

Lloyd Bentsen

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Washington Post

Oct. 15, '74

Are Democrats Ready for LMB?

Bentsen Not an LBJ Texan

This is one of a series of articles on potential 1976 Democratic presidential candidates.

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

He is smart, successful, smooth, well-staffed and richly financed, and as he travels the country in quest of the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination, Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr. of Texas is looking for the answer to a single question:

Will the Democrats, eight years after LBJ, be ready to settle down with another Texan — LMB?

The answer, the Bentsen camp believes, is probably negative, if the Democrats think of getting another supercharged mixture of cowboy charisma and Confederate corn.

So Bentsen deliberately plays it the other way — super-cool, low-keyed, cautious and definitely non-cornball.

One result was the comment offered by a half-dozen different people one recent weekend in audiences ranging from the Foreign Policy Association of New York to a Democratic legislative fundraiser in Salt Lake

City: "You don't even sound like a Texan!"

In fact, Bentsen is a very different breed of Texan from the Democrats' last President. The family is of Danish stock, and when the Bentsens moved to Texas 60 years ago, they did not become Hill Country ranchers like the Johnsons, but part of the landed aristocracy of the Rio Grande Valley.

His political career has been of an unusual variety. When he came home from World War II, in which he served as a pilot, he was

See BENTSEN, p. 1, Oct. 1

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den

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...nominating...
...he...
...of his home Hidalgo
County at 25. Two years
later, in 1948, he won elec-
tion as the youngest mem-
ber of the U.S. House of
Representatives, and he
came a next-door office
neighbor of another fresh-
man, Gerald R. Ford Jr.

Unlike Ford, Bentsen quickly became bored with the House and decided after three terms to forsake the \$12,500 salary in hopes of making money.

For the next 16 years in Houston he did just that, parlaying a chunk of the family money into an insurance company-banking-investment firm-saving and loan complex and a personal fortune he estimated at \$2.3 million in 1971. (The holdings were placed in a blind trust when he began his presidential quest early this year.)

In 1970, at the age of 49, Lloyd Bentsen, who says "I've always set goals for myself," re-entered politics with a bang.

Bypassing the chance to become governor, because, as a friend recalls, he felt "it doesn't have the action I want," he plunged into a Senate battle that Bentsen says even LBJ warned him he could not win.

His first target was incumbent Ralph Yarborough, the hero of Texas liberals and the labor-backed chairman of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. It was a slugfest, even by Texas standards.

Bent en's campaign featured a series of television spots that cited Yarborough's support for the Vietnam Moratorium protest march and the presidential candidacy of Eugene J. McCarthy, his opposition to the Supreme Court nomination of Clement F. Haynsworth and G. Harrold Carswell and a vote against the school prayer amendment. In each instance, Texas voters were asked: Did Ralph Yarborough represent you?

In contrast to the free-for-all with Yarborough, Bentsen's general election campaign against Republican nominee George Bush was almost gentlemanly. Organized labor was mad enough at Bentsen to threaten a write-in for Yarborough, but he managed to quell that rebellion by underlining his opposition to what he called "the Nixon-Bush economic policies."
With his left flank se-
cured by his advocacy of tra-

...policies. Bent
...in fact con-
...ment...
...Bush. He
...the liberal on
...control...
...and open...
...Bush recalled the...
...he did in very...
...with no...
...and it helped him win...
...major assistance...
...both the primary and...
...general election was...
...Bent-
...sen's longtime friend (and
...Jamaica vacation resort
...neighbor), ex-Gov. John T.
...Connally. A political ally of
...both men recalls that in ad-
...dition to fund-raising, Con-
...nally did a statewide televi-
...sion show for Bentsen in
...which he said "Texas didn't
...need a Connecticut Yankee
...like Bush, just a good sound
...conservative boy like
...Lloyd."

President Nixon and Vice President Spiro Agnew both campaigned for Bush, but when Bentsen beat him, they turned around and welcomed the new senator as part of what they were calling their "ideological majority." Bentsen was singled out from the crop of newly elected Democrats for a private greeting at the White House.

But Bentsen was not buying. He went straight from the President's office to a news conference, where he said he regarded his reception with "some amazement and some amusement," and declared firmly, "I am coming here as part of the loyal opposition, not as part of the Nixon forces."

He was equally firm in proving he was not going to be a traditional southern senator. He voted to change the cloture rule and make it easier to end filibusters. After an inspection trip to Vietnam, he abandoned his campaign hawkishness and began voting with the Democratic majority for end-the-war resolutions. He shocked his Texas aerospace constituents by opposing the supersonic transport (SST), and generally scattered his votes in a way that defied easy categories.

"A lot of Democrats really want to win in 1976," Bentsen said the other day, "and they realize we can't win without appealing to the center or by writing off the South. My voting record tracks that way. It sort of breaks out in the middle."

As much as by his reputation as a centrist, Bentsen has been aided by his standing as a Texas well-oiled oil and coal-mining lobbyist. Majority Leader Mike Mansfield started pinning him as a "comer

during his first year in the Senate, and a Republican colleague on the powerful Finance Committee described him the other day as "damned good and damned able."

"He's smoother than Eric Mondale," this Republican said, referring to the Minnesota Democrat who is a Finance Committee colleague and prospective presidential rival of Bentsen's. "Whatever his philosophy, it's so well disguised that no one reacts automatically by thinking, 'If it's Bentsen, it's gotta be good—or bad.' The result is that he gets a hearing."

With Mansfield's patronage, Bentsen moved onto the Finance Committee, was named a year ago to head the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (a guarantee of speaking invitations and national exposure) and last summer was chosen to give the Democrats' response to Richard Nixon's last economic speech—a full-half hour bonanza of prime-time network television.

With all this, Bentsen—age 53 and still in his first term—has been ranked as a potential Senate power. But his...
...to be...
...Congressional

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Campaigning With 'Cool Hand Lloyd'

When the Beatles were playing concerts, the halls would rock with hysteria, and Paul McCartney would sing his part lustily, but his eyes always were deadpan, still points in the bedlam. He was always counting the house.

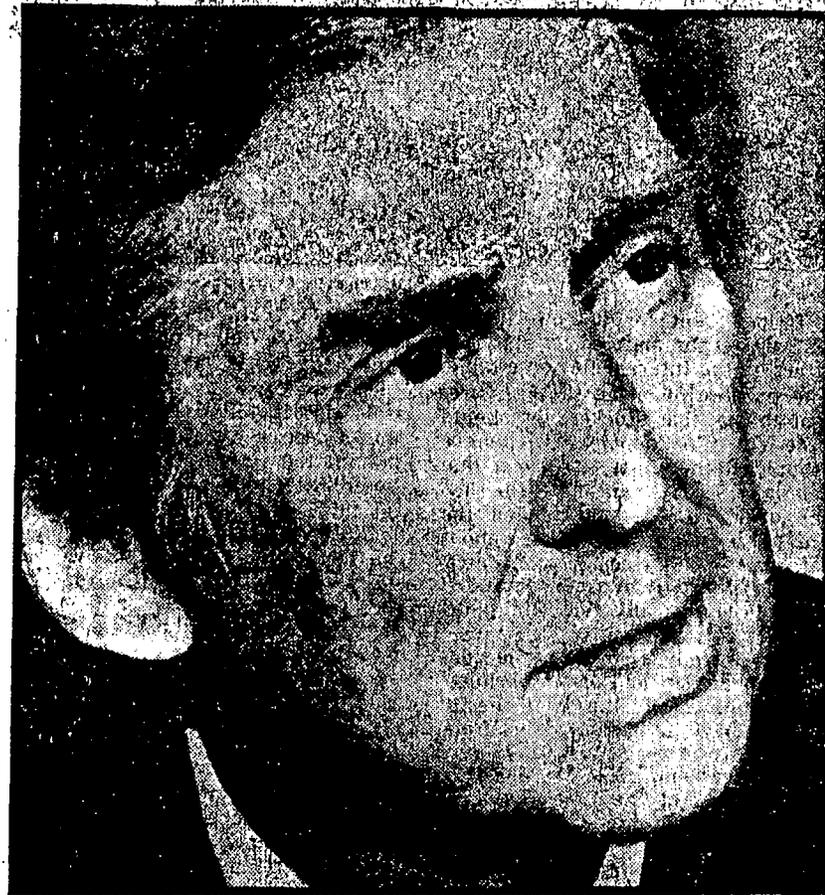
Lloyd Bentsen, 53, the junior senator from Texas, is the hard-eyed Paul McCartney of the Democratic presidential scramble, the embodiment of self-possessed calculation in the midst of chaos. Slender, impeccably groomed, he radiates — perhaps a bit too effortlessly — effortless superiority. He glides across the Senate dining room, seemingly without denting the rug. Is he light on his feet, or just light?

Bentsen is a rich Texan, a former supporter of Lyndon Johnson, and a friend of former politician John Connally. These are sins not easily expiated in today's Democratic Party, where the leftists think just being a Texan constitutes the crime of guilty association. So Bentsen is bent on proving, by his demeanor and deeds, that he is not like those swaggering, boisterous, Texas political cowboys. He is Cool Hand Lloyd.

His Senate voting record, like his manner, is a model of carefully crafted moderation, typified by his vote for the Trident submarine, but against accelerated development of it. More important, he can wrap his supple mind around complexities, like the pension reform bill he helped draft and pass.

Bentsen's interests and abilities are converging with the nation's anxieties as the economy becomes the issue of the age. He is convinced that the nation's economic problems are substantially government management problems. So his task is to convince Americans that he is the candidate of management competence, not exciting but necessary.

In four years in the Senate, Bentsen has acquired a reputation for seriousness of purpose and strength of intellect by serving with distinction on two



By Larry Morris—The Washington Post

of the committees which provide most scope for sophisticated intelligence, the Finance Committee and Joint Economic Committee. He and James Buckley (Con. R-N.Y.) are probably the most intelligent senators elected in the last decade. Bentsen's rivals may try to sink him by publicizing that fact.

Aristotle said that the way a society praises famous men reveals the society's values. Americans have praised

politicians for conspicuous honesty (Washington, Lincoln, Cleveland), spunk (Truman), idealism (Wilson), loveliness (Eisenhower), stubbornness (Jackson), animal vigor (Theodore Roosevelt), even cunning (Lyndon Johnson). But we don't often praise politicians, even the intelligent ones, for their intelligence.

It is not that a reputation for conspicuous intelligence is

handicap (at least it wasn't as recently as 1804). It is just that Americans usually have been blessed with more confidence than problems, and have regarded intelligence as less interesting and attractive, and more optional, than other qualities in politicians.

But today, with confidence waning, Americans may be alarmed by the obvious fact that our problems are becoming more complex and our politicians are not. Bentsen may be the thinking candidate for the alarmed person.

Bentsen's great-great-uncle, Henry Wilson, was Vice President during Grant's second term. He was elected to the Senate in 1855 from Massachusetts on the Know Nothing ticket. The question about Wilson's great-great-nephew is whether he knows anything about how the Democrats will choose their 1976 nominee.

Like most of his rivals for the nomination, Bentsen assumes that the party's new delegate selection rules will prevent any candidate from sweeping to a first ballot victory at the convention. The assumption is that it will be a brokered nomination, and the brokers will be the people who, in the good old days before party reform, were called party leaders — local party officials like Meade Esposito of Brooklyn, Peter Canina of Philadelphia, Richard Daley of Chicago, and many lesser lights from lesser great cities.

The assumption is that the voters still have troops willing to march around. Specifically, the assumption is that the kind of party strategy to come convention will be decided on the convention floor, by the men who fancy themselves as leaders.

This assumption is wrong, but it explains why Bentsen, like all the other candidates, will have to campaign across a

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Sen

Bentsen Is Busily Testing Political Waters for 1976

Speeches, Travels and Meetings Are Designed to Surmount Unfamiliarity, Jackson Lead and Texas Origin

By R.W. APPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

ROCHESTER, Oct. 12—Word was circulating through a government building here yesterday that Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen of Texas was coming to an economic conference. It might be a good idea, the employees were told, if they took a few minutes off to help fill up the little auditorium where he was to speak.

"Who is this we're supposed to go to hear?" one secretary listlessly asked another.

"Some Southerner who's running for President," she was told.

"Oh, Jimmy Carter," replied the first knowingly.

That incident illustrates the major weakness in the 53-year-old Texan's unannounced campaign for the 1974 Democratic Presidential nomination — a campaign that will probably be made official early next year after Mr. Bentsen weighs the matter over the Christmas holidays and decides whether his chances are good enough "to burn up two years of my life on them."

Well Known to Pros

But the Secretary's view of Lloyd Bentsen is not the only way of looking at him, and it is a perception that is not shared by many Democratic professionals. The same man, who is unknown to most of the electorate has made himself well-known indeed to party heavyweights.

It is no accident, for example, that within the last year Mr. Bentsen has been the major speaker at dinners sponsored by three men named Meade Esposito, Peter J. Camiel and Richard J. Daly — the Democratic leaders in Brooklyn, Philadelphia and Chicago.

Already, Mr. Bentsen has accomplished a good deal. He came to the Senate only four years ago, preceded by the expectation that he would develop into a typical Southern bourbon. He had, after all, defeated Ralph W. Yarborough in a primary, and Mr. Yarborough had been venerated by Washington liberals as a paragon saint of Southern populism.

From that start, he has won a reputation for centrism (rated 57 per cent by a conservative pressure group, 55 per cent by a liberal equivalent). He has appeared on national television to offer his party's response to President Nixon on economic issues. And he has made more than 150 speeches in 32 states in eight months.

Vision of Tactician

All of this has been accomplished by Mr. Bentsen's hard work, to be sure, but it has been made possible in large measure by the drive and enthusiasm of Ben Palumbo, a 37-year-old tactician from New Jersey who burns with a vision of the Democratic party. Lloyd Bentsen and Ben Palumbo in the White House in January, 1975.

Mr. Palumbo, whose intense unruly hair and thick glasses remind one of former representative Allard K. Lowmeyer of New York, was working for Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr. of New Jersey when he met the Senator from Texas.

"I've never been shaken from my conviction that the Democrat who can win is the one who can appeal to the electorate in every section of the country," he said the other day, "and that man is Bentsen."

Mr. Palumbo set out four goals for this year: making Mr. Bentsen a familiar figure to key local officials in the Democratic party — the Camiels and Espositos, but also those like Lawrence Kirwan, the Rochester leader, who are less famous; getting to know regional reporters; cultivating national columnists, and identifying the Senator with economic issues.

Appeal to Liberals

He thinks he has reached those goals, and he is convinced his man will prove his appeal in the coming months to the "enormous number of liberals now taking a more pragmatic view." Like some of the young technicians in Senator George McGovern's early 1972 campaign, Mr. Palumbo has an inner fire that the cynics will not easily extinguish.

Mr. Bentsen's current operations are typified by his two-day trip to Boston and upstate New York this week. Using as a vehicle his chairmanship of the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee, he built the trip around another in a series of debates with Senator William E. Brock 3d of Tennessee, his Republican opposite number and appearances for Democratic candidates for the House and the State Legislature.

But he was campaigning every minute for Lloyd Bentsen as well, whether in radio and television interviews, a meeting with the editorial board of the Gannett newspapers or a speech on energy policy at Brandeis University.

Whatever the forum, he is crisply turned out, the picture of the affluent businessman (insurance, hotels) that he used to be. He uses his bass voice to good effect; and he doesn't have to shout to put a point across with emphasis.

He is one man with a panel of editors, jamming his replies to questions with economic detail — "We can now gasify coal for \$1.46 per NCF [million cubic feet], which is economically sound" — and with detailed proposals for modifying the oil depletion allowance and provisions for offshore drilling.

With a political audience, on the other hand, his speech is often marred by clichés ("Democrats do things for people, Republicans do things to people"), although he holds his listeners with pace, technique and partisan appeals.

As he nears the second phase of his effort — the one where he will have to establish himself with the public — Mr. Bentsen seems to face two principal problems.

Southerner From Texas

First, he is a Southerner, and no 20th-century Southerner who had not first served as Vice President has been nominated. Moreover, he is a Texan — something that excites in many Democrats negative associations of oil, Stetsons, Lyndon B. Johnson and brashness.

Mr. Bentsen's reply: "Do you think I'm a stereotype? Do I look like a cowboy? Do I sound like a Southerner?"

He is not and does not, to most people, but it remains to be seen whether that is enough.

Second, he must overcome the long lead of Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, with whom he will be competing for many of the same primary votes.

Mr. Bentsen and his staff believe, although they are reluctant to say so publicly, that Senator Bentsen has voted against the military often enough (including a key vote against the Trident missile program) and supported defense with sufficient energy to convince liberals that he, unlike Mr. Jackson, has left the cold war behind.

No War Identification

They also believe that Mr. Bentsen will benefit from the fact that he, unlike Mr. Jackson, lacks identification with either side of the controversy over Vietnam — that left such deep scars on the Democratic party. In the days when Vietnam was most divisive, Mr. Bentsen was not in public office.

To Juliet Wolfe - file
(Thanks for the help Joe)

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Sen
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New York Times Oct. 14, 1974

Bentsen Plans '76 Soundings

United Press International

Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr. (D-Tex.) said yesterday he plans to test the political waters during the next year to see if it is feasible for him to seek the Democratic presidential nomination in 1976.

Asked on the NBC-TV "Today Show" about whether he would seek the presidency, Bentsen said he planned to spend the next year campaigning for Democratic senators and helping them to raise money.

"Then at the end of the year we'll see how we've done, and then decide whether it is a realistic thing or not to do," he said. "I know the place where a man can do the most for his country is right down at the White House . . . so we'll look at it then and decide what should be done."

Bentsen said he had no interest in being a candidate for Vice President.

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Edm 76

Bentsen Enters Race for President



Associated Press

Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen and his wife, Beryl, after the Texas Democrat announced his candidacy for President.

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr., a millionaire, yesterday became the fifth Democrat to announce his presidential nomination.

In a formal declaration and press conference in the traditional setting of the Senate Office Building caucus room, Bentsen pledged an "energetic,

national" campaign including a "representative number of primaries," but said he would also file for re-election to the Senate in Texas.

The most conservative of the declared Democratic contenders by most yardsticks, Bentsen declared that "the paramount issue is economic recovery, and that means jobs."

He said he was the only one in the field "who has the experience of crea-

ing jobs"—a reference to his 16-year business career in Houston, sandwiched between three terms in the House and a return to politics in the 1970 Senate race.

Faulting the Ford administration as having "bounced from crisis to crisis," the tall, gray-haired senator said his own "blend of private and public out-

See BENTSEN, A5, Col. 1

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Sen. Bentsen Joins Race for President

BENTSEN, From A1

ooks, Washington and non-Washington viewpoints, and legislative as well as administrative experience, is what is required of the nation's leadership in the last half of this turbulent decade."

Bentsen has been campaigning as an undeclared candidate for more than a year, using his position as chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee to visit more than 30 states. He said he had found "strong support... in all the major states," but acknowledged that most of the more than \$1 million he has raised since October of 1973 has come from fellow Texans.

He also acknowledged an identity problem, but said with a smile that "I find a few more people in airports taking a quizzical look at me... as if I were someone they ought to recognize."

Bentsen follows Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, former Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma and Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington into a Democratic field that is expected to number more than a dozen by the time the first primary arrives a year from now.

The announcement ceremony in the Senate caucus room, where John F. Kennedy and a host of other hopefuls have made their debuts, showed signs of the organizational skill that have made Bentsen an effective senator in the eyes of his peers.

A dozen family members, including his wife and three children, found their way to place-marked chairs in the front of the room. A floral display, a water carafe and two goblets were centered precisely on the green-baize covered table behind the lectern.

The caucus room was filled with supporters from Texas, including many members of the state's congressional delegation, and from other states. They cheered his widely anticipated announcement with enthusiasm.

Bentsen has shown a flair for national politics since his comeback in 1970, when he beat a liberal folk hero, Sen. Ralph Yarborough in an extraordinary national politics since his

comeback in 1970, when he beat a liberal folk hero, Sen. Ralph Yarborough in an exceptionally bitter primary, and then went on to defeat Republican George Bush, now envoy to China, in the general election. Then-Gov. John B. Connally was a strong backer of Bentsen in both races.

Bentsen's personal fortune was estimated at \$2.3 million when he came to the Senate. He said his holdings have been in a blind trust since then but he volunteered to make public his income tax returns for the period of his Senate service.

In seeking re-election to Congress at the same time he is running for the presidential nomination, Bentsen said he was following a precedent established by John Nance Garner and Lyndon B. Johnson. Despite their example, Bentsen disclaimed any interest in the vice presidency.

He told reporters he did not expect his wealth or his Texas background to be barriers to national political success. Noting that Kennedy and Franklin D. Roosevelt "were much wealthier and yet related to the needs of people," Bentsen said: "It doesn't make any difference to the people of this country if you pronounce the word 'Cuber,' or 'crick,' or 'you-all.'"

As for his ties to the oil industry, Bentsen said: "I am the senator who introduced legislation to take the depletion allowance away from the major companies." He added, however, that it should be retained for the small independent operators.

Nevertheless, the Texas ties are recognized as a problem by the Bentsen organization—which is one reason its top rung is made up of non-Texans. Ben L. Palumbo, a New Jerseyan hired from the staff of Sen. Harrison A. Williams Jr. (D-N.J.), is campaign director.

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Columbia Morning News

Local State Area

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 16, 1975—1-B

Bentsen Wants to Boos

By THOM ANDERSON

Morning News State Editor

COLUMBIA -- He looked a lot like Ralph Bellamy playing Franklin D. Roosevelt in appearance from across the Carolina Coliseum floor and in his slow and careful enunciation of words.

He sounded a lot like FDR, too, reassuring his listeners that the country is not finished and that the main thing we need is confidence that we are going to come out of our problems with the economy and self-doubt.

Analysis

It was Sen Lloyd Bentsen, D-Tex., the first announced candidate for President in the 1976 election appearing in Columbia Monday for a few hours for the 59th birthday appreciation dinner for former Congressman W. J. Bryan Dorn.

Bentsen stressed that "We are the world's most successful nation. But we are acting like a failure."

He seems to be keying his campaign for the White House on the possibility that the nation, shaken in its confidence in itself, needs to seek someone who can convince the people we are on the way uphill again. He evidently thinks the voters will become convinced that he is the man.

He has pluses as a candidate.

He is tall, good-looking and a good speaker. He does not sound too much like a Southerner, something that should help him in other parts of the nation.

He has a background of fabulous success in business and at one time was the youngest member of the U. S. House of Representatives.

He came back after retirement from politics to unseat Sen. Ralph Yarborough, an influential Texan, proving his power to draw votes.

He also comes from Texas which not only has a big and growing population, a big help for a national candidate, but has huge amounts of money, something that would be very helpful to a candidate and to a party with the financial problems of the National Democratic Party.

He also has an enthusiastic group traveling with him and a tall and beautiful wife who could have come from nowhere but Texas.

A lot of red, white and blue Bentsen in '76 campaign buttons turned up on the 1,400 people attending the Dorn dinner, and the South Carolinians like what they heard. Many were enthusiastic at post-dinner cocktail parties.

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st Nation's Confidence

The senator outlined achievements of the nation in education, space, technology and other things without sounding at all like Gordon Sinclair.

In view of those things, Bentsen said. "We have some deep and distressing problems to confront. . . None of them will be solved if we allow ourselves to be carried along by the fashion and anxiety and fear. We cannot succeed if we declare ourselves failures."

It sounded a lot like FDR telling the nation it had nothing to fear but fear itself.

The senator had criticism for President Ford on economic policy, saying his call for a tax increase in the fall and a cut in January shook the confidence of the business community.

He called the foreign policy of the nation "a personal foreign policy" in which Secretary of State Henry Kissinger wears too many hats.

The Foreign Service needs to be moved back out front in foreign policy, Bentsen said, and Canada and Latin America need to be given more attention.

Asked about Vietnam and possibility of the Congress going along with a presidential call for more aid, he said that the U. S. has not been lacking in support for the South Vietnamese, but

he noted they recently left a billion dollars worth of equipment in the field as they fled advancing enemy forces. "What makes us think they wouldn't leave another billion?"

He said Vietnam was a tragic effort, but perhaps Indonesia is a free society today because of the U. S. presence in Southeast Asia.

Bentsen spoke of paradoxes of the U. S. being the richest, most powerful and most successful nation on earth but doubts now.

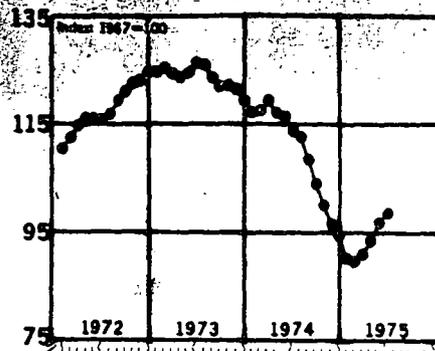
"I think it is time we start acting like the great and successful nation that we are; time to acknowledge our assets; time, in short, to balance the books and seek a true perspective on who we are."

Americans in the past have always risen to the occasion when times are tough, he said, listing the American Revolution, loss of the national capital in the War of 1812, the Civil War, and the Great Depression.

He predicted Americans will respond to present problems and overcome them "if they are summoned by leaders who speak frankly; leaders who are unafraid to demand hard sacrifices in clear terms; leaders who are willing to risk trying some new ideas."

JULY 30, 1974

Leading Indicators



COMPOSITE of key indicators of future economic activity rose in June to 98.3% of the 1967 average from a revised 96.5% in May, the Commerce Department reports. (See story on page 3.)

Man of the Middle? Lloyd Bentsen Tries To Please All Sides

He Sees Balance as Byword
Of His Presidential Move
Critics See Opportunism

By NORMAN C. MILLER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Sen. Lloyd Bentsen is a smoothly polished Texan who travels a cautious, zigzag path that keeps him close to the political center.

His pragmatic approach has been highly successful in Texas, where the Senator says private polls show that 70% of the voters approve of his performance. Now the wealthy, one-time insurance tycoon thinks his self-described "moderate politics"—which offers something for just about every interest group and party faction—will make him the fallback candidate the Democratic Party can rally around once all the other presidential hopefuls kill each other off.

Obviously, the 54-year-old Senator is playing a long shot, perhaps aiming mainly at dealing his way onto the ticket as the vice-presidential nominee. But in a field in which only one but George Wallace is running well, Democratic professionals aren't writing off the chances of a contender who:

—Already has raised over \$1.5 million to power his campaign, putting him behind only Gov. Wallace and Sen. Henry Jackson in the money game, and far ahead of the other declared candidates.

—Has an excellent chance of locking up the big Texas delegation as a bargainer in a brokered convention, which Democrats anticipate.

—Has managed to satisfy vital interests of both labor and business by balancing advocacy of labor-backed job-creation schemes with proposals for business tax breaks and price decontrol of oil and natural gas.

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The Bentsen Balance

Balance has been Mr. Bentsen's word since he entered the Senate in 1972. Thus, he advocates permanent income tax cuts primarily for low-income persons, but he also favors cutting capital-gains taxes. He sides with labor and other liberals on the need for public-service jobs and expanded public works, but he votes against food stamps for strikers and for relaxing job-safety regulations. He votes against busing to desegregate schools, but he favors extending federal voting-rights protection to the Mexican-American minority.

Sen. Bentsen denounces Henry Kissinger's "outmoded" diplomacy, saying there's too much emphasis on Russia and China, but he also says he would continue detente efforts while spending more time improving relations with Europe, Latin America and Canada. He takes potshots at the Pentagon, opposing some projects like the Trident submarine. But he basically supports increasing defense outlays.

The question this neatly balanced politician raises is, what does Sen. Bentsen fundamentally stand for as he seeks the Presidency? The Senator's answer: "I approach no issue with some preconceived ideological viewpoint. I ask will it work? Will it be effective? Will it be equitable? Can we afford it?"

Erstwhile Conservative

He also thinks this pragmatism is excellent politics. "I think people are tired and turned off by ideological solutions," he says. "The other (Democratic) candidates are trying to move into the middle," he adds with a small smile. "I don't have to. I'm already there."

Mr. Bentsen wasn't always in the middle. In 1970 he ran a stridently conservative primary campaign to upset the liberal incumbent, veteran Ralph Yarborough. Since then, however, he has successfully courted many labor leaders and other liberals who at first were bitter about the Bentsen tactic of tying Mr. Yarborough to Vietnam war rioters.

"Basically, I think Bentsen has made a good record in the Senate," says Oscar Mauzy, a state senator and prominent Texas liberal. Mr. Mauzy cites Mr. Bentsen's advocacy of voting protection for Mexican-Americans and a tougher minimum income tax on the rich as evidence that the Senator is "willing to fly in the teeth of the Texas political establishment."

But some Texas liberals remain hostile to Mr. Bentsen, arguing that his balance voting pattern reflects cold-blooded calculation for political advantage. "As soon as he decided to run for President, he started trying to balance his votes so he would look like a nice moderate," says Billie Carr, the liberal Democratic national committee-woman from Texas. "I'm afraid of somebody who is in nobody's camp. It means he isn't committed to anything, and a person with no commitment is a dangerous person to put in office."

In Washington, Mr. Bentsen's Senate colleagues give him high marks for intelligence and hard work but say he is a pleasantly aloof loner who is hard to know—"a gray man," in the words of one Senator. Some liberal Democrats believe that he makes decisions much like a computer. "He

Please Turn to Page 23, Column 4

Some Bentsen associates readily concede the Senator's presidential ambitions motivate his political balancing act. "So what demands one. 'What do you expect him to do? What do you think all the other candidates are doing?'"

Some Bentsen associates readily concede the Senator's presidential ambitions motivate his political balancing act. "So what demands one. 'What do you expect him to do? What do you think all the other candidates are doing?'"

Selling the Pros

Creating an image of moderation is the essence of the Bentsen political strategy. Unlike some other little-known candidates, Sen. Bentsen makes no pretense of expecting to break out of the pack and sweep primaries. He is concentrating on "selling the party pros" on the idea that he would be an "acceptable and electable alternative" they could turn to as the candidate of a balked convention, says one Bentsen adviser. Thus, in a party often rent by passion warfare, Sen. Bentsen sees his bland rather bloodless politics as an ultimate attraction.

Sen. Bentsen is having some success yesterday, for example, a varied group of Virginia Democrats—including leader of the state party's often warring conservative and liberal wings—announced their support for the Texan. "Sen. Bentsen possesses the kind of thoughtful and practical leadership that our nation so desperately needs," the group's leaders declared.

On the stump, Sen. Bentsen denounces "Republican trickle-down" economics. "What we need now is an economic equivalent of war," he declares. "We can do a peaceful battle to rebuild our cities, to restructure our public transportation, to explore and provide new sources of power. The list is almost endless, and the jobs are there, waiting, by the millions."

Bigger subsidies for public-service jobs and public works wouldn't be inflationary, Sen. Bentsen contends, because industrial production is so slack that the overriding need is for more fiscal stimulus. Although his rhetoric implies vast spending increases, the Senator tells an interviewer he has in mind only "moderate" immediate increases in deficit financing.

Educational Savings Credit

Yet the Bentsen program also involves an array of expensive tax reductions. He has supported a \$13 billion package of permanent income-tax cuts for individuals. He would give parents an annual tax credit of up to \$250 for establishing "educational savings" accounts (which he also estimates would generate \$9 billion a year more for mortgage lending by thrift institutions). He advocates sharply reduced capital-gains taxes for long-held assets and a quadrupling of permissible capital-loss tax deductions to stimulate investment and capital liquidity.

Thus, while Sen. Bentsen has advocated repeal of about \$3 billion of business tax breaks and has voted to eliminate the oil depletion allowance for the major oil companies, he is clearly in tune with big business interests. Indeed, wealthy oilmen back in Texas, where Mr. Bentsen long was a member of the Houston business establishment, contributed \$125,000 in 1974 to help get his campaign going, according to a Common Cause campaign-financing analysis.

Sen. Bentsen, then, has managed to bridge the interests of big business and big labor. His record suggests, too, that he feels comfortable with big and expanding government, although he cites his business-executive experience as evidence he could manage the bureaucracy better. He isn't a politician who advocates basic changes in the power structure. In sum, he is perhaps best described by a low Senate Democrat, who

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Bentsen Takes Look at Campaign Problems

NY TIMES 10-13

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

MONACA, Pa. — As a businessman and as a politician, Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr. of Texas has always tried to look at himself and his prospects with a certain hard-eyed realism.

Having spent the first six months of the year in back-breaking pursuit of the Democratic Presidential nomination, traveling more than 300,000 miles in 4 States, Mr. Bentsen has reached some conclusions different from those of most of his rivals, including the following:

“He still is not very well-known to the public outside Texas.

“The new campaign finance rules make impossible the kind of news media spending necessary to achieve instant recognition across the nation.

“He had better settle for picking his spots and hope to put himself into the convention with enough delegates to insure a seat at the bargaining table if a deadlock develops.

“If I had the money, if I were permitted by the law to raise it and if I were permitted to spend it, I'd go into the big industrial states and buy massive TV,” he said the other day. “I don't, so I think it's smarter to husband my resources and stay the course.”

Present Plan

That means that Mr. Bentsen will avoid the first three primaries (New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Florida) and



Associated Press

Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen

know it's possible that someone can build enough early momentum so that I won't get my chance later. I'm betting that that won't happen.”

Mr. Bentsen, an urbane and conservatively tailored millionaire, thinks he can do well enough in a few Northern primaries, in caucus states such as Oklahoma, Louisiana and New Mexico, in California and in Texas to go into the convention with 350 to 400 delegates, better than 10 per cent of the total.

His day of reckoning will come against Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama in the Texas primary on May 1. If he loses to Mr. Wallace, he is through, and he concedes as much. If he beats Mr. Wallace soundly,

sen's, and it depends on the failure of many candidates to win a first-ballot nomination and on the theory that Mr. Bentsen would then seem a likely alternative, rather than, say, Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota. In other words, Mr. Bentsen would have to convince hundreds of delegates that he should be their second choice, even though he is only a first-term Senator.

Not many professionals think there is much chance of the strategy working. One who thought it far-fetched was Benjamin F. Palumbo, a kinetic New Jersey operative who managed the Bentsen campaign until last month, then quit when it became apparent that the Senator was not willing to make an all-out effort in such states as New York and Massachusetts.

In Massachusetts, for example, Mr. Palumbo had lined up Kevin Harrington, president of the State Senate, as a chairman. But Mr. Bentsen was unwilling to go through the series of meetings with the state's dominant liberal groups that Mr. Harrington felt absolutely necessary to victory.

Texas Base

Mr. Palumbo has told friends since leaving that he was also deeply troubled by signs that the Senator was unable or unwilling to escape from his Texas base, with its overtones of oil, Lyndon B. Johnson and John B. Connally.

Although he stands third in the money-raising sweepstakes

has announced that he will oppose the Situs picketing bill, which would grant broader rights to construction workers, reportedly because he promised Texas contractors that he would do so during his 1970 Senate campaign.

Labor officials are dismayed by his stand on the picketing bill. Yet he was one of four Democrats invited to speak to the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations convention recently in San Francisco. And when the labor leaders here in Monaca, an industrial town in the Ohio Valley northwest of Pittsburgh, asked the state labor federation whom to invite to their annual dinner, Mr. Bentsen was the choice.

The Senator was characteristically low-key in his speeches here and in California, but his resonant speaking voice held his audiences. He had mastered the names of all the local politicians, and only his tendency to use large words—“serendipitous,” “beguiling”—seemed to put his audiences off.

His message was simple: Economic growth is needed; it can be managed without ruining the environment, and it must include basic industry as well as services.

“Let us refuse to listen to those whose prescription for America is to shut down America,” he said. “Isn't it funny that the people who argue against economic growth are the kind of people who already have enough?”

Emphasizes Experience

2-17-75

Florida Times-Union (Jacksonville, Fla.)

Bentsen Set to Announce Candidacy

Candidate's hat in hand, Sen. LLOYD M. BENTSEN steps up to the 1976 presidential ring Monday. He is expected to give it a whirl.

The 54-year-old Texas Democrat scheduled a Washington news conference (10:30 a.m. EST) and then a flight to Houston for a reception, both without revealing his intentions. But he is all but certain to become the fifth announced candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination.

MAUDE E. KEE, the only woman elected to Congress from West Virginia, is dead at 80.

The 6 1/2-term former congresswoman died Saturday in Bluefield, W. Va. She had been hospitalized Jan. 24 and underwent abdominal surgery for removal of a tumor, a family spokesman said.

Alaska health officials say a sore on the finger of an airline caterer's cook was



the source of bacteria which caused the food poisoning of 144 persons aboard a Japan Air Lines flight Feb. 2.

The cook, who was not identified, prepared between 207 and 215 portions of ham used in omelets served to passengers who became ill on a charter flight from Tokyo to Paris. The food was put aboard in Anchorage during a refueling stop and when the jumbo jet landed for refueling in Copenhagen, 143 passengers and a stewardess were hospitalized.

Francis Ryan Thomas, prominent world traveler,

hostess and wife of newscaster Lowell Thomas Sr., died Sunday at the couple's estate in Phillips, N.Y., following a lengthy illness. She was 81.

She is survived by her husband and one son, Lowell Thomas Jr., lieutenant governor of Alaska.

Funeral services were incomplete. A family spokesman said in lieu of flowers contributions should be made to the Stein Hall Association, 600 West 11th, Paulding, N.Y., Scholarship Fund.

5/21/75

WASH. POST

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Texas Governor Signs Primary Law Expected to Favor Bentsen in 1976

By Bo Byers

Special to The Washington Post

AUSTIN, May 20—Texas Gov. Dolph Briscoe today signed a bill establishing a presidential primary election expected to help U.S. Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen (D-Tex.) win the lion's share of Texas delegates to the 1976 Democratic National Convention.

The law, which provoked angry criticism from liberals, will apply only to 1976 and expire automatically in 1977. A Texas Senate majority insisted on the self-destruct provision, which liberals helped tack on to emphasize their view that the measure was designed strictly for Bentsen's benefit.

Bentsen endorsed the bill, sponsored by legislators who worked closely with the senator's staff on the original house draft and a later compromise when the measure ran into stiff senate opposition.

Bentsen said a Texas delegation chosen by primary election would involve more people in the election process than did the old system of precinct, county and state conventions.

Critics, with Democratic National Committeewoman Billie Carr of Houston in the fore-

front, denounced the new law as a winner-take-all measure that will unfairly benefit Bentsen because of his favorite-son status in Texas.

Bentsen insisted throughout the controversy surrounding passage of the bill that it was erroneous to call it winner take all. He said the public was being misinformed.

The practical effect of the law will be to assure all the delegates in each of the state's 31 senatorial districts to the presidential contender who is high man in the Texas Democratic primary election. Republicans will choose their delegates by congressional district.

Delegate candidates will appear on the ballot with the name of their presidential candidate on the same line (in bold-faced type). The delegate candidates winning the most votes will be elected to the national convention.

These district elections will determine 75 per cent of Texas' national convention delegates.

The remaining 25 per cent will be chosen by state convention by district caucuses in accord with state and national party guidelines.

Liberals threaten to carry the contest to the national convention, claiming that the selection process violates a

1972 national convention call for selection of delegates on the basis of proportional strength of presidential contenders in their state.

The Texas law also provides a procedure for electing uncommitted delegates.

All delegates committed to a contender would be pledged by law to support him until after the first ballot. Their release from that pledge would depend on the indicated strength of the candidate on progressive ballots.

Politics by Perry

Bentsen Unlimbers A Competence Pitch

By James M. Perry

FROM PHILADELPHIA

One Marine died, a handful more are missing (and probably dead), two dozen are wounded. Never mind, though, it was a victory at a time when the United States needed one most. This time, something we tried, despite the fate of the Marines (who, after all, are paid to get killed, if it comes to that), worked.

That extraordinary photograph of the President of the most powerful nation in the world gleefully shouting the good news to his aides that the *Mayaguez*, a rusting, 14,500-ton container ship, and her 39-man crew had been rescued from Cambodians really is, worth a thousand words. We needed a demonstration of competence and this dramatic little event—to be remembered in footnotes—gave us a quick lift.

Something worked. That's the point. It's quibbling to point out that Marines stormed ashore on Koh Tang Island to rescue Americans who weren't even here. It's picky-picky to point out that luck, more than careful planning, gave us our great victory. It worked, and that's enough.

For poor Gerald Ford, almost nothing worked until the *Mayaguez* teamed slowly in the path of the Cambodian gunboats. The economy is a shambles, with Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos have all fallen to the Communists. Hopes we had nurtured for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East have evaporated, and now, as the dog days of summer approach, tempers all over urban America have begun to rise.

"So give the man credit," says Sen.

University of Texas (of course), became president of Sigma Nu. He got his law degree in 1942, just in time to join the Army Air Corps and marry a beautiful model called "B.A." for Beryl Ann. He had a good war, flying B-24s and winning the usual chest-full of ribbons. When he got home he was elected county judge, the state's youngest. Two years later he was elected to Congress, the nation's youngest. He stuck it out for three terms, very conservative young man (he once advocated dropping nuclear bombs on North Korea). Then some say, he got bored and went home. He says he did it to rear his three kids the right, Texas way. In fact, though, I think he went home to make his bundle.

He built a little financial empire on money borrowed from his family. He put \$7 million in and took \$30 million out. He started with a little insurance company called CALICO, merged it with a bigger insurance company called Lincoln Liberty Life, and turned it all into a conglomerate called Lincoln Consolidated, Inc. He worked like hell and eventually got to sit on the boards of directors of companies like Lockheed and Continental Oil.

Then he chucked that and ran for the Senate against liberal Ralph Yarborough in what even for Texas was one of the toughest, dirtiest races anybody can remember. Bentsen, of course, won. Then he beat Nixon's favorite young Republican, George

Bush, in the general election. He came to Washington again in 1971 and he's had a good first term.

He's probably the most efficient senator in Washington. When he first got there, he hired a management consultant to make sense of his office routine.

Analysis and Opinion



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Lloyd M. Bentsen, Jr., of Texas another in that long line of declared candidates for Democratic nomination for President I have tried to introduce in this space. "We did something right," Bentsen said last week as we flew back from Philadelphia in a small private plane, "and I'm damn happy about it, for the President and the country."

Bentsen is the competence candidate. He's the cool, smart, calculating Texan who says he can make things run again. If he can make the American people believe that, I say, he can be elected President by acclamation.

A Classic Tale

Americans, we are told, have never been so alienated. They trust hardly anybody, least of all the politicians. "What makes them maddest," says Bentsen, "is the failure of government to work."

For Lloyd Bentsen, things have always worked. It's a classic American tale. His grandfather, Peter, an immigrant from Denmark, settled in the Rio Grande Valley before World War I, and his two sons, Lloyd, Sr., and Elmer, took it from there, which is to say they made a Texas-size bundle. It was easier for Lloyd, Jr., born in Mission, in the Valley, in 1921. He went to the Uni-

Now when you're hired by Bentsen, you follow an organizational manual. The service requests from back home are put in a big bundle every afternoon at 4 and mailed, air mail special, back to the office in Austin. The case workers are in Texas, not—as always in the past—in Washington. "It's more efficient," says Bentsen, "because most of the trouble people are having is with Federal agencies in Texas. Besides, you can hire more people in Texas for the same amount of money."

He's one of the smartest too. He knows about big business because he's been a very big businessman himself. It puts him a leg up on most of his colleagues, who wouldn't know a flow chart from a parking ticket. His biggest legislative success has been the pension-reform bill that got through the Finance Committee principally because of Lloyd Bentsen's expertise. That was smart politics too. People remembered how yahoo conservative he'd been when he was in the House, and they remembered how he beat Ralph Yarborough, a Texas liberal hero. Now, leaders of the AFL-CIO in Texas go out of their way to introduce Bentsen, their old nemesis, at political rallies. And, as Sen. Henry M. Jackson's relations with AFL-CIO chieftain George Meany have soured, Bentsen's by curious coincidence have ripened.

A Well-Organized Campaign

Bentsen's Presidential campaign, not surprisingly, is well-organized too. Among other things, J. C. Smith from Oshkosh, Wisconsin, has developed a computerized critical-path method (CPM) for the campaign, b'gosh. CPM, developed by DuPont researchers, allows all the thousands of sequences of any process to be put in a computer; warning lights are flashed whenever one sequence is unfinished.

ComPac, a computer firm, handles the CPM data. The computer has also been supplied with the names and background of all the thousands of people the Bentsen campaign has contacted. Demographics and voting records for the last decade for each of the 18 major states the Bentsen campaign intends to contest have also been computerized. Other experts have been hired too, including Victor Fingerhut, a media consultant.

A Sizable Nest Egg

It's all possible because the money rolls in. Bentsen has raised \$1.4 million, spent so far about two-thirds of it. He says he's already fixed to qualify for matching Federal funds in those 18 states. In the cash-flow derby, he's running third (behind Wallace and Jackson).

He and his manager, New Jersey's hard-sell, feisty Ben Palumbo, seem to know exactly what they're doing. One thing they won't be doing is wasting their time in pursuit of 17 delegates in New Hampshire's first-in-the-nation Presidential primary next March 2. They'll let Mo Udall, Fred Harris, and maybe Jimmy Carter nibble that raisin. Bentsen is pointing for the Big Apple, the New York primary that will be held much earlier this time, on April 6. You need 1,504 votes to get the nomination, and New York has 274 of them. Last week, Bentsen was invited to a

up to Pete Camiel, the boss in Philadelphia, at a cocktail party for Lou Hill, who's trying to beat Frank Rizzo for mayor in a Democratic primary this week. Thanks in part to Palumbo, the cool, diffident, well-spoken Bentsen seems to get along famously with these old "dese and dese" pols. "I like them," Bentsen says. "I really do."

I doubt he really does, but he'll get along with them if it means getting along towards the nomination. Lloyd Bentsen is a very determined man with a very certain idea of who he is and what he wants, and how to get it.

He is not your ordinary rabble-rouser. Forget those Texas stereotypes; this is another kind of person. He's the competence candidate, and we'll be able to judge how competent he really is by how well he does running for the nomination.

If he's as smart and as able as he thinks he is (and as I suspect he is), we may have something worth taking a look at here. Imagine: a politician who works.

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RE: SENATOR LLOYD M. BENTSEN:

Senator Bentsen is touted as a successful young businessman; a man whose election would be good for business. He claims, or his public relations firms claim for him, that he has made millions out of the insurance business since retiring from Congress in 1954.

It is quite probable that he has made millions out of the operation of the insurance company, which was founded in 1954, or thereabouts, with Bentsen family vendor's lien notes, and some cash raised from sale of stock in the company at \$10.00 per share. The name of the company was Consolidated American Life Insurance Company, -organized in the State of Texas via the Insurance Commission.

The proof of the pudding of whether or not a man is a good businessman is not whether or not he has made a personal fortune. The proof of the pudding is whether or not the minority stockholders in his company have had a good investment. Consequently, if the stock which minority stockholders purchased in 1954 at \$10.00 per share has now increased in value, or sufficient dividends have been paid thereon to give a fair return on the \$10.00 per share investment, then truly he would be a good business man.

The way to find out is to locate a stockholder who purchased minority stock in Consolidated American Life Insurance Company at the time of its organization in 1954 (records available at Texas Insurance Commission) and trace such investment through all the mergers and other reorganizations which have taken place since organization. Then see what you can buy the exact investment for today. The next step would be to determine if dividends have been paid to minority stockholders in amounts sufficient to account for any lack of increase in value of such investments, or decrease in value.

Reliable information indicates that such an investigation will reveal that no dividends have been paid on the stock since organization; and that you can now buy over the counter for \$600.00 the investment the original minority stockholders paid \$1000.00 for.

Can the Taxpayers expect better treatment from a President of the United States than the same man accorded minority stockholders in his company in private enterprise?

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Bentsen Bid Applauded by Gov. Briscoe

Texas Gov. Dolph Briscoe Wednesday reaffirmed his support of the presidential candidacy of Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr. (D-Tex.) and said it was "absolutely incorrect" that he thought Bentsen should concentrate on his re-election campaign for the Senate in 1976.

Briscoe made the comments to Texas reporters before leaving the National Governors Conference in New Orleans. He was responding to a Washington Post report that morning that said, "to judge by private comments, the governors of Texas and Arizona think their states' presidential hopefuls Bentsen and Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.) might be well advised right now to forget their White House dreams and get down to running for the Senate in 1976."

Briscoe told home state reporters that he called Senator Bentsen today and said he has support. "I think Sen. Bentsen's chances are better now than ever before. His strength seems to be growing among the Democratic governors. They regard him as a serious candidate, not just a regional favorite son."

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Candidate file

Bentsen of Texas 5th Democrat in Race

By **CHRISTOPHER LYDON**
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17— Senator Lloyd Millard Bentsen of Texas is the fifth Democrat to enter the 1976 Presidential race.

"The paramount issue is economic recovery," the 54-year-old insurance millionaire told a holiday crowd of Texas well-wishers and reporters today, "and that means jobs— jobs at decent wages with a chance to fully develop one's talents."

In a 1,000-word statement, delivered in the Senate Caucus Room and later this afternoon in Houston, Mr. Bentsen pledged "to restore the meaning of America's two great promises: opportunity at home and moral leadership."

But he offered only general outlines of programs and avoided appeals to particular constituencies within his party.

"His greatest strength," said Lloyd Hackler, his administrative assistant who plans to leave politics for private business next week, "is the fact that there's no front-runner out there."

Mr. Bentsen's declared rivals for the Democratic nomination next year are Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and former



The New York Times/George James

Continued on Page 15, Column 1 Senator and Mrs. Lloyd Millard Bentsen in the Capitol

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BENTSEN OF TEXAS ENTERS 1976 RACE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma.

Former Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina has said that he will announce his candidacy in the spring, and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, a Democrat who has run for President before as an independent, has indicated that he is eager to run again.

But Mr. Bentsen's backers see a lack of Democratic leadership despite the expanding list of Presidential entries. They describe the Senator as an appealing contrast, not only to better-known candidates, but also to public stereotypes—a Southerner who has not been associated with racial conflict, a Texan who wears business suits but not cowboy hats and does not sound like Lyndon B. Johnson.

Mrs. Robb Attends

They also say that he is a moderate-to-conservative Democrat who disagrees with the Pentagon more often than Mr. Jackson does, a Senator who spent most of his adult life outside Washington—a man, in short, who might unify the Democratic party because of all the things he is not.

So far, however, even after exploratory travels through more than 30 states last year, most of Mr. Bentsen's visible support has come from Texas—notably from the Houston business community and the more conservative wing of Texas Democrats.

Mr. Bentsen's announcement-reception this morning drew prominent members of Texas's House delegation, including Representative Jim Wright, W. R. Poage, Omar Burleson, Bob Casey and George H. Mahon, as well as many figures like Mr. Hackler, who were closely associated with the late President Johnson.

Mr. Johnson's older daughter, Mrs. Charles S. Robb, was here, as was Jack Valenti, the

former White House appointments secretary.

Mr. Bentsen said that he had found "strong support in almost all the major states I've been into." His aides pointed for evidence to a number of second-echelon figures in Democratic politics who came to Washington especially for the announcement. Among them were Andrew Miller, the Attorney General of Virginia; C. J. McLinn, a black state legislator from Ohio; Nick Venezia, treasurer of the New Jersey Democratic Committee, and John Klas, the party chairman in Utah.

Senator Bentsen said that he was in the campaign "for the duration," and added, "I wouldn't have entered this race unless I thought I was going to win it." He also announced,

as expected, that he would run for a second Senate term in Texas next year, under the same state law that permitted Mr. Johnson to run for the Senate and the Vice-Presidency in 1960.

2d Place Ruled Out

He said that he would run in a "representative selection" of what could be more than 30 state Presidential primaries next year. It would be physically and financially impossible, he said, to run in all of them. He said that he had not decided whether he would run in the traditional opener in New Hampshire.

Asked if he would accept the Vice-Presidential nomination at the Democratic convention, he replied, "I should say not."

Responding to questions to-

day, Mr. Bentsen indicated that he was not distressed by the observation that he had won moderately low ratings from both liberal and conservative groups that rate Congressional figures by their votes. "I guess all that leaves me to represent is the people," he said.

Having quit the House after three terms in 1955, Mr. Bentsen returned to politics in 1971 with a sharp but shortlived conservative image. He defeated, in turn, Senator Ralph W. Yarborough, a Texas liberal, largely by associating the incumbent with the unrest of the nineteen-sixties, and then George H. Bush, a moderate Republican.

In the Senate, however, he seemed to choose symbolic votes carefully to build a repu-

tation as a flexible pragmatist. He opposed the supersonic transport, for example, and accelerated development of the Trident submarine.

He said today, "I suppose there's something to be said for having [the death penalty] as a deterrent to crimes."

On military aid to South Vietnam and Cambodia, he sided with the opponents of President Ford's request for a supplemental appropriation of \$300-million. "At some point, we have to draw a line," he said.

On energy and oil policy, an especially sensitive subject in Texas, he said that he favored eliminating the depletion allowance for the "major" companies on all production, foreign and domestic, but not for independent drillers. He can sup-

port a windfall profits tax on the oil industry, he said, but he wants a "plowback" provision that would let companies reinvest their earnings in exploration for new energy.

Support in Texas

Special to The New York Times

AUSTIN, Tex., Feb. 17—Gov. Dolph Briscoe and Lieut. Gov. William P. Hobby Jr. gave warm support today to Mr. Bentsen's Presidential aspirations.

The two leading Texas Democrats issued unsolicited statements to the press. Mr. Hobby said that Mr. Bentsen "brings to this race qualities and qualifications too long absent on the national political scene."

Mr. Briscoe called Mr. Bentsen "a new star on the horizon."

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Washington Post

2-7-75

Candidate file

Was Post 2-7-75

Sen. Bentsen Is Critical Of Kissinger

Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) said last night that Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger wears "three hats" to run a "one-man" foreign policy, and it is time to surrender two of them.

Bentsen, a potential candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, made a broadside criticism of Kissinger's conduct of foreign affairs in a speech prepared for delivery at Georgetown University.

American foreign policy, Bentsen said, "has become dangerously constricted . . . with an undemocratic emphasis on secret diplomacy, personal negotiations and one-man authoritarianism."

Bentsen said Kissinger wears one hat as Secretary of State, another as director of the National Security Council staff, and "unofficially wears a third: that of roving ambassador."

"It's time for Secretary Kissinger to check two of those hats," said Bentsen, because "running the State Department is a full-time job for any man—even a superman—and it can't be done from a jet plane circling over a Middle East airport."

There is need for a bipartisan foreign policy, Bentsen said. But he added, "bipartisan is not a Secretary of State, operating in secrecy, making deals, and then coming to Congress and saying, 'accept this or take the blame for failure.'"

"The failures in Cyprus, in the Far East, in the Middle East, in Latin America, in Canada, in Europe" and in "the inter-relationships of the world's economy," said Bentsen, "are not congressional failures. They are failures of a policy conceived and executed without adequate and proper consultation with the Congress."

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Candidate
He

Mr. Bentsen Also Runs

Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen, an insurance millionaire from Texas, has become the fifth Democrat to enter the 1976 Presidential race. Unfamiliar to most Americans, Mr. Bentsen stands to the right of the party's mainstream.

Of his declared rivals—Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia



The New York Times/George Fames
Senator Lloyd Bentsen

and former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma—only Mr. Jackson is well-known nationally. Like some of these candidates and others held likely to declare in the coming months, Mr. Bentsen may in fact be aiming at the second spot on the ticket. (His denial of any interest in the Vice Presidency is viewed widely as the standard disclaimer.)

Some professional politicians are skeptical about whether some or even any of the announced candidates will survive a relentless series of state primaries that begin in March and continue through June, 1976. For the moment, at least, Senator Jackson is considered the front-runner. But the contest in the primaries and in the convention itself is likely to be unusually sharp. The impact on the Republicans of Watergate and economic distress has made the Democratic nomination the most desirable one in many years.

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FEB 17 1975

By Hall

Bentsen decides to make it official for the '76 race

By CARL P. LEUBSDORF

WASHINGTON (AP) — Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen, a wealthy Texan with more money than tangible political support, is becoming the fifth formal entry in the wide-open 1976 Democratic presidential race.

Bentsen planned his formal announcement today at a pair of press conferences and receptions here and in Houston, Tex.

He chose a holiday, when few other news events were likely to occur, to announce his candidacy in the Senate Caucus Room, a traditional launching pad for presidential candidates.

Under a Texas law passed in 1960 for the late Lyndon B. Johnson, Bentsen will be able to run for both the presidency and re-election to the Senate in 1976.

In the past 18 months, Bentsen has taken advantage of his job as chairman of the 1974 Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee to travel widely while making little effort to hide his interest in the presidency.

He has raised more than \$1 million, much of it from Texas, but has less visible political backing than two other Democrats with comparable financial resources, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington.

However, he hopes to appeal to Democrats as a moderate. As a political performer, he is smooth, articulate and bland.

The 54-year-old freshman Democrat is a former member of the House and a successful businessman.

In becoming a formal candidate, Bentsen joins Jackson, Rep. Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., former Gov. Jimmy Carter, D-Ga., and former Sen. Fred R. Harris, D-Okla.

They could be joined soon by Wallace, Sen. Birch E. Bayh

of Indiana, former Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina and a number of others.

A native of Mission in the Rio Grande Valley, Bentsen was elected to the House at the age of 27 but retired six years later and moved to Houston where he entered business.

He became president of Lincoln Consolidated, a large financial holding institution and held several major corporate directorships before re-entering politics in the 1970 Senate race.

Stresses Economic Recovery

Bentsen Adds His Hat to Democratic Field

WASHINGTON (AP) — Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr., a wealthy Texan with more money than tangible political support, today became the fifth formal entrant into the 1976 Democratic presidential race.

"The paramount issue is economic recovery," Bentsen said, declaring he would offer his party and the nation "leadership which is at once candid, unafraid and positive."

Bentsen formally unveiled his candidacy at a news conference and reception in Washington before flying to Houston, Tex., for a second news conference and reception.

In making official his campaign plans that had been obvious for months, Bentsen

cited his business and political background, including three terms in the House.

"I believe this blend of private and public outlooks, Washington and non-Washington viewpoints, and legislative as well as administrative experience is what is required of the nation's leadership in the last half of this turbulent decade," the Texas senator said.

Besides providing jobs to pull the nation out of its current economic recession, he said "we must also restore an economic system which provides diversity of opportunity for earning a living and gives meaning to the dream of individual independence."

Sharply critical in recent

speeches of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, Bentsen said, "We must have a foreign policy which gives as much weight to interdependence as it does to military strength."

He said the Republican administration in Washington "has failed to govern with either wisdom or foresight."

"It has bounced from crisis to crisis," Bentsen added. "It has reacted to the problems of the moment. It is without specific goals. It is without sensible plans."

He chose a holiday, when few other news events were likely to occur, to announce his candidacy in the Senate Caucus Room, a traditional launching pad for presidential candidates.

Under a Texas law passed

in 1960 for the late Lyndon B. Johnson, Bentsen will be able to run for both the presidency and re-election to the Senate in 1976.

In the past 18 months, Bentsen has taken advantage of his job as chairman of the 1974 Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee to travel widely while making little effort to hide his interest in the presidency.

He has raised more than \$1 million, much of it from Texas, but has less visible political backing than two other Democrats with comparable financial resources, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington.



SEN. LLOYD BENTSEN
Raps GOP Administration

2-17-75
The Albany Herald [Page #1]

JAN 1 1975 *efe*

Bentsen Will Throw Hat in Ring

By DAVID S. BRODER
L.A. Times-Post-Newsday Service
WASHINGTON — Sen. Lloyd N. Bentsen Jr. of Texas has decided to enter the Democratic presidential race and is seeking a Presidential primary in his home state as a test of strength with Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, D, and other challengers.

Washington sources close to the senator told The Washington Post Tuesday that Bentsen would announce his candidacy in six or eight weeks. Meantime, George Christian, an Austin political adviser of Bentsen's, said a bill to give Texas a presidential primary "will probably emerge soon after the start of the legislative session" in mid-January.

Bentsen has been touring the country as an undeclared presidential hopeful for more than a year, but Tuesday's disclosure was the first definitive word that he has decided to run.

At the same time it was learned that representatives of Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., are negotiating for the purchase of network television time for a Jackson announcement the first week in February.

Two candidates — Rep. Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., and Gov. Jimmy Carter, D. of Georgia — have announced already, and ex-Sen. Fred R. Harris, D-Okla., is scheduled to announce on Jan. 11.

The Bentsen Camp's decision to seek the first presidential primary in Texas is the first step in the Texan's strategy to defuse the challenge of Wallace.

In 1972, when Texas chose its delegates by a caucus convention system, Wallace received 52 votes, Sen. George S. McGovern, D-S.D., 41; Jackson, 32, and minor candidates five.

*Other
Candidate
file*

Wallace is expected to be strong again in Texas in 1976 and while Bentsen is not planning to run as a regional candidate, his managers concede that he must establish his ability to beat Wallace in order to be taken as a serious contender.

Christian said the plan for a primary had been discussed with Texas Gov. Dolph Briscoe, D, who is supporting Bentsen for President, but added, "I don't know if the governor will recommend it as part of his own program."

Robert Hardesty, Briscoe's press secretary, said "the governor is not committed" to the idea, "but it could build up steam fast when the legislature comes back." Christian said the "odds are pretty good" a primary bill will be passed.

The proposal under discussion would place the primary on May 1, 1976, the same day that Texas voters nominate candidates for Congress and for the one state office up in 1976.

That would mean Bentsen might be on the ballot twice that day — once as a candidate for nomination to the Senate and again as a Presidential contender.

Texas has never repealed the law it passed in 1960 to allow Lyndon Johnson to run for reelection to the Senate at the same time he was running for Vice-President.

But it is not certain that Texas will have the type of Presidential primary in which the candidates' names are listed on the ballot.

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DEC 5 1974 *BJL*

Presidential Candidate Bentsen Invites 4,000 to His Reception

KANSAS CITY (AP) — Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr. of Texas, rated the least known of the major Democratic presidential contenders, hopes to make the biggest splash at this week's party miniconvention.

The Texas millionaire has invited all 4,000 delegates, alternates, reporters and staff members to a reception Friday evening.

In contrast, Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, the only announced candidate for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination, and Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington plan less flashy approaches as the great political courtship of

76 gets serious here today.

The wooing of delegates by at least five potential presidential hopefuls starts in earnest at the party's charter conference.

Udall, Jackson and Bentsen were scheduled to bring their embryonic campaigns to the midterm convention late today, flying in from Washington.

Also due in this afternoon were Govs. George E. Wallace of Alabama and Jimmy Carter of Georgia, two other likely contenders in 1976.

Bentsen and Jackson are clearly the most visible here. Signs proclaiming meetings for delegates with them adorn the Muehlebach

Hotel lobby, convention headquarters. Both have booths at convention hall, hospitality suites and people working the delegations, talking up the budding candidacies.

Bentsen, 53, is serving his first term in the Senate.

He served four terms in the House before deciding not to seek re-election in 1954. He then entered

business in Houston and became president of a financial holding company.

He is known in the Senate for his suave style and business expertise.

Bentsen takes moderate positions on most issues. His unannounced presidential candidacy is generally considered to appeal to the same kind of voter attracted to Jackson.

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DEC 18 1974

Bentsen Backed on Campaign Fund

Washington Bureau of The News
WASHINGTON — Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas, has demonstrated a "firm and open commitment to the spirit . . . (and) a firm adherence to the letter" of the existing campaign spending law, a Bentsen spokesman said.

The comment was made in response to criticism from Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, who said on the "Meet the Press" television program that Bentsen and Sen. Henry Jackson, D-Wash., were committing "a travesty" of the new campaign spending law which takes effect Jan. 1.

That new law will limit individual contributions to \$1,000, and Carter accused Bentsen and Jackson, who are unofficially seeking the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination, of violating the spirit of law by going after \$3,000 individual contribu-

tions before the new limit becomes effective.

"THERE IS NO limit under existing law," argued Bentsen's spokesman. Bentsen is out of the city and could not be reached for comment.

"Sen. Bentsen has been in the forefront of the drive for campaign reform legislation," he continued. "In 1973 he authored the amendment (which was not accepted) to the Senate version of the recently-enacted campaign reform bill which

limited previously limitless contributions to \$3,000. And he has voluntarily adhered to that limitation in all his fund raising since then."

Carter based his comment on a New York Times story that said Bentsen and Jackson were trying to raise "more than \$500,000 each before the end of this year, partly through urgent last-chance appeals for \$3,000 gifts from individuals and \$6,000 from couples."

BENTEN'S spokesman, who asked not to be identi-

fied, said he would "hardly call it a strenuous effort" by the Bentsen campaign organization to raise money before Jan. 1 but that many people are inquiring about making contributions and they are being told Bentsen will accept no individual contribution of more than \$3,000.

Carter, who has announced he will seek the Democratic presidential nomination, said on the television interview show that while he is not accusing the senators of anything illegal, their efforts are "equivalent to the same thing President Nixon did back in April 1972 when he rapidly accumulated large sums of money to finance his campaign without revealing the identities of the contributors."

Bentsen's spokesman replied that the Texan has made "strict reporting of all contributions and expenditures" to his campaign.

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JAN 1 1975

BENTSEN

Continued from Page 1A
who was press secretary to President Johnson and a strategist in Bentsen's 1970 senatorial campaign.

"It will be very difficult for him to have a locked-up delegation under any rules, but a primary is probably the best way for him to show his strength."

Briscoe

Christian said the plan for a primary had been discussed with Texas Gov. Dolph Briscoe, who is supporting Bentsen, but added, "I don't know if the governor will recommend it as part of his own program."

Robert Hardesty, Briscoe's press secretary, said "the governor is not committed" to the idea "but it could build up steam fast when the legislature comes back."

Christian said the "odds are pretty good" a primary bill will be passed.

ate and again as a presidential contender.

Texas has never repealed the law it passed in 1960 to allow Lyndon Johnson to run for re-election to the Senate at the same time he was running for vice president.

But it is not certain that Texas will have the type of presidential primary in which the candidates' names are listed on the ballot.

Bentsen's advisers are divided on the desirability of holding a direct "beauty contest" preference vote, and the likelihood is that such a vote would be advisory and non-binding if it is included at all.

Delegates

The inclination, according to both Christian and Bentsen sources in Washington, is to set up a primary in which individual national convention delegates are elected directly by the voters, either from each of the 24 congressional

PAGE ONE

Wallace defusing is motive

WASHINGTON POST SERVICE

WASHINGTON — Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr., D-Tex., has decided to enter the Democratic presidential race.

He is seeking a presidential primary in his home state as a test of strength with Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace and other challengers.

Washington sources close to the senator said Tuesday that Bentsen would announce his candidacy in six or eight weeks.

Meanwhile, George Christian, an Austin political adviser of Bentsen's, said a bill to give Texas a presidential

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FEB 14

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Bentsen Hits Slushy Vote Trail Here

By MAURICE CARROLL

Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen, the Texas Democrat who has logged 200,000 miles traveling through 36 states in the last year as a pre-Presidential candidate, added a few more miles on New York City's slush-splattered streets yesterday, ending at a party put on by Meade H. Esposito, the Brooklyn Democratic leader.

"Just meeting a few of his friends," Mr. Bentsen said.

For Mr. Esposito—who had a bad year in 1974 to the point that his control of the Democratic party in the country's biggest Democratic county came under question—it was an opportunity, according to one local politician, "to show that he's in the Presidential picture."

Mr. Bentsen is expected to place himself formally in that picture at a news conference in Washington on Monday.

Yesterday, guided by Paul Sheehan, a Boston funeral director turned political advance man, one of a cadre the Senator has been building, Mr. Bentsen put in what has become for him a typical day since, soon after winning election in 1970, he decided to make a race for the Democratic nomination for President.

Senator Bentsen sat through broadcast interviews, gently turning the discussion toward the Democratic party's need for "a man who can appeal to the center," to which he added, "and I can do it."

A judicious man with a business background and a ready command of economic statistics, he met privately with

news executives and emphasized his belief that "the main thrust of my effort will be questions involving the economy."

A practical sort, he sought out the supremely practical Mr. Esposito and his friends. The party for him last night was at the East Side apartment of Kenneth Knigin, a former Councilman. Mr. Esposito said he was not endorsing Mr. Bentsen, simply making introductions.

Without a hint of boredom, Mr. Bentsen said, "I've been going like this all the time."

He has turned up as a host himself at such gatherings as the United States Conference of Mayors meeting in San Diego and the Democratic miniconvention in Kansas City. According to a statistics-minded aide, he had traveled 200,000 miles in the last year, gave more than

200 speeches, and visited 34 states.

"It was 36 states," Mr. Bentsen amended.

Elected as United States Representative at the age of 27 from the Rio Grande Valley, he served three terms, then went into business before returning to politics to defeat Ralph Yarborough, a man revered by the liberal establishment, for the Democratic nomination for Senator.

That, along with his business and banking support, established Mr. Bentsen in the national news media as a conservative—which he says he is not.

"I'm not an extremist on either end of the political spectrum," Mr. Bentsen said. He plans to seek his party's Presidential nomination on the grounds that he is a man of the ideological center and an expert in the area now of major concern, the economy, and that he can win.

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Carey's Chances in '75

Governor's Background and Location Of State Are Called National Assets

By FRANK LYNN

The visits here last week of three Democratic Presidential hopefuls provided ammunition for supporters of Governor Carey who argue that the Governor, while admittedly a long shot, has at least as much and probably a better chance of winning a spot on the Democratic national ticket next year as last week's visitors. One of them, Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, is scheduled to announce his candidacy today in Washington while the two others, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, have already made themselves officially available for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

All three were politicking in New York last week and if a tepid reception here is any indication of their strength, they have a long way to go to place on the national ticket in second place.

A Ticket Balancer

On the other hand, Governor Carey, even while professing a lack of interest in a national candidacy, could lay claim to substantial support at least in New York, which will have nearly 10 per cent of the delegates at the Democratic National Convention. In addition, as an Irish Roman Catholic from the East and a big-state Governor, he would also balance most of the Presidential hopefuls, declared and otherwise.

The problems of the other three candidates were evident in their politicking here. Their schedules were heavily larded with midday radio and television talk shows and meetings with newspaper, radio and television executives and political contributors who weren't asked to contribute at this point because the response might be embarrassing. Meetings with the politicians who have the votes at the national convention were few and perfunctory. The candidates generally had time on their hands.

Several incidents last week further illustrated the problem of unknown candidates who have to start campaigning 18 months in advance of the Democratic National Convention at a time when not only the voters but also the professional politicians are tuned out on Presidential politics. Another and seemed to find it

A Lonely Figure

Senator Bentsen, who was referred to as "Benson" more than once, had to cancel Wednesday's entire schedule here at the last minute to attend a Senate Finance Committee meeting in Washington. He and other members of the committee had been criticized for their absence from a committee meeting the day before.

On Thursday, the Senator seemed like a lonely figure at an East Side cocktail party ostensibly in his honor. New York politicians there spent most of the time talking to one another and seemed to find it difficult to make even small talk with the Texan in their midst.

Representative Udall, who was booked into a TV talk show as a last-minute replacement for Senator Bentsen, traveled through the snow from a downtown appointment to a Central Park West studio only to arrive too late to get on the show. Later, Mr. Udall, again running late because of the snow, missed a meeting with the Democratic state chairman, Patrick J. Cunningham, because Mr. Cunningham couldn't wait.

Mr. Harris announced the start of his New York campaign at a meeting of about 150 supporters at the McAlpin Hotel. That's probably a bigger crowd than Mr. Bentsen or Mr. Udall could draw at this stage here, but there were no major New York politicians present at the Harris announcement.

Staying Close to Home

All the while, Mr. Carey stayed in Albany and his aides and political strategists say that's where he'll stay for at least the first six months of his administration, and probably longer.

None of these Carey allies claim to have any inside information on the Governor's intentions but most of them presume he would welcome the Presidential or Vice-Presidential nomination next year.

"I don't expect Carey to run for the national ticket," said an adviser, adding: "It's very simple; he has to be an excellent Governor and then a nomination might come to him."

"If he does well as Governor, he can't avoid being a candidate," said a high Carey administration official, ticking off such political pluses as "Northeasterner, Irish Catholic, beat the Rockefeller organization, good on Watergate reforms, a brokered convention, a big-state delegation."

Rose Favors Caution

Alex Rose, the Liberal leader, who advised John V. Lindsay against a premature bid for the Presidency and against entering various primaries in 1972, is known to feel that the relatively unknown Mr. Carey should not make the same mistake and instead must wait for a nomination to come to him.

If Mr. Carey does stay home and concentrate on being Governor, there are no lack of heralds to pass the word to politicians across the country of any Carey governmental successes. New York is the communications center of the nation so that the exploits of politicians here command attention nationally.

In addition, at least three key Carey advisers have ample national contacts—Mr. Cunningham and former Mayor Robert F. Wagner head the important site-selection and compliance committees, respectively, for the national convention and David Garth, the media expert, has had politicians from New York to Los Angeles as clients.

What it all adds up to is that performance as Governor is the key to any Carey national strategy. The Governor has to do what he was to do—run the state well—if he is to have a chance of becoming a national candidate.

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Political Waters for 1976

Speeches, Travels and Meetings Are Designed to Surmount Unfamiliarity, Jackson Lead and Texas Origin

By R.W. APPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

ROCHESTER, Oct. 12—Word was circulating through a government building here yesterday that Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen of Texas was coming to an economic conference. It might be a good idea, the employees were told, if they took a few minutes off to help fill up the little auditorium where he was to speak.

"Who is this we're supposed to go to hear?" one secretary listlessly asked another.

"Some Southerner who's running for President," she was told.

"Oh, Jimmy Carter," replied the first knowingly.

That incident illustrates the major weakness in the 53-year-old Texan's unannounced campaign for the 1974 Democratic Presidential nomination—a campaign that will probably be made official early next year.

Mr. Bentsen weighs the pros and cons over the Christmas holidays and decides whether his chances are good enough "to spend two years of my life on them."

Well Known to Pros
But the Secretary's view of Lloyd Bentsen is not the only way of looking at him, and it is a perception that is not shared by many Democratic professionals. The same man who is unknown to most of the electorate has made himself well-known indeed to party heavyweights.

It is no accident, for example, that within the last year Mr. Bentsen has been the major speaker at dinners sponsored by three men named Meade Esposito, Peter J. Camiel and Richard J. Daly—the Democratic leaders in Brooklyn, Philadelphia and Chicago.

Already, Mr. Bentsen has accomplished a good deal. He came to the Senate only four years ago, preceded by the expectation that he would develop into a typical Southern burbon. He had, after all, defeated Ralph W. Yarborough in a primary, and Mr. Yarborough had been venerated by Washington liberals as a patron saint of Southern popu-

sm. From that start, he has won a reputation for centrism (rated 57 per cent by a conservative pressure group, 55 per cent by a liberal equivalent). He has appeared on national television to offer his party's response to President Nixon on economic issues. And he has made more than 150 speeches in 32 states in eight months.

Vision of Tactician
All of this has been accomplished by Mr. Bentsen's hard work, to be sure, but it has been made possible in large measure by the drive and enthusiasm of Ben Palumbo, a 37-year-old tactician from New Jersey who burns with a vision for the Democratic party. Lloyd Bentsen and Ben Palumbo in the White House in January, 1975.

Mr. Palumbo, whose intensely unruly hair and thick glasses remind one of former Representative Allard K. Lowenstein of New York, was working for Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr. of New Jersey when he met the Senator from Texas.

"I've never been shaken from my conviction that the Democrat who can win is the one who can appeal to the electorate in every section of the country," he said the other day, "and that man is Bentsen."

Mr. Palumbo set out four goals for this year: making Mr. Bentsen a familiar figure to key local officials in the Democratic party—the Camiels and Espositos, but also those like Lawrence Kirwan, the Rochester leader, who are less famous; getting to know regional reporters; cultivating national columnists; and identifying the Senator with economic issues.

Good strategy

Appeal to Liberals

He thinks he has reached those goals, and he is convinced his man will prove his appeal in the coming months to the "enormous number of liberals now taking a more pragmatic view." Like some of the young technicians in Senator George McGovern's early 1972 campaign, Mr. Palumbo has an inner fire that the cynics will not easily extinguish.

Mr. Bentsen's current operations are typified by his two-day trip to Boston and upstate New York this week. Using as a vehicle his chairmanship of the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee, he built the trip around another in a series of debates with Senator William E. Brock 3d of Tennessee, his Republican opposite number, and appearances for Democratic candidates for the House and the State Legislature.

But he was campaigning every minute for Lloyd Bentsen as well, whether in radio and television interviews, a meeting with the editorial board of the Gannett newspapers or a speech on energy policy at Brandeis University.

Whatever the forum, he is crisply turned out, the picture of the affluent businessman (insurance, hotels) that he used to be. He uses his bass voice to good effect; and he doesn't have to shout to put a point across with emphasis.

He is one man with a panel of editors, jamming his replies to questions with economic detail—"We can now gasify coal for \$1.46 per NCF [million cubic feet], which is economically sound"—and with detailed proposals for modifying the oil depletion allowance and provisions for offshore drilling.

With a political audience, on the other hand, his speech is often marred by clichés ("Democrats do things for people, Republicans do things to people"), although he holds his listeners with pace, technique and partisan appeals.

As he nears the second phase of his effort—the one where he will have to establish himself with the public—Mr. Bentsen seems to face two principal problems.

Southerner From Texas

First, he is a Southerner, and no 20th-century Southerner who had not first served as Vice President has been nominated. Moreover, he is a Texan—something that excites in many Democrats negative associations of oil, Stetsons, Lyndon B. Johnson and brashness.

Mr. Bentsen's reply: "Do you think I'm a stereotype? Do I look like a cowboy? Do I sound like a Southerner?"

He is not and does not, to most people, but it remains to be seen whether that is enough.

Second, he must overcome the long lead of Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington with whom he will be competing for many of the same primary votes.

Mr. Bentsen and his staff believe, although they are reluctant to say so publicly, that Senator Bentsen has voted against the military option enough (including a key vote against the Trident missile program) and supported detente with sufficient energy to convince liberals that he, unlike Mr. Jackson, has left the cold war behind.

No War Identification

They also believe that Mr. Bentsen will benefit from the fact that he, unlike Mr. Jackson, lacks identification with either side of the controversy over Vietnam that left such deep scars on the Democratic party. In the days when Vietnam was most divisive, Mr. Bentsen was not in public office.

*To Steve
for Johnny*

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New York Times Oct. 14, 1974

Political Coffers Already L

By Morton Mintz

Washington Post Staff Writer

Candidates and political committees already have \$24.3 million on hand for elections in 1974—and even 1976 and later.

One senator, George McGovern (D-S.D.) has \$213,272 for his re-election race this year in South Dakota. He has another \$469,442 left over from his 1972 presidential bid. Some of that money is to be used to pay bills, but McGovern hasn't said what he plans to do with the balance.

Another senator, Lloyd M. Bentsen (D-Tex.), has amassed \$365,675—more than any of his colleagues—for his next race, which isn't until 1976. Sen. Edward W. Brooke (R-Mass.), who doesn't run again until 1978, has \$352,509.

The figures were reported yesterday by the Center for Public Financing of Elections, on the basis of a study of filings as of Dec. 31 with the General Accounting Office, the secretary of the Senate and the clerk of the House. They supervise the election-financing law that took effect in 1972.

The center, a bipartisan lobbying group that commissioned Kent Cooper of Cam-



EDWARD W. BROOKE



LLOYD M. BENTSEN

... each has more than \$300,000 for the next time.

ampaign Finance Surveys to make the study, contends that quick action is needed on reform legislation.

The co-directors of the center, Susan King and Neal Gregory, pointed out that in the final third of 1973, \$21.6 million was raised and almost \$18 million spent.

They emphasized that this occurred after the Senate, in July, had passed a bill to tighten the 1972 law with new disclosure requirements and limits on contributions and expenditures.

The Senate bill has been pending in the House Administration Committee. Its chairman, Rep. Wayne L. Hays (D-Ohio), is also chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee—a prime source of funds of House Democrats.

A bill for public financing of most federal elections—a more drastic proposal than the pending bill—was approved by the Senate Rules Committee on Feb. 7.

The largest amount of cash on hand at year's end reported by a special-interest committee, \$1,325,403, was listed by the political arm of Associated Milk Producers, Inc. Mid-

America Dairymen, Inc., accounted for an additional \$306,957, and Dairymen, Inc., for \$250,881. The three cooperatives gave \$427,500 to President Nixon's 1972 campaign.

The Finance Committee to Re-elect the President, along with one relatively minor Nixon organization, listed cash on hand of \$3,638,259. This sum was the largest reported for any candidate or organization. The Finance Committee raised most of the \$60 million collected for the Nixon nomination and re-election drives.

The committee's left-over funds are sought by the Republican National Committee, but its chairman, George H. Bush, has indicated that the

matter will remain in limbo pending the outcome of litigation against the committee.

Bentsen, a possible presidential candidate, is a member of the Governor and Brook group of nine senators whom had at least \$100,000 in the kitty on Dec. 31. The fourth was Sen. Thomas Eagleton (D-Mo.) with \$100,000. His term expires in January. The others, all up for re-election this year:

Bob Dole (R-Kans.), \$297,952; Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii), \$188,177; Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), \$179,404; Henry L. Bellmon (R-Okla.), \$149,168; and Frank Church (D-Idaho), \$115,888.

Among House members, the three leaders were Reps. Spark Matsunaga (D-Hawaii), \$128,347; Jack Brooks (D-Tex.), \$74,004; and Bob Wilson (R-Calif.), \$60,535. They were among 28 congressmen who listed year-end cash on hand of at least \$25,000 in reports to the clerk of the House.

Other highlights of the cash-on-hand study:

• GOP committees operating in Washington and around the nation reported a total of \$2,845,342.

• Various Democratic committees reported \$2,215,431.

• House candidates and their personal committees reported \$2,667,098.

• The 34 senators whose terms expire in 1975 reported \$1,928,123; seven whose terms expire in 1977 reported \$411,020, and 33 whose terms end in 1979 listed \$629,259.

• Besides the milk committees, units reporting at least \$250,000 were MEBA (Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, AFL-CIO) Retirees Fund, \$565,741; Transportation Political Education League, \$338,472; United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO, Political Action Fund, \$309,127; ILGWU International Ladies Garment Workers Union, AFL-CIO, Campaign Committee, \$289,647.

• Possible presidential candidates listed: Gov. George C. Wallace, \$103,751; Sen. Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.), \$46,981.

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JAN 22 1975 *Sybil*

Bentsen Could Be Presidential Timber

Next year is a presidential election year.

The Democrats overwhelmingly control Congress. But the Republicans still have the White House.

President Ford is the nation's first unelected President. And while he obviously is a genuine, down-home sort of man, he has not shown the sort of strong leadership or the character Americans like in their chief executive.

In other words, he is beatable next year, especially so since the GOP nationally is in bad trouble, unless something happens between now and election time to reverse the trend.

But who have the Democrats got to beat President Ford?

That's the strange aspect of the presidential election outlook. Usually the Democrats have a raft of candidates. Not this year.

Sen. Edward Kennedy says he's not interested.

Gov. George Wallace, the other Democrat the public knows and recognizes, can't make it nationally.

Sen. Humphrey has had his chance. So has Sen. Muskie, although he's still a possibility.

Sen. Henry Jackson is trying to mobilize his campaign now, and maybe he can make it. But we're unimpressed so far. He's a little old for a presidential contender. Also, he lacks the pizzazz so necessary in a national leader.

Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia is the sort of fresh personality that's needed. But he has a long way to travel. Governors don't have the national forum provided by service in Washington.

We don't see Rep. Udall as President. He's too liberal.

And that gets us down to Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, the man we've had our eye on all the time. We think he has what it takes — if he can live down the impressions made on the national psyche by Lyndon Johnson and John Connally.

Bentsen is not well known on the national scene. He hardly makes a mark in the public opinion polls at this point. But he is smart, handsome, experienced in both business and politics, and he's cool. He comes from a big state — Texas — which is getting bigger all the time. His home is in Houston.

And we notice that contributions by Texans to his unofficial campaign now approach \$1 million. In the last weeks of 1974 alone, more than \$500,000 was raised in an effort to beat the Jan. 1 effective date of the new campaign law which restricts individual contributions to \$1,000 or less.

Although Bentsen still hasn't proclaimed his intention to run for the Democratic nomination, he's rented an office in Washington to house staff members associated with the senator's national effort. They'll move in this month.

Bentsen is worth watching carefully.

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New York Post

D. 626,713 SUN. 375,607

FEB 5 1975 *By [signature]*

Bentsen Ready to Announce

WASHINGTON (AP) — Sen. Bentsen (D-Tex.) will announce his candidacy for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination on Feb. 17, sources said today.

Confirmation that Bentsen will join the growing Democratic field came after his office said he would announce his 1976 campaign plans on that day.

The announcement said Bentsen would announce his intentions regarding the 1976 presidential campaign in the Senate Caucus Room, which has been a frequent launching spot for presidential campaigns, with a reception to follow. Bentsen will then fly to Houston for another press conference and reception, the announcement said.

The freshman Senator, who will be 54 next Tuesday, has made no secret of his presidential ambitions and has spent much of his time in recent months making speeches around the country.

Bentsen's Senate seat also is up for election in 1976. He has said that if he seeks the presidency he will simultaneously run for the Senate under a Texas law passed in 1960 for the benefit of the late Lyndon B. Johnson.

Sen. Jackson (D-Wash.) plans to announce his candidacy tomorrow, joining Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and former Sen. Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma as active candidates for the Democratic nomination.

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DAILY NEWS

NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER

D. 2,129,901 SUN. 2,948,786

FEB 6 1975 *Ryker*

Bentsen: 5th Dem Hopeful

Washington, Feb. 5. (AP) Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr. of Texas will join the growing Democratic presidential field on Feb. 17 with formal announcement here and in Houston, Tex.

His announcement will make him the fifth formal entry in the 1976 Democratic race. Sen. Henry M. Jackson (Wash.) plans to declare tomorrow night, joining Rep. Morris K. Udall (Ariz.), former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, and former Sen. Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma.

Sources confirmed that Bentsen definitely would declare his candidacy after his office said that he would "announce his intentions regarding the 1976 presidential campaign" in the Senate Caucus Room, a traditional launching pad for presidential candidates.

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HEADQUARTERS

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Step
BENTSEN FILE
- 719

February 14, 1975

Mr. Charles Kirbo
2500 Trust Co Bldg
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Kirbo:

During the past year, it has been my privilege to meet thousands of Americans across this nation from all walks of life. I have listened to what they had to say. I wanted to hear first hand the concerns of our people, to hear about their families, their hopes and aspirations, and their feelings about our country.

In town after town and city after city, I found a firm and abiding belief in America, in our system of government, and in the promise of what our people can do. At the same time, I found a feeling of frustration with the quality of our leadership and a belief that our nation can do better.

Our people expect good jobs with decent wages; freedom from the stranglehold of recession and inflation, and a reaffirmation of the American credo that honest work can bring individual independence and financial security.

There is one other assessment I tried to make in my travels: whether as a candidate for the Presidency, I could make a contribution towards bettering the lives of Americans, whether there was the support in our country for the positions in which I believe, and whether that support could mean a realistic candidacy for my Party's nomination. I believe the answer is yes.

On February 17, 1975 at 10:30 a.m. in the Caucus Room of the Russell Senate Office Building, I will announce my candidacy for the Democratic Party's Presidential nomination.

I will conduct a positive campaign for the nomination and the election. I do not plan to be just a voice of opposition. I do plan to offer ideas that will get America back on the track and moving once again. I believe the economic difficulties America faces today, both at home and abroad, require leadership which is at once imaginative and honest, unafraid of either new directions or admissions of shortcoming. I hope to meet that test.

In the coming months, I hope to have the opportunity to discuss my candidacy with you, to ask for your advice and counsel.

Sincerely,

Lloyd Bentsen
Lloyd Bentsen

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Eyes of Texan on White House

By NORM UDEVITZ

Denver Post Staff Writer

SAN DIEGO, Calif. — Lloyd Bentsen for president?

Six months ago the idea of a 44-year-old multimillionaire freshman senator from Texas becoming a serious contender for the nation's highest office would have been a laugh. It isn't anymore.

At least that appears to be the case here at the 42nd annual U.S. Conference of Mayors (USCM) meeting.

Here ostensibly to talk to mayors of the nation's 350 largest cities about his proposed new Urban Public Transportation Assistance Act, which he introduced in the U.S. Senate this month, he makes it abundantly clear that he has been bitten by the White House bug.

TOE IN WATER

"Let's say," the senator admits, "that I've got my toe in the water."

And many mayors here—including Kevin White, Boston; Fred Hofheinz, Houston, and

possibly Richard Daley, the Chicago "kingmaker"—appear to back his full plunge into the presidential race.

The senator's chief aide, Ben Palumbo, says the formal announcement will probably be made next January—"and it will be one of the best financed campaigns in presidential history," he adds.

Palumbo claims that his tall, lean, well-tanned boss has made remarkable progress in gaining ground on other Democratic frontrunners, namely Senators Henry Jackson, Washington, and Walter Mondale, of Minnesota.

All are chasing Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, but there is no certainty that Kennedy will accept his party's bid.

Bentsen's emergence as what Mayor White calls a "viable and attractive candidate" is less sudden than it appears.

NO NEWCOMER

First of all, he isn't a political newcomer. He served three terms as a Texas congressman

from 1948 to 1954, then retired to make a fortune in insurance and banking before being elected to the Senate in 1970.

In his campaign for the Senate, he defeated Ralph Yarborough in the Democratic primary. Most Texans considered that victory a monumental accomplishment.

He was, of course, considerably helped in that race by John Connally, the former Texas Democratic governor who turned Republican to join the Nixon administration.

Connally and Bentsen have been "close personal friends" for more than 25 years and, Palumbo says, political allies until "Connally became a Republican."

That association, however, isn't the cornerstone of the growing Bentsen candidacy.

The tall Texan, instead, is working along more traditional lines, using techniques that have served other candidates well in the past.

During that past, seven

months he has criss-crossed the nation, speaking at party, business organization and labor union functions in 26 states. His schedule through the end of the year is even busier.

"The senator is getting better known every day," Palumbo says.

His appearance at the mayors' conference is typical.

He came not so much to talk about his transportation bill, which the mayors fully understand, as to be seen and visually associated with the bill.

The bill, which the mayors are ecstatic about, would provide \$17.5 billion of federal funds over a five-year period to cities to develop and expand their mass-transit systems.

Observers believe the bill has an excellent chance of clearing Congress within the year, despite congressional preoccupation with Watergate.

Should that happen, the senator would gain much stature with the mayors of the nation's largest cities—and the mayors

are determined to gain control of a substantial number of delegates to the next Democratic presidential convention.

All of this amounts to picking up "brownie points," Palumbo concedes, and "brownie points" don't nominate presidential candidates.

Why is Bentsen coming on so strong then?

STRONG POINTS

Kevin White says it is because he is "articulate, intelligent and a new face."

Denver Mayor Bill McNichols feels that Bentsen has the right ideas and the right answers to the real problems facing this country—the domestic issues like mass transit and inflation.

All Bentsen backers, even the nominal ones here, agree that the mellow-voiced Texan has "no political scars."

"He is a palatable candidate in the South, North and West—emphasis on the South," Palumbo explains. "He hasn't been involved in any of the intraparty battles that split the South and lost that section of the country to the Democrats in the last two elections."

And that, Palumbo believes, is just what the Democrats are really looking for in 1976—"a man who can put the old Democratic coalition of the South—the poor and minorities, the big cities and labor—back together again."

That the business community can relate to Bentsen, many mayors here believe, is a foregone conclusion—and that would add a new dimension to the old coalition.

Override of President's Veto

G.I. Bill Benefits College-Going Veterans

Overriding a presidential veto, Congress last month rallied overwhelmingly to support a GI Bill raising educational assistance benefits to college-going veterans by twenty-three percent.

This was a move that has my strongest support.

It is estimated that some 4 million veterans from the post-Korean period and another 7 million serving in the Vietnam War are eligible for the increased benefits.

The twenty-three percent boost translates into an increase from the \$220 a single veteran now gets to \$270 per month. A married veteran now receiving \$261 a month will receive \$321. The benefits for a married veteran with a child will go up from \$298 a month to \$366.

For each additional child, \$22 per month is added to the stipend.

These increases will be retroactive to last September in order to aid GI students already enrolled in college.

And although the measure will cost \$780 million in its first year, studies have shown time after time that for every dollar we invest in a veteran's education, we get three to six dollars back in taxes.



"Reaching The People..."

Insuring the Privacy Of Tax Returns

In 1973, former President Nixon issued an executive order which opened the income tax returns of our nation's farmers to inspection by officials in the Department of Agriculture.

Although it was later reversed, it hinted darkly at the potential for abuse of our Internal Revenue Service. In response to this, I introduced last March the first bill in the Senate to provide increased protection for the confidentiality of federal tax returns.

Since then, however, there have been continuing revelations of IRS abuse. Watergate disclosed various instances where the White House misused confidential tax returns. And, in 1973 alone, fifteen federal agencies requested and received tax returns of individuals.

With this in mind, I am offering a new and stronger bill to restore the integrity of the IRS and our tax system in two ways.

It imposes strict limitations on who is allowed access to confidential tax information to reassure American taxpayers of the privacy of their tax returns.

And it insulates the IRS from political pressures by requiring that all requests for tax information be submitted to the IRS in writing along with the intended use of this information.

Our federal system of taxation enjoys wide voluntary public support largely because the American people assume their tax returns will be kept confidential and immune from political misuse.

This is a necessary assumption and I am seeking, through this legislation, to reaffirm it.

Letters to the Senator

To Believe, or not to Believe. . .

"I have lost confidence in a lot of our government people but you are one of those I believe will do your best. . . Help agriculture before it goes broke."

—Max Hanks, Mount Pleasant

"You wonder why we have lost faith in you and our government in general? Try the three G's and see where they fit: greed, graft and gutlessness."

—Roy C. Beatrice, El Paso

In Support of Workable Programs

"I would not be able to type this letter had it not been for the rehabilitation service in this state. Thank you for what you are trying to do for the handicapped of Texas through the Vocational Rehabilitation Act."

—James A. Deal, Odessa

"I was glad Congress overrode the President's veto of the GI Bill. I feel that after these men have given a good part of their lives. . . when they return to America with little money, no jobs and sometimes disabled, they should receive support from the country they fought for."

—Geoffrey Condiff, Austin

"Your efforts to establish a Commission on Federal Paperwork. . . will not only result in reducing costs for the federal government, but will also aid in the growth of the nation's thousands of small businesses who are today having to close down because of crippling additional overhead created by burdensome government paperwork."

—Claud H. Vaughan, McAllen

DO YOU HAVE A NEW ADDRESS?

If you have moved please enclose the address label from this Newsletter and your new address when you notify my office to help us make the change promptly.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

Lloyd Bentsen
U. S. S.

1098.7 XQ
CHARLES KIRBO
2500 TRUST CO BLDG.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303

Senator

LLOYD BENTSEN

**REPORTS
FROM
WASHINGTON**



Achievements Despite Troubled Times

93rd's Record Impressive

The 93rd Congress was very productive, approving legislation in such key areas as trade reform, pension reform and restoring the constitutional balance of powers.

It took initial steps to revitalize our economy and began a full-scale assault on the energy shortage.

The 93rd was working during two of the most turbulent years in the history of our government. A president resigned his office as impeachment proceedings were underway against him. And a vice-president also resigned and was convicted of a felony offense.

Against these and other unsettling events, the achievements of the 93rd Congress seem even more remarkable.

Among the significant legislation enacted were the pension reform bill, which I authored, and a bill I sponsored prohibiting the president from committing U.S. troops to foreign wars for more than sixty days without Congressional approval.

Legislation was also passed reforming and tightening the Congressional budget process.

As initial steps to breathe life back into our economy, we set up a wage and price council to monitor inflation, provided assistance to the depressed home-building industry, set up badly needed public service jobs and expanded unemployment benefits.

We also passed a comprehensive trade reform bill to strengthen our position in international markets.

Other significant legislation passed are the Federal Highway Act of 1973 and the Public Transportation Act of 1974, the Alaska Pipeline Bill and a measure establishing the Big Thicket National Preserve which was the first bill I introduced to the Senate in 1971.

Much went undone, of course. The 93rd Congress made only a start in efforts to resolve our economic problems. And stronger steps than have been taken will be needed to end the energy shortage.

These and other serious challenges face the new 94th Congress.



PONDERING THE ALTERNATIVES—Treasury Secretary William Simon provided key testimony at hearings of the Joint Economic Committee which I chaired. Simon has shifted considerably from the administration's earlier denial that recession has become the number one problem facing our country. He now predicts that widespread unemployment will get worse before it gets better and could hit 8 percent within the next several months.

Insuring a Speedy Trial

Congress has passed legislation I co-sponsored aimed at clearing the growing backlog of untried cases in our nation's courts and reaffirming the constitutional guarantee of a speedy trial.

It insures justice, for the defendant who has every right to expect his name quickly cleared if he is innocent, and for society which has every right to expect that the guilty be rapidly convicted and sentenced.

Basically, the bill requires that all criminal cases in federal courts be tried within 60 days of indictment. It permits an additional 30 days between the time of arrest and indictment.

This would take effect over a seven year period.

When effective, charges will be dismissed if trials are not conducted within the specified time limits. And if courts and prosecutors are forced to dismiss cases under these guidelines, the burden will be on them to explain this to the people.

In passing this measure, Congress is saying to the federal courts: Tell us what you need to clear away this backlog of untried cases and we will give it to you. But when we give you the tools, we will expect results.

Recession Deepens

Economic Growth Key Weapon

Unemployment in our nation has hit 7.1 percent. This means that over six and a half million Americans cannot find work.

According to the best estimates, these figures will continue to grow worse, with unemployment deepening to 8 percent in coming months.

Even the President has finally conceded that we must concentrate our energies on battling this deepening recession and that we must begin immediately.

The most effective weapon we can use is the weapon of economic growth. Such growth can bring us out of recession without fanning the flames of inflation.

We must breathe some life back into the American economy. We must get it expanding again. We must put people back to work and at the same time get the productivity gains we need to keep inflation under control.

Steps can be taken now to restore and maintain a healthy rate of economic growth.

For one, I am proposing \$13 billion in tax relief to restore to middle and lower income Americans some of the purchasing power they have lost due to inflation. The bill would save taxpayers money by establishing a \$250 tax credit as an option to the personal exemption.

Revenue lost to the government would be made up by phasing in, over several years, a tax on our enormous industrial and commercial energy consumption.

Along with this, we have to develop a more moderate monetary policy to bring interest rates down and encourage capital investment.

Above all, Congress and the Administration must work together to restore the confidence of the American people in their government, their economy and themselves.

By providing leadership they can respect and by developing workable economic programs, I believe we can do this.

Soft-Spoken Bentsen Gains Wide Respect in the Senate



SEN. LLOYD M. BENTSEN
... "he's a heavyweight"

By Spencer Rich
Washington Post Staff Writer

Although he is little known to the general public, Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen, the quiet man from Texas, is rapidly winning widespread respect and admiration in the Senate, and may soon become one of its brighter Democratic stars.

Soft-spoken, hard-working, persuasive, extremely well organized and systematic and known as a follow-through man, Bentsen, 52, is already being talked about as a man of future leadership potential, although he has been in the Senate only 2½ years.

"Probably he is the best Democratic senator to come into the Senate in the last dozen years," said one Senate staff man who has seen them all for nearly two decades.

"He's the most promising first-term senator in the Senate—without question," said one high-ranking Democrat who asked not to be identified, lest his praise of Bentsen provoke the resentment of other freshmen.

"He's a heavyweight. He has made his mark as a speaker. He carries the ball intelligently and aggressively. When we're up against him, we know we are." Minority Leader Hugh Scott (R-Pa.) recently.

Attractive Senate newcomers often lose their luster as time passes, their drive and enthusiasm fades and they settle down to a comfortable routine merely

designed to get them re-elected. This could happen to Bentsen—only time will tell—or he could conceivably reach for the presidency, as some think he may, and become singed and tarnished in the process, as has often happened to other men.

But so far, Bentsen looks good to his colleagues. What earns men Brownie points around the Senate is hard work, a certain willingness to give and take, a respect for democratic institutions, and forbearance from excessive showboating.

So far, Bentsen has demonstrated these qualities, plus a quiet but articulate manner of speaking which comes across extremely well both in person and on television, and a moderate political stance in which he has supported civil rights, Democratic economic programs and end-the-war legislation, while looking after the oil interests of his native state. Bentsen startled the Southern establishment last year when, in a move wholly unlike a junior Southerner, he opposed acceleration of the Trident submarine system. He had shocked it even more when he first came to the Senate with a strong but fallacious reputation as an arch-conservative, and promptly bucked the most ancient traditions of the South by voting to make it easier to cut off filibusters.

A close associate of Lyndon B. Johnson and John B. Connally in his earlier political career, and a sort of protege of famed Speaker Sam Rayburn during a 1949-55 stint in the House, Bentsen became an insurance millionaire (his net worth in 1971 was \$2.4 million) and in 1970 tackled long-time liberal Democratic Sen. Ralph Yarborough (D-Tex.) for the Senate nomination.

In a rough campaign which polarized the positions of both men, Bentsen won in the primary and then went on to whip George Bush, now GOP national chairman, in the general election.

It was in these campaigns that Bentsen earned an exaggerated reputation as a

conservative. It was widely expected in Washington that he would become a part of President Nixon's hoped-for ideological majority" when he took office in 1971.

Arriving in Washington, he immediately held a news conference to announce that, while he didn't consider himself a liberal, he wasn't a fascist either, and if there was anything he could be labeled it was "moderate" and "regular Democrat."

"You know, when I was in the House I was one of only two Texas congressmen who voted against the polltax," he said in a recent interview. "The other was Albert Thomas, who represented a fairly liberal constituency in Houston. That doesn't sound like much now, but believe me, in those days it was something."

Bentsen emerged on the Senate Finance Committee this year as one of the strong men in support of the committee's pension reform bill. Those who worked with him said they were amazed at his knowledge of the technical aspects of pensions. "I did a lot of study on it," he said. "And I was in the insurance business, the banking business and the mutual fund business."

Although a freshman, he has been named chairman of the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee by Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.). He admits to being a good political fundraiser: "I'm pretty good at it. I work at it," he said. "As long ago as 1960, I was finance chairman for the Kennedy-Johnson ticket in Texas."

Bentsen is a millionaire and he doesn't hide it. He dresses conservatively but he rides around town in a big black car with a telephone. He has helped to hire extra staff with his private funds, and has recently

formed a tie to Sen. Harrison A. Williams Jr. (D-N.J.), as an "advance man" on some political matters. Palumbo is paid with money left over from a Bentsen campaign dinner.

Bentsen says Palumbo

will help him with Senate Democratic Campaign Committee work. A number of others around the Senate think he may just be dreaming of the presidency—an idea Bentsen denies—and may be using Palumbo in a dual role.

When Bentsen first came to the Senate, he hired a systems analysis firm to analyze his employee needs and help him work out job descriptions for every function in his office, which has since won a reputation as one of the more smooth-running Senate operations.

Partisan politically but not on policy matters, Bentsen has often stood with the President on defense or other substantive issues. But on the Watergate tapes, "If the Supreme Court says that the President has to surrender those tapes, then he has to surrender them," he said. Refusal would be so destructive to our system of government that it could not go unchallenged, he contended.

Bentsen appears to have won widespread respect among conservative Democrats, substantial respect among moderates, and somewhat grudging, if increasing respect, from the party's liberal wing, which doesn't completely trust him yet.

"He makes the right moves; he's smooth; so far he looks good. But I'm not clear about him yet," said one Northern Democrat. "I'll have to see him more. How much he gets through. How much staying power he has."

Bentsen disclaims national ambitions or the desire to run for a Senate leadership post, but leaves the impression his arm could be twisted.

"I'm enjoying myself working in the Senate. This (town) is the center of the world," he said, adding, "Am I Vice President?" But at another point he said: "Everyone in the Senate knows that the place you can influence the destiny of this nation most is there in the presidency."

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This was received during a fund raising effort for Congressional candidates. Thought you might like to see it.

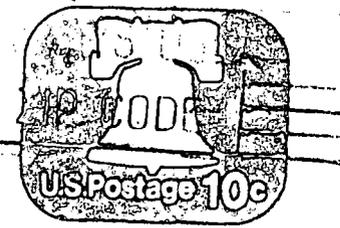
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State Capital Bldg.,
Atlanta Ga. 30334

Bentsen aides say \$625,000 collected

WASHINGTON (AP) — Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen's undeclared campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination collected slightly more than \$625,000 during the last four months of 1974, the Texas Democrat's office said Thursday.

Most of the money was raised in a fund-raising cam-

paign in which Bentsen sent a letter to fellow Texans asking for support. Documents compiled by the "Bentsen Committee Fund" of Houston indicated he raised \$1,034,804.84 during the entire year.

The contributions included \$27,000 from nine members of his family, who gave \$3,000 each. The senator set a max-

imum individual contribution limit of \$3,000. A new campaign finance law effective Jan. 1, sets a limit of \$1,000. There was no previous limit.

The documents, which are being filed with the secretary of state in Texas and the General Accounting Office here, show the Bentsen committee had a total of

\$651,358.06 on hand as of Dec. 31, 1974.

Among those who gave \$3,000 was Ross Perot, the Dallas computer millionaire. A total of 68 persons gave \$3,000 each.

Bentsen's expenses, listed in the documents, included \$20,000 for computer services and more than \$23,000 to political consultants.

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DEC 19 1974

MIDDLESEX COUNTY
DEMOCRATIC COUNTY COMMITTEE

306 MAIN STREET
WOODBIDGE, NEW JERSEY 07095
(201) 634-8700

G. Nicholas Venezia
CHAIRMAN

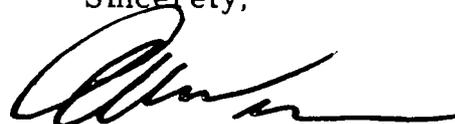
December 9, 1974

Dear Fellow Democrat:

Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas has on several occasions joined us in Middlesex County speaking on behalf of our candidates. We have been following his activities on the national scene with great interest.

I thought you might be interested in knowing more about him inasmuch as I believe he has become one of the more important national leaders in our Democratic Party; therefore, I have taken the liberty of enclosing several news items concerning the Senator.

Sincerely,



G. Nicholas Venezia

GNV:vb
Enc.

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George F. ...
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Campaigning With 'Cool Hand Lloyd'

When the Beatles were playing concerts the halls would rock with hysteria and Paul McCartney would sing his part lustily, but his eyes always were deadpan, still points in the bedlam. He was always counting the house.

Lloyd Bentsen, 53, the junior senator from Texas, is the hard-eyed Paul McCartney of the Democratic presidential scramble, the embodiment of self-possessed calculation in the midst of chaos. Slender, impeccably groomed, he radiates — perhaps a bit too effortlessly — effortless superiority. He glides across the Senate dining room, seemingly without denting the rug. Is he light on his feet, or just light?

Bentsen is a rich Texan, a former supporter of Lyndon Johnson, and a friend of former politician John Connally. These are sins not easily expiated in today's Democratic Party, where the leftists think just being a Texan constitutes the crime of guilty association. So Bentsen is bent on proving, by his demeanor and deeds, that he is not like those swaggering, bolsterous, Texas political cowboys. He is Cool Hand Lloyd.

His Senate voting record, like his manner, is a model of carefully crafted moderation, typified by his vote for the Trident submarine, but against accelerated development of it. More important, he can wrap his supple mind around complexities, like the pension reform bill he helped draft and pass.

Bentsen's interests and abilities are converging with the nation's anxieties as the economy becomes the issue of the age. He is convinced that the nation's economic problems are substantially government management problems. So his task is to convince Americans that he is the candidate of management competence, not exciting but necessary.

In four years in the Senate, Bentsen has acquired a reputation for seriousness of purpose and strength of intellect by serving with distinction on two



By Larry Morris—The Washington Post

of the committees which provide most scope for sophisticated intelligence, the Finance Committee and Joint Economic Committee. He and James Buckley (Con. R-N.Y.) are probably the most intelligent senators elected in the last decade. Bentsen's rivals may try to sink him by publicizing that fact. Aristotle said that the way a society praises famous men reveals the society's values. Americans have praised

politicians for conspicuous honesty (Washington, Lincoln, Cleveland), spunk (Truman), idealism (Wilson), lovable-ness (Eisenhower), stubbornness (Jackson), animal vigor (Theodore Roosevelt), even cunning (Lyndon Johnson). But we don't often praise politicians, even the intelligent ones, for their intelligence.

It is not that a reputation for conspicuous intelligence is an insuperable

handicap (at least it wasn't as recently as 1804). It is just that Americans usually have been blessed with more confidence than problems, and have regarded intelligence as less interesting and attractive, and more optional, than other qualities in politicians.

But today, with confidence waning, Americans may be alarmed by the obvious fact that our problems are becoming more complex and our politicians are not. Bentsen may be the thinking candidate for the alarmed person.

Bentsen's great-great uncle, Henry Wilson, was Vice President during Grant's second term. He was elected to the Senate in 1855 from Massachusetts on the Know Nothing ticket. The question about Wilson's great-great nephew is whether he knows anything about how the Democrats will choose their 1976 nominee.

Like most of his rivals for the nomination, Bentsen assumes that the party's new delegate selection rules will prevent any candidate from sweeping to a first ballot victory at the convention. The assumption is that it will be a brokered nomination, and the brokers will be the people who, in the good old days before party reform, were called party leaders — local party officials like Meade Esposito of Brooklyn, Peter Camiel of Philadelphia, Richard Daley of Chicago, and many lesser lights from lesser principalities.

The assumption is that these bosses still have troops willing to be bossed around. Specifically, the assumption is that the kind of people who will become convention delegates under the new rules will be deliverable, on the convention floor, by the men who fancy themselves brokers.

This assumption probably is false but it explains why today, 22 months before the convention, Cool Hand Bentsen, like all his rivals, would crawl across a burning desert to get to a county chairman's chill supper.

Tuesday, October 1, 1974 ★ ☆ PAGE 30

Marianne Means

Sen. Bentsen on the run

VERMILLON, S.D. — "I don't know if I am being realistic," explained the lean, dignified senator, whose voice bears traces of Gregory Peck and whose style is genuinely reminiscent of John Kennedy, minus the Irish accent.

Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, D-Tex., was trying to tell a University of South Dakota student why he is interested in being President after the disasters visited upon the three most recent previous Presidents.

"I know I am not well known," he said. "But there is more to life than making money. I have made money. Now I want to make a contribution to my country, and there is only one place better than the Senate to do that — inside the White House."

He's had the answer ready for quite a while, but it's only lately he's been getting the question.

This particular exchange took place two days after Sen. Edward Kennedy withdrew unconditionally from the 1976 presidential contest. And suddenly Bentsen's ambition to become President looked a lot more realistic than when he first started trying. He has logged appearances in 31 states.

At first glance, not much really changed with Kennedy's retreat. Bentsen traveled with one associate, his campaign manager, Ben Palumbo. Nobody in public recognized

him. Nobody asked for his autograph at the Democratic reception in Sioux Falls.

"Don't worry, dear, he's no Lyndon Johnson," a man assured his bored wife before the candidate showed up.

But intangibly and privately a lot changed. There was a spate of telephone calls, offering and hinting commitments. Palumbo made plans to stop his part of the road show and get busy with establishment of a national organization. And it was clear that whatever reservations Bentsen may have had about continuing had vanished.

So far, Bentsen has not attracted much public attention. He has only been in the Senate four years. All he has is a reputation as a political moderate, capable of unifying the party but with few devotees in either wing; an unquestioned intelligence, a graceful personality, that undefinable quality called class, a willingness to work. And no regional accent.

But he also pronounced George McGovern his friend and a valuable commodity that should be returned to the Senate. In general, his thinking about the current economic chaos reflects the traditional liberal prescription of worrying first about getting more money into the hands of ordinary folk and only secondarily about profits for businessmen. And he was an early and effective supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment.

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Bentsen Is Busily Testing Political Waters for 1976

Speeches, Travels and Meetings Are Designed to Surmount Unfamiliarity, Jackson Lead and Texas Origin

By R.W. APPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

ROCHE TER, Oct. 12—Word was circulating through a government building here yesterday that Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen of Texas was coming to an economic conference. It might be a good idea, the employees were told, if they took a few minutes off to help fill up the little auditorium where he was to speak.

"Who is this we're supposed to go to hear?" one secretary listlessly asked another.

"Some Southerner who's running for President," she was told.

"Oh, Jimmy Carter," replied the first knowingly.

That incident illustrates the major weakness in the 53-year-old Texan's unannounced campaign for the 1976 Democratic Presidential nomination — a campaign that will probably be made official early next year after Mr. Bentsen weighs the matter over the Christmas holidays and decides whether his chances are good enough "to burn up two years of my life on them."

Well Known to Pros

But the Secretary's view of Lloyd Bentsen is not the only way of looking at him, and it is a perception that is not shared by many Democratic professionals. The same man who is unknown to most of the electorate has made himself well-known indeed to party heavyweights.

It is no accident, for example, that within the last year Mr. Bentsen has been the major speaker at dinners sponsored by three men named Meade Esposito, Peter J. Camiel and Richard J. Daley—the Democratic leaders in Brooklyn, Philadelphia and Chicago.

Already, Mr. Bentsen has accomplished a good deal. He came to the Senate only four years ago, preceded by the expectation that he would develop into a typical Southern bourbon. He had, after all, de-

feated Ralph W. Yarborough in a primary, and Mr. Yarborough had been venerated by Washington liberals as a patron saint of Southern populism.

From that start, he has won a reputation for centrism (rated 57 per cent by a conservative pressure group, 55 per cent by a liberal equivalent). He has appeared on national television to offer his party's response to President Nixon on economic issues. And he has made more than 150 speeches in 32 states in eight months.

Vision of Tactician

All of this has been accomplished by Mr. Bentsen's hard work, to be sure, but it has been made possible in large measure by the drive and enthusiasm of Ben Palumbo, a 37-year-old tactician from New Jersey who burns with a vision of the Democratic party, Lloyd Bentsen and Ben Palumbo in the White House in January, 1975.

Mr. Palumbo, whose intensity, unruly hair and thick glasses remind one of former Representative Allard K. Lowenstein of New York, was working for Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr. of New Jersey when he met the Senator from Texas.

"I've never been shaken from my conviction that the Democrat who can win is the one who can appeal to the electorate in every section of the country," he said the other day, "and that man is Bentsen."

Mr. Palumbo set out four goals for this year: making Mr. Bentsen a familiar figure to key local officials in the Democratic party—the Camiels and Espositos, but also those like Lawrence Kirwan, the Rochester leader, who are less famous; getting to know regional reporters; cultivating national columnists, and identifying the Senator with economic issues.

He thinks he has reached those goals, and he is convinced his man will prove his appeal in the coming months to the "enormous number of liberals now taking a more pragmatic view." Like some of the young technicians in Senator George McGovern's early 1972 campaign, Mr. Palumbo has an inner fire that the cynics will not easily extinguish.

Mr. Bentsen's current operations are typified by his two-day trip to Boston and upstate New York this week. Using as a vehicle his chairmanship of the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee, he built the trip around another in a series of debates with Senator William E. Brock 3d of Tennessee, his Republican opposite number, and appearances for Democratic candidates for the House and the State Legislature.

But he was campaigning every minute for Lloyd Bentsen as well, whether in radio and television interviews, a meeting with the editorial board of the Gannett newspapers or a speech on energy policy at Brandeis University.

Whatever the forum, he is crisply turned out, the picture of the affluent businessman (insurance, hotels) that he used to be. He uses his basso voice to good effect; and he doesn't have to shout to put a point across with emphasis.

He is one man, with a panel of editors, jamming his replies to questions with economic detail—"We can now gasify coal for \$1.46 per MCF [million cubic feet], which is economically sound"—and with detailed proposals for modifying the oil depletion allowance and provisions for offshore drilling.

With a political audience, on the other hand, his speech is often marred by clichés ("Democrats do things for people, Republicans do things to people"), although he holds his listeners with pace, technique and partisan appeals.

As he nears the second year of his effort—the one he will have to establish himself with the public—Mr. Bentsen seems to face two principal problems.

Southerner From Texas

First, he is a Southerner, and no 20th-century Southerner who had not first served as Vice President has been nominated. Moreover, he is a Texan — something that excites many Democrats' negative associations of oil, Stetsons, Lyndon B. Johnson and brasserie.

Mr. Bentsen's reply: "Do you think I'm a stereotype? Do I look like a cowboy? Do I sound like a Southerner?"

Second, he must overcome the long lead of Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, with whom he will be competing for many of the same primary votes.

Mr. Bentsen and his staff believe, although they are reluctant to say so publicly, that Senator Bentsen has voted against the military often enough (including a key vote against the Trident missile program) and supported détente with sufficient energy to convince liberals that he, unlike Mr. Jackson, has left the cold war behind.

Finally, they believe that he will be more successful than Mr. Jackson and some of his other adversaries in raising money. At a single fund-raising dinner in Houston last November, the Senator netted \$365,000 for his initial Presidential efforts.

"It's feasible," he said late last night as he relaxed with a Scotch and water after 4 hours of campaigning. "It's feasible that I could make it, even if it's not probable. Pretty soon it'll be time to analyze it down to the very last line and decide."

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Are Democrats Ready for LMB?

Bentsen Not an LBJ Texan

This is one of a series of articles on potential 1976 Democratic presidential candidates.

By David S. Broder

Washington Post Staff Writer

He is smart, successful, smooth, well-staffed and richly financed, and as he travels the country in quest of the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination, Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr. of Texas is looking for the answer to a single question:

Will the Democrats, eight years after LBJ, be ready to settle down with another Texan — LMB?

The answer, the Bentsen camp believes, is probably negative, if the Democrats think of getting another supercharged mixture of cowboy charisma and Confederate corn.

So Bentsen deliberately plays it the other way — super-cool, low-keyed, cautious and definitely non-cornball.

One result was the comment offered by a half-dozen different people one recent weekend in audiences ranging from the Foreign Policy Association of New York to a Democratic legislative fund-raiser in Salt Lake City: "You don't even sound like a Texan!"

In fact, Bentsen is a very different breed of Texan from the Democrats' last President. The family is of Danish stock, and when the Bentsens moved to Texas 60 years ago, they did not become Hill Country ranchers, like the Johnsons, but part of the landed aristocracy of the Rio Grande Valley.

His political career has been of an unusual pattern. When he came home from World War II, in which, like 1972 nominee George McGovern, he flew B-24s out of Italy, he was elected as judge of his home Hidalgo County at 25. Two years later, in 1948, he won election as the youngest mem-



By Bob Burchette—The Washington Post

Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen is called a different breed of Texan.

ber of the U.S. House of Representatives, and became a next door office neighbor of another freshman, Gerald R. Ford Jr.

Unlike Ford, Bentsen quickly became bored with the House and decided after three terms to forsake the \$12,500 salary in hopes of making money.

For the next 16 years in Houston he did just that, parlaying a chunk of the family money into an insurance company-banking-investment firm-saving and loan complex and a personal fortune he estimated at \$2.3 million in 1971. (The holdings were placed in a blind trust when he began his presidential quest early this year.)

In 1970, at the age of 49, Lloyd Bentsen, who says "I've always set goals for myself," re-entered politics with a bang.

Bypassing the chance to become governor, because, as a friend recalls, he felt "it doesn't have the action I want," he plunged into a Senate battle that Bentsen says even LBJ warned him he could not win.

His first target was incumbent Ralph Yarborough, the hero of Texas liberals and the labor-backed chairman of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. It was a slugfest, even by Texas standards.

Bentsen's campaign featured a series of television spots that cited Yarborough's support for the Vietnam Moratorium protest

march and the presidential candidacy of Eugene McCarthy, his opposition to Supreme Court nominations of Clement F. Haynsworth and G. Harrold Carswell, and a vote against the school prayer amendment. In each instance, Texas voters were asked: Did Ralph Yarborough represent you?

In contrast to the free-for-all with Yarborough, Bentsen's general election campaign against Republican nominee George Bush was almost gentlemanly. Organized labor was mad enough at Bentsen to threaten a write-in for Yarborough, but he managed to quell that rebellion by underlining his opposition to what he called "the Nixon-Bush recession policies."

With his left flank secured by his advocacy of traditional Democratic anti-tight money policies, Bentsen also tried to turn conservative sentiment against the conservative Bush. "He painted me as the liberal on things like gun control, welfare reform and open housing," Bush recalled the other day. "He did it very effectively, with no mudslinging, and it helped him win."

Of major assistance in both the primary and the general election was Bentsen's longtime friend (and Jamaica vacation resort neighbor), ex-Gov. John B. Connally. A political ally of both men recalls that in addition to fund-raising, Connally did a statewide television show for Bentsen in which he said "Texas didn't need a Connecticut Yankee like Bush, just a good sound conservative boy like Lloyd."

President Nixon and Vice President Spiro Agnew both campaigned for Bush, but when Bentsen beat him, they turned around and welcomed the new senator as part of what they were calling their "ideological majority." Bentsen was singled out

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Bentsen Presses Non-Texas Image in Quest

from the crop of newly elected Democrats for a private greeting at the White House.

But Bentsen was not buying. He went straight from the President's office to a news conference, where he said he regarded his reception with "some amazement and some amusement," and declared firmly, "I am coming here as part of the loyal opposition, not as part of the Nixon forces."

He was equally firm in proving he was not going to be a traditional southern senator. He voted to change the cloture rule and make it easier to end filibusters.

After an inspection trip to Vietnam, he abandoned his campaign hawkishness and began voting with the Democratic majority for end-the-war resolutions. He shocked his Texas aerospace constituents by opposing the super-sonic transport

"A lot of Democrats really want to win in 1976," Bentsen said the other day. "and they realize we can't win without appealing to the center or by writing off the South. My voting record tracks that way. It sort of breaks out in the middle."

As much as by his reputation as a centrist, Bentsen has been aided by his standing as a brainy, well-organized and conscientious team player. Majority Leader Mike Mansfield started plugging him as a "comer" during his first year in the Senate, and a Republican colleague on the powerful Finance Committee described him the other day as "damned good and damned able."

"He's smoother than Fritz Mondale," this Republican said, referring to the Minnesota Democrat who is a Finance Committee colleague and prospective presidential rival of Bentsen's. "Whatever his philosophy, it's so well disguised that no one reacts automatically by thinking, 'If it's Bentsen, it's gotta be good—or bad.' The result is that he gets a hearing."

With Mansfield's patronage, Bentsen moved onto the Finance Committee, was named a year ago to head the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (a guarantee of speaking invi-

tations and national exposure) and last summer was chosen to give the Democrats' response to Richard Nixon's last economic speech—a full-half hour bonanza of prime-time network television.

With all this, Bentsen—at age 53 and still in his first term—has been marked as a potential Senate power. But he shows no more inclination to be a congressional careerist now than he did a generation ago when he was in the House.

His goal was not disguised last November when some 1,600 people sat down in Houston for "An Evening with the Bentsens." The visiting speakers were Sens. Hubert H. Humphrey and Herman E. Talmadge, and the \$200-a-head guests—including Texas oil, construction, banking and insurance brass, plus a scattering of labor leaders and such old-time political names as Abe Fortas, Thomas G. Corcoran and Allan Shivers—gave Bentsen a \$375,000 political kitty for 1974, the biggest of any of the semi-declared Democratic aspirants.

Like most of the others in the Democratic swarm, Bentsen's big job this year has simply been to get his name known.

But if he is as unknown to the public as Mondale or Morris Udall or Jimmy Carter or Dale Bumpers or a dozen other Democratic hopefuls, Bentsen has a special problem of being sure that he does not become identified as "another LBJ."

The counter-image game dominates everything in the Bentsen campaign. The senator himself stresses un-Texas positions that he tells audiences have caused him trouble at home: his opposition to the SSF, his effort to cut back funding for the Trident submarine; his proposal to increase federal royalties on offshore oil drilling; his willingness to cut back the oil depletion allowance for the major oil firms, if not the independents; even his support for a 55-mile-hour speed limit that interferes with Texans' 200-mile trips to a good restaurant or football game.

He focuses his public schedule on the industrial

heartland of the Democratic Party—its labor and big city organizations. He has wangled invitations to the big spring dinners of Chicago Mayor Richard Daley's Cook County organization, Pete Camiel's Philadelphia organization and Meade Esposito's Brooklyn organization—the big three of the patronage-and-peas circuit.

A lot of these invitations came because of his role as the chairman of the senatorial campaign committee, but Bentsen wears that mantle lightly. He managed to make four speeches in Pittsburgh a couple weeks ago and plug a host of lesser candidates, but never got around to mentioning the Democratic senatorial candidate, Mayor Pete Flaherty of Pittsburgh. Some local reporters figured Bentsen was anxious not to offend his host. Allegheny County Commissioner Leonard Staisey, a local Democratic powerhouse who has no liking for Flaherty. But Bentsen said later it was just a "slip-up" on his part.

The advance man and chief promoter of Bentsen's presidential quest is Ben Palumbo, a brassy but effective 36-year-old New Jersey pol, recruited from the staff of Sen. Harrison A. Williams Jr. (D-N.J.).

But backstage at Bentsen's Senate office is a real Texas operator, Loyd Hacker, who was a staff assistant in LBJ's White House and has a well-earned reputation as one of the coolest political intelligences on Capitol Hill. And back in Austin there's Johnson's and Connally's former press secretary, George Christian, and over at the Democratic National Committee, there's another old friend, national chairman Robert S. Strauss of Dallas.

A cross-country jaunt with Bentsen produces evidence of other, more surprising alliances, a set of enthusiasts as diverse as Rep. John H. Dent (D-Pa.), a power in labor circles who says he became a Bentsen fan out of their work together on this session's landmark pension-reform bill, probably Bentsen's biggest legislative achievement; State Rep. C. J. McLin (D) of Dayton, the dean of Ohio black elected

officials, who was Bentsen's host at a luncheon in Columbus; and Utah Democratic National Committeeman Wayne Black.

Bentsen's appearance on the platform is impressive. His voice is well-placed and pleasant, his speaking style professional.

As a stemwinder, he does less well. Attempting to hold the attention of a beer-soaked crowd at a Plum Borough, Pa., Democratic fish fry, he resorted to lame jokes and shouted slogans—without visible success.

At times, when he ventures into unfamiliar territory, the strain is visible. In the middle of a speech to a Pennsylvania women's Democratic convention, he suddenly looked up and said, "Right on!" It was difficult to tell who was more startled—Bentsen or the women. Bentsen came on as a strong advocate of civil rights and women's rights in that speech, but one of his listeners—not selected by Palumbo for interviewing—said, "I kept thinking about what he'd done to Yarborough. He's just a little too slick."

Despite such occasional negative reviews, Bentsen has plainly been encouraged by his year of exploration, and tentative plans already are being made for another major fund-raiser to finance a bigger staff operation in 1975.

He will not announce a formal decision until early next year, and a long-time associate says, "Lloyd won't run if he thinks he'll look ridiculous." The decision is complicated by the fact his own Senate seat is up for grabs in 1976. But most of his Texas friends think he can win the Senate nomination in May of that year, even if he's actively competing in the presidential primaries at the same time. He would withdraw from the Senate race, they figure, only if nominated by the convention.

That nomination is a long shot, Bentsen strategists concede. But like many others, they figure no one will sweep the primaries, and any acceptable middle-roader will have a chance to emerge from a brokered convention with the big prize.

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Man of the Middle: Lloyd Bentsen Tries To Please All Sides

He Sees Balance as Byword
Of His Presidential Move;
Critics See Opportunism

By NORMAN C. MILLER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Sen. Lloyd Bentsen is a smoothly polished Texan who travels a cautious, zigzag path that keeps him close to the political center.

His pragmatic approach has been highly successful in Texas, where the Senator says his private polls show that 70% of the voters approve of his performance. Now the wealthy, one-time insurance tycoon thinks his self-described "moderate politics"—which offers something for just about every big interest group and party faction—will make him the fallback candidate the Democratic Party can rally around once all the other presidential hopefuls kill each other off.

Obviously, the 54-year-old Senator is playing a long shot, perhaps aiming mainly at dealing his way onto the ticket as the vice presidential nominee. But in a field in which no one but George Wallace is running well, Democratic professionals aren't writing off the chances of a contender who:

—Already has raised over \$1.5 million to power his campaign, putting him behind only Gov. Wallace and Sen. Henry Jackson in the money game, and far ahead of the other declared candidates.

—Has an excellent chance of locking up the big Texas delegation as a bargaining base in a brokered convention, which many Democrats anticipate.

—Has managed to satisfy vital interests of both labor and business by balancing advocacy of labor-backed job-creation schemes with proposals for business tax breaks and price decontrol of oil and natural gas.

The Byword Is Balance

Balance has been Mr. Bentsen's byword since he entered the Senate in 1971. Thus, he advocates permanent income tax cuts primarily for low-income persons, but he also favors cutting capital-gains taxes. He sides with labor and other liberals on the need for public-service jobs and expanded public works, but he votes against food stamps for strikers and for relaxing job-safety regulations. He votes against busing to desegregate schools, but he favors extending federal voting-rights protection to the Mexican-American minority.

Sen. Bentsen denounces Henry Kissinger's "outmoded" diplomacy, saying there's too much emphasis on Russia and China, but he also says he would continue detente efforts while spending more time improving relations with Europe, Latin America and Canada. He takes potshots at the Pentagon, opposing some projects like the Trident submarine. But he basically supports increasing defense outlays.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, Wednesday, July 30, 1976

The question this neatly balanced politician raises is, what does Sen. Bentsen fundamentally stand for as he seeks the Presidency? The Senator's answer: "I approach no issue with some preconceived ideological viewpoint. I ask will it work? Will it be effective? Will it be equitable? Can we afford it?"

Erstwhile Conservative

He also thinks this pragmatism is excellent politics. "I think people are tired and turned off by ideological solutions," he says. "The other (Democratic) candidates are trying to move into the middle," he adds with a small smile. "I don't have to. I'm already there."

Mr. Bentsen wasn't always in the middle. In 1970 he ran a stridently conservative primary campaign to upset the liberal incumbent, veteran Ralph Yarborough. Since then, however, he has successfully courted many labor leaders and other liberals who at first were bitter about the Bentsen tactic of tying Mr. Yarborough to Vietnam war rioters.

"Basically, I think Bentsen has made a good record in the Senate," says Oscar Mauzy, a state senator and prominent Texas liberal. Mr. Mauzy cites Mr. Bentsen's advocacy of voting protection for Mexican-Americans and a tougher minimum income tax on the rich as evidence that the Senator is "willing to fly in the teeth of the Texas political establishment."

But some Texas liberals remain hostile to Mr. Bentsen, arguing that his balance voting pattern reflects cold-blooded calculation for political advantage. "As soon as he decided to run for President, he started trying to balance his votes so he would look like a nice moderate," says Bille Carr, the liberal Democratic national committee-woman from Texas. "I'm afraid of somebody who is in nobody's camp. It means he isn't committed to anything, and a person with no commitment is a dangerous person to put in office."

In Washington, Mr. Bentsen's Senate colleagues give him high marks for intelligence and hard work but say he is a pleasantly aloof loner who is hard to know—"a gray man," in the words of one Senator. Some liberal Democrats believe that he makes decisions much like a computer. "He

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seems to calculate every position in terms of what it will do for him," says one liberal Senator. "I don't know what he really stands for."

Some Bentsen associates readily concede the Senator's presidential ambitions motivate his political balancing act. "So what?" demands one. "What do you expect him to do? What do you think all the other candidates are doing?"

Selling the Pros

Creating an image of moderation is the essence of the Bentsen political strategy. Unlike some other little-known candidates, Sen. Bentsen makes no pretense of expecting to break out of the pack and sweep the primaries. He is concentrating on "selling the party pros" on the idea that he would be an "acceptable and electable alternative" they could turn to as the candidate of a brokered convention, says one Bentsen adviser. Thus, in a party often rent by passionate warfare, Sen. Bentsen sees his bland and rather bloodless politics as an ultimate attraction.

Sen. Bentsen is having some success. Yesterday, for example, a varied group of Virginia Democrats—including leaders of the state party's often warring conservative and liberal wings—announced their support of the Texan. "Sen. Bentsen possesses the kind of thoughtful and practical leadership that our nation so desperately needs," the group's leaders declared.

On the stump, Sen. Bentsen denounces "Republican trickle-down" economics. "What we need now is an economic equivalent of war," he declares. "We can do peaceful battle to rebuild our cities, to restore our public transportation, to explore and provide new sources of power. The list is almost endless, and the jobs are there, waiting, by the millions."

Bigger subsidies for public-service jobs and public works wouldn't be inflationary, Sen. Bentsen contends, because industrial production is so slack that the overriding need is for more fiscal stimulus. Although his rhetoric implies vast spending increases, the Senator tells an interviewer he has in mind only "moderate" immediate increases in deficit financing.

Educational Savings Credit

Yet the Bentsen program also involves an array of expensive tax reductions. He has supported a \$13 billion package of permanent income-tax cuts for individuals. He would give parents an annual tax credit of up to \$250 for establishing "educational savings" accounts (which he also estimates would generate \$9 billion a year more for mortgage lending by thrift institutions). He advocates sharply reduced capital-gains taxes for long-held assets and a quadrupling of permissible capital-loss tax deductions to stimulate investment and capital liquidity.

Thus, while Sen. Bentsen has advocated repeal of about \$3 billion of business tax breaks and has voted to eliminate the oil depletion allowance for the major oil compa-

nies, he is clearly in tune with big business interests. Indeed, wealthy oilmen back in Texas, where Mr. Bentsen long was a member of the Houston business establishment, contributed \$135,000 in 1974 to help get his campaign going, according to a Common Cause campaign-financing analysis.

Sen. Bentsen, then, has managed to bridge the interests of big business and big labor. His record suggests, too, that he feels comfortable with big and expanding government, although he cites his business-executive experience as evidence he could manage the bureaucracy better. He isn't a politician who advocates basic changes in the power structure. In sum, he is perhaps best described by a fellow Senate Democrat, who calls him "a status quo kind of guy."

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*Man of the Middle?
Lloyd Bentsen Tries
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Howland Evans and Robert Novak

Virginia: Bentsen's First Big Strike

Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, whose drilling for Democratic presidential support has resulted only in dry holes, is about to make his first big strike: top-level support of Virginia's Democratic Party, probably giving him the state's national convention delegation.

At the John Marshall Hotel in Richmond Tuesday, Bentsen will unveil commitments from key figures covering the entire spectrum of the state's democracy:

State Chairman Joe Fitzpatrick, a liberal who is probably Virginia's most powerful Democrat; State Attorney General Andrew Miller, a moderate; State Senate Majority Leader William Hopkins, a moderate; Rep. Thomas N. Downing, conservative dean of the congressional delegation; Richard Reynolds, Board Chairman of Reynolds Aluminum Co.

That line-up promises Bentsen a lion's share of the 54 convention delegates, whose election begins with local "mass meetings" next April. The Virginia gusher is not only evidence that Bentsen is becoming a serious candidate but also gives him a head-to-head victory over his major rival in the party's moderate wing, Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington. Jackson always has had high hopes in defense-conscious Virginia, but Virginians have never cottoned to him.

Bentsen's Virginia blitz, with a dozen appearances the last 14 months, has been under personal command of his indefatigable national campaign operative, Ben Palumbo. "Palumbo peered us so much we had to come out for Bentsen," one party leader told

"Virginians were impressed by Bentsen's moderation, grasp of economic issues and potential to be the first Democratic presidential candidate to carry Virginia since Lyndon Johnson."

us. Actually, he and other Virginians were impressed by Bentsen's moderation, grasp of economic issues and potential to be the first Democratic presidential candidate to carry Virginia since Lyndon B. Johnson.

A footnote: Bentsen is turning to issues tailored for competition with Jackson and Gov. George Wallace on the Democratic right. He has been taking a hard anti-crime line and is poaching on Jackson's national security issue by criticizing U.S. participation in the Helsinki European Security Conference.

President Ford's invitation to the family of LSD suicide victim Frank Olson resulted spontaneously from anger at the breakfast table on July 11, when he read news stories linking Dr. Olson's death to government-sponsored LSD tests. In the Oval Office later, the President ordered aides to extend an invitation to the whole family—despite reservations among his aides.

A major reservation: The invitation

might prejudice the government's defense in the family's multi-million-dollar suit against the Central Intelligence Agency, which sponsored the LSD test.

Questions were also raised about singling out the Olson family when other cases might develop. That turned out prophetic. Last Wednesday, James R. Christensen, son of a retired marine Colonel who committed suicide in 1966 after telling his wife he feared he had been drugged by LSD, said a law suit may be brought against the government. "If President Ford is willing to open records to the Olson family," Christensen said, his family wanted no less.

But Mr. Ford turned a deaf ear to all reservations. If his kindness to the Olson family costs the government one million dollars or more, he said the government deserves it. He ordered his staff to check the accuracy of the front page stories in The Washington Post and New York Times. If correct, he said on July 11, "I want Mrs. Olson

in my office to give her an apology on behalf of her government." The Olsons were there July 20.

Members of the Supreme Soviet meeting with U.S. senators in Moscow recently not only pursued the intense Soviet press campaign against Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger but added two additional targets: Former Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird and Sen. Henry M. Jackson.

Georgi Arbatov, Soviet Americanologist, told the senators, according to confidential State Department cables, that "It is uncomfortable to think Laird has been mentioned as a successor to (Henry) Kissinger." Arbatov added: "It is also uncomfortable that Sen. Jackson may be a Presidential candidate."

The U.S. senators naturally gave no such gratuitous advice about internal Soviet politics. Nor do State Department cables reflect the senators' defending either Laird or their colleague Jackson.

But when hard-line Soviet propagandist Yuri Zhukov of Pravda charged Schlesinger with a "gross violation" of U.S.-Soviet agreements by threatening a nuclear "first-strike," conservative Republican Sen. Robert McClure of Idaho protested. Schlesinger, he said, was talking about "first-use," not "first-strike." Arbatov then amended the charge to claim that Schlesinger was at least acting contrary to the spirit of detente. The cables show no counter-charges of Soviet cheating from the

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7/27

Bentsen's Campaign Chief Quits

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By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr. (D-Tex.) lost the manager of his presidential campaign yesterday amid reports that financial troubles are forcing cutbacks in his staff and changes in his strategy.

Bentsen announced that his campaign director, Benjamin L. Palumbo, had resigned "for personal reasons." His press secretary, Jack Devore, said there is "absolutely no connection between the resignation and the reduction in the number of people" in Bentsen's Washington headquarters.

Palumbo, in a telephone interview yesterday, denied that his quitting was related either to financial problems in the campaign or what some Bentsen associates described as a disagreement between Palumbo's "go-for-broke" strategy and one aimed at being "everyone's second choice."

Bentsen, a wealthy Houston

insurance and banking executive, has been one of the most successful fund-raisers in the large field of Democratic presidential hopefuls.

His most recent official report, filed in July, said he had raised more than \$1.5 million in 1974 and the first half of this year. He ranked third behind Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace and Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) in total receipts and in his campaign treasury balance.

But other Democratic fund-raisers noted that Bentsen apparently spent a quarter-million dollars more in the first half of this year than his campaign took in. His balance dropped from \$652,951 in December to \$386,598 at the end of June.

The operating deficits reportedly continued through this summer, despite an intensive personal fund-raising effort by the senator and a direct-mail campaign.

Palumbo said last night that "money is tough, but every candidate has found that." He said the Washington office had cut two professional staff members and two clerical aides, as well as six summer interns. But he said those cutbacks were balanced by the hiring of additional field representatives in California, New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Virginia and Oklahoma.

Palumbo also said he had "no disagreements with the senator" on campaign strategy. But others close to Bentsen said there had been a continuing debate between Palumbo's desire for Bentsen to test his strength in key industrial state primaries, like New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, and a more cautious strategy aimed instead at making Bentsen a broadly acceptable second choice in case of a deadlocked convention.

The senator is also an announced candidate for election to a second term in the Senate next year, under a Texas law which permits an individual to seek both offices simultaneously.

Bentsen is expected to win the lion's share of the Texas delegates in a presidential primary his home state backers were instrumental in arrang-

He has also won pledges of support from leading Democrats in Virginia and some Southwestern states, including Oklahoma. Some strategists reportedly have counseled him to adopt an "expanded favorite-son" role and hope that he would emerge as a compromise choice at the convention, rather than test his strength against rivals in states where he has little natural base of support.

Palumbo, 38, a product of New Jersey Democratic politics who joined Bentsen's staff about 18 months ago, was instrumental in securing speaking dates for the senator before union audiences and big-city Democratic groups.

Palumbo earned a reputation as one of the most aggressive of the current crop of campaign managers, both in merchandising and publicizing his candidate.

Bentsen said in a formal statement yesterday that "Ben remains a close personal friend . . . a talented, capable person, whose advice and counsel will be missed."

The announcement said that Bob Healy and Ron Platt, two other members of the campaign staff, will coordinate the senator's efforts. Sources close to Bentsen said the search for a new campaign manager would be completed by the end of the week.

Lloyd Bentsen

Looking Toward Texas

Chief executives of major southern companies make Sen. Lloyd Bentsen their choice.

As a Democratic presidential candidate, Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen could apparently take the South in 1976 about as unopposed as was Gen. Sherman on his march through Georgia a hundred years ago. And indicators are that the Texas Senator could take the South while incurring little Wallace or Kennedy threat.

This is the case if chief executive officers of The South's Top 200 Companies are any indication of the region's political thinking. The Top 200 is a compilation of

publicly held, nonfinancial companies headquartered in the 10-state South, ranked in order of sales volume by *The SOUTH Magazine* in July/August 1975. The CEO's were asked to indicate their choices to a variety of questions from a list of 17 potential or campaigning 1976 Democratic presidential nomination hopefuls (see accompanying tables).

The 17 hopefuls or contenders listed are Florida Gov. Reubin Askew, Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, Arkansas Sen. Dale Bumpers, former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, Idaho Sen. Frank Church, former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris, Minnesota Sen. Hubert Humphrey, Washington Sen. Henry Jackson, Massachusetts Sen. Edward Kennedy, former New York Mayor John Lindsay, Montana Sen. Mike Mansfield, South Dakota Sen. George McGovern, Maine Sen. Edmund Muskie, former North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford, California Sen. John Tunney, Arizona Rep. Morris Udall, Alabama Gov. George Wallace, and a blank was left for executives to fill in anyone else they considered a candidate.

The business executives are opinion makers as well as decision makers, says *The SOUTH Magazine* Editor Roy B.



Former New York Mayor John Lindsay.

panel function. The editor said the 34 per cent response from the 200 company officials is considered a good return.

In the survey, conducted in mid-July, Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, a



Rep. Morris Udall

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Bain, who surveyed the 200 chief executive officers. The editor, in a letter to the president or chief executive officer of The South's Top 200 Companies, asked the company executives to serve on *The SOUTH Magazine* Editorial Opinion Panel with the political survey the first

perennial presidential candidate, was easily out of the front running.

Even though some 25 to 35 per cent of the responding chief executives indicated a preference for Sen. Bentsen, as compared to about 18 per cent for Gov. Wallace, Sen. Edward Kennedy is expected by an

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overwhelming majority to get the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination. Further, an even larger percentage of the responding executives indicated they think Kennedy is the Democratic candidate with the best chance of being elected president.

Non-favorite

On the other hand, Kennedy drew the distinction of being the overwhelming non-favorite insofar as southern business executives' willingness to serve him in a cabinet or committee appointment. Kennedy carried the score of 25 per cent in the "least willing to serve" category. But perhaps more surprising was a comparatively close second in the same category by Gov. Wallace with 18 per cent of the responses listing him as the non-favorite candidate for cabinet or committee service.

Besides that, Gov. Wallace tied Sen. George McGovern, with 21 per cent of the votes each, in the category in which the business executives were asked who they thought least able to surround himself with top quality staff and cabinet.

In the same questionnaire, the southern business executives were asked how they rated President Gerald R. Ford's performance. He was rated excellent by 34 per cent of the respondents, adequate-fair by 61 per cent and inadequate-poor by five per cent. The business executives were asked to give a 1-to-10 numerical rating on 12 presidential qualities of leadership. Their average numerical response for all 12 categories was 7.05 on the 1-to-10 scale. President Ford was rated 5.96 by the executives on the same scale.

Respected Statesman

The 12 presidential leadership qualities rated by the business leaders were: foreign policy, economic policy, administrative ability, domestic policy, fiscal matters, diplomacy, political party leadership, ability to attract top quality cabinet/staff, quality as a respected statesman, quality to perceive the country's needs, ability to "sell" country on needed programs, and ability to work with the Congress.

In response to the question of who would best serve southern interests, to include business, Sen. Bentsen received 35 per cent of the respondents' votes — the top mark by far. Gov. Wallace was second with 18 per cent and former North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford and former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter were third with each receiving 12 per cent of the favorable responses. On the reverse side of that question, who would least serve



Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen

Rating the Presidency

Southern business executives think the president of the United States should be a most capable man, rating at least seven on a scale of one to 10 in a variety of abilities. And on that same scale, the same southern business executives found Gerald R. Ford falling slightly below their ultimate expectations for a U.S. president.

The editor of *The SOUTH Magazine* surveyed the president or chief executive officer of The South's Top 200 Companies to ascertain their opinions of both the qualities needed by the president and to rate President Ford. The South's Top 200 Companies is a compilation of publicly held, nonfinancial companies headquartered in the 10-state South, ranked in order of sales volume by *The SOUTH Magazine* in July/August 1975.

The big company executives were asked to assign a numerical value, from one to 10, with one the bottom and 10 the highest possible, on 12 presidential qualities. Then the business executives were asked to rate President Gerald R. Ford on the same scale. The average score of expectation for an American president was 7.05 on a scale of one to 10. President Ford received a 5.96 by the business executives on the scale.

One of the responding company chief

executives declined to rate President Ford. The question asked: "On a scale of one to 10, how would you rate President Ford?" The 12 categories above were then listed with a blank for a numerical rating. The company executive wrote across the form: "Unfair question due to his appointment, etc."

Several of the business executives indicated their feelings beyond merely marking the questionnaire. For example, one drew a bracket around the entire list of 17 candidates and wrote: "The sorriest slate of candidates the party has ever had to offer this country." The same executive, given a blank in which to insert another candidate of his choice other than the field of 17, wrote the name of former California Gov. Ronald Reagan. But then he suggested that, "If Reagan does not qualify (since he is not a Democrat) substitute Wallace for Reagan."

And one company official who indicated Sen. Bentsen was his choice for the candidate who would best serve southern interests, then indicated Sen. McGovern "and most of the others" would least serve southern interests. Then when he marked Sen. Kennedy as the hopeful with the best chance of being elected, the executive wrote beside the selection, "unfortunately."

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The Survey Results

Our editors surveyed the president or chief executive officer of The South's Top 200 Companies on their 1976 Democratic presidential opinions. The Top 200 is a compilation of the region's top publicly-held nonfinancial companies ranked by sales volume in *The SOUTH Magazine*, July/August, 1975. The business executives were also asked to rate the qualities of a president, and to rate President Gerald R. Ford on those same qualities. Here are the results of the survey, with 34 percent of the 200 company executives responding:

1. Here is a list of 17 hopefuls or possible contenders for the 1976 Democratic Presidential nomination. In each of the questions to follow indicate your choice.

- Gov. Reubin Askew (Florida)
- Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (Texas)
- Sen. Dale Bumpers (Arkansas)
- Jimmy Carter (former Georgia Governor)
- Sen. Frank Church (Idaho)
- Fred Harris (former Oklahoma Senator)
- Sen. Hubert Humphrey (Minnesota)
- Sen. Henry Jackson (Washington)
- Sen. Edward Kennedy (Massachusetts)
- John Lindsay (former New York mayor)
- Sen. Mike Mansfield (Montana)
- Sen. George McGovern (South Dakota)
- Sen. Edmund Muskie (Maine)
- Terry Sanford (former N. Carolina governor)
- Sen. John Tunney (California)
- Rep. Morris Udall (Arizona)
- Gov. George Wallace (Alabama)
- (Other, you specify)

2. Of the hopefuls, which do you think would:

—Best serve southern interests, to include business?

Bentsen 35%	Askew 4%	Kennedy 2%
Wallace 18%	Humphrey 4%	Muskie 2%
Carter 12%	Jackson 4%	Tunney 2%
Sanford 12%	Bumpers 2%	

—Least serve southern interests, to include business?

Kennedy 35%	Church 4%	Harris 2%
McGovern 19%	Humphrey 4%	Mansfield 2%
Wallace 7%	Jackson 4%	Sanford 2%
Lindsay 5%	Udall 4%	Tunney 2%
Askew 4%		

3. Which of the hopefuls do you think is: —Most capable of handling the job as president?

Bentsen 26%	Jackson 7%	Muskie 4%
Wallace 18%	Mansfield 5%	Askew 2%
Humphrey 12%	Carter 4%	McGovern 2%
Sanford 9%	Kennedy 4%	

—Least capable of handling the job as president?

McGovern 28%	Tunney 7%	Udall 4%
Wallace 16%	Carter 4%	Bumpers 2%
Kennedy 14%	Church 4%	Humphrey 2%
Lindsay 11%	Harris 4%	Jackson 2%

4. Which of the hopefuls do you think is: —Most likely to get the nomination?

Kennedy 54%	Muskie 7%	Wallace 5%
Jackson 18%	Humphrey 5%	Bentsen 4%

—Least likely to get the nomination?

Lindsay 23%	Carter 9%	Askew 2%
Harris 12%	Tunney 7%	Humphrey 2%
Sanford 12%	Bumpers 5%	Mansfield 2%
McGovern 11%	Wallace 5%	Udall 2%

5. Which hopeful do you think has: —The best chance of being elected?

Kennedy 61%	Wallace 7%	Humphrey 2%
Bentsen 11%	Muskie 5%	McGovern 2%
Jackson 7%	Askew 2%	



—The least chance of being elected?

Lindsay 23%	Carter 7%	Humphrey 2%
Sanford 16%	Harris 7%	Kennedy 2%
Wallace 14%	Tunney 5%	Mansfield 2%
McGovern 11%	Askew 4%	Udall 2%

6. Which of the hopefuls would you be: —Most willing to serve in a cabinet or committee appointment?

Bentsen 30%	Wallace 5%	Lindsay 2%
Sanford 11%	Askew 4%	Mansfield 2%
Jackson 7%	Carter 4%	McGovern 2%
Humphrey 5%	Kennedy 4%	Tunney 2%
Muskie 5%		

—Least willing to serve in a cabinet or committee appointment?

Kennedy 25%	Harris 5%	Jackson 2%
Wallace 18%	Askew 2%	Sanford 2%
McGovern 14%	Church 2%	Udall 2%
Lindsay 7%	Humphrey 2%	

7. Of those named, which do you consider: —The most able to surround himself with top quality staff and cabinet?

Bentsen 26%	Sanford 7%	Wallace 4%
Kennedy 14%	Mansfield 5%	Bumpers 2%
Humphrey 12%	Askew 4%	Udall 2%
Jackson 9%	Muskie 4%	

—The least able to surround himself with top quality staff and cabinet?

McGovern 21%	Humphrey 5%	Bumpers 2%
Wallace 21%	Carter 4%	Church 2%
Harris 9%	Jackson 4%	Tunney 2%
Lindsay 9%	Sanford 4%	Udall 2%
Kennedy 7%		

8. On a scale of 1-to-10 (1 being bottom and 10 the top) how effective should a president be in:

(After each presidential quality is the average score: the range of numerical expectations was 1-to-10 in each case)

Foreign Policy — 6.85
Economic policy — 7.38
Administrative ability — 6.92
Domestic policy — 6.80
Fiscal matters — 6.78
Diplomacy — 6.54
Political Party Leadership — 6.07
Ability to attract top quality cabinet/staff — 8.58
Quality as a respected statesman — 7.10
Quality to perceive country's needs — 7.37
Ability to "sell" country on needed programs — 7.39
Ability to work with the Congress — 6.78

Average numerical expectation was 7.05

9. Of those 17 hopefuls named earlier, which in your opinion consistently rates: —Highest in all 12 categories in Item #8?

Bentsen 30%	Wallace 7%	Kennedy 4%
Jackson 11%	Mansfield 5%	Askew 2%
Carter 7%	Muskie 5%	McGovern 2%
Humphrey 7%	Sanford 5%	Udall 2%

—Lowest in all 12 categories in Item #8?

McGovern 23%	Harris 5%	Sanford 4%
Kennedy 19%	Udall 5%	Tunney 4%
Wallace 12%	Carter 4%	Church 2%
Lindsay 9%	Jackson 4%	Humphrey 2%

10. How would you rate President Gerald R. Ford's performance as a president?

Excellent	34%
Adequate/Fair	61%
Inadequate/Poor	5%

11. On a scale of one to 10 (one being the bottom and 10 the top) how would you rate President Ford in?

(After each presidential quality is the average score, the range of numerical expectations was 1 to 10 in each case)

Foreign policy — 6.27
Economic policy — 6.21
Administrative ability — 5.66
Domestic policy — 5.78
Fiscal matters — 5.79
Diplomacy — 6.00
Political party leadership — 5.66
Ability to attract top quality cabinet/staff — 6.33
Quality as a respected statesman — 6.30
Quality to perceive country's needs — 6.25
Ability to "sell" country on needed programs — 5.28
Ability to work with the Congress — 5.91

—The President's average score was 5.96

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southern interests, to include business. Sen. Kennedy was the overwhelming choice with 35 per cent of the response and Sen. George McGovern was second with 19 per cent. But Wallace was third with seven per cent of the non-favorable responses.

Bentsen scored highest again in responses to the question of who is most capable of handling the job as president, he received 26 per cent. Gov. Wallace scored second with 18 per cent. Sen. Hubert Humphrey was third with 12 per cent of the response and Sanford was fourth with nine per cent. On the flip side of the question of who is least capable of handling the job as president, Sen. McGovern scored highest with 28 per cent, Gov. Wallace second with 16 per cent and Sen. Kennedy third with 14 per cent.

Contender

When it came to the question of the contender most likely to get the Democratic nomination, Sen. Kennedy received an overwhelming 54 per cent majority. Sen. Henry Jackson was second with 18 per cent. The contender least likely to get the nomination, in the opinion of the South's Top 200 Companies' chief ex-

ecutives, is former New York Mayor John Lindsay, with 23 per cent of the response. Sanford and former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris were second with 12 per cent, and McGovern and Carter immediately behind them.

Kennedy ran up the highest score, 61 per cent, again on the question of the contender with the best chance of being elected. Bentsen was a distant second with 11 per cent, and Wallace and Sen. Jackson tied for third at seven per cent. Of the contenders with the least chance of being elected, Lindsay led the field with 23 per cent. Sanford was next with 16 per cent, Wallace third with 14 per cent and McGovern fourth with 11 per cent.

Most Willing

Sen. Bentsen scored 30 per cent of the responses when the executives were asked who they would be most willing to serve in a cabinet or committee appointment. Sanford was a distant second with 11 per cent and Sen. Jackson third with seven per cent. On the least willing to serve score, Sen. Kennedy scored highest with 21 per cent. Gov. Wallace was second with 18 per cent, and McGovern third with 14 per cent.

Bensten scored a Texas-sized lead in the crucial question of who appears most able to surround himself with top quality staff and cabinet, scoring 26 per cent of the responses. Sen. Kennedy was second



Sen. George McGovern

with 14 per cent, Sen. Humphrey third with 12 per cent and Jackson fourth with nine per cent. Wallace was among the also-rans with four per cent. On the other end of the question, who is least able to surround himself with top quality staff and cabinet, Gov. Wallace and Sen. McGovern tied for the dubious honor with 21 per cent. Lindsay and Harris were tied in second place with nine per cent each, but Kennedy was next with seven per cent.

It may not be surprising to close political observers that Gov. Wallace did not take major honors from among the responses of the business leaders. The Governor has always pointed his campaign toward blue collar workers and what he calls the little man. He has, in recent campaign language at least, included the country's middle classes.

Speaking

Perhaps Bentsen has concentrated on business and community leaders, traditional decision makers, resulting in his overwhelming popularity among the business executives surveyed. Perhaps, still, it is his Texas accent and familiarity with southern traditional concerns that make him popular. Or, perhaps he is popular because he could be expected to present an impressive image in a national campaign. But the guess of the editors of *The SOUTH Magazine* is that his popularity derives from all those points as well as another major consideration: the respondents in this survey were business executives. And Sen. Bentsen was himself a successful business executive interspersed with his stints in politics.

It is most probable that the business executives responding tend to trust a candidate who at least speaks their language. [S]



Arkansas Sen. Dale Bumpers

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NY Times 9/8

CAMPAIGN

Benton

Change in Bentsen Strategy Indicated After Decline in Staff and Finances

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 7.— Benjamin L. Palumbo's sudden exit last Friday as director of Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen's Presidential campaign was attributed officially to "personal reasons" that nobody has Washington yet chosen to explain. Whatever the reasons, the loss of Mr. Palumbo's promotional zeal and his New Jersey-trained savvy in big-city Northern politics seems to mark a transition in the Texas Democrat's planning.

Troubled by a declining cash balance and a lack of visible popular support, the Bentsen campaign is weighing a strategic retreat—from a go-for-broke drive in industrial state primaries next spring to an essentially regional effort to become the "favorite son" of the Southwest.

From the beginning, Mr. Bentsen has had conflicting advice from his staff. Lloyd Hackler, his former administrative assistant, saw Mr. Bentsen's best hope in becoming "everyone's second choice" and using a bloc of Southern-state delegates to bargain for the nomination in a brokered Democratic convention.

Mr. Palumbo was more inclined to believe that the Northern primaries could be decisive. And he believed that Senator Bentsen would have to shed his Texas regional image in states like New York, Ohio and California, in much the same way that John F. Kennedy confronted the party's doubt about a Roman Catholic candidate in the West Virginia primary of 1960.

Mr. Palumbo's departure coincided with the dismissal of nine junior staff members from the Bentsen headquarters here, though all hands insist there is no connection between the two actions.

Money worries stem from the lean returns on Mr. Bentsen's coast-to-coast search for new financial backing last month. Senator Bentsen, a

Houston insurance millionaire, started out with ample support from the Texas business community. But the \$650,000 treasury with which he started this year was down to \$387,000 last June and is now reported to be less than \$200,000.

Vice President Rockefeller's aides have scotched a rumor that William P. Ronan, long an intimate Rockefeller adviser on politics in general and transportation in particular, was about to join the Vice President's staff here.

Prompted by inquiries about Mr. Ronan in a security check by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, other New York associates of Mr. Rockefeller jumped to the conclusion that Mr. Ronan was about to become the new chief of the Vice President's staff, succeeding Ann Whitman, who moved back to Manhattan this summer. Some fretted privately that Mr. Rockefeller's Washington office was too heavily weighted already with old retainers from the New York Governor's office.

In any event, the Vice President's spokesman now says, Mr. Ronan was only getting routine F.B.I. clearance for access as an occasional consultant.

It may be a sign of the times that in the generally quiet preliminaries of the Democratic Presidential campaign, there has been virtual silence on questions of particular interest to black voters.

"Black support has become something like Southern support was a few years ago," one Democratic professional observes. "A candidate who has it would just as soon keep it secret."

One Democratic candidate has offered, as a small gesture, to book his campaign flights through a black-owned travel agency. But in fact none of the Presidential contenders have yet made serious public or private overtures for black votes that could be crucial in a number of primary states next year.

The growing ranks of black elected officials have been as

conspicuously aloof from the early entrants in the Democratic Presidential field. But the first signs of serious strategic planning are beginning to appear.

The Congressional Black Caucus will hold its annual dinner here on Sept. 27, at the end of a two-day workshop on political tactics and strategy. More important, perhaps, the nonpartisan Joint Center for Political Studies is planning a December convention for up to 3,500 black political leaders, to define the issues they expect all Presidential candidates to deal with.

Sargent Shriver has finally found a campaign manager in Richard J. Murphy, 47 years old, an assistant Postmaster General in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations and a widely praised general manager of the Democratic National Convention in Miami Beach in 1972.

A protégé of the late Paul Butler, Democratic party chairman in the nineteen-fifties, Mr. Murphy has had one job or another in every Presidential campaign since 1944 when he was a precinct runner in Baltimore for Franklin D. Roosevelt. Mr. Shriver now plans a formal announcement of candidacy about Sept. 20 and hopes to have raised \$100,000 in small contributions by then to qualify at the outset for matching Federal funds.

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Bentsen: No Chasing of Rainbows

This is the second of a series examining the declared and occasionally undeclared candidates for the presidency. The series began with Arizona Congressman Morris Udall (TIME, Aug. 25).

Everybody's second choice. That seems to be the presidential strategy of Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen, 54, who has plans of emerging as the compromise nominee after the front runners falter and the Democratic Convention is deadlocked. A multimillionaire Texas businessman who is not given to quixotic pursuits, Bentsen has tried to hug the middle of the road more closely than any other candidate. A wobble either to the left or the right makes him distinctly uneasy. "Others are trying to move toward the middle of the party," he says. "But I don't have to move. I'm already there."

Pearly Smooth. The problem with occupying the middle so snugly is that a candidate becomes, well, middling. Bentsen does little to attract or repel. Mainly, he tries to do the with an approach that is pearly smooth and a bit soporific. "He dreams dreams but doesn't chase rainbows," was an early campaign slogan. The result is a rather colorless campaign, though one that exudes competence. Bentsen seems all but devoid of regional or personal quirks. His urbane performance gives no clues that he is a Texan. Understated and restrained, he manages to conceal much of the inner man from public view. Says a longtime associate: "Bentsen is one of the hardest people in public life to get to know." Adds Calvin Guest, chairman of the Texas Democratic Party: "The problem is to communicate his great leadership ability. Groups he has spoken to often go away without understanding what he really said."

Bentsen likes to say that he speaks without a Texas accent because his forefathers came from Denmark by way of South Dakota. But his family fortune definitely speaks the language of Texas. His father, Lloyd Bentsen Sr., and his Uncle Elmer started buying land and selling it in ways that brought accusations, though little proof, of shady business practices. From real estate, the family moved into farming, cattle raising, oil drilling, banking. Today Bentsen Sr. is worth an estimated \$50 million. The candidate puts his own assets at \$2.3 million, all of it currently placed in a blind trust.

Young Bentsen was a quick study and moved nimbly. At 21, he graduated from the University of Texas law school. That same year he enlisted in

the Army, later flew 50 missions over Europe as a bomber pilot, and was shot down twice. While on leave, he married a Texas model, Beryl Ann; they have three children. Mustered out as a major at 24, Bentsen was elected the youngest county judge in Texas. In 1948, he ran successfully for the U.S. House of Representatives, becoming the youngest member. He impressed a fellow Texan, Speaker Sam Rayburn, who included Bentsen in his after-hours bourbon-and-strategy sessions. Even so, Bentsen did not make much of a mark in the House—with the exception of a speech he now regrets. During the Korean War, he urged that atomic bombs be dropped on the North Koreans unless they withdrew from the South. "I am wiser today," says Bentsen, who claims that a member of the Truman Cabinet suggested he make the speech to try to pressure the North Koreans to negotiate.

Bentsen retired from the House in 1954 to go back home and make money. Starting with a life insurance company capitalized with family funds, he built a corporate empire including apartment buildings, shopping centers, oilfields, banks and a funeral home. Satisfied with his stake, he returned to politics at a higher level. In 1970 he challenged incumbent Senator Ralph Yarborough, a liberal folk hero. The primary contest was grimy even by Texas standards, the candidates swapping insults worthy of a saloon brawl. With the backing of Lyndon Johnson, John Connally and the Texas political-financial establishment, Bentsen scored an upset victory. That fall he defeated Republican George Bush, now chief of the U.S. liaison office in Peking.

Changed Image. When Bentsen arrived in Washington, Vice President Spiro Agnew greeted him as one of the "ideological majority" that would support the Administration. Bentsen quickly set him straight: "I'm coming here as part of the loyal opposition, not as part of the Nixon forces." He proceeded to change his image by voting with the liberals to make it easier to invoke cloture. From then on, Bentsen was tagged as "unpredictable." Filling his office with flow charts, maps and graphs, he established a reputation for probing analysis of complex issues. He took pride in exposing economic illiteracy, whether demonstrated by conservatives or liberals, admirals or environmentalists. He won coveted committee assignments: Armed Services, Finance, Public Works and the Joint Economic Committee.

In the Senate, Bentsen has concen-

trated on the economy. A fiscal conservative, he deplored big spending and even objected to revenue sharing as a strain on the federal budget. But during the recession, he has called for Government intervention to counter unemployment. He introduced a bill to create 840,000 summer jobs for unemployed youths and urges a revival of the Civilian Conservation Corps, the New Deal agency that put tens of thousands of young people to work on federal conservation projects around the country. To stimulate the depressed housing industry, Bentsen has proposed giving a 20% tax credit to parents who place \$250 a year in savings accounts for their children's higher education. The savings institutions would then be required to use 50% of the money for housing loans.

Surprise and Chagrin. Convinced that there will soon be a critical shortage of capital, Bentsen has introduced a bill to encourage more investment. The bill provides for a scaling down of the 35% capital gains tax. The longer an asset is held, the less it would be taxed when it is sold. After 15 years, the tax would be trimmed to 14%. The bill also increases from \$1,000 to \$4,000 the maximum yearly write-off of capital losses.

To reach the middle of the road, Bentsen had to move away from his close identification with his home state's largest industry. To the surprise and chagrin of some of his supporters, he voted for a bill to abolish the depletion allowance for the major oil companies while retaining it for the independents, which do much of the exploratory drilling in the U.S. Bentsen has also called for the creation of a federal bank to guarantee loans to private industry for the development of alternative energy sources. To conserve energy, he has proposed a gas-



LLOYD & BERYL ANN BENTSEN



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THE NATION

oline tax that starts at 5¢ per gal. and reaches 30¢ after five years.

Mainly preoccupied with domestic matters, Bentsen has demonstrated no particular aptitude for foreign affairs. Generally, he goes along with his fellow Democrats' attacks on détente and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Though a hard-liner on defense, Bentsen often raps the Pentagon for sloppy analysis and wasteful spending, asking: "Can this country afford a \$17 billion-a-year civilian defense payroll that is purely for support rather than combat purposes?"

Full Portfolio. Bentsen has raised \$1.5 million in campaign funds, more than any other candidate except George Wallace and Henry Jackson. He has also enlisted some impressive political support. While refraining from an outright endorsement, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield has said that Bentsen has a full portfolio of presidential qualifications. Bentsen has been formally endorsed by Louisiana Governor Edwin Edwards and by almost every important office holder in Virginia. He is expected to defeat Wallace handily in the Texas primary and to do well in other parts of the South.

But his visibility elsewhere remains close to zero. Although he has been campaigning for the presidency since the fall of 1973, he has not been able to emerge from the growing cluster of candidates. Bentsen is still so far down in the preferential polls that he is not even listed. Less than 40% of the electorate know who he is—a statistic that nevertheless gives him some comfort. "A year ago, only 3% recognized my name," he says. "I consider that progress." His chief political adviser, Benjamin Palumbo, thought that was not sufficient progress. He urged Bentsen to speed up his campaign and try to become the front runner. Bentsen seemed to vacillate for a while and then resumed his deliberate pace. Palumbo quit the campaign this month. Says a politician who knows both men: "Ben is a craphooter, and I get the distinct impression that Lloyd doesn't want to shoot craps." The meticulous multimillionaire is obviously not ready to go for broke.

Bentsen, in fact, has begun to pay more attention to his home state. He is also running for re-election to the Senate since Texas law does not prohibit him from seeking the presidency at the same time. He chose not to attend a gathering of liberal Democratic presidential hopefuls in Minneapolis last week, the first of a series of debates to be held around the country. Nothing dramatic or flamboyant or even very incisive can be expected of Bentsen as he pursues his steady-as-she-goes campaign. He wants to demonstrate that he can manage the ship of state without unduly rocking it; he wants fellow Democrats to feel secure with him rather than excited or inspired. Then, by convention time, they may be willing to settle for their second choice.



TECH SERGEANT LEONARD MATLOVICH

ARMED FORCES

"No" to Matlovich

Since his disclosure six months ago that he is a practicing homosexual, T/Sgt. Leonard Matlovich, 32, has fought to remain in the U.S. Air Force, which with equal determination has been trying to oust him. Last week Matlovich (TIME cover, Sept. 8) lost the first round of the battle that he has vowed to take to the U.S. Supreme Court if need be. A three-man board of Air Force officers at Virginia's Langley Air Force Base voted unanimously after a hearing to recommend that Matlovich be separated from the Air Force with a general (less than honorable) discharge. In reaching its decision, the panel was asked by the presiding officer to consider only two questions: 1) whether Matlovich's homosexuality interfered with his ability to perform military service, and 2) whether "most unusual circumstances" existed that would justify keeping him in the Air Force.

Half Dollar. After Matlovich refused on the stand to "contract to be celibate, not to practice homosexuality," Colonel James Applegate, the Air Force equivalent of a prosecutor, charged that those unusual circumstances could not exist "when Sergeant Matlovich says 'I am going to go out and do what homosexuals do.'" The panel apparently agreed. Their recommendation will be reviewed by higher Air Force officers, and a final decision on Matlovich's case will be made by Secretary of the Air Force John McLucas.

At a news conference after the decision was announced, a smiling, determined Matlovich held up a Bicentennial half dollar and observed: "It says 200 years of freedom. Not yet—but it will be some day." Then, with his friends, many of them homosexuals and in uniform, he retired to the Cue bar in Norfolk to drink beer.

The Good Life At San Clemente

The last picture that Ollie Atkins had taken of Richard Nixon was at California's El Toro Marine Base in August 1974. There, Nixon had posed briefly with the crew that flew him to the West immediately after he resigned from the presidency. Last month Atkins—the White House photographer during the entire Nixon Administration—received a surprise invitation from San Clemente to have dinner with P and Dick and shoot pictures of them.

Like others who have paid calls late, Atkins found Nixon in good spirits. He looked bright-eyed and showed a touch of the old presidential bearing and vigor and was seemingly determined to demonstrate that the Nixon household had weathered Watergate and returned to normality. Atkins' color photographs, shown exclusively in TIME on the following pages, bear out those impressions.

At San Clemente, Nixon follows a schedule that seems to be a leisurely version of his old White House routine. Shortly before 9 a.m., conservatively suited and always wearing an American-flag pin in his lapel, he usually rides a golf cart the quarter-mile from his house to Building A, the former Coast Guard station that serves as his private office. There he makes telephone calls, reviews his most important pieces of mail and has lengthy conferences with aides about his memoirs.

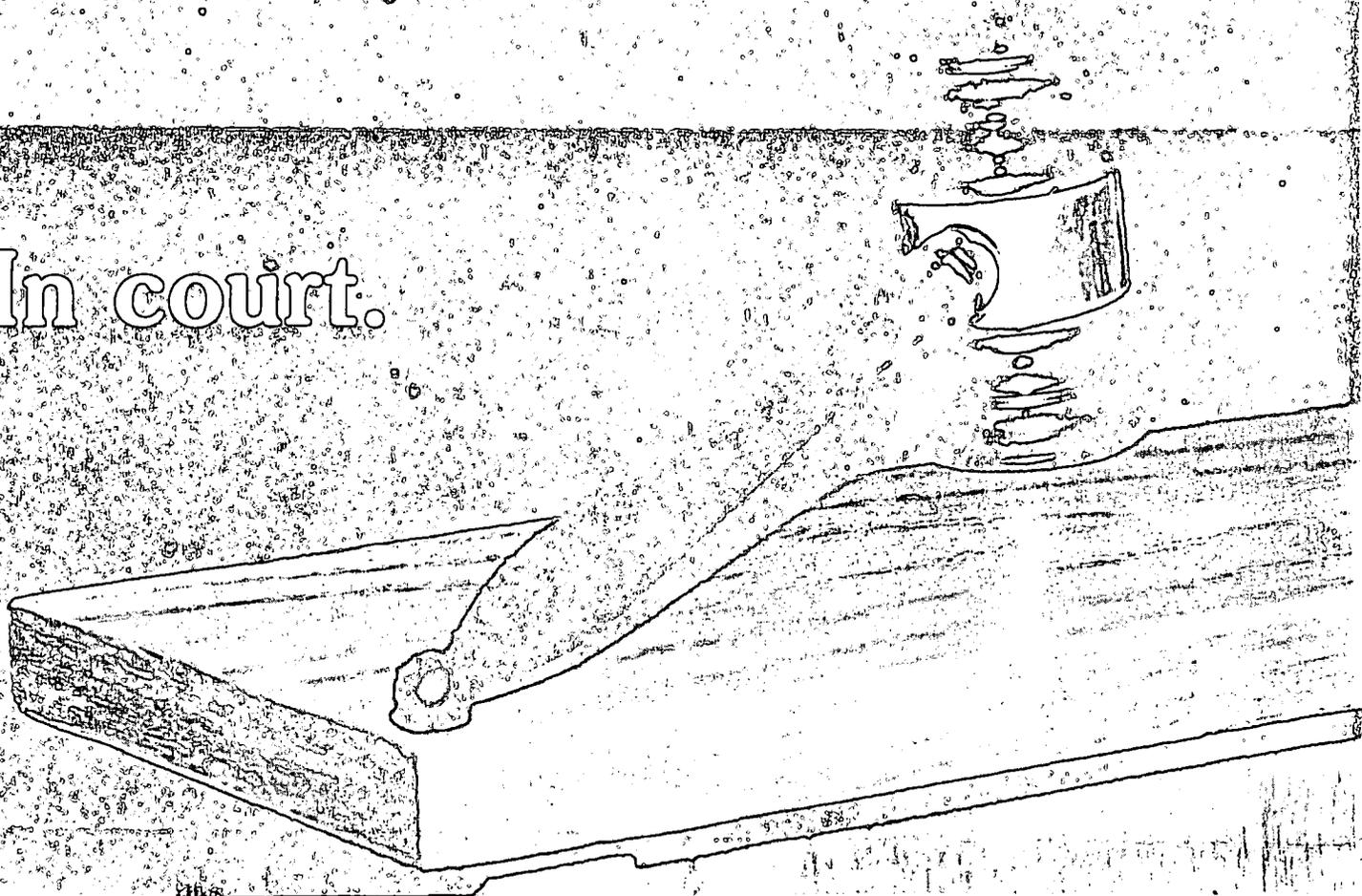
Late in the morning Nixon receives visitors—who in recent months have included Illinois Senator Charles Percy, former Italian Premier Giulio Andreotti and ex-White House Aide Bryce Harlow.

Nixon relaxes during the afternoons, frequently getting in a round of golf on the course at nearby Camp Pendleton with his aide, Colonel (ret.) Jack Brennan. Pat Nixon, by all visitors' accounts, is aglow—buoyant and relaxed as she oversees Casa Pacifica or putters in her garden. "I'm loving this place," she told a friend not long ago.

With the November 1976 deadline for Nixon's memoirs approaching, the idyllic routine has begun to change. The first 200 pages are due at the publishers at the end of this month, and Nixon has been working as much as eight hours a day. On NBC's *Today* show last week, Julie Nixon Eisenhower said Nixon has been working on the Watergate chapters of the book in recent weeks, and she declared that "he's going to write a very candid book." Would we, asked Hostess Barbara Walters, learn anything that we hadn't known before? Said Julie: "I'm sure you will."

Rape victims shouldn't be victimized a second time.

In court.



Senator Lloyd Bentsen introduced legislation to protect rape victims from harassment in court:

- a victim's previous sexual conduct should not be used to attack her credibility as a witness.
- a victim's previous sexual conduct should generally be inadmissible as to the question of probable consent.
- questions on the admissibility of evidence of the victim's sexual history should never be raised in front of the jury or in public.
- requirements that other evidence accompany a victim's testimony should be eliminated.
- judges should be required to instruct juries that physical evidence of a victim's resistance is not necessary for conviction.

Senator Bentsen has also sponsored a call for a National Conference on the Prevention of Rape and the Treatment of Victims. As he said in addressing a legislative conference on rape:

"To the degree that men and women of good will join

together in realizing that rape can be treated with sensitivity and compassion, that procedures degrading to the victim and encouraging to the criminal can be eliminated, then to that degree will our national perspective change to one which no longer tolerates the crime of rape and, ultimately, to one in which rape literally becomes unthinkable."

A strong supporter of ERA, Lloyd Bentsen is fighting to prohibit credit discrimination against women. He has consistently backed federal day care bills. And he has supported legislation banning sex discrimination in higher education and mass transit programs of the federal government.

Bentsen
for president.

Bentsen
D

Bentsen - D



Senator Bentsen's landmark bill to protect rape victims from harassment in court applies to the District of Columbia and all other federal jurisdictions. It can serve as a model for state laws all across the country.

By prohibiting the brutalizing ordeal that rape victims now experience in courtrooms, these laws will mean that more victims will report, will accuse, will testify. And more rapists will be convicted.

As Senator Bentsen said when he introduced his bill: "Any serious and practical effort to deal with the rape epidemic must begin by removing this barrier, which is essentially one of outmoded, man-made, rules of evidence in regard to trials for rape."

For our society to move meaningfully toward eliminating the crime of rape, women must play an increased role in creating new programs and new procedures. That is why Senator Bentsen has called on the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration to confer with women's groups across the nation on the means of preventing rape and improving the treatment of victims.

Senator Bentsen supported the creation of a National Center for the Control and Prevention of Rape as part of the 1974 Health Services Act. *The President vetoed this legislation.*

Lloyd Bentsen was a chief sponsor of the Social Services Amendments of 1973, which gave the states full flexibility to provide day care, family planning, and both hot meals and educational programs for welfare mothers. The bill made these vital social services available to many employed people, as well as to the unemployed.

He also supported the 1971 Comprehensive Preschool Education and Day Care Act—and he voted to override the presidential veto of this important bill, which would have provided HEW grants to establish day care centers everywhere in America.

He has supported provisions in major legislation—including the 1974 Higher Education Amendments and the 1974 Mass Transit Act—to prohibit sex discrimination in

government programs. And he cosponsored a Senate Resolution in the 94th Congress, directing all Senate Standing Committees to review the laws and regulations of the federal government and recommend legislation to do away with *all* existing sex discrimination. This sweeping effort to update federal law will, in part, put ERA into effect in federal operations even before the states complete its ratification.

Senator Bentsen is a strong supporter of ERA. During the struggle to get ERA through the Senate, he consistently opposed the Ervin amendments and all attempts to weaken or kill ERA.

More recently, he voted to open the service academies to women. And he has cosponsored legislation to prohibit discrimination in the credit industry.

- We cannot allow rules written by men to say to women: "You can work—*unless you demand fair pay.*"
- "You can work—*unless you have small children to support.*"
- "You can work—*unless some subcontractor on a government project just doesn't want any women around.*"
- "You can spend—*but you can't get credit.*"
- "You can follow—*but you cannot lead.*"

Even more than men, women are hurt by the Republican Administration's high unemployment policies. As the head of the economic growth subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee, Senator Bentsen is fighting for a full employment policy: "*Unemployment is even higher among women than among men. And high unemployment means even greater difficulties than usual for women who seek advancement on the job: when there are few promotions available, women in particular are held back.*"

"*It is important that we write legislation to give women equal opportunities. But it is equally important that we do not allow continuing unemployment to wipe out the advances we have already made.*"

Bentsen also believes that the creation of a National Health Insurance program is among our highest, and most urgent, priorities. Such a plan must include full protection from catastrophic illness, a national program to monitor hospital costs and physicians' fees, and universal accessibility to good health care. He supported the 1974 Health Services Act, which was vetoed by President Ford.

Education is another of Senator Bentsen's high priorities. He is the author of the Bentsen Educational Savings Plan, which provides an income tax credit for money saved for post-secondary education.

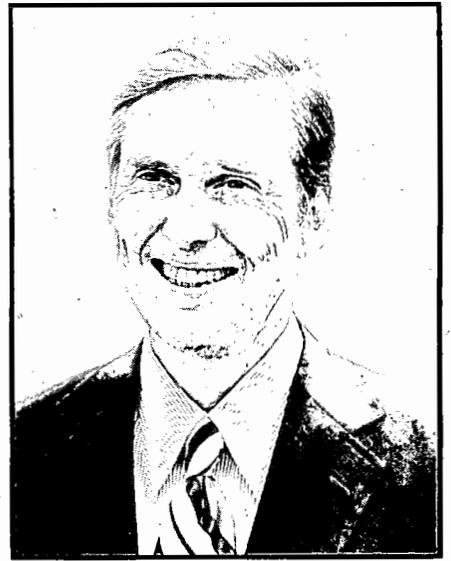
And, consistent with his long record of support of equal opportunities for *all* Americans, he introduced legislation against age discrimination in employment by federal, state, and local governments.

Bentsen for president.

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Senator LLOYD BENTSEN

REPORTS
FROM
WASHINGTON



Achievements Despite Troubled Times

93rd's Record Impressive

The 93rd Congress was very productive, approving legislation in such key areas as trade reform, pension reform and restoring the constitutional balance of powers.

It took initial steps to revitalize our economy and began a full-scale assault on the energy shortage.

The 93rd was working during two of the most turbulent years in the history of our government. A president resigned his office as impeachment proceedings were underway against him. And a vice-president also resigned and was convicted of a felony offense.

Against these and other unsettling events, the achievements of the 93rd Congress seem even more remarkable.

Among the significant legislation enacted were the pension reform bill, which I authored, and a bill I sponsored prohibiting the president from committing U.S. troops to foreign wars for more than sixty days without Congressional approval.

Legislation was also passed reforming and tightening the Congressional budget process.

As initial steps to breathe life back into our economy, we set up a wage and price council to monitor inflation, provided assistance to the depressed homebuilding industry, set up badly needed public service jobs and expanded unemployment benefits.

We also passed a comprehensive trade reform bill to strengthen our position in international markets.

Other significant legislation passed are the Federal Highway Act of 1973 and the Public Transportation Act of 1974, the Alaska Pipeline Bill and a measure establishing the Big Thicket National Preserve which was the first bill I introduced to the Senate in 1971.

Much went undone, of course. The 93rd Congress made only a start in efforts to resolve our economic problems. And stronger steps than have been taken will be needed to end the energy shortage.

These and other serious challenges face the new 94th Congress.



PONDERING THE ALTERNATIVES—Treasury Secretary William Simon provided key testimony at hearings of the Joint Economic Committee which I chaired. Simon has shifted considerably from the administration's earlier denial that recession has become the number one problem facing our country. He now predicts that widespread unemployment will get worse before it gets better and could hit 8 percent within the next several months.

Insuring a Speedy Trial

Congress has passed legislation I co-sponsored aimed at clearing the growing backlog of untried cases in our nation's courts and reaffirming the constitutional guarantee of a speedy trial.

It insures justice, for the defendant who has every right to expect his name quickly cleared if he is innocent, and for society which has every right to expect that the guilty be rapidly convicted and sentenced.

Basically, the bill requires that all criminal cases in federal courts be tried within 60 days of indictment. It permits an additional 30 days between the time of arrest and indictment.

This would take effect over a seven year period.

When effective, charges will be dismissed if trials are not conducted within the specified time limits. And if courts and prosecutors are forced to dismiss cases under these guidelines, the burden will be on them to explain this to the people.

In passing this measure, Congress is saying to the federal courts: Tell us what you need to clear away this backlog of untried cases and we will give it to you. But when we give you the tools, we will expect results.

Recession Deepens

Economic Growth Key Weapon

Unemployment in our nation has hit 7.1 percent. This means that over six and a half million Americans cannot find work.

According to the best estimates, these figures will continue to grow worse, with unemployment deepening to 8 percent in coming months.

Even the President has finally conceded that we must concentrate our energies on battling this deepening recession and that we must begin immediately.

The most effective weapon we can use is the weapon of economic growth. Such growth can bring us out of recession without fanning the flames of inflation.

We must breathe some life back into the American economy. We must get it expanding again. We must put people back to work and at the same time get the productivity gains we need to keep inflation under control.

Steps can be taken now to restore and maintain a healthy rate of economic growth.

For one, I am proposing \$13 billion in tax relief to restore to middle and lower income Americans some of the purchasing power they have lost due to inflation. The bill would save taxpayers money by establishing a \$250 tax credit as an option to the personal exemption.

Revenue lost to the government would be made up by phasing in, over several years, a tax on our enormous industrial and commercial energy consumption.

Along with this, we have to develop a more moderate monetary policy to bring interest rates down and encourage capital investment.

Above all, Congress and the Administration must work together to restore the confidence of the American people in their government, their economy and themselves.

By providing leadership they can respect and by developing workable economic programs, I believe we can do this.

Override of President's Veto

G.I. Bill Benefits College-Going Veterans

Overriding a presidential veto, Congress last month rallied overwhelmingly to support a GI Bill raising educational assistance benefits to college-going veterans by twenty-three percent.

This was a move that has my strongest support.

It is estimated that some 4 million veterans from the post-Korean period and another 7 million serving in the Vietnam War are eligible for the increased benefits.

The twenty-three percent boost translates into an increase from the \$220 a single veteran now gets to \$270 per month. A married veteran now receiving \$261 a month will receive \$321. The benefits for a married veteran with a child will go up from \$298 a month to \$366.

For each additional child, \$22 per month is added to the stipend.

These increases will be retroactive to last September in order to aid GI students already enrolled in college.

And although the measure will cost \$780 million in its first year, studies have shown time after time that for every dollar we invest in a veteran's education, we get three to six dollars back in taxes.



"Reaching The People. . ."

Insuring the Privacy Of Tax Returns

In 1973, former President Nixon issued an executive order which opened the income tax returns of our nation's farmers to inspection by officials in the Department of Agriculture.

Although it was later reversed, it hinted darkly at the potential for abuse of our Internal Revenue Service. In response to this, I introduced last March the first bill in the Senate to provide increased protection for the confidentiality of federal tax returns.

Since then, however, there have been continuing revelations of IRS abuse. Watergate disclosed various instances where the White House misused confidential tax returns. And, in 1973 alone, fifteen federal agencies requested and received tax returns of individuals.

With this in mind, I am offering a new and stronger bill to restore the integrity of the IRS and our tax system in two ways.

It imposes strict limitations on who is allowed access to confidential tax information to reassure American taxpayers of the privacy of their tax returns.

And it insulates the IRS from political pressures by requiring that all requests for tax information be submitted to the IRS in writing along with the intended use of this information.

Our federal system of taxation enjoys wide voluntary public support largely because the American people assume their tax returns will be kept confidential and immune from political misuse.

This is a necessary assumption and I am seeking, through this legislation, to reaffirm it.

DO YOU HAVE A NEW ADDRESS?

If you have moved please enclose the address label from this Newsletter and your new address when you notify my office to help us make the change promptly.

Letters to the Senator

To Believe, or not to Believe. . .

"I have lost confidence in a lot of our government people but you are one of those I believe will do your best. . . Help agriculture before it goes broke."

—Max Hanks, Mount Pleasant

"You wonder why we have lost faith in you and our government in general? Try the three G's and see where they fit: greed, graft and gutlessness."

—Roy C. Beatrice, El Paso

In Support of Workable Programs

"I would not be able to type this letter had it not been for the rehabilitation service in this state. Thank you for what you are trying to do for the handicapped of Texas through the Vocational Rehabilitation Act."

—James A. Deal, Odessa

"I was glad Congress overrode the President's veto of the GI Bill. I feel that after these men have given a good part of their lives. . . when they return to America with little money, no jobs and sometimes disabled, they should receive support from the country they fought for."

—Geoffrey Condiff, Austin

"Your efforts to establish a Commission on Federal Paperwork. . . will not only result in reducing costs for the federal government, but will also aid in the growth of the nation's thousands of small businesses who are today having to close down because of crippling additional overhead created by burdensome government paperwork."

—Claud H. Vaughan, McAllen

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

Stone
FILE/Bentzen

Lloyd Bentzen
U. S. S.

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Looking Toward Texas

Chief executives of major southern companies make Sen. Lloyd Bentsen their choice.

As a Democratic presidential candidate, Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen could apparently take the South in 1976 about as unopposed as was Gen. Sherman on his march through Georgia a hundred years ago. And indicators are that the Texas Senator could take the South while incurring little Wallace or Kennedy threat.

This is the case if chief executive officers of The South's Top 200 Companies are any indication of the region's political thinking. The Top 200 is a compilation of



Rep. Morris Udall

publicly held, nonfinancial companies headquartered in the 10-state South, ranked in order of sales volume by *The SOUTH Magazine* in July/August 1975. The CEO's were asked to indicate their choices to a variety of questions from a list of 17 potential or campaigning 1976 Democratic presidential nomination hopefuls (see accompanying tables).

The 17 hopefuls or contenders listed are Florida Gov. Reubin Askew, Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, Arkansas Sen. Dale Bumpers, former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, Idaho Sen. Frank Church, former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris, Minnesota Sen. Hubert Humphrey, Washington Sen. Henry Jackson, Massachusetts Sen. Edward Kennedy, former New York Mayor John Lindsay, Montana Sen. Mike Mansfield, South Dakota Sen. George McGovern, Maine Sen. Edmund Muskie, former North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford, California Sen. John Tunney, Arizona Rep. Morris Udall, Alabama Gov. George Wallace, and a blank was left for executives to fill in anyone else they considered a candidate.

The business executives are opinion makers as well as decision makers, says *The SOUTH Magazine* Editor Roy B.



Former New York Mayor John Lindsay

panel function. The editor said the 34 per cent response from the 200 company officials is considered a good return.

In the survey, conducted in mid-July, Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, a

CEO pinions

Bain, who surveyed the 200 chief executive officers. The editor, in a letter to the president or chief executive officer of The South's Top 200 Companies, asked the company executives to serve on *The SOUTH Magazine* Editorial Opinion Panel with the political survey the first

perennial presidential candidate, was easily out of the front running.

Even though some 25 to 35 per cent of the responding chief executives indicated a preference for Sen. Bentsen, as compared to about 18 per cent for Gov. Wallace, Sen. Edward Kennedy is expected by an

overwhelming majority to get the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination. Further, an even larger percentage of the responding executives indicated they think Kennedy is the Democratic candidate with the best chance of being elected president.

Non-favorite

On the other hand, Kennedy drew the distinction of being the overwhelming non-favorite insofar as southern business executives' willingness to serve him in a cabinet or committee appointment. Kennedy carried the score of 25 per cent in the "least willing to serve" category. But perhaps more surprising was a comparatively close second in the same category by Gov. Wallace with 18 per cent of the responses listing him as the non-favorite candidate for cabinet or committee service.

Besides that, Gov. Wallace tied Sen. George McGovern, with 21 per cent of the votes each, in the category in which the business executives were asked who they thought least able to surround himself with top quality staff and cabinet.

In the same questionnaire, the southern business executives were asked how they rated President Gerald R. Ford's performance. He was rated excellent by 34 per cent of the respondents, adequate-fair by 61 per cent and inadequate-poor by five per cent. The business executives were asked to give a 1-to-10 numerical rating on 12 presidential qualities of leadership. Their average numerical response for all 12 categories was 7.05 on the 1-to-10 scale. President Ford was rated 5.96 by the executives on the same scale.

Respected Statesman

The 12 presidential leadership qualities rated by the business leaders were: foreign policy, economic policy, administrative ability, domestic policy, fiscal matters, diplomacy, political party leadership, ability to attract top quality cabinet/staff, quality as a respected statesman, quality to perceive the country's needs, ability to "sell" country on needed programs, and ability to work with the Congress.

In response to the question of who would best serve southern interests, to include business, Sen. Bentsen received 35 per cent of the respondents' votes — the top mark by far. Gov. Wallace was second with 18 per cent and former North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford and former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter were third with each receiving 12 per cent of the favorable responses. On the reverse side of that question, who would least serve



Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen

Rating the Presidency

Southern business executives think the president of the United States should be a most capable man, rating at least seven on a scale of one to 10 in a variety of abilities. And on that same scale, the same southern business executives found Gerald R. Ford falling slightly below their ultimate expectations for a U.S. president.

The editor of *The SOUTH Magazine* surveyed the president or chief executive officer of The South's Top 200 Companies to ascertain their opinions of both the qualities needed by the president and to rate President Ford. The South's Top 200 Companies is a compilation of publicly held, nonfinancial companies headquartered in the 10-state South, ranked in order of sales volume by *The SOUTH Magazine* in July/August 1975.

The big company executives were asked to assign a numerical value, from one to 10, with one the bottom and 10 the highest possible, on 12 presidential qualities. Then the business executives were asked to rate President Gerald R. Ford on the same scale. The average score of expectation for an American president was 7.05 on a scale of one to 10. President Ford received a 5.96 by the business executives on the scale.

One of the responding company chief

executives declined to rate President Ford. The question asked: "On a scale of one to 10, how would you rate President Ford?" The 12 categories above were then listed with a blank for a numerical rating. The company executive wrote across the form: "Unfair question due to his appointment, etc."

Several of the business executives indicated their feelings beyond merely marking the questionnaire. For example, one drew a bracket around the entire list of 17 candidates and wrote: "The sorriest slate of candidates the party has ever had to offer this country." The same executive, given a blank in which to insert another candidate of his choice other than the field of 17, wrote the name of former California Gov. Ronald Reagan. But then he suggested that, "If Reagan does not qualify (since he is not a Democrat) substitute Wallace for Reagan."

And one company official who indicated Sen. Bentsen was his choice for the candidate who would best serve southern interests, then indicated Sen. McGovern "and most of the others" would least serve southern interests. Then when he marked Sen. Kennedy as the hopeful with the best chance of being elected, the executive wrote beside the selection, "unfortunately."

~~HS~~
Wom

MY TURN: Richard Reeves



The Senate Syndrome

A United States senator and two writers dressed silently and a little grumpily for tennis the other morning at 7 o'clock and walked onto the courts of the Washington Hilton Hotel to find another senator sitting alone, lost in his own thoughts. The fourth player, Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, looked up, started for an instant, and said, "Boy, I sure would like to be President."

That's probably as close as anyone will come to confirming the suspicion that if you shake any senator awake, his first words would be something like that. Among other things, the last four American Presidential elections have pitted senators and former senators against each other, and senators are among the few Americans who have so little to do that they can take the time to run for President. Most of us have to work.

Except for becoming a national hero, being a member of the Senate is the best route to the White House—perhaps nine of the 58 Democrats in the world's greatest deliberative body are now looking up that road. Which is something of a bad joke if you've had the opportunity to see senators in action—if "action" is the word for talking, looking thoughtful on television and energetically, but gracefully, avoiding responsibility.

The Senate is a comical, comfortable imitation of what the Founding Fathers had in mind. The great national debate is a farce, acted out by two or three senators at a time, gesturing dramatically at empty desks and glancing into the galleries to see if The New York Times or Washington Post is taking notes. The elders, like a hundred grandees trailed by a hundred entourages, are wandering from cameo roles at committee hearings to National Airport for quick flights to \$2,500 college speeches or appearances back home to dazzle the folks with the glamour that has attached to them since the television networks decided Washington was America.

POLITICS IS MORE FUN

If it is true that the best government is the least government, senators do little enough harm to be any great threat to the Republic, except . . . except that one of them might become President.

Pre-Presidential Washington is a very small place inhabited by perhaps 30 hopeful eligibles and twenty definitive list makers, the dons of political journalism—a group that includes James Reston and R.W. Apple of The New York Times, David Broder of The Washing-

ton Post, Jack Germond of The Washington Star-News, Joseph Kraft and the sweet-and-sour team of Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. The mores of that very small place are illustrated by a Georgetown story told by a reporter who claims to have overheard Sen. Charles Percy give instructions to his wife when they spotted a certain newspaper editor across a crowded room: "There they are. You take him and I'll take her."

The collusion between political reporters and Presidential-class politicians is crucial in the years between elections—without each other's help, both might have to get involved in government. Politics, of course, is more fun and less risky. In the years since John F. Kennedy pioneered the two-year Presidential campaign, reporters and hopeful candidates have worked out a four-year system of expense-account traveling to "key" states to meet "key" leaders. "Why blame us?" said an aide to Sen. Walter Mondale, who was on Capitol Hill between trips. "The press started this. You guys will do anything to get away from your wives and editors."

WHO WON THE RALLY?

It's too true, too true. The press issued an outraged roar when President Nixon refused to campaign in 1972. The roaring about "hiding inside the White House gates" took so much righteous energy that reporters and editors never got around to considering a little coverage of what the Nixon Administration was doing in all those marble-fronted buildings along the stately avenues of Washington.

The "exploratory" trips of Mondale and others do keep idle hands at their portable typewriters, even if the published results are unread comedy. A few weeks ago, Mondale and Rep. Morris Udall, another explorer, shared the platform at a Democratic rally in Manchester, N.H. The Washington Post reporter following Udall reported that he "got the more favorable reaction, according to several party leaders." The Washington Star-News reporter following Mondale interviewed "party pros" and indicated the senator did better because Udall told too many jokes.

Udall's candidacy is, in a way, a reaction to senatorial nomination domination. Without commenting on the relative qualities and qualifications of Senate and House members, there was a recent demonstration of the differences

between nine senators and one former governor, Nelson Rockefeller of New York. The Washington Star-News felt compelled to report on its front page that Rockefeller's first three days before the Senate Rules Committee hearings on his designation as Vice President were like a confrontation between "the heavyweight champion" and a succession of "bantamweights."

The fact is that, good or bad, Rockefeller had been *doing* things for fifteen years while the senators had been *talking* about the same things. Governors (and mayors) have to raise taxes, handle prison riots, strikes and school-desegregation orders and sign or veto abortion and capital-punishment legislation. Senators have to handle the complex problems of outscrambling each other to get twenty seconds of nightly news time to comment on what Presidents or nations or governors have done.

One of the things wrong with the country is the concentration of network television in Washington. Every night, millions of Americans are exposed to Sen. Henry Jackson or Sen. Edward Kennedy or Senator Percy offering a couple of sentences of reaction that make them sound as if they are on top of the great issues of the day.

WHERE ARE THE GOVERNORS?

Gov. Daniel Evans of Washington or Gov. Reubin Askew of Florida might know more about the subject, but their media reach is regional at best. There is a moderate heightening of national interest in governors at the moment, but this too can be expected to pass for the simple reason that it costs too much money and takes too much time to make network news connections with Olympia or Tallahassee.

I don't want to close on a completely negative note about the 100 men of the United States Senate. They are, in general, intelligent, attractive and well-informed men who are articulate across a broad range of national and international concerns. But if that's all we want in a potential President, we should go for the real thing and consider David Brinkley and Eric Sevareid.

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