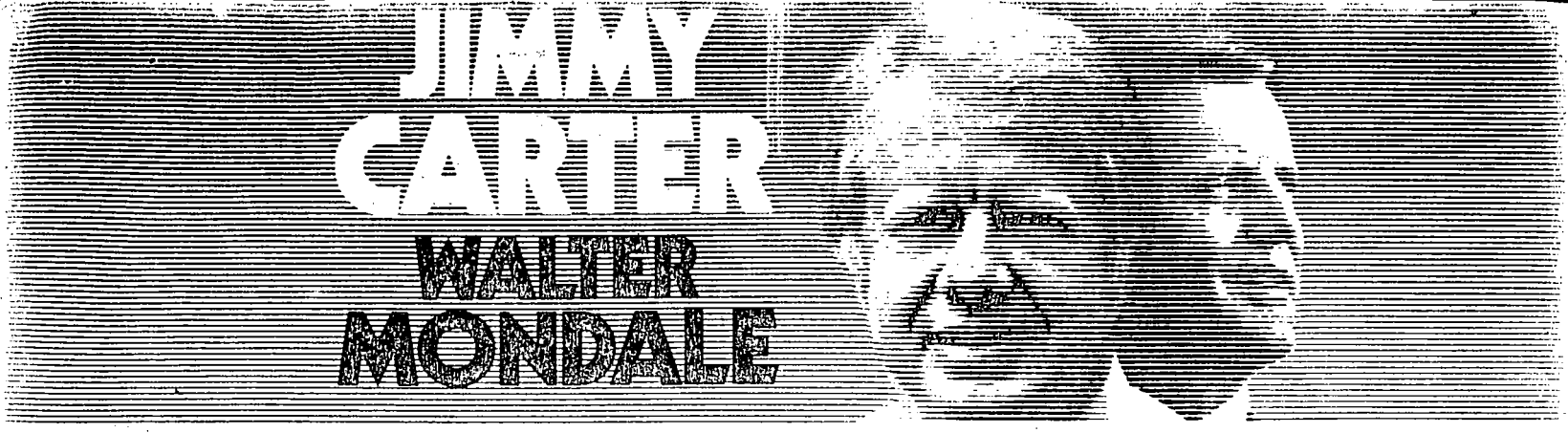
Carter Campaign

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Leaders, for a change.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1976

STATEMENT BY HAMILTON JORDAN, CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR

"MR. FORD TODAY SAID THAT A 'CRUSADE AGAINST CRIME' WOULD KEYNOTE THE FIRST 100 DAYS OF HIS NEW TERM IF HE IS ELECTED. THAT IS A STRANGE PROMISE FROM THE MAN WHO HAS BEEN PRESIDENT FOR MORE THAN 700 DAYS ALREADY. BUT PERHAPS IT IS A NECESSARY ONE, SINCE THE RECORD OF THAT 700 DAYS SHOWS SERIOUS NEGLECT OF THE CRIME PROBLEM.

"LET'S LOOK AT THAT RECORD:

-- MR. FORD CLAIMS TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT THE DRUG TRAFFIC, YET HE ACQUIESCED IN THE DESTRUCTION OF THE NARCOTICS TRAFFICKERS TAX PROGRAM, A HIGHLY EFFECTIVE EFFORT TO PUT MAJOR DRUG DEALERS IN JAIL FOR TAX EVASION. MR. FORD FINALLY TOLD HIS I.R.S. COMMISSIONER AND TREASURY SECRETARY TO TO REESTABLISH THE PROGRAM LAST APRIL, BUT THE I.R.S. STILL REFUSES.

-- THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE, THE GROUP BEFORE WHOM MR. FORD SPOKE, WILL VOTE THIS WEEK ON A RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE FORD ADMINISTRATION FOR ITS FAILURE TO RE-ESTABLISH THIS PROGRAM.

-- THE DRUG ENFORCEMENT ADMINISTRATION, THE GOVERNMENT'S CHIEF DRUG CONTROL AGENCY, HAS BEEN SO NEGLECTED THAT AFTER ITS FIRST DIRECTOR WAS FORCED TO TO RESIGN IN MAY, 1975, FOR CORRUPT ACTIVITIES, MR. FORD DID NOT GET AROUND TO REPLACING HIM FOR 6 MONTHS.

(MORE)

P.O. Box 1976, Atlanta, Georgia 30301, Telephone 404/897-5000
Paid for and authorized by 1976 Democratic Presidential Campaign Committee, Inc.

-- THE LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN SO BADLY MISMANAGED OVER THE LAST EIGHT YEARS THAT THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES HAS REFUSED TO RE-AUTHORIZE IT FOR 5 MORE YEARS, BUT INSTEAD GAVE IT ONE MORE YEAR, WHICH IT CONSIDERS A PROBATIONARY PERIOD. RESPONSIBLE CRITICS FROM EVERY SIDE HAVE URGED THAT L.E.A.A. BE EITHER ABOLISHED OR COMPLETELY RESTRUCTURED, YET MR. FORD CALLED FOR A 5 YEAR RE-AUTHORIZATION WITHOUT PROPOSING A SINGLE LEGISLATIVE CHANGE.

"MR. FORD'S PROPOSALS ARE EQUALLY INDICATIVE OF HIS NEGLECT OF THE REAL PROBLEMS OF CRIME CONTROL:

-- HIS PROMISE TODAY TO CONTROL 'POLITICAL TERRORISM' WAS TOTALLY LACKING IN SPECIFICS. WHEN QUESTIONED, FORD'S AIDES SAID THERE WERE NONE AND NONE WOULD BE OFFERED UNTIL AFTER THE ELECTION. THE REPUBLICANS SEEM TO THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE STILL WILLING TO ACCEPT 'SECRET PLANS' TO SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS.

-- HIS PROPOSAL TO SET UP A NEW COUNCIL ON CRIME MADE UP OF THE HEADS OF ALL FEDERAL ANTI-CRIME AGENCIES IS NOTHING MORE THAN THE SAME PEOPLE TALKING TO EACH OTHER WHO SHOULD HAVE BEEN DOING SO ALL ALONG. OR IS MR. FORD SAYING THAT HE HAS NEVER BEEN ABLE TO GET HIS APPOINTEES TO TALK TO EACH OTHER BEFORE? SURELY NO ONE BELIEVES THAT HOLDING MORE MEETINGS IN THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT IS GOING TO PUT MORE CRIMINALS IN JAIL. IT IS TIME FOR MORE ACTION AND LESS TALK.

"FINALLY, MR. FORD INCLUDED IN HIS REMARKS THE STATEMENT THAT 'JUST AS THE POLICE IDENTIFY CAREER CRIMINALS, AMERICAN VOTERS WILL EXAMINE THEIR BALLOTS IN NOVEMBER AND IDENTIFY THOSE CANDIDATES WHO HAVE DEMONSTRATED THEIR INDIFFERENCE OR PERMISSIVENESS TOWARD CRIME, AND THEY SHOULD.' GOV. CARTER ENDORSES THAT VIEW, AND I HOPE THE VOTERS WILL CONSIDER CAREFULLY WHO HAS BEEN MOST INSENSITIVE TO CRIMINAL

(MORE)

JORDAN STATEMENT

3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3

ACTIVITIES AT EVERY LEVEL, INCLUDING THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF AMERICAN SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT. IF THAT IS THE CRITERION, I AM CONFIDENT OF A SWEEPING DEMOCRATIC VICTORY IN 1976."

-30-

CONTACT: BETTY RAINWATER

9404) 897-5137

Prepared for: The Carter Campaign

The Debates

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EXPECTATIONS ABOUT THE DEBATE: VOTER COMMENTS		

S. Popkin
30 August 1976

MEMORANDUM

To: The Carter Campaign

From: Cambridge Survey Research

Re: Debates

The following memo has been prepared by Professor Samuel Popkin of the University of California, an aide to John Gorman for analysis of campaign surveys, in consultation with Professor Robert P. Abelson of Yale University.

INTRODUCTION

This memo draws upon four bodies of material relevant to preparing for and gaining from the forthcoming Presidential debates:

1. The voluminous research on the 1960 debates;
2. Research dealing with communication and presentation;
3. Field surveys conducted during this campaign, and
4. Images of Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter from the in-depth interviews which have been conducted to assess what information people possess and use to form images of future Carter and Ford Presidencies.

This is not a speech manual, none is needed, nor a bag of tricks, there aren't any. Nor is this an analysis of how to win debates. Winning debates is secondary to -- and different from -- winning elections; the best presentation wins the debate, the best case wins the election. The purpose is to discuss the best way in which to utilize the debates to present a case which will

win the Presidency. When past research and theory lead to clear conclusions or suggestions, as in the discussion of order of presentation, clear suggestions are presented. When past research can only lay out the relevant variables to weigh -- as in deciding whether the candidates should question each other -- the decision is left open.

I. The debates will be the centerpiece of the campaign

In 1960 at least 55% of all adults claimed to have watched each of the four debates and 80% of all adults claimed to have watched at least one of the debates. Overall the median adult said he devoted more than two hours to watching the debates and over one-half claimed to have discussed them with others within the next day. The 1960 debates ranked in total audience behind only five political events that had occurred in the Fifties -- the two Eisenhower strokes, Sputnik, the first U.S. satellite launching, and Little Rock. The debates were as widely watched as most Series and Bowl games and they were widely enjoyed and approved of. The vast majority of viewers for each of the debates considered them a marked improvement on speeches and other types of campaign material.

The 1976 debates will be even more of a centerpiece than were the 1960 debates. In 1960 there was little advance build-up for the debates; far more attention was focused on Kennedy's Houston confrontation and the religious issue. In 1960 party

loyalty mattered more than it does today and opinions of the candidate mattered less; in 1960 there was less television viewing, and far less television news than today; in 1960 there was much more money spent on campaign activity in real dollars than will be spent this year; and whereas in 1960 there were no old debates to show on the air in the days before the debates, in 1976 it is reasonable to expect numerous reruns of news clips from the Nixon-Kennedy debates (did Gerald Ford think of that when he decided to challenge?). In fact, although the build-up of publicity and hoopla is just beginning, there is already more interest in debates than there was in 1960. In 1960 the Gallup Poll prior to the first debate reported that 55% had "a lot" of interest in the debates; our poll of August 23-25 shows that already 81% are "very interested" in the debates.

II. Debates seldom convert; debates crystallize or disappoint

In a close election where every vote matters it is possible for the debates to settle the outcome, but the general impression of a great Kennedy debate victory moving large numbers of voters from Nixon to Kennedy, or the notion of large numbers of undecided voters basing their decision on the outcome of the debates simply is not supported by any evidence from 1960. In 1960, immediately after the fourth debate, Roper asked voters whether the debates made them decide for whom to vote, whether the debates made them more sure, whether the debates made them less sure or whether the debates had no effect at all:

AFTER FOURTH DEBATE

	Nixon voters	Kennedy voters	All voters
Made me decide	3%	9%	6%
Made me more sure	39	49	41
No effect	49	35	43
Made me less sure	5	3	5
Not sure	4	4	5

Overall, then, the major effect of the debates was by far to reinforce voter choices, to crystallize their convictions and to firm up their support. Nixon gained three percent of his vote and Kennedy nine percent of his vote from the debate, a net gain to Kennedy of six percent of his vote, or three points. While these three points were probably decisive in that close election, they are far from the landslide shift that is sometimes "remembered".

The debates were not effective in convincing or impressing undecided voters. The first 1960 debate, described by T.H.White as a major victory for Kennedy, was seen by over 60% of undecided voters as a draw. In the Gallup Poll after debate one, 26% of undecided voters thought Kennedy did the better job, 12% thought Nixon did better and 62% were not sure. In the Opinion Research (ORC) Poll, 22% of undecided voters thought Kennedy did the best job of stating his case, 4% thought Nixon did the best job, and 74% were not sure.

In the first debate, there were not large numbers of "conceders", persons who thought their own candidate had been bested in presenting his case.

FIRST DEBATE

		Kennedy voters	Nixon voters	Overall
Gallup "Better job"	JFK	71%	17%	43%
	RMN	3	45	23
	Don't know	26	38	34
ORC "Best job stating case"	JFK	73	8	39
	RMN	2	52	25
	Don't know	25	40	36

Conceders were a small group of all supporters, and while Kennedy voters were clearly far more pleased with their man's performance than were Nixon voters, a large number of voters were able to support a candidate whom they felt had not won the debate.

Given the decreases in overall turnout that have taken place since 1960, and given the presence of Eugene McCarthy on the ballot in many states, then, the debates should be viewed not as closing arguments in front of a jury, or as attempts to convert; the debate is a forum for the comparative assessment of the two candidates for the purpose of reassuring and crystallizing support. Disappointed supporters are probably more likely to stay home or vote McCarthy than switch to Ford. The debate

should be viewed as a particularly good forum, in the voters' perceptions, for reassuring doubters, removing questions about competence and experience, and showing opponents that they can live with a Carter Presidency.

III. The qualities expected to matter are not the qualities which do matter.

In 1960 it was generally assumed that Richard Nixon would win his debates with John Kennedy hands down. Nixon, after all, was considered a much more capable rhetoritician than the somewhat nervous and less dramatic Kennedy; eight years earlier the "Checkers Speech" had demonstrated that he could be an emotionally engaging speaker, and Nixon had far more experience than Kennedy. The qualities which actually matter have little to do with the skills needed to give a Checkers speech, or to give the kind of speeches which led Reagan backers to believe their man would be an effective debater. In the context of a debate, the audience is attempting to judge the overall character of the debaters and the fitness of their candidate for the Presidency. When respondents in the 1960 surveys were asked about the debates afterwards the judgments were made on the basis of general informedness and the ability to bring facts to bear, not on the basis of overall personality or broadcasting ability. When asked who won and why, viewers talked in terms of:

1. General agreement with the views expressed;
2. How well informed the debaters were, and
3. General credibility, i.e., sincerity, honesty and truthfulness.

Debates were liked best when they were heated and spirited, because that was when viewers felt they could best judge the wit and energy of the two candidates. And the litanies of facts and statistics which Gerald Ford seems to think will stand him in such good stead were not as well liked as short inspirational lines like Kennedy's "If we fail, freedom fails" and Nixon's "A record is never something to stand on, it's something to build on", or counter-attacking jabs like Nixon's "It is very difficult to blame the four Republicans for eight Democrats not getting through that committee".

Gerald Ford is giving Jimmy Carter some of the best exposure a challenger could possibly get; Kennedy's advantage and gain from debates was largely because he was less well known than Nixon and his supporters were much less certain about him. Whereas only 30% of the better-known Nixon's supporters learned "a lot" from the debates, 60% of Kennedy's voters learned "a lot", which was twice as many as said they learned "a lot" from any other source.

Great speeches or long litanies will not convert large numbers of voters, but the debates will fill in missing pieces of information for voters completing their character sketches of the

candidates, as did the two conventions, and the debates, by their emphasis will have indirect impact on the final outcome by shifting the salience of issues and by raising and lowering enthusiasm, and commitment.

IV. Presidential character and popular expectations about the Carter-Ford debates.

It is clearly an advantage to be the underdog in the debates, to have people unsure how you will do. Kennedy, for example, was helped by the widespread expectation that Nixon would "chew him up", for that made it all the easier for JFK to surpass expectations and become a pleasant surprise to his advocates. At this point, Carter is expected to do better than Gerald Ford, but -- fortunately -- the difference in expectations between Carter and Ford supporters is moderate. Our poll of August 23-25 shows Carter supporters just a little more optimistic than Ford supporters:

DEBATE OUTCOMES BY PREFERRED CANDIDATE

	Ford voters	Carter voters	Undecided voters
Expected Ford	44%	13%	20%
Winner toss-up	10	13	10
Carter	17	49	8
Not sure	29	24	62

More important than just the overall expectations of success or failure are the strengths and weaknesses that voters are expecting to see emerge in the debate. The last batch of President Ford interviews asked voters how Ford and Carter would

do in the debates and what would happen when they debated. These interviews have been coded to see how the two men are expected to perform and provide the background against which this year's debates should be viewed. Because the questions invite comparative thinking, note that a Ford strength, like experience, implies a potential Carter weakness, inexperience. Similarly, an expected Ford weakness, like dullness, implies a Carter strength, intelligence and brightness.

Ford strengths

The major strength (or comparative advantage) Ford has in the debate is the Presidential Aura. Voters supporting both men mention the fact that Ford is President and that because he is President, he is more credible, or knows more, or is better "plugged in". When Ford talks, he can easily insinuate an "If you only knew what I knew"; discuss "My awsome trust"; or talk of "My meetings with foreign leaders". Related to this is experience, the fact that Ford's long term in Washington means he is much more familiar with and knowledgeable about government than is an ex-Governor. The third major strength of Ford is, surprisingly, aggressiveness. The Kansas City speech and the call to debate are frequently mentioned as a "new" Ford, more aggressive than in the past.

Ford weaknesses

In popular expectations, Ford's major weakness compared to Govenor Carter is that he is seen as dull, unable to inspire and unable to be quick or alert. Potentially more important is the rapidly diffusing awareness that Gerry Ford practiced his Kansas City speech and that he uses mirrors and coaches. This could easily lead Ford into the problem Ronald Reagan would have faced; if you practice you are like an actor, with the ability to play a part, whether you mean it or not. This could clearly be far more damaging than the use of speechwriters and it could easily cut the credibility and impact of Ford's opening and closing statements. It is one thing to prepare -- quite another to practice.

Carter strengths

In contrast, Carter's main strengths (or comparative advantages) are seen as charisma, speaking ability, and intelligence. Jimmy Carter is frequently -- but not universally -- recognized as warmer and more appealing than Ford, with the ability to answer questions and to think on his feet. It is not necessarily an advantage, though, to be seen by many as a better speaker because oratorical ability is not identical with in-fighting ability. However, several respondents have seen Carter answer questions and have been impressed with his directness, his ability to actually answer the exact question asked.

Carter weaknesses

The two Carter weaknesses in popular expectations are evasiveness and, at a lesser level, self-control. The concern with ambiguity that has appeared since the primaries as a major Carter dislike will figure very heavily in speculation about the debate. References to "finally pinning him down" are made by both Ford and Carter supporters and this could be a great advantage for Carter. If Ford and Dole hammer away at "Jimmy Two-face" and the risky, unknown ex-Governor then, in the debate, if Jimmy Carter is forthright and direct, a large number of people may come away saying that Jimmy Carter really "sticks to his guns". A minor weakness, but one which would be very serious if it developed, is the possibility that Carter will lose his temper or that Carter will be short, arrogant or contemptuous with Ford. Any loss of self-control, any display of impulsiveness, any loss of cool, could easily make the perceived risk associated with a move from Ford a high variance gamble. (NOTE: Attached to this memo are selected, verbatim comments about the debates from the post-Kansas City interviews about President Ford.)

V. Presidential competence and popular expectations

In the research on the 1960 debates and in the interviews about the 1976 debates it is clear that debates are "about" Presidential performance and perceptions of the candidates' competence

to handle the problems associated with leading the country. Candidates will also be evaluated on qualities such as sincerity and integrity as they discuss the problems of the day, but any notion that debates are directly "about" trust, compassion or concern is not supported by past research. When watching the candidates discuss the problems of the day, voters will decide whose solutions are more ethical, Christian, compassionate, unifying, divisive and so on. Indirectly they will then attribute these qualities to the man. This indirect process is based on evaluation of how the candidate tackles problems.

It is notable in the interviews, for example, that respondents do not say Carter will do well because he is more loving, Christian, caring or concerned; such ideas will emerge indirectly if people think that Governor Carter's approach to a problem is fairer and shows more concern. A debate is not a forum in which to directly argue or claim character traits.

Expectations about what specific problems will be tackled in the debate are rather limited at this point, but people are already looking for a few themes they feel will emerge from the debates. If there is one expectation about the subject matter, it is that Ford will do best discussing foreign policy, since Jimmy Carter has never been involved in foreign affairs, and Jimmy Carter will do best discussing domestic affairs, where his experience as Governor is most relevant. It is expected that Ford will raise questions about Governor Carter's actual performance in Georgia, whether he "really" saved money or not, "really"

made government more responsible and so on. Questions about this have appeared in some of the interviews.

Given awareness of government reorganization and management issues, we would also expect Ford to raise the question: What will Carter cost? Some movement toward Ford on public reaction to his vetoes is evident in recent surveys. Governor Carter must be prepared to attack Ford, but defend the cost of his own programs.

In preparation for the debates, specific issues-within-the-issues will emerge to clarify bigger points. "Quemoy and Matsu" emerged to set the tone for more general approaches to foreign policy. Carter's "specific issues" must be chosen to expand perceptions of Governor Carter's competence by drawing out and fleshing out his background and experience and to take away the strengths Ford might have because of his incumbency experience and, of course, his claim to have prevented wasteful spending. In the foreign policy area specific "issues" should be developed to make use of both the Tri-Lateral experience and Carter's knowledge of proliferation. In particular, the Governor must, as often as possible, demonstrate "experience" as well as factual knowledge. This has the added bonus of eliminating worries that Carter is a "quick fix", a person who can simply bone up for a day and sound glibly informed for a few sentences. Questions such as: Is the Russian Fleet a threat? What about nuclear proliferation? Nuclear power? Is the Russian Fleet likely to prompt Japan to build the bomb? would all present opportunities to raise "success"

scenarios from the Governor's past. On the domestic side a great issue would be one where Governor Carter has a good record and where Ford has a veto, but the cost is small. Nuclear waste? Energy? Consumer protection? (Consumer protection costs a few dollars, but it saves us all a lot of money and it helps restore faith in business besides.)

VI. Debate order and likely scenarios

Three general topics have been suggested as likely debate topics. An informed judgment about the best order for the debates rests on the likely scenarios than can be projected for each topic, with emphasis upon the advantages and disadvantages inherent in each debate. First, we look at the likely scenarios and then suggest that the "Presidency" be the last debate and the domestic debate be first.

Presidency Scenario

Every advantage of a sitting President is maximized in a debate which focuses directly on the awesome trust, the grave responsibility, the burden, etc., of the President. Ford has the most aura and credibility when questions deal directly with his office. In addition, possible weaknesses of Governor Carter are most exposed in such a debate. A debate on the Presidency is by nature vague and hypothetical and, thus, is not a debate to show

Governor Carter's experience and depth. It is a debate in which no comparative advantages of Governor Carter come through and one in which precision clarity and grasp are most difficult for a challenger to exhibit.

Foreign policy scenario

Governor Carter is expected to know nothing about defense and foreign policy and has the nice advantage of surprising everyone with his knowledge and experience. Ford, on the other hand, can get out of scrapes by saying "If you knew what I knew" or otherwise allude to national security. He can also say "That's easy for you to say, when I have the burden ...", point to the lack of any wars and be good enough to dispell the notion that Kissinger runs foreign policy and Ford merely acquiesces. This last part might not be credible. Voters had some trouble believing Nixon when he said, "I told Dr. Kissinger to ....".

Domestic policy scenario

Ford will attack Governor Carter as a big spender, which is already being done by both Ford and Dole, anyway. If the big spender charge can be dealt with, as it will have to be eventually, then Ford has little real advantage in this area. He is vulnerable for his two years as President, and the previous six as minority leader; there is no, "I've guided us through perilous times and crises" as in foreign policy; there are low-cost Republican failures in crime and drugs; Governor Carter can say, "While you've been in Washington,

I've been a farmer, a businessman, a nuclear engineer and a Governor, and your proposals don't make sense from any of these perspectives"; and Governor Carter can show that both over the last eight years and, more importantly, over the last two years there have been economic declines (unemployment a "mere" 8%).

A domestic debate also confronts the vetoes directly and can paint Ford as a stand-pat, nit picker who can't do anything. When Ford goes after spending and liberal excess, Governor Carter can move to priorities by pointing out that Ford acts as if there is no spending now, but that we have a $387 billion dollar budget. And when Ford, following his Truman script, goes after Congress, there are some very clear retorts for Carter, such as "Where are your alternatives?"; "Why can't you get anywhere with your own programs?", and "What about your turnarounds and indecisions, what about your flip-flops on common situs, the turnaround for a handful of delegates, etc.?"

In a domestic debate, the lack of leadership and the blame for the vetoes can be turned around with the line, "We've both been in the Navy and we both know that when a ship flounders, the Captain is to blame, not the crew". Furthermore, vetoes don't always save money.

Ford, after all, is President, and has a $387 billion dollar budget. For example, the "emergency jobs bill" veto can be made the subject of research before the debate:

1. How many jobs would it have created?

2. How much are the welfare, Medicaid, food stamp and other relief measures costing that are needed to support four times that same number of people (i.e., each wage earner would support the ideal wife and two kids with his new-found job)?

It is probable that research will show the veto didn't save any money, that it just moved the money from the job department to the welfare department. (It can also be noted that if the money had been spent on jobs, we would have some new roads or new schoolhouses or new sewers to show for the spending. We get nothing from welfare payments at all.) The Governor doesn't need to be able to show that every bill was like this. We only need a few examples to prove the case. Preparation and research are vital if there is to be success.

In the domestic debate, Ford can draw upon 26 years of specific bills and committees but that is to Carter's potential advantage. The minute Ford drops bill names and numbers, Governor Carter has numerous openings:

"I was Governor then and it made no sense outside of Washington."

"That's all in the past, and we know it failed. What about the future?"

"Why did you go against some of the most distinguished men in your own party on that one?"

"Any businessman or farmer could have told you....."

Order of debates

The first debate is by far the most important debate! Beside the politically interested there will also be the curious, drawn by the smell of blood and combat. Immediate discussion and rehashing is likely on all networks, which may have a large impact on perceptions of performance and competence. Immediate polling is almost certain, and it is likely that some reporters will be influenced by who the public thinks won (in 1960 the press thought debate one was a draw until the polls came in and Kennedy won the election).

The Presidency should definitely be the last debate! By the time of the last debate the audience will be down to the committed. After two previous debates there also will have been substantial exposure to Jimmy Carter dealing with Presidential issues and confronting Gerald Ford in public to reduce the aura of Ford and to remove the possibility that people will find it presumptuous for an outsider and a challenger to talk of the trust, honor, and so on.

While Governor Carter can surprise people in the foreign policy debate with his knowledge of issues such as nuclear proliferation, defense needs, and so on, a foreign policy debate diverts attention from domestic issues and, therefore, helps Ford onto firmer ground. A new President has less obvious chances to improve the present situation.

While there are some reasons why a foreign policy debate helps Governor Carter, it appears that domestic policy should come first, if possible. It gives Ford the least comparative advantage; it gives Governor Carter the best chance to clear up the image problems he has; finally, it gives Governor Carter the best grounds on which to put Ford on the defensive.

VII. Format

With respect to the physical staging of the debate, it is clearly better to have the candidates seated and on camera when the debate starts so that there is no show of "Hail-to-the-Chief" deference towards the President. (Another staging issue is whether or when Governor Carter should look at his questioner, when he should look at the President and when he should look into the monitor, but this is best left for later.) There are also the issues of opening and closing statements, follow-up questions, and whether or not the candidates should be allowed to question each other.

Opening statements give Ford his best opportunity to be Presidential, and to practice in advance if he can memorize a statement. Closing statements are good for Governor Carter. By drawing out questions, phrases and sentences actually used in the debate and incorporating them in his closing statement, Governor Carter can demonstrate an ability to absorb and deal with issues

under fire. It would also be harder for Ford to "pull rank" after a tough debate than it would be at the beginning. While it may be hard to avoid opening statements, closing statements appear to offer an opportunity for Carter to show intelligence and comprehensive grasp.

Follow-up questions are also a good way for Governor Carter to demonstrate that he is not evasive and wishy-washy, and to show that he is cool under fire. Tough, hard follow-ups would be harder on Ford

There is risk in having the candidates ask each other questions and the final decision on this matter cannot be made from afar. If the President asks a question, does it look intimidating on TV? Will the "aura" dominate? How will Governor Carter look questioning President Ford: small, contemptuous, irreverent? If Governor Carter would feel at ease questioning Ford, then he can benefit from such an interchange. To attack Carter, Ford can ask "What about the tax raise in Georgia?" or "What about the criticisms of your record?" but, if that happens, Carter can then take Ford in a battle of records. Carter made enemies because he shook up the status quo and, besides, look at the people who applauded his record in creating jobs and making government responsive. Criticisms of Georgia can be deflected, but it is much harder for Ford to deflect criticism of his record because it is so much better known than Carter's.

VIII. Advance preparation

"Prepare" for the debate but do not "practice" for the debate. Gerald Ford practices with video tape, mirrors and speech coaches and it certainly harms Presidential aura and credibility. There is already enough concern about slickness without adding to concerns that Governor Carter may be nothing more than a good actor or a phoney. Effective preparation, given that Governor Carter is clearly competent in a question and answer format, entails making small changes in the way standard campaign material is presented to take account of the special nature of the debate audience and small changes in the presentation of complex material to aid comprehension (discussed in IX). Other than that, advance preparation means:

1. No bragging or claims of victory. There is no advantage in raising expectations.
2. No public discussion of strategy. The press loves tactical talk and the more tactical talk there is the less focus there is on the substance of the debates. Let Ford worry about tactics while the Carter camp thinks of substance.
3. No talk of Kennedy-Carter similarities. As the debate nears, there is bound to be more and more talk of Kennedy. Let voters notice the positive similarities themselves.

4. Ask why Ford has had no positive program.

Ford can be set up for the domestic debate by letting people wonder why, in addition to vetoes, he hasn't had a positive record. Truman and Johnson came into office in the middle of terms and look what they did.

Prepare key campaign aides for effective post-debate assessment

A major difference between the 1960 debates and the present debates will be the increased, rather absurd, press and media focus on "who won". A focus on "who won" is not a good focus for this campaign to encourage; even though Governor Carter is likely to come out ahead on this criteria, this is not an effective way to gain the maximum number of votes from the debates.

Immediately after the debates there will be the inevitable network rehashes of the debates, focusing on "who won"; within a day there will be numerous national polls asking the same question. Nothing can be done about this. In addition, though, there will be follow-up network interviews the next day with key Carter aides, as well as local news in all major cities reporting on reactions to the debate by local Carter and Ford supporters. If these persons talk about "who won" then an important potential utility of the debates for Governor Carter will have been dissipated.

The criteria voters will be using when they relate the debates to their own voting decisions are not going to be symmetric. People will be looking at the debates to check specific strengths and weaknesses in each man; what really matters is that the debates clear up perceived Carter weaknesses, such as "inexperience", "inability to control spending", "unfamiliarity with foreign affairs", etc. The more post-debate discussion focuses on how these doubts have been removed, the more value the debates have in enlarging the pool of potential Carter voters. We want to end problems that might keep people home or lead to votes for McCarthy or Ford. ("We knew he was eloquent, we're glad everyone saw his experience." or "I liked the way he stuck to his guns under fire.") Unless there is a spectacular blunder -- an enormous snarl, a large "I don't know", a very deep corner, a transparent denial of a change in position -- a superb performance could at best lead to a 45-25% "win". If that is done, but those who are undecided on who won the debate (i.e., 30%) are convinced that they could never vote for Carter, the debate was "won" at the cost of the election. People have, in the past, and will, in the future, vote for candidates they felt lost debates.

It is far more important, after the debate, to point to and reinforce positive evidence that the debate delivered about specific Carter weaknesses, particularly in the competence, experience and policy areas, than simply to claim victory.

IX. Communication in a debate

No matter what the subject under discussion, there will be a small audience that cares a lot about the answer on embargoes, or immigrants, or pollution, or SALT, or insurance, and a larger audience listening and watching to assess character and competence. The first audience needs an intelligent answer that shows understanding of the issue and presents a position. The larger audience can get lost in the longer answer if it is not presented in a fashion that helps those of moderate or little background. In such a situation an extremely effective aid to communication for both audiences is to precede the longer answer with a very concise one-sentence summation of the conclusion. A short, concise summary presented first helps the moderately informed to follow the argument and helps the more interested for whom the issue is salient remember your stand afterward. And, neat, short summary prefaces, followed by the type of careful working through of an argument, which Governor Carter is good at, would help disspell the notion that he is evasive and changes his position. ("Nothing short of a national emergency would make me order an embargo.")

When a precise summary cannot be used, when there is no intelligent and thoughtful one-line summary tag to be remembered, then acknowledge complexity so that the difference between Carter, the complex, careful thinker and an evasive politician are as clear as can be! ("This may look like splitting hairs but the distinction

I'm going to make is important"; "The choice I'm offered is a false choice because ...."; "This is two-edged ...".

When there is a critique that we already know is going to be made, pre-empt and disarm it by acknowledging it. Criticism acknowledged and taken in stride is far less damaging than criticism ignored or brought up by Ford. ("My plan has been called expensive, but ..."; "My record was controversial, but that was because ..."; "I was booed for saying it, but I stand by it, because sometimes it is necessary to do what you believe, no matter the consequences".)

Don't bring up Nixon against Ford. That will come up in questions so why take a chance of not "playing fair".

Don't ever say, "I don't know what it will cost".

It costs: Less than the B-1.

Less in money terms, to say nothing of the social benefits.

Less than welfare.

Less than your plan.

Less than G.O.P. give-aways.

Less than now, because there will be more services per dollar.

Less than the revenue from the loopholes we'll close.

Less in the short run, much less in the long run.

Less than is spent now.

Less than the savings elsewhere.

X. Conclusion

For better or worse, the debates will be the centerpiece of the campaign and while the historical record suggests that they do much more to crystallize than to convert, their indirect, long-run impacts should not be ignored. Attacks which do not get made or which do not stick in the debates will not be credible in other forums and in other places. Debates can slowly but surely change the salience of issue areas and, thereby, have large long run impacts on both Congressional and Presidential voting. And debates are far and away the most important opportunity of the campaign to assuage doubts and to overcome unspoken prejudices.

The 1960 debates helped Kennedy by showing doubters and anti-Catholics that he possessed traits valued across religious lines, like intelligence and sincerity. These debates may do the same for Jimmy Carter among persons with unspoken, subtle (and hard to measure) anti-Southern prejudice, or prejudice among those who still believe, but don't say, that Governor Carter's fundamentalism is antithetical to their own brands of Judeo-Christian belief.

The debates may matter more this year than they did in 1960. There is always the possibility of a serious failing by one candidate or the other, so serious that it can't be discounted by supporters as relevant to debates, but not to the Presidency. There is also the fact that the doubts about Kennedy were perhaps more amenable to correction through a single exposure than are

the doubts about Jimmy Carter. If people believe Governor Carter is always changing, will one day of conviction change this, or will they expect another firm conviction tomorrow? The only thing that can be done is to be as certain as possible that advance preparation for the debate emphasizes not just knowledge of issues and their complexities, but a concerted effort at preceding the complexities of a careful presentation with a short summary to make clear to viewers the difference between evasiveness and thoroughness, between tolerance and dogmatism. And, never, never say, "I don't know what it will cost"!

On a 10-point scale, most Americans would put Ford no better than six and no worse than four. They think Governor Carter could easily be a nine, but they worry he might also be a two or three. If the debates leave people thinking that Jimmy Carter could be no worse than Ford, that he is, say, between four and nine, then the debates will have elected a new President.

EXPECTATIONS ABOUT THE DEBATE

VOTER COMMENTS

EXPECTATIONS ABOUT THE DEBATE

CARTER VOTERS

Ford will come out better because he's been in the public view longer, he knows more of Presidential affairs, and the fact he is President gives him an edge. Carter will be nervous. (why?) He knows what he's up against. But he'll probably hold his own. (do?) Be firm and decisive with Ford. He needs to study on all his issues.

Ford will do well, he is confident. He needs coaching in his speaking. (do?) Be firmer and decisive. Carter will do as well -- he is confident too. He seems a bit smarter than Ford. It's going to be an interesting debate to make things clearer for the people. Most people don't know what they stand for. The debate would make it clearer.

I'm looking forward to it. Ford asked for debate -- he may have a stronger attitude to it. (mean?) Upper dog. (else?) Ford may feel good about it. Ford may surprise (why say?) He's not a good speaker -- it is unusual that he asked for debate. Carter will probably do well. I hope he will beat Ford. Who wins is all in what people want to hear. Carter is pretty good speaker -- has new ideas. (mean do well?) Carter will organize and develop strategies on handling issues through advisors.

Ford will have the upper hand. (mean?) Ford can show more authority knows when to back off at the right time. (why say?) Ford has had more experience. Carter will do better, as he is better speaker than Ford. (why say?) Well, Kennedy won because of the debating, and was the younger, more vibrant candidate like Carter. Ford doesn't have that charisma. Carter comes across well. (else?) I liked the way he handled the equal rights incident at the convention.

President Ford is not a good speaker. It's a shame. He is sincere but puts you to sleep. I remember the Kennedy-Nixon debates. Kennedy made Nixon look stupid. Ford isn't stupid though. And Carter doesn't have Kennedy's quickness. Carter may have to check his temper. I've seen Carter make a few speeches -- he's pretty good. Who knows? Ford may be better informed, more experienced. Carter will do well for sure though.

Gerald Ford he's good on T.V. He's an accomplished speaker although he's not as charismatic as Jimmy Carter. (why say?) Well, Gerald Ford is stuffy Jimmy Carter isn't. (mean?) Jimmy Carter has that Kennedy type of appeal and boundless energy and get up and go. It'll be interesting to see and hear the difference between the two. They have such different ideas.

I think Carter will really come through. If he doesn't I'll be disappointed. (why?) It's the Kennedy image that has been built up. If he doesn't, I'll be surprised and disappointed.

Carter voters (continued)

Ford will be given the best advisors of writers -- He'll bone up on the issues but he can't get across his ideas. He's dull and boring. It's a mistake for him to agree to debate. Carter will question what he's done as President. And he's done nothing. He'll have a problem showing what he's done. He's got no charisma and personality compared to Carter. He doesn't carry the prestige of being President even though he is President. He'd have a better chance if he wasn't President. I'm sure Carter will do excellently. He's unusually bright. He'll bone up on the issues. He's a way of putting ideas to people that's not abrasive. He doesn't alienate the masses. (else?) He doesn't avoid issues -- his way is the middle of the road to make more people agree. Ford has the liability of the Republican scandals -- Carter won't have to answer to anything like that.

Ford may do better because he knows more what's going on behind the scenes at the White House. Ford may have more information about what's going on. Carter will be competent. He's an intelligent man. He'll do well. He has more charisma. He doesn't have as much information maybe but he's quicker than Ford.

I like a speaker who can talk without paper. I'm impressed with Carter -- no papers, it is straight from the heart. I listen to him with newsmen -- they ask two or three questions at once. He snaps back real quick. He keeps the questions in mind and whips the answers back -- Ford is too slow, speaking voice and speeches are uninteresting. He won't stand up against Carter in the debates.

Ford is holding the better hand, he might come out on top. He's got his record and accomplishments to show. (else?) JC won't commit himself on anything, won't take stands. Carter will have to get pinned down in the debate is all I can say if it's going to be worth anything.

The newspaper says that from his Congressional experience Ford will do better. I don't see that.I think Ford is making a mistake in debating. (why?) Ford won't come out well. (why?) If Ford looks terrible then he will ruin his chances for overcoming Carter's lead. Carter will do well. Carter's own people are saying that Ford is good. I don't believe that. Maybe they are saying that to make Carter the underdog. (why?) Carter comes across well. I've seen him on TV.

Ford would handle it better. (why say?) Ford has more experience through being a legislator and President. (Mean?) Ford has more public speaking experience, he's used to getting up and speaking. (else?) Ford would handle himself better over issues and when under fire. (why say?) More experience. Carter handles himself O.K. Ford come out better after debate -- to Ford's advantage. (why say?) Carter tendency to get flustered more easily with tough questions. (why?) (else?) Just my impression. It would hurt Carter more than help him. Ford handles himself better. (else?) Just impression.

EXPECTATIONS ABOUT THE DEBATE

FORD VOTERS

Ford has edge. Experienced. (else?) Carter doesn't have ability to stand up to Ford in foreign policy and domestic matters. Carter not experienced. Ford met heads of state.

Ford would do better because he's been in office for 2 years so he'll know the issues better than Carter.

Ford's speaking has improved lately -- as long as he keeps practicing he'll do well. He has more information on his side, he's closer to inside info and facts and will use to his advantage.

Ford should talk with conviction because he's held the position and should know. (else?) As far as talking goes I don't know if Carter or Ford would do better. The debates should be good in terms of pinning Carter down, to find out his plans. (against) Foreign policy, welfare, taxes, where the money for the Carter goodies are going to come from.

Ford wouldn't come across as well as Carter because Carter has more finesse and charisma. (else?) As they talk on the issues and present their sides, they will both be about even. The problem is, Ford doesn't have any ... I don't know what to call it. He will be as knowledgeable, but won't come across as well. (else?) Don't know how to put it.

The incumbent President will do better. (why say?) He's the President, has more experience, has better information. Carter wouldn't do well on questions of foreign policy. (why say?) He was just a governor, he doesn't know anything about anything but domestic things.

EXPECTATIONS ABOUT THE DEBATE

UNDECIDED VOTERS

Ford will go on his record and Carter will go on his promises. I think Ford will come out on top -- not much, but on top. Carter will try to link Ford with Nixon. (why?) Because Ford's record has been pretty good, and he'll try to undermine it. (why?) He's a Democrat and a Liberal, that's the way to get votes.

DK (else?) Everything will be thrown at Ford -- his mistakes brought up. (else?) Ford wouldn't fare too bad. (mean?) Carter's slate isn't too clean (why say?) Carter's been receiving subsidy from government peanut farm. Wouldn't do much better than Ford. (why say?) Carter doesn't have much to crow about (mean?) In Georgia he raised taxes and said he wouldn't. Can he be believed? Carter changes his opinions too much. (why say?) Says one thing to one group and something else to another. (else?) DK

President Ford has different ideas of government. He has experience, Carter has to lear a lot but he could I guess. Don't know much about Carter. (why say?) Well, I know what Ford would do for the country.

Oh, it's all talk anyway. (else?) I hope it will bring out the opinions, especially Jimmy Carter's. (else?) I can't say who'll come through the wash the best. No idea. Don't know Carter or what he stands for, (else?) I hope this is the chance when I can get a better look at who the man is.

Ford rehearsed. Will be up on issues. Will do well. (how?) Ford will be briefed on everything. I hope he won't let Carter put him in a bad light. Ford will rehearse. (repeated question) He will do as well as Carter. Carter will do very well. (how) Carter will be well prepared and handle himself well. On questions he is slow and deliberate. He exudes confidence.

MEMORANDUM

To: Pat
From: Sam Popkin
Re: Regressions

2 September 1976

This is just a note to update yesterday's discussion of the regressions. There were a few mistakes in the weightings when we talked and so I re-ran everything. (Nothing we talked about changes.) Let me summarize:

I. In looking at the vote race in terms of competence, trust, party and the issue heats ...

This is the year of economics and economic management. Trust (Jimmy Carter really cares and Gerald Ford really cares) are giving almost no clout, or cutting edge, at all. Ford especially gets no help at all from generalized care; Jimmy a trivial amount.

Competence (JC qualified and JC vision to solve: Ford job rating) significant and matters. But what matters most is managing economy, making government more responsive to people like you and keeping taxes down. (Note: Making government more responsive means direction, not just efficiency.)

Party preference is mattering a lot this year -- big surprise.

II. In looking at vote race in terms of party heats (which party best for...) generally managing the government, inflation and unemployment are where the clout is. This is discounted for party preference, so these results are not just a reflection of partisan identification.

III. When looking at "close to me on the issues" against the Ford-Carter issue heats: beyond party identification, what matters the most is managing the economy, with "making government more responsive" a distant second, and keeping taxes down, restoring prestige and handling international crisis way back. Again, note that making government more responsive is part efficiency, also a large part policy direction. (If IRS gets my refund back quickly that is one kind of responsive; if tax code is changed that is even better kind of responsive.)

MEMORANDUM

To: The Carter Campaign 1 September 1976

From: Cambridge Survey Research

Re: Carter and Ford Presidencies and the rise of evasiveness

The enclosed memo by Professor Robert P. Abelson of Yale University analyzes the latest set of "President Gerald Ford" interviews. Conducted after Kansas City, the standard questionnaire was enlarged to obtain comparative information about the Carter and Ford Presidencies, and information about the debates. Some of this information was previously used in Sam Popkin's debate memo. In analysis, Professor Abelson was asked to concentrate on whether there was a "new" Gerald Ford since Kansas City and why there was an upsurge in Ford's standing on comparative ratings, vis-a-vis Governor Carter.

Although the larger national polls are showing some improvements in Ford's performance ratings as President, and a decrease in the number of voters -- particularly Independents -- who find Ford incompetent, Professor Abelson's analysis of the scenarios respondents project to a future Ford Presidency found Ford's Presidential scenarios did not change after the GOP convention. This suggests changes in the image people have of Jimmy Carter.

In these in-depth interviews, which tend to pick up changes before they emerge in the standard polling format, there is a marked increase in concern about evasiveness on the part of

Governor Carter. Even more important, there is, for the first time in these interviews, a tendency to extrapolate from an evasive candidate to an evasive, unclear or negative Presidency. Governor Carter is not two-faced or prone to flip-flops, but he is seen that way because he has been described that way so much in the past, because Ford and Dole are emphasizing it, and because the media are now looking for it and talking about it. Given the expectation of evasion, Governor Carter's precision, concern for detail, intelligence and thoroughness look to many like waffling. To specifically deal with this on the campaign trail and in the debates, Professor Abelson has suggested a specific series of steps to eliminate the problem (see pages 11-13).

Note: Professor Abelson previously has done work on the religious issue, and how to deal with it, in 1960, and Goldwater's impulsiveness and how to emphasize awareness of it, in 1964.)

Report prepared for
Cambridge Survey Research
by Robert P. Abelson

31 August 1976

Ford and Carter: Image after the Republican Convention

In-depth interviews were conducted August 23-25, the beginning of the the week following the Republican National Convention. The method was (as before) to sample at random 100 respondents from 8 key Northern states. Respondents were asked to imagine President Ford being elected, and remaining in the White House. What did they think he would do about domestic issues? How would he handle a foreign crisis? What worries or uncertainties came to mind in picturing Ford as an elected President? How would President Jimmy Carter be different from President Gerald Ford? How would Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford do in a debate? Additionally, respondents were asked to complete the sentences, "I would like Gerald Ford a lot better if ..." and, "I would like Jimmy Carter a lot better if ...".

This report details and interprets the responses, covering first the public image of President Ford. Then the results for the Carter questions are given. As we shall see, these latter results are important because further trends in images of Jimmy Carter have developed since the August 11th report.

Personal characterization of Gerald Ford

The best questions for eliciting a character sketch of Ford were those dealing with a foreign crisis, and the respondents'

worries and uncertainties about President Ford. On the crisis question, 50% responded in terms flattering to Ford, 19% in negative terms and 31% neutral. The great bulk of the positive attributions were that Ford would be strong and level-headed -- that he would let other countries know they can't push us around, but would not overreact with military commitments. The negative comments included weakness, indecision, and inability to cope without his advisors. The reason for so many "neutral" comments is that many people say that Ford will keep doing what he's been doing, which is O.K. -- not great but not terrible, therefore not a risk.

By contrast with the fairly strong image Ford projects on the "crisis" question, he fares much less well on the "worries" question. Here is the percentage breakdown on "what worries or uncertainties about President Ford come to mind"?

Nothing, no worries	25%
Weak, will do nothing, not forceful, not on top of things, relies on advisors	41
Economic problems getting worse	18
Both the above two categories	7
Miscellaneous worries	6
Don't know	2

Thus we have the apparent paradox that although a majority of those with opinions think Ford will respond strongly and well in a crisis, one-half the public worries that he is indecisive and mediocre. Often the same people state both points of view. For example, a Republican from Canton, Ohio said that in a crisis Ford would "be strong, not let us get walked on", but on the very next question about worries, said, "Well, Ford's not a strong leader ... He's done nothing noticeable. While he's been in there's been no dramatic changes yet." A Democrat from Flint, Michigan said, "Ford spends too much time on the present and not enough giving foresight to the future." Thus Ford may react strongly, but he acts weakly.

SUGGESTION: In the foreign policy debate, shift emphasis away from "hot spots". Attack Ford for drifting in important areas of the world. Japan (with the Lockheed scandal) and Latin America (which JFK used so effectively as a springboard for idealistic aspirations through the Peace Corps and the Alliance for Progress) are among the possibilities to be considered.

The theme of Ford standing pat and letting things drift is prominent again on the question, "I would like Gerald Ford a lot better if ...". Here, 32% give completions like, "If he were more forceful". It is very doubtful that Ford's strong acceptance speech had any impact on the general perception of him as lacking force. Six people mentioned his good acceptance speech, but of these, five noted that he had been elaborately

prepared, and three of the six said that Ford is still a poor speaker anyway. In other words, the public is sophisticated enough to realize that Ford must be coached and advised in order to appear effective.

An interesting sidelight on the Ford personality is that his style is objectively similar to Eisenhower's: a decent person projecting strength abroad, yet taciturn and unimaginative, conducting a dull Administration. However, only two people of 100 mentioned Eisenhower during the interviews, in contrast to ten who mentioned JFK in connection with Carter. The Kennedy analogy is working better for Governor Carter than the Eisenhower analogy for President Ford. We will discuss this contrast again later.

Ford on the issues

It is of great significance that fully 25% of the sample worries that under an elected President Ford, problems of unemployment and inflation would be even worse than at present. By contrast, not one respondent out of 100 in the July sample worried that President Jimmy Carter would make unemployment worse.

On the questions dealing with what President Ford would do on other issues, he is seen as rather pro-defense spending and anti-busing, and very much anti-welfare. Welfare is not a cutting issue between the candidates, though, as perceptions of Carter's position (as of late July) were similar to those of Ford's:

On the welfare mess, the new President will:

	Ford	Carter
Do something	59%	61%
Do nothing	25	24
Don't know	16	15

There is a difference on busing, with Ford seen as more inclined to oppose it, but also as more inclined to do nothing:

On busing, the new President will:

	Ford	Carter
Decrease it	33%	26%
Not change anything	40	27
Increase it	10	18
Don't know	11	20
Miscellaneous	6	9

On the defense spending, the difference is much sharper:

On defense spending, the new President will:

	Ford	Carter
Decrease it	15%	37%
Not change anything	35	32
Increase it	41	15
Don't know	8	9
Miscellaneous	1	7

Governor Carter is potentially vulnerable to the charge of "softness" (inexperience) on defense -- as, of course the Ford camp well knows, judging by their gambit in proposing defense as the first debate topic. This is ironical, since Carter is generally seen as the stronger personality.

Governor Carter is projecting the general orientation that how well defense money is spent is more important than how much defense money is spent. However, specifics will become increasingly emphasized in the campaign. SUGGESTIONS: As far as possible, deal with defense issues in terms of general orientation, but be prepared for potential challenges on specifics. Decide beforehand with respect to every presently controversial weapons program, whether to support or oppose it when challenged. If the choice is to oppose, the reasons should be easily understood and should be made very clear (e.g., that an alternative exists which is cheaper or more reliable).

An issue which cuts in favor of Governor Carter is taxes and tax reform:

On tax policy, the next President will:

	Ford	Carter
Improve it	25%	47%
Not change it (or make it worse)	64	45
Don't know	11	8

There is a sense of general optimism about what President Carter might do as President for the "little guy", the poor, and the middle class. Ford is seen (typically by Democrats, but also by Independents) as the protector of the very rich. Clearly, on tax reform as well as on unemployment, inflation, and consumer protection issues, Carter has a strong initiative and can be expected to maintain it.

Carter compared to Ford

On the new comparative question used in the present survey, "How would President Jimmy Carter be different from President Gerald Ford?", responses were classified into three favorable, four unfavorable, and two neutral categories. The cross-tabulation against intended vote is as follows:

Carter (by contrast with Ford) is:	Intended to vote for: Carter	Ford	Undecided
Dynamic, a doer, a person with fresh ideas	21%	1%	1%
Concerned with helping people, good on economic issues	18	1	2
Honest, strong, warm	3	1	1
Weak, inexperienced	0	9	3
New and unknown	1	3	6
Too liberal	0	6	1
Evasive, muddle-headed, untrustworthy	2	9	2
No different from Ford	1	1	3
Don't know and other	0	2	2

The two themes most favorable to Carter have already been noted: Jimmy Carter is seen as more dynamic than Gerald Ford, and as offering hope for those under economic stress. A campaign to "get this country moving again" would be effectively consistent with present images. Even though Gerald Ford may simulate progressive activity for campaign purposes, it is unlikely the public will be fooled. As a construction worker from Queens, New York put it, "If you don't clean house when you move in, you won't start cleaning it two years later".

On the negative side, the large number of unfavorable comments (42%), is worrisome. Although comparison is difficult because this comparative question was asked in June or July, the 42% total figure is, nevertheless, higher than any previous "unfavorable" count. Also, the appearance of 13% in the "evasiveness" category is a new phenomenon in judgments of Carter as President. In part, this is attributable to a closing of Republican ranks against the opposition nominee, but additionally it seems to reflect a slight erosion of confidence among Democrats,

and the infusion of doubts among Independents. Among the 42% respondents giving negative comments about Carter, 10% are Democrats and 12% are Independents. Carter is getting only 3 vote intentions among these 22 doubters. Clearly some reassurance is very much in order, especially against the combined thrust of being labeled both "unknown" and "evasive". ("If you never heard of Carter until this year, and you still can't tell where he stands on the issues, how can you trust what he might do as President?") Some suggestions are given in the next sections.

The crucial problem for Carter

On the question, "I would like Jimmy Carter a lot better if ...", the same two factors of newness (13%) and evasiveness (25%) are again the most prominent negative categories. Since "newness" is not something Governor Carter can do much about other than appearing often in the natural course of the campaign, attention is focused here on the evasiveness dimension (or "two-facedness", as we called it in the August 11 report).

First of all, we note that 25% invoke some variant of two-facedness when asked what characteristic they would prefer Jimmy Carter not to have, whereas "only" 13% invoke it when asked to compare a Carter Presidency with a Ford Presidency. This discrepancy represents the tendency to view Carter the candidate as behaving in a politically flexible way during the campaign, which would not necessarily extend beyond election time.

Nevertheless, the tendency to extrapolate beyond the election is on the increase, and the Republicans will certainly spell it out.

Among which voting segments does this negative category appear? We used the same strategy as in the previous report, tabulating mentions of two-facedness, vacillation and evasiveness* at any point in the interview according to party and intended vote. Altogether, 31% of respondents made some mention of this factor:

	August data Mention "two-facedness" for: Carter	Ford	Undecided
Democrats	8	1	0
Republicans	0	9	0
Independents	4	4	5

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* Here is a sample of responses counted in this category: "He can say one thing and contradict himself the next minute"; "He's evasive giving answers -- double-talking"; "He's wishy-washy"; "He keeps changing his mind all the time"; He's not committed on the issues"; "I have no faith in what he says -- I distrust him".

This table is not too dissimilar from the corresponding July data, taken after the Democratic convention, except for the sizeable increase in the number of Independents included. The 13 here in August is up from 6 in June and 4 in July, and is a very considerable number, given that there are only 23% Independents in the August sample altogether; this negative theme about Carter, traveling like scuttlebutt, are now finding its way to Independents.

It is entirely possible that if the issue of evasiveness and vacillation is not met effectively, Governor Carter's lead may shrink to zero. On the other hand, considering that Gerald Ford has very little else going for him, an effective response to this issue should protect the Carter lead.

A 5-point Anti-evasiveness Plan

How can Gerald Ford get away with a canard like "Jimmy Carter is the biggest flip-flopper I know"? The public, aided by the media, relies on summary statements of the candidates, and a summary which has been attached to Governor Carter is "evasiveness on the issues". "Evasiveness on the issues" is a summary tag which, once planted, is very difficult to eradicate. Five suggestions are offered here to remove this tag:

1. Choose a ha1f dozen issues on which Governor Carter's positions are the most straightforward -- simple, specific and clear. Probably three of these six issues should be pocketbook issues. Hit these issues repeatedly and hard.

2. Resist mightily the temptation to qualify positions, especially after the original position statement is concluded. The public is not picking up the honesty and carefulness of Governor Carter in stating all the boundary conditions on policies such as military intervention or crop embargoes. Nobody in the respondent sample said, "I would like Jimmy Carter a lot better if --- he'd stop being overprecise"; instead of over-precision they are seeing now that the tag has been planted, evasiveness. The public mistakes complex precision for evasiveness. To change this perception, emphasize the thrust of a position (e.g., to extend forgiveness and heal the wounds of Vietnam) rather than its distinctions (e.g., pardon vs. amnesty).

3. Orient the public toward the debates as the true testing ground of the candidates. The debates are the single best forum to stop the evasiveness charge

cold, by being clear, forthright and specific. If during the debates, Ford tries nitpicking on supposed Carter avoidance of the issues, counterattack against Ford's avoidance of the needs of the American people. "Ford's evasion of the responsibility of the Presidency is the worst evasion of all."

4. In a "Walter Cronkite informal interview"-type of context, Governor Carter should explain that as an engineering student, a naval officer, and a businessman, he often had to consider complex contingencies in an uncertain world. A Governor and a President have to do the same thing, even more so, especially when there has been so much waste and recklessness in the past. When you try to be honest about how complex some problems are, though, many people think you are being evasive. This line of discussion could then go into specific examples from the campaign.

5. Take advantage of clear negative responses from audiences, such as the booing by the American Legion, to point out that criticism is the price of forthrightness. <u>Politicians who say only what the audience wants to hear do not get booed.</u>

Closing remarks

A comparison of the present Ford data with the Ford data collected (but not reported) in June shows that there are not major changes in images of Ford from before to after the conventions. This is important in interpreting the shift in the national polls, with Carter's lead shrinking from some 25% to some 10%. (In our last two sets of in-depth interviews, incidentally, there is comparable shrinkage -- from 23% to 13%).

Apparently, the poll shift is not mostly attributable to a "new Ford". He is still the same old Jerry Ford, familiar to the American public. Rather, it is due to erosion of previously tentative support for Jimmy Carter, still very unfamiliar to large segments of the public. Strong self-presentation by Governor Carter is, therefore, the key to the campaign.

MEMORANDUM

To: PHC
From: JWG
Re: Party images and the impact of the Republican convention
Date: August 30, 1976

Much of the impact of the Republican convention on the nation's voters can be seen in comparison to two sets of pre-and post-convention figures on which part can do a better job of running various programs and dealing with various issues. It seems clear that despite their divisions and arguments, the Republicans were able to put across a number of arguments at their convention with regard to the fiscal issues. The table below shows that the changes occurred on several specific issues while many of them remained unchanged:

Which party does a better job?

	Democrats	Republicans
On the issue of:		
Inflation		
Pre-convention	40%	23
Post-convention	35%	35
Keeping unemployment down		
Pre-convention	54%	13
Post-convention	54%	19
Managing the economy		
Pre-convention	41%	25
Post-convention	36%	32
Making foreign policy		
Pre-convention	29%	31
Post-convention	27%	40
Generally managing government		
Pre-convention	42%	19
Post-convention	41%	23

Which party does a better job?
(continued)

	Democrats	Republicans
Helping people like yourself		
Pre-convention	51%	13
Post-convention	52%	21
Reforming taxes		
Pre-convention	38%	15
Post-convention	36%	20

The most notable change is on "inflation" where the Republicans went from 17% behind to a dead tie. It is clear the lingering image of the Democrats and the Congress as the "spending/inflation" party have a lot to do with this condition. As we see in another part of the survey, spending, government mismanagement and the economy are important issues to the voters.

The Republicans already held a lead on making foreign policy and have widened that lead. However, the overall survey indicates that this should be of less concern for two reasons:

1. Foreign policy both on the open-end and scale rating questions shows relatively low importance. It is not brought up on open-end questions and is rated relatively unimportant.
2. The "President Carter" in-depth interviews have consistently shown that foreign policy seems to be an area where voters expect the President to delegate authority. Henry Kissinger has clearly convinced most voters that foreign policy is to be subcontracted.

It seems clear from an overall analysis of the issue materials that the Carter campaign ought to shift back moderately to its primary campaign focus on government reorganization with attend emphasis on economy and thrift.

Obviously there is a danger in this issue. Among the ones that are already evident are:

1. It raises questions about Georgia. Georgia may have worked better, money may have been saved, but in the end taxes and spending both went up. The voters tend to take a somewhat simplistic notion of this issue.
2. It can be met with the "tell us some specifics" question.

We have seen in the past that the easiest way to defeat the "tell us some specifics" idea is to respond with specific criticism. If you can't elaborate a plan to reform the government you can at least respond with a list of specific problems either Proxmire style spending idiocies or bureaucratic bungles. The implication of the recital must be that Ford has had two years and the Republicans eight years to correct such things; but Carter would correct them immediately.

Another example of the way the fiscal responsibility issue seems to be moving is the reaction to the Ford vetoes. The table below shows that voters switched from a slim plurality disapproving the vetoes to a slim plurality favoring them over the course of the Republican convention:

Reaction to vetoes:

	Favor	Oppose	Don't know
Pre-convention	35%	39	26
Post-convention	40%	36	24

Thus, the relectless pounding of the Republicans during the convention week has helped to make Americans feel that the vetoes were good and necessary things. The Carter campaign is going to have to talk about the basic economic issues and about the specific programs that Ford has vetoed.

When we look at open-end issues by vote support, we see that people who mention economic issues in different ways vote in different ways. Those who mention economic problems in terms of unemployment vote for Carter by a substantial margin. Those who mention inflation as their major economic concern are almost evenly divided between Ford and Carter. Those who use the overall phrase "the economy in general" vote for Ford by a fairly substantial margin.

Looking at the governmental issues in the same way, those who intone "government corruption" vote for Carter--obvious Watergate fall-out. However, those who talk about government mismanagement or government spending support Ford. In primary states, voters concerned about these issues were Carter supporters.

Here again, the problem is two-fold. Republicans tend to be more concerned about government spending and are thus more likely to both mention the issue and to support Ford. However, at the same time, it seems clear that Carter's image in post-convention weeks has become more associated with "Democracy" in general and with the Congress. Association with the Congress is clearly not a positive thing.

For example, when we asked respondents how much blame a number of institutions deserved for our nation's economic troubles, we found the Congress lead the President by a wide margin.

	% saying each group deserves "a lot" of blame
President	20%
Congress	50
Big business	52
Government mismanagement	52
Labor unions	44

The generalized idea of "government mismanagement" does surpass the Congress by a slim margin. However, it is notable that barely a fifth of the American people feel that Ford deserves a lot of blame for the economy. The fact that so much of the economic trouble we have experienced occurred after Gerald Ford became President and because of policies he espoused is not something that people seem to remember.

In addition Congress receives and extremely poor rating when compared to the President.

On a scale of excellent, good, only fair and poor how would you rate the performance of each?

	Congress	Gerald Ford
Excellent	2%	5%
Good	16	33
Only fair	50	42
Poor	28	18
Don't know	4	1

Thus, while 38% of the population--by no means an overwhelming number--give Ford a positive, excellent or good rating, only 18% give Congress such a rating. The Congress is an exceptionally good target for Republican attacks

Furthermore, and perhaps most disturbingly, respondents feel that Carter has to bear the burden for what the Congress has done.

As the Democratic candidate for President, Jimmy Carter has to bear a lot of responsiblity for what the Democratic Congress has done.

Agree	57%
Don't know	7
Disagree	36

Thus respondents endorse, on the whole, the notion that Carter is responsible for his Congressional party. This makes it imperative:

1. That Congressional candidates vigorously defend their records and attack the specifics of the Ford vetoes. (e.g. "that veto cost the people of this district $_____.")
2. That Carter refuse to be held responsible for the past. He must argue that he didn't enter the race as the candidate of the establishment; he entered as an outsider, to bring an outsiders message to Washington. Let's recapture just a little bit of the primary fire on this one.

ans

DAVID Handley Jr
3407 WILSHIRE BV. #203
WILMINGTON, NC. 28401

DEAR MR. JORDAN:

I BELIEVE THAT THE FORD STRATEGY IS TO TRY TO CLOSE THE GAP ON MR. CARTER WITHOUT DEBATE. IF MR FORD IS SUCCESSFUL, HE WILL NEVER DEBATE.
I BELIEVE THAT THE BEST PLAN TO FOIL MR FORD ATTEMPT TO USE THE DEBATE AS A POLITICAL TOOL. FOLLOWS:
1. FORCE FORD TO NAME A DATE, IF HE SAYS OCTOBER. WE INSIST ON IMMEDIATELY
2. IF MR CARTER IS STILL OUT FRONT BY A COMFORTABLE MARGIN IN OCTOBER, WE SHOULD REFUSE TO DEBATE IN OCTOBER BECOUSE FORD REFUSED TO DEBATE IN AUGUST. I BELIEVE WITH ALL MY HEART THAT WE CAN BEAT FORD, BUT IF WE ARE WINNING, A DEBATE WOULD BE TAKING ~~A DEBATE~~ UNECESSARY CHANCES.

YOURS TRULY
David Handley

September 15, 1976

TO: Senator Walter F. Mondale

FROM: Robert B. Barnett

RE: Response to President's Housing Proposal

In his speech tonight, President Ford points to "interest rates too high, down-payments too high, and even monthly payments too high" and says that "home-ownership is not within the reach of many Americans, particularly young Americans beginning a career or marriage."

Your response should be to blame these conditions on his economic policies and to compare interest rates, down-payments, and monthly payments in 1968 with those in 1976.

1. Interest Rates - Mortgage interest rates from 1961 to 1968 under the Democrats averaged 6.05%. The average rate under the Republicans has been 8.4 percent -- 40 percent higher. In 1968, mortgage interest rates were 7 percent. They are now 9 percent.

2. Down Payments - The reason down payments are high is because home prices are high. In 1968, the median price of a new single-family home was $22,000. In 1976, it is $44,000 -- a 100 percent increase.

3. Monthly Payments - The monthly payment for a median-priced home with an 80 percent, 25-year mortgage has increased from $124.40 per month in 1968 to $294.40 per month in 1976 -- a 137 percent increase.

Ford then says that his goal "is home-ownership for every American family that wants to own a home and is willing to work and save for it."

He makes three proposals.

GENERAL POLICY

The first proposal is general. "I will continue to pursue economic policies, including tight control of unnecessary Federal spending, which will hold inflation down, reduce interest rates, cut your taxes, increasing your purchasing power, and making more funds available for home mortgages."

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The response to this general policy statement would be the same as that to his general criticism of economic conditions -- to compare his record with that of the Democrats.

I would recommend that you ignore this general policy statement and go to the specific proposals discussed above.

REDUCED DOWN PAYMENTS

Ford's second proposal is a specific one. He says, "It's time we did something more about the down-payment requirements which so many people can't afford. I will recommend changes in the FHA law to reduce down-payments on lower and middle-price houses, by up to 50 percent."

Your response should make the following points:

1. FHA homes represent only 10 percent of the market (100,000 homes each year). What about the other 90 percent of the home buyers in American who can't afford a down payment.

2. This proposal does nothing about home prices, which have increased 100 percent in the past eight years. Currently, two-thirds of our citizens cannot afford to buy a home.

3. This proposal does nothing about mortgage interest rates which have increased from 7 percent in 1968 to 9 percent today.

4. This Administration has pressured Congress for the past three years to raise FHA down-payment requirements. Now they totally change their policy on the eve of the election.

5. Last October, when the Administration revived the Section 235 program (an FHA program) after three years of impoundment (and under the a court order to do so), they set the down-payment requirement at 8 times what it was in 1973 when the impoundments began. Just last October, their policy was clearly to raise down payment requirements.

GRADUALLY INCREASING MONTHLY PAYMENTS

Ford's third proposal is described as follows: "I will direct the Department of Housing and Urban Development to accelerate implementation of a new federal guaranty program to lower monthly payments in the early years of home

ownership and gradually increase them as the family income goes up."

Your response should make the following points:

1. HUD has had the authority to experiment with restructured mortgage instruments (including the authority to do just what the President proposes) since 1974, but they have not used it. The Democratic Congress gave them that authority.

2. Section 235, which you fathered in 1968, is already in existence and includes the same principle. Under Section 235, payments do not exceed 20 percent of net income. As net income goes up, payments go up.

Look what this Administration has done to 235. In 1973, Richard Nixon impounded the money for the program. Gerald Ford continued the impoundment and only released the money after a federal court told him the impoundment was unconstitutional.

Even today, his revival of the program is half-hearted. There have been only 300 units under Section 235 in the past two years. The program has been encrusted with restrictions which make it virtually useless.

NOTE: The statement previously prepared for the Woodlawn event contains a full description of the Nixon-Ford failure to use existing programs and complete statistics on the Nixon-Ford housing record.

TO: Governor Carter, Senator Mondale and the Carter Campaign

FROM: Pat Caddell

RE: Survey Conclusions and Recommendations

DATE: September 2, 1976

During the month of August we conducted two major national surveys. The first was a national field survey in which we interviewed respondents for more than an hour and one half about their attitudes toward the issues and toward Governor Carter and President Ford. In addition, following the Republican convention we interviewed almost twelve hundred people in a national phone survey to measure the impact of the Republican convention. This was similar to a study we had done following the Democratic convention. This memo is not meant to replace the longer survey analysis which is forthcoming, but really to concentrate on the conclusions that we have drawn from the survey data and the strategic implications for the campaign.

As we discussed in the memo of August 9th, we expected the margin of the candidates to close following the Republican convention. We show the results as follows:

LATE AUGUST		EARLY AUGUST		LATE JULY-EARLY AUGUST	
Carter	50%	Carter	61%	Carter	58%
Ford	39%	Ford	30%	Ford	32%
Undecided	9%	Undecided	8%	Undecided	10%
No Vote	2%				

If we compare the post Democratic convention survey and the post Republican survey, we see that Carter has dropped 7 points, Ford has gained 7 points and the undecideds and "might not vote" totals remain the same. These figures are quite similar to the Gallup figures of 49% Carter and 39% Ford and the ORC Survey which showed a 9 point gap but showed a 49% to 38% lead for Carter among likely voters which is the composition of our sample. (We always expected a decline in the margin, although the drop is slightly more than I expected, and given the internal data, should rise again fairly quickly. However, it was unrealistic to have an incumbent President with a better than 55% favorable rating having less vote support than did McGovern anytime in 1972!)

Below are the figures of the race including McCarthy in the post Democratic convention:

	Post Republican Convention	Post Democratic Convention
Carter	46%	54%
Ford	37	33
McCarthy	6	5
Undecided	9	7

We see that with McCarthy in the race the margin narrows to 9 points with McCarthy taking 6% of the vote. Ford has increased his vote by 4 points and Carter has lost 8. The McCarthy vote tends to be liberals, Jewish voters and many who are not voting. Half of his voters are Carter voters, about one-fourth are Ford voters, and the balance coming

from undecided or those not planning to vote. He shows strength with white collar voters, young people and those with some college education and particularly runs strongest in New York, the northeast, the west coast and, to a lesser extent, the Industrial belt.

Although our margin has shrunk against Ford, the Carter vote is more intense and more enthusiastic. Seventy-four percent of the Carter voters indicate that they are very strongly committed to their choice while only 58% of Ford's voters are strongly committed. If one looks merely at the voters who are strongly or absolutely committed to candidates, we would lead Ford 62% to 37%. If one adds the very certain or somewhat certain voters together for each candidate, Carter leads by 13 points.

On enthusiasm we find that 42% of the Carter voters are very enthusiastic about their support for Carter and only 21% of Ford's voters are very enthusiastic about voting for Ford. Among the 28% of the electorate that is very enthusiastic about a choice, we lead 71% to 27%.

Ford has made his greatest gains in three areas. First with Republicans, conservatives, Protestants, upper income voters, and upper education voters. These are groups where Carter's lead was excessive for a Democrat, and with the return Reagan supporters, Ford has acquired the kind of support the Republican nominee is expected to have. Second, Ford has gained some strength with voters who make between $7,000 and $10,000 a year, family members of union members, young voters and liberals. In fact, Ford's support among liberals has

risen from 18% post Democratic convention to 28% post Republican convention. This is the area of voters which I am most confident can be attracted back from Ford to the Carter column. The third group are white collar, independent, middle income, middle age voters which serve as the major battleground of the election. The undecided voters are equally Catholic and Protestant - a larger proportion for Catholics than for the whole population and are generally independents and moderates and have somewhat lesser incomes than the population as a whole. Those voters who indicate that they will not vote at the moment tend to be overwhelmingly liberal, disproportionately Jewish, two to one McGovern voters in 1972, disproportionately Catholic, disproportionately union or union family (42%), 60% have some college education or better and tend to be voters who have voted in the past and almost half of them reside in New York or New England. These are voters who clearly look like Democratic voters if they can be moved to vote. If we look at the geography, we can find some important differences. The Gallup figures which indicate that we enjoy a 36% margin in the South and a one point margin in the non-South, are wrong. It appears to me that Gallup has done most or all of his black sampling in the South distorting our Southern lead which we indicate at the moment at no greater than about 22 points (57 - 35). This is supported by individual state data that we have in the South, which also indicates some problems in states like

Mississippi and Virginia. We show a margin of better than 8 or 9 9 points in the non-South, with leads of 10 to 11 points in the industrial mid-west, the farm-blet and the northeast, and with the race being essentially dead even in the Rocky Mountain States and the West Coast. Below are the geographical areas for the post-Republican convention and the post-Democratic convention.

General election for U.S. President

Areas	Carter	Undecided	Ford	Not vote	%change Carter	% change Ford
California (11)						
Today	46	4	46	3		
8-1	56	14	30	1	-10	+16
West (12)						
Today	45	9	44	2		
8-1	53	9	37	1	- 8	+ 7
New York (9)						
Today	44	14	35	7		
8-1	55	10	32	4	-11	+ 3
South (13)						
Today	57	8	35	--		
8-1	69	7	22	1	-12	+13
Industrial (29)						
Today	50	9	39	2		
8-1	52	9	29	1	-2	--
Border (8)						
Today	51	12	37	--		
8-1	64	7	30	--	-13	+ 7
New England (7)						
Today	49	6	37	8		
8-1	38	20	39	3	+11	- 2
Midlands (13)						
Today	49	12	38	2		
8-1	61	5	33	2	-12	+ 5

A slightly larger Republican sampling in California suggests that state is probably about 4 to 5 points more for Carter than Ford. And in New York, a slightly more Democratic sample in our new state survey suggests that the margin in New York, rather than being 9 points, is about 5. The new breakout suggests that Carter is running even in the West, the Rocky Mountain States and the Pacific Coast. But his lead in the southern states is now about 22 points, rather than the overly excessive margin of 47 points. The Border states (Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware) are now about 14 points difference, with a fairly significant undecided. New England has actually gone up since the Republican convention. The Mid-lands (including Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri and the Farm states) still shows about an 11 point lead, with a large 12% undecided. In this area Ford cannot gain as much as did the undecided grow. In the critical Industrial states, stretching from New Jersey to Illinois, we find that the margin is not much different than it was after the Democratic convention. Carter is down a couple of per cent; Ford is about the same. We noticed in the post-Democratic convention survey that it was again the Industrial belt which has changed the least from June. This suggests to us that that area is going to be very stable and a very hard-fought battleground.

If we were to list the key target groups, they would be as follows:

(1) Catholics - particularly ethnic Catholics, those that

make between $7,000 and $10,000, union and family of union members. This is a group where Ford has not picked up a lot of votes, but rather the undecided has increased. These are voters who are probably more inclined to move away from the Republicans because of the question of the economy, jobs, cities, welfare, crime. The failure of Ford to pick up more than 1% of this group suggests that we should be able to solidify and expand our lead here.

(2) White collar workers - Ford has made probably his biggest gains among white collar Independents, middle-aged and middle-income level. These are voters concerned with things like tax reform, economy and government. This is a group predominantly in the suburbs and one where we need to increase and close the margin.

(3) Young people - we see an erosion with young voters under 35 and under 25 toward Ford. This corresponds also with his gain with liberals. I suspect these are the gains that are the least likely to hold for Ford but require some effort on our part.

When we study the ratings of the two candidates, we find that Carter's rating has declined somewhat and that Gerald Ford's has risen. As the table below shows, each has an equal Favorable rating.

	Carter			Ford		
	Favbl	Unfavbl	Can't Rate	Favbl	Unfavbl	Can't Rate
Today	61	25	14	62	34	4
Post-Demo Convention	68	22	10	57	39	4

Carter's rating this time is 61% favorable, 25% unfavorable and 15% can't rate. Last time it was 68% favorable, 22% unfavorable, 9% can't rate. Ford's rating this time is 62% favorable, 34% unfavorable, 4% can't rate, and last time it was 57% favorable, 39% unfavorable, 4% can't rate. Both candidates' favorable ratings are about the same, although Ford has a 9% higher unfavorable rating than Carter. Carter has dropped in favorability 7% but only picked up 3% more unfavorable. The rest have gone into the can't rate column. This is particularly true of his "soft" groups (Catholics, ethnics, liberals, young people, etc.). Ford has gained 5 points, particularly from Republicans and Conservatives and lost 5 points in his unfavorable rating. While Ford has enjoyed a rise in his favorable rating, he has also experienced a rise in his job rating which is a disturbing sign, since this is the figure that most correlates to vote. The table below shows:

Ford Job Rating

	Today	After Democratic Convention
Excellent	5%	4%
Good	38	35
Fair	44	45
Poor	12	15
Don't know	--	1

As we can see the Excellent and Good rating for Ford has gone from a total of 39% to 43%. The number of people who give him a Poor rating has declined by 3% and the number of people who give him an only Fair rating has declined by 1%. At the end of this memo the breakdown tables for the vote race and the favorable ratings for each of the candidates are included.

In many ways, this election is reminiscent of the Massachusetts gubernatorial race of 1974 between Frank Sargent and Michael Dukakis. As in that race, the incumbent is viewed to be a very personable and warm decent individual who enjoys great personal popularity. On the other hand, he is viewed as an individual who is not very competent, who is seen to be less visionary, less able to inspire, less able to unify, and less able to take charge of the government than his challenging opponent. As in the 1974 race, the challenger is viewed as someone with good popularity, who is seen as a strong leader, but also viewed with some risk as an unknown. Since the convention, we have seen only slight movements in a positive direction in the Ford perception, particularly to the idea that he is strong and decisive. Carter has suffered a small erosion in the very positive perceptions he received in late July and early August. The sharpest movement in negatives has been on the question of Carter being vague, evasive and changing positions. Overall, despite the significant movement in vote support from the August field survey to the post-Republican phone survey, we find that the attitude perceptions of the two candidates has not changed as much as the vote race. In other words, the vote figures have moved far more than the perception questions. This would suggest two things: (1) Carter still has deeper support than Ford and an ability to expand his situation, and (2) that the election itself is not very well defined. We'll come back to this point a little later.

In both the field national survey and the post-Republican convention phone survey, we asked a large number of questions about both candidates. We used the seven point semantic differential scale to measure characteristics of each man; we used a number of projective statements to measure test arguments both pro and con, and finally, we tested a number of comparative traits and issues between the candidates. In both surveys the patterns were consistent; Carter scored large leads over the President on the traits having to do with vision, leadership and ability to unify the country. He out-scored the President by dramatic margins on issues having to do with government reorganization, reducing waste, being concerned about the average person and making the federal government more responsive to people. In addition, Carter bested Ford on a number of specific issues that were tested between the two candidates. Both candidates ran fairly even on the questions of honesty, general competence, ability to manage the economy, keeping taxes down, being a "safe" candidate and keeping down inflation. Ford received superior ratings only on the questions of handling foreign policy and international crises but was seen as less vague than Carter and less as being one to change his positions than the Governor. In addition, Ford's position vis-a-vis the Congress and his use of the veto seem to be general pluses for him. Although Carter surpasses Ford on almost every question, the points on which the electorate seems to be making critical decisions are the ones that to date Ford is able to run close or

slightly ahead of Carter. Below are summaries of the questions on the candidates beginning first with the comparative scores which they received on the seven point semantic differential which measures character intensity.

Semantic Differential	Carter		Ford	
	positive	negative	positive	negative
warm - cold	73 %	10	63	18
effective - ineffective	56	19	36	40
trustworthy - untrustworthy	61	5	62	19
decisive - wishy-washy	54	22	39	36
leader - follower	70	12	40	35
strong - weak	70	11	42	31
dedicated - opportunistic	50	26	53	21
competent - incompetent	67	9	56	28

If we look only at the total scores received by the candidates, positive and negative on each of the word adjectives, we find the following: both candidates receive high marks for warmth, trustworthiness, and similar scores on dedication and competence. Of these four, Carter receives only a higher negative score on opportunistic, where he finishes 5 points ahead of Ford. However, on the qualities involved in leadership Carter scores superior margins over the President. ON effectiveness Carter has a wide positive to negative ration, while Ford acutally has a slight plurality on the negative side. A similar pattern is seen in the decisive-wishy-washy differential where Ford finishes onlyabout even on the two adjectives, and Carter has a better than 2 to 1 margin for the positive quality. Carter enjoys almost 7 to 1 positive/negative margins on the qualities of being a leader and being strong. While in both areas Ford's positive score barely matches his negative score. This set of data as with others, suggests that the

Carter thrust should be in the area of leadership and effectiveness for the country.

The next set of questions that we will review are on the projective statements that were asked for both candidates.

Can unify country?

	Jimmy Carter			Gerald Ford		
	agree	don't know	disagree	agree	don't know	disgree
	46 %	39	21	29	21	50
Kind of President we can trust	58	27	15	54	19	28
Courage to make unpopular decisions	62	24	14	50	12	28
Is a good man, but can not take charge of government	19	24	58	58	10	31

Would you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Really cares about people like me

Jimmy Carter		Gerald Ford	
Agree		Agree	
Today	65	Today	54
8/1	69	8/1	--
Don't know		Don't know	
Today	14	Today	9
8/1	15	8/1	--
Disagree		Disagree	
Today	20	Today	37
8/1	17	8/1	--

Has the vision to provide solutions

Jimmy Carter	
Agree	
Today	49
8/1	55
Don't know	
Today	20
8/1	20
Disagree	
Today	31
8/1	26

Gerald Ford	
Agree	
Today	41
8/1	--
Don't know	
Today	10
8/1	--
Disagree	
Today	50
8/1	--

Changing his positions

Jimmy Carter	
Agree	
Today	34
8/1	33
Don't know	
Today	20
8/1	19
Disagree	
Today	47
8/1	48

Gerald Ford	
Agree	
Today	25
8/1	--
Don't know	
Today	12
8/1	--
Disagree	
Today	64
8/1	--

Risk to make Jimmy Carter President because we don't know him well enough	
Agree	35
Don't know	7
Disagree	58

Safe decision to keep Gerald Ford as President, because we know what he'll do	
Agree	42
Don't know	9
Disagree	49

As we can see from these questions voters agree better than 2.1 that Carter can unify the country and by the same margin reject the notion that Gerald Ford, if re-elected, can unify the country. Both candidates are viewed by majorities of the electorate as being the kind of president we can trust, and having the courage to make unpopular decisions. However, on the question that "each is a good man, not able to take charge of the government" we find that by 58 to 19 majority, the voters disagree with that proposition as it applies to Carter. In Gerald Ford's case, however, 58% agree, 31% disagree. The fact that almost 61% of the people agree that the President is a good man, but not able to take charge of the government is clearly the most fruitful area to exploit for the campaign. It, perhaps more dramatically than any other question, points up the weakness in Ford and the potential strength of Jimmy Carter. On the last four questions both candidates score majority agreement, although Carter's is slightly higher on the question that the candidate cares about people like me. Carter enjoys a 45 point margin of agreement over disagreement while Gerald Ford has only 17 point margin. When we return to the idea that each has a vision to lead the country and provide solutions, we find that almost a near majority agree in Carter's case (49%) while 31% disagree. However, in Gerald Ford's case, a majority disagree (41% agree and 50% disagree).

Only on the projective that each always changes his position, do we find an advantage for Ford. On this question a quarter agree that Ford changes his position, and nearly two thirds of the electorate disagree. While in Carter's case a third agree, and less than a majority (47%) disagree. This points up one of Carter's basic weaknesses. We

find on the projective statement, "it's a risk to make Jimmy Carter president because we don't know him well enough", that while a significant third of the electorate agree, a substantial 58% disagree. On the counter-question that it's a "safe decision to keep Gerald Ford because we know what he'll do", we find agreement of 42%, but a plurality of 49% in disagreement. Again, on these counter-arguments, Carter seems to come out on top.

We read the respondents a list of adjectives that describe traits for the candidates and asked them for whom the trait applied more to: more to Carter; more to Ford; equally, or to neither. The results are below:

Next, we have some problems which the next President will have to deal with. Regardless of how you are going to vote this fall, I'd like you to tell me whether you think Jimmy Carter or Gerald Ford would do a better job in dealing with each problem.

	More to Carter	More to Ford	Equally	Neither	Don't know
Honest					
Today	20%	23	43	5	9
8/1	31	27	27	3	12
Strong					
Today	34	24	26	8	8
8/1	--	--	--	--	--
Competent					
Today	29	27	31	4	9
8/1	38	32	14	2	14
Vague					
Today	38	20	16	11	14
8/1	32	30	15	9	15
Concerned about people like me					
Today	41	17	25	11	6
8/1	50	15	18	7	10
Has the ability to to work with Congress					
Today	44	24	12	6	14
8/1	43	32	3	3	9
Close to me on the issues					
Today	39	30	8	10	14
8/1	48	29	3	6	14
Would be a better leader					
Today	44	30	6	4	15
8/1	--	--	--	--	--

SCALE: 1. More to Carter 2. More to Ford 3. Both equally 4. To neither 5. DK

A safe choice	35 %	33	10	12	10
Ineffective	17	30	11	30	12
A risk as President	29	25	13	24	9

On each category we can see that Carter genreally leads, including the negative adjective "vague." In most cases, however, his margin is less than it was in the post-Democratic survey of the first of August. For example, on the quality "concerned about people like me," although Carter leads by a wide margin, his absolute percentage is down 9 points, although Ford's is up only two. A similar situation can be seen on the critical "close to me on the issues" -- a comparison that correlates closely to vote. However, except for the quality of "honest," in which Ford enjoys a slight margin, Carter enjoys a lead on almost every category. Carter carries the qualities of "strong," "concerned about people like me," "has the ability to work with Congress," and "would be a better leader" by fairly good margins. He has closer leads on the qualities of "competent," and a "safe choice as President." Carter is seen by a slight plurality as being a risk as President and by a fairly large plurality as being more vague than Gerald Ford -- a situation that substantially worsened since the Democratic Convention. On the quality "ineffective," Ford leads that negative characteristic by almost a 2:1 margin. The next set of comparatives measure specific issue areas, and the respondent is asked to tell us which candidate would do a better job in dealing with each problem.

Please look at this card. On this card are listed some of the problems which the President must deal with. Regardless of how you are going to vote this year I'd like you to tell me whether Jimmy Carter or Gerald Ford would do a better job, from your point, in dealing with each problem or issue.

SCALE:	1. Carter	2. Ford	3. Both	4. Neither	5. Don't know
Lowering unemployment	52	20	8	8	12
Improving race relations	40	20	10	10	20
Unifying the country	42	24	8	10	14
Providing vision and leadership	45	27	9	7	11
✓ Controlling inflation and food prices	33	32	7	15	13.
Handling busing	35	20	11	16	18
Handling the problems in the cities	38	16	12	17	17
Reducing waste in government	43	27	9	8	13
✓ Managing the economy	45	40	3	3	9
✓ Handling international crises	29	47	6	3	15
Making the general government more responsive to people like me	56	23	4	5	12
✓ Keeping your taxes down	34	34	4	12	15
Reorganizing the government	60	16	3	9	14

As we saw in earlier questions, Carter enjoys gigantic margins on Ford when it comes to questions like "making the general government more responsive to people like me," "reorganizing the government," "providing vision and leadership," "unifying the country," and "reducing waste in government." Carter also outscores Ford on a variety of specific issues -- lowering unemployment by a better than 2:1 margin, improving race relations, handling busing, handling problems in the cities. The candidates are viewed in fairly equal terms on controlling inflation and food prices, keeping your taxes down, and managing the economy. Ford takes "handling international crises" by a large margin over Carter. If we reviewed all the comparative questions, and ranked them in order by margin, we would find the following array:

ORDERING OF COMPARISON HEADINGS & PHRASES

Carter wins strongly	Carter wins by small margin or even		Ford wins
Reorganizing the Federal Gov. +44	Managing the economy	+5	Handling int'l crises +18
Making government responsive +33	A safe choice	+2	Honest + 3
Lowering unemployment +32	Competent	+2	Ineffective (a negative) +13
Concerned with people like me +24	Controlling inflation & food prices	+1	
Handling problems of cities +22	Keeping taxes down	0	

Ability to work with Congress	+20
Improving race relations	+20
Unifying the country	+18
Vision & leadership	+18
Reducing waste in government	+16
Handling busing	+15
Would be better leader	+14
Strong	+10
Close to me on the issues	+ 9
A risk as President (a negative)	- 4
Vague (a negative)	-18

On fourteen other adjectives or phrases Carter equals or exceeds his vote margin. On four qualities or phrases he carries, but far under his vote margin. One quality, "keeping taxes down," is dead-even, and Ford carries two qualities. Carter carries two negative qualities, "a risk" by a large margin. These comparisons ought to suggest that Carter's margin would be greater than it is. Part of this reason is seen in the regression analysis that we have just completed.

Regression analysis is a statistical technique that allows us to measure and separate dependent variables from independent variables, and truly assess those factors having the greatest impact on vote decision. I won't attempt to repeat all of the formulas and tables and results from this procedure, rather to summarize some of the findings that we have made. As in the past, we have found that the ones standing "close to me on the issues" has a tremendous correlation to how one votes. However, when we tested variables to see what seemed to have the greatest influence on that single variable, we found the following. "Making the government more responsive to people like me" ranked first, and was quite significant, followed by "keeping taxes down." As we can see from the charts above, Carter carries the first by a wide margin, but runs only second on the second adjective. The third adjective/phrase that had statistical significance was "managing the economy." This is a comparison where Carter

enjoyed only a 5% margin. In other words, on the three comparison adjective/phrases that seemed to have an impact directly on voting, Carter had a substantial lead in one, the other two were either even or very close. It is clear to us that keeping taxes down is a larger euphemism for government spending, waste, and expensive programs. It suggests that in this area we do have some vulnerabilities. Given the Republican problems on economic matters, the closeness of the contest on "managing the economy" seems surprising. However, we have found, since the Republican Convention that both the President and the Party ahave moved substantially to close the gaps on general management of the economy and particularly in holding down inflation and spending -- areas heavily emphasized at their conclave. Despite the Governor's large margin on other questions and comparisons, it seems that those contribute at the moment only a small part to the vote decision. Political Party seems to be significant as a voting factor, and we should exploit the difference between the Democrats and the Republicans.

The regression analysis suggests two points: (1) that we try to better define the election in those terms that are most advantageous to us, and (2) that we better attempt to answer or exploit the concerns with taxes (inflation/spending), and the question of management of the economy particularly as it applies to spending. As I will discuss

shortly, this also suggests that we return to many of the basic themes that we utilized in the primary, particularly to making the government responsive, government reorganization, and to some degree, our anti-Washington theme. We also found that, as in the past, there is a strong correlation to perception of Ford's job rating and vote. Because of the importance of the idea of the "close to me on the issues" we also looked at those respondnets who named economic issues as the most important problem, to see who they perceived as closest to them on the issues. We found that those pepole who said that jobs were the most important issue, that they felt that Carter was "close to me on the issues" by a margin of 59% to 18%. However, those who named the e equally important or even more important inflation as the major issues sqw Carter as "close to me on the issues" by a margin of only 39% to 34 %. Finally, those who named the general economy as a problem, saw Carter "close to me on the issues" by a margin of 42% to 30%. This suggests, that in viewing the economic issues that we enjoy a large advantage on unemployment (as other data suggests), a general advantage on the general economy, and only a very weak and very insignificant advantage on the question of inflation which is certain to be a major

Republican issue.

We also asked additional questions on both candidates which is worthwhile in touching upon at this time. When we asked people in their own words to tell us what they liked about Jimmy Carter, we found almost the same ordering of responses that we saw following the Democratic Convention. Honesty and straightforwardness lead the list, followed by being for the people, the common man, for the working man, followed by being a good Christian, and finally personality. In almost every category the number of people who could offer comments were equal to those in late July. We found a simolar pattern when we asked people what they disliked about Jimmy Carter. The idea that he is evasive, unclear, not honest, together lead the list. Altogether, 76% of the people could say somehting they liked about Carter, and 47% could say somehting they disliked about Carter. We also asked people to agree or disagree with the number of statements that have not yet been covered. I am including these for study.

As President, Jimmy Carter would have the ability to deal effectively with foreign affairs and foreign leader

Agree	46%
Don't know	34
Disagree	21

Jimmy Carter makes me uneasy

Agree	24
Don't know	9
Disagree	67

I respect Jimmy Carter for letting people see his religious side

Agree	74
Don't know	13
Disagree	13

I'm willing to put my faith in Jimmy Carter.

Agree	
Today	49
8/1	53
Don't know	
Today	13
8/1	12
Disagree	
Today	38
8/1	35

Jimmy Carter doesn't understand how things work in Washington well enough to be an effective President

Agree	20 %
Don't know	21
Disagree	59

If he were President, Jimmy Carter couldn't really reorganize the government to make it run better

Agree	29
Don't know	30
Disagree	41

Which of these two statements is closer to your own position?		
	Jimmy Carter is avoiding the issues and won't take stands.	26
	Don't know	21
	Jimmy Carter is talking about the important choices facing America and shouldn't be criticized for not taking a stand on specific issues.	53
Jimmy Carter won the Democratic nomination without owing anyone anything and that is good.		
	Agree	58
	Don't know	76
	Disagree	15
Jimmy Carter is just a cold, ambitious politician who cares more about getting elected than what is right for the country.		
	Agree	13
	Don't know	20
	Disagree	66
If Jimmy Carter is elected President, he will bring needed fundamental changes in America.		
	Agree	49
	Don't know	30
	Disagree	21
Being from a small town in Georgia, Jimmy Carter doesn't understand the country well enough to be an effective President.		
	Agree	16
	don't know	15
	Disagree	70

On almost all the questions, Carter scores very positively. By better than a two-to-one margin, voters feel that Carter would have the ability to deal with foreign affairs, and foreign leaders, although a substantial 34% were not sure. When we posed to people the argument that Carter would not be able to reorganize the government, voters rejected that by a 12% margin, indicating some confidence in his ability to bring about reorganization. We found strong rejection of the notion that Carter is not experienced enough to be President, or that he is not qualified to be President, that he makes people uneasy, or that he is just a cold, ambitious politician who cares only about getting elected. A large majority reject the notion that Carter was unable to understand the country because he comes from a small town in Georgia. Large majorities gave Carter credit for allowing people to see his religious side (74-13), and that he won the nomination without owing anyone anything. Forty-nine percent of the voters believe that Carter, if elected, would bring needed change to America, and an equal percentage believe that they were willing to put their personal faith in Jimmy Carter. While the latter is down a few points from our findings after the Democratic convention, it is still a substantial vote of confidence, given the cynicism in the country today. We also found a fairly substantial plurality who believe that the Carter/Mondale ticket represented a new generation of leadership that could guide America forward - again a positive sentiment about the ticket in the wake of general cynicism in the country.

Perhaps the most interesting two questions involved, the idea that Carter is just another big-spending liberal, and the degree of responsibility he bears for the Democratic Congress. On the question that "Jimmy Carter is just another big-spending liberal" we found 16% agreement, 65% disagreement. This suggests that the Republicans will have a hard time simply tagging Carter as a big-spending liberal. However, the statement "as the Democratic candidate for President, Jimmy Carter has to bear a lot of the responsibility for what the Democratic Congress h as done" is a statement whose results suggest that we do have problems in relation to the Congress, and perhaps to that institution's spending problems. Fifty-seven percent of the voters agreed that Carter bore a lot of responsibility for the Congress, while only 36% disagree. This is quite disturbing in light of our success as the anti-Washington candidate in the primaries. It also may have some bearing on the fact that on the questions of "keeping takes down" and "managing the economy," particularly related to spending and inflation, our margins on Gerakd Ford are only about even. Clearly we need to put some distance between the Congress and to reawaken again the sense that we are a non-establishment outside figure who is coming to Washington to lead, not to be co-opted.

As with Jimmy Carter, we asked a number of other questions concerning President Ford. When we asked people what were the outstanding successes and failures of the Ford administration we found that only 43% of the voters were able to tell us something that Gerald Ford h ad accomplished in

his administration. In fact 23% of the voters told us that he had accomplished nothing as President. Leading the list in single digits were "keeping the country together," "bringing honesty and integrety to government," and "curbing inflation." On the question of what has been the major failures of the Ford administration, 69% of the voters were able to tell us something at which the administration had failed. Ranking first, in our new survey, was the failure to curb inflation and the cost of living. Rising from 4% August 1, to 10% post-convention, ~~again is~~ an indication of the concern that seems to be increasing over that issue. Those citing the Nixon pardon declined from 14% to 8% and those citing poor job on unemployment rose from 5% to 8%. Clearly, in terms of accomplishment and job, the Ford administration is viewed far

more negatively than it is positively. When we asked voters what they liked and disliked about Gerald Ford personally, we found a dramatically different situation. Seventy-five percent of the voters were able to tell us something they liked about Gerald Ford, with honesty, trying hard, and doing a good job leading the list. Sixty-two percent were able to tell us something they disliked about Gerald Ford, headed by easily swayed by advisors, weak, and by the Nixon pardon. Even though his personal qualities show better than questions about his job performance, these results are still below the ratio of positive to negative comments received by Governor Carter. When we asked people to rate Ford's job rating in specific areas, we found even lower ratings than he received overall. On the question of foreigh policy, 37% gave Ford an excellent or good rating, while 58% gave him an only fair or poor rating. ON busing 17% gave him poisitve rating, and 71% gave him a negative ratin g, with 35% saying he did a poor job on busing. On economic problems, perhaps most important for our concerns, we find that a quarter of the electorate gave him positive ratings and 72% gave him negative ratiens ratings, with 32% of those being poor. Finally, on the question of unifying the country, we found that 27% gave him an excellent or good rating, and 69% gave him an only fair or poor rating, with 31 of the 69 being poor. Clearly when you discuss Ford's specific job performance, or his general job performance, perceptions on him drop dramatically. Once again this argues for a thrust in the election that goes to the question of leadership, competenece, and ability. As with Carter we asked a series of additional agree-disagree statements on Ford, those of which follow next.

list

The country will never start moving forward as long as Gerald Ford is President

Agree	38
Don't know	15
Disagree	47

Gerald Ford's policies have helped put the country back on the road to economic prosperity.

Agree	41
Don't know	13
Disagree	46

Gerald Ford does alot of dumb things that make we wonder about him.

Agree	45
Don't know	13
Disagree	42

Gerald Ford deserves credit for restoring honest government to the country.

Agree	46
Don't know	19
Disagree	35

Do you think that Gerald Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon was part of a deal Ford made with Nixon.

Yes	39
Not sure	24
No	36

The Republicans have controlled the White House for eight years. It is time for a Democratic President

Agree	45
Don't know	14
Disagree	41

With the Republicans, it seems like the economy always gets better in election years and then it goes down again after the President is re-elected.

Agree	48 %
Don't know	13
Disagree	39

Gerald Ford has shown he does not have the qualities necessary to be an effective President.

Agree	34
Don't know	6
Disagree	60

Gerald Ford doesn't understand how things work in Washington well enough to be an effective President.

Agree	16
Don't know	6
Disagree	78

Two years ago Gerald Ford granted Richard Nixon an unconditional pardon. Looking back, do you approve or disapprove of that decision?

Approve	37
Don't know	6
Disapprove	57

As President, Gerald Ford has vetoed numerous bills sent to him by Congress. Which of these statements is closer to your position about these vetoes:

1. These vetoes were necessary to control wasteful spending in Congress.	40
2. These vetoes blocked important legislation that would have been good for the country.	36
3. Don't know	24

Which of these statements is closer to your position:

1. Gerald Ford should be judged by all eight years of Republican Administration that he and Richard Nixon have run.	12
2. Gerald Ford should be judged only by the two years he himself has been President.	86
3. Don't know	2

On most of the projective statements we put to the respondents on Gerald Ford, he receives either slightly negative marks or barely positive marks. For example, while a plurality of 9% reject the notion that the country will never start moving as long as he is President, with 47% disagreeing, a substantial 38% did agree with that statement. On the question that Ford's policies have helped put the country on the road to economic prosperity, 41% agreed, but a plurality of 46% disagreed with that notion. Finally, about 45% of the electorate agrees that Gerald Ford "does a lot of dumb things that make one wonder about him", and a similar percentage agree that Ford deserves credit for restoring honest government to the country. Neither is particularly encouraging for him. On the question that the Republicans have controlled the White House for eight years and it's time for a Democratic President, we found a plurality who agreed with that general statement. However, when we raised the question of whether Ford should be judged by all eight years of the Republican administration or only by the two years that he himself has been President, we found that the electorate by a margin of 86% to 12% said that Ford should be judged "only by the two years that he himself has been President". This strongly suggests that both candidates should not identify Ford as part of the Nixon administration. On the question of the

Nixon pardon, we found that 37% approve and 57% disapprove, close to other national surveys. Interestingly, we also found that 39% felt that Ford's pardon was part of a deal with Nixon, and 36% felt it was not. Although this obviously is a plus for the Democratic side, it is an issue that probably is best left untouched by the principal candidates. Finally, on the question of vetoes, we asked voters whether the vetoes were necessary to control wasteful spending, or whether the vetoes blocked necessary legislation that would have been good for the country. We found that a plurality of 40% daid the vetoes were necessary to control wasteful spending in Congress, and 36% felt that they blocked important legislation. This is the opposite of the findings we had after the Democratic convention, when a plurality believed the vetoes blocked important legislation and suggests the impact of the Republican convention's continual pounding over wasteful spending by the Congress and the vetoes by Ford.

We also asked voters who they though would be a better choice for vice-president. We found that 34% of the electorate picked Senator Mondale, and 27% of the electorate picked Senator Dole, and 40% were undecided. When we asked people specifically what liked and disliked about Walter Mondale, only 23% were able to say something they liked - honesty heading the list. When we asked what they disliked, we found that only 14% were able to say something they disliked, and of that 5% of the comments were that he was too liberal. Overall, voters could not talk about Senator Mondale in much

depth yet. On the question of whether the ticket was too liberal, we found that 19% agreed and 57% disagreed, and 24% were not sure. And as we pointed out before, on the question of "the Carter/Mondale ticket represents a new generation of leadership", we found that carried - 47% agree and 30% disagree, with 20% unsure.

In addition to the structured surveys that we have been conducting, Cambridge Survey Research has also been continuing our series of "President Carter," "President Ford" unstructured interviews. These are the interviews in which we ask people a series of open-ended questions about their view of the candidates as potential presidents -- how they would act on the various issues and then some sense of their comparative questions and concerns. We found these surveys important because they have been an early indicator of any changes we might later see in the more structured and hard data. In the latest batch of President Ford interviews, completed after the Republican Convention, we found several things of important interest. First, the image of President Ford did not change very much although he was viewed somewhat to be a stronger more forceful individual. He received very high marks on his speech, which we also recorded in our after-convention survey. On the other hand, there were some increases in doubts about Jimmy Carter, particularly on the questions of being evasive and changing positions. In fact, where after the Democratic Convention, only a small percentage of the Independents raised the question, we now find a significant number of Independent voters who say they are concerned about evasiveness and a failure to take specific stands on the issues. This is a particular concern in part because we have in the past been doing very well with the Independent voters and now trailing; and also because it seems these problems which have been restricted to voters who dislike Carter now seem to be extended to larger numbers of the electorate. It is the feeling of those who have been conducting the interviews that a continuation of this pattern could result, if unchecked, in reducing our margins even further. In addition, for the first time, we have had voters not only referring to evasiveness and inability to take stands or changing positions in the context of the campaign, but as I say, for the first time, voters indicating that they

would be concerned that as President, Jimmy Carter would act that way. This is one area I feel that the debates could have a particularly significant impact in altering a perception. While at the moment, the perception is not deadly, it does need to be dealt with, and later recommendations, I will pass on a few of those that came from those who prepared these interviews.

J CPL
C ICC

NOT USED

O: GOVERNOR CARTER
HRU: STU EIZENSTAT THRU MILT GWIRTZMAN
ROM: SAM BLEICHER - ISSUES DATE: 9/26/76
UBJECT: FORD STATEMENTS ON GUN CONTROL IN MISSISSIPPI

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT SHOULD BE RELEASED IMMEDIATELY (AFTER CONSIDERATION F THE BACKGROUND COMMENTS BELOW):

MR. FORD HAS FLIP-FLOPPED ON GUN CONTROL.

WHILE CAMPAIGNING ALONG THE GULF COAST OF MISSISSIPPI SUNDAY, MR. FORD OMMENTED, "IF YOU WANT TO GO HUNTING YOU SHOULDN'T HAVE TO GO DOWN AND EGISTER YOUR FIREARM WITH SOME FEDERAL OFFICIAL." AND "I DON'T THINK THE LAW-
IDING AMERICAN PEOPLE SHOULD BE DENIED OF THE FREEDOM OF ARMS." (SIC)

THOSE IN THE AUDIENCE MIGHT REASONABLY HAVE CONCLUDED THAT MR. FORD HAS PPOSED ALL LEGISLATION RESTRICTING GUN OWNERSHIP, AND THAT HIS POSITION WAS DENTICAL TO THE GUN CLUBS AND SPORTSMEN'S GROUPS WHOSE VOTES HE WAS SEEKING.

THIS CAMPAIGN RHETORIC IS CLEARLY AT ODDS WITH WHAT MR. FORD HAS BEEN DOING N WASHINGTON. HE SEEMS TO THINK THAT ON THIS ISSUE, LIKE SO MANY OTHERS, THE MERICAN PEOPLE WILL NOT BOTHER TO LOOK AT THE RECORD BEFORE THEY VOTE IN NOVEMBER. MR. FORD IS IN FOR A RUDE AWAKENING.

LET'S LOOK AT WHAT MR. FORD'S ATTORNEY-GENERAL, EDWARD LEVI, WAS SAYING LAST YEAR. FOR 62 METROPOLITAN AREAS, HE PROPOSED BANNING POSSESSION OF HANDGUN S OUTSIDE A PRIVATE HOME OR PLACE OF BUSINESS AS W
ELL AS BANNING THE TRANSFER
OF HANDGUNS AND HANDGUN AMMUNITION IN THOSE AREAS. HANDGUN OWNERS WISHING TO TRANSPORT A WEAPON WOULD HAVE TO OBTAIN A SPECIAL PERMIT "OF EXTREMELY LIMITED URATION" AFTER SHOWING "A LEGITIMATE REASON." IN SUPPORT OF HIS PROPOSAL LEVI SAID, "WHILE IT IS EASY TO SYMPATHIZE WITH THOSE WHO WANT TO PROTECT THEMSELVES FROM OTHERS WHO HAVE HANDGUNS, IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THEY CONTRIBUTE TO THE UNACCEPTABLE PROLIFERATION OF HANDGUNS IN THE CITIES."

MR. FORD, COMMENTING ON THIS PROPOSAL, SAID HE WOULD CERTAINLY CONSIDER IT, SINCE IT DID NOT INVOLVE REGISTRATION: IT IS HARD TO IMAGINE THAT THE OPPONENTS OF HANDGUN REGISTRATION WOULD CONSIDER THIS PROPOSAL A MORE ACCEPTABLE ALTERNATIVE.

BUT THAT WAS LAST YEAR. NOW MR. FORD IS BEGINNING TO RUN FOR PRESIDENT FOR THE FIRST TIME, AND HE IS DESPARATELY TRYING TO FIND OUT WHAT THE PEOPLE WANT AND PROMISE IT TO THEM. IT WILL TAKE A LOT MORE FLIP-FLOPS TO FIT HIS PROGRAM TO THE PEOPLE'S NEEDS.

IN THE PAST TWO YEARS GOVERNOR CARTER HAS TALKED TO THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS ALL OVER THIS LAND. HE KNOWS THAT THE QUESTION OF GUN CONTROL IS COMPLEX AND CONTROVERSIAL, AND HE HAS CAREFULLY THOUGHT OUT A POSITION THAT HE BELIEVES WILL BEST SERVE THE NEEDS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND HAVING TAKEN THAT POSITION, HE DOES NOT INTEND TO SAY ONE THING IN THE NORTH AND ANOTHER IN THE SOUTH, ONE THING ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL AND ANOTHER IN WASHINGTON. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE BEEN SADDLED WITH THAT KIND OF GOVERNMENT AND THAT KIND OF PRESIDENT FOR TOO LONG. THEY WILL NOT TOLERATE IT FOR 4 MORE YEARS.

BACKGROUND COMMENTS: THERE ARE 2 THINGS THAT MIGHT BE WRONG WITH THIS KIND OF ATTACK: (1) IT COULD GIVE UNDESIRABLE PROMINENCE TO THE GUN CONTROL ISSUE, SINCE OUR POSITION IS MORECONTROL-ORIENTED THAN FORD'S. (THE LEVI PROPOSAL WAS MADE IN A SPEECH, NOT DRAFT LEGISLATION, AND IT NEVER WENT ANY FURTHER, ALTHOUGH THE SPEECH WAS APPROVED BY THE WHITE HOUSE.) ON THE OTHER HAND, WE ARE TAKING AN UNEQUIVOCAL POSITION ON THIS ISSUE (AND ONE THAT IS FAVORED BY 75% OF THE VOTERS, EVEN THOUGH NOT NEARLY AS INTENSELY AS THE 25% WHO OPPOSE), AND THE CARTER POSITION HAS BEEN WIDELY MISREPRESENTED AS FAVORING REGISTRATION OF ALL GUNS (OR WORSE), SO SOME PUBLICITY MIGHT BE HELPFUL IN SHOWING THAT THE DIFFERENCES ARE NOT SO GREAT BETWEEN CARTER AND FORD AS HE WOULD LIKE GUN OWNERS TO BELIEVE.

(2) ANY "FLIP-FLOP" ATTACK ON FORD MAY INVITE NASTY COMMENTS TO THE EFFECT THAT CARTER IS IN NO POSITION TO CRITICIZE ANYONE ON THAT SCORE. BUT THAT KIND OF [illegible] VULNERABLE ANY TIME WE CRITICIZE FORD FOR CHANGING HIS POSITION AND WE CAN ONLY BENEFIT FROM FOCUSING ATTENTION ON THE FORD INCONSISTENCIE S, MAKING HIM LOOK MORE LIKE A POLITICIAN AND LESS

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SPEECH, NOT DRAFT LEGISLATION, AND IT NEVER WENT ANY FURTHER, ALTHOUGH THE
EECH WAS APPROVED BY THE WHITE HOUSE.) ON THE OTHER HAND, WE ARE TAKING AN
EQUIVOCAL POSITION ON THIS ISSUE (AND ONE THAT IS FAVORED BY 75% OF THE
TERS, EVEN THOUGH NOT NEARLY AS INTENSELY AS THE 25% WHO OPPOSE), AND THE
RTER POSITION HAS BEEN WIDELY MISREPRESENTED AS FAVORING REGISTRATION OF ALL
NS (OR WORSE), SO SOME PUBLICITY MIGHT BE HELPFUL IN SHOWING THAT THE
FFERENCES ARE NOT SO GREAT BETWEEN CARTER AND FORD AS HE WOULD LIKE GUN OWNERS
BELIEVE.
(2) ANY "FLIP-FLOP" ATTACK ON FORD MAY INVITE NASTY COMMENTS TO THE EFFECT
AT CARTER IS IN NO POSITION TO CRITICIZE ANYONE ON THAT SCORE. BUT THAT KIND
REACTION IS INEVITABLE ANY TIME WE CRITICIZE FORD FOR CHANGING HIS POSITION
WE CAN ONLY BENEFIT FROM FOCUSSING MORE ATTENTION ON THE FORD INCONSISTENCIE
MAKING HIM LOOK MORE LIKE A POLITICIAN AND LESS
LIKE A PRESIDENT.

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U W CZCRYRRYR
ZPM-LEADING INDICATORS; 270
$URGENT
BY G. DAVID WALLACE
*ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITER
WASHINGTON (AP) - THE GOVERNMENT INDEX DESIGNED TO ANTICIPATE FUTURE ECONOMIC TRENDS FELL DURING AUGUST FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE CURRENT RECOVERY BEGAN; THE GOVERNMENT REPORTED TODAY.
THE COMMERCE DEPARTMENT SAID ITS COMPOSITE INDEX OF LEADING INDICATORS FELL 1.5 PER CENT IN AUGUST; DUE PRIMARILY TO A HIGHER LAYOFF RATE IN MANUFACTURING AND REDUCED BUSINESS SPENDING.
THE DROP IS THE FIRST SINCE FEBRUARY; 1970; AND THE LARGEST SINCE THE 3.4 PER CENT DECLINE A MONTH BEFORE THAT.
A DECLINE IN THE INDEX IS GENERALLY A SIGNAL OF SLOWER GROWTH IN THE ECONOMY. THE INITIAL REPORT IS SUBJECT TO SUBSTANTIAL REVISION; SO THAT THE INITIAL REPORT IS SUBJECT TO SUBSTANTIAL REVISION; SO THAT THE INITIAL FIGURES ARE NOT NECESSARILY SOLID. MOST ECONOMISTS CONSIDER A THREE-MONTH DROP OR INCREASE IN THE INDEX TO BE NECESSARY BEFORE THEY CONSIDER A CHANGE IN DIRECTION FOR THE ECONOMY IS INDICATED.
BUT THE INDEX DROP DOES COME AFTER THREE CONSECUTIVE MONTHS OF A RISING UNEMPLOYMENT RATE DESPITE GROWING EMPLOYMENT AND IN THE MIDST OF WHAT ADMINISTRATION ECONOMISTS CONSIDER A LULL IN ECONOMIC GROWTH.
ADMINISTRATION ECONOMISTS HAVE BEEN CONTENDING THAT THE LULL IS ONLY TEMPORARY.
THE AUGUST DECLINE FOLLOWS A FIVE-TENTHS OF 1 PER CENT ADVANCE IN JULY AND LEAVES THE INDEX; WHICH IS AT 100 PER CENT OF ITS 1967 AVERAGE; PRECISELY WHERE IT WAS IN MAY.
AMORE
1024AED 09-28

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ZPM-LEADING INDICATORS; 1ST ADD; A088; 180
*WASHINGTON: IN MAY.

THE LEADING INDICATOR INDEX IS COMPOSED OF A DOZEN INDIVIDUAL ECONOMIC STATISTICS SELECTED FOR THEIR POSITION IN THE FOREFRONT OF ECONOMIC TRENDS. OF THE 11 STATISTICS AVAILABLE IN TIME FOR COMPUTATION IN THE AUGUST INDEX; EIGHT POINTED DOWNWARD.
THE LAYOFF RATE IN MANUFACTURING JUMPED TO 1.5 PER CENT IN AUGUST AFTER REGISTERING A 1.1 PER CENT RATE IN JULY. THE VOLUME OF CONTRACTS AND ORDERS FOR FACTORIES AND FACILITIES SLIPPED 12.5 PER CENT AFTER MARKING A 1.8 PER CENT ADVANCE THE PREVIOUS MONTH.
OTHER FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE AUGUST DECLINE WERE A SHORTER AVERAGE WORK WEEK FOR FACTORY WORKERS; A SLOWER GROWTH IN ASSETS HELD BY CONSUMERS AND BUSINESS; A SLOWER FORMATION OF NEW BUSINESSES; LOWER STOCK PRICES; A SMALLER AMOUNT OF MONEY IN CIRCULATION AFTER ADJUSTMENT FOR INFLATION AND A SMALLER VOLUME OF NEW ORDERS RECEIVED BY MANUFACTURERS OF CONSUMER PRODUCTS AND THEIR SUPPLIERS.
UPWARD INFLUENCES IN THE INDEX WERE HIGHER PRICES FOR KEY WHOLESALE MATERIALS; A LARGER NUMBER OF BUILDING PERMITS ISSUED AND SLOWER DELIVERIES BY SUPPLIERS. THE SLOWER DELIVERIES IS TAKEN AS A SIGNAL OF INCREASED DEMAND AND THEREFORE OF QUICKENED ECONOMIC ACTIVITY.
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