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*THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, APRIL 30, 1976*

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# A Hidden Asset Campaigning for Ford: His Son Jack

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*NEW YORK*

# FORD IN NEW

By Richard Reeves

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Nixon Trip: Comment

*file*

Patrick Buchanan

Capital pettiness at its worst

# Fords for Ford



As campaigners, Betty and the kids are coming on like 'Gangbusters.' In fact, Jack says of his mother, 'we didn't want her in New Hampshire too much because it would look as though Father had ridden in on her coattail.'

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**By Nick Thimmesch**

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Madison, Wisconsin

Ford: The Hollow Man  
Capital Times 5/14/76 F/E

4A NEWS-SUN

Friday, April 16, 1976

# Editorials

## Call it quits, Mr. Ford

*No idea where  
this paper is*



<sup>574110</sup>  
Joseph Kraft

North  
Crucial  
for Ford

Balt. Sun

5-4-76

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**JOSEPH KRAFT**

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*Boston Globe May 21*

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**Ford back to basics**

Joseph Kraft

THE SUN, Thursday, June 17, 1976 A 21

# Ford's Solid Economic Effort Is Obscured by Capital Hullabaloo

# Disaster in Missouri shows Ford can be beaten

By J. H. Kraft

JOSEPH KRAFT



*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

# The President's Cost-Free Advocates



Baltimore Sun  
Wednesday,  
June 30, 1976

Who?



How can readers  
judge validity  
of story with-  
out knowing  
source. Would  
source say  
same thing  
if quoted by  
Name?

R B

FUNDS 3-15

WITH POLITICS

NIGHT LD

BY CLAY F. RICHARDS



WASHINGTON (UPI) -- RONALD REAGAN'S PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN IS ALMOST \$500,000 IN DEBT, WHILE THE PRESIDENT FORD COMMITTEE HAS A RESERVE OF ALMOST \$1 MILLION, OFFICIAL SPENDING STATEMENTS SHOWED MONDAY.

REAGAN'S CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE FILED ITS MARCH 1 STATEMENT WITH THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMITTEE SHOWING DEBTS TOTALING \$688,084 AGAINST A CASH BALANCE OF ONLY \$197,606. MOST OF THE DEBT WAS FOR FUND RAISING EXPENSES.

FORD ON THE OTHER HAND SHOWED A CASH BALANCE OF \$949,212, WITH DEBTS OF ONLY \$27,000.

THE REAGAN CAMPAIGN DEBT WAS THE LARGEST OF ANY PRESIDENTIAL CONTENDER. TWO DEMOCRATS, JIMMY CARTER AND MORRIS UDALL, EARLIER REPORTED DEBTS OF LESS THAN HALF THAT AMOUNT.

REAGAN CONTINUED TO BE ABLE TO RAISE MORE MONEY THAN THE PRESIDENT, ALTHOUGH FOR THE FIRST TIME FORD WAS SHOWING SIGNS OF CATCHING UP. REAGAN HAS RAISED AND SPENT ABOUT \$5.5 MILLION, INCLUDING \$1.2 MILLION IN FEDERAL MATCHING MONEY, WHILE FORD HAS RAISED \$5 MILLION, INCLUDING ABOUT \$1 MILLION IN FEDERAL MONEY.

THE CAMPAIGN REPORTS ALSO SHOWED THAT REAGAN HAD OUTSPENT FORD IN THE EARLY PRIMARY STATES -- INCLUDING NEW HAMPSHIRE, MASSACHUSETTS AND FLORIDA WHERE THE FORMER CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR LOST TO THE PRESIDENT.

REAGAN SPENT \$115,000 IN NEW HAMPSHIRE, WHILE FORD SPENT \$94,000. FORD WON BY 1,500 VOTES. IN MASSACHUSETTS, WHERE NEITHER CANDIDATE CAMPAIGNED PERSONALLY AND WHERE FORD WON EASILY, REAGAN OUTSPENT HIS OPPONENT \$130,000 TO \$86,000.

IN FLORIDA, WHERE FORD WON AN UNEXPECTEDLY EASY PRIMARY VICTORY A WEEK AGO, REAGAN SPENT \$520,000 AND THE PRESIDENT \$405,000.

THE SPENDING PATTERN CONTINUED INTO ILLINOIS, WHICH VOTES TUESDAY. REAGAN HAD SPENT \$337,000 THERE AS OF MARCH 1, COMPARED WITH \$251,000 FOR FORD. IN NORTH CAROLINA, WHICH HOLD ITS PRIMARY NEXT WEEK IT WAS REAGAN \$188,000 AND FORD \$91,000.

THE FIGURES IN BOTH ILLINOIS AND NORTH CAROLINA DO NOT REFLECT THE COST OF FORD CAMPAIGNING IN THOSE STATES THIS MONTH.

UPI 03-15 05:34 PES

R B

POLITICS 4-1

1ST NIGHT LD A228

BY IRA R. ALLEN

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL



THE MAJOR DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES -- PLUS ONE WHO IS MAJOR AND DEMOCRATIC BUT NOT A CANDIDATE -- SPELLED OUT THEIR VIEWS TO THE PARTY'S MAYORS THURSDAY.

THE NONCANDIDATE, HUBERT HUMPHREY, STOLE THE SHOW FROM JIMMY CARTER, HENRY JACKSON AND MORRIS UDALL, WHO ESSENTIALLY AGREED ON THE NEED TO CUT THE DEFENSE BUDGET AND USE THE MONEY TO HELP SOLVE URBAN PROBLEMS.

SOME MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF DEMOCRATIC MAYORS WHO HEARD HUMPHREY'S KEYNOTE ADDRESS AFTER A FORUM WITH THE OTHER THREE MEN STOOD AND CHEERED HIS PROPOSALS SUCH AS ONE TO CREATE A "MARSHALL PLAN FOR THE CITIES TO REVERSE SEVEN SAD YEARS OF PLANNED NEGLECT BY THE NIXON-FORD ADMINISTRATION."

ANOTHER ADMINISTRATION CRITIC, RONALD REAGAN, APPARENTLY IS REAPING THE REWARDS OF HIS BATTLE TO BUY TELEVISION TIME. /HIS NATIONWIDE SPEECH WEDNESDAY NIGHT SENT TELEPHONES "COMING OFF THE HOOK" WITH POTENTIAL SUPPORTERS, AN AIDE SAID.

"WESTERN UNION SAID WE JAMMED THE COMPUTER LAST NIGHT," THE REAGAN SPOKESWOMAN SAID IN LOS ANGELES.

HOPING FOR A SIMILAR BOOST, DEMOCRATIC CONTENDER FRANK CHURCH THURSDAY ASKED THE TELEVISION NETWORKS TO SELL HIM 30 MINUTES OF PRIME TIME FOR A "LIVE ADDRESS ON MATTERS OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE TO THE PEOPLE OF OUR NATION."

CARTER, THE PARTY'S FRONT-RUNNER GOING INTO THE NEW YORK AND WISCONSIN PRIMARIES NEXT TUESDAY, WAS AGAIN PUT IN A DEFENSIVE POSITION.

UDALL CHARGED THAT CARTER'S APPROACH TO UNEMPLOYMENT IS LIKE PRESIDENT FORD'S AND "HIS FEET OUGHT TO BE HELD TO THE FIRE." A CARTER SPOKESMAN DENIED HIS PROGRAM IS ANYTHING LIKE FORD'S.

CARTER SPENT PART OF A NEWS CONFERENCE DEFENDING HIS USE OF LOCKHEED CORP. AND COCA-COLA AIRCRAFT WHILE HE WAS GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA. HE SAID IN ALL CASES THE FLIGHTS INVOLVED TRADE MISSIONS ON BEHALF OF THE STATE AND SAVED THE STATE MONEY.

BEFORE THE DEMOCRATS GOT TOGETHER AT THE FORUM ON URBAN PROBLEMS, UDALL TOLD THE FULL EMPLOYMENT ACTION COUNCIL THAT CARTER IS "FUDGING ON THE FULL EMPLOYMENT ISSUE."

PICKUP 7TH PGH: UDALL, WHO SAID

UPI 04-01 06:19 PES

November 13, 1976

White House Watch

**And So To Bed**

White House Watch

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Ford, Ruff and Buttz



Why the Election will be Close

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# Fighting the Image War

by Walter Dean Burnham

Black Power At The Polls  
(Edited, Excerpted, Christian Science Monitor)

Jimmy Carter's victory is politically significant for many reasons. But perhaps none more significant than the fact that it is America's black community that put him over the top. Clearly blacks now have new strength.

It is estimated that blacks provided the margin of victory for the former Georgia governor not only in the South, where Mr. Ford won a majority of the white vote, but in such crucial states as Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Missouri. In Ohio, for instance, Mr. Carter won by just over 7,500 votes, with 285,000 black votes. The Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington





CARTER ADMINISTRATIONOverview

also reports that he captured more than 90 per cent of the black vote in Maryland, 90 percent in Missouri, 96 per cent in Texas, and over 91 per cent in Louisiana and Mississippi.

Mr. Carter now has an opportunity to bring blacks more fairly into the executive branch of government so that decision affecting all Americans can be worked on cooperatively. We welcome this opportunity. With a sympathetic ear in the White House-and with a reinvigoration of such institutions as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has named a new executive director-blacks should be able to look forward to a new era of economic and political progress. That will spell a healthier society for all Americans. (11/8/76)

# If Onlys & What Ifs

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By William Safire

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# TIME

THE CAMPAIGN

# AVOIDING A KNOCOUT

OverviewELECTION

# A Peanut Butter and Jerry Sandwich

Issues

Joseph Kraft

# Carter On Foreign Policy

# President's Strategy: Regulated Schedule, Brief, Set Speeches

By Lou Cannon

Washington Post Staff Writer

WASH. POST, Sat., Oct. 30, 1976, Editorial Page

# *Mr. Ford's Confirmation Testimony*

# Campaign Analysis---

## Ford Static, Carter Fading



Ledy

Brachman

(delegate

(2<sup>nd</sup> list)  
won 420 votes

State Vol.

Chairman.

of P.F.C.

Carter Opens Campaign

Jimmy Carter, officially opening his campaign at Franklin Roosevelt's "Little White House" in Warm Springs, Ga., said Monday the nation needs him now as it did Roosevelt in 1932 and John Kennedy in 1960.

Introduced by Roosevelt's son, James, Carter blamed Republicans and President Ford for "terrible economic and social ills."

"This year, as in 1932, our country is divided, our people are out of work and our national leaders do not lead," he said. "This year, as in 1960, our nation is drifting, without inspiration and purpose."

Speaking of the Ford Administration, Carter said, "No one seems to be in charge, no one seems to be responsible. Every time another ship runs aground... the captain hides in his stateroom and the crew argues about who's to blame." (Networks)

Ed Rabel reported that Carter's speech did not provide any new campaign themes. Rather, he said, it was a "parroting" of his "campaign creed of broad promises" which have made him susceptible to charges of fuzziness. (CBS)

Frank Reynolds reported that nobody went wild over Carter. "However, that is not his style... Jimmy Carter runs a risk in coming to (Warm Springs), so filled with memories of Roosevelt, still sorrowing for John Kennedy. He does not have the glamour, the charisma of a Kennedy, and we cannot know if he has the vision of a Roosevelt... But he has the nomination of their party... and he is running hard," Reynolds said. (ABC)

Sam Donaldson reported that Carter begins his campaign projecting "both wariness and self-confidence -- he is campaigning as if he were the underdog but acting like he expects to win." (ABC)

Carter later flew to Darlington, S.C. He also scheduled stops at Norfolk, Va., and in New Jersey before arriving in New York City to spend the night.

The 1:00 Carter story led NBC. David Brinkley delivered an anchor report with excerpts of Carter's speech in Warm Springs.

CBS' #2 story ran 2:40 with Ed Rabel reporting. The film showed excerpts of Carter's Warm Springs speech, his address and car ride at the Darlington racetrack. Dole was also shown in the Darlington crowd.

The lead story for ABC ran 3:00 with film showing the Warm Springs address, Carter riding in the Car at Darlington (Dole was shown in the crowd at Carter's address) and at the Norfolk airport. Sam Donaldson did his wrapup at the airport. AP,UPI,Networks — (9/6/76)



Jaworski: No Cause for Further Probe of  
Ford Campaign Finances

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dole Implies Camp. Probe Is Politically Motivated

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

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

John P. Roche

Some political paper airplanes



Why a Majority Hasn't Emerged

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# **The Mobile Home of Republicanism**

by Henry Fairlie

THE PRESIDENCY/HUGH SIDNEY

Watergate: Still an Issue?

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## FORD LEAD

BY HOWARD BENEDICT

VAIL, COLO. (AP) -- PRESIDENT FORD PLOTTED HIS FALL CAMPAIGN WITH POLITICAL STRATEGISTS TODAY BEFORE HOLDING A PARTY UNITY MEETING WITH REPUBLICANS WHOSE VIEWS RANGE FROM MODERATE TO CONSERVATIVE.

ARRIVING HERE FOR LATE AFTERNOON AND EVENING SESSIONS WITH THE PRESIDENT WERE KANSAS SEN. BOB DOLE, WHO IS FORD'S RUNNING MATE; VICE PRESIDENT NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER, AND FORMER TEXAS GOV. JOHN B. CONNOLLY.

ROCKEFELLER IS EXPECTED TO PLAY A ROLE IN PROMOTING FORD TO MODERATES AND LIBERALS FOR THE NOV. 2 ELECTION. THAT WING OF THE PARTY FELT LEFT OUT AT LAST WEEK'S REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION IN THE PLATFORM DEBATES AND WHEN THE PRESIDENT PICKED CONSERVATIVE DOLE AS HIS VICE PRESIDENTIAL CHOICE.

FORD WANTS TO ENLIST CONNOLLY, REPORTEDLY DISAPPOINTED AT NOT BEING TAGGED FOR THE NO. 2 SPOT, TO HELP HEAL WOUNDS WITH THE EXTREME RIGHT WING OF THE PARTY, WHICH SUPPORTED RONALD REAGAN.

ROCKEFELLER AND CONNOLLY MAY BE NAMED TO MEMBERSHIP OF A CAMPAIGN STEERING COMMITTEE HEADED BY ROGERS C. B. MORTON, WHO WAS REPLACED WEDNESDAY AS FORD'S CAMPAIGN CHAIRMAN BY JAMES BAKER III.

MORTON, WHO SAID HE WANTED TO BE RELIEVED OF DAY-TO-DAY DIRECTION OF THE CAMPAIGN IN ORDER TO "TRAVEL ACROSS THE COUNTRY AS AN ADVOCATE," SAID THE STEERING COMMITTEE WILL PROMOTE GOP UNITY, SERVE AS A FORUM FOR STRATEGY TALKS AND ASSESS THE PROGRESS OF THE CAMPAIGN.

IN ANOTHER MOVE TOWARD PARTY UNITY AFTER THE DIVISIVE BATTLE BETWEEN FORD AND REAGAN, WHITE HOUSE CHIEF OF STAFF RICHARD CHENEY IS EXPECTED TO MEET SOON WITH REAGAN IN CALIFORNIA.

PRESS SECRETARY RON NESSEN WAS ASKED BY REPORTERS THURSDAY IF IT WAS PERHAPS WRONG FOR CHENEY, AS FORD'S TOP WHITE HOUSE AID, TO BE TAKING SUCH A BIG ROLE IN THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN. CHENEY IS LIAISON BETWEEN THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE PRESIDENT FORD COMMITTEE HEADED BY BAKER.



Conservatives in Charge

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# The Elephant Graveyard

by Henry Fairlie

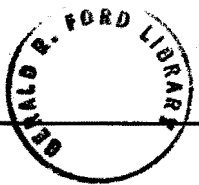


# White House Watch

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# GOP Chums

*Kansas City*



Patrick Buchanan

Gimme that old-time incentive



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Running Carter Against Himself

Dem Convention: Comment

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# Carter's Problems

by Ken Bode

# Once again, Reagan hits and Ford fields

August 7 & 14, 1976

White House Watch

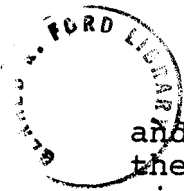
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**Nixon's Devils**

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

# The President's Cost-Free Advocates

It's Middletown, Mr. President  
(Neil Mehler, excerpted, Chicago Tribune)

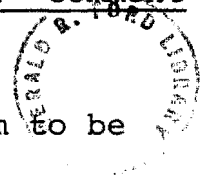


President Ford campaigned in Ohio for six hours on May 26 and was quite unexciting. This week he returned, just before the Ohio primary. On this eight-city trip Gerald Ford showed signs of, at last, becoming a campaigner of sorts.

Though his gestures are still ungraceful and contrived, though he speaks woodenly -- referring to himself as "President Ford" and "Jerry Ford" -- and though he still murders the English language on occasion, he is much improved over previous primaries and even over May 26 here.

Ford doesn't raise a crowd to fever pitch, like Reagan, nor does he give it humor or emotional catch-phrases. He is, however, much less demagogic than Reagan and appears, while nowhere near as polished, to be an informed, sincere man trying his best. There is nothing of the theatrical about Ford, and this can cut both ways. It makes him less interesting to watch and listen to

C-12



but also avoids the pitfall of having the candidate seem to be a 90% package and only 10% content.

On the press bus that followed Ford's motorcade, Ron Nessen read the New York Times Sunday Magazine profile of Ford that had come out the previous day and told its author, "slow reading. I fall asleep at times reading it." To which the author, James Naughton, replied: "It mirrors the campaign."

Nessen seemed uninformed about what Ford would say at his stops. When the bus moved on after a stop, Nessen could not fill in details about what Ford had just said.

The President, as he has done throughout the year, reached into his federal cookie jar several times along the trail and bestowed goodies on the natives.

At Middletown, he called the place "Middleton" so many times that Republican bigwigs traveling with him slipped him a note with the correct pronunciation underlined and, that not working, finally whispered in his ear.

The President was, as he always is, on the defensive about every issue Reagan has raised in the campaign. At Bowling Green, for example, he volunteered that "there is not a scintilla of evidence that the Ford administration has given up anything to the Soviet Union or People's Republic of China."

He continued to use football metaphors and he proclaimed proudly that Ohio State University's football coach had endorsed him.

The question appears to be, if Ford wins the nomination, can he campaign in this cumbersome manner, reacting to Democratic charges the way he has to Reagan's charges, and win any support? If he continues on the defensive up to November 2, Jimmy Carter may look like the greatest campaigner and the brightest hope the American people have ever seen.

We judge people, in this business of politics, by a lot of superficial standards. That's the way it is, and Ford could still stand to polish his act a little. -- (6/12/76)



Reagan Criticizes Admin For Secrecy

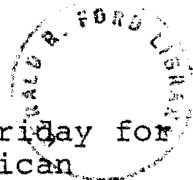
Ronald Reagan criticized the Ford administration Friday for failing to release the complete text of the Soviet-American treaty before it was signed. Reagan said this is the pattern of secrecy the Administration has always followed in foreign policy.

Reagan did not criticize the purpose of the treaty, Catherine Mackin (NBC) reported, only the way it was negotiated.

Reagan said (on NBC film): "This seems to be the developing pattern of secrecy on the part of this administration with regard to the American people and what they're entitled to know. I hope, as I'm sure everyone hopes, that it is a legitimate thing, that maybe it is going to remove the threat of the holocaust a little further from reality, but again, why then shouldn't it have been, you know, the summary is on the front page and the headline news, but why wasn't there that little note to turn to page 14 and read the complete text of the agreement?"

"Ronald Reagan and his people are on guard for any move by the White House, for any use of the Presidency, that would give the advantage to Ford. The treaty with the Soviets no doubt falls into this category," Catherine Mackin (NBC) reported.

-- ABC;NBC (5/28/76)



(Actually  
NYT carried  
Text on  
Page 4.)

Bus Politics

(Editorial, excerpted, Charlotte Observer)

A Great Debate has been going on up there at Election Central, sometimes known as the White House: How can we play the old political game on school integration without making it look very political? The answer is, no way. Americans have become so accustomed to cheap politics in this matter that they will not be deceived.

At the direction of the presidential candidate who lives in the White House? Well, White House spokesmen confirmed Tuesday, President Ford had instructed the attorney general some time ago to pick out an appropriate case in which "to ask the court (the Supreme Court) to reexamine busing as a remedy and to explore alternative solutions which are less destructive of the fabric of our community life." But no, they said, Mr. Ford did not say jump into Boston. He just said an appropriate place.

At an appropriate time, too? Primaries will be held this Tuesday in Kentucky and Tennessee, where Louisville and Memphis have undergone duress in school desegregation.

Sen. Edward Brooke (R-Mass.) heard about the Levi-Bork plan and called the President -- or, to put it more properly in this case, the presidential candidate. Sen. Brooke quoted Ford as saying the Levi-Bork work "has been done without my consent or direction and without my knowledge." It was afterward that the White House said, well, yes, Mr. Ford actually had told the attorney general some time ago to find a case.

It is not clear where the Administration's maneuverings will come out on this matter. If the Justice Department goes into court with a Save Gerry Ford plan, the result may or may not affect areas such as Charlotte which have admirably moved on with the task of quietly working for integrated schools of good quality.

When the game is simply cynical politics, any kind of pitch can be made to the Supreme Court. What the Supreme Court would do is another matter. By then, the election would be over anyway. -- (5/23/76)



COMMENT

Mr. Ford's Days of Tribulation

(By Joseph C. Harsch, excerpted, C.S. Monitor)



The days between the Texas primary and Michigan and Maryland primaries were trying and testing ones for President Gerald Ford. How well did he do in his tests?

The most spectacular thing he did during those days broke into the news as voters were going to the polls in Michigan and Maryland. Ford directed Atty. Gen. Levi to seek a Supreme Court test of court-ordered busing.

White House spokesmen of course denied that there was the slightest intention of trying to influence the outcome of the voting on that day. White House spokesmen also denied that the primaries had anything to do with canceling speeches Secretary Kissinger had been scheduled to make in California, or putting off the signing of a treaty with the Soviet Union to ban underground nuclear testing, or an obvious though unofficial slowdown on negotiations for a treaty with Panama handing the Canal Zone over to Panamanian jurisdiction, or a collapse of administration resistance to larger appropriations for military programs much desired by the American aircraft industry.

Incumbent presidents running for election are human. Like other politicians they too do and say things during a campaign which they would not be doing or saying were there no campaign.

It would seem to be an observable, although not an admitted, fact that Ronald Reagan has caused President Ford to revise a number of policy positions. The Panama Canal issue has been put off certainly until after the primaries, probably until after the election. The busing issue, long dormant so far as the White House was concerned, has been reopened. Secretary Kissinger is behaving as though he had been told to suspend foreign policy. Armament stocks are booming on the prospect of more funds for weapons than President Ford and the Treasury had intended.

Whether any one of these changes is desirable or undesirable is a matter of personal opinion. I raise here not a question about any one of the policies which have been altered, but the question whether a president should alter presidential policies during the campaign because of things said in the campaign.

Ford, it seems to me, would have better sustained the dignity of his high office, and his own personal dignity as well, had he ignored criticism of his policies and gone on doing the duties for which he was selected just as though no campaign were under way. He has a remarkably good record in the matters which are most important. The country is at peace. The economy is recovering

in a steady and healthy manner from an unpleasant attack of inflation with recession. That is a lot for any one man to preside over. Ford has every right to be pleased with his record.

Instead of standing on his accomplishments he has let himself be diverted and distracted by attacks in other and less vital areas. His advisers can argue from the Michigan and Maryland results that his policy changes seem to be paying off. The case is interesting, but not persuasive. How many voters actually changed because they learned on their way to the polls that Ford wants the Supreme Court to review court-ordered busing? I suspect that very few were so influenced.

There has been left over from the first half of May a general impression of a man in the White House who seems less than sure of his own policies and positions and who can be pushed from them fairly easily by a shrewd jab on the hustings. The effects of this could in the long run outweigh any short-term advantage from the policy changes. -- (5/27/76)

Ford Regulatory Proposal a Sensible Reform Plan  
(Editorial, excerpted, Detroit Free Press)

Some people are dismissing it as just another campaign ploy designed to counter the anti-Washington attacks of Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter, and probably there is much of that involved.

But President Ford's plan for a four-year effort to reform government regulatory agencies shouldn't be dismissed as a rather aimless shot from the hip. Ford has been saying from almost the moment he took office that deregulation was a major concern of his.

Actually, the plan that the President has submitted makes a good deal of sense. It provides an orderly, yet not tedious process through which every major area that is now regulated will be examined. It has the potential to throw out the overly cumbersome and ill-conceived rules while still maintaining those that may prove necessary.

It is, of course, far too early to tell what the results of the four-year process would be, but the mechanism is a decent one. And, as the administration has said, it should serve to focus public attention and opinion on the deregulation question both in general and specific terms. -- (5/22/76)



Pressure to Drop Kissinger Builds After Africa, Texas

(A transcript of Monday's "First Line Report" by Dan Rather on the CBS radio network, excerpted, Boston Globe)

Henry Kissinger: Does he stay, resign or get kicked out? Henry Kissinger is back from Africa and not a minute too soon if he wants to hold onto his job. While he was away, pressure built on Gerald Ford to drop him. Pressure to drop Dr. Kissinger is not new, some of it has been around Mr. Ford from the moment he got the presidency from Richard Nixon.

Mr. Ford has been standing by Secretary Kissinger steadfastly. But two new ingredients, explosive ones, lately have been added -- Dr. Kissinger's African safari and the Texas primary. Mr. Ford could have kept Kissinger from going to Africa. He didn't. That fact gives fuel to those, especially those within the Republican party, who say, whether true or not, Mr. Ford gives Dr. Kissinger whatever he wants, that Mr. Ford doesn't control Secretary Kissinger, that it is the other way around.

The argument is made that Kissinger was so eager to make his version of detente with the Soviet Union work, that he got taken by the Soviets, that they had their colonizing army from Cuba, their army by proxy, roll into Angola and take it while Kissinger was diverted with illusions of detente grandeur.

Then, so the accusations go, Kissinger responded by dallying and losing. Then followed up by hastily arranging the African tour, which, so the critical arguments go, wound up with the Secretary saying the wrong things about the wrong people at the wrong time.

By the way, one sub-argument goes, that if the U.S. wanted to get tough in Africa, Angola was the place to do it, since we had black African allies there, not in Rhodesia, where the U.S. is saddled, rightly or wrongly, with defending against the Soviets a white minority colonial regime.

In terms of pressure on Mr. Ford to rid himself of Mr. Kissinger, arguments come in that Kissinger's anti-Rhodesian white power arguments could not have been timed worse, coming as they did in the last critical stages of the Texas primary, where Mr. Ford got wiped out.

A case can be and is argued that it was the Ford Texas campaign people, including more than a few of Mr. Ford's own White House hotshots, who engaged in too little, too late. But all of that simply by way of background. It doesn't change the fact that Secretary Kissinger is being blamed by many with Mr. Ford's loss in Texas. Beyond that, many of these same insiders with Ford

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HAK/Africa Trip: Comment

maintain that their man could blunt Reagan's whole foreign policy offensive by naming a new Secretary of State, a hard-line conservative such as John Connally, or Melvin Laird, or anyone of a dozen others.

Secretary Kissinger's personal arrogance or appearance of arrogance is a factor in this. So is the fact that he has been around for so long. And the fact that he is a Nixon holdover. Some of the opposition to him, let's face it, also none too subtly anti-semitic.

He has done, in the eyes of many foreign policy experts, worldwide, an excellent job. Not flawless, but on the balance, excellent. Whether history will judge him that way must await the passage of much more time. Whether he stays longer, or resigns, or is forced out now, depends on whether the pressures building on Mr. Ford from his own party's right wing prevail. --  
(5/11/76)

C-5

President Ford in Trouble  
(Editorial, excerpted, Chicago Daily News)

Only a few weeks ago, the political crystal ball was showing a scenario that went something like this: The Democrats -- so many of them in so many primaries -- would cut each other into little pieces and come into the national convention for a rough-and-tumble that would go on until a compromise candidate was agreed upon: probably the noncandidate, Hubert Humphrey. The Republicans, by contrast, would meet in Kansas City for a boring convention to nominate Gerald Ford, who would easily dispose of Ronald Reagan's brash challenge long before.

That scenario has been wiped out, the crystal ball shattered. There are still many primaries to go and the outlook in both parties could shift again. But Reagan's upset victory in Indiana clearly puts Gerald Ford in deep trouble.

The political demise of George Wallace and crossovers by conservative Democrats to support Reagan may hold part of the answer in Indiana, just as in Texas. Regional attitudes doubtless play a part, too. But Reagan's fast climb from underdog to winner in Indiana carries him beyond the status of a purely regional candidate, and may say something about deep currents of dissatisfaction in the land.

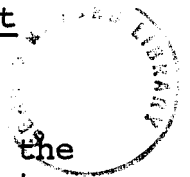
Both Reagan and Carter have thus far parlayed their "outsider" credentials successfully. Their emphasis is on the negative -- against big government, against Washington, against the establishment (shared by both parties). Vietnam and Watergate are seldom mentioned, but a loss of confidence in government and a backlash of yearning to restore faith in leadership -- even a religious faith -- are somewhere in the background.

Primaries still to come may help to sort out these undercurrents and provide a clearer reading of the national pulse. But it is President Ford who is now on the hottest spot, required to demonstrate leadership both to his party and to the nation if he is to retain a hope of salvaging his Presidency. -- (5/6/76)

Mr. Ford in Deep Trouble  
(Editorial, excerpted, Denver Post)

Ronald Reagan may have wrested the initiative and momentum away from President Ford in an impressive demonstration of voting strength in Tuesday's Republican primary races in Indiana, Georgia and Alabama.





Whatever rationalization the Ford camp may offer for the Reagan victories, the fact remains: Mr. Ford at this point, about midway down the primary trail, is in deep trouble.

Mr. Ford has miscalculated badly in his recent campaign strategy. The President, obviously overconfident because of his success against Reagan in the early primaries, had begun looking ahead in his speeches to the campaign against the Democratic nominee. And when he did respond to Reagan's criticism of administration policies, Mr. Ford did so defensively instead of taking affirmative positions.

If Mr. Ford is still favored to gain the GOP presidential nomination, it is only because of his incumbency. But if Reagan continues to gain momentum in primary contests leading up to the key election June 8 in his home state of California, then the incumbency advantage will be for nought. -- (5/6/76)

The Reagan Threat

(Editorial, excerpted, Dallas Times Herald)

Ronald Reagan should now be seen as a possible winner of the Republican Party's nomination for the presidency.

Reagan is a serious threat to President Ford, not because he has more delegates at this time but because he has demonstrated his appeal on the campaign trail among a segment, albeit a small one, of the total electorate.

Now President Ford must move to the offensive since Gov. Reagan has been the one defining the issues -- Panama Canal, Dr. Kissinger, detente and the U.S. military posture.

Meanwhile, former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter has his campaign staff whistling Dixie and proclaiming victory in the Democratic contest. He, no doubt, will smile a bigger smile at the prospects of a bloody Reagan-Ford fight.

Reagan will do the Republican cause no good by talking of war over the Panama Canal. If he is the Republican presidential nominee he would be, as the commander in Lord Tennyson's Charge of the Light Brigade, leading his followers gallantly but vainly into defeat.

While Gov. Reagan struggles for 17 percent of the voters who are registered Republicans thus the small percentage of cross-over independents and Democrats, Gov. Carter is going after the winning majority of Democrats and independents who may vote for his middle-of-the-road politics.



Election: Comment



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For a conservative to win in 1976, there can be no repeat of 1964. Gov. Reagan would do well to take some advice from Sen. Goldwater. -- (5/6/76)

Reagan Winning on the Issues  
(Editorial, excerpted, St. Louis Globe-Democrat)



President Ford is reassessing his campaign strategy after another heavy pounding by Ronald Reagan in the Indiana, Georgia and Alabama primaries -- and well he might.

So far Ford has not faced up to the reasons why Reagan is making such strong gains in his bid to sidetrack the President. What the President must recognize is that Reagan is winning on the issues and Ford's mistakes.

It should be apparent to Ford that there really was no need for him to try to downplay the fact that the U.S. has lost its military superiority and has been wrong in not keeping ahead of the Russians. Ford could have pointed out that he has stopped this alarming trend by drafting a much larger defense budget and persuading Congress to adopt it.

Instead of merely dropping detente out of his vocabulary, Ford should have fashioned a completely new policy to replace it. If he could not see it at the time, Ford should now be able to see that when he fired Defense Secretary Schlesinger and retained Secretary Kissinger, he fired the wrong man. Kissinger is becoming an increasingly heavy load for the President to carry.

Ford should now be able to see that he was right in the first place when he strongly advocated an end to price controls on oil and wrong when he signed the atrocious price-control bill that Democratic liberals in Congress sent to him after more than two years of malingering on energy.

Ford has complained that he has not been able to offer balanced budgets because more than two-third of federal spending is mandated by "previous commitments." What he has failed to understand is that while he can't change these commitments made by Congress, he is not obligated to recognize them in submitting his budget. He could have submitted a balanced budget every year and then put the onus upon the Democratic majority in Congress if it chose to continue these deficit recommendations.

Reagan has a long way to go if he is to wrest the Republican nomination from an incumbent President. At this point it is fair to say that he is ahead of Ford on merit. Reagan clearly is saying what a majority of Republicans want to hear. And he is saying it in a manner that makes him a more formidable opponent for Jimmy Carter, who appears to have a lock on the Democratic nomination. -- (5/6/76)

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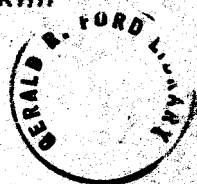
DETROIT (AP) - PRESIDENT FORD AND GUESTS ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE CAN PLUG IN STEREO HEADPHONES AND HEAR AN INSPIRATIONAL READING BY FORD'S REPUBLICAN CHALLENGER, RONALD REAGAN.

THE CURRENT "MUSIC IN FLIGHT" PROGRAM ABOARD THE BIG PRESIDENTIAL JET OFFERS A VARIETY OF SELECTIONS INCLUDING READINGS FROM THE BILL OF RIGHTS AND THE CONSTITUTION BY REAGAN AND HIS WIFE, NANCY.

FORD AND HIS ADVISERS PRESUMABLY HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH INCLUDING THE REAGAN RECORDING ON THE TAPED PROGRAM PIPED TO EACH SEAT ON THE PLANE. THE SELECTIONS ARE CREDITED TO PAN AMERICAN WORLD AIRWAYS, WHICH MADE AVAILABLE TO THE WHITE HOUSE THE TAPES IT USES ON COMMERCIAL FLIGHTS.

OF COURSE, THE READING BY THE REAGANS IS AUDIBLE ONLY IF YOU PUT ON THE HEADPHONES AND TURN TO THE APPROPRIATE CHANNEL FOR A PROGRAM LABELED "AMERICANA SPOTLIGHT."

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Election: Comment

Joseph C. Harsch

Ronald Reagan's political weight

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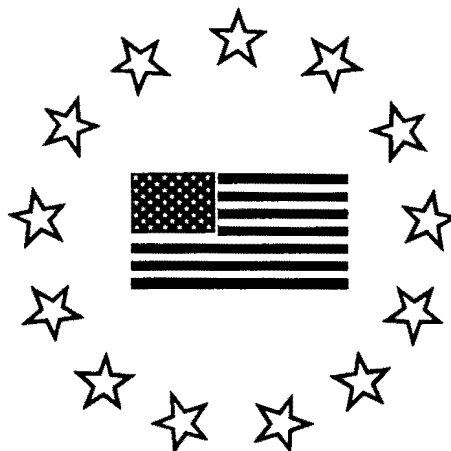
Programmed by Billboard AstroStereo,  
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Narrated by Milton Tarver.

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## 1 The Classics

Stravinsky: *The Firebird*

*Claudio Abbado/London Symphony Orchestra*

Mendelssohn: *Kinderstücke*, Op. 72

*Daniel Barenboim, piano*

Tchaikovsky: *Serenade for Strings in C Major*, Op. 78

*Herbert von Karajan/Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra*

## 2 Americana Spotlight I

**HERSHY KAY/LOUIS MOREAU GOTTSCHALK**

**Excerpts from *Cakewalk*:** Three Variations: Wallflower  
Waltz, Sleight of Feet, Perpendicular Points; Freebee;  
Finale: Gala Cakewalk

*Arthur Fiedler/Boston Pops*

**STEPHEN FOSTER**

*There's A Good Time Coming* (1846) *Leslie Guinn*

*Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair* (1854) *Jan DeGaetani*

*Gentle Annie* (1856) *Leslie Guinn*

*If You've Only Got a Moustache* (1864) *Jan DeGaetani*

*Beautiful Dreamer* (1864) *Leslie Guinn*

**SCOTT JOPLIN**

*Original Rags* (1899) *Joshua Rifkin*

*The Chrysanthemum* (1904) *Joshua Rifkin*

*Country Club* (1909) *Joshua Rifkin*

**HARRY VON TILZER**

*A Bird in a Gilded Cage* (1900) *Joan Morris*

*Wait 'Till the Sun Shines, Nellie* (1905) *Joan Morris*

**JOHN PHILIP SOUSA**

*Solid Men to the Front* *Frederick Fennell and the Eastman Wind Ensemble*

*Stars and Stripes Forever* *Bob Sharples and his Orchestra*

## 3 Americana Spotlight II

**THREADS OF GLORY**

*March of the British Grenadiers/Yankee Doodle*

*Bob Sharples and his Orchestra*

**Following is a dramatization (with music) on "Revolution and the Birth of a Nation."**

*Burt Lancaster (Patrick Henry)*

*Rosalind Russell (Massachusetts Patriot)*

*Richard Carlson (Thomas Jefferson)*

*Lee Bowman (Thomas Paine)*

*Lloyd Nolan (George Washington)*

*Ronald Reagan & Nancy Davis Reagan*

*(Constitution and The Bill of Rights)*

*Lee Bowman: Narrator*

*Susan Oliver: Commentator*

*Dixie Eric Rogers Chorale and Orchestra*

**Next is a dramatization on The Civil War and "The Opening of The Oregon Territory."**

*George Hamilton (Jefferson Davis)*

*Walter Pidgeon (President Abraham Lincoln)*

*Lee Bowman (General Robert E. Lee)*

*William Bakewell (President Chester Arthur)*

*Cesar Romero (The Voice of the Indians)*

*Lee Bowman: Narrator*

*Virginia Gregg & Susan Oliver: Commentators*

*Columbia, The Gem of the Ocean Eric Rogers Chorale and Orchestra*

## 4 Country Byways

*Are You Sure Hank Done It This Way*

*Waylon Jennings*

*You Got A Lock On Me Jerry Reed*

*We Used To Dolly Parton*

*Borrowed Angel Ronnie Milsap*

*San Antonio Stroll The Atkins String Co.*

*The Beginning Porter Wagoner and Dolly Parton*

*Seems Like I Can't Live With You, But I Can't Live*

*Without You Johnny Russell*

*The Big Build Up Charlie Rich*

*Hello Love Hank Snow*

*The Night Atlanta Burned The Atkins String Co.*

*Cassie Porter Wagoner*

*Lullabys, Legends and Lies Bobby Bare*

*The Seeker Dolly Parton*

*Waymore's Blues Waylon Jennings*

*Hope You're Feelin' Me (Like I'm Feelin' You)*

*Charley Pride*

*Just In Case Ronnie Milsap*

*The Boogie King Jerry Reed*

*Today I Started Loving You Again Hank Snow*

*Say Forever You'll Be Mine Porter Wagoner and*

*Dolly Parton*

*I Ain't All Bad Charley Pride*

## 5 Jazz Stream

*Obnoxious Eddie Harris*

*Paradise Music Herbie Mann*

*A Funky Thide of Sings Billy Cobham*

*Concerto for Jazz/Rock Orchestra Stanley Clarke*

*For Harry Carney Charles Mingus*

*Softly As in a Morning Sunrise*

*The Modern Jazz Quartet*

*Us Les McCann*

*Skating in Central Park The Modern Jazz Quartet*

*Sorcery Billy Cobham*

## 6 Flyin' Easy

*Sing Mantovani and his Orchestra*

*Mandy Orion*

*She Ronnie Aldrich and his Two Pianos with the London Festival Orchestra*

*Mouldy Old Dough Werner Müller and his Orchestra*

*Almost Like Being in Love Frank Chacksfield and his Orchestra*

*It Never Rains in Southern California Botticelli and his Orchestra*

*I Will Wait for You Maurice Larcange*

*Let It Be The Ted Heath Orchestra*

*Love Story Werner Müller and his Orchestra*

*The Entertainer Mantovani and his Orchestra*

*The Sound of Love Ronnie Aldrich and his*

*Two Pianos with the London Festival Orchestra*

*The Windmills of Your Mind Maurice Larcange*

*Killing Me Softly with his Song Botticelli*

*and his Orchestra*

*You Are the Sunshine of My Life Ronnie Aldrich and*

*his Two Pianos with the London Festival Orchestra*

*Love Song Botticelli and his Orchestra*

*Let's Stay Together Werner Müller and his*

*Orchestra*

*Minuet in "G" The Ted Heath Orchestra*

*Summer (The First Time) Sounds Galactic*

Reagan Moves Ahead  
(Editorial, excerpted, Charleston Evening Post)

Following up his landslide victory in Texas, Ronald Reagan achieved an even more impressive sweep of Indiana, Georgia and Alabama. The sounds coming from the Ford camp now, however, have a slightly hysterical ring. Mr. Ford's campaign manager, Rogers Morton, has even conceded Reagan "a sudden and I hope, temporary advantage."

What has caused this remarkable turnaround, unprecedented in modern times in a party race involving an incumbent President?

In our view, Mr. Ford has put himself on the wrong side of issues that are of serious concern to the American people. We have long detected a conservative swing in our country, especially in the areas of foreign policy and national defense. Most Americans do not favor encouragement of black rule in Southern Africa. Most Americans do not believe this country has maintained a favorable position relative to the Soviet Union, insofar as armed force is concerned, during the Nixon-Ford administrations. Most Americans wish to restore the military supremacy of the U.S. and feel instinctively that this is the surest way to preserve world peace.

President Ford is obviously no match for Mr. Reagan in the ability to express and project views and philosophy to the voter.

Mr. Ford still maintains reserve strength in nominally uncommitted delegates. He also has the advantages of the incumbency. It is now necessary that he prove himself a winner in the remaining primaries if he is to be his party's nominee in November.  
-- (5/10/76)



Jerald terHorst

Ford seeking a clear shot



**When a  
President  
comes to dinner**



March 24, 1976

Jimmy Carter Campaign and Strategy

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revised

The phenomenon of Jimmy Carter has had a wide number of explanations. His success largely has been ascribed to his personality and excellent political instincts. Although Carter certainly possesses both of these qualities, pollster Pat Caddell has other explanations. First, Caddell has noted that Carter is a thematic candidate who appeals to voters on the basis of restoration of values and restoration of faith (see also Richard Reeves March 22 article in New York for a similar view). Caddell believes this is the essence of the Carter appeal. Carter reaffirms values that private sector groups believe government is ignoring and that they understand and support. This is why Carter to date has been able to ignore (relatively) discussion of specific public policy issues without bothering his coalition of supporters. Caddell believes that Carter's capitalization on the so-called anti-Washington mood is important, but secondary to the broader, more positive appeal. Operating from agreement with this overview, what follows is a discussion of the Carter phenomenon.

Background

Peter Bourne is working with Carter planning election strategy, and at the closed Washington Forum meeting (and in a post-program meeting) he outlined the history of the Carter effort. Bourne is British born, an Oxford graduate and a psychologist who, although a novice to politics, is extremely perceptive about the mood of the American people. He now serves as Carter's Middle Atlantic States coordinator. Bourne and his wife, Mary King, are both very liberal and come out of the social welfare-intellectual-Federal grant-complex. Ms. King is a veteran of the Caesar Chavez, Mississippi Freedom Democratic movement, and a former OEO employee. Bourne was consulting with HEW. The following was gleaned from my meeting with Bourne-King, and from listening to Pat Caddell.

Bourne outlined the history of the Carter movement, beginning with Carter's September 1972 decision to run for the Presidency (this is in keeping with Carter's practice of beginning to run for



an office years in advance of any election) and his important post-election (1973) analysis and survey of the McGovern grassroots political structure. Carter made a conscious decision to follow the McGovern political route, enlisting a large number of McGovern workers in the process. He decided to avoid the formal Democratic party structure, relying as McGovern did on individual volunteers throughout the states as the basis for his machine.

Carter was able to enlist this large number of McGovern campaigners by appealing to what he felt was the essence of the McGovern campaign, i. e. its best qualities, appeals to honesty, decency, integrity and the moral virtues which McGovern emphasized. At the same time he clearly decided to avoid the abortion, acid, anti-war aspects of the McGovern campaign which turned off the American public. In essence Carter adopted a revised McGovernism without McGovern ideological impedimenta.

Another important aspect of the Carter strategy, which has largely been overlooked, was his decision to headquarter his effort in Atlanta. This allowed him to maintain a strong home base with many local assets and also was a conscious effort to prevent scrutiny of his early formative organization by the national press, which routinely ignores all political events that don't happen in the Northeastern Seaboard. Thus Carter effectively was able to build up his ties and organization without virtually any scrutiny.

Another conscious part of the Carter effort was his appeal to special interest groups. One key to Carter's success was that he spoke to almost every private organization which met in Atlanta for conventions and other meetings. Atlanta, a city with an enormous number of conventions (one of the top five or so in the country) provided Carter with enormous assets to be tapped. He used his contacts with these organizations and their leaders as a partial alternative to going the regular Democratic party route. His approach on a smaller scale, is very similar to what the President has been doing with his private sector program for



the last year and a half. The obvious Carter success, without the advantages of incumbency, illustrates the potential for capitalizing on this approach.

Another element in the success of the Carter campaign was his appointment by Bob Strauss to head the Democratic National Committee campaign training headquarters for various candidates during the 1974 elections. Carter used this formerly not-so-significant position to ingratiate himself with literally scores of rising young Congressional candidates, their staffs and supporters. During this phase he went around the country, built ties, and educated himself on issues.

Carter also spent time and effort to ensure the defeat of Lester Maddox as Governor of Georgia. Carter considered Maddox a serious thorn in his side and wanted to remove him from any position of influence. This partly explains the Maddox hatred of Carter.

Carter also made the conscious decision to expend resources in Iowa, Maine, Vermont, Oklahoma, Mississippi and certain other caucus states, which had been ignored by most of the other candidates. Carter believed that although there were no primaries in these states that they would rate media coverage, which is what gave him his early lead in the campaign.

All in all, Bourne, and King, outlined an extremely sophisticated program, and demonstrated an excellent grasp of the political and intellectual mood of the country, as well as a surprisingly strong sense for organization and structure.

However, there are some inherent contradictions and potential schisms in the Carter campaign which could surface during the later campaign. One that seems clear is the problem of having so many McGovernites running his efforts around the country. Eventually, Carter is going to be pushed to the wall on social questions that are dear to the hearts of the McGovernites and if he continues to waffle or take contrary stands it will cause serious problems for him with at least one element of his supporters. Therefore, it should be a strategy somewhere down the line to push Carter fairly hard on some of these questions.

