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SECOND DRAFT



from
Dick M.
(not used)

Before taking your questions, I have a statement to make on the subject of campaign tactics.

As one who has taken part in election campaigns for 30 years--either as a candidate or in support of others--I have had ample opportunity to observe questionable campaign tactics--including the practice of saying one thing on Monday and the opposite on Tuesday--or one thing in the south and the opposite in the north--one thing to business leaders and the opposite to the leaders of labor.

I can say flatly, however, that I have never seen that practice used so flagrantly as in the case of my opponent, both during the primaries and in the general election.

Ordinarily tactics like this don't worry me, because I have long ago learned that the American people are not fooled by hypocrisy--and the man who engages in it ends up hurting only himself.

However, when a candidate deliberately defames his own country while all the world is watching, he is hurting not just himself but the national interest of the United States. And this does concern me--not as a candidate, but as President.

On national television--carried to all the world via satellite--my opponent told our allies and our adversaries that this nation is not strong any more.

He told our allies and our adversaries that we are not respected any more.

He told the world that his own country, the United States of America, overthrew the elected government of Chile.

He even made the outrageous statement that this alleged action in Chile was "typical" and that there may be "many other examples".

SECOND DRAFT

And with all the world watching and listening, the man who wants so urgently to be President of the United States, made the reckless charge that we tried to start a new Viet Nam war in Angola.

Everyone of these statements is false. The American people know that they are false, and so did Mr. Carter when he said them.

The American people know that the strength of the United States is second to none and so does Mr. Carter.

The American people know that no nation in this world enjoys greater respect than the United States, and Mr. Carter knows it too.

The American people know that Mr. Carter's charges about Chile and Angola are totally false and demagogic, and he knows it too.

But what about the people of the world, hearing charges like this from the mouth of the man who seeks to be the next President of the United States?

What are they to believe?

I charge that Mr. Carter made these statements knowing full well that many people in other nations would believe them because they were uttered by an American Presidential candidate.

I assert flatly that my opponent has done grave damage to the national interest of the United States.

He has slandered the name of the United States in his own self-interest.

He has discouraged our friends and allies, and he has given encouragement to our adversaries.

Twenty-one days now remain before Election Day. I am well aware that in the closing weeks of a campaign rhetoric often becomes more strident and even more reckless. As a candidate, I am not concerned about anything Mr. Carter

SECOND DRAFT

may say domestically because I have total faith in the common sense and the basic fairness of the American people.

But when Mr. Carter chooses to undermine the prestige of the United States before the world, he does our nation irreparable harm.

Therefore, I call upon Mr. Carter to retract his false and insulting statements about his own country, and I hereby serve notice that if he ever makes another statement which falsely portrays the strength or the integrity or the respect of the United States of America, the President of the United States will again set the record straight.

ENVIRONMENT

Q. You've got the worst record ever on pollution?
Why?

A. I don't for a minute except the premist of your question. In the last two years we've spent _____ on Water pollution,) _____ on air pollution, we have research projects on _____, _____ and _____. And we're making some progress -- the fish and fisherman are coming back to Lake Erie for example, we haven't done all that I would like to do. That's one of the differences between a candidate and a President. A. President has to make hard choices -- and we've had some hard choices to make in the last two years. My top priorities have been more jobs, cutting inflation and energy independence. I've even had to delay my own pet project to make a new investment in our parks until just a few weeks ago. That's a major commitment to our natural environment -- and I hope we'll be able to continue to do more.

*add
International
Actions*



WELFARE REFORM

1. Statement of compassion based on this country
2. cite of example of compassion which has to be run efficiently. Catholic Social Service can be run more efficiently.
3. Steps this Administration has already taken.
4. Where this country is going to be in 1980 after I have been President for 4 years. (questionable)



URBAN PROBLEMS

The City of New York is doing better.

State the dollar amount that is going to the cities from taxpayer money.

Cities should solve their own problems. The Federal Government will not walk away, they will assist them.

For every tax dollar you pay to the Federal Government in New York or Iowa, 17% goes to help cities.

Solutions to cities should come from people in those cities who know what their problems are.

Part of the problem is that the Federal Government imposes its own programs that do not work. We are getting away from that. The cities have a job getting their own houses in order and we are going to help them. It is a mistake for any city to look to the Federal Government to bail it out. They have to help themselves.

This Administration has, in the past year, put _____ into the citiex.

AGRICULTURE

I have made a big mistake in the embargo and I know that.

CONSUMER PROTECTION

De-regulation is the key issue. It is to help the consumer, not ~~protect~~ big enterprise.

I think we got to have consumer protection and the way to accomplish this is to make those Federal Agencies to exist do the jobs they are saying they do.

Create a consumer ~~agency~~ protection agency in each Department to make sure they do what they say they are doing.

NOTES FOR SECOND DEBATE FROM MICHAEL NOVAK, PER NESSEN

"The consequences of American action for the liberty of many individuals, in many families, in many nations, make our foreign policy not merely a politics of abstractions but of concrete persons. In fact, in almost every nation of the world there are actual, living relatives of various American citizens. Our people are international, and so our foreign policy must be. And these are concrete links of blood and feeling, not mere fleshless abstractions."



Card #1: Carter Non-Answers.

Attack line: "I hope Mr. Carter won't go through all 3 debates without telling the American people what he would do as President. With 10 days left in this election surely it is time for some specifics."

Points:

- He says he wants to reorganize the government, but won't say how.
- He says he wants to increase spending and balance the budget, but he won't say how.
- He says he wants to slash spending for national defense, but he won't say how.
- He would be the least experienced President in foreign and defense policy in this country, but he won't tell us who his Secretary of State or Secretary of Defense will be.

Summary: "Either Mr. Carter doesn't know what he will do as President -- or he doesn't want you to know."



Card #2: Ford tax-cut vs. Carter spending.

Attack line: "There are only two ways to pay for Mr. Carter's new programs -- higher taxes or higher inflation. Each robs the American worker of his paycheck. I intend to keep up my vetoes to control spending so America's middle class can get the tax cut they deserve."

Points:

- Mr. Carter wrote the Democratic platform with its 60 programs costing a minimum of \$100 billion more per year.
- Mr. Carter increased Georgia spending 50%.
- Ford personal exemption plan.
- Veto record; intention to keep it up.

Summary: "The 88,000,000 Americans who are working today -- and their families -- deserve to have a President who will fight to preserve their paycheck from inflation and higher taxes. The _____ million Americans who are retired today deserve to have a President who will protect their fixed income from inflation."

Card #3: Two-year Comeback.

Attack line: "Mr. Carter has said he can't think of a single thing I've done in two years. But to belittle America's incredible comeback is to belittle America."

Points:

- 2 years ago we were mired in Vietnam; today we are at peace in the world.
- 2 years ago there was marching in the streets; today we are at peace with ourselves.
- 2 years ago spending and inflation were out of control; today inflation has been cut in half.
- 2 years ago most American workers feared for their jobs; in the last 17 months we've created 4,000,000 jobs, more than in any peacetime period in American history.
- 2 years ago the people felt betrayed; today honor has been restored to the White House.

Summary: "Mr. Carter may not realize it, but most Americans today are feeling good about America. They sense a change that's come over America. We've made an incredible comeback in 2 years. Sure, there's still more we must do. Of course, there will be occasional pauses. But America has come back -- and we're going to keep on going."

Card #4: Experience.

Attack line: "Mr. Carter is an unknown quantity. He seeks to be the leader of the free world without as much as 2 minutes experience in formulating or conducting foreign or defense policy. He seeks to control the nation's economy and your pocket-book on the basis of a record of Governor of Georgia where his most notable achievement was to increase spending 50%."

Points:

- When Carter was Governor of Georgia, State employment went up __%, spending 50%, bonded indebtedness __%.
- He would be least experienced President in this century in foreign affairs and defense policy.
- He won't name Secretary of State; won't detail his domestic programs; so all we have to go on is his record.

Summary: "Frankly I think it is a little dangerous to elect a President who can't point to what he's done -- and won't tell you what he's going to do."



Card #5: Importance of Election.

Attack line: "On July 4th we ended our first two centuries; on November 2nd we start our 3rd. I had hoped that this campaign and these debates would set a new standard of responsibility in our politics. I think they've helped but I wish Mr. Carter would use them to give the people hard specifics on what he would do as President."

Points:

- First election which taxpayers are paying for.
- Two-year comeback merely a prelude to a better quality of life for all.
- Americans are feeling good about America again; our job is to make them feel good about American politics again.
- Mr. Carter's evasions: how to reorganize gov't; how to cut defense spending; how to increase spending and balance budget; who his Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense will be.

Summary: "Mr. Carter is, of course, within his rights not to tell the American people what he would do as their President. But the American people have a right to expect more of a candidate than evasion."

Q: Governor Carter has said that he would institute a total embargo against the OPEC nations if they again embargoed oil to this country, that he would consider this an "economic declaration of war". What would you do if the oil producers put a new embargo into effect?

A: First, I don't believe there will be another embargo.

My Administration has taken major steps to develop good relations with the various nations of the Middle East, including moderate Arab nations, as well as Israel.

We have been successful in reaching the Sinai II agreement and in strengthening economic cooperation with these countries. The solid prospects for continued progress in these areas are grounds for confidence that there will not be another embargo.

Secondly, economic warfare by the U. S. against OPEC countries to force them to lower oil prices would not solve the problem. There are many other sources of food and arms to which these countries could turn. For instance, with respect to food we would succeed only in depriving our farmers of a good export market. Further, Western Europe and Japan are far more dependent on OPEC oil than ourselves and therefore would be reluctant to undertake economic warfare measures which would be unlikely to succeed. Rather than taking ineffective economic warfare measures, my Administration has



pursued an affirmative policy of reducing our dependence, cooperating with other oil importers, and improving our relationship with oil exporting countries.

Specifically, a number of mechanisms are now in place, or are in the process of being put into place which will reduce our vulnerability to supply interceptors should they occur.

-- The Alaska pipeline is moving toward completion.

-- We have a well developed domestic distribution/ allocation plan which can be instituted rapidly should it be required. In late 1973, we had to start from scratch.

-- We have also agreed on a long-term program with other developed countries to conserve energy and increase production, as well as a joint effort to build national stocks.

-- Legislation to create a US domestic stockpile has been enacted. When stockpile efforts are complete, we will have a buffer to cushion quite a few months of OPEC cutbacks.

Q: Mr. President, you recently stated that Governor Carter slandered the good name of the United States when he said that we have lost respect throughout the world. However, a recent overseas poll by the U. S. I. A. now reveals that respect for the United States among the people of Western Europe has sunk to its lowest point in 22 years. Don't you owe Mr. Carter an apology?

A: I did indeed state that Mr. Carter slandered the good name of the United States and I repeat that statement now.

Let me remind you what Mr. Carter said about his own country - speaking to all the world by satellite television: he not only said that we are "not strong any more", that we are not "respected any more" - listen to what else he says: he made the grave charge that we overthrew the elected government in Chile. He even said this was a "typical example" and there "may be many others".

He even charged that we "tried to start a new Viet Nam in Angola", - those were his words.



A: (cont'd.)

These allegations against his own country are absolutely false and Mr. Carter knew they were false when he made them.

Tonight he will again be speaking to a world wide audience and I call upon him now to either prove those charges or to retract them here on this podium tonight.

* * * *

(The above might be a good place to end and let Carter worry about an instant reply. If there is a follow-up question or if the President would like to end on a more affirmative note, I suggest something like the following.)

* * * *

It would be easy for a President to win Gallup Polls in a foreign country if that's what he cares about: all he has to do is say yes to everything they ask for.

But the policies of this administration are determined by the best interests of the United States, both domestically and as the recognized leader of the free world. Our policies- our strength - our morality have maintained peace in a very

troubled world and peace will continue to be our objective regardless of any Gallup Polls in other countries.

ITEM: It is ironic that Carter made his derogatory remarks just before the United States made the first clean sweep in the 75 year history of the Nobel prizes: Chemistry, Physics, Medicine, Economics and Literature. I think this tells us more about the United States' position in the world than any opinion poll.



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GLOMAR EXPLORER

The GLOMAR EXPLORER is considered to be a "national asset" by a great many people, including Congressmen and governmental agency personnel, such as those associated with the National Advisory Committee on the Oceans and Atmosphere (NACOA). Many have expressed themselves that to scrap or to junk the GLOMAR EXPLORER would be an "immoral act."

The decision made by the Administration to turn the GLOMAR EXPLORER over to MARAD for disposition is tantamount to scrapping her.

The Navy's estimate of the cost to mothball the EXPLORER is \$8.0 million. MARAD has indicated that they will mothball the ship for \$2.1 million. Proper mothballing cannot possibly be done for this amount. The \$8.0 million would be considered a reasonable amount to properly mothball the ship.

Most of the \$2.1 million will be spent by MARAD in dismantling the ship, specifically, removing the docking legs, dismantling the derrick, deactivating the gimbal platform, etc.

Further, according to plan they propose to tow it to Suisun Bay and part of the \$2.1 million "mothballing" cost will be used to dredge the Bay to provide adequate draft for the vessel.

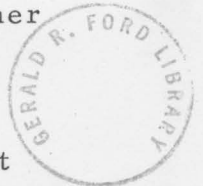
90% plus of the vessels handled by MARAD in this manner have been ultimately scrapped.

MARAD personnel on board the ship, who are there to implement the disposition of the GLOMAR EXPLORER, agree that MARAD's actions are tantamount to scrapping her.

Global Marine Development Inc. (GMDI) personnel, who designed, constructed and operated the vessel and are familiar with the MARAD plan, agree that the contemplated action is tantamount to scrapping her.

Other government agency personnel who have been associated with the ship and program from the inception agree that the action being taken is tantamount to scrapping her.

Mr. James Lynn, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, has said, "It will eventually be towed to Japan for scrapping." (Why not tow her to Russia now?)



If the action being taken is tantamount to scrapping her, and who would know better than those enumerated above, then we can anticipate a public outcry.

Should the United States experience another naval disaster, such as the loss of an airplane in deep water, a nuclear missile or a submarine after having scrapped the GLOMAR EXPLORER, it would prove to be a very embarrassing national situation.

Many Congressmen who have identified the EXPLORER as a national asset are Democrats and would be sure to be highly critical of the present Administration's proposed actions if and when they learn of the decision.

All who have concerned themselves about the future of the GLOMAR EXPLORER without exception have agreed that there will be a use for her in two to five years, either within government or industry.

GMDI has estimated that the cost of maintenance is \$1.3 million per year. A sound and reasonable program of mothballing and demothballing would be \$20.0 million. A sound and reasonable maintenance program would cost \$6.5 million over a five year period.

	<u>Millions</u>		<u>Millions</u>
Navy's mothballing Program	\$8.0	GMDI's Estimated	
Navy's demothballing Program	<u>12.0</u>	Yearly Main. Cost	<u>\$1.3 x 5 yrs.</u>
	\$20.0		\$6.5

Our advice to the government has been to maintain the ship at the rate of \$1.3 million per year until a user is determined.

Such a maintenance program has the added advantage of being able to return the ship to service on a much shorter notice.

One of the most urgent needs of the government is concerned with the disposal of nuclear and biological wastes into holes drilled deep into the ocean floor in the deep ocean basins. The practicality of this need has been confirmed by Dr. Edward Teller.

Another industrial use is directly concerned with mining the sea floor for minerals. Kennecott Copper Corporation, operator for a consortium, is "keenly interested in her use and is desperately trying to accelerate a decision before the government program is implemented."



Decision imminent
hold 'til after
election

Check w/ JTL

Do have a national
interest use;
e.g. nuclear
waste (ocean
floor)

ship at the rate of \$1.1 million per year until a user is determined.
Our advice to the Government has been to maintain the
Navy's mothballing program

\$20.0	
15.0	
\$8.0	
Millions	
	Yearly Maint. Cost
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missile as a substitute for the one currently operating nationally

Should the Government decide to purchase another naval

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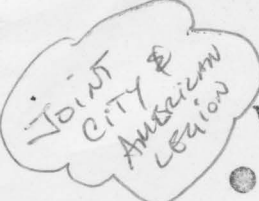
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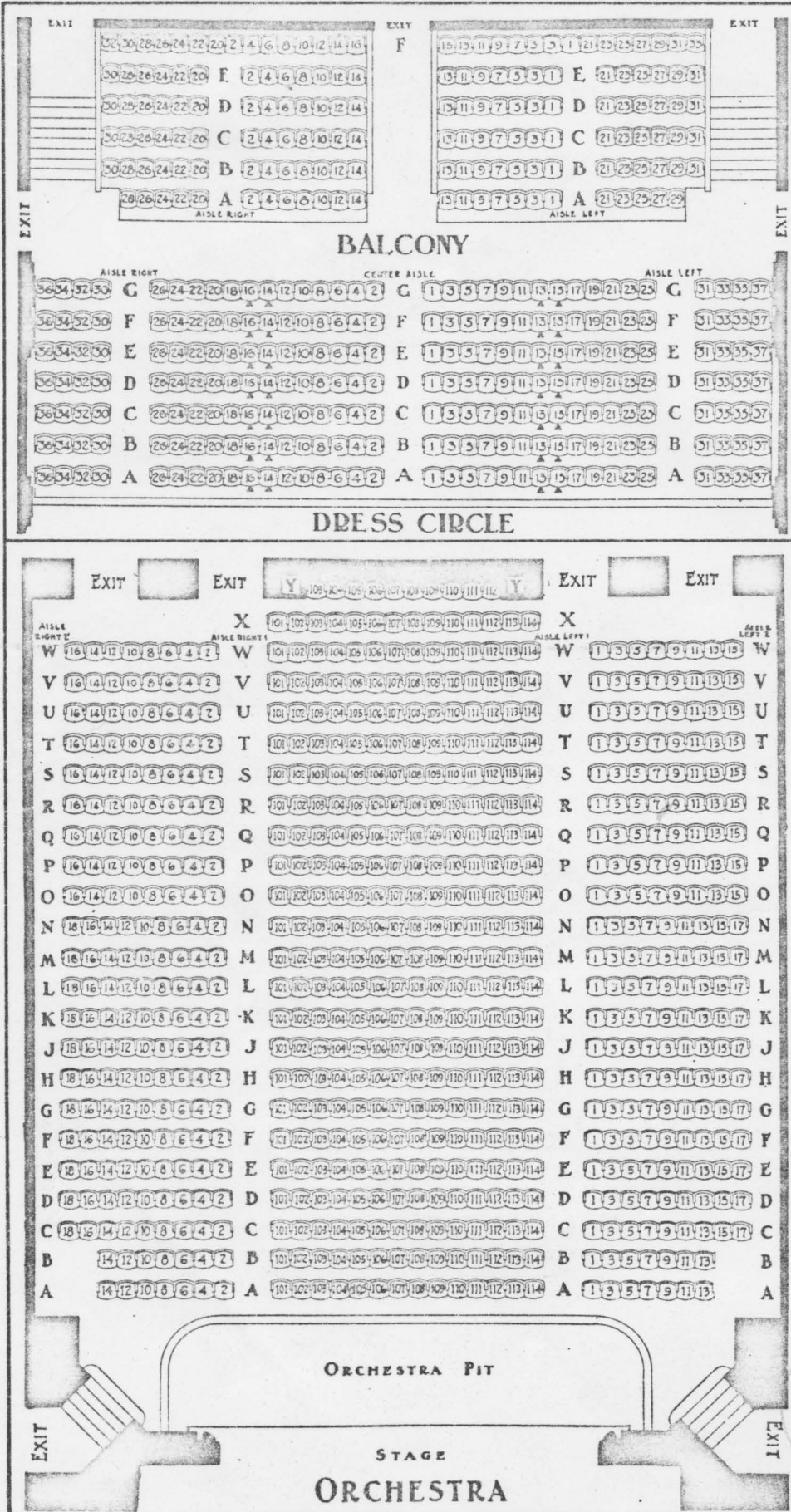
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Descriptive Information for Tenants

VETERANS' AUDITORIUM WAR MEMORIAL of SAN FRANCISCO

SEATING DIAGRAM



CAPACITIES

Orchestra	702
Dress Circle	238
Balcony	158
Total Seating Capacity	1098

Equipment of House includes Rest Rooms, Hat and Coat Check Rooms, 2 Ticket Office Windows, Display Frames (1 sheet) for Lobby

STAGE

Side Wall to Side Wall	48 feet
Curtain Line to Rear Wall	30 feet
Width Proc. Arch	32 feet
Height Proc. Arch	32 feet
Height to Gridiron	70 feet

DRESSING ROOMS

- 5 on Stage Mezzanine
- 5 in Basement
- 3 Large Troupe Rooms in Basement
- Modern Switchboard to handle all types of productions
- 4 Border Lights, Border Spots, Footlights and Colors
- 41 Sets of Lines (counterweighted)

DANCING FACILITIES

A specially designed floor in auditorium permits conversion to ballroom, allowing dancing space approximately 75 feet square, accommodating 500 couples.

For further information

**AMERICAN LEGION
WAR MEMORIAL COMMISSION**

101 Veterans' Building

Underhill 1-4920



WHITE HOUSE STAFF CAMPAIGNING

Q. There are press reports today that the DNC will file a complaint with the Federal Election Commission alleging that members of the White House staff who are on the public payroll are doing campaign work in violation of the campaign funding law. Do you think it is fair for you to use White House employees for campaign purposes when Jimmy Carter must use his limited campaign funds to support his entire staff?

A. We have bent over backwards to operate completely within the new campaign law. Any campaign expense incurred by a member of my White House staff is paid by my Campaign Committee. Any campaign work they do is ~~done~~ ~~on their own time~~ in addition to fully performing their official duties.

The simple fact is that I must continue to exercise the responsibilities of the Presidency even while I am campaigning. This requires me to do both jobs and often my staff must do likewise.

FOLLOW-UP QUESTION:

Some press reports say that Mike Duval -- who is on the White House staff -- is working full time on the debate. Why isn't he paid by the Campaign Committee?

A. Mike has had substantial responsibilities in the White House during my entire two years as President. He continues to work on foreign and domestic policy decisions with particular emphasis on economic, energy, and foreign intelligence problems. His work on the debates is in addition to the time spent on his official duties. Like many other members of my staff he works in excess of seventy hours a week.



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Question: Mr. President, Governor Carter has charged that your Administration is insensitive and your policy inadequate on nuclear non-proliferation. Members of your Administration have indicated that you intended to issue a major policy statement on non-proliferation two weeks ago. Isn't the fact that you haven't issued such a statement evidence of the validity of Governor Carter's charge?

Answer: I am afraid Governor Carter is a little bit of a late-comer on the non-proliferation issue.

Only a month after I took office, the United States expressed serious concern to the U.N. General Assembly about the danger of weapons proliferation. The following April -- and that is a year and a half ago -- at United States instigation, the nuclear suppliers of the world met in London. Those meetings continued through 1975, and in early 1976 an interim agreement was reached with respect to the conditions under which nuclear materials and technology should be supplied.

Four months later -- and almost a year and a half after he started running for President -- Governor Carter made his first statement on this issue.

As in most areas of foreign affairs, this is an area in which the United States cannot be successful if it moves unilaterally. Because there are more than a half dozen other nations which have the capability of supplying weapons grade materials and technology, it is absolutely essential to secure common agreement on the conditions of supply. It does absolutely no good to have the United States -- or even a majority of the suppliers -- acting responsibly, while one or two suppliers increase their share of the market by acting irresponsibly.

I have had under review for some months the question of whether we are doing all that we possibly can in this area. And I have in mind certain policy decisions which I believe will be of further help. But before those decisions are announced, I deemed it absolutely essential to consult with certain other governments, building on the relationships we have been able to establish over the last year and a half. Those consultations are now in progress, and when I am satisfied with the results, I will announce my decisions.

That may be before the election -- it may be after the election -- I am simply not going to play politics with this issue.



Moderator: Governor Carter, your response?

Governor Carter: I must say that Mr. Ford's record on nuclear nonproliferation is absolutely abysmal.

His answer this evening is just a continuation of his policies of secret diplomacy and acquiescence to the nuclear industry. His policy is the product of cynics who say that widespread proliferation is simply inevitable.

As you know, I have had some considerable experience as a nuclear engineer. As my experience goes back to 1950, I hardly think I could be called a late-comer.

Last May, in my speech at the United Nations, I called for world-wide moratorium on plutonium reprocessing, I called for halt in domestic reprocessing until we are certain of its consequences, I called for World Conference on Energy, I called for strengthening of new U.S. nuclear agreements and renegotiation of existing agreements, I called for more government enrichment facilities and much heavier emphasis on non-nuclear alternatives.

By contrast, Mr. Ford is the captive of the nuclear power industry. He has held up nonproliferation legislation so he can get private enterprise into the uranium enrichment business. He has done absolutely nothing to prevent Pakistan, and Brazil from getting weapons material. During his Administration he has done virtually nothing to encourage other countries to join the nonproliferation treaty.

And what little has been done has been done secretly.

It simply is not a record any of us can be proud of.

Moderator: President Ford, your response.

Governor Carter's response indicates that he simply does not understand the problem or what has to be done about it.

He prefers rhetoric to realism.

In my experience there are a few things I have learned.

First, if the United States does not want to be undercut by other nations selling weapons materials even though we do not, you'd better get a common agreement among all suppliers -- or else you won't have anything worthwhile.

Second, you don't negotiate agreements like that on the front page of the New York Times.

Third, it just counter-productive -- in many cases such as this -- to be out there calling for other Nations to follow our lead when you haven't negotiated a basis to be sure that they will.



Fourth, your best assurance of getting a non-proliferation agreement is to assure that the U.S. remains a major supplier of nuclear fuel -- which can't be used for weapons. We'd simply better stay in the game -- if we want a say in how it's played. To that end, I have supported both public facilities in Ohio and private facilities which could be located in a number of other states, including Alabama, Washington and Texas.

The best evidence that the Ford Administration policy of leadership and negotiations has been effective is that during my Administration, through our encouragement, 16 countries have joined the non-proliferation agreement including Germany and Japan.

Governor Carter talks about rhetoric. I prefer to talk about results.



UNEMPLOYMENT/INFLATION



Mr. President: How do you respond to Mr. Carter's charges that you inherited a bad economic situation, in terms of inflation and unemployment, and then made it worse?

Well, I have listened attentively to my opponents lectures on the economy. And it convinces me of one thing. When Mr. Carter was at the Naval Academy, the economics department must have been a disaster area.

Every economist knows that the last recession and the unemployment were caused by massive inflation. The cause of that inflation has been the fiscal policies voted upon every single year by the Congress of the United States.

Since 1965, that Congress has been controlled, dominated, run, by the liberals and ultraliberals of Mr. Carter's own party. They have spent this country \$250 billion dollars deeper into debt. They have set off the worst inflation in our history.

I have always been a fiscal conservative, a sound-dollar man and this is the kind of irresponsible economics I have fought my entire career. As President, I have vetoed more than sixty spending bills sent down by that Congress. If all those vetoes had failed, inflation today wouldn't be at six percent. It would be closer to sixteen percent. And if the \$100 billion dollar platform embraced by my opponent at Madison Square Garden is ever enacted, inflation will be at sixteen percent in this country.

The big Spenders of Capitol Hill are the men who made a mess of the American economy. If Mr. Carter wishes to know what they are like, I suggest he sit down and have a long talk with his

running mate, Mr. Mondale, who has probably the worst spending record on Capitol Hill.

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Mr. President: Senator Dole says you support the Republican Platform; Mr. Rockefeller seems to be saying you have reservations about some planks. Are there any sections of the Republican Platform with which you disagree?

The platform hammered out by Republicans at Kansas City is the platform I have accepted; I am proud to run on it, and I intend as President to implement it in office.

Indeed, if you wish to understand what this presidential campaign is about, I suggest you compare the platforms of the two parties.

Our platform, summed up, calls for getting Government off of peoples backs and out of their pockets. The Democratic Party Platform calls for more taxes, more federal agencies, more federal bureaucrats, more federal programs totaling in the tens of billions of dollars.

And when my opponent suggests that you have national health insurance, the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, federalized welfare, four new federal agencies, billions more housing, transportation and education---and a balanced budget as well, he is misleading the American people. If you wanted to sum up that Democratic Party Platform in two words it is "More Government," and more government is not what America need in 1976.

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WATERGATE SCANDALS



Mr. President: Do you think that Watergate should be an issue in the national campaign?

No, I do not. Everyone involved in Watergate was removed from office, and government years ago. They have been prosecuted and punished. The Republican Party is no more responsible for the misdeeds of that handful of men than is the Democratic Party responsible for the sex scandals of Capitol Hill. In its Bicentennial, I think Americans are looking forward, not back---and the party that attempts to drag this country through the muck and mud of Watergate, just to pick up a precinct or two, will pay a heavy price I think on November 2.

Besides, if we are going to go rummaging around in the closets of the past, the Democratic Party would have to explain to the American people just which party dragged the country into the Vietnam War---and then ran away and joined the peacenik parade---leaving the Republicans to clean up the mess.

Finally, I think any effort by Mr. Carter himself directly---or through Mr. Mondale---to blame me, or my Administration for the misdeeds of others who are long gone, smacks of a practice that used to be called McCarthyism.

Mr. President: How do you think history will treat Richard Nixon; what do you think of the man who appointed you?

I believe Richard Nixon is a flawed and tragic figure; he is a man of great courage and capacity who did many splendid things for his country, but whose record in history, I am afraid, will be

permanently tarred by Watergate---which I believe was indeed a "Breach of Faith" with the American people. After the election of 1972, he had an historic opportunity, a tremendous mandate to achieve great things for his country. So, I think that in assessing him fully, one must get also a feeling of waste, of tragedy of lost opportunity.

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THE PARDONS



Mr. President: If you had enough compassion to pardon your old friend, Richard Nixon, why not show the same compassion and pardon those draft-resisters who refused to serve in Vietnam?

I oppose Governor Carter's blanket amnesty or blanket pardon for draft-dodgers for several reasons. When these young men ran away to Canada and Sweden, when they deserted their country---other young men went to Vietnam. Many of them were wounded. Some of them never came home. I am not a vindictive man, but I believe in fairness and justice.

And I say that those who deserted their country in its hour of need should make restitution to their country when they come home. Not by going to prison. But by working in hospitals, by serving the society they themselves chose to abandon.

With the agony of Vietnam so near in memory, I believe a blanket amnesty would demoralize the armed services. It would embitter and divide millions of Americans, not unite this nation. It would create a special privilege, a special exemption for a special class of law-breakers---and I'm against that.

Mr. President: Yet, you pardoned Richard Nixon, despite his apparent guilt?

Yes, I did. And it was the right decision. There were dozens of men involved in Watergate; I pardoned one of them. I did so, not just to spare Mrs. Nixon and the family the shame and agony of his being dragged back here for trial---but to spare the country another year of being dragged through the muck and mud of Watergate.

Can anyone tell me what national purpose would have been served by dragging the former President back to Washington to sit in the prisoner's dock, while we all listened to the same old Watergate testimony, the same old tapes---just so a jury could pronounce him guilty.

The pardon of Richard Nixon was a tough decision, an unpopular decision. I made it because I was determined to ring down the curtain on the Watergate Scandal, to draw off the poison from American politics, and so I could lead this country into its Bicentennial, with its face to the future, not to the ugliness of the recent past.

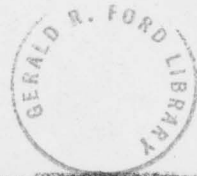
I know there are those who say that pardon contradicts the concept of "Equal Justice under the Law." They, however, seem to be the same people who want me to issue blanket pardons to the thousands of deserters and draft-dodgers.

When our founding fathers put the pardoning power in the Constitution, they did so I think with precisely this sort of situation in mind. I used it. I make no apology for that decision, which I believe history will commend, not condemn.

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DOMESTIC LEGISLATION



~~_____~~
~~_____ continued to foreign and domestic policy.~~

When Mr. Carter was running in the primaries, I thought he offered the country something different than the discredited liberalism of the McGovern wing of the Democratic Party. But once Mr. Carter defeated the Washington Establishment in the primaries, he joined hands with the Establishment at Madison Square Garden. And he closed the deal, by putting on his ticket, a liberal with the most radical voting record in the U.S. Senate.

Look today at what Mr. Carter proposes.

He has promised a universal, mandatory national health insurance program, like Teddy Kennedy's, the cost of which has been estimated at \$65 billion dollars. He wants the Federal Government to underwrite the National Education Association demand that one-third of the cost of public education be shifted to the federal taxpayers---which would cost \$18 to \$20 billion dollars. He favors the U.S. Government providing a "guaranteed annual income" for the folks on welfare. The lowest figure I have seen for this program is \$4 billion dollars. He favors the Humphrey-Hawkins employment bill, which terrifies even liberal economists. The cost of this has been estimated between \$14 and \$44 billion. He wants more federal money for mass transit for the cities. In Washington, D.C., alone, the Metro is costing \$50 million dollars a mile. He supports Mr. Mondale's nationwide child development, day-care scheme. He wants more billions spent

on housing subsidies, jobs programs, revenue sharing, and urban grants.

At the cheapest, these programs would add a \$100 billion dollars to a Federal Budget already \$50 billion in the red.

When Jimmy Carter says he plans to see the budget balanced by 1979, he is either deceiving us---or he has been deceiving the Democrats to whom he made all these promises at Madison Square Garden.

For our Government bureaucrats, Mr. Carter has promised a Department of Education, a Consumer Protection Agency, a Domestic Development Bank, and something called an Agency for Citizen Advocacy. This is the same Jimmy Carter who, during the primaries called Washington, a "huge, wasteful, unmanageable, insensitive, bloated bureaucratic mess."

The contradictions between the Carter rhetoric and the Carter programs have created a gap in Mr. Carter's credibility. He has run as a critic of social spending and Big Government--- and pledged a platform of social spending and government expansion on which George McGovern has said he would be delighted to run.

Mr. Carter says he will never tell us a lie. But he has certainly deceived and mislead many millions of Americans when he implied that he offered America something other than the old politics of government authority, government regulation and government control.

But, let me briefly render my views on each of these Carter spending programs.



I am opposed to universal mandatory national health insurance because the great majority of Americans are already covered by private insurance. We can take care of those in need, without yoking upon our country the same socialized medicine which has helped to bankrupt Great Britain without giving English citizens the quality of medical care American citizens deserve.

I am opposed to the Humphrey-Hawkins Government Employment bill, because its very purpose is to expand the federal payroll---when the growth of that payroll is one of the principal reasons for the economic disorders of the last ten years.

I oppose pouring \$20 billion more into public education, first, because the taxpayers cannot afford it. Second and more important, because federal money brings in its wake federal bureaucrats and federal judges who, between them, have made an unholy mess of public education. The reforms needed in the classrooms of America today are not those purchased with more money, but those produced by common sense. We need a return to standards for teachers and students, a return to basics, a new insistence upon discipline in the classroom, and the teaching again of patriotism, values and morals.

No child should be forced to learn religion against the will of his parents. But if parents want their children instructed in moral and religious values in the public schools of this country, I say they should have that freedom---even if federal bureaucrats and judges are made unhappy by that choice.

And I am against Mr. Carter's federalizing of welfare because of its cost, and because it would drag millions of working families into this dreadful welfare system.

How long will it take Mr. Carter's Party to recognize the truth of what FDR said, forty years ago. Welfare is a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit. The Government can and shall get out of this business of welfare.

And how does Mr. Carter propose to pay for the promises made to countless constituencies. Well, he is not going to pay, my friends. You are.

His platform promises a \$5 billion dollar tax increase spread across the economy. He has promised to raise the wage base on the Social Security Tax from about \$15,000 to near \$22,000 which would mean every American Middle Class worker would have his taxes raised between \$285 and \$400 a year. He has promised to help fund his mandatory health insurance program through another set of payroll taxes.

But, these new taxes would not even add up to a down payment on the promises in the Carter Platform.

What about Tax Reform? Well, as some of you may have heard at the Convention, Mr. Carter called our tax system---which is the product of the last five Democratic Congresses---a "disgrace to the human race." Which suggests dramatic, radical change. Then he went and visited Henry Ford and some corporate heavy hitters at the 21 Club, and told them not to worry, because he wouldn't even propose any tax changes until 1978--- at the earliest.

Mr. Carter reminds me a little about the old story of the fellow who went down into the Bible Belt, to take a job teaching biology. He came up before a crusty School Board, and they questioned him on how he planned to teach the origin of the earth. One of the old school board members leaned over and said how are you going to teach the beginning of the world: Darwin's Evolution or the Bible's Creation.

And the young fellow looked over the school board, sweated a little bit, and said: Well, I can teach it either way.

That's Jimmy Carter. He can teach it either way. The best way to predict what Jimmy Carter is going to say, is to find out what audience he is speaking to.

Another tax change proposed in the primaries was to eliminate the interest deduction on home mortgages. This is not genuine tax reform." It would result in a net increase, which would eliminate for hundreds of thousands of families the opportunity to own their own homes.

This country does not need "tax reform"---which ends up with Government having more money and private individuals and institutions having less---it needs tax reduction. Especially for smaller businesses that are the backbone of the economy, especially the working and middle class who are the backbone of the country.

Mr. Carter proposes to make our government more efficient and less expensive through zero-based budgeting and consolidation of agencies. He points proudly that while Governor of Georgia he reduced from 300 to 22 the number of state agencies. What

CARTER
HAS
BACKED OFF
THIS



he does not report, however, is during those same four years the number of state employees rose by 20% and the Georgia state budget rose by more than 60%.

~~Having for eight years governed a state which is larger than all but seven nations on this planet, he has no idea~~

~~of~~ You do not reduce the size, the cost, the expense of government or the power of bureaucrats by shifting boxes around on an organization chart.

There are other issues where Jimmy Carter seems to tailor his position to suit his audience. A few months back, he was calling revenue sharing a "fraud and a hoax." Now, he has promised the Democratic Mayors they will get more of it in a Carter Administration.

Five years ago, he wrote a letter expressing his firm opposition to forced unionism. Now, to win George Meany's favor, he has promised to sign legislation which will overturn the democratic decision of twenty states, which would force hundreds of thousands of working men and women into unions against their will.

~~As a result of this, the Government's forcing of men into unions they oppose as obnoxious as Government blocking men from freely forming and joining their own union.~~ I find Government's forcing of men into unions they oppose as obnoxious as Government blocking men from freely forming and joining their own union.

On both these issues, Mr. Carter has, like that chameleon, changed his color to blend in with his new environment. But Washington already has enough politicians who would rather switch than fight.

On Vietnam, Mr. Carter once strongly supported the United States effort to block Communist aggression. Now, he calls it, and I quote a "racist" war by the United States; and he has promised blanket pardons for all the draft-dodgers who ran away to Canada and let other young men fight and die in Southeast Asia.

Let me tell you my view on Mr. Carter's general amnesty. I believe in mercy; but I also believe in justice. And those who ran away from America in her hour of need should make restitution before they are accepted freely back into the society they chose to abandon.

Mr. Carter's position on marijuana seems similarly suited to appeal to his youthful audience. He would remove all legal sanctions against its use. That will be popular on many campuses, but it would be wrong for the country.

There are already in this country some 5,000,000 alcoholics; 25,000 deaths each year on our highways are attributed to alcohol. Do we want to create a young generation as dependent on marijuana as ours was on alcohol. I think not. I think those legal sanctions against marijuana should remain on the books because marijuana is inevitably the first step along the road to hard drugs.

Mr. Carter also believes that there should be federal regulations and control of handguns. Again, we disagree. Here surely is a matter for the states. The gun rules that apply to New York City, for example, might be ridiculous in Wyoming or

Alaska. What is needed is not a new agency of federal bureaucrats keeping track of hand guns, but automatic sentences handed down by federal judges to anyone who commits a crime with a loaded weapon.

Many Americans are buying firearms for the same reason they are buying burglar alarms, German Shepards and triple locks. They are afraid. They see a Government trying to be all things to all men---at the same time that Government is failing in its first responsibility namely, to protect citizens from domestic crime and violence.

Other concessions made to the ultra-liberal wing of his party are concealed in Mr. Carter's platform. "I believe, he says, in insuring that all Americans should have not only equal opportunity, but should also have compensatory opportunity if... they have been deprived of the opportunity of fully using their talent."

This is a euphemism for reverse discrimination, for quotas, for preferential treatment for those minorities favored by the Federal Government---and for discrimination against Irish, Italians, Catholics and Jews, because of their race, religion or national origin.

I can think of no policy more anti^American than replacing old forms of discrimination with a new officialy-approved discrimination against the white working class.

But if the Carter platform contains planks that are alarming, it also contains elements that are amusing. It complains

about the \$242 billion dollars in deficits run up since 1969, without noting that if the Democratic Congress had its way those deficits would have been closer to \$500 billion. It complains about an inflation rate which would be double what it is today, if Republican Presidents had not vetoed scores of spending proposals to come down from Capitol Hill. And in one of its best lines it says simply:

"We will eliminate bribery and other corrupt practices."

Let me be helpful here. How about going after those "corrupt practices," by cleaning up the Playboy Congress this November.

Not only has the Ninety-fourth Congress presided over the loss to Communism of Vietnam, Angola and Cambodia. It has given us the worst peacetime deficits in history---and enshrined itself in public memory for the junkets taken, the expense accounts padded, and the party girls employed.

If we are going to have a big house-cleaning in November, what better place to begin than those two Houses, on Capitol Hill.

But if you have problems with Mr. Carter, let me draw your attention to his running mate, Mr. Mondale. After ten years of the most extensive civil rights legislation any nation ever passed, here is what Walter Mondale said about his country:

"The sickening truth," Walter Mondale says, "is that America is rapidly coming to resemble South Africa...And our apartheid is all the more disgusting for being insidious and unproclaimed."



That's what Walter Mondale thinks of America. That's the man Jimmy Carter thinks should be Vice President of the United States.

Before closing, let me treat briefly two other issues of over-riding national importance. The first is the forced busing of school children for racial balance; the second is the court-sanctioned policy of abortion on demand.

In Iowa, Mr. Carter let the Catholic community believe he was against abortion. Now he says he will do nothing to stop it. In Massachusetts, he let the voters believe he opposed busing. Now that he is nominated, he says he will do nothing to stop it. The Supreme Court has ruled, he says, and the Supreme Court must be obeyed.

Well, I do not agree with Governor Carter; I have not given up hope on either count. In his First Inaugural, Mr. Lincoln said: "If the policy of the Government upon the vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court...the people will have ceased to be their own rulers."

Well, this is the Bicentennial of the Great Republic; and we are our own rulers.

If nominated, if elected, my first act will not be, like Jimmy Carter, to grant blanket amnesty to draft-dodgers. It will be to draft amendments to the United States Constitution to reflect the peoples' will, to bring an end to forced busing, to halt the systematic destruction of human life.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



MIKE —

For your
use —

NO

Bill GOROG

The President may be challenged on his position on the environment during the debate tonight. Several lead editorials this week have been critical of his "lack of interest." I suggest the following response:

We have made remarkable progress in cleaning up the environment since the establishment of the Environmental Protection Agency under a Republican Administration in 1970. Laws on the books today will take several more years of hard work on the part of industry to fully comply. In the meantime, we have serious problems of energy conservation and jobs to contend with.

I fully support continued effort to clean up the environment but understand that the nations economy needs some time to digest and comply with present regulations. A rash move to a new, higher level of regulations could seriously hurt jobs and impair our energy conservations programs.



SUMMARY OF THE MAN WHO PARDONED NIXON



The work begins with the polemic statement that " in all Gerald Ford's political life, he has demonstrated no commitment except to the Republican Party and that party only to the extent that it did not entail any risk for his only longtime political goal: to be Speaker of the House of Representatives."

(p. 1.). From that beginning the author has constructed a superficial train of events which strongly ^{condems} the President's pardon of Richard Nixon. Over the first four chapters, Mollenhoff argues that there was a deal (on the pardon), President Ford's testimony before the Congress, notwithstanding.

On Watergate, the President is accused/condemned/convicted of the following:

-- Using Congressman Garry Brown (R. Mich.) to kill the Patman inquiry into the money found in the possession of the Watergate burglars.

-- Responding to pressure from the White House (Nixon through Halderman) to stonewall the above investigation in 1972.

-- Having had confidential conversations with the former President, which are on tape and, by implication were conspiratorial in nature.

Subsequent to the Butterfield revelation of the existence of the White House taping system the following passage is typical of Mollenhoff's thesis:

" And every lawyer in the Senate and the House—including Jerry Ford—recognized the potential for possible embarrassment to visitors unaware that Nixon was recording their most confidential comments and advice. . . . Who possessed a power of recall sufficient to be certain he had not uttered a few culpable phrases." (P. 48)

Chapter 5 selectively traces the "zigzag" course then Congressman Ford followed in regard to Watergate. Additionally, Mollenhoff injects into the account the note from Spiro Agnew, commenting that he stood by him to the end. Throughout the chapter the benefit of doubt is not extended



to the President. The author's choice of words and phrases are clearly designed to inflame the reader.

Chapter 6 is a well constructed(although biased) account, designed to persuade the reader that Gerald R. Ford was(and is) a Nixon loyalist. To support this contention the speeches of the then Vice President are cited (without footnotes) to emphasize his point. Mollenhoff cites a personal interview with Mr. Ford during which he cautioned against the V.P. defending Nixon too strongly.(See particularly pp. 74-75 for American Farm Bureau speech, 15 Jan. 75.)

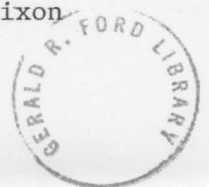
What may be particularly damaging in the eyes of an unbiased reader(if such an individual exists), is the allegation that the President continued to defend Nixon after he became aware of the contents of the tapes due to be released in Aug. 74. He dismisses out of hand, the Presidents explanation that he had been scheduled for out of town speaking engagements prior to being informed of the thrust of the tapes revelations; and, that to reverse his defense of Nixon would have only added to the existing turmoil and confusion(pp.76-78).

Mollenhoff further contends that White House Chief of Staff, Alexander Haig, briefed V.P. Ford on the general contents of the tapes in question, and at that time raised the matter of a pardon although admittedly in the form of a series of options compiled by unidentified member(s) of the White House staff. He further asserts that " Ford made inquiry about a president's pardoning power before any criminal action is instituted."(p. 77) Mollenhoff does note, however, that the President "asked Haig to give him'time to think' and to talk to his wife and White House Counsel James St. Clair."(ibid) The chapter concludes with Mollenhoff firmly linking the President to Richard Nixon, with all the unpleasant and unfavorable connotations such linkage suggests. " . . .It could be said without fear of contradiction that Gerald Ford was elevated to the presidency by one man-Richard Nixon."

In chapter 7 the author advances the theory that the Ford initiative on amnesty for draft evaders was in reality a trial balloon for his forthcoming pardon of Nixon. He accuses the President of misleading the Congress in his confirmation hearings as V.P. and the American public (and press) during a press conference of 28 August. Assuming the author's intent is to raise doubts as to the candor and openness of the President, he has on balance, done a reasonably good hatchet job. It should also be noted that in this chapter he introduces the alleged comment from former Congressman H.R. Gross (R. Iowa) to the effect that Ford will deal on anything. (p. 84)

Chapter 8 is a rehash of the "shock of the pardon" and a slashing attack upon the President's alleged lack of candor. He goes to great length to discredit the Presidential argument that he acted to put Watergate behind us and concentrate on uniting the nation. He dwells at great length upon the hearings before the House sub-Committee before which the President voluntarily appeared, stressing the fact he was not under oath. Presidential testimony is dismissed as a farce, with heavy emphasis upon the questioning of Congresswoman Holtzman (D. N.J.). The President is again accused of stonewalling. He is also condemned for the agreement to give title to the Nixon tapes to the former President--by implication this was to prevent the disclosure of the Ford/Nixon conversation of 1972.

The next ten chapters castigate the President for his lack of leadership and/or his poor selection of appointees to high office. e.g. Flannigan, Seaman, and Gibson (and to a lesser degree, at least in tone, General Haig). One chapter in this section is devoted to the inconsistency between Presidential rhetoric on farm problems and his vetoes of farm price legislation. One chapter each is devoted to condemning Secretary Kissinger and V.P. Rockefeller, with the President being condemned for their appointment and retention in office. In the latter case the charges are more muchraking than damaging.



Chapter 15 is again polemic, taking the President to task for his defense of "executive privilege". Mollenhoff contends that there is little difference between President Ford and his predecessor in office. Chapter 16 is another example of the President being condemned for the failure of regulatory reform, stressing particularly the minor question of whether or not the meat packers should be bonded. It is again a no win position for the President. As the title suggests Presidential competence is drawn into question. Chapter 17 exploits the removal of Mr. Schlesinger as Secretary of Defense and the President's defense of his action. He is roundly condemned for his stonewalling during the press conference at which the announcement was made. The President's rejection of the idea that differences between Kissinger and Schlesinger led to the latter's ouster is used to prove the President's lack of candor and credibility. Chapter 18 is a rehash of the veto of the common situs picketing legislation and the inept manner in which this matter was handled.

It should be noted that Mr. Rumsfeld begins to receive increased attention towards the end of the book. Mr. Rumsfeld's ties to both Nixon and the President are emphasized (as are Rumsfeld's personal ambitions to become the V.P. nominee).

The last three chapters review the presidential campaign and the "bungling" manner in which it has been conducted. The issue of the pardon is again introduced (not favorably to the President). The comparison with the Nixonian preoccupation with foreign affairs and the appointment



of John Connally to the Intelligence Advisory Board are utilized to tar the President by association with Nixon. Also rehashed are the Ford position on the bailout of NYC, his veto of the Freedom of Information Act and the not very subtle raising of the Nixon/Ford conversation on tape--explicitly the \$60,000 Presidential pension (on top of his pension from his Congressional service).

The President is described as "truly 'an accidental president', and his only accomplishments were combinations of accidents and non-action" (p. 297).

Looking at the book as a whole, perhaps a one sentence summary would be a cleverly written polemic diatribe designed to destroy whatever favorable image the President, has managed to build during his nineteen month tenure in office.