THE NATION

Carter starred at a reception given by

Actor Warren Beatty at the swank Bev-erly Wilshire Hotel. Waiting to play

Gucci-footsie with the Georgia peanut

farmer were the likes of Diana Ross

Louise Lasser, Peter Falk, Carroll

O'Connor and Faye Dunaway Re-

sponding to Beatty's flip comment that

the guests were "pinkos, leftists, Com-

mies," Carter quipped, "It is a real thrill

to meet the famous people here tonight

I hope I don't get to know too much

about you." When Actor Tony Randall

noted, "You've never met with people

of this level," the Georgian retorted.

movingly of the problems of the poor "Public servants like me and Jerry

Brown have a special responsibility to

bypass the big shots, including you and

people like you, and like I was, and make a concerted effort to understand people

who are poor, black, speak a foreign lan-

guage, who are not well educated, who are inarticulate, who are timid, who

have some monumental problem, and

at the same time run the Government

in a competent way ... so that those ser-

vices that are so badly needed can be

Carter left out a line criticizing political

eaders who "ride in limousines too

long." Why? Because, Carter explained.

"I was kind of embarrassed" about the

huge limo that the Secret Service had or-

dered to convey him to the Wasserman

bash. The candidate thereupon directed

that he be transported henceforth in reg-

ular cars, if security permits.

In a prepared address the next day,

Regular Cars. Then Carter spoke

"That's how I won the nomination."

THE CAMPAIGN

The First Whiffs of Grapeshot

Ford took it easy last week. At his hide-away in the Rocky Mountain resort of Vail, Colo., the President golfed, swam and partied with friends. As the days slipped by, Ford looked tanned, rested and confident-and with some reason.

Already buoyed by his hard-fought triumph over Ronald Reagan, the President got some good news from the first polls taken after the Republican Convention in Kansas City. Gallup showed Ford trailing Jimmy Carter by only 39% to 49%; in July, after the Democratic revival meeting in Manhattan. Gallup had Ford behind by a dismal 29% to 62% Opinion Research Corp. put Carter nine points up. TIME's own poll gave Carter

ing, vacations abroad, tennis-and even It is a hard fact of political life in the U.S. that the poor and disadvantaged fail to show their strength at the polls Political Analyst Richard Scammon, coauthor (with Ben Wattenberg) of The Real Majority, estimates that as many as 80% of the 80 million to 90 million Americans who will vote in this election could be middle- or upper-class What is more, a Gallup poll released last May showed that 47% of those sur-

of center, whatever their party label. The existence of such a large, wellheeled and relatively conservativeminded body of Americans presents

veyed consider themselves to be right



PRESIDENT FORD GREETING ROCKEFELLER (LEFT), DOLE & CONNALLY IN VAIL The gap in the polls would be "no hill for a stepper."

Suddenly, what had not long ago one of his most serious handicaps: beseemed to be a Carter runaway was beginning to shape up as a close race indeed. Victory will probably go to the candidate who appeals most successfully to the aspirations and fears of the vast American middle class, a group that is well off by any standard and hopes to

New Life-Style. Sociologists and demographers can debate forever just where the boundaries of this huge middle class fall. Some experts feel that fully 75% of all Americans are now middleor upper-class. With its growing affluence, the American middle class practices a life-style that not so long ago was

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ing the nominee of a party that claims the formal allegiance of only 18% to 22% of the voters. Ford's opportunity is Carter's danger. If the Georgian moves-or is driven by Ford-too far to the left. he risks alienating large sections of the middle class. And, by background and instinct, Carter is a populist.

Carter's populism emerged before a notably elite audience last week—the beautiful people of Hollywood. He attended a fund-raising dinner for 60 movie moguls and businessmen at the opulent mansion of Lew Wasserman, board chairman of MCA Inc., a show biz conglomerate. Later, accompanied California's Governor Jerry Brown.

FORD DISCUSSING PROPOSED DEBATES



MONDALE ADMIRING SQUASH IN MANHATTAN Welcome news in the farm belt

Carter's finest hour on his tour came the next day in Seattle when he addressed 5,000 American Legionnaires at their annual national convention. Wearing a blue and gold Legion overseas cap lettered "Georgia, Post No 2," the candidate said that while the US needs to cut military wastefulness, its armed forces should remain as strong as the Russians' Then he gave a real zinger to the Legionnaires. He opposed a blanket amnesty for the men who had deserted or dodged the draft during Viet Nam, he said, because that implied approval of what they had done. But, he added, "I intend to grant a blanket pardon."

When the boos died down, Carter said, "I realized before I made the statement that everybody may not agree, but I'm a veteran and a Legion member There is still a lot of division left by the Viet Nam War, but I think it is time to get it behind us." At the end of his talk, the Legionnaires gave him a standing ovation. By speaking out, Carter showed



he could take a strong stand on a con-troversial issue in front of a hostile audience—a political plus

Carter then flew to Des Monnes where he had scored the first victory in his campaign last January. He chatted with several giggling teen-age waitresses and noted good-humoredly that several diners nearby were wearing badges proclaiming EYE-OWA EYE-TALIANS FOR CARTIR, a gibe at his back-home mispronunciation of Italians during his acceptance speech

In a major speech in Iowa, Carter indirectly raised the Watergate specter something he had said he would not do-by linking Ford with Richard Nixon He criticized the Republicans for imposing embargoes on grain sales to the' Soviet Union and vowed to end such embargoes "once and for all" Later, however, Carter did say that he would im-pose an embargo in a national emergency, such as a crop failure

Dividing Line. That common-sense qualification was seized upon by Senator Robert Dole, Ford s running mate. whose chief function seems to be to hound the Democratic candidate Dole had just addressed the Legionnaires in Seattle, where he roused cheers by saying that Ford would give Viet Nam evaders "no blanket pardon, no blanket imnesty no blanket elemency." Hurrying to Des Moines. Dole noted that Carter had taken two positions on embargoes and, sounding a theme the Republicans are bound to emphasize. cited this as an example of Carter's "un-reliable flexibility." Dole was reminded that Ford himself had said flatly during his acceptance speech, "No embargoes!" Dole admitted that "anyone who says 'no more embargoes' should add 'except in case of national emergency.

As Ford made his plans in Vail, he was plainly braced by the mandate of his party at the G.O.P. Convention. Aides noted that right up to the show-down in Kansas City, the appointed President had been conducting a damage-limiting operation in the wake of Watergate. He saw his victory over Reagan, however narrow, as the dividing line, and now believes he has a real chance of winning on Nov. 2. To shake up his organization. Ford eased out affable but ineffective Rogers Morton as campaign director (he will head a still unformed steering committee). Ford re placed Morton with James A. Baker III. 46, the bright, tightly disciplined Houston lawyer who quit as Under Secretary of Commerce and did a superb job of

rounding up delegates for Ford.

Late in the week, Ford assembled John Connally, who had turned down the job of heading the Republican National Committee, Vice President Nelson Rockefeller and Dole for strategy sessions. Connally later told newsmen that he has detected "fear" and "uncertainty" about Carter, and Ford quickly seconded him, indicating that he will try to exploit this feeling Connally also

made light of I ord's gap in the polls, declaring that it was "no hill for a stepper Ford added that he believed the American people wanted "somebody with experience" conducting foreign policy, not "somebody whose name they didn't know a year ago."
Still unanswered was the key ques-

tion of just how much support Reagan would give the ticket. Ford has already sent his ten regional directors to woo Reagan supporters in every state "The President," says a White House adviser, "will deal directly with Reagan"

The general GOP strategy will be to give the campaign street-fighting chores to Dole, permitting Ford to be more "presidential" In particular, Ford is counting heavily on the debates with Carter that he proposed during his acceptance speech. Because of his familjarity with the issues. Ford is convinced he will do well Negotiating arrangements for the debates, emissaries from the two camps are circling each other like Soviet and American underlings worrying over the table shape for an Fast-West conference Ford wants the debates to begin early in September Carter is holding out for later in the month, presumably to give him more time to prepare Ford wants to confine the sessions to such single topics as foreign policy or national defense-his strong suits. Carter wants to cover more than one subject

The Georgian came back from his four-day tour feeling "very, very pleased" with the way things had gone for him and for Ticket Mate Walter Mondale, who had been barnstorming in the Midwest and the East. Carter displayed a sure sense of timing on his trip a confidence that fell short of cockiness, and even an occasional flash of wit. In Des Moines, he remarked that he was not really campaigning at all-he was just letting people know that his official campaign would begin with a Labor Day address at Warm Springs, Ga "My wife's in Tampa letting them know when we will begin campaigning," Carter said, starting to smile. "My son Chip is in Pennsylvania telling them when we'll begin. My brother is in Virginia and my older son is in Tennessee, just letting folks know when we'll begin ' If last week was just a warmup, the real show should be quite something

CONSERVATIVES

Conclave in Chicago

Hardly anybody noticed, but there was another presidential nominating convention last week. Arriving at Chicago's Conrad Hilton Hotel, about 700 American conservatives, many from the South and West, gathered to choose a ticket to take on Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter in November The conservatives convened under

banner of the American Indepen

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Section 2 Chicago Tribune, Tuesday, September 7, 1976

Andrew Greeley

New Politics: A plains sweep

"WELL. EVERYONE in their right identified," said my friend Seamus McGinity, he precinct captain, "knew it would be words it'll be Kansas that will put Jermind," said my friend Seamus McGinity, the precinct captain, "knew it would be ert Dole. I don't know what all the ry Ford back in the White House

"Of course I knew," replied McGinity, lovingly caressing his vodka gimlet. "The trouble with you university fellers is that you don't understand the new "Robert Dole is the new politics?"

"SURE HE IS," observed my friend,



club veranda so that he could see the 18th green and still not miss the young women at the side of the pool. "Both the President and Gov. Carter knew all about the new politics. They understand that this election is going to be won on the plains of Kansas and the fields of

"You sound like William Jennings

McGinity crossed himself devoutly.
"The trouble with you is that you still think that states like New York, California, Texas, Ohio, and Illinios are important. Sure, our new political types know

"I can't believe it." "Well, what you believe, me bucko, doesn't matter. You saw what the Dow Jones did the day Dole was nominated? It went over a thousand again. Investors are shrewd people. They know that with a man from Kansas sleeping in that big vice presidential bed, all is going to be well with the country.

"But what about the great moderate majority of voters?" "Now you're sounding like those moneylenders Scammon and Wattenberg or Nie and Verba. The middle doesn't

Bob Wiedrich is on special assignment Nicholas von Hoffman is on vacation.

count any more. A presidential candi-

date doesn't worry about the middle. He worries about his own extreme fringe. Dole nailed down the Reaganites and Mondale nails down the McGovernites The object is not to win the election, don't you see? The object is to prevent those who have nowhere else to go from going there."
"But what about third parties?"

"Well, to tell you the truth, if I were Jerry Ford I'd worry about the national appeal of Jesse Helms, too."

"Aren't both candidates writing off the big city people and the urban states and the Northeast and Midwest?"

"Who worries about them in the new politics? The name of the game now is the Sun Belt and the Farm Belt. You have to have nice clean fundamentalist small-town American Protestants. "YOU WANT TO turn the cou

"YOU WANT TO turn the country over to those dangerous masses in the big cities—those wretched refugee folk? Ah, sad day for the country it would be if it should be governed by people whose names end in vowels—Eyetalians and Poles and Jews and the like."

"And the Irish?" "Ah, well, it's all over and done with for us anyhow. They'll not see our like again," lamented Seamus, picking up his Wall Street Journal as a sign that the

conversation was over. "But what about the country's "Glory be to God, man, the next thing you'll be telling me is that you want a secretary of state from Harvard. That's

one innovation the country doesn't

Chicago Tribune, Wednesday, September 15, 1976

On VP trail: Ax 'em, but keep 'em laughing

By Harry Kelly

Chicago Tribune Press Service WASHINGTON-"They've called me a hatchet man," said Sen. Robert Dole almost plain-tively, sounding like a misunderstood hit man. "But Sen. Mondale's out there cutting us up every day, and no one says anything about it." With the zest often characteristic of vice presidential candidates, the running mates of Jimmy Carter and President Ford are usually found at the point of their parties' charge, like rookies on a pro football suicide squad.

While the presidential candidates are the campaign golden boys, the glamorous quarter-backs, the vice presidential nominees are the linemen, grunting and brawling in the "pit." A finger in the eye is SOP, 60 seconds on the evening news a daily goal, and praise from

"No. 1" their gold star. BECAUSE OF their combativeness and instinct for the jugular, Spiro Agnew and Sen. Hubert Humphrey [D., Minn.] ranked high in the Top

Ten of vice presidential campaigners. Henry Cabot Lodge, on the other hand, be

came a living example of a no-no because of his aristocratic long afternoon naps in 1960. Neither Walter Mondale [D., Minn.] nor Dole (R., Kan.) has turned out to be a Humphrey or Agnew on the stump, although both may yet. But there is plenty of doubt either wants

Once upon a time, vice presidential candidates could travel the subway route. They were all but ignored. Now the heightened interest in the vice presidency makes it perilous for the candidate to take the low road, at least too low

Still, Dole and Mondale are campaigning like two politicians who see the White House in their own futures — if only they can keep their



running mates from blowing it.

WHILE EACH has employed the headman's ax, Dole, in particular has used a finely honed stiletto that minimizes the amount of blood on the floor and keeps the witnesses laughing. To-gether Dole and Mondale have provided the campaign's only humor.

There is a bear joke in the Dole campaign. is symbolic of vice presidential campaigns in that it has more humor than moral. It has become a running gag between Dole and reporters. It is the story about a bear who goes into a bar, orders a beer, and lays down a \$5

owner what to do. The owner replies, "Just give him back a nickel; he'll never know the

The bartender gives the bear a beer and a nickel in change. "You know," he says, "we don't get many bears in here."

The bewildered bartender hurries to asks the

Dole first told the story in Macon, Ga., to "illustrate a point" and then forgot to make the point. "I still haven't figured out the moral of that story," Dole says with a grin. But he keeps telling it.

Dole was reported to have been shocked by news reports describing him as a hatchet man when Ford selected him as his running mate. He apparently didn't see himself that way.

of telephoning Carter to promise a clean cam-paign, and at the outset he seemed like a boxer

He has been able to take some of the spin off his tough talk with humor. He uses one-liners to punctuate his speeches so the whole performance often comes off with almost as many laughs, and almost as slick, as a Bob Hope monolog.

FOR EXAMPLE, after charging that Democratic nominee Carter is owned root and branch by AFL-CIO president, George Meany, Dole

"The only union that ever supported me was the Women's Christian Temperance Union [pause] . . . and they're reviewing their files."

MANY OBSERVERS expect that late some night when Dole is tired his wit will slip out of control, like a wasp escaping a bottle, and will land him simultaneously on page one and in the

By comparison, Mondale is no laughing mat-While the Minnesotan is no sobersides, he lacks Dole's punchy delivery and is obviously more comfortable with straight talk on issues than with comedy.

Still, he is a traveling "Laugh-in" compared with Ford and Carter.

Mondale, whose name is often pronounced by

local politicians as though he were the second stop on a commuter line—can even chortle over the grave of his own 1976 political ambitions. IN HARRISBURG, Pa., Mondale was accompanied by Gov. Milton Shapp, whose own presi-

dential campaign support was measured by "I ran for President myself a while back,

Mondale told a crowd. "What' you didn't know is that when I withdrew, I threw all my support to Milt [Shapp].' Mondale seems happiest when jabbing at the opposition with a large blunt needle

"The other day," he said, "a leaf floated into the Oval Office and the President vetoed it before they could get it away from him." In San Francisco, Mondale was asked at a news conference, "Crime has been a major concern throughout the country-do you have

"NO." HE REPLIED, leaping at it with de-

A Mondale favorite pokes fun at Republican revisionist praise of Harry Truman, the Demo-crats Fair Deal President and is also a vehicle for contrasting Democratic and Republican social philosophy.

When Democrats extolled their great Presidents at their convention, recalled Mondale, they included Jefferson, Jackson, FDR, Tru-man, John Kennedy, and so on.

But he said you came away from the Republican convention with the impression "the two great Republican Presidents in history were Abraham Lincoln and [pause] Harry Tru-"If you look carefully at Harry's grave," he

adds after the laughter, "you'll see it is shak-

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