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News & Comment

The President's Daily News Summary



Leading The News...

FOR MONDAY AFTERNOON
NOVEMBER 1, 1976

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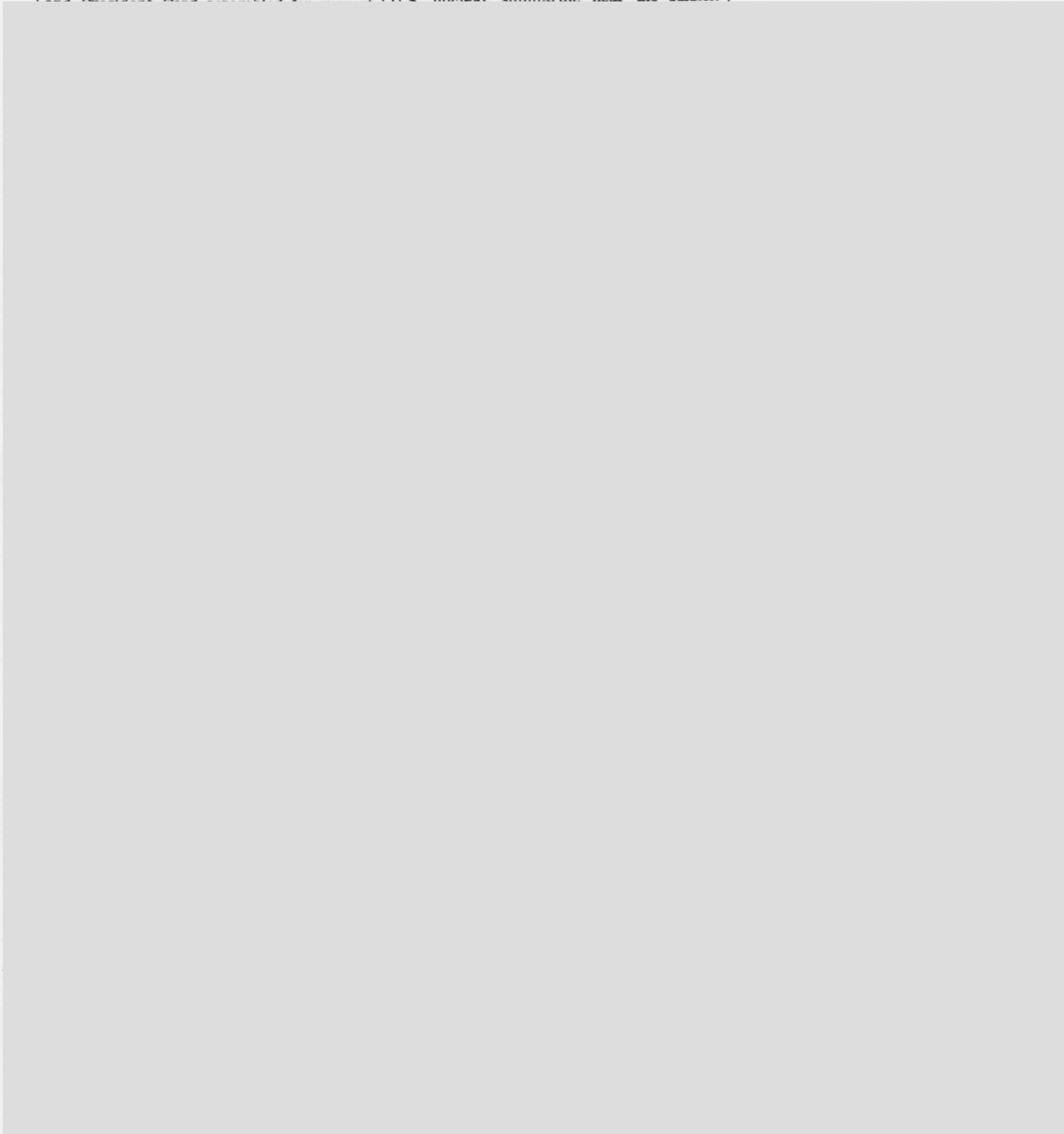
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World-Wide

FORD AND CARTER campaigned hard in big states as the race grew tighter.

With the presidential election described by pollsters as up for grabs, Jimmy Carter

The Navy retrieved a Phoenix missile from the ocean floor north of Scotland, ending fears that the Soviet Union might obtain the top-secret weapon. It was found by a U.S. nuclear submarine near the sunken



Business and Finance

LEADING INDICATORS of the economy fell 0.7% in September, the second consecutive decline. Among those that dropped were new orders for consumer goods and liquid assets held by

* * *
Paper-bag price-fixing was charged by a federal grand jury in indicting five companies and seven executives.

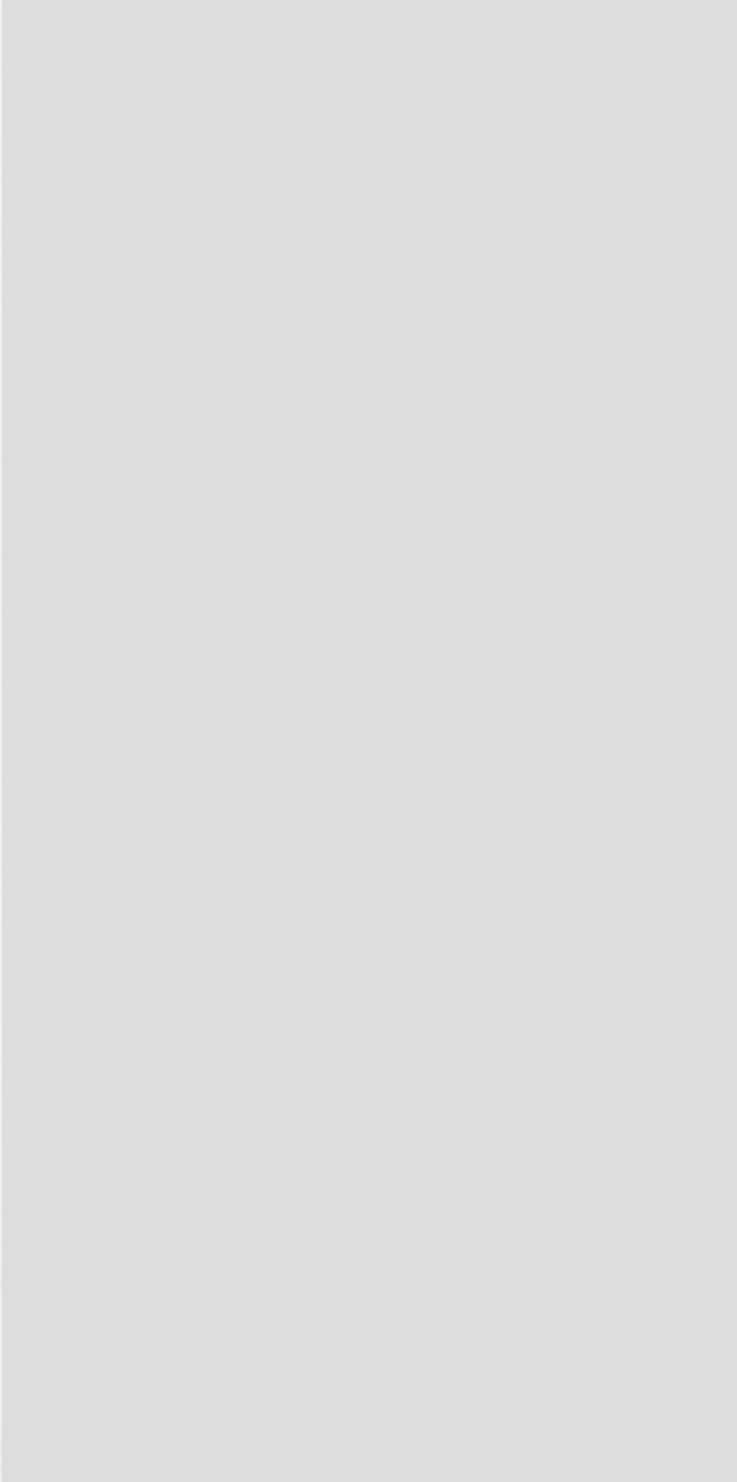
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Ford 47 Pct., Carter 46 Pct. In Final Survey

By George Gallup

PRINCETON, N.J., Oct. 31—In its final survey, based on interviewing between Thursday and Saturday noon, the Gallup Poll finds President Ford and Democratic nominee Jimmy Carter in a virtual tie for the popular vote lead, with only one percentage point separating them, a difference that is not statistically significant.



POLL: IT'S CARTER AND MOYNIHAN

by Sam Roberts, NY Daily News

By SAM ROBERTS

Chief Political Correspondent of The News

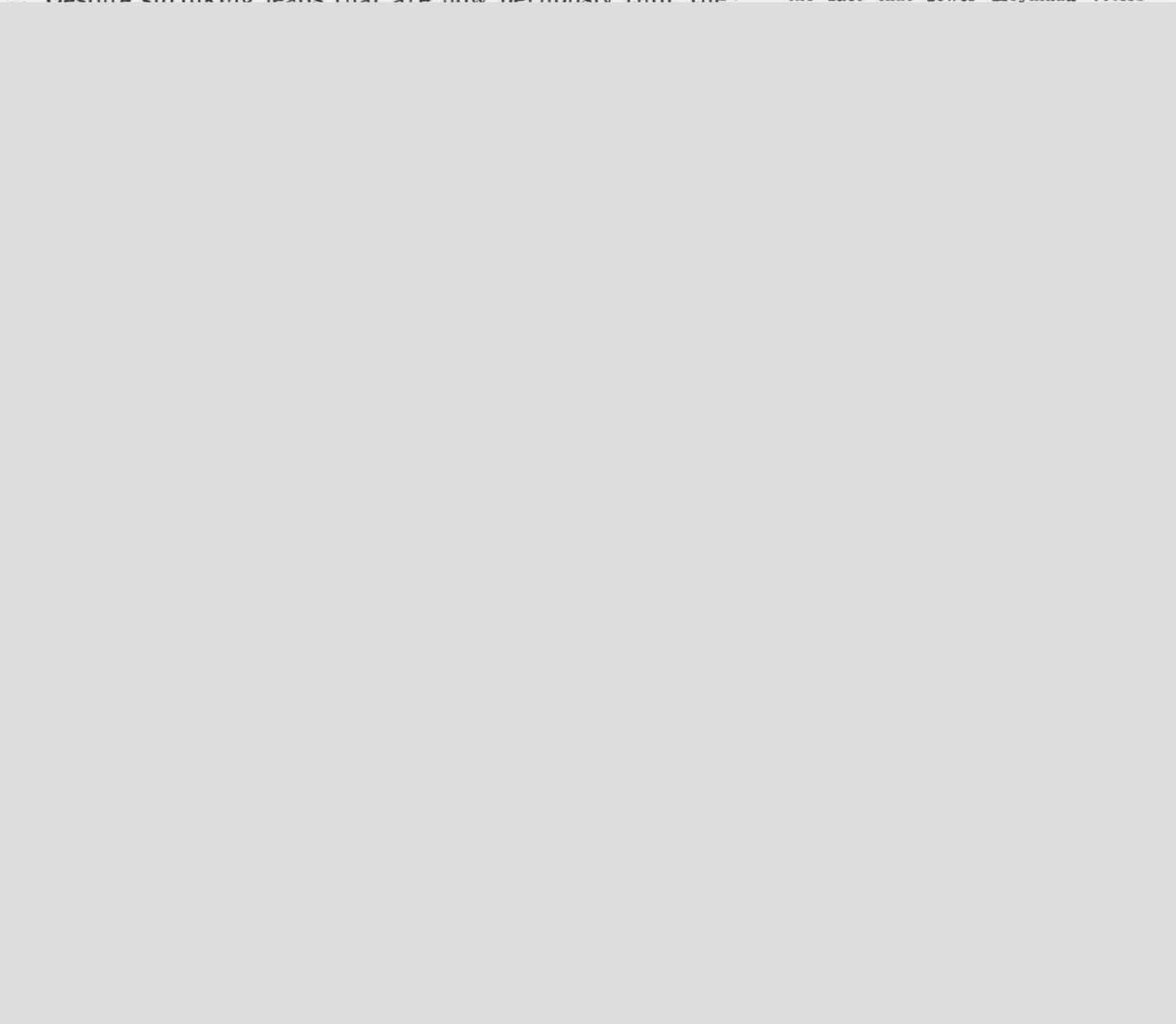
Jimmy Carter will narrowly carry New York State and capture its 41 pivotal electoral votes tomorrow and Daniel Patrick Moynihan will oust James Buckley from the U.S. Senate by a small margin, according to the final statewide survey of The News Straw Poll.

taxes, utilities and everything else has gone up. Carter doesn't offer anything better than that."

New Yorkers expressed more satisfaction with the two Senate aspirants, following the bitter five-way battle for the Democratic nomination and the first GOP Senate primary in 52 years. Yet, the lingering antagonism of those who supported Rep. Bella Abzug in the Democratic primary may be reflected in the fact that fewer Moynihan voters

Despite shrinking leads that are now perilously thin, the

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NY Daily News,
11/1/76

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Straw Poll: Final Survey

Straws taken Oct. 27-30 inclusive

President

4,380 Straws

Senator

4,132 Straws

PRESIDENT



NY Daily News,
11/1/76

50-State Survey of Probable Electoral Balloting Indicates Final Efforts Could Be Crucial

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

President Ford has scored gains in enough states to give himself close to an even chance of upsetting Jimmy Carter in tomorrow's Presidential election, according to a comprehensive, 50-state electoral vote survey by The New York Times.

The survey, based on reports from Times correspondents across the country, analysis of local poll results and interviews with state and national political leaders, showed states with 222 electoral votes solid for or leaning to Mr. Carter, and states with 198 electoral votes solid for or leaning to Mr. Ford, and states with 118 electoral votes rated tossups.

Could Be Decided Today

With 270 electoral votes required for a majority, the outcome could be decided by the final day of stumping, tonight's election-eve television appeals and the relative success of the two nominees in getting their backers to the polls.

The contest for popular votes, the final Gallup Poll reported last night, is a virtual tie. Interviewing 3,439 voters nationwide between Thursday and Saturday noon, the poll found a 1-point lead for Mr. Ford—a difference without statistical significance.

Gallup gave Mr. Ford 47 percent, Mr. Carter 46 percent and others 3 percent, with 4 percent undecided. With the undecided vote allocated, the results were 49 percent for Mr. Ford, 48 for Mr. Carter.

Final polls showed crosscurrents at work in the electorate, with Mr. Ford surging in Texas and New Jersey and falling back in Michigan and Ohio. But the overall movement was toward the President, who began the campaign with very slim prospects.

As they have all year, politicians re-

ported unusual volatility in the electorate, with many voters undecided and many more unenthusiastic in their preferences. In a number of states, including Michigan and Colorado, the number of undecided voters appeared to be increasing, a highly unusual development that suggested the possibility of surprise results.

"When you get this kind of movement," reported Mervin D. Field, a respected California pollster, who spent yesterday consulting his colleagues around the nation, "it is a little like trying to measure the wind speed in a hurricane. We don't know, and we won't know until Tuesday night, whether the Ford momentum is continuing or Carter has stopped it."

Of the nine tossup states, Connecticut, Iowa, Mississippi, New Mexico, Oklahoma and South Dakota have 39 electoral votes among them. Assuming roughly an even split, Mr. Carter would have 241 votes, 29 short of a majority, and Mr. Ford would have 218, or 52 short of a majority.

Must Win 2 Big Ones

In that situation, each man would need to win two of the three big-states considered too close to call—Pennsylvania, with 27 electoral votes, Illinois, with 26, and Texas, also with 26—unless Mr. Carter picked up a small state that he is not now expected to take.

Ironically, Mr. Carter thus finds himself heavily dependent upon the election-day exertions of two old-line political bosses—the antithesis of the politics of the outsider that he has emphasized throughout his long campaign—Mayors Richard J. Daley of Chicago and Frank L. Rizzo of Philadelphia.

"If I have my way," commented a ranking Carter strategist, "my leader's last telephone calls will be to two mayors, and he'll tell them, 'You can either make me President or not.'"

So close is the Presidential contest that it could conceivably be decided by the independent candidacy of former Senator Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota, who is on the ballot in six of the eight tossup states. Late polls in Iowa, Illinois, and several other states suggest he could make the difference even if he pulled only 3 or 4 percent of the total votes.

Following is a state-by-state rundown on the situation in each state, with the electoral vote in each, along with The Times's evaluation, on election eve:

CONNECTICUT (8): Unrest among Italian-American voters and a Democratic organization left in disarray by the death of John M. Bailey, the long-time party chairman, had seemed likely to turn this usually Democratic state toward President Ford. But a strong effort by organized labor, ample "street money" for the get-out-the-vote drive and a tendency by Democrats to "come home" gives Mr. Carter a chance; his pollster, Patrick Cadell, says the Georgian has gained more ground in Connecticut in the last 10 days than in any other state. Tossup.

DELAWARE (3): A Wilmington News-Journal poll in mid-October gave Mr. Carter a five-point lead, and he appears likely to hold it unless Mr. Ford gets a lot of help from the strong campaign of Pierre S. du Pont for Governor. Leaning Carter.

MAINE (4): Gov. James B. Longley, an independent with a big conservative following, endorsed Mr. Ford, who leads the final Bangor News poll by two percentage points, 40.7 to 38.9. The undecided vote exceeds 20 percent here. Leaning Ford.

MASSACHUSETTS (14): President Ford has not bothered to visit the state, the only one to support Senator George McGovern of South Dakota four years ago. Registration, at a record level, is overwhelmingly pro-Democratic. Solid Carter.

NEW HAMPSHIRE (4): Both Mr. Ford and Mr. Carter began the primary season with victories here seven long months ago. In the absence of definitive polls, Mr. Carter seems unlikely to disturb the state's habitual Republicanism. Solid Ford.

NEW JERSEY (17): Although the margins are slight, private polls by both sides show this state, usually three or four points more conservative than its neighbors, Pennsylvania and New York, trending toward the President. James P. Dugan, the state Democratic chairman, says voters will "take out their dissatisfaction" with the state income tax on the party's nominee. Only a big turnout, unlikely unless urban Democratic organizations outdo themselves, would put Mr. Carter over. Leaning Ford.

NEW YORK (41): With the exception of Massachusetts, Mr. Carter's best big state in the North. Final newspaper polls, including one by The Times, show Mr. Carter with a relatively steady lead ranging from three to six percentage points. Leaning Carter.

PENNSYLVANIA (27): Many prominent Democrats believe that Mr. Carter still holds the lead here, but the candidate's own polls show it even. The President has returned to the state time and again, visiting all four Philadelphia suburban counties in the hope of offsetting what Mr. Rizzo can produce in Philadelphia. The weather could make a difference. Says former Gov. William W. Scranton of the situation, "This is the most mystifying election campaign that I can remember seeing." Toss-up.

The Electoral Vote Status

(Based on reports from N.Y. Times correspondents and polling data.)

SOLID FORD (36)
 LEANING TO FORD (162)

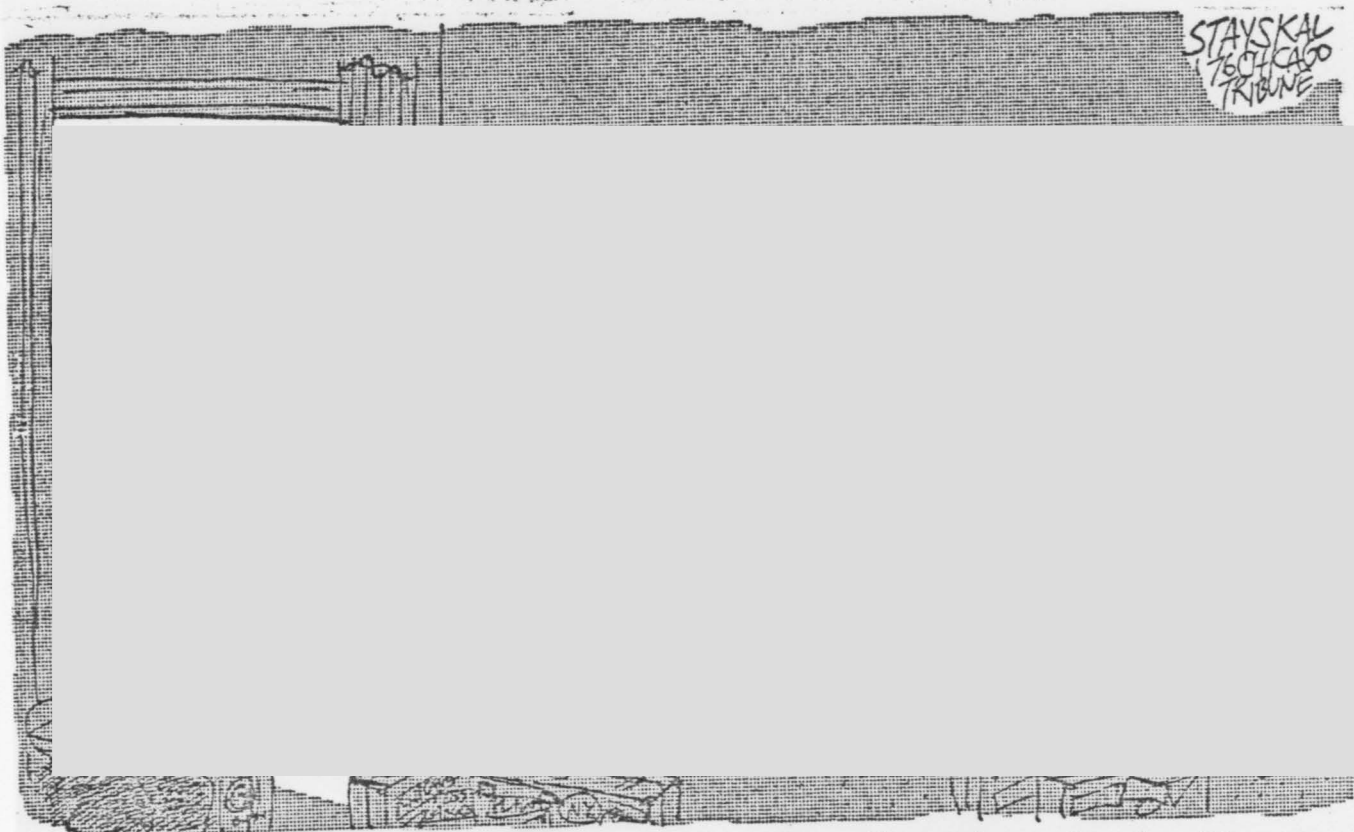
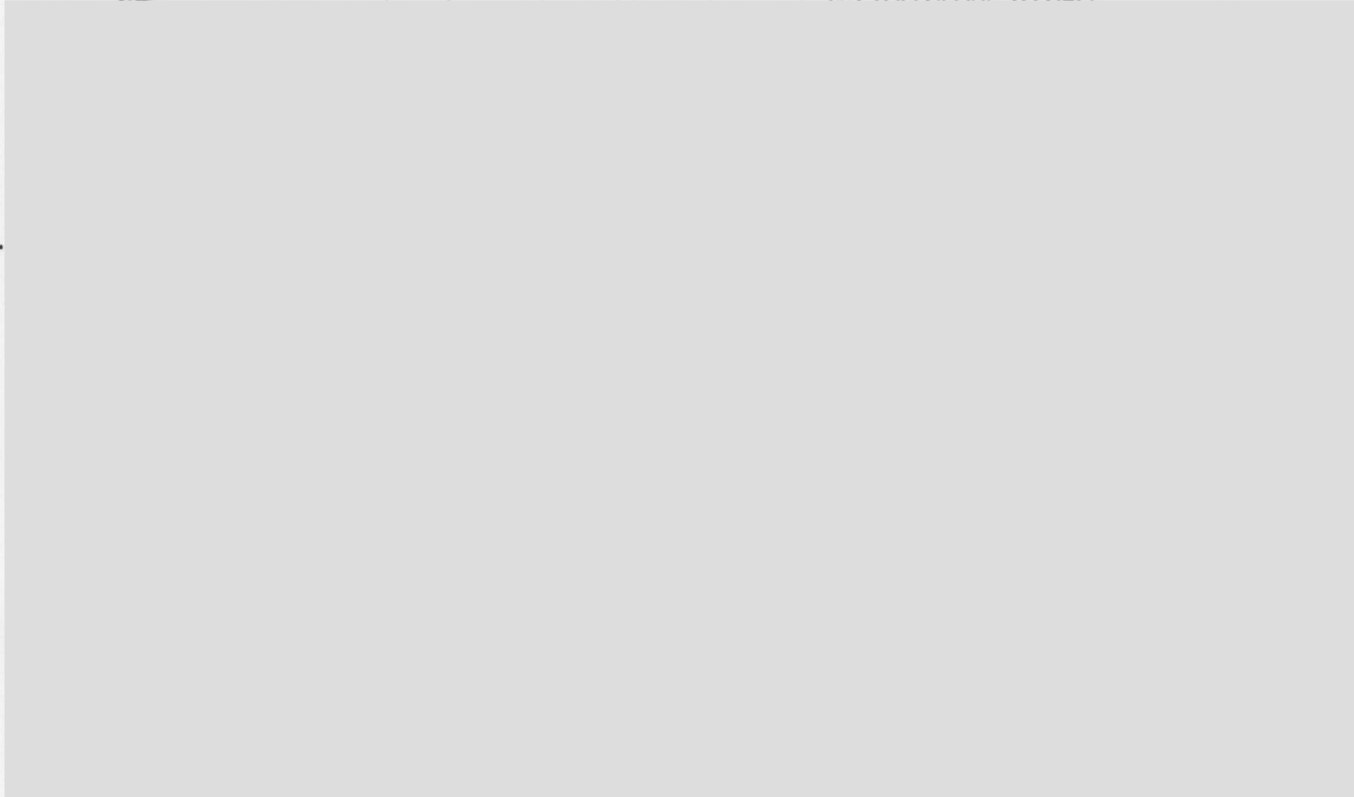
Total
198

SOLID CARTER (79)
 LEANING TO CARTER (143)

Total
222

TOO CLOSE TO CALL

Times
11/1/76



STAYSKAL
CHICAGO
TRIBUNE

"Ah wonder how many undecided voters are still out there, Rosalynn?"

Chicago Tribune 10/31/76

Top of the ticket: it's nobody's mandate now

JAMES WIEGHART

WASHINGTON — Whatever the final outcome, the tight presidential race insures that the winner will not have a mandate for sweeping change that presidential can-

reflecting the traditional American aversion to extremism of the right or left.

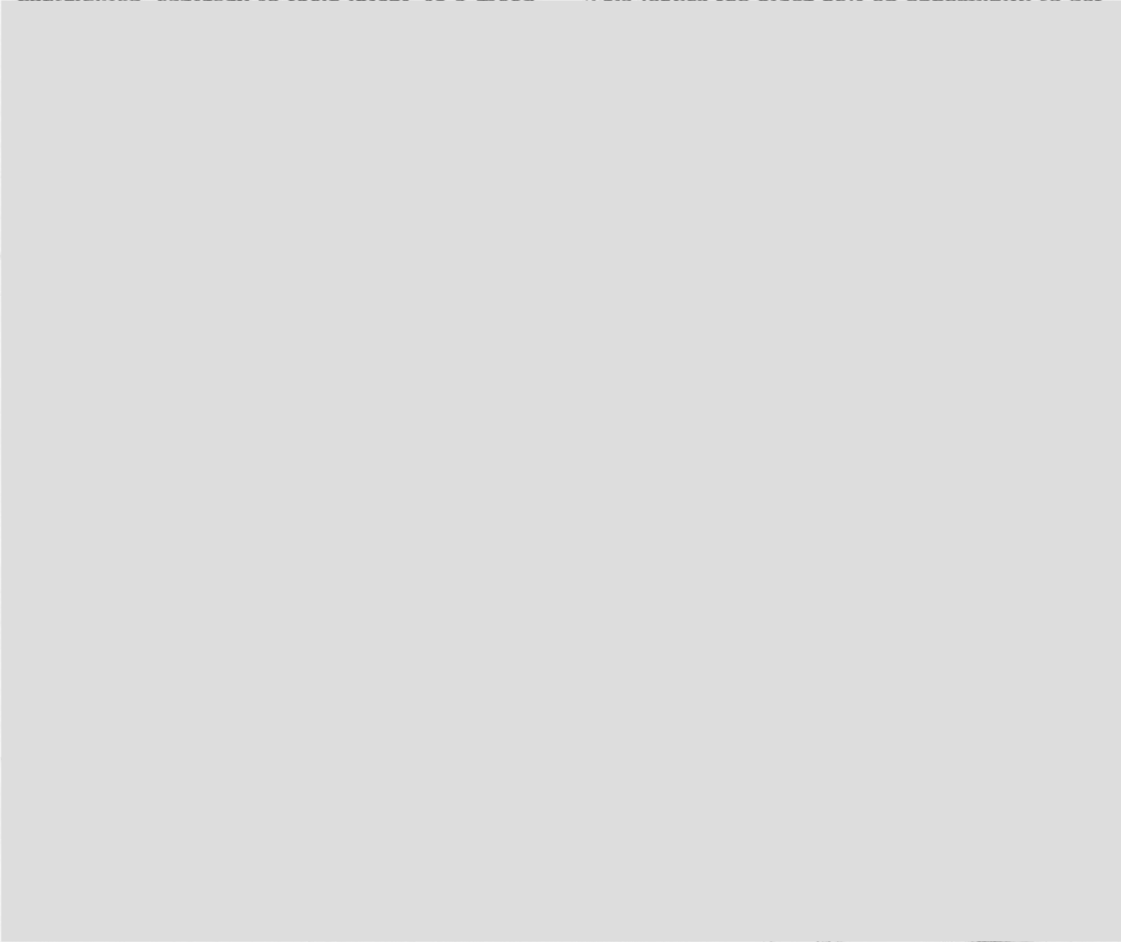
What the voters are saying in 1976 is that while they are obviously dissatisfied with Washington in general, as a natural aftermath of Vietnam and

would have only reminded voters of his deficiencies, and by cleverly exploiting voter distrust of Carter.

Time for the Double-Wallop Vote

Apathy is the bugaboo of this election. It haunts politicians and is a lurking rebuke to the news media. For reasons only hazily understood, both politicians and media seem to have

hereby do the same. But in the Madison Avenue spirit that infects public life we offer our readers an extra reason for doing so. By latest estimates, half the citizenry will not bother to vote.



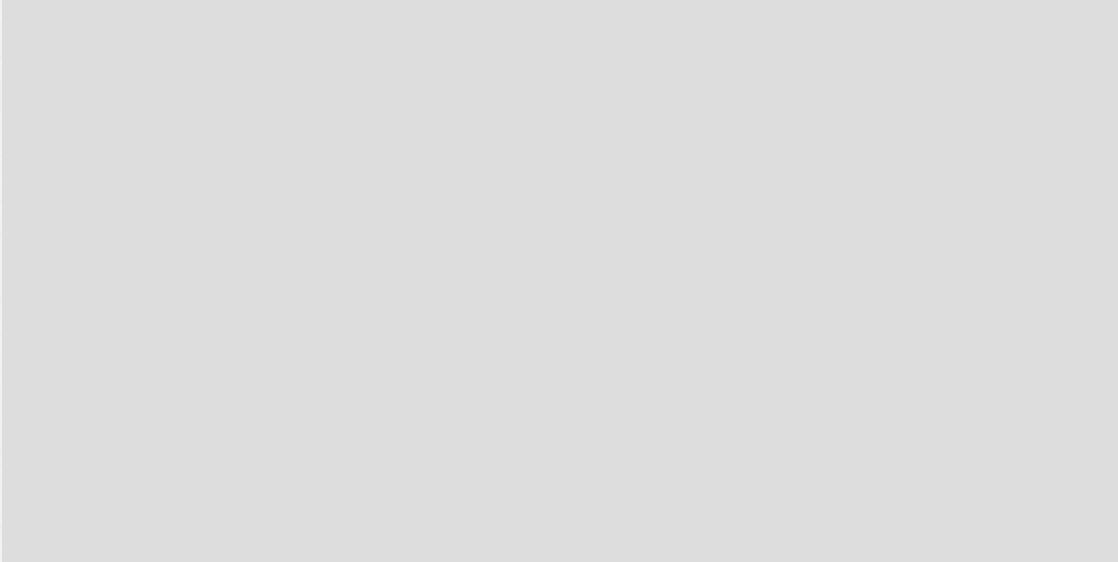
Baltimore Sun ,
11/1/76

Following the Loser

If Jimmy Carter loses tomorrow, he may not have a second chance at the presidency, *a la* Richard Nixon, Adlai Stevenson and Thomas Dewey. After the Democratic convention, President

chusetts, Mr. Edward Moore Kennedy.

No matter the outcome Tuesday, the Republicans will be looking for a new face. The party has no old ones. If President Ford wins, the Con-



Baltimore Sun ,
11/1/76

Tuesday's choices

As late as the Sunday before the United States election, a Massachusetts clergyman was challenging his colleagues on a radio panel to give him three good reasons why on earth he should bother to go to the ballot box. To him both Ford and Carter seemed so in-

forms on which they stand. It is customary to suppose platforms are promptly discarded after the election. But in general thrust, at least, recent administrations have tended to square quite well with their advance platforms.

To take only the major issue of the econ-

The Year of Ambiguities

Eric Sevareid gave his assesement of the election campaign on CBS Morning News.

He told Bruce Morton it has been a year of ambiguities. People like Ford but they aren't sure they respect him. They respect Carter's brilliance and self-determination but are not quite sure they understand him.

Everything is blurred. We have problems, but not crucial ones, in the economy and foreign policy, Sevareid noted.

The element of passion isn't there either but that may be good, Sevareid said, calling it the politics of hysteria like in the 60's. This is the old fashioned normal election--you've got a moderate liberal and a moderate conservative, the way it was up to 1948..."This is a normal kind of election but the press doesn't like that. They want drama."

Sevareid said he did not know who was ahead. He added that voters will question whether they want to go with what they know or if they want to take a chance with a different future. "All futures are dangerous. With Carter it could be a little dangerous but exciting."

--CBS Morning News (11/1/76)

EndorsementFord Commercials Cast Endorsements; More Endorsements Made

President Ford's campaign is running radio and television advertisements listing endorsements of the President by a dozen newspapers in Georgia, Jimmy Carter's home state.

Those endorsements came Sunday as many papers across the nation declared or repeated their support for one of the two rivals in Tuesday's election.

The Ford ads say, "Those who know Jimmy Carter best are from Georgia. That's why we thought you ought to know." The commercials then tick off the Ford endorsements.

The President has now been endorsed by 14 Georgia newspapers, Carter by 12. The former Georgia governor has been endorsed by the two largest newspapers in the state, the Atlanta Journal and the Altanta Constitution.

(continued)

The Ford broadcast commercials are being used about 60 times on nationwide radio networks, and also are being broadcast several times a day on stations in each television market nationwide.

In other endorsements, the Albany (New York) Times-Union, an independent paper, based its endorsement of the President on his record.

The Indianapolis Star, traditionally a Republican paper, said, "The Presidency of Gerald R. Ford has been good for the country the last two years and it will be good for the country in the next four years."

The Philadelphia Inquirer, part of the Knight-Ridder group of newspapers, issued its second endorsement of the incumbent on Sunday. The paper, which has generally supported Republican Presidential candidates, said, "This election turns on the issue we called foremost in endorsing Ford in this space a week ago--the matter of restoring public trust."

The New York Daily News, which generally supports Republican Presidential candidates, also endorsed Ford for the second time in Monday's editions.

The Beaumont (Texas) Enterprise-Journal, which is traditionally Democratic, carried an endorsement of Ford which read, "We frankly do not know what Jimmy Carter would do in the White House. What he has said has been so contradictory and vague, we don't know what a Carter Presidency would mean to the country."

But the newspaper's executive editor, Darrell Mack, and editorial page editor Kim McMurray disagreed with the paper's stand. A letter signed by the two executives on the same page as the endorsement said, "We disagree with the Enterprise-Journal's endorsement of President Ford."

In San Antonio, Texas, the two Sunday newspapers took opposing editorial stands. The San Antonio Sunday Express-News, endorsed Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter. The independent newspaper said Carter "has demonstrated effective executive ability and--importantly--initiative that is essential to leadership."

The Sunday editions of the San Antonio Light, an independent paper that is part of the Hearst group of newspapers, endorsed President Ford, calling him "a man of simplicity and honesty. Ford represents the stability which can be achieved in our Federal government...Gerald R. Ford is a good man, a solid man."

(continued)

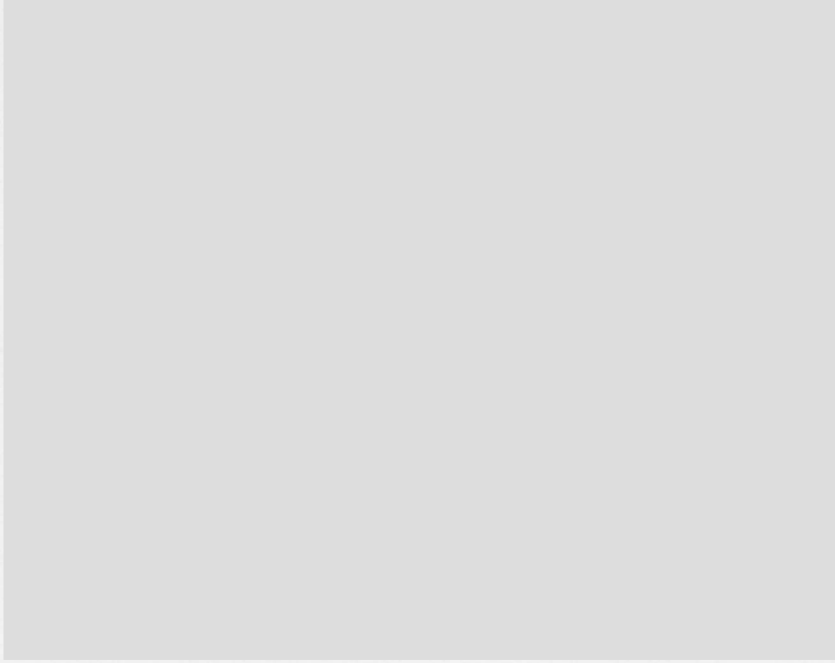
The Roanoke (Virginia) Times and World News, which has generally supported Republican Presidential candidates, called both Ford and Carter "decent, but uninspiring men." The papers said they were backing Ford because "Republicans, on the whole, are more concerned that government not become so big, so complex, so expensive."

The Casper (Wyoming) Star-Tribune, an independent newspaper, endorsed Ford, saying the President, "though a lack-luster campaigner at the outset of the long ordeal, has clearly grown to the job and has developed into a capable orator." The paper, the largest in the state, said Carter "is undoubtedly ambitious, but he is also an unknown quantity."
--AP (11/1/76)

SUMMING UP

Once again, we urge voters to support President Gerald Ford for a full four-year term in tomorrow's election. In our view, he has earned it.

Mr. Ford has



Ford hopes 'underdog' image will win upset

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

With Ford campaign party

The Ford camp now is counting on the "underdog" image to carry President Ford to a tremendous upset victory over Jimmy Carter.

Everywhere he goes in this final, hectic quest for the presidential prize, Mr. Ford is

• Mr. Ford's smartest move. This was his decision to come out swinging at the convention, challenging Jimmy Carter to debate and letting the public in general know that he, Jerry Ford, was not going to give up the presidency without a good fight.

A newly perceived, highly aggressive Gerald Ford emerged at the convention. His new image was one of pluck in the face of immense adversity (being so far behind Mr. Carter at the time). And this, of itself, gave Mr. Ford a great leap forward.

• The primary race with Ronald Reagan. Some observers still say that the Reagan challenge served to tune President Ford up for the

C.S. Monitor,
11/1/76

ceived by those who watched the three debates.

Finally, should Mr. Carter lose this election, it seems likely that he will feel he made a major mistake in agreeing to debate - in letting an opponent who was so far behind have the debating forum to help him in his comeback effort.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Ford's Peak

HOUSTON—Nearly uncontrollable Euphoria possessing President Ford and his entourage last weekend stemmed not only from his upsurge in the polls making the election a deadheat but also the belated development, after a year of chronic fumbling, of the candidate and his strategy into a coherent campaign.

orator, his speechmaking as the campaign ends is the very best he can do.

The President's speaking performance picked up with the second debate when he finally heeded pleas from his advisers to stop attacking Carter. That has been left to the anti-Carter commercials glutting the nation's televi-

Baker, a Houston lawyer, insisted last week that "Friday night high school football is a religion in Texas." Therefore, the President concluded a grueling day Friday by going out in the rain to watch high school football in Baytown, Tex.—insuring statewide publicity.

The campaign's supreme gimmick is a

Ford Winds Up Campaign

President Ford Monday pushed for a maximum Republican vote and headed home to Michigan for a last campaign rally before Tuesday's election.

Ford was campaigning in the morning in the GOP strongholds of Ohio -- Akron-Canton and Columbus. In the afternoon he was to fly to Michigan to beat the GOP bushes in suburban Detroit and end the campaign with a razzle-dazzle homecoming parade and rally in Grand Rapids.

The President entered the last day of his campaign proclaiming "my vision of America -- a vision of limited government and unlimited opportunity. The government can't do everything," Ford said today in a taped statement broadcast over a network in Ohio, a key industrial state. "If it tries to do too much, it ends up doing nothing well. If it assumes too much power and control, we will have sown the seeds of our own destruction as a free people." (AP)

Ford and his aides were buoyed by a Gallup poll which showed him ahead of Jimmy Carter by 1 percentage point -- 47-46. It reflected the President's own confidence which he exuded while campaigning Sunday in upstate New York and on Long Island.

At a rally which drew some 17,000 supporters in a mammoth coliseum in Nassau County, Long Island, Ford said, "We are on the final momentum, the countdown of probably the most crucial election in the lifetime of most of us here." (UPI)

"I happen to believe that with the momentum we have going, with the performance that we have had, with the vision that we see, with the enthusiasm that I find in Northern New York, here in Long Island or any place else in this country, I think we are going to win that election good on Nov. 2." (NBC)

Ford said, "On Tuesday, let's not set America back. On Tuesday, on Tuesday, vote for Gerry Ford." (NBC)

Noting it was Hallowe'en night, Ford said "this is no time to play trick or treat with America." (Morning shows)

Ford said, "So here's a clear choice. You have President Ford who wants to reduce our personal income taxes, who wants to give industry a break so that it can expand, it can modernize, it can do the things that produce jobs for you. That's where I stand. Jimmy Carter, he's up and down." (ABC)

There was no comment from the President on the incident at Jimmy Carter's church in Plains, Gal, where a black activist minister was denied membership and the church closed for the day Sunday. Ford pointedly posed at a Suffolk County rally with former heavyweight boxing champion Joe Frazier and musician Lionel Hampton, both black Ford supporters. (AP)
--AP, UPI, Morning Shows (11/1/76)

Connally: Ford Will Carry Texas

John Connally said Monday he thinks the President will carry Texas.

Interviewed on Good Morning, America, Connally said, "If he wins Texas, it means he will win a great deal of the rest of the country." Connally said he thinks Ford will carry Texas by a larger margin than predicted.

Asked if he has been approached to be Secretary of State, Connally said all he is concerned about right now is seeing the President elected and not in holding any office beyond that.

Connally said he doesn't anticipate the offer will be made and that he would have serious reservations about it. "The odds are that he won't offer it and secondly that I wouldn't accept it."

Asked how he would change foreign policy, Connally said the whole foreign policy should be reassessed and that it is no criticism of Ford or Secretary Kissinger but that the condition in the world has changed a great deal.

He added there will probably be fewer agreements like SEATO and CENTO, and strengthen our bilateral agreements with various countries. The U.S. no longer occupies such a position of dominance that we can no longer hold out being all things to all people. We can't have a common policy applicable to the whole world.

Asked if Watergate has been a disadvantage to Connally, he said he was no part of Watergate. Connally said only once during the campaign has he been asked about Watergate and it is really not a factor.

Connally said there must be reorganization of the GOP after the election, looking toward the 1978 Congressional election. The GOP has to improve its position in the Congress.

Connally said he expects to remain active in GOP politics no matter what the outcome may be.
--Good Morning, America (11/1/76)

Senator Dole Stumps Midwest

An optimistic Sen. Bob Dole will end his 44-state campaign by stumping in the Midwest farming states where 75 days earlier he had begun his bid as President Ford's running mate.

The Republican Vice Presidential nominee agreed with opinions that the election right now is "up for grabs" but he told a Peoria airport gathering late Sunday night he was convinced "we will win." Pressed for details, he said he doubted any accurate prediction could be made.

He is scheduled to address rallies in Illinois, Nebraska and his home state of Kansas before voting on Tuesday in Russell, Kansas.

Dole's spirits were buoyed on his weekend swing through Texas and Louisiana, where local officials asserted that the Republican ticket had edged into the lead. Dole responded by hitting hard at what he called Jimmy Carter's "betrayal of the south."

"Mr. Carter could have embraced the sound conservatism of his native South. Instead, he has used the South and then sold his birthright for the affections of the ultra-left liberals in America." (AP)
--AP, UPI, Morning Shows (11/1/76)

Church IncidentCARTER/MONDALE CAMPAIGNBlack Leaders Still Support Carter

Jimmy Carter's leading black supporters rallied to his side Monday after the deacons of Carter's all-white Baptist church in Plains, Ga., cancelled Sunday services when a black minister tried to join the congregation.

Several characterized the incident as a stunt staged for political purposes.

Carter issued a statement noting that he and his family stood alone in 1965 in opposing the adoption of a church policy excluding blacks from membership.

Dr. Martin Luther King Sr., the father of the slain civil rights leader and no relation of the Rev. Clennon King, indicated Monday that he believed the incident may have been a Republican-inspired ploy to take votes away from church member Carter. The Rev. Dr. King, pastor emeritus of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta and a longtime Carter supporter, said in a statement that President Ford's "only hope is to trick black folk into staying home on Tuesday. But that won't work. We're

smarter than that now...Jimmy Carter may be part of that congregation, but he's never been one to keep people out of the church over their race."

Rep. Andrew Young, D-Ga., said Monday the cancellation of services may win Carter votes among black Americans. Young said the church incident has "almost become a rallying point in the black community for Jimmy Carter. The black community has made up its mind to back Carter," he said. "...Black America is concerned with the problems of the nation. That's the big issue. They are not concerned about whether they can go to church at Carter's church in Plains."

Coleman Young, Detroit's first black Mayor and one of Carter's early supporters, said the incident smacked of Watergate-style tactics.

"This is obviously a continuation of a Watergate, last-minute dirty trick," Young said. "Out of all the Sundays that we have had...it is very strange to me indeed that this happened on the Sunday before the election." (Morning Shows)

Young said he was not sure whether Carter should quite the Plains church. "I think perhaps the thing he should do is to stay in that church and fight this policy...and run the deacons out. He should either fight to change the situation or...leave it," Young said.

The Atlanta Constitution Monday reported the deacons have voted to fire Rev. Bruce Edwards, the church's pastor. (CBS)

Walter Fauntroy said he thought the incident could affect Carter's success with black voters. Fauntroy said he was fearful that even a small erosion in Carter's black support could sway the election.

Lillian Carter, the candidate's mother, said, "I know if any other black who was decent and wanted to come into the church, he would be welcome. This man is an activist and he is a man who screams on the street corner and he is against everything."

Mrs. Carter said she and her family have often had blacks as guests in the church, and she said the Carters have wishes blacks could become members.

But the President Ford campaign said it had nothing to do with the application. Deputy press secretary Peter Teeley said the incident showed some inconsistency in Carter's beliefs on civil rights and religion, and he questioned why Carter had said nothing in the five days since the Rev. Mr. King first applied for membership.

"It might swing some black votes to Ford or turn off some blacks from voting for Carter," he said.

The President of the Southern Baptist Convention, The Rev. James L. Sullivan, said he would be disappointed to learn that a member church had denied membership to anyone who wanted to join "in sincerity, with the desire of being sincere and faithful to the church."

He said he would expect to be turned down in an application "if I was insincere or tried to coerce the church into receiving me for membership, as apparently has happened in this case."

Lester Maddox said he suspected the church incident "might prove to be the king of all dirty tricks" and that Carter may have planned the cancellation of services "for the purpose of picking up a million or so white votes across the south and across the nation."

--AP, UPI, Morning Shows (11/1/76)

StrategyCARTER/MONDALE CAMPAIGNCarter Campaigns in California, Michigan

Jimmy Carter campaigned in California for a final stab at its 45 electoral votes, with aides questioning the accuracy of polls that show him falling behind President Ford.

"I don't want to lose. I don't intend to lose," Carter told a four-state television audience. (NBC)

Jody Powell said the polls which indicate his once massive lead has evaporated are improperly taken. They are the national Gallup Poll, which shows Carter down by one point to Ford, whom he once led by 30 points; and the Field poll of California, which shows Ford ahead by 6 points where Carter once led by 20. "I think we'll try to relax tomorrow (Monday) and enjoy the position of being Mr. Gallup's underdog for 24 hours," Powell said, contending Gallup's sample was incorrectly drawn. Powell said the Field poll also is faulty, and he cited a Carter campaign poll showing Carter ahead by 4 percent. (AP)

Carter repeated familiar themes of pride, leadership, hope and national greatness at rallies Sunday in San Francisco and Sacramento.

Monday Carter planned rallies in Los Angeles and Michigan, where he has hopes of upsetting President Ford in his home state, before returning home to Georgia for election day.

The San Francisco rally, in picturesque Ghirardelli Square, was telecast by the Carter campaign to nine cities in California, Nevada, Oregon and Washington State.

Rep. Barbara Jordan of Texas and California Gov. Edmund Brown, Jr., the last Democrat to pull out of the Presidential race against Carter, shared the television show with Carter. They strongly endorsed him.

"It's a time not for the ideas of the past, but for a vision," Brown said in introducing Carter. "Jimmy Carter has the activism, he has the commitment, he has the willingness. It's time to begin with a new face, a new person, a new spirit, the man from Georgia, Jimmy Carter."

"There is no leadership in the White House, and the country has been drifting," Carter said. "We must change all that."

Jordan said, "For the past 8 years Washington, D. C. has been under a pollution alert. The only way that we are going to be able to purify the air and cancel that pollution alert is to remove Richard Nixon and his successor from the Oval Office." (ABC)

Carter said, "I see an American President that's positive, that is a leader that unites our nation, that inspires us to greatness, that derives his strength, his hopes and encouragement and his support, his criticism from American people. And I see a government once again, mine and yours, that lives to the majesty of our constitution and the simple decency of our people." (ABC)

Carter added, "Every vote counts. In 1960 when John Kennedy ran against Richard Nixon, it was just a few thousand votes that could have given us Richard Nixon eight years earlier and not John Kennedy. In 1968, had just one more person voted per precinct, we could have had Hubert Humphrey for President and not the Nixon and Ford Administrations. So every vote counts." (NBC) --AP, UPI, Morning Shows (11/1/76)

Mondale Aides Say Michigan May Go To Carter

Walter Mondale's top campaign advisers believe President Ford's home state of Michigan is ripe for an upset. So two Michigan stops have been hurriedly added to the Vice Presidential nominee's already hectic final day of travel.

Mondale is jetting his way across the Northeast Monday in a last media blitz designed to get the most television exposure possible in several critical states.

Monday, he meets with Democratic party leaders in New York and greets commuters at Grand Central Station, then heads to a series of airport press conferences in Philadelphia, Buffalo, NY, and Gary, Ind.

The new Michigan stops include Detroit and a joint appearance with Jimmy Carter in Flint -- Mondale's final campaign event before heading home to a welcome rally at the Minneapolis airport tonight.

Mondale's campaign manager Dick Moe said he never believed Ford was safe in Michigan for a number of reasons, including the state's high jobless rates.

The appearance in Flint, where unemployment is now at 8.9 percent, is designed to show that Ford can't even help his own state's unemployed workers, Moe said.

Meanwhile, the campaign manager listed 11 states with 119 electoral votes as "certain for Carter." They are the District of Columbia, Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, Alabama, Mass., Minn., and West Virginia.

He said another 123 votes are probable in Delaware, Maryland, Texas, South Carolina, Mississippi, Rhode Island, New York, Hawaii, Oklahoma and Missouri.

These categories add up to 242 electoral votes, or 28 short of the 270 needed for election. Moe says Carter then needs only "any small combination of a long list of top tossups" to win, including Ohio, where Moe believes Carter is "almost certain" to pick up 25 more.

Mondale Sunday accused President Ford of failing to set proper standards for high government officials in his administration.

Speaking at a rally at co-op city, New York's largest subsidized cooperative housing project, Mondale singled out as "scurrilous" remarks made by one former and one current member of Ford's top government advisers.

--AP, UPI, ABC, NBC (11/1/76)

Carter's Lead Narrows in Big Comeback By Ford; Industrial Belt Considered Key

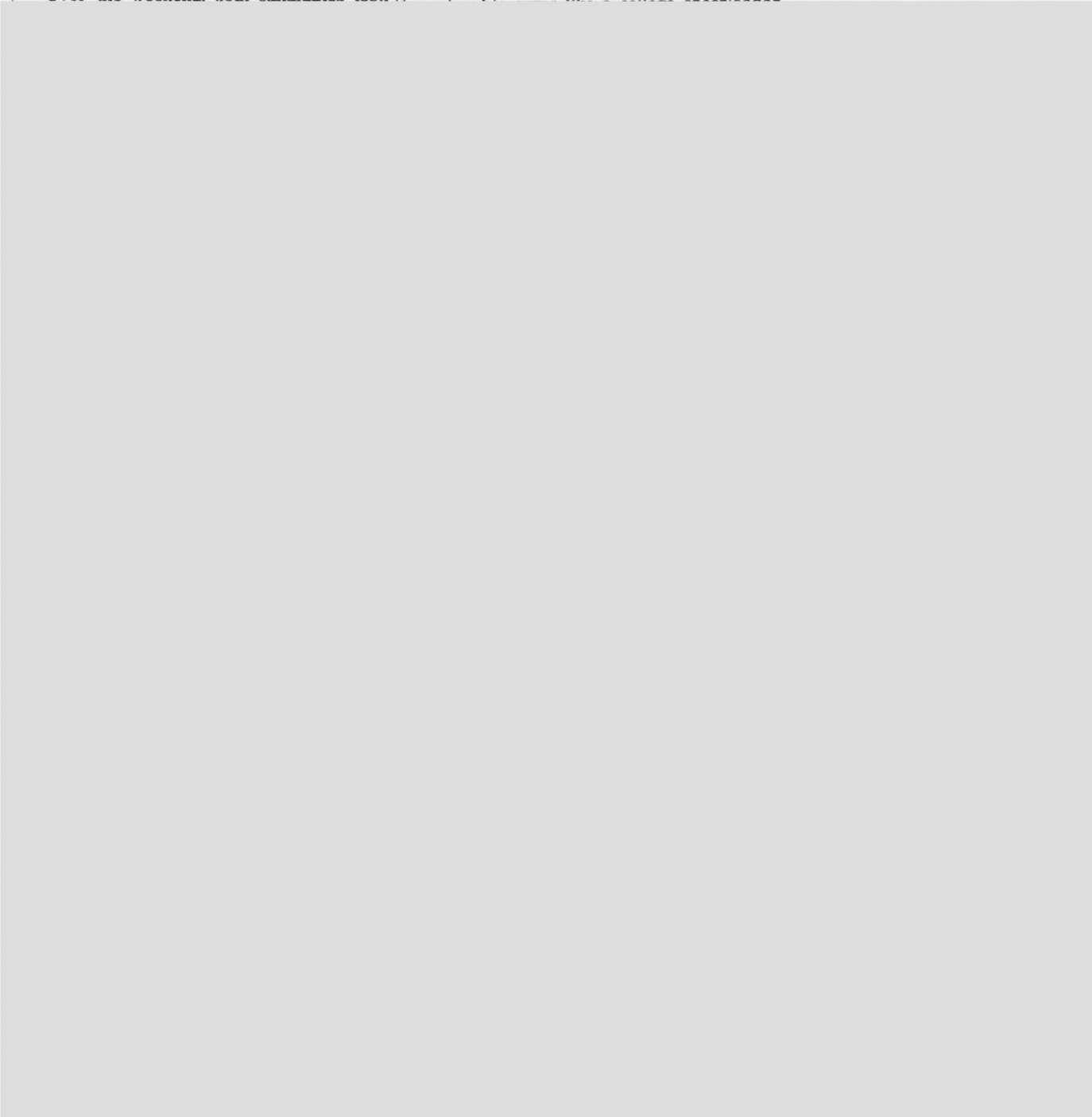
By ALBERT R. HUNT and DENNIS FARNEY
Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter sharply disagree on who will win tomorrow's presidential election, but both agree a once-apparent landslide has turned into an exceedingly tight race.

Over the weekend, both candidates took

One definite possibility tomorrow is that one candidate could win a narrow popular vote victory, but lose the electoral vote and thus the election.

Over the weekend, Mr. Ford appeared buoyant and utterly relaxed despite a hoarse and cracking voice. Saturday night in Syracuse, he exhorted an overflow crowd by



Carter fights 'unknown' perception to the last

By John Dillin

Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Atlanta
Twenty-four months ago, Jimmy Carter launched his presidential campaign here as a political unknown. Today, after hundreds of speeches and millions of written words, Mr. Carter remains an unknown quantity to many

he jetted across the country he seldom mentioned these and stressed instead the "incompetence" of the Republicans. By purposeful design, specifics on such subjects as tax reform and reorganization were avoided. And this lack of specifics seemed to add to public

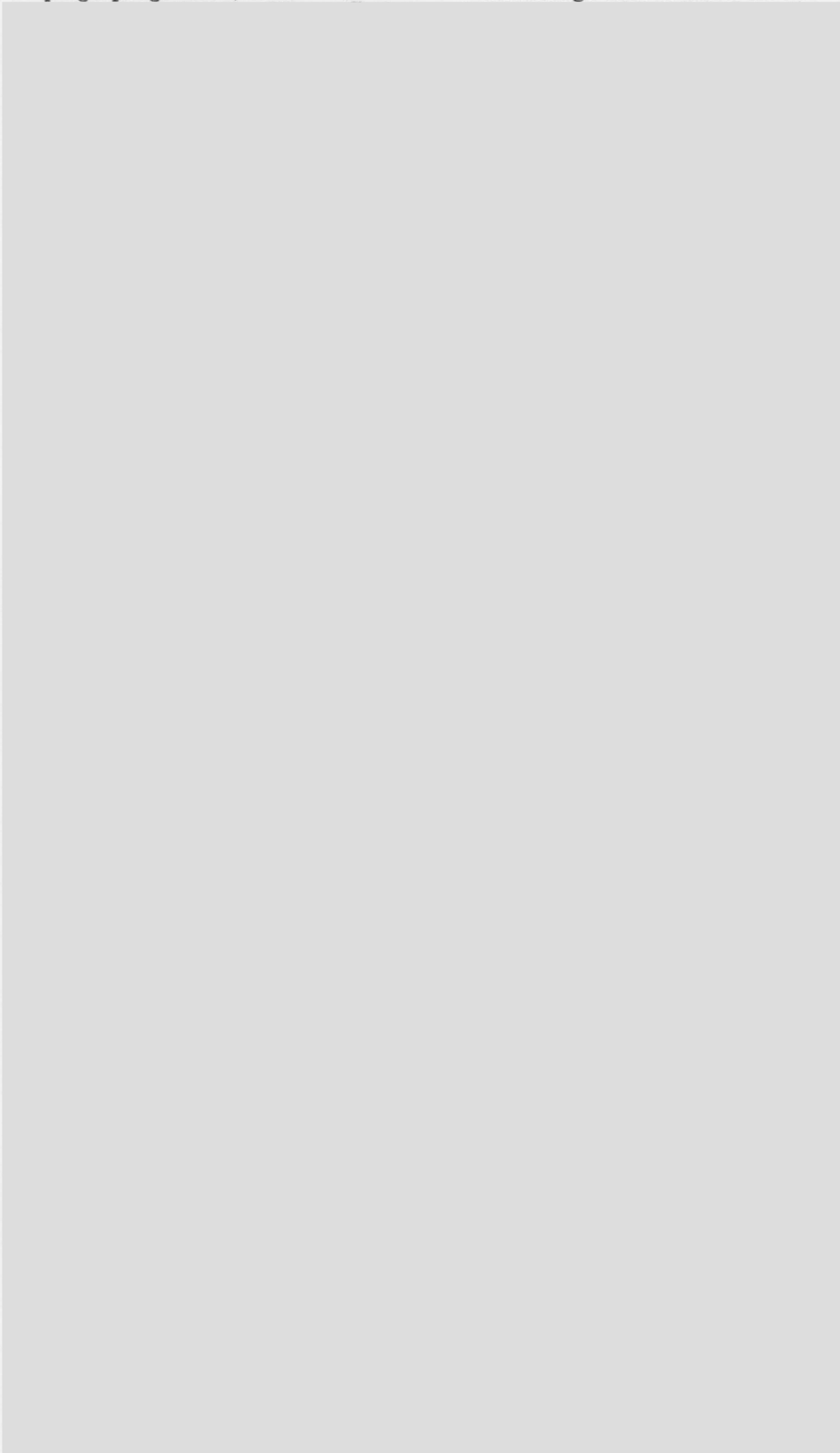
politicians. If there is a lesson in this for other candidates, like Ronald Reagan, it is that they failed to work hard enough or start early enough to overcome the natural head start that others had.

Mr. Carter also took the race issue out of Southern politics for the time being. His defe-

The Carter Tailspin

James Earl Carter Jr. may yet be elected President of the United States tomorrow. But even if that happens, the disintegration of his one-time 30-point lead has been the big event of this campaign. Some erosion was inevitable as the campaign progressed, of course, but it

traction, something to get out of the way. The easiest thing to do was to give the party the liberal candidate it is accustomed to, and then to get on with the real business of winning the election by manipulating an image. The image of love and trust was



Foreign Agents Operate in U.S.
Jack Anderson

Secret foreign agents operate in the United States with the knowledge of the CIA, Jack Anderson reported Monday.

Some work closely with the CIA and the CIA has secret understandings with them. Intelligence sources have told Anderson that some secrets police from abroad don't hesitate to violate our laws, and even this is cononed by the CIA.

In return, the CIA operates in their countrids and sometimes violates their laws.

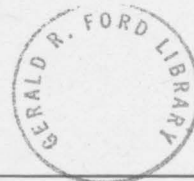
One of the most feared secret police forces is Iran's. Some secret files obtained from the force shows that their agents are trained to forget passports, break into homes and commit other crimes. One fascinating document transmits personal orders from the Shah of Iran to the force. It instructs the secret police to keep an eye on his Arab oil partners.

The Shah orders the force to check on anyone in the U.S. who becomes affiliated with organizations hostile to Iran.

Two other secret police forces active in the U.S. are Chile's and South Korea's, Anderson said. He has formally requested the Senate Intelligence Committee to investigate.
--Good Morning, America (11/1/76)

News & Comment

The President's Daily News Summary



Leading The News...

FOR MONDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1976

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Carter's Church Cancels Services Before Admitting Blacks

The deacons of Jimmy Carter's Baptist church cancelled Sunday's service rather than admit four blacks and waive a membership rule the pastor described as barring "all niggers and civil rights agitators."

The Rev. Bruce Edwards, who waid he opposes the rule, told reporters he urged the deacons to let the Rev. Clennon King of Albany, Ga., and three other blacks to attend Sunday services where they planned to ask to join the church. He said the deacons refused at a meeting last Tuesday night but kept their action secret until Sunday.

Edwards suggested the timing of the membership rule challenge 48 hours before Election Day was "an attempt by the enemies of Gov. Carter to sabotage his campaign." Other church leaders and members expressed similar views. (NBC)

But Rev. King, who announced several days ago he intended to test the church rule, insisted his visit was not timed to hurt Carter. (NBC)

The incident occurred while Carter was on the campaign trail in Texas. The Democratic candidate, who attended a Baptist service in Fort Worth Sunday, told reporters he learned last Thursday there might be racial trouble at his own church.

"The only thing I know is that our church for many years has accepted any worshippers who came there and my own deep belief is that anyone who lives in our community and who wants to be a member of our church, regardless of race, ought to be admitted," Carter told reporters. "I know the pastor agrees with me, and I hope this will be the outcome of the problem in Plains." (UPI) Carter said he did not think the incident would have any affect on the election. (NBC)

Edwin Newman reported that so far there has been no comment from prominant blacks or politicians generally. The White House said it will have no comment on the incident. (NBC)

NBC's lead story, which ran 3:00, included film of the Revs. Edwards and King meeting before the Plains Baptist Church, and Edwards commenting to reporters. Judy Woodruff concluded the spot with a standup comment before the church. AP,UPI,NBC -- (10/31/76)

Carter Urges Voters to 'Fire' Ford

Jimmy Carter, spurred on by cheering crowds, sought votes in critical Texas and California Sunday with some of his toughest campaign language yet. He called on the American people to "fire" President Ford.

"He hasn't done a thing but let our nation drift and become divided," Carter said. He predicted a close battle against Ford, but said: "We have a good chance for a large victory." (UPI)

Mixing optimism and tough across-the-board attacks on Ford, Carter told campaign workers in Dallas that "any businessman or woman who had an executive like this would fire him on the spot and that's what the American people are going to do."

At an early afternoon chicken-basket dinner for about 7,000 get-out-the-vote supporters who filled the Tarrant County Convention Center, Carter invoked the names of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

They were "great leaders," Carter said. "We knew they were presidents... Gerald Ford has been in the White House almost as long as John Kennedy was President. Can you think of any single program that he put forward that was accepted for the American people?... Right, somebody said WIN. Some said unemployment. Some said inflation." (NBC)

Carter was accompanied by his entire family at the Fort Worth rally. Throughout his 24 hours in Texas, Carter also was accompanied by Luci Johnson Nugent on behalf of the Johnson family, Robert Strauss and other top Texas Democrats. (CBS)

Everywhere he went he was met by overflow audiences inside and crowds outdoors. (UPI,NBC)

Carter and his aides are convinced that the election will be close, but that they will win. They believe the large number of undecided voters are mostly Democrats or Independents who voted Democratic in the past, and will again this year, Don Oliver reported. (NBC)

The 3:00 Carter spot, which led NBC, included film of Carter speaking at campaign stops throughout Texas. Film of the Carter family and Luck Nugent was also included. AP,UPI,NBC -- (10/31/76)

Mondale Ups Attacks on Ford

With the election drawing near, Sen. Walter Mondale intensified his attacks Sunday on the Ford administration's economic record, calling on Ford to justify high rates on both unemployment and inflation.

Campaigning in the eastern Ohio city of Canton a few hours before Ford himself was due to visit, Mondale also predicted that the Democratic ticket would capture this state's 25 electoral votes although he said, "It's very close." (AP)

Mondale said that Ohio may decide the election, and urged voters to go to the polls and elect Carter for more jobs. (NBC)

At an airport news conference in Canton, Mondale likened this election year to 1960, when John Kennedy narrowly won over Richard Nixon. Then as now, Mondale said, the Republican gained in the last days before the election, only to lose by a narrow margin. (AP)

"There has not been a single poll which does not show the Carter-Mondale ticket ahead," Mondale said. (AP)

NBC reported that some political analysts and a Columbus Dispatch poll indicate Carter now has a good chance of winning Ohio.

NBC's 1:30 spot, which ran #4, included film of Mondale speaking in Canton, and ended with a comment by Charles Quinn. AP,UPI,NBC
— (10/31/76)

Strategy

Carter Is 'Less Open Now,' And He's Not Happy About It

By JAMES T. WOOTEN
Special to The New York Times

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 29—Nearly two years after it began, Jimmy Carter looked back this week on a grueling Presidential campaign that he said had taken from him much of the candor that was a hallmark of his early success.

"I'm less open now, I know," he said.

Belief From the Start

He began his campaign, he said, believing that "the country had been severely wounded by what had happened to it in the past few years—the Watergate thing, the war, and all the rest of it." So, he continued, he focused his comments on

CARTER MONDALE CAMPAIGN
you understand the...
barrased. I didn't intend to be embarrassed, so I filled myself—just stuffed myself—with facts and names and policies and history. If somebody had asked me a question about the Kurds, I could have answered it. Or if they had answered me about Eritrea, I could have told them something about that too."

But it was during the early days of his campaign, he said, that he was able to work out most of his positions on various issues before the national press noticed him or began to ask him to state those positions.

Help in Framing Positions



looked back on his long quest and shook his head. "No, no way!" he said.

Carter and taxes — again

The subject of taxes, it appears, is full of pitfalls for Gov. Jimmy Carter. After getting into that flap over whether he would raise taxes for all citizens above the "median" income level — he finally, we think, made it clear that he didn't have that intention — he now may have walked

limb, he added: "I'm very careful not to promise that for sure."

Mr. Carter's press secretary, Jody Powell, later told reporters that "likely" might be the best description of the possibility of a tax cut. "It's not a proposal in the sense of a campaign

THOSE TAX REFORMS OF JIMMY CARTER TAX ALL BELIEF

By Creed Black
Editor of *The Inquirer*

Taxes are getting a lot of attention in the closing days of the presidential campaign, so let's give them some here.

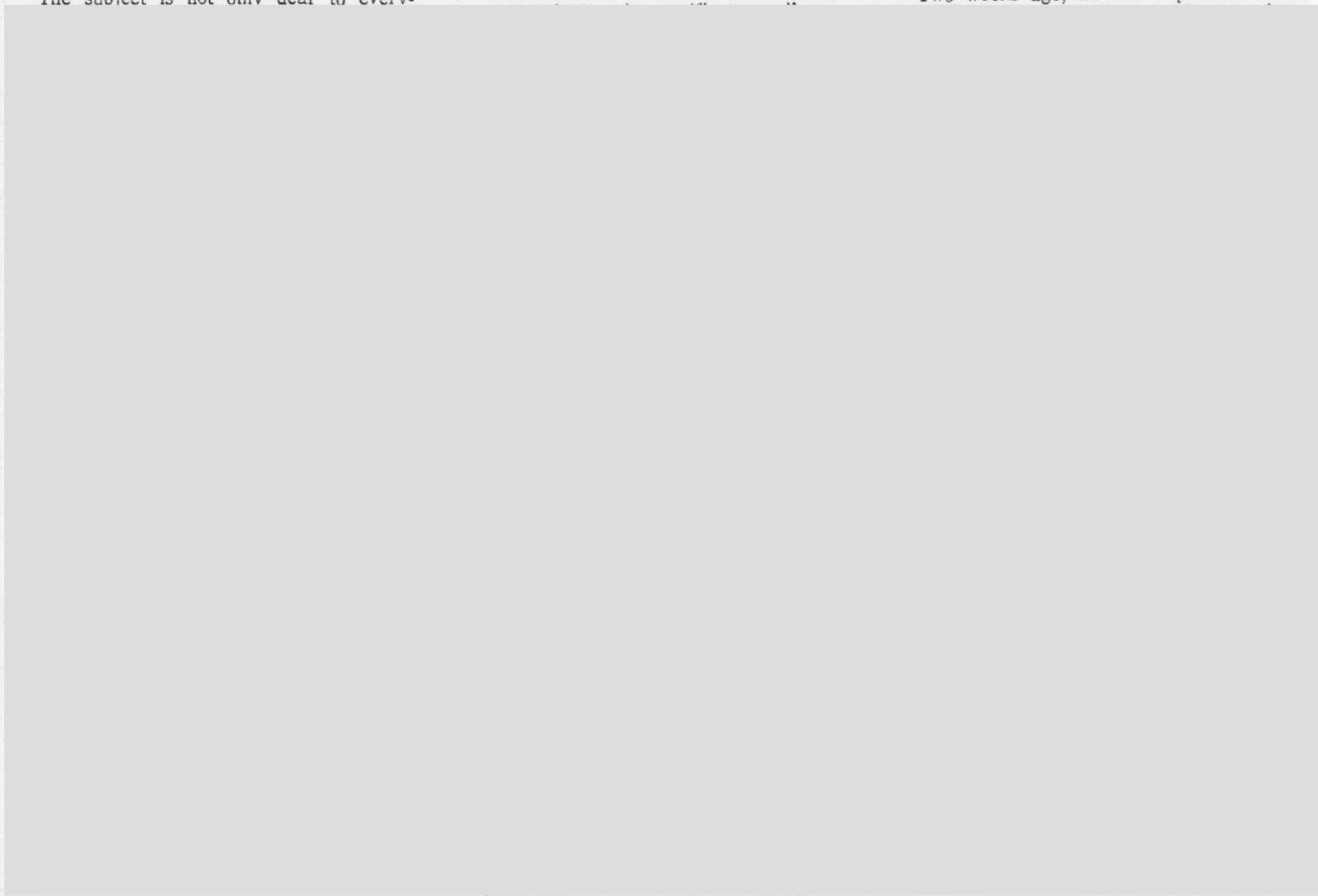
The subject is not only dear to every-

or median level of income and anything above that would be higher and anything below would be lower."

When it was pointed out that the median income was "somewhere around \$12,000," he replied that "I understand that" and added that "I don't know how to write the

hat leaves unanswered the very large question of how he would finance the costly commitments he and the Democratic platform have made. But it also leaves unanswered—again, or still—the question of just what he's saying.

Two weeks ago, he told a press confer-



But what that means is impossible to fathom.

In an interview with the Associated Press in mid-September, Gov. Carter said that "the overall effect would be to shift a substantial increase toward those who have the higher incomes and reduce the income tax on the lower-income and middle income taxpayers."

When asked how he would define "higher," he answered: "I would take the mean-

ing favored eliminating such deductions was just Republican propaganda.

Meanwhile, as he has slipped in the polls Mr. Carter has talked less about using any increased revenues to fund new programs and more about using them for tax cuts.

Philadelphia Inquirer,
10/31/76

 By Harry S. Ashmore

In March, 1975, an itinerant politician named Jimmy Carter turned up at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, largely on his own motion, to present his qualifications to become president of the United States. I was away at the time, but more than a year later, safely immunized from the blinding smile that seems to have turned off so many of my colleagues, I listened to the taped transcription of the candidate's exchange with the skeptical intellectuals at the Center.

What I heard was a cogent analysis of the need for structural reform of the federal government, and a quite precise delineation of the changes of direction in policy, program and administration Carter believes are necessary to achieve the objectives he described in terms that were to provide his campaign slogan: "I think the government can be just as honest and decent and open and compassionate as can the individual human being; I think the government can be just as competent and efficient and economical and effective as any human being or business entity."

In response to questions, Carter dealt with the faltering energy program, welfare, tax reform, unemployment, corporate regulation, and the malfunctioning of the Department of Justice. In all these areas he came through as an extraordinarily knowledgeable systems engineer, conditioned by the disciplines imposed by Annapolis and service in the Navy's nuclear submarine fleet.

At the same time he managed to demonstrate that he was something more than a humanoid computer by citing the manner in which, as regional planner, legislator and governor, he had adapted systems theory to the political arts. And at every appropriate juncture he reasserted his conviction that efficient management of the bureaucracy does not preclude, but necessarily must include, sensitivity to human needs.

Carter had by then traversed 45 states, seeking audiences with presumably influential people in furtherance of his bold, unprecedented strategy of entering all the Democratic primaries.

Carter's initial objective was to be taken seriously by these establishmentarians, and in the great majority of cases he succeeded. At that stage he could not expect to make many outright converts, since those who practice politics rarely commit themselves so early to so long a shot.

But with those who were willing to listen, Carter managed to place himself in the futures book by undercutting in advance the principal charge his opponents would use against him



when the primary campaign went public — that he was a naive, parochial upward-striver seeking to exploit public discontent with "Washington." No one who heard Jimmy Carter in one of those no-holds-barred sessions could doubt his high intelligence, iron self-discipline, extraordinary energy, and grasp of the main issues in contemporary affairs. There could be, and were, reservations on other grounds, but, in these terms at least, it was clear that he was as well qualified to master the intricacies of the presidential office as any man in public life.

* * * *

When I first listened to the Center tapes, in late spring of this year, the media stereotype of Carter was taking shape. As he had calculated it would, his victory over George Wal-

Harry Ashmore, a Pulitzer Prize winning editor and author, is an associate of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, Calif. In 1956 he had an inside view of presidential politics as a special assistant to Adlai Stevenson.

A longer version of this article is in the current issue of *The Nation* magazine. Reprinted by permission.

lace in Florida had moved him up in the reckoning of the TV assignment desks, for the first time guaranteeing him exposure comparable to that of the "national" candidates who had entered the race from a congressional base. This was an essential adjunct to the solid highly professional organizing effort he had mounted in key states, but it also subjected him to the full force of television's trivializing effect. The image projected was that of an early American exotic, a soft-voiced, smiling man whose primitive religion led him to talk about compassion, brotherhood, and even love (as opposed to sex) in public.

A few of the major political commentators pointed out that the sudsy Jimmy Carter now being featured on the nightly news bore little resemblance to the incisive, hard-driving pragmatist they encountered when they talked to the candidate in person. But most were otherwise occu-

IN SEARCH OF
THE REAL CARTER
THE MEDIA HID

Ford Stumps N.Y.

President Ford, claiming he has seized the momentum from Democrat Jimmy Carter, stumped New York Sunday in a final drive for the state's 41 electoral votes as a key to his bid for a full term in the White House.

With only two days left, Ford ignored a steady downpour at rallies in Buffalo and Rochester before heading downstate into fair-weather Suffolk and Nassau Counties and New York City. He sipped chicken soup to cure a hoarse throat. (NBC)

Ford won a thinly-veiled endorsement from the Roman Catholic Bishop of Buffalo, Edward Head, while attending services at the 103-year-old St. Stanislaus Polisy American Roman Catholic Church.

Monseigneur Chester Meloch read from the pulpit a letter from Head that said church members cannot remain neutral on abortion. Head's letter said Roman Catholics personally feel that abortion is wrong and Catholics must carry their convictions to the ballot box. (NBC)

Head said the church does not endorse candidates but added "The church is not neutral to human rights, especially the right to life." (NBC)

Never before, especially in such a dramatic setting and so close to the election, had the church spoken so directly in Ford's behalf. (UPI)

At the airport, Ford renewed his promise to take action to solve the MIA problem. (NBC) Then he left upstate New York -- considered strong Republican country -- to Long Island for rallies under clear skies in Suffolk and Nassau Counties.

In an emotional pitch, Ford told the Suffolk County crowd -- estimated at 9,000 to 10,000 -- that "We were way, way behind in the first quarter but we got together and the Republican Party got unified and the net result is we got the momentum." (NBC)

Ford stopped short of absolutely predicting he would carry New York, but said: "We'll see this state is on the right side."

Ford mixed sharp attacks on Carter, promised a tax cut, said that "not a single American boy is fighting or dying on foreign soil" and added "they won't be in the next four years."

Ford aides were encouraged by the enthusiasm of the crowds, and news polls showing him almost even with Carter, Marilyn Berger reported. But, "in an election this close, there's a danger that all that optimism could backfire on Ford. The possibility of a

Ford victory could force the Democrats out to vote, and there are a lot more registered Democrats than Republicans." (NBC)

NBC's 3:15 Ford spot, which ran #3, included film of him before the Buffalo church, at the airport, and at an Islip rally. It ended with a standup comment by Berger. AP,UPI,NBC -- (10/31/76)

Dole Predicts Big Ford Win

Vice presidential candidate Robert Dole, in a burst of enthusiasm, predicted Sunday he and President Ford might win every state but the District of Columbia in Tuesday's election.

"We're winning. We're going to win in Texas. We're going to win in New York. We're going to give Carter maybe the District of Columbia," Dole said. (NBC)

"We may get all the rest of the states in the nation the way it's going now," he told the cheering audience of about 200. "That may be just a bit optimistic, but we are optimistic." (NBC)

At an airport rally in oil-rich Midland, Dole also spoke about Texas concerns of energy, defense, right to work and gun control before heading for Louisiana and Illinois.

Dole continued his attacks on Carter and Walter Mondale for advocating divestiture in the oil industry and continued price controls on new oil and natural gas. He warned that divestiture would cost jobs in the region. (NBC)

He also repeated his sharp criticism of Mondale, saying the Democratic vice presidential nominee was trying to "dredge up Watergate." (NBC)

NBC's 1:10 report, which ran #5, included film of Dole speaking to a Texas group, and ended with a Robert Hager comment. UPI, NBC -- (10/31/76)

Jack Ford: Carter Victory No Disaster

Jack Ford said Sunday it would not be a disaster for America if Jimmy Carter were elected President. The President's son said there will be differences in the country's future and its direction in the next four years if the Democrat wins, "but I don't think it's going to be a major catastrophe either way."

Interviewed on NBC's "Meet the Press," Jack Ford also said recent Ford polls showed "definitive movement" in the President's direction and he expressed confidence about his father's election prospects. After campaigning for Richard Nixon in 1972, Jack Ford said Nixon "broke my heart." Young Ford defended his father's pardon of Nixon as a "pragmatic decision." AP,UPI,NBC -- (10/31/76)

Ford Flexed the Muscle of Incumbency

By George Lardner Jr.

Washington Post Staff Writer

When President Ford agreed to provide Israel with new, highly sophisticated weaponry this month, the White House disdained suggestions that it was an effort to court the Jewish vote.

House press secretary Ron Nessen, "unworthy of an answer."

Moving into the final days with the muscle power of his incumbency solidly flexed, Ford arrived in Cincinnati Thursday to issue his long-awaited statement on nuclear policy.

nouncement denied any politics as usual. The New York Daily News, which has endorsed Ford gave the story a front-page banner headline: "WE GET \$30M IN TRANSIT AID." The New York Times, which has endorsed Jimmy Carter, consigned it to relative obscurity on an inside page in

Washington Post, 10/31/76

by Congress, and that the 10-year plan depends mostly on using vast acreage already owned by the federal government in Alaska.

WHAT FORD MEANS BY 'LEADERSHIP'

By William J. Baroody Jr.

"The point is that a president ought to lead this country. Mr. Ford, so far as I know, except for avoiding another Watergate, has not accomplished one single major program for this country."

(Jimmy Carter, Sept. 23, 1976)

That is precisely *not* the point. It is a measure of the lasting impact that Franklin Delano Roosevelt had on the vocabulary of American politics that a candidate for president in 1976 can still make such a charge, judging leadership on the quantitative criterion of programs passed or not passed.

A more complete test of leadership requires an assessment of goals set and the degree of success in meeting them. Consider the following passage from Gerald's first State of the Union message of January 1975: "I will propose legislation to restrain the growth of a number of existing programs. I have also concluded that no new spending programs can be initiated this year, except for energy. Further, I will not hesitate to veto any new spending programs adopted by the Congress."

Leadership must certainly be responsive to the needs and the desires of the people led. The very least that can be said of the President's call for restraint is that it was responsive to the near universal doubt that had de-

veloped about the capacity of government programs to yield their intended results.

The common wisdom about such things in recent years has shifted from that which held the New Deal coalition together. The salvific potential of government programs has fallen into doubt and, with it, Governor Carter's arithmetic criterion of leadership.

William Baroody Jr. is assistant to President Ford for public liaison. This article is adapted from *America* magazine, published by the Jesuits.

There is more still to leadership — and more to Gerald Ford — than the ability to champion an essentially negative attitude and to exploit the popular frustration with what does not work.

If the phrase "old politics" is meaningful, and a growing consensus says it is, then it is first a legacy of the New Deal and second a characterization of Governor Carter, who speaks of the "reform" of government but means by reform the rearrangement of bureaus, departments and agencies.

Something more — something different is needed.

Mediation

"As new conditions and problems arise beyond the power of men and women to meet as individuals, it becomes the duty of the government itself to find new remedies with which to meet them . . . Government has the definite duty to use all its power and resources to meet new social problems with new social controls."

(Franklin Delano Roosevelt).

In this ever more complicated world, there are new conditions and problems arising every day that are beyond the power of individuals to

meet. And government, under Roosevelt's dictum, has the obligation to step in, the duty to "solve" all of these problems.

What is missing from Roosevelt's scheme, however, is the recognition that individuals seldom, if ever, stand individually. As President Ford has said, there is more to our society than just government and individuals. There is, in fact, a range of structures in between that are meaningful, efficacious, legitimate, dynamic and — under the rubric of "old politics" — ignored.

Gerald Ford might put FDR's dictum this way: Whenever new conditions and new problems arise beyond the power of men and women to meet as individuals, it becomes the duty of the individual's family to pitch in and help out. Or his or her neighbors. Or co-workers. Or friends from church. Or lodge buddies.

Family, neighborhood, union, church, voluntary association. These are all examples of social institutions that are close to people, as individuals, and that stand between people and the more massive structures of society like government.

They are termed "mediating structures," but can truly function as such only if the need for mediation is recognized. They are unifying, value-generating, comforting and authenticating instruments of society. Their validity and legitimacy wither away, however, and people are divided when government usurps their functions.

Under FDR's dictum, service to people equates with government service.

In such circumstances not only the "needy," but all of us in need, come to view other institutions — the mediating structures — as increasingly insufficient and unnecessary. This perception yields two problems. First, it abolishes the process of mediation by denying the need for it; and second, it requires that govern-

Washington Star,
10/31/76 (Cont.)

Harris: Election Is 'Up for Grabs'

The presidential race is "up for grabs" in the final days and an Election Eve media blitz planned by both candidates could decide the winner, pollster Louis Harris said Sunday.

Harris said the closeness of the latest polls may influence voters to turnout in greater numbers than expected.

Although Independent Eugene McCarthy may draw only two percent nationwide, Harris said the former Minnesota senator "ironically could be a factor nationally" by tipping states such as New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Illinois where the difference between Ford and Carter is within one percentage point.

"I would say that this election is up for grabs," Harris said in an interview on ABC's "Issues and Answers."

Prime time bought by both candidates on the major networks Monday evening "probably will make the difference," he said. "It looks very much like 1960 and 1968 all over again."

Harris said he would be surprised if either candidate had more than a four point lead on Tuesday morning. UPI,ABC -- (10/31/76)

Wash. Week Predicts a Ford Win

Three out of four panelists on "Washington Week in Review" believe President Ford will win the election Tuesday, but only by a narrow margin.

The fourth, David Broder (Washington Post) declined to make a prediction, but said that the real winners will be Tip O'Neil and Sen. Byrd because the nation will be ruled by Congress no matter who wins the presidency.

James Wieghart (N.Y. Daily News), Neil MacNeil (Time) and Charles Corddry (Baltimore Sun) all believe Ford will win but none were firm in their predictions. All agreed that Ford is gaining substantially, and has built up momentum in these final days before the election.

Broder said that since New York will probably go to Carter, and California to Ford, that leaves Illinois, Pennsylvania and New Jersey and Ohio to decide the election.

Wieghart said he spoke to Patrick Caddell, Carter's pollster, who told him that Carter's own polls show his lead has shrunk to four percent. Broder said one of the reasons Carter's lead has shrunk is because the Republicans have managed to make Carter the issue. They have exploited all his ambiguities.

Wieghart also said Carter's image was tarnished by his association with the establishment and party leaders to whom he said during the primaries he owed nothing.

Eugene McCarthy could make a difference in the election in such states as Michigan, Wisconsin and Oregon, Wieghart added.

"It has been an uninspiring campaign overall," Broder commented. "The country doesn't want to make any tough decisions right now, and perhaps that's why there has been so little talk on the issues." Wash. Wk. Review -- (10/31/76)

Agronsky and Co. Divided on Predictions

Journalists on "Agronsky and Co." Friday were evenly divided on who will win the election.

Hugh Sidey and James J. Kilpatrick said Ford; Martin Nolan and Carl Rowan said Carter. All agreed the race would be extremely close.

Nolan predicted Carter will win 344 electoral votes to 194 for Ford. Ford will win California, but Carter will take the major industrial states, Nolan said.

Kilpatrick said Ford will win both California and Illinois, and has a chance at New York if McCarthy can get on the ballot. Rowan said Carter will "squeak out narrow victories. But if labor and blacks do not turn out, Carter will be in trouble." The blacks will overwhelmingly go for Carter, and if President Ford gets 12 percent of the black vote, that would be high.

Sidey said the country may not be as apathetic as people are predicting. He said a high voter turnout is possible, adding that the race right now is very even.

Mayor Daley has the power to ensure a large voter turnout in Chicago and he may do something as he did in 1960, Rowan noted. Ford will take all the West, but Washington and Hawaii, Nolan predicted. He should take Virginia, Louisiana, Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire, Delaware, Indiana and Michigan.

TV has played a tremendous part in the campaign, all agreed. Sidey said people depend greatly on TV, and most people would never have seen Carter or Ford in person. Nolan noted that the Joe Garigiola telecasts were effective, and Sidey agreed that endorsements by celebrities make a difference.

All agreed that neither candidate has addressed themselves to the issues. The Earl Butz affair and Playboy were the big issues of the campaign, Kilpatrick said. Each side waited for the other to blunder. Kilpatrick also said he is satisfied Ford and Dole got their ideas across. Agronsky and Co. -- (10/29/76)

Electoral arithmetic favors Carter despite Ford's gains

By Loye Miller Jr.
Inquirer Washington Bureau

President Ford is closer than he has ever been to an upset victory over Jimmy Carter—but he may not be as close as the polls make it seem.

The pollsters were saying last sum-

51-vote base outside the South. (Hawaii (4), Minnesota (10), Massachusetts (14), West Virginia (6), Maryland (10), Rhode Island (4) and the District of Columbia (3).

When these totals are added to the 41 votes of New York, where the margin has narrowed but both sides

that's left loose."

It has seemed all fall that the battle would probably be decided in several large industrial states of the East and Midwest—New Jersey (17), Pennsylvania (27), Ohio (25), Illinois (26)—plus Texas (26) and California (45).

In their final days of campaigning

Ford Lead Narrows in Mich.

A Detroit News poll released Sunday shows Ford losing ground in Michigan. It said the President, once comfortably ahead by eight points, now holds only a 42-40 lead in his home state. AP-- (10/31/76)

Poll: State 2-1 for Carter

(By David Nordan, excerpted, Atlanta Journal)

Contrary to claims by Republicans, an independent poll released Tuesday shows former Gov. Carter leading President Ford nearly two to one -- 59.8 percent to 30.4 percent -- in Georgia.

On another subject, the survey shows Georgians strongly in favor of "Amendment No. 2" on the general election ballot -- the proposed constitutional amendment that would allow a governor to serve two consecutive terms.

A spokesman said 64.8 percent of those questioned favored passage of the succession amendment, 26 percent opposed passage and 9.2 percent were undecided.

On the Carter question, the polling firm, Atlanta-based Darden Research Corp., said 500 voters telephoned last Saturday and Sunday in 53 cities and towns throughout the state -- a majority were in the Atlanta area -- strongly favored Carter not only in numbers but in intensity of support.

A question designed to test the firmness of each candidate's support here showed 53.3 percent of the Ford backers favoring their candidate "very much," while 62.9 percent of the Carter supporters made that response. Only 11.4 percent identified themselves as Republicans, while 53.8 percent said they were Democrats. Independents accounted for 33.4 percent of the sample.

Of those questioned, 60.8 percent said they watched the last televised Carter-Ford debate, and 43.4 percent of those who watched said Carter won. Another 32.6 percent said the two presidential candidates came out equal.

The Darden findings place Carter in a much better home-state position, on the basis of earlier polls in Michigan, than Ford. A recent survey by the Detroit News showed Ford leading his Democratic opponent by only one percent in Michigan. -- (10/26)

Strategy

Ford, Carter Concentrated On Northeast of Necessity

By FRANK LYNN

The three metropolitan area states—New York, New Jersey and Connecticut—are expected to play a major, perhaps decisive, role in the Presidential

in such counties as Nassau, Suffolk, Bergen and Fairfield to counter the usual big Democratic votes in the cities in the three states. The suburbanite is usually a swing voter, falling ideologically between the Democratic cities and the Republican rural areas.

ELECTION

Catholic Vote Important

A Carter aide in Connecticut conceded that one reason the race is close in that state is the President's appeal to Italian-American Catholics. About 45 percent of the population in the state is Catholic and 24 percent is of Italian origin. The Catholic population is 35 percent in New York and 39 percent in New Jersey.

Michael Cardoza, a Washington lawyer who heads the Carter campaign in Connecticut, was one of the more out-

atives.

The usually Republican suburbs in all three states will be crucial. President Ford must roll up large pluralities

tatives of 19 ethnic and religious groups. "Poles for Ford" read one campaign button.

Frank Lynn covers New York region politics for *The New York Times*.

Ford, Carter to Preempt 3 Hrs. of Prime Time TV Monday

President Ford and Jimmy Carter take their last shots at winning the votes of television viewers Monday by preempting three hours of "prime time" programming for half-hour commercials.

Carter's spot can be seen at 8 p.m. EDT on ABC, 9 p.m. on NBC and at 10 p.m. on CBS. Ford's spot follows immediately at 8:30 p.m. on ABC, 9:30 p.m. on NBC and 10:30 p.m. on CBS. AP,UPI -- (10/31/76)

IssuesFord, Carter Advisors Debate Economic Policy

Jimmy Carter's top economic adviser said Sunday he is now recommending immediate help for the economy, such as a tax cut, because the economy is "seriously deteriorating week by week."

Lawrence Klein said whoever is elected President on Tuesday must act quickly to give tax cuts, tax rebates or to increase federal spending. "We're losing time. The situation has developed to the point where the government needs to act now," he said.

But Alan Greenspan, Chairman of President Ford's Council of Economic Advisers, said he thinks new stimulus for the economy would be "unwise" because it would make inflation worse in the long run. Recent statistics on the economy lead him to the conclusion that "the pause is over and the economy is in the process of accelerating both in the current quarter and in 1977," Greenspan said.

Greenspan and Klein discussed their opposite interpretations of recent economic events during the CBS program "Face the Nation." Klein said he has only recently begun advising Carter to support economic stimulus because until the economic events of the past few weeks, he did not think it was needed. He did not say whether Carter has accepted his advice.

Klein also disagreed with Greenspan that a tax cut of other stimulus to the economy would be inflationary. He said the unemployment rate of 7.8 percent and the 85 percent utilization of the nation's productive capacity means there is plenty of slack in the economy so that inflation would not result.

Greenspan agreed with Klein that there is considerable slack, but said the important consideration is not what happens in the immediate future, but what the consequences of new economic stimulus would be six to 12 months in the future. AP,UPI,CBS -- (10/31/76)

Ford, Carter Plan Spending Money They May Not Have

By PAUL LEWIS

President Ford's economic advisors have at least one thing in common with Governor Jimmy Carter's. Both are agreed that there will be a surplus of about \$60 billion in the Federal budget by the end of the next Presidential term, if the economy recovers steadily and Congress re-

deficit spending right and proper. Because the Federal budget tends automatically to move into the red when the economy turns down, by pumping out dollars through the deficit, the Federal Government helps stimulate an economic recovery. Recovery puts taxpayers back to work and paying taxes, which in turn gives the Government the funds it needs to finance its spending plans.

But the Federal budget has often been in deficit during the fat years as well as the lean. This means that Congress and the Administration tend to spend rather more than the economy's natural growth brings in under the existing tax structure. What history shows is that budget surpluses of the kind Mr. Carter and Mr. Ford expect have proved a rarity in the past, and that suggests that both candidates may find it hard to keep Federal spending in line with revenues.

There are other reasons, too, for supposing it may be imprudent, and perhaps even dangerous, for the next President to count too heavily on having this \$60 billion windfall to spend or give away. History also shows that even with near constant deficits on the Federal budget, unemployment has remained obstinately above the 4 percent level—which economists have traditionally regarded full employment—except during the Vietnam war. High unemployment generally encourages politicians to spend more in the hope of creating new jobs.

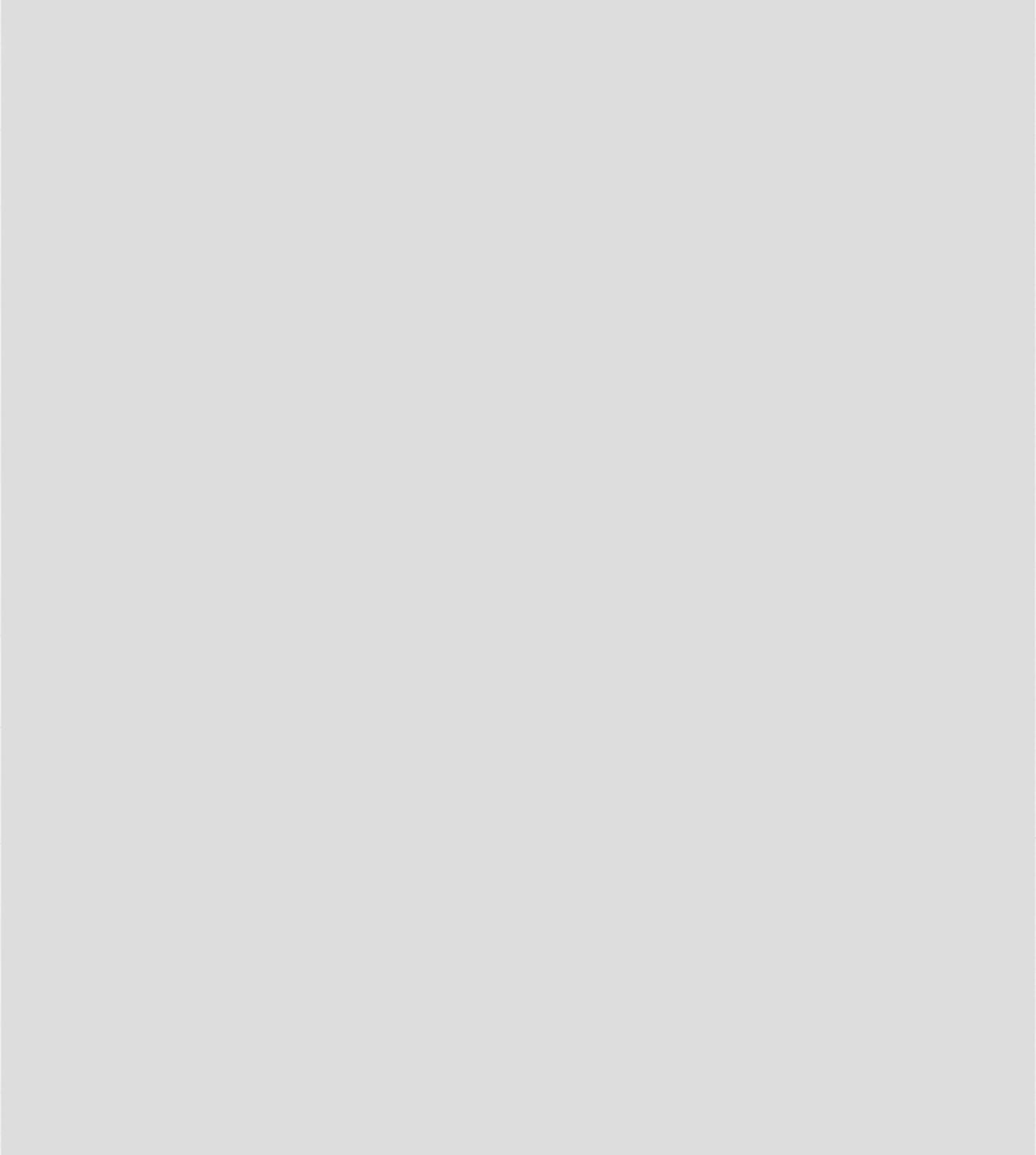
it has not been able to finance it all. And as a result, since World War II, the Federal budget has been in deficit far more frequently than it has been in balance or surplus. Economists of every persuasion consider some of that

Paul Lewis is a New York Times reporter who specializes in economic affairs.

Politics and nuclear control

The spread of nuclear weapons through widening circles of nations, large and small — and even to reckless groups within those nations — probably poses the toughest challenge the next President will face, whether he is Gerald

The United States, until recent years, enjoyed (if that is the word) a virtual monopoly on the manufacture and sale of this technology, at least in the West, and likewise controlled the fuels and waste materials. That monopoly is

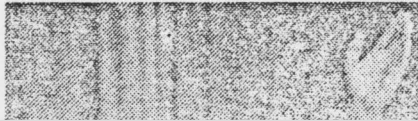


Patrick Buchanan

Ford should stumble to victory



WASHINGTON—On a recent visit to New Hampshire, a colleague and friend, Dartmouth professor Jeff Hart, called my attention to a political cartoon. It was of a grinning President emerging



ons system upon which the future security of this country hangs has at one time or another been opposed by Sen. Mondale.

With an overwhelmingly Democratic

Vernon Jarrett

Have we changed that much?



IF 70 MILLION Americans don't vote and President Ford defeats Gov. Jimmy Carter Tuesday his supporters must blame the liberals "to the left" as well as the suburbanite frame of mind.

It was that combination that made it possible for President Nixon to defeat



for Cook County and a Republican governor for Illinois.

The average voter, I believe, has been told for so long and with such frequency there is "no difference" among the contenders for public office that political action, one of our most precious privi-

The World And the White House

By C. L. Sulzberger

PARIS—The only good thing about the United States election as viewed from abroad is that one of the candidates has to lose. They have

the role of its independent-minded Communist Party) confused according to what politicians calculate will appeal to Italo-Americans.

Since the dreary television debates, both Ford and Carter have been more under the control of party diplomatic

Ford Blitz in Texas

Predicting an overwhelming victory over Jimmy Carter, President Ford made his last pitch Friday for Texas' vital 26 electoral votes and confidently plunged into a final 72-hour blitz of Northern states.

"I think we are going to win and win overwhelmingly," a hoarse but smiling Ford told Texans outside the Houston Music Theater. "Come on down to Washington on Jan. 20 for the inauguration of Jerry Ford and Bob Dole." (UPI)

John Connally, accompanying Ford on his Texas appearance, criticized Carter, telling the crowd, "Gov. Carter wants to dismember the oil companies. He wants to continue to keep federal controls on oil and gas, and President Ford thinks that we ought not to dismember the oil companies. They have a job to do in the interest of this country." (CBS)

Ford said, "My opponent says today he would cut \$5 to \$7 billion out of the defense bill. A year ago he said he would reduce it by \$15 billion. In either case any such reduction in national defense funding would be gambling with the security of the United States today and in the future, and we won't let that happen." (NBC)

Ford also said, "And now I ask you on Tuesday, Nov. 2., to not only support me by your prayers, but to support me by your ballots." (CBS)

Ron Nessen, standing in the crowd below the Houston platform, said: "We've been confident all along. We developed a strategy to win the election and it's working."

As part of his strategy, Ford taped a 30-minute Texas-wide television broadcast with Connally to be broadcast later in the day while the President was flying to Pennsylvania and New York State in his final bid to break Carter in the nation's eight largest states.

The President believes he can carry Texas with the help of John Connally, former Reagan supporters and a last-minute media blitz, Bob Jamieson reported. (NBC)

Some Ford aides are worried that news of Ford's gains in the polls could backfire. Local observers say the President's late surge for the first time has put local Democratic politicians on edge about the election, and caused a noticeable step-up in their efforts to work for the national Democratic ticket, Bob Schieffer reported. (CBS)

NBC's report began with film of the President flipping the coin at Friday night's high school football game. At the Houston rally, John Connally was shown introducing the President with Ford on film. Jamieson wrapped up the spot from the rally.

The CBS report also showed film of the football game and Ford and Connally speaking at the rally. AP,UPI,NBC,CBS -- (10/30/76)

Dole Calls Carter/Mondale Ticket Frightening

Sen. Robert Dole toured California Saturday saying Walter Mondale and Jimmy Carter "scare nearly everybody."

"We don't know much about Carter except that he wants to cut defense, raise taxes and give the federal government the same kind of administration he gave Georgia," Dole said. President Ford, on the other hand, "wants a strong America so we can remain at peace," he said. "He wants to lower taxes and he wants an economically sound America." (UPI)

Dole added, "Your next speaker is going to talk about the space shuttle system. That's 29 thousand jobs in the state of California and Sen. Mondale is going to scuttle the shuttle." (CBS)

"A lot of people didn't know they were going to get Mondale," he said. "They thought it was a suburb of Los Angeles. It might be a good name for a suburb in Los Angeles." (CBS)

Dole said, "Gov. Carter appears to be a little uptight because he's about to blow the greatest lead in history, 35 points, I think it was about the time we left Kansas City." (CBS)

For the first time, Dole says, he has trouble sleeping as he thinks about being vice president, Eric Engberg reported.

Dole spent the night in a hotel called the Red Lion and talked about it Saturday morning. "I can tell you that the nights are getting a little longer. It's a little harder to sleep all the way through because you wake up thinking things are going well, and I can tell a little change in attitude." (NBC) I had my first note this morning from someone who worked at the Red Lion who wants a job when I become vice president. So I think that's an indication. That's the first application so it indicated the polls are coming our way and things are looking up." (NBC,CBS)

Dole said: "We think we have momentum. The polls show us well ahead. With your continued help, we're going to win and win big on Tuesday." (NBC)

Now Dole talks as though he believes the Republicans really have a chance on Tuesday, Robert Hager reported. (NBC)

NBC's 2:00 report showed Dole on film twice. Hager wrapped up the report in Sacramento.

CBS' 2:00 spot showed Dole on film four times, with Eric Engberg wrapping up the spot from outside the hall in Sacramento. AP,UPI,NBC,CBS -- (10/30/76)

Leading Brooklyn Dem. Praises Ford

One of New York's leading Democrats, Brooklyn Dist. Atty. Eugene Gold, praised President Ford Saturday for his pre-election actions on behalf of Soviet Jews. Gold is chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry.

He said he had received a telegram from the President Saturday morning saying that, at his direction, Secretary Kissinger had called in Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin Friday to protest Moscow's harassment of Jews during the past week.

The State Department, when it announced the Kissinger-Dobrynin meeting, refused to acknowledge that it was timed to win Jewish support for the Republicans in Tuesday's election.

Ford's telegram, addressed to Gold in his capacity as chairman of the national conference, said he fully shared the Brooklyn Democrat's concern.

He then said, "At my direction, Secretary Kissinger called in the Soviet ambassador to express our concern in this particular instance." The "particular instance" was the arrest of some Moscow Jews who had demonstrated to insist on their right to emigrate. "We will continue on all levels to impress on the Soviet government and other governments, the importance the American people attach to human rights," Ford said.

Gold, commenting, said, "It is an excellent statement and I am extremely pleased with the President's response to what has taken place this week." AP -- (10/30/76)

Carter Campaigns in Tulsa, New Orleans

With thousands cheering in the crowded streets of the French Quarter, Jimmy Carter appealed Saturday for a last-minute voter surge to beat President Ford in "a very, very close" race Tuesday.

Carter began the last three days with an airport rally at Tulsa, Okla. Then, after a Mardi Gras-style parade in New Orleans, he went to Texas in a drive for the 44 electoral votes of Oklahoma, Louisiana and the Lone Star State.

An estimated 15,000 persons gathered in the French Quarter to cheer Carter as he rode through the narrow streets in a presidential limousine sent from Washington by the Secret Service. Carter, with his wife, Rosalynn, and virtually all Louisiana's Democratic leaders.

Carter said, "The last President we had from the Deep South, or as Mr. Ford calls it the 'Cotton South,' was Zachary Taylor in 1948. I think next year is time to have a Southerner back in the White House." (CBS)

In Tulsa, Carter said, "I'd like for you to call on your neighbors, your relatives, your friends to encourage them to go and vote. I'd like for you to make a sacrificial effort just for three days because we're still proud of the United States, and we're still proud of the fact that we as American free people can determine its future." (NBC)

Carter urged voters to beware of Ford's recent promises to deliver a tax cut next year. He said Ford had opposed tax reductions repeatedly during his two years in office, but "Now, on the eve of the election, Mr. Ford claims he wants tax relief for the average family."

Carter added, "We've got to have our people back to work to strengthen our whole nation and to make sure that we don't put too much of a burden on the average middle class American family which has been betrayed by the Republican administration. We're going to change that next January." (CBS)

Carter said the American people are tired of last-minute election promises. That may be one reason he did not even suggest again today, much less promise that a tax cut would be possible under his administration, Kenley Jones reported. (NBC)

Jody Powell said the Carter forces find the outlook "certainly encouraging" and he told reporters: "If we do what we ought to do in the Southern and border states and in the traditionally Democratic states like Minnesota, then you have

eight or nine big states left and we would need only three of them to win."

Asked about Carter's mood, Powell said the former Georgia governor "recognizes, like all the rest of us do, that there probably isn't a whole lot you can do" at this late stage of the campaign. (AP)

NBC's 2:20 report showed Carter speaking at the rally in Tulsa and then in the motorcade in New Orleans. Kenley Jones reported while walking in front of the motorcade.

CBS' 2:20 report showed Carter in Tulsa, riding in the N.O. motorcade and speaking to the crowd. Bradley's report was also given while walking with the motorcade. AP,UPI,NBC,CBS -- (10/30/76)

ELECTION

Polls Show Close Race

Pollster George Gallup, compiling his final survey for release on Monday, told UPI that in the past three weeks "there has been a shift of opinion to Ford."

The Chicago Sun-Times straw poll Saturday showed Ford slightly ahead in Illinois for the first time and the New York State poll, commissioned by Newsday and the Gannett newspaper syndicate, showed Carter's lead cut from 8 to 3 percentage points.

The final UPI 50-state survey showed that neither Ford nor Carter has the election won. The survey gave Carter a large electoral lead but not enough to reach the 270 needed for victory. Carter had 220 electoral votes in 18 states and the District of Columbia, Ford 108 in 16 states, and 16 states with 210 electoral votes were judged too close to call.

Among big electoral vote states, the survey found Carter narrowly ahead in New York and Texas while Ford held a slim edge in Ohio. But Illinois, California and Michigan -- the only other states with 20 or more electoral votes, were judged tossups.

The UPI survey also showed that Democrats would easily retain control of the Senate and House although the large majorities may shrink a little. Democrats will also extend and perhaps increase their majority of governors. UPI,NBC -- (10/30/76)

Times of TV News Items
October 31, 1976

NBC

ADMINISTRATION NEWS

1. Ford's day 3:15 (3)

OTHER MAJOR NEWS

1. Carter/church	3:00 (lead)
2. Carter's day	2:30 (2)
3. Mondale's day	1:30 (4)
4. Dole's day	1:10 (5)
5. Phoenix recovered	:20 (6)
6. Rhodesia	:30 (7)
7. Sailing	:30 (8)
8. Cowboy	5:00 (9)
9. Mayor Daley	3:00 (10)