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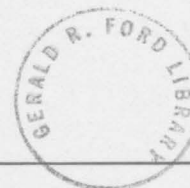
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News & Comment

The President's Daily News Summary



Leading The News...

FOR TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1976

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FORD/DOLE CAMPAIGNStrategyFord Very Optimistic About Election

President Ford Monday climaxed his 11-day national barnstorming blitz with rallies in Ohio and his home state of Michigan. Saying, "We're very optimistic."

Asked why he felt that way, Ford said: "There's just that feeling that I've had in 13 other elections. You get the feeling of the people's support." (CBS)

At the first stop on his last full day of campaigning, Ford bounded out of his limousine at a hangar at the nearby Akron-Canton airport which was jammed with 6,000 cherring, whooping, stomping, supporters.

The President raised his right arm and gave the "charge" gesture, then went into a speech proclaiming he has restored dignity to the White House, turned the economy from recession to recovery, cut inflation to more than half, presided over the return of peace and deserves a full four years in the White House.

Ford asked the crowd "to confirm me not only with your prayers but also with your ballots."

Ford also criticized Carter for his flimsy stand on tax reductions, adding "there's a clear distinction between him and President Ford." (NBC)

"With Carter now refusing to commit himself to a tax cut next year, Mr. Ford has used these last days on the stump to reemphasize his proposals to cut taxes \$10 billion next year," Bob Schieffer reported. (CBS)

In football-crazy Columbus, home of the Ohio State Buck-Eyes, Ford recalled his endorsement by Ohio State football coach Woody Hays. "He believes in winning, and that's what we're going to do. Thank you very much Woody Hays," Ford told the enthusiastic crowd. (CBS).

Asked about passing Carter in a national public opinion poll for the first time, Ford aides grinned but kept silent. Tom Jarriel noted that a Columbus newspaper poll showed Ford trailing Carter by six points.

Frank Lausche, former Ohio Democratic Governor and former U.S. Senator, appeared with Ford at the airport rally and said Carter aides had asked him to support the Democratic nominee.

FORD/DOLE CAMPAIGNStrategy

"But I didn't know where Carter stands then and I don't know now," said Lausche. "Something within me told me, 'Frank you must speak up'." He said he first spoke by casting an absentee ballot for Ford.

Winding up a nonstop stretch drive which has kept him on the road for the past 11 days, Ford spent the day in Ohio before flying to his hometown of Grand Rapids, Mich. He will vote there early Tuesday then return to Washington for what Ron Nessen described as his "victory party."

With Mrs. Ford at his side, the President told a Detroit crowd, "I come to you now to seek your support for my election to the highest office in the land. I know you will support me as you always have." (NBC)

The President then added: "Someone once said you can tell a lot about a man by the way his family feels about him-Michigan is my family." (ABC)

Ford's Michigan visit is crucial because Ford pollsters tell him the race is so close there that he could lose his home state. Schieffer said. (CBS)

Jarriel's 2:00 lead spot included Ford riding on top of the motorcade in Ohio, his speech at the Ohio airport, and arriving in Michigan where he was met by Mrs. Ford. Jarriel wrapped up the report with a connect voice-over film of Ford at the airport.

Ford's last campaign day was covered on NBC in a #4, 2:00 spot which viewed film of Ford's Ohio rally remarks; shaking hands at that rally; alighting Air Force One; and Ford's Detroit airport remarks. It concluded with a standup by Berger in front of Air Force One.

In a 1:10 election overview, leading the news, CBS showed film of Ford and Carter predicting victory. Walter Chronkite reported from the anchor desk.

CBS's 1:40 Ford spot, which ran #2, included film of the President having blood taken in a nurses' training center, in speaking to crowds in Ohio and Michigan.

UPI, AP, Nets (11/1/76)

Nets Air Ford's Final Appeal

In his final appeal to America's voters, President Ford said Monday night that if elected to the White House he will push for lower taxes at home and continued peace abroad.

FORD/DOLE CAMPAIGNStrategy

"Not a single young American is fighting or dying on any foreign soil tonight and I will keep it that way for the next four years," Ford said in an election eve broadcast aired by ABC, CBS and NBC.

"On Jan. 3, when Congress comes back, I will have the tax reduction proposal on their desks so that they can give the middle income taxpayer, who has been short-changed, the kind of tax reduction that that group in our society so badly needs," he said.

The broadcast was 30 minutes long, including 20 minutes of film of Ford's nationwide, 11-day barnstorming blitz, and 10 minutes of him speaking.

His words sounded his campaign theme. Besides taxes and peace, Ford talked of having "restored confidence and trust in the White House" after the resignation of Richard M. Nixon. He said of the economy, "the rate of inflation has been cut by more than 50 per cent.

Ford pledged progress on other problems, such as cleaning up crime and helping the aged. "Much must be done," Ford said, "But we are in shape to do it now that we are over the hump of the tough last two years."

Ford stressed the problems of keeping the peace abroad and defending America. Ford said, "I pledge to you that the United States will remain number 1." AP, UPI, Nets (11/1/76)

Dole Tells Crowds It's Up To You

Robert Dole spent his final campaign hours Monday in a swing through traditionally Republican areas of the Midwest, where he told on gathering of voters "It's up to you now."

En route to his native Russell, Kansas, the GOP Vice Presidential candidate made appearances in Illinois, Nebraska, Iowa and Missouri.

He accused Jimmy Carter and Walter Mondale of "Playing a shell game with the American taxpayers," and criticized Mondale for injecting the Watergate issue into the Presidential campaign.

The Democrats are desperate now and they are turning back to Watergate and saying the water is getting higher and higher. We are going to drain it all off tomorrow." Dole told one audience. (CBS)

FORD/DOLE CAMPAIGNStrategy

Addressing a Republican gathering in Peoria, Illinois, Dole said: "It's up to you now--We've already done all the good or all the damage we can do." (CBS)

In Council Bluffs, Iowa, He said asked how the campaign has gone, the Senator said, "We've had enough. We've peaked at just about the right time. There's momentum there and it's on our side."

Dole added, "I feel pretty good about it. When you come from 35 points behind to even it up, I like to think I've had some part in it. (NBC)

Cheered by the polls, Dole's mood was a lot more optimistic than it was earlier in the campaign, Robert Hager reported. (NBC)

But Republican officials in Iowa, where Dole addressed an enthusiastic shopping center crowd, said that the state was too close to call. One official said, "we're frightened to take a poll right now."

Dole said he had received a telephoned invitation from President Ford to visit with him at the White House election night. Aides said Dole would fly into Washington late Tuesday afternoon after voting in his home town of Russell, Kansas, and proceed to the White House in the evening. (AP)

If the Republicans win, Dole may be doing some more traveling. He has promised audiences in many he would return for "a victory party" after "cracking that peanut" Tuesday. (UPI)

A return visit to his wife's home town of Salisbury, N.C., already is on the schedule for Wednesday if he and Ford win.

CBS's 1:15 spot, which ran #10, included film of Dole speaking in and ended with a standup comment by Barry Seraphin.

NBC #7 spot showed film clips of Dole on his campaign plane, his airport remarks and his Iowa rally remarks. Hager concluded this 1:40 piece with a standup report at the rally.

UPI, AP, CBS, NBC (11/1/76)

PFC Reprinting Hafif Ad

The Ford Campaign Committee has bought full pages in 40 newspapers across the country to reprint an advertisement by a former Carter fundraiser, California attorney Herbert Hafif. CBS reported Monday.

FORD/DOLE CAMPAIGNStrategy

Hafif claims he had quit the Carter campaign because he decided the candidate was incompetent and untrustworthy. CBS reported that Carter people revealed he had been fired from the campaign because he could not get along with people. CBS (11/1/76)

First Lady Says Carter's Church Reflects His Views

Betty Ford said Monday that Jimmy Carter's Plains, Ga., Baptist church "is a segregated church and obviously that's how he feels about the problem of segregation."

In response to questions at an airport rally, Mrs. Ford said, "I think everyone should be able to attend the church of their choice." UPI (11/1/76)

CARTER/MONDALE CAMPAIGNStrategyCarter "Abhors" Segregated Policies of Church

With Martin Luther King's widow at his side, Jimmy Carter said Monday he abhors the exclusion of Blacks from his home church but will remain in it "to make sure that discrimination is eliminated."

At a hastily called Los Angeles press conference, Carter said he believed the incident was "partially at least politically motivated."

"There has been a deliberate effort made to force the issue by someone who doesn't live in the community, who is a Republican, who is not a Baptist," Carter said of the Rev. Clennon King who applied for membership in the Plains Baptist church last week. (CBS)

Meanwhile, the pastor of Carter's Baptist church said he will reject a resignation demand from church elders who barred the four Blacks from attending services Sunday. Carter aides said the candidate will oppose the church move to fire the pastor. (CBS)

Carter himself said that, though he disagrees with the church leaders, he will not quit the church. I can't resign as an American citizen because there is still discrimination. I can't resign from the human race because of discrimination. And I don't intend to resign from my own church because of discrimination. I think my best approach is to stay within the church hand to try to change the attitudes which I abhor. (Nets)

Strategy

Carter added, "If it were a country club I would've quite. In fact, I have no membership in country clubs or any other private clubs that discriminate on account of race. (NBC)

But this is not my church. It is God's church, and I can't quit my lifetime of worship, habit and commitment because of a remnant of discrimination which has been alleviated a great deal in the last ten years, I hope it will be eliminated completely in the next few weeks." (CBS)

"We think the raising of this issue at this time has been instigated and is consistent with the low level on which the campaign against Governor Carter has been run." (CBS)

Pennsylvania Secretary of State C. Delores Tucker, a Black also accompanying Carter, charged the attempt to integrate the Church was a Republican "dirty trick," Similar to the kind that helped elect Richard Nixon as President.

The Carter campaign is ending with big crowds and enthusiastic receptions, supporting evidence at the polls that the Carter decline has stopped, Ed Rabel reported. However, no one knows how to gauge the impact of what happened at Carter's church. Most politicians agree that for Carter to be successful, he needs a big voter turnout in urban areas, and strong support from minority groups. (CBS)

Sam Donaldson said that Carter is ending his campaign on a note of alarm. He said this flap over Rev. King is just one in a series of distractions and gaffes which has plagued the Carter campaign. (ABC)

Although he has tried to portray himself as a new face, Kinley Jones said Carter's slippage in the polls has forced him to resort to one of the oldest political cliches of all times "The only polls that count are the ones on election day." (NBC)

In its #2 story, which ran 1:22, NBC included film of Carter's Sacramento rally remarks and news conference, are silent film of Mrs. King at the L.A. airport. Kinley Jones wrapped up in front of Peanut One.

ABC featured Carter's L.A. press conference, and a brief cut of Coretta King in its 2:50 report. Donaldson concluded his #2 spot with a stand-up report.

CBS's 2:40 spot, which ran #5, included film of Carter campaigning in California, speaking at a news conference on the Baptist church incident, and Corretta King endorsing the Democratic nominee.

CARTER/MONDALE CAMPAIGNStrategyMondale Gets Boost from HHH

Walter Mondale's stretch drive for the Vice Presidency got a boost Monday from Senator Hubert Humphrey, and one of the biggest crowds of the candidate's campaign.

Mondale was greeted in Buffalo by an overflow crowd of nearly 5,000 persons, who jammed into a downtown hotel to hear him speak. Charles Quinn said.

The local Democratic organization pulled out all stops to get out Mondale's most "tumultuous" crowd. (NBC)

Earlier in the day, he got a warm welcome in Philadelphia from Mayor Frank Rizzo, who predicted a big vote for Jimmy Carter in the city will swing Pennsylvania to the Democrats. He also appeared with Democratic senatorial candidate Daniel Patrick Moynihan in New York. (CBS)

During Mondale's Buffalo appearance, Erie County Democratic Chairman Joseph Crangle placed a telephone call to Humphrey, who is recovering from major cancer surgery.

As the crowd shouted its approval, Humphrey said the election is close--"the way it was in 1968" When he lost his presidential bid. "Only this time it's our time to win."

He told the Buffalo Democrats, "It's time to change the guard down here. It's time that the executive branch is ventilated. In fact, it's time it's fumigated."

The Ford Administration has "political lockjaw and political paralysis" and a Democrat is needed to move the country ahead, Humphrey added.

Jed Duval commented that Mondale ended his two and a half months of campaigning, knowing that it was done pretty much by the books, without glaring errors. While he may not know how much he has helped this ticket he is certain that he has not hurt it, Duval said. (CBS)

Charles Quinn reported NBC's 1:39, #8 story which showed silent film of Mondale at Grand Central station, the Pa. airport rally with Mayor Rizzo, and the Gary, Ind. airport rally. NBC also included Humphrey's phone call remarks at the Buffalo, N.Y. rally.

CBS's 1:40 spot, which ran #9, included film of Mondale with Moynihan in N.Y., Rizzo in Pa., and speaking to a crowd in Buffalo. Jed Duval ended the spot with a standup comment.

Carter lacks experience, might invite aggression

It long has been a firmly established principle that American presidents and their secretaries of state should avoid predictions as to their precise courses of action in foreign policy crises. The reason is to avoid locking themselves into a strait-jacket and thus encouraging foreign aggression.

In speeches this week, Mr. Ford has struck hard at Carter on foreign policy, warning that the Democratic nominee's plans are "potentially dangerous." He cited not only Carter's comments about Yugoslavia but also his statement he would take economic retaliation against nations involved

CARTER/MONDALE CAMPAIGNImageDemocratic Concerns About Carter

(By Godfrey Sperling Jr., excerpted Christian Science Monitor)

If Jimmy Carter is coming to Washington, he is going to have a lot of fence-mending to do when he get here, particularly with those Democrats in Congress who have "clout" and with whom he must have cooperation if he is to be successful.

Whether Mr. Carter knows it or not, the "titular" leaders of his party--Humphrey, Kennedy, Muskie, and McGovern--have become particularly "turned off" on him in recent weeks. They are not saying this publicly--will not say it publicly--but those close to these influential senators say they now hold deep misgivings about Carter.

Part of this stems from what they see as Carter's cavalier attitude in dealing with them--his failure to bring them closely into his campaign, to call on them for advice, to keep in touch with them, and, all in all, to treat them with the proper deference and respect.

All are concerned about where Carter really stands philosophically. But above everything else, these Democratic leaders, together with a number of other high-level Democratic functionaries in Congress and elsewhere in government, find Carter exceedingly cold and tough. They fear he might bring in a Georgia "mafia" that would provide a government run by "outsiders"--and they, the insiders, would be left out completely.

Mr. Carter of course has denied this, indicating he will reach deeply into the party to find the most qualified people to make up his administration. However, these leaders fear that an invasion of outsiders leadership, at least among those who will be closest to Carter in the White House, might provide an ignorance-one that would be remote from the realities of how to make government run here and one that would be inevitably headed toward a confrontation with a Democratic-controlled Congress.

By "abuse of power" it seems these leaders are wondering whether Carter might be overly assertive as a chief executive, running roughshod over Congress or battling Congress tooth and nail if he isn't able to impose his will on it.

A former Democratic top officeholder under Lyndon Johnson puts it this way: "A lot of us are worried about Carter, what he will do, what he really stands for. But we aren't going to say that publicly. After all, Carter's going to win. We don't want to say something that will leave us out in the cold."

CARTER/MONDALE CAMPAIGNImage

Additionally, many Washington newsmen express concern that Carter as president would be very sensitive to press criticism-and that he might well shut out reporters who ask critical questions and write critical copy from presidential interviews or from information that was made available to newsmen regarded as "friendly."

All this is to say that those who participate in the Washington power center are more than a little concerned about a President Carter-what he would be like and how he would treat those around him. They see him as a stranger coming to town. And they are wondering whether they could get along with him. (11/1/76)

ELECTIONPollsAP: Electoral Battle A Tossup

A state-by-state survey by the Associated Press has found the race a tossup. Neither candidate is leading in enough states to give him the 270 electoral votes he needs for victory. More states were in the unsettled, battleground category than in either candidate's column.

That survey, based on state polls and the assessments of political leaders, showed Carter the leader in 16 states and the District of Columbia, with 210 electoral votes; Ford in 11 states with 91 electoral votes. The 24 other states are now too close to call either way, and they have a total of 237 electoral votes. AP (11/1/76)

NBC Poll Finds Ford, Carter Dead Even

The NBC News Poll found Monday that the presidential election is a virtual tie. Both President Ford and Jimmy Carter had 41 per cent in that sampling.

Eugene McCarthy gathered 5 per cent of the vote while 11 per cent remained undecided. Fourteen percent of the undecided voters said they may change their minds Tuesday, and 43 per cent were not strongly committed.

In the same poll, Walter Mondale was favored by 51 per cent to Robert Dole with 33 per cent as the vice presidential candidate. The undecideds made up 16 per cent of those polled.

NBC, (11/1/76)

ELECTIONPollsBURNS/ROPER POLL GIVES CARTER 4-POINT EDGE

A Burns/Roper poll released late Monday found Jimmy Carter leading President Ford 47 per cent to 43 per cent. Eight per cent of those polled were undecided.

NBC, CBS (11/1/76)

ELECTIONOutlookMaddox Predicts Ford Will Win

Independent party candidate Lester Maddox, winding up his presidential campaign in Mississippi Monday, blasted Democrat Jimmy Carter as "cold-blooded" and predicted President Ford would win the election.

He also charged Carter "masterminded" the Plains, Ga., church integration incident and got into a heated exchange with a local Black television newsman who pressed him on his racial views.

Maddox said he probably would spend election day at his Atlanta restaurant eating chicken and watching returns on television.

He predicted President Ford would win the election by between 1 and 4 per cent of the popular vote and from 10 to 30 per cent of the electoral vote, "not because Ford is so good, but because Carter has beaten himself."

He accused Carter of cooking up the Plains church incident as a political trick. "I see this thing yesterday for the purpose of benefiting Carter," Maddox said. "It was the master, the king of dirty tricks of 1976. I think he approved of what happened at the church yesterday and I think that's why he got out of Plains. UPI, AP (11/1/76)

Labor Key to Michigan Victory

(By Randy Daniels, CBS)

The biggest factor in the Presidential battle for Michigan is organized labor.

Nearly 37 per cent of the state's work force is blue collar, and Michigan has 1.2 million union members. The economic recession of 1974 hit the state hard, and recovery has been slow. Unemployment still hovers near nine per cent, higher than the national average.

ELECTIONOutlook

The unions, the United Auto Workers and AFL-CIO are working hard to get out the vote for Jimmy Carter. A larger voter turnout is Carter's key to victory here.

But there are other factors which may help lure large numbers to the polls--a hotly contested Senate race...absentee balloting at an all-time high in Detroit and Wayne county...a series of controversial ballot proposals.

With such high voter interest in the election in Michigan, Carter supporters are optimistic.

Carter's phone banks and organized labor are using an aggressive approach to stimulate voters. They warn that a close election will give the White House back to the Republicans.

But the President's volunteers are more traditional, asking simply if Ford can count on their votes.

Victory in Michigan is a must for President Ford. It is the very foundation of his Midwestern support, and crucial to his election effort. Losing his home state and its 21 electoral votes to Jimmy Carter would be more than just politically embarrassing. In a close, election, it would mean the difference between victory and defeat. CBS (11/1/76)

It Will Make A Difference
(By Eric Sevareid, CBS)

Eric Sevareid argued in his commentary Monday that it will make a difference "in the central conduct of America's public business" who wins the Presidential election Tuesday.

Sevareid said Ford and Carter offer different solutions to the nation's critical economic problems. He said it makes a difference whether one party direct both the executive and the congress, or two continue at loggerheads. Walter Mondale and Rober Dole, a heartbeat away from the Presidency, could also make a difference one day. he said.

Reviewing the campaign, Sevareid disputed the theory that media emphasis on minor gaffes prevented the issues from getting through to the people. He said the issues were exhaustively explored and reported, but the people were not interested.

"The underlying fact is that the issues do not strike sharply to the bone because of the country's basic state of mind. The sharp edges of issues were blunted as they hit this featherbed of national uncertainty. Ambigulties were smothered off.

ELECTIONOutlook

"In other words, the whole picture is blurred this time and naturally so because of the times. Neither the candidates, nor the campaign, nor the media practices created this condition. The condition created then.

"And so of course we have two moderates running, and of course we have no strong third party in the picture, and of course the vote will be closely divided.

"That means no national consensus. That means no clear, simple mandate for the winner. He will have to assert his own mandate, and rake it real by his own hands."

StrategyAbsentee Ballots in Big Demand

A Heavy demand for absentee ballots was reported in some sections of the nation Monday, and in a close election they could hold the balance of power for the Presidential winner.

Most absentee ballots are counted along with the regular ones but there are enough exceptions so that a hairline finish between President Ford and Jimmy Carter could go undecided for up to a week.

AP, CBS (11/1/76)

Sharpest presidential issue still economic slowdown

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

Washington

The sharpest tangible issue in the election remains economics — right down to the wire.

Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers and previously an extraordinarily successful private consultant, presented President Ford's viewpoint — despite 7.3 percent unemployment he opposes further economic stimulus at present, warning of more

so-called "pause" "has gone on longer than I had expected in July."

The key statistic to which both referred is that in the second quarter the economy grew at a rate of about 4.5 percent, with prospect of increasing, but that in the disappointing third quarter it had actually dropped to 4 percent.

In the profound difference of opinion of the mild-mannered advisers of the two candidates on election eve neither was able to account for the mysterious "spending gap" which has recently shown up in government figures. Money

On the Water front

By William Safire

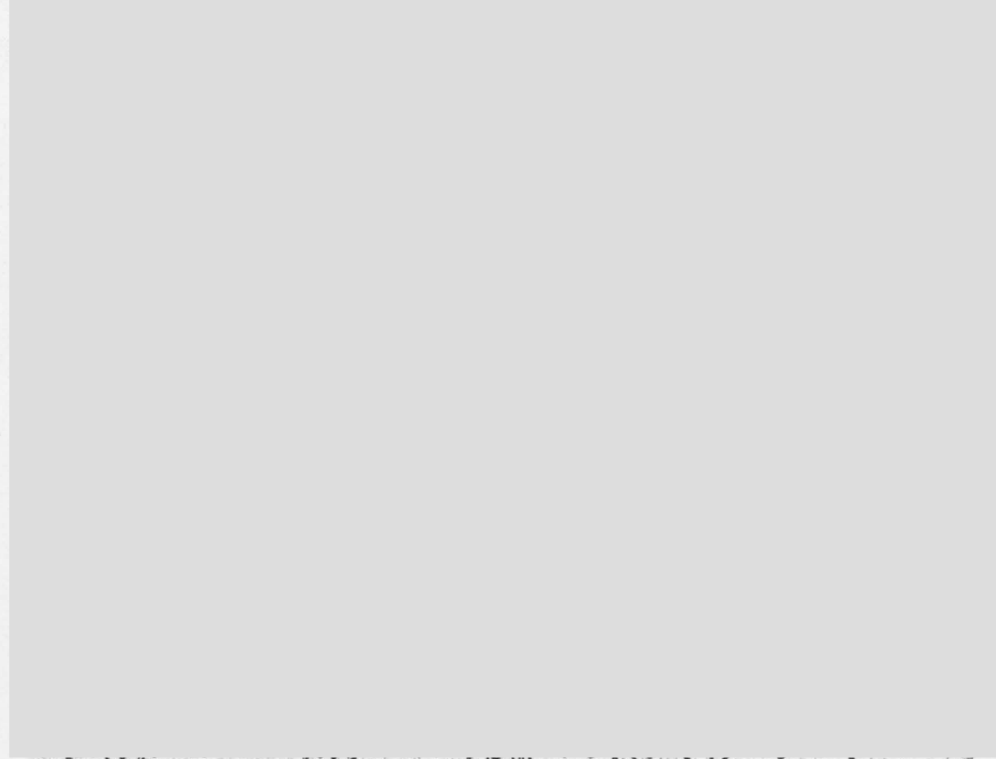
Campaigning in South Brooklyn's waterfront area, straining to be heard through a public-address system that did not work, a dispirited Jimmy Carter hurried through his stump speech until he came to the Wallace-

Abave all, Mr. Scotto seeks respectability. He achieved some last month when The New York Times published a well-reasoned and civic-boostering article under his byline on its Op-Ed page. He achieved much more last week when he showed himself able to produce the Democratic candidate for President in his water-

The Carter campaign appeared to be managed by Chicken Little, starting off to the right, lurching to the left, veering back right as the sky seemed to fall. He started off as the enemy of the Establishment and wound up its supplicant, mass-producing puddings without themes, dragging in Nixon the way a Nixon would drag in a Nixon.

ELECTION

'T WAS THE NIGHT BEFORE ELECTION
AND ALL THROUGH THE NATION,
... WAS STIDDING



INTERLUDE © 1976 LOS ANGELES TIMES

Taxing Income Earned Abroad

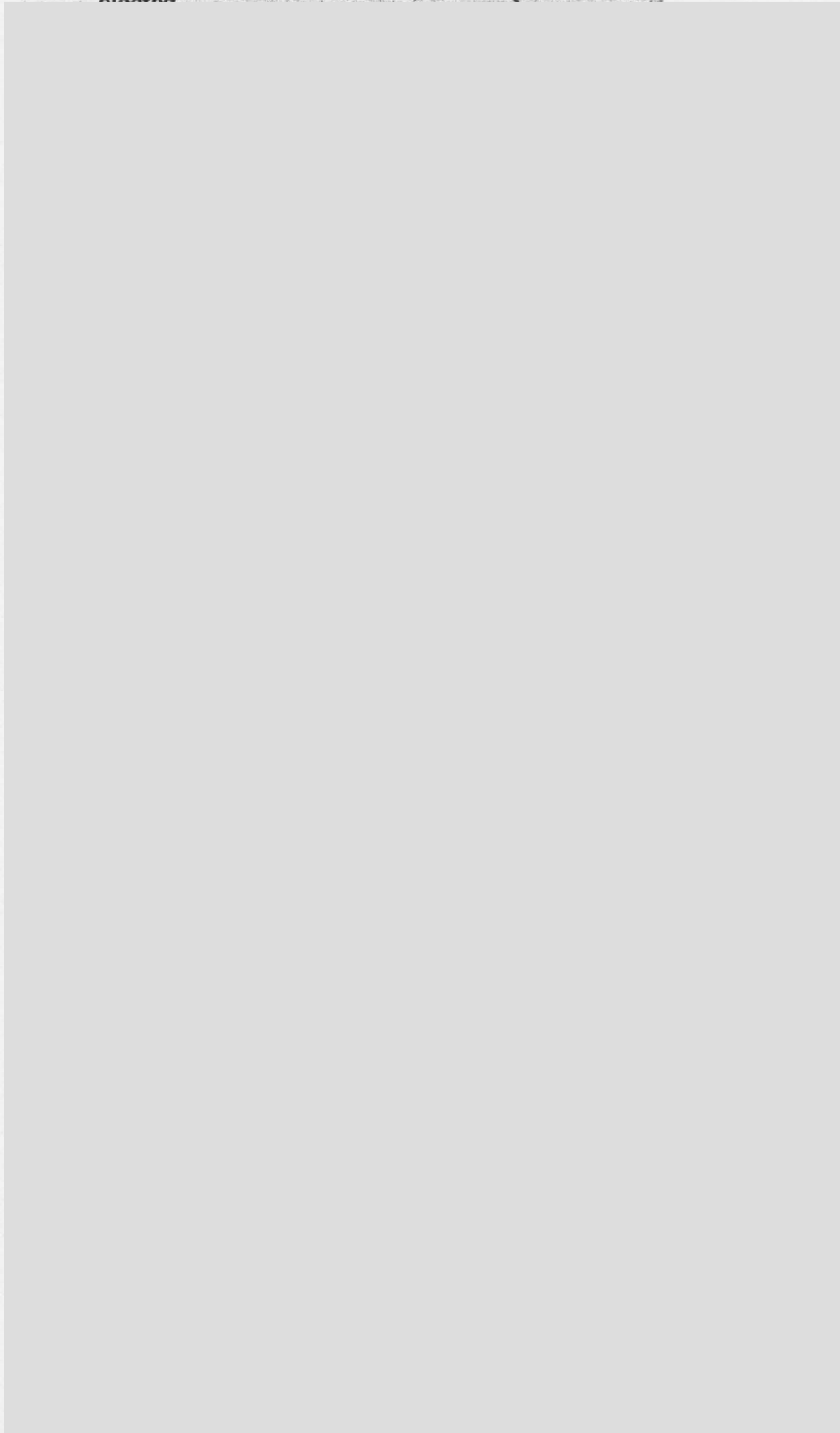
One of the many reasons President Ford should have vetoed the tax bill last month instead of signing it is the provision that increases the tax burden on U.S. citizens working abroad. The taxwriters really goofed, for the net ef-

mestic employe gives him, say, \$30,000 after tax. For that employe to be sent abroad and receive \$30,000 after tax and living allowances, the company will have to expend \$80,000, \$90,000, or if he's stationed in Japan, \$100,000. The

Ford for President

The Press supports the candidacy of Gerald Ford for President, but it is a very narrow choice, indeed.

The tilt is toward Mr. Ford because we know him well and are haunted by what we don't know about Mr. Carter and his real intentions if he were elected.



EndorsementsELECTIONFor President: Gerald R. FordBy: William Randolph Hearst, Jr.

NEW YORK — It has been a tough political campaign and it has not been easy for you or me to come to a reasoned decision as to which candidate should receive our support in the secrecy of the voting booth.

After careful deliberation, weighing the statements of one candidate against those of the other, considering the records of their performances, and projecting their apparent capabilities against the demands of the times, I have decided that I will vote for President Gerald R. Ford, and that it is in the best interests of the nation for me to try to persuade others to follow my line of logic to the same conclusion.

Today, two days before the election, it appears that it will be a very close contest. We can be sure of one thing, though, and that is, whichever man wins, whether President Ford or Governor Carter, our nation will make it. It is we, the people, whose will obtains in this country, not just that of the man in the White House.

For solid reasons, though, which I shall enumerate and explain, I believe that President Ford will be the better leader over the next four years.

This constitutes only my own personal endorsement of President Ford. This year I have encouraged each Hearst newspaper to back any candidate it chooses.

The United States is at peace after one of its longest, cruelest and costliest wars. As a result, most of the problems in the nation are domestic in nature, and leading all domestic concerns is the economy — the pocketbook, inflation, persistent joblessness.

In two brief years in office, President Ford has led us from the depths of the worst depression since the mid-1930's back to healthy prosperity. It figures that if he is permitted to continue his even-handed and steady policy, the nation will become yet more prosperous, unemployment will come down and inflation will be held in check.

After many years of observation I am only certain of one economic fact. The Keynesian theory of "pump priming" — of having the government pour money into the private sector in order to create jobs — does not work except for a short time. Government-financed jobs are always impermanent; they cost enormously more than jobs created in the private sector of the economy, which produce goods and services we want, and they are always — repeat always — inflationary.

Thus, government-created jobs hurt us in two ways. First, through increased tax burdens, and second, with the cruelest tax of all, inflation — the tax that hits hardest at the poorest and the oldest in our society.

The ruinous inflation that caused us so much economic strife in the three years before Mr. Ford assumed his duties in the White House was the direct result of too much government spending and too many federal deficits. It seems to have been forgotten by many political leaders that even Lord John Maynard Keynes, author of the pump-priming theory, changed his mind after observing the experience of the Roosevelt years and re-theorized that his game-plan for attacking joblessness worked only as a temporary expedient, and that it exacted an inflationary toll.

The problem is that such devices are never temporary. On its 200-year-old record, the government is incapable of backtracking and rescinding spending programs. We still foot the bill for projects that were created by the first New Deal, some of them useless.

When you filter through all of the rhetoric of the Ford-Carter campaigns, it boils down to the fact that the two men have only one major and fundamental difference in opinion:

— President Ford believes that full employment and full prosperity can best be achieved by limiting government spending and encouraging economic growth in the private sector.

— Governor Carter feels exactly the opposite. He wants to increase government spending to give jobs to the unemployed in programs that would be financed by the private sector through added taxes or deficit spending.

The record proves Mr. Ford to be right. Experience shows us that Mr. Carter is wrong. Britain only a few years ago was the nation around which the world's economy pivoted. Today it is bankrupt primarily because the Labor Government tried to spend itself into prosperity. It didn't work there; it won't work here.

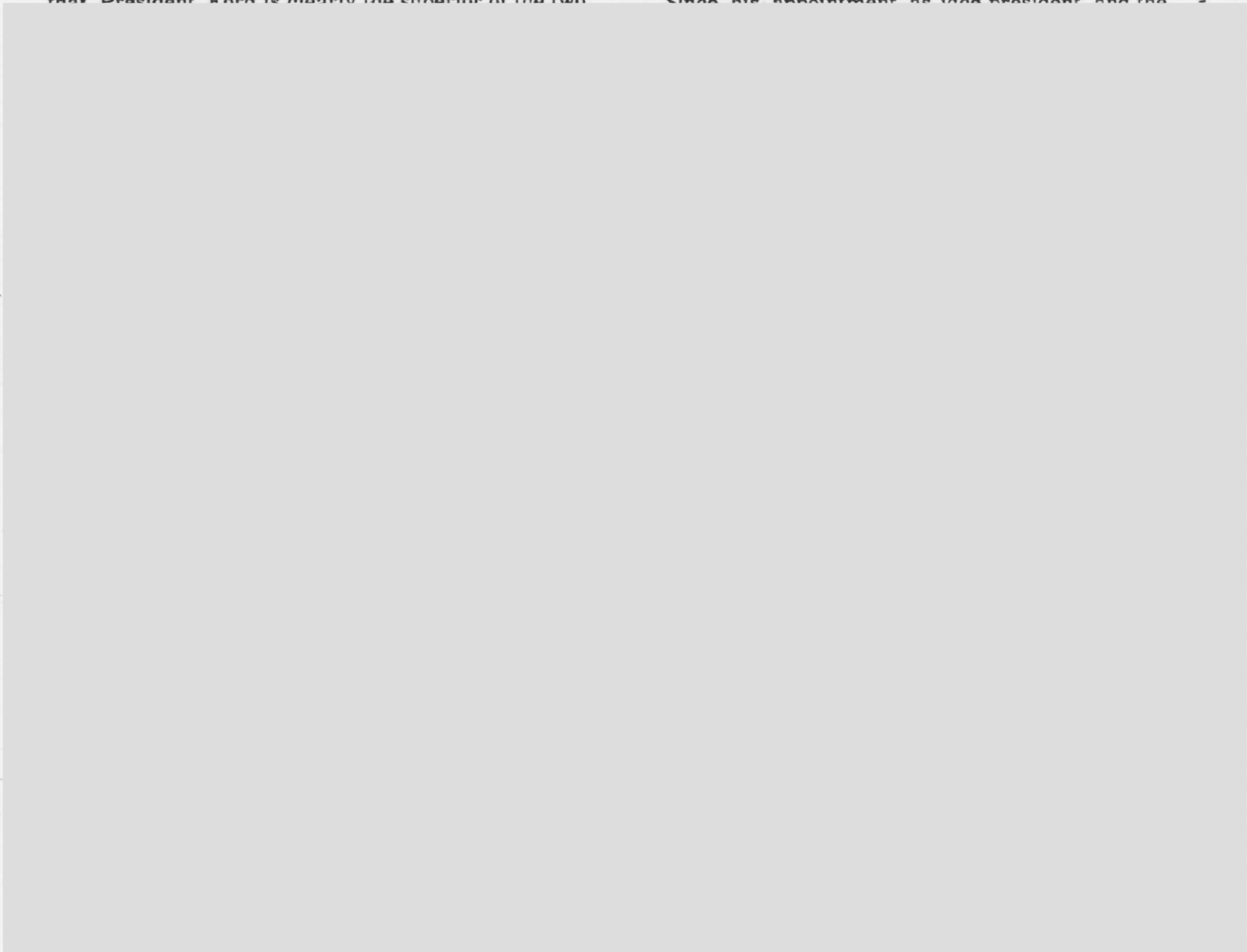
It is true that President Ford is not a dynamic leader, and many consider his brief administration to be lackluster and short on accomplishments. But I am willing to back him on his economic achievements alone. I believe they are under-appreciated by the general public.

More than 87.8 million Americans held jobs in September, the highest in this nation's history, and it is impossible not to credit this to Mr. Ford's economic policy. In September, also, 56.1 percent of all Americans of working age were employed. That is believed to be the highest pro-

Ford our choice for President

It has been an unimpressive presidential campaign, one whose principal issue has become the character of the two candidates. Given his failings, his occasional bumbling, it is the opinion of this newspaper that President Ford is clearly the superior of the two

ment, and trust and a sense of, like it or not, middle-America morality. One knows what he is: a former congressman, very conservative, who aspired only to the speaker's chair in the House of Representatives. Since his appointment as vice president, and the



His Record Good; Elect Gerald Ford

Less than 27 months ago, Gerald R. Ford was thrust into the presidency of the United States in an emergency situation created by one of the most serious constitutional crises in the history of this nation. On the basis of his record since his inauguration on Aug. 9, 1974, The Milwaukee Sentinel recommends that the voters of this

But in criticizing Ford, Carter has related the president's accomplishments to what has occurred in past administrations. And the result has been a gross misrepresentation of the president's record.

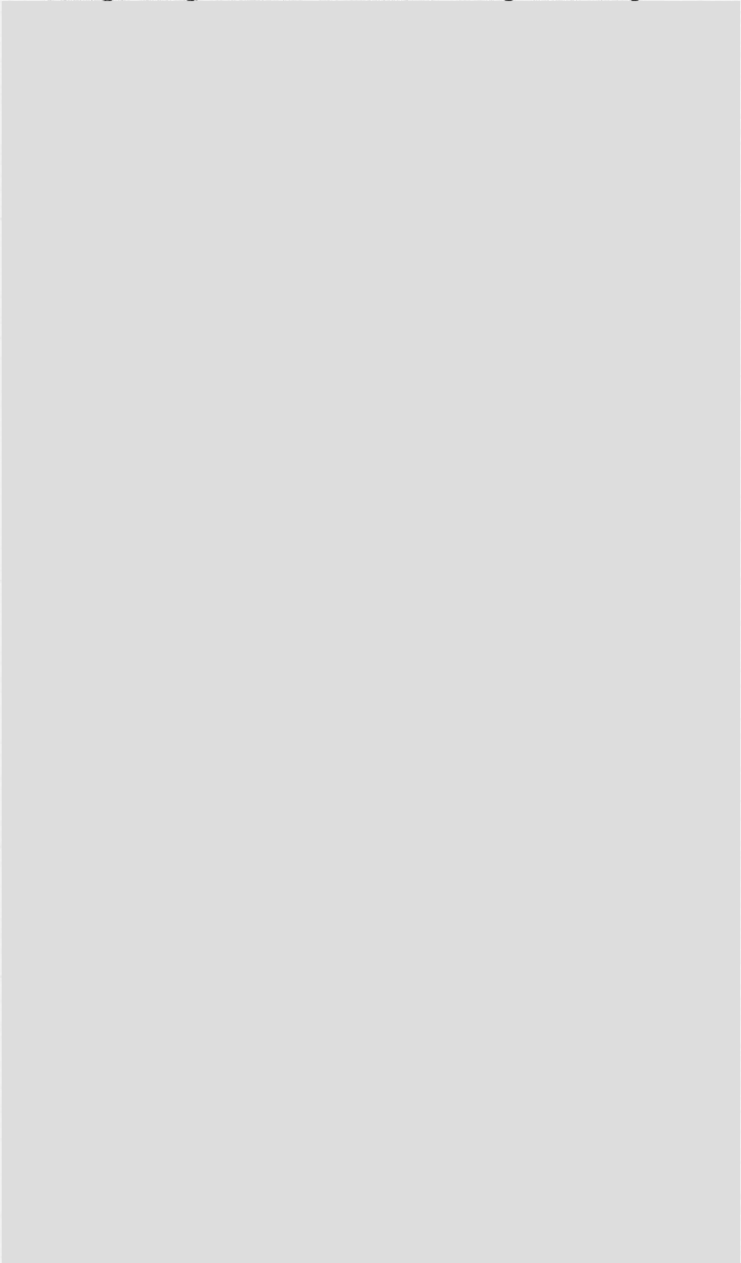
A fair assessment of what Ford has done can only be made within the context of his brief tenure of office.

Carter says he will bring us more jobs and a lower

Making A President

Next Tuesday the people of Maine, along with their countrymen in each of the other 49 states, are going to write their own version of the making of a president, 1976.

Millions of Americans are not going to be ready. They remain uncertain today and may



Turkey favors Ford, because of Cyprus recora

By Sam Cohen
Special to

The Christian Science Monitor

Istanbul

Turkey hopes Gerald Ford will win the U.S. presidential election Tuesday.

President Ford, it is felt, already has proved to be "understandable and friendly" toward Turkey on such issues as the Cyprus problem and U.S. military aid to Turkey, whereas Jimmy Carter has publicly shown "signs of

of the control of air space over the Aegean Sea. In Bern they will search for a solution to the controversial problem of the Aegean continental shelf and oil exploration rights.

Greece take-over

Greece took control of Aegean air space after Turkey's invasion of Cyprus in 1974, and has not permitted civilian air traffic in the region since then. Some progress was made in

ELECTIONWeatherGood Election Day Weather Expected

The weather, as notoriously unpredictable as politics, is expected to be sunny over most of the country on election day, a possible break for Jimmy Carter.

According to the National Weather Service, there will be sunny weather and light winds in most states on Tuesday as voters cast their ballots for President.

The exceptions might be the Great Lakes area, where light showers are forecast, and extreme western New York state, where there may also be rain late Tuesday afternoon.

Pollsters and pundits have said that a normal to low turnout would favor President Ford in Tuesday's election. A large turnout, which might be helped by good weather, would favor Jimmy Carter because his is the majority party.
PA, CBS, NBC (11/1/76)

ECONOMYStocks Close Slightly Higher

Prices closed slightly higher Monday in moderate trading on the New York Stock Exchange amid profit taking and uncertainty over the outcome of tomorrow's presidential election.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average, off nearly four points earlier, was ahead 0.58 points to 965.51 shortly before the close. UPI, AP, CBS, ABC (11/1/76)

INTERNATIONALChinaNien Elevated to Chinese Premiership

Wall posters in Shanghai have indicated the promotion of China's Vice-Premier Li Hsien-Nien to the post of Premier, Japan's Kyodo News Agency reported from Peking Monday.

The Agency also said posters mentioned the promotion of Chinese Communist Party Vice-Chairman Yeh Chien-Ying to Chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee.
UPI (11/1/76)

S. Korean BribesCONGRESS

Secret Nixon pact with Seoul bared

By James Coates
and John Maclean

Chicago Tribune Press Service

WASHINGTON—At the same time Korean businessman Tongsun Park was spearheading a campaign to buy political influence in the United States for South Korea, he was reaping huge profits from questionable dealings with the

five years, and to make an additional \$100 million in development loans.

IN EXCHANGE, the South Korean government agreed to drastically reduce textile exports to the U.S.

Agriculture department records show that in 1970—the year before the agreement went into effect, Park reaped a \$202,000 commission for arranging a rice

Gulf's corporate spokesman said Park's assertion "absolutely is not true" and "We had nothing to do with him in a business way." Gulf acknowledged, however, that Park's brother, Kan Park, owns the refineries Gulf uses in Korea and that Tongsun once worked for his brother.

Gulf has admitted making \$4 million in contributions to South Korean President Park Chung-hee's Democratic Re-

Chicago Tribune, (11, cords would serve no useful purpose."

as shipping agent in the Food for Peace program, and sometimes arranged for his own ships to carry the rice.

Times of TV News Items
11/1/76 (Election Eve)

ADMINISTRATION NEWS

	ABC	NBC	CBS
1. Ford Day	2:00 (lead)	2:00 (4)	1:40 (2)
2. Dole Day	:20 (3)	1:40 (7)	
3. FORD/CARTER Differences	3:10 (7)		4:00 (18)

OTHER MAJOR NEWS

1. ABC News Poll		1:10 (lead)	
2. Carter Day		1:20 (2)	2:40 (5)
3. Rev. Clennon King With Carter	2:50 (2)	:35 (3)	
4. Undecided Voters/NBC		:27 (5)	
5. NBC Poll/VP		:24 (6)	
6. Mondale Day		1:39 (8)	1:40 (9)
7. U.S. Labor Party Ads		:40 (9)	
8. Cadillac/Detroit Jobs		1:37 (10)	
9. Martin Sentence		:13 (11)	
10. Geneva Conf.		:12 (12)	:20 (16)
11. Dela. Lottery		2:53 (13)	
12. Campaign Focus		4:25 (14)	2:20 (Sevoreid)
13. Third Party Candidates	2:00 (4)		
14. Watergate Freshmen	2:25 (5)		
15. Congress/Husband & Wives	:50 (6)		
16. Smith	1:40 (8)		
17. Rhodesia Fighting	:08 (9)		
18. New Chinese Premier	:10 (10)		
19. Stocks Up	:10 (11)		:10 (12)
20. Congressional Races	2:00 (12)		
21. Election			
22. Overview			1:10 (lead)
23. PFC Ads			:30 (3)
24. Carter Church Leaders			:15 (4)
25. Michigan Voters			2:35 (6)
26. Absentee Ballots			:25 (7)
27. Roper Poll			:20 (8)
28. Weather			:15 (11)
29. Voting Machines			2:00 (13)
30. Odds/Election			:25 (14)
31. Lebanon			:25 (15)

News & Comment

The President's Daily News Summary



Leading The News...

FOR TUESDAY AFTERNOON,
NOVEMBER 2, 1976

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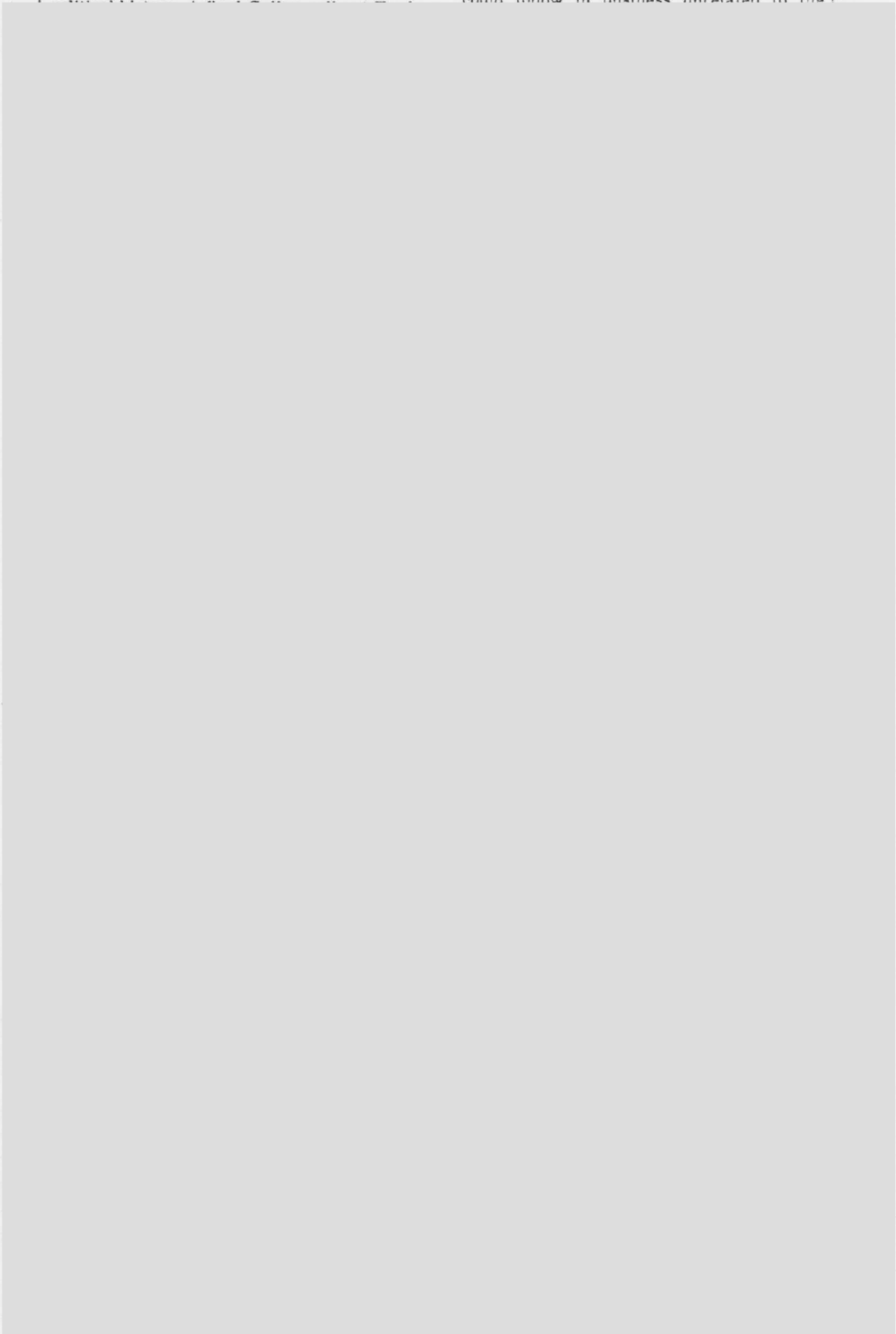
Welfare Rolls Dip to Lowest Level in 18 Mos. AP, UPI, Morning shows 40

World-Wide

THE CAMPAIGN for President ended in what appeared to be a dead heat.

President Ford and Jimmy Carter wound up their bids for the country's highest office locked in one of the closest races in modern

A plan by California druggists to negotiate fees with prepaid health-care programs may be challenged by the Justice Department's Antitrust Division. It said the California Pharmaceutical Association's proposed system might encourage price-fixing by providing fee schedules that druggists could follow in business unrelated to the



Business and Finance

BUILDING AWARDS increased 7% in September from a year before to \$8.1 billion as housing and nonresidential building gained, according to McGraw-Hill's F. W. Dodge division. The

* * *
The Labor Department backed an appeal of a court ruling that union-negotiated pension funds are subject to federal securities laws.

(Story on Page 6)

Nation's Pollsters Can't Predict Winner

The nation's pollsters continued to back off from calling a probable winner Monday.

The Harris organization polled voter sentiment on Sunday and found that Jimmy Carter was ahead of President Ford by one percentage point in a 46%-45% tally. In the latest poll by the Roper organization, however, Carter had 51 percent to Ford's 47 percent. The survey, taken for the Public Broadcasting Service, had a three-point margin of error either way.

George Gallup's latest poll found the race too close to call, with Ford in the lead by 47-46%.

An NBC poll announced Monday called the race a dead heat at 41 percent apiece with former Sen. Eugene McCarthy at 6 percent. NBC said that when the interviewees were asked who they supported without McCarthy being listed, Carter held a 44-43 percent edge, while "others" got 1 percent and undecided 12 percent.

The Harris poll, which interviewed 2,294 persons, said that 3 percent of the voters supported McCarthy and 6 percent were still undecided.

The Roper poll, based on a sampling of 2,000 persons, said that 2 percent of the voters supported candidates other than the Democratic and Republican contenders.

That poll also projected that only 56-59 percent of the registered voters would go to the polls Tuesday. AP, Good Morn. America -- (11/2/76)

AP, UPI Polls: Carter Has Electoral Lead

The 1976 Presidential election is too close to call. A UPI survey in the last week of the campaign found Jimmy Carter with a big electoral vote lead over President Ford, but 50 short of victory with the outcome hanging on major states rated a tossup.

The 50-state survey found Carter shy of the 270 electoral votes needed to win the presidency Tuesday, but with a 112 vote lead over Ford. The results:

- Carter: 220 electoral votes in 18 states and the District of Columbia.
- Ford: 108 electoral votes in 16 states.
- Too close to call: 210 electoral votes in 16 states.

The survey found Carter narrowly ahead in New York and Texas, and Ford leading slightly in Ohio.

But California, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Michigan, the only other states with more than 20 electoral votes, were in the tossup category.

If the two men run as close as expected in those states, the election could end with a small popular vote margin and a big electoral vote plurality for the winner.

The final Associated Press survey of the states shows the tally of electoral votes too close to call.

Although Jimmy Carter still has an apparent edge, he is not comfortably ahead in enough states to be sure of the 270 electoral votes needed for victory. Neither is President Ford.

Several big states have moved into the tossup category since the preceding AP survey last week.

The AP survey is based on independent polls in states where they are taken, and on the observations of political experts and campaign reporters in other states.

The poll now finds Carter leading in 15 states and the District of Columbia, with a total of 210 electoral votes. The 11 states in which Ford leads have a total of 91 electoral votes. The number of tossup states has grown to 24, with 237 electoral votes.

Carter's lead has shrunk since a similar AP survey was conducted last week, and his lead in the popular vote also has all but disappeared, according to the major independent polls. AP,UPI -- (11/1/76)

Roper Says Carter's Jump Due to Appeal

Pollster Burns W. Roper said Jimmy Carter's shift in his latest poll may be due, in part, to the Democratic nominee's personal appeal, which is "one of hope, rather than conviction."

The new Roper poll shows Carter with a four point lead over President Ford in the final day of the campaign.

In a "Today Show" interview, Roper said Carter must do well in the "critical states" -- Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio and Texas -- in order to win the election.

Daniel Yankelovich agreed, saying those states will "make or break the candidate."

Roper and Yankelovich said the undecided voter represents a large and confusing bloc of people. They agreed that a "rule

of thumb" is to split the undecided bloc down the middle.

Roper said the "partially-decided voters" are leaning toward Ford, which suggests the "undecideds" may also go for Ford.

On the other hand, he said the undecided voters have the demographic characteristics of Carter supporters. Today Show -- (11/2/76)

Jimmy "the Greek" Predicts Ford Win

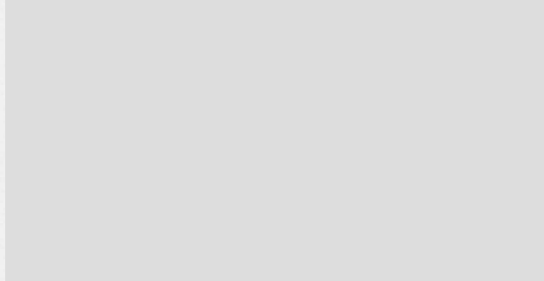
Jimmy "the Greek" Snyder has predicted the election odds are in President Ford's favor by a seven to five count, Jack Anderson reported Tuesday.

Snyder sent an eight-man team into five key states where they polled thousands of voters in California, Florida, Illinois, Ohio and Nevada.

Anderson reminded that Snyder was ten days ahead of the other pollsters in calling the election a tossup. In his predictions last week, Snyder first claimed Carter had a 6-5 edge but later in the week reversed that finding and gave Ford a 6-5 lead. Good Morn. America -- (11/2/76)

Drinkers' poll finds Carter's the one

With the Harris and Gallup polls saying the presidential race is too close to call this year, we'll have to wait on the highly questionable but in



The Philadelphia Inquirer, 11/2/76



The Philadelphia Inquirer, 11/2/76

Ford Is Looking Good In Beauty Salons and Carter in the Movies

By DAVID OESTREICHER

The results are in! Women who go to beauty salons think President Ford will beat Jimmy Carter—by a landslide. Moviegoers see it the other way—Carter by a hefty margin. And the Americans who frequent Harry's New York Bar in Paris like Ford—by a paper-thin edge.

1st Election Return Gives Ford Edge

President Ford narrowly edged Jimmy Carter 13-11 Tuesday morning as the 26 voters of Dixville Notch, N.H. cast the first votes in the nation. Another vote was cast for independent Eugene McCarthy.

The final ballot was voided because the voter chose three candidates for president.

Twenty-five citizens of this White Mountains hamlet braved the ice and early snows of New Hampshire, where the presidential race started with its first-in-the-country primary in February, to vote before television cameras.

The earliness of the returns does not guarantee they will predict anything, however. Except for 1972, when residents of this community favored Richard Nixon over George McGovern by a 16-3 margin, voters around the nation have not followed Dixville Notch's lead. AP,UPI,Morning shows -- (11/2/76)

OutlookRegions Give Clue to Election Outcome

Here is a regional election perspective of the country by CBS News:

The East: Ford leads Carter by five points here in the latest CBS-New York Times poll, Mike Wallace reported Tuesday. New Jersey and Pennsylvania, heavy labor states, are soft. Wallace said labor may not be able to deliver the vote for Carter because the Democratic Party is split in both states. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, Catholic uncertainty is a factor. Carter's Southern Baptist, "born again" religion seems to be a negative in those two states.

The South: Of the South's 147 electoral votes, Carter is sure of only 90, Roger Mudd stated. He can no longer count on Texas where John Connally is playing the Playboy interview like a "Stradivarius." Virginia, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Mississippi are all problems for Carter. The reason is the Ford campaign's success in portraying Carter as a "wild-eyed, free-spending, budget-busting liberal wearing cracker clothes," Mudd noted. All in all, it does not appear a "solid South is ready to rise again."

The Midwest: The bulk of the 145 electoral votes in this area are a tossup, Dan Rather said. The Midwest bellwethers, where the election could go either way, are Illinois, Ohio, Iowa,

Michigan and Wisconsin. Ford is looking for help in strong Republican gubernatorial and senatorial candidates in Missouri, Illinois and Indiana. Carter is counting on strong labor backing as well as support from the southern part of the Midwest who can identify with his rural background.

The West: The President will probably win the wide lead here that he needs to offset Carter's gains in the South, Lesley Stahl reported. If Ford wins as expected in California, he "will surely get his majority in the West." According to local polls, one of the reasons Carter has slipped in the West, particularly in California, is because of his "negative personality image." Another reason is that Carter is now perceived as one of the liberal, Democratic big-spenders, Stahl added. CBS Morn. News -- (11/2/76)

Ford, Carter Teams Sure of Victory

Both the Ford and Carter campaigns are confident of victory Tuesday, CBS correspondents Bob Schieffer and Ed Bradley reported.

The Ford campaign is "really upbeat" and believes they have a shot at winning, Schieffer said. He added that Ford has drawn the largest crowds of his presidency and has made some "very good stump speeches."

Schieffer said the President looks very good but has worn out the press corps. Ford has closed the gap against Carter though, Schieffer noted, like Hubert Humphrey in '68, he may not have enough to take it all.

Carter's people are still confident but are "a lot more concerned" about the election than they were previously, Ed Bradley said. They are convinced they can win because, with Carter's solid Southern base, he only has to win a couple of the big electoral states. The Carter campaign believes things "have to break just right" for the President to win, Bradley added. CBS Morn. News -- (11/2/76)

Frank Starr

Campaign's final enigma: Whose personality will prevail?

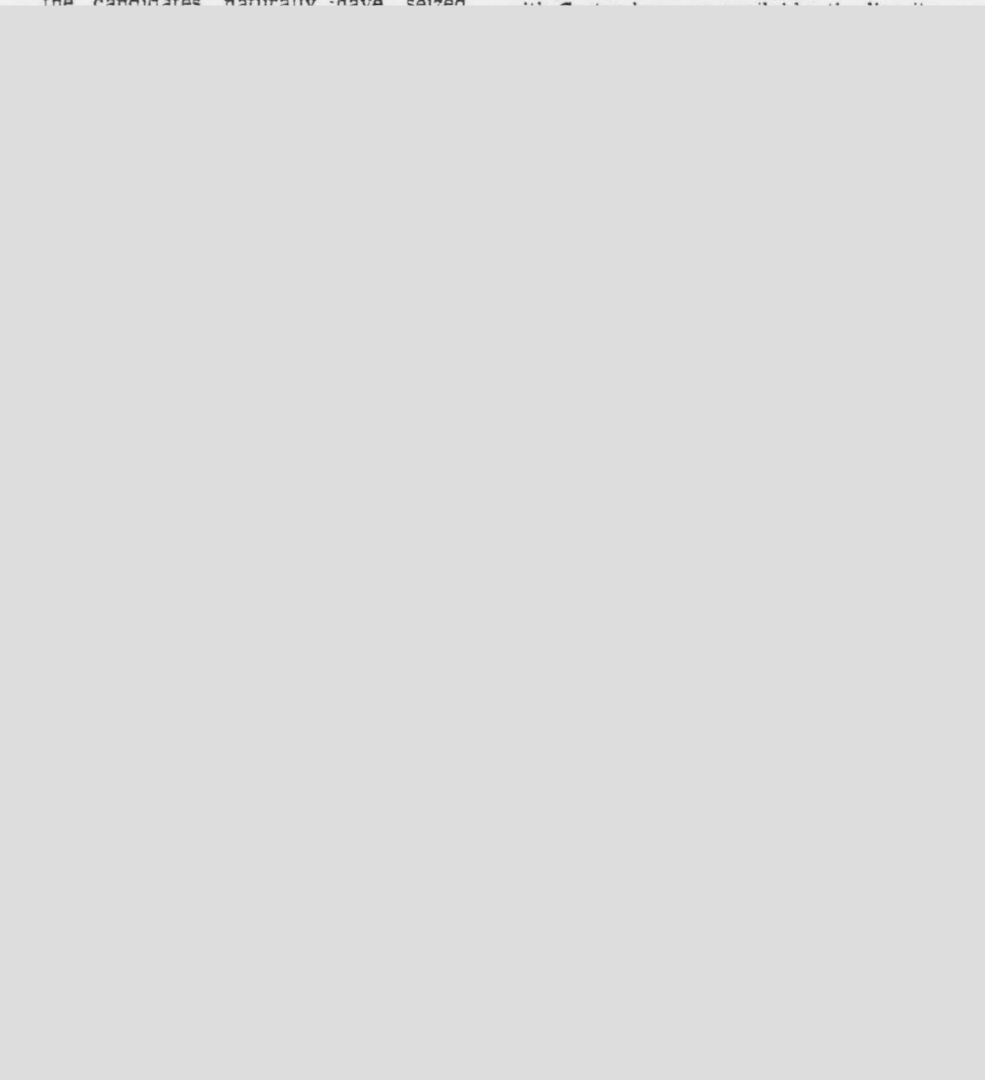
WASHINGTON—This presidential election has gotten so close in the final days that it may well turn on mercurial perceptions of personality of the two candidates, and that is perhaps the least understood aspect of them.

The discussion of issues is usually seen as an important determinant of how one votes, but this time it has been lackluster at best. In the absence of truly burning issues, reporters covering the candidates naturally have seized

ble with, each other, and they never talk to anyone else."

Many of them know the campaigns they cover so intimately that they rarely succeed or try to write a comprehensive portrait of the candidate and his campaign, partly because so much of it seems old hat to them.

Typically when the Playboy interview



Baker, Jordan Predict Victory, Admit Mistakes

James Baker and Hamilton Jordan, both confident of victory, claimed Tuesday their respective teams used the right strategy in the campaign but admitted some mistakes were made on both sides.

In a "Today Show" interview, Jordan said the Playboy interview hurt his boss in a "temporary way." But, he said people who read the interview saw it as a "sincere examination" of Carter's religious beliefs, adding the matter was exploited by the Republicans.

Citing President Ford's extraordinary comeback in the polls, Baker said the momentum was lost as a result of the Special Watergate Prosecutor's investigation, Secretary Butz's racial remark and the second debate.

However, he added that there was nothing the Ford campaign strategists could do about it.

Asked if he thought the Republicans were trying to exploit the Baptist church membership issue, Baker said the matter should be resolved by Jimmy Carter and the parishoners of the church.

Jordan said that Plains Baptist Church is not running for President, but Jimmy Carter is. He noted that in 1965, Carter and his family urged the church to open its doors to all people, including blacks.

Jordan said it is "unfortunate" that the Republicans are "exploiting" a "religious and personal" issue in terms of Carter's beliefs.

Baker said no negotiations will be made with the Carter staff after the election if Ford loses the popular vote and wins the electoral college, or vice versa, in order to keep the White House. Today Show -- (11/2/76)

Election cliffhanger in Illinois

By Neil Mehler and F. Richard Ciccone

THE PRESIDENTIAL race in Illinois headed for a cliff-hanger finish Monday as leaders of both political parties reviewed last-minute reports from field lieutenants.

Democrat Jimmy Carter's local organization predicted victory by a 52 to 48 per cent margin—about 200,000 votes if the anticipated 80 per cent turnout of registered voters materializes.

Former Gov. Richard Ogilvie, President Ford's Illinois campaign director, predicted a 200,000-vote plurality for Ford, and Sen. Percy [R., Ill.] saw a 150,000-vote victory for the President, they said Monday in the Quad Cities airport.

ILLINOIS' 26 electoral votes comprise more than 9½ per cent of the 270 votes needed to win the presidency. Traditionally, a candidate has not won the office without an Illinois victory, though math-

there wasn't money enough left to purchase local television time for the campaign.

● The Illinois Republican State Central Committee projected a Ford victory in the state by 75,000 votes and said their polls show Ford running slightly behind the normal pace for a Republican Downstate. Carter doesn't appear to have picked up the slack, according to the committee.

● James Wall, Carter state campaign

IN ANOTHER race with a top-heavy favorite, State Treasurer Alan Dixon, a Democrat, is leading in the battle for secretary of state. His opponent, William Harris, left his seat in the Illinois Senate to face Dixon, who is counting on strong Downstate support and traditional Democratic votes in Chicago for victory.

The only close contest among the statewide races is the matchup for comptroller between Republican incumbent George Lindberg and challenger

Who's Got a Lock on Vote?

By **FRANK VAN RIPER**

Of The News Washington Bureau

Although the final outcome of the bicentennial presidential election may not be known until early tomorrow morning, the

Here is what to look for after the polls close and as the returns mount:

- New York City and Connecticut — two areas likely to have their returns in early. Carter must win New York State (41 electoral votes) and is

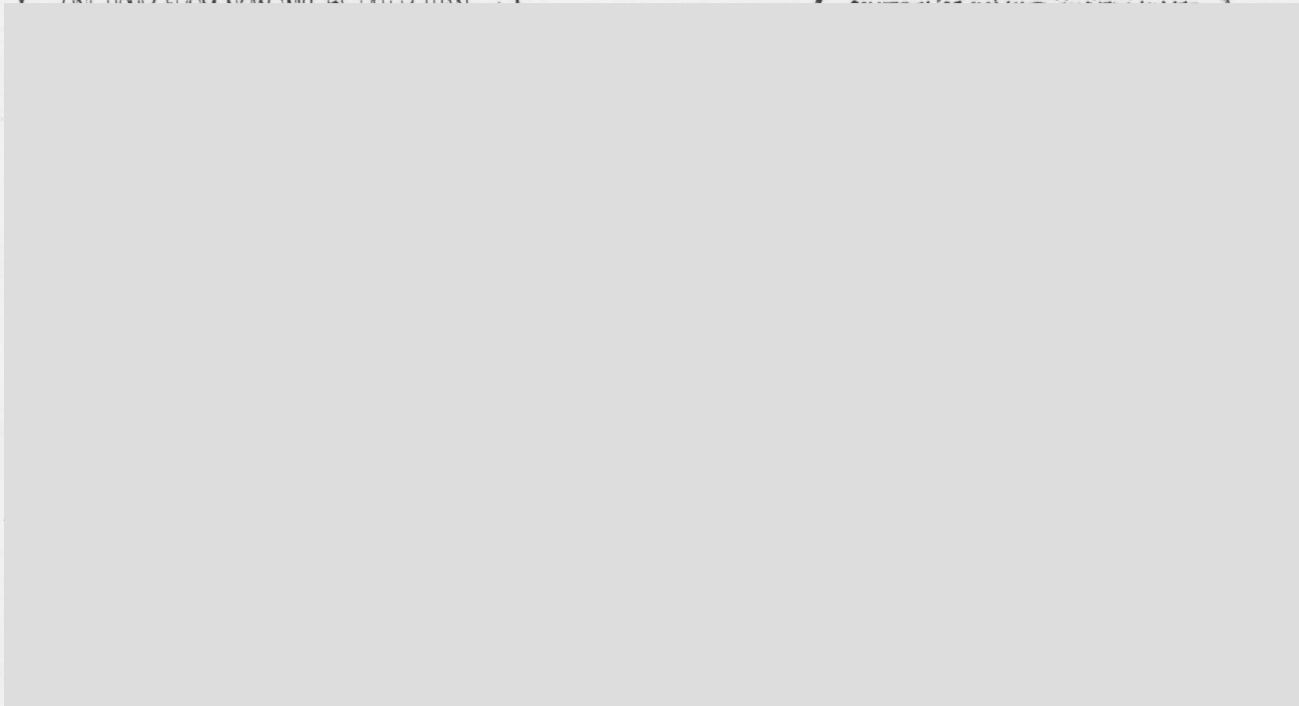
Pennsylvania, and Ohio, a supposed "must" for a GOP candidate.

If Ford can't take his home state by a good margin, he may well lose in the adjoining states. In Pennsylvania, the turnout in key cities like Philadel-

ELECTION

AND I SAY TO YOU THAT THE HANDS OF
THE CLOCK MOVE STEADILY FORWARD, FOR
ONE HOUR FROM NOW WILL BE LATER THAN

I WANT TO RESTORE YOUR



By Wright for the Miami News

Washington Post, 11/2/76

Will apathy win the election?

By Harry Kelly

Chicago Tribune Press Service

ON A DAY in Texas when it seemed more important to find out whether country singer Willie Nelson was performing in Austin than whether Jimmy Carter was leading President Ford, a

Tuesday's election will show whether the apathy reported in the polls and by politicians will be reflected at the ballot in a low turnout or whether Americans' blood will be warmed by the prospect of a Ford-Carter photo-finish.

Carter's once long lead—which may have contributed to the so-what attitude

For a while it seemed Ford and Carter were two suits of clothes running against each other—one with a vest, the other without.

SUDDENLY THEY have begun taking shape, as though the Invisible Man and Gemini Man were becoming visible. The debates apparently provided the

paign, Ford and Carter, along with their running mates, jet-hopped the country in hopes of building some excitement for their tickets.

11.2
"Does anyone have change for a dollar? I need to flip a coin."

A Guide to Things to Watch For While Following Election Returns

Following is a guide to watching the returns from today's Presidential election:

A pair of caveats. First, patterns seem to be developing that contradict historical precedents, so don't conclude that Jimmy Carter has won if, for example, someone says he has carried

Mr. Ford almost certainly has to carry his home state of Michigan, with its 21 electoral votes, to win a full term in the White House. No sitting President since Herbert Hoover in 1932 has failed to win an endorsement from his home state; should Mr. Ford fail to do so, it should be known by 9:30

In Pennsylvania, watch in particular the returns from Philadelphia. A margin of fewer than 200,000 votes there for Mr. Carter probably means that the state will go to Mr. Ford; between 200,000 and 250,000, it will be close; more than 250,000, the Democratic nominee is probably going to win. A

65% Turnout (6M) Expected in State Vote

By SAM ROBERTS

Six million New York voters are expected to deliver 41 critical electoral votes to Jimmy Carter today and send Daniel Patrick Moynihan to the Senate despite the evaporation of landslide Democratic leads into a forecasted photo-finish finale.

Election officials estimate that between 65% and 75% of the state's 8.2

Brooklyn and Manhattan, an upper West Side City Council seat, and a proposition to permit nonprofit organizations to run "Las Vegas Nights."

Some officials expressed concern that today's election would be complicated by an unprecedentedly high mail registration, a late demand for absentee ballots that could hold the balance in close contests, and a last-minute court decision to dump independent candidate Eugene McCarthy from the presidential ballot.

NOTE: Both the New York Times and the Baltimore Sun featured "Presidential Scorecards" in Tuesday's editions. Differences in state analysis are marked.

ALABAMA	9	Wallace assures Carter win	
ALASKA	3	Solid for Ford	
ARIZONA	6	Conservative; easy for Ford	
ARKANSAS	6	Reliable for Carter	

ALABAMA	9	Considered solid for Carter
ALASKA	3	All signs point to Ford
ARIZONA	6	Another solid Ford state
ARKANSAS	6	Carter without a doubt
CALIFORNIA ✓	45	Polls give Ford the edge
COLORADO	7	President is the favorite
CONNECTICUT	8	Tossup state will report early
DELAWARE ✓	3	Said to be leaning to Carter
DIST. OF COLUMBIA	3	Carter without any doubt

Ford vs. Carter: bullish or bearish?

By Ron Scherer

Business and financial correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

New York

Wall Street is Ford country. A majority of brokers will cast their ballots for President Ford in today's voting.

However, when it comes to spending their money, Wall Street's brokers are not so quick to push the market up in a "Ford rally."

L. F. Rothschild, "The economic framework is set regardless of who wins, assuming we let the economy find its way through the troubled waters on its own."

To Mr. Helms, the major difference between the candidates is on spending. He would expect Jimmy Carter to spend more money than President Ford, resulting in renewed inflation worries. "This might be good for earnings since inflation increases earnings," explains

C.S. Monitor, 11/2/76

Joseph Kraft

Exorcising Nixon, or Whom Do You Trust?

Washington.

A specter haunted the 1976 presidential race. The ghost of Richard M. Nixon shaped—not to say deformed—the character of the campaign, the choice of the candidates, the major issues, the attitude of the leading journalists and the underlying climate of public opinion.

would have made it, reached the White House and became the Republican nominee in 1976.

If anything an even more unlikely prospect for nomination was the virtually unknown, one-term former governor of Georgia. But alone among the Democratic contenders, Mr. Carter reassured the

Who will want your vote tomorrow?

A plan to count you in on federal decision-making

By MICHAEL J. McMANUS

IN THE SECOND presidential debate, Jimmy Carter spoke of the need to "tap the intelligence and ability, the sound common sense and the good judgment of the American people." But then he was asked, "How, specifically, governor, are you going to bring the American people into the decision-making process?" His answer of less secrecy and more fireside chats was inadequate. Nixon's

could be inserted in the press on the same day that the articles and TV programs provide information on the issues. People could mark the ballots and mail them to Washington to register their voice on where America ought to be headed.

"These 'American Town Meetings' would improve the democratic process by giving people a voice on issues as something apart from voting for politicians."

This idea is not as visionary as it sounds. Such Town Meetings were created through the mass media

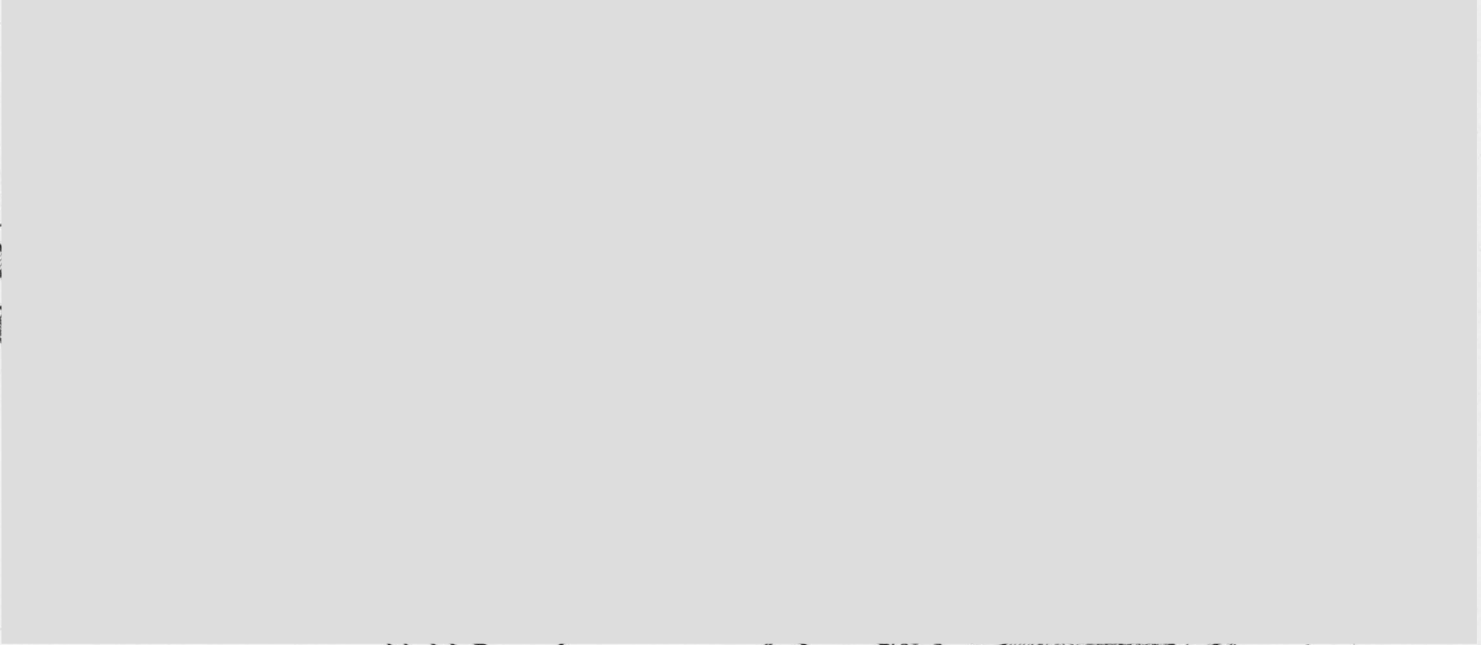
Mideast and U.S. election

Some feel Carter win
would slow peace bid

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Damascus, Syria

A Carter victory in the U.S. presidential election might delay Mideast peace diplomacy for many months. But election of President Ford for a new term could produce a fairly rapid new American initiative toward a settle-



wright THE PROVIDENCE JOURNAL-BULLETIN

Smith Unimpressed by Ford, Carter

ABC's Howard K. Smith said both President Ford and Jimmy Carter have so few persuasive qualities to offer the American people that they were forced to take the "low road" during the campaign.

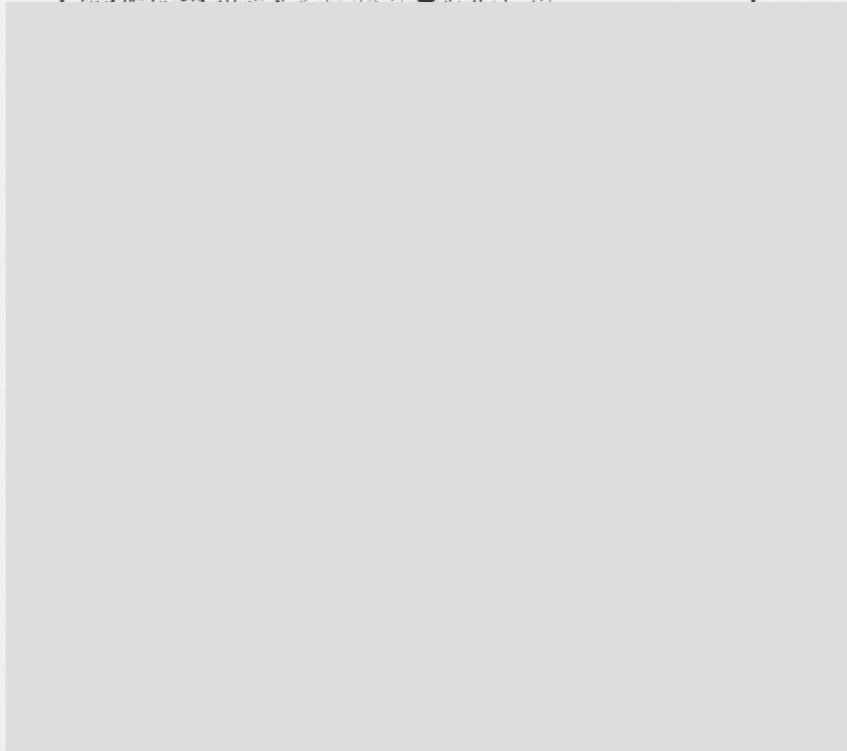
Unimpressed by both candidates, Smith added that little was said in the campaign to solve the problems of the country.

Smith criticized the American system of electing a presidential candidate. If it were up to him, Smith said he would have a parliamentary system of government.. Good Morn. America -- (11/2/76)

WeatherGood Election Day Weather Throughout U.S.

Light snow ended in New England and a few showers dampened the Great Lakes region Tuesday, but fair skies and mild temperatures greeted voters in most of the nation, bolstering hopes of record Election Day turnouts in several states.

"There may be some cloudiness in some areas and a little rain in the Great Lakes and the Northwest, but nobody'll have to swim or shovel their way to the polls and in most places it'll be ideal Election Day weather," a national weather service spokesman said. AP,UPI,Morning shows -- (11/2/76)



Ford Winds Up Campaign with Teary Homecoming

Choked up and teary-eyed over the emotional outpouring at his homecoming, President Ford wound up his campaign "solidly confident" of winning a four-year term of his own Tuesday.

"He's solidly confident," said one of Ford's top aides, as most national polls forecast a photo-finish.

Ford was emotionally drained when he arrived in Grand Rapids at the end of a 10-day final campaign journey which took him from coast to coast, covering close to 16,000 miles.

His voice was hoarse, he looked fatigued but was filled with nostalgia when he was cheered by thousands of friends who welcomed him home with a parade and a rally in front of the Pantlind Hotel. There Ford threw away his prepared remarks and nearly broke down when he reached the podium with his wife Betty by his side.

Gerald Ford "never had a homecoming like this," Phil Jones said. In the 15,000 miles he has traveled in his last campaign swing, the President has not seen such a "friendly" crowd. (CBS)

His voice breaking, Ford said, "I've made a lot of speeches and this is the hardest one to make because as I look out in this audience, and as I saw so many people... Democrats, Independents, Republicans -- people that Betty and I lived with, that Betty and I love, that I tried to help over the years when I had the honor of representing this great Congressional district..." (Morning shows)

His wife Betty grabbed him and kissed him. Many in the crowd chanted, "Ford, Ford, Ford." (ABC, NBC)

And he replied, "Let's go, let's go, let's go." Then, using a phrase that has come into his campaign often since he began campaigning with Joe Garagiola, he said, "All right, all right."

Ford clearly was worried. His closest friends in Grand Rapids and the Republican polls in Michigan were telling him that the state was going to be a "squeaker."

The Market Research Opinion poll showed Ford only one point ahead of Carter in the countdown, while he had been eight points ahead a few weeks ago. Sen. Robert Griffin, talking to reporters, also made it clear the Ford camp was worried about Michigan.

While Ford was making his final appearances in Grand Rapids, Carter invaded his opponent's state to make an 11th-hour bid for votes in Flint, Mich., where unemployment was high because of auto industry layoffs. The United Auto Workers Union, which backs Carter, also has been drumming up the vote in Michigan. AP,UPI,Morning shows -- (11/2/76)

Dole Ends Bid on Truman's Turf

Robert Dole ended his sometimes chaotic and often provocative campaign Monday night with a well-orchestrated rally in front of a Harry Truman statue.

Flying back to his native Kansas, Dole was welcomed by about 1,000 citizens of Leavenworth, Kansas, and then drove to Truman's home town near Kansas City.

"As you know, President Ford is a great admirer of Harry Truman," he said, addressing the crowd directly beneath the statue of the Democratic president.

"Both became President against their will. Both had tough opponents. Both were given no chance to win. Tomorrow, President Ford will complete the comparison by winning over tremendous odds."

Dole promised that Ford would return to the Kansas City area where they were nominated for a "giant victory party." AP,UPI,Morning shows -- (11/2/76)

PFC Telegram Criticizes Plains Church

The PFC sent some 400 telegrams to black ministers around the nation Sunday seeking to exploit politically an incident involving the Plains, Ga., Baptist Church of which Jimmy Carter is a member.

The telegram, signed by James Baker, suggested that if Carter could not manage the affairs of his own church, he could not be expected to manage national issues and Congress.

Martin Dinkins, national director of the Ford committee's "black desk," said Monday that the telegrams were "sent in response to a number of calls we got about why the church was closed."

"It was also in response to a number of ministers who were quite enraged and wanted to know if this is true," Dinkins said.

Dinkins said that although the Plains incident "is a racist attempt to obviously embarrass the man... the simple thing to do was to have the men come into the church."

Dinkins, who helped compose the telegram, also said he did not know who authorized the telegrams.

Peter Teeley, deputy press secretary for the PFC, said he did not know who authorized them. He said he might find out later today.

William Greener, the chief spokesman for the PFC, said in Grand Rapids, Mich., "I've been out on the road. I don't know what the Washington staff has been doing." AP, UPI, Good Morn. America -- (11/2/76)

Dole Reflects on Campaign

Sen. Robert Dole said early today "If we win (the election) it's going to be remarkable."

But the Republican candidate said if he does become vice president, "I'll probably be very active" in trying to broaden the base of the party to include more minorities.

Dole was going home to Russell, Kan., where it was "Bob Dole Day," to vote at Simpson Elementary School and then fly back to Washington after a 44-state, 62,000-mile campaign.

He will watch the election returns with President Ford at the White House and appear with him at a GOP "victory celebration" at Washington's Sheraton-Park Hotel.

In a low key chat before he retired early this morning, Dole assessed his role in the campaign: "In a positive way I've taken a lot of heat and left the President to be free to be President, to stay in the White House. I've been out on the firing line. I haven't retreated from that."

"The race," he said, "is close enough, and it seems to me if we win it's going to be remarkable. If we lose there'll be a lot of Monday morning quarterbacking. Over all, I'd say it's been a good campaign."

He said Ford is "comfortable with what I've done and what I will do." UPI -- (11/2/76)

Carter Brings Campaign to Close

Jimmy Carter ended his 22 month campaign for the presidency Monday night before a cheering crowd in President Ford's home state of Michigan, proclaiming "We're going to win tomorrow."

Carter hugged running mate Walter Mondale as a jammed packed crowd of about 7,000 in a union hall cheered in a deafening roar.

Carter shouted "Are we going to win tomorrow?" and the crowd roared. He shouted again, "Are we going to carry Michigan tomorrow?" and the crowd roared again. (NBC,CBS)

Hundreds of balloons poured down on the two candidates as they joined hands and flashed their fingers in a "V" for victory sign.

Carter's Flint, Mich. rally was probably the "most enthusiastic I've ever seen" in his campaign, Ed Bradley said. (CBS)

Carter and his wife returned to their home in Plains, Ga., last night. They were up early this morning to cast their votes along with their son Chip and his wife. (Morning shows) AP,UPI,Morning shows -- (11/2/76)

Mondale Spends Quiet Election Day

At the end of nearly three months and some 54,000 miles of campaigning, Sen. Walter Mondale came home early today to a small frame house overlooking his beloved St. Croix River to await an election that could change his life.

Mondale was to vote shortly after 8 a.m. EST in this small town about 35 miles west of Minneapolis. Then the Democratic vice presidential candidate goes to the dentist, his cousin, Dr. Roger Mondale; attends a private staff luncheon, and cloisters himself at home to rest and enjoy his family.

Mondale joined Carter in Flint, Mich., for a wild Democratic rally in a labor auditorium.

Mondale, clearly thrilled by the response of his supporters in Ford's home state, said he was confident Carter can win Michigan and the election and told the crowd the GOP is "praying for apathy" but will be surprised by a large voter turnout. AP, UPI, Good Morn. America, Today Show -- (11/2/76)

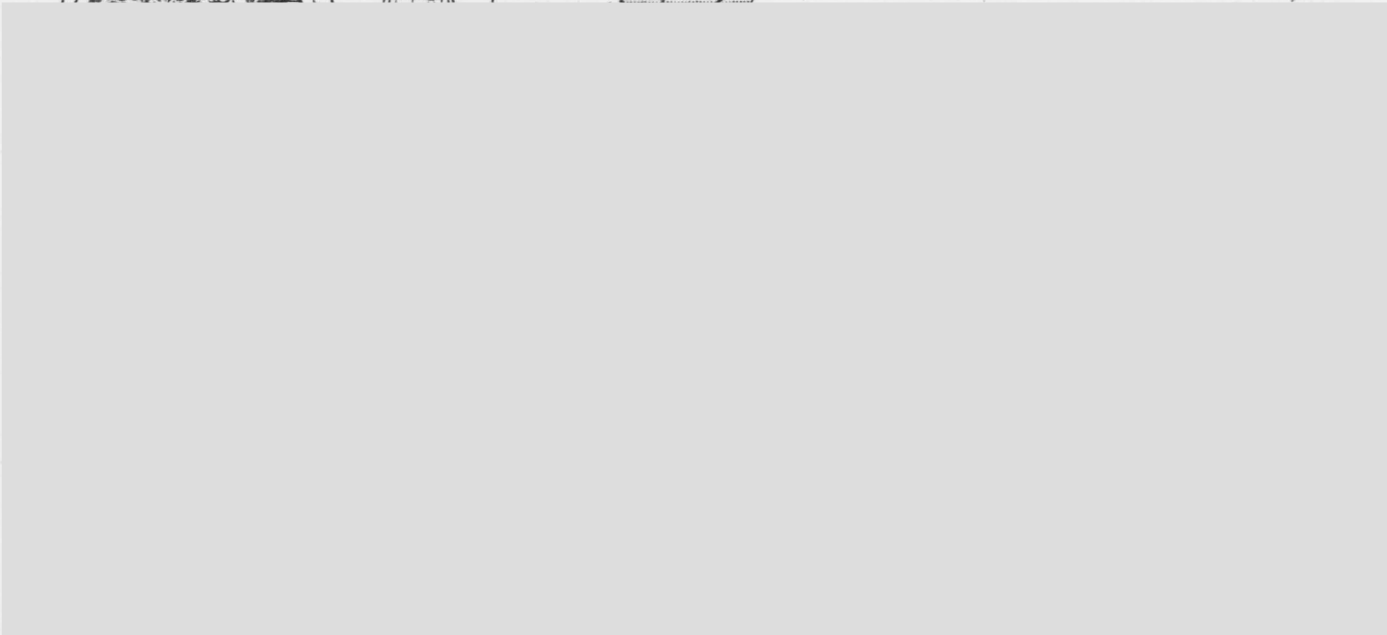
Mr. Carter's racist church

The sad spectacle of a church locking its doors and cancelling Sunday services rather than admit four blacks would be distressing to Christians anywhere it happened. That it was Jimmy Carter's

Mr. Carter's mother, "Miss Lillian" Carter, said Sunday she would not remain in the church if it continued to forbid membership to blacks. Yet such a policy can hardly have escaped her no-



The Chicago Tribune, 11/2/76



"Well ah don't see anythin' in the church rules about this.
Ah think we better call a quick business meeting!"

The Chicago Tribune, 11/2/76

FORD ENDORSEMENTS

ALABAMA

Birmingham News
 Birmingham Post-Herald
 Selma Times Journal
 Tuscaloosa News
 Dothan Eagle
 Mobile Press Register
 Enterprise Daily Ledger

ALASKA

Anchorage Daily News

ARIZONA

Arizona Republic
 Phoenix Gazette
 Arizona Daily Star

ARKANSASCALIFORNIA

Glendale News Press
 Oakland Tribune
 San Diego Union and Tribune
 San Francisco Chronicle
 San Jose Mercury and News
 Sacramento Union
 Los Angeles Herald Examiner
 Palm Springs Desert Sun
 Victorville Daily Press
 Berkeley Gazette
 Pasadena Star News
 San Jose News
 Redding Record
 Imperial Valley Press
 San Francisco Progress (Weekly)
 Fullerton Daily News Tribune
 Contra Costa Times, Walnut Creek Ca.
 South Bay Breeze
 Long Beach Independent Press
 Bakersfield Californian
 Santa Cruz Sentinel
 Stockton Record
 Palo Alto Times
 Merced Sun Star Daily
 The Argus
 Haywood Daily Review

CALIF. (Cont.)

Redwood City Tribune
 San Mateo Times
 Corona Daily Independent
 Fresno Guide
 Escondido Times Advocate
 Santa Monica Outlook
 San Francisco Examiner-10/31

COLORADO

Rocky Mountain News

CONNECTICUT

Hartford Courant
 New Haven Register
 Waterbury Republican
 Farming Valley Herald
 Norwich Bulletin
 Groton News

DELAWARE

Wilmington News Journal
 Newark Weekly

FLORIDA

Florida Times-Union at
 Jacksonville
 Polk County Democrat at
 Bastow
 Lake City Reporter
 Stuart News
 Sarasota Herald-Tribune
 Sarasota Journal
 Miami Herald
 Orlando Sentinel Star
 Tallahassee Democrat
 Tampa Times
 Tampa Tribune
 Pompano Beach Sun-Sentinel
 Ft. Lauderdale News
 Winter Garden Times
 Ft. Myers News Press
 Pensacola News-Journal

GEORGIA

Albany Herald
 Atlanta Daily World

GEORGIA (Cont.)

Augusta Chronicle Herald
 (Combined Sunday Edition)
 (2 Papers)
 Bainbridge Post Searchlight
 Marietta Journal
 Rome News Tribune
 Savannah News and Press
 (Combined Sunday Edition)
 La Grange Daily News
 South Cobb Today
 Brunswick News
 Statesboro Herald

HAWAII

IDAHO

ILLINOIS

Chicago Tribune
 Springfield Journal Register
 Bellville News Democrat
 Quincy Herald Whig
 Wilmington Pantagraph
 Chicago Metro News
 Ottawa Daily Times

INDIANA

Lafayette Journal and Courier
 Evansville Press
 La Porte Herald -Argus
 Gary Post Tribune-10/29
 Fort Wayne News-Sentinel
 Columbus Republic
 Lebanon Reporter
 Logansport Tribune and Press
 Elkhart Truth
 Goshen News
 New Albany Tribune-10/31
 Noblesville Ledger
 Kokomo Tribune-10/29
 Terre Haute Star
 Vincennes Sun Commercial
 Hammond Times-10/31
 Michigan City News-Dispatch
 Bedford Times-Mail
 Bloomington Herald Tribune
 Valparaiso Vidette-Messenger
 Indianapolis Star

IOWA

Oskaloosa Herald
 Quad City Times
 Cedar Rapids Gazette

KANSAS

Salina Journal
 Topeka Capital Journal
 Kansas City Star-10/28
 (Mo. Paper)
 Olathe Daily News

KENTUCKY

LOUISIANA

Shreveport Journal
 Shreveport Times
 New Orleans Times-Picayune
 Baton Rouge Morning Advocate
 Baton Rouge State Times
 Monroe Morning World
 Monroe New Star
 Lafayette Daily Advertiser-10/31
 Bogalusa Daily News
 Crowley Post Signal
 Minden Press Herald

Weeklies

Mansfield Enterprise
 West Carroll Gazette
 Concordia Sentinel

MAINE

Main Sunday Telegram
 Bangor Daily News-10/30
 Portland Press Herald
 Kennebunk York County
 Coast Star

MARYLAND

Baltimore Evening Sun
 Baltimore New-American
 Baltimore Sun
 Anne Arundel Times

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston Herald-American
 Lowell Sun
 S. Middlesex News
 Springfield Union

MASSACHUSETTS (Cont.)

Malden News
Medford Mercury
Melrose News
Attleboro Sun Chronicle
Lynn Stem.
Cape Cod Times
Clinton Daily Item
(Partial-some issues)

MICHIGAN

Detroit News
Lansing Daily World
Lansing State Journal
Oakland Press
Traverse City Record-Eagle
Benton Harbor News -Palladium
Grand Rapids Press
Polish Daily News
(largest Polish paper in the U.S.)
Battle Creek Inquirer and News

MINNESOTA

St. Cloud Times
Austin Herald
Mankato Free Press
St. Paul Pioneer

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson Daily News
Natchez Democrat
Vicksburg Post
Sun Senti a l, Somner, Miss.
Mississippi Press
Jackson Clarian Ledger

MISSOURI

St. Louis Globe-Democrat
Springfield News Leader
Kansas City Star
Independence Examiner

MONTANA

Great Falls Tribune

NEBRASKA

Lincoln Evening Journal
Alliance Times-Herald
Beatrice Sun
Grand Island Independent

NEBRASKA (Cont.)

Holdredge Citizen
McCook Gazette
North Platte Telegraph
Omaha World Herald
Scottsbluff Star-Herald
York News-Times

NEVADA

Elko Free Press

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Manchester Union Leader
Nashua Telegraph
Portsmouth Herald

NEW JERSEY

Elizabeth Daily Journal
Bridgewater Courier News
Patterson News

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque Journal

NEW YORK

Buffalo Courier Express
Buffalo Evening News
New York Daily News
Syracuse Herald American
Syracuse Post Standard
Rochester Times Union
Albany Times-Union
Westchester Rockland Chain
New Rochelle Standard-Star
Mount Vernon Argus
Mamaroneck Times
Nyack Rockland Journal-News
Ossining Citizen-Register
Port Chester Item
Tarrytown News
White Plains Reporter Dispatch
Yonkers Herald Statesman

NORTH CAROLINA

Winston-Salem Journal
Wilmington Star-News
Charlotte News

NORTH DAKOTA

OHIO

Cleveland Plain Dealer
Columbus Dispatch
Columbus Citizen Journal
Dayton Journal Herald
Cleveland Press
Chillicothe Gazette
Cincinnati Enquirer
Cincinnati Post
Sandusky Register
Ripley Bee
Canton Repository
Wooster Daily Record
Findlay Courier
Westerville Public Opinion
Cincinnati Forest Hills Journal (weekly)

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City Oklahoman
Tulsa World
Ponca City News
Tulsa Tribune

OREGON

Portland Oregonian
Corvallis Gazette-Times
Albany Democrat-Herald
Ashland Daily Tidings
Eugene Register-Guard
Grants Pass Courier
Klamath Falls Herald and News
Salem Statesman
Hillsboro Argus (Tues./Thurs.)

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia Inquirer
Pittsburgh Press
Scranton Tribune
Lancaster New Era & Intelligencer

RHODE ISLAND

Providence Sunday Bulletin
Newport Daily News
Pawtucket Times

SOUTH CAROLINA

The Columbia Record

SOUTH DAKOTA

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga News Free Press
Memphis Commercial Appeal
Memphis Press-Scimitar
Nashville Banner
Johnson City Press-Chronicle
Morristown Citizen Tribune
Elizabethton Star
Greenville Sun
Kingsport Daily News-10/31
Knoxville Journal
Knoxville News-Sentinel
Maryville-Alcoa Times
Paris Post-Intelligencer
Murfreesboro News-Journal
Oak Ridge Oak Rider
Harriman Today's News
Erwin Record (Weekly)
Fayetteville Elk Valley Times
(Weekly)
Jonesboro Herald and Tribune
(Weekly)

TEXAS

Dallas Morning News
Dallas Times Herald
Galveston Daily News
Houston Chronicle
Lubbock Avalanche Journal
Tyler Courier Times
Tyler Morning Telegraph
Abilene Reporter News
Amarillo Globe Times
Athens Review
Barger News-Herald
Corsicana Sun
Denton Record-Chronicle
Ft. Worth Star-Telegram
Amarillo News
Gainesville Register
Kilgore News Herald
Midland Reporter-Telegram
Plainview Herald
Langview News
Lufkin News
Tyler Courier-Times
Sulphur Springs News-Telegram
Marshall News Messenger will
endorse-10/31

TEXAS (Cont.)

Kerrville Times-10/31 San Antonio Light
Port Arthur News
Rosenburg Herald-Coaster
Sherman Democrat-10/31
Victoria Advocate
Longview Journal
Tyler Telegraph
Beaumont Enterprise-Journal

UTAH

VERMONT

Vermont Sunday News
Burlington Free Press

VIRGINIA

Charlottesville Daily Progress
Richmond News Leader
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Radford News Journal
Stanton News Leader
Newport News Press & Times Herald
Danville Bee
Danville Register
Norfolk Ledger Star
Mecklenburg News (Weekly) (chain)
Chase City Progress (Weekly) (chain)
Roanoke Times and World News

WASHINGTON

Centralia-Chehalis Chronicle
Longview News
Suagit Valley Herald (Mount Vernon)
Walla Walla Union-Bulletin
Wentachee World
Port Angeles Daily News

Weeklies

Auburn Globe News
Camas Washoual Post-Record
Chela Valley Record
Cheney Free Press
Colfax Gazette
Conney (Franklin County) Graphic
Dayton Chronicle
Enumclaw Courier Herald
Fairchild Times
Goldendale Centennial
Kent News Journal
Lacey Leader

Lynden Tribune
Marysville Globe
Morton Journal
Mt. Vernon Argus
Renton Record Chronicle
Seattle Magnolia News
Seattle Queen Ann News
Seattle Journal Papers
West Seattle Herald
Sunnyside Sun
East County News (Vancouver)
Waterville Empire Press
Wilbur Register
Woodland Lewis River News
Yelm-Nisqually Valley News

WEST VIRGINIA

WISCONSIN

Monroe Times
Madison State Journal
Milwaukee Sentinel
Appleton Post-Crescent
Janesville Gazette
Green Bay Press Gazette
Wisconsin State Journal
(Madison)
Fond Du Lac Reporter
Oneida News (Rhinelander)
Kenosha News
Wisconsin Rapids Tribune
West Bend News
Wausau Herald
Oshkosh Northwestern
Racine Journal Times
Shawano Leader
Marinette Eagle-Star

WYOMING

Casper Star-Tribune
D.C.

CARTER ENDORSEMENTS

ALABAMA

Huntsville Times
 Anniston Star
 Athens News Courier
 Cullman Times
 Decatur Daily
 Florence Times Daily
 Huntsville News
 Montgomery Advertiser
 Alabama Journal

ALASKAARIZONAARKANSAS

Arkansas Gazette
 Pine Bluff Commercial
 Jonesboro Sun

CALIFORNIA

Fresno Bee
 Modesto Bee
 Sacramento Bee
 Riverside Press-Enterprise

COLORADO

Denver Post

CONNECTICUTDELAWAREFLORIDA

Daytona Beach News Herald
 Miami News
 St. Petersburg Times
 Cocoa Today
 Palm Beach Post
 Daytona Beach News Journal
 Lakeland Ledger

GEORGIA

Atlanta Constitution
 Atlanta Journal
 Cartersville Tribune News
 Columbus Enquirer
 Columbus Ledger
 Dalton Citizen News
 Macon Telegraph, News
 Moultrie Observer
 Waycross Journal Herald
 Valdosta Daily Times
 Daily Tifton Gazette
 Swinett Daily News
 America's Times-Recorder

HAWAIIIDAHOILLINOIS

Chicago Daily News
 Chicago Sun-Times

INDIANAIOWA

Des Moines Register

KANSAS

Hutchinson News

KENTUCKY

Louisville Courier Journal, Times

LOUISIANAMAINEMARYLAND

Annapolis Evening Capital

CARTER ENDORSEMENTS

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston Globe
 Springfield Daily News
 Berkshire Eagle
 Southbridge Evening News

MICHIGAN

Bay City Times
 Detroit Free Press

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis Star
 Minneapolis Tribune

MISSISSIPPIMISSOURI

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

MONTANANEBRASKA

Lincoln Star

NEVADANEW HAMPSHIRENEW JERSEYNEW MEXICO

Santa Fe New Mexican

NEW YORK

Binghamton Sun-Bulletin
 Long Island Press
 New York Times
 Saratoga Springs Saratogian
 Staten Island Advance
 New York Post
 Albany Knickerbocker News

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte Observer
 The Greensboro

NORTH DAKOTAOHIO

Akron Beacon-Journal
 Dayton Daily News

OKLAHOMAOREGON

Oregon Journal
 Wilamette Week
 Salem Statesman
 Daily Astorian

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia Daily News
 Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
 Scranton Times

RHODE ISLANDSOUTH CAROLINASOUTH DAKOTATENNESSEE

Nashville Tennessean
 Chattanooga Times
 Clarksville Leaf Chronicle
 Columbia Record
 Jackson Sun
 Ashland City Times (Weekly)
 Clinton Courier-New (Weekly)
 Dover Stewart-Houston Times (Weekly)
 Dickson Herald (Weekly)
 Gallatin Examiner (Weekly)
 Gallatin Sumner County News (Weekly)
 Goodlettsville Gazette (Weekly)

TEXAS

Austin American-Statesman
 Corpus Christi Times
 Edinburg Review
 Jacksonville Progress
 San Antonio Express News (10/31)

CARTER ENDORSEMENTS

UTAHVERMONTVIRGINIAWASHINGTONAberdeen World

Ocean Shore North Beach Beacon (Weekly)

Stanwood News (Weekly)

Tacoma Northwest Airlifter (Weekly)

Tacoma Suburban Times (Weekly)

WEST VIRGINIAWISCONSINPortage Register

Madison Capital Times

Milwaukee Journal

Baraboo News Republic

WYOMINGDISTRICT OF COLUMBIAMISCELLANEOUS

McClatchy Chain

Welfare Rolls Dip to Lowest Level in 18 Mos.

Welfare rolls have dipped to the lowest level in 18 months, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare said Tuesday.

The 11 million recipients of aid to families with dependent children last June were the fewest since January 1975.

Robert Fulton, Administrator of HEW's Social and Rehabilitation Service, credited the decline to "a stronger economy, the ongoing national drive to weed out ineligible from the rolls, implementation at state, local and federal levels of the new federal child support law, and a continuing decline in the average number of children in families receiving public assistance." AP,UPI,Morning shows -- (11/2/76)

News & Comment

The President's Daily News Summary



Leading The News...

FOR TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1976

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"We Will Need A Presidency of Substantial Power"	U.S. News & World Report	23-25

FORD: 'IT'S A HORSE RACE'

Q. *Mr. President, would you sum up and assess your feelings about this campaign?*

A. Considering the real tough primary and the preconvention battle we had, and where we were when we went to Kansas City, I'm not only pleased but amazed at the kind of progress we've made. I think it's a real horse race. We have the momentum going. I'm confident that we're going to continue to make headway, and I think we've got time to win.

Q. *Do you still consider yourself the underdog?*

A. A very slight underdog. At this stage of the campaign, I'd rather have the momentum going up, rather than being where my opponent is—sliding down and trying to hold the lead. Our people are enthusiastic. They're confident, while I detect that [the Carter people] are getting in some disarray.

Q. *This is your first campaign for the presidency. How do you feel about it in personal or emotional terms?*

A. There have been some personal things that are very satisfying: the fact that all of our family has gotten so deeply involved. All of the children have done so exceedingly well. It's brought the family closer together. It's shown, I think, what good kids they are—loyal. It's one of those things that has shown that as a family they were brought up in the right atmosphere, so that when the chips were down, we've really been able to hold together. It's made Betty and myself feel very good inside.

Q. *What are the principal differences between you and Carter on domestic policy?*

A. There are some very fundamental differences. He hasn't been too specific, but I've gone back and reread what his principal economic adviser, Mr. [Lawrence] Klein, has said. He says there will be no tax reduction because Mr. Carter is committed to the spending programs that are embraced in the Democratic platform. That's an honest position, but it's a position totally different from mine, and in order to prevent inflation as he spends more and has no tax reduction, he wants stand-by wage and price controls. I think that would be a disaster. The minute you get stand-by wage and price controls, people are going to be fearful, both labor and management, that we might have them imposed, so they say, "We're going to raise prices," or "We're going to fight for higher wages."

Our program is significantly different. We would really continue the restraint on the rate of growth of federal spending. We've made a good start. We've got to do better, but as we do it, we've got then to put the emphasis on tax reduction, particularly in the middle-income groups. Those people have been shortchanged. They think they deserve a break, and I think they do. We're going to fight for them. And if you restrain the spending, you can have that kind of tax reduction.

Q. *What are the most important differences between yourself and Governor Carter on foreign policy?*

A. There's a vast difference in terms of the issue of experience. There is [my] substantive personal experience in meeting the leaders of nations, whether they're adversaries or allies. It would take Mr. Carter some time to establish those kinds of relationships.

Also, I don't think he can implement a foreign policy

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with the kind of success we need with his attitude toward defense. He just can't do what he says he's going to do in the national defense area and be able to convince our allies we mean business, or handle our problems with our adversaries effectively. His latest figure [for reducing the rise in the defense budget] is \$5 billion to \$6 billion. There isn't a single knowledgeable person in this business who says it's possible—and achieve what we have to accomplish in maintaining the peace or meeting any challenge. You just can't do it.

Q. *Looking at the trouble spots around the world, where do you think the most important differences are?*

A. In the case of the Middle East, [Carter] really hasn't been very specific. I don't think he really understands the basic successes of the Geneva Conference and the Sinai II agreement, and the need to capitalize on that momentum, or what most experts would agree is the requirement for a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. It's very complicated. It requires some really fundamental understanding of the relations of Israel to Syria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, plus the complicating factor in Lebanon. In that area, we both may have the same objectives, but I don't think he understands all the complications. And we can't afford to lose time.

In southern Africa, we have the trust of the Rhodesian government, the South African government, the front-line nations. We have a reservoir of support in the black African nations. If [the U.S.] puts a new player in the game—I'm not sure that we can keep that momentum going which is so critical.

In relations with the Soviet Union, there's a very key difference. I negotiated in Vladivostok a freeze on launchers and multiple warheads which resulted in the Soviet Union having to cut back about 200 launchers from their projected program, and it didn't have any adverse impact at all on our projected buildup, while Mr. Carter—I think very mistakenly, and I guess it's a lack of knowledge—wants to put a freeze on. [The SALT agreement reached at Vladivostok in 1974 limits both the U.S. and the Soviet Union to 2,400 strategic bombers and missiles and forbids each nation to arm more than 1,320 missiles with multiple warheads.]

What's he doing? He's freezing the Soviet Union at 200 launchers above the Vladivostok figure that I achieved, and he wants to freeze us at a point where we haven't yet built up to the limit that we can have under Vladivostok. So I think it's just a lack of knowledge, and it's a very unwise position for him. It gives the Soviets more and it tends to handicap us.

On the P.R.C. [People's Republic of China], I don't discern any significant differences.

Q. *This is your first travel around the country as a national candidate. What do you think about the country?*

A. I think it's a country of 215 million wonderful people. The fact that they have such a totally different attitude today from what they had in 1974 is really an inspiration to me, and I happen to think it's one of the most significant accomplishments of the 26 months I've been President.

Q. *What has your travel taught you about yourself?*

A. I guess I've learned that you have to live with the bad, that you can't let one mistake destroy your confidence in yourself. Lots of outstanding people have made some mistakes in the past. The good ones come back. You don't let a bad pitch destroy your ball game.

Q. *What have you learned about your opponent?*

A. I'd rather not get into that.

Ford at the Wire

Philadelphia

Six days before the end of this miserable presidential election campaign, Gerald Ford was half through a road trip that had turned out to be fundamentally phony. In glimpses caught on television screens at stops along the Ford route, Jimmy Carter appeared to be cautious to the point of fright and to be justifying the skepticism about him that reporters traveling with him reflected in published accounts and in conversations. A choice between this unimpressive pair being obligatory, I choose Carter. With that said, I move on to my proper business, which is to note some impressions of the President and of his performance during the 10 days before the election.

The road trip that was to take the President through Virginia, the Carolinas, California, Washington state and Oregon and back to the capital by way of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas and New York was phony because the conventional rallies and other events that occurred along the way were props for something else. The something else was a series of 30-minute television interviews for which the White House campaign adjunct, the President Ford Committee, had bought air time in states that Mr. Ford would have to carry if he was to have a chance of election. The interviews were supplemented with shorter TV and radio "spots" in a massive electronic blitz that would close the evening before the election with a half-hour on each of the three national networks. Taped shots of the President on the hustings, with his family and with accompanying dignitaries, padded out the first of the 30-minute interviews. They were conducted by Joe Garagiola, a retired baseball player turned sportscaster who traveled with the President. He would have done the work for free if his union had not required him to charge the PFC a minimum fee of \$360 for each interview. Garagiola was regarded with considerable scorn by professional journalists, but they missed the point. The point was that, in the first Garagiola-Ford interviews the true Jerry Ford came across as he'd never come across from interviews with orthodox and certified journalists. The explanation begins with the fact that Joe Garagiola in his televised self proved to be a slightly modified Archie Bunker. He boasted of his ignorance of complex issues and invited the President to explain them in terms that ignoramuses like Joe could understand. Mr. Ford obliged, in terms that didn't explain anything but satisfied his pal Joe. Watching the President and Joe together on the screen, manifestly and perfectly at ease with each other, one realized that Gerald Ford really is Archie Bunker, slightly modified, and that he was depending for election upon the nation's Bunkers in their numerous variations.

A realization that this was a campaign trip only in the most nominal sense and was actually designed to provide taped scenes and other material for the television and radio scripts on which the Ford Campaign Committee was spending some four million dollars in the last 10 days was necessary if anyone on the road with the President was to retain sanity. It was also the occasion for bows and bids to interest groups that would have been roundly denounced if anyone interested in denouncing such behavior had bothered to notice. In Portland, at a regional convention of the National Association of Broadcasters, 13 of 14 questions addressed to the President during what was intended to be a news conference were crassly self-interested. Print reporters in the traveling press party were outraged and broadcast reporters were either embarrassed or moved to remind each other that nothing better was to be expected from the owners and managers in their industry. When NAB president Vincent Wasilewski tried to terminate the exhibition, Mr. Ford said "I am enjoying this" and invited more questions of the kind he had been getting. When press secretary Ron Nessen was asked whether questions of this sort had been anticipated, he said it was natural for broadcast executives to raise with the President matters of concern to them. In short, the meeting had been arranged to provide station owners and executives a chance to lobby the US President.

Some of the appearances were merely weird. In Chicago, during an afternoon chiefly devoted to preparing the second of his television sessions with Joe Garagiola, the President visited the home office of the Allstate Insurance Company, conferred with members of its executive committee, and addressed some of its employees in the headquarters cafeteria. Apart from a reiteration of his opposition to federalized health care, nothing in the President's remarks particularly concerned the insurance industry. He delivered essentially the speech that he had just delivered to a crowd in the central building of the Ford City Mall in Burbank, a Chicago suburb. The Ford City Mall is a huge shopping center, connected only by name with Gerald Ford. The acoustics in the closed space where the President spoke were terrible. A steady roar of indistinguishable chatter all but obliterated the President's remarks. "Listen very carefully," he said, thrusting his right forefinger at the

noisy crowd. The tumult was unabated and Mr. Ford frowned, looking as if he'd just realized that nobody was listening very carefully. He grimly recited his central point—"my idea of tax reform is tax reduction"—and hastened through the similar profundities that comprised his standard rally speech.

A visit to a Jones & Laughlin steel plant near Pittsburgh puzzled the accompanying press. The visit occurred between shift changes, the workers present were working and had no time for handshakes, and Mr. Ford didn't appear to be any more interested in them than they were in him. He watched, and cameras

A FORD ADMINISTRATION

There would be no revolutionary changes, no wrenching of Government. He might tinker a little bit, but it would be within the confines of a tight budget.

So says a top Republican strategist about what Gerald Ford would—and would not—do if he is elected. Since Ford has portrayed himself throughout the campaign as the champion of limited Government, he would interpret a victory as proof that the people want Washington to play a diminished role in their lives, and he would surely be emboldened to fight even harder for his policies of restraint.

Ford would try to cut red tape, consolidate existing programs, reduce Government regulation of business and farming, and eliminate bureaucratic overlap. But there would be no bold, new social programs to grapple with the problems of the disadvantaged. Ford believes that the growth of Government spending is not only the main cause of inflation, which he feels is the nation's primary economic problem, but is also a trend that could eventually alter the American free enterprise system beyond recognition. The President says he aims to balance the budget in fiscal 1979, a feat that is probably impossible.

Thus a Ford victory would almost certainly produce a battle of the Potomac: the White House v. the Democratic Congress. On the key issue of fighting unemployment, Congress wants to create public service jobs, while Ford counts on an expanded economy to put more people to work in the private sector. The President's pay-as-you-go philosophy underlies his proposal to cut taxes by close to \$10 billion, but only if Congress agrees to reduce spending by a similar amount. Of course, Congress will not—and so it will go. Indeed, the fight has already begun. Congress has raised Ford's proposed budget for fiscal 1977 from \$394 billion to \$413 billion, and the key budget committees have indicated they will lift the ceiling again if the economy is still sluggish after Jan. 1.

Even if Ford wins an election mandate for the next four years and the Democratic majority in Congress is somewhat diminished, he will have a hard time because the Democrats will have fresh and tougher leadership on the Hill. The Speaker of the House will no longer be the amiable Carl Albert but Massachusetts' Thomas ("Tip") O'Neill, 63,

a shrewd liberal who will more aggressively challenge the White House. In the Senate, the favorite to replace Montana's scholarly and restrained Mike Mansfield as majority leader is West Virginia's Robert Byrd, 58, and he is also likely to push harder for social legislation that Ford would oppose. Then, too, if Carter is defeated, the Democrats' party leadership will be up for grabs. Potential Democratic candidates for the presidency in 1980—men like Senators Edward Kennedy and Fritz Mondale and Congressman Mo Udall—can be expected to sponsor bills to catch the fancy of the American voter. Ford probably would fight many of them, and Tip O'Neill, for one, doubts that the Democrats—despite their strength—would have the votes to override presidential vetoes. Says O'Neill: "Are we going into that frustration again? That anxiety? And more of the same old stalemate? It's sickening to think of it."

The President, who voted against Medicare when he was in the House, would oppose the kind of broad national health-insurance plan that liberal Democrats, including Ted Kennedy, have been advocating. Ford's rationale: the program is too expensive and too bureaucratic. Instead, Ford would press

his plan to insure some 25 million old and disabled people on Medicare against catastrophically expensive illnesses, guaranteeing that they would pay no more than \$750 a year for medical care covered by the plan. In return, Ford would boost fees paid by Medicare patients with shorter-term illnesses.

Instead of a large infusion of federal funds into housing, as many Democrats want, Ford would continue to urge Congress to legislate reductions in down payments for housing built with FHA loans. To help young buyers afford new homes, he would make their FHA mortgage payments relatively low at the start, then gradually increase the amount as time went on.

On energy policy, the President plans to urge the expansion of nuclear-power production and the development of offshore reserves and coal through Government-backed financial incentives and the lifting of certain environmental restrictions. To cut back consumption and give the companies the means and incentive to develop new domestic sources, Ford would continue to advocate the complete deregulation of oil and gas prices. This policy is sure to be fought by the Democratic Congress.

To combat crime Ford would propose laws imposing the death penalty for sabotage, treason, espionage and murder by a "cold-blooded, hired killer." He would also continue to endorse mandatory minimum sentences for drug trafficking, kidnaping and airplane hijacking. The President has already suggested a federally backed "insurance" program to compensate the victims of federal crimes, paying them up to \$50,000.

On the issue of race, Ford would not press communities—short of court orders—to integrate their schools by busing. Instead, he would extend his search for other ways of integrating schools and preserving their quality.

While he held the line elsewhere, the President would continue to advocate spending enough money to keep the U.S. strategic forces roughly equal to the Soviet Union's. He would fight for building the B-1 bomber; the giant, missile-carrying Trident submarine; the multiheaded, super accurate MX intercontinental missile; and the long-range cruise missile (which could be launched at Soviet targets from aircraft more than 1,000 miles away).

Détente, by whatever name, would remain the cornerstone of Ford's foreign policy. He says he would like to retain its chief architect, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. The President not only needs but genuinely likes to work with the intellectual Secretary, who is so unlike him in personality and background.

Although he still gets restless—and bristles at criticism—Kissinger would surely stay on if asked. He feels his job of redefining U.S. relations with the world is still uncompleted because of the interruption of Watergate and the diversion of the election. The Secretary, who has an acute sense of history and his own role in creating it, feels that shortly after the election he can persuade Ford to accept a compromise SALT agreement with the Russians, limiting strategic weapons. Kissinger also believes that an agreement could have been worked out before the election, but Ford held off, fearing that conservatives in both parties would charge him with having made too soft a deal with the Soviets—a claim that could have hurt his election chances. With the backing of Ford, Kissinger would also journey to China to meet Mao's successor, Hua Kuo-feng, work for a peaceful transition of power to the blacks

CARTER: 'I LEARNED A LOT'

Q. How would you sum up the campaign? What have been the important themes?

A. Well, we've maintained the same theme for the last two years: that our people have been hurt and alienated by Viet Nam, Cambodia, Watergate, CIA, Angola and so forth. They've been withdrawing from participation in Government. They've lost trust in public officials, and it is time for a basic change. My own background outside Washington as a former businessman and a nuclear engineer qualifies me to go in and make those basic changes.

There are three things in the Government that the people are looking for. One is confidence—to have a well-organized, efficient, economical, purposeful and manageable Government for a change. The second is that the Government be sensitive to people's needs. We need someone in the White House who understands the problems and needs and hopes and aspirations of the average American family. And the third thing is a basic sense of integrity, trust.

There ought to be additional openness in Government. Strip away secrecy. Have a greater respect for personal privacy.

Q. What are the principal differences between yourself and President Ford on foreign policy?

A. One is that our foreign policy has been conducted almost exclusively by Henry Kissinger. I don't think Mr. Ford has any interest in foreign policy. Mr. Kissinger is a very secretive man. He's inclined to play a lonely role in the evolution of foreign policy. There's no consistency in it. There's no predictability about it. There's no broad theme about it; and in many instances we've abandoned the basic character and principles of the American people in the evolution and consummation of foreign policy. I would restore bipartisan support for our foreign policy and let the American people be involved as deeply as possible.

When we negotiate a treaty, obviously we can't have a press release every day telling what the status of it is. But after a treaty or an agreement is concluded, a complete revelation ought to be made to the American people.

I would also get away from the power-bloc delineation, with us on one side, the Soviets on the other, and all the other nations forced to align themselves pro or con. I would deal much more on a bilateral basis with individual nations. I would be much more inclined to have our country re-establish firm and predictable consultative relationships with our natural allies—Western Europe, Canada, Mexico and Japan. I would move aggressively to stop the proliferation of atomic weapons. I have proposed, in definitive terms I believe, in speeches at the United Nations and subsequent events, eleven different things that ought to be done to hold down just a peaceful proliferation of plutonium and other atomic wastes, with a moratorium on the testing of all nuclear devices and with a prohibition against the sale of atomic fuel to countries that don't agree to prevent changing their waste into atomic explosives.

I would not see any need in the future for additional grain embargoes. We've had three since Mr. Ford's been in office, none of which were necessary. I would try to strengthen trade. We've relegated foreign trade to a secondary position in our country for too long, and we now have a very severe balance of trade deficit.

Q. Is there a real difference between you and the President on whether the U.S. should give advance notice about where it is unwilling to use troops abroad?

A. No, I don't know of any difference that exists there. The President and Mr. Kissinger criticized my position on Yugoslavia, but on six different occasions since Mr. Ford has been in office, he has said flatly, "I would not send troops into this or that part of the world"—the Middle East, Rhodesia, Lebanon, Eastern Europe. On two other occasions, he said, "I would not send troops [to Angola and southern Africa]." But so far as I know, there is no difference between us on that.

Q. Given your lack of experience in foreign affairs, would you not defer to a Secretary of State who had more expertise than you?

A. I would defer to a Secretary of State and to many foreign policy experts in the evolution of my decisions, but I would be the spokesman for our country. I don't know of an instance in history where a President has completely turned over the foreign policy decision-making process and spokespersonship to a Secretary of State, as Mr. Ford has done with Mr. Kissinger.

Q. What are the differences between you and Gerald Ford on domestic policy?

A. Mr. Ford has no domestic policy, except one of complete negativism. He's had four times as many vetoes per year as Mr. Nixon ever had. He's had four times as great a deficit in his two years as Mr. Nixon ever had. He's not put forth a single viable proposal, so far as I know, in the area of employment, inflation, housing, education, transportation or energy.

Mr. Ford is a decent and honest man, but there's never been one effort on his part to accomplish a single major program. He's been in office, or will have been in office, as long as John Kennedy, but he tries to give the American people the impression that he just got there. In the field of crime, he made a speech about a month or two ago and said, "If I'm elected, in the first hundred days of my Administration I'm going to have an all-out war on crime." Why wait three years before you do anything about crime or unemployment? I would hope to be a strong leader and to put forth specific proposals for welfare reform, tax reform, Government reorganization, employment opportunities, housing, transportation and energy, as soon as I'm elected in some instances, as soon as I am inaugurated in others.

Q. In your travels, what have you learned about the country? Have you found that the American people are as good as you thought they were?

A. Obviously, individual Americans have selfish tendencies and fallibilities, but the cumulative character of the American people is basically unselfish, idealistic and honest. Our Government has not mirrored those characteristics in domestic or foreign affairs. The American people are competent, but we have come to the point where we are willing to accept incompetence in Government as normal. I don't agree with that. The average American wants very little from Government.

It used to be that we could set a goal for ourselves at the end of five or six years; with our savings we could make the down payment on a house, we could buy a new car in two years, we could be sure that we could put our kids through college. Now that has been wiped away by rampant inflation, which in this Administration has been at least three times what it was under President Johnson. There is no way to predict what is going to happen in the future.

Q. Have you learned anything about the country that you didn't know when you began?

Strategy

A CARTER ADMINISTRATION

From his first day in office, Jimmy Carter wants to be an activist, innovative President in the boat-rocking mold of Franklin Roosevelt. The U.S., Carter says, is best served by "a strong, independent and aggressive President, working with a strong, independent Congress." It is no mere oversight that he uses "aggressive" only to describe the office he seeks. He regards Congress as "inherently incapable of leadership"—particularly the kind of forceful leadership that he plans.

Confident of victory—some would say too confident—Carter in July assigned twelve bright young men, led by Atlanta Attorney Jack Watson, 38, to work out a blueprint for his first term as President. They have spent months consult-

ing with him and hundreds of experts for ideas about who should be hired for a Carter Administration and what policies they should pursue. Drawing from a computer bank of more than 1,000 names, Watson has already given Carter a lengthy list of possible appointees to the Cabinet and other key jobs. Now Watson and his team are finishing up a hefty background book of legislative proposals.

If Carter wins, his Administration will probably be full of surprises, both in policies and in personnel. No newly elected President acts quite the way voters expected. Moreover, like any newcomer—more so because he has no experience in Washington—Carter will require a lot of on-the-job training; he should need at least six months to a year to locate the power levers and learn how to pull them. He fully recognizes this problem; it is one reason why he does not expect to come

up with detailed proposals to carry out his promises to reorganize the Government and reform the tax structure until he has been in office for about a year. Still, Candidate Carter's speeches and interviews give a rough idea of the thrust he wants to give to his Administration.

The shape of his staff and Cabinet, if there is any yet, is known only to Carter. He has never promised his assistants anything in return for their hard work and has not told them what jobs they might get in his Administration. Carter's silence may account in part for a phenomenon newsmen have noticed: some of his aides seem to lack the usual driving desire to get into the White House.

For his Cabinet and other top personnel, Carter says, he is inclined "to go toward a new generation of leaders," including many women, blacks, other minorities and people with experience in state and local government. Hordes of Democratic veterans of Washington, out of power for years, want very much to be a part of the new Administration. Carter, of course, will call on some of them for appointments. But many of these Democrats are strangers to him, and he feels no obligation to recruit them. In any event, Carter despises self-lobbying. After he became Governor of Georgia, there was a good deal of bitterness when he bypassed some loyal but too pushy supporters in favor of outsiders. Moreover, as Carter frequently boasts, he owes almost nothing to the special interests or political bosses, so they will probably have little influence on his choices.

Trying to predict Carter's appointments is particularly tough, but speculation goes on. Former Pentagon Secretary James Schlesinger, New York City Lawyer Cyrus Vance and Columbia Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski are among the possibilities suggested for Secretary of State. Schlesinger, former Budget Director Charles Schultze and Caltech President Harold Brown have been mentioned as Secretary of Defense.

Other possibilities for Cabinet posts include United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, University of Pennsylvania Professor Lawrence Klein and Congressional Budget Director Alice Rivlin as chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, and Georgia Congressman Andrew Young, a black, as Ambassador to the United Nations or Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

Carter would select his White House aides primarily from his campaign staffers. They are predominantly people of considerable administrative and political ability but with little or no experience in national affairs. Campaign Director Hamilton Jordan, 32, was Carter's executive secretary as Governor, and may be headed for a similar job at the White House. Jody Powell, 33, would probably continue as press secretary. Administrative Assistant Greg Schneiders, 29, a restaurateur who began as Carter's baggage handler a year ago and quickly became a trusted adviser, has been mentioned by insiders as a possible appointments secretary but has hopes of a bigger job. Transition Coordinator Watson, who is Georgia's unpaid chairman of the department of human resources, could become Carter's chief adviser on legislative affairs.

Carter intends to make a sweeping change in the President's relationship with his staff and Cabinet. He has pledged to downgrade the role of most of his White House staff to "expeditors," give new emphasis to the Cabinet as the Administration's chief policymaking body, and use its members as his principal advisers. He has promised there would be no palace guard in the White House, no high chamberlain with the powers that H.R. Haldeman and Alexander Haig had under Richard Nixon. Instead, Carter would give three or four senior aides equal rank and, along with his Cabinet, equal access to him.

In making decisions, Carter has said he would call on his aides and Cabinet members for short oral reports or terse memos pulling together ideas and advice on a problem from as many points of view as possible. Then he would make the final decision essentially alone.

He would act quickly before his electoral mandate—however slim—and honeymoon with Congress are dissipated. In his first 100 days in office, Carter wants to:

- ▶ Ask Congress for the authority to reorganize the Executive Branch, subject only to a congressional veto. Ultimately, he wants to cut the 1,900 federal agencies to about 200; however, he has disclosed only a few details of his plans. He also proposes creating a Cabinet-level Department of Energy, spinning off an Education Department from HEW, removing the Attorney General from the Cabinet and giving him a term of five to seven years in order to free him from political influence.

- ▶ Grant a blanket pardon to the draft dodgers of the Viet Nam War. Also, he probably would set up review boards to decide the cases of war-era deserters and perhaps pardon those who went AWOL because of opposition to the war.

- ▶ Launch a year-long study of the federal tax structure to simplify the revenue system and eliminate some of the deductions, loopholes and tax shelters that are chiefly used by upper-income people.

Other Carter legislative proposals most likely would include national health insurance paid partly from new payroll taxes; a new welfare system that would replace all of the existing programs (food stamps, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, etc.) with a single cash payment that would vary regionally, according to the cost of living; and registration of all handguns. Carter, who says he

Carter Staff Is Getting Itchy to Make the Move to Washington

It is likely that a Carter White House would operate without a chief of staff and with ad hoc issue groups instead of a Domestic Council.

BY DOM BONAFEDE

ATLANTA—The jockeying among Jimmy Carter's campaign staff already has begun for positions close to the seat of power if Carter wins election on Nov. 2 as the 39th President of the United States.

Who comes out on top, as well as how Carter sets about organizing the White House staff and structure if he is elected, will tell much about the kind of President Carter would be and the kind of presidency the nation would have.

Interviews in this headquarters city of the Carter presidential campaign have disclosed the following:

- A Carter White House would have no chief of staff, according to current thinking; instead, several key aides would share access to the President. At the same time, Cabinet officers would be expected to act independently of the White House staff and have strong managerial responsibilities for their departments.

- The Domestic Council, a creation of President Nixon to help formulate domestic policy, might be abolished and replaced with ad hoc groups convened to handle specific problems and allowed to disappear when the problems are solved.

- Initial steps in the direction of reorganization of the federal government might be taken by executive action in advance of a request for a congressional grant of authority to complete the process.

- There is considerable bickering and even some bitterness between the Carter old guard—those who were with him since he began his bid for the presidency almost two years ago—and the campaign aides and advisers who signed on since it became clear late last spring that Carter would win the Democratic

nomination. The prizes at stake are positions of influence and prestige in a Carter Administration.

Preparation: Few presidential candidates have been so thoroughly prepared, organizationally and conceptually, to assume the presidency as Jimmy Carter. Anticipating victory over President Ford, Carter early in his campaign established a transition and policy planning program to enable him to move as smoothly as possible from the election to the inauguration and into his Administration.



Almost without exception, incoming Presidents have complained that the 2½ months between the election and their inauguration did not afford them adequate time to make crucial appointments, organize their Administration, set national priorities and conceive initial policy proposals. The transitional period is particularly inappropriate for the President-elect to make sound decisions because of the pressures made upon him and the confusion that surrounds him. As former Kennedy aide Theodore C. Sorensen has observed, a "sense of invincibility and infallibility" may also tend to distort the judgment of the victorious candidate and his lieutenants.

Harold J. Laski noted in *The American Presidency* (Harper & Brothers, 1940) that the considerations that compel a presidential candidate in the campaign change dramatically after the election.

"The tasks that confront him even before he assumes the burden of office are manifold. He has to choose, not merely his Cabinet colleagues, but a vast horde of minor officials in an atmosphere that is not seldom akin to pandemonium. He has to work out at any rate some of the general principles of the policy he proposes to follow. He has to arrive at a *modus vivendi* with the leaders of his party in Congress. There are the delicate problems of the transition between the old regime and the new. . . . Every action of his, every thought almost, is surrounded by a fierce light of publicity which makes the calm appropriate to thought almost impossible."

Waiting period: In a sense, the change-over from one Administration to another brings the business of government almost to a standstill. The outgoing President, relegated to the status of a "lame duck," continues to sit in the White House but without a popular mandate. Cabinet officials and other high-ranking presidential appointees get ready to leave in what is tantamount to a mass exodus from Washington. For the most part, the government is held together by a still-functioning, apolitical federal bureaucracy.

Meanwhile, the nation awaits the incoming Administration with a mixture of high anticipation and quiet apprehension, aware that there is no training or formula to assure the success of a new President, that unforeseen events, hidden flaws in presidential character and faulty policies and concepts can lead to national misfortune.

WHAT THE ELECTION MEANS TO YOU

The 1976 election set the stage for changes that will affect the country's course—and individual Americans—for years to come.

Rarely in peacetime has a newly elected President found such a pile of nagging problems waiting on the doorstep of the White House.

Challenges at home and abroad have been stacking up for months while most of the country, including its political leaders, has been distracted by the election campaign.

On top of that, long-range repercussions of the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal still linger.

Foremost among moves that will be urged:

- Provide new lift for an economic recovery that has lost steam.
- Assure allies—and potential enemies—that the U.S. still has the will and the means to remain a global superpower.
- React to pressures for further reform of the tax structure.
- Attend to unmet social needs without generating a new round of inflation by more federal spending.
- Increase domestic energy production but still protect the quality of the air, water and countryside.
- Establish a working relationship with a Congress that is determined to play a larger role in making key decisions.

Staff members of *U.S. News & World Report* talked with experts in and out of Government and came up with this summary of major problems to be tackled and a forecast of what actions are likely to be taken—

BOOSTING A STRUGGLING ECONOMY

No issue shapes up as more pressing than getting the American economy back on the track after recent signs of faltering in the recovery from the worst business slump since the 1930s. The dilemma: how to stimulate more jobs and production while simultaneously controlling inflation.

Unemployment is running at 7.8 per cent of the labor force and is expected to remain above the 7 per cent level on Inauguration Day, January 20—the highest jobless rate to face an incoming President since Franklin D. Roosevelt began his third term in 1941.

Not only is unemployment severe in gross numbers, but it is hitting especially hard at specific groups, notably the minorities, teen-agers and construction workers. Among 150 major labor markets regularly surveyed, 115 reported substantial jobless rates of 6 per cent and more. The new Administration will come under heavy early pressure to create more jobs fast, either by subsidizing private industry or by ordering public-works programs at taxpayer expense.

The White House also will be flooded with demands for increasing output of goods and services in order to boost living standards and meet a wide variety of other goals, such as discouraging price increases, meeting foreign competition and creating tax revenue to pay for the many Government programs certain to be proposed.

Prices have been rising at an annual rate of between 5 and 6 per cent—a substantial improvement from the 9.1 per cent pace of 1975 but still considered by economists to be too high over a long period.

Certain areas of business will present special problems. The housing industry, for example, foresees no easy solution to the challenge of providing inexpensive but decent homes for those in lower and middle-income groups. Mortgage rates, averaging around 9 per cent for conventional loans, are a major stumbling block. Added to those problems is the fact that the costs of operating a home—utilities, repairs, taxes—also have escalated sharply.

In the eyes of many businessmen, Government itself is a major handicap. Executives are primed to urge the White House to cut back Washington's increasing regulation in such areas as job safety, equal-employment practices, pollution controls and protection of consumers. Opposite and equally vehement pressure, however, will come from labor unions, civil-rights organizations and environmentalists.

The new President will have a stake in settlement of several major labor negotiations scheduled for 1977, including contract talks in coal, steel and the railroads. The biggest danger of disruption appears to lie in the coal industry, where frictions within the United Mine Workers may complicate an already touchy labor-management situation.

Compared with other major areas of the economy, the nation's farm sector looks unusually bright. Food stocks have been rebuilt by record harvests, and agricultural exports are running high. Still, the new Administration will have to come up with a basic farm bill to replace the law expiring this year. This issue is certain to touch off fresh debate over farm-price supports, middleman costs, food prices, establishment of a Government grain reserve and other issues.

Over the longer term, experts warn that the U.S. must find a way to double its food production over the next 25 to 30 years to keep up with the expanding world population.

Complicating all these economic problems is the fact that the American population makeup is undergoing constant change. The birth rate is declining, more women are entering the labor force, the number of older people is steadily increasing and older cities of the Midwest and East are losing residents while cities in the South and West are gaining.

OUTLOOK: You can expect moves to create jobs and slash taxes as much as possible without boosting inflation.

The number of jobs will increase moderately. Government will spend billions of dollars already voted to create public-service work for those on the unemployment rolls. But the job supply still will depend mainly on growth of business, which will be gradual. The unemployment rate will stick at relatively high levels, above 6 per cent for some time, as more young people enter the labor market.

Unions would like Congress to raise the national minimum wage to \$3 an hour from today's \$2.30, but this probably will be put off until inflation is seen as clearly under control.

Federal taxes will be revised downward for most people. Studies already are under way in Congress. By Inauguration Day, the Administration will have its plans in order. The first step will be for a quickie cut for individuals early in 1977, if the economy isn't expanding faster in January than it is now.

BUSINESS AFTER ELECTIONS..

WILL THE ELECTION of November 2 end worry over the business outlook so that the economy will move upward at a faster pace in the months ahead?

History suggests that basic economic forces already in operation, not the public's reaction to the election or the steps a President might take, determine the broad pattern of activity in the months that follow.

The factors now at work point, at best, to a mild speedup in the business expansion that went into low gear in the third quarter of this year.

It's true that a new Administration is likely to take some measures, possibly proposing a tax cut, to assure a speedier business expansion and a reduction in unemployment. And 13 billion dollars in scheduled federal spending that has

been delayed this year for one reason or another could be hustled along in the months ahead.

But a tax cut takes months to enact and weeks after that to implement, and increases in spending, even if they've been approved by Congress, are even slower to take effect. Add to that a further delay before consumers and businessmen respond.

Market clues. The stock market sometimes bounces upward, anticipating such moves months in advance. But in this century, the stock market has gone down nine times in years after presidential elections and up 10 times. So history doesn't give the investor much cause for hope.

Moreover, as the Pictogram shows, the business trend has been upward 12 times, downward six times and level

once in postelection years. Four times the gain in industrial production was only 1 or 2 per cent, however—not enough to make a dent in unemployment under present conditions.

Business expansion slowed dramatically in the second and third quarters of this year for a number of reasons unrelated to the election.

Companies stocked up heavily in the first quarter of the year. When sales failed to keep up with their expectations, a good many concerns found themselves overstocked and cut back on reorders. Inflation continued to eat into the average worker's purchasing power. Gains in retail sales became slow and uneven. Housing starts stalled at about 1.4 million a year and did not show renewed vigor until September, when the rate jumped up to 1.8 million. Investments in new plant and equipment by businesses increased by little more than the cost of machinery and construction. Orders received by manufacturers have declined in recent months.

Tightening up. The federal budget, meanwhile, turned out to be less expansive than even the Ford Administration intended.

Slow growth, only 4 per cent a year in the third quarter in terms of real output of goods and services, has given rise to some worry that another recession may be coming. But most economists are counting on an increase in spending by business for inventories and facilities to bring about a mild speedup in the next few months. They figure uncertainty caused by the election is a minor matter, compared with other problems facing the economy.

Issues**The Spreading Boycott Brouhaha**

"The boycott of American businesses by the Arab countries because those businesses trade with Israel is an absolute disgrace."

—Jimmy Carter

"I'm against the Arab boycott. I think the affirmative action I have taken ... will be a big deterrent."

—President Ford

In the closing days of the campaign, the Arab boycott of companies that do business with Israel has suddenly become a U.S. political issue. Both candidates are trying to outdo each other in denouncing it. Their tug of war has

as the candidates have failed to note, is not illegal; no U.S. law forces a company that sells to Arabs to sell to Israelis also.

On the whole, U.S. businessmen have not found the boycott a serious obstacle. One reason: when Arab states find it in their interest to do business with U.S. firms, their boycott rules become as bendable as cooked spaghetti. Trans World Airlines, for example, flies to both Israel and Egypt in open violation of the ban. The Egyptian government explains that TWA's flights do nothing to "strengthen" the Jewish state.

Generally, the boycott is taken most seriously by Arab states relatively close

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Among those on the list: Motorola, CBS, Republic Steel, Kaiser Aluminum, RCA, Xerox, Lord & Taylor, Owens-Illinois, Ford, Coca Cola, Zenith.

Stiffer Laws. Even before the presidential campaign, pressure had been building in the U.S. to take a more active stand against the boycott. In the last session of Congress, both the House and Senate passed antiboycott bills. The version that finally emerged from an informal conference committee would have allowed firms to continue filling out certain boycott forms, but the companies would have been barred from engaging in any discriminatory action toward other U.S. firms or from changing their

"WE WILL NEED A PRESIDENCY OF SUBSTANTIAL POWER"

*Interview With Louis W. Koenig,
Professor of Government, New York University*

What big challenges—and opportunities—confront the President-elect? How can he best achieve success in years ahead? In this interview with the magazine, a top expert on the Presidency talks about the new term.

Q Professor Koenig, what changes do you expect in the Presidency over the next four to eight years?

A For one thing, I think the President-elect will have to count on a Congress that is more assertive than before—armed with its Budget Office, increased staff and the resolution limiting presidential war powers. Therefore, there will have to be closer consultation between the White House and Congress than has been the case in recent years.

Q Does this mean that Congress will be better able than in the past to override presidential vetoes?

A I would say the likelihood would be greater, with a new congressional leadership coming in, aware it can exploit new resources.

In response to this challenge, the President-elect will have to develop his powers of persuasion and negotiation. The President-elect, more than almost any President of recent times, will have to show an ability to bargain skillfully and induce legislators to come around to his point of view.

Q Has there been a lag in the exercise of that kind of presidential power in recent years?

A Richard Nixon certainly had a good deal of knowledge of legislative mechanisms. But, with knowledge, there has to be a personal chemistry that enables legislators and the President to get along. Lack of this element accounted for a good deal of Nixon's difficulty. There were antagonisms that went back a number of years between him and members of Congress. Therefore, the test is not just that of tactics but of personal compatibility and ability to see the other person's point of view.

Q What are the assets that the President-elect will be able to employ in his relationships with Congress?

A Despite the setbacks of the past three or four years, the White House still has some strong advantages. The President-elect will continue to offer programs—and domestic programs involve expenditures that can be distributed to districts of legislators who support the President.

Of course, he has much easier access to public opinion. He's a television star whether or not he wants to be—or should be. Legislators have great difficulty getting TV attention of any magnitude to compete with the President.

Q Will the President-elect be able to claim the advantage that the White House represents the entire nation—not just one State or legislative district?

A No. National feeling is not always definite. Furthermore, new issues, new developments and events can change the views of the national constituency. And the legislator, while dealing with only a segment of that constituency, probably does consult more directly and frequently with that segment than the President can consult his national constituency—so he ought to be receptive to soundings from Congress on the national mood.

Q Has Gerald Ford shown a persuasive relationship with Congress, in your view?

A Mr. Ford had congressional experience and also had the opportunity to develop gifts of leadership. But one problem, as I see it, was that his experience was as a leader of the minority. This was a kind of negative experience—that of putting obstacles in the path of the onrushing Democratic majority; whereas the Presidency required more-positive action on his part.

He was handicapped, too, by the fact he was an appointed—not an elected—President, leaving unanswered in the past two years the question how much more strength and perspective he might show with an electoral mandate.

Q Did Jimmy Carter, in the election campaign, give a strong clue to his abilities in this regard?

A Not really. The evidence seems to be conflicting, and his past political career is not extensive. It almost depends on what you make of Carter's personality. Watching him and reading some of his statements, I wondered whether he could accommodate enough to the legislative process to get results rather than hold to his positions tenaciously, as Woodrow Wilson often did.

Q Which of our recent Presidents, do you think, were especially effective at winning congressional support?

A Lyndon Johnson was astute and practiced in organizing legislative support. Franklin Roosevelt was skilled at it, and so was Theodore Roosevelt. Also Harry Truman was quite good on this. He was especially good in the foreign-affairs field—the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine, for instance. On the domestic side, Truman advanced a number of proposals but got fewer results, because he took on some