wife. But, while he said Dole was “fully qualified” to be President, he did not claim that his running mate was the best qualified.

THE CITIES. Carter scored by charging that the Ford Administration “has no urban policy.” He cited the now famous New York *Daily News* headline that followed Ford's refusal to bail New York City out of its fiscal crisis—**FORD TO CITY: DROP DEAD.** Carter criticized the shrinkage of the federal share of education costs under the “Nixon-Ford Administration,” urged that the Federal Government gradually take on a larger share of welfare costs, and suggested that revenue-sharing funds go entirely to cities, cutting out such aid to states. Ford failed to argue, as he had done effectively in the past, that he held off aid to New York until the city reformed its unsound management. Ford's counterargument implied that funds for revenue sharing and community development were adequate. As examples of his concern for urban areas, he cited his Administration's tax incentive for industry to move into depressed areas and efforts to reduce down payments required for FHA housing loans.

CIVIL RIGHTS. Carter used some of his sharpest language in attacking the Administration's record on civil rights, claiming that Ford's glowing description of that record “is hard to recognize.” As evidence of his Administration's con-

OUT OF THE ROSE GARDEN

A few days before the Republican convention in Kansas City last August, President Gerald Ford and his top political advisers assembled at the White House to war-game the fall campaign. Political director Stuart Spencer prepared himself for a few awkward moments that day. His private polls had suggested that voters warned to the image of President Ford—an amiable man—but chilled quickly in the presence of Candidate Ford—a chronic bumbler. Broaching the bad news was a rather sensitive chore, since Ford loves to campaign: as a congressman he had spent 200 days a year out politicking; as Vice President he had logged 60 trips beyond Washington in eight months alone. But Spencer, an earthy man, lost no time in trying to neutralize what he took to be Ford's main liability—himself. "Mr. President," he said bluntly, "as much as you love it, you are a f---ed-up campaigner."

The President winced, recalls one eyewitness; but if the assessment was hard, the President's men believed it was necessary—and inescapable. "We had to find a way to run an aggressive campaign without campaigning aggressively," explained one top Ford strategist last week. The solution they finally hit upon was for Ford to restrain his appetite for the open road, stick close by the White House, husband his campaign funds for an October media blitz and his nerve for a go-for-broke road tour during the last ten days before Election Day. Ford listened stonily, accepted a 200-page draft of the proposed game plan, read it that evening and reconvened his counselors the next day. "That was a pretty comprehensive report," he said a bit bleakly. "I'll buy it."

As a gamble, they added what came to be called "the debate option" to Ford's home-and-garden campaign. At the GOP convention in Kansas City, Ford took the podium for his acceptance speech, stared hard into the TV cameras and said: "I'm ready, I'm eager to go before the American people and debate the real issues face to face with Jimmy Carter." The President's rhetoric was bullish but Ford had another important goal in mind: to throw Carter on the defensive and to freeze, or upset, his opponent's lead in the polls by encouraging voters to keep their minds open until after the first debate in late September.

'HE WAVERS, HE WAFFLES'

Starting a week after Labor Day, Ford made six modest campaign trips, traveling 8,659 miles, visiting twelve states and 30 cities—a snail's pace in the age of jet-propelled Presidential campaigns. He opened in Ann Arbor at the University of Michigan with a bland attack on Carter ("Trust is not being all things to all people"). He reached the backstretch last week in Illinois talking a good deal tougher about his foe ("He wavers, he wanders, he wiggles, he

waffles"). But mostly Ford stayed home, signing bills or vetoing them, trotting guests through the Rose Garden—and picking up the inevitable TV time on the evening news. "We went with the Rose Garden strategy because it was our only hope," conceded one of the President's more candid men last week. "But we realized that we'd have to get plenty of help from Jimmy Carter—and we got it."

After Carter's lust-in-my-heart interview in *Playboy*, Spencer burst triumphantly into the office of a colleague and exulted, "We just won the election." When the Associated Press ran a botched advance text of an interview in which Carter appeared to be advocating higher taxes for people

earning more than the median income (about half the working population), another Ford tactician predicted sunnily that Carter had "written off part of the country with the *Playboy* thing and the rest with the tax thing." And when Ford trounced Carter in the first debate over domestic policy at the old Walnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia, the wisdom of Ford's war of attrition against Carter seemed manifest. "I really thought we had the little sun-uvabitch finished," recalled one Ford staffer a bit ruefully last week.

INTO THE ROUGH

But Ford ran into his own share of bumps. He drew damaging headlines over his campaign finances as a congressman and his golf dates with lobbyists; he got bad marks from the General Accounting Office for the Mayaguez incident, though it remained on balance a political plus for him; he was embarrassed in the Bible Belt and in black areas by the smutty, anti-black jokes of his Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz—and hurt in the Farm Belt when he let the popular Butz resign in disgrace.

Ford gamely went about his selected rounds nonetheless, echoing some of Carter's own lines as he preached self-help, balanced budgets and smaller government. His campaign fight song neatly capsuled his message: "I'm feeling good about America, I'm feeling good about me." But not about Jimmy Carter: Ford sought to cast him as a naïve New Dealing liberal. "Mr. Carter and his party offer more promises, more programs, more spending, more taxes, more inflation," he said. "Jerry Ford says that government is already too large, too powerful, too costly, too remote and too deeply involved in your personal lives."

If the message was appealing, Ford's delivery was seldom incandescent; his speeches were sprinkled with astonishing semi-sequiturs and malaprops. During a foray into Carter country he said in Biloxi, "As we drove across the great state of Mississippi this morning from New Orleans I could not help but see some of the greatest recreation areas that you have all along the coast," then concluded, "Gosh, I think we ought to make it very clear right now: all right-believing people who are law-abiding ought to have the traditional



The President: A war of attrition and a race to the wire

MR. OUTSIDE IN STRIDE

It was a painful business for a man who began in national politics as Mr. Outside: begging help from the established insiders of the Democratic Party. But Jimmy Carter's run for President had gone suddenly disaster-prone, and he sent his resident wise man Charles Kirbo to Washington in September to treat with a roomful of nervous Congressional Democrats from eleven key states. Their private sit-down was at first smoky with complaints about the failures of tact and judgment then afflicting the Carter campaign. The air

cleared only when Colorado's Sen. Gary Hart, who managed the great McGovern misadventure of 1972, interjected calmly: "Look—Carter's getting his sea legs. If he gets them, he'll win. If he doesn't, he'll lose. It's as simple as that."



Painting by Stan Hunter

The challenger: 'If he gets his sea legs, he'll win'

Getting his sea legs has been anything but simple for Jimmy Carter. He has tried a bit of everything in his long autumn of on-the-job training in Presidential politics. He has played the Gentle Jimmy preaching love and compassion and the Tough Jimmy attacking Gerald Ford as brainwashed; the Democratic Jimmy embracing the party tradition and the Independent Jimmy keeping his distance from it; the Zero-Based Jimmy pledging a balanced budget by 1981 and the Bounteous Jimmy promising everything from full employment to a concert by the New York Philharmonic in Brooklyn. The search has stretched his smile thin in public, reduced him to passages of glowering silence offstage—and only lately returned him full circle to the evangelical Winning Jimmy persona that got him nominated.

His problems have been in important part his own. He remains a bit of an odd man out in American politics—the object of

lingering unease over his Southern roots, his born-again religion and his own single-minded absorption with winning. He has, moreover, gone from new face to old in a single year; familiarity has bred, if not contempt, a 30-point slide in his standing against Ford in the polls. He and his novitiate staffers stumbled into a run of damaging errors early on. His people overscheduled his body and underadvanced his travels. Carter himself confessed the lusts of his heart to *Playboy* and the vagueness of his tax-reform plans to the *Associated Press*. His campaign, through a bumpy September, seemed to lose both direction and speed—"as if," said one junior staffer, "it was a rocket ship running into the earth."

Carter has been further bedeviled by the central strategic problem of running against an incumbent President—a puzzle his handlers, by their own confession, underestimated

Jimmy Carter, Meet Emperor Diocletian

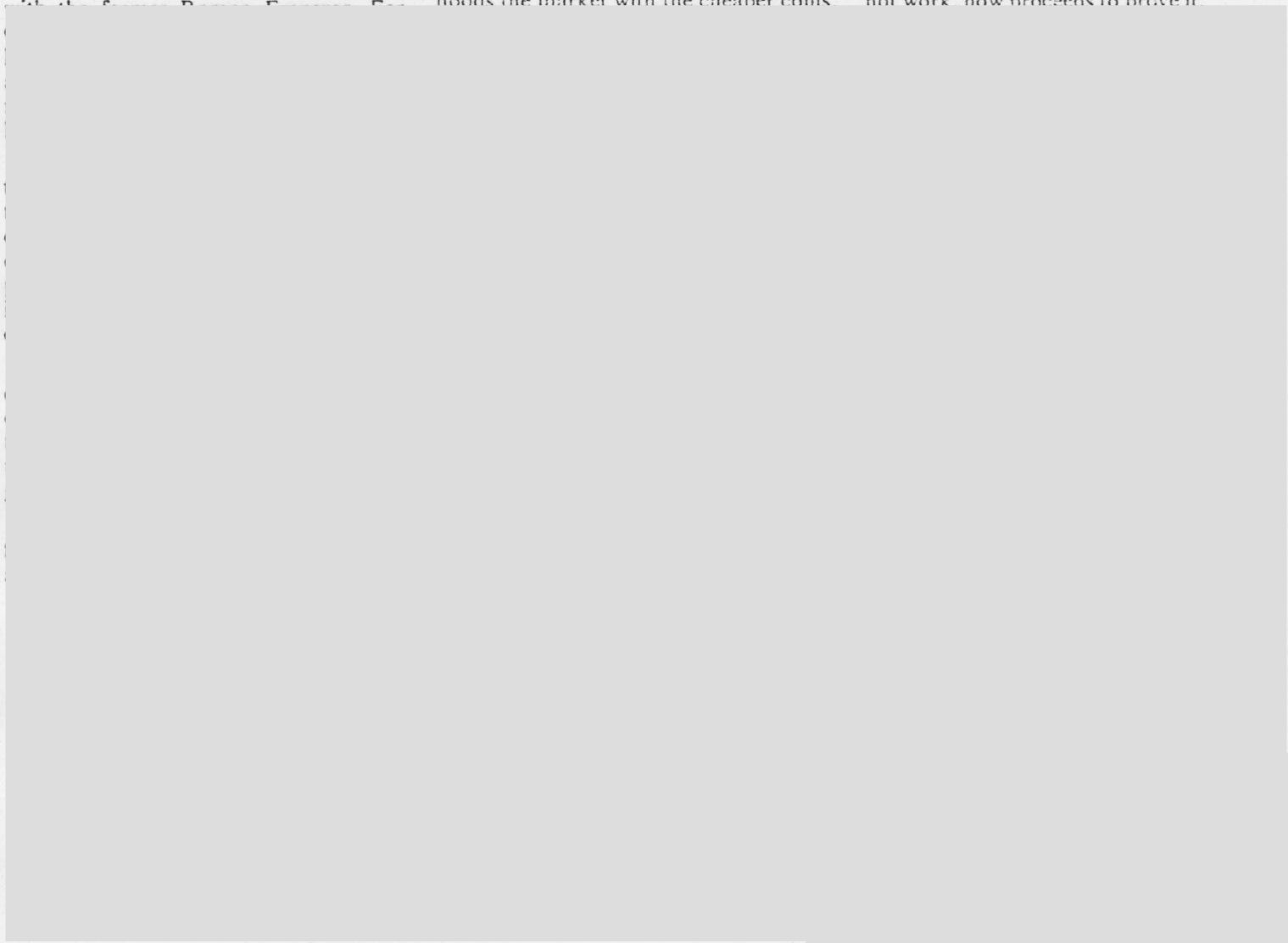
By LOUIS RUKEYSER

Jimmy Carter, meet the Emperor Diocletian.

The former Georgia governor has more than he may realize in common

with the Roman emperor. They have both been given coins of silver-washed copper—and they don't trust them. Diocletian, after trying to get things back on a sound basis, in effect gives up—and floods the market with the cheaper coins.

Flash forward now to 1971, 1,670 years later. The President of the United States, having told the nation for three years that wage and price controls would not work, now proceeds to prove it.



Human Events, 10/30/76

Ford Shuns Advice in Signing New Health Manpower Bill

The President has apparently listened to the American Medical Association instead of the executive branch staff in signing a bill he once might have opposed.

BY JOHN K. IGLEHART

With no fanfare and little enthusiasm, President Ford has signed into law a major health manpower bill. Ford's decision ran contrary to the advice of vir-

committee on Health, urged the imposition of new regulatory controls to distribute health personnel. Kennedy proposed to tie a school's eligibility for so-called capitation grants, the heart of federal subsidies provided

schools regarded this as the most repugnant provision in the act.

Ford's view: Ford said in a statement distributed after he signed the bill that he would submit legislative recommendations to the 95th Congress in

Ford's Poland Remarks Clarify Kissinger's Policy

By M. STANTON EVANS

President Ford's assertion that Communist Poland is a free and independent state—despite the presence there of Soviet troops—has been treated as a monumental blunder, and it was that.

The problem, however, is something

That ambiguity concerning the status of Eastern Europe is White House dogma was further suggested by Mrs. Ford's explanatory effort. "President Ford and I have both visited Poland, and many of the nations that are supposed to be under

Possony observed, "we entertain the false notion that by playing the famous Chinese act of the three monkeys—see nothing, hear nothing, say nothing—we could enhance the chances of peace. So we are blind, deaf and dumb about human

political heat, can hardly be put down to simple confusion. That repetition suggests we are dealing, not with a momentary goof, but with a global outlook that dictates a certain presidential posture.

Human Events, 10/30/76

BEHIND THE JOBLESS RATE— AS A TOP ECONOMIST SEES IT

Interview With Walter E. Hoadley,
Executive Vice President, Bank of America

Changing life styles, faulty education, business worries—all are compounding the problem of unemployment. Mr. Hoadley sizes up the situation, offers ideas on how to create jobs, in this interview conducted by Juanita Hogue, head of our Los Angeles bureau.

Q Mr. Hoadley, why are so many people out of work at a time when the country is enjoying a high level of prosperity?

A A couple of factors are tending to keep the unemployment rate higher than it would otherwise be:

In the first place, there are more people—including many women—nowadays who are moving in and out of the labor market as the spirit moves them. One day they'll decide, "Let's go get some bread money," and they'll go to work for a time. A few months later, they'll decide they've had enough of working and quit. Now, I'm not indicting anyone for that. I'm simply saying that's the life style a good many people have chosen, and it has an enormous impact on the unemployment rate.

The second reason that the rate stays high is equally significant, and that is that many employers are dragging their feet. There is a great reluctance on the part of investors and business executives to make commitments that will create more jobs.

Q Why are they holding back?

A The average business executive doesn't want to hire somebody unless he feels he can keep him or her on the payroll for a considerable period of time. He doesn't like having to order layoffs.

Beyond that, when he looks at the cost of adding someone to the work force, he finds that it's not just a matter of paying wages. Fringe benefits add about 35 per cent to the basic wage rate, so you're talking about an investment of \$20,000 to \$30,000 a year.

That makes the employer more inclined to use his present work force overtime or buy a piece of labor-saving machinery instead of putting on an additional shift that would employ a lot of new people.

Q Are you saying that the typical businessman isn't ure how long this period of business expansion will last?

A Right. Inflation has created a great deal of uncertainty. And, of course, it also adds greatly to the cost of installing new facilities that will expand output and add

to the number of job opportunities over the long run. A plant that used to cost 50 million dollars may now cost 150 or 300 million. That's big money.

You can't get that kind of money back except over a period of years during which your return on the investment will depend on your ability to increase your prices, because wages and salaries are going to go up. The average corporation executive today assumes that he needs at least a cost-of-living increase for his company every year that is about equal to the wage increase he grants his employees.

That raises the question of whether price increases will fly politically. The greatest haunting fear is that inflation, however it is caused, will lead to another round of price controls. If the business executive gets caught by price controls before he gets his prices up, the return on investments in new plants may be reduced by a third or a half or even turned into a loss.

Q Is the election adding to the feeling of uncertainty?

A That's always the case. Yet I think that 19 out of 20 times, the U.S. has had a better year—from an economic standpoint—after an election. That may be due to the seeding of new ideas or simply to relief that the election is out of the way. In any event, the next year is almost inevitably going to be a better year, regardless of who is elected President.

The problem that is worrying investors, not only in the U.S. but all over the world, is: How much freedom will you have to manage your assets? In one country after another, there is a shift to the left—with income policies, joint labor-management control of companies and so on.

Q In your travels around the world, do you find foreign investors worrying about the trends in the U.S.?

A No. There's still a basic optimism about this country. Our friends overseas tell us our market system is the best thing going in the world.

We're the only country of any significance that came

through the recession with an attitude that we've got to clean house, get rid of fat and waste, and get our organizations in excellent shape so as to reduce costs. So we are in the strongest competitive position in a generation as a result of a very difficult, frustrating recession.

Q What is needed to get business leaders to step up their investments in new facilities?

A If the next Congress and the President adopt the attitude that productivity and investment should be encouraged, that could make a profound difference to the boards of directors and to



Mr. Hoadley, 60, has had long experience as an authority on the economy. Before joining the Bank of America, he was senior economist of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, and vice president and treasurer of Armstrong Cork Company.