

Henry Jackson [2]

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The Danger of Doing Nothing

By Henry M. Jackson

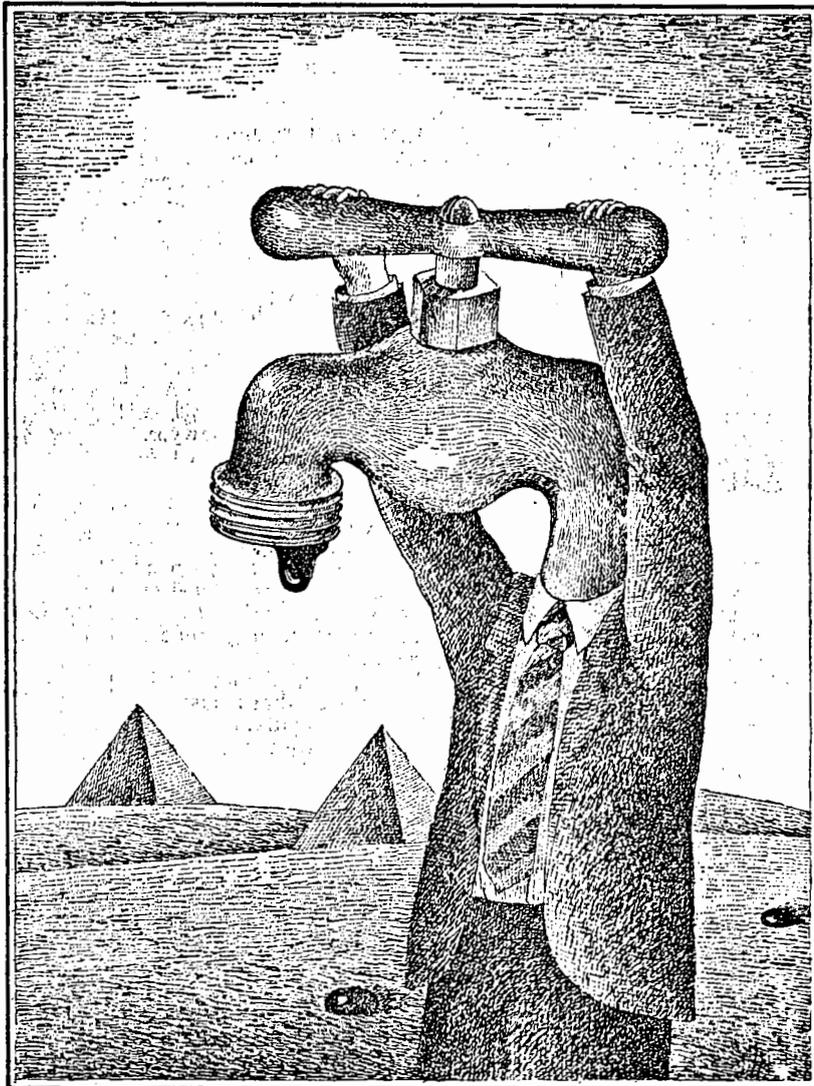
WASHINGTON — With the deepening dependence of the United States on imported petroleum has come an increasing awareness of the risks to our national security and the stability of our national economy. The closing of gas stations around the country, the prospect of severe summer shortages, and the readying of plans to ration gasoline on a nationwide basis have brought home to the American people the sense of a problem without an easy solution.

Therefore, I suppose it was inevitable that we would soon hear the argument that the threat to the continued delivery of Middle Eastern oil arises from American support of Israel. Such an analysis, quite simple-mindedly in my view, attributes the chronic instability in the Middle East to the Arab-Israeli dispute.

The real situation is quite different. Middle Eastern energy sources would be insecure even if Israel didn't exist. For it is inter-Arab rivalry, and the opportunistic exploitation of it by the Soviet Union, which threatens to disrupt the normal flow of oil. After all, it is not Israel which threatens Kuwait and its substantial oil reserves; rather, recent Iraqi military activity may have as its objective control of that oil-rich sheikdom. It is not Israel which threatens Saudi Arabia — but Yemen to the south, Soviet-supported Iraq and Syria to the north, and Egypt to the west.

Wherever stability exists in the Middle East today, it is, in my view, largely the result of the strength and Western orientation of Israel on the Mediterranean and Iran on the Persian Gulf. These two countries, reliable friends of the United States, together with Saudi Arabia, have helped inhibit those radical Arab elements which pose a grave threat indeed to petroleum sources in the Persian Gulf. It is ironic that Saudi Arabia and the sheikdoms (which, along with Iran, will provide most of our imported oil in the years ahead) depend for regional stability on Israel's capacity to encourage an environment where moderate regimes in Lebanon and Jordan can survive and where Syria can be contained. Iran plays a similar and even more direct role in the Gulf itself.

Last November I traveled to Israel, Iran and Saudi Arabia. I was impressed with the remarkable extent to which their three separate fates are associated — how they constitute a paradoxical bloc of nations whose security, so important to the United States, unites them in a set of common interests. Between, Israel and Iran, for example, there exists a quiet



Mel Furukawa

“Alternative energy sources will restrain the cost of Middle East oil.”

tie that reflects a common concern about the forces of instability in the region.

The relationship between Israel and Saudi Arabia is more complex. While neither Israelis nor Saudis are in a position to acknowledge common interests, they do share a common perspective on many problems. For instance, the pipeline which carries great quantities of Saudi oil to Western users passes through the Israeli-held Golan Heights and, over that portion of its length, it has functioned without major disruption. Moreover, the Saudis, a tempting target for any number of forces, would not last long without a stable Jordan, a more or less calm Egypt and a contained Syria and Iraq. The Saudis understand this very well.

Important as the Middle East may be to the future of the international ener-

gy economy, it is not the whole story. Even if we had assurances that the flow of oil from the Middle East would continue without interruption, we would still have to undertake the development of new sources of energy on an urgent basis. Indeed, I am persuaded that we can no longer temporize and continue to sit idly by as our dependence upon imported oil — whatever its source — continues to grow.

The United States, with 6 per cent of the world's population, presently uses over one-third of the world's energy. Other developed nations also consume disproportionate amounts of energy on a per capita basis. The developing countries will require more energy as they industrialize, and they are certainly entitled to their share of this finite resource. But oil supplies are limited. We cannot downplay energy

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research and development while the world drains the depletable reserves of the Middle East.

Moreover, alternative energy sources will restrain the cost of Middle East oil. Without alternatives, crude oil prices will certainly rise and, in a short time, gasoline retail prices could reach a dollar per gallon. The dollar holdings of a few Arab states may reach proportions that could enable them to dominate international economic conditions. By failing to act now to develop alternative sources of energy we are prolonging the period during which the supply and price of imported oil can be dictated by whoever might happen to control a handful of Persian Gulf nations.

This is why I have proposed a ten-year, \$20-billion program to translate several promising technological developments into commercially viable sources of energy. We have already waited far too long to increase our options. We must abandon myopic indecision and make a determined start on alleviating this increasingly critical situation.

Henry M. Jackson is Democratic U.S. Senator from Washington.

BUSING FOES HALT TALK BY JACKSON

Crowd in Boston Refuses to Calm Down for Senator

BOSTON, Feb. 13 (AP)—Senator Henry M. Jackson, a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, left a campaign platform here last night when a crowd of vocal opponents of busing for school integration refused to calm down.

"Did you not vote with Ted Kennedy for busing?" one angry member of a crowd of about 300 demanded of Mr. Jackson at a speaking appearance. Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, has been a target of busing foes in this city, where a court-ordered school integration program is in its second year.

"I want to find out, if busing is the law of the land, how come it's not in the suburbs where the judges live," another man shouted.

The Washington Senator at first tried to calm the crowd but made no headway and eventually left.

In 1972, Mr. Jackson supported a proposed constitutional amendment to ban busing. He later proposed that busing be permitted only when a panel of three judges decided that no other remedy was available, and that it would not harm education.

Recently, Senator Jackson has been wooing the antibusing vote in Massachusetts, and he seemed surprised by the outburst. When the first challenge came, he asked, "Are you trying to be funny?"

Worker for Wallace

Dan O'Leary of South Boston, who identified himself as a campaign worker for Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, another candidate for the Democratic nomination, said the group had come to find out why Mr. Jackson had changed his position on busing.

Governor Wallace, like Senator Jackson campaigning for the March 2 Massachusetts primary, has accused Mr. Jackson of changing his views after discovering that many people opposed busing.

A woman, who identified herself as Pat Russell, head of an antibusing organization called the Charlestown Information Center, screamed loudly and repeatedly at the Senator.

"I would like to know, are you against it or are you saying it as a political gimmick?" she demanded, referring to busing. "My children are at stake."

When he could interrupt the questioners, Mr. Jackson said he would uphold the Constitution and that he was for integration.

As he left the meeting hall surrounded by Secret Service agents, several members of the crowd shook his hand and one said, "We are not all like that."

Carter Leads in Caucuses

OKLAHOMA CITY, Feb. 13 (AP)—Jimmy Carter, the former Georgia Governor, holds a slim advantage over Fred R. Harris, the former Oklahoma Senator, in the quest for

votes to Democratic county conventions in Oklahoma, an unofficial tabulation of returns from precinct caucuses showed today.

But the largest single block of delegates selected to attend the Feb. 29 county conventions—41 percent—were uncommitted to any candidate. Gov. David Boren has urged Democrats to send an uncommitted delegation to the national convention in New York City.

Many counties had not completed their tallies of last Saturday's caucuses when The Associated Press made its poll today. State party headquarters said it would not have reports from all 77 counties tabulated

Bob
Wiedrich



Chicago Tribune, Sunday, July 13, 1975

Sen. Jackson's justice lopsided

EVIDENTLY, SEN. Henry Jackson's priorities do not include a square shake for the victims of his Presidential ambitions.

That became clear Thursday when John R. Bartels Jr., former administrator for the Federal Drug Enforcement Administration, finally got his day in court and found his chief inquisitor didn't have much time for him.

Jackson, the Washington state Democrat who is stumping hard for the White House, opened a Senate subcommittee hearing into allegations of mismanagement and corruption in the DEA at 9:15 a. m. One hour and 15 minutes later, Jackson took a duck, claiming the press of other business.

That left Bartels unable to confront his prime antagonist for the last year during which he has suffered a carefully orchestrated campaign of detrimental, mostly faceless news leaks by the subcommittee that culminated in Atty. Gen. Edward Levi demanding his resignation May 30.

FROM THE VERY moment Bartels was sworn by the permanent investigation subcommittee, it was evident Jackson had no intention of dwelling on details of the allegations against Bartels by two disgruntled DEA employees.

Instead, Jackson devoted much of his time deploring news commentary critical of his apparent use of the DEA probe to gain publicity for his Presidential bid.

He appeared stung by the criticism. He sought to blame Bartels for some of it. But he was obviously oblivious to the character assassination his own subcommittee had visited upon Bartels thru scores of leaked news stories against which Bartels had previously been unable to defend himself under oath.

IN FACT, Thursday's appearance was a first for Bartels before the panel. He had not even been accorded the chance to testify behind closed-door executive sessions during the year-long bombing run on his integrity.

Naturally, by the time Bartels got to open his mouth, his reputation had been so blackened that virtually every news account cast him in the role of defending his record in running the 2,200-agent organization that is America's front line in the global war on narcotics.

And that, we guess, is what Jackson had in mind when he staged an 75-minute hit-and-run raid on Bartels, and then ran off to pursue his quest for the Presidency. He didn't even have the courtesy to hear the man out.

Sen. Percy [R., Ill.] took over the gavel and presided over the hearing until 12:15 p.m. after Jackson flew the coop to attend a conference.

BUT NOT BEFORE Jackson had badgered the witness by repeatedly interrupting his testimony and demanding that Bartels synopsise his opening statement because Jackson was short of time.

After a year of public vilification leading to his dismissal because Atty. Gen. Levi wished to avoid having Jackson embarrass the Justice Department, Bartels was supposed to roll over and accommodate his tormentor.

Sen. Jackson quoted newspaper articles that he felt had unfairly attributed political motives to his conduct of the DEA inquiry. He did not dwell on the substantive matters at hand, but instead kept demanding that Bartels compare the performance of DEA with other investigative agencies like the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Secret Service.

THAT WOULD BE like comparing apples with oranges, Bartels patiently sought to explain. However, the senator kept insisting and finally Bartels had to lecture the Presidential aspirant on the role of a narcotic agent and how it differs from that of other law enforcement men.

Unlike most agents, who investigate a crime after the fact, DEA agents must explore and seek to infiltrate narcotic rings before a crime is actually committed, Bartels told Jackson. They must seek to prevent or intercept a criminal act so that illicit drugs don't reach America's narcotic addicts.

After a year of maligning the DEA from behind the protective facade of news leaks, Jackson didn't even know the basic premise of its duties. It was also clear that all sense of fairness had deserted his questioning.

If Bartels had done such a good job as DEA Administrator, he asked, why had he been fired. Even if Jackson hadn't read the news accounts of Bartels' dismissal, his political savvy should have told him why—adverse publicity generated by his own subcommittee staff.

On Friday, Jackson's attendance record was even worse. He arrived 15 minutes late and stayed only 20 minutes after hurling a series of "true or false" questions at Bartels. Once Bartels pointed out many of the questions were based on erroneous fact, Jackson again flew the coop.

WELL, WHEN old Scoop Jackson deserted the hearing room, the TV lights flickered out and, to his credit, Sen. Percy got down to the meat of the allegations against DEA and the stewardship of Bartels.

Bartels denounced each of the accusations as incorrect or unfounded. He labeled many "totally false." But Sen. Jackson wasn't around to hear any of that. Perhaps he was too deafened by the strains of "Hail to the Chief."

Jackson: Advice And Dissent

As Henry Kissinger and then Richard Nixon head to the Kremlin, the "third man" with them at the table is Sen. Henry Jackson. By the power he wields on Soviet-related issues in the Congress and by the possibility that he may become President in 1976, the Washington State Democrat has a unique role in American national security policy.

Jackson, sensitive to the constitutional separation of powers and reluctant to crowd Nixon personally, insists that "I don't inject myself into policy." With the patient air of a schoolmaster who finds a student slow to learn, he says his role is "tell Henry . . . stiffen Henry"—by offering Kissinger his own skeptical analyses of events and by providing the Secretary of State with the congressional stiffening which Jackson regards as essential to successful negotiation.

He finds James Schlesinger, whom he knew and admired before the Secretary of Defense came to town, not only "bright" but "tough." It's by coincidence not coordination that he and Schlesinger lean to the same strategic views, he says. Jackson sees Kissinger and Schlesinger as policy rivals. "But who will prevail? The President hasn't decided. I don't know. The great mystery in this administration is who's making the decisions."

In the Senate debate on the 1972 strategic arms accords, Jackson recalls, he warned that Soviet missile throw-weight could be doubled—"and it's coming to pass." The administration justified the uneven terms of SALT I on the basis that Soviet momentum had to be stopped and that in SALT II the U.S. would press for equality, Jackson observes. But: "The administration is now hard pressed to fulfill its assurance of equality. The Soviets have other ideas."

Jackson believes Mr. Nixon was "mistaken" to set himself a 1974 target date for a SALT II agreement on offensive arms. The President is "beleaguered, weak." A SALT deal at the June summit would be "dangerous."

"Look at the impeachment schedule. How can Nixon focus? He prides himself on foreign policy but he's distracted. If someone were to write a scenario for disaster, it's all there."

In a basic difference, Jackson rejects the Nixon-Kissinger strategy of trying to build a web of interlocking interests between the two great powers in order to blunt their political and strategic rivalry. "I don't buy it," he says flatly.

Rather, he holds that the first task of detente is to loosen the Soviet government's grip on its own people, a result to be brought about by offering substantial credits ("economic assistance"), which, he is convinced, the Kremlin craves and can get nowhere else. Jackson acknowledges that no position can be pushed indefinitely with the Russians but he thinks the administration has seriously underestimated the political and human-rights price the Russians will pay for credits.

He thinks that a detente that does not produce results in terms of a loosening of Soviet society and a more moderate foreign policy—look how Moscow acted in the Mideast last October, he says, how Gromyko recently "stirred up the Syrians," how Moscow now urges the Arabs to continue the oil embargo—is not a detente.

After the 1972 election, Jackson discussed the trade-emigration issue with a high Russian official, and he then set down his proposals for a smooth and regular emigration flow in a letter (copy to Kissinger), which went unanswered. Jackson and his staff receive lesser Soviet types, such as journalists, from time to time. He is not bothered by Soviet attacks on him ("polemics"), and he stays open to whatever Russian bids are made to keep in touch. An invitation to visit the Soviet Union was dangled indirectly before him earlier this year. Jackson did not respond and no direct invitation has been forthcoming.

Recently, the public Soviet line on Jackson took a certain new serious turn. From berating him as a tool of the "military-industrial complex" and "Zionism," the Russians began talking about "the overambitious and irresponsible Senator from Washington" as possibly the next President. ("A bit premature," Jackson responds, grinning.) "There is no greater threat to peace than such politicians pushing to power," Moscow Radio told its American audience.

Whether Jackson is telling the stern truth about the world or whether he is spoiling the possibility of better times is, of course, a matter of some controversy in the United States. Personally, I'm unsure. What is much less in controversy, however, is that by each step of their own which arouses American anxieties and leads Americans to question the value of detente, the Russians are helping put Jackson in the White House.

Candidate file

Drug Chief Criticizes Jackson

The government's top drug enforcement officer yesterday accused Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., of exploiting the name of fugitive financier Robert L. Vesco to get headlines for himself.

Jackson, an announced contender for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination, heads the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, which last Monday criticized the Drug Enforcement Administration's failure to link Vesco with a 1973 drug-smuggling operation.

"I realize that any attempt to connect the name of financier Robert Vesco to an international drug investigation could make news," said John J. Bartels Jr., the DEA administrator. But he said the subcommittee had investigated for 18 months and had found no connection.

Vesco fled to Costa Rica after he was accused of stock fraud by the Securities and Exchange Commission. He later contributed \$25,000 to President Nixon's 1972 re-election campaign, apparently in an effort to get the case dropped.

Former Attorney General John N. Mitchell and former Commerce Secretary Maurice H. Stans were found innocent of charges in New York that they tried to suppress the SEC investigation of Vesco.

Jackson's panel became interested in the case when Frank Peroff, a disgruntled DEA informant, claimed the DEA had sabotaged his efforts to prove Vesco would put up \$300,000 to finance narcotics smuggling from Europe.

Bartels told UPI that DE

did not follow through with Peroff's plans because it had sufficient evidence to prove Peroff had made up the story and that Vesco did not have any underworld drug connections. Bartels said Peroff cooked up the scheme in an effort to increase his pay as an informant.

Between January and July Peroff obtained payments of \$29,000 from U.S. Customs but could not meet their deadlines. For producing evidence he was being paid to produce. DEA said it paid Peroff \$3,050 before deciding to cut him off.

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Candidate file

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, April 8—"I have been reliably informed," Senator Henry M. Jackson of the State of Washington told the Senate of the United States, "that there exist between the Governments of the United States and South Vietnam secret agreements which envision fateful American decisions whose very existence has never been acknowledged."

Coming from the man who now leads the Gallup Poll for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1976, this amounts to a charge of treachery and raises serious questions not only about the good faith of President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger but of the responsibility of the Senator.

The Administration has always said it had a "moral obligation" to help South Vietnam after the U.S. troops were withdrawn. Also, President Nixon said in April of 1973, "We shall insist that North Vietnam comply with the [cease-fire] agreement. . . . "It is also true that, in trying to persuade President Thieu to accept the Paris agreements, President Nixon sent several letters to Thieu indicating continued support—all of which the Administration has admitted—but this was a moral obligation, freely and publicly admitted by the Administration, and not a legal "secret agreement" as charged by Mr. Jackson.

Even if he had produced evidence to support the charge, Senator Jackson's timing would have been astonishing. In fact, it is hard to imagine how anybody could make the nation's present divisions over the Vietnamese tragedy worse than they really are, but Senator Jackson has managed to do it.

If his charges are right, he has merely been careless and insensitive, and if wrong, he has been irresponsible. He has the authority as one of the most powerful men in the Senate to take his information to the majority leader and compel the Secretary of State to testify in private on the facts in the case.

Then, if his information proved that the Secretary of State has not told the truth in his repeated denials that no secret agreements were made, he has every right to expose the deception and even to call for the resignation of Mr. Kissinger.

It is easy to understand why Senator Jackson and other legislators would resent recent intimations by the President and Mr. Kissinger that the Congress, in refusing to vote more hundreds of millions for military aid to Saigon, was somehow renegeing on what Mr. Jackson calls "obligations" and "commitments" to the South Vietnamese Government. For as Senator Jackson properly says in his statement, "Congress is being accused of violating commitments and obligations it never heard of."

But almost always in the negotia-

tions ending a war there are vague intimations that the withdrawing nation will do what it can to help in the future. This, however, is quite different from a binding commitment or a legal "secret agreement."

The Paris agreements on the Vietnam war permitted the United States and North Vietnam to replace weapons on a one-to-one basis, but nobody, including Senator Jackson, has produced any evidence that the United States went any further and "committed" itself to such replacement or entered into a "secret agreement" to do so. (If there were such a "commitment," Washington would now be obliged to replace almost a billion

WASHINGTON

dollars worth of war matériel abandoned by South Vietnam without a fight in the last few weeks.)

It is odd, besides, that Mr. Jackson would use the term "secret agreement." He is one of the most knowledgeable Senators on the floor, and in Dorothy Fosdick, the professional staff director of his subcommittee on investigations, and Richard N. Perle, a professional staff member, he has two of the most experienced aides in the Senate.

They know, probably better than almost anybody on the Hill, that "secret agreements" have a special meaning and have been the source of violent controversy ever since President Woodrow Wilson called at the end of the First World War for "open covenants" without "secret agreements."

At that time, with Senator Lodge badgering Wilson as Jackson is now badgering Kissinger, Wilson sent Colonel Edward House to world leaders to explain what he meant by open covenants, and the definition is still good today: The purpose is clearly to prohibit treaties, sections of treaties or undertakings that are secret. The phrase "openly arrived at" need not cause difficulty. In fact, the President explained to the Senate last winter that his intention was not to exclude confidential diplomatic negotiations involving delicate matters, but to insist that nothing which occurs in the course of such confidential negotiations shall be binding unless it appears in the final covenant made public to the world.

Yet Mr. Jackson has chosen to envenom the debate without, according to Mr. Kissinger, ever asking to discuss the matter. Miss Fosdick denies this latter point.

The result is that, while the Administration, Senator Mansfield and other leaders of the Democratic party are trying to cool the debate and reunite the country, Senator Jackson has added to the confusion and once more raised questions about his timing, his judgment and even his fitness for the Presidency.

Oil 'Strike Force' Urged by Jackson

By Thomas O'Toole
Washington Post Staff Writer

A strike force of federal and state officials should be mobilized to investigate the rapid rise in oil prices during the six months of the Arab embargo, Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) said yesterday.

After hearing closed-door testimony before his Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations from the Justice Department, Customs Service and Federal Energy Administration, Jackson said he was dissatisfied with the scope and pace of the current probe.

"The enforcement and compliance activities of the Federal Energy Administration have been woefully inadequate," Jackson said. "Despite the many complaints about utilities being overcharged for their fuel, FEA has turned up only \$1 million in utility violations. We all know that overcharges are many times that figure. The question then becomes, how do we pursue these violations?"

What Jackson proposed was a strike force many times larger than the 110 agents assigned to the investigation by the FEA. He suggested mobilizing agents from FEA, Customs, FBI, state and district attorneys' offices and state utility commissions.

Jackson said the strike forces should descend on New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore, Detroit, Boston, Chicago and Los Angeles, all hard hit by soaring oil prices and skyrocketing electric bills. He said some of these cities paid during the Arab embargo \$25 a barrel for oil, which is more than twice what it is today and is five times what it was before the embargo.

Jackson said the subcommittee had received allegations that the \$25 oil was sold "after traveling circuitous routes and passing from one corporation and broker to another."

Sources close to the subcommittee said Jackson was upset over an apparent lack of cooperation between Customs and FEA in pursuing alleged criminal violations in the overcharges to electric companies. Sources said the FEA appeared to discourage quick action by Customs on the grounds that Customs officers

did not understand the nature of the oil business.

Also, it is understood Jackson felt that the Ford administration's eagerness to decontrol oil prices had something to do with the slow pace of the oil price investigations.

*Candidate
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Kissinger and Jackson: The Feud Goes On.

A private letter demanding major reassessment of U.S. policy toward Iran because of the Shah's new agreement with Iraq marks another escalation in the bitter feud between Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Sen. Henry Jackson.

Jackson's letter, hand-delivered to the State Department March 22, berated Iran for "precipitous" policy shift in settling a smoldering dispute with Iraq's radical regime over a river boundary—the settlement ending the Shah's help for the Kurdish rebellion in Iraq.

That letter was delivered before Jackson charged Kissinger made "secret agreements" with South Vietnam to achieve the Paris cease-fire agreement. For long months before that, the two Henries clashed over U.S.-Soviet trade, which has foundered on Jackson's demands for Jewish emigration from Russia. In short, Jackson is increasingly fueling his long-distance run for the Democratic presidential nomination by attacks on Kissinger, clearly no longer the most popular American.

Jackson's target in Iran is the huge nuclear reactor deal between Washington and Tehran. Jackson wants that deal reopened because, he charges, the Shah's foreign policy shows a lack of "reliability and continuity."

"Such transactions as the transfer of a sizeable nuclear power production capability, with its plutonium byproduct, need to be assessed in light of disturbing evidence that . . . Iran is capable of policy shifts so precipitous as to border on the quixotic," Jackson wrote Kissinger.

The Iran-Iraq agreement, stunning in its political implications, was a body blow to Israel, which had been covertly supporting the Kurdish rebellion with weapons and advisers. Some Israeli leaders hoped the rebellion would draw Israel's best Moslem friend, Iran, and its mortal Arab enemy, Iraq, into open war, neutralizing Iraq in Arab-Israeli conflict.

Such strong criticism of the Shah, regarded as one of this country's best Mideastern allies, from the leader of the Senate's Israeli bloc parallels Israel's own fear of the Iran-Iraq deal. But Jackson intimates deny that the Israel factor played any part in his decision to demand that Kissinger reassess U.S. Iran relations



Associated Press

No sooner did South Vietnamese armies retreat in panic than Communist authorities ordered the death of local government officials, suggesting the blood bath long predicted to accompany Saigon's collapse.

Central Office South Vietnam (COSVN), Communist high command for the war's southern sector based in Tay Ninh Province, issued a new directive April 3, to instruct Communist troops how to exploit their sudden success. The COSVN resolution stressed that Saigon regime officials be clearly identified by the time North Vietnamese troops enter abandoned villages, then ordered that cadres "induce the masses to kill" officials of the government of Vietnam (GVN).

That could take the form of "people's courts" delivering death sentences. But another course could be soldiers killing officials and blaming their deaths on others. This was out-

lined in unusually explicit terms in another Communist directive, issued last month, aimed at leaders of the Cao Dai religious sect: "When fighting breaks out we will try to kill as many of the dignitaries as possible. Later . . . we will say they were killed by the GVN or by stray bullets."

A footnote: The April 3 COSVN resolution directed Communist forces to take advantage of the enemy's collapse to achieve "total victory" in 1975, the first authoritative timetable from Hanoi.

The notion that the Republican National Committee staff will support President Ford for the Republican nomination, while professing neutrality, was jolted with the arrival there last week of a trusted political operative for Ronald Reagan.

Paul Russo, a Reagan aide since 1971, has quietly joined the national committee's finance division. That not

only gives Reagan a finger in the party's national fund-raising pie but shows his overall party influence.

At a private luncheon here with Republican National Chairman Mary Louise Smith March 6, Reagan strongly urged her to hire Russo. She quickly complied. "What was Mary Louise to do?" asks one Republican politician. "No way she can turn down the best fundraiser in the Republican Party."

A footnote: While Reagan infiltrates the Ford-dominated national committee, the President also plays that game across the continent. Meetings of California politicians and money men with Mr. Ford during his Palm Springs vacation were put together by Republican State Chairman Paul Haerle, eagerly responding to a White House request. Haerle is on poor terms with Reagan's political aides and might well back the President in a Ford-Reagan confrontation.

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found that there's been a sufficient focus on the problems of big cities?

A. It is an amorphous issue. I mean, if you want a direct answer. The real issue is jobs, J-O-B-S and everything related to it.

The Environment

Q. Senator, on a couple of environmental things: What about the Concorde?

A. I oppose the landing of the Concorde at J.F.K. It should go through a trial process in the open areas. Dulles, in the state of Virginia, has passed a law approving it, and that's where it ought to go.

Q. How about offshore oil drilling? A. I have passed the legislation in the Senate, pending in the House, which I think resolves the problem. We have the full support of the governors of the adjoining states. Fundamentally, we address ourselves to the environmental problem by giving the Government authority in areas that are identified geologically as practical.

Taxes

Q. Do you have a tax reform package?

A. It's become a code word in which a lot of rhetoric flows in every direction. If you're for tax reform you're for God, home and country. There are some fundamental reforms that should take place and that is, specifically, we must stop this business in which the international oil companies have a tax incentive to go abroad to drill.

Now, in my judgment the most unfair tax in the country—the one I hear about the most—is a non-Federal tax, but it is federally related, and it is the tax on the individual home owner. The real property tax.

Q. What do you do about it?

A. Two things. Taking over welfare and the movement of the Federal share of education costs from 7 percent to 33 1/3 percent.

New York City

Q. Do you consider yourself the candidate most sympathetic to New York City and other cities?

A. On my record, nothing else—forget talk—on my record, I am the candidate by performance, and I'll stand on the Congressional Record. Over the years I have provided more sympathetic consideration and help to the cities and the urban areas than any of the candidates. And I'll stand on that record. It's not talk.

When all of the politicians were running for cover because this was a convenient target, a nice whipping boy, a scapegoat, and they were all denouncing New York, I stood up and defended New York. I think that's a fair test.

And prior to that, for over 30 years I have supported the legislation whether it's housing, mass and rapid transit, I have supported the urban areas.

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Excerpts From Jackson Interview on Urban Issues

Following are excerpts from Senator Henry M. Jackson's interview on urban concerns at The New York Times.

Fiscal Crisis

Q. Do you find that New York is atypical or a harbinger of what's going to happen elsewhere?

A. It's a harbinger. Other cities are already in trouble. Therefore, a condition precedent to any sensible discussion about New York or any of the cities relates to a realignment of duties and responsibilities between the cities, states, county and local government and the Federal Government.

Functions now being performed by the cities are substantially Federal obligations—welfare education, Medicaid, and so on.

Welfare

Q. You're proposing a federalization of welfare?

A. Yes. The Federal Government would assume the full responsibility for the cost of welfare, including the health programs.

Q. Would it be a national standard?

A. It would have to be locally administered, with a yardstick based on the cost of living by region. You couldn't have a welfare budget in New York that was based on a welfare budget for Biloxi, Miss.

Q. Can you push meaningful welfare reform through Congress?

A. Yes. But I think you do it in steps. You can't take one big package—I talk now as a pragmatist.

I think the first thing that you have to do is to do what I said at the outset: take over welfare, step by step. Do it over a three to four year period. And I would do it out of the earnings you heard me before—on full employment, because that's where you get the revenue. People go back to work.

And the key thread running through it would be a program in which the incentive would be to work. The problem today, and what's tearing this country apart—I run into it wherever I go—is: Why should I keep on working—I've got five kids—they're down the street—not working, getting welfare, and I'm only earning a little bit more, and all of his income is tax exempt.

It involves a lot more. I

from Norway, and I used to hear the stories about widowed mothers running a boarding house, putting the kids through school. And some of the greatest people in this country came out of that niche. It's the work ethic. It's family building and I'm very strong on programs that will help to strengthen family life.

City Finances

Q. When the fiscal (New York) crisis began to develop, President Ford described Federal loans as simply a bottomless pit. Did you share — would you share that view?

A. Well, you may recall that I was the first to speak out in behalf of New York and the Governor and the Mayor will confirm that and it's in print. I came down and helped set up the meetings with the leadership of the House and Senate. I recognized two problems: one is that there had to be changes in fiscal policy and the cost — the way in which government is being administered. Some things got out of control. What I'm talking about—pension funds.

But I was the first to point out, of the politicians, that we cannot allow New York to default because I quickly got the figures on what would happen in this country financially if there was a default on municipal bonds—and economics is one of my little hobbies on the side.

And I found that there were over 500 banks in the United States that had over 25 percent of their capital in municipal bonds from New York and it was obvious to me that if New York should default it could lead to a financial panic. And it was also obvious to me that New York is not only the financial center of the United States but New York is also the financial center of the free nations of the world. And that the psychological impact, let alone the direct monetary impact, would be so catastrophic coming at times when we were already mired down in a deep depression-recession—that was all we needed—which was financial panic.

Q. Well, Senator, the pension and so forth had been negotiated. After all Do you think that the unions have gotten too powerful, hat the government was simply mismanaged?

A. No, I'm not—it's obvious that cost got out of control and that the largest part of the cost, however, relate to areas that are really areas of responsibility—

in the city of New York I found that two-thirds of all the people drawing welfare, receiving welfare in this city were not born in this city or this state — two-thirds, over two-thirds.

Q. Do you favor some sort of federally-organized municipal credit system?

A. Yes, sir. What we did was to put together a bill called the Fair Financing for Local Government Act of 1975, and it provided for Federal municipal bond insurance, patterned after the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

More Jobs in Area

Q. Could we talk about jobs? What specific Federal programs would you propose to help this region?

Well, we are currently spending, Federal and state, on direct costs \$75 billion to support people who are out of work. That's state and Federal—\$75 billion.

It's obvious that we have to break this cycle because the heavy debt that we're incurring is feeding inflation. It's printing press money. . . . to support these people.

Therefore, there are two basic moves that I would make. I would move on a public works program with initial investment of about \$20 billion, which would embrace many areas, but specifically schools, hospitals, water quality treatment plants. We're \$60 billion behind building the sewage disposal plants that we need. Rebuilding the railroad beds is another must. I'd have the Federal Government take over the ownership of the railroad beds and rebuild those railroad beds and lease them back. Now, that's the only sensible thing to do because we've been fooling around with such cases as Penn Central and they don't meet their obligations and we're kidding ourselves. It's better that we go that route.

Concurrent with that emergency effort, I'd re-establish and I'd introduce the bill, a civilian conservation and environmental corps, to be patterned after the Roosevelt C.C.C.

Concurrent with the public works program would be a long-term investment program in the field of energy. The objective would be to make this country self-sufficient.

We would move on the large scale to convert coal and oil shale to oil and to develop our geothermal.

In the infinite area, I would give the top priority to solar energy and to fusion and hydrogen.

it puts millions of people to work, reaching every part of our economy because it involves research and development. It has the ripple effect.

Now in the ~~very~~ area, I'm talking about the creation of new companies. I'm talking about joint ventures on the part of government and industry. I'm talking about guaranteed loans which the House rejected.

When you build a huge plant—when we built Grand Coulee Dam, after all we started getting income from that. When you build a coal gasification plant, you get revenue back.

Now, the \$64 question, and we've gone into this in great detail, and I've talked to investment bankers right here in the city: How do you generate enough capital to do what you need to do in the next 15 years to provide, in effect, investment totaling \$2 trillion?

That can only be done with the help and cooperation of the Federal Government.

The Region

Q. Do you feel that certain regions have fared better than others under Federal policies?

A. Yes. I think New York City, to be specific, pays out roughly \$16 billion in revenue and gets back about 8. You can use the power and persuasion of the Presidency to recognize that the cities have been gypped.

Q. Senator, in the course of campaigning, have you

①

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By **CARL ROWAN:**

Jackson takes wild punch at busing

Over the years Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) has had a pretty good voting record on civil rights legislation. That is why it is so painful to see him gamble away his chances of becoming president by following bad advice on the issue of school busing.

Perhaps Jackson sensed that his campaign already had bogged down and that he desperately needed a massive dose of media exposure. I can think of no other logical explanation for his recent announcement that he is going to introduce legislation that would greatly restrict the power of federal judges to order school busing.

It is hard to believe that some black advisers did not warn Jackson the reaction would be swift and angry across black America, losing him far more convention delegate votes than he will ever woo away from the Wallace wing of the party.

Vernon E. Jordan Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, wired Jackson: "At a time when the

nation needs its leadership to speak out in support of the constitutional rights of black children you have chosen to pour oil on the flames of controversy by encouraging anti-busing movements whose ultimate aim is restoration of segregated schools. This is reminiscent of the Nixon policy of putting politics before principle."

Reaction in the black media was no milder. "We've had the nagging suspicion for some time that (Jackson) didn't have the stability to be trusted with the presidency," said the "Afro-American" newspapers. "Jackson has emphasized his inadequacies by getting down into the gutter with the anti-busing rabblers in an effort to give a boost to his feeble campaign."

Part of the new disenchantment with Jackson flows from a feeling that he is trying to play the public — blacks, especially — for fools. For example, he asserts that he will introduce his legislation to "end the school busing controversy" so the nation can focus on educating children. It is



inconceivable that Jackson really believes he can "end" the busing controversy by introducing utterly controversial anti-busing legislation.

It is far more likely Jackson concluded that the greater the public passions over busing he can provoke, the likelier he is to win primary votes with his anti-busing stance.

Aside from dark suspicions about Jackson's motives, much of his proposal is bereft of logic. He wants to deny individual federal judges the authority to extend school busing plans, requiring special three-judge courts for busing cases. With court dockets already clogged and running years behind, this is a practical ab-

surdity. But the implication is that three-judge panels would give a fairer look at evidence than a single judge.

The fact is that every important busing case has gone on to a court of appeals or the Supreme Court for multiple-judge consideration. So Jackson's proposal amounts to nothing more than a slur on those judges, like Arthur Garrity in Boston, who have had the guts to try to break up deliberate patterns of segregation.

Jackson also wants a law requiring courts to determine the effects busing would have on "the quality of education." One of the principal things Jackson wants judges to consider is how many whites will flee the school system if busing is ordered.

The sad thing is that Jackson didn't have to crawl out on this limb, where he looks like a demagogue compared with former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter who says simply that he is going to enforce the laws on busing whether he personally likes them or not.

Bill Anderson:

Seattle Times Sun. 8/31/75 p. A13

Jackson scores in Wallace country

COLUMBIA, Md. — (Chicago Tribune Service)—In this modernistic, all new, all planned city a private meeting that took place early Sunday in a posh home illustrated that the 1976 presidential campaign finally is taking form.

Farther away, in the Maryland "Wallace Country" of 1972, some of the first substance of the race showed up in a clubhouse where the rank and file of the Democratic Party gathered.

In general, it was a typical day in the "plug along" campaign of Senator Henry M. Jackson, the Washington Democrat trying to translate his back-home popularity to the national scene.

THE PUBLIC part of the day was pure textbook presidential campaigning, a well-staffed and well-planned operation (contrasting Jackson's 1972 effort) touching all the state's news media — plus most elements of the party.

The private affairs probably did even more to raise Jackson's stock. For example, his early first stop was at the home of James W. Rouse, the super-rich man behind the Columbia city development.

In 1972 Rouse was one of the many wealthy people actively plugging the presidential campaign of Democratic Senator George S. McGovern. Rouse was then and remains deeply dedicated to a variety of liberal causes not generally accepted in the political mainstream.

ALTHOUGH Rouse barred reporters from the breakfast, one participant of the 15 in attendance said it was a "miracle" the meeting took place. Rouse tried to make the point that the defense budget should be dramatically cut (as McGovern suggested in 1972), but received no pledges from Jackson.

This meeting ended with

no commitment from Rouse to support Jackson, but clearly the senator had made points with other liberals there. Our informants said Jackson did even better at the second closed session — this one with old-line Democrats deep in state politics.

This session was chaired by John Luetkemeyer, a leading banker with wide national contacts. The bluebloods of the party gave Jackson warm applause after he sketched the outlines of his campaign.

Considered even more significant was the fact that Theodore G. Venetoulis, the newly elected, 40-year-old Baltimore County executive, went out of his way to greet Jackson twice during the day. Venetoulis upset the regular party machinery in the primary — and may well be on his way to the governor's office.

ALTHOUGH NOT a public endorser of Jackson, Ve-

netoulis has been cooperating with the senator's organization by lending it his impressive list of young volunteers.

Later Jackson so stirred Democrats in "Wallace Country" that Harry Pollock, president of the Lakeshore Democratic club, told the beer-drinking membership at a crab feast: "I hope that when he comes back he is President."

Jackson amazed some of his new staff aides by kissing a woman nearing her 100th birthday and later hugging children at a neighborhood reception.

POSTSCRIPT: Equally amazing — and far more significant — was that a few days ago in Bal Harbour, Fla., George Meany, president of the A. F. L.-C. I. O., went out of his way to greet Jackson — and then warmly applauded a speech by the senator. It has been years since Meany has liked a President or a candidate for the White House.

Bill Anderson

CHICAGO TRIBUNE NOV 13

Jackson gets set to go all out for New York delegates

NEW YORK—The long-smoldering presidential campaign of Sen. Henry M. Jackson [D., Wash.] is expected to light up here next week.

Plans were virtually completed in a private meeting at the St. Moritz Hotel between Jackson and his top aides this week to file, a full, statewide slate of delegates.

Many political observers had expected Jackson to skip the state or simply to concentrate on delegates in the immediate area in which he has obviously strong Jewish support.

What happened this week, however, is a signal that the Jackson organization effort has made far greater strides in a low-profile buildup than the observers had expected.

Some leading commentators and the New York Times had speculated that the senator would duck a head-on test in the state.

The staff work has proceeded at such a pace that it is now even possible Jackson will make the same kind of plunge into Massachusetts. In a weekend swing through Kennedy-land, Jackson received heavy endorsements from labor chiefs and in the Greek and Italian communities.

At one Boston organizational meeting,

Jackson told a group of volunteers, "I am determined to put together a real organization." He already has a cadre of professionals led by a former key lieutenant of Mayor Kevin White, Bill Ezekiel.

The 26-year-old Ezekiel has laced together a network of ethnic political leaders in a fashion similar to that of the organization of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy [D., Mass.].

So far this effort has been done on a bare-bones budget, apparently because most of the campaign funding has gone into New York. Here in Manhattan, the Jackson organization is branching out from a finance office to a larger regional headquarters.

Jackson was filled in on the details in the Monday meeting by Robert Keefe, campaign manager; Terry O'Connell, regional coordinator; Allen Clobridge, a political management expert from Michigan; and Diane Elliot, a coordinator.

Some volunteers from Jackson's 1972 campaign were also on hand; the team can dip from the deep well of nonprofessionals available to the senator in the New York metropolitan area.

The thrust of the private meeting, we learned, was to move ahead with the complicated procedures of obtaining per-

missions to slate Jackson delegates in all New York congressional districts. The primary here on April 6 is the sixth public election for nominees. The results will send 274 delegates to the convention.

DUNAGIN'S PEOPLE



"I intend to prove my client was tricked into believing there was a policemen's strike when he robbed that store!"

The anticipated announcement next week may well alter the favorite son plans of Gov. Hugh Carey, who is deeply involved in financial rescue efforts, for the city and state. Political speculators think two-thirds of the Jewish voters [a near majority here] will support Jackson over Carey.

So far, the New York game plan has seen Jackson chipping away at the already unpopular President Ford while avoiding direct attacks on his Democrat Party opponents. Meanwhile, the angry vocal feud between Sen. Birch Bayh [D., Ind.] and Rep. Morris [Mo] Udall [D., Ariz.] seems to be seriously dividing their support.

The remainder of Jackson's early primary strategy isn't so clear. The senator has told supporters he thinks the first race Feb. 24 in New Hampshire, a historical political graveyard for front-runners, looks like a strictly Republican show.

Yet Jackson hasn't flatly declared himself out of New Hampshire. In fact, his supporters are encouraging him to wage an active campaign there. Their reason: A new poll shows him leading the Democratic party pack—followed by Sargent Shriver of Maryland.

for

favored-nation trading status to the Soviets, Jackson stepped into the picture. He proposed an amendment to the Administration's new trade legislation that would preclude bestowing any trade benefits or credit and investment guarantees on any country that placed restrictions on emigration. By last week, when he formally introduced the amendment in the Senate, Jackson had gathered no fewer than 73 senators to his side along with 260 congressmen—more than enough to get his way.

The White House was not without allies. Arguing that the Jackson amendment would create serious problems for many American farmers, Sen. William Saxbe withdrew his initial support for the measure. "If the Zionist Jews believe that we are going to fight to the last drop of the farmer's blood," said Saxbe, "then I'm not going to be part of it." But the small farm bloc was hardly enough to resist Jackson's power play, and the Administration last week decided that the time had come to launch some counter-maneuvers. In addition to Shultz's mission to Moscow—which included a three-hour meeting with Soviet party boss Leonid Brezhnev—negotiator par excellence Henry Kissinger invited Jackson to his Rock Creek Park home for dinner to talk over prospects for compromise.

Hard-line: Neither the Kissinger-Jackson tête-à-tête nor the Shultz-Brezhnev meeting produced any immediate settlement. Congressional supporters of the Jackson amendment stuck to their guns and, for public consumption at least, Moscow was taking an equally hard-line stance. "Trade is very important to us," said one Russian official, "but even if we lose economic benefits, a great country like the Soviet Union is not going to let the United States dictate what our internal policies should be." Still, there seemed to be cause for guarded optimism. American officials insisted that Shultz had made "substantial progress" on the emigration question. Calling his talks with Brezhnev "very warm and forthcoming," Shultz himself maintained: "There is both the spirit to try to solve the problems and the willingness to tackle them in very real terms."

Shultz and the White House were counting on Moscow's genuinely pressing economic needs to cause the Soviets to give quietly on the emigration tax. With a vote on the trade bill unlikely for months, there was ample time for Moscow to finesse the émigré issue without appearing to buckle under U.S. pressure. Some observers expected the Kremlin simply to ignore its own law and allow the vast majority of Jews to leave without paying heavy taxes. But though both sides seemed determined to keep the issue from poisoning their rapprochement, the potential for collision remained. Moscow would find it next to impossible to pursue cultural and political cooperation if it lost the promise of expanded trade. And that could quickly chill the nascent Soviet-American détente.

SOVIET UNION:

Attacking the Tax

Everyone miscalculated. In the White House and the Kremlin the prediction was the same: the Congressional uprising over Moscow's treatment of Soviet Jews would fade away once the U.S. Presidential election was over. But the forecasters had not counted on the tenacity of Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington. Last week, "Scoop" Jackson served notice that the issue was very much alive. He reopened his drive to withhold trade privileges from the Soviet Union until Moscow drops the "education" tax on would-be Jewish émigrés. And the Congressional force Jackson mustered was so formidable that the Nixon Administration dispatched Treasury Secretary George Shultz on a hurried mission to Moscow to talk about trade and the émigrés—and to try to head off a collision that might derail Mr. Nixon's carefully nurtured rapprochement with the Soviet Union.

For the Soviets, a wholesale increase in trade with the U.S. is a primary *raison d'être* for détente. Due to crop failures and a generally sluggish economy, Moscow is eagerly seeking to buy American farm products and import Western technology. But when the Russo-American trade agreement was in its final stages of preparation last fall, with the Administration seeking to grant most-

'Fish-or-Cut-Bait' Approach Offered

SALT Talks Stalled, Jackson Says

By Murrey Marder

Washington Post Staff Writer

American-Soviet nuclear arms talks are stalled in deadlock, Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) said yesterday as he proposed cutting the strategic forces of both sides "by about one-third" to break the impasse.

Jackson's proposal, in a Senate speech, was calculated to rally support inside and outside the Nixon administration for what an associate described as a "fish-or-cut-bait approach" to the secret U.S.-Soviet Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT).

The senator, who carries considerable weight in U.S. nuclear weapons strategy, has been pushing from all directions for stronger demands to make the Soviet Union match its talk of detente with tangible actions. The Nixon administration, other sources confirmed, is facing a critical decision on its next move in the recessed SALT talks, which have been subordinated to preoccupation with the Middle East crisis.

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, the key U.S. strategist on SALT and the Middle East, reportedly will convene a meeting of the administration's nuclear planners this week before he departs for another lengthy trip to Europe and the Middle East.

Jackson said that a few weeks ago in the Geneva negotiations on SALT the Soviet



SEN. HENRY M. JACKSON

... sees deadlock

Union presented what he called a proposed draft treaty "which is so one-sided as to be completely unacceptable to the United States." The Soviet offer, he said, was "a step backwards" for reaching a stable nuclear arms balance. "With this unfortunate step in the wrong direction," he said, "the SALT talks have reached an impasse."

Administration officials, using milder language, also describe the Soviet proposal as unacceptable. The United States and the Soviet Union, these officials said, now must develop a new joint approach to the negotiations, as a result of technological breakthroughs on the Soviet side,

especially in the development of multiple, independently targeted reentry vehicles (MIRVs) to match American multiple warheads.

The Soviet Union, Jackson said, also has "developed a mobile, land-based intercontinental ballistic missile" as well as four entirely new ICBMs. As a result, he said, the temporary numerical disadvantage that the United States accepted in SALT I of 1,054 ICBMs to 1,618 for the Soviet side now threatens even greater imbalance.

Jackson yesterday proposed a total of 1,760 intercontinental strategic launchers for each side, land, sea and air-launched. He suggested a ceiling of 800 ICBMs for each (which would cut the existing Soviet ceiling in half on a straight numerical basis); 560 submarine-launched missiles for each side (compared with 710 launch tubes for the U.S. and 950 for the Soviets in the present, temporary 5-year freeze); and 400 long-range strategic bombers for each side (about the present U.S. figure, approximately twice the current Soviet level).

Because the "throw weight" of the Soviet missile force is considerably greater, under the Jackson proposal a formula would be negotiated "for varying these basic numbers so as to bring the throw weight of the two intercontinental strategic forces into approximate equality."

Jackson called his approach,

which he has been building up to in recent speeches, "a radical departure" to save "billions of dollars" in the nuclear arms race. Some skeptics, however, saw it as a plan conceived to enable supporters to reject anything short of it as unacceptable. Jackson acknowledged that the Soviet military "has been unreceptive" to such proposals in the past, and he noted that some U.S. military strategists also oppose such extensive reductions in strategic forces.

A Jackson aide said, "This was not in any way coordinated with the administration." A State Department spokesman would say only that "We will be studying this suggestion carefully."

Administration officials acknowledged that the official U.S. approach to cutting arms stockpiles has been geared to a considerably more cautious pace than Jackson projected. Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger said Friday that the United States favors "a downward adjustment" in arms levels, but wants to be "prepared to move ahead" with new types of nuclear weapons as "options" to match the Soviets, if negotiations fail.

Arms control advocates yesterday generally welcomed the interest expressed by Jackson in arms reduction, with some qualifications.

"We are all very pleased that he is coming out for reduction," said Jeremy J. Stone, director of the Federation of Atomic Scientists. "The big money is in putting in a new generation of weapons every five years."

Thomas A. Halsted, executive director of the Arms Control Association, agreed, but said he hopes that Jackson also would endorse "rigid qualitative controls" on weapons, which, if left unlimited, could make quantitative reductions "almost valueless."

Yet the realities of American politics are such that Jewish support is bound to be an asset in any future presidential aspirations of the senator. He is now in a position to cash in on years of support of Jewish and Israeli causes.

In the last two presidential elections, Jews have donated more than half the contributions over \$10,000 to Democratic contenders.

It is the feeling of Jewish leaders that Jewish money will pour in generous amounts to Jackson, if he decides to make the presidential race in 1976.

"Scoop has cultivated us. He sees us socially, he talks to us and he explains things to us. . . There is no doubt in my mind that of the Jewish contributing community he is in the lead," said a long-time influential backer of Sen. Humphrey.

Myer Feldman, a Washington lawyer who was an adviser to Sen. George McGovern (D-S. Dak) in 1972 says:

"There is no doubt that Sen. Jackson would rank at the top, although you have to understand that the community is not monolithic. There are the radicals who have a very different point of view from the senator. But the two thirds who only go to the synagogue for Yom Kippur and who are in the middle of the road, that group would consider Jackson their voice. Javits is a Republican. Senator Ribicoff is not positioned to take the leadership. Jackson is not one of them, but he can speak for them."

Yet some of those who have followed Jackson's rise believe that the Jewish issue is only peripheral to the broader contours of Jacksonian foreign policy.

The central, unifying element is an abiding suspicion of the motives and ambitions of the Soviet Union.

Seen in this perspective, his support of Israel against Soviet-armed Arabs, his skepticism about detente, his conviction that the

United States accepted disadvantages in the first phase of the strategic arms limitation talks, Jackson's positions are consistent.

"When you come right down to it, Scoop is afraid of detente at heart. He feels it is a will-o-the-wisp, which will result in our letting our guard down. He feels that Soviet intentions are inherently aggressive and that detente will weaken our resolve and ultimately weaken the cohesiveness of our society," said a Senate source.

His views have led to suggestions that Jackson is the handmaiden of the military-industrial establishment.

Jackson scoffs at this. Just as the memory of Buchenwald provides an emotional underpinning for his hard-boiled attitudes on Israel, so, he says, does his Norwegian heritage provide a plausible explanation for his distaste for the Soviet Union.

His mother was born north of the Arctic Circle, and moved to the United States before he was born. But Jackson still sometimes refers to Norway as his "second country." Many of his attitudes were molded by his admiration for Norway, he says: He attributes to this Northern heritage his fundamentalist belief in individual liberty, an "Atlantic" perspective, self-reliance and a deep distrust of totalitarian systems.

Jackson's intelligence-gathering network at the Defense Department and in the intelligence community often provides him with authoritative-sounding data and arguments that his Senate colleagues find hard to rebut.

But his critics also claim that he is sometimes wrong, if not in the figures he uses, then at least in the conclusions he draws from them.

During a September debate on the 1974 Defense Appropriations Act in the Senate, Jackson contended that "the post Salt-I Soviet strategic programs represent a startling increase in Soviet strategic power."

He pointed to the fact that the Russians had developed a genuine capability to mount "MIRVs" (multiple and independently targeted reentry vehicles), had tested

a new seaborne ballistic missile, built four new intercontinental missiles that might be prototypes of new mobile rockets and had poured huge amounts of money into research.

"Of all the contradictions on detente, this is surely among the most dramatic," he said.

To many of his Senate colleagues, and to the general public, the argument sounded impressive.

But some experts responded irritably to the declaration that there was nothing surprising—or particularly menacing—in any of the revelations of the senator.

Lawrence D. Weiler, a former member of the U.S. SALT delegation who is now with the Stanford University Arms Control and Disarmament Group, said, "SALT allowed us to do these things, too. We were allowed an advantage in MIRVs, they were allowed their current advantage in the number of launchers and in the throw capacity. All this means is that at the end of five years, they'll have a MIRV force and we'll have more launchers, either Posidon or Trident (submarines). We're improving our accuracy, too."

"Jackson says he is worried about the Soviets," said another former member of the SALT team. "But, hell, we didn't exactly approach the Soviets as if they were nice guys."

One aftermath of Jackson's 1972 hearings on the SALT agreement was that most of the delegation was purged by the administration.

Jackson denies direct responsibility, but an aide said that the hearings were indirectly responsible, "because, they convinced the President that he had not been well-advised. . . our people weren't for getting rid of people, but for getting people on the next SALT delegation who were competent in the field."

Another aftermath of the SALT debate was that Jackson threw his support behind an accelerated development of Trident. Administration officials who had been told privately that the Trident bases would be on the Atlantic Coast were informed that they would be in Bangor, Wash.

"It was a plum for Scoop Jackson," claimed one former high-ranking official of the Kennedy and Johnson administration. "He claimed that the Pacific bases might put Trident out of range of some Soviet targets."

Controversial as Jackson's foreign policy views are to some, even his critics concede that he has provided a platform for serious debate about detente — something that was lacking during the first euphoric months of the Moscow-Washington relationship.

Jackson has made a persuasive argument for examining more closely plans to give the Soviets huge credits and concessions.

Speaking on the subject "Detente and Human Rights" recently, Jackson said that "the most abundant source of help for the Soviet economy should come not from the United States but through a reordering of Soviet priorities away from the military into the civilian sector. . ."

Views like that have made Jackson anathema to Communist officials. A leading Soviet editor described him as "the most formidable enemy of our country," and a Soviet journalist said bluntly, "Jackson is killing us with his pressure for us to change our system inside."

Jackson answers by saying that history would never forgive the United States for failing to try to force internal changes on the Soviets, and he has support for his views from Soviets themselves, such as physicist Andrei Sakharov.

In the U.S. foreign policy establishment, Jackson is taken seriously. But only time will tell whether he is swimming with the tide of history, or against it.

If detente collapses, the result would be an upturn in officially sanctioned anti-Semitism in Soviet Union. Jewish emigration might be halted altogether, and the U.S. and the Soviets might confront each other again in Berlin and elsewhere in a much more dangerous world.

If that happened it is not clear whether the American people would turn to Jackson as a new "man with a sword," or would turn away from a man whose own prophecies are, at least to some degree, self-fulfilling.

Jackson Emerges as Leader of Foreign Policy Opposition

By Dan Morgan

Washington Post Staff Writer

For years, Sen. Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson has been the distant drummer on the American political scene. With the Soviet Union's encouragement of the Arabs and the resupply of their forces, his drummer's beat has grown louder, more insistent.

To the 61-year-old Democrat from the State of Washington, that war was a prophesy come true, and the bitter fruit of warnings long ignored.

It was also an implicit call to Americans to heed his overview of the forces that operate in a dangerous world. That overview is basically, intrinsically different from the "conventional wisdom" about Soviet intentions.

In a day when it is popular to speak of a changing, maturing Soviet Union, Jackson insists that the Kremlin is imperialistic as ever. In the Middle East crisis, he sees the hand of Russian imperialistic designs going back to Catherine the Great, rather than the actions of irrational Arab nationalists.

While many of his fellow liberals in the Senate are contorted in what a Jackson aide calls "a paroxysm of anti-militarism," the Washington Democrat presses for accelerated development of the Trident nuclear submarine and numerical equality with the Russians in the number and missile weight capacity of launchers for intercontinental rockets.

In an era of detente, Jackson remains skeptical, pointing to "stepped up repression" in the Soviet Union since President Nixon's visit to Moscow in 1971; to Czechoslovakia as a "symbol of tyranny and the hobnailed boot;" and to the difficulties of negotiating with a country "that has to look up the meaning of the word freedom in a dictionary."

At a secret Senate debate on the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system in 1969, Jackson said the Soviets had broken a "voluntary" nuclear test ban moratorium by setting off a 60-megaton hydrogen bomb in 1961.

"We are not dealing with an adversary that plays under normal rules," he warned.

On other occasions, he is said to have compared Russian foreign policy with a burglar who walks down a hotel corridor, trying every door. While many American liberals feel that it was the United States that acted rashly in the last decade, Jackson, almost the last Senate Democrat to support U.S. involvement in Vietnam, insists that American actions never threatened the Soviet Union.

In the last year, the pieces have fallen into place in Jackson's foreign policy mosaic with an almost uncanny regularity. The U.S.-Soviet grain deal, with its disclosures about preferential prices to the Russians, Soviet resupply of Egypt and Syria, Soviet harassment of Soviet intellectuals and Soviet restrictions on Jewish emigration—all these events have dissolved much of the detente euphoria that existed in 1971 and 1972.

"Passions are involved," said an official of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York recently. "People are suddenly asking if we haven't overemphasized the benefits of detente. This issue is really taking hold in liberal circles."

The beneficiary of this swing away from an unquestioning acceptance of detente has been Jackson. He is now the unquestioned leader of the foreign policy opposition. At the same time, he has emerged as the main Senate spokesman for the Israeli cause.

Only hours after the start of the new war, Jackson had thrown himself into the thick of the battle in Washington to get behind Israel, prodding the administration behind the scenes into resupplying the forces of that country. Publicly, he called for a "decisive" Israeli victory, and introduced legislation to make the United States independent of Arab oil supplies. Sen. Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.), and other Senate liberals quickly fell into line against Arab "blackmail."

While U.S. statesmen were using the ambiguous, guarded language of diplomacy to try to nurse their detente policies through the perilous Middle East situation, Jackson was squarely placing the blame for the conflict on Russian imperialism.

That Jackson with a record on Vietnam and on defense spending that offends many Jewish liberals, could emerge as the dominant spokesman in this regard is testimony to the diverse appeal of a man who must now be counted as a major political force.

A single episode that occurred on a warm June evening in Washington illustrated this appeal.

About 75 prominent Jewish leaders of the Washington community had gathered at the Watergate apartment of businessman Sanford Greenberg and his wife, for a fund raising and award-giving event on behalf of the American Jewish Committee. Those present included men such as Max Kampelman (a long-time supporter of Sen. Hubert Humphrey), Abe Krash, Milton King, David Kreeger and many others.

The guest speaker was Jackson. He expressed his strong support for Israel and sympathy for the long struggle of Jews for liberty and survival. According to Greenberg, "it was a profound statement; he made the point that we had no choice but to fight force with force."

According to another guest, "I literally saw tears in peoples' eyes. After he had left, people couldn't stop talking about the impact of this little speech. A few people said he would make a fine President of the United States."

Jackson's capture of Jewish support has been a case study in his skill at outmaneuvering his fellow liberals on foreign policy questions. The vehicle for it has been his amendment making U.S. credits and trade concessions to the Russians contingent on a relaxation of Moscow's emigration restrictions on Jews and other minorities.

The cue for Jackson's move was a Soviet announcement in the summer of 1972 that it would require Jews to pay a stiff tax before they would be issued emigration visas.

Jackson's credentials as a strong supporter of Israel, and a friend of Jewish organizations, long predated that event three years ago, he defeated the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Sen. J.W. Fulbright, winning an open-ended appropriation of arms credits to Israel. In December, 1970, he submitted a detailed report to the Senate Armed Services Committee which warned that newly introduced Soviet missiles on the west bank of the Suez Canal made Israeli forces on the opposite side vulnerable to an attack, the report practically wrote the scenario for what would finally happen in October, 1973.

Jackson's amendment on trade with the Soviet Union enabled him to take the lead away from moderates and liberals, who were reluctant to put "teeth" into the trade measure.

Lobbying hard behind the scenes, he forced moderates such as Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.), who were reluctant to hamstring the administration in its negotiations with the Russians, to support the amendment or face the ire of Jewish organizations.

Initially, the amendment's support among Jews was limited—surprisingly so.

"It was the first time that the community had to be lobbied on a Jewish issue," said a Jewish editor. Jackson attended meetings at B'nai B'rith and elsewhere rallying support for the tough measure.

The strategy paid off.

Today, Jews describe Jackson as an "Adele Gossens"—a "noble Christian," a Yiddish appellation for non-Jew who supports Jews out of lofty rather than self-serving motives.

Few doubt his sincerity. Jackson sounds convinced when he talks about the profound impact that a 1941 visit to the Buchenwald concentration camp as a young congressman had upon his

Jackson South Times 8/4/75
Jackson takes aim at Helsinki treaty

BOSTON — (AP) — The Helsinki treaty will ensure those East European nations involved will be "forever enslaved under the hobnail boot of the Soviet Union," says Senator Henry M. Jackson.

Jackson, a Democratic presidential hopeful, was in Boston yesterday during what he called a six-state "political reconnaissance" mission.

Jackson called the Helsinki treaty "a great psychological victory for the Russians" and a sad day for the East European nations whose postwar borders it recognizes.

The senator also criticized the American sale to Russia, saying it had testified "cently as last Friday" the nation's grain had weather between and mid-August. It lead to a 10 per cent increase in the cost of wheat, he said.

Detente, he said, term that's being around as a cover for thing." He added the administration should a greater effort to "teinte a two-way str

"No one ever a the Russians will Jackson said. "I want they won't

Helsinki agreement and Rockefeller

Jackson, other critics keep sniping at Ford

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

Washington

President Ford may be taking some uneasy glances back home as his critics here continue to snipe at him on various fronts.

• Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D) of Washington state and a presidential candidate, blasts the President's signing of the Helsinki agreement, asking "why would he ratify the conduct of the Soviets in placing their hobnail boot over this vast area?"

Talking to a breakfast group of reporters, the Senator charged that while the President was giving respectability to the Soviets' land grabs, "the Russians are actively subverting the soft underbelly of NATO."

He said that the Soviets are sending millions of dollars into Portugal and Italy every week in support of this subversion.

• In Congress, the President suffered a major defeat when the House joined the Senate in overriding his veto of a \$2 billion health bill. The vote was 67 to 15 in the Senate and 348 to 43 in the House.

Thus Congress ended the President's string of veto victories, which included bills on strip mining, agriculture, housing, and public-service jobs.

• On the political front Mr. Ford's critics were jostling him hard on his move to "open" the race for the vice-presidency — charging he is just talking that way and has no thought of letting anyone other than Nelson Rockefeller have the spot.

Some are calling it "cynical politics" which, in the wake of Watergate, they say will be perceived — and deplored — by the American public — and that it could well cut into the President's credibility.

However, Senator Jackson said he doubted if the voters were very much aware of this "ploy." He said the public "just isn't interested" in the vice-presidency. He said that what people talk about these days is the economy — "particularly inflation, joblessness, and the price of gas."

• Meanwhile, the critics of Henry A. Kissinger are active here — a fact that the President — as well as his Secretary of State — must be aware.

Senator Jackson accuses the Secretary of State of being behind the President's decision to go to Helsinki. "It's Kissinger," he says. "Kissinger's problem is very simple. He's a subscriber of the decline-of-the-West theory — that the West is declining and must make concessions.

"This is what he is telling reporters in sessions he doesn't allow the

"How else can you account for President Ford [making these concessions to the Soviets] in light of his long record of support for the captive-nation group?"

In another area — trade with the Soviets — the President was picking up some congressional support for his recently disclosed interest in the possibility of bartering U.S. wheat for Soviet oil.

Sen. Mike Mansfield, Democratic majority leader, told this paper: "It's an intriguing idea. It should be explored."

At the breakfast Senator Jackson said there was some movement toward looking into the subject in Congress. He said that if the Soviets did not have the oil, "they know where to get it."

The United States feeds half the world," he added, saying it was worth exploring how much oil the Soviet Union is willing to

Jackson

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itical winds

hit-run driving. Perhaps he decided that all the name-familiarity he got out of the trial—testimony about crashing, burning cars and other details—seemed too good to pass up.

THERE WERE differing reactions to Ceccarelli's decision to run for the office.

Republicans were jubilant. A quote attributed to Republican Secretary of State Bruce Chapman: "I'm glad he's running . . .

... And not driving."

Some Democrats, already miffed at Ceccarelli, were grumbling.

Karen Marchioro, King County Democratic chairman, said that tomorrow she'll seek a formal legal opinion on whether Ceccarelli should even be on the ballot.

She and others believe that, because Ceccarelli voted for a bill which increased the salary of the secretary of state, he is ineligible to run for that office.

"I'm asking for a formal opinion," she said. "Hopefully that will solve the problem (Ceccarelli.)"

Senator Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson's presidential-campaign troops are braced for some hard shots from the left as they move forward in search of the Democratic nomination next year.

One will come next month from the magazine, "Oui." Among its nude-girl photos, its lead article will be a spooky piece of fiction by an ex-C. I. A. operative, telling how some C. I. A. operatives decide to elect the President in 1976.

They choose as the candidate "a liberal social-Democrat, an anti-Communist friendly with the military, a man of no personal wealth, a good record and a strong campaigner."

The name of the "fictional" candidate: Henry Scooperman.

JACKSON

(P91)

Seattle Times 8/3/75 p. D.1

Dixy Lee Ray tests pol.

There was a good turnout for the Friday Rotary Club meeting at Lakewood, near Tacoma. Perhaps the Rotarians wanted a glimpse of the woman who just might run for governor next year.

The luncheon speaker: Dr. Dixy Lee Ray, newly returned from Washington, D. C., after her stint as Atomic Energy Commission chairman, then assistant secretary of state.

The audience obviously found her style engaging and her grasp of science issues impressive.

Enthusiasing about Washington State, she vowed: "I expect to spend the rest of my natural existence here . . . The trouble with Washington, D. C., is that it hasn't got a mountain.

Other Ray comments:

Urging moderation and balance in industrial growth, meeting energy needs and serving the environment: "We are stewards of this planet," but trouble can come "when we try to legislate purity."

On some public fears of nuclear power plants: "With 55 operating plants in the United States . . . nobody has ever been hurt. No other technology can make that statement."

On Henry Kissinger, the person: "A very charming man . . . extremely intelligent. (But) foreign policy is too important, much too diverse, to have all that decision-making . . . in the hands of one man."

THEN A flattering, facetious question came from the male audience: Does her return here mean Dr. Ray won't be a candidate for President?

"I'm not running for President," she replied. "Or for any other public office."

Then, after a theatric pause:

"At present."

The Rotarians laughed and applauded.

Dr. Ray is getting out and around testing the climate for a possible run for the governor's office next year. At Lakewood she apparently found the climate pleasantly warm.

Gene Lux, well-known Democrat in the 35th District, appears to have the inside track to succeed William Chatalas in the State House of Representatives.

The 35th District Democrats voted Lux's name atop a three-name list which likely will be ratified by the county party, then sent to the County Council. The Council will appoint Chatalas' successor, who'll serve until after the November special election.

Other names on the 35th District list: Grace Orchard, the district chairman, and Keith Wood.

Lux also will be in a big field of candidates running in November for the remainder of Chatalas' term. By then he'll probably have the advantage of being the appointed incumbent.

Republicans have high hopes they can hang onto a House seat in the 46th District. It was vacated when Paul Kraabel resigned from the Legislature to become a city



by Richard
W. Larsen

Political writer

councilman earlier this year. Irv Greengo, a political unknown, was chosen to succeed Kraabel.

Republicans fretted about Greengo's re-electability, about possible factional fighting and, especially, about Democrat Virginia Bishop. A strong candidate, she almost defeated G. O. P. Representative Scott Blair last year.

However, Mrs. Bishop recently announced she wouldn't run again. Greengo, meanwhile, performed impressively in the Legislature. No factional fighting broke out in the G. O. P. in the district and no other Republican filed.

So in November, Greengo, looking suddenly imposing, will face the winner of a Democratic runoff between Allen Noel and Ross Rieder.

Perhaps it's the beginning of a trend in Washington State politics: Bounce from a courtroom conviction into a campaign.

Last March Steven Kendall, a member of the Auburn School Board, was convicted of contributing to the delinquency of a minor. (He pleaded guilty to providing intoxicants).

Forced to resign his school-board seat then, he filed last week for election back onto the board.

And then there's Dave Ceccarelli, the state representative from West Seattle, who filed to run for secretary of state. Ceccarelli recently was convicted of negligent and

Jackson

Seattle Times Sunday 7/27/75 p.2(A)

Democrats to probe Jackson

Conduct questioned

By BOB WIEDRICH
Chicago Tribune

Three influential House Democrats intend to publicly investigate what they consider Senator Henry Jackson's disgraceful handling of a Senate inquiry into purported wrongdoing in the federal Drug Enforcement Administration.

The unprecedented action by Democrats against one of their own party's presidential hopefuls will be conducted through an ad hoc committee composed of Representatives Charles Rangel and Lester Wolff of New York and Morgan Murphy Jr. of Illinois.

Cloned at what they view as a Southern Justice Building building

expedition, the congressmen are prepared to question the ethics and propriety of the nearly year-long probe by the Washington Democrat's permanent investigations subcommittee.

Specifically, they wish to ask Jackson and his Republican counterpart on the panel, Senator Charles Percy of Illinois, why they permitted and apparently condoned unsubstantiated, derogatory news leaks by the subcommittee staff even before public hearings were held.

Further, they seek to determine why the integrity of the Drug Enforcement Administration and its former administrator, John R. Bartels, Jr., was consistently blackened by anonymous staff sources when it

should have been obvious to the senators they lacked the evidence their staff claimed it had to blow the agency out of the water.

Finally, they plan to ask Attorney General Edward Levi why he apparently caved in to the calculated campaign of adverse publicity generated by the Jackson staff and fired Bartels with no chance to defend either himself or the agency.

Those planning the attack on Jackson's conduct of the probe are congressional authorities on the international narcotics trafficking.

All three legislators have traveled extensively on fact-finding missions for the House leadership, inspecting

virtually every major area of narcotics

and cocaine racketeering from Southeast Asia to Turkey, Europe, and Latin America.

Each has been critical of the Jackson panel's failure to prove the barrage of charges concerning charges of Drug Enforcement Administration corruption and mismanagement with which it flooded the media for months before staging public hearings that flopped.

And all have publicly charged Bartels was summarily sacked by Levi and the White House as a sacrificial lamb to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's desires not to upset Turkey during negotiations over Cyprus with concerns about renewed Turkish opium production.

Jackson: Many Pluses, Many Minuses

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON

WASHINGTON—Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson formally entered the Democratic Presidential race last week, if not as a front-runner, at least as a certifiable heavyweight.

Thirty-four years in Congress, a professional served by professionals, richly financed and richly experienced, the Senator from Washington State is a man whose record is written in laws and endless hearing transcripts, in missile systems and public forests, in the oil pipeline across Alaska and in the rules that will govern trade, or the lack of it, with the Soviet Union.

Not a household word, perhaps; but, by the standards of Washington, D.C., a substantial figure. And that points to one of his central problems. The Jackson brand of intelligence, stubbornness and occasionally bullying legislative tactics have cut him a much wider swath in the capital than in public opinion. As close as anyone to being a dominant figure in the Senate, he is still popularly associated with the Pentagon and the Vietnam war. Most Democrats know of him by now, but a Lou Harris poll late last year found only 12 per cent of the rank and file who make him their first choice for President.

He is a big man in Washington, and a reminder of other Washington heavyweights who kidded themselves that clout in the capital meant a shot at the Presidential nomination — like Lyndon Johnson in 1960, Wilbur Mills in 1972, and Scoop Jackson the last time out.

His reputation as a sorry campaigner was earned in the 1972 primaries. He banked on placing first in Florida, but his effort there is remembered not only for his third-place, 14 per cent showing but a news picture of the candidate standing on a park bench in Winter Haven, pleading nearly in vain for

the attention of passers-by. He placed fifth, with less than 8 per cent of the vote in Wisconsin. And in Ohio, a heartland state with a big ethnic and union vote that he hoped to feast on, he plodded to a fourth-place finish, just behind Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, who had taken himself out of the running a week earlier.

The Florida primary of 1972 showed the difficulty of changing his spots to broaden his base. Long a civil-rights liberal, he campaigned for George Wallace's antibusing vote with the promise of a constitutional amendment—to little avail.

The trick this year will be to build bridges to the left wing of the party that thinks of Senator Jackson as a militarist. To that end he campaigned last year for dovish Congressional candidates like Allard Lowenstein in New York and Representative Robert F. Drinan of Massachusetts. He says now he will oppose supplemental military aid to South Vietnam and hints that General Thieu's "repressive" regime is expendable. He may even vote against the B-1 bomber for his old friends in the Air Force. But these are the kinds of maneuvers that can make enemies in several camps at once.

Friends and Critics

Mr. Jackson seems to have a special problem in turning legislative alliances into mass constituencies. He was an effective conservationist before most people heard the word "ecology," and he won the Sierra Club's highest award for writing the Environmental Protection Act, but then he soured that following by writing the Alaska pipeline loophole into the same law and fighting for the supersonic transport.

For years, including 1972, he was George Meany's favorite candidate for President, but the aging labor boss has been angry with him lately for traveling to Communist China, walking out on protectionist trade legislation and making his personal peace with reformers within the Democratic party.

The American Jewish community has been stalwart and generous in support of Senator Jackson because of his passionate solidarity with Israel and with Jews in the Soviet Union. It has not seemed to upset his Jewish backers that Mr. Jackson's vocal insistence on more liberal Soviet emigration rules helped undo the trade agreement with the Russians. But a number of diners at a largely Jewish fundraiser for Mr. Jackson in Los Angeles two weeks ago sounded concerned that he has made Israel and Jewish support an uncomfortably explicit part of his campaign, and they seemed to be looking over their shoulders for company in the Jackson crusade for the White House.

A large part of the labor movement will likely join up, and what "regular" muscle there is in Democratic organizations could help him. He appears to have more support in the South than any other non-Southerner. He has, moreover, a highly regarded team of campaign helpers, including Robert J. Keefe, a resourceful veteran of organizational politics, and fundraisers Richard Kline and Morris Dees, the mail specialist.

Mr. Jackson himself will be spending most of his time in the Senate, he says, talking about "the issues that are bugging people every day." He has both a personal knack and the right committee assignments for keeping his name in the news—on energy and the economy, on foreign policy and on the work of his wide-ranging Investigations Subcommittee. If he sometimes sounds dull on the issues, he also usually sounds expert, and he can hope to demonstrate, if anyone can, "the charisma of competence."

In short, he has some formidable advantages and no one doubts that he is a formidable man. But the test of whether he is a formidable candidate is still more than a year away, in the primaries.

Christopher Lydon is a Washington correspondent of The New York Times.

Jackson

Thursday, May 29, 1975 THE WASHINGTON POST

Jackson Bids U.S. to Support Black Africans

Reuter

NEW YORK, May 28 — Senator Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash) suggested today that America actively support efforts of black Africans to end apartheid in South Africa.

He also said the United States should support current international efforts to end

white minority rule in Rhodesia.

Jackson, a leading contender for the Democratic presidential nomination next year, was the principal speaker at a dinner sponsored by the Pan-African Business Center here.

Calling for a major reassessment of American policy towards Africa, the senator said:

"Too often, American policy toward Africa has been not to lend a hand in assistance . . . All too often it has been to show the back of the hand in pushing aside African affairs.

"In South Africa," he said, "the United States cannot be neutral in a struggle for racial justice and political liberty.

"We must give full support to the efforts now under way to bring about real changes in South African racial policies," the senator declared. "These efforts have shown a sensible and moderate attitude toward the South African problem, but Africans will not — and America must not — accept words instead of deeds."

Victor Zorza

Sen. Jackson's New Offensive

The new offensive against Moscow now being prepared by Sen. Henry Jackson's staff could prove to be even more damaging than the attempt to make the Kremlin release its Jews in exchange for trade benefits. But the question is who will be damaged the most—the Kremlin, Sen. Jackson and his presidential ambitions, or the Ford administration and its foreign policy.

The Senate Investigations Subcommittee, of which Sen. Jackson is chairman, is to launch soon a series of hearings which could play havoc with the expected sales of U.S. technology to the Soviet Union. The Senate investigators have uncovered a number of "horrors" which, according to Sen. Jackson's aides, show how the Kremlin is extracting industrial and military secrets from the United States while giving virtually nothing in return.

One case in the committee's files confirms a harmless-looking electro-optical device, used in hospitals to analyze X-ray photographs. This "medical" equipment happens to have been developed for the CIA for the analysis of satellite reconnaissance photographs, which now show such precise detail that virtually nothing can be hidden from them.

It would obviously be wrong to ban the export of medical equipment to Russia, but Jackson's aides believe that the Soviet military goes to great lengths to disguise its purchases under harmless-sounding labels. An export license might have been refused, they say, because six of the various items comprising it could be combined in such a way as to be used for military purposes. The seller would then request a license covering only three of the items, which have no direct military application, and after some time has passed he would apply for the three others.

They claim to know of cases when a machine tool consigned to a consumer goods factory ended up in a factory making military equipment.

Items which have a potential military application have been ordered for use in a "university," but in the case of one device, ordered for a civilian plant, the contract was signed by

"The question is who will be damaged the most—the Kremlin, Sen. Jackson or the Ford administration and its foreign policy."

a man whom the committee investigators have identified as a military procurement officer.

Only the public hearings, which are expected to be held early this summer, will show how much substance there is to these charges. The hearings could be launched with great fanfare and attract much attention, which is what Sen. Jackson needs to promote his presidential ambitions, but if he fails to substantiate his accusations, his detractors could turn the tables on him. They are already saying that his attempt to force the Soviet Union to increase the Jewish emigration quota by making U.S. trade benefits depend on it has led only to a drastic decline in emigrations, and to a decline in trade prospects.

If Jackson does prove his case, and the flow of U.S. technology to Russia is reduced, the Kremlin could hardly retaliate, as it did by abrogating the trade-and-emigration agreement. The technology transfers are not part of any all-embracing agreement, which means that in each case the Soviet Union makes a separate deal with an individual firm, which is often prepared to make its know-how available in order to get in on "the ground floor," in the expectation that this will open the huge Soviet market to it in the future.

Soviet trade officials skillfully exploit the competitive urge of U.S. firms. More of them are getting in on the ground floor than could be accommodated later. "But maybe the ground floor is all there is," quipped one Jackson aide. Another risk is that

only few of those on the ground floor will be invited to climb up the stairs. But the "entry fee" which they have all paid to get in on the ground floor, in terms of the advance technology made by their firm, is not returnable.

For each individual firm, the risk may be worth taking, because the potential return from sales to a huge Soviet and East European market is so high. But, Jackson aides argue, the United States as a whole—or the West, for that matter—is giving away much more than it is ever likely to get back. The administration is making U.S. technology available to the Soviet Union as a matter of deliberate policy, in order to get the Kremlin and its technocrats "hooked" on it. When Moscow comes to depend on the continuing flow of technology, and on the expectation of future benefits, as the Kissinger theory has it, the Kremlin will be less likely to engage in adventures which could provoke the United States to cut the supply line.

On the Jackson side, it is argued that the United States is giving away production processes, not just goods, which will make it possible for the Soviet Union to stand on its own feet technologically earlier than it otherwise might. The Soviet computer industry is notoriously backward, for instance. The production technology for the making of integrated circuits—in which Europe too lags behind the United States—could help the Soviet Union catch up with the best Western models.

Without this and similar types of technology, the Soviet Union will be unable for a long time to join the front ranks of the world's most advanced industries. The question posed by Jackson is whether the West should help it merely in exchange for promises, or whether it should extract something more concrete from it. The danger is that if the Kremlin is pressed too hard, it may forego the benefits, as it did in the case of the trade agreement, because the payment demanded from it could endanger the totalitarian structure of the Soviet system.

Jackson's 'China Card'

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for

Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), just back from a week in Peking, is forcing a new debate on China, supposedly a settled matter of American policy. He would set aside the declared Nixon-Kissinger policy of treating Russia and China even-handedly and trying to improve relations with both. Instead, he would thicken American ties with China in order to put more of a squeeze on the Russians.

We have given the Russians large credits, much technology, three summits and extensive political cooperation, Jackson points out; but to the Chinese, no credits, relatively little technology, only one summit and virtually no bilateral political cooperation since the Shanghai communique of Nixon's China trip in 1972. Aside from flashing the "China card" by going once to Peking, Nixon has not regularly or effectively played that card in negotiations with the Russians, the senator believes.

Jackson thinks that the United States should play the China card, which he regards as a major source of diplomatic leverage especially worth wielding at a time when some other sources of leverage are losing force.

The importance of the change he seeks is hard to overestimate. It is the difference between maintaining a rough equilibrium on the key China-Russia-America power triangle, and tilting it against Moscow.

Start with the Nixon policy: "The United States has, and will continue to have, an interest in a peaceful, strong, and independent China," Secretary of State Kissinger said just last month, "and no policy of this administration has had greater bipartisan support than the normalization of relations with the People's Republic."

But that's only part of it. The Nixon policy is not just to "normalize" relations with Peking but to do so in a way that at once gives pause to Soviet hawks who might like to attack China and offers reassurance to Soviet leaders whose nightmare is a Chinese-American alliance directed against Moscow.

Jackson would, in effect, stop offering the Russians the same assurance that Washington and Peking will not join in some kind of alliance against them.

Nixon and Kissinger apparently fear that the Russians would react harshly to such a turn, perhaps even to the point of halting their pursuit of detente. Many Americans agree.

But Jackson, who is much less sure anyway that real gains can be gotten from detente, believes that it just may take the pressure of an incipient Chi-

nese-American alliance to induce the Russians to come to acceptable terms with the United States on arms control and other issues.

His proposal at a Washington press conference earlier this week—to raise our Peking mission from a "liaison office" to an full-fledged embassy and to reduce our Taipei mission from embassy to liaison office—sounded as though Jackson was only trying to go the administration's "normalization" policy one better.

In fact, Jackson's whole approach to the quality of direct relations with China proceeds from his larger view of the global strategic setting.

If the Nixon-Kissinger attempt at global detente had produced the substantial results which were promised and hoped for in 1972, then neither Jackson's presidential candidacy nor his strategic concepts might be of much political interest now.

It seems evident enough, however, that the less rewarding and the less hopeful that Soviet-American detente comes to appear, the better chance "Scoop" Jackson has to become President in 1976 and the more receptive Americans may become to his strategy of playing the China card with a vengeance against the Soviet Union.

The Russians, of course, howl fiercely at any suggestion—particularly from Jackson, who has yet to be invited to Moscow—that the United States ought to move closer to China. One of the benefits which Moscow would most like detente to produce from the United States is a free Soviet hand toward Peking.

One wonders, however, whether some policymakers in the Kremlin realize how the Soviet Union's own foreign policy—its dangerous Mideast stance last fall, its ongoing missile programs, its crowding and intimidation of China—feeds the Jackson candidacy and nourishes as well the closer Chinese-American tie which the Russians otherwise profess to fear.

If some Soviet policymakers do realize their own impact on American politics, then it becomes possible that Jackson's trip to Peking is forcing a debate on China policy not only in Washington but in Moscow, too.

For there is not only a China card but, in Kissinger's phrase, a "Jackson card" consisting of the senator's power, real and potential. The administration plays it in its dealings with the Soviet Union, sometimes even openly, either by noting the President's need to accommodate the political forces commanded by Jackson or by alluding to the prospect that the collapse of detente might elect Jackson in 1976. Could there by some men in the Kremlin who, contesting others, play the Jackson card too?

NYT
7/9/74

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for

A Needed Debate

By Tom Wicker

Senator Henry Jackson is home from China, and is quoted by United Press International as favorably comparing détente with that country to the détente with the Soviet Union. The Chinese keep their word, he said, but the Russians had broken treaties and agreements and "the real issue with [them] is and continues to be whether they will adhere to agreements."

Senator Jackson and that kind of view were no doubt what Secretary of State Henry Kissinger had most in mind when he told reporters on his plane the other day that the country needed a major debate on the question of security in the nuclear age. Such a debate is needed, not necessarily to propagate his view or Mr. Jackson's, or any other, but because the primary issues involved are complex, both intellectually and morally difficult to judge, and there is no established American consensus on them.

First among those issues is nuclear arms limitation, on the necessity for which almost everyone agrees; but beyond that necessity there are almost limitless possibilities for disagreement among honest men holding honest points of view; for clashes of interest between diplomatic and military establishments; for technical disputes among scientists and engineers; and for political debate in Presidential and Congressional campaigns.

As Mr. Kissinger pointed out, numbers of missiles on each side is an oversimplified measure of the matter. But so may be the left-wing idea that since the American nuclear stockpile is sufficient to destroy the Soviet Union, the United States needs no more nuclear armaments. Halting an arms race can hardly be a unilateral matter.

But more than just the technical intricacies of striking a balance that protects both sides needs to be debated and illuminated. Those who maintain that the United States must always maintain strategic superiority over the Soviet Union, or any other country, will have to answer some other questions Mr. Kissinger raised in Moscow.

"What in the name of God is strategic superiority?" he asked. "What is the significance of it? What do you do with it?"

Those who feel as Mr. Jackson does, that the Soviet Union can't be trusted to keep agreements, may quickly respond that American security lies only in hard military superiority. This is an argument that has been persuasive

IN THE NATION

with many Americans for decades. It may still be, particularly if an arms limitation agreement should appear to be deficient in detection and policing devices.

But arms limitation is not the only difficult question involved. The so-called Jackson amendment to trade legislation, denying trade equality to any nation that restricts the emigration of Jews, is even more wrenching. It is tempting to make the easing or elimination of Soviet tactics of repression a condition for détente, since those tactics are repugnant to most Americans and to the spirit of humanity.

But it hardly immoral or inhumane to argue that arms limitations should not be made to wait upon changes in internal Soviet society—as might happen if the Jackson amendment brought about a general deterioration in Soviet American relations. Again, this is a question on which there can be honest differences of opinion—upon which, perhaps, there is no single valid answer.

Ordinarily, a President might touch off national debate on such matters with a thoughtful speech or a series of them, or in highly publicized meetings with Congressional leaders and influential private citizens. Mr. Nixon is not in good political shape to do this. Mr. Kissinger is a good substitute but has the handicap of being strongly identified with one point of view. Moreover, the Nixon Administration is not itself unified on the matter, with Defense Secretary James Schlesinger reported to have some differences of opinion—whether of degree or substance is not clear—with Mr. Kissinger.

A national committee of prominent citizens, committed to improving Soviet-American relations with particular emphasis on arms limitation, is about to be announced in Washington. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee apparently will hold hearings. The Democrats could help, too, not only as the opposition but as the party controlling Congress.

Unfortunately, the Democrats have let Henry Jackson's view become their most prominent contribution to this discussion, while letting détente seem to be exclusively Mr. Nixon's policy. In fact, it was Adlai Stevenson in the fifties who first called for an end to nuclear testing and John Kennedy in the sixties who achieved the limited test ban treaty, and today's party should be building on that tradition.

'Scoop' Goes to Peking

For
1-15-3

The New York Times 6/28/74

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, June 27—Senator Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson of the State of Washington is turning out to be the most vigorous Democratic candidate for the Presidency these days, the challenger of Henry Kissinger, and the darling of the Pentagon, the weapons industry, the pro-Israel lobby, and the labor leaders at the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

This is a formidable political base—sort of a military-industrial-labor complex of his own—and it's no accident that he attacked Mr. Kissinger and the Administration's strategic arms control policy on the eve of President Nixon's mission to Moscow, and then took off himself on a mission to Peking.

"Scoop" is well worth watching. He has been around here for over 33 years—12 in the House and 21 in the Senate—and at 62, he has the energy of a bull, looks no more than 50, and has strong views on most of the great issues of the age.

His main theme now is that "détente" is a trap, a tricky French word that the Russians are using to achieve the military domination they couldn't get with threats and bluster. He insists he is not against an accommodation with Moscow, but he wants it on terms Mr. Kissinger doesn't think he can get. And here lies the dilemma.

Senator Jackson does not deny that Watergate has weakened the Nixon Administration, but in spite of Watergate, he thinks the U.S.S.R. is much weaker than the United States, needs the trade and advanced technology of the West more than we need what he regards as the dubious political advantages of "détente." In short, he believes Mr. Kissinger has misjudged the world political and strategic problem, and with his usual subtlety he charges Mr. Kissinger with being too "soft" and Mr. Nixon with being too "eager" to make military and commercial concessions.

The bloody muddle and perverse difficulties of foreign affairs don't bother "Scoop." He is quite capable of debating them, and his sincerity is not at issue; but he leaves little room for the honorable perplexities of foreign affairs, or for the notion that great nations can change. In the slow philosophical approach of Mr. Kissinger, he sees nothing but the coming whirlwind of disaster.

Accordingly, while he has lately been talking privately with the Secretary of State about the issues of the Moscow summit conference, he has acted publicly to put barriers in the way of what he fears will be a phony compromise that will merely help the President over the Watergate barrier and place the nation in an awkward and even dangerous strategic position.

In fact, he has been so sold in challenging the Nixon-Kissinger mission that he summoned the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who share his fears, and charged the Administration with making "secret" deals with Moscow that would place the United States at a military disadvantage. Even the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, himself a constant critic of the Administration's foreign policy, took the floor to defend the President.

"If anyone is exploiting Watergate to the detriment of our foreign policy," Mr. Fulbright said, "it is not the Russians but some of our own military leaders and certain members of the Senate. . . . With a flawless sense of timing, the enemies of détente have chosen the moment of the President's departure for Moscow to fire a few broadsides at his policy." He went on to accuse Mr. Jackson of precisely this intent.

The Senator from Washington merely characterized this as nonsense and went off to Peking and it is probably no accident that the Chinese will welcome him there around the President's Moscow visit, and thus give him a platform in Peking to continue his campaign.

In fairness, he has always suspended judgment about the good intentions of the Soviet Union. He believes in the persuasive quality of power rather than of philosophy, and relies on it more than on the fairness of the Russians or the eloquence of Mr. Kissinger or the judgment and wisdom of President Nixon.

Mr. Kissinger sees the world as fundamentally intricate, but capable of change if a modicum of trust can be established by mutually beneficial compromises. He would, as he proposed to President Sadat of Egypt, "take chances for peace," believing that not to take chances would be the larger risk. But not "Scoop." He sees only the dark riddle of Moscow, and puts his trust in missiles.

If he is gambling his last chance for the Presidency on this assumption, it is probably an honest but a poor gamble, for he is inviting a return to the cold war, and this is not likely to be the most popular platform in 1976.

After all, the President's most successful experiment, and the thing that is holding him up without any other visible means of support, is precisely that he has worked valiantly to get away from the cold war and move, as he says, from an era of confrontation to an era of accommodation.

Still, Mr. Jackson is a blunt man, with powerful forces behind him, and if the President's efforts at dependable arms control and a genuine peace in the Middle East do not produce results, public opinion could move toward Jackson.

But whether it moves that way or not, "Scoop" is likely to keep drumming on power. In this sense, he is a man of his New Deal and cold war days—liberal at home, tough and unyielding abroad. He has a kind of naked vigor but it is almost always in opposition. He seems to be saying that the world is wicked, and beyond persuasion or redemption, and the chances are that the Chinese will probably agree with him—especially since he is so suspicious of the Russians.

The SALT Bargain With the Military ^{for}

The Kremlin could have made the "very major concessions" on SALT II which Dr. Kissinger claims only if it got equally important concessions in return, or if it beat down its own extremists.

Dr. Kissinger's presentation of the agreement is calculated to show that the United States made no major concessions, and he is supported in this by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Defense Secretary Schlesinger, who originally opposed his SALT proposals. It would therefore appear that Brezhnev was indeed able to agree to SALT II only because he ignored the views of the Soviet extremists, just as President Ford was able to agree to it only because he ignored the views of Senator Jackson.

Neither the Soviet opponents of SALT II nor Senator Jackson would regard themselves as extremists, and they have always presented their arguments in terms of the national interest, Soviet and American. It was the Soviet military who had argued most persistently, to judge from the Soviet press, that SALT II must include the U.S. tactical nuclear weapons in Europe which could reach Russia. But the Kremlin gave up the demand, Dr. Kissinger says, because most of these weapons "are not suitable for a significant attack on the Soviet Union." This is not a view that the Soviet military could have readily accepted, any more than the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff would have accepted it if the positions had been reversed.

But the Kremlin's concessions, according to Dr. Kissinger, do not end there. Moscow "gave up its position on a whole range of issues." It originally wanted British and French nuclear forces to be counted as part of the U.S. total, on the grounds that the three nations might well act in concert in a nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union. It also wanted "compensation" for the geographical disadvantage which gives the U.S. more nuclear punch with fewer submarines. It got neither. SALT II gives the United States and the Soviet Union an equal number of strategic weapons—2,400.

The Soviet Union, which has as yet deployed no MIRVed missiles with multiple, independently targeted warheads, is now entitled to install 1,320 such missiles. So is the United States, which now has over a thousand of these. This is what the controversy is largely about, for most critics believe that the ceilings could have been much lower. But the question is whether Brezhnev could have prevailed on his military to accept the lower ceilings, as well as getting them to make the other concessions listed by Dr. Kissinger.

The answer, as perceived by this analyst, is that Kissinger is right in claiming that he got the best deal possible in the circumstances. This view is based in large part on what, for lack of a better term, is best described as the

hawk-dove struggle in Moscow. The evidence suggests that Brezhnev is in a position of great strength—but only because he has taken care lately to pay heed to the views of that part of the military establishment which is less extreme in its demands.

By giving them something of what they wanted—in the way of higher ceilings—Brezhnev evidently persuaded them to desert the political-military faction which had been holding out for concessions on other issues as well.

This is exactly the tactic that Kissinger used in Washington to get the support of the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General George Brown. At first, the chiefs favored the Jackson line. But Kissinger convinced them that SALT II would allow the deployment of all kinds of new strategic systems, from B1 aircraft to Trident submarines to bigger and better missiles, while scrapping older weapons to keep within the new ceilings. They promptly abandoned Jackson. Schlesinger, finding himself isolated at the Pentagon, then followed suit.

No such blow-by-blow account is likely to be forthcoming from Moscow. But one piece of evidence, to add to Brezhnev's recent courting of the Marshals in public and to many other clues, comes from a Pravda article by the Chief of Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, Viktor Kulikov, newly awarded a marshal's insignia of rank in company with many other Generals.

The article, published just before the Vladivostok summit, was ostensibly a review of a book called "The Army's Brain," a study of the General Staff first published in the 20s. But Kulikov's current political message was sharpened by his insistence that the book's percepts "have not. lost

their significance even today." On the one hand, he reaffirmed the military view—which had been disputed by some of Brezhnev's men in the Soviet press earlier in the year—that nuclear war could be an instrument of politics.

But at the same time much of his argument was devoted to stressing the subordination of military strategy to political considerations, and of the General Staff to the politicians. There were those, he said, who wanted to put military strategy "above policy"—that is, to make the politicians do the bidding of the military. He professed to criticize "Western" exponents of this view, but he was, of course, talking of the Moscow hawk-dove struggle over SALT II.

His reaffirmation in Pravda of the previously disputed formula about nuclear war and politics signified Brezhnev's acceptance of the military view on this issue, and of the need for the military hardware that goes with this view. But his stress on the subordination of the military to the politicians conveyed publicly the support which the Soviet Chief of Staff was giving secretly to Brezhnev in the internal debate on SALT II against the more extreme demands from other Soviet military and no doubt, politicians.

But, in Moscow as in Washington, nothing is final. This is a struggle that has proceeded by fits and starts in both capitals for many years, and SALT II will not put "a cap on it," any more than it put a cap on the arms race. It is only the number of weapons that are now fixed, and this is certainly a major achievement. Now each country will try to outdo each other in the quality of the new weapons, at a cost which neither side can—or should—afford.

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*Washington Post
Dec. 12, 1974*

DEC 17 1974

Jackson Knocks Arms Pact

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Sen. Henry M. Jackson said Monday that President Ford's Vladivostok arms agreement with Russia is "an open license for the greatest arms race in history."

The Washington Democrat said Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger "keeps talking about a cap (on the arms race), but he's put a cap on Mt. Everest. And he has given an open license now for the greatest arms race in history."

"He's been unwilling to spell out, budgetwise, what this will cost if we're going to have sensible parity or approximate partly even. And (Defense) Secretary Schlesinger has alluded to it. It runs into tens of billions."

He appeared on "Washington Straight Talk," a production of the National Public Affairs Center for Television.

Jackson, who regards himself as a presidential candidate in 1976, said "things look pretty good" at this time for his winning the Democratic nomination. He accused fellow Democrat Jimmy Carter of distorting the truth by saying Jackson is trying to raise campaign funds in units of \$3,000 this month before the new limit of \$1,000 takes effect.

Jackson said the decision to seek large early donations was made last summer and was not intended to evade the spirit of the new law. Carter's charge, he said, "smacks a little bit of Joe McCarthyism."

The Senator sketched out a tough program for combating the nation's economic problems if he were in the White House now.

He said he would ration gasoline, limit credit, step up

food production, insist on stringent energy conservation and create public service jobs.

In international affairs, Jackson asserted that the administration had failed to use the full extent of U. S.

bargaining power with the Russians.

"We've got the trump card," he said. "I mean all the Russians want from us (is) all our science, all our technology, all our business-management know-how.

...What the Russians don't like is this mistake bargaining in which we're the soft touch, we came in at the beginning.

"We've got this power and we don't use it. I don't understand it."

DEC 17 1974

Solon scores Siberia pact

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Jackson Questions Uranium Exports

Reuter

Sen. Henry M. Jackson said yesterday he is opposed to the United States' sending nuclear material that could be used for atomic weapons to South Africa and other potentially unstable areas of the world.

The Washington Democrat, a 1976 presidential candidate, asked the Energy Research and Development Administration for a thorough review of U.S. policy on exports of uranium materials worldwide.

Today F.Y.I.P.B.

Will Fans Remember Jackson's Score?

By Martha Angle
Washington Star Staff Writer

Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., appears to have chalked up some points in his credibility contest with the White House, but how much political benefit he will accrue from the flap over private U.S. agreements with South Vietnam remains to be seen.

At the moment, Jackson, a leading Democratic presidential contender, seems to have scored a direct hit on his old adversary, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, who has repeatedly denied the existence of any secret agreements between Washington and Saigon.

But the first presidential primaries are still 11 months away, and no one can predict with assurance how much long-term political mileage can be gained from a temporary debating advantage.

Indeed, if public opinion polls are any guide, the voters seem turned off by all discussion of the Vietnam issue.

They may remember a year from now that Kissinger's credibility was damaged in the "secret agreement" squabble without recalling who inflicted the blow.

"THIS WILL make Scoop president — this week," quipped one Senate staff aide yesterday as the White House acknowledged that "confidential exchanges" between the Nixon administration and South Vietnam had indeed occurred at the

time of the 1973 peace accords.

Press Secretary Ronald Nessen insisted the private communications contained nothing which differed "in substance" from public commitments made by Nixon, Kissinger and others.

But until the administration releases the documents in question, such assurances are likely to be viewed with skepticism. Jackson, for one, is not about to let up on his demands for full disclosure.

"What we need to know," Jackson said yesterday, "is not what Nixon stated publicly but the specific and complete language of the communications . . ."

Majority Leader Mike Mansfield said he will ask the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees to investigate the matter, and Jackson said Kissinger and others familiar with the "confidential exchanges" should be called to testify under oath.

ASKED IF HE was accusing Kissinger of lying in his previous statements, Jackson replied, "Not at this time." But he said he wanted to see the documents in question and to review transcripts of Kissinger's earlier statements denying the existence of any secret agreements.

In the past, Jackson's prospects of capturing the Democratic presidential nomination have been hindered significantly by his record as a supporter of

U.S. policies in Southeast Asia and his hawkish views on defense and foreign policy issues in general.

Some Democrats in the Senate believe Jackson is now making inroads with the party's liberal wing through his attacks on Kissinger's credibility and his sniping at executive branch secrecy in the conduct of foreign affairs.

Jackson previously forced Kissinger to acknowledge the existence of secret agreements made during the first round of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks after administration officials had repeatedly denied that any such agreements had been made.

And when U.S. trade agreements with the Soviet Union collapsed, in part because Jackson persuaded Congress to demand more liberal emigration of Soviet

Jews as the price of trade concessions, the secrecy issue again proved politically helpful.

IN THAT CASE, just as Congress completed work on the trade bill last December, the Russians revealed that Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko had sent a letter to Kissinger two months earlier warning the emigration demands were unacceptable.

"It's secrecy that's getting them in trouble time and again," Jackson said yesterday in criticizing administration conduct of foreign policy.

"A bipartisan foreign policy must begin with the kind of openness between the executive and Congress that will assure the confidence necessary for such a policy," he said.

CORRECTION

In the Safeway ad of Wednesday, April 9th, the following item was advertised incorrectly, the correct retail price is as shown:

Cane Sugar

Candi Cane 5 -lb. \$1.79
Granulated 5 bag

We regret this error.



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April 1975

Lafayette's

The Kremlin's Fear of Jackson

THE WASHINGTON POST
Thursday, Feb. 6, 1975
A 20

The powerful image of a new Hitler arising from the present "crisis of capitalism" is being invoked by some Kremlin officials to warn their colleagues of the dangers to come. The U.S. politician endowed by the Soviet press with some of Hitler's features is Sen. Henry Jackson, whose chances of winning the 1976 presidential election are no longer belittled by Soviet commentators, who used to ridicule his ambitions.

"It can only be hoped," says one Soviet paper, that the U.S. electorate will vote against politicians like Jackson who are pushing the country towards "disaster"—but Moscow's hopes appear slender. The paper was commenting on the Soviet repudiation of the trade-and-emigration agreement, which provides one measure of Jackson's power, even if it is only power to cause mischief in the Kremlin.

The Hitler image was conjured up by Politburo member Boris Ponomarev, generally reckoned to be a hard-liner, in a speech addressed to the military. The forces now opposing fascism, he said, were immeasurably greater than in Hitler's time. On the other hand, he argued, a fascist seizure of power now, in the nuclear age, would be "even more dangerous for mankind" than in Hitler's time.

Moscow's identification of Jackson with a policy of pressure on the Soviet Union, of "blackmail" and brinkmanship, contrasts with the Soviet view of Kissinger as a man of peace. Kissinger has put Moscow's fears to good use by extracting from it a number of concessions that might help to keep Jackson out of the White House. How did Kissinger manage to get what he described as "substantial concessions" on strategic arms in Vladivostok, after the Russians had refused to make them to Nixon at the previous summit?

Even "leaving Watergate aside," Kissinger has explained, Nixon was a lame-duck President, whereas Ford had announced that he was running for re-election in 1976. This may have influenced the Kremlin to make concessions in Vladivostok, Kissinger believes, "because it created a longer political stability"—that is, it held out the promise that Ford might keep Jackson out.

But any such deal, even a tacit one, began to come apart as Jackson increased the pressure. The administration proved unable to protect the Kremlin against the Jackson forces on the trade-and-emigration issue, which strengthened the Moscow hardliners who never liked Brezhnev's concessions to Ford. While most of the public debate centered on this issue, what looked like another tacit agreement to keep Jackson out of the White House also began to break down.

The best way to beat Jackson on the arms issue would have been to show



that the White House and the Kremlin could do more to cut down on arms levels by mutual accommodation than Jackson could do by putting pressure on Moscow. The Vladivostok agreement specified a surprisingly high level of arms—2,400 missiles, of which 1,320 were to be MIRVed—which was to be retained until 1985. Or was it?

The public outcry against this high ceiling, and against putting off further negotiations on arms cuts to "no later than 1980-81," produced, surprisingly easily, a significant amendment to the Vladivostok agreement. The talks on arms cuts are now to begin immediately after the Vladivostok agreement is put into final form at the Soviet-U.S. summit due next summer. Moreover, Kissinger has taken to stressing that, once this agreement is signed, it should be easy to bring the ceiling down quite rapidly.

He explains that it is not "decisively different whether the level was 2,400 or 2,200, or for that matter 2,000." Once the Vladivostok agreement is in force, he now argues, it would be difficult to prove "that a few hundred extra missiles make so much difference"—and, of course, he is right. But why had he not said that straight away? Why did he create the impression after Vladivostok that the reduc-

tions would not come for years? Why did he not say Vladivostok, as he now admits, whether a hundred less worked?"

The facts now available show the high arms ceilings in Vladivostok were not decided until 1985, contrary to the claims created by the official version. Both sides knew then, as Kissinger publicly only now admits, that negotiations for significant arms cuts begin immediately after the summit, not in about 1980, as in the Vladivostok communique.

An announcement at this pre-election year summit of negotiations for arms cuts advanced by five years created the impression of a success which would have gone to Jackson's complaints. At the next year's summit, just after the presidential election, arms cuts which Kissinger now says quite feasible would have been announced with the kind of flourish the world has come to expect from the Kissinger spectaculars.

Ford could then have been regarded as the man who can be expected to reduce their missile levels while Jackson would have maneuvered into an election attacking the agreement, which would have been only one degree of criticizing motherhood. In the ways of politicians and any such understanding have been improper or imprudent that is wrong in politics which

If there was such an understanding tacit or otherwise, it failed. Jackson and senators opposed arms expenditures, such as Kennedy, joined forces to force a revision of the Vladivostok agreement. Jackson is now arranging "spectacular" in the form of hearings designed to pressure arms cuts. If these are brought before the next election, almost certain to be, Kissinger will claim the credit—and the credit will have turned the tables on Kissinger.

The Kremlin will go on regarding him as a menace, because arms cuts would seek far more concessions from the Soviet Union. Kissinger believes possible under Jackson policies, on such trade and emigration, will force the Kremlin to respond with an increasingly hard line on the whole U.S.-Soviet issues, so that the policies will prove self-fulfilling.

What began as an attempt to win a White House collaboration with Jackson may in the end prove to be within a measurable distance of a White House—especially since the economic outlook remains bleak.

James Reston

Sen. Jackson's Latest 'Scoop'

WASHINGTON — "I have been reliably informed," Sen. Henry M. Jackson of the state of Washington told the Senate of the United States, "that there exist between the governments of the United States and South Vietnam secret agreements which envision fateful American decisions whose very existence has never been acknowledged."



Coming from the man who now leads the Gallup Poll for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1976, this amounts to a charge of treachery and raises serious questions not only about the good faith of President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger but of the responsibility of the senator.

The administration has always said it had a "moral obligation" to help South Vietnam after the U.S. troops were withdrawn. Also, President Nixon said in April of 1973, "we shall insist that North Vietnam comply with the (cease-fire) agreement . . . "It is also true that, in trying to persuade President Thieu to accept the Paris agreements, Nixon sent several letters to Thieu indicating continued support — all of which the administration has admitted — but this was a moral obligation, freely and publicly admitted by the administration, and not a legal "secret agreement" charged by Jackson.

Even if he had produced evidence to support the charge, Jackson's timing would have been astonishing. In fact, it is hard to imagine how anybody could make the nation's present divisions over the Vietnamese tragedy worse than they really are, but Jackson has managed to do it.

If his charges are right, he has merely been careless and insensitive,

and if wrong, he has been irresponsible. He has the authority as one of the most powerful men in the Senate to take his information to the majority leader and compel the Secretary of State to testify in private on the facts in the case.

Then, if his information proved that the Secretary of State had not told the truth in his repeated denials that no "secret agreements" were made, he has every right to expose the deception and even to call for the resignation of Kissinger.

It is easy to understand why Jackson and other legislators would resent recent intimations by the President and Kissinger that the Congress, in refusing to vote more hundreds of millions for military aid to Saigon, was somehow reneging on what Jackson calls "obligations" and "commitments" to the South Vietnamese government. For as Jackson properly says in his statement, "Congress is being accused of violating commitments and obligations it never heard of."

But almost always in the negotiations ending a war, there are vague instructions that the withdrawing nation will do what it can to help in the future. This, however, is quite different from a binding commitment or a legal "secret agreement."

The Paris agreements on the Vietnam war permitted the United States and North Vietnam to replace weapons on a one-to-one basis, but nobody, including Jackson, has produced any evidence that the United States "committed" itself to such replacement or entered into a "secret agreement" to do so. (If there were such a "commitment," Washington would now be obliged to replace almost a billion dollars worth of war material abandoned by South Vietnamese without a fight in the last few weeks).

It is odd, besides, that Jackson would use the term "secret agreements." He is one of the most knowledgeable senators on the floor, and in Dorothy Fosdick, the professional staff director of his Subcommittee on Investigations, and Richard N. Perle, a professional staff member, he has two of the most experienced aides in the Senate.

They know, probably better than almost anybody on the hill that "secret agreements" have a special meaning and have been the source of violent controversy ever since President Woodrow Wilson called at the end of the first world war for "open covenants" without "secret agreements."

At that time, with Sen. Lodge badgering Wilson as Jackson is now badgering Kissinger, Wilson sent Col. Edward House to world leaders to explain what he meant by open covenants, and the definition is still good today:

The purpose is clearly to prohibit treaties, sections of treaties or undertakings that are secret. The phrase "openly arrived at" need not cause difficulty, in fact, the President explained to the Senate last winter that his intention was not to exclude confidential diplomatic negotiations involving delicate matters, but to insist that nothing which occurs in the course of such confidential negotiations shall be binding unless it appears in the final covenant made public to the world.

Yet Jackson has chosen to envenom the debate without, according to Kissinger, ever asking to discuss the matter. Miss Fosdick denies this latter point.

The result is that, while the administration, Sen. Mansfield and other leaders of the Democratic Party, are trying to cool the debate and reunite the country, Jackson has added to the confusion, and once more raised questions about his timing, his judgment and even his fitness for the presidency.

Candidate file

Jackson: Hill, Saigon Misled

By Murrey Marder

Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) charged yesterday that new disclosures show that the executive branch "misled a foreign government and the Congress" about U.S. commitments to South Vietnam in 1972-73.

Jackson, a Democratic presidential contender, intensified his call for a full inquiry by the Senate Armed Services Committee in the wake of partial disclosure of correspondence between former President Nixon and former South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu. Several members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee also are considering an inquiry.

Texts of two Nixon letters to Thieu, and portions of two others, were made public Wednesday by Nguyen Tien Hung, a former minister in Thieu's cabinet.

The Ford administration said the letters appeared to be authentic, but it continued to refuse to make the correspondence public officially, partly on grounds that what was said privately matched what the Nixon administration said publicly.

Jackson strongly challenged that rationale.

In the letters released by Hung, Nixon promised Thieu that the United States would "respond with full force" and would "take swift and severe retaliatory action" if North Vietnam violated the 1973 Paris cease-fire agreement, which took U.S. troops out of the war.

White House press secretary Ron Nessen reiterated that this does not differ "in

ELMO R. ZUMWALT JR., former chief of naval operations and member of the joint Chiefs of Staff from 1970 to 1974, who is considering running for political office.



substance" from what was said in public at the time by the Nixon administration.

"There is a fateful difference," Jackson countered in a statement yesterday, "between the administration's publicly expressing a desire to retain certain options in the event of North Vietnamese violations of the Paris accords and the President's secretly committing the United States to exercise one or more of these options."

"By failing to disclose the precise nature and texts of secret understandings reached with South Vietnam, the administration misled a foreign government and the Congress as to the nature and extent of the U.S. commitment to that government," Jackson said.

"The (Ford) administration has been accusing Congress of violating commitments and obligation to

South Vietnam the Congress never heard of, let alone endorsed," said Jackson.

He noted that Graham A. Martin, the U.S. ambassador to Saigon, in his "parting shot, on leaving Vietnam," charged that "America did not live up to those commitments." Thieu angrily made the same charge when he resigned last month.

"What commitments?" demanded Jackson. "This is what we are trying to find out."

Jackson said it is "a grotesque and dangerous situation" for the U.S. Congress and people to "have to rely on foreign officials" for information about "vital communications," which "can be sprung at will—like rabbits out of a hat—by a foreign government."

The dispute over the Nixon-Thieu exchanges was joined yesterday by retired Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt Jr., former chief of naval operations and member of the joint Chiefs of Staff from 1970 to 1974, who is considering running for political office.

Zumwalt was quoted as saying: "Kissinger and Nixon did not level with the Congress as to the commitments that were made . . ."

Zumwalt, in interviews with the Charlottesville, Va., Daily Progress and with United Press International, said that President Nixon and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger disclosed the "commitment" to Thieu at a meeting with the Joint Chiefs.

Zumwalt said the private agreement with Thieu was that the United States "would respond vigorously

in the event of major truce violations and that we would replace equipment" used up by the South Vietnamese army.

"Respond vigorously" is a term that approximates the language used publicly; it is considerably more ambiguous than the "respond with full force" language in the Nixon letters to Thieu.

The pledge "demanded by Thieu," Zumwalt said, "was his price for going along with a very unfavorable truce . . . a bad truce for the South Vietnamese because it left the enemy intact in their country, in the South."

Zumwalt said, "The Nixon-Kissinger administration must bear a large share of the blame for the fact that Congress failed to honor those commitments that had been made in the name of the country."

"The view that I had," said Zumwalt, "was that apparently congressional leaders weren't informed in any formal way that these agreements were made. And if that was the case, in my view, the error clearly lies with the administration, for both making (the agreement) and not communicating it" to Congress.

2 SENATORS FIRM ON SOVIET TRADE

Jackson and Ribicoff Inform Kissinger Emigration Levels Must Rise

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 18 — Secretary of State Kissinger has been told privately by two key Senators that they would consider trade concessions for the Soviet Union only if Moscow guaranteed that the flow of Jewish and other emigrés would continue at a yearly rate well in excess of the current 35,000.

In an unpublicized breakfast meeting Friday, Senators Henry M. Jackson and Abraham A. Ribicoff discussed with Mr. Kissinger, at his invitation the possibility of reaching an agreement somewhere between the Administration's desire to liberalize trade with the Soviet Union and the drive in Congress to link such concessions to the free emigration of Jews and others.

Aides to the two Senators would not divulge the specifics of the ideas presented to Mr. Kissinger, but other sources said that a guaranteed figure as high as 100,000 emigrants a year was mentioned to Mr. Kissinger as a possibility.

Assurances Are Sought

The aides did say that the Senators wanted assurances on the number of emigrants and an end to harassment of Jews and others seeking to leave the country.

Senator Jackson and others have criticized the Soviet Union for the dismissal from their jobs and arrests of Jews and others applying to emigrate. The Senators have also sought some guarantees that the relatively high rate of emigration of the last two years — more than 30,000 a year — would be continued.

Mr. Kissinger called the meeting with the Senators in advance of his trip to the Soviet Union Sunday for talks with Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Communist party leader, and other high Soviet officials. While in Moscow, Mr. Kissinger will discuss the status of

the Administration's efforts to carry out its 1972 pledge to secure liberalized tariffs for the Russians.

President Nixon, who is expected to make a return trip to the Soviet Union in June, said in Chicago Friday that his personal contacts with Soviet leaders had led to the rise in the number of Jews permitted to emigrate.

Asserting that he was "concerned" over the fate of minorities, Mr. Nixon suggested that passage of his trade bill was necessary to continue the dialogue with the Russians and to allow further emigration.

"Now they still aren't doing what we would do, or what we would want them to do," Mr. Nixon said. "But it's far better to have the voice of the President of the United States heard from within the Kremlin than on the outside, because those walls are mighty thick—I can tell you."

House Measure Contrary

The Administration has sought permission from Congress to extend nondiscrimination tariff status—known as most-favored-nation treatment—to Soviet goods imported into this country. This would make them more competitive in the American market.

But last fall, the House, in approving trade reform measures, accepted an amendment that would not only block such tariff treatment, but also cut off Government-backed credits until the President could certify that unrestricted emigration from the Soviet Union was being permitted.

A similar amendment, sponsored by Senator Jackson, a Washington Democrat, Senator Ribicoff, a Connecticut Democrat and about 75 others has been introduced in the Senate, where the trade act is being considered in the Finance Committee.

Would Recommend a Veto

In his testimony before that committee on March 7, Mr. Kissinger took note of the proposed amendments and said that if the trade act was passed in its present form, he would recommend that it be vetoed.

But Mr. Kissinger stressed that the Administration was open to a compromise and that he had discussed the matter with Senator Jackson and others. He said that the Administration wanted "a reformulation" of the Jackson amendment, which is being sponsored in the House by Representative Charles A. Vanik, Democrat of Ohio.

Since then, Administration officials have reiterated their desire to reach a compromise, preferably before June, when Mr. Nixon is expected to go to Moscow for meetings with Mr. Brezhnev.

The Administration received some support for a compromise from a past president of a major Jewish organization, Jacob Stein, who retired in January as chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, said at a Brooklyn breakfast meeting yesterday that emigration from the Soviet Union had risen from 15,000 in 1971 to 35,000 last year.

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for.

Jackson's ideas on U.S.S.R. emigration

He sees solution to Congress's demands, 'favored-nation' issue

By Dana Adams Schmidt
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

There is a way to reconcile congressional demands for more Soviet Jewish emigration and administration desires for increased trade with Russia.

So says Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D) of Washington. He has authored an amendment, already passed by the U.S. House, which would make "most-favored-nation" treatment and credits for the Soviet Union contingent upon free emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union to Israel.

The Washington Democrat said at a breakfast meeting Wednesday he had had indications that the Russians were willing to do something about increasing the number of emigrants — which recently has declined — but that he was not aware of any improvement on the related issue of harassment of Jews who have applied for emigration or who try to reach foreign embassies to talk about emigration.

Internal affair?

Senator Jackson had discussed the problem at a meeting before the President's recent Moscow trip with Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and Sens. Jacob K. Javits (R) of New York and Abraham A. Ribicoff (D) of Connecticut.

Dr. Kissinger acknowledged after the summit meeting that the question had been discussed but insisted that it could be handled better by quiet diplomacy than by public discussion. The rumor in Moscow was that the Russians would be willing to allow up to 45,000 Jews to emigrate annually but were loath to make a public concession. In their view this was an internal matter in which there could not be acknowledged American interference.

The Senator now suggests that if the administration can satisfy itself that the Russians are complying with the terms of the amendment, the President could address a letter to Congress — presumably to Senator Jackson — in asserting this to be the case.

Not yet law

A reply from Congress to the President would then acknowledge the President's letter as a certification of compliance, and the "most-favored-nation" clause, giving the Russians the same tariff concessions that have been made to other nations, could

then go into effect along with credits on a large scale.

The Jackson amendment is in fact not yet law. Passed by the House it is now in the Senate Finance Committee and there is the possibility that modifications in its text might also make it easier for the Russians to comply.

In fact, Soviet emigration since last February has actually declined, as though the Russians were reminding American critics that they had the power not only to turn the tap on but to turn it off.

In February the number who reached Israel was 1,600, contrasted with a monthly average of 2,000 in 1973. In June, the number declined further to 1,230.

Tallies compared

From 1969 to the present, Jewish migration from the U.S.S.R. to Israel reached 85,000, contrasted with only a few hundred per year during the '60's. In 1972, the number was 31,500 and in 1973, 33,500. But in the last six months, the total has reached only about 10,000, or 32 percent below the previous year.

The Russians appear to have been concerned lest an overt concession to the Jews on the question of emigration have a spillover effect on other ethnic groups who might claim similar rights. One such group are the Volga Germans who, having been scattered during World War II, now are showing signs of trying to get out of the Soviet Union.

Senator Jackson said at his breakfast meeting that he would like to see a vigorous expansion of trade with the Soviet Union but was concerned about the Russians' eagerness to acquire not American products but American technology. He mentioned, for instance, one Soviet effort to acquire from major aircraft manufacturers the technology for construction of wide-bodied jet aircraft.

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C.S. Monitor
Nov. 12, 1974

for
Jackson
leaves
Kissinger
on detente
A possible president
stakes out his course

By Joseph C. Harsch
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

7320

London

Eleven months ago, U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger chose the Pilgrim Society here in London as the background for a scolding on noncooperation to America's Western European allies and coupled the scolding with a proposal for the immediate formation of an "energy action group" to meet the acute problem of the Arab oil embargo.

Since nothing substantial in the way of allied cooperation about oil shortages has happened during the intervening 11 months, it is interesting that the Democratic Party's leading presidential hopeful, Sen. Henry M. Jackson, chose the same forum here last Monday night to scold the Republican administration in Washington for past shortcomings but offer a similar proposal to the same audience.

Last December, Dr. Kissinger first scolded the Europeans on three counts. He said they seem to believe "that their identity should be measured by its distance from the United States," that "they highlight division rather than unity with us," and that "they present the decisions of a unifying Europe to us as faits accomplis not subject to effective discussion."

The Senator's view

Senator Jackson's version of how 11 months went for nothing was presented in this passage:

"Too often, for example, my government managed greater forbearance in dealing with its adversaries than in working with its allies. On occasion we asked for your support without disclosing the facts as we knew them; or we asked you to share the risks when we were unwilling to share our reasons or our resources."

To translate, this means that in the Jackson version of past history, Dr. Kissinger was more considerate of the Soviets than of the Western allies, wanted the use of their bases to aid Israel without explaining why, and wanted that degree of their commitment without offering them any share of American oil — at a time when they were getting no oil at all.

So Senator Jackson, without scolding the West Europeans, now asks them to join in a new piece of machinery to supplement Dr. Kissinger's "energy action group."

He proposes the convening of a

Jackson scolds Kissinger

"special council of economic and financial ministers." Its composition, as in the Kissinger plan, would include the United States, Canada, the Western European allies, and Japan. Senator Jackson thinks the machinery for coordinated action largely exists. He wants just a little more machinery to provide "meaningful initiatives and coordinated leadership."

A clear message

The speech, particularly in its chosen setting and by contrast with the Kissinger speech of last December, is an obvious staking out of Jacksonian foreign policy distance from Kissinger policy. The goal is more security for all members of the Western community from present high Arab oil prices and a possible future embargo.

The proposal for the council is supplemented by proposals for vigorous action to cut consumption of oil, increase future non-Arab sources of supply, and perfect defenses against Arab petrodollars.

The inference of the Jackson speech is that Dr. Kissinger has overdone the detente and underdone consideration for the allies. In effect, it amounts to a campaign promise, that Senator Jackson as a president and as an influential figure in Democratic Party foreign policy in the meantime, will be more considerate of the allies.

Senator Jackson is understood to have requested the opportunity to address the Pilgrims. They were of course delighted to accord the opportunity.

Being the forum for a critique by a possible next president of the United States of the policies of the present Secretary of State makes for an interesting evening. Needless to say, the British Foreign Office was well represented at the dinner

Tom Braden

Henry Jackson's Cold War Message

for

2-20-74

Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) is taking a lot of lumps these days for sounding like the voice of the cold war. Everybody from President Nixon to the New Left is hopping all over him for interfering with detente, arms control, hands across the sea and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. But if it is true that Jackson sounds like the voice of the cold war, maybe we ought to look upon him as a useful voice. For most adult Americans were cold warriors once upon a time, and Jackson provides us with a checkpoint. How far have we come since those days, and in what respects have we changed our views?

Realists is what we call ourselves now. We realize that we can't roll back curtains and go to brinks. John Foster Dulles is a faintly embarrassing name now, and the rhetoric and dirty tricks even more so. Most of us understand that in fighting an ideology we became intolerant and ideological ourselves.

But are the revisionist historians entirely correct? Were we entirely wrong? Listen for a moment to the last voice of the cold war and ask yourself the question.

Jackson is telling us that he is suspicious of detente for the following reasons:

First, because he is fearful of the possibility that one of the weakest Presidents in our history might make agreements for the purpose of keeping himself in office. Is the suspicion totally unreasonable?

Second, Jackson thinks Russian foreign policy is expansionist. Might he not be right about this? We all know that Russian foreign policy used to be expansionist. It seems to be in the process of change. But memory serves as a warning.

Third, Jackson thinks we ought to get more out of detente than a smile, and a handshake. What's the point, he asks, in effect, of giving the Russians what they want—food, technology, credit—unless we get something in return?

And what do we want in return? In

Jackson's view, we want to stop feeling guilty as human beings about how the Russians treat human beings. We want them to stop doing things which make us wince at the thought of shaking hands with those who do them.

Is this so wrong? Secretary of State Henry Kissinger would argue—and has argued—that we can't expect a nation to "transform its domestic structure" for the sake of foreign policy, and Jackson says in return, "Why not? Doesn't it depend upon the nation's priorities?"

Elsewhere around the globe we are not adverse to using the carrot technique in order to bring about changes in internal policies of other nations. Why should we not use the same technique with the Russians?

There is some evidence in the exodus of the Jews that the technique works; and for that exodus Sen. Jackson can take a lot of the credit. But he would be among the first to point out that the exodus itself is painful. How far have we progressed since the 10th century that in the 20th we should be talking, like so many ancient Spaniards, of the exodus of the Jews?

We need detente, Secretary Kissinger argues, in order to survive in the nuclear age. And Jackson replies that, detente or no detente, mutual fear is the only thing that enables us to survive in the nuclear age.

So the voice of the last cold warrior is very tough and not very hopeful. I don't see how his argument will ever bring about a reduction in the defense budget.

But I think it is not an unreasonable voice. We can argue with it, oppose it, try to answer the doubts it raises. But it is a useful antidote to overoptimism and a good thing to have around.

The Washington Post

7/11/74

Washington Post
Sept 21, 1974
for

Talks Fail To End Stall On Trade Bill

By Stephen Isaacs

Washington Post Staff Writer

President Ford and Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) met yesterday and failed to resolve their disagreement over the international trade reform bill.

Immediately after meeting with Jackson at the White House, the President met for 2½ hours with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko.

Among the issues discussed by Gromyko and the President was the trade bill, which has been delayed for 18 months in the Senate over demands for the right of free emigration of Soviet citizens, particularly Jews.

Jackson, who has headed the Senate effort to block passage of any trade bill without a Soviet agreement to end its harassment of Jews who try to emigrate and to liberalize emigration, said negotiations over the trade bill impasse will continue over the weekend.

Jackson and Gromyko met at the President's office door as Jackson was leaving and Gromyko was entering. They exchanged pleasantries.

The disagreement over the trade bill is no longer between the American Congress and the Soviets, but between the executive branch and Congress. "The Russians have come 180 degrees," Jackson told reporters.

He and the administra-

See TRADE, A6, Col. 6

Ford-Jackson Session Fails To Resolve Trade Bill Stall

TRADE, From A1

tion, said Jackson, are "still hung up on one issue—mainly how to handle it legislatively."

The President reportedly is insisting that the executive should have the final authority to determine whether the Soviets live up to their agreement, and to extend "most-favored-nation" trade status as well as Export-Import Bank credits to the Soviet Union beyond a one-year test period.

The Senate is insisting, Jackson said, on "some real muscle" for the Congress to be the final authority "and not just rely on good faith and the judgment of the executive branch."

Sitting in with Jackson and the President were Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and Kissinger's national security deputy, Gen. Brent W. Scowcroft.

At the meeting, Jackson reportedly gave the President a copy of legislation that House and Senate parliamentarians have worked

out to guarantee congressional action at the end of the initial test period.

Attending the meeting with Gromyko and the President were Kissinger, Soviet Ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin, and the U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union Walter J. Stoessel.

White House spokesman John W. Hushen said that the Gromyko-Ford meeting was "cordial in tone" and "a very useful exchange" of views.

Their discussion, Hushen said, included the "strategic arms limitation talks that have resumed in Geneva," and "a review of the international issues such as the East-West negotiations currently in progress and the situation in the Middle East."

"President Ford and Foreign Minister Gromyko both agreed on the importance of continuing efforts toward a lasting and equitable peace in the Middle East," said Hushen.

After the meeting broke

at 1:45 p.m., Kissinger and Gromyko continued to talk over a late lunch at the Soviet Embassy on 16th Street N.W. Kissinger and Gromyko will confer again on Tuesday, at a dinner in New York.

On Thursday, Kissinger told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that he was "very optimistic" over an end to the trade bill delay "within a week."

Also on Thursday, proponents of the Jackson amendment arranged Senate passage of an amendment to the Export-Import bill that would cut off credits—in effect low-interest loans—to the Soviet Union unless the trade bill passes with a compromise on the Jackson amendment.

The Jackson amendment, cosponsored by other senators, would cut off tariff concessions and the loans to the Soviets if they do not change their emigration policies, and a compromise would allow the President to waive its effects for a year at a time to see if the Soviets change.

2-2-26

Marquis Childs

Continuing the Benefits of Detente

The proposed debate on detente, postponed by the spectacular events here at home, finds the advocates with a current proof of its benefits. While the outcome of the Greek-Turkey-Cyprus crisis is dark and unpredictable, without searching for silver linings one aspect is evidence of the cooling influence of the Nixon-Kissinger policy of relaxation of tensions with Moscow.

Before the series of agreements with the Soviet Union and the prospect of further relaxation of tensions, it takes little imagination to see what would be part of the present Greek-Turkish showdown. Day after day the headline would have reported mobilization of Russian troops on the Turkish border, on the Bulgarian border the movement of naval vessels off Cyprus. In short, confrontation which was a way of life in the era of the cold war. The bloody mess on Cyprus would, in the past, have been the perfect opportunity for Moscow to square off against the United States and NATO.

If and when the detente debate occurs, confrontation will not be the avowed goal of those in opposition. They talk about the superiority in weapons of the Soviet Union and how American negotiations allowed this to occur. One of the shabbiest deceptions was the planted story of the "secret" agreement to permit the Soviets an additional 70 missiles. Quickly proved false, the story nevertheless was used by the opposition with Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) in the lead.

If we are to revert to confrontation with a crisis every other week, an important difference should be noted. In the good old days, as seen by the big weapons lobby, it was possible to boost defense budgets without too much difficulty.

Today, with President Ford's plea for economy, Congress is cutting defense costs. Sen. John L. McClellan, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, has just put through a \$5 billion cut in the defense budget. This should be a lesson to the apostles of confrontation, who go all out to prove that every new and more powerful weapon, such as the Trident submarine with a longer-range missile, is essential if we are to stand up to the other super-power.

The weapons lobby has an important new recruit. Admiral Elmo Zumwalt

could hardly wait to get out of his suit as Chief of Naval Operations before, like Cliver Twist, starting to cry more, more, more. Exceptionally intelligent, outside the cookie cutter pattern of the joint chiefs, Zumwalt will beat a powerful drum in the weapons band.

Relax and enjoy it—that is one out. After all, each side knows that it has the power of total destruction and so will never resort to nuclear exchange. If all of America's land-based missiles were destroyed in a Soviet first strike, one of the dire prophecies of the weapons lobby, submarine-based missiles and the bomber force could still wipe out half the Soviet population and virtually all their cities.

In light of the failure of the recent Moscow summit to reach any agreement on offensive weapons, this has a catch. The Soviets are now in an intensive drive to put multiple independently targeted warheads (MIRVs) on their giant missiles and thereby come even with the United States. We are at the same time MIRVing as fast as possible.

Here is a scenario chilling the easy acceptance of a return to confrontation. A decade ago when Gen. Curtis LeMay was Chief of Staff of the Air Force and an implacable cold war warrior, the United States had an estimated 1,500 missiles. Brandishing the nuclear weapon, LeMay would nevertheless have hesitated to restore a limited use of nukes since whatever else the consequences, it would have spoiled the overall game plan for a complete nuclear response.

Let's say that in the near future the United States has 15,000 missiles, a conservative guess. A small portion could be employed without upsetting the larger plan. That is the temptation, and it is enhanced by Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger's proposed re-targeting for a limited nuclear war.

The Greek-Turkish blowup with the threat of the complete collapse of NATO's eastern flank is the first test on the international front for the new President. But, if it can mean cooperation with Moscow rather than confrontation and a grave danger to world peace, it should be convincing proof for Ford of the value of detente.

In my column that appeared in the Washington Post on August 2, I said that former Governor John Connally had organized Democrats for Nixon in 1968. This happened in 1972, after the former governor had served in the Nixon cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury. He supported the Democratic candidate, Sen. Hubert Humphrey, in 1968, which was widely believed to have been one of the reasons Humphrey carried Texas. I regret this error.

*The Washington
Post Friday
August 16, 1974
2-3-19-1*

Senate Votes \$21.9-Billion For Weapons Procurement

Bars Further Cuts in Aid to Saigon in Close Contest—Presidential Control on Exports to Soviet Is Backed

By JOHN W. FINNEY
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 11 — The Senate approved today a \$21.9-billion military procurement bill after having narrowly rejected a further reduction in military aid to South Vietnam.

By a 46-to-45 vote, the Senate defeated an amendment by Senator Edward M. Kennedy that would have lowered the ceiling on military aid to South Vietnam in the coming fiscal year to \$750-million.

In the bill approved by the Senate, the Armed Services Committee had set the ceiling at \$900-million, which was \$700-million less than requested by the Government. The House-approved bill sets the ceiling at \$1.126-billion, the level established for the current fiscal year.

The Senate bill, which provides \$1.3-billion less than requested by the Government, now goes to conference with the House, which had authorized \$22.6-billion. The conference is expected to yield a compromise of around \$22.1-billion.

Neither version makes any significant change in the major weapons programs sought by the Pentagon. In eight days of debate, the Senate, usually by a decisive margin, beat down

all attempts to cut back on weapons programs, such as the B-1 bomber, or to withdraw some troops from overseas bases.

As drafted by the Armed Services Committee, the Senate bill does attempt to achieve some savings in manpower costs, which now account for 56 per cent of the defense budget of \$86-billion. The bill ordered a 49,000-man reduction in the 2,152,100-man active-duty strength sought by the Pentagon and a 44,600-man cut in the 1,027,300-man civilian payroll of the Defense Department.

The Senate bill also directs a 23,000-man cut in support troops in Western Europe. The troops do not necessarily have to be withdrawn and may be added to combat forces.

The manpower reductions are estimated to save \$1.6-billion annually. But, responding to pressures from retired military groups, the Senate offset some of these savings by approving increases in retired military pay that would cost \$342-million in the first year and eventually a total of \$16-billion.

Before adopting the bill by

Continued on Page 7, Column 1

\$21.9-BILLION BILL FOR ARMS IS VOTED

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

a 84-to-6 vote, the Senate modified an amendment by Senator Henry M. Jackson, Democrat of Washington, authorizing the Secretary of Defense to veto the export of any goods or technology to the Soviet Union that he determined would significantly increase Soviet military capacity.

Unable to block the Jackson amendment, the opposition pushed through a modification by Senator Alan Cranston, Democrat of California, leaving the determination to be made by the President on the basis of a recommendation from the Secretary of Defense.

The provision underscored skepticism about expanding trade with the Soviet Union, particularly if it involved advanced technology.

Senator Jackson told the Senate that the view that American technology was helping the Soviet Union improve militarily was supported by a secret study carried out by the National Security Council.

The Senate approved an amendment by Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York, that would direct the Defense Department to abandon its policy of not sending officers to universities that have dropped Reserve Officer Training Corps programs.

The amendment is expected to be resisted in conference by Representative F. Edward Hebert, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, at whose insistence the Defense Department adopted its present policy. The practice affects Dartmouth, Harvard, Hobart, Pratt Institute, Stanford, the State University of New York Buffalo, Tufts and Yale.

-2-3-14-

Senate Passes \$21.9 Billion Military Bill

By Spencer Rich

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Senate passed a \$21.9 billion military procurement bill yesterday, 84 to 6, after narrowly killing a new slash in Vietnam aid and watering down a proposed curb on trade with the Soviet Union.

Passage of the measure climaxed nearly a week of voting in which the Pentagon was victorious on most major items, warding off cuts in overseas troop levels, Vietnam aid, weapons systems and counterforce capacity. The measure now goes to conference with the House, which has passed a \$22.6 billion authorization with very few differences on major weapons systems.

The move for further cuts in Vietnam aid was beaten by only a single vote, 46 to 45, it was sponsored by Sens. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Alan Cranston (D-Calif.). They proposed a \$750 million ceiling on military supplies to Vietnam in fiscal 1975, arguing that the United States is becoming endlessly locked into a supply and resupply operation, fueling continuation of the war.

Their ceiling would have been substantially lower than the \$1.6 billion sought by the White House, the \$1.126 billion voted by the House or the \$900 million recommended by the Senate Armed Services Committee.

The proposed curb on Soviet and East European trade was softened on an amendment by Cranston, 47 to 43. The initial version, sponsored by Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), would have given the Secretary of Defense power to veto any trade with the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe which the secretary believed might enhance Soviet military capacities. Under the Jackson proposal, the President could override the secretary but either chamber of Congress, in turn, could reverse the President and uphold the secretary.

The Cranston modification takes away the Defense Secretary's veto power and merely authorizes him to make recommendations to the President, on a co-equal basis with the Secretary of Commerce and other high officials. Cranston said his amendment removes the "pre-eminent" role assigned to the Defense Secretary by Jackson's proposal.

The Jackson amendment was opposed by the White House and the State and Commerce departments, but had strong backing from organized labor, according to Jackson. He said the aim of his original proposal was to prevent transfer of high-technology items like wide-bodied jets, computers and integrated circuitry that the Soviets could use to beef up their military capacity. He said the Defense Department was obviously the best place to make decisions on what traded items might help the Soviet military.

Jackson made clear that one objection from organized labor to some sales to the Soviet Union stemmed from fears that U.S. companies would build whole factories in the Soviet Union, reducing the number of jobs that would have been available to U.S. workers if the products were produced here and shipped to Russia after fabrication.

However, Walter Mondale (D-Minn.), Adlai E. Stevenson III (D-Ill.) and Cranston argued that the Defense Department shouldn't be given the predominant role in decision-making, but should merely be one of several advisers, as at present.

Mondale said that during the whole cold war period, "the Defense Department saw military significance in practically everything" proposed for trade with Russia—even brassieres—and succeeded in blocking virtually everything. "It traditionally has opposed every meaningful attempt to enlarge trade," he said.

Stevenson said a banking subcommittee he heads will start to write export control regulations today, and the

Jackson amendment would have usurped jurisdiction.

In another significant vote yesterday, the Senate approved, 48 to 43, an amendment by Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) prohibiting the Pentagon from barring military personnel, being trained under special Defense Department continuing education grants, from enrolling in 11 universities that have canceled ROTC programs. The 11 include Hobart, Columbia, Brown, Dartmouth, Stanford and Yale. Javits said he didn't see any valid reason for the Pentagon policy which could, he said, "compromise academic freedom."

Overall, the Pentagon sought \$23.1 billion in procurement authorizations, the House voted \$22.6 billion and the Senate \$21.9 billion. The \$1.6 billion Pentagon request for a Vietnam aid ceiling was cut to \$1.126 billion by the House and \$900 million by the Senate. The request for a maximum active-duty force of 2,152,100 at the end of fiscal 1975 was reduced to 2,149,313 by the House and 2,103,100 by the Senate. Both chambers added \$220.5 million to Air Force requests, in order to fund 12 new F-111 planes.

Senate amendments adopted during a week of debate include one permitting retired military personnel a one-time recomputation of benefit levels on the basis of active-duty pay levels as of Jan. 1, 1972. This would affect more than 600,000 persons, cost \$343 million the first year and \$16 billion all told, if approved in conference.

Other Senate amendments reduce the pool of military servants for high brass from 675 to 218; bar Navy target practice at Culebra Island after Dec. 31, 1975, and require a study of whether target practice at Kahoolawe Island, Hawaii, should continue; bar poison gas experiments on dogs; prevent Minuteman test flights from Montana to the Pacific; block use of a special Pentagon stockpile to supply Vietnam unless Congress approves; end a blanket exemption from bidding requirements on Pentagon medical supplies, and require the Pentagon to give justification if it lets any contract over \$1 million without bidding.

The last two amendments were added by lame-duck freshman Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) in one of his first legislative successes.

In final votes yesterday, the Senate defeated, 68 to 23, an amendment by Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (R-Md.) restoring \$16 million to design a new low-cost submarine; defeated, 52 to 38, one by Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) demanding that the Senate not yield to the House in conference on proposals to raise the total in the bill above the Senate figure.

The Washington Post 6-12

Candidate file

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, MARCH 27, 1975

JACKSON PROPOSES AN ARMS-CURB STEP

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 26 — Senator Henry M. Jackson proposed today that the United States and the Soviet Union agree not to modernize 700 of their strategic weapons as a step toward future reductions in their nuclear arsenals.

The Washington Democrat, who has considerable influence in the Senate on arms-control issues, suggested such a new approach to assure that last year's Vladivostok agreement setting a ceiling on strategic weapons would lead to subsequent mutual reductions in nuclear forces.

In a Senate speech, the Senator expressed concern that the Vladivostok agreement reached between President Ford and Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet Communist party leader, would establish a floor rather than a ceiling on future levels of strategic weapons.

His proposal, therefore, was that as part of the treaty now being negotiated to implement the Vladivostok agreement, both sides designate 700 weapons that would not be modernized before the treaty expires in 1985. Then, he argued, these older, probably obsolete weapons would become logical candidates for dismantling as the two nations enter into negotiations on reducing their strategic arsenals.

A Rabbit Punch for 'Scoop'

WASHINGTON — By the end of this week, Sen. Henry Jackson is expected to announce officially that he is a candidate for President of the United States.

If he is to move at all, "Scoop" must make his move now, because he has recently been staggered by the most savage rabbit punch ever delivered a putative candidate for high office. The American Secretary of State, in an unprecedented political collaboration with the Soviet Ambassador to the United States, has placed the blame for the collapse of detente at the door of Jackson.



Most Americans think what "Dobryssinger" wants them to think: That the insistence by the Senate that economic aid to the Soviet Union be tied to liberalized emigration policy led to the renunciation of the Trade Pact. Since "Scoop" Jackson led the charge for that linkage, and since he represents the most obvious threat to the Dobryssinger foreign affairs hegemony, he was the logical fall guy.

But the truth lies elsewhere. On Dec. 18, Leonid Brezhnev emerged shaken from a Politburo meeting to order the publication of an earlier, secret message from Gromyko to Kissinger warning that no "assurances" had been given on emigration, as Kissinger had been telling the Senate. This signalled the victory of Soviet hardliners in the Kremlin, and under-scored the folly of conducting foreign affairs between superpowers on the basis of secret agreements between men who posed as modern Metternichs.

On the same day, Dobrynin and Kissinger met to work out their mutual reaction. Their master plan had failed; as realists, they now had to devise a scheme to enable their reputation to survive, preferably one that would blame failure on a geopolitical opponent.

The instrument chosen — the pretense upon which the trade agreement would founder — was a Senate restriction on the amount of credit that could be extended to the Soviet Union by the Export-Import Bank. Wisely, the Senate bill introduced by Adlai Stevenson 3rd made it necessary for the President to come back to Congress as credits to the U.S.S.R. reached \$300 million, which at the current pace was expected to be in about 18 months.

Last year, when the idea of putting

a ceiling on ex-im credits was broached, Kissinger had mildly objected, but that was only because he did not want the Senate looking over his shoulder; the bankers and the Soviets knew that the ceiling, when reached, would be pushed up to meet Soviet demand when necessary in 1976.

But on Dec. 19, the credit ceiling that had already been passed suddenly became — to our own Department of State — an intolerable slap in the face to the Soviet Union. "Peanuts," said the Secretary of State (ours), and caused the official State Department spokesman to twist the facts: He divided the \$300 million ceiling by four years, the length of the term, to come up with a specious figure of \$75 million per year.

Officials at the Export-Import Bank were incredulous; so were other administration economists, who knew that the computation was false and that a credit line was intended to be raised as utilized. Could the State Department be making a stupid mistake?

Hardly. At year end, Kissinger told the coterie which agrees not to attribute direct quotations to him: "The bill permits credits to them at the rate of \$75 million a year, which towards a superpower is an insult . . . an absurdity."

Why, a logical mind might wonder, would the U.S. Secretary of State insist on the world knowing that the Soviets had been deliberately insulted? Why would he interpret an action that was not considered an insult in such a way that a gullible press corps and a

sensitive superpower would have to take it as a humiliation? The reason why, of course, was that a scapegoat was needed and the U.S. Senate was the scapegoat.

Sure enough, a couple of weeks after being informed by the Secretary of State (ours) that it had been publicly humiliated, the Soviet Union renounced the trade agreement, and the Dobryssinger propaganda apparat put out the line that the Senate — Jackson and the rest — had torpedoed detente.

Actually, on Dec. 18 — a day that should live in infamy — the decision was made by the Dobryssinger factor to accept defeat and lay the blame elsewhere. Like Captain Hans Langsdorff of the German pocket battleship Graf Spee just 35 years before, Kissinger preferred to scuttle his crippled ship of detente in harbor rather than face certain defeat in the open sea.

"Henry plays a hard game," said Richard Nixon admiringly one day after his national security adviser had emasculated a bureaucratic rival. Leaders topple; policies crash in flames; Henry Survives.

As Jackson officially enters the list, trying to clear his head from that Dobryssinger rabbit punch he faces the opposition of the left wing of the Democratic Party and the right wing of the Soviet Politburo.

Waiting for him, further down the road, is the man who has shown himself daring enough to use foreign affairs leverage in domestic politics — the only Secretary of State under whom two Presidents have served.

Jackson Announces Presidential Bid

JACKSON, From A1

zona, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and former Sen. Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma. In addition, former Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy (D-Minn.) has indicated he plans to run in an independent effort to elect individuals who will vote for him in the electoral college.

With Jackson's televised declaration, he hits the ground running, the beneficiary of a campaign effort probably more advanced in terms of organization and money 11 months before an election year than any other in American political history.

Other candidates in the past—John F. Kennedy in 1960, Barry M. Goldwater in 1964, George McGovern and Edmund S. Muskie in 1972—had campaign organizations well in advance of election year, but nothing of such scope and prosperity so early.

The announcement merely formalizes a step Jackson really took last July 8.

Then, he opened an office called "The Jackson Planning Committee" in a duplex just off Capitol Hill, a few blocks from Union Station. In the intervening seven months, it has become the command post for a full-fledged bid for the nomination.

The salaried staff now numbers 22 plus several consultants, with a monthly operating budget of \$900,000 in the bank. Full-time staffers include a political director, finance director, issues coordi-

gator to Senate business appears to be the sum of the Jackson campaign strategy so far. Robert Keefe, the organization's political director and overall field general, said no decisions will be made on target primaries and allocation of 1976 spending until after July, when the states are required to file their convention delegate-selection plans.

As Jackson embarks on his 1976 bid, he possesses considerable resources beyond money and organization. In 1972, when he made his first run for the nomination and got nowhere, he was a candidate little-known nationally and crippled within his own party by his stolid support of the unpopular war in Vietnam. Liberals flailed at him as totally unacceptable and kept him on the defensive.

Since then, however, important changes have occurred

within the country and within the Democratic Party that make Jackson a much more formidable prospect than anyone might have imagined in the wake of that dismal first attempt.

American ground troops are no longer in combat in Vietnam, a factor that frees him of his 1972 albatross. He has moved so far from it, in fact, that he has said he will not vote for the \$300 million additional South Vietnam military aid now being sought by President Ford. Issues of energy and the economy, yawn-inducers in the Jackson repertoire of 1972, have been converted by events at home and abroad into major political advantages, keeping him in the news and underscoring his experience in both areas.

And within the party, the severity of the McGovern defeat of 1972 has generated a climate of moderation that has in itself made Jackson more acceptable.

A bedrock of Jackson's support is the American Jewish community, fueled by his longstanding support of American aid to Israel and more recently his leadership in the effort to secure an open-door

emigration policy by the Soviet Union for Jews and others, in exchange for U.S. trade advantages.

The latter effort suffered a severe setback last month when the Russians announced they were rejecting their 1972 trade agreement with the United States because the Senate had made U.S. concessions contingent on the emigration condition. Jackson critics, including Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, blamed congressional interference for the rejection, and it is uncertain what the long-term impact on Jackson political hopes will be.

Jackson also is a potential beneficiary of the early decisions of Sens. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.) to stay out of the 1976 race. Both were strong with organized labor, and their withdrawals enhance Jackson's chances with this important segment of the party.

Two factors jeopardize this prospect, however. The first is Jackson's leadership of the Soviet emigration fight, which is coupled with the trade bill vehemently opposed by AFL-

CIO President George Meany as threatening to American workers.

The second is a growing political split within organized labor itself, with liberal, reform-minded unions cool to Jackson like the United Auto Workers, becoming more actively involved in Democratic Party affairs. At the same time, Meany and the AFL-CIO regulars are increasingly going their own way.



SEN. HENRY M. JACKSON

... vows to help the people

2-7-75
Campaign Already Under Way

Jackson Announces '76 Bid

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), with a campaign organization already in place and nearly a million dollars in the bank to fund it, last night declared his candidacy for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination, pledging to "use the office of the presidency to help the people in this country who are getting hurt."

Jackson formally announced

his intention to run in a five-minute pre-taped telecast over CBS network (WTOP).

Touching on the populist theme that has come into vogue for other Democratic presidential hopefuls at a time of economic trouble at home, Jackson said:

"For the past six years, the Republican administration has been tilting in favor of big business, the large corporations, the people who can take care of themselves. And the

little people — little business, the elderly, the young, across the board — have been the ones who have been taking the beating.

"And, I think we need to change that tilt. I want to change that tilt to help these people. I'm not against big business. I'm for the profit motive, I'm for incentives. But what is needed is to redress the balance, to tilt back in favor of those who need the help because that will help the whole country."

The telecast, which was produced by TV film specialist David Wolper and at a cost of \$23,000 including air time, showed Jackson interrogating Secretary of Agriculture Earl L. Butz on the Russian wheat deal — of which Jackson was a leading critic. It also showed Jackson making a speech in favor of arms reduction with the Soviet Union "on a mutual basis on both sides." The tape closed with an appeal for campaign contributions.

Jackson's announcement makes him the fourth Democrat to publicly announce his intention to seek his party's nomination. The others are Rep. Morris K. Udall of Ari-

See JACKSON, A8, Col. 1




Trade Troubles and Sen. Jackson

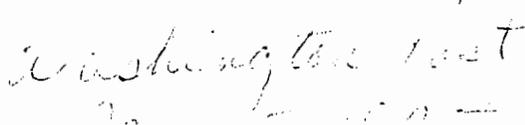
TO NO ONE'S SURPRISE, the Russians are not knuckling under to the conditions written into the trade and Export-Import Bank Bills. They have served notice that, since the United States has not fulfilled its pledge in the 1972 Soviet-American trade agreement to make trade unconditional, they are released from the obligations they undertook in that agreement. So they are not making annual payments on their \$750 million Lend-Lease debt, and they warn they will not try to expand trade beyond the modest billion-dollar-a-year rate of the last three years. Only if the United States detaches trade from emigration and removes ceilings on Ex-Im Bank credits, the Kremlin now grimly says, will it move ahead.

Well, Moscow has a point. How could a proud sovereign state fail to wish to show its irritations at the new trade conditions? In negotiating the 1972 agreement, Washington hoped, as Secretary of State William Rogers said at the time, "to insure that today's commercial triumphs would not become tomorrow's political irritant." But it is just as well to recognize that East-West trade is inseparable from politics. In volume it is small: in 1973, this country's trade with Russia was \$1.189 billion, with Canada \$32 billion, with Japan \$18 billion. For both great powers, trade has never been more than a political barometer. Economically, both states have alternatives. Only politically is their commerce meaningful.

But this is precisely why the new trade situation is worrisome. It suggests on both sides, not a crippling, but an encumbering of the prospects for improved relations on a broad front. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's anxieties may be too dark; he told Business Week the new restrictions have "deprived the United States of important and maybe fundamental leverage." This does not

take into full account, we submit, the possibilities for negotiating with Congress to raise the credit ceilings to meaningful levels and for quietly impressing on the Russians the reluctance many Americans have about investing public money in large energy projects in foreign and politically changeable lands. Not just the American political scene but the world economic scene, after all, has changed greatly since the upbeat days in which the trade agreement was written in 1972. Still, there are grounds enough for being nervous about this latest turn. The process of detente is not yet so deeply rooted that its steady growth is assured. No one can be sure how many yanks the young plant can endure.

We have the feeling that nervousness about the overall future of Soviet-American relations, and not just pique at the trade amendments, is what now most troubles the Kremlin's advocates of detente. In this connection, perhaps the most important need at this point is for Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), the country's leading skeptic on detente, to step back a pace and give the process a decent chance. Mr. Jackson has an unerring and unhappy knack of diluting grand causes, such as human rights or national security, by political overkill. His presidential ambitions seem to tempt him to hang tough on Soviet-related issues and to stir people's anxieties and fears for political as well as serious ends. When Mr. Jackson first introduced his amendment on Jewish emigration, the monthly totals were around 3000; through the several years of his agitation, the totals have declined. We do not say the impetus he supplied has not been useful but the essence of political leadership is knowing when to ease off. It is the spectacle of an American populace stirred to excessive toughness by Sen. Jackson and others of his persuasion that now looms over detente.



Kissinger And Jackson

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, April 25 — The Kissinger-Jackson row over how to negotiate a strategic military arms agreement with the Soviet Union illustrates what happens here when a President loses the confidence of the people and politicians begin scrambling to succeed him.

For centuries the nations have been trying unsuccessfully to bring the weapons of war under control, and it is obvious now that nobody in Washington or in Moscow has any clear answer to the problem. Therefore attempts to minimize the danger of one more round in the arms race require at least some confidence in the good faith and integrity of the negotiators.

But in the present poisonous atmosphere of suspicion in Washington, there is very little confidence in the good faith of anybody in the White House, the Congress or the press. Men speak and act, but their words and actions are not taken straight but searched for some other hidden motive.

The suspicion is often justified, but there is an element of tragedy in all this, for the atmosphere of doubt in Washington is now beginning to spread beyond Watergate and politics to policy, not only to the President and the cast of characters in the political scandals, who are the men of the past, but to people like Senator Henry Jackson and Secretary of State Kissinger, who may have more to say about the future and the policy of arms control than anybody else.

The main thing about this is that Messrs. Kissinger and Jackson are now involved in a public row about the control of nuclear weapons, and how this fundamental question should be negotiated with the Soviets, but have never really talked out their differences in private before they differed with one another in public.

This is very odd. They are both intelligent and knowledgeable men,

WASHINGTON

and know that the control of arms has reached a critical point with Moscow. Mr. Jackson wants a comprehensive agreement with the Russians on arms control, which Mr. Kissinger also wants but thinks he cannot get.

Therefore, Mr. Kissinger is willing to do the best he can, to keep the talks going. What, he asks, if we added to all our present difficulties at home and in the Middle East, the demands of Senator Jackson and a return to the confrontations of the cold war? Why argue about the number of missiles? People are killed by nuclear warheads and not by the missiles themselves, so we have to avoid 20,000 missiles with multiple warheads by the end of the seventies, and slow down the arms race as best we can.

Senator Jackson insists that we draw the line with the Soviet Union now—force an agreement for a major reduction of arms, demand that the Russians agree to the emigration of 100,000 Soviet citizens a year, not only the aggrieved Jews but the dissidents from the Ukraine and the Baltic States and the other Soviet nationalities as well.

Now is the time, Mr. Jackson says, to be tough. Now is the time, says Mr. Kissinger, to be careful. You can make a good case either way, and the issues are so complicated and so grave and even dangerous, that it is hard to understand why these two men do not talk out the controversy in private before they throw it into the headlines of the world.

Senator Jackson is now charging in public that the President and the Secretary of State are rushing into a compromise arms agreement because the President is in trouble at home and needs to give the impression of an agreement with the Russians on arms, even if, as Mr. Jackson believes, it is a fake.

The Administration denies this in public and suggests in private that Mr. Jackson is really running for President on an anti-Soviet, pro-labor and pro-Israel platform. Probably there is some truth in this both ways, but not much.

We are in terrible trouble in Washington these days, but we have not really declined to the point that the Administration would fiddle with the security of the Republic in order to pick up a few conservative votes in the House and Senate against the impeachment and conviction of the President. On other issues, maybe, but on strategic arms, the balance of power in the world, and the future safety of the nation, certainly not.

Similarly, Mr. Jackson may be running for the Presidency, but again not by proposing policies that would help him at the expense of the nation. But in the present mood of this city, everybody tends to believe the worst in what men say and do. This is the tragedy of Watergate for everybody, and nobody knows it here better than Kissinger and Jackson.

NYT
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What is intolerable is that they do not discuss their honest differences. After all, Mr. Kissinger's success rests on the fact that as an outsider he won the confidence of Richard Nixon, of Chou En-lai in China, of President Sadat in Egypt, of Golda Meir in Israel, and of the elders of the United States Congress.

It is odd that he has not managed to do the same with Mr. Jackson, who in the end is not likely to reach the White House by arguing for a return to the confrontations of the cold war.

Jackson: Advice And Dissent

As Henry Kissinger and then Richard Nixon head to the Kremlin, the "third man" with them at the table is Sen. Henry Jackson. By the power he wields on Soviet-related issues in the Congress and by the possibility that he may become President in 1976, the Washington State Democrat has a unique role in American national security policy.

Jackson, sensitive to the constitutional separation of powers and reluctant to crowd Nixon personally, insists that "I don't inject myself into policy." With the patient air of a schoolmaster who finds a student slow to learn, he says his role is "tell Henry . . . stiffen Henry"—by offering Kissinger his own skeptical analyses of events and by providing the Secretary of State with the congressional stiffening which Jackson regards as essential to successful negotiation.

He finds James Schlesinger, whom he knew and admired before the Secretary of Defense came to town, not only "bright" but "tough." It's by coincidence not coordination that he and Schlesinger lean to the same strategic views, he says. Jackson sees Kissinger and Schlesinger as policy rivals. "But who will prevail? The President hasn't decided. I don't know. The great mystery in this administration is who's making the decisions."

In the Senate debate on the 1972 strategic arms accords, Jackson recalls, he warned that Soviet missile throw-weight could be doubled—"and it's coming to pass." The administration justified the uneven terms of SALT I on the basis that Soviet momentum had to be stopped and that in SALT II the U.S. would press for equality, Jackson observes. But: "The administration is now hard pressed to fulfill its assurance of equality. The Soviets have other ideas."

Jackson believes Mr. Nixon was "mistaken" to set himself a 1974 target date for a SALT II agreement on offensive arms. The President is "beleaguered, weak." A SALT deal at the June summit would be "dangerous."

"Look at the impeachment schedule. How can Nixon focus? He prides himself on foreign policy but he's distracted. If someone were to write a scenario for disaster, it's all there."

In a basic difference, Jackson rejects the Nixon-Kissinger strategy of trying to build a web of interlocking interests between the two great powers in order to blunt their political and strategic rivalry. "I don't buy it," he says flatly.

Rather, he holds that the first task of detente is to loosen the Soviet government's grip on its own people, a result to be brought about by offering substantial credits ("economic assistance"), which, he is convinced, the Kremlin craves and can get nowhere else. Jackson acknowledges that no position can be pushed indefinitely with the Russians but he thinks the administration has seriously underestimated the political and humans-rights price the Russians will pay for credits.

He thinks that a detente that does not produce results in terms of a loosening of Soviet society and a more moderate foreign policy—look how Moscow acted in the Mideast last October, he says, how Gromyko recently "stirred up the Syrians," how Moscow now urges the Arabs to continue the oil embargo—is not a detente.

After the 1972 election, Jackson discussed the trade-emigration issue with a high Russian official, and he then set down his proposals for a smooth and regular emigration flow in a letter (copy to Kissinger), which went unanswered. Jackson and his staff receive lesser Soviet types, such as journalists, from time to time. He is not bothered by Soviet attacks on him ("polemics"), and he stays open to whatever Russian bids are made to keep in touch. An invitation to visit the Soviet Union was dangled indirectly before him earlier this year. Jackson did not respond and no direct invitation has been forthcoming.

Recently, the public Soviet line on Jackson took a certain new serious turn. From berating him as a tool of the "military-industrial complex" and "Zionism," the Russians began talking about "the overambitious and irresponsible Senator from Washington" as possibly the next President. ("A bit premature," Jackson responds, grinning.) "There is no greater threat to peace than such politicians pushing to power," Moscow Radio told its American audience.

Whether Jackson is telling the stern truth about the world or whether he is spoiling the possibility of better times is, of course, a matter of some controversy in the United States. Personally, I'm unsure. What is much less in controversy, however, is that by each step of their own which arouses American anxieties and leads Americans to question the value of detente, the Russians are helping put Jackson in the White House.

Chambers M. Roberts

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Shelving SALT For Now

Sen. Henry M. Jackson, the Washington state Democrat and would-be presidential candidate of his party, currently appears to have eclipsed even Sen. Edward M. Kennedy as the man-most-often-on-the-air on the whole range of current issues and problems. "Scoop" was there early on military matters, support of Israel, the environment and energy and now he is cashing in on all the hard work and positive position-taking. He is, in short, a man listened to and a man to be listened to, regardless of whether or not one agrees.

The other day Jackson let loose a blast at the American position in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) that is worthy of note. He said that the SALT talks have reached "an impasse" in part, at least, because the Soviet Union had a few weeks ago put forward a draft treaty "so one-sided as to be completely unacceptable to the United States." Others who know about it confirm the Jackson remarks.

The SALT talks, known as SALT II, are now in recess with no agreed date for resumption. It is conceded all around that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, the key man on the American side, is too preoccupied with other more pressing issues to pay sufficient attention to SALT.

There is one chief reason, from the American point of view, for pressing negotiations at this time: the outside possibility that a curb could be agreed upon on the deployment of MIRVs, the multiple nuclear warheads on land- and sea-based missiles. The United States now has a three-to-one lead in the number of warheads because the United States has been MIRVing its missiles. The Soviet Union, according to Defense Secretary James Schlesinger, now is testing its own multiple warheads but, at best, it would take until 1979 to catch up. Meanwhile, Moscow, according to Jackson, has tested new intercontinental missiles, both land- and sea-based, "despite the fact that they already enjoy a three-fold advantage" in the throw weight of their missiles, that is, in the total megatonnage they could hurl at the United States.

Columnist Joseph Alsop has been reporting what others consider the "worst case" possibility of the Soviet developments, with Armageddon appearing to be the inevitable outcome. Even some of the hardest of the hard-liners on the American side of SALT

"The simple fact, to me, is that President Nixon is in such a weak position that this would be the worst possible time to bargain a SALT agreement."

consider that Alsop has overstated the case. Those who fought hardest for the SALT I accords consider Alsop to be raising all sorts of false alarms.

The truth, as in so many past arms control controversies, is hard to get at because truth is relative and there are many asymmetries between the two superpowers. I think it is fair to say, however, that what has occurred in the SALT II talks, considered in conjunction with the larger Soviet-American relationship, has taken the bloom off the rose for practically all Americans who follow or participate in these matters.

From this overall view a good many people are coming to the conclusion, one I strongly share, that for the time being SALT should be put on the shelf. This is not to say that the talks should not go on or that contact should not continue, but that the time is not now ripe for striking bargains in order to get a SALT II accord.

In the first place, the control of MIRVs is probably impossible. Some argue that there is still a chance of this by an agreement to limit testing and that since testing can be checked by so-called "national means of detection" this would be an acceptable risk. But, to me, the preponderant evidence is otherwise: The Soviets will not agree to MIRV controls until they reach parity in such devices and then no "national means" can ever make certain there will be no cheating.

In the second place, in the judgment of a number of persons whose opinion I respect, the balance of power is not in danger of changing to a degree that would imperil the security of the United States. It is this point, of course, that men such as Jackson and Alsop do not accept. The administration position appears to be that while there is no immediate danger there is a longer range threat that cannot be ignored. But the time element that may be involved is not easy to agree upon.

At least, it appears, the problem is not going to become critical in the remaining three years and a month of the Nixon administration—and this is a very important time span. The simple fact, to me, is that President Nixon, assuming he survives for the rest of his term, is in such a weak position that this would be the worst possible time for him to bargain a SALT agreement. Those who recall—many with unhappiness—the frenetic last hours of the Nixon-Brezhnev bargaining over SALT I during the Moscow summit conference say they do not want to see the United States again placed under such pressure. It now seems beyond contradiction that the United States made concessions to enable Mr. Nixon to come home with his triumph — that probably could have been avoided in a less hectic finale to the negotiations.

It is some of those concessions to which Jackson has taken such strong exception, and because of them he managed to put through Congress the so-called Jackson amendment demanding what he considers more "parity" in the second round of talks on control and limitation of offensive weapons.

The larger Soviet-American framework adds what to me is a convincing argument for not rushing into a SALT II pact. The Soviet-American detente quite evidently has a lot of soft spots, such as in the areas of energy, trade and the Mideast. The Atlantic Alliance is in greater disarray than ever, even more than after the Suez war. There is simply no reason to try to resolve SALT before we resolve these more pressing problems. This administration must try to meet the energy and alliance issues; SALT can wait for the next administration.

Jackson and the trade bill

By Alton Frye

The Christian
Science Monitor

8/8/74

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For

Washington
Few legislators can match the performance of Sen. Henry Jackson. A vigorous critic of the administration's strategic arms control policies, he has proved to be an equally powerful opponent of the pending trade bill.

For more than a year the administration has delayed the bill rather than accept a Jackson amendment which conditions credits and most-favored nation (MFN) status for the Soviet Union on Moscow's willingness to relax controls over emigration, particularly for Jewish citizens wishing to migrate to Israel.

Through these actions, Senator Jackson has established a controlling position with regard to further evolution of Soviet-American relations. He has also provoked the ire, if not the enmity, of the Soviet Government.

There is no doubt that the threat posed by the Jackson amendment has given U.S. diplomats added leverage in their effort to persuade Moscow to allow a freer flow of Jewish emigrants. The Senator's unique role has brought him into active participation in these diplomatic exchanges.

Jackson has quite deliberately exploited his bargaining power, while hinting at some flexibility in the matter. The Soviets have offered a number of quiet concessions, but they predictably denounce the Jackson amendment as intrusion in their domestic affairs.

For some time Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and others have been groping for a way to defuse the Jackson bombshell. A number of senators resent being boxed in by a proposal which they support only at considerable risk to the detente they favor, and which they oppose only at the peril of losing the favor of Jewish constituents.

One problem with the amendment as presently framed is its "once and for all" quality. To obtain MFN treatment, the Soviets would have to undertake rather explicit commitments to liberalize emigration rules for the indefinite future.

Conceding that Senator Jackson's ploy has induced a healthy tension in Soviet-American diplomacy, the objective should be to sustain that tension into the future. It is too much to expect the granting of MFN, a largely symbolic act, to produce enduring humanitarianism in Soviet policy.

A lever of far greater promise for

influencing the Soviets is control over credits to finance expanded Soviet-American economic activity. The Senate will shortly consider extending the authority of the Export-Import Bank, currently operating under month-to-month authorizations.

Sen. Adlai Stevenson of Illinois, a strong supporter of the Jackson position, has authored committee provisions to regulate credits to Communist countries. While the Illinois Senator disavows any intention of undermining the Jackson amendment, the Export-Import Bank bill could be the vehicle to break the deadlock over trade legislation.

Slight modification of Stevenson's language would permit the Congress to review and, if necessary, to veto major credit arrangements with the Soviet Union. The President could be required to submit for congressional scrutiny each credit over \$10 million, together with a report on current developments in Soviet-American re-

lations, including trends in Russian emigration practices. The credits could go into effect only if neither house of Congress disapproved within 30 days.

This arrangement would enable Congress to maintain its oversight of the political evolution between Moscow and Washington. Knowing it would have the opportunity periodically to review credit proposals — matters more important to Moscow than MFN — Congress could drop the Jackson amendment.

Such a device would serve both Congress's institutional interest in keeping its hand in the action and its political interest in keeping the pressure on Moscow to deal gently with would-be emigres.

A new approach would be welcomed by the administration. And it would relieve the anguish of Jackson's co-sponsors who find themselves trapped by necessary politics into unwise policy.

Jackson Opens His Campaign By Hitting Ford on Economy

By Jules Witcover

Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) kicked off his declared candidacy for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination yesterday by likening President Ford to the "chairman of the board of a company being accused of gross mismanagement of the economy or a business."

He said he found it "very frustrating" to get Ford administration economic policy from several different sources "from Simon to Sawhill to Zarb to Ash" and complained, "There's no one in charge of the store."

Jackson called Mr. Ford "an honest, honorable man, a decent man" but added:

"I regret that he does not seem to be fully attuned to the kind of problems facing this nation. They are in the fields of energy and the field of economics. If you're going to be President of the United States, you have to be able to ask the hard, tough questions . . ."

The Washington Democrat made his remarks in a question-and-answer period after a luncheon speech before the Washington Press Club at the Sheraton-Carlton hotel. In it he charged that the President's economic policy does not meet the test of fairness because it would fall hardest on the poor and those most hurt by the recession and inflation.

"It is not fair to talk of anything less than economic recovery for those who have the

most to recover from," he said. "This should be our rule: Those hurt first are helped first, those hurt the most are helped the most."

Jackson said he had announced his candidacy more than a year in advance of the first 1976 primary because it was the honest thing to do.

"Who is kidding whom about candidacies?" he asked "I have raised funds; I have an organization; I am going to be a vigorous candidate."

In addition, he said, "the 1976 presidential campaign really started the minute this nation was given its first appointed President and Vice President. For the first time in our history we have an administration that did not take office as a result of a national election."

Jackson said he will do most of his 1975 campaigning against that administration from the Senate. "As a declared candidate, I intend to spend the majority of my time not on the road but on the job," he said. "I intend to influence public policy so that we can have needed action now on the mounting problem that face all of us."

Having said that, however, Jackson noted he had spoken in 38 states last year and had missed fewer than 1 per cent of Senate votes. He said he intended to maintain that performance this year—indicating heavy weekend and overnight from-Washington campaigning.

Jackson has said he will not

decide which primaries to enter until after July, when the states will have filed their delegate-selection plans with the Democratic National Committee. But he said yesterday he did not share the widespread view that the proliferation of primaries—27 so far and probably more—will inevitably lead to a stalemate at the convention.

"I don't think we're going to have a brokered convention," he said.

Jackson said he does not rate himself the front-runner for the Democratic nomination. "There is no front-runner in my judgment," he said.

Tass Criticizes

Jackson Candidacy

MOSCOW, Feb. 7 (AP)—Tass reported Sen. Henry M. Jackson's announcement of his presidential candidacy today and called him the "henchman of reactionary circles of the military-industrial complex, the right-wing leadership of the AFL-CIO and of Zionist organizations."

Rarely does the official Soviet news agency report an American political story with such speed.

The Tass report made clear that the Kremlin opposes Jackson, an outspoken critic of Soviet-American detente and the leader in the drive to force Moscow to liberalize emigration restrictions on Soviet Jews in return for U.S. trade concessions.

Bob Wiedrich

Henry Jackson's wrong-way war



THE MAN who was the main source of material for Sen. Henry Jackson's charges of Drug Enforcement Administration corruption has flunked a series of lie detector tests on his seven-year-old allegations.

In the meantime, he also has been arrested for the second time in seven years for selling dope to undercover federal agents and is reported again attempting to level new charges to save his skin from prison.

But to date the Washington Democrat with Presidential dreams has yet to publicly admit that the keystone of his Senate subcommittee investigation of DEA with Sen. Charles Percy [R., Ill.] has been bared as a master fabricator and convicted narcotics peddler.

SO THE reputations of the 2,000 agents charged with fighting the United States war on drugs remain unfairly blackened as Jackson uses his self-styled crusade to foster his ambitions toward the White House.

Last May, Jackson was successful in getting fired as DEA administrator John R. Bartels Jr., an 11-year Justice Department veteran with a distinguished record. Jackson had repeatedly accused

Most of the agents had worked in New York when McDonell, a former Washington, D. C., policeman, had been an BNDD agent after joining the government in 1956.

Of the 40 men named, only two were indicted as a result of McDonell's charges, which supposedly had been investigated by Tartaglino in his role as chief inspector. None were convicted. No one went to jail. Tartaglino was aware of that when he made his charges to Jackson.

In fact, two months before Tartaglino ran to the subcommittee with his accusations, Bartels had ordered a new review and investigation of the then nearly seven-year-old charges to clear the air. Many of the cases, he said, had either not been thoroughly investigated or not investigated at all.

"The charges had hung over the heads of those accused counter to common decency, professional investigative procedures, or the DEA's own inspection manual," Bartels declared.

Further, Bartels charged, Tartaglino had attempted to use the now stale McDonell allegations to block the promotions of some of the accused agents, even tho cases against them had been closed

awaited visit to far-away friends and family, or a
id, the fastest way to get from here to there is by

more U.S. cities
anyone.

Gallup Poll Shows Big Jackson Gain In Race With Ford

politics
Jackson

If President Ford and Senator Henry M. Jackson were to oppose each other in a Presidential election today, each would get about 44 percent of the vote, according to the latest Gallup Poll.

These findings represent a substantial gain for Senator Jackson over his previous showing in a poll in early June, which showed Mr. Ford winning, 46 percent to 37 percent.

The Gallup Poll also asked preferences in a three-man race with Gov. George C. Wallace, the President and Senator Jackson. The results indicated that Governor Wallace would drain support from both major party candidates but would hurt the Washington Senator more than President Ford. In this test, the President received 37 percent, Senator Jackson 32 percent and Governor Wallace 21 percent. Ten percent of those polled were either undecided or chose other candidates.

Humphrey Fares Better

Survey evidence suggests that if Senator Hubert H. Humphrey ran against President Ford with Governor Wallace in the race as a third-party candidate, he would be hurt less than Senator Jackson by Mr. Wallace's candidacy.

The survey was based on the opinions of registered voters among 1,515 persons who were interviewed between Oct. 31 and Nov. 3 in 300 localities around the country.

Those interviewed were asked: "Suppose the Presidential election were being held today. If President Gerald Ford were the Republican candidate and Senator Henry Jackson were the Democratic candidates, which would you like to see win?"

Convention Poll

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Nov. 23 (UPI)—Senator Humphrey was the leading choice for his party's 1976 Presidential nomination among delegates attending the National Issues Convention here this weekend. He nosed out Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana as the favorite candidate among 984 persons voting in the informal survey by a company marketing a new telephonic polling device.

Mr. Humphrey received 172 votes, compared with 166 for Mr. Bayh, 146 for Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and 121 for former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter.

North Carolina Fire Kills 6

LOCUST, N. C., Nov. 23 (AP)—A family of six died late last night when a fire engulfed their mobile home near the Stanly County community of Locust, the authorities said. The sheriff's department today iden-

Chicago Daily News

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Saturday, Sunday, January 10-11, 1976

Scoop Jackson wrong on busing

WASHINGTON — Over the years, Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) has had a pretty good voting record on civil rights legislation. That is why it is so painful to see him gamble away his chances of becoming President by following bad advice on the issue of school busing.

Perhaps Jackson sensed that his campaign already had bogged down and that he desperately needed a massive dose of media exposure. I can think of no other logical explanation for his recent announcement that he is going to introduce legislation that would greatly restrict the power of federal judges to order school busing.

It is hard to believe that some black advisers did not warn Jackson that the reaction would be swift and angry across black America, losing him far more convention delegate votes than he will ever woo away from the Wallace wing of the party.

VERNON E. JORDAN JR., executive director of the National Urban League, wired Jackson: "At a time when the nation needs its leadership to speak out in support of the constitutional rights of black children, you have chosen to pour



by
Carl T.
Rowan

oil on the flames of controversy by encouraging antibusing movements whose ultimate aim is restoration of segregated schools. This is reminiscent of the Nixon policy of putting politics before principle."

Reaction in the black media was no milder. "We've had the nagging suspicion for some time that (Jackson) didn't have the stability to be trusted with the Presidency," said the Afro-American newspapers. "Jackson has emphasized his inadequacies by getting down into the gutter with the antibusing rabblers in an effort to give a boost to his feeble campaign. . . ."

Part of the new disenchantment with Jackson flows from a feeling that he is trying to play the public — blacks, especially — for fools. For example, he asserts that he will introduce his legislation to "end the school busing controversy" so the nation can focus on educating children. It is inconceivable that Jackson really believes that he can "end" the busing controversy by introducing utterly controversial antibusing legislation.

It is far more likely that Jackson concluded that the greater the public passions over busing that he can provoke, the likelier he is to win primary votes with his antibusing stance.

ASIDE FROM dark suspicions about Jackson's motives, much of his proposal is bereft of logic. He wants to deny individual federal judges the authority to extend school busing plans, requiring special three-judge courts for busing cases. With court dockets already clogged and running years behind, this is a practical absurdity. But the implication is that three-judge panels would give a fairer look at evidence than a single judge. The fact is that every important busing case has gone on to a court of appeals or the Supreme Court for multiple-judge consideration. So Jackson's proposal amounts to nothing more than a slur on those judges, like Arthur Garrity in Boston, who have had the guts to try to break up deliberate patterns of segregation.

Jackson also wants a law requiring courts to determine the effects busing would have on "the quality of education." One of the principal things Jackson wants judges to consider is how many whites will flee the school system if busing is ordered.

Now, the Supreme Court said years ago that an argument that whites will get mad and resort to violence could not be a reason for refusing to integrate where basic constitutional rights were involved. What an

absurdity it would be, then, for Congress to purport to order federal judges to say: "OK, children, I have prima facie evidence that this community has been discriminating against you for years, deliberately drawing boundaries, locating schools, assigning teachers, allocating equipment so as to ensure that you go mostly to Jim Crow schools that are inferior. Now, I can guarantee your constitutional rights by ordering busing, but if I do that a lot of whites will flee. And I'm forbidden to do anything that causes 'white flight.' Sorry 'bout that, kids."

The sad thing is that Jackson didn't have to crawl out on this limb where he looks like a demagog compared with former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, who says simply that he is going to enforce the laws on busing whether he personally likes them or not.

The Afro-American said that "if the choice boiled down to Jackson or Carter, it wouldn't take two minutes to rule out Jackson."

Jackson may, however, have other reactions that indicate his new declaration on busing was politically shrewd. Whatever the case, it seems apparent that the senator has decided to rise or fall on this emotional issue.

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25¢

Jackson's aim to 'catch up' in Florida politically risky

By John Dillin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Miami

Henry Jackson is playing a possibly risky game of "catch up" in Florida's important presidential primary.

The Washington Senator scurries back to Florida next week bent on carving out a winning block of voters between the apparent front-runners, Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace and former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia.

Mr. Jackson's task appears not only formidable at this hour — but also fraught with political risks.

Governor Wallace still looks strong four years after his last primary victory in Florida. Jimmy Carter (the rising challenger) has attracted wide attention and hundreds of volunteers in Florida.

Jackson backers, however, are claiming their man not only is stronger than he was here four years ago (when he finished a weak third); but they also are claiming he might even win the 10-man primary with 30 percent or more of the vote.

Difficult political task

Experienced Democratic observers here suggest that kind of political prognosis could be setting the Senator up for an embarrassing fall.

Certainly Senator Jackson has mapped himself a difficult political task just slightly more than two months before the primary vote, observers agree.

Governor Wallace, who captured 42 percent of the vote here in 1972, is generally expected to do well again. Wallace posters are going up at corner gas stations and at restaurants and barber shops in white neighborhoods, just as they did when he scored his earlier victory. Next month the Alabamian launches a 17-day campaign blitz in Florida that will include 27 appearances.

Jimmy Carter, meanwhile, "has the middle-road type vote sewed up," says one Democratic party official. Mr. Carter has been courting Floridians for more than a year. He's built a statewide organization of hundreds of party activists who will begin door-knocking and letter-stuffing in earnest in the second week of January. Party officials look for him to finish close to Mr. Wallace.

Liberal Democrats like former Sen. Fred Harris and Rep. Morris K. Udall are expected to make few, if any, appearances here. First, because Florida looks hopeless anyway. Second, because the fewer votes they get, the better the chance that Mr. Carter will upset Governor Wallace.

Into this fray steps Senator Jackson, who earlier had planned only a low-keyed effort to win a few delegates in south Florida. Those few delegates would be available almost without effort, aides figured, in the Miami area where the heavily Jewish vote is in harmony with the Senator's solid support for Israel.

Strategy changes

Senator Jackson's campaign chief in Florida, attorney Lewis Hall, says earlier plans have been swept aside and replaced with a statewide campaign to extend from Key West to the Alabama border.

Why the shift?

Observers suggest Mr. Jackson may be worried by Jimmy Carter's momentum — not only in Florida but in Iowa and other states. That momentum could help the Georgian step up the political middle road prior to the important Midwest primaries.

Mr. Hall says: "We are motivated by the fact that there now appear to be three early primaries of great significance — New York, Massachusetts, and Florida."

In addition, Mr. Jackson's power base in Florida is greater than in 1972, when he finished behind Governor Wallace and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, Mr. Hall says.

"We should get just about all the Humphrey support this time," he says. "We can't conceive of getting less than 30 percent."

With time limited, the Jackson effort will concentrate in areas he has not appeared this year: Orlando, Jacksonville, Lakeland, Daytona Beach, Gainesville, among others.

"Senator Jackson is now the moderate candidate among the three leaders," says Mr. Hall. "Jimmy Carter has attracted the very liberal. Wallace, the ultraconservative. Jackson is the moderate."

"I'm not saying we're definitely going to win . . . but Jackson has a reasonable chance to win, and we expect to get delegates in every congressional district of Florida," says Mr.

Senator Sheds Aura of 'Loser'

Post
3/4

Wash Post
3/4/76

Jackson

By Jules Witcover

Washington Post Staff Writer

BOSTON, March 3—Eight years ago a Republican presidential hopeful with a "can't win" image born of two major election defeats won an early New England primary in New Hampshire, obliterated that image and went on to win the first-ballot nomination.

He was Richard M. Nixon.

Today, a Democratic presidential hopeful who has suffered under the same "can't win" image ever since a string of primary defeats in 1972, has similarly pushed it aside in another early New England primary, this time in Massachusetts. As a result, he is suddenly in the thick of his party's scramble.

He is Henry M. Jackson.

In 1968, Nixon's political managers cut the "loser" image down to

size in New Hampshire by emphasizing their man's long government experience. In Massachusetts, Jackson's managers similarly stressed experience and performance in Congress in converting him from a national loser to surprise winner.

Jackson's campaign director, Robert Keefe, said on election night that "now that that bum rap is off, we can go on to win." That precisely is the Jackson formula—to stress Jackson's experience—in what Keefe calls his campaign's "big-state strategy."

That strategy, unveiled successfully here, is focused in the coming weeks on presidential primaries in New York on April 6, Pennsylvania on April 27, and Florida next Tuesday. It gives short shrift to the sup-

See JACKSON, A4, Col. 1

JACKSON, From A1

posed disenchantment and even hostility in the country toward "Washington." Instead it offers Jackson just as the Nixon campaign did in 1968 as a solid member of the establishment who knows his way around.

That image did Jackson no harm in Massachusetts on Tuesday, one week after New Hampshire voters were said to have cast strong anti-Washington votes for former Govs. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Ronald Reagan of California. The Washington state senator said in a press conference here today that he intends to continue selling himself as the one candidate "fighting the battles of the little people" as an effective and influential congressional leader.

With all the talk of the country wanting "new faces" and new approaches, Jackson, without apology, is offering an old face accompanied by an old brand of politics—a "grand alliance," he called it today. But it is nothing more than the old Democratic coalition of labor, the elderly, nationality and ethnic groups that have fashioned the greatest party victories of the past.

That coalition is strongest in the northern industrial states. Massachusetts was the first of those to choose Democratic delegates and Jackson went after them with a vengeance. With strong labor support, seven phone banks totaling 80 or 90 phones were used to make an estimated 400,000 calls to voters.

Then, personalized mailings to voters supporting

Jackson, leaning to him or undecided went out.

Paragraphs were inserted covering issues raised by voters in the phone calls—such issues as jobs, treatment of the elderly and school busing.

In addition, up to 400,000 hand-written letters were sent from Washington state residents to Massachusetts voters, especially the elderly, boosting Jackson's performance in 35 years in the House and Senate. Specialized mailings also went to members of the Jewish community, labor and various ethnic groups.

In the supposed era of the new politics, the Jackson campaign is itself a throw-back to the old big-city political strategy of building a coalition of voters anchored by a solid blue-collar constituency—the "lunch bucket" vote, as Jackson calls it. "It's the application of political arithmetic," he said today in a phrase that would warm the heart of any old politician. "Political arithmetic requires that you find a majority."

Jackson said he expects to ride his "grand alliance" to the nomination, making a respectable showing in Florida next Tuesday against Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Carter, the third and fourth place finishers here and then scoring a sweeping victory in New York on April 6.

But before he gets to New York, the Florida side trip promises fireworks between Jackson and Carter.

Today in Orlando, Fla., Carter was asked why he didn't campaign in Massachusetts on the issue of school busing. He replied, by implication, that unlike

Jackson, he was not going to appeal "to a basically negative, emotional issue, which has connotations of racism." Carter added that he did not "want my remarks to be interpreted as accusing Sen. Jackson of being a racist."

Jackson, told here that Carter had said Jackson had won in Massachusetts as a one-issue (antibusing) candidate, replied: "That's as absurd as anything could be. If I were a one-issue candidate, I would have been a defeated candidate. I never made in Massachusetts during this entire campaign a busing speech." Jackson said he had responded to questions on busing.

As for the New York primary Jackson freely predicted a majority victory over the Democratic field and said it might even be a "landslide." Some knowledgeable liberal Democrats were agreeing with him today.

Even with a Jackson landslide in New York, however, there remains doubt among party liberals that Jackson could be nominated. Sen. George McGovern, the 1972 presidential nominee, said however, in an interview that as a result of Jackson's Massachusetts victory the possibility of a convention deadlock "is much greater than it was 24 hours ago."

In this sense, McGovern said, Jackson's success probably improves the prospects for Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota as a compromise choice at the convention. Jackson's victory, he said, arrests the momentum of Carter and makes a first-ballot nomination for anybody else less likely.

Strategy Appears Set for Rest of Campaign



The New York Times
Senator Henry Jackson in Washington in October before starting campaign swing in Massachusetts.

Jackson has heretofore set a careful pace to keep from being touted as the early front-runner.

Since he has shown up much better when matched against President Ford than any of his declared rivals, most political observers have accepted that he is ahead of the others.

Now Senator Jackson and his advisers are beginning to seek more recognition of his front-runner status, some of the aides conceding that they feel it is time for him to appear to be showing movement up to that role.

"Even when you think it's coming, it's hard to be patient," one said the other day.

Nevertheless, the Senator's visit in Iowa over the weekend, during which he campaigned in seven cities, including Council Bluffs, was designed more to show a presence than to enhance his hoped-for recognition as the front-runner.

The Jackson camp has paid scant attention to the early caucus states and concedes that it has little optimism that it will do particularly well in the complicated delegate-selection process that begins here next Monday at the precinct level.

But except for a quick trip to Nashua, N. H., last week in which he told potential delegates pledged to him that "we're going to put on a real campaign. For them, the rest of the Senator's last seven days has been devoted to areas and groups from which he expects strong support.

In Miami, for the benefit of the large Cuban refugee population, for instance, he promised a hard line toward Premier Fidel Castro unless the Premier freed political prisoners and ceased such activities as the intervention in Angola.

Before a group of teachers and other labor union members there, Mr. Jackson vowed that he would seek more Federal aid to education and condemned President Ford's veto of the common-site picketing bill. In speaking to about 1,200 older persons at a West Palm Beach condominium, he told them that one of the first orders of business of a Jackson Administration would be to have all medical expenses of people over 65 covered by Medicare.

he is the recognized favorite of Jewish voters because of

his strong and unswerving support of Israel, a succession of cheering crowds in Brooklyn and the Bronx brought him to the peak of a new forcefulness that most observers have noted in his speaking style.

In a theme he relies on consistently before Jewish groups, he told one enthusiastic audience: "I wouldn't be namby-pamby when they [the United Nations] passed a resolution saying that Zionism is racism. That's the worst thing since Hitler."

Alluding to the outspoken condemnation of that resolution by the chief United States Representative, he added, as he always does before such crowds: "Wouldn't it be great if Daniel Patrick Moynihan were Secretary of State?"

As usual, it brought more cheers. And in a high point of the week for him, since he has been trying to break through labor's reluctance to endorse

candidates this year, he announced in New York City a National Labor for Jackson Committee.

The members, most of whom did not support his 1972 bid for the nomination, are as follows:

- Ken Bannon, international vice president of the United Auto Workers.
- James A. Broyer, international vice president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.
- Harold Buoy, president of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers.
- Edward Clary, secretary-treasurer of the New York Building and Construction Trades.
- Sol C. Chaikin, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.
- Russell Conlon, secretary-treasurer of the International Union of Operating Engineers.
- Jesse M. Cahoon, President of the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association.
- Thomas W. Gleason, president of the International Longshoremen's Association.
- Joseph Keenan, treasurer of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.
- Louis Knecht, secretary-treasurer of the Communications Workers of America.
- Vernie Reed, secretary-treasurer of the Laborers International Union.

"This is very important," said Robert J. Keefe, the Jackson campaign manager. "It positions a lot of people. Nobody would stick their necks out and these guys did. Now maybe others will."

1/13/76

14 C
Jackson's

By **DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND**
Special to The New York Times

COUNCIL BLUFFS, Iowa, Jan. 12—Senator Henry Jackson, in his first full week of all-out campaigning for the Democratic Presidential nomination, seems to have indelibly charted his course for the next three months.

The 63-year-old Washington Democrat left the nation's capital a week ago today for a grueling succession of 16-to-18 hour campaign days in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Florida and Iowa. By his itinerary, his choice of forums, his speeches and his interviews, Mr. Jackson clearly demonstrated his strategy and his goals for the early primary races.

The 'Progressive Center'

In essence, he is attempting to do the following:

¶Pull together in what he calls the "progressive center" regular Democrats, blue-collar workers and other labor forces, ethnic groups and moderate but frustrated middle-income voters, at the same trying not to offend seriously those on either his left or right.

¶Take a low-risk chance at showing some surprising strength in New Hampshire's primary, the nation's first, on Feb. 24 by providing some help to a slate of candidates running under his name for delegate seats at the National Convention while avoiding a direct confrontation with other candidates in the higher-risk "beauty contest" balloting in that state.

¶Make a strong effort in Massachusetts by dipping into his relatively abundant funds and campaigning hard in the March 2 primary, soft-pedaling the issue of busing for school integration that has been so controversial in Boston, but reiterating in a reasoned manner his opposition to it in the hope of offering angry voters a moderate alternative to Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama.

¶Run just as hard in the March 9 primary in Florida, acknowledging that two Southerners, Governor Wallace and former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, will be "hard to beat" there, but trying to pick up some delegates and perhaps even to create a sensation by defeating one or the other of them.

¶Go for broke in New York's April 6 primary, which he refers to as the "key" to the whole nominating process, winning the election and the lion's share of the 274 delegates, knocking out some of his 10 declared rivals and gaining the impetus for a triumphant march to most of the remaining major primaries.

Optimism on New York

"We're going like gang busters in New York," he has been proclaiming loudly all week, "and we're going to win there."

The confidence he exhibits both publicly and privately appears to be real, but the fact that he allows himself to show it represents a recent change in tactics.

Although he acknowledges that he has been running for the Presidency since 1971 (he finished second to Senator George McGovern of South Dakota at the 1972 convention with 534 delegates), Senator

'Eagle' Jackson Seeks Scoop

By James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writer

TAMPA, Fla. — Sen. Henry M. Jackson arrives here fresh from his stunning primary victory in Massachusetts, casting himself in the tradition of Franklin Roosevelt, likening himself to a political eagle who gathered a broad spectrum of the Bay State Democratic party under his widespread wings and just spoiling for a fight with Jimmy Carter.

"I'm the first man to beat George Wallace," he said on arrival, demonstrating as much jubilation as his stolid nature allows. "Carter's taken him on three times (in the Mississippi and South Carolina caucuses plus Massachusetts) and lost."

The consensus is that Jackson's victory has turned next Tuesday's Florida primary into a three-horse race although Wallace is still the favorite. While he did not make a big organizational and campaign effort in Massachusetts, Carter's fourth-place finish was a disappointment to him. He and his supporters indulged themselves in dreams of victory which they estimated to be worth 5 percentage points or more in Florida.

CARTER HAS viewed Florida as a chance to demonstrate that he is a strong alternative to Wallace in the South and an opportunity to deal a damaging blow to Jackson. The primary now shapes up as a struggle between Jackson and Carter to be the Democratic party's centrist candidate.

The two are treating Wallace like the proverbial 800-pound gorilla who can sleep anywhere he wants. Jackson entertains no notions of beating Wallace but doesn't seem to care. He primarily wants to do a job on Carter and hopes that any momentum from Massachusetts will benefit him well beyond Florida.

Star Up Broad Support

"People said I didn't have a prayer in heck in Massachusetts, which is the only state George McGovern carried in 1972," he said. "But it was an indication of what 'Scoop' Jackson can do nationally. The nomination will be won in the industrial areas of the North. I put together the sort of broad coalition that in the past elected Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman and Lyndon Johnson. Richard Scammon said on television that there were a lot of different Democrats under my widespread wings."

As a result, Jackson now is predicting that he will win a "healthy majority" of New York's 274 delegates rather than a plurality as he was predicting before last Tuesday night.

HE ALSO speculated happily on his prospects in Pennsylvania where he has been endorsed by much of the organized labor hierarchy.

He is pinning a lot in Florida on the thesis that many voters here have migrated from the North and that the appeal that worked in Massachusetts will enable him to compete with Wallace and Carter.

Certainly his victory erased the advantage that Carter had enjoyed as a result of his New Hampshire victory a week earlier.

Before the Massachusetts results came down, Jackson's advisers conceded that he needed a victory there, which few expected, to have a good shot at the popular vote in Florida. Until last Tuesday they would have settled for his getting a proportion of Florida's 81 delegate votes, which are apportioned by congressional districts.

NOW THEY seek to challenge Carter in the popular vote. Carter has a recent poll that showed him getting 34 percent of the popular vote, Wallace 33 percent and Jackson 23 percent. Prior to last Tuesday Jack-

son supporters appeared to accept this, but what a difference a day — and a victory — makes.

"I think those figures are a little high for Carter," Yancy Martin, Jackson's Florida campaign director, said as he awaited Jackson's arrival. "I think they put a little yeast in it."

Jackson's advisers figure that Wallace has about 32 percent of the vote, about 10 percent less than when he won here four years ago and the minor and noncampaigning Democratic candidates account for another 8 or 9 percent. That leaves between 55 and 60 percent for Jackson and Carter. Jackson supporters think Carter's backing is thin.

One reason for Jackson's showing in Massachusetts was his excellent organization; there is doubt that he has the organization here to fully exploit whatever weakness exists in Carter's support.

ON THE OTHER hand, Carter is well-organized, and this could minimize any slippage. There is also the question of whether the possibility of success by Jackson, who is distrusted by many liberals because of his hawkish stance on foreign policy, would motivate them to stop sitting on their hands and support Carter, even though they are also apathetic or hostile to him.

Jackson contends that he won in Massachusetts "because I talked about the issues people care about. I told people I'd put them to work. I promised decent health care. And a firm, strong foreign policy."

His advertising campaign in the final days here will emphasize Carter's advocating the elimination or modification of income tax deductions for home mortgage interest payments. With unemployment high in the building trades here, Jackson argues that the Carter proposal would further cripple the housing industry.

"We'll talk taxes," he said. "That's a major concern where there's a big home-building industry. His proposal increases the tax burden on the middle class that earns \$20,000-a-year, and that puts a burden on the housing industry."

JACKSON WILL have Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the recent U.S. ambassador to the United Nations who endorsed him in Massachusetts, campaigning here for him this weekend. He also is broadcasting radio spots of Hubert Humphrey who praised him last year for his early leadership in the civil rights struggle.

Yesterday, Carter said Jackson's showing in Massachusetts was the result of his emphasis on his opposition to school busing and suggested that this was overtly racist.

"I did not!" Jackson responded indignantly, putting heavy emphasis on each word. "Carter is dead wrong. I didn't give one speech in Massachusetts on the subject of busing. That's a last minute alibi for a defeat. I did run one newspaper ad in response to a false charge by Wallace that I was pro-busing and, of course, the subject came up at every stop."

The election returns suggest that Jackson might have done even better in Massachusetts if Wallace had not been in the race. Jackson won in every city except Boston, which Wallace carried because of his exploitation of the busing issue in South Boston.

Wash. Star

3/4/76

Oct 6, 75

Jackson



The Associated Press

SEN. HENRY JACKSON
'Meany Taught Them'

Union Support Vital in '76, Jackson Says

SAN FRANCISCO (AP) — The AFL-CIO, casting about for a Democratic presidential candidate to support next year, has been warned by Sen. Henry M. Jackson that the party will lose the 1976 election unless it has organized labor's full support.

Jackson was the first of four Democratic senators, all presidential possibilities, to address the AFL-CIO's national convention today.

Their appearances give federation leaders the first chance to look them over and evaluate the reaction of convention delegates who represent 14 million union members.

In prepared remarks, Jackson said unemployment and inflation are threatening the nation's social fabric. The Washington Democrat charged that the Ford administration "doesn't give a damn about working people."

He called organized labor "the conscience of America" and praised AFL-CIO President George Meany and the maritime union for helping to force a temporary halt in further grain sales to the Soviet Union.

"You know what hard bargaining means, and now the administration knows," he said. "George Meany taught them a lesson I hope they'll never forget."

"A strong, involved labor movement is essential if the government is to be returned to the people of this country," he added. "If we are together, we will win the presidency. If we are not, we don't stand a chance."

Meany and the federation refused to support the Democratic nominee, Sen. George McGovern, in 1972 and remained neutral. But Meany made clear last week, in calling "for renewed national leadership," that the AFL-CIO would oppose President Ford.

However, there is no consensus among the union leaders at this time over a Democratic candidate.

Jackson was scheduled to be followed by Sens. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, Birch Bayh of Indiana and Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota. Of the four, only Jackson and Bentsen have announced their candidacies. Bayh is expected to join the ranks soon, while Humphrey has indicated he would accept a draft.

A top AFL-CIO official said all four would be acceptable but added that Humphrey remains "an old favorite."

Jackson arrived Sunday and hosted a cocktail party for the labor leaders. Meany attended but did not stand in the receiving line with the senator. Relations between the two cooled last year but insiders say there has been a thaw in recent months.

Over the weekend, the AFL-CIO's ruling executive council voted to drop four members who no longer hold active union office. The council, composed of 33 union presidents, nominated four replacements — Edward Hanley of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, Sol Chaikin of the Textile Workers, Hal Davis of the Federation of Musicians and Clyde Webber of the American Federation of Government Employees.

Federation sources denied that the action represented a shake-up. They explained that Meany and the council felt that members should be active leaders of their unions, who can "speak for their members."

Jackson hopes public weary of charisma

Continued from Page 5

children. Wallace carried the state, and Jackson ran a poor third.

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Among the 10 Democratic candidates, he is rivaled only by Wallace in money, organization and name recognition. He is skipping the first primary Feb. 24 in New Hampshire — where he will let four liberal candidates do their best to cut each other up — and will ante his first chips March 2 in Massachusetts and March 9 in Florida.

This time around, Jackson is opposing the New Realism of President Ford by advocating federal intervention to stimulate the economy. Like other Democrats, he faults the President for emphasizing inflation to the neglect of unemployment. And he proposes federal creation of jobs as one of the ways to reduce unemployment.

In foreign affairs, he has criticized the SALT talks on limitation of arms, arguing that detente should be "a two-way street." He has accused Ford of giving too much authority to Sec. of State Henry A. Kissinger, who he says has maintained only minimal communications with Congress. If elected, says Jackson, he will take more personal initiative in foreign affairs — and also will be more open with Congress and the public.

As for busing, Jackson is talking now about legislation that would require a three-judge court to pass on school desegregation cases and would limit busing to a last-ditch alternative.

Jackson in general will try to project himself as a moderate alternative who can be accepted by liberals and Wallace supporters. But the effort will be complicated by the plans of former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, whose campaign projector is being adjusted to the same focus.

Disputing the conservative tag, one of Jackson's aides said: "That's a misnomer. Until it became fashionable to be anti-Jackson, people like the Americans for Democratic Action had given him a 100 per cent rating. What changed their

minds was Vietnam. But on the domestic issues of the day, he has been a philosophical but pragmatic liberal."

Jackson, when he rambles, does sound more like a pragmatist than an ideolog. "You take care of one thing," he says, "and you go on to the next problem."

His stump strategy will be to stress his competence, or — as the phrase came to him in a moment of inspiration — "The charisma of competence."

NEXT: The regional powers — Sen. Robert C. Byrd, Sen. Lloyd Bentsen and Gov. Milton J. Shapp.

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Continued from Page 3

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①

Jackson hopes to turn dull style into asset

By William Braden

As a stump speaker, Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington has been rated less inspiring than the stump.

If he had been asked, Jackson probably would have predicted this article would start with a smart-aleck crack like that. He must have read hundreds of variations on the theme by now — what a dull man he is — but if he is becoming bored with all the stories, he also has the patience to bear his boredom. He will not grin and bear it, but he will bear it. And then go on to the next thing. One thing at a time, like laying bricks or hammering nails.

There is another possibility. He might have predicted it as a 50-50 toss-up that the article would start with a reference to him as the senator from Boeing. But no. That's become too much of a cliché.

Jackson, the son of working-class Norwegian immigrants, is noted for the consuming energy and purpose with which he plants one foot in front of the other, plodding from problem to problem. His congressional colleagues are inclined to describe him as a workhorse, if not a workaholic, and above all else as a loner: as a man who goes his own way, with few if any interests outside the job at hand. He is respected, admired, but essentially unknown. A boring man of mystery, a dull shadow, an enigma wrapped in the work ethic.

People in his home town of Everett remember Jackson as the paperboy who won a prize for delivering 74,880 copies of the Everett Herald "without a single complaint for nondelivery."

One of his oldtime acquaintances explained, or tried to explain:

"It's the Norwegian thing. You work hard, you help build something, your hopes are all pinned to your children. His father was like that."

Jackson's aides hope his style will be viewed as an asset — that voters have had it with charismatic candidates who promise the moon (and don't even deliver the Everett Herald).

Jackson and his aides also resent a media tendency to label

Jackson a conservative. That isn't fair either, they say. And they point to his record.

The candidate was born 63 years ago in Everett, a lumber mill town north of Seattle. He worked his way through Stanford University and the University of Washington Law School, practiced law in Everett, became Snohomish County prosecuting attorney — and in 1940, at the age of 28, was elected to the House of Representatives as a New Deal Democrat. He served six terms in the House before moving in 1953 to the Senate, where he is now in his fourth term.

Jackson ran for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972, when he portrayed himself as a "centrist" and Sen. George McGovern as the candidate of "amnesty, acid and abortion." Jackson withdrew early from active campaigning, due to lack of funds and poor showings in the primaries, but still finished second to McGovern with 534 delegates at the Miami Beach convention.

Jackson backed most of the Great Society social programs during the 1960s, and he has been associated with strong support of labor, Israel and environmental legislation.

But he also has been associated with hawkish support of the Vietnam War, with a tough line toward the Soviet Union — and with support of big defense budgets that are incidentally beneficial to such home-state industries as the Boeing Co. of Seattle.

His friendship with labor has been strained by his support of the 1974 fair trade bill and his call for closer ties with the People's Republic of China (which didn't wash well with AFL-CIO president George Meany).

Conservationists applauded his efforts to pass land use bills (killed by the House) and legislation to regulate strip mining (vetoed by President Ford). But they have expressed shock at his support for such projects as the supersonic transport and the Alaska pipeline.

Critics also felt his solid record on civil rights was compromised during the 1972 Florida primary, when Jackson tried to overcome Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace by proposing a constitutional amendment to prohibit forced busing of school-

Turn to Page 38

NY TIMES JAN 30
**Jackson, in Shift, Decides
To Step Up Florida Drive**

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

MIAMI, Jan. 29—A belated decision by Senator Henry M. Jackson to campaign heavily in Florida has placed a new obstacle in the path of the effort by former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia to win or finish a strong second in the primary here on March 9.

Until recently, the Democratic contest in Florida appeared to be a man-to-man fight between Mr. Carter and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, who was considered the favorite because of his victory here four years ago. Mr. Jackson had planned to confine his campaign largely to the Miami area.

But the Washington Senator has now decided to commit at least 18 days to the state, and yesterday, he told his local chairman, Mayor Maurice Ferre of Miami, to do and spend what was necessary to win. Mr. Ferre has said that he would spend \$400,000 to \$500,000, including some \$250,000 on the news media.

An Unpredictable State

It is impossible at this stage to foresee the outcome. Florida is an unpredictable state. It has elected since 1970 a Governor (Reubin Askew) and two Senators (Richard Stone and Lawton Chiles) who were unknowns when they began their campaigns. And she results in the primaries in New Hampshire on Feb. 24 and Massachusetts on March 2 will have an effect here.

But Mr. Jackson, to the degree he succeeds, will cut into the pool of anti-Wallace votes that would otherwise have been available to Mr. Carter, Florida Democrats believe.

Because of proportional representation rules, new this year, Mr. Wallace will be unable to repeat his sweep of 1972, when he won nearly all of the state's national convention delegates with 42 percent of the vote. This time, the 31 delegates are likely to be split among the three main candidates. A fourth, Gov. Milton J. Shapp of Pennsylvania, does not appear strong enough to win delegates, although, as a Jew himself, he may take some Jewish votes away from Mr. Jackson.

Close attention will also be paid, however, to the percentages as a more readily grasped measure of strength.

Task Facing Carter

A Florida political scientist who closely watches Democratic politics estimated that Mr. Shapp would get 5 percent statewide and that the eight candidates listed on the ballot but inactive here would get another 5 percent among them. If he is correct, and Mr. Wallace gets 35 percent—the lowest any politician forecast for him in a series of interviews this week—Mr. Carter would have to beat Mr. Jackson almost 2-to-1 to match the Alabamian's total.

For Mr. Jackson, who predicted on Tuesday that he would defeat Mr. Carter and might defeat Mr. Wallace, the new strategy entails large risks. Should he fail here, having engaged himself heavily, he could be seriously hurt in the pivotal New York primary four weeks later.

Some observers believe Mr. Jackson waited too long. Hazel

Evans, a Democratic national committeewoman who supported Mr. Jackson in 1972, said the Senator "sat in Washington and let Carter put together too strong a campaign."

Others, including Mr. Ferre, are wary of Mr. Jackson's bland campaign style. The reason for heavy television advertising, he said, is that "Scoop can't put his record across at a mass rally, and he can't put it across in the newspapers."

'Natural Constituencies'

But the Mayor thinks the Senator can strip away some votes now committed to Mr. Carter because of Mr. Jackson's "natural constituencies" here—especially the Jews in the Miami area, Cuban-Americans, union labor in Tampa and Jacksonville and senior citizens.

Despite his opposition to school busing, Mr. Jackson is also making a bid for black votes. Yancey Martin, an experienced black organizer who worked for Senator George McGovern in 1972, was in Florida this week seeking endorsements from key blacks.

Mr. Ferre thinks he has found a weak spot in Mr. Carter's approach—his advocacy of reduced defense spending. Particularly in northern Florida, with its big defense installations and large population of retired military personnel, Mr. Jackson's reputation as a hawk may prove an asset.

Mr. Jackson's support among Jews is based upon his strong support of Israel.

Mr. Wallace, apparently perturbed by reports late last year of increasing Carter strength in Florida, scheduled 24 to 30 rallies. After a few disappointing crowds, he has begun to pack them in again, drawing more than 2,500 in Plant City last Saturday night.

'We'll Beat 42%'

Bill France Sr., the former ic who owns the Daytona International Speedway, is again heading the Governor's Florida campaign. "We had much tougher opposition last time than this year," he asserted. "By the time Carter gets to Florida, he won't be taken seriously, and we'll beat the 42 percent."

The Carter camp, however, remains confident. Philip Wise, the state coordinator, said the former Governor's Iowa victory had helped. "All of a sudden our canvassers came back saying, 'everyone knows who Jimmy Carter is'," he said.

The Carter forces are getting in touch with Democrats in 800 precincts in 18 counties—a measure of their early planning.

A key area may be Dade County (Miami), where Mr. Carter needs as much of the anti-Wallace vote as possible to offset Wallace strength in rural areas.

Michael Abrams, 28, Dade County chairman, supports Mr. Carter. He said the Georgian was benefitting from his early courtship of party leaders and from the conviction of Democratic liberals that they could not afford to splinter their vote this year.

"I was for McGovern in 1972," he commented. "Now I think that whole concept is wrong. If we want to stop Wallace and Jackson, we need a centrist."

Boston's busing foes are cool to Jackson

By Robert Turner
Globe Staff

Sen. Henry M. Jackson's attempt to rally the leadership of the Boston antibusing movement behind his presidential candidacy has failed, at least for now.

Sen. Henry M. Jackson's (D-Wash.) attempt to rally the leadership of the Boston anti-busing movement behind his presidential candidacy has failed, at least for now.

Interviews with numerous busing opponents indicate Alabama Gov. George Wallace will be the beneficiary of most antibusing sentiment here, with former California Gov. Ronald Reagan making some inroads.

But the Jackson camp contends it has a poll showing Jackson now running in second place in Massachusetts behind Sargent Shriver.

Bill Ezekiel, Jackson's campaign manager here, said the senator is picking up support because he is campaigning actively and has a good record on energy and the economy.

"I don't think Jackson's busing position cut either way," Ezekiel said.

There is no question, however, that Jackson tried to make some mileage out of his busing proposal.

Last fall, he was in touch frequently with antibusing activists, seeking their advice on possible changes in Federal law.

Four weeks ago, he proposed legislation that would prohibit compulsory busing to desegregate schools unless it was ordered by a panel of three Federal judges as a last resort, and unless higher quality education was one stated goal.

Jackson hoped the proposal would win him the endorsement of state Sen. William M. Bulger (D-South Boston), state Rep. Raymond L. Flynn (D-South Boston) and Boston City Council member Louise Day Hicks.

So far, no endorsement has been forthcoming.

"It is a step in the right direction, but it certainly isn't a giant step," Mrs. Hicks said yesterday. "He would have to do a lot more in order for me to support him."

Flynn said Jackson's proposal was "not a great political move. The people of this city are aware of the course that has to be followed. They're not going to be fooled by last-ditch efforts just prior to a primary."

Jackson himself called the plan "an intellectually honest series of recommendations."

And his hope clearly was to win antibusers who would vote for him as a viable candidate — a man who might actually become president — instead of George Wallace.

Even Wallace dropped his customary reluctance to denigrate opponents to say haughtily: "Jackson

... all of a sudden he's the big antibuser."

A number of people close to the antibusing forces believe the strong turnout for Wallace at a Boston rally Jan. 9 discouraged some of those who might have gone to Jackson.

Ezekiel insists the issue will help Jackson to some degree in Boston and even more so in the suburbs where busing is also a concern. State Rep. M. Joseph Manning (D-Milton) said he believes the plan is perceived as "an honest try."

But there are indications that it may hurt Jackson among some liberals.

For instance, Jackson could normally expect considerable support in the Jewish community because of his strong stand over the years in favor of Israel and against Russian persecution of Jews.

But a substantial number of Jews and Jewish organizations have supported the court-ordered busing in Boston.

However, a source in the Jackson campaign said a telephone poll completed Jan. 19, conducted by New Yorker Tully Plesser for Jackson, showed busing was not considered a dominant issue in the state.

According to this source, the poll shows Shriver leading with 18.2 percent, followed by Jackson with 15.4, Wallace with 14.4 and no one else with more than 5.3 percent, and 33.2 percent undecided.

A.

Can he project moderation, competence?

Jackson's 2 key problems

Another in a series detailing the campaign operations under way for the major contenders in the New Hampshire and Massachusetts primaries.

By Robert L. Turner
Globe Staff

"The issues affecting Massachusetts," Henry M. Jackson was saying; "are the issues I've been involved in."

The 200-mile fishing limit, efforts to control unemployment and the high cost of heating and electricity — "all these things," Jackson said with a short laugh, as though embarrassed he had done so much, "all these things are my programs."

The issues, and the laugh, illustrate the two key problems Jackson faces during the last three weeks of his campaign here.

The Washington senator is seeking to project himself as the candidate of moderation and the candidate of competence.

But "moderation" may mean one thing to Jackson and another to Massachusetts voters concerned about military spending, busing,

THE JACKSON CAMPAIGN

abortion and other controversial positions Jackson has taken.

And the "competence" of a 35-year membership in Congress may not translate into the kind of dynamic leadership that people want in the White House.

Jackson, however, is optimistic. "I think we can win" in Massachusetts, he said.

And his state coordinator, William Ezekiel, was more specific. "We're the best organized in the city and the state. We're in good shape. We're going to win this god-damned thing," Ezekiel said. "I'm brave, aren't I?"

Jackson is budgeting \$400,000 to win in Massachusetts, according

to Richard Kline, Jackson's national finance director, who has moved here to become Massachusetts news coordinator for three weeks.

Unless George Wallace spends more during his two-month blitz, the Jackson campaign will probably be the most heavily financed in the state.

Kline said Jackson will spend about \$160,000 on television advertising here, perhaps \$25,000 on radio and an undetermined amount in newspaper ads "which can be bought late."

There will also be a telephone campaign "geared to reach a couple of hundred thousand voters," Kline said.

And Jackson's strong labor support is expected to help out

JACKSON, Page 12

Dukakis seeks new debt structure

The Dukakis administration plans to unveil a major legislative package today designed to end the state's periodic brushes with default. The proposal would allow the gradual conversion of outstanding short-term notes into long-term bonds and thus end the state's need to enter the uncertain money market constantly to pay off its debts. Story, Page 19.

Two key problems facing Jackson

★ JACKSON

Continued from Page 1

with mailings to many thousand union members across the state, he said.

The 22 paid staff members in the state are now being supplemented by help from Washington, and the campaign is being routed through six headquarters—in Boston, Brockton, Lynn, Newton, Worcester and Springfield.

The theme of these efforts has been clear from the first television ad—an ad showing the pictures of all the other Democrats on the left side of the screen except for one—Wallace—on the right.

"You mean if I don't pick one of them (on the left) I have to go all the way over to the right—to Wallace—for President?" the voice asks incredulously.

"Of course not," comes the an-

swer. You can vote for Scoop Jackson. "He's not on the left, he's not on the right." You can put him in the White House "while there's still time to save the '70s."

(The ad makes one subtle stroke by lumping former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter in with the pack on the left. "He wants to be a liberal, doesn't he?" Ezekiel asks, smiling.)

But some of Jackson's positions may give him problems here.

—A critic of detente and proud of statements that he is "tough and unyielding" on foreign policy, Jackson is opposed to major cuts in the defense budget as proposed by several of his opponents.

— Jackson was one of the last hard-liners on Vietnam, and a victory by him in Massachusetts, which voted for George McGovern four years ago, would be as ironic, in one way, as a victory by Wallace.

— Jackson says he is opposed to legalized abortion, and believes "the

states should have the right to vote it up or down." However, he would not support a constitutional amendment to give the states this power, a power they now lack.

— On busing, Jackson has made two proposals. One would simply supply more Federal funds to help Boston pay the costs of busing. The other would make it more difficult for Federal courts to order busing.

The first proposal was followed by an endorsement from School Committee Chairman John McDonough, and it won him the cooperation but not the endorsement of City Council President Louise Day Hicks.

The other proposal had a mixed reception. It offended some liberals and failed to win over many strong busing opponents, but Jackson's staff insists it will help him in the suburbs.

— Jackson's proposals for the economy are similar to many of those advanced by other Democrats,

son in bid for Bay State victory

but Jackson has refused to pin numbers on them — how many public service jobs will be needed and how much the programs will cost.

Kline admits to a certain lack of "drama" in the candidate, but blames Jackson's centrist policy. "The trouble with being in the middle is you don't create the kind of excitement you do on the extremes," he said.

But the problem is not really a lack of drama. Jackson is a feisty, argumentative campaigner who becomes impatient with challengers and second-guessers.

He campaigns for the Presidency as if he believes he has earned it.

At a recent conference in Acton, for instance, four other candidates walked calmly onto the stage. But Jackson, after keeping the crowd of 1000 waiting, marched around the hall with five men in colonial dress, one playing the fife, one the drum



SEN. HENRY M. JACKSON

... "we can win"

and one carrying an American flag, then leaped to the stage and shouted "the revolution is still going."

For the most part, the crowd sat in embarrassed silence. More than one said they thought the display was "immature."

Later, he shouted down a young student questioner who became confused over the number of votes required to override a presidential veto.

"What's two-thirds of a hundred?" Jackson demanded. "You'd better ask your professor."

However, Jackson believes his message will have parochial appeal. He says energy research should result in an investment in Massachusetts "far in excess of anything in the NASA period."

And he has asked several audiences recently, "Wouldn't it be great if Daniel Patrick Moynihan were Secretary of State?"

Jackson has tried hard to make his campaign an upbeat affair. "I'm not here as a pessimist. I offer you hope," he says.

The question is whether the voters of Massachusetts will pick up the beat.

Jackson Is the Early Leader in Alaska's Caucuses

Special to The New York Times

ANCHORAGE, Alaska, Feb. 11—Signs of support for Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Jimmy Carter, former Governor of Georgia, were evident as results of last night's Democratic precinct caucuses around Alaska came in today.

However, most delegates elected at the precinct level chose to remain uncommitted.

Senator Jackson, who was instrumental in helping to settle Alaskan natives' land claims in Congress, was leading the party's Presidential candidates. With results in from less than 25 percent of the state's 441 precincts, Senator Jackson won 35 percent of the

delegates to 10 percent for Mr. Carter.

In the early results, 55 percent of the delegates were uncommitted.

Democratic leaders here say major trends probably won't be evident in Alaska until the precinct delegates go to four district conventions in mid-March. The district conventions will elect delegates to a state convention to be held in April, and the state convention will choose 10 delegates for the National Democratic Convention.

Only scattered returns were in from Anchorage and Fairbanks, the two major popula-

tion centers in Alaska, by afternoon. In Juneau, the state capital, complete returns showed Senator Jackson with 20 percent of the delegates, Mr. Carter with 18 percent, and 62 percent uncommitted.

The major Presidential candidates have made little effort to campaign in Alaska so far. Representative Lloyd Meeds of Washington was in Anchorage the last week to lend support to Jackson campaign.

Four other candidates have sent representatives or mailed campaign literature—Mr. Carter, Representative Morris K. Udall, Sargent Shriver and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama.

Post 12 Mar
P. A-7

Jackson Loses All-or-Nothing Bid in Ohio

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), after demanding all-or-nothing support from Ohio's liberal labor group, has been rejected by the group in favor of former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter and Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.) in the state's May 8 presidential primary.

The group has decided to withhold all support from Jackson after its offer to back him in nine of Ohio's 23 congressional districts was turned down and Jackson countered with the all-or-nothing demand.

The development could have far-reaching implications, in that it may signal a clean break between Jackson and the so-called liberal reform unions in about 16 industrial states in which a labor group has been formed to work for presidential candidates.

In Ohio congressional district slating scheduled for tonight, the group now plans to back Carter in 10 districts, Udall in nine and local favorite sons in the remaining four.

The group met Wednesday and offered Jackson support in nine districts, Carter in seven and Udall in three.

Spokesmen for Carter and Udall accepted, but Jackson's representative, Jerry Grant of Colorado, after conferring with Robert Keefe, the Jackson campaign director here, insisted on statewide support or none at all.

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"the best deal they could make" in districts Jackson figures to win anyway, he said, "and we're not going to tumble for some of these sweetheart deals and turn our back on other unions that have supported us."

Keefe said the Ohio group "essentially was asking for demands we couldn't meet in terms of numbers of delegates. They were offering to help us in areas where we were strong and opposing us in areas where we needed help."

Keefe expressed disappointment that the liberal unions in Ohio "have seen fit to endorse two right-to-work candidates"—a reference to Carter, who has said he will support repeal of federal right-to-work legislation but won't lead any fight for it, and to Udall, who once voted for such legislation in the House but has since said he will fight for repeal.

Keefe said Jackson was "absolutely not" under any pressure from AFL-CIO President George Meany or any of his subordinates to choose between his regular organization backing and support of the liberal unions.

He expressed the hope that the Ohio breach with the labor group would not be duplicated in other states. "I would not think this isolated incident would impact elsewhere," he said. "I would hope not."

But Tom Kiley, campaign staff director for Udall, expressed the opposite hope. "Maybe they (the Jackson campaign) thought they had the muscle," he said. "If that's an indication of how they're going to play, and how labor stands up, that's terrific for us."

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Candidate Jackson

Henry Martin Jackson, 63, became Snohomish County prosecutor in Washington State at age 26. Two years later he was elected to Congress, serving from 1941 to 1953 in the House and since then in the Senate.

He was President Kennedy's choice for Democratic National Committee chairman in 1960-61, was offered the Secretaryship of Defense by three Presidents, and was an unsuccessful candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972.

One of the earliest environmentalists in Congress, a longtime liberal on domestic policy and hardliner on military spending and relations with Russia, Sen. Jackson seeks the White House as an advocate of government control of the economy, guaranteed public works jobs, excess-profits taxes on oil companies, more defense spending, Federal anti-busing legislation, and serious consideration of Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace for a place on the party ticket.



Mr. Jackson agrees with most other Democratic candidates that unemployment is morally and economically worse than inflation, and favors stimulation of rapid economic growth through looser monetary policy and more government spending. More than any other candidate except Gov. Milton Shapp, Mr. Jackson also urges long-range economic planning and control by the Federal government.

He favors statutory wage-price controls but says he would use them only if negotiation could not produce voluntary restraint, and he seeks lighter regulation and stronger anti-trust activity. He says he is "not against free enterprise but against free monopolies."

Sen. Jackson is closely associated with AFL-CIO director George Meany and he has been a spokesman for organized labor's economic policies.

He particularly rejects the contention of other candidates, notably Rep. Morris Udall, that the nation must accept scarcity of energy resources and some slowing of economic growth. Sen. Jackson contends the disadvantage will receive little if they must

rely on further redistribution of existing wealth rather than a primary share of jobs and services from newly generated wealth.

A strong supporter of urban aid and social welfare programs, Mr. Jackson seeks a massive return to public housing construction, comprehensive national health care, and "counter-cyclical" Federal revenue-sharing formulas to concentrate benefits in areas of high unemployment.

In energy consumption as in other areas Sen. Jackson favors continued rapid growth as a spur to the economy. He contends our reserves of coal and oil shale give us enough time to develop solar, geothermal and perhaps nuclear technology. He would provide public funding for energy research and would exclude oil companies from ownership of other energy resources.

Like other Democrats he would shift more of the tax burden to upper-income people, and he would cap the payroll tax and use more progressively collected general revenues to meet the Social Security deficit.

Despite a solid record on other civil rights questions, Sen. Jackson supports virtually all antibusing measures. Recently he proposed Federal aid to pay the costs of court-ordered desegregation in Boston and other cities. He seeks to compete with Gov. Wallace for conservative votes and is the only Democratic candidate who says Wallace would be a suitable running mate.

Closely associated with the military and intelligence communities, and recently accused in documented charges of having helped the CIA to conceal improper and illegal activities during a Senate investigation, Mr. Jackson is the only Democratic candidate calling for an interventionist foreign policy. He criticized the Helsinki agreement on Soviet control of Eastern Europe, and persuaded the Senate to attach provision for emigration rights to a Soviet trade bill that Russia then vetoed.

A dull speaker and heavy-handed campaigner, Sen. Jackson is respected more for his knowledge and diligence than for his capacity to inspire. But as the only candidate who has been in national office since Franklin Roosevelt was President, he renews the New Deal's visionary theme that the essential spirit of America is the hope for a more expansive, prosperous and equitable future.

Dlobe 3/4/76

The people who won for Jackson

At 8 p.m. the Hot Ginger, a five-man band was playing nice, slow tunes from the '60s in the Oval Room, which was Henry Jackson's territory in the Copley Plaza Hotel in Boston on primary night.

Across the hall, The Sunrise, a soft-rock group was setting up its acoustical equipment for Birch Bayh, with promise of several numbers written especially for the occasion.

In both camps, people were talking about the weather, which had been bad all day. Needle-like snow was still falling, and the wind was blowing hard.

"First thing, when I saw the snow," said a Jackson man, "I knew Carter was gone. That movie-star vote, that doesn't go out on a day like this." The Bayh people were wondering if the liberals, whom they hoped to share with Udall, might turn out to be fair-weather friends.

Seventy-five minutes later, it was all over: triumph on one side, wipeout on the other. Henry M. Jackson, a lifeless campaigner, a hawk, a conservative, had taken the country's most liberal state, and Birch Bayh was "re-assessing" his future.

The two pretty vocalists of The Sunrise were carolling, "Bayh Is My Guy," but Jack Walsh, his 34-year-old campaign manager, said starkly, "We got murdered." In the joyous Jackson compound, all was joy. Ben Wattenberg, the connoisseur of middle America, who had been at Jackson's side through the hapless 1972 effort, said, "They didn't send a message they sent a President."

He was referring of course to George Wallace, the more vociferous antibusing candidate who was trailing Jackson by six points.

Bayh descended promptly to face the music. Leaving the disconsolate ballroom, he walked slowly down the hall, punching arms as he always does, and urging his young followers to smile — "I am."

MARY McGRORY

The Jackson celebration was in two sections. The Oval Room, one young observer described as "like all the bar mitzvahs I went to in Newton."

The back room, ostensibly for the press, looked like city hall. Faces from the past happily clapped each other on the shoulder and drank deeply of victory. There was Peter Cloherty, the ex-state legislator, who lives in memory as the man who stood on the stage at Jack Kennedy's final 1960 rally in Boston Garden and waved his arms like a windmill.

He said that Jackson was "not exactly a charismatic candidate" and that busing was "something of a problem here in Boston."

There was Fred Langone, a city counselor-at-large, who had joined what the candidate was later to call "a crusade," on invitation of Jackson's local campaign manager, who had explained delicately that Jackson "wanted someone familiar with Boston politics."

His legislative aide, Tom Molloy, reverently called Jackson "a man of destiny."

Jackson, with an enormous outlay of money, had put in a saturation advertising campaign, had put together the yamulkes and the grey felt hats. And he had put together the people who hate busing but don't want to go the distance with George Wallace and the people who treasure his Daniel Patrick Moynihan, and who want to stand up to the Russians and who want a full restoration of Democratic economic policy. And what had brought them all to the polls through the snow was organized labor which fielded 2500 workers to send a message to Gerald Ford about unemployment.

A young representative of the old politics named William Francis Galvin said, "Usually with labor, it's the wink and the blink and the check. Today they really worked. I went to my polling place at 3 p.m. and there were carpenters and electricians ready to drive. It's funny, I thought it was the liberals that were hard-core in this state."

Jackson came down into the Oval Room crush about 10:45. His victory statement was no better than any of the hundreds of other utterances he has made in the past few weeks to Massachusetts voters. He chose a Nixonian phrase for the occasion: He claimed to have brought them together. He promised to do the same for the country.

Somebody yelled out "Florider."

It is Jackson's next test, but he didn't mention it. He said he wants their help in New York.

Some hours later, upstairs in the Bayh staff suite, there seemed there was not the slightest disposition to join the Jackson "crusade." Jack Walsh was staring into his beer, and one girl said she hadn't realized, "it would hurt so much." They fell silent when Morris Udall who had come in there, spoke kindly of Bayh, and claimed that he himself was the "only liberal choice left."

Some of the sad young men murmured that they still thought Bayh was a "winner" and were all for going on to New York. "You'll go on a skateboard," murmured one of the mourners. Jackson is the winner of the week. But he'll get nothing from the loser of the week, obviously, and those outside the Oval Room and its annex, cannot imagine that he will be the Democratic candidate. A lot of people thought that Hubert Humphrey was the real winner. Or maybe Gerald Ford.

Mary McGrory is a syndicated columnist.

Jackson got big edge from anti busing stand

By David Farrell
Globe Staff

An analysis of the votes in Tuesday's Massachusetts primary reveals that Sen. Henry M. Jackson's impressive showing was due to broad support in every section of the Commonwealth.

Although he lost Boston decisively to former Alabama Gov. George Wallace, Jackson demonstrated consistent strength in each of the state's 39 cities.

The senator's campaign obviously benefitted from the poor economic times and the high rate of unemployment in most of these urban areas.

But returns indicate that the Washington lawmaker's big edge came from his strong position against forced busing, a posture which also was responsible for the wide support Wallace received across the state.

Jackson's healthy vote totals in Boston and Springfield would seem to indicate that he gained as much from the hostility to forced busing as Wallace did.

The figures leave no doubt that many voters who couldn't bring themselves to vote for Wallace, could easily accept Jackson as the champion of the anti-busing movement.

The returns also reveal



Discarded Jackson poster proclaims its message in the kitchen of the Copley Plaza. (Charles Dixon photo)

that Arizona Rep. Morris K. Udall exhibited remarkable strength in the wealthier suburbs, particularly in the liberal communities such as Lexington, Concord and Lincoln where the anti-Vietnam war movement received so much impetus during the late sixties and early part of this decade.

Udall, who was runner up to Jackson in the state balloting, also showed substantial pull on the North and South Shores, Cape Cod and the Islands.

He did exceptionally well in Cambridge, as expected, and got 5771 votes or almost triple Jackson's total in the city. This was due in part to majority leader Thomas P. O'Neill's backing, the influence of the academic community

and support from former Watergate prosecutor Archibald Cox who worked vigorously in his behalf.

Udall's campaign in Massachusetts got off to a late start and didn't begin in earnest until after the New Year. In Worcester he was runner up to Jackson. The senator received 6717 votes, Udall 3255, Wallace 2744 and Carter 2582.

In Amherst and the surrounding area dominated by several colleges, Udall scored well. In Amherst he received 1648 votes to Carter's 315, Jackson's 269 and Wallace's 142 votes.

However, in many other cities Udall slipped considerably. Had he done as well in these cities as he did in Cambridge and

For tables of town by town results in Tuesday's Massachusetts primary, see pages 12, 13.

Worcester, he would have topped the ticket.

In several of those cities where Jackson was not No. 1, Wallace was the leader. And the Alabamian finished runner up to Jackson in many other urban centers.

Jackson's strength with the Jewish community was evident from his impressive totals in Sharon, Brookline and Newton. Udall, whose strong liberal credentials also appeal to the Jewish bloc, also did well in these communities.

Jackson easily won Brookline but had to settle for runner up to Udall's 5939 votes in Newton.

The senator also topped the ballot in the following cities:

Worcester, Springfield, Gardner, Lowell, Waltham, Beverly, Lynn, Peabody, Salem, Everett, Malden, Medford, Revere, Brockton, Fall River, Taunton and Quincy.

As in Boston, he was second in virtually every other city. Jackson also led in many towns including Agawam, Leicester, Longmeadow, Ludlow, Oxford, Palmer, Auburn, Clinton, Marlboro, Shrew-

sbury, Ayer, Framingham, Methuen, Nahant, Swampscott, Saugus, Wakefield, Winthrop, Woburn, Canton, Bridgewater, Abington, Avon, Braintree, Milton, Randolph, Barnstable, Bourne and Weymouth.

Udall's most impressive showings were in Lexington, Concord, Lincoln, Amherst, Newton, Sudbury, Weston, Wellesley, Andover, North Andover, Littleton, Manchester, Marblehead, Topsfield, Melrose, Winchester, Belmont, Watertown, Needham, Foxboro, Chatham, Edgartown, Harwich, Marion, Schituate, Westwood and Cambridge.

He also was a strong second in Brookline, Worcester, Ayer, Hadley, Longmeadow, Shrewsbury, Framingham, Waltham, Beverly, Nahant, Swampscott, Wakefield, Bridgewater, Mansfield and Randolph.

In addition to Boston, Wallace was on top in Holyoke, Easthamton, Hadley, South Hadley, Somerville, Dedham, Middleboro, Raynham and Holbrook.

He lost Pittsfield to former Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter and also finished second in Athol, Ludlow, Springfield, Methuen, Lynn, Revere, Saugus, Winthrop, Cambridge, Canton, Attleboro, Foxboro, Taunton, Abington, Avon, Braintree, Milton, Quincy, Weymouth, Bourne and Barnstable.

Wallace also fared very well in many towns in Berkshire County and along the Connecticut River Valley in Hampden, Hampshire and Franklin counties. His strength in western Massachusetts has perplexed political observers who thought his vote

would drop off once he left the Greater Boston area.

Carter showed pockets of strength here and there across the state. In addition to Pittsfield, he also topped the ticket in Athol, Dracut, Wilmington, Mansfield, North Attleboro, Marshfield and Plymouth. But for the most part he had to be content with finishing third or fourth in most localities. He was runner up in Leicester, Palmer, Marlboro, Gardner, Lincoln, Littleton, Manchester, Peabody, Salem, Topsfield, Everett, Woburn, Holbrook, Harwich, Marion and Edgartown.

Dobe

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Jackson feels Fla. sunshine

MIAMI — That big Irish face of Daniel Patrick Moynihan jumped out of the ad in the Miami Herald yesterday morning and said: "Today I am a private citizen. I am also a Democrat. Because I believe the Democratic nominee for President must be strong in foreign affairs and progressive in domestic affairs — I am going to vote for Sen. Senator Henry M. Jackson in the presidential primary."

In the Algiers Hotel on Miami Beach, at the annual luncheon of the American Federation of Senior Citizens, a man leaped to his feet during the Jackson speech and shouted: "Pat Moynihan for Vice President; Pat Moynihan for vice president." It brought down the house.

For Henry Jackson, Pat Moynihan is a hot political item. He is to Jackson in Miami what Archibald Cox was to Morris Udall in Massachusetts. And Jackson knows just how to play it.

Next to a condominium pool along the strip on the beach near Hollywood, Jackson drew the picture of Yasser Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization

(PLO), coming to the United Nations with "a pistol on his hip." He condemned the UN vote on Zionism and said terrorism should never be rewarded. "But thank God, he said, "we had a good man like Harry Truman — Patrick Moynihan (at the UN)."

The profile of the Massachusetts primary vote is not lost on the Jackson aides. The NBC news-Boston Globe survey of voters coming out of the polls after they had voted on Tuesday in Massachusetts showed that Jackson won 39 percent of the Jewish vote. All other candidates were 10 or under except Udall, who won 29



SEN. HENRY JACKSON percent.

Clearly then, Jackson either carried or ran a respectable second in communities which had formerly supported liberal candidates because of the swing of the Jewish voters who in the past have supported liberal candidates. Jackson must be numbered among the conservatives in the Democratic contest for President this year.

If that particular vote is critical in Massachusetts, as indeed it is, it is even more critical in the three counties of Dade, Broward and Palm Beach that extend north from Miami, an area that Jackson has staked out to win in this primary election.

Florida state Rep. Paul Steinberg of Miami Beach, a Jackson supporter, said Jackson probably will carry two of the congressional districts in the Miami area. He said he will do well in all of south Florida. Further, he said Jackson, because of his win in Massachusetts, the perception that he is now a serious candidate for the Presidency and for his strong defense position has begun to chip



DANIEL MOYNIHAN

away at the Jimmy Carter vote in north Florida. Steinberg said the defense industries are very critical in northern Florida.

"That is still Wallace territory," Steinberg said "but we could end up with as much as 15 percent of the vote in the north."

This does not mean that Jackson is going to win the Florida primary. Most likely he will not, but until Massachusetts his candidacy here was somewhat of a joke. He did badly in Florida in 1972, when George Wallace carried every county and 42 percent of the total vote. The line was that Jackson never

got more than 13 percent in any of the 15 primaries that he ran in in 1972. Before Massachusetts he figured to run a poor third behind Carter and Wallace or Wallace and Carter.

But now, with the help of the Massachusetts win the pitch by Moynihan, which has broad appeal in southern Florida, and with the win syndrome going for him, he could get as high as 25 percent of the total vote in Florida.

That would almost assure a Wallace win here, and, because these Jackson votes would not have gone for Wallace, Carter would have had a chance for them. Since Wallace is not going to be the nominee of the Democratic Party, its real effect to will be to stop the Carter for President movement dead in its tracks.

if Mar 76
Stars
Politics
Today

**Scoop Jackson,
Ebullient Winner**

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

BOSTON — Scoop Jackson, enveloped in Secret Service men, crowded into an elevator in the Parker House yesterday morning and encountered a reporter who has sometimes questioned his political acumen.

"I'll bet," he said, "that you thought that I was a damned fool when I said I was going to win here."

"Not a damned fool," the reporter replied.

"Well, a fool anyway," said Jackson. "But let me tell you how I knew we could do it." The elevator doors opened and he proceeded to do just that, standing in a hotel corridor, seeming to bounce on the balls of his feet with enthusiasm.

THIS IS A NEW element in Democratic presidential politics — Scoop Jackson as the ebullient winner after being thought of so long as such a loser. It requires a whole new mind set.

Jackson has reason to be ebullient. The 23 percent of the vote that gave him a victory in the Massachusetts primary actually underestimated the strength that he showed. If George Wallace had not been in the field, the detailed figures suggest, Jackson probably would have won at least one-third of the vote and left Jimmy Carter and his five liberal opponents to split the rest.

Moreover, these figures indicate, he would have done it even if the busing controversy had not been the most volatile issue in the primary. Jackson did not quite recreate "the old coalition" of the Democratic party. Blacks voted heavily for Jimmy Carter, and the academic community for Morris Udall. But neither was he a one-issue winner.

IT IS NOT that Jackson did not use the opposition to busing and his own position as what he calls "the rational candidate" on the question. He issued position papers and ran full-page advertisements making it quite clear where he stood.

But Wallace pre-empted that vote, at least in areas where feeling has been most intent. In one South Boston ward, for example, the Alabama governor received 2,656 votes and Jackson only 463. In another it was Wallace 3,010 and Jackson 731. In Charlestown it was Wallace 1,378 and Jackson 648. Indeed, the breakdowns show Wallace carried Boston over Jackson solely on busing.

But the story was different across the state. Jackson lost Pittsfield to Carter and Cambridge to Udall but carried all the other major cities — Springfield, Worcester, Quincy, Brockton, Fall River, New Bedford, Taunton.

Where he did not win, he ran close to the leader — on Carter's heels in some towns, close behind Udall in suburban communities, right after Wallace in those industrial towns where the Alabama governor had made a special effort. In Brookline, a middle-class town that is an enclave of Boston, for example, Jackson ran dead even with Udall.

BUT STATEWIDE, he won with his "Jackson Means Jobs" campaign.

This was the key that someone in the Jackson organization, or perhaps everyone, understood where the votes were to be had in Massachusetts Tuesday — on the economic issue, plain and simple.

This explains the striking disparity between the results Carter achieved in New Hampshire a week earlier and his fourth-place finish here.

In New Hampshire unemployment is about 5 percent, well below the national average and concentrated in a few pockets. Elsewhere, voters with regular pay envelopes were ready to listen to the promise of fresh approaches and new vision and perhaps even love in the White House. And Carter was there offering that formula in person.

In Massachusetts, the unemployment rate is still 11.8 percent, and most authorities think that understates the economic disarray there. The closing of a Navy yard or an Army base may not touch the particular worker directly, but it is part of a pattern of economic decline the Democrats of Massachusetts obviously recognize and fear.

Jackson

SO JACKSON did the classic thing. He made a people's issue his issue, and he won the election. None outside the campaign saw how simple it was because they were blinded by the image of Scoop Jackson as a loser.

What this means for Jackson's future is impossible to assess. The national economy is improving, and the real balance of power in politics is in the suburbs, where they have meat on the table, a jug of wine and the luxury of indulging campaigns of new vision and fresh approaches. Thus, yesterday — less than 24 hours after the polls closed in Massachusetts — liberal Democrats were assuring one another that it was still unthinkable that Scoop Jackson could be nominated. They may be right, because there is a long way to go before the convention in July.

But the only certainty now is that the party must recognize the new reality of Scoop Jackson as the ebullient winner. His opponents may not overestimate him, but neither will they ever underestimate him again.

JACKSON File

april 7, 1976

Tick Segerblom
Jimmy Carter for President
115 S. 22nd St.
Philadelphia, Pa. 19103

Tick --

Here are some anti-Jackson pieces that you and Tim Craft might find useful. Also enclosed are some of Gov. Carter's energy and environment speeches.

Carter's strip mining position is good, but of secondary importance to the main issue: only Jimmy Carter supports energy policies that would, while protecting the health and safety of miners and protecting the environment, also protect the jobs of workers in Pennsylvania and other eastern and midwestern industrial states.

Carter is the only candidate to have spoken out against the export of western coal to coal-consuming regions of the east and midwest. Jackson, like the Ford Administration, is an avid supporter of turning the western coal lands into the nation's energy breadbasket -- a move that would transfer private capital, public spending, and jobs away from the Ohio River Basin, Appalachian, and Great Lakes industrial regions to the currently-unpopulated agricultural regions of the Rockies and Northern Great Plains. Udall, while (like Jackson) being active in support of good strip mining legislation, has carefully avoided taking a position on what is, in fact, one of the most important energy policy questions the country faces: since we must become more dependent on coal, should increased coal production take place in a way that will most benefit the economies of the coal-consuming industrial states, or should coal production be expanded in a way that benefits a handful of companies operating in partnership with the Federal government to shift domestic energy production to the resources, owned or controlled by the Federal government, of agricultural states in the west?

There is plenty of coal in both regions. Carter is saying let's enforce the clean air act, mine health and safety, and tough strip mine laws, while expanding coal production from the privately-owned coal reserves of those states east of the Mississippi that now supply 90% of all the nation's coal. Jackson is saying let's weaken any safety or environmental or agricultural protection standards that might stand in the way of expanding coal production from federal coal in the west.* Udall says let's have good environmental laws, but he says nothing about the basic coal production issue. There's good reason for him to be silent about the fundamental coal energy issues, because it was Mo's brother Stewart, now the co-manager of the Udall campaign, who as Secretary of Interior in the 1960's initiated the leasing of western-states federal coal to the major oil companies, the "Industrial Water Marketing" programs to take water away from farmers and ranchers and give it to oil companies, so the oil industry could make the move (now openly supported by Jackson and Ford) to shifting national coal production away from Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, etc., to the west.

For more detail on this contact Ernest Preate, Jr., 717/346-3816 (he's tried several times in the past week to get back to the Conservationists for Carter office without success) and Norm Kilpatrick (304/348-8928), who works with some of the more responsible coal industry people in West Virginia.

good luck,
Joe Browder
Joe Browder

jbb

PS -- *Jackson's S. 740, National Energy Production Board Act, the foundation of his energy policy, would prohibit his new federal energy agencies from weakening laws protecting health and safety or the environment, but would give the agencies specific power to over-rule federal regulations, which, as Jackson knows, are the enforcement tools of all federal laws.

cc: Steve Stark

Time Catching Up To Scoop's Plans?

4-17-4
Len

By ELMER W. LAMMI
WASHINGTON (UPI) — Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington stands tall among Democratic presidential candidates in 1976. But time may be running out on him.

At 60, the calm, relaxed but energetic son of Norwegian immigrants finally stands on the threshold of the national recognition that could win him the nomination that he missed in 1972.

But it may be too late. By the time the gavel falls at the 1976 Democratic National Convention, he will be 64—and the convention well may turn to a younger man, perhaps someone such as Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts.

Jackson, still youthful and vigorous, insisted in an interview that he isn't even thinking about 1976 in terms of his own candidacy. But, he concedes "I'm keeping my options open."

"I'm philosophical," he said, sprawling comfortably with one leg draped over the arm of an easy chair in his cluttered office in the Old Senate Office Building.

"Who knows what fate will bring? In just a matter of days we lost two ex-presidents and a war ended. It's a long, long time to 1976, and fate intervenes — sometimes cruelly, sometimes favorably."

Whoever the Democratic candidate is in 1976, it is clear Jackson will have more than a little to say about it. For one thing, he appears to be moving slowly and cautiously into the vacuum in party leadership left by the crushing defeat of Sen. George S. McGovern in November.

It was Jackson who quietly engineered the election of Robert Strauss, an effective fund raiser from Texas, as Democratic National Chairman — a job Jackson himself held briefly in 1960-61.

Strauss got the job after Jean Westwood, McGovern's personal choice for the post, finally was persuaded to step down. With Jackson not even present, his aides and allies accomplished the switch smoothly.

"I will continue to play an active role in the party, just as I did in getting Strauss elected," Jackson said. "I want to see the party expand its gains in the House and Senate in 1974 and to lay the foundation for winning the White House in 1976."

Like McGovern at the 1968 convention and Sen. John F. Kennedy at the 1956 convention, Jackson gained visibility and recognition through his hopeless fight for the nomination at the 1972 convention.

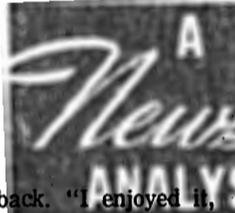
He now gets "stacks of invitations" to speak at Democratic functions. Of these, he said, he accepts only a few because of his increasing involvement in congressional affairs—at least some of which will bring him more and more

tor in the middle-of-the-road —which I saw as the only way that the Democrats could win."

At Miami Beach, when Sens. Hubert H. Humphrey and Edmund S. Muskie threw in the towel, Jackson remained in the race even though he knew McGovern had the votes in his pocket. Why?

"I think the delegates wanted a choice, and they had a right to a choice," he said. "It would have been unfair to the country to represent McGovern as the unanimous choice of the Democratic party."

"There's no bitterness and no bad feeling," Jackson said,



looking back. "I enjoyed it, and I learned a lot."

What, then, did he learn that might prove useful if he should try it again in 1976?

"First of all, I started out with the obvious disadvantage of not being known—and this is a big, big thing," he said. It was this handicap, he said, that most hampered fund-raising and negated the best organizing efforts.

Now, however, his growing power in his 33rd year in Congress, along with his exposure at the 1972 convention, is almost certain to gain him greater national recognition.

Jackson became chairman of the Senate permanent investigations subcommittee this year when Sen. John L. McClellan, D-Ark., stepped down. It is a powerful position and its chairman can investigate almost anything he chooses.

When it was learned late last year that McClellan would turn the investigating panel over to him, there was speculation that Jackson would head the Senate investigation of the Watergate case. But Jackson immediately turned to Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr., D-N.C., the highly respected chairman of the Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights, to head such an investigation.

Since the hearings probably would get into alleged sabotage and spying during the

1972 primary in Florida, Jackson said, his own campaign was certain to be involved. For that reason, he said, he would have to disqualify himself if his committee conducted the investigation.

Jackson, who ranks third in the Senate Armed Services Committee, long has been a respected voice in matters affecting national security. He also has been speaking out more frequently on foreign policy and recently has turned his attention to the growing energy crisis through his chairmanship of the Senate Interior Committee.

In 1972, Jackson's reputation as a "hawk" on Vietnam cost him the support of some who could not fault him on his record in support of social welfare programs and civil rights. This may be forgotten by 1976.

"I think the Democratic party is coming back together," he said. "The end of the war will benefit the party by helping to remove the one-issue approach."

In his home state, Jackson long has had the reputation of a "winner." He won re-election to the Senate in 1970 with more than 80 per cent of the vote.

He is a product of his state. Born in Everett, Wash., on May 31, 1912, he attended Everett High School and got a law degree at the University of Washington. His first venture into politics came in 1938, when he ran successfully for prosecuting attorney of Snohomish County. From that day he never lost an election until the Florida presidential primary. He was elected to the House in 1940 and went on to the Senate in 1952.

Adding to his youthful image is his family. Ending the many years when he was among capital's most eligible bachelors, he married Helena Hardin, then an aide on the Interior Committee staff, in 1961. They have two children.

Jackson will be up for re-election for his fifth six-year term in 1976. But even this is not likely to stand in his way should he choose to seek the presidential nomination.

Most of the key primaries come early—and the big one in California comes in June. And in Washington state, candidates do not even file for office until July.

By that time the fight for the nomination may be over.

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SEN. HENRY JACKSON
In trouble with labor?

Rift With Labor Impairs Push By Jackson

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

A potentially significant rift has developed in the last 36 hours between Sen. Henry M. Jackson and several major labor unions which are likely to play an important role in the contest for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Jackson's managers took an essentially all-or-nothing-at-all attitude in an attempt to pressure the unions into total support in the Ohio primary — and came away with essentially nothing.

The candidates who profitted were Morris K. Udall, the leading liberal in the Democratic field, and Jimmy Carter, the dominant centerist.

THE UNIONS involved were those that make up the so-called Labor Coalition Clearing House, a confederation of liberal organizations formed to act together in the hope that, taken together, they would have substantial power at the Democratic convention in July.

The membership of this coalition varies somewhat from state to state, but in Ohio it included the United Auto Workers, the Communications Workers of America, the Ohio Education Association, the Graphic Arts Workers, the Electrical Workers, the United Mine Workers, the Machinists and the American Federation of Federal, State, County and Municipal Employes Union.

When the dust had settled only the machinists were still supporting Jackson.

According to several sources in a position to know, the situation developed this way:

LAST THURSDAY officials of the liberal coalition, including William Dodds of the UAW and William

JACKSON

Continued From A-1

Welch of AFSCME, met here with Robert Keefe, Jackson's political director, campaign director Sterling Monroe and labor adviser Dorothy Hardesty to discuss the delegate slate that would run with labor backing in the Ohio primary.

This meeting showed, a union source said, "a lot of support" for Jackson and lesser amounts for Carter and Udall. The group discussed the way its strength would be allocated and, according to union sources, a tacit understanding was reached on how the coalition support would be employed.

Nineteen of Ohio's 23 districts are involved — the four excluded being those in which local congressmen are running "favorite son" delegations of their own. The split was to be nine districts for Jackson, seven for Carter and three for Udall.

The Jackson agents argued in this meeting that their candidate was entitled to united labor support in a major labor state but, even their allies agreed, left the impression that the 7-6-3 division would be agreeable.

SIX DAYS later, however, in a meeting at the Ohio Education Association headquarters in Columbus to confirm the plan, the agreement fell apart.

Union leaders involved said that Jerry Grant, Jackson's Ohio manager, first agreed tentatively to the division, then left the

room to clear the deal with headquarters in Washington. He returned to say that Jackson was insisting on all or nothing.

The machinists agreed to the Jackson demand but the other unions held firm.

The result was a decision to run coalition delegates supporting Carter in 10 districts and Udall in nine.

The Jackson managers argued that the same coalition had supported Carter in Florida, principally in the interest of defeating George Wallace in the primary there. This effort, they said, had demonstrated that the liberal unions could be most effective by banding together behind a single candidate. And, they argued, that single candidate in Ohio should be Jackson.

BUT COALITION leaders, other than the machinists, viewed this as a power play on Jackson's part that went beyond the strength he has shown so far.

And, beyond this, they suspected the Jackson camp was being pressured by the leadership of the more conservative AFL-CIO, meaning President George Meany and his top political operative, Alexander Barkan — a charge the Jackson strategists deny.

Whatever the motivation, the decision left Jackson in Ohio, where labor support is critical, estranged from unions that could have been valuable in raising money and providing manpower for the primary. Some of these were unions leaning to Jackson in the first

place. The Ohio Education Association, a politically powerful organization of teachers, for example, intended to support Jackson until the "misunderstanding" developed in Columbus Wednesday night.

THE SPLIT does not leave Jackson bereft of labor backing. He will have the support of some delegates from the machinists, as well as those from unions outside the coalition, including the steelworkers, rubber workers, garment workers and several of the building trades unions.

But Jackson has lost the support in Ohio — and perhaps elsewhere of some of the unions most effective politically, such as the UAW, CWA and AFSCME.

And the suspicion engendered by the collapse of the agreement in Ohio is likely to carry over into other industrial states, such as Michigan, where Jackson is relying upon organized labor to provide his base.

The Ohio delegation will be made up of 152 votes, the fifth largest at the Democratic convention in July in New York City.

Munitions Plant Blast Claims Sixth Victim

EAST CAMDEN, Ark. (AP) — A sixth employe of Celesco Industries died yesterday, four days after lightning struck a power transformer and touched off an explosion at the munitions plant.

The latest victim was Mary Gulley, 34, of Camden, who had been hospitalized with severe burns.

Jackson Attacks Wallace In a Change of Strategy

By LINDA CHARLTON
Special to The New York Times

NY Times
2/12

CHARLOTTE, N.C., Feb. 10—Senator Henry M. Jackson has embarked on a new campaign strategy — attacking Gov. George C. Wallace directly instead of ignoring him.

The Washington Democrat, who entered North Carolina's March 23 primary only after Terry Sanford, the former North Carolina Governor, withdrew last month, conceded at an airport news conference at the start of his six-hour visit that Governor Wallace was "still ahead at this time" here.

But he went on to say "that doesn't mean he's going to win it."

The apparent shift in Jackson strategy first became evident in Boston last Friday.

Until then, Mr. Jackson had been nearly ignoring Mr. Wallace, except for saying that he would not find him a suitable running mate. At a Friday press conference Mr. Jackson announced that he was being endorsed by John McDonough, the chairman of the Boston School Committee, and was asked if this meant he was trying to "cater" to the Wallace vote.

"I'm not trying to cater to any sentiment," Mr. Jackson replied, "I'm interested in improving the quality of education." This, he added, was more than could be said for Governor Wallace, adding that in many essential areas the "quality of life" in Alabama "ranks very low."

Mr. Jackson then alluded to his own proposed busing legislation and asked rhetorically why Mr. Wallace did not come up with a proposal. Mr. Jackson has proposed that all school desegregation cases go before three-judge courts and that the judges be required to weigh the prospects of "white flight" before ordering busing for integration.

Mr. Jackson said that the Alabama Governor supplied a lot of "rhetoric" about the busing problem "but what's he going to do about it?" A few sentences later, he said, "Governor Wallace is carrying on a negative program."

state and that "anyone who says otherwise is engaging in political puffer's talk," taking a sidelong swipe at Mr. Carter's claims.

Mr. Jackson and his staff deny any truth in the suspicion that he has entered the primaries in both this state and Florida to prevent the possibility of a Carter victory over Mr. Wallace that would, in effect, make Mr. Carter, Jimmy-the-giant-killer in political terms.

Sees Interest in Issues

In a brief interview in the plane between Tampa and Miami yesterday, Mr. Jackson said he thought that on his new tack he was being "responsive to what people seem to say to me," which is that "this time they are interested in where the person stands on issues before they cast their ballot."

He believes, he said, that voters in primary states, including this state and Florida, both of them won by Mr. Wallace in 1972, "want to do more than just react" and may choose more carefully this time because there is "the feeling that the Democrats are going to win this year."

Mr. Jackson is openly confident of winning in New York, and he has said that he is going to do very well in Massachusetts. In Florida, where he ran third to Mr. Wallace and to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey with 13.5 percent of the vote four years ago, he talked optimistically sometimes of running "next to Wallace and even possibly to surpass Wallace."

On Saturday Mr. Jackson tried out in his fairly standard speech a new dicker that got applause from its labor audience: "Let's send a President to Washington, not a message!"

In Tampa, Fla., on Sunday the same line brought applause from a different audience, a black church group. Later that evening in a condominium, he introduced still another new touch that seemed to jab at both Mr. Wallace and former Gov. Jimmy Carter: "I know there are candidates who say they've never been to Washington, and they brag about it," he said, adding that he is not one of them.

He then stressed his own long experience in Washington and the fact that he, presumably unlike others, would not be going into the White House as a "greenhorn."

Throughout his 36 hours in Florida, which included appearances in condominiums on Miami's Gold Coast and in a shabby Faith Temple in Tampa, he said again and again that Mr. Wallace was ahead in the

Washington
Post

Jan. 8, 1975

Jackson Gets \$1.1 Million In '76 Drive

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

The ranking officials of Giant Food, Inc., are among the chief contributors to the \$1.1 million raised in the last six months of 1974 for the still-undeclared presidential campaign of Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.).

Records of the Jackson Planning Committee, the organization established last July 8 to prepare for the senator's campaign, show that officials of the Washington-based Giant Food, Inc., and the wife of its board chairman gave a total of \$16,000 to Jackson, as follows:

Joseph B. Danzansky, president, N. M. Cohen chairman of the board, and Mrs. N. M. Cohen, Israel Cohen, senior vice president; Emmanuel Cohen, vice president and treasurer, \$3,000 each; Larry Solomon, vice president and general counsel, \$1,000.

Danzansky and the Cohens are among 205 individuals who gave \$3,000, a maximum set by the Jackson committee in advance of the new 1974 campaign financing law, effective Jan. 1, that sets \$1,000 as the individual limit.

Walter J. Skallerup Jr., a Washington lawyer who is chairman of the Jackson committee, said the \$3,000 limit was set for 1974 because that is the maximum political contribution not subject to federal gift tax.

Other prominent contributors of \$3,000 included principal fund-raisers for three Democratic opponents of Jackson in 1972: S. Harrison Dogole of Philadelphia, for Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.); Arnold Picker of Golden Beach, Fla., for Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Maine); and Joseph Robbie, owner of the Miami Dolphins, for Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.). The wives of Dogole, Picker and Robbie each also contributed \$3,000, the records show.

Others who have given \$3,000 include Norman K. Winston, E. Roland Harriman and William Zeckendorf Sr. of New York, and Carl Freeman, the Washington-area builder. Skallerup, a former deputy assistant secretary of defense, and his wife also gave \$3,000 each and Skallerup lent the committee \$3,000 at its inception, the records indicate.

At year's end, according to Richard Kline, finance coordinator for the Jackson group, 1,166 individuals had contributed \$1,130,728. A total of \$210,128 was spent over the same period, he said.

Other notable contributors included Felix Rohatyn, partner in the New York investment firm of Lazard Freres and Co. and a director of International Telephone and Telegraph Corp., who was a figure in the controversial ITT merger case, \$2,500; and Paul H. Nitze, former deputy secretary of defense, \$500.

Kline said the Cohens' contributions came as a result of a Jackson fund-raising dinner last Dec. 3 at the home of Norman Bernstein, a Washington businessman and 1972 Jackson supporter. The dinner was part of a nationwide fund-raising effort in major cities at which Jackson spoke in 1974, Kline said.

Sen

Washington Post

Dec. 20, 1974

George F. Will

Sen. Jackson: 'All Policy, No Flair'

Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) has become a one-man shadow government, with a foreign policy he has forced the administration (and the Soviet Union) to accommodate, and an energy policy that has one advantage over the administration's energy policy: Jackson's policy exists.

Now he is going to find out how far an untelegenic man of character can go toward the White House on nothing but an unrivaled and perhaps even unprecedented record of legislative accomplishment. The drama of his nomination drive derives from this: he is running not only against a flock of competitors, most of them lightweights, but also against the theory that today, more than ever, lightweights can aspire to high office because, more than ever, a record of performance in government is irrelevant to an effective candidacy.

Walter Bagehot's description of Sir Robert Peel fits Jackson, "a man of common opinions and uncommon abilities." He is the embodiment of Democratic orthodoxy: the pedigree of his ideas, like his career in Congress, runs back to the Franklin Roosevelt administration.

Regarding domestic policies he probably is the most liberal candidate in the field, if one defines liberalism (as, alas, one must) largely in terms of a breezy confidence in the ability of federal power to achieve intended effects.

No candidate has more confidence in the ability of the federal government to control, regulate, ration and generally supplant market forces, efficiently and beneficently, in allocating the resources and directing the choices of 212 million Americans.

He has served in the federal government—in Congress—since 1941, and he almost certainly gives it the unwarranted benefit of warranted doubts.



But this mistake serves to establish his liberal credentials.

The only people who call Jackson a "conservative" are Democratic leftists who know better, but who cynically persist, fueled by resentment of Jackson's fidelity to the Democratic Party's noble foreign policy record. As Mark Twain said, nothing is harder to bear than the burden of good example, and Jackson is unbearable because he has forsworn the current liberal tactic for winning office. That tactic is to pander to a weary public's understandable desire to believe that the U.S. no longer has foreign obligations or enemies that require costly and strenuous sacrifices.

Jackson has suffered the fate of the late Felix Frankfurter. When Frankfurter was appointed to the Supreme Court he was recognized as a liberal; by the time he left some liberals were calling him a conservative. But he never changed his policy of judicial restraint. He just refused to tack with the winds that blew flimsier liberals away from principles that had become tactically inconvenient.

Jackson, like ordinary Democrats, is proud of the fact (and it is a fact) that the Democratic Party has been the most formidable adversary of the 20th century's worst political diseases—communism and fascism. But he has not yet developed what Bagehot saw in William Pitt: "the successful power to give in a more than ordinary manner the true feelings and sentiments of ordinary men." That probably is an indispensable attribute of a great democratic leader. But it probably is not necessary for a successful Democratic candidate at a time when eloquence, and even simple articulateness, are scarce commodities in both parties.

The strength of his candidacy may be that he, more than any of his rivals, believes that the voters in 1976 will be responding to conditions substantially different—and worse—than those that exist today. If the deterioration of economic conditions, worldwide, is as steep and steady as Jackson thinks it may be, his reputation as a man of policies—a "governing man"—may matter more than the incurable blandness of his public personality.

Hard times concentrate voters' minds on essentials. Jackson, a man of no waste motion, is a man of essentials, all policy and no flair. This, and the respect it has earned from friends and foes alike, places Jackson among the greatest senators, like Henry Clay and Robert Taft. They, like Jackson, attracted the support of many people who differed with them on many policy matters, but who cherished character—the scarcest commodity—wherever it is found.

That comparison, though flattering, and not extravagantly so, has a dark dimension. Clay and Taft are the two senators who most conspicuously deserved the presidency, but never achieved it.

Wash. Post
Sat. 7/6/74

H-15-3
Den

Sen. Jackson At the Apex Of His Career

OLD-FASHIONED virtues have not counted for much in the recent media-minded world of American politics. They have been, for example, no match for the vague but much-sought-after quality known as charisma. Further, a suspicion lingers that to be old-fashioned is to be obsolete in terms of today's problems.

It is possible, however, that Sen. Henry (Scoop) Jackson, an old hand on Capitol Hill, is out to prove that charisma is not everything, and old-fashioned virtues have a place in the modern world after all.

Disciplined and hard-working, as unassuming as a next-door neighbor, the senator from the state of Washington has earned his share of news stories over the years. But nothing in the past can compare with the attention he is getting now.

At a remarkably youthful 62, when others begin to think of retirement, Jackson has reached an apex in his admirable career. Probably no other man or woman in Congress has so powerful—though not uncontroversial—a voice on so many leading issues. It is as if all the pieces of his 34 years in public life have fallen suddenly, luckily, into prominent place. Oil and energy, detente and trade policy with the Russians, nuclear weapons and land use, to name a few.

And there are some Democratic politicians who figure that the presidency, too, may be in Jackson's immediate future. Certainly he is one of two or three Democrats at the top of everybody's list of possibles.

In a recent interview with Jackson in his comfortable, uncluttered Senate office, conversation covered many subjects—from adverse effects of affluence on young people, to the opposition his nomination is likely to arouse from his party's left wing.

But again and again, he came back to two issues on which he has been catching plenty of heat. One is his outspoken skepticism about the value of detente as pursued by the Nixon administration. The other is his trade-bill

amendment that requires countries seeking most-favored-nation trade status with the United States to allow free emigration. The amendment is worded generally, but applies clearly to Soviet Jews who wish to leave Russia.

For his critical questioning of detente, Jackson has been called a Cold War warrior, a hard-liner and a man

The writer is a contributing editor with the Minneapolis Tribune, from which this article is reprinted.

who cannot change with the times. He shrugs at those descriptions, although the cold-warrior phrase slightly ruffles the usually calm manner. He is for detente, he explained, but he wants it to mean not just better business and the movement of commercial cargo, but the movement, too, of people and ideas.

He would take a tougher bargaining stance than Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. "Henry does not pick on those things he thinks the Russians won't accept or like. I say the whole purpose of negotiation is to discuss hard things on which we differ."

Jackson wondered frankly if the Cold War "is really over" or merely disguised. He referred several times to the Russians' desire for "primacy." When you examine detente, he said, "What have we achieved since that great and glorious word came into the vocabulary? He listed what he regards as benefits to the Russians. There was the wheat deal. ("We were had.") Another example: the joint space venture in which the United States will put up \$240 million, the Russians, nothing. ("I call it 'wheat in the sky.'") Further, in trade agreements and the strategic arms limitation talks, Jackson claimed the Russians have come out ahead.

"Kissinger says the United States is benefiting from detente through a better world climate and good will," Jack-

son said. He snorted. "Good will? Like being eyeball to eyeball in the Middle East? With the Russians telling the Arabs to keep the price of oil high? With Gromyko doing everything he could to break up the negotiating efforts?"

As for his insistence that the Russians change their emigration policy before getting most-favored-nation status, Jackson said quietly, "This is a moral, civil-libertarian issue." He denied that his amendment is a calculated play for Jewish votes. His Norwegian heritage taught him respect for human rights and liberties, he said, and his horrified reaction to Buchenwald concentration camp in 1945 reinforced that belief. From that time on, he became a staunch supporter of the state of Israel.

"Where I get in trouble on foreign policy," he added, "is I have very strong views on individual liberties. But at least I'm consistent. I voted against aid to Greece and for the embargo on Rhodesia." He spoke with feeling of Soviet emigres who visit his office to thank him. "I feel a personal responsibility not to let these people down," he explained. "You know, it says in the Talmud that if you save one life, you help save the world."

Jackson critics fault him—oddly enough, in these times—for his consistency and his unwillingness to compromise. But the senator pointed out that he has changed his mind many times during his long career, and he has had to compromise on almost every bill he has introduced. The time may have arrived when he will have to compromise on his trade-bill amendment.

"But I am not a bowl of mush," he asserted. "And I do have strong convictions." He also has a blunt directness to his speech, a respectful regard for the rights of others and a solemn belief that the right of free speech means "the right to sound like a fool on occasion."

If all those old virtues ever replace charisma, Scoop Jackson could be a prime beneficiary.

Bob
Wiedrich



Chicago Tribune, Sunday, July 13, 1975

Sen. Jackson's justice lopsided

EVIDENTLY, SEN. Henry Jackson's priorities do not include a square shake for the victims of his Presidential ambitions.

That became clear Thursday when John R. Bartels Jr., former administrator for the Federal Drug Enforcement Administration, finally got his day in court and found his chief inquisitor didn't have much time for him.

Jackson, the Washington state Democrat who is stumping hard for the White House, opened a Senate subcommittee hearing into allegations of mismanagement and corruption in the DEA at 9:15 a. m. One hour and 15 minutes later, Jackson took a duck, claiming the press of other business.

That left Bartels unable to confront his prime antagonist for the last year during which he has suffered a carefully orchestrated campaign of detrimental, mostly faceless news leaks by the subcommittee that culminated in Atty. Gen. Edward Levi demanding his resignation May 30.

FROM THE VERY moment Bartels was sworn by the permanent investigation subcommittee, it was evident Jackson had no intention of dwelling on details of the allegations against Bartels by two disgruntled DEA employees.

Instead, Jackson devoted much of his time deploring news commentary critical of his apparent use of the DEA probe to gain publicity for his Presidential bid.

He appeared stung by the criticism. He sought to blame Bartels for some of it. But he was obviously oblivious to the character assassination his own subcommittee had visited upon Bartels thru scores of leaked news stories against which Bartels had previously been unable to defend himself under oath.

IN FACT, Thursday's appearance was a first for Bartels before the panel. He had not even been accorded the chance to testify behind closed-door executive sessions during the year-long bombing run on his integrity.

Naturally, by the time Bartels got to open his mouth, his reputation had been so blackened that virtually every news account cast him in the role of defending his record in running the 2,200-agent organization that is America's front line in the global war on narcotics.

And that, we guess, is what Jackson had in mind when he staged an 75-minute hit-and-run raid on Bartels, and then ran off to pursue his quest for the Presidency. He didn't even have the courtesy to hear the man out.

Sen. Percy [R., Ill.] took over the gavel and presided over the hearing until 12:15 p.m. after Jackson flew the coop to attend a conference.

Jackson

BUT NOT BEFORE Jackson had badgered the witness by repeatedly interrupting his testimony and demanding that Bartels synopsise his opening statement because Jackson was short of time.

After a year of public vilification leading to his dismissal because Atty. Gen. Levi wished to avoid having Jackson embarrass the Justice Department, Bartels was supposed to roll over and accommodate his tormentor.

Sen. Jackson quoted newspaper articles that he felt had unfairly attributed political motives to his conduct of the DEA inquiry. He did not dwell on the substantive matters at hand, but instead kept demanding that Bartels compare the performance of DEA with other investigative agencies like the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Secret Service.

THAT WOULD BE like comparing apples with oranges, Bartels patiently sought to explain. However, the senator kept insisting and finally Bartels had to lecture the Presidential aspirant on the role of a narcotic agent and how it differs from that of other law enforcement men.

Unlike most agents, who investigate a crime after the fact, DEA agents must explore and seek to infiltrate narcotic rings before a crime is actually committed, Bartels told Jackson. They must seek to prevent or intercept a criminal act so that illicit drugs don't reach America's narcotic addicts.

After a year of maligning the DEA from behind the protective facade of news leaks, Jackson didn't even know the basic premise of its duties. It was also clear that all sense of fairness had deserted his questioning.

If Bartels had done such a good job as DEA Administrator, he asked, why had he been fired. Even if Jackson hadn't read the news accounts of Bartels' dismissal, his political savvy should have told him why—adverse publicity generated by his own subcommittee staff.

On Friday, Jackson's attendance record was even worse. He arrived 15 minutes late and stayed only 20 minutes after hurling a series of "true or false" questions at Bartels. Once Bartels pointed out many of the questions were based on erroneous fact, Jackson again flew the coop.

WELL, WHEN old Scoop Jackson deserted the hearing room, the TV lights flickered out and, to his credit, Sen. Percy got down to the meat of the allegations against DEA and the stewardship of Bartels.

Bartels denounced each of the accusations as incorrect or unfounded. He labeled many "totally false." But Sen. Jackson wasn't around to hear any of that. Perhaps he was too deafened by the strains of "Hail to the Chief."

identified supporters went out last month advising them of the Jackson Planning Committee. A much larger mailing is being geared up for shortly after the first of the year, not necessarily formally announcing Jackson's candidacy, but leaving no doubt he's running.

Right now, Jackson's Senate administrative assistant, Sterling Monroe, is functioning as his chief political adviser, but soon a full-time pro is to be brought aboard to gear the senator's travels and activities to the 1976 delegate hunt.

With federally imposed limits on campaign spending, Monroe says, Jackson

and all other candidates will have to pick their states carefully and spend their money frugally, to win delegates. "In the past," he says, "it's been like love. You try everything and hope something works."

Two years ago, Scoop Jackson's presidential bid got off to a sputtering start, first flirting with entry into the New Hampshire primary, then backing out and opting for Florida. This time, the goods being offered are much the same as they were in 1972. But in a nation gripped by inflation and energy shortages, the market may be more susceptible the second time around.

JACKSON, From A1

at again; I want to make America good again.")

At a breakfast the next morning attended by the state's party bigwigs, the color senator from Washington struck the usual mixture of candor and caution expected of early water-testers.

He was in New Hampshire, he said, "to help reconstitute the Democratic Party in this state." Translation into political speak: "I'm here to pick up the pieces for cashing in later.") Every presidential aspirant who goes to New Hampshire, or anywhere else in the pre-declaration season, cites the litany and everybody understands.

When asked point-blank whether he would run in the New Hampshire primary in '76, Jackson said: "I'll give you an early decision up or down on what I'm going to do." In his 1972 candidacy, he acknowledged, he had made "a lot of mistakes"—one of which was not running in New Hampshire and instead taking on George Wallace in Florida.

If the Democrats of New Hampshire can't wait for an answer, though, all they have to do is catch a flight to Washington and pay a visit to 511 2nd St. NE, just a block from Union Station. A gold plate on the door says "Jackson Planning Committee," and inside two joining townhouses, Dick Kline, the first paid staffer Jackson-in-'76, lays it out:

"Is he going to run for President? Yes, he's going to run for President. To raise money, you have to deal with people. We don't

want to play the old charade, but there are practical reasons for not 'announcing' and getting your bumper stickers out. But there shouldn't be any doubts that Jackson is going to run for President."

From the two old townhouses converted into well-appointed offices and rented for \$1,950 a month, Kline is laying the groundwork for a full-fledged campaign operation that will gear up with the hiring of a staff around the first of next year. A former California reporter and successful fund-raising coordinator in 1972 for Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Maine), Kline already has raised nearly \$180,000 in about two months and has as his goal \$7 million before the start of the 1976 primary season.

Walter T. Skallerup Jr., a former deputy assistant secretary of defense and now a Washington lawyer who is overseeing the Jackson Planning Committee, says \$280,000 is budgeted to be spent up to the 1976 Democratic convention on office expenses alone.

Kline, a clearly mindful of the new federal campaign spending reform act meaning the statute books, is tapping old Jackson supporters for small contributions only and at the same time pressing for commitments of time as a means of forming the nucleus of a national grassroots organization.

Under the act, a candidate who raises \$100,000 from 20 different states in contributions of \$250 or less will qualify for matching federal money from the new federal elections fund. Only two candidates, Jackson and Gov. Gerge Wallace (D-Ala.),

are sufficiently known to expect to qualify as of now, Kline insists.

The objective—reminiscent of the 1968 achievement of fund-raiser Maurice H. Stans for Richard M. Nixon—is to have enough money in the till before the first primary so that Jackson will not have to take time from vote-chasing to raise money.

But now Jackson is as directly and actively involved as his own principal fund-raiser and grass-roots builder. On Sept. 8 in Atlanta, the senator attended the first of a series of meetings with about 50 potential contributors to be held in most major cities around the country. Since then, similar sessions have been held in backers' homes in Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Cleveland and New York, with others scheduled later this month for Dallas and Boston.

At each, the formula is the same. Jackson talks for about 15 minutes about his political plans and the issues he expects to hit hard—inflation, energy, international economics and how the oil crisis in the Mideast affects the economy here and around the world.

Then he fields questions. There are drinks and dinner and, finally, the sponsor makes a pitch—for a contribution of no more than \$3,000 now and a commitment of time. Those present are asked to work to raise money and to form local Jackson units. When the new campaign spending law goes through, the limit will drop to \$1,000 a giver—underlining the necessity of a

broad-based fund-raising operation.

Kline already has three expert fund-raisers in the Jackson fold who worked for other candidates in 1972. They are S. Harrison (Sonny) Dogole, a Philadelphia business executive who was Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey's chief money man in 1972, Arnold Picker, a New England movie theater executive who was Muskie's top fund-raiser, and Joe Robble, owner of the Miami Dolphins pro football team, a big backer of Sen. George McGovern.

To broaden his support—which in 1972 was regarded as too narrowly to the right on the party's political spectrum—groups of potential workers for Jackson in major cities are being invited to Washington to be wooed by the senator, usually at three-hour lunches in his Senate basement hideaway office. So far, seven such meetings have been held, Kline says.

Jackson is also using his Senate base to good advantage. As chairman of the Senate Interior Committee he projects himself as Mr. Energy and Mr. Conservation, and as chairman of the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee he acts as chief public defender against such things as wheat sales to the Soviet Union (he calls them "the great grain robberies"), fuel shortages, and oil and gas price gouging.

Jackson has had the credentials for the Mr. Energy label for years; he was among the first to warn of an energy shortage, the need to seek alternative sources and to conserve

those already being tapped. Until recently, there was little political capital in the label. But now Scoop Jackson is onto a live one, and he knows it.

Two years ago, Jackson was a dreary figure on the presidential primary trial, trying to belabor his way into the consciousness of the electorate with old warnings about Soviet military strength, demands for more defense spending and tired apologies for the American involvement in Vietnam. Then there was a whining, bitter tone to his rhetoric, a why-won't anybody-listen quality.

Now his voice takes on a more assured quality of I-told-you-so as he talks about the nation's failure to conserve its resources and to find new energy sources, about rationing and oil blackmail by various sheikhs of Araby.

Almost overnight, to a great many politicians, Scoop Jackson, the 1972 political bore, has been converted into Scoop Jackson the prophet, Scoop Jackson the expert, Scoop Jackson, the man whose issues—hence whose time—has come.

The senator's foray into New Hampshire—with a campaign stop for Vietnam war critic Rep. Robert F. Drinan (D-Mass.) on the way home—showed him to be the same old Scoop Jackson on the stump: friendly but no spellbinder, earnest but afflicted with a mild case of Humphreyitis—the inability to stop talking when nothing new comes out.

Within his party matters have been going Jackson's way. The withdrawal from 1976 presidential contention

by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) has given Jackson a clearer shot at the support of organized labor—and at money-givers who were holding back waiting to see what Kennedy would do.

Kline and others already had been working old Muskie, Humphrey and McGovern lists, and those efforts are to be stepped up right after the Nov. 5 elections. In the meantime, in campaign speeches for liberal reformers like Drinan, and former Reps. Allard K. Lowenstein in New York and Abner Mikva in Chicago, Jackson is busy building bridges to the left within the party and blurring ideological differences.

Polls indicate Jackson's name is now recognized by at least 50 per cent of the public, and half of those say they know him well.

Although he is regarded now by many as the early favorite, he ran fourth in the most recent Gallup Poll of Democrats expressing a presidential preference, with Kennedy dropped from the list of prospects. Wallace was first with 27 per cent, McGovern and Muskie next with 17 and then Jackson with 14.

In the coming year, though, Jackson more than the other three will be moving overtly to gain the nomination, and his aides profess not to be concerned about the polls now. They cite McGovern's abysmal standings a similar stage before the 1972 primaries, and they say they don't expect any major change until the 1976 primaries begin.

After November, the Jackson operation will become more public. A letter to 3,200

(cont.)

1-17-16
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Spends Weekend in New Hampshire

Jackson Begins '76 Drive



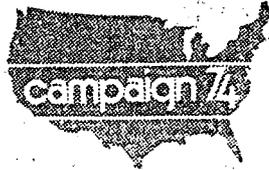
SEN. HENRY M. JACKSON
... eyes White House

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

It's been said that if something looks like a duck, walks like a duck and quacks like a duck, it must be a duck. Well, Sen. Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson (D-Wash.) went up to New Hampshire last weekend saying he still wasn't a candidate for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination. But he sure looked, walked, and quacked like one.

A full 17 months before the first state primary vote in the next presidential cam-

paign, Jackson was busily testing the political waters in the Granite State—and talking to them like a man already in the tortuous swim toward the White House.



At a big party dinner in Manchester for Dick Leonard, the Democrats' candidate for governor, and John Durkin, their senatorial

nominee, Jackson cruised in, dressed in his best blue sincerity suit and pancake makeup.

He spun off a few political jokes (Nixon bumps into Ford leaving the White House. Nixon: "Pardon me." Ford: "Not for 30 days.") He exhorted the faithful ("There's no such thing as a Republican state this year.") He attacked the opposition's economic policies ("I'm for Phase Five. Come November, let's phase them out.") He offered a vision ("Some may want to make America

See JACKSON, A20, Col. 1.

Washington Post

Oct. 11, 1974

(cont.)

9

Joan Claybrook, a Nader lobbyist on Capitol Hill, says Jackson is pretty good on most consumer issues, almost as good as Warren G. Magnuson, his colleague from the state of Washington. On some big issues, though, Jackson has been on the other side. Jackson's position favoring the supersonic jet (the SST) was "outrageous," Ms. Claybrook says, an opinion Ralph Nader shares. There have been other times, she says, when Jackson has added language to consumer legislation that was supposed to solve a problem. "Often, though, when he does this, the language is very sloppy, and you wonder why."

Announcer: He was the only senator ever to win the Sierra Club award for his environmental work.

Well, Jackson did win the club's John Muir award in 1969, because, in 1968, he was the prime mover for the Scenic Trails Act, the Wild Rivers Act, and the creation of the Cascades and Redwood national parks. "Those were four really big ones," says Brock Evans, the Sierra Club's director in Washington. "He took the lead and he fought them through under great pressure at a time when conservation wasn't all that exciting."

More recently, though, the Sierra Club has fought Jackson on both the SST and the Alaska pipeline. "On the pipeline," says Evans, "Jackson took the lead and rammed it through his Interior Committee as fast as he could, as if there had never been a National Environmental Policy Act."

That act is Jackson's too, perhaps his most important legislative achievement. It reshaped the thinking of the agencies of the Federal Government, and it is the act that requires those environmental-impact statements that cause so much trouble to the polluters.

"Jackson was the leader in preservation matters, going all the way back to the Wilderness Act," Evans says. "But he's changed now that the focus is so much on questions of energy."

Announcer: Throughout his career, Henry Jackson has sought an America that is secure and, above all, a world at peace.

Surely he has sought a secure America. No senator has fought harder for a stronger America; hardly any senator hung in longer in support of the war in Vietnam.

Senator Jackson: I want to see arms reduced. . . . I want to see the threshold of violence reduced on a mutual basis on both sides because we have more than

1

Misleading, too. Let's examine the commercial, in some detail.

Announcer: Senator Henry M. Jackson. As he reaches out to America, what qualifies this man to lead us? He was a congressman at age 28, served six terms in the House of Representatives, and four terms in the United States Senate.

So far, so good.

He is widely accepted as the most experienced and knowledgeable Democratic leader in the country today. . . .

Not a fact, of course. He is one of the most experienced and knowledgeable Democrats, whose experience and knowledge, many Democrats would say, has led him to some very questionable positions.

. . . constantly protecting the best interests of the American people, as when he questioned Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz on the Russian wheat deal [at which point we are shown a film clip of Jackson bearding Butz, an entertaining diversion].

Anybody who tries to protect us from Earl Butz can't be all bad, but it hardly adds up to a 24-hour protection service.

Announcer: Jackson was rated by Ralph Nader as the most effective senator on Capitol Hill.

To put the most charitable explanation on this, Jackson is stretching the truth. In fact, an outfit called Capitol Hill News Service, which has been funded in part by a Nader organization, polled staff people in Congress—and Jackson was the winner. Nader knew nothing about the poll, had no part in developing it or examining it.

3

enough in strategic arms both in America and the Soviet Union than we need for the security of either nation.

But Jackson, if he were President, would bargain a lot harder with the Russians. He doesn't trust Moscow, never has. He doesn't believe *detente* is very real. He wants concessions—like an easing of Russia's policies with Jews who want to leave the country. His hard line led Russia to abrogate the 1972 trade agreement with us, some say. Others argue (and Jackson agrees with this scenario) that Kissinger and Russian ambassador Dobrynin conspired to put the blame on him, to salvage their own reputations.

What is obvious enough is that Russia fears Jackson, and desperately hopes he will never be President. Some Kremlin officials, according to Soviet-affairs specialist Victor Zorza, see Jackson as a Hitler-type figure rising out of the ashes of capitalism.

Senator Jackson: I would use the office of the Presidency to help the people in this country who are getting hurt. For the past six years, the Republican Administration has been tilting in favor of big business, the large corporations, the people who can take care of themselves. . . . I think we need to change that tilt. I want to change that tilt to help these people.

That's political rhetoric, pure and simple, and all the Democrats are saying pretty much the same thing. What one might note is that Jackson was Nixon's favorite Democrat, and Nixon wanted him for Secretary of Defense (or maybe Secretary of State, or both). Jackson has long been supported by most of the big-business interests in the state of Washington. To this day he has never revealed where the \$1 million, more or less, he spent in his unsuccessful Presidential campaign in 1972 came from. The supposition is that much of it was big Republican money.

As I say, it's a lousy commercial. That's too bad, I think, because Jackson has a story to tell. He is one of the most knowledgeable and effective senators in Washington. By his own lights, he's an honest and a decent man. Most of his positions are strongly held and strongly defended, and they have the unusual element of consistency.

Unlike 1972, Jackson's campaign this time is carefully organized, and Jackson himself is a great deal more confident. Times have changed too, probably in his favor. So, given the competition, he has a chance for the nomination (although, surely, it would drive hundreds of thousands of Democrats into the arms of Eugene McCarthy, or somebody like him).

But, oh my, this was a dismal start.

Politics by Perry

Jackson, in Tuxedo, Tilts to Plain Folks

By James M. Perry

FROM WASHINGTON, D.C.

The opening scene is straight out of *The Great Gatsby*. The setting is a large ballroom, but it looks more like a high-school gym. The men are wearing tuxedos and most of the women seem to be wearing long velvet dresses.

Then, one of those Terry Splendid voices intones, "And now, ladies and gentlemen, the man for America's fu-

Analysis and Opinion

ture—the senator from the state of Washington, Senator Henry M. Jackson."

The camera pans to the audience, zeroes in on Scoop Jackson himself. He gets up from his chair, moves through a cheering crowd to the stage. "Tonight," he says, "I would like to an-

nounce my candidacy for the office of President of the United States." He waves his arms above his head, in a style disturbingly reminiscent of Richard M. Nixon. He shoots his cuffs and flashes the gold cuff links.

The Jackson forces paid \$23,000 to produce it and to put it on the air after the CBS movie, *Dillinger*. *Dillinger* is pretty good stuff, considering; the Henry Jackson commercial wouldn't have played at the Bijou in Peoria 20 years ago. It's terrible.

In a week when the President of the United States is forecasting a \$52 billion budget deficit, when unemployment is surging to better than 8 per cent (about where, the President concedes, it will stay until 1977), when inflation is expected to climb another 11.3 per cent this year, Jackson puts on a boiled shirt straight out of the '20s and tries to tell us and a roomful of fat cats that he wants to "tilt" the country in the direction of "the little people."

It's not only terrible, it's bizarre.

Left
2/15/75

U.S. Agencies Probing Corporate Slush Funds

"The use of corporate funds was unavoidable. . . ."

Thus Northrop faced two problems: finding a way to compete in the European arms market, and finding a way to meet the requests of political fund-raiser.

It found the answer to both problems in William Savy.

Savy, a Frenchman, was recommended by Stanley Simon, a New York management consultant and friend of Allen's.

"Mr. Simon told me he had known and worked with Mr. Savy for a long time and that Mr. Savy had a number of important clients both in Europe and the United States," Allen told the auditors.

Northrop decided to hire Savy. In a letter dated Nov. 14, 1961, Allen told Savy he would be paid \$4,000 a month for "advice, consultations and assistance to Northrop in its contacts and dealings with European companies and industries and other potential customers of Northrop abroad. . . ."

According to the documents, Savy not only provided advice to Northrop concerning the European arms market, he also became a conduit to funnel cash into Northrop's political slush fund.

From 1961 through mid-1974, an accounting in SEC files shows, Northrop made payments totaling \$1,146,388 to Savy or his companies—Wilco Holding, Wilco S. A. and Euradvice.

Of this amount, Savy told the auditors he returned \$376,000 in cash to Allen. The auditors, who interviewed Savy in Paris last year, said he told them he thought there was nothing unusual about returning funds to Northrop.

"Throughout all of the discussions," the auditors wrote in a memorandum, "Mr. Savy expressed the point that it was common practice of corpora-

tions to have need for large cash amounts, and that Northrop's activities were no different than that of other companies with whom he was acquainted. He spoke of having substantial funds in his bank which he was apparently holding for other client companies."

The auditors said that as Northrop's monthly payments to Savy increased or decreased, "the amount returned did likewise."

"He went on to say that as far as the money which he used was concerned, he never made 'bribes' but used the money only to 'open doors,'" the memo said.

The auditors, in a section of their report entitled "Modus Operandi," described how Savy would return the money:

"Savy said he generally flew from Geneva, Switzerland, directly to New York to avoid going through French customs. . . . Savy said he transported the currency in \$10,000 packets in individual envelopes. The most carried was usually \$40,000, \$20,000 on each side of his coat. These packets were then in turn put in a larger manila envelope for delivery to or leaving for Allen."

The packets of cash became the assets of Northrop's political slush fund.

There's no indication that the political recipients knew they were receiving corporate contributions. According to the SEC files, Allen, Jones or other officers of the company would give candidates or their campaign committees their personal checks, then be reimbursed from the Savy funds.

The accounting of the payments stretches for pages and pages in SEC files and reads like a "Who's Who" in local, state and national politics.

In it are the presidential campaign committees of Richard M. Nixon, Lyndon B. Johnson, Hubert H. Humphrey and Henry M. Jackson; the Senate campaigns of Thomas Kuchel, Mike Mansfield, Richard B. Russell, Pierre Salinger, George Murphy, Alan Cranston and John P. Tunney; the congressional campaigns of Thomas M. Rees, Glenn M. Anderson, James C. Corman and Charles H. Wilson; the state campaigns of Ronald Reagan, Edmund G. Brown Jr. and Edmund G. Brown Sr., Charles O'Brien, Jesse Unruh and Bill Brophy, and the Los Angeles campaigns of Mayor Tom Bradley and County Supervisor Ernest Debs.

There also were contributions to national, state and local Democratic and Republican Parties, as well as \$20,000 to Democratic fund-raiser Eugene Wyman and \$30,000 to GOP fund-raiser Holmes Tuttle to distribute to their parties' candidates.

Contributions flowed from the slush fund for more than a decade—from 1962 to 1973—and ranged upward in size from \$50.

The latest payments, totaling \$150,000 to Nixon's 1972 campaign, eventually were discovered by Watergate investigators in a case that resulted in Jones, Allen and the company being prosecuted for illegal campaign contributions.

In addition to campaign contributions, Northrop has provided its corporate aircraft free of charge to both state and national officials, the SEC files show.

A memo signed by Jones listed six cases where "the company plane was engaged in flights for the convenience of federal and state officials with no Northrop personnel aboard and without reimbursement to Northrop."

file: Harry

Pentagon Reviews Defense Contracts

Corporate Slush Funds Probed

By Baylord Shaw
Los Angeles Times

The Pentagon is reviewing its multi-million-dollar dealings with about 10 defense contractors, including Northrop Corp., as it joins other federal agencies in probing the murky world of corporate slush funds and gifts to politicians at home and abroad.

The Defense Department's investigation centers on indications that the companies may have improperly claimed as "overhead expenses" on their government contracts

some of the money they were channeled into political contributions.

Such practices could mean the nation's taxpayers were indirectly financing part of the political cash flow disclosed by investigations spawned by Watergate.

Pentagon officials refused to identify the "around 10" companies they said they were investigating. Northrop's involvement was disclosed in documents filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission. Northrop pleaded guilty last

year to making illegal corporate contributions to President Nixon's 1972 campaign, the Los Angeles-based aerospace giant and its auditors have produced hundreds of documents and exhibits with the SEC.

Some documents have been kept secret at Northrop's request, but an examination of those in public file gives a rare glimpse of the relationship between a large government contractor, politicians and public officials—from city hall to the statehouse to the

White House, from Los Angeles to Paris and the Middle East.

The documents disclose, for example, how Northrop:

- Channeled millions of dollars overseas to agents and consultants as part of \$30 million in corporate-wide consultant fees and expenses devoted to winning a bigger share of the burgeoning foreign market for arms.

- Enlisted one of its consultants, a Frenchman named William Savy, as a conduit to convert corporate checks into cash. Savy would be sent checks which he would deposit in his Swiss bank account. Then he occasionally would withdraw funds and fly to New York to give the cash to Northrop representatives. This cash subsequently made up the corporate slush fund.

- Dispersed from the fund, in a series of more than 60 separate payments during a 12-year period, more than \$300,000 to aid local, state and national political candidates and causes.

- Provided free use of a corporate aircraft to such political figures as former California Gov. Ronald Reagan, Sen. Barry M. Goldwater (R-Ariz.) and Martha Mitchell, and often turned over a company-owned hunting lodge for use by dozens of members of Congress, Pentagon officials and military officers.

William Crouch, executive director of the Defense Contract Audit Agency, confirmed that "indications that illegal contributions may have been charged to government contracts" are being examined by his agency and "other government organizations."

"Action is in process for those companies which have admitted that such contributions have been made," Crouch said in an interview. He cited the figure of "around 10" companies without naming them and said it would be up to contracting officers and the Pentagon legal staff to "decide whether some punitive action is in order."

Northrop, with revenues of \$833 million in 1974, is one of the Pentagon's major producers of fighter-bombers. It also is one of the leading exporters of U.S. warplanes, with overseas arms sales in 1973-74 of \$392 million.

Northrop officials in Los Angeles said several weeks ago that the company already had voluntarily refunded \$160,000 to the U.S. Treasury.

This amount, the SEC documents said, is "equal to that portion of those political contributions which may have been improperly allocated to government contracts."

The documents added that the payment "was accepted by the government with the understanding that the final settlement of the amount . . . would await the result of a review by the Defense Contract Audit Agency . . ."

According to the documents, Northrop also is under investigation by the Internal Revenue Service "to determine if the company intended to evade federal income taxes in connection with the political contributions."

"The company has acknowledged that it will be required to pay additional taxes" because the political contributions were "reported as deductible business expenses on its income tax returns," the documents said.

Northrop isn't alone in being targeted for an IRS investigation. Other SEC files show that the tax returns of such other industrial giants as Goodyear, Ashland Oil and American Shipbuilding are being examined by IRS because of their corporate political contributions.

The wide-ranging investigations touch still other companies.

The Civil Aeronautics Board, for example, is investigating the contributions of American Airlines and Braniff International. And the Senate Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations has called the president of Gulf Oil Co. to testify next Friday on his firm's \$4 million in gifts to foreign officials.

The subcommittee, headed by Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho), also is to probe the overseas payments made by Northrop and by United Brands, Inc., whose admission of a \$1.25 million payment to an official in Honduras helped topple the government there.

In addition to the Church hearings and the IRS and CAB investigations, sources said the SEC is preparing civil actions against more firms, accusing them of securities law violations for failing to disclose political slush funds.

At least one oil company is known to have been negotiating with SEC officials to settle an anticipated civil suit with a consent decree. This was the route followed by Northrop, Gulf, Phillips Petroleum Co. and other firms when they

In the Northrop case.

SEC insisted that the board of directors prepare a report on how the millions of dollars sent overseas to agents' and consultants was used.

That report is due to be completed this summer. An indication of its scope is found in the index to documents already turned over to the SEC but kept secret at the company's request.

That index, for example, mentions payments to "Iranian attorney . . . Libyan agent . . . Libya" as well as to the "Triad financial establishment."

The latter is a conglomerate controlled by Adnan Khashoggi, an international financier with connections in Saudi Arabia. The subcommittee headed by Church reportedly plans to examine the dealings of Triad and Khashoggi, whose U.S. holdings include the majority ownership of two Northern California banks.

This chronology comes from the records of the file:

In the late 1950s, Northrop was competing with Lockheed Aircraft Co. for a contract order for more than 100 aircraft. Lockheed won. Northrop lost. Northrop officials had to figure out why.

"We concluded that what we needed was an individual who had access to the behind the scenes maneuvering that is so overwhelmingly important to the defense marketplace," Northrop President Thomas V. Jones said in a statement last year to auditors.

At about the same time, in the late 1950s and the early 1960s—Northrop was receiving an increasing volume of requests for political contributions—said James Allen, Northrop vice president in a separate statement to the auditors last year.

"These (requests) were more than any individual or group of individuals in the company could support from personal funds," Allen added. "We were aware that other companies were receiving and meeting such demands."

"In balancing the attendant to making corporate political contributions against the probability of suffering corporate disadvantage, we came down on the side of the company and its shareholders."

WASH. POST 4/27/75

Jackson Says Fund Nearing \$2 Million

SEATTLE, Wash. April 26 (UPI)—Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) announced today that he has raised nearly \$2 million in his campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination, including enough small donations this year to qualify for federal matching funds.

In a statement prepared for a news conference here, Jackson said he has raised \$1.8 million, slightly more than one-fourth of his \$7 million goal in private contributions.

He qualified for federal matching money in the primaries by raising \$5,000 in each of 20 states with contributions of \$250 or less.

He is the first announced

candidate to meet the requirement for primary matching funds under the new Federal Elections Act.

Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, who has confirmed that he will be a candidate but will not announce formally for He has set a campaign budget qualify for matching funds. six weeks, was the first to of \$6.5 million.

Under the law, candidates can spend up to \$12 million between Jan. 1 of this year and the national party conventions, but \$2 million of it must be spent on fund-raising. The federal government will match all contributions of \$250 or less, up to a maximum of \$5 million.

would by an early Kennedy withdrawal.

"Of course, Jackson's moving," a senior Democratic strategist commented the other day, "because only the right wing of the party can move. Kennedy has preempted the left and center of the Democratic party. He will have the nomination if he wants it, and if he doesn't want it the Kennedy constituency — now in a "hold" pattern — will go somewhere else."

Jackson Up Front in 1976 Pack

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 7—
For Senator Henry M. Jackson, the power puzzle has fallen together almost too neatly.

"I didn't start working on issues that would be timed to coincide with a Presidential campaign," he said the other day. "It didn't happen that way. I'm just not that smart."

Planned or not, the new year is off to a heady start for the 61-year-old Washington Democrat who bestrides the energy debate as the chief investigator and chief legislator on two Senate committees that could dominate the news for months.

There have been other happy turns of fate besides the energy crisis for Mr. Jackson — a man whom commentators now call "the most powerful Democrat in the country," a "super Senator" of the sort that almost disappeared in the nineteen-sixties, and a leader in the early book on Presidential candidates for 1976.

A loser to Senator George McGovern in the nominating campaign of 1972, Mr. Jackson's circumstances have been transformed largely by the movement of events around him.

First, in the politics of foreign policy, the fading of hot war in Vietnam has lifted a burden from yesterday's hawks. "Do I stand up and say, 'I was wrong?'" Senator Jackson asked in an interview the other day, course not. My view of Vietnam is well known, accused of being I wanted to bring to an early close of.

At the same time strains on "detente" and bling dissidence in the Union have revived the war rhetoric and the of suspicious militarism that Senator never abandoned.

Proud of Soviet Critic

It is years since an ing Democrat made a point at home of his b tices in Pravda, but Mr son's office here circ Moscow's descriptions as "an anti-Soviet and of the Zionists."

The leading critic of Nixon Administration's accommodations with the sians, Mr. Jackson cor the Senate majorities imposed numerical eq of missiles as the goal of

further arms talks and hung trade privileges for the Soviet Union on liberalized emigration for Russian Jews.

In the new Senate mood that Mr. Jackson helped to shape, he notes with satisfaction, "the defense budget went through in the last go-round without any trouble at all."

Second, in internal party politics, the pendulum is still swinging back from the McGovern revolution of 1972. When Senator McGovern walked away from the fight over the Democratic ruins, Mr. Jackson's staff helped engineer the election of Robert S. Strauss of Texas to head the Democratic National Committee.

Mr. Strauss's rebuilding effort has been directed at Southerners, big-labor and big-city leaders, many of whom look to Senator Jackson as an embodiment of their old party coalition. And in the current fund-raising season for state and Congressional candidates, Senator Jackson is a sought-after speaker, a symbol of welcome

to the Democrats who left the fold in 1972.

Third, in the early Presidential maneuvering, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey's decision not to run for another nomination has finally opened Senator Jackson's way to organized labor and a large circle of Jewish political contributors — two key financial bases of most Democratic Presidential campaigns.

Approval of Meany

Senator Jackson is not yet raising campaign money. But George Meany, the labor leader, a disappointed Humphrey backer in 1972 and a "neutral" in Senator McGovern's campaign against President Nixon, reportedly looks with favor on Senator Jackson.

Meshulam Riklis of New York, chairman of the Rapid-American Corporation, and Eugene Klein of Los Angeles, chairman of the National General Corporation, are two of many important Jewish Democrats who moved from the Humphrey campaign in the spring of 1972 to the Nixon camp in the fall but are now identified with Senator Jackson's hope for 1976.

But it is the energy crisis that has given Senator Jackson his chance to turn positional power within his party and the Senate into a popular following. (By his own staff's estimate, Senator Jackson is

recognized by barely half the American voters. A Louis Harris survey taken before Senator Jackson's three-day confrontation with oil company executives in hearings recently found him the choice of 8 per cent of the Democratic party for the 1976 Presidential nomination.)

And it is the energy debate that will test the appeal of Senator Jackson's distinctive style — his disarmingly folksy face, the ponderous monotone of his voice, the plodding Jackson professionalism that has produced some striking monuments, including Redwood National Park in California and the Environmental Policy Act of 1969.

Favors Big Government

His public manner can be friendly or slashing—and in both moods humorless. The son of Norwegian immigrants, he has described his wariness of the Russians and his conservative social style as parts of his "ethnic" inheritance.

But he has a traditionally Democratic confidence in the works of big government — from the public power projects of the Northwest to the \$20-billion energy research

program that he encouraged the Senate to authorize last fall.

"He is Hubert Humphrey," says one mutual friend, "with out the emotional juices and without the affinity for blacks." He has called himself a "Harry Truman Democrat." He lacks personal charisma or populist anger, but without them he has successively set and broken all the landslide records in his home state of Washington. He won his fourth Senate term in 1970 with more than 83 per cent of the vote.

His initial advantage in the politics of energy was a solid claim of "I told you so."

Almost three years ago he organized an Interior Committee study of national fuels and energy policy. In June, 1972, he wrote to President Nixon, just back from the summit conference in Moscow, that the United States was growing dangerously dependent on Arab oil — a supply that could be interrupted, he warned, by war in the Middle East or by Soviet alignment with the Arab nations.

Shortly afterward he made an important tactical choice, declining the vacant chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Government Oper-

ations, he chose instead to his chairmanships of the Interior Committee, which writes oil legislation, and the Investigations Subcommittee of Government Operations. And it is from the strategic combination of legislative and investigative bases that Senator Jackson seems now to surround the energy discussion.

Not the least of Senator Jackson's political hurdles may be reconciling his tone of shock and outrage before the oil executives not long ago with his long familiarity with oil and his sometime closeness to the industry.

Illegal Corporate Gift

His 1972 Presidential campaign, for example, received a \$10,000 contribution from the Gulf Oil Corporation — an illegal corporate gift that was later returned. Last year Senator Jackson managed the bill that authorized the Alaska pipeline, a project dear to the industry.

Yet if past performance is a guide, he will find ways of roughing up the oil industry in public now and again without breaking, or even concealing, a working relationship with industry leaders.

He has been known too long as "the Senator from Boeing," a teasing reference to his solicitude for the Seat-

tle aircraft company, to picture himself as an anti-corporate populist. He believes that Government should take a firmer hand with both industry and labor than the Nixon Administration has tried to do.

In the White House, he has suggested — and presumably now, in the energy crisis — he would not be squeamish about intimacy with business leaders or, on the other hand, about liberal intervention in the private economy.

For Senator Jackson, as for every ambitious Democrat, Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts still seems to control the road to the Presidential nomination.

'Kennedy Pre-Empts Left'

"If he runs," says Mr. Jackson, "he'll get the nomination. It's as simple as that."

Yet Senator Jackson, unlike others, may benefit more by Senator Kennedy's indecision about running than he

Joseph Alsop

Jackson: 'Special Strengths'

Possible members of a Jackson-for-President Committee are already being passed in review by Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington. The committee's formation should be announced before this winter ends. But committees-for-X-for-President are getting to be a dime a dozen. There is other more important news about Scoop Jackson.

In the opinion of a whole series of canny Democratic leaders recently queried, Senator Jackson is now the clear front-runner in the contest for the Democratic nomination. This is because the party's key men have now got what they always wanted from Jackson—plain proof that he is both known and admired by the mass of voters.

For most politicians this early in the game, the pollsters' verdicts would hardly matter. For Jackson, however, it was fearfully damaging to have the polls endlessly repeating that most voters had never even heard of him. Hence it means much that both George Gallup and Louis Harris have begun telling an altogether different story.

The Harris Poll has even shown Jackson running marginally better against Vice President Gerald Ford than the best known of all Democrats, Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts. Every Democrat with influence in every state of the union has further been informed (by the Jackson people, of course) that the senator has particular strength with two crucial groups recently hostile to most Democrats, the older voters and the prosperous suburban voters.

The energy crisis and the recent

*"Jackson is now the
clear front runner
for the Democratic
nomination."*

Middle Eastern war have joined to work this radical change in Scoop Jackson's fortunes. More and more people now see him as the man who had the judgment to be right, and the courage to speak out, when being right was far from fashionable. Increasingly, so Democrats across the country say, this vision of Jackson as the man who has been right also applies to his strong stand on national defense.

Washington Post Jan. 16, 1974

(Wednesday)

Sen

Until recently, the politicians in his party would tell you, over and over again, that "Scoop Jackson is the candidate we could most easily elect—but of course he can't be nominated." This was because of the bitter hostility to Jackson of the leftwing Democrats, mainly engendered by Vietnam, plus the senator's stand on national defense.

But Vietnam is fading into the past. As anyone can see who studies the recent defense votes of many leftwing

Democratic senators, a major change in viewpoint on national defense is also taking place within the Democratic Party. And the astute chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Robert Strauss, has quietly arranged matters so that the party's leftwing will have nothing like its leverage of 1972 at the convention in 1976.

For a long time, Scoop Jackson has had the enthusiastic backing of most of the labor leaders, led by old George Meany of the AFL-CIO. He has been the favorite of the American Jewish community, the most active single ethnic element in the Democratic Party. He has been the chosen candidate of the few remaining political bosses, led by Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago. With these assets, in the old days, he would be an almost sure nominee.

But the pattern of party politics has changed since the old days. Even after the adjustments of the party machinery by Chairman Strauss, nothing is sure any longer—except that Scoop Jackson has now become the man to beat for anyone who wants the Party nomination. In the somewhat unlikely event that the nomination is actively wanted and pursued by Senator Kennedy, he might easily pull it off—although Jackson has quietly taken over some very major former Kennedy assets.

But it is a severe handicap for Kennedy that the politicians' cliché about him is just the opposite of the former cliché about Jackson: "Of course Teddy Kennedy can get the nomination any time he asks for it—but he can't be elected." Senator Kennedy has been handicapped, too, by the party's new system of proportional representation of primary contestants. Winner-take-all would plainly suit the Massachusetts senator much better.

Hence the alternative to Jackson that the politicians now talk about as often as Senator Kennedy is the relative newcomer, the able and attractive Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas. In reality, Bentsen is considerably more conservative than Jackson. But he shrewdly conciliated the Democratic leftwing by some anti-defense votes.

Meanwhile, no one is any longer saying "Scoop Jackson can't be nominated," except in one group. The ingrown Washington political community keeps on repeating these. But then, this group's members said exactly the same thing about Senator John F. Kennedy until almost the eve of the 1960 convention.

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Ten

'Scoop' Jackson: His Issues Have Come of Age

By LINDA CHARLTON

WASHINGTON—In an atmosphere where politics has joined the list of hazardous occupations, Henry Martin Jackson has been the exception. The hard-working, unglamorous Senator from Washington has become a rising political figure, if not yet a household name.

The 61-year-old Democrat from Washington was rated the "most effective" of the country's 100 Senators by Senate legislative assistants. Some columnists consider him the most powerful man in his party, and barring accident, he is almost certain to be a formidable contender in 1976 for the Presidential nomination. He sought the nomination with little success in 1972, and in 1960 almost won the vice presidential nomination with John F. Kennedy.

Mr. Jackson, who has been in Congress 33 years — 12 years in the House of Representatives and 21 years in the Senate — has accumulated a great deal of his power, if not his new-found political charisma, by the traditional method—survival.

He has succeeded to the chairmanship of a powerful committee, Interior and Insular Affairs, and of the permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. The Senator is

also a power to be reckoned with on the Armed Forces Committee.

But beyond his longevity—he is now 11th in seniority in the Senate—he is a hard worker. Even Mr. Jackson's detractors concede his talent for dogged application and persistence. And even more important, his issues have come of age.

"Scoop" Jackson, so nicknamed because of a fancied childhood resemblance to a comic-strip character, has been an authority in the Senate on such pertinent issues as energy and the environment. He has long been pro-Israel and he has been an activist for the American Indian.

Unlike many who share his liberal stance on such matters as civil rights, labor and the environment, Senator Jackson is dedicated to the military, held hawkish views on Vietnam and maintains his view of the Soviet Union as "an opportunistic hotel burglar who walks down all the corridors trying all the door handles to see which door is open." He is often referred to as the "last cold warrior."

His dedication to the well-being of his home state has also led him into paradox: a fervent and successful supporter of anti-pollution measures, Senator Jackson was

just as fervent, although unsuccessful, in his support of the supersonic transport plane, because of the state's economic dependence on the aircraft industry. For this reason only, he has been called "the Senator from Boeing." But there has been no taint of scandal attached to his long career, a factor likely to enhance his attractiveness as a candidate in 1976.

In 1972, he was able to force the Administration to accept a restricting amendment to the Strategic Arms Limitation Agreement with the Soviet Union. This year, he has pushed successfully for anti-Soviet amendments to the comprehensive foreign trade bill. The bill with a set of House-proposed amendments, identical to those he has proposed in the Senate, passed the House over vigorous Administration

efforts to delete the anti-Soviet provisions early last month. He is the principal author of the Senate emergency energy bill.

Thus far Senator Jackson's virtues have not caught popular attention beyond the borders of his state, where he has never lost an election. Solid and unpretentious, he comes across when campaigning as merely dogged and dull. However, some feel that the electorate may be in the mood for just such an unexciting candidate.

It has been noted by his critics that the Senator, campaigning in the 1972 Florida Democratic primary, exploited anti-busing sentiment by proposing a constitutional "neighborhood school amendment."

Others recall that during World War II, Mr. Jackson,

a young and healthy bachelor, did not enlist in the Army until his civilian status became a political liability in 1943. His hawkish stand on Vietnam has alienated some who would have been attracted by his vigorous support of environmentalism.

Mr. Jackson came to Congress in 1940 after two years as Snohomish County prosecutor. He was the only Democrat elected from the Pacific Northwest that year.

Senator Jackson remained a bachelor his first 20 years in Washington, before marrying Helen Hardin of Albuquerque, N. M. They have two children, Anna Marie and Peter.

A former chairman of his party's National Committee, Senator Jackson is now a certified and tested power in Washington. Whether he will be the next President is an unanswered question.

Jackson Pays a Visit to New Hampshire and

Considers Trying a Primary Race There in 1976

Sen +15-3-4

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

MANCHESTER, N.H., Oct. 6—Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington now says it was a mistake for him to bypass the New Hampshire primary in his 1972 campaign for the Democratic nomination for President. He is scouting the territory again and promising an early announcement of the state's place in his primary strategy for 1976.

In a three-stop visit this weekend, ostensibly on behalf



United Press International
Senator Henry M. Jackson in Manchester, N.H.

of this year's state Democratic ticket, he has been practicing the chatty, familiar style of discourse that is a basic medium of New Hampshire campaigns. He has also made some inroads on the local political establishment.

Fred Israel, a Washington lawyer on Senator Jackson's expanding political staff, came here last July to help Richard Leonard win the Democratic nomination for Governor. In an interview yesterday, Mr. Israel said that he could not remember whether he or other Jack-

son men had contributed financially to Mr. Leonard's cause.

But many New Hampshire Democrats see an alliance in prospect not only with Mr. Leonard, who is given an even chance of defeating Gov. Meldrim Thomson Jr., a Republican, but also with Mr. Leonard's various backers.

Some of the Prospects

These include the Leonard campaign manager, Robert Philbrick of Milford, formerly party chairman here in Hillsboro County, the only Democratic stronghold in the state; John L. Sullivan, a former Secretary of the Navy; Sam Tampozi of Nashua, a real-estate developer who has contributed substan-

tially to the Leonard campaign; and union leaders such as Tom Pitarys of the Textile Workers, president of the State Labor Council, who gave Senator Jackson a warm introduction yesterday at a labor convention in Nashua.

Activists here complain about such early planning for a 1976 primary. But the most important primary, as Mr. Israel remarked, is always the next one and, unless the schedule is changed, the next one will be New Hampshire's, in early March, 1976.

Senator Jackson's opposition, like his support, is looking ahead accordingly. William Dunfey and his brothers, a family of innkeepers who built

the Democratic party here 15 years ago, are currently evaluating Senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona. They say they will end up supporting a liberal in Senator Edward M. Kennedy's image—and not Senator Jackson.

Vietnam Recalled

Veterans of the McCarthy and McGovern campaigns of 1968 and 1972 who remember Senator Jackson as a hawk on Vietnam savor the thought of ambushing him early in the New Hampshire primary, which, they note with some pleasure, has more often been a king-braker than a king-maker.

And so Senator Jackson's effort here, followed immediately by a campaign stop across the border into Massachusetts with Representative Robert F. Drinan, the outspokenly liberal Jesuit priest, is designed to introduce himself as plain folks, which seems to come naturally, and to develop those economic issues he thinks can dissolve the old battlelines on Vietnam.

The overriding issue, he says, is what he calls the "gross mismanagement of the economy in the Nixon and Ford Administrations." President Ford's economic summit conference, he told a breakfast for party leaders, was a "Tower of Babel" and a retreat from Presidential leadership.

"Wouldn't it have been wiser," he asked, "if President Ford had said, 'I need a month—and I'm going to put together a proposal and submit it to a general dialogue?'"

That impressed Sylvio Dupuis, the popular Mayor of Manchester, as the style of a decisive executive. "He doesn't believe in government by trial balloon," the Mayor said.

Maria Carrier, the Democratic National Committeewoman who managed Senator Edmund S. Muskie's Presidential primary campaign here in 1972, was also pleased that Mr. Jackson's speech "wasn't that conservative, was it?"

On the other hand, he ap-

parently is not conservative enough for William Loeb, publisher of the right-wing Manchester Union Leader, New Hampshire's largest newspaper.

One reason Mr. Jackson avoided the New Hampshire primary in 1972 was the thought that a Loeb endorsement could embarrass him nationally. Some of Mr. Jackson's friends here, including Mr. Leonard and Mr. Philbrick, have been Loeb favorites in the past. But Mr. Loeb last summer called Senator Jackson a "boob" and "Boeing's boy" for traveling to Communist China. Under the circumstances, Senator Jackson welcomed the attack.

New York Times
Oct. 7, 1974

Joseph Alsop

'Southern Strategy' for '76

1-17-4-2
[Handwritten signature]

ATLANTA—You get an odd impression, if you escape from Washington to see what Watergate-bedeveloped America looks like at the grass roots. No doubt the Watergate horrors will hurt the Republicans in 1974. But if you look forward to the crucial presidential election of 1976, the underlying problems of the two great parties do not seem to have changed in the least.

Over the weekend here in Atlanta, ideas about 1976 were much to the fore because of a rally of the Republican state chairmen belonging to the Southern Republican Conference. The most interesting feature was the clear evidence that former Gov. John Connally of Texas was most Southerners' second choice, after Gov. Ronald Reagan of California.

Far more striking, however, was the abundant evidence that the Democrats can rather easily carry most of the South next time. They can even do this with a proven liberal on most domestic issues if they only have half a mind to try. The liberal in question is Sen. Henry S. Jackson of Washington.

Of course "Scoop" Jackson's liberal record on domestic issues is quite meaningless to the great majority of northern leftwing Democrats, because he still holds the same views that President John F. Kennedy held about matters of defense and foreign policy. But just as President Kennedy did, Senator Jackson now has the power to call out tremendous efforts on his behalf by the South's real Democratic leaders, like the redoubtable Sen. Herman Talmadge of this state.

Of the breed of Democratic liberals now fashionable in the North, however, not one can carry Georgia, which gave President Kennedy his largest single majority in any state except for Massachusetts. Democrats like Sen. Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota would be wasting their time, even to come here. The man of this stripe with the best chance in Georgia is Sen. Edward Kennedy.

Yet Senator Kennedy is far from having more than a ghost of his tragically dead brother's following. He just might carry Georgia and maybe other Southern states—if the Republicans nominate someone Southerners also distrust heartily, like Sen. Charles Percy of Illinois.

So the Republicans have their same old problem of finding a nominee who will be accepted by the rightwingers yet appeal to the center. And the Democrats still have their even more intractable problem of finding a nominee their convention might accept, whose mere nomination will not automatically

give the Republicans the whole South—or more than half of the electoral votes needed for victory.

In the Democrats' case, the problem is further complicated by two additional factors. One is the active candidacy of Gov. George Wallace of Alabama. The other is the system of proportional representation at the party convention, now built into the party's rules. Democratic national chairman Robert Strauss means to change the rules just a bit; but if he has his way, Strauss



Sen. Henry Jackson

will keep proportional representation from each congressional district and from the states.

As to Governor Wallace, his organizers are already active here in Georgia. Even with proportional representation, but this time with proper organization throughout the South, Wallace should have the lion's share of the southern Democratic delegates. As was shown last time by the Michigan primary (which still obsesses Wallace) the Alabama governor should

also get a lot of northern delegates on a proportional system.

Indeed it is not to be excluded, as of now, that Governor Wallace will come into the Democratic convention with the largest single block of delegates. With proportional representation, Senator Jackson should have another large block. The rest is unpredictable, except that Senator Kennedy will be the biggest loser by the proportional system. Winner-take-all would obviously be better for Kennedy.

Even the more right-wing Georgia Democrats nonetheless refuse to take Governor Wallace really seriously as a presidential candidate. They think instead, that he is sure "to have a lot of say" when the Democratic presidential convention is called to order. They speculate on whether he might make an alliance with one of the Democratic left-wingers—which is an idea they abhor.

They hope and expect, however, that Wallace will end by supporting Senator Jackson. The Washington senator is about to become a candidate-in-earnest, by forming the usual committee. So the Democratic leftwingers will again be unable to escape the painful choice between a Democratic nominee truly national in appeal and easy to elect, or one of their own who probably cannot be elected.

© 1973 Los Angeles Times

Joseph Kraft

Sen. Jackson: Moving Toward '76

Sen. Henry Jackson (D.-Wash.) has suddenly emerged as the most powerful Democrat in the country. The turn of events in the Mideast has enabled him to supplement a string of client interests with a presidential issue.

He began exploiting the issue over the weekend in a sharp speech challenging the administration's virtually untouchable sacred cow, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. If Jackson can drive home that attack, he will be a very hard man to beat for the Democratic nomination in 1976.

The Senator from Washington has for many years been a heavyweight in the committee rooms of the Congress. He has accumulated the kind of power that comes from assiduous service to a vast array of client interests over more than 30 years.

Jackson started with labor backing, and not even George Meany has pushed harder for policies that mean more jobs. He has been cultivating Jewish support since World War II, and the present amendment making trade concessions to Russia conditional on freer emigration policies is only his most recent appeal to American Jewry.

Like most western political leaders, he has always had an eye out for the producer interest—particularly in the matter of power. He was the key man in putting through the Senate legislation for the building of the Alaska pipeline.

Finally, Jackson has had a potent affinity with what President Esienhower called the "military industrial complex." He has consistently pushed for newer military hardware, and he has been called, after the largest employer in his state, "the Senator from Boeing."

In the past, however, Jackson has never been able to translate his favor with particular groups into national stature. He has not looked presidential—either as an aspirant for the White House, or as a Senator standing up in opposition to the White House.

Part of the reason is that he has been relatively easy to buy off. The state of Washington needs the sub bases, nuclear installations, and plane and missile contracts which Jackson continually produces. But having accepted such goodies, Jackson has been in poor position to bite the hand that feeds.

More important, Presidents have generally been extremely careful to guard their flanks against Jackson—particularly on foreign policy issues involving relations with the Communist world. In that vein, President Nixon accepted a Jackson amendment to the Strategic Arms Limitation deal he made with the Russians in 1972. In at least partial deference to the Senator from Washington, the President and Dr. Kissinger fired the leading members of the team which had done most of the negotiations on the arms control treaty.

But the latest outbreak of hostilities in the Mideast caught Mr. Nixon with his guard down. He and Secretary of State Kissinger had built up detente with Russia and what they called "the structure of peace" as a supreme achievement. When the fighting started between Arabs and Israelis, they looked towards Moscow for cooperative action in the interests of restraint and a cease-fire.

The Russians responded by instituting a substantial airlift to Egypt and Syria and egging on other Arab states to join the fight. If there was a "structure of peace," it was a thing so gossamer that Moscow—and indeed all the other parties involved—didn't seem to know about it.

Jackson, in constant communication with the Pentagon and the State Department, was immediately alert to what was afoot. In a weekend speech in Los Angeles, described by one of his aides as "the toughest he ever made," the Senator met the issue squarely.

"Without Soviet support and material encouragement," he said, "without Soviet training and equipment, without Soviet diplomatic and political backing, this war would not have been started. And yet, Dr. Kissinger, the Secretary of State, comes before the American people . . . to say that Soviet behavior has been moderate and not irresponsible. I cannot agree."

That speech represents the opening of what is almost surely a long-term issue. Whatever happens in the Mideast, it is clear that the administration kidded itself, and the rest of the world, about the degree and terms of harmony achieved with the Soviet Union.

No doubt it will take more than a single issue to make Jackson, the nominee in 1976. In the past, he has shown himself to be a dull campaigner. He is

highly vulnerable to charges of being a Vietnam hawk and a cold-warrior.

But the "peace" constituency which played so large a role in the 1968 and 1972 Democratic races has waned with the American exit from the Vietnam war. The one Democrat who could easily beat back Jackson, Ted Kennedy, seems for personal reasons extremely reluctant to go. The fashion in leadership is turning against the most dramatic personalities. So, as never before, circumstances are coming together for Jackson.

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1-17-4-1
J. Kraft

Candidate files

W. J. Jackson

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Sen. Jackson's New Political Base

PHOENIX, Ariz.—Both the success and limited nature of Sen. Henry M. Jackson's leftward thrust are illustrated by a private breakfast in Jackson's penthouse suite in Los Angeles Century Plaza hotel last Tuesday.

His guest was Ed Sanders, a rich and liberal Beverly Hills lawyer who was an early organizer for Sen. George McGovern's 1972 presidential campaign. Sanders privately committed himself to Richard Kline, Jackson's fundraiser, several weeks ago. Now, over morning coffee, Sanders formalized his journey across the Democratic Party spectrum to endorse Jackson.

But the significance of Sanders' conversion is mitigated by the fact he is really less a liberal activist and Democratic politician than he is a Jewish community leader and Zionist. Since the October 1973 war, many such Jewish liberals have given Scoop Jackson's uncompromising advocacy of Israel a higher priority than George McGovern's uncompromising liberalism.

That preference lends Jackson's 1976 campaign a wholly different flavor from his forlorn effort of 1972, when scattered party regulars and labor functionaries comprised a woefully narrow base. Now he has the financing and dedicated followers which make a serious candidacy. Nevertheless, his wooing of the left is widely spurned among liberals who do not list Israel as top priority.

Jackson's new base was visible Tuesday night at the Arizona Biltmore in Phoenix at a \$250-a-plate dinner

"Most striking is Jackson's about-face on Vietnam, writing off South Vietnamese independence as a virtually lost cause in his Los Angeles speech."

(netting over \$70,000). A paying guest was State Senate President Robert Stump, a moderate who was among the lonely Jacksonites here in 1972. Stump recognized few of his fellow diners—mostly well-heeled Jewish businessmen new to politics.

Jackson's Los Angeles fundraiser two nights earlier at the Century Plaza was much the same on a larger scale (netting \$275,000). The chairman was merchant Hershey Gold, inactive politically until he met Jackson through Israeli fund-raising. Israel led Jackson to other new supporters such as television producer Bruce Geller ("Mannix" and "Mission Impossible"), who invited Hollywood intellectual figures to meet Jackson at his home Monday night.

To make his new liberals feel more comfortable, Jackson has subdued his old rhetoric. He says nothing in defense of the embattled Defense budget or CIA. His 1972 denunciations of the radical left have been shelved. Most striking is his about-face on Vietnam, writing off South Vietnamese inde-

pendence as a virtually lost cause in his Los Angeles speech (those remarks leading off extracts distributed to the press).

This has pleased Morris Dees, the brilliant young Montgomery, Ala., liberal who ran McGovern's spectacular direct-mail fund-raising in 1972. Personally and privately reassured by Jackson about defense and Vietnam, Dees thinks enough of him to have flown to Los Angeles last Sunday for consultation about direct mail.

Dees is no single-issue Zionist willing to back Jackson no matter what his non-Israel views. That is even truer of movie actor Warren Beatty, veteran anti-war activist and McGovernite who met privately with Jackson for 45 minutes Sunday to discuss defense policy.

But such extraordinary personal attention cannot remove this reality: Jackson still believes in strong national defense (including U.S. troops in Europe) and opposes meat-ax McGovernite cuts. Ultimately, that will prove unacceptable to Warren Beatty and perhaps to Morris Dees as well.

Nor are all Jewish liberals enchanted by Jackson's hard line on Jewish emigration from Russia. His operatives in Los Angeles have been pressing—unsuccessfully—for support from Paul Ziffren, the old tiger of California liberalism who also breakfasted with Jackson Tuesday. It is no secret that Ziffren greatly admires Secretary of State Kissinger and fears Jackson would endanger detente.

But the Ziffrens are heavily outnumbered in the Jewish community, where pro-Jackson sentiment was not diminished by Soviet abrogation of the trade treaty. At Phoenix Tuesday night, the atmosphere was electric when Jackson delivered his untypically emotional peroration: "All of us have a lot on our consciences for staying still while Hitler sent seven million (Jews) to the ovens. I tell you we can never let that happen again."

Las Vegas publisher Hank Greenspun, a devout Jacksonite who attended both the Los Angeles and Phoenix dinners, bristled when a television newsman said Jackson backers beating the deadline against contributions over \$1,000 reminded him of the Watergate scandals. While Nixon fatcats sought financial advantage, says Greenspun, Jackson's see him as the only politician forthrightly committed to the survival of their co-religionists. That alone insures Jackson an indispensable base for 1976 even if he fails in present efforts to disarm the left.

Politics by Perry

Jackson, in Tuxedo, Tilts to Plain Folks

By James M. Perry

FROM WASHINGTON, D.C.

The opening scene is straight out of *The Great Gatsby*. The setting is a large ballroom, but it looks more like a high-school gym. The men are wearing tuxedos and most of the women seem to be wearing long velvet dresses.

Then, one of those Terry Splendid voices intones, "And now, ladies and gentlemen, the man for America's fu-

Analysis and Opinion

ture—the senator from the state of Washington, Senator Henry M. Jackson."

The camera pans to the audience, zeroes in on Scoop Jackson himself. He gets up from his chair, moves through a cheering crowd to the stage. "Tonight," he says, "I would like to an-

nounce my candidacy for the office of President of the United States." He waves his arms above his head, in a style disturbingly reminiscent of Richard M. Nixon. He shoots his cuffs and flashes the gold cuff links.

The Jackson forces paid \$23,000 to produce it and to put it on the air after the CBS movie, *Dillinger*. *Dillinger* is pretty good stuff, considering; the Henry Jackson commercial wouldn't have played at the Bijou in Peoria 20 years ago. It's terrible.

In a week when the President of the United States is forecasting a \$52 billion budget deficit, when unemployment is surging to better than 8 per cent (about where, the President concedes, it will stay until 1977), when inflation is expected to climb another 11.3 per cent this year, Jackson puts on a boiled shirt straight out of the '20s and tries to tell us—and a roomful of fat cats that he wants to "tilt" the country in the direction of "the little people."

It's not only terrible, it's bizarre.

Misleading, too. Let's examine the commercial, in some detail.

Announcer: Senator Henry M. Jackson. As he reaches out to America, what qualifies this man to lead us? He was a congressman at age 28, served six terms in the House of Representatives, and four terms in the United States Senate.

So far, so good.

He is widely accepted as the most experienced and knowledgeable Democratic leader in the country today.

Not a fact, of course. He is one of the most experienced and knowledgeable Democrats, whose experience and knowledge, many Democrats would say, has led him to some very questionable positions.

... constantly protecting the best interests of the American people, as when he questioned Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz on the Russian wheat deal [at which point we are shown a film clip of Jackson bearding Butz, an entertaining diversion].

Anybody who tries to protect us from Earl Butz can't be all bad, but it hardly adds up to a 24-hour protection service.

Announcer: Jackson was rated by Ralph Nader as the most effective senator on Capitol Hill.

To put the most charitable explanation on this, Jackson is stretching the truth. In fact, an outfit called Capitol Hill News Service, which has been funded in part by a Nader organization, polled staff people in Congress—and Jackson was the winner. Nader knew nothing about the poll, had no part in developing it or examining it.

Joan Claybrook, a Nader lobbyist on Capitol Hill, says Jackson is pretty good on most consumer issues, almost as good as Warren G. Magnuson, his colleague from the state of Washington. On some big issues, though, Jackson has been on the other side. Jackson's position favoring the supersonic jet (the SST) was "outrageous," Ms. Claybrook says, an opinion Ralph Nader shares. There have been other times, she says, when Jackson has added language to consumer legislation that was supposed to solve a problem. "Often, though, when he does this, the language is very sloppy, and you wonder why."

Announcer: He was the only senator ever to win the Sierra Club award for his environmental work.

Well, Jackson did win the club's John Muir award in 1969, because, in 1968, he was the prime mover for the Scenic Trails Act, the Wild Rivers Act, and legislation creating the Cascades and Redwood national parks. "Those were four really big ones," says Brock Evans, the Sierra Club's director in Washington. "He took the lead and he fought them through under great pressure at a time when conservation wasn't all that exciting."

More recently, though, the Sierra Club has fought Jackson on both the SST and the Alaska pipeline. "On the pipeline," says Evans, "Jackson took the lead and rammed it through his Interior Committee as fast as he could; as if there had never been a National Environmental Policy Act."

That act is Jackson's too, perhaps his most important legislative achievement. It reshaped the thinking of the agencies of the Federal Government, and it is the act that requires those environmental-impact statements that cause so much trouble to the polluters.

"Jackson was the leader in preservation matters, going all the way back to the Wilderness Act," Evans says. "But he's changed now that the focus is so much on questions of energy."

Announcer: Throughout his career, Henry Jackson has sought an America that is secure and, above all, a world at peace.

Surely he has sought a secure America. No senator has fought harder for a stronger America; hardly any senator hung in longer in support of the war in Vietnam.

Senator Jackson: I want to see arms reduced. . . . I want to see the threshold of violence reduced on a mutual basis on both sides because we have more than

FEB 7 1975 *By J. H.*

Today, It's Old Hat When Politician Tosses His in Ring

By JAMES WIEGHART

Washington, Feb. 6 — Sen. Henry M. Jackson's formal entry into the Democratic presidential sweepstakes today—a full 21 months before the 1976 election—is likely to elicit more groans than cheers from a politically jaded electorate.

It's not that the nation doesn't hunger for leadership—clearly it does. The public is shaken by the specter of a collapsing economy and fearful that Arab oil extortion, which is euphemistically referred to as the energy crisis, will bring the United States and the rest of the Western world to their knees.

But the calamitous events of the last decade have conditioned Americans not to look to politicians, at least politicians in Washington, for leadership. It was, after all, many of these politicians, including Jackson, who brought them Vietnam.

The Vietnam Syndrome

Vietnam, rightly or wrongly, convinced many Americans that they couldn't believe their national leaders. And Watergate, coming right on the heels of the U.S. exodus from the war, persuaded the public that they couldn't trust them either.

So now comes Jackson, 62, with 12 years in the House and 22 years in the

Senate under his belt, offering himself to a disillusioned American public as the man to lead the nation back to greatness. He is considered a leading Senate authority on energy problems, a long-time supporter of a strong national defense establishment and a skeptic on detente with the Soviet Union.

Already in the Democratic field are liberal Rep. Morris K. Udall (Ariz.), former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter,



and former Sen. Fred R. Harris (Okla.), running as a neo-populist. Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (Tex.) is scheduled to announce on Feb. 17, and Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace is biding his time, waiting for the right moment to make his candidacy official.

All Part of Scene

With the exception of Carter and Wallace, all the contenders are part of the Washington political scene, although Udall and Harris were better known for bucking the establishment than being part of it.

Jackson and Bentsen are pursuing the nomination in the old style political fashion of seeking establishment support and building up fat campaign war

chests. Both have well over \$1 million already. Wallace, who has mastered the art of appealing to the frustrations, prejudices and pocketbooks of the nation's great silent majority, is also in the \$1 million-plus class.

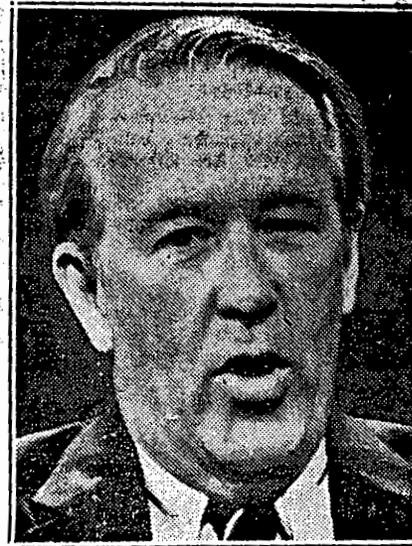
This leaves Udall, Harris and Carter to scramble for support from the party's liberal wing. Thus far, none of the three has shown signs of a breakthrough.

Interest Is Lacking

Judging from the polls, all of this is of consuming interest only to a very narrow band of the electorate—political reporters, Democratic Party workers, and leaders of organizations that make up the traditional Democratic coalition, such as labor unions, blacks and other minority groups and ethnics.

The vast majority of Americans appear tuned out of this phase of the political process, at least right now. With the exception of Wallace, national polls indicate that none of the prospective candidates has a sizable national following. Spokesman for these candidates say that it is because their man is not yet widely known, a situation they hope to reverse by campaigning hard across the nation over the next year or so.

Possible, but not likely. It seems much more likely that when 1976 rolls



Sen. Henry M. Jackson
His hat's in the ring

around, the electorate will look elsewhere for leadership.

With so many Americans cynical about politics and distrustful of politicians, it may be that the candidate who will finally emerge will be the "new face" the pundits keep writing about but never finding—because they are too busy covering politicians.

Jackson Ready To Make His Bid For White House

The Miami Herald
MIAMI, FLA.
D. 384,824 SUN, 486,568

JAN 23 1975



—United Press International

Sen. Jackson to Announce in February
... still groping for successful formula

By GRANT DILLMAN
United Press International

WASHINGTON — Sen. Henry Jackson will formally announce his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination early next month — still groping for a formula which might put him in the White House.

Plans call for the 62-year-old Washington senator, who sought the 1972 nomination as a middle-of-the-road candidate only to be overwhelmed by Sen. George McGovern, to announce his candidacy in a brief nationwide broadcast, probably Feb. 6.

Jackson would spell out his view on domestic and world problems in more detail during a series of speeches and interviews, starting with an appearance before the Washington Press Club the day after his announcement.

THREE DEMOCRATS already have announced for the 1976 nomination — Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, a potential rallying point for liberal organization Democrats' former Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma, who is campaigning on a populist platform; and Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, who seeks to represent a new, less conservative South.

Jackson will open his campaign with one great advantage: he probably has more financial backing than any other Democratic candidate now on the horizon. But the senator's advisers still are undecided on how to translate this into popular support.

The question was debated Tuesday at a meeting at Jackson's headquarters in an unobtrusive renovated home at 511 F Street near the Capitol. Present were his chief political adviser, his press aide, and a couple

of outside public relations experts.

The senator participated for about an hour and left. The charges continued afterwards, and at least one of the public relations experts was said to have made the point that Jackson's speech had been to identify himself more with "people problems."

ONE SOURCE said the senator was described as a "two-issue man" — referring to his unwavering support of Ford and his opposition to President Ford as the best way to solve the energy crisis.

This source said Jackson was advised in the ways to dramatize his stand toward "human issues" — the problems of the elderly, children, the handicapped, the jobless and other victims of the contemporary society.

"Actually, the senator's stand on that issue is very acceptable," the source said. "The problem is not the fact that his standing record is not as high as liberal groups or relatively low by conservative groups."

"The problem is some of his advisers are of the view that the public does not know the people very much about him in a general sense. He's opposed to that, or he's responsible for a breakdown in some way with the Soviet Union because of his insistence on Jewish emigration."

"WHAT JACKSON needs is to get out and talk to people — and to be photographed — with old people, who are not blind, make the point that he understands small problems as well as the question of how many MIRVs the United States and Russia should have."

In assessing Jackson's chances for the nomination, one supporter said the best known Democrat nationally after Sen. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Sen. Edward Brooke of Massachusetts ruled out

Newsday

GARDEN CITY, N. Y.

D. 444,497 SUN. 344,627

JAN 23 1975

R. H. B.

Ready to announce

Sen. Henry M. Jackson, still searching for a way to counter what some advisers feel is a negative image on "human issues," plans to announce his formal candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination early next month. The Washington senator, who unsuccessfully sought the party's 1972 nomination as a middle-of-the-road candidate, probably will announce in a brief nationwide television broadcast Feb. 6, a spokesman said. Already in the race are Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, a potential rallying point for party liberals; former Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma, who is conducting a populist campaign; and Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter who speaks for a new, less conservative South. Jackson has one great advantage: he probably has more financial backing than any other Democratic candidate now on the horizon. Undecided on how to translate this into popular support.

JAN 23 1975

By Hand



AP Photo

Jackson's Hat Is Ready

Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington probably will announce his candidacy for president on Feb. 6, a spokesman for the Washington Democrat said Wednesday. The spokesman said Jackson had "blocked out" a television time on that date. Jackson would become the fourth announced candidate for the Democratic nomination, following Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona, former Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma and former Gov. Jimmie Carter of Georgia.

DEC 17 1974

B.H.

Jackson Disputes Attack by Carter

PAGE

WASHINGTON (AP) — Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., said Monday that accusations by Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter that Jackson violated the spirit of the new campaign spending law “smacks a little bit of Joe McCarthyism.”

Carter, an announced Democratic presidential candidate, accused Jackson and Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen, D-Tex., both prospective opponents, of violating the spirit of the new law by seeking large contributions before the measure takes effect.

Bentsen and Jackson reportedly are seeking \$3,000 contributions from individuals in hopes of raising \$500,000 each before the new law takes effect Jan. 1. It will limit contributions to presidential campaigns to \$1,000 from individuals.

“Well, I think on Gov. Carter’s part, it smacks a little bit of Joe McCarthyism,” Jackson said on the program “Washington Straight Talk” broadcast by the National Public Affairs Center for Television.

“We made our decision ... on a limit way back in July before the law became effective. The decision was made then to limit all donations to \$3,000, no more than that,” Jackson added.

“We’re trying to raise the money now so that we can invest in small contributions. We’re going into direct mail. It takes a half a million dollars of capital, in effect, to be able to put on a direct mail campaign in which you get small contributions ... all of which can be matched under the new law,” he said.

On another matter, Jackson was asked what the western industrial countries should do if the Arabs continue to be troublesome about oil.

“I don’t believe in military intervention,” Jackson said. “I think the President of the United States made a terrible mistake in inferring that we might use military force.”

“I think the approach ought to be to threaten to withdraw our gunboats,” he added. “The Arab countries are scared to death, Saudi Arabia in particular, first of the have-not Arab countries like Syria, with their massive military capability.”

In fact, said Jackson, “if the state of Israel did not exist, in my judgment Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Lebanon would have disappeared long ago.”

New York Post

D. 626,713 SUN. 375,607

FEB 6 1975

Byline

Jackson's Big Day

WASHINGTON — Sen. Henry "Jack" Jackson (D-Wash.) plans to formally announce tonight he will seek the Democratic Party's 1976 presidential nomination — a wide-open race since Sen. Edward Kennedy suddenly withdrew last year.

Jackson, who made a brief, abortive attempt for the nomination in 1972, will declare his 1976 plans in a filmed TV documentary.

He is the latest in a list of Democrats to declare or

signal a bid for the Democratic nomination since Kennedy said he would not be a contender in 1976.

Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas is another Democrat on the verge of adding his name to the candidates.

Other Democrats either in the race or likely to be include Alabama Gov. George Wallace, Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona, former Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma and former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter.

REUTERS

Evans initially favored a primary which allowed the names of presidential contenders on the ballot with national convention delegates apportioned to them on the basis of the primary election results.

"I don't have any assurance that the governor will accept a primary bill," he noted. "He has not communicated with me on it. He was talking about the cost of the primary."

Jackson
domestic

Ford Must Back Off on Oil—Scoop

BY SHELBY SCATES
P-I Political Writer

President Ford is "sitting on a keg of dynamite" and will have to back off his promise to drop controls on crude oil prices, Sen. Henry Jackson said yesterday.

But if he doesn't, said Jackson, the oil companies stand to make a "\$2 billion rip-off" through the double-barrelled price increase in crude oil and in gasoline.

Jackson, the front-running Democratic contender for Ford's office, said, however, that he would "stake my reputation" on the prediction that the President won't carry out the deregulation of oil prices.

"He's (Ford) is afraid to permit the controls to come off," said Jackson in an interview with Post-Intelligencer editors. He also called Gov. Dan Evans' veto of a presidential primary bill an act of "petty jealousy."

Lifting of price controls, Jackson said, would send the price of gasoline to \$1 per gallon by the end of August. He figured this would cost \$50 a month to the average American family — and \$33 billion to the gross national product.

"The economy is shaky as it is — and energy is the source of inflation. He's sitting on a keg of dynamite. I stake my reputation on this prediction. He'll have to back down on controls."

Jackson said Ford's energy program is based on the faulty assumption that increased gasoline prices mean a significant drop in consumption and an increase in crude oil production.

"That's not the way it is," he said. "There's not an elastic demand for gasoline. Even if the price goes up, people still have to drive their cars to work."



—P-I Photo by Grant Haller

JACKSON SPOKE WITH P-I EDITORIAL BOARD

Said Ford won't de-regulate oil prices

"There's already been a partial deregulation of oil prices — without an increase in production."

Ford has his chance to carry out further deregulation, or live up to Jackson's prediction when Congress presents him with a bill to continue oil price control.

"He won't veto it," said Jackson.

But the Interior Committee chairman wouldn't predict that Ford's reversal of form would go so far as to allow a Congressional conservation bill to become law.

This mandatory bill would leave the administration to the President and the states. It's aimed at saving one million barrels of oil per day by the end of its first year.

"I don't know whether he'll change his mind and not veto this one," said Jackson, who lashed Ford for his vetoes of major legislation dealing with agriculture, housing and health.

"He has vetoed more major legislation than any president in American history," said Jackson. "Unlike members of the House and Senate, he hasn't been elected to the office he holds."

Another veto rankles Jackson.

"It was tragic that we lost the chance for the first regional primary election," he said, refer-

ring to Evans' veto of presidential primary and heavily lobbied by Jackson supporters through the resent legislature.

"It was petty jealousy, petty partisanship," he added. "Sure, I was interested in the primary bill. But he (Evans) came back and pleaded for (Stan) Hathaway before the Interior Committee. (Hathaway was confirmed as interior secretary.)"

"There has to be some reciprocity."

Nevertheless, Jackson said he'd still like to see a primary election in Washington State and would be willing to see it based on proportional representation — provided it's in accordance with national Democratic rules.

Evans' vetoed a primary bill that would have, in effect, allowed "winner-take-all" elections in congressional districts. Jackson said a majority of delegates from primary states will be elected under such a system.

Jackson's Labor Dilemma

MILWAUKEE—Minutes after Sen. Henry M. Jackson left a breakfast with top labor brass here last Saturday, the president of the Milwaukee County Labor Council cornered Jackson national campaign manager Robert J. Keefe with a fundamental question.

"How does Scoop stand with George Meany these days?" asked Werner Schaefer.

Keefe, the smooth-as-silk pro who runs Jackson's campaign, gave a sugar-coated answer. There's not all that much difference between Meany and Jackson, he said, but they're both strong-willed men and disagreements are bound to crop up.

In fact, relations between the formerly hawkish advocate of a hardline role for America in the world, including Southeast Asia, and the dour, tough anti-Communist president of the AFL-CIO could hardly be worse. The break between them, begun by Jackson's support of the trade bill last winter, points to the senator's unresolved dilemma in his drive for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Jackson's campaign is ahead of schedule in financing, organization and gently rising poll ratings. But he has not pulled off the trick which is the essence of national politics: to extend his base without losing old support. Rather, he has clearly antagonized much of his labor constituency in wooing aggressive enemies on the party's left.

Moreover, he recently compounded the problem by refusing to endorse

"Jackson has not extended his base without losing old support. Rather, he has clearly antagonized much of his labor constituency in wooing the party's left."

new emergency funds for Saigon to help evacuate South Vietnamese deeply involved with the Americans.

Meany was apoplectic when Jackson told a nationwide audience on the CBS Morning News last Friday that emergency funds should be restricted to evacuating Americans, not Vietnamese. To Meany, whose power within labor's political arm is supreme, that was just one more signal of Jackson's switch from hawk to dove.

Meany does not care about the vastly different political atmosphere today that Jackson advisers say dictates just such a metamorphosis. So, Jackson devoted 90 minutes to labor's high command here in one of the critical 1976 presidential primary states.

Although he acquitted himself well during the question-and-answer session over scrambled eggs, he left with the public support of only one labor leader: diehard Jacksonite John Costa of the 5,000-member Laborers' Union, who was committed to him long before the 1972 presidential campaign.

But even Costa was not wholly

pleased with the Saturday breakfast. "He should have said something about the Philippines," Costa told us. "That's the next place to go."

Nor were hard-line Wisconsin labor leaders entirely happy with Jackson the night before. His biggest hand as star attraction at the Milwaukee County Democratic Committee fundraising dinner came when he lambasted the Ford administration for not evacuating Americans fast enough from Saigon. "All of our dependents should have been out of there yesterday," he said, bringing cheers from the 700 Democrats who paid \$25 each.

One of labor's high command, listening to the applause, was not impressed. He told us: "See, he's switching from hawk to dove. It may help him at this dinner but it's hurting him with us."

Otherwise, the fund-raiser was a conspicuous success for Jackson. A record crowd was turned out by Democratic County Chairman Darryl Hanson, a dedicated Jackson backer. Jackson was impressive in experimenting with a unique format. Instead of making a

speech, he sat in an elevated swivel chair on a railed dais in the center of the ballroom, fielding questions with considerable skill for 75 minutes under the hot glare of klieg lights.

But Hanson's problem recruiting ticket-buyers on a Friday night revealed another aspect of the senator's campaign: his reliance as the Senate's pro-Israel leader on Jewish contributors, Hanson's hope to sell tables to business leaders was blocked at the last moment by the new campaign-contributions law. To make up the loss, he appealed to the Jewish community.

"When we said the speaker was Scoop Jackson," a Hanson operative told us, "the answer was instantaneous: 'I'll be there.'" Milwaukee's Jewish community turned out in force; Jackson's attack on the "intransigence" of the assassinated King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and his demand that the U.S. continue to insist on free Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union, drew long applause.

Jackson's stalwart support of Israel's position against the Arabs is probably a plus as of today. But pro-Jackson politicians worry about dangers ahead in unpredictable Mideast changes affecting American voter attitudes.

By far the senator's deeper problem, however, is his deteriorated relationship with old-line labor unions and George Meany. As one statewide AFL-CIO leader known to be close to Meany told us: "Until Scoop makes up with Uncle George, he ain't going nowhere."

Dem.

Bob Wiedrich

Sen. Jackson roared too soon



SEN. HENRY JACKSON'S heavy-handed inquisition of the federal Drug Enforcement Administration is a good example of how legislators can get tripped by their staffs.

The Washington Democrat with White House ambitions was quick to seize upon allegations by his aides that the nation's narcotics fighting apparatus was riddled with "endemic corruption."

Jackson took them at their word. He liked the phrase so much he personally used it during a round of TV appearances and press interviews to generate publicity for the public hearings he staged into DEA thru his Senate permanent investigations subcommittee.

WHEN THE TIME came to put up or shut up, tho, Jackson found he could do neither. His staff's calculated campaign of leaked charges in advance of the hearings, coupled with his own rhetoric, left Jackson standing with his mouth open.

But the allegations of wholesale corruption failed to hold up in the light of critical examination. In fact, things got so sticky Jackson barely attended the concluding sessions of his inquiry on Capitol Hill before the August congressional recess.

By then, the damage had been done. Personal reputations had been tarnished or badly bent out of shape by unsupported charges.

DEA Administrator John R. Bartels Jr., an 11-year Justice Department veteran with a previously unblemished record, had been fired by Atty. Gen. Edward Levi when Levi couldn't withstand the heat generated by the barrage of adverse publicity about DEA leaked by Jackson's staff.

And the mess got even more unconscionable when it developed Jackson's own chief investigator hadn't told Jackson's own chief counsel about information casting doubt on the motives and credibility of Jackson's own two chief accusers of the DEA.

What's the point of this recitation? Overzealous congressional staff work and the egg it sometimes deposits on the boss' face.

In the months leading up to Jackson's freewheeling attack on the integrity of the 2,000 agents charged with waging the nation's battle against the global drug traffic, some of Jackson's staff openly boasted on the cocktail circuit that they would pin Bartels' hide to Jackson's door in their drive to polish the senator's image as a crusading Presidential aspirant.

"We've got the goods on Bartels."

was an allegation echoed by some of the Republican minority staff, who also bought the same bill of bum goods peddled Jackson by his own staff.

It was also echoed by Sen. Jackson himself as he brushed aside words of caution from congressional colleagues against going out on a limb.

Today, as anyone who has read the transcripts of testimony knows, the Jackson inquiry has all but collapsed, but with perhaps irreparable harm done to honorable men. Jackson meanwhile has turned his investigative talents on another whipping boy, petroleum prices.

From the looks of it, the Jackson subcommittee staff is now trying to find a way to gracefully weasel out of a rotten situation of its own incompetent making.

At best, the thrusting of Bartels into a public pillory fashioned by the Jackson aides thru repeated news leaks smacks of a tragic lack of staff control by Jackson.

Their brazen disregard of fundamental fairness and individual rights set highly destructive forces in action. However, Jackson has yet to disclose who will be held accountable for this disgraceful conduct.

What this sad tale does highlight, tho, is the tremendous impact congressional staffs can have on the course of political and human events without ever making their faces known to the American public in whose name they function.

There is no question that staff aides control certain serious aspects of a congressman's life. They do the interviewing, the researching, the investigating, the briefing. It is their conclusions—faulty and otherwise—that often influence a legislator's course of action and decision making.

The dependence of their leader on their expertise becomes a matter of faith. They can make him or break him. And their personal prejudices and ambition for themselves and their boss can often influence events with far greater weight than their mandate deserves.

THAT IS NOT to say that a great number of Capitol Hill aides are not of the highest caliber. Some are so bright as to be downright impressive.

But it is the incompetents who can pin their failures to their employers' coat-tails who never have to face the music while their boss, who was elected, takes the heat.

Picking a staff is one of the toughest tasks facing a congressman. Too bad the 35-year Capitol Hill veteran Jackson didn't pay more attention to selecting

L-15-3-4
Dem

Rise in Fuel Use Feared

Jackson Criticizes Nixon on Ban End

Associated Press

President Nixon's reaction to the lifting of the Arab oil embargo has been dangerous, unrealistic and irresponsible, Sen. Henry M. Jackson said yesterday.

Jackson, chairman of the Senate Interior Committee, said in a Senate speech that Mr. Nixon's statements "destroy public incentives to cooperate with conservation measures and encourage increased consumption of scarce fuels."

"Euphoric descriptions of an increasingly favorable supply outlook undermine public compliance with voluntary conservation programs," the Washington Democrat added.

On March 19, the President said lifting the Arab embargo ended the possibility of gasoline rationing and the necessity for Sunday service station closings. Mr. Nixon indicated that petroleum inventories would be tapped to increase fuel allocations for industry, agriculture and consumers.

"The President has, in effect, told the American people that the lifting of the embargo means the end of energy shortages," Jackson said. "He has, in effect, invited them to return to the wasteful consumption of pre-embargo days, restrained only by lower speed limits and greater use of car pools."

Jackson said the administration's post-embargo policy is unrealistic because it ignores the fact that the United States faced a fuel shortage even before the embargo.

He said the policy is irresponsible because it rests on a series of dangerous assumptions about U. S. reliance on Arab oil.

He said it is dangerous to assume the Middle Eastern nations will not reimpose the embargo or that they will produce all the oil the United States needs and can afford.

"While the lifting of the Arab embargo promises to ease the acute petroleum shortages which the nation has experienced in recent months, chronic shortages will persist," Jackson said. "It is imperative that the energy policies of federal, state and local governments respond to this fact."

His warning against a U.S.-Soviet detente that brought economic benefit to the U.S.S.R. without a quid pro quo in the area of human rights for the Russian people has been justified, he says.

And Soviet brinkmanship in the Middle East, after a communique by President Nixon and Soviet leader Brezhnev last summer pledging cooperation for peace in the area, "shocked" the American intellectual community, he says.

Be that as it may, there remain important elements in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party to whom Jackson is anathema. Wounds opened by his attacks on Sen. George McGovern in the early 1972 presidential primaries are a long way from healing.

But Jackson cites as an indication of a better climate the fact that liberal candidates for office in 1974 are enlisting his help, particularly among the Jewish community, attracted by Jackson's strong pro-Israel posture. For example, he campaigned recently in Chicago on behalf of former Democratic Rep. Abner J. Mikva, a liberal and Vietnam war critic who lost his House seat in 1972.

Part of Jackson's go-slow policy on a declaration of

presidential candidacy for 1976 is his view that if Kennedy decides to run, "I think the nomination is his for the asking."

That does not necessarily mean that he will not make a try against Kennedy, Jackson says. It will all depend on the political climate at the time, he says.

For all that, however, Jackson is aware of the need for adequate preparation. He says he moved too late in 1971 to mount the kind of effort he needed to win the nomination in 1972.

If he is to run, he says, it will be necessary to put together an "exploratory" organization sometime this year, possibly before the fall congressional elections, with a formal declaration of candidacy by late 1975. One other aspirant, Sen. Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.), already has announced he is exploring his chances.

Jackson acknowledges that winning acceptance among his party's most liberal elements will not be easy. But he says there is "a gradual shift going on. People don't go around saying, 'I made a mistake'"—and he clearly believes those who supported McGovern in 1972 were wrong and brought the party to defeat.

In this, he speaks as though he was vindicated by the results of the 1972 election, and he says that he still believes he represented the majority view of the party, if only his supporters could have found a way to bring their weight to bear on the nominating process.

In the 1972 convention, with McGovern's nomination no longer in doubt, Jackson's aides rounded up delegate votes to demonstrate there was a substantial alternative. Jackson finished second, with 534 votes, to 1,715 for the nominee.

The symbolic effort was ridiculed by many at the convention, as was the thought that four years later "Scoop" Jackson, who had tried the primary route and had gone nowhere in 1972, could be a serious contender. It does not seem quite so outlandish now.

"Every politician has to be identified with problems

that are bugging people,"

Jackson says. Gov. George

Wallace of Alabama proved how effective that identification can be, he notes.

Wallace cut deeply into the blue-collar and white-collar vote in the 1972 Democratic primaries by identifying such problems, and could do so again, Jackson says. But by 1976 Jackson himself will have been working the same political lode, particularly as "Mr. Energy" in Congress.

One word most accurately sums up the mood of the people as he has talked to them around the country, Jackson says, and that word is "uncertainty." From the gasoline shortage on up, he says, the people don't know what to expect.

One thing they can expect, though, is "Scoop" Jackson continuing to make the most of the emergence of "his" issues, to position himself for another presidential bid in 1976.

Down

Energy Crisis, Economy Bolster Jackson for 1976

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

Every week now, as Americans line up with increasing vexation at gasoline pumps around the country, the mail mounts in the Capitol Hill office of Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson (D-Wash.). More than 300 invitations come in each week offering him public forums to explain what's happening, why, and what should be done about it.

Not all the mail focuses on the oil crisis. Some of it deals with the embattled economy, with tensions in the Middle East, with the Russian wheat deal and with continuing reports of suppression in the Soviet Union.

Jackson, the 1972 Democratic presidential also-ran, suddenly is in great demand to come and say "I told you so" about a host of issues he has long addressed that now all at once have rushed to the top of the American agenda.

And so the 61-year-old Jackson is busy reiterating these long-time warnings, but this time to more attentive audiences:

- That the country has been on an energy binge that must be controlled, along with the giant oil companies who feed it.
- That the United States must become self-sufficient in production of its energy needs.
- That firm U.S. support of Israel must continue to be a cornerstone of peace in the Middle East.
- That a U.S.-Soviet detente does not remove Russian ambitions and willingness to play power politics in the Middle East or to suppress human rights at home.
- That trade with the Soviet Union, as in the 1972 "great grain robbery" as he calls it, must be tied to requirements that the Soviets permit greater individual freedom within their own borders.

The emergence of all these issues in early 1974, and the spotlights they have focused on Jackson, have been the kind of fortuitous development ambitious politicians dream of. If most of the issues remain high on the nation's agenda into 1976, a second try for the presidency by Jackson seems a certainty.

That first try in 1972 was plagued by his inability to dent public recognition, to catch the public's attention. But now, as the Senate's "Mr. Energy," the issues he has embraced are delivering the audience to him.

His twin roles as chairman of the Senate Interior Com-

mittee and of the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee have given him the vehicles for thoroughly exploring the one matter—gasoline and heating fuel shortages — most directly bothering most Americans today.

Jackson is busy speaking around the country on weekends, but as a 32-year veteran of Congress—12 in the House, 20 in the Senate—he also knows the value of Capitol Hill itself as a political forum. He says he plans to continue this year as last to use it as his main base.

Last year, while speaking in 27 states, he was recorded on 594 of 596 roll-call votes and was named the Senate's most effective member in a poll of legislative aides by a Ralph Nader group.

Wherever Jackson goes now, people ask him whether he's going to run for President again in 1976, and he gives the standard answer of the prudent politician.

"I tell them," he says, "I just haven't decided what I'm going to do, and I haven't."

"If anyone had written a scenario in 1972 of what would happen in 1973, they would have carted him away to St. Elizabeth's" he says, referring to the District's federal mental hospital.

That commentary on the changeable nature of politics is what voters have come to expect from any careful presidential aspirant. Too many others have learned how dangerous politically it can be to make oneself a target too early.

"If I had put together organization and just started going state after state," Jackson says, "then I'd be just going around politically at a time the best politics is no politics."

Yet he acknowledges that the emergence of issues with which he has been long identified makes 1976 race more attractive to him than in 1972, when "his" issues were secondary to one on

which he was disaffected from the liberal wing of his party—Vietnam.

Now, with the withdrawal of U.S. troops, that issue has virtually vanished, though the war continues, and it is easier for him to try to sell himself as a liberal (though his domestic rating by Americans for Democratic Action was only 55 per cent on 20 selected Senate roll-call votes in 1973).

Jackson's new prominence also comes against a background of growing political strength in two other areas—organized labor and the regular party apparatus.

With Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) recently ailing and assumed through

with presidential politics, and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) a questionable starter for 1976, Jackson is emerging increasingly as labor's candidate.

And at the Democratic National Committee, the man he urged to seek the chairmanship and then helped elect, Robert S. Strauss of Texas, appears to be in firm control and leading the party down the centrist road Jackson is conspicuously trying to travel.

A Jackson-oriented policy group formed after the 1972 election, the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, also is busy attempting to nudge the party along the same route, with Ben J. Wattenberg, the Washington author

and 1972 Jackson campaign theorist, one of its pilots. Wattenberg and Jackson both insist the group is not an embryonic Jackson-for-President operation, but most of its members would have no trouble swinging in behind him if circumstances offered the opportunity.

As a candidate in 1972 broadly identified as conservative—a characterization he disavowed—Jackson's practical political problem has been to change that public perception of him, to have voters identify him as a centrist in a generally liberal party.

To this end, he says, the Soviet Union's conduct in the Middle East, and the publication of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's "The Gulag Archipelago" have begun to give him new credibility in the American intellectual community.



Senator Jackson

serves in Alaska alone are supposed to be enormous. After a better estimate, I am told we may have more oil reserves in the Alaskan outer shelf than we have in all of the U.S. And a second area is through research and development to build the capacity to burn coal under boilers and capture all of the sulphur so you end up with a clean product. We ought to be able to do that; it will cost us, but it should be in our priority list.

But as an environment watchdog of long standing, don't these two areas cause you to worry about the impact on the ecology—particularly the effect that offshore oil drilling could have?

JACKSON: Frankly I think we are going to have some recession in environmental standards. But, after all, I am the author of the National Environmental Policy Act, and I am not going to permit industries to use the environmental issue as a subtle means of undoing the progress we've made.

Where does your Manhattan Project come in?

JACKSON: What we want to do is marshal, with the urgency of a Manhattan Project or an Apollo moon shot, all of our scientific and technological talent so that we can achieve a self-sufficiency by 1983. I don't see us becoming self-sufficient by 1980, as the President has indicated.

The President's budget for fiscal 1974 proposes less than \$800 million—\$771.8 million—for all energy research and development. Nearly 75% of that is for nuclear R&D by the Atomic Energy Commission. We propose what we call a management program for another \$800 million annually for R&D in coal gasification, oil shale conversion, geothermal energy and coal liquefaction.

We can convert coal to natural gas or petroleum. The problems up to now have been environmental concerns and the economics of it. But the price of petroleum has gone up so much that the price is no longer a problem. That does leave us with finding an environmentally acceptable way. The same for oil shale. The potential there could be in the trillions of barrels, but the environmental problem remains.

So your program really takes nothing away from the ongoing development of the fast-breeder nuclear reactor?

JACKSON: Oh, no. What we've been discussing here is related only to our finite resources. After all, they estimate the world will be out of petroleum in 2040 and we will eventually run out of coal. So our program has to include the secondary phase, the development of fusion—the control of hydrogen fusion—and developing fission. That is why the breeder reactor is very important, as controversial as it is.

Who would administer the whole program?

JACKSON: We provide for a director and an independent agency with an advisory council from about seven different agencies. The director will be the czar. All the funds will go to the director, and the director alone can administer the program. He will allocate the funds to the Office of Coal Research in the Interior Department. He will allocate the funds to Los Alamos and the other big AEC labs.

But doesn't this put you smack in the middle of a jurisdictional fight with the energy agencies and their guardian committees?

JACKSON: Yes. But that is why you have to have a czar. Without a tough administrator you'll be in a *real* hassle. We don't intend to cut down on nuclear development or the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. We are just starting up programs in other areas we should have started a long time ago.

Is there any immediate benefit from your Manhattan Project?

JACKSON: I think once we get it under way, the project will be a new diplomatic signal to the Middle Eastern countries that the U.S. does mean business. When I was over there a year ago and talked with some of the Arab leaders, I tried to impress on them the fact that we are going forth with a program to reach self-sufficiency. And that America does have the ability to reach that goal. I noticed that they were impressed because they know what we can do as a nation in the area of science and technology. We're no paper tiger in that area.

And they can see the Soviet Union, after boasting that it will bury us, now only wanting our scientific and technological and economic help. So this project *can* do more than any other one thing I know to help restore our credibility—not just for us, but for all Western countries that the Arabs are in the process of black-mailing.

This has nothing to do with the Arab-Israeli dispute. It has everything to do with the obvious weakness that a great power finds in that posture.

And a second point is that the project will improve our ability to administer and meet the immediate problem in such a way that we don't do violence to the economy. After all, the economy has been the issue facing us since Nixon took office in 1969. It is today and will be right through to 1976.

One final question. Will energy and the economy be a strong enough issue to carry you into the White House in 1976?

JACKSON: I don't have time to worry about the horses I ride now. Not while we need all the horsepower we can get. ■

As I See It

"We Face 8% Unemployment—and Inflation"

115-3-4
Done.

In politics, no one has a clear title to an issue when it becomes as critical as the energy-economic crisis. But Sen. Henry Martin Jackson (Dem., Wash.), chairman of the Senate's Interior Committee, has a strong claim. In the past year, and long before the Arab blackmail, he pushed for a stronger U.S. energy policy. Most of Jackson's early efforts drew White House opposition until this fall's crisis.

The Jackson scorecard on energy looks like this: He steered the trans-Alaska pipeline bill through to passage. He sponsored and managed a mandatory fuel-allocation bill to passage against Presidential wishes. And Jackson introduced the emergency fuel consumption powers bill three weeks before the White House called on Congress to meet the crisis.

Jackson is now pushing a so-called "Manhattan Project" (named after the World War II crash program to build the atom bomb) for energy. In March he proposed a \$2-billion-a-year attempt at developing alternative sources of energy, with the goal of making the U.S. self-sufficient in energy resources within ten years. His bill was recently approved unanimously by the Senate Interior Committee. Passage by Congress is likely early next month. Forbes sought out Jackson to talk about energy.

How badly could the petroleum shortage distort our economy?

JACKSON: The reason the stock market started into a dive in November was that it just dawned on people what some of us have been warning about for a long time—that the real impact of an energy shortfall is not just queueing up at the gas station. If not administered right, this situation can set off a chain reaction that will lead to shortages in metals, chemicals and on to shutting down factories. And that will drive prices of goods up and set off inflation just as we get into a recession.

It doesn't take much imagination to see what will happen when the Administration's own projections say a 25% fuel shortfall in first-quarter 1974 will cause a loss of \$100 billion in gross national product. Well, our GNP was supposed to go up \$100 billion, so the spread is really \$200 billion. If that doesn't lead to 8% unemployment and inflation at the same time, I don't know what will.

So what must be done in your view?

JACKSON: First of all there is the short-term problem. We now consume 17 million to 18 million barrels of petroleum products a day. We import 6 million, and, directly, the Arab nations were providing 3 million. There are two solutions to this short-term problem. One is conservation of what petroleum we do have. That means gasoline rationing, and I know it's unpopular and that it will be a bureaucratic jungle. But it simply has to be done.

Why does it have to be rationing?

JACKSON: One, because it will save us a million barrels of gasoline a day. And two, because it gives the American people the most flexibility and least regimentation of any other method, such as ten-gallon limits or Sunday-driving bans. The discretion must be left to the people. If they have saved the coupons and want to go on a trip, they can.

But what about the black markets of World War II rationing? How would you set up the mechanism to administer such a program?

JACKSON: We still have our draft boards functioning in each community and they don't have much to do. And if people want to sell their coupons to someone else, well, it will be their coupons and not any more fuel consumed.

There are other conservation methods: the speed-limit cutback and turning off public building lights at night—all that would save us 2 million barrels, two-thirds of our daily shortfall.

The other method open to us is to substitute available energy sources, such as coal, for petroleum. There are heating plants and industrial users that can convert to coal rather quickly and save us 300,000 or more barrels a day.

So belt-tightening may be able to get us through the immediate crisis. What then?

JACKSON: We still face a shortfall of energy resources. This second, or intermediate, crisis we face can be solved in two areas. The best is a massive effort to sell government leases on the outer continental shelf and the public lands within the U.S. The re-

enough in strategic arms both in America and the Soviet Union than we need for the security of either nation.

But Jackson, if he were President, would bargain a lot harder with the Russians. He doesn't trust Moscow, never has. He doesn't believe *detente* is very real. He wants concessions—like an easing of Russia's policies with Jews who want to leave the country. His hard line led Russia to abrogate the 1972 trade agreement with us, some say. Others argue (and Jackson agrees with this scenario) that Kissinger and Russian ambassador Dobrynin conspired to put the blame on him, to salvage their own reputations.

What is obvious enough is that Russia fears Jackson, and desperately hopes he will never be President. Some Kremlin officials, according to Soviet-affairs specialist Victor Zorza, see Jackson as a Hitler-type figure rising out of the ashes of capitalism.

Senator Jackson: I would use the office of the Presidency to help the people in this country who are getting hurt. For the past six years, the Republican Administration has been tilting in favor of big business, the large corporations, the people who can take care of themselves. . . . I think we need to change that tilt. I want to change that tilt to help these people.

That's political rhetoric, pure and simple, and all the Democrats are saying pretty much the same thing. What one might note is that Jackson was Nixon's favorite Democrat, and Nixon wanted him for Secretary of Defense (or maybe Secretary of State, or both). Jackson has long been supported by most of the big-business interests in the state of Washington. To this day he has never revealed where the \$1 million, more or less, he spent in his unsuccessful Presidential campaign in 1972 came from. The supposition is that much of it was big Republican money.

As I say, it's a lousy commercial. That's too bad, I think, because Jackson has a story to tell. He is one of the most knowledgeable and effective senators in Washington. By his own lights, he's an honest and a decent man. Most of his positions are strongly held and strongly defended, and they have the unusual element of consistency.

Unlike 1972, Jackson's campaign this time is carefully organized, and Jackson himself is a great deal more confident. Times have changed too, probably in his favor. So, given the competition, he has a chance for the nomination (although, surely, it would drive hundreds of thousands of Democrats into the arms of Eugene McCarthy, or somebody like him).

But, oh my, this was a dismal start.